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Vsebina • Contents

Gregor Pompe

Uvodnik

Foreword

5-12

Marcello Potocco

Ideology at the Crossroad of Arts

Ideologija na križišču umetnosti

13-30

Martin Knust

20th-century Music in Sweden. An Overview

Glasba 20. stoletja na Švedskem. Pregled

31-43

Gražina Daunoravičienė

Compositional System of Osvaldas Balakauskas:

An Attempt to Restore the Theoretical Discourse

Kompozicijski sistem Osvaldasa Balakauskasa:

Poizkus obnovitve teoretičnega diskurza

45-95

Jānis Kudiņš

**Latvian Music History in the Context of 20th-century Modernism and
Postmodernism. Some Specific Issues of Local Historiography**

Latvijska zgodovina glasbe v kontekstu modernizma in postmodernizma 20. stoletja.

Nekaj posebnosti lokalnega zgodovinopisja.

97-139

Anu Veenre

Beyond Polystylism:

Blurring the Boundaries between Different Musics in late-Soviet Estonia

Onkraj polistilizma: Branjanje meja med različnimi glasbami v pozni sovjetski Estoniji

141-163

Dalibor Davidović

Margins of Music

Meje glasbe

165-186

Gregor Pompe
**Slovenian Music in the First Decade after the Second World War –
In Search of Socialist Realism**

*Slovenska glasba v prvem desetletju po drugi svetovni vojni –
v iskanju socialističnega realizma*
187–208

Darja Koter
Slogovni pluralizem v delih Karola Pahorja
Stylistic Pluralism in the Works of Karol Pahor
209–221

Nejc Sukljan
Tržaško vprašanje in Tržaška filharmonija
The Trieste Question and the Trieste Philharmonic
223–280

Urška Rihtaršič
Odrpta oblika in njen odmev v slovenski glasbi
Open Form in its Resonance in Slovenian Music
281–306

Imensko kazalo • Index
307–324

Avtorji • Contributors
325–328



Gregor Pompe

gostujoči urednik

Uvodnik

V duhovnozgodovinskem pogledu je 20. stoletje večinoma prekinjalo z osnovnimi potezami, ki so zaznamovale 19. stoletje, v nekaterih pogledih pa je določene značilnosti še stopnjevalo. To v prvi vrsti velja za poudarjen subjektivizem in željo po inovaciji – obe premisi izhajata iz romantične želje po karakterističnem, torej vsakič novem in subjektivno zaznamovanem. Zahteva po novem postane celo eden izmed osrednjih estetskih postulatov modernizma 20. stoletja. Posledično je za 20. stoletje značilen ne samo odmik od tradicionalnih izrazil, ki so še zaznamovala 19. stoletje, temveč tudi zelo hitro menjavanje osnovnih slogovnih značilnosti in vpeljevanje številnih novih kompozicijskih tehnik. Za umetnosti in med njimi tudi glasbeno je zato v 20. stoletju značilen hiter tempo slogovnih sprememb (svojskih potez naj ne izkazuje le posamezen skladateljski opus, temveč vsaka posamezna skladba), ki prav zaradi svoje hitrosti niso potekale vedno premočrtno in periodično zapovrstno. Slogovno zaporedje, ki bi si ga lahko metaforično razlagali v obliki drevesa, pri katerem en slog logično poganja iz drugega, bi bilo mogoče ob preučevanju glasbe 20. stoletja zamenjati s postmoderno strukturo rizoma (G. Deleuze in F. Guattari), torej s sistemom korenin in poganjkov. »Fetišistični« gon po inovaciji je podrl razvidno strukturo postopnih slogovnih evolucij, kar gre razumeti kot eno izmed osrednjih modernističnih doktrin, ki so zaznamovale 20. stoletje. Slogovno razpada zgodovina umetniške glasbe 20. stoletja tako na vrsto tokov in slogovnih »otokov«, ki so včasih izhajali drug iz drugega, spet drugič so bili v močnem antitetičnem razmerju, včasih so se izkazali kot stranpoti, drugič pa si brez njih ni mogoče zamisliti nadaljnega zgodovinskega poteka. Slogovno enotnost, razprostrtnost čez daljše obdobje in s tem logično zaporedno »nadaljevanje« je prekinila množica slogov, ki lahko sobivajo drug ob drugem ne glede na svoje materialne, vsebinske in kompozicijskotehnične značilnosti. Ni več mogoče govoriti zgolj o linearnem sosledju slogov, temveč tudi o hkratnem bivanju disparatnega.

Podobno kot slogi so se hitro spreminjale tudi prevladujoče družbene doktrine, kar je najbrž mogoče postaviti v soodvisno razmerje – slogovna miceljska mreža je povezana s hitro in včasih tudi abruptno menjavo političnih sistemov, državnih zemljevidov in vladajočih ideologij, ki so v 20. stoletju zanatile kar dve svetovni vojni kataklizmatičnih razsežnosti in v sponah katerih se je znašla tudi glasba 20. stoletja. V tem pogledu se kot najpomembnejše prekretnice v 20. stoletju kažejo prva (1918) in druga svetovna vojna (1945) ter padec berlinskega zidu (1990). Ves ta čas se je tudi aktivno spreminjal zemljevid Evrope in nanj so postopoma vstopale številne manjše nacionalne države, ki

so bile prej del večjih večnacionalnih zvez po svoji volji ali tudi ne. Če so se Lyotardove »velike zgodbe« spremenile v vrsto malih »narečij«, potem je velika zgodovina evropske/zahodne glasbe razpadla na vrsto manjših, nacionalnih zgodovin, ki živijo sicer v veliki odvisnosti od osrednjega zahodnoevropskega »narativa«, pa vendar kažejo tudi določene lokalne specifikke.

Namen pričujoče tematske številke *Muzikološkega zbornika* je prav razkrivanje slogovne in kompozicijsko-tehnične raznolikost manjših (»nezgodovinskih«) glasbenih nacionalnih ali tudi ožjih kultur v odvisnosti od vsakokratnih družbenih koordinat. K sodelovanju so bili povabljeni predvsem muzikologi iz tistih držav, ki si s Slovenijo delijo podobno družbeno-zgodovinsko usodo - vpetost v večnacionalno državno združbo, sorazmerno perifernost glede na glavne glasbene centre ter močno odvisnost od močnih, tudi totalitarističnih ideologij.

Uvodni prispevek Marcella Potocca (»Ideology at the crossroads of arts«) skuša začrtati teoretično-metodološka vodila soodvisnosti med umetniškimi praksami in ideološkimi diskurzi. Avtor se naslanja na obravnavo ideologije pri althusserjancih, na teorijo diskurza in branje ideologije znotraj kulturnih študij, pri opredeljevanju razmerja med ideologijo in umetnostjo pa izhaja predvsem iz definicije t.i. družbeno imaginarnega (C. Castoriadis) in fiktivnega (W. Iser). Ugotovitve, ki so bile sicer razvite v literarni vedi, skuša premestiti še na glasbeno umetnost, pri čemer ob jasnih razlikah odkriva tudi podobnosti v produkciji pomena/smisla, saj naj bi tako literatura kot tudi glasba izkazovali dvojni referencialni sistem. Prav to odpira možnost razmišljanja »o referenci na zunajtekstualno oziroma zunajglasbeno realnost kot o osnovnem impulzu ideološkega delovanja«.

Nadaljnja »pot« člankov sledi »geografski« logiki in nas vodi od oddaljenih skandinavijskih in baltskih držav (Švedska, Litva, Latvija, Estonija) k našim sosedom (Hrvaška) do vprašanj, ki se tičejo slovenske glasbene kulture 20. stoletja.

Martin Knust (»20th-century Music in Sweden. An Overview«) odkriva, da so »na zgodovino švedske glasbe v 20. stoletju vplivale največje politične in družbene spremembe v Evropi«. Po vzpostavljanju zavesti o nacionalni glasbi, pripeti na romantične zglede, so prva desetletja po prvi svetovni vojni prinesla razvoj glasbene infrastrukture, modernizem pa je postal prevladujoča »šola« po drugi svetovni vojni, a pravo lokalno specifikko je prinesla šele postmoderna, ki je na Švedskem povsem v znamenju popularna glasbe, ki je »skoraj v celoti izrinila umetnostno glasbo v ozadje v šolskih učnih načrtih«. Gražina Daunoravičienė (»Compositional System of Osvaldas Balakauskas: an Attempt to Restore the Theoretical Discourse«) postavlja teoretično-kompozicijski sistem dodekatonike litvanskega modernističnega skladatelja Osvaldasa Balakauskasa (1937) v kontekst glasbene kulture v Litvi v poznem sovjetskem obdobju. Balakauskasaova varianta dvanajsttonske tehnike temelji na posebnih oblikah tonalnosti in modalnosti, a tej specifični verziji dodekafonije se je skladatelj na prehodu v 21. stoletje odrekel v prid večje komunikativnosti in »logično kontrolirane improvizacijske metode«. Če je Balakauskas prehodil značilno pot od modernizma k postmodernizmu pa takšno »nasledstveno« razmerje, kot nam to razkriva Jānis Kudiņš (»Latvian Music History in the Context of 20th-century Modernism and Postmodernism«), ne velja povsem za latvijsko glasbo 20. stoletja. V umetniškem pogledu je bila latvijska glasba večji del

20. stoletja zavezana konservativnosti, a v šestdesetih let je skladatelj Margeris Zariņš (1910–1993) ustvaril številna v slogovnem pogledu heterogena dela, ki bi jih lahko pripisali postmodernistični estetiki, kar pomeni, da je v latvijsko glasbo vdrl postmodernizem še preden so se dobro spoznali z modernizmom, kar meče nenavadno luč na relacijski odnos med obema slogoma. Anu Veenre (»Beyond Polystylism: Blurring the Boundaries between Different Musics in late-Soviet Estonia«) išče specifične estonske glasbe v povezavi s sovjetskim ideološkimi pritiski in poizkusi njihovega prestopanja. Tako je ideološki »upor« mogoče razbrati iz zanimanja za staro glasbo (ansambel Hortus Musicus) in posledično religiozne forme, podobno velja tudi za ansamble, ki so se dejavno ukvarjali z ljudsko glasbo, ter glasbenike (skupini Ruja, In Spe), ki so se zavezali progresivnim žanrom rockovske glasbe. S podobno problematiko se ukvarja tudi Gregor Pompe (»Slovenian Music in the First Decade after the Second World War – In Search of Socialist Realism«), ki skuša prek analize del, nastalih v prvih desetletjih po koncu druge svetovne vojne, razbirati vplive doktrine socialističnega realizma v slovenski glasbi. Izkaže se, da so bile številne odločitve, zahteve in rešitve povsem arbitrarne, pogosto bolj povezane z osebni estetskimi preferencami kot jasnejšo ideološko izreko, zato je prepričan, da je potrebno slovensko glasbo po letu 1945 »motriti v napestostnem štirikotniku, razpetem na eni strani med tradicionalnim in novim ter na drugi strani med avtonomnim in ideološkim«.

Drugačen primer predstavlja prispevek Daliborja Davidovića (»Margins of Music«) o hrvaškem skladatelju Marku Radmiu (1910–1996), generacijskem sopotniku Latvijca Zariņša. Radmio se je s svojo glasbo gibal na različnih »marginah« – na eni strani je bilo njegova dela mogoče recepirati kot »avantgardna«, po drugi strani pa se je skušal jasno vključevati v »veliko zgodbo« o zgodovinskem razvoju glasbe. Pri tem je skladatelj živel obrobno, samotarsko življenje, pri čemer so vzroki za takšno pozicijo osamelca najbrž tako osebni kot tudi družbeni.

Zadnji trije prispevki obravnavajo različne aspekte slovenske glasbe v 20. stoletju. Darja Koter (»Slogovni pluralizem v delih Karola Pahorja«) sledi slogovni premenam v opusu Karla Pahorja, ki se je kot Osterčev dopisni učenec sprva zapisal radikalnejšemu modernizmu, vendar je zaradi poudarjenega socialnega občutka kmalu svoj jezik razmehčal, v času druge svetovne vojne pa se je celo popolnoma predal funkcionalni glasbi časa (znameniti partizanski zbori). Po vojni je pisal v mejah socialističnega realizma, pri čemer se je pogosto naslanjal na ljudsko glasbo. S povojno glasbo se ukvarja tudi Nejc Sukljan (»Tržaško vprašanje in Tržaška filharmonija«), ki raziskuje nastanek in delovanje Tržaške filharmonije na ozadju perečega političnega, t.i. »tržaškega vprašanja«. Delovanja orkestra, sestavljenega iz italijanskih glasbenikov, je bilo trdno vpeto v diplomatsko vojno, ki naj bi Jugoslaviji ponovno priborila nadzor nad pristaniškim mestom. Ko so bila pogajanja zaključena, je orkester izgubil svoj pomen in je bil tudi razpuščen, glasbeniki pa so postali člani simfoničnih orkestrov po vsej Jugoslaviji – delovanje orkestra je tako mogoče razumeti kot tipičen inštrument v rokah političnih ciljev. Urška Rihtaršič (»Odrpta oblika in njen odmev v slovenski glasbi«) pa obravnava enega izmed tipičnih modernističnih fenomenov – odrpoto formo. Avtorica skuša koncept in tipologijo, kakršna sta bila razvita na zahodnoevropski in ameriški glasbi, prenesti tudi na slovensko glasbo, pri čemer ugotavlja, da je bila uporaba

odprte oblike izrazito omejena in odkriva le tri »čiste« primere (M. Stibilj, L. Lebič, P. Ramovš). Takšno zadržanost povezuje z družbenim kontekstom slovenske glasbe po drugi svetovni vojni, ki je mladi generaciji onemogočil stik s prvim valom povojnega modernizma, kar le še potrjuje močno odvisnost slogovne in kompozicijsko-tehnične raznolikost glasbe od družbenih pogojev.

Gregor Pompe

guest editor

Foreword

Viewed from a historical perspective, the twentieth century appears to have largely broken with the fundamental traits that marked the nineteenth century. In some respects, however, certain specific characteristics were enhanced. This is particularly true of the emphasised subjectivism and the drive to innovate. Both of these premises arise from the Romantic desire for the characteristic, for that which is new each time and subjectively marked. The demand for the new actually became one of the core aesthetic postulates of Modernism in the twentieth century. Consequently, the twentieth century was defined not only by a shift from the traditional means of expression that had characterised the nineteenth century, but also by a constant series of stylistic transformations and the incorporation of innovative compositional techniques. The arts of the twentieth century, including music, are therefore characterised by rapid stylistic change: not only was each individual compositional opus expected display its own unique traits, but each individual work. Due to the speed of change, stylistic innovations did not always follow one another in a rectilinear and periodic sequence. The notion of stylistic succession, which could be metaphorically likened to the form of a tree with one style logically sprouting from another, could, in the study of twentieth century music, be better described by the postmodern structure of the rhizome (Deleuze and Guattari), that is, as a system of roots and shoots that are not entirely clearly distinguishable. The “fetishist” drive for innovation destroyed the clear structure of gradual stylistic evolution, which can be understood as one of the central Modernist doctrines that marked the twentieth century. The history of twentieth century art music disintegrates stylistically into a variety of movements and stylistic “islands”, sometimes sprouting or growing from one another and at other times standing in antithesis, sometimes proving to be sidetracks, while at other times emerging as essential for further historical progress. Stylistic unity, the gradual unfolding of style over a long period of time, giving rise to logical, sequential “continuation”, was thus replaced by a multitude of styles that could coexist despite their diverse material, substantial and compositional-technical traits. It is no longer possible to speak of a linear sequence of styles, but rather of the simultaneous coexistence of the disparate.

Just as styles changed rapidly, so too did the prevailing social doctrines. These two phenomena can be viewed as interdependent: the stylistic micelle network is linked to the rapid and sometimes abrupt change of political systems, state maps and prevailing ideologies, which, in the twentieth century, gave rise to two world wars of cataclysmic

proportions. Twentieth century music found itself in the fetters of these two wars. In this perspective, the most important milestones in the twentieth century were the First (1918) and Second World Wars (1945) and the fall of the Berlin Wall (1990). Throughout this period, the map of Europe was in flux, as it was gradually enriched by many smaller nation states that had previously been part of major multinational alliances, either by choice or coercion. If Lyotard's "big stories" turned into a series of "small dialects", the "big history" of European/Western music broke into a series of smaller, national histories, which, although being strongly dependent on the central Western European "narrative", nonetheless display certain local specificities.

The purpose of this thematic issue of the *Musicological Annual* is to reveal the stylistic and compositional-technical diversity of smaller ("non-historic") national and even narrower musical cultures dependent on their respective social coordinates. The musicologists invited to contribute are mainly from countries that share a similar socio-historical fate with Slovenia: integration in a multinational state organisation, a relatively peripheral position with respect to the main music centres, and a strong dependence on powerful ideologies, including totalitarianism.

The introductory article by Marcello Potocco ("Ideology at the Crossroads of Arts") seeks to outline the theoretical and methodological guidelines of interdependence between artistic practices and ideological discourses. The author bases his argument on the treatment of ideology by Althusserians, the theory of discourse and a reading of ideology within cultural studies, while his definition of the relationship between ideology and art is derived primarily from the definition of the so-called socially imaginary (Castoriadis) and the fictitious (Iser). Potocco attempts to relocate findings developed in literary science to the field of music. As well as revealing clear differences, he also uncovers similarities in the production of meaning/sense, as both literature and music are thought to demonstrate a dual reference system. This opens the possibility of thinking "about reference to the extratextual or extramusical reality as the basic impulse of ideological action".

The further "path" of the articles follows a "geographical" logic, leading us from distant Scandinavian and Baltic countries (Sweden, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia) to our neighbours (Croatia) and to questions concerning Slovenian music culture of the twentieth century.

Martin Knust ("Twentieth Century Music in Sweden. An Overview") reveals that "the history of Swedish music in the twentieth century was influenced by the greatest political and social changes in Europe". After establishing an awareness of national music based on Romantic models, the first decades after the First World War brought the development of musical infrastructure. Modernism became the dominant "school" after the Second World War, but genuine local specificities came only with postmodernism. In Sweden, this was marked above all by popular music, which "almost completely displaced art music into the background in school curricula". Grazina Daunoravičienė (The Compositional System of Osvaldas Balakauskas: An Attempt to Restore Theoretical Discourse) places the dodecaphonic theoretical-compositional system of Lithuanian modernist composer Osvaldas Balakauskas (1937) in the context of Lithuanian musical culture in the late Soviet period. Balakauskas's variant of

twelve-tone technique is based on specific forms of tonality and modality. This particular version of dodecaphony was, however, rejected by the composer at the turn of the twenty-first century in favour of greater communicativeness and “logically controlled improvisation methods”. Although Balakauskas crossed the characteristic path from Modernism to postmodernism, this “hereditary” relationship does not apply entirely to Latvian music of the twentieth century, as Jānis Kudiņš reveals in “Latvian Music History in the Context of Twentieth Century Modernism and Postmodernism”. In artistic terms, Latvian music was linked to conservatism for most of the twentieth century. In the 1960s, however, composer Mārgeris Zariņš (1910–1993) created many stylistically heterogeneous works that could be attributed to postmodern aesthetics. Thus, Latvian music made inroads into postmodernism before being well acquainted with Modernism, which throws an unusual light on the relationship between the two styles. Anu Veenre (“Beyond Polystylism: Blurring the Boundaries between Different Musics in Late-Soviet Estonia”) seeks a specifically Estonian music in connection with Soviet ideological pressures and attempts to overcome them. The ideological “resistance” can be discerned in the interest in early music (the ensemble Hortus Musicus) and consequently in religious forms. Similar can be said of the ensembles actively engaged in folk music, as well as the musicians who committed themselves to progressive genres of rock music (the groups Ruja and In Spe). A similar issue is addressed by Gregor Pompe (“Slovenian Music in the First Decade after the Second World War – In Search of Socialist Realism”), who attempts to understand the effects of the doctrine of Socialist Realism in Slovenian music through an analysis of works created in the first decades after the Second World War. It emerges that many decisions, demands and solutions were completely arbitrary, often more related to personal aesthetic preferences than to a clear ideological dictum. The author is therefore convinced that Slovenian music after 1945 should be “considered in a quadrangle of tensions, stretched on one side between the traditional and the new, and, on the other, between the autonomous and the ideological”.

A different example is presented in the article by Dalibor Davidović (“Margins of Music”) about Croatian composer Marko Radmio (1910–1996), who was of the same generational as Latvian composer Zariņš. With his music, Radmio inhabited various “margins”: on the one hand, his works could be understood as “avant-garde”, while, on the other hand, he attempted to clearly include himself in the “big story” of the historical development of music. In so doing, the composer lived a peripheral, lonely life, with the reasons for adopting the position of the solitary figure probably being both personal and social.

The last three articles deal with various aspects of Slovenian music in the twentieth century. Darja Koter (“Stylistic Pluralism in the Works of Karol Pahor”) traces the stylistic changes in the work of Karl Pahor. As a corresponding student of Osterc, Pahor was initially attracted to radical Modernism, but, due to a pronounced social feeling, he soon began to soften his language. During the Second World War, he devoted himself entirely to the functional music of the time (the famous Partisan choirs). After the war, he wrote within the limits of Socialist Realism, often drawing on popular music. Nejc Sukljan (“The Trieste Question and the Trieste Philharmonic”) also engages with

post-war music, exploring the origin and functioning of the Trieste Philharmonic on the background of a burning political issue, the so-called “Trieste question”. The operation of the orchestra, which was made up of Italian musicians, was firmly embedded in the diplomatic war centred around Yugoslavia regaining control of the port city of Trieste. After the negotiations concluded, the orchestra lost its meaning and was dissolved, with the musicians becoming members of symphony orchestras throughout Yugoslavia. Thus, the operation of the orchestra can be understood as a typical instrument in the hands of political goals. Urška Rihtaršič (“Open Form and Its Echo in Slovenian Music”) deals with a characteristic Modernist phenomenon: open form. The author attempts to transfer the concept and typology developed in Western European and American music to Slovenian music. She finds that the use of open form in Slovenia was extremely limited and only discovers three “pure” cases: Stibilj, Lebič and Ramovš. Rihtaršič links this reticence with the social context of Slovenian music after the Second World War, which prevented the young generation from contact with the first wave of post-war Modernism, thus further confirming the strong dependence of the stylistic and composition-technical diversity of music on social conditions.



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Ideology at the Crossroads of Arts

Ideologija na križišču umetnosti

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IZVLEČEK

Izhajajoč iz koncepta družbeno imaginarnega in fiktivnega v literaturi v članku definiram ideološki poziv kot možno funkcijo umetniškega dela. Pri tem poudarjam podobnosti, ki vznikajo iz dvojnega referencialnega sistema tako v literaturi kot v glasbi. Zdi se, da so zunajglasbeni dejavniki bistvenega pomena za vzpostavitev naracijskosti in posledično ideološkosti. Izhajajoč iz slednjega analiziram ideološki diskurz »douceur du foyer« v dveh izbranih opernih libretih.

ABSTRACT

Proceeding from the notions of the social imaginary and the fictive in literature, the paper defines ideological interpellation as a possible function of works of art. Similarities in creating meaning by double referencing are highlighted, both in literature and music. Extra-musical elements seem to be necessary to establish a narrative and to trigger an ideological interpellation. With regards to this claim, the paper examines the ideological discourse of the »douceur du foyer« in the genre of opera.

1. Introduction: Ideology, the Generalist View, the Discursive View, and Relations of Power

When researching ideology we cannot possibly disregard the work of Louis Althusser and his followers in the early 1970s. Even at the very start, their research opened the path both to the study of linguistic, sociological and cultural issues as well as to the practical application in the fields of (particularly) literature and visual arts. With literary theory as the main point of reference, my paper is based on classical theories of ideology, discourse and, especially, the imaginary. These notions will be applied to musical examples from the 19th and the 20th centuries. Yet the focus in discussing musical

examples will be the discursive mechanisms by which they operated as ideological interpellation. This is particularly true since I shall also argue that (narrative) referentiality is crucial for ideological interpellation.

One of the central theses by Althusser describes ideology as »imaginary«. In particular, ideology is an imaginary relation of an individual to the material conditions of his existence. But ideological attitude is not treated merely as a possible cognition of the world, instead it is defined as an inevitable consciousness, since each relation to the world is conscious and it is given as an imaginary relation.¹ Ideology is a mechanism providing »evidentness of meaning«, that is to say, individual is given an »evident truth« on how things are to be understood. Hence, in Althusserians' opinion, individual is presented with seemingly only one possible signification, one possible understanding of the given signifier.²

These evident truths provide the ground for individuals to identify with an utterance. But the meaning of an utterance is dependent on what Michel Pêcheux calls the inter-discourse, a set of discursive formations which are themselves »imbricated with the complex of ideological formations«.³ The signification of utterances therefore comes into being according to the position their speakers (users) assume in relation to ideological formations. A discursive formation, along with its relation to ideology, is the one that determines »what can and should be said«.⁴ Such reasoning raises at least two objections. Firstly, is the ideological relation the only possible relation of a subject to the world? And secondly, is there a place in such a conception for an autonomy of a subject?

Althusserians understand ideology as constitutive for a subject's identification, and vice versa, the subject is constitutive for ideology, since ideology is in itself acting through a subject, it is an ideological interpellation of an individual *as a subject*.⁵ For Althusser, individual is therefore an abstract category, furthermore, he even claims that ideology is centralised by an »Absolute Subject« which interpellates a limitless number of individuals. Individuals become an acting force only as interpellated actants of one centralized Subject. Within such thinking, ideology is conceived as general ideology that supposedly permeates both the entire social system as well as each of the subject's identifications.⁶ A subject's relation to the world, his/her ability of the imaginary is uniform, and ideology becomes the only possible form of the imaginary.

However, we have to be careful in determining the relation between the imaginary and ideology. As I have made clear in my previous publications, the imaginary cannot be understood in only one possible way.⁷ It is especially important to note that

1 Louis Althusser, *Lenin and Philosophy, and Other Essays*, trans. Ben Brewster (New York: Monthly Review Press, 2001), 158–65.

2 Michel Pêcheux, *Language, Semantics and Ideology: Stating the Obvious*, trans. Harbans Nagpal (London: The Macmillan Press, 1982), 105–6.

3 Ibid., 113. Discursive formations, according to Pêcheux, are sets of communications that produce discourses.

4 Ibid., 111.

5 Althusser, *Lenin and philosophy, and other essays*, 170–82; Göran Therborn, *Ideologija moči in moč ideologije* (Ljubljana: Cankarjeva založba, 1987), 29.

6 Along with Althusser's work cf. specifically Therborn, *Ideologija moči*, 2, 5.

7 Marcello Potocco, *Nacionalni imaginariji: Literarni imaginariji različice nacionalnega poziva v literaturi in v literarnih kontekstih* (Pedagoški inštitut, 2012), 15–26, www.pei.si/UserFiles/Upload/file/digitalna_knjiznica/Dissertationes_20_ISBN_978-961-270-132-1_PDF/DK_CC%202.5_Dissertationes_20_ISBN_978-961-270-132-1.pdf.

the imaginary as a primary ability of an individual to build an arbitrary link between the image and its signification must be limited by a kind of social institution. This is why it is useful to follow Cornelius Castoriadis' explanation of the role of the imaginary within a society. Castoriadis argues that the imaginary mostly manifests itself as an institutionalizing set of representations common to a society, and for such sets he introduces the term 'the social imaginary'. It is only through such sets that a society is seamed together, as we can understand each other only by using a set of common representations.⁸ Paradoxically, ideology can be understood as an order of such institutionalizing sets. In addition, we can think of ideology as a modern manifestation of the social imaginary which proceeds from the social itself instead of referencing to a transcendent realm in a way traditional societies did.⁹

Althusserian definitions would lead us to think that an ideological relation is given as an *a priori* relation to the world. Pêcheux interprets social relations as a set of interrelated discursive formations that are themselves imbricated with the complex of ideological formations. In such a set, each active subject becomes a »subject-form« sustained by a »dominant complex whole« of discursive formations, this being achieved by the subject's identification with the meaning defined by the inter-discursive whole.¹⁰ In other words, the process of ideological interpellation achieved by means of identification produces an empty space in the inter-discursive set, and the subject necessarily fills in the empty space. A similar stance was later taken by Michel Foucault. The problem of meaning, i.e., the relation between the signifier and the signified, is fundamental to understanding both ideology and the role of an individual. While the imaginary – in its primary existence – is open to any possible link between the signifier (the image) and the signified, ideology, on the contrary, attempts to close this gap and establish a fixed meaning. Due to this tendency, ideology can be defined as a discourse of modernity, since discourses of modernity strive for the suppression and elimination of differences and ambivalences, using rational control and acting.¹¹

However, Stuart Hall claims that the link between the signifier and the signified can never be completely closed, and, consequently, that meaning can never be totally fixed.¹² This means that even in discourses of modernity a subject may not comply to identify with one meaning only. Hall, thus, argues for the autonomy of a subject that was denied to an individual in the Althusserian thought. Pêcheux, for example, does not allow for a subject's free response within the notion of the inter-discourse. Michel Foucault adopts Pêcheux's notion of inter-discourse, yet Hall rightfully observes that Foucault in his latter works notes the autonomy of a subject as a problem. In parallel to an interpellation provided by the discourse, there must exist a subject's response, a praxis through which »individual constitutes and recognizes himself *qua* subject«,

8 Cornelius Castoriadis, *Imaginary Institution of Society* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1997), 359–64.

9 Claude Lefort, *Les Formes de L'histoire: Essais D'anthropologie Politique* (Paris: Gallimard, 1978), 295.

10 Pêcheux, *Language, Semantics and Ideology*, 113.

11 Cf. Zygmunt Bauman, *Modernity and Ambivalence* (New York: Ithaca, 1991); Peter Wagner, *A Sociology of Modernity: Liberty and Discipline* (London: Routledge, 1998), 44–46.

12 Stuart Hall, "Introduction," in *Representation: Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices*, ed. Stuart Hall (London: Thousand Oaks: Sage; Open University, 1997), 10.

»as a subject of desire«.¹³ This is why Foucault also substituted the notion of discourse with the analysis of power in the structure of discourses as well as in institutions. Terry Eagleton agrees and takes a step further: if a subject were but an effect of discourse or power, there would be no reason for the ideological control of a subject and there would be no possible way to oppose an ideology.¹⁴

This brings us to the core problem with regard to ideology. If a subject is given autonomy of response, discourse must be laden with a discursive authority to interpellate the subject. Moreover, if the subject is given autonomy, a relation must exist not only between the subject and discourse, but also between discourse and ideology. Diane Macdonell defines discourses as specific ranges of the use of language that »differ with the kinds of institutions and social practices in which they take shape, and with the positions of those who speak and whom they address.«¹⁵ In her view, a discourse is invested with meaning by ideological positions in which it takes shape, and her crucial argument is that »meanings are to be found only in the concrete forms of differing social and institutional practices«.¹⁶ Ideologies and discourses are therefore interrelated in that ideologies may operate only when inscribed into a discourse. On the other hand, the discourse always takes shape within a specific social institution and/or social practice governed by the power of an authority. Thus, it could be said that ideologies are inscribed into a discourse by the intervention of power. As Terry Eagleton puts it: »ideology marks the point at which language is bent out /.../ by the power interests which impinge upon it /.../ so that ideology becomes a set of effects internal to particular discourses themselves«.¹⁷

Each system of social practices, then, is crucially determined by struggles for power, and each such system – Pierre Bourdieu calls it a field – is structured as a struggle of institutions or individuals to become dominant. Institutions or individuals enter into the struggle either as orthodox actants in an attempt to preserve their monopolist position or as heterodox subjects attempting to achieve the right to enter and change the structure of the system.¹⁸ Although Eagleton correctly observes that Bourdieu does not explicitly address the question of ideology, ideology is a crucial set of effects in the power struggles in systems of social practices.¹⁹ Bourdieu emphasises symbolic capital as a basic generator of power, yet it would be a mistake to dispense of any material praxis in the working of ideology. Althusser, in the first place, highlights the material existence of ideology. The subject always adopts a certain kind of material behaviour within social practices governed by ideology. Furthermore, each social praxis is, according to Althusser, entangled with material rituals governed by the ideological apparatus.²⁰ One of the basic effects on the ideologically

13 Stuart Hall, "Who Needs 'Identity'?" in *Questions of Cultural Identity*, ed. Paul DuGay and Stuart Hall (London; Thousand Oaks: Sage, 1996), 12; Michel Foucault, *The History Of Sexuality 2: The Use Of Pleasure* (New York: Pantheon, 1985), 13, 225. Foucault understands discourse not only as linguistic practices, but also as social practices that cooperate in constituting knowledge.

14 Terry Eagleton, *Ideology: An Introduction* (London; New York: Verso, 1991), 45 ss.

15 Diane Macdonell, *Theories of Discourse: An Introduction*. (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1986), 3.

16 *Ibid.*, 3, 110.

17 Eagleton, *Ideology*, 129.

18 See, e.g., Pierre Bourdieu, *Language and Symbolic Power*, Reprint. (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1994), 37–104, 105–62. Hence it comes as no surprise that Eagleton defines ideologies accordingly as dominant and oppositional ones.

19 Eagleton, *Ideology*, 45.

20 Althusser, *Lenin and Philosophy, and Other Essays*, 165–69.

interpellated subject is – beside the rituals – the matrix of material stimulation and punishment.²¹ Debacle, imprisonment, bankruptcy, excommunication and death are but a few of the possible punishments; on the other side, material wealth, rise in position etc. are typical ideological stimulations.

We have come to define ideology as an intervention of power by the use of material and non-material sets of effects onto the interpellated subject. Power intervenes in order to force a subject to identify with a discursive formation. Thus, ideology as a set of effects intervenes in an attempt to close the gap between the signifier and the signified, that is, in an attempt to mobilize the uniform meaning which will sustain the existing relations of power.

2. Ideology and Literature/the Arts: The Circle of the Production and the Reception Code

Conforming to the traditional Marxist belief, the Althusserian school defines social relations as a necessary base that conditions a work of art.²² Pierre Macherey defines literature as a phenomenon that simultaneously depends on ideology – in as much as it borrows its language and conceptions from its discourses – and breaches it, as it shows ideology from an estranged point of view.²³ While it is difficult to oppose the understanding of a work of art as borrowing from discourses present in a society, its dependence on the actual »dominant whole« of ideological discourses is less obvious. Firstly, we can think of a work of art as a manifestation of various functions, the ideological function being just one of them. And, secondly, production and reception codes vitally determine a (non-)ideological reading of a work.

Wolfgang Iser believes that the imaginary is in its primary existence defined by indeterminateness and it can be hardly thought of as existing at all. Castoriadis defines it as a magmatic, constantly changing flux of images, but Iser suggests that the tie between any two images becomes a defined and determining tie between the signifier and the signified only through external activators. The imaginary therefore exists only as a manifestation, while its external activators include the social imaginary, the fictive etc.²⁴ For the time being, the term 'fictive' can roughly be equalled to »the aesthetic effect«, and I have already pointed out that ideology can be defined as a type of a social imaginary inherent to the discourse of modernity. The logical consequence seems to be that ideological interpellation in literature – and in music – is possible only within the discourses of modernity, roughly speaking, within the society of – and following the rise of – Enlightenment.

Iser's conception provides us with a base to think of different manifestations of the imaginary as coexisting in a work of art. In my previous research I have shown that

21 Cf. Therborn, *Ideologija moći*, 50 ss.

22 Etienne Balibar and Pierre Macherey, "On Literature as an Ideological Form," in *Untying the Text: A Post-Structuralist Reader*, ed. Robert Young (London: Routledge, 1990), 83–87.

23 Pierre Macherey, *A Theory of Literary Production*, trans. Geoffrey Wall (London; Boston: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1978), 39–60.

24 Wolfgang Iser, *The Fictive and the Imaginary: Charting Literary Anthropology* (Baltimore: J. Hopkins University Press, 1993), 181–85, 222–24; Cf. also Castoriadis, *Imaginary Institution*.

manifestations of the imaginary are closely tied to the existence of various functions in a literary work.²⁵ Jan Mukařovský defined such a function as a relation between an object and an objective, co-forming an individual's attitude to the world.²⁶ If we agree that these functions cooperate in forming one's attitude to the world, and by doing so, that various activators of the imaginary manifest in a work of art, we can also acknowledge the existence of non-aesthetic functions in a work of art, including the ideological function. Hence, the potentials for an ideological interpellation and for an aesthetic reading can co-exist.²⁷ Yet, if 'function' is defined as forming an attitude towards a particular domain within which an individual experiences reality, this leads us to conclude that both the ideological and the aesthetic can be activated only inside a specific circle between the structure and the reception of the work.

On the one hand, Althusser claims that an aesthetic effect is related to a cognitive or experiential identification.²⁸ This would mean that – on the production side – a structure of a work which imposes identification with a certain historical society also emphasises the social imaginary over the fictive, and in such case an ideological reading prevails. But according to Hans Robert Jauss, experiential worlds of individuals are only valid by sharing the same attitude towards the same experience.²⁹ Hence, a structure in itself is not sufficient to impose any type of reading, as it has to be supported by a correspondent reception code.

Nevertheless, let us take a short glance at the production code of a fictive and/or a possibly ideological a work of art. In his reading of a literary structure, Northrop Frye seems to propose one of the most universal assumptions about the work of art's production mechanisms. He claims that all verbal structures contain a centrifugal force directing the recipient toward external reality and a centripetal force focusing the receiver onto the relations between elements of the structure.³⁰ The latter may be understood as the core of aesthetic reception, while the former is the main force behind an ideological reception of a work of art. Macherey and Etienne Balibar, too, emphasise the role of »the real world« in the production of an ideological stance in a literary work; they likewise stress the duality of »the real« and »the fictional« in a literary work as fundamental to its ideological reading.³¹ Ideological interpellation is built precisely upon the duality of the fictive *as if* objective utterances (judgements) found in a literary work and its extra-discursive references pointing to the »real world«. In other words, an individual will be subjected to the ideological interpellation only if he/she will be able to build his/her attitude toward what has been read or perceived through a work of art, this being possible only by recognizing the utterances, judgements or signs perceived as something »real«. Even if we do not share the opinion that each work of art is an ideological interpellation, this brings us to conclude that a relatively dominant

25 Potocco, *Nacionalni imaginariji*, 45–48.

26 Jan Mukařovský, *Studie, I* (Brno: Host, 2000), 64, 88, 177.

27 The relation between functions and the experiential domains is a complex one and cannot be further elaborated here. For a more complex outline see my cited research. Potocco, *Nacionalni imaginariji*. 45-56.

28 Althusser, *Lenin and Philosophy, and Other Essays*, 221–24.

29 Hans Jauss, *Aesthetic Experience and Literary Hermeneutics* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1982), 117–21.

30 Northrop Frye, *Anatomy of Criticism* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1957), 73 ss.

31 Balibar and Macherey, "On Literature as an Ideological Form," 91–93.

practical-experiential identification in the perception of a work of art is a necessary basis for an ideological interpellation. The possibility of such interpellation thus develops when the centrifugal force (in the reception of a work) prevails, directing the recipient to identify with external reality.

Furthermore, an aesthetic effect is, according to Mukařovský, defined by the dynamisation of structural elements into a whole in which contradictions are not suppressed.³² Floyd Merrell also suggests that an aesthetic effect is confined to the tension between two poles of a system.³³ The lack of tension, i.e. of internal contrasts, would therefore be a typical feature of an ideological work, both at the level of form as well as at the semantic level, as it would lead to a uniformity of meanings, which is convenient for ideological use. Drawing on Paul Ricoeur's notion of narrative identity, I have already noted that each ideological identification is primarily a narrative identification;³⁴ at the semantic level a basis needs to be given to create meaning at all. This needs to be highlighted since the semantic potential obviously is not the same in different fields of art, that is to say, the signification (of a sign) or rather sense is not always created in an equally determinate or even the same way at all.

This is particularly true of music. Let me quote an example used by Raymond Monelle: the sound of a cuckoo may denote a bird, it may signify the coming of spring, or symbolise the whole of nature as in Mahler's *First Symphony*.³⁵ It would not be productive to deal with Monelle's work in details here, apart from mentioning that in his view music produces meaning by means of internal, structural relations rather than by referring to »external«, »universal« objects. It would be a mistake to think that this characteristic attributed to music by Monelle is deemed endemic to music. For example, Iser's notion of the fictive denies the direct reference of a literary sign to the extratextual world, although it keeps the external world as an interpretive framework, i.e. as a separate sign system. His notion of the doubling structure – a cross-signification of the two »mutually exclusive sign systems« – invokes a constant returning of the reader, in the process of searching for the external signified, to the textual structure itself. Such mutual readings, claims Iser, draw attention to signs as signs, since these no longer designate the signified; they indicate the cancellation of preestablished correlations, and thus they no longer refer to anything pre-given.³⁶ Although Iser suggests that the fictive thus rearranges the fundamental pattern of the linguistic code, the difference in regard to music is obvious. Linguistic code remains the starting point of the fictive in a literary work, and it is shared with the signification process operating within the social imaginary. Monelle claims that in musical code meanings are inherent to structure.³⁷ But a parallel to the duality of the fictive and the social imaginary, proposed in regard to the ideological functioning of literature, exists in the field of music, too. Gregor

32 Mukařovský, *Studie*, I, 146.

33 Floyd Merrell, *Pararealities: The Nature of Our Fictions and How We Know Them* (Amsterdam, NL: Benjamins, 1983), 60; Floyd Merrell, *A Semiotic Theory of Texts* (Berlin: Mouton, 1985), 176–99.

34 See, again, Potocco, *Nacionalni imaginariji*, 34–35, 50–52.

35 Raymond Monelle, *Linguistics and Semiotics in Music* (Routledge, 2014), 16.

36 Wolfgang Iser, *The Fictive and the Imaginary: Charting Literary Anthropology* (Baltimore: J. Hopkins University Press, 1993), 225–26.

37 Monelle, *Linguistics and Semiotics in Music*, 112; cf. Gregor Pompe, "Ideologija v glasbi in ideologija o glasbi," *Ideologije v slovenskem jeziku, literaturi in kulturi*, 2012, 78.

Pompe draws attention to Jean-Jaques Nattiez's model of the »double referentiality« of a musical work. Nattiez suggests the existence of two separate systems: the intrinsic system which operates independently of external meanings, by means of inter- and intramusical references, and the extrinsic one in which users (composers, performers, listeners etc.) »establish connections to their lived experience and to the exterior world«. ³⁸ Arguably, the latter operates in the domain of the social imaginary; and such double referentiality could also be extended, with some modifications, to the functioning of artistic phenomena in general. It can certainly be paralleled to Iser's conception of the fictive vs. the social imaginary, since, in the process of reading, the reader's reception shifts from one mode of operation to another, where one mode is emphasised over the other.

Therefore, the specificity of musical referentiality lies in the code of the intrinsic referential system itself. In literary reception, linguistic code is shared as a base of the signification process both in the fictive and the social imaginary, even if in the operation of the fictive any preestablished correlations eventually become abolished. However, due to the same code both modes, the fictive and the social imaginary, overlap and may interact; the transfer from one to another is rather fluid. In the reception of a musical »text«, on the other hand, the transfer from the intrinsic to the extrinsic referentiality – or vice versa – is much more complex. It has to be mediated by the linguistic code, but – as Nattiez observes – with no guarantee that the interpretation of meaning will be the same for all users of the musical »fact«. In the reception of music, there are virtually no initial preestablished connections shared between the signs in the intrinsic and the extrinsic referential systems. To be more precise, the possible connections shared by the two musical referential systems depend predominantly on the potentially common cultural, philosophical, social, aesthetical etc. horizons. Musical reference thus allows for a very open creation of meaning, and this also makes it very difficult if not impossible to proceed to a higher level of the signification process, namely that of narrative identification.

Nattiez speaks of »the narrative impulse«, but at the same time dispenses with the possibility of music being a narrative, precisely due to immense interpretive freedom in musical referential systems. Narration in music, claims Nattiez, is but a virtual object: at best, music is an incitement to make a narrative, a comment. ³⁹ Nattiez also rightfully observes that in the process of musical reception, the recipient needs to be aided in creating a possible narrative, for example through the work's title or through the knowledge of the genre (e.g. symphonic poem). Creating a narrative is fundamental to ideological interpellation, and I have argued that in a literary work the ideological narrative is defined equally by mechanisms of production and reception. In the ideological interpellation of a musical composition, though, mechanisms of reception seem to dominate, as on the production side, the semantic and narrative potential lies only in the extra-musical elements such as the title of the composition, the added programme, (the author's) interpretation, libretto etc. These seem to be the main locuses of the »narrative incitement« of music and consequently of its (internal) ideological potential.

38 Jean Jacques Nattiez, *Music and Discourse: Toward a Semiology of Music* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1990), 126.

39 *Ibid.*, 127–28.

Let me give a brief example. In 1948, Soviet composers witnessed the famous anti-formalist decree, a direct ideological result of the Zhdanov doctrine. While providing continuing statements on what Soviet music should not resemble, namely the modernist music of the west,⁴⁰ the decree was far less instructive on what Soviet music should be like. Sarah Cunningham calls attention to the fact that Soviet composers attempted to satisfy the demand for »socialist realism« imposed on them, but did not understand exactly what was implied by the term.⁴¹ This comes as no surprise; narrative categories used in literary descriptions of socialist realism, such as »the victory of the working class«, »the struggle between the good and the better« etc. plainly did not correspond to the intrinsic musical referential system. But the extrinsic referential system, with its network of references, was already in the process of being built for quite some time. The decree pointed out the appearance of »erroneous« tendencies, quoting Dmitrij Shostakovich's *Lady Macbeth of Mtsensk*. The famous editorial in Pravda on January 28th 1936 that followed Stalin's attendance of the earlier performance and changed the reception of the opera, stressed the lack of melody – the lack of simple music which would be easy to follow and remember. Such simplicity turns out to be the recurring referential locus of the definitions of – and instructions on – the art of social and later socialist realism. Shostakovich reflected on the problem of simplicity approximately two years earlier, observing that »sometimes the struggle for a simple language is understood somewhat superficially. Often 'simplicity' turns into epigonism.«⁴² These few words show that Shostakovich was aware of both the production and reception mechanisms that accompany the process of composition.

If we were to translate his statement into Mukařovský's and Merrel's terminology, it could be said that the (musical) code which tends to avoid conflict and tension in the system also counters the aesthetic effect. Nonetheless, we have to be careful when using the notions of conflict and tension. In his analysis of the Pravda editorial, Leon Stefanija notes that cognitive postulates such as 'simple'/'captivating' music, 'music easy to remember' etc. were based on the musical features of the traditional, 'classical' repertoire, especially on the major-minor tonality.⁴³ Again, this comes as no surprise. The very notion of tension in the system must be partly understood as historically and therefore extrinsically determined. Undoubtedly the tension/conflict will also arise when breaking the (traditionally) accepted norm of a structure, which is in line with Jauß's definition of the validity of aesthetic experience with the breaking of the reader's/recipient's horizon.⁴⁴ It can be argued that in social and later socialist realism such a »simplifying« type of composition predominated, as this era gave rise not merely to the use of traditional major-minor tonality, but also to the ubiquity of major harmonies and triumphant apotheoses in compositions.⁴⁵ Shostakovich obviously regarded such praxis as oversimplified. Even more so, it seems he was aware that any structural

40 "The Zhdanov Decree 1948," *DSCH Journal*, 1998, 21–24.

41 Sarah Cunningham, "Remembering Laughter and Tears in a Drawer," *Intersections Online* 10, no. 2 (2009): 85.

42 Laurel E. Fay, *Shostakovich: A Life* (Oxford University Press, 2005), 81.

43 Leon Stefanija, *Sociologija glasbe: zgodovina, teorija in metodologija* (Ljubljana: Znanstvena založba Filozofske fakultete, 2010), 128.

44 Cf. Jauss, *Aesthetic Experience and Literary Hermeneutics*.

45 See Cunningham, "Remembering Laughter," 85.

pattern fundamentally depends on its reception. A composition evading internal conflicts reduces the focus on the structure itself, thus opening the door for »an extrinsic meaning«. By giving space to the extrinsic (narrative) content, it becomes an ideal fabric that lends itself to ideological interpellation, yet when it does not, it may simply be thought of as epigonic and trivial. To use Shostakovich's own remark in regard to his 7th *Symphony*: »music, real music, is never attached literally to a theme«. ⁴⁶

The 7th *Symphony* turns out to be a great example of how important both, the extrinsic referentiality and reception mechanisms, truly are. I avoided the subtitle »Leningrad« on purpose. Along with the programme that Shostakovich first gave to and later withdrew from the symphony, the subtitle demonstrates the expectation of an ideological appropriation, and consequently, the awareness that both the subtitle and the programme would become its means. Salomon Volkov and Laurel Fay record that Shostakovich's intention for the symphony was by far more ambiguous. The symphony, presumably influenced by the *Psalms of David*, is described as a requiem for victims of totalitarianism(s). Shostakovich described it in even broader terms, speaking of »terror, slavery, the bondage of the spirit«. ⁴⁷ There is no doubt that its success owed to the programme and its »identification with the gallant Russian struggle against German invasion«, and that the many performances of the symphony in the Soviet Union and abroad strengthened the intentions of Soviet authorities, but also »matched the mood officially fostered in Britain and America«. ⁴⁸ Despite the fact that there was no official review of the premiere, there are several signs that reveal a planned ideological appropriation of the symphony, ⁴⁹ its performance being backed up by a Soviet military action, broadcast to the German lines sieging the city, and most of all, premiered on the day of the planned German celebration of Leningrad's fall. The 7th *Symphony* is thus a clear example of discursive practices by which »power intervened to fix the openness of meaning«, the central locus of power being not only the Stalinist regime but also the governments/cultural institutions of the Allies.

The structure of the work is, again, more ambiguous. Despite the apotheosis at the end of the symphony, the composition is far from being uniformly optimistic or from evading conflict, which proves that an elementary and oversimplified structure, the kind that Shostakovich spoke of in 1934, is not the only possible fabric for a work of art's ideological reception.

As such, Shostakovich's 7th *symphony* demonstrates the full complexity of the circle of production and reception. The production of the symphony was evidently not intended to construct a simple, non-conflicting structure. The ideological reception of the work was possible in great part due to an expected ideological appropriation on the receptive side, including the performances of the symphony by both Soviet and Western-based orchestras, but it was also enhanced on the production side, especially by extra-musical elements, namely the subtitle and the included programme.

⁴⁶ Fay, *Shostakovich*, 128.

⁴⁷ Fay, 128–29, cf. Solomon Volkov, *Testimony: The Memoirs of Dmitri Shostakovich* (Limelight Editions, 2004), 184 ss.

⁴⁸ Keith Anderson, liner notes to *Shostakovich: The Complete Symphonies*. Czecho-Slovak Symphony Orchestra, Ladislav Slovák. Naxos 8.501102, CD, 2001, 20.

⁴⁹ Cf. Michael Jones, *Leningrad: State of Siege*. (New York: Basic Books, 2011).

Shostakovich thus anticipated the ideological appropriation and partly subdued to it in structuring the composition, as indicated by the dominant march in the 1st Movement and the relatively clear apotheosis at the end of the symphony. The expected ideological appropriation of the work backwardly influenced Shostakovich's production code.

This brief musical example seems to confirm Nikita Nankov's suggestion that the process of identification in literature and art in general depends on the imposed meaning or the imposed mode of reading/receiving, therefore, on the imposed unifying interpretive code. Furthermore, formation and imposition of a code of production and interpretation need to be linked with establishing a shared social identity, therefore, with the creation and organisation of shared (cultural) representations in the society; it is only thus that the basis is given for the ideologically unifying identification of meanings, events, structures and their relations in reading/receiving.⁵⁰

3. Ideological Circle: The Case of Bourgeois Marriage

By now we have seen that narrative categories seem to be fundamental to ideological interpellation. Since ideology always works through an identification with a discursive formation, ideological interpellation is vitally dependant on elements of narration.⁵¹ This is why I shall proceed with an analysis in the field which enables investigating narrative categories as well as making comparisons with the literary field, my primary field of research.

In 1856 and 1857 two major works came out in France: Gustav Flaubert's *Madame Bovary* and Charles Baudelaire's *Fleurs du Mal*. Both authors were prosecuted under the charge of the books' obscenity (Flaubert) and insult to public morality (Baudelaire). As Jauß demonstrates, the reception of Baudelaire's poetry collection was ambiguous, especially since it was also censored, yet ten years later (in 1868) Baudelaire became an icon of a new poetic generation.⁵² According to Jauß, who cites Théophile Gautier, the reason for the initial refusal and prosecution of the book was Baudelaire's critique of the »ideology and morality of appearances of the society of the 2nd Empire«.

There are some common points to Baudelaire's and Flaubert's social critique, one of which is their treatment of marriage. Jauß claims that one of the main 'isles' of the ethical order of the French and European bourgeois class was marriage as »douceur du foyer«. While an introduction of a lover into the life of a bourgeois young man was an initiation into mature (love) life, this stage was followed by a wedding as an initiation into happy family life.⁵³ Both Baudelaire and Flaubert broke the norm of the bourgeois order with regard to the subject of marriage.⁵⁴ In contrast, in the musical field – to be

50 Potocco, *Nacionalni imaginariji*, 49; cf. Nikita Nankov, "Narratives of National Cultural Identity," *Canadian Review of Comparative Literature* 27, no. 1-2 (2000): 94-96.

51 Potocco, *Nacionalni imaginariji*, 34-35, 50-52.

52 Hans Robert Jauß, *Toward an Aesthetic of Reception*, trans. Timothy Bahti (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1994), 170-72.

53 Jauß, *Aesthetic Experience and Literary Hermeneutics*, 290.

54 It is beyond my scope here to make a detailed analysis of how Flaubert questions the patriarchal norm of marriage, but when reading the novel it is clear that marriage is nor for Emma nor for Charles a »douceur du foyer«.

more specific, in the genre of opera –, marriage was legitimised as a fundamental part of the bourgeois order. To use Bourdieu's terminology: realist and decadent literary works occupied a heterodox position in the dominant whole of ideological discourses, while opera, even in its veristic stage, legitimised the dominant whole, entrenched in the orthodox position. In particular, this can be demonstrated in cases when libretto was based on a literary source dealing with a contemporary subject. We will take a look at two notable examples: Giuseppe Verdi and Francesco Maria Piave's *La Traviata* and Pietro Mascagni, Guido Menasci and Giovanni Targioni-Tozzetti's *Cavalleria Rusticana*.

When discussing – in connection to *La Traviata* – Alexandre Dumas jr.'s *La Dame aux Camélias*, we should not ignore the significant relationship between the novel and Dumas' own theatre adaptation, which includes similarities as well as large differences. These differences are partly reflected in *La Traviata*, as Piave's libretto mainly follows the theatre adaptation. The main difference between the novel and its theatre adaptation – or *La Traviata* – is related to the appearance of the exemplary figure of Mary Magdalene, reiterated later in *Cavalleria Rusticana*. The figure of the penitent prostitute directly refers to the social status of prostitution and, thereby, to the relation between prostitution and marriage. While analysing the narrative elements of the two operas, I shall narrow my interest to the social situation in Italy, but I shall also base my analysis on the presupposition that opera was an eminent bourgeois genre, thus being an ideal medium of ideological interpellation.

Danielle Hipkins and Kate Taylor-Jones argue that, although rooted in its own similar tradition, Italian culture borrowed from French culture when using the Magdalene paradigm.⁵⁵ In the context of such borrowing, they draw attention to Peter Brooks' opinion that the melodramatic figure of a prostitute was introduced as a response to the French Revolution and its requirement to make the body of the individual accountable. Brooks' observation paradoxically coincides with Jauß demonstrating the counter-emancipatory idealisation of the paternal figure and consequently the reinforcement of the ideology of »happy marriage« in the post-revolutionary *le Code civil*.⁵⁶ Hipkins and Taylor-Jones reveal similar developments in Italy (especially in connection to Verdi). In 1855, the prime minister of Piedemonte-Sardinia instituted a series of regulations on prostitution which were later adopted by the Kingdom of Italy. One of the aims of these regulations was to »safeguard the health of the moralizing and increasingly complex middle class«.⁵⁷ *La Traviata* was premiered two years earlier, but we can assume that Italian regulations concerning prostitution, the opera and Dumas' literary works were addressing the same problem and can be treated as diverse materials and/or discursive practices that pertain to the same ideology. This is particularly true since *La Traviata* and *La Dame aux Camélias* also tackle the same specific problem.

According to Hipkins and Taylor-Jones, the role of Violetta in *La Traviata* – especially as sung by Fanny Donatelli-Salvini – »marked the arrival of the erotic, sexually aware«, but also sexually desirous woman on the stage. The presence of a heroine-prostitute on

55 Danielle Hipkins and Kate Taylor-Jones, *Prostitution and Sex Work in Global Cinema: New Takes on Fallen Women* (Springer, 2017), 196.

56 Jauß, *Aesthetic Experience and Literary Hermeneutics*, 284–85.

57 Hipkins and Taylor-Jones, *Prostitution and Sex Work in Global Cinema: New Takes on Fallen Women*, 198.

the stage was comparable in *La Dame aux Camélias*, especially in the second staging with Sarah Bernhardt in the leading role of Camille.⁵⁸ Hipkins and Taylor-Jones note that her sexual desire for the hero (Armand, Alfredo) threatened to usurp the dominant hegemony.⁵⁹ By ‘the dominant hegemony’ they also mean the hegemony of the patriarchal institution of bourgeois marriage. This is especially true in the light of the increasingly popular cult of Madonna which emphasised the ideal of a woman’s purity in the framework of family life, particularly after Pope Pius IX’s proclamation of the Virgin Mary as immaculate. It is precisely for this reason that all three heroines – Marguerite in the novel, Camille in the drama and Violetta in the opera – must end tragically. But this is also the reason why Camille and Violetta must attract the spectators’ sympathetic attention.

This leads us to the core of the differences between the novel on the one hand and the drama and opera on the other. In the novel, Marguerite’s death is portrayed as an agony; she dies abandoned, despite her decision to end the relationship with Armand for the sake of his sister’s happy marriage. Hence, Marguerite is given no absolution. Such an ending, by pointing to her forced decision, at least partially allows for the reader’s contemplation of the validity of social roles both in the noble and the bourgeois society, including the institution of marriage. On the level of narrative, the ending discloses the tension in the system of the literary work, that is to say, the conflict between two classes and, consequently, two world views. Dumas’ stage adaptation partly retains the tension, but transfers it: Camille is given the opportunity to explain her decision to Armand, dying shortly after, while the conflict is transposed into Camille’s relation to the Duke. In the novel, the Duke is primarily her benefactor, while it remains unclear if their relationship is also an erotic one.⁶⁰ The play defines the relation as paternal without a doubt; according to Brandi L. Guined, this is done in »order to use it as an example of how a fallen woman is allowed little option but to proceed down the path laid out before her.«⁶¹ Thus, this modification again provides an opportunity for the play to be partly received as social critique.

In this respect, *La Traviata* shows a determinate change with regard to both, the novel and the play. The change in Camille’s relationship to the Duke is given up, even more so, the relation between Violetta and the baron is openly described as an erotic one, most evidently in Alfredo’s answer to Violetta, in which he threatens he could kill her »lover and protector«.⁶² The critique present in the stage version of Camille is thus absent, but it is also absent in the conclusion of the opera, as in the ending act the libretto follows the stage adaptation. Violetta is here given the possibility to speak before dying, too, yet the absolution given to Violetta or to Camille cannot be understood as social critique and does not produce a conflict in the narrative. Both moments of tension present in Dumas’ narrative

58 Brandi L. Guined, “The Remediation of Dumas Filis’ *La Dame Aux Camélias*” (Georgia State University, 2014), 23–25, https://scholarworks.gsu.edu/english_theses/168. The name of the heroine was transformed from Marguerite in the novel to Camille in the stage performance to Violetta in Piave’s libretto. See Alexandre Dumas, *The Lady of the Camélias* (New York: Penguin Books, 2013); Alexandre Dumas, *Camille: A Play in Five Acts* (New York: Books for Libraries, 1979).

59 Hipkins and Taylor-Jones, *Prostitution and Sex Work in Global Cinema*, 198.

60 Guined, “The Remediation of Dumas Filis’ *La Dame Aux Camélias*,” 27.

61 *Ibid.*, 27.

62 »S’ei cadrà per mano mia / Un sol colpo vi torria / Coll’amante il protettore« See Giuseppe Verdi, Burton D. Fisher, and Francesco Maria Piave, *Giuseppe Verdi’s La Traviata* (Coral Gables, FL: Opera Journeys Publishing, 2001), 38. Even if Alfredo’s answer could be thought of as his misjudgment of the situation, it confirms the alluded perception of Flora and other guests in regard to baron Douphol and Violetta.

are thus abandoned in the libretto. Such a simplification functions as a confirmation of the normative bourgeois marriage: with Violetta dying, the moral and the physical health of the middle class is no longer in danger. The sympathetic acceptance of the prostitute is thus possible only insofar as the institution of »douceur du foyer« is not threatened.

A similar strategy is at play in *Cavalleria Rusticana*. In the novella, Giovanni Verga pays far less attention to the figure of Santuzza, in comparison to Menasci and Targioni-Tozzetti's libretto as well as Verga's own stage adaptation.⁶³ Santuzza, a side character, is used by Turriddu merely to provoke Lola's response, but more importantly, she is characterised in a substantially different manner.⁶⁴ Santuzza is not a mature, sexually attractive woman but a naïve girl, and again the social motivation – her father's wealth – is emphasised in Turriddu's choosing her as an object of his exploitation. Most importantly, their relationship is not a sexual one in the novella: the core modification of the novella in the opera as well as the play is precisely the sexualisation of the relation between Turriddu and Santuzza. This change is needed in order to institute Santuzza as a figure of Mary Magdalene: she is not a prostitute, but a penitent excommunicate for being involved in an illicit sexual relationship.

The treatment of the figure of Mary Magdalene in *Cavalleria* is in many ways more complex than its introduction in *La Traviata*. The chronotope of the opera is transferred to the country, featuring a lower social class. The bourgeois marriage can hence be defended only indirectly, as an institution of marriage »per se«. And while Santuzza's promotion into a central figure may be understood as an accommodation to the structure of the genre, it is required due to the dominant discourse of bourgeois ideology.⁶⁵ By presenting Santuzza as a desired lover, a double love triangle is established: Santuzza–Turriddu–Lola, and Alfio–Lola–Turriddu. The plot paradoxically puts the second triangle to the forefront, with Turriddu and Lola breaking the norm of marriage. Such an open trespass might not be possible if the plot were not transferred out of the bourgeois class. The introduction of Santuzza as a central figure thus complicates the love relations in the plot and at the same time emphasises the breaking of the norm. This becomes evident if interpreted against the grain of systematic exclusion of social criticism in the opera. Verga suggests the importance of wealth at least three times: in alluding that Lola has married Alfio for his social status, in making it clear that Turriddu has chosen Santuzza for the wealth of her father, and finally in Turriddu's motivation for wanting to kill Alfio. The latter is also the most significant. In the novella, we read:

*Come è vero Iddio so che ho torto e mi lascierei ammazzare. Ma prima di venir qui ho visto la mia vecchia che si era alzata per vedermi partire, col pretesto di governare il pollaio, quasi il cuore le parlasse, e quant'è vero Iddio vi ammazzerò come un cane per non far piangere la mia vecchierella.*⁶⁶

63 Again we are faced with double adaptation, from the literary text to stage adaptation and – using primarily the stage adaptation – to the opera libretto.

64 See Giovanni Verga, *Vita dei campi* (Zanichelli, 2011), 50–55.

65 Santuzza as the main character is evidently needed for the soprano role, yet we have to bear in mind that the change occurred already in Verga's stage adaptation. The main motif for the change must therefore be sought for elsewhere.

66 Verga, *Vita dei campi*, 54. [By God, I know it is my fault and I would let you murder me. But I saw my old mother when I was coming here. She got up to see me, pretending to feed the chickens, almost as if she knew where I was going. And I swear to God, I'll kill you like a dog not to make the old woman cry.]

Menasci and Targioni-Tozzetti transfer this into:

[L]o so che il torto è mio: / e ve lo giuro nel nome di dio / che al par d'un cane mi farei sgozzar; / ma... s'io non vivo, resta abbandonata.../ povera Santa /.../ Vi saprò in core il ferro mio piantar.⁶⁷

The shift of Turriddu's emotional ties from his mother to Santuzza raises the question of broken marriage. But most importantly, Turriddu's trespass is devoid of social vengeance present in the novella, both, by courting Santuzza, as well as by entering the affair with Lola. His emotional instability becomes the true *hybris*, and his exclamation is but a confession of a personal, not socially motivated fault. Turriddu repents, thus with his killing the fault is redeemed and the norm of the happy marriage reinvoked, but Santuzza plays a central role in the peripeteia of the opera. Paradoxically, by clinging to Turriddu and then disclosing the secret to Alfio, she enables the catharsis needed to reinvoke the norm. And she is repaid with the neutralisation of her excommunication – in the form of Turriddu commanding his mother to watch over her. Just like Violetta, Santuzza is sanctified, although she remains partly marginalised, as she is excluded from any future social (and love) life.⁶⁸

The emphasis on the role of Santuzza thus again serves to explicate the duality of the legitimate and illegitimate love relation which is here once more resolved in favour of the dominant bourgeois hegemony. In regard to the bourgeois norm, Lola's position in the opera remains unclear. Verga's novela is drastically clearer when on his way to the duel Alfio responds to Lola: »ma per te sarebbe meglio che io non tornassi più«.⁶⁹ Alfio's words motivate a conflictual relation regarding the position of an adulterous woman and, consequently, regarding the legitimacy of marriage after the adultery. Lola's uncertain position in the opera again deliberately eludes doubt, thus putting forward the message that with Turriddu's death the *hybris* was punished and the equilibrium was restored. Paradoxically, it also reinforces the patriarchal oppression of women, since a woman is given no importance in the breaking and restoring the matrimonial tie.

4. Conclusion

As we have seen, *La Traviata* and *Cavalleria rusticana* can be thought of as a discourse ideologically interpellating their bourgeois spectators; a discourse confirming the common social identification with the validity of marriage and excluding the trespassing of the norm. It is by no means a coincidence that the operas were premiered in the temporal proximity of the legal codification of prostitution. Using Althusserian terminology, the latter could be defined as a repressive state apparatus, while the operatic

67 Pietro Mascagni et al., *Mascagni's Cavalleria Rusticana Leoncavallo's I Pagliacci*, 2002, 49. [I know it is my fault and I swear to God I would let you kill me like a dog. But if I do not live, poor Santa will stay abandoned. I'll know how to stab you with my knife.]

68 This is even clearer in Verga's own stage adaptation where the plot is also characterised by Santuzza's bearing an illegitimate Turriddu's child.

69 Verga, *Vita dei campi*, 54. [It would be better for you if I do not return.]

production inevitably represents a discourse into which an »ideological apparatus« had been inscribed.

Yet, the examples of *La Traviata* and *Cavalleria rusticana* demonstrate that ideological discourses are not limited to the existence of a state or of a determinate political force. They exist as realisations of any possible distribution of power which intervenes into the dominant discursive formation. By analysing ideological discourses in regard to bourgeois marriage as well as by examining the example of Shostakovich, I have tried to demonstrate that concepts and theories of ideology are, with some modifications, also applicable to the field of music. But musical elements that pertain to extrinsic referentiality are crucial for the operation of ideology, although they might not be in direct connection to the musical structure itself, that is to say, they need not be a part of what Nattiez calls 'the neutral level'. The obvious limitation in researching the ideological discourse in music is therefore that in music the ideological discourse primarily operates by means of semantics, or, to be more specific, through the elements of narrative identification. The consequence seems to be that in the analysis of ideological discourse it makes sense to focus either on the rare elements of linguistic referentiality provided along with the »neutral level«, or on the historical, political and cultural codes co-shaping the extrinsic referentiality shared by the users of a 'musical fact'.

In the case of opera, this kind of analysis evidently focuses on libretto, as the accompanying text with its linguistic code is the generator of narration. In my paper, a simplification leading to ideological interpellation was identified using the differences between the literary original and the libretto adaptation. Both libretto adaptations show no trace of class differences. Thus they are devoid of tension provoked by the intrusion of a lower class subject into a »happy marriage« and consequently into the dominant social class. This simplification led to expected, orthodox reception within the bourgeois class – a reception not that easy to inspire when reading both literary originals. Of course, it is impossible to ignore that such structure was expected by the reception code of Italian opera. The ideological interpellation of the idea of marriage was thus possible only within the expected code, the one which was co-shaped by the edicts on prostitution issued by the prime minister of Piedemonte-Sardinia.

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POVZETEK

V pričujočem članku osvetlujem umestitev umetniških praks, zlasti literature in glasbe, v delovanje ideoloških diskurzov. Izhajajoč iz obravnave literature ter iz ustreznih obravnav v literarni teoriji se bom osredotočil na klasične pojme ideologije in ideološkega. V razpravi, ki je v dveh tretjinah posvečena teoretskim problemom, se naslanjam na obravnavo ideologije pri althusserjancih, na teorijo diskurza in branje ideologije znotraj kulturnih študijev. V opredeljevanju razmerja med ideologijo in umetnostjo pa izhajam predvsem iz definicije t.i. družbeno imaginarnega (pri C. Castoriadis) in fiktivnega (pri W. Iserju), dveh konceptov, ki sta se izkazala kot izrazito produktivna pri obravnavi literature. Izkaže se, da ob razlikah obstajajo tudi znatne podobnosti v produkciji pomena/smisla v literaturi in glasbi, saj je pri obeh mogoče govoriti o dvojnem referencialnem sistemu. Spričo tega je mogoče razmišljati o referenci na zunajtekstualno oziroma zunajglasbeno realnost kot o osnovnem impulzu ideološkega delovanja. Ker je ideološko delovanje vselej razumljeno kot identifikacija s pomenom/pomeni, s pomočjo katerih posameznika naslavlja diskurz, in ker lahko identifikacijo vselej razumemo kot narativno kategorijo, je narativni impulz za ideološko interpelacijo bistven. Tudi v glasbi so zunajglasbene prvine – primarno lingvistične prvine, kot so naslov skladbe, program, libreto –

bistvene za vzpostavitev tistega, čemur Jean-Jaques Nattiez pravi »narativni impulz«, narativni impulz pa bistven za kakršno koli možnost ideološke interpelacije. Izhajajoč iz te predpostavke razprava poda kratek ilustrativni primer ob Dmitriju Šostakoviču, posebej ob njegovi 7. simfoniji. Temu sledi daljša obravnavo diskurzivnih mehanizmov, ki so v 19. stoletju podpirali meščansko ideologijo zakona kot »douceur du foyer«. Ob obravnavi dveh oper, Verdijeve *Traviate* in Mascagnijeve *Kmečke časti (Cavalleria rusticana)*, se tudi opera – vsaj njen italijanski del – izkaže kot del tovrstnih diskurzivnih mehanizmov. V skladu z zgornjimi predpostavkami se razprava osredinja na analizo narativnih prvin, kar je mogoče ob primerjavi »lingvističnih« prvin, tj. ob primerjavi libreto z literarnimi izvirniki. Izkaže se, da ob prehodu od literarnega izvirnika – pisarstva v prozi – že ob dramski adaptaciji, še toliko bolj pa v libretu pride do izpusta narativnih prvin, ki bi v bralcu oz. sprejemniku (gledalcu/poslušalcu) lahko rušile neproblematičen odnos sprejemanja institucije zakona in meščanske družbe. Če Hans Robert Jauß Baudelairove *Rože zla* izpostavlja kot paradigmatični primer rušenja institucije zakona kot »douceur du foyer«, se operni libreto izkaže, ravno nasprotno, kot legitimacija te iste institucije. V razpravi pa se izkaže tudi, da so bili diskurzivni mehanizmi, v katere se je vklapljal opera, podprti s tedanjimi pravnimi regulativami (Code civil v Franciji, regulative o prostituciji na območju Italije).



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20th-century Music in Sweden. An Overview

Glasba 20. stoletja na Švedskem. Pregled

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IZVLEČEK

ABSTRACT

Švedska se je kot izvoznica glasbe na zemljevidu pojavila na začetku 20. stoletja. Locirana med različne spremenljive vojaške in politične bloke je ohranjala politiko, ki je prispevala k do določene meri specifični podobi švedskega glasbenega življenja, ki ga skuša pregled začrtati v glavnih obrisih.

Sweden appeared as a music exporting country on the map in the beginning of the 20th century. Located between different shifting military and political blocks it maintained a politics that contributed to some extent to the specific shape of Sweden's music life which this overview outlines.

Introduction

This text is a highly selective overview about the music history of Sweden during the 20th century. Art music will be in the focus. However, in a Swedish context folk and popular music cannot be ignored completely even when talking about composed music. This macroscopic overview will present some crucial events and works in Swedish music life. Beside compositional aspects it will present some features of music politics and outline the development of a music infrastructure in Sweden that can be compared to the Continental¹ and which took place in the beginning of the 20th century. Sweden

1 From a Scandinavian perspective, "Continental" is somewhat congruent with the notion of the term from a British perspective and aims in music contexts around 1900 at the German speaking countries (including Austria-Hungary), France, Belgium, the Netherlands and (Northern) Italy, not at Russia, South-Eastern Europe or the Iberian peninsula.

is regarded to be a Western country but has maintained an officially neutral position between the military super powers during both world wars and the Cold War. This had an impact not only on the domestic music politics but of course also on the export of music which has always been an important problem for composers and musicians in Sweden. Against this backdrop something like a specific Swedish musicscape may take shape in this overview.

1. National Romanticism

Like in other countries around Germany, where a new kind of nationalism rose in the 19th century,² also in Sweden the period around 1900 is often described as the time of National Romanticism. This description appears to be justified when the aims, tasks and subjects of Swedish composers around 1900 are taken into consideration. National issues dominate the discourses about and among composers. For instance, the opera subjects of Swedish operas that were composed around 1900 are often those from the national mythology of history. Among these Andréas Hallén's *Harald Viking* (composed 1878–80), Wilhelm Stenhammar's *Tirfing* (1897–98) or Wilhelm Peterson-Berger's *Arnljot* (1907–09) have to be mentioned. They were afterwards dismissed as “Viking operas”.³

To compose music about national mythology and history was nothing exceptional during the turn of the century 1900. During this time, most of the European nations started to define what was perceived as a cultural canon later. That means, certain works in literature, beaux-arts or music were defined to be examples of the “spirit” of a nation. This is one reason for the raise of national composers around 1900 all over Europe. For instance, Edvard Grieg and Jean Sibelius became not only prominent musicians in their countries but their representatives abroad and their works were and still are regarded to be embodiments of their nations in a domestic context. One could go so far to state that Grieg and Sibelius defined what Norway and Finland are culturally. This process of proclaiming national composers took place also in England (Elgar), France (Debussy) around 1900 as it did in Central and Eastern Europe (Dvořák, Smetana, Szymanowski, etc.) or Italy (Verdi). Interestingly, Sweden proves to be an exception.⁴

The reason for this may be a receptive specificity of the Swedish music life rather than a lack of competent composers. There were three of them who technically wrote state of the art music and who had more or less strong ambitions to fill the “position” of a national composer in their home country. All three of them had their national breakthrough in the 1890s. This is why they often are called the 1890s generation. Among them Wilhelm Peterson-Berger (1867–1942) had the least significance as a composer

2 For an overview about the different waves of nationalism in the 19th century cf. Eric Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalism since 1780: Programme, Myth, Reality* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2nd ed. 1990).

3 Martin Tegen, “Tre svenska vikingaoperor,” *Svensk tidskrift för musikforskning* 1960: 12–75.

4 Martin Knust, “Gibt es einen schwedischen Ton? – Kontinentale Reflexionen zur schwedischen Kunstmusik um 1900,” in *Festschrift für Holger Larsen* (= University of Stockholm Studies in Musicology vol. XXI), ed. Jacob Derkert (Stockholm: Stockholms universitet, 2011), 32–61.

abroad.⁵ He had been trained as a piano teacher, composer and music critic in Germany and was an important link between the Swedish and German music life. For instance, he was an expert in the works of Richard Wagner and acknowledged as such also in Germany as the publication of his book that was published during the Wagner anniversary 1913 about the German composer in German and Swedish simultaneously at Breitkopf & Härtel proves. Peterson-Berger did translate the writings of Wagner and Nietzsche into Swedish for the first time. Compared to the works of his contemporaries both in Sweden and abroad they appear to be rather conservative even though they contain some original ideas. German critics dismissed his music as too old-fashioned for being of interest for a 20th century listener and also among his composer and music critic fellows in Sweden Peterson-Berger was not well-liked at all.⁶ This might have been the case because of his quite sharp style of writing reviews which in the end lead to his isolation as a composer in Swedish music life. Nonetheless his music was popular among the broader audiences. His piano music which follows the model of Grieg's immensely successful *Lyric Pieces* was sold and played in Swedish homes. Peterson-Berger's *Frösöblomster* (Flowers from Frösö; three volumes composed 1896, 1900 and 1914) are still widely known in Sweden. The opera *Arnljot* which Peterson-Berger wrote in Wagnerian fashion onto his own libretto became one of very few repertoire operas in Swedish. It was played for fifty years after its world première 1910 at the Royal Opera in Stockholm. Perhaps the reason for his domestic popularity lies in the rather traditional design of the music. Peterson-Berger both as a critic and a composer was strictly anti-Modernist. As a critic he claimed that the Swedish national "spirit" differed from the Continental if it came to the complexity in music. While a German listener would prefer the complex orchestral music of the New German school for a Northerner the short and clear forms of the Nordic folk music were more appealing. As a matter of fact, Peterson-Berger's music is structurally less dense than, say, the late music dramas of Wagner or the early operas of Richard Strauss. His statement about the important role of folk music might be seen as an aesthetic program considering the periodic melodies of his operas and the – compared to Strauss and the late Wagner – less intense use of leitmotifs. In one instance, he referred to folk music directly, namely in his *Third Symphony* with the title "Same Ätnam" (Land of the Sami; composed 1913–15). It is the first symphonic work that employs thematic material from Sami joiks as he found them in the collection of Karl Tirén who published it in the volume *Die lappische Volksmusik* in 1942. In this symphony, beside its material, many original instrumental ideas occur like, for instance, the combination of harp and piano as orchestral instruments in the first movement.

Wilhelm Stenhammar (1871–1927) has been seen as the Swedish national Romantic composer who has written the most interesting music of his time.⁷ The technical level of his early works corresponded to the recent trends on the Continent to an extent that lead eventually to self-criticism. For Stenhammar, his *First Symphony* (1902–03)

5 About his life and Work cf. Bengt Olof Engström, Orwar Eriksson, Lennart Hedwall and Henrik Karlsson, eds., *Wilhelm Peterson-Berger: En vägvisare* (Möklinta: Gidlunds, 2006).

6 Engström, 54.

7 About his life and work cf. Bo Wallner, *Wilhelm Stenhammar och hans tid*, 3 vols. (Stockholm: Norstedt, 1991).

and *First Piano Concerto* (1893) were too New German in expression and design and he withdrew them and tried to develop a more personal idiom. To this end, he employed Swedish folk music, for instance in his symphonic poem *Midvinter* (Midwinter; composed 1907),⁸ and dealt intensively with counterpoint like his Danish friend Carl Nielsen whose works Stenhammar performed and admired. His last finished works, for instance the Symphony no. 2 with the title “The Dorian” (1911–15), show his counterpointal interest. Stenhammar’s chances to achieve the rank of a national composer were good at the beginning of his career. As a young man he composed many works that were even performed abroad like his concert overture *Excelsior!* (1896) which had its world première in Berlin. But despite this promising start, his great talent in writing music and the attention his works caused in Sweden – the choir movement “Sverige” (Sweden) from his cantata *Ett folk* (One People; composed 1905) became a non-official national anthem – Stenhammar lost the ambitions to pursue a career as a composer and focused on his career as a performer. As a concert pianist and conductor he performed in the whole country and it was due to the tight schedule as a musician that his productivity as a composer declined significantly to a minimum. Nonetheless, he is the only composer of this era who continued to be popular among Swedish composers even after the Modernistic turn after WW II.

Hugo Alfvén (1872–1960) is the composer of the 1890s generation who came closest to be the Swedish national composer.⁹ His compositional focus was on demanding compositions for orchestra and he had strong ambitions to be acknowledged abroad. To this aim, he travelled and performed his works in, among others, Spain, Germany, Austria and the US. Even though his works are not innovative compared to the standards of the time – like for Peterson-Berger Modernism in music was an anathema for him – their facture is of high quality. Alfvén maintained justly that he had received the best education in counterpoint among his Northern contemporaries and that he was a skilful orchestrator; he had extensive experience as an orchestra musician because he had played the violin in the Royal Swedish Court Chapel for several years. His Swedish Rhapsody No. 1 with the title “Midsommarvaka” (Midsummer Night’s Vigil; composed 1903) was and perhaps still is the most often played Swedish orchestral composition of all times. As an orchestral composer and also as a performer he dealt with Swedish folk music. His three Swedish rhapsodies contain folk melodies and he arranged many well-known folk melodies for amateur choirs. These arrangements are still in use in Sweden until today. That means, Alfvén did adopt different strategies to establish himself both as a national composer in an international and in a national context: The first happened through composing music that was aiming to the German-speaking music market, the largest of its time, the latter through mediating between art and folk

8 In the composer’s comment to the *Midvinter* score Stenhammar mentions the names and origins of the two folk songs which he employed in this composition; characteristic for many Swedish folk tunes like these two is that they go in triple meter and are played on the fiddle (Dan Lundberg and Gunnar Ternhag, *Folkmusik i Sverige* [Södertälje: Gidlunds förlag, 2nd ed. 2005], 79–80).

9 About his life and work cf. Jan-Olof Rudén, *Hugo Alfvéns kompositioner. Käll- och verkförteckning* (= Publikationer utgivna av Kungl. Musikaliska Akademien vol. XI) (Stockholm: Nordiska musikförlaget, Edition Wilhelm Hansen, 1972); Lennart Hedwall, *Hugo Alfvén* (P.A. Norstedt & Söners Förlag: Stockholm, 1973); Gunnar Ternhag and Jan Olof Rudén, eds., *Hugo Alfvén, en vägvävisare* (Södertälje: Gidlunds förlag, 2003). A good online resource about Alfvén is the homepage of the Alfvén Society: <http://alfvensallskapet.se> (retrieved July 11 2018).

music or between professional and amateur music making in his home country; Alfvén was both a long-time director musices at the university of Uppsala and a leader of an amateur choir on the country side. Moreover, he wrote patriotic compositions which found some resonance. One important reason for why he failed to establish himself as a national composer, too, is the decline in his compositional productivity that occurred when he became director musices in Uppsala 1910 and the lack of certain important genres in his oeuvre like music for piano solo or opera. As a kind of substitute for his shortcoming as a dramatic composer Alfvén tried his luck as a composer of a ballet pantomime and at the end of his career as a film composer. These compositions, the ballet pantomime *Bergakungen* (The Mountain's King; composed 1916–23) and the film music for the film *Synnöve Solbakken* from 1935 display Alfvéns somewhat idealistic or even idyllic view onto folk music and life on the countryside. In a Modernist context as it became normative after WW II his music appeared to be out-dated.

2. From the 1910s through the End of WW II

The first decades of the 20th century saw the establishment of a music infrastructure after the Continental model. Until the late 19th century the centre of music life in Sweden was its capital Stockholm. Here the only opera house and orchestra of the country existed. After some civic initiatives also in Gothenburg and Malmö, the second and third largest cities in Sweden, concert societies and orchestras were founded. Ever since the 1910s the Swedish state started to support symphony orchestras in the minor cities. Those were founded in Gävle, Norrköping and Helsingborg 1912. Sveriges radio, the Swedish public service radio, started broadcasting 1925 and a first Swedish radio orchestra was founded the same year.

However, the Continental market remained to be still very attractive for ambitious composers in Sweden. Basically all composers that were active in Sweden during the 1910s through the 1940s maintained good contacts either to Germany or to France. They “imported” not only recent trends in music into Sweden but founded also music organisations according to the German model. The Förening Svenska Tonsättare FST (Swedish Composer’s Society), founded 1918, became a precursor of the Svenska Tonsättares Internationella Musikbyrå STIM (Swedish Performing Rights Society), founded 1923, the royalty collecting society that made the so-called “Swedish music wonder” in the 1970s possible when Swedish popular music started to be one of the most successful globally in terms of revenues. The group of composers which was responsible for the founding of both organisations consisted of four composers who wrote music in the late Romantic style: Natanael Berg (1879–1957), Ture Rangström (1884–1947), Oskar Lindberg (1887–1955) and Kurt Atterberg (1887–1974). They called themselves “Spillran” (The splinter). Among them Atterberg is the most remarkable personality. He had excellent contacts to Germany and maintained them also during the Nazi era¹⁰ in which he advanced to the most often played living non-German composer after

10 About his relations to Nazi Germany cf. Petra Garberding, *Musik och politik i skuggan av nazismen. Kurt Atterberg och de svensk-tyska musikrelationerna* (Diss.) (Lund: Sekel, 2007).

Sibelius. In contrast to Sibelius, Atterberg also actively engaged himself in the Nazi-founded Ständiger Rat für die internationale Zusammenarbeit der Komponisten and became a board member of it.¹¹ After WW II Atterberg who had controlled the domestic music life to a large extent faced critique. His reaction to it was unconventional. He applied for conducting an investigation about his contacts to Nazi Germany, the only one that was carried out against a musician in Sweden. Even though this investigation found no evidence for an improper cooperation Atterberg's career as a composer and music organizer was over after 1945. He continued to compose, for instance a Ninth Symphony (1955–56), but described himself as a "living corpse". His works were banned from the Swedish concert halls and opera houses.

The way Atterberg's music was treated after WW II is typical for the sharp turn in music politics that occurred in Sweden and that shows many similarities with the radical shift of paradigms in West-Germany, France and Italy after 1945 (cf. caption 3). Certainly, his music was following musical trends rather than formulating new ideas. Nonetheless, it did fit the taste of time for grand orchestral effects and combined those with Swedish folk melodies. Atterberg shaped his musical forms in a clear manner and saw himself more as a classicist than a romanticist. For the German audience his music lacked some decidedly Nordic traces – which might prove the closeness of his idiom to Continental composing – but composer fellows like Jean Sibelius and Hilding Rosenberg appreciated it and even from the US commissions for compositions arrived. Atterberg found inspiration in the Russian music of the late 19th century¹² and experimented with some Modernist techniques like bitonality, for instance, in his Symphony No. 8 (1944). At present it is difficult to tell how popular he was in his home country before 1945. His works were played often on the radio until then and performed by famous conductors like Strauss, Toscanini and Furtwängler abroad. In any event, his dominant position in Swedish music life from the inter-war period until the end of WW II influenced and shaped Swedish music politics for almost one generation and his era ended abruptly.

3. Swedish Modernism

Beside the late Romantic composers of the Spillran other currents appeared in Sweden during the 1920s and lasted well until the 1960s. Several composers started to write in a neo-classical style in the 1920s and achieved popularity among their country fellows. Lars-Erik Larsson's (1908–1986) suite *Förklädd gud* (A god disguised; composed 1940) and Dag Wirén's (1905–1986) *Serenade for string orchestra* (1937) belong to the most favourite compositions among Swedish audiences. They were and are often performed and recorded. Peterson-Berger's statement about the Swedish preponderance for clear structures in music seems to prove true in this case. Wirén's music is characterized by sometimes mechanistic rhythms and a melodic style that is easy to grasp but not simplistic. He developed a compositional metamorphosis technique that lets his

¹¹ Garberding, 84–88.

¹² Herbert Connor, *Svensk musik vol. 2: Från Midsommarvaka till Aniara* (Stockholm: Bonniers 1980), 159.

themes appear in ever-changing shapes. Wirén wrote not only music for the concert hall but also for radio and TV productions.¹³ Swedish neo-classicism existed parallel with the Modernist strand and had a stronger position in the music life than in the West-European countries on the Continent. In the 1950s a second generation of neo-classicist composers became active. To them belonged, among others, three composers who studied with Larsson: Maurice Karkoff (1927–2013), Jan Carlstedt (1926–2004) and Bo Linde (1933–1970).¹⁴

The arrival of Modernism in Sweden was the world première of Hilding Rosenberg's (1892–1985) *String Quartet No. 1* in the year 1923.¹⁵ It caused a fierce discussion about Modernism in music and divided the Swedish critics. In it, Rosenberg employed atonality¹⁶ and was heavily criticized for it by, among others, Peterson-Berger. One important champion of Rosenberg and Modernism in music was the critic Moses Pergament (1893–1977) who was a composer himself.¹⁷ Pergament was also in favour of the jazz and declared it to be a relevant music genre for composers. He and Peterson-Berger exchanged many personal invectives and displayed a clash of aesthetics that was representative for the disputes about Modernist music of the time and as charged with spiteful rhetoric.¹⁸

It was Rosenberg and a group of younger composers who shaped the music life in Sweden after 1945. It is difficult to tell how big the Modernist impact in Sweden was prior to this because this group determined the major narratives of Swedish music history in the second half of the 20th century also retroactively.¹⁹ It was Hilding Rosenberg's pupil Karl-Birger Blomdahl (1916–1968) who became the informal leader of a group of young composers who were interested in radical Modernism and started to meet with some regularity at the end of WW II and during the second half of the 1940s. They were called "Måndagsgruppen" (Monday's group). There are certain similarities in their informal program that they shared with the Gruppe 47 in West-Germany – a formation of writers and critics – which tried to deal with the past critically and became dominant during the following decades. Even though Sweden did put its past behind itself and declared to start into a new Modernist and progressive era the contacts between Sweden and Germany, that means mostly West- but in the 1970s and 80s also East-Germany, remained to be vibrant.

13 About his life and work cf. Martin Tegen, ed., *Dag Wirén: en vägvisare* (Södertälje: Gidlunds 2005).

14 Lennart Hedwall, *Svensk musikhistoria. En handbok* (Stockholm: Reimers, 1996) 149–50.

15 Rosenberg's long life and work list have not been investigated systematically yet. An overview about early research in it is the anthology: Hans Åstrand, Bo Wallner and Sven Wilson, eds., *En bok till Hilding Rosenberg 21.6.1977* (= Kungl. Musikaliska Akademiens skriftserie 19) (Stockholm: Royal Swedish Academy of Music, 1977).

16 He was among the first in Sweden to embrace the music of Arnold Schönberg (Wallner 1991 vol. III, 502–03).

17 Gregor Andersson. "Die Musik in Schweden im Spannungsfeld zwischen Nationalem und Internationalem im 20. Jahrhundert," in *Nationale Musik im 20. Jahrhundert. Kompositorische und soziokulturelle Aspekte der Musikgeschichte zwischen Ost- und Westeuropa. Konferenzbericht Leipzig 2002*, ed. Helmut Loos and Stefan Keym (Leipzig: Gudrun Schröder, 2004), 371.

18 Peterson-Berger's attacks on Pergament were as vicious as were Hans Pfitzner's on Busoni. Henrik Rosengren has investigated the racist and anti-Semitic assaults on Pergament in the essay "A Wagner for the Jews': Moses Pergament, Richard Wagner and anti-Semitism in Swedish cultural life in the interwar period", *Scandinavian Journal of History* 38 (May 2013), issue 2, 245–261 and in his monograph *Judarnas Wagner: Moses Pergament och den kulturella identifikationens dilemma omkring 1920–1950* (Diss.) (Lund: Sekel, 2007).

19 Take, among many others, this somewhat programmatic overview: Bo Wallner: "Scandinavian Music after the Second World War," *The Musical Quarterly* 51, No. 1, Special Fiftieth Anniversary Issue: *Contemporary Music in Europe: A Comprehensive Survey* (Jan. 1965), 111–43. Wallner was a member of the Monday group and an influential music critic.

In what follows some parallels between the post-war Modernism in Western Europe and Sweden will be outlined.

Sweden was relatively early to adopt serial music compared to, for instance, Finland. Like on the Continent, the 1950s were a time of radical Modernism not only in music but also in architecture and design in Sweden. Romanticism was regarded as a period that had to be left behind. Electronic music arrived in Sweden shortly after it had established itself in Germany and France. The music historiography in Sweden focused now like on the Continent on the Second Vienna School and its music became the model for the generation of the Monday group. Ethical values displayed in after war literature in Germany as embodied in pacifism, human rights, anti-totalitarianism and early environmentalism were the same in Sweden. Of course, the music politics of the country mirrored the general political climate of the time. Sweden successfully positioned itself as a country propagating and implementing human rights and equal opportunities after WW II.

An example that assembles and focuses on all those values, discussions and issues is Karl-Birger Blomdahl's opera *Aniara* (composed 1957–58). His music marks the peak of Modernism in Sweden.²⁰ This opera about an epic of Harry Martinson can be described as a dystopian science-fiction space opera. After humanity has made earth a precarious place to live on through wars and pollution, colonists start to settle on Mars. But the spaceship "Aniara" with a group of colonizers on board misses its goal. After some navigational mistakes the ship takes course into deep space without any chance to reach Mars. Nothing but death is certain. While the ship leaves its course to its original destination a final message from earth reaches it witnessing about the end of human life on earth. This message is the first electronic piece of music at all composed for and performed in an opera. Strictly taken it is not electronic music but rather a collage of sounds and words on tape after the model of the *musique concrète*. On this tape, among others, speeches from Hitler and Mussolini, the voice of the composer and the cry of a baby can be heard. The message leads the artificial intelligence that controls the ship to shutting down itself. From now on the only thing to wait for the travellers is cold space and they are aware of being the last of human kind before freezing to death. The opera starts as it ends with a group of tones sending the name of the space ship in the Morse code into space. *Aniara* became the most often played Swedish opera in Sweden and abroad.

4. Some Tendencies after the 1970s

During the 1950s and 60s Sweden succeeded in taking a leading position internationally in avant-garde music. Musically it was the most progressive Nordic country. Prominent guest teachers in composition like György Ligeti or Krzysztof Penderecki came to Stockholm. Different from its neighbouring countries the development of art music in Sweden after the 1970s followed international trends quite closely but had a relatively small impact on the domestic audiences. Generally, folk music and after the Swedish

20 Robert Quist, *The History of Modern Swedish Music* (Lewiston, N.Y.: The Edwin Mellen Press, 2010), 206.

“music wonder” also popular music shunned the successes and achievements of Swedish composers abroad and at home.²¹ To say it bluntly, art music in Sweden never was so much in the focus of public attention as, for instance, in Finland or the Baltic states. The manifold reasons for this cannot be presented in this text. What is important, however, is that popular and folk music even in postmodernist Sweden maintained and still are maintaining a strong position in composed music.

Selecting examples from the decades that followed the 1970s and from present music life in Sweden is a subjective act.²² Just some in my opinion remarkable individuals shall be presented briefly.

What makes the works of Allan Pettersson (1911–1980) especially interesting is their reception. In Sweden, his massive symphonic works²³ were appreciated most during the last one-and-a-half decade of his life. Pettersson received his education as a composer in Paris and despite some loose contacts to the Monday group never joined it. He remained solitary both artistically and in his private life. After his death, his works were neglected in Sweden but discovered and worshipped in West-Germany at the same time. Here, the first Pettersson society was founded (including a year book about his and other Nordic works), a festival with his music was held and his works were recorded in their entirety and published on CD for the first time. The non-synchronicity of the appreciation of his works in both countries is telling if it comes to the music life of these two countries. It shows how audiences in the late 1960s in Sweden, where his music was seen as a political statement and appreciated by the young generation, and in the 1980s Germany differed, where his music was interpreted and treated as a close relative to Mahler's and Shostakovich's symphonies, something the composer had denied they were.²⁴

The impact of popular music can be traced in the work of the post-modern composer Sven-David Sandström (born 1942), among others. Like many post-modern composers – cf. Einojuhani Rautavaara in Finland or Krzysztof Penderecki in Poland – Sandström started his career as a radical Modernist and developed a neo-Romantic idiom during the 1980s. He worked as a composition teacher in Sweden and the US and his music became more and more neo-tonal, romantic and informed by popular music also concerning the means of its performance. His opera *Batseba* which had its world première 2008 in Stockholm extends the range of female vocal “Fächer” that appear in it by one new. The role of Tamar has to be performed by a rock singer with a microphone. Moreover, this opera is a document of feminism as part of the cultural mainstream in Sweden.

Talking about the important role of women and the feminist approach of Swedish society and politics in the late 20th century, I would like to conclude my short overview

21 A corresponding holistic approach has entered Swedish music historiography as well. Cf., among others, Leif Jonsson and Hans Åstrand, eds., *Musiken i Sverige: konstmusik, folkmusik, populärmusik 1920–1990* (Stockholm: Fischer, 1994).

22 An overview about composers who were active during the shift of the millennium is Göran Bergendal, *22 nya svenska kompositörer* (= Kungl. Musikaliska Akademiens skriftserie Nr. 94) (Stockholm: Royal Swedish Music Academy, 2001).

23 About his life and work cf. Laila Barkefors, *Allan Pettersson: Det brinner en sol inom oss. En tonsättares liv och verk* (Stockholm: Sveriges Radio, 1999). The first biography about Pettersson is a document about his contemporary image in Sweden: Leif Aare, *Allan Pettersson* (Stockholm: Norstedt, 1978).

24 About the differences in the German and Swedish Pettersson reception cf. Martin Knust, “Die Rezeption von Allan Petterssons Werk in Schweden und Deutschland: Ein Vergleich,” in *Musik-Konzepte: Allan Pettersson*, ed. Ulrich Tadday (Munich: Edition Text + Kritik, 2013), 73–92.

with mentioning some of the most prominent female composers in Sweden today. The first female professor in composition in Sweden is since 2009 Karin Rehnqvist (born 1957) at the Royal College of Music in Stockholm. As an artist she is among others referring to female vocal techniques in folk music like the so-called “kulning” that was practised by herders in Dalecarlia. One composition which transposes this specific vocal technique into spiritual music is the vocal composition *I himmelen* (In heaven; composed 1998). Rehnqvists idiom is clear, easy to grasp, emotional and feminist. And it marks a sharp turn in composing music in academia in Sweden because folk music was practically excluded from new art music in Sweden ever since the days of the Monday group.

A young composer who displays the wide range of neo-tonal composing in Sweden is Britta Byström (born 1977). In her *Games for Souls* (2015) and her *Walk* compositions for string instruments (*A Walk to GADE* and *A Walk to Tchaikovsky* were finished 2016, *A Walk to Biber* and *A Walk to Britten* 2017) she combines influences from gamelan music and reggae and employs them in a context that can be compared to Mussorgsky’s *Pictures of an Exhibition*. These compositions share thematic material and form a work cycle that is not finished yet but a work in progress whose parts are composed and performed separately with longer intervals.

Summary and Outlook

Swedish music history in the 20th century turns out to be influenced by major political and social shifts like on the European continent. The time around 1900 was like in many other countries the time of National Romanticism. The 1910s and 20s were a period in which a variety of compositional approaches and a sustainable development of the musical infrastructure took place. Modernism arrives early in Sweden – compared to its neighbouring Northern countries – and became the dominant “school” after WW II. The radicalism of Swedish Modernism is remarkable and reminding to the Continental shift of paradigm in composing after 1945. Even though this is not unique, the impact of folk music on composing in Sweden has been deep – with the exception of the Modernist era during the 1950s and 60s – and shapes the art music until today. Like in other countries the arrival of post-modernism implied a turn away from Continental traditions and a turn towards Anglo-American commercial music. Its dominance in Swedish music life today is massive. For instance, pop music has almost completely pushed art music into the background in the school curricula, a process that started in the 1970s.²⁵

It is of course impossible to speculate about where exactly music life in Sweden will go in the future. The influence of popular music is compared to countries in central Europe so overwhelming that composing music in any event will be influenced by it. Many young composers who study composition in Stockholm, Gothenburg and Malmö have a background as rock or pop musicians and so have many Swedish performing artists in

25 Cf. Fred K. Prieberg, *Musik und Musikpolitik in Schweden* (Döring: Herrenberg, 1976) who hailed this radical shift in Swedish music pedagogy.

classical music. The general knowledge standard about the state of art music or art music as such is lower than in other European countries and there is no reason to believe that this may change on the one hand. On the other hand, the folk and popular music education infrastructure in Sweden is more developed than anywhere on the Continent at this moment. The question is how art music as a relatively marginal cultural phenomenon that it always has been will maintain its ground in Swedish cultural life.

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POVZETEK

Na zgodovino švedske glasbe v 20. stoletju so vplivale največje politične in družbene spremembe v Evropi. Čas okoli leta 1900 je bil kot v mnogih drugih državah čas nacionalne romantike. Drugo in tretje desetletje 20. stoletja so zaznamovali številni kompozicijski pristopi, razvijala pa se je tudi glasbena infrastruktura. Modernizem je prišel v Švedsko zgodaj – v primerjavi s sosednjimi severnimi državami – in je postal prevladujoča »šola« po drugi svetovni vojni. Radikalnost švedskega modernizma je izjemna in nas opozarja na spremembo kom-

pozicijske paradigme po letu 1946 na evropskem kontinentu. Čeprav ne gre za posebnost, je bil vpliv ljudske glasbe na kompozicijo na švedskem velik – z izjemo modernističnega obdobja v 50-ih in 60-ih letih – in oblikuje umetnostno glasbo še dandanes. Kot v drugih državah je pomenil prihod postmodernizma obrat proč od kontinentalnih tradicij in obrat k anglo-ameriški komercialni glasbi. Prevlada slednje v današnji švedski je očitna. Tako je popularna glasba skoraj v celoti izrinila umetnostno glasbo v ozadje v šolskih učnih načrtih – gre za proces, ki se je pričel že v 70-ih.



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Compositional System of Osvaldas Balakauskas: An Attempt to Restore the Theoretical Discourse

Kompozicijski sistem Osvaldasa Balakauskasa: Poizkus obnovitve teoretičnega diskurza

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Keywords: twelve-tone technique, dodecatonics, modal system, Lithuanian music, theoretical-compositional system, Osvaldas Balakauskas, formalism, Soviet Modernism.

IZVLEČEK

Razprava se v kontekstu modernizacije litvanske profesionalne glasbe v času od poznega sovjetskega obdobja do zgodnjega 21. stoletja osredotoča na teoretično-kompozicijski sistem *dodekatonike*, kakršnega je razvil najbolj dosledni litvanski modernist Osvaldas Balakauskas (r. 1937). Na podlagi konceptualizacije skladateljevega ustvarjalnega procesa, modernega izraza težnje po specifičnosti, socialno-političnega in kulturnega konteksta bo razkrita njegova estetska vrednost. S pomočjo interpretacije procesa modernizacije s stališča parataksičnega vzporejanja bodo raziskana razmerja med *dodekatoniko* in drugimi teoretično-kompozicijski-

ABSTRACT

Against the background of the Lithuanian professional music modernisation over the late Soviet period through to the early 21st century, the study focuses on the theoretical-compositional system of *dodecatonics* by the most consistent Lithuanian modernist Osvaldas Balakauskas (b. 1937). Based on it, the conceptualisation of the composer's creative process, the modern expression construing specificity, the socio-political and cultural context, and the aesthetic value will be revealed. By interpreting the process of modernisation from the viewpoint of parataxical comparativism, the relationship between the *dodecatonics* and other 20th century

mi sistemi iz 20. stoletja ter občo teoretično tradicijo. Razprava se bo dotaknila vprašanja individualizacije dvanajsttonske tehnike kot tudi implementacije principov *Dodekatonike* v opusu Balakauskasa. Sistem bo postavljen v kontekst predpisovanja »formalističnih« doktrin v Litvi in Sovjetski zvezi ter v čas posodabljanja kompozicijskih sistemov in razvijanja novih.

stheoretical-compositional systems as well as the theoretical tradition will be examined. The issues of individualisation of the 12-tone technique and the implementation of the principles of the *Dodekatonics* in Balakauskas' compositions will be discussed. The system is contextualised in the milieu of the inculcation of "formalistic" modernist doctrines in Lithuania and the USSR and of the updating of composing systems and the development of new ones.

"In the 20th century, there are two directions: forwards to the unknown or backwards to the unknown."
(Osvaldas Balakauskas)¹

Introduction

The musical-theoretical systems developed by the 20th-century composers are still of great importance. Their value is predetermined by at least two factors: they represent the essential indication of compositional thinking and, simultaneously, an open professional conceptualisation of the shifts in music composition. The researcher's interest is attracted both by the change in the approaches to the traditional theoretical models and by the continuous attempts of practicing composers to develop a universal theoretical model capable of explaining the fundamental shifts in compositional thinking in the late 20th century.

The present study focuses on two main subjects. The first is the dynamics of the changing approaches to the traditional theoretical models represented by the concepts of tonality and dodecaphony. The second is a permanent search for the comprehension of one of the fundamental issues of musical composition, the nature of which is defined by the concept of hylomorphism established in the 19th century based on Aristotle's metaphysics (philosophy) (cf. Greek υλοσ [*hylē*] 'the matter, dust' + μορφή [*morphē*] 'form') with an inherently high degree of abstraction.² In music composition, its content, with some degree of metaphoricalness, can be deciphered as the basic problem of interdependence of the initial relationship between form and matter: the synergy of the composition material and the forming energy. Thus, the main attention will be given to the reflection on the responses of composers-theorists to the challenges posed to the art of sounds by the issue of the interdependence of matter and form (structure) or self-formation (self-organisation) in the spirit of the philosophical category of hylomorphism.

1 From Balakauskas' comment in a public hearing, 9 February, 1984: minutes of the discussions of creative public hearings in the Composers' Union of the Lithuanian SSR, see *Lithuanian Archives of Literature and Art*, Fund 21, schedule/inventory 1, file 605, p. 25.

2 According to Aristotle, for our cognition, all existence is a compound of form and matter. In terms of being, form is the essence of things, and in terms of cognition, form is the concept of things; see B. B. Ageev, *Сознание как проблема психологической науки* [*Consciousness as a Problem of the Science of Psychology*], in *Science and Education, A new Dimension: Pedagogy and Psychology* 134 (2017): 56. On the issue of intelligence in Aristotle's philosophy, see: Victor Caston, *Aristotle's Psychology: A Companion to Ancient Philosophy*, ed. Mary Gill and Pierre Pellegrin (Hoboken: Wiley-Blackwell, 2006), 316–346.

Some recipes for the solution of a similar problem in music composition were indirectly presented in the theoretical works of the past devoted to the issues of counterpoint, harmony, and form (as, e.g., in *Liber de arte contrapuncti* by Johannes Tinctoris, 1477) as well as in practical guides on music composition (Percy Goetschius (1892), Robert T. Kelley (2001), Eric Starr (2009), Richard Knight and Richard Bristow (2017), etc.). In the debate on the relationship between matter and form – the body and soul in the structure of an individual – as developed in the treatise of Aristotle's *De anima* [On the Soul], primacy was clearly attributed to the active form, while the passive and inert matter was subjugated to it. In the hylomorphic presentation of Aristotle, “a thing's form is its definition or essence” (*On the Soul*, Book 1). Undoubtedly, a straightforward analogy between the composition material and the form (structure) of music with the hylomorphic doctrine of the constitution of the body and soul would be a source of astonishment and would be incorrect from a scientific viewpoint. Moreover, it is worth noting that in several 20th century theoretical systems of composition, composers clearly shifted their attention from form (structure) to matter (material).

Paul Hindemith spoke about it in the foreword to his guide on musical composition *The Craft of Musical Composition: Theoretical Part (Unterweisung im Tonsatz. Theoretischer Teil)* (1937). As the main goal of the book, Hindemith defined the need to examine the characteristics of the new way of composition. He believed that young composers were obliged to clearly know the potential hidden in the material and, based on that, to make use of all its possibilities. Thus, the study of the composition material becomes a necessary part of the creative process: to quote Hindemith, it is only after the discovery of the possibilities and regularities of the material that the composer acquires a “new freedom” (*eine neue Freiheit*).³ The regularities of the composition material were explored by Hindemith in Chapter 2, *The Medium (Werkstoff)*, of his book, which laid out the foundation for his teachings on the tonal non-diatonic system, or his own version of the twelve-tone tonality (after the typology of tonal systems by Yury N. Kholopov).

It was Hindemith's approach that revealed a new quality in the thinking of composers-modernists of the first half of the 20th century. That was clearly reflected in the significantly increasing role of the pre-composition stage, devoted to the studies of the composition material. The shift was recorded in the formulation of musical material in the *Philosophy of New Music* (1949) by Theodor W. Adorno, while in the reflections of Carl Dahlhaus, this was manifested by the introduction of new concepts in terms of “thinking in matter” (*Materialdenken*), or even “fetishism of matter” (*Materialfetischismus*). Thus, the approach to the material by Hindemith and Adorno integrated a modernist claim on the effect that the sound form of the composition was predetermined by the insightful maximisation of the structural potential of the composition material. In other words, the modernist approach saw the composition material as already pre-formed (*vorgeformtes*

3 In accordance with his own observation, Hindemith experienced the transition from the conservative teachings to the new freedom more profoundly than others (“*Ich habe den Übergang aus konservativer Schulung in eine neue Freiheit vielleicht gründlicher erlebt als irgendein anderer.*”). Paul Hindemith, *Unterweisung im Tonsatz: Theoretischer Teil* (I), Neue, erweiterte Auflage (Mainz: Schott Söhne, 1940), 22.

Material”) and subject to further formation.⁴ Nevertheless, very soon Adorno also revealed substantial losses in *Schoenberg’s* transformations, since the “clever, thinking material” started dictating to the composer. Modernist music was losing its expressiveness, and, from an ideal viewpoint, the artist was losing his hard-won freedom of creation. “The state of technique presents itself to him as a problem in every measure that he dares to think: In every measure technique as a whole demands of him that he do it justice and give the one right answer that technique in that moment permits” (Theodor Adorno).⁵

It was the Modernism of the 20th century that returned to Aristotle’s idea of hylomorphism and tried to examine it both from the philosophical and practical viewpoints. The question about the primacy of matter and form in music – *materia secunda* or *forma secunda*, as formulated by Dallhaus – got answers from numerous composers. Quite in solidarity, they tried to remove “the greatest curse” (as formulated by Howard Hanson) both from the creative process and the outcomes of their creative efforts. The essence of the “curse”, as defined by the American composer of contemporary music and theorist Howard Hanson in his theoretical study *Harmonic Materials in Modern Music: Resources of the Tempered Scale* (1960), was an insufficient consideration of the material; to quote him, “One of the greatest curses of much contemporary music is that it uses a wide and complicated mass of undigested and unassimilated tonal material.”⁶ Hanson suggested that “the end result becomes tonal chaos not only to the audience but, I fear, often to the composer himself.”⁷ It is from this angle that the musical-theoretical system of the *Dodecatonics* of Osvaldas Balakauskas as well as the process of its further development is going to be analysed. The analysis will be preceded by several facts regarding the creative path of the modernist of Lithuanian music.

A graduate from the Kiev Conservatoire in 1969 (the class of Boris Lyatoshytsky, and having written the final thesis under Myroslav Skorik), Balakauskas in his work purposefully followed the precept of professor Lyatoshytsky, “Find your own”. It was a spiritual testament, an authorisation of the professor who saw his pupils off onto an independent creative path.⁸ However, the basis of his own musical-theoretical system and the ideal of contemporary music were brought by Balakauskas to the Kiev Conservatoire from Vilnius where he had thoroughly studied the two volumes of *The Classics of Dodecaphony (Klasycy dodekafonii, 1961, 1964)* by Bogusław Schaeffer. Balakauskas was admitted to the Kiev Conservatoire and, while studying (1964–1969), formed his own creative individuality. Already in his student works, an original compositional technique surfaced, testifying to his independent way of thinking.⁹

4 Theodor W. Adorno, *Ästhetische Theorie* (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1970), 222.

5 Theodor Adorno, *Philosophy of New Music*, ed. by Robert Hullot-Kentor (Minneapolis and London: University of Minnesota Press, 2006), 33.

6 Howard Hanson, *Harmonic Materials in Modern Music: Resources of the Tempered Scale* (Irvington: Appleton-Century-Crofts, INC, 1960), 348.

7 Ibid.

8 Quite a few of Lyatoshytsky’s students were active composers already at the time of postmodernism. His former students represented different trends of composition; however, only individualists who declared their own positions or systems of composing, such as Balakauskas, Hrabowski, Silvestrov, etc., resisted the obvious influence of the music of their teacher.

9 See Gražina Daunoravičienė-Zuklytė, *Osvaldo Balakausko kompozicijos mokyklos šaknys* [The Roots of Osvaldas Balakauskas’ School of Composition], in *Lietuvių muzikos modernistinės tapatybės žvalgymas* [Exploration of the Modernistic Identity of Lithuanian Music] (Vilnius: Lietuvos muzikos ir teatro akademija, 2016), 409–485.

As early as in the first years of his studies in Kiev, Balakauskas experimented with segments of different pitches of his future series proceeding from the principle of the progression of fifths (e.g. segments *g-d-a*, *d-a-g*, etc.) and distributing them symmetrically. The “universal symmetrical row” (to be discussed further in the text) can be found already in his *Auletika* of the student years (1966), and the segments of the “infinite diatonic row”, in *Aerophony* (1968) and *Sonata for Violin and Piano* (1969). *Concertino* (1966) and *Cascades. Sonata for piano* (1967), compositions from his student years, featured a row of 36 tones (12 transpositions of the chords of sixths). The rational method of Balakauskas’ composition proceeded from a well-coordinated harmonic system and was subject to the constructive power of numbers. Both served as an algorithm of the introduction of musical logic and order to composition (from Schoenberg’s point of view) and, on the other hand, dictated solutions of the interaction of harmony and structure.

The young composer, however, managed to avoid pure imitation of the musical avant-garde techniques; instead, he re-interpreted it in a rather specific way. This was caused by Balakauskas’ dislike for the apotheosis of dissonance in the conception of musical Modernism, and the strict (systemically) operating principle of tone functioning in his music as well as the harmony of symmetrical structures contributed to the emergence of consonances and even to some atmosphere of *quasi-tonality*.¹⁰ In fact, the music of Balakauskas had nothing in common with the dodecaphony of *Schönberg* or the compositions of the representatives of the Ukrainian avant-garde (Leonid Hrabowsky, Vitaly Godziatsky, early Valentin Silvestrov, etc.). The strictly organised, euphonious, and harmonious music of Balakauskas, when confronted with the adaptations of the avant-garde techniques in the USSR in the 60s, sounded original and thus differed from numerous experiments (attempts) to individualise the principle of management of the 12-tone continuum of music.¹¹

The maverick thinking of Balakauskas in the environment of the Kiev Conservatoire drew attention of those around him. The somewhat speculative and *dry* music of the Lithuanian composer clearly stood out against the background of the *hot* Ukrainian mentality. However, students of the Kiev Conservatoire were more impressed by Silvestrov’s avant-garde method of composing with the inherent energetic verbleness of sound interrelations. For Balakauskas, the value in composing was represented by the analytical manipulation of tones and the ability to compose a rather consonant and “pure” contemporary music. Nonetheless, all that was not enough to solve the riddle of what exactly made such a scrupulously composed structure sound like the individual music of Balakauskas. The effect of his well-functioning harmonic system was not enough: clear self-determination at the level of the philosophy of art was required.

10 A teacher at the Kiev Conservatoire, composer Yury Ishchenko, defined the distinguishing characteristics of the music of Balakauskas musically and metaphorically as different degrees of dissonance between the major seventh and the minor seventh (according to Ishchenko, Balakauskas used the minor seventh and the major second). From a private conversation between the author and Ishchenko in Kiev, 24 April, 2015.

11 From 1968 to 1972, Balakauskas joined the circle of I. Blazhkov – V. Silvestrov, or evening meetings and hearings of the Kiev avant-garde, where he diligently studied the compositional techniques of the latest 20th century music. It was there that he became thoroughly acquainted with the scores and compositional techniques of the Second Viennese School and the Second Avant-Garde.

In his music, he clearly resisted the temptation to express a certain content of music or of communicating, enunciating through sound structures; moreover, he obviously ignored extra-musical rhetoric gestures and preferred *pure* musical means (like *pure structures* of Eduard Hanslick's absolute music).¹² In his own music, Balakauskas spoke the language of constructive structures. His peer Silvestrov defined the nature of individuality of Balakauskas' music through the impression that "his music sounds as if by itself, simply in the manner of Haydn. A pure structure and some speculative-ness, abstractness are inherent in (identical to) his music".¹³ As noted by Silvestrov, "the music of Balakauskas represented an example of the classics, only in a different compositional system. He managed his music – its texture, structure, and different types of forms – mainly through the gestures of music itself and did it in a very reserved and harmonious manner. It corresponded to his looks and his external and internal characteristics".¹⁴ In 1972, Balakauskas was accepted into the National Union of Composers of Ukraine, however, he returned to Vilnius soon afterwards. In the 70s, in the Lithuanian State Conservatoire (today the Lithuanian Academy of Music and Theatre), he founded his own composition school. Until the end of the 20th century, Balakauskas and his compositions represented the priority of systemic compositional work, and he became the most consistent and prominent modernist in Lithuanian music of the 60s through to the 80s.

Fundamentals of Osvaldas Balakauskas' Theoretical-compositional System of Dodecatonics

It is noteworthy that, chronologically, the time of Balakauskas' renouncement of the modernist doctrine in his compositions coincided with the public presentation of his musical-theoretical system of dodecatonics, first published in Polish in the collection *W kręgu muzyki litewskiej* [In the Field of Lithuanian Music]¹⁵ in Krakow, Poland, in 1997.. The subtitle of the theoretical system specified the name of the system as "the study of the modal and harmonic potentiality of the 12-tone equal-temperament system".¹⁶ In recognition of the main stimuli for that work, Balakauskas named his creative discussion with the first row of Hinedemith (*I Reihe*) from *Unterweisung im Tonsatz* (1937) and the aforementioned book by Howard Hanson *Harmonic Materials in Modern Music: Resources of the Tempered Scale* (1960). However, the system of Balakauskas' opens a discussion with several traditions and paradigms of theoretical musicology, starting with Pythagoras' idea of the progression of fifths. It must be admitted that the arguments for the discussion arise from the theses postulated by

12 Eduard Hanslick, *Vom Musikalisch-Schönen* (Leipzig, 1854).

13 From a private conversation between the author and Valentin Silvestrov in Druskininkai, 25th July 2013.

14 Ibid.

15 Translated into Lithuanian, the *Dodecatonics* by Balakauskas was published in Vilnius in 2002. See Osvaldas Balakauskas, *Dodekatonika. Osvaldas Balakauskas: Muzika ir mintys, (Music and Thoughts)*, ed. Rūta Gaidamavičiūtė (Vilnius: Baltos lankos, 2000), 169–206.

16 The *Twelve-Tone Equal Temperament System* (12-TET) has been the most common tuning system of European professional music in the last three centuries.

Balakauskas and conceal the context of the theory itself. As in the theory of *Dodecatonics* itself, the author does not start an extensive discussion with a number of potential opponents, some comments are provided merely in an appendix, named in the tradition of Arthur Schopenhauer *Paralipomena* (from Greek *paraleipomena*) [*what was omitted, aside*].¹⁷

The very title of his musical-theoretical system of *Dodecatonics*¹⁸ was made up by Balakauskas from two roots: twelve + tonic, i.e. by emphasising the chromatic completeness of the 12-step system of a tempered structure and the idea of the centre (the emblem of tonality). In other words, the concept of dodecatonics manifests the nature and the idea which George Perle, and later Ernst Křenek, found in the 3rd edition of *Harmonielehre* (1922) by Schönberg where the author defined dodecaphony as the tonality of 12-step rows (*Tonalität einer Zwölftonreihe*).¹⁹ In the same edition of *Harmonielehre*, tonality (*Tonalität*) was further characterised by Schönberg as a phenomenon that, first, was not an eternal law (*kein ewiges Gesetz*) and, second, was not a law by nature (*Naturgesetz*) that would be able to naturally substantiate the model (*Vorbild*) of tone.²⁰ In other words, in that text, Schönberg spoke about the formation of a milieu close to tonality when composing on the basis of 12 interrelated tones (as defined by him, *die Komposition mit zwölf nur aufeinander bezogenen Tönen*). As noted by Balakauskas, the concept of dodecatonics in his system represented two meanings. First, it was a theory of harmony which followed from the technique of the principle of the projection of fifths. Second, it was a theory of harmony with its objective (immanent) structure, including all known (empirical or artificial) as well as hardly used, or never used (hypothetical), systems of a smaller volume than the dodecatonics.²¹

The interrelationship between the traditional tonality and the sound field formed by the dodecaphonic technique was of interest both to composers and musicologists of the 20th century for many years. Thus, e.g., Hanns Eisler, a pupil of Schönberg, identified the latter's *Suite for Piano, Op. 25*, as a "new tonality – as one can define a composition with 12 tones".²² As is well known, the nature of the tonality of the 12-tone music (*die Tonalität der Zwölftonmusik*) was persistently advocated by Schoenberg at an advanced age, and he spoke about it in his public lecture *My Evolution* in the University of California on 2 November 1949. During that lecture, he kept returning to the idea of the tonal essence of the 12-pitches music and propagated it.

The author of the *Dodecatonics* considered his own approach to be a rather universal theoretical conception, even if he postulated that "the statements in the present

17 The concept of *Paralipomena* in the title of his work was also used by Hanns Jelinek, pupil of Schönberg and Berg and a supporter of tonal music. See Hanns Jelinek, *Anleitung zur Zwölftonkomposition: nebst allerlei Paralipomena* (Wien: Universal-Edition, 1952–1958).

18 The Latin root of the Greek origin *dodeca* = twelve, used in the name of the system of Balakauskas, was first proposed and used in 1911 in the concepts of *sistema dodecafonica*, *accordo dodecafonico*, *scala dodecafonico (cromatica)* in the study of Domenico Alaleona, "I moderni orizzonti della tecnica musica," *Rivista musicale italiana* 18 (1911): 397.

19 Arnold Schönberg, *Harmonielehre* (Wien: Universal Edition, 1922), 488.

20 *Ibid.*, 28.

21 Osvaldas Balakauskas, *Dodekatonika*, op. cit., 171.

22 "Hier gibt es sogar eine neue Tonalität, wenn man die 'Komposition mit zwölf Tönen' so bezeichnen darf: dazu eine Musizierfreudigkeit, wie sie seit langem nicht da war." Quoted from Arnold Schönberg, "Der musikalischen Reaktionär Arnold Schönberg zum 50. Geburtstag, 13. September 1924", *Sonderheft der Musikblätter des Anbruch*, 6. Jg., August-September-Heft (1924): 313.

study do not in any sense mean any revolutionary ambitions of the author and represent merely a search for a more objective basis than the arguments that justify the ‘common chord’ (major triad)”. At the same time, as one of the goals of his development of the dodecatonics, Balakauskas named “a search of an analytical method that would lead to revealing the harmoniousness of the music of any epoch or any stylistic trend, as well as the music of any textural design”.²³ The author’s maximalistic and somewhat utopian desire to discover “a methodological tool that would cover all the phenomena of mode and harmony ever known in practice, and those hiding within the frame of a 12-tone continuum of sounds of a tempered melodic structure as an opportunity, regardless of how they were used or how they were going to be used”²⁴ was evident. The search for a more objective basis for the functioning of 12 chromatic tones reflected the maximalism of numerous composers-theorists of the 20th century (Paul Hindemith, Milton Babbitt, Allen Forte, Anatol Vieru, Howard Hanson, etc.).

Since the method served as an algorithm for composing his own music, Balakauskas also set himself another goal: to identify an objective basis for revealing the “logic of natural self-organization of the 12-tone continuum of sounds and the possibility of systematisation on that basis”.²⁵ A special feature of that theory was the emphasis placed on the primacy of the Pythagorean projection of fifths (PQ) and the mathematical logic of proportions (Pythagoras, Hanson). The questioning of the physico-acoustic basis of sound organisation in the overtone series (the tradition of the harmonic systems of Jean-Philippe Rameau, Paul Hindemith, and many others) left an imprint on the conceptual level of the system. However, the elements of the natural scale were present in the justification of the principal concept of the system, i.e. the axiom of the fifth. In other words, the author of the *Dodecatonics* sought to find the most objective basis for the natural logic of self-organisation of the 12-tone continuum of the pitches (regardless of the register, only 12 harmonic tones (pitches) existed, next to hundreds of melodic ones) of the tempered structure.

In his *Dodecatonics*, Balakauskas focused on the phenomenon of harmony. As emphasised there, the epoch after Webern, serialism, and sonority as well as the latest trends of composition in the late 20th century “required to check anew the content of many traditional concepts and abandon the limitations of tonal thinking”.²⁶ The *Dodecatonics* of Balakauskas dealt with in the present paper is just the first part of his theoretical conception, since the total theory was planned by the author to be provided as a study in four parts. The theory under analysis represents the theoretical foundation of the system of Balakauskas, i.e. the method of the projection of fifths. In the second part, the author was going to explore all the “diatonic” systems through evaluation of the said method from the monotonic to the dodecatonic scale, with special attention paid to the systems exceeding the volume of the heptatonic scale. As noted by the author in the preface, the third part of the *Dodecatonics* was to be devoted to the classification of chords or harmonic structures. The method of the projection of fifths, as promised

23 Ibid., 170.

24 Ibid.

25 Ibid., 171.

26 Ibid., 170.

by the author of the *Dodecatonics*, made it possible to organise large numbers of such structures into the prototypes of a few dozens.²⁷ And ultimately, in the fourth part of the *Dodecatony*, readers were promised to be provided with examples of the analysis of music of different epochs and styles, carried out on the methodological basis of the first three parts.²⁸

As the main arguments of the dodecatonics, the starting points and theses of the author should be defined. When reflecting on the totality of tones of the tempered structure, Balakauskas argued that each tone was simultaneously “one of a hundred” as a melodic tone or “one of the twelve” as a harmonic tone.²⁹ The author noted that harmony in that case was not identified with the phenomenon of the “vertical”, since the laws of harmony functioned regardless of the positions of tones in terms of pitch or texture. Moreover, the analysis of a melody was impossible without attention to the automatically functioning processes of harmony.

Even though Balakauskas emphasised that the phenomena of melody and harmony should not be confused in composition, on the pages of his musical-theoretical system, he was quite vague about the relationship between the melodic and harmonic structures. As became evident further in the text, in his own compositions, the melodies of the composition came from the harmonic system and vice versa (see the analysis of his *Symphony No. 2*). However, as aptly noted in his *Dodecatonics*, the melodic nature and the harmonic nature of one and the same tone represented complementary characteristics of the tone, and their separation was done only for the methodological purposes in order to get to the nature of the phenomena of harmony.³⁰ The differences between melodic tones and harmonic tones were also defined in terms of methodology, as different measurements were proposed for their calculation: the counting out of the melodic tones was based on the semitone principle,³¹ while the counting out of the harmonic tones was based on the count of the steps of fifths.

Similar ideas were in fact a common denominator in various theoretical approaches and works on the theory of harmony. Thus, e.g. Kholopov in his theory of harmony also proposed to explain the “size” of each diatonic interval and the interrelationship between intervals by calculating a specific distance, based on the chain of the Pythagorean fifths.³² The positions of the intervals were set by Kholopov, based on the mathematic calculation of the steps of the fifths in accordance with the formula $S - Q = N$. Thus, e.g., in the system of sounds consisting of seven fifths ($f - c - g - d - a - e - h$)³³, the tritone f/h contained 6 steps of the fifths. In the formula, S denoted the number of the fifths in the system (7); Q denoted the number of steps of the fifths up to a specific interval (e.g. there were 6 steps of the fifths up to the tritone interval). Simultaneously, N denoted the number of intervals of each category in the system. As concluded by

27 Ibid., 171.

28 Ibid.

29 Ibid., 172.

30 Ibid., 172-173.

31 Ibid., 171.

32 Ю. Н. Холопов, Гармония. Теоретический курс [*Harmony. Theory Course*] (Санкт-Петербург, Москва, Краснодар: Лапы, 2003), 135.

33 In the example and further in the study, the names of tones are marked in compliance with the German system. Osvaldas Balakauskas applied the system in his *Dodecatonics* and in the theory illustrating examples.

Kholopov, “the number (N) of intervals of some specific type is strictly in accordance with the number of the steps of the fifths (Q) required to obtain it and the total number (S) of the fifths in the system (including zero)”.³⁴

The main theses of the system of *Dodecatonics* of Balakauskas followed from the axiom and method of the **projection of fifths (PQ)**. The idea proposed by Pythagoras and the discovered genetic principle to construe the 12-tone scale (circle) remained no less relevant and attractive. When approaching the method of the projection of fifths, the author postulated the following: the octave was an equisonance (as Rameau defined the nature of the octave – *G.D.*) and produced the effect of maximum fusion, and its melodic effect was created by two non-identical tones. However, with respect to harmony, both tones were identical. The statement brought Balakauskas to the main categories of his theory. The author postulated: the fifth represented the correlation of the second and the third overtones (3:2), both tones of the fifth were non-identical in terms of harmony and simultaneously they were harmonically the most related and homogeneous. Another conclusion followed: that it was the fifth that became the expression of a minimal harmonic correlation and acquired the function of its measure and of the representative of the system. A further logical conclusion stated that the projection of fifths was the objective basis of the system, while **the step of the fifth**, or the quint (Engl. *step* + French *quinte* = *sq*), a unit that Balakauskas signified as T (tau, letter T of the Greek alphabet),³⁵ logically became a measure of harmonic relationship between the tones of the system. The axiom of the fifth, or the principle of the closest relationship of two non-identical tones, became universal in the *Dodecatonics*: the step of the fifth (*sq*) and a unit of the fifth (T) were considered as a unit and the measure of the harmonic relationship and intensity.

By adding ever new quints to the unit on both sides of the authentic and plagal direction, Balakauskas formed a complete projection of fifths (quints) (PQ), or the Pythagorean circle of all the 12 tones (see Schema 1). As noted by the author, the concept of *projection*, which in his system replaced the concept of a *circle*, most closely corresponded to the spirit of the system, since the projection of fifths (as demonstrated further) did not always consist of all the 12 tones and fifths; more frequently it appeared not entirely complete, i.e., it became a semi-circle. However, it should be emphasised that the said idea and the concept were discovered by Balakauskas not so much in the mathematics of Pythagoras as in the system of Hanson where a whole section of a chapter was devoted to the issue of the *Projection of the Perfect Fifth*.³⁶ However, Hanson derived his six basic tonal rows (series) on the basis of the progression of the perfect fifths, as well as other intervals: major and minor seconds, thirds, and tritones.

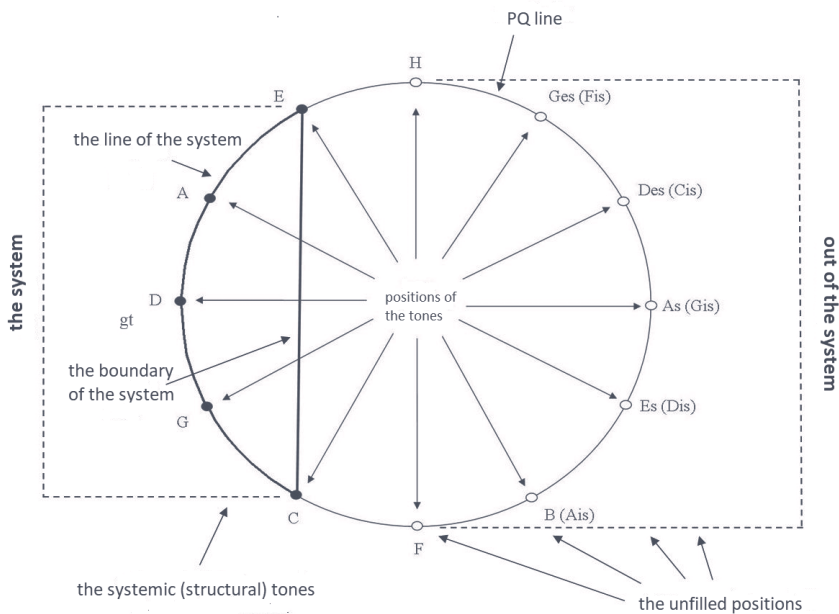
In Schema 1, the system consists of 5 systemic tones. The system is graphically presented with the line inside of the system (a semi-circle *E – A – D – G – C*) and a straight line, denoting the boundary of the system (*E – C*). The tones that form the unoccupied PQ positions (*H – Ges(Fis) – Des(Cis) – As(Gis) – Es(Dis) – B(Ais) – F*) remain

³⁴ Ibid.

³⁵ Osvaldas Balakauskas, *Dodekatonika*, op. cit., 175.

³⁶ Howard Hanson, *Harmonic Materials in Modern Music*, op. cit., 27–39.

unsystemic, beyond the boundary of the system. Further logical consequences are built up under the functioning of a single principle of the system.



Schema 1: The conception of the projection of fifths (PQ) in Dodecatonics by Osvaldas Balakauskas: systemic and non-systemic tones³⁷.

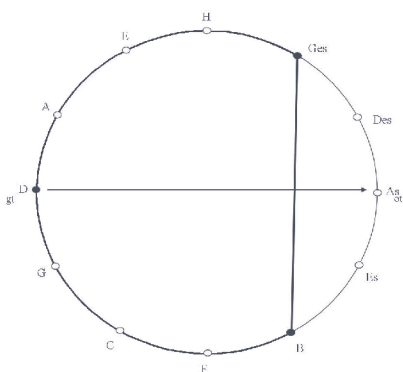
Other categories of the system of the *Dodecatonics* by Balakauskas represented the **generative tone** and the **vector**. The immanent projection of fifths (PQ), as defined by Balakauskas, was only an inert field of the projections of fifths. Striving to consciously control it, Balakauskas defined his methodological instruments as follows: to start with, there was a **generative tone (gt)**; in Schemas 1 and 2a, that was tone D, and in Schema 2b, tone E. The projection of fifths functioned as a methodological instrument in establishing the generative tone which initiated the process of the fifths. It should be emphasised that, in the *Dodecatonics*, the initial (generative) tone (gt) in general schemata represented the symbol of the modal space – tone D (*Re*), since Balakauskas argued that European music developed in the direction of vector D-As. It was due to the initial tone that all the tones were automatically localised and acquired their functional identity: they became – more or less – related with regard to the generative tone (gt). In that way, a certain natural hierarchy of interrelationships was established which Balakauskas designated as action of the phenomenon of immanent functionality.

37 Schemas 1 to 10 in the paper are presented following the schemas in the *Dodecatonics* of Balakauskas, pgs. 175–192.

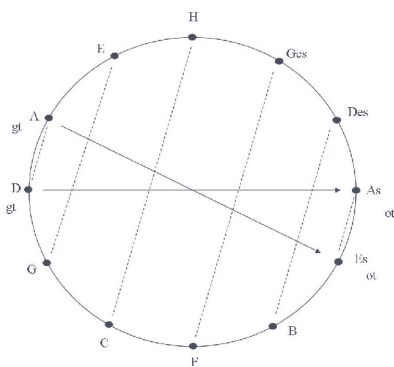
The system also provided for active action of the **opposition tone** (*ot*) with respect to *gt* (in Schema 2a, that was tone *As*, and in 2b, tone *B*). The process of fifths and the direction were predetermined by the position of the generative tone (*gt*). The arrow that connected the generative and the opposition tones (*gt* and *ot*) in the PQ schema was called **the vector** by Balakauskas (in Schema 2a, the vector connected tones *D* and *As*, and in Schema 2b, vector *A-Es*). Simultaneously, the author of the system noted: upon changing *gt*, *the direction of the progression of fifths* (i.e., the vector) *changed*, too, which was analogous to the transition to another key (tonality). As we can see, the conception of the opposition tone (*ot*, tritone) of Balakauskas was similar to the compositional system of Bela Bartok which, as intersections of the tritone axes of the principal functions and tonalities in the so-called *Axis System*,³⁸ was revealed by Ernő Lendvai. A similar principle of the tritone opposition of tones could be seen in the system of Hanson (1960).³⁹

It was the generative tone (the centre of the system) that formed the entire projection of fifths, quints (PQ) and due to that, according to the author of the system, all the tones automatically became more or less related with regard to it. In that way, some natural hierarchy of interdependencies was established, or a self-organised hierarchy of tones, defined by Balakauskas as **immanent functionality**. As the generative tone changed, the vector *would also change*, which, as noted by Balakauskas, was analogous to the transition to another tonality.

In the *Dodecatonics*, one of the central places was devoted to two projections (models) of fifths denoted by the principle of manipulations with the prepared methodological instruments of the system. Based on the functioning of one generative tone (*gt*) and one vector, the so-called **mono-vector projection of fifths (PQ)** emerged (was defined), see Schema 2a. However, next to it, Balakauskas placed an equivalent **bivector PQ model**. In that case, the process of fifths initiated two generative tones (two adjacent tones or a fifth) and, accordingly, two vectors appeared in the Schema (see Schema 2b).



Schema 2 a: A monovector PQ model.



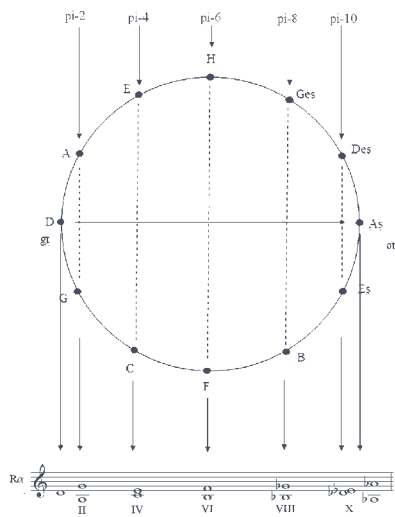
Schema 2 b: A bivector PQ model

38 Ernő Lendvai, *Béla Bartók: An Analysis of His Music* (London: Kahn & Averill, 1971).

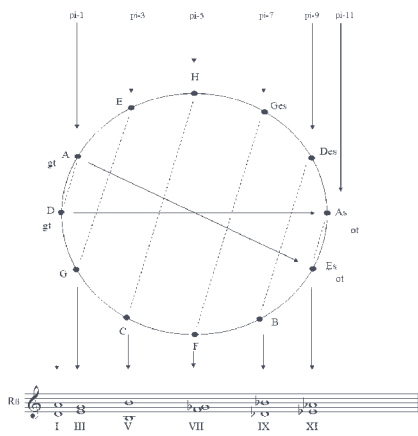
39 See "The Perfect-Fifth-Tritone Projection," in Howard Hanson, op. cit., 150.

When dealing with the solution of the problem of functionality in the *Dodecatonics*, Balakauskas identified **pairs of inversible tones (pi)**. Under such a pair, the author defined the tones situated at the same distance from the vector (in the Schema, they are connected with a dotted line), and in calculation, they were given corresponding numbers $pi-1$; $pi-2$, etc. Thus, the monovector PQ (the projection of quints) consisted of $5pi$; the bivector, of $6pi$; altogether, $11pi$ (see Schemata 3, 4). The degree of relationship of the interval pairs were additionally denoted by Balakauskas with small Roman numbers: i, ii, iii, iv, v, vi, vii, viii, ix, x, xi. It was obvious that in the monovector model of PQ (row/series $R\alpha$), the first pair of tones pi ($pi-2$), or tones G and A with respect to the generative D , represented the first degree of relationship, C and E , respectively, the second degree, etc. The even numbers of the pairs of intervals (pi) were typical of the monovector model, and the odd numbers of the pairs of intervals (pi), of the bivector model, see Schemata 3–5.

The said procedure took Balakauskas to one of the most important further steps of composer-theorist, viz., to the logical substantiation and construing of the so-called **perfect rows**. Based on the monovector PQ model, **the perfect $R\alpha$ row** was derived (see Schema No. 3), and based on the bivector PQ model, **the perfect $R\beta$ row** (see Schema No. 4). The degrees of relationship of the tone rows were arranged in accordance with the arrangement of the pairs of inversible tones (pi) with respect to the generative tone (gt). The opposition tones (As in row $R\alpha$ and As и Es in row $R\beta$) represented further relationship. The perfect summary row (Schema No.5) synthesised both rows: $R\alpha + R\beta \rightarrow R\delta$ (all pairs of intervals were represented alternately).⁴⁰

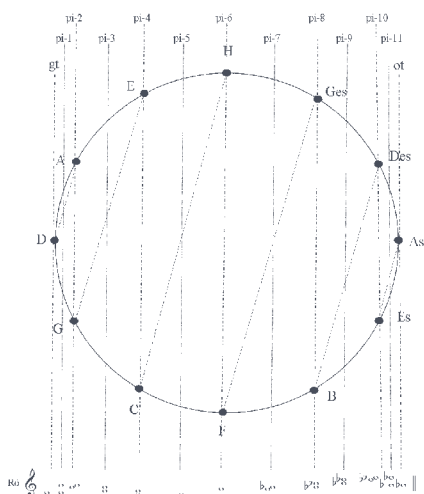


Schema No. 3: Perfect row $R\alpha$.



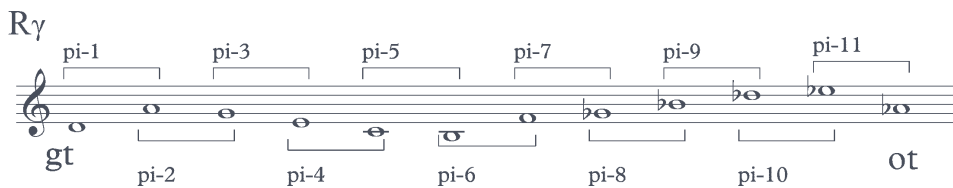
Schema No. 4: Perfect row $R\beta$.

40 See Osvaldas Balakauskas, op. cit., 178–179.



Schema No. 5: Perfect symmetry row $R\gamma$.

Based on the melodic form of the monovector model, in *Dodecatonics*, row $R\gamma$, or a “magic symmetrical row”, was construed (which became the basis of *Symphony No. 2* (1979); to be analysed further). As noted by Balakauskas, a perfect symmetry row synthesised both types of rows, the melodic monovector and the harmonic bivector: rows $R\alpha + R\beta \rightarrow R\delta$ (all pairs of intervals were represented alternately):⁴¹



Schema No. 6: A magic symmetrical row, or row $R\gamma$ of Balakauskas.

Since in the present paper we are interested in some specific features of the system of the dodecatonics by Balakauskas, we shall focus on the issues of **elementary harmonic structures** and the determination of their harmonic intensity.

In the discussion of the issue of intensity of the elementary harmonic structures of the correlation of tones, the author of the system first introduced additional symbols for the designation of the components of interval pairs (pi), which basically complicated the transparency and the general understanding of the system. Additional Greek symbols were introduced to indicate the main intervals and their transformations or elementary harmonic structures (denoted by Se) and their transformations up to tritone (which corresponded to the Babbitt-Forte’s system).

41 Ibid., 180, 189.

Balakauskas marked the elementary harmonic structures (*Se*), or the main intervals, together with their transformations up to tritone, by Greek symbols. He measured their harmonic intensity by the number of the constituent perfect fifths in the progression of fifths, i.e. a unit of measurement was the perfect fifth – *Tau* (T). In cases like this, the main role was played not by the indicators of relationship but on the contrary by the harmonic opposition and the degree of dissonance in a specific interval. Thus, each interval in the *Dodecatonics* acquired its own **index of static intensity** – *Ista*. The correlation of intervals and their transformations (elementary harmonic structures *Se*) with the symbols of elementary harmonic structures (*Se*) and the index of static intensity (*Ista*)⁴² is presented in the table below.

Interval	Symbol <i>Se</i>	Symbol <i>Ista</i>
Prima = octave, two octaves, etc.	Σ	0 T
Fifth = fourth = eleventh = twelfth, etc.	T	1 T
Major second = minor seventh = major ninth, etc.	Φ	2 T
Minor third = major sixth = major tenth, etc.	X	3 T
Major third = minor sixth = major tenth, etc.	Y	4 T
Minor second = major seventh = minor ninth, etc.	Ψ	5 T
Tritone = triton + octave = triton + 2 octaves, etc.	Ω	6 T

In a reference (in *Paralipomena*), Balakauskas noted that the *Ista* indicators challenged the traditional approach, as well as Hindemith's approach, regarding the issues of consonance and dissonance. However, the composer formulated a logical condition, believing "that the actual indicators of harmonic intensity are just as acceptable as the axioms of the octave and the fifth".⁴³ It has to be noted that a similar system and the results of calculations of the fifth steps of diatonic intervals was laid out in Table 5 in the book of Yury N. Kholopov *Harmony. Theory Course*.⁴⁴ Next, Balakauskas differentiated between elementary harmonic structures, based on the impact of *gt* and *ot*.

Balakauskas' inner conviction prompted him to the idea that the **functionality** of the systems in the *Dodecatonics* was derived from the most natural logic of the formation of progressions of fifths (PQ) and the embedded main principles of self-organisation: the objective basis was inherent in the very nature of perfect rows; each of those rows could be seen as an **integral wave**, caused by an impulse of the generative tone. Consequently, in each integral wave (row), each pair of intervals (*Se*) could be functionally defined, depending on two conditions (indicators):

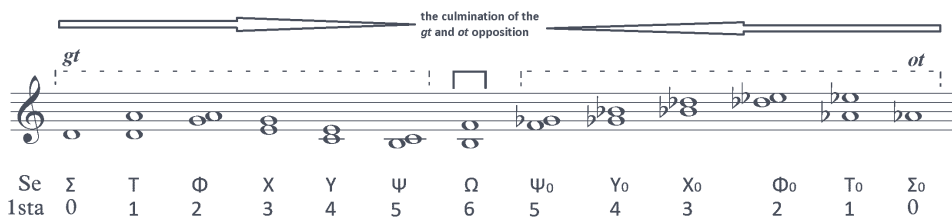
1. *Indirect dependence on gt* predetermined the position in a row (the indicator of internal intensity *Se* was denoted by **the *Ista*** symbol). In Schema 7, the impact of attraction of the generative and the opposition tones was shown as well as the culmination of their opposition in the centre (tritone *h-f*). As noted by Balakauskas, on the left side of the tritone, the attraction of the generative tone (*gt*)

⁴² Ibid., 180.

⁴³ Ibid., 199–200.

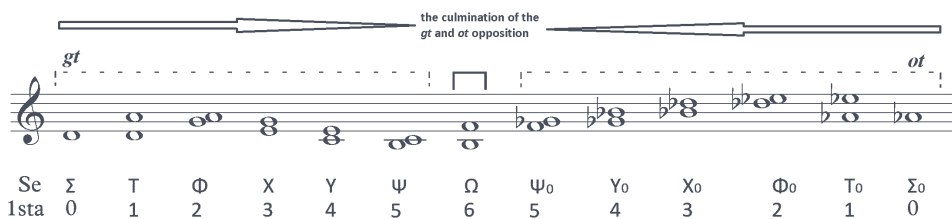
⁴⁴ See Ю. Н. Холопов, *Гармония. Теоретический курс* [Harmony. Theory Course] (Санкт-Петербург: Лапы, 2003), 35.

predominated, while on the right side of the tritone centre, the attraction of the opposition tone (*ot*) predominated.⁴⁵



Schema 7: The impact of attraction of the generative and the opposition tones and the culmination of their opposition.

2. The direct dependence on *gt* predetermined the presence of the initiator of the wave in each intermediate period of the integral wave as the third tone and the consequent forming of a subsystem of a given segment (its harmonic interrelationships were denoted by the symbol *Ista*). Due to the harmonic impact of the generative tone, in that case, its dominance was more pronounced. In Schema 8, Balakauskas outlined: a) the absolute predominance of *gt* up to DVIII (*F-Ges-D*), b) the ambivalence of the impact of *gt* and *ot* was outlined in zone DIX (*Ges-B-D*); c) the highest opposition was observed in the zone of three harmonic structures (DVIII, HFis VIII, FisVII; *B-DES-D*, *Des-ES-D* as well as *As-Es-D*), and d) the equilibrium was achieved at the end of the process on the point of the tritone correlation (FisVII, *As-D*).⁴⁶



Schema 8: Correlation between the generative tone and the opposition tone.

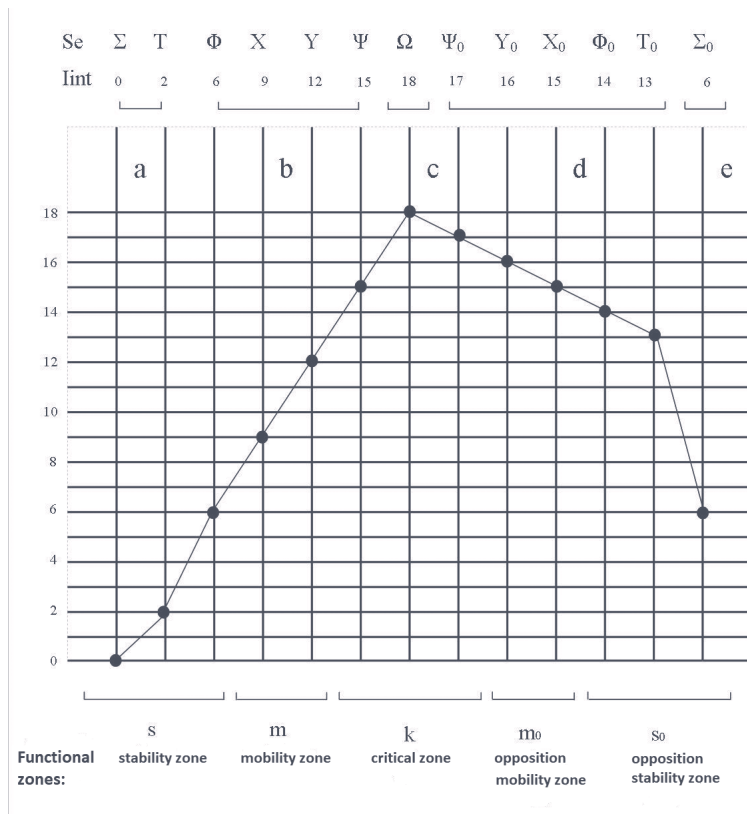
The nature of the aforementioned statements in the *Dodecatonics* by Balakauskas remained, however, a part of the presented theoretical system which was open to discussion. The absence of clear arguments to confirm the said conclusions became a vulnerable point of the system.

The lack of a distinct theoretical argumentation evidently prevailed in further considerations and steps of the methodological nature of the author of the *Dodecatonics*. Further, Balakauskas summed up both indicators of immanent functionality (meaning

⁴⁵ Osvaldas Balakauskas, *Dodekatonika*, op. cit., 191.

⁴⁶ Ibid.

the symbols *Se + Ista*) and noted that both interrelated based on the interference principle. The summary index of the indicator of harmonic functionality (the symbol **Iint**) in the *Dodecatonics* by Balakauskas was presented as a dynamic curve (see Schema 9). As indicated by the author, the curve reflected the dynamics of all the harmonic relations. In that way, five functional zones were identified: stability zone (s), mobility zone (m), critical zone (k), opposition mobility zone (mo), and opposition stability zone (so):⁴⁷



Schema 9: The summary index (*Iint*) of the indicator of harmonic functionality.

When determining the functional character of each harmonic structure (*Se*), Balakauskas advised to additionally consider the functional context, i.e. the interrelations with the adjacent structures on both sides. Harmonic moves in the *Dodecatonics* were considered as of either decreasing (the semantics of resolution) or increasing intensity. In that way, the author summarised his observations and determined the functional identity of each elementary harmonic structure (*Se*).

⁴⁷ Ibid., 192.

The summary of characteristics of the functional identity of elementary harmonic structures is presented below:⁴⁸

- Σ – the function of absolute harmonic stability (absolute consonance, no possibility of resolution);
- T – the function of stability;
- Φ – the function of weak stability (resolution in is possible);
- X – the function of relative mobility (mobility is understood as a possibility to transfer to the functional zones s or k);
- Y – the function of absolute mobility (transfer is possible to Ω , the top of the wave intensity);
- Ψ – the function of relative criticality (through resolution in the fifth (T), a contact with the stability zone is still possible);
- Ω – an highly critical zone (the point of the highest intensity, no possibility of transition exists, and only resolution is possible);
- Y, Σ – the quintessence of functional interrelations expressed by the most elementary means of the sequence (impulse) of functions.

Further functions were symmetrical equivalents (correspondences) of the defined functions, however, they were indicated as oppositional:

- Ψ_0 – an oppositional function of relative criticality;
- Y_0 – an oppositional function of absolute mobility;
- X_0 – an oppositional function of relative mobility;
- Φ_0 – an oppositional function of weak stability;
- T_0 – an oppositional function of relative stability;
- Σ_0 – an oppositional function of stability.

On that basis, different zones of functionality of the system of progression of quints were identified:⁴⁹

- The zone of stability (s), consisting of 3 Se of the lowest intensity (Σ, T, Φ)
- The zone of mobility (m), consisting of 2 Se of medium intensity (X, Y)
- The critical zone (k), consisting of 3 Se of the highest intensity (Ψ, Ω, Ψ_0)
- The zone of oppositional mobility (m_0), consisting of Y_0, X_0
- The zone of oppositional stability (s_0), consisting of Φ_0, T_0, Σ_0 .

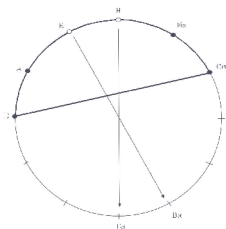
While giving up the concept of chord, in his *Dodecatonics*, Balakauskas determined the phenomenon of **harmonic structure** (*Se*) first of all quantitatively: a harmonic structure consisted of more than two tones. Balakauskas joined the initiative of his colleagues Ernst Křenek, Herbert Eimert, Vincent Persichetti, Yury Kohn, Milton Babbitt, and Allen Forte and sought to mathematically determine the harmonic intensity of consonances. Balakauskas based the intensity of harmonic structures on three criteria:

48 Ibid., 191–192.

49 Ibid., 191.

1. belonging to the system;
2. the summary/total structure of all the components of elementary harmonic structures (*Se*);
3. the summary intensity: the indicators of the static intensity index *Ista* of all tones where all tones are summed up.

Thus, e.g. consonance EH VI: *D-Fis-A-Cis*:



All the tones of the harmonic structure were placed on a line (semicircle) PQ, and the conclusion followed that the harmonic structure of 6 positions derived from a bivector model of an incomplete hexatonic scale (two positions were not filled) and the generative tones (*gt*) were EH. The summary structure consisted of the following indicators of harmonic correlations: D-A=T, D-Fis=Y, D-Cis=Ψ, A-Fis=X, A-Cis=Y, Fis-Cis=T, the total was 2T-X-2Y-Ψ. The total intensity (structure) of the harmonic structure was calculated as follows: D-A=1T, D-Fis=4T, D-Cis= Ψ (5T), A-Fis= X (3T), A-Cis=Y(4T), Fis-Cis=1T, and the total sum, the summary *Ista* = 18T.⁵⁰



Se	Y		T		Ψ		X		T		Y		Ssum	2T-X-2Y-Ψ
Ista	4	+	1	+	5	+	3	+	1	+	4		=	18T

Example 1: Harmonic intensity of consonance D-Fis-A-Cis in bivector model E-H.

As can be seen, it was very tiresome procedure.

The author of the *Dodecatonics* also noted that, in the establishment of the affiliation of the harmonic structure to the system, difficulties arose in cases when in the semicircle PQ, next to the existing tones, some positions remained unfilled. For such cases, he proposed a law: the part of the system containing the largest group – an entire row of unfilled positions – was considered as beyond the boundaries of the system. Non-systemic tones, however, were perceived as certain **chromatic tones of the system** (see Schema 1).⁵¹

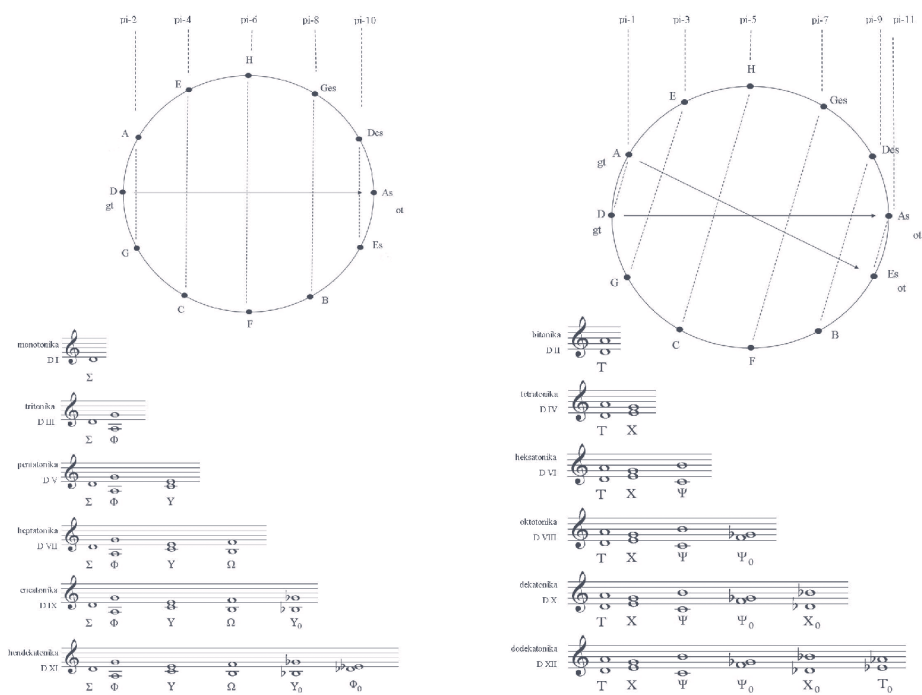
Thus, **the diatonic systems** of the *Dodecatonics* of Balakauskas formed progressions of quints of a smaller or larger volume and they were separated by a boundary from

⁵⁰ Ibid., 185-186.

⁵¹ Ibid., 186, 189.

the non-systematic (chromatic) tones. **The boundary of the system** was defined by two extreme tones connected by a straight line. Graphically, the system was denoted by the so-called system line (the semi-circle covering all the positions + the straight line of the boundary of the system). In Schema 1, the system was formed by tones *F-C-G-D-A-E-H-Ges-Des*, while tones *As-ES-B* remained beyond the boundary. Balakauskas accentuated the special significance of the margins of the system, since both of its extreme tones formed its most characteristic structure, and it was exactly that separating structure that determined the existence and the identity of the system itself (new quality appeared specifically at that given point), regardless of the affiliation to actual sounds.

Based on the monovector and bivector PQ models, in his *Dodecatonics*, Balakauskas identified 12 diatonic scales (D I, D II, D III... D XII). Those were, respectively (see Example 2): monotonic (D I), bitonic (D II), tritonic (D III), tetratonic (D IV), pentatonic (D V), hexatonic (D VI), heptatonic (D VII), octatonic (D VIII), enneatonic (D IX), decatonic (D X), hendecatonic (D XI), and dodecatonic scales. As the volume of the system was predetermined by the amount of its constituents, and not by really sounding tones, the systems could be either complete or incomplete:



Example 2: Diatonic systems of the Dodecatonics, based on the monovector and bivector PQ of the models.⁵²

52 The schemas came from *ibid.*, 182–183.

Thus, the macrosystem of the *Dodecatonics* revealed its universal and fundamental principle in subordinated subsystems of different completeness and complexity (from the monotonic to the dodecatonic scale). Incidentally, the systems may have acquired that characteristic in accordance with a similar principle applied in the system by Hanson (1960). In the summary of his study, Hanson concluded that understanding of the nature of complex, sophisticated musical structures as ones composed of the structures of a smaller scale could offer a way to overcome the crisis in contemporary music or to cope with a certain chaos of tones of the non-mastered (non-assimilated) material. "Complete assimilation of a small tonal vocabulary, accomplished on the basis of mastership, finally acquires a priority right against a large vocabulary, totally non-mastered by the composer himself."⁵³

In the characteristics of the vocabulary of different volume tones in his *Dodecatonics*, Balakauskas noted some specific features of his musical-theoretical system which may be determined as a phenomenon of synergy of different volume diatonic systems. Moreover, as he stated, monotonic and bitonic scales could not be incomplete because of their volume (the system became merely a separating structure), while in tritonic, tetratonic, pentatonic, hexatonic, and heptatonic scales, it were the tones that denoted the boundary of the system that became a separating structure. The systems of larger volumes than a heptatonic scale were characterised by more complex structures. In Schema 10, arrows denoted the minimal separating structures of the nine systems of the *Dodecatonics*:⁵⁴

The image displays musical notation for Schema 10, illustrating diatonic systems of the Dodecatonics from the tritonic to the hendecatonic scale, along with minimal separating structures. The notation is presented in two staves. The first staff shows systems III, IV, V, VI, and VII, each represented by a chord with a label below it. The second staff shows systems VIII, IX, X, and XI, each represented by a chord with a label below it. Arrows point to specific tones in each system, indicating minimal separating structures. The key signature is one flat (B-flat).

Schema 10: Diatonic systems of the *Dodecatonics* (from the tritonic to the hendecatonic scale) and minimal separating structures.

Moreover, Balakauskas noted that dodecatonics by nature could not be incomplete, and only its totality (a set of 12 chromatic tones) represented a system. Others (from the tritonic to the hendecatonic scale), even when represented merely by their separating structure, were unmistakably recognised as systems of a corresponding volume.

Since the *Dodecatonics*, as well as many others compositional musical-theoretical systems, simultaneously turned into a kind of an algorithm of the author's own work, it is important to emphasise that Balakauskas in his compositions paid equal attention

53 Quoted from Hanson, op. cit., 348.

54 Schema 10 comes from: *Dodecatonics* by Osvaldas Balakauskas, op.cit., 184.

both to the dodecatonic (12-tone) system and to the systems of a smaller volume. As examples of his dodecatonic technique, which significantly differed from the representatives of the Second Viennese School, a number of his compositions, such as *Quartetto concertante* (1970; 1990), *Symphony No. 1* (1973), *Symphony No. 2* (1979), *Dada Concerto* (1982), *Concerto for Quartet and String Quartet* (1986), and other should be indicated. Simultaneously, however, Balakauskas continued composing according to the generative potential of the material of smaller volume systems. Thus, e.g. the octatonic scale (D VIII, an 8-tone system), served as a basis for such compositions of Balakauskas as a Symphony-Concerto for piano and orchestra *Mountain Sonata (Kalnų sonata)*, (1975), a vocal cycle *By the Blue Flower* for choir, piano, violin, viola, cello, flute and oboe (1976), as well as *Sinfonia concertante No. 3, Das Bachjahr* for flute, harpsichord, and strings (1985), etc. The enneatonic scale (DIX, a 9-tone system) became a basis for the *Concerto for oboe, harpsichord, and strings* (1981), etc.

It is important to emphasise that the time of the publication of the musical-theoretical system (theory) of harmony *Dodecatonics* of Balakauskas coincided with his farewell from the most influential 12-tone compositional system of the 20th century “as exceedingly exhausted in our time” (O. Balakauskas). Although he, both in composition and publicly, renounced the strict 12-tone chromatic system – a template of Modernism, the discipline of thinking, precise selection, and the interrelationship of micro- and macro-structures never left his music. His farewell to Modernism was clearly demonstrated by the genre and music of the three-Waltz suite *La Valse* for Violin Solo (1997) and *Symphony No. 4* (1998). A turn toward the opposition of Modernism, i.e. toward the tradition, was witnessed by the dramaturgy of the traditional sonata-symphonic cycle first used in his symphonic works (*Allegro, Andante, Scherzo, Finale*).⁵⁵ The harmonic structure of his *Symphony No. 4* originated from the diatonic systems of the dodecatonics: from the octatonic (8-tone) to the hendecatonic (11-tone) scale, and the systems in the cycle were distributed in accordance with the decreasing progression of the number of tones. The music of the symphony was permeated with an open longing for the fundamental gravitation of the centre of gravity, the apotheosis of consonance, and the tradition of craving for values. “The new now is what is long-lasting: harmony and melody,” said Balakauskas on the eve of the premiere of his *Symphony No. 4*. By that composition for the symphony orchestra, he bade farewell to the 20th century musical Modernism.

The fact that Balakauskas was no longer interested in the procedures of the compositional manipulations of the avant-garde was confirmed by his *Symphony No. 5* (2001). The previous pre-composition rites were gone; the conceptually constructed series and the structural “alchemy” of formation were losing relevance. The excitement of the search for all kinds of new ways of material manipulation, caused by the striving for technological excellence and the coherence of all structural levels of a composition, retreated into the shadow. A 4-movement cycle of symphony with the tempo of the traditional symphonic dramaturgy was evidently composed not by a vanguard, constructively distributing sound structures, but rather by a musician improvising in the spirit of jazz swing. The chromatic 12-tone sound field was replaced by the “tonality” of the dodecatonics.

55 *Symphony No. 1* (1973), *Symphony No. 2* (1979), *Sinfonia Concertante for violin, piano solo, percussion, harp, and strings* (1982) by Balakauskas was a three-movement concerto type.

The Discourse of Harmonic Resources of the Dodecatonics and their Use in Individual Music Composition

While coming back to the main issue of research, i.e. the interrelationship between the principles of tonality in the theoretical system of dodecatonics and music composition by Balakauskas, it is necessary to provide some of the starting positions. As the author of the compositional-theoretical system of dodecatonics did not interpret his understanding of the concept of diatonic tonality in detail, therefore, not only the paradigms of the chord-harmonic conception of tonality (*harmonische Tonalität*) should be taken into account, but also some attention should be paid to the models of its melodic forms (*melodische Tonalität* – the concepts of Carl Dahlhaus).⁵⁶ It is the latter that is presented by Kholopov when challenging the decision of Dahlhaus to simply assign them to the paradigm of modality. As is well known, the issue of the correlation of tonality and modality were analysed by Kholopov in his study *Категории Тональности и лада в музыке Палестрины* [*Categories of Tonality and Mode in Palestrina's Music*] (2002). Kholopov identified three constants as the characteristics of modality: the priority of a certain scale, consonances of a melodic origin, and the unstable, oscillating gravitation.⁵⁷ However, the musical-theoretical system of dodecatonics was perceived, and primarily by its author, as a system (theory) of harmony or as “harmonic tonality” (the term of Rudolph Réti) which operated systems (tonalities) of different volume: from the monotonic to the dodecatonic scale. Before we start dealing with the issue of the correlation of the system of Balakauskas with the systems of modality and tonality, we shall present an overview of the context at hand.

What did Schoenberg do in that case in his *Harmonielehre* (1911)? First, he critically examined the traditional approach to tonal harmony, and only afterwards he began to revise the system. Subsequently, he started creating an alternative to it, i.e. dodecaphony. As later evaluated by Réti, he replaced the power of one structure (tonality) by another (which increased the degree of the thematic unity). That was the nature of the 12-tone technique which became the result of Schoenberg's disappointment with free atonality.⁵⁸ Webern, however, in his *Lectures on Music* (1933) expressed doubts about the promising character of the consideration of the method of composition through the correlation of 12 chromatic tones and the achievement of their closer interrelationship just as a “substitute of tonality”. Milton Babbitt in his dissertation *The Function of Set Structure in the Twelve-Tone System* (1946) and a monograph *The Function of the Structure of Rows in the Twelve-Tone System* (1992) emphatically and unequivocally

56 The concepts were used by Dallhaus in his habilitation paper, see *Untersuchungen über die Entstehung der harmonischen Tonalität* (Kassel: Bärenreiter 1988), 18.

57 Ю. Н. Холопов, *Категории Тональности и лада в музыке Палестрины* [Categories of Tonality and Mode in Palestrina's Music] at: <https://studfiles.net/preview/3911180/>, as well as Ю. Н. Холопов, *Модальная Гармония: Модальность Как Тип Структуры (Modal Harmony: Modality as a Type of the Structure)*, in *Музыкальное искусство. Общие вопросы Теории и эстетике музыки*, [The Art of Music: General Issues of the Theory and Aesthetics of Music], ed. Т. Соломонова, Ташкент: Издательство литературы и искусства им. Г. Гуляма, с. 1975, с. 16–31; Ю. Н. Холопов, *К проблеме лада в русском Теоретическом музыковедении* [On the Issue of Mode in Russian Theoretical Musicology] in: *Гармония: Проблемы науки и методики* [Harmony: the Issue of Science and Melodics], ed. by Е. Стручалина, вып. 2 (Ростов на Дону: РГК, 2005), 135–157.

58 Rudolph Réti, *Tonality, Atonality, Pantonality: A Study of Some Trends in Twentieth Century Music* (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1958).

proclaimed the incompatibility of the tonal and serial organisations and thus refuted the attempts of Perle to create a certain analogy between them. Babbitt also challenged the attempt of Hindemith to create a universal theoretical system and stated that the strength of the system lay not in the fact of its universality, but in the creation of an alternative theoretical structure, based on experience, experiments, and tradition. Systems become part of music composition, and not its invariant context, as explained by Benjamin Boretz and Edward Cone.

The concept of tonality,⁵⁹ regardless of its individual interpretation or a traditional or innovative approach to it, has already acquired some constant content: the basis for understanding tonality includes the idea of the centre and the phenomenon of gravitation of the unstable toward the stable. The position was first established in the conception of tonality as “the technique of the centre” (*Technik des Klangzentrums*), developed by Hermann Erpf. In 1927, Erpf wrote in his *Studien zur Harmonie- und Klangtechnik der neueren Musik* [*Studies on the Harmony and Sound Technology of the New Music*]: “Die Technik des Klangzentrums hat als wesentliches Merkmal einen [...] Klang, der im Zusammenhang nach kurzen Zwischenstrecken immer wieder auftritt. Dadurch gewinnt dieser Klang [...] in einem gewissen primitiven Sinn den Charakter eines klanglichen Zentrums.”⁶⁰ Erpf also proposed to replace the term *tonality* by a clear concept, revealing its nature, of the “central functional relationship” (*zentrale funktionelle Beziehung*) as well as to completely abandon the term of *atonality* due to its negative and unprecise nature.⁶¹

Erpf saw the origins of the 12-tone music as early as in the music of collapsing functionality, and he considered the origins of dodecaphony as the extreme limit which naturally had to be reached, however, in the future it was to be overcome.⁶² Afterwards, in the consideration of tonality, theorists placed emphasis on different aspects of the phenomenon. Thus, e.g. in the *Introduction to 12-Tone Composition*⁶³ (*Anleitung zur Zwölftonkomposition: nebst allerlei Paralipomena*) (1952-1958), Hanns Jelinek related tonality to the idea of the centre (*Zentralton*), or tonic, which was able to interrelate all the tones of a composition and to introduce a promising principle of organization. In the *Vocabulary of Music* by Hugo Riemann (*Riemann Musiklexikon*, 1967),⁶⁴ Carl Dallhaus built the concept of tonality on three principles: systematicity, hierarchy, and functional differentiation.

In the present study, the foundation of the concept of new tonality is also related to the Kholopov's teachings on tonality. As is known, the said phenomenon

59 In *Comprehensive Music Teaching* (*Allgemeinen Musiklehre*, 1924) Hermann Grabner defined the key: “The relationship of the individual keys of the composition with the principal key is called the tonality.” (*Die Beziehungen der einzelnen Tonarten eines Stückes zur Haupttonart heißt Tonalität*). Quoted after Michael Beiche, *Tonalität, Handwörterbuch der musikalischen Terminologie* (Stuttgart: Steiner, 1999), 11.

60 Hermann Erpf, *Studien zur Harmonie- und Klangtechnik der neueren Musik* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1927), 122.

61 *Ibid.*, 110. Kholopov wrote about it in the footnote of his book *Очерки современной гармонии* [*Essays on Modern Harmony*] (Москва: Музыка, 1974), 136.

62 *Ibid.*, 85–86. It is important that Erpf explained the essence of the 12-tone music, based on the examples of compositions of Josef Matthias Hauer (the author of the first theory of the 12-tone music), and not on compositions by his personal friend A. Schönberg. See also Hermann Erpf, *Vom Wesen der Neuen Musik* (Stuttgart: Curt E. Schwab GmbH, 1949).

63 Hanns Jelinek, *Anleitung zur Zwölftonkomposition: nebst allerlei Paralipomena* (Wien: Universal-Edition, 1952-1958).

64 *Riemann Musiklexikon*, Bd. 3 (Sachteil), herausg. von H. H. Eggebrecht (Mainz: B. Schott's Sohné, 1967), 960.

was defined by him as a system organised around a unified pillar (the central element of the system – CE), the tones of which were under hierarchical subordination, while the pillar and the system of interrelationships were established at a certain height. “The system of functional relations is hierarchically centralized, and the tonic permeates the entire harmonic structure.”⁶⁵ Nonetheless, in the case of the *Dodecatonics*, only in the appendix (*Paralipomena*) it became clear that Balakauskas related the concept of tonality to the phenomenon of functionality (“functionality is recognised as an essential attribute of tonality”), and understood the phenomenon rather broadly, without relating it exclusively to the tonic and the dominant seventh chord.⁶⁶ Still, the gravity of the centre and the principle of tonality in the long run were increasingly gaining the composer’s recognition. On the example of the theoretical conceptualisation of the composer’s creative principle, one must agree with the conclusion of Kholopov that the very evolution of musical thinking brought him to individualised forms of tonality. Its models and structures became an integral part of the creative process itself.

The analysis of the foundations laid out above and the theoretical argumentation of the technique of the projection of fifths (quints) of the 12-tone system (theory) by Balakauskas and the way of its functioning in the composer’s music led to the conclusion that the tonal essence of Balakauskas’ system subordinated its dodecaphonic identity. The conclusion supported the characteristics of the elements and the structural-functional principles of the *Dodecatonics*:

- The presence of the centre or the quasi-tonic (*gt*) and the counting out of tones from a specific centre (which was consistent with Hindemith’s idea of rows formation).
- Operation of the idea of immanent functionality which manifested itself under the operation of the principle of the hierarchy of the tone belonging, i.e. their proximity or remoteness from *gt*.

Balakauskas also demonstrated the tonal nature of his system by analysing the cases of harmonic gravity⁶⁷ in the situations of resolution and presented models of the immanent dominant and tonic as the prototypes of harmonic gravitation (*tension* and resolution or cadences). The impact of the gravitation of the tonality centre and the desire of the composer to create a new-tonal centralized 12-pitch system kept increasing in the course of time. In that, the position of Balakauskas-composer became close to the evolution of the approach to the phenomenon of tonality of Schoenberg, Perle, Stravinsky, and others. Thus, e.g. Stravinsky has been increasingly seeking to discover the tonal nature in serial music and announced in his declaration in the year of his arrival to the USSR (1962): “Without tonality, there is no music.”⁶⁸ In 2008, a similar declaration came from the 70-year-old ex-modernist Osvaldas Balakauskas: “Now I believe

65 Ю. Н. Холопов, *Гармония. Теоретический курс* [*Harmony. Theory Course*]. Санкт-Петербург: Лапы, 2003), 236.

66 Osvaldas Balakauskas, *Dodekatonika*, op. cit., 198.

67 *Ibid.*, 193-198.

68 И. Стравинский - публицист и собеседник [I. Stravinsky, Publicist and Interlocutor], ed. by В. П. Варунц (Москва: Советский композитор, 1988), 197.

that tonality is what separates *music* from *sounds* [...], and here lies the specific power of music (and only music) to excite.”⁶⁹

As already mentioned, the theoretical conception of the dodecatonics did not have a lot in common with the principles of classical dodecaphony. Balakauskas defined the technological nature of his compositions based on the system of the dodecatonics in a certain “chromatic mode” as “tonal seriality” or “serial minimalism”. Indeed, in the functioning of a “magic symmetrical” 12-tone row (Example 3) in his opera, explicit declarations of serial principles were not observed. Balakauskas’ attitude to Schoenberg’s dodecaphony can be compared with the revisionist approach of the former admirers George Perle⁷⁰ and Ernst Křenek. As is known, the twelve-tone modal system of Perle was also transformed into its own version of twelve-tone tonality. Some intervals or consonants acquired the function of the centre (tonic), and their change predetermined the entire harmonic process. Both Perle and Balakauskas provided rather similar arguments in their criticism of dodecaphony: it was “disorder” in the logic of harmony (even if Schoenberg believed the opposite!). With some solidarity, the “seismic” state of the mid-20th-century music composition was characterised by Pierre Boulez as balancing between order and chaos. On that occasion,

Balakauskas made a definite statement: “I am not satisfied with the chaos produced by the rules of Schoenberg.”

It is worth adding that this idea and some elements of the system of Balakauskas were also similar to the 12-tone modal system of Eduard Křenek. That was especially true of the fact that the 12-tone chromatic system of Křenek provided an opportunity of functioning as modal tone rows and enabled the operation of modal or tonal centres. As a result, the systems of Perle, Křenek, and Balakauskas were united by their polyvalent nature: the sound pitches’ potential could be treated both as modal and tonal systems and, when desired, also as dodecatonic (dodecaphonic) as well as free atonal systems.

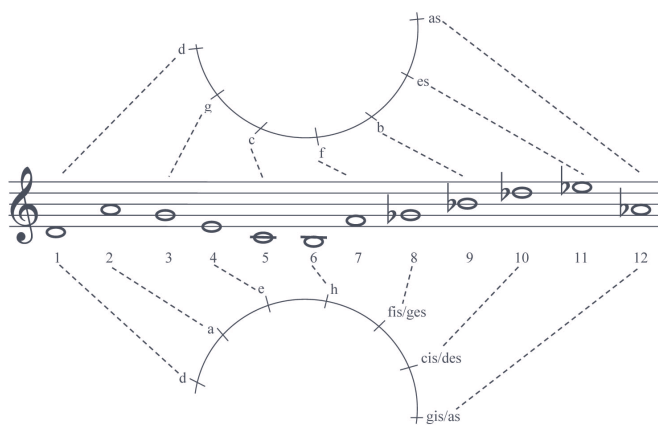
In the present study, considerable attention was devoted to the relationship of the system of Balakauskas with other theoretical conceptions of the 20th-century composers (such as Schönberg, Perle, Hindemith, Křenek, Babbit, etc.). It was necessary to touch upon the works of musicologists-theorists who also built their theories on the basis of the Pythagorean conception of the progression of fifths. First of all, I mean François-Auguste Gevaert and the hierarchy of his sound systems in the work *A Treatise on Theoretical and Practical Harmony (Traité d’harmonie théorique et pratique)* (1905–1907), translated into German by Hugo Riemann. In Russia, the idea of the progression of fifths was propagated in the writings of Georgy Catoire, Yury Tiullin (. Тюллин), Ivan Pustyl'nik, Antanas Venckus, and was further developed in the periodical system of Aleksej Ogolovets (Оголовец) and others. As the present study focused on the systems of composers, it became apparent that the dodecatonics by Balakauskas had something in common with the basis of fifths and the “axis system” (*das Achsensystem*)

69 Quoted from Gražina Daunoravičienė-Žuklytė, op. cit., 192.

70 In his book on atonal and serial music, Perle noted that the most influential effect of the method of Schönberg was not related to his idea of 12 tones. The value of the method was based on individual conceptions of permutations, inversional symmetry, and mutual complementarity, variantness based on transformations, aggregates, structures, closed systems, and the treasure of a close impact of the factors of composition. See George Perle, *Serial Composition and Atonality: An Introduction to the Music of Schoenberg, Berg, and Webern*, 6th Edition (University of California Press, 1991), x.

of tritonal counterparts in the compositions of Béla Bartók, as revealed in the conception of Ernő Lendvai (1971) developed with the aim of a harmonic analysis of Bartók's music. The tritonal vector and the motivation of the chromaticism of the system (= a non-systemic tone) related the dodecatonics also to the approach of Hanson laid out in his book *Harmonic Materials in Modern Music: Resources of the Tempered Scale* (1961). In contrast to the approach of the Lithuanian composer, in Hanson's morphology of intervals, the extreme dissonance was represented by minor second, and the extreme consonance coincided with the perfect fifth. As argued by Hanson, the multiplication of exclusively those intervals can represent the entire chromatic pitches' continuum. In the framework of the present study, it was impossible to comment on all the relationships of the musical-theoretical system of Balakauskas with many other theoretical systems. The desire to conceptually reflect on their own compositional method united numerous composers-intellectuals of the 20th century: to the above-mentioned, I would like to add Henry Cowell, Alois Hába, Olivier Messiaen, Henri Pousseur, Heinrich Simbriger, Karlheinz Stockhausen, Claude Ballif, Anatol Vieru, Gérard Grisey, and many others.

I shall present an example of the composer's interpretation of the basic statements and principles of the dodecatonics, based on a brief analysis of *Symphony No. 2* by Balakauskas. This score is a good example how the principles of the *Dodecatonics* theory organize the entire composing process in his own creation. Moreover, I shall add some comments on the composer's attitude towards the main material of the symphony: that is an already familiar universal to us, a "magic series of symmetrical tones". The monovector R_y model in the row acquires the shape of a palindrome: $O=R$, while its second half (tones 7–12) represents the first retrograde (tones 1–6). Two tritones (between tones 6–7 and 1–12) form a strong structural framework which indicates the presence of rational precompositional procedures, very typical of the *Materialdenken* of many composers-modernists:



Example 3a: Genesis of the "magic symmetrical row", or row R_y , of Balakauskas drawn by G. Daunoravičienė.

A geometry-based spherical image of the projection of quints and the opposition tones, or a dodecagram/dodecagon,⁷¹ represents the genetic identity of George Perle's cyclic set and Balakauskas' "magic symmetrical row", or row R_7 (Fig. 3b):



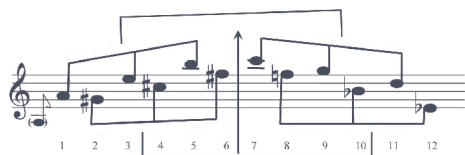
Example 3 b: Spherical geometry of George Perle's "cyclic set" and Osvaldas Balakauskas' "magic symmetric row", or row R_7 , based on the spatial principle and the schema of Pythagorean circle of fifths.⁷²

In the search for some constructive resonances in the context of the 20th century, first of all, we paid attention to the fact that the binary structure of the crossing of the cycle of perfect fifths – fourths was also found in the series of 11 different intervals (*Allintervallreihe*, all interval series) of Fritz Klein, a composer who should be reasonably included in the list of discoverers of the 12-tone technique. The fundamental structure of fifths in the series of Klein was clearly identified by the division of the series into two rows (Example 4): the upper $a - e - h / c - g - d$ and the lower $gis - cis - fis / f - b - es$. The said proto-form (*Urform*) was insightfully identified by Perle when examining the row as a series of Alban Berg in the latter's *Lyric Suite*. The fact that the series of the *Lyric Suite* belonged to Berg's pupil Fritz Heinrich Klein was witnessed by documents (Klein analysed the structure of the row in letters to his teacher Berg, in his article *Die Grenze der Halbtonwelt* (1925), and in the preface *Analyse des Modells – Typ II* (11 pages) to *Variations*, op. 11 (Klein 1925; 1992). That was also clearly evidenced by Berg's letter of 13th June 1926 to his teacher Schönberg. The fifths principle of Klein's series was graphically presented in the study by Arved Ashby:⁷³

71 Eric Wolfgang Weisstein, *Dodecagram*, *MathWorld*, A Wolfram Web Resource. <http://mathworld.wolfram.com/Dodecagram.html>.

72 The schema comes from: <https://www.pinterest.com/elmcreekmusic/circle-of-fifths/>.

73 Arved Ashby, "Of 'Modell-Typen' and 'Reihenformen': Berg, Schoenberg, F. H. Klein, and the Concept of Row Derivation," *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 48, No. 1 (Spring, 1995): 75–86.



Example 4: The quint principle (a protoform/Urform) of all-interval series (*Allintervallreihe*) of Fritz Klein.

Another constructive law that was typical of the most rational and constructive series of the 20th century should also be noted. The said characteristics identified not only the tritone quality of the “axial points” (6–7 and 12–1) of the series, but also the symmetrical “umbrella-shaped” network of tritonal interrelationships. The tritonal quality of interrelationships between tones became universal and extended to all pairs of symmetrically arranged intervals of the series. The said quality was inherent (see Example 5) in: a) the aforementioned all-interval series (*Allintervallreihe*) of Fritz Klein in *Variations for piano*, op. 14 (24); b) in the retrograde (crab-wise) palindromic series of *Symphony*, op. 21(1928) by Webern; c) the series *Il canto sospeso* (1956) by Luigi Nono, consisting of all progressively increasing intervals; d) the series of *Nocturne No. 2* from the opera *The Soldiers* (1965) by Bernd Alois Zimmermann; and e) the tritone “umbrella”, or a structure of symmetrical tritones, was also a regularity of the “magic symmetrical row”, or row R_γ, which formed the basis of *Symphony No. 2* (1979) by Balakauskas:

The image displays five musical staves, labeled a) through e), each showing a 12-note series with tritone relationships between notes 6-7 and 12-1. The notes are numbered 1 through 12. Staff a) shows the series from Example 4. Staff b) shows a retrograde series. Staff c) shows a series with progressively increasing intervals. Staff d) shows a series from Zimmermann. Staff e) shows a series from Balakauskas. Each staff has a large bracket above it connecting notes 1 and 12, and smaller brackets connecting notes 6 and 7, and 12 and 1, indicating tritone relationships.

Example 5: Tritone symmetrical pairs of intervals in the series of Klein (a), Webern (b), Nono (c), Zimmermann (d) and Balakauskas (e). The analytical Example was developed by G. Daunoravičienė.

The characteristic of the “magic symmetrical row”, or row R_γ, of Balakauskas would be incomplete, should we ignore the fact that, in the 30s of the 20th century, a row of an analogous structure was developed by American composer and theorist George Perle, first an adept, and later a critic of the dodecaphony of Schoenberg. The projection of fifths, like the rows of Klein and Balakauskas, also became the basis of his conception of twelve-tone tonality⁷⁴ and of the serial harmony of Perle. The core of Perle’s system was represented by the so-called symmetrical cycles (cyclic set, symmetrical cycles), and in their functioning a certain hierarchy of chromatic pitches, intervals, chords, and correlations with the centre was observed.⁷⁵

At the beginning of the present study, a question of a hylomorphic character was raised, i.e. a hypothesis was offered that the composers’ answer to the question about the primacy of form or matter in the compositional practice of the 20th century was in favour of the former, the “smart” material of the composition. A similar thesis was formed by the modernist works of Balakauskas. As suggested by the analysis of his *Symphony No. 2* (1979), in the precomposition, the concentrate of the material – a 12-tone row⁷⁶ – was perceived by the composer as a universal and polyfunctional project. The “magic symmetrical row”, or row R_γ, served as a code of the logic of sound pitches. However, it combined the projects of many other constructive parameters of composition, including the organizing numbers. In the genesis of the row of the symphony, three principal generative programmes can be identified. The latter took an active part in the compositional process and, in a hylomorphic sense, predetermined a harmonious form of the whole. The said concepts included:

- **Measure-numbers (numerus).** The acoustics’ code of the fifth (2:3) logically predetermined further mathematical consequences, based on the logic of the Fibonacci series (2+3=5, 8, 14);⁷⁷
- **The progressions (of quints).** The said code was implemented in a row of 12 chromatic tones in transpositions, as well as in the progression of periodicities of a formal character;
- **Symmetry.** The mirror-like character of the “magic symmetrical row” was determined by the inversion, retrogradness, and symmetry of different structural layers of the composition – formal structures of different character and volume, up to an entire cycle.

The projected constructivism of the row contributed to the formation of the sound space in *Symphony No. 2* by Balakauskas. This was facilitated by the factor of autonomy of sound parameters and their strict regulatory organization. However, the composer first focused not so much on diverse elements of the composition, but on the *interrelationships* between them. The search for organic structural coherence became the main task of the composer in the solution of a dilemma of a hylomorphic

74 George Perle, “Symmetry, the Twelve-Tone Scale, and Tonality,” *Contemporary Music Review* 6, No. 2 (1992): 81–96.

75 “Letter from George Perle,” *Music Theory Spectrum* 15, No. 2 (Autumn 1993): 300–303.

76 A complete row is present everywhere, e.g. in the part of the organ – *cantus firmus* in Part 1, in quick-as-a-flash replies of Part 2 (see Example No. 7), or in the refrains of the finale.

77 Балакаускас consciously avoided the “unlucky” number 13, included in the Fibonacci row, and replaced it by the number of J. S. Bach (14).

character. Examples of organic coherence of a row and a macroform were presented by the precedent of *Symphony, op. 21* (1928) by Webern. The thesis of the avant-garde composition represented the mandate of Karlheinz Stockhausen “to bring to the common denominator” the regularities of the form and the background of the material. In his keynote article of 1953 *Zur Situations des Metiers (Klangkomposition)* [On the Situation of the Profession Composition], he recommended the unity of the row and the entire composition in order to make the entire opus the last augmentation of the original series (*das ganze Werk letzte Vergrößerung der ursprünglichen Reihe ist*).⁷⁸ I shall comment on the analytical schemas of *Symphony No. 2* by Balakauskas from that perspective.

Schema 11: Osvaldas Balakauskas. *Symphony No. 2* (1979), I Moderato. An analytical schema.⁷⁹

The logic of arrangement of the pitch parameter of the symphony should be defined as **12-step forms** of the three parts of the cycle, predetermined by the pitch project of the row. The regulatory interrelationships of the pitch, temporal, and formal structures were also encoded in **the progression 1:2:3:5:8:14**. Its fragments predetermined the law of segmentation of the row: e.g. the middle part (*II Moderato*) was formed by *two-voice* harmonic segments (see Schema 12), the finale (*Presto*), by *three-voice* ones (see Schema 13), and the first part (*I Moderato*), by segments of 5 tones (see Schema 11).

78 Karlheinz Stockhausen, *Zur Situation des Metiers (Klangkomposition)*, Texte, Bd. 1, ed. D. Schnebel (Köln: DuMont-Buchverlag, 1963), 60.

79 The analytical schemas 11–13 were developed by the author of the present study Gražina Daunoravičienė.

The entire progression 1 : 3 : 5 : 8 : 14 basically assumed the role of the project of organisation of the formal logic of segmentation of the sections of forms: 8 sections of the *Crescendo* form were presented in Part 1 of the symphony, while, based on the timbral-textural repetition, the 8 sections were additionally segmented into 5 + 3 (three-part sections) of the form (see Schema No. 11). The mirror-retrograde (crab-wise) form of Part 2 of the Symphony was additionally segmented into 14+14 by the structural caesuras *talea* of the bongo drum (see Schema 12). The finale manifested the basic formula of the organising numbers 1 : 2 : 3 : 5 : 8 : 14 (see Schema 13).

The image shows a page of a musical score, likely from a symphony. The score is arranged in a standard orchestral format with multiple staves. The instruments listed on the left side of the page are: Cl. b. (Clarinete bassetto), Fag. (Fagot), Cor. (Corni), Tr-be (Trombe), Tr-ne (Trombe basse), Timp. (Timpali), Tr-lo (Tromba), C-lli (Corno), Vib. (Vibrafono), Cel. (Cello), Arpa (Arpa), Org. (Organo), V-ni I div. (Violini I), V-ni II div. (Violini II), V-le div. (Viola), V-c. div. (Violoncello), and C-b. div. (Contrabbasso). The score includes measures 14 and 35. Various performance instructions are present, such as "I con sord." (with mutes), "arco" (arco), and "col legno" (col legno). The score is marked with a copyright notice "c 1084 k" at the bottom.

15

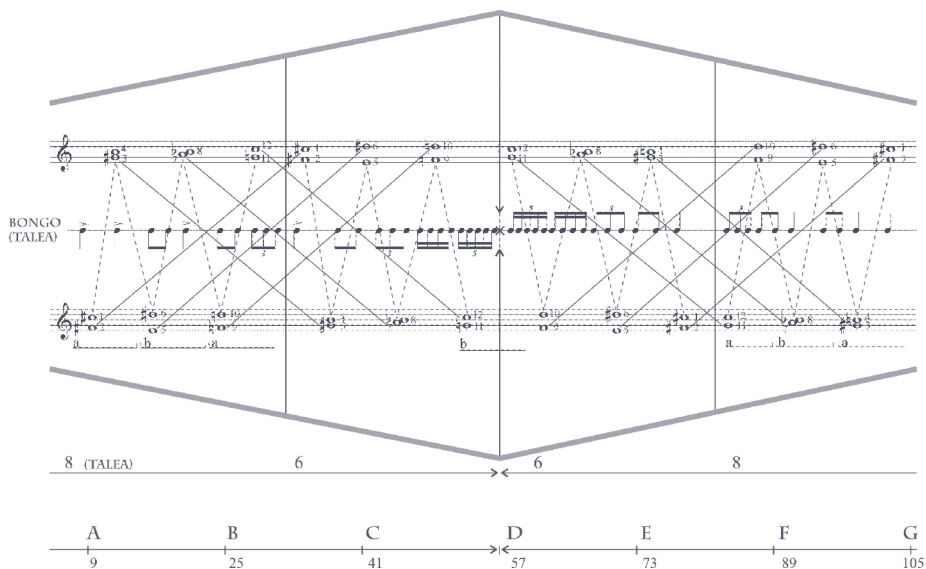
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Example 6: Osvaldas Balakauskas. Symphony No. 2 (1979). I Moderato, measures 34–39 (the score).

The idea of the sound wave of quints was also embodied in specific kinds of **dynamic forms** – the multi-parameter crescendo was presented in Part 1 of the Symphony, and the antipode *diminuendo* (*decrecendo*), in the finale. The macroform was isomorphically reflected at the intersections of *crescendo* and *diminuendo* of a smaller scale and in the middle part of the cycle (see Schema 12, Example 7). Still, the multi-level poly-ostinato of the first *Moderato* contained both replicas of postmodernism (meaning the

repetitive character of minimalism, see Example 6) and some neo-classical *Ars Nova* emblems, such as open and closed (*ouvert et clos*) iso-cadences that put into shape the structural blocks of the form (Schema 11). In the finale (*Presto*), the fanfares of iso-introductions proclaimed the return of the refrain (Schema 13).

In the world of strict lyrics (*II Moderato*) of the middle part of the *Symphony*, a certain sonic “stained-glass window” sparkled with the colours of the orchestra. The strict geometry of timbre reflections was built based on the structure of the cross (which was contained in the series). In the score of the said impressionistic canvas, the horizontal axis was formed by the progressions of the bongo drum, and the imaginary vertical axis in the centre of the form (measure 56, figure D, see Schema 12) was created by a certain “point” around which all the sound process moved back. As if on Suprematist canvases of abstractionists, some sound objects crashed into other ones, and the “chords hanging on slurs” (Olivier Messiaen) were with lightning speed cut through by the sharp “strokes” of the series (Example 7). The iridescent colours of the orchestra were embodied in pure and strict forms, and the timbral colours provided for the plasticity of movement. However, it was the pulsating *chroma* that became the main reality of the colourful landscape of the second part of the *Symphony*. In it, the metaphors of the 20th-century musical composition – *Klangfarbenforme* of Schönberg and the moving colours (*Bewegungsfarben*) of Ligeti – seem to have come together. The “sonically moving forms” (as termed by Hanslick) of Balakauskas brought together and realised the constructive energy coming from multiple compositional parameters.



Schema 12: Osvaldas Balakauskas. Symphony No. 2 (1979), II Moderato. An analytical schema.

40

Ob. I, II *dim.* *ppp*

C. ingl. *dim.* *ppp*

Cl. I, II *ppp*

Cl. b. *ppp*

Fag. I, II *dim.* *ppp*

C-fag. *dim.* *ppp*

Cor. *ppp*

Tr-bc *cresc.* *ff*

Tr-ni *cresc.* *ff*

Bongo *cresc.* *ff*

V-cello el.

V-ni I *ppp*

V-ni II *ppp*

V-le *ppp*

V-c. *ppp*

C-b. *ppp*

ppp *mf* *3* *ff*

mf *3* *ff*

mf *3* *ff*

mf *3* *ff*

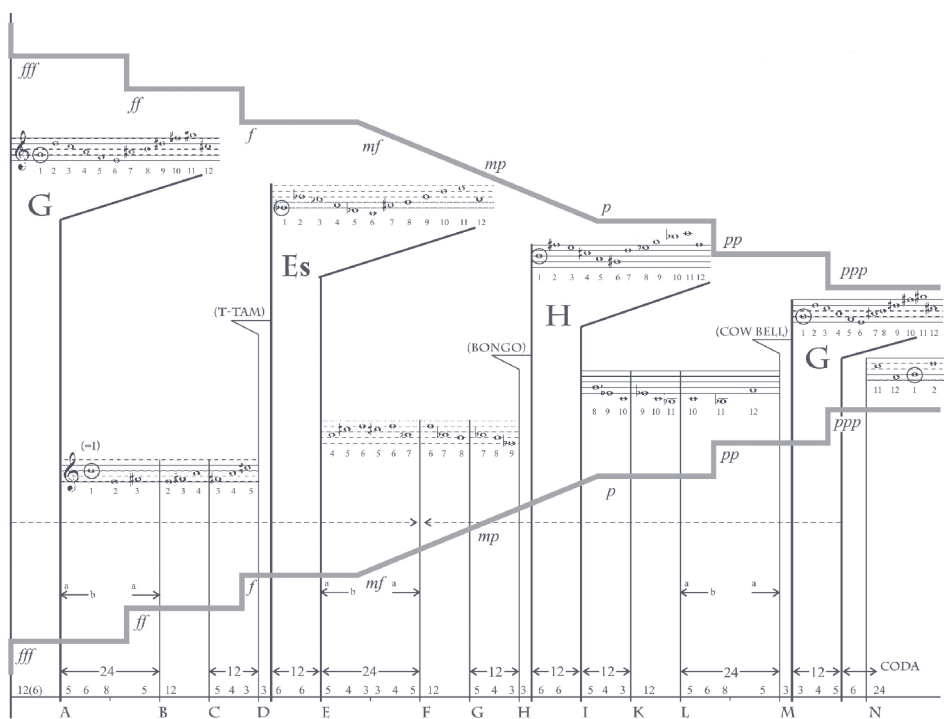
mf *3* *ff*

7 10 11 2 3 5 8 10 12 1 4 6
8 9 12 1 4 6 7 9 11 2 3 5

Example 7. Osvaldas Balakauskas. Symphony No. 2 (1979), II Moderato: “chords hanging on slurs” and vertical strokes of the series, measures 40–43.

The dynamic *decrescendo* (*diminuendo*) turned the sound material of the finale (*Presto*) of *Symphony No. 2* by Balakauskas into silence. Based on a 12-step form, the finale

of the symphony represented a new constructive manifesto consisting of the periodicity of symmetry: the refrains framed isomorphic episodes by a modulatory circle of major thirds (in $G - Es - H - G$) (see Schema 13). In the finale of the symphony, the neo-classical manner of form-building and the modal (melodic-tonal row) interpretation of the series came to the fore. The refrains (like *tutti*) contained the row R_7 in its full volume, while the episodes (*solli*) were made up of the tritonal segments of the row (the retrograde inversion). However, due to the operation of the timbral-textural organisation, isomorphic rondo manifested themselves in the episodes. Thus, the integral form of the finale of *Symphony No. 2* was polyrondo (see Schema 13). It was the technique of generative structures (by observing a strict formalist order) and a certain counterweight to it in the meaning construction strategy that accounted for the originality and the creative identity of Osvaldas Balakauskas.



Schema. 13: Osvaldas Balakauskas. Symphony No. 2 (1979), *Finale Presto*. An analytical schema.

By arranging, or simply harmonising, the parameters of the multidimensional sound, Balakauskas strove for the perfection of the *forma formata* of his compositions. For him, the synonym of *good* music was *beautiful* music, thus, in composition, *ars* inevitably clashed with *pulchrum*, and the centuries-long discussion of their correlation (from St. Augustine and Thomas Aquinas to Immanuel Kant and Benedetto Croce) was

resolved through professing the philosophy of the beauty of tradition and order. An integral part of the ideal of harmonious music in Balakauskas' compositions and the analysed opuses revealed the composer's efforts to accumulate the generative prerequisites for the whole in an invariant structure (series) of the opus and in each composition to look for ever new and never repeating disclosure of the modelling qualities of that structure. Balakauskas' technique of composition gives prominence to the multi-dimensional relationships of compositional structures, functionally operating in the general context of the coherence of micro- and macro-structures.

Individualisation of the 12-tone Technique and Balakauskas' Farewell to Modernism

Obviously, the conception of the post-avant-garde dodecatonic seriality of Balakauskas was close to the desire of Igor Stravinsky to "stay in tonality". Thus, in his compositions, Balakauskas opposed, and simultaneously transformed, both the tonal, modal, and dodecaphonic techniques. His music became a revisionist continuation of the last ones on the road of post-modernist development and of deviation from the conventional orthodox forms. Challenging the utopia of Hindemith to create a universal theoretical system in his *Unterweisung im Tonsatz* (1937, 1939), Milton Babbitt once formulated the main argument on the value of musical-theoretical systems. He argued that their influence lay not in a new technological vocabulary. Value and relevance lay not in the very fact of utopian universality, but in the development of an alternative theoretical structure, based on experience, experiments, and tradition.⁸⁰ Systems turned into parts of music compositions. The theoretical and creative work of Osvaldas Balakauskas included his dodecatonics in the general discourse of the 20th-century music composition.

Individual compositional studies of the structuring of 12 chromatic tones in the searches of Balakauskas posed new questions to the serial technique itself. Based on his compositional experiments, it was possible to work out the main among them: Question 1, which structure of a composition can assume the role of an element of a row (series) and to become a potential object of transpositions (transpolations)? Question 2, what new principles of transposition are possible? When speaking about the perspective of the dodecaph(t)onic technique of Balakauskas, it should be emphasised that he started associating the technique not only with its axiom, i.e. a row/a series of tones, but also correlating it with the idea of the strategy of transpositions (transpolations). Consequently, the idea of a series (a row) was considered as a principle of arrangement of *a cycle, a row (series) of transpositions*. That significantly changed the understanding of the *element* of the series and its "tangible" forms. I shall highlight the main variants of Balakauskas' answers:

- **An element of a series = a tone. A series** consists of 12 transpositions of a certain element in a 12-tone chromatic system, as, e.g. a "universal symmetrical row", or row Ry (see Example 3). The latter was used in Balakauskas' student-year opus *Auletike*

80 Guerino Mazzola, *The Topos of Music – Geometric Logic of Concepts, Theory, and Performance*, in collaboration with Stefan Göller and Stefan Müller (Basel: Birkhäuser Verlag, 2002), 248.

for flute and oboe (1966), in his *Symphony No. 2* (1979), in *Gaida* (1983), *Erasmus* (1983), and other compositions. In his musical works, Balakauskas used series in a very careful way, the tones of the series were introduced gradually, slowly, and sounded polychronically in different layers of the texture. In accordance with the composition plan, a series was divided into certain segments, and in the process of disposition, the segments systematically moved along the scale of the row to the next tone of the series. In the early 20th century, a similar method was used by Čiurlionis when dealing with cryptographic rows in his compositional work. In his Piece VL 257 (1907), cryptographic structures *Es-A-B-C-Es // A-B-C-Es-A, etc.*, existed. In the cycle of variations *Besacas* (LV 265, 1904–1905?), a similar principle was used in composing a palindrome of the disposition of a 7-step series,⁸¹ In the mid-60s, in the dodecatonic compositions of Balakauskas, some signs of the minimalist technique could be found: small segments of the text, based on the polyostinato principle, again and again rotated in repetitive “loops” (the impact of the *loop* technique).

- **An element of a series = a structure of 3 tones.** Such is the “infinite diatonic row/series” of Balakauskas: it consists of three transpositions (on a minor third circle ↓) of the original structure – a segment of the fourth-the second (e-↓h-↓a)⁸². The said series was used in such compositions of Balakauskas as *Suite for string orchestra* (1965), *Aerophonía* (1968), *Sonata for violin and piano No. 1* (1969), *Quartetto concertante* (1970), *Studi Sonori* for 2 pianos (1972), *Dada concerto* (1982), *Tranquillo* (1985), and the opera *Silence – Le silence* (1986). A similar principle also applied to the development of a 36-tone row (series) by the composer. The initial structure – the sixth chord a-↓e-↓c – was transposed from each chromatic tone. The said row served as a basis for such compositions of Balakauskas as *Concertino for piano and strings* (1966), *Sonata Cascades for piano* (1967), *String Quartet No. 1* (1971), *Sonata for organ* (1973), etc. The consonant sound of his music was here provided by two main qualities of the composer’s method: a diatonic structure of the segments in a series and a slow exploitation of the pitch resources in a series.
- **An element of a series = a complex of two or more harmonies (chords).** Transpositions of the latter will follow in accordance with the pre-compositional project *forma formans*. Such a principle of transpositions was used, e.g. in the third part of *String Quartet No. 2* (1972) with its element of a quasi-classical cadence (DD-D-T), transposed from different tones. In Part 1 (*Meditation*) of *Sonata for cello and piano Retrospective I*, a binary structure of two chords a-↑d-↑g + h-↑c-↑e became the element of transpositions. Incidentally, the structure contained the first half (tones 1 to 6) of the “magic symmetrical row” of Balakauskas (the tones correlated in accordance with the principle of the fifths cycle). However, the binary structure was transposed from the schema of tones of the “infinite diatonic row” a-e-d / fis-cis-h / es-b-as / c-g-f:

81 For more information, see Gražina Daunoravičienė-Žuklytė, *Lietuvių muzikos modernistinės tapatybės žvalgymas [A view on the Modernist Identity of Lithuanian Music]*, op. cit., 94–105.

82 The idea of the fifths lies in the main structure-invariant of the row e-↓h-↓a, since it can be considered as the rotation of three fifths a - h - e. As argued by Balakauskas, the fifth and fourth have an archetypal significance for his system – as the generative tone and the two tones most closely related to it (sons, or *Söhne*, to quote Hindemith).

Example 8: Osvaldas Balakauskas. Part 1 (Meditation) of *Retrospective I*, Sonata for cello and piano (1974). The binary structure and its transpositions.⁸³

- **An element of a row of transpositions = a fragment of someone else's music (a sample).** A rather radical method of transpositions of an invariant segment is an attempt to transfer the primary element of a row (series) or a fragment of music – a “sample” (term by Balakauskas) to the renovating harmonic systems or recognizable styles (techniques) and thus form / create ever new sound objects. A constant modulation of the “sample” into a new system becomes a real test for those listening to such music. A specific case of that kind in the compositional work of Balakauskas was *Concerto for cello and chamber orchestra Ludus modorum* (1972). Its invariant-sample was a melody from an early composition of Balakauskas *Twelve Pieces for piano* (1964). The “melody”, split into segments, was transformed in a series of transpositions into a whole-tone system, a chromatic system of “narrowed intervals”, the system of “diatonic, or a white note” scale. It was also processed by means of quasi-pointillism, and it sounded like an association with quasi-Baroque music, as well as in the style of quasi-Classicism (in traditional harmony), while the finale of the concerto opened with a melody-swing of jazz improvisation. In other words, the tonal melody in *Ludus modorum* (1972) was transposed to different harmonic systems: a pentatonic scale, quasi-dodecaphony, jazz, (Georgian) quasi-folklore, the quasi-Shostakovich style, etc.

A similar principle of transpositions of the original model was used by Balakauskas in his other compositions: Part 6 (*Sincro – Asincro*) of the composition *Studi sonori* (1972); in *Bop Art* (1995), where the “sample” was his own period of the bop style. It

83 From Osvaldas Balakauskas, *Retrospectiva. Sonata for the violoncello and piano* (Budapest: Editio Musica, 1981), 2-3.

should be noted that Leonid Hrabovsky, Balakauskas' colleague from the Kiev Avant-Garde circle, came close to the idea of stylistic modulation in the 70s. The supporter of constructive methods in music composition had been developing the theory of "stylistic modulation" since 1973, which was embodied in his *Concerto misterioso* for 9 instruments (1977). We must agree with Fredric Jameson that every true creator is in a tireless search of some invariant structures of consciousness and of generative categories or forms through which the consciousness can learn about creation (the world). Meanwhile, when discussing the stylistic trends in the late Soviet period, Ivana Medić chose an umbrella term of *meta-pluralism* for "various manifestations of late Soviet composers' desire to (re)engage with the past(s)".⁸⁴ Thus, a composer's resolution to "transpose" the same element (music, sample) to different styles can be hardly identified by the audience. Although Balakauskas applied some post-modernist techniques, the true intertextual postism (the term of Richard Taruskin's) was not characteristic of his compositions. On the other hand, Balakauskas adapted a quite commonly used compositional method of the post-modernist practice (e.g. when a plan of transpositions of an invariant represented a certain cluster of an intext (the term coined by Mark Aranovsky), and the said strategy reflected the ways of adaptation of someone else's music), used by Schönberg or Stravinsky in the early 20th century. The said technique of intext adaptation was called by Joseph Straus a generalisation technique.⁸⁵ Likewise, in Balakauskas' *New Turkish March* (1987), the main Turkish motifs of *Alla turca* (*Sonata A-dur* (K 331) by W. A. Mozart became the invariants of his pitch-class material and simultaneously a schema of his plan of transpositions.

- **An element of a series = a key, a mode.** A series of 12 keys (modes), and an ever-new transposition used in each episode of the composition: that was the technique of transpositions (transpolations) of series in *Erasmus* (1996) by Balakauskas.

Some comments should be added on the further evolution of the modernists of Lithuanian music. Just like in the case of the creative work of Silvestrov, Martynov, Pärt, Denisov, Volkonski, and many other composers in the cohort of Balakauskas, it is necessary to discuss the post-avant-garde period of Balakauskas that began at the turn of the 21st century. The evolution of his compositional method can be represented as a curve of the technological process from simple to complex, with a return to simple complex in the early 21st century. Doubts about the genetic musicality of the serial principle may have existed in Balakauskas' consciousness for a long time. Even though in his modernist period we did not hear any declarations of that kind from him, this was evidenced by obvious signs in his music and his theoretical system of dodecatonics. Basically, it represented a "softer", more musical and consonant compositional system. Its interpretation deviated from the strict rules of the classical dodecaphony, and the manner of its application suggested the post-modernist spirit

84 Ivana Medić, *From Polystylism to Meta-Pluralism: Essays on Late Soviet Symphonic Music* (Belgrade: Institute of Musicology SASA, 2017), 141.

85 Joseph N. Straus, *Remaking the Past: Musical Modernism and the Influence of the Tonal Tradition* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1990), 17.

of minimalism. Similar signs can be traced in the music of his *Symphony No. 4* (1998) and *Symphony No. 5* (2001).

In the characteristics of one of the original algorithms of the compositional technique of Balakauskas, I would like to emphasise that similar searches and solutions were crucial for the individualisation of the serial principle and a row/series as its constructive element (meaning the serial technique interpretations by Webern, Stravinsky, Messiaen, Babbitt, Goeyvaerts, Boulez, Pousseur, Pärt, etc.)

Although the conceptually justified code, as well as the principle of organisation of the material, served Balakauskas for a rather long time and contributed to the creation of numerous compositions, in the framework of a strictly regulating system, it turned out to be rather difficult to endow each composition with creative energy and bright individuality. In other words, in the case of a rational method, composer finds it difficult to avoid multiple replication of the unified bases of the system, and – for the audience – to get rid of the impression that the opuses become too similar to one another (variants of the invariant).

For Balakauskas, a stimulus for considering his own compositional method and the point of departure from the paradigm of Modernism were authorial concerts of his former idol Iannis Xenakis in France at the beginning of the 80s.⁸⁶ That was the time when Xenakis made use of the *Gendy* software to translate the stochastic algorithm, or the so-called *dynamic stochastic synthesis*, into a sound process. Purely speculative music, or simply a mass of sounds, colour-timbres with different sound qualities and structures (“clouds”, “galaxies”) affected audiences by the intensity, tension, and the power of sounds. The stochastic conception of the transformations of sounds in time (at the level of pitch, registers, timbres, and rhythms) was entrusted by Xenakis to mathematical models, theories of contemporary physics, and Fibonacci numbers, and Balakauskas found that kind of music increasingly less attractive. There were disputes about the interrelationship of intelligence and freely manifested creativity, as well as acceptable doses of *ratio* and the conception of music as a verbal musical language that were a bone of contention for Balakauskas and Silvestrov in the Kiev period. The disputes started in the early 60s during the discussions of night hearings in the group of Lyatoshinsky students and the supporters of the Kiev avant-garde. Even then, Silvestrov was convinced that the music of Xenakis, a provocateur and the inventor of the method, affected purely by its physical parameters and was devoid of any verballity: “In the music of Xenakis, those were not words that sounded, but some mathematical, structural processes. You can try to hear, but the effect is very straightforward due to some power of tones – by their horror and tension, they remind of hippopotamus and crocodile serenades. What shall I listen to in it? I am not a crocodile, after all” (Silvestrov).⁸⁷ In the discussion about the degree of the speculative and the intuitive in music, in the late 20th century, Balakauskas took the side of his colleague.

The music of the avant-garde that for a long time attracted Balakauskas’ attention was in 2013 defined by him as non-communicative, some “game without rules, which

86 The following premieres of Xenaki took place: in 1991, *Gendy 3*; in 1992, *Pu wimuej we fyp* based on Arthur Rimbaud’s *Dormeur du val*, in 1993, *Mosaïques*, and in 1994, *Zyia* and *S. 709*.

87 From the author’s talk with Valentin Silvestrov in Druskininkai on 25 July, 2013.

no one understands and which does not excite anyone”.⁸⁸ In his music composition, he gave up the pre-composition rites, in which the music (series) was conceptualised, the ways of its generation were predicted, schemas of sound disposition were drawn, and technological purity as well as coherence of all the levels of the composition were sought. Through reformulation of his modernist theses, Balakauskas admitted that, for each composer, the most important aim should be “the desire to be in harmony with tradition and to stay recognisable and individual”.⁸⁹ It also changed the composer’s attitude to revolutions in creation and dethroned the previous ideology of his composer identity. Balakauskas called Karlheinz Stockhausen, Pierre Boulez, and Luigi Nono “left-wing revolutionaries”, as they, “by means of the serial technique, sought to eradicate tonality. They were driven by the intolerance to consonance and the absolute recognition of dissonance”.⁹⁰ He renounced revolutions in music and dethroned what substantiated his ideology as the composer’s identity. He explained the reason of the defeat of Modernism as a revolution by “the renouncing of tradition *par excellence* [...] I can say I reject the principles and techniques of avant-gardism, as I have already tried it and know how such music functions”.⁹¹ Post-avant-garde modernist Balakauskas simultaneously identified the fear of the composers to be doing “the same thing” and the main method of “rejecting what is accepted”. “So many new ideas that fascinated with their revolutionary character turned out to be as good for nothing as a revolution in art.”⁹²

Instead of a Conclusion

In the present study, the function of a summary will be executed by the contextualisation of Osvaldas Balakauskas’ composition system in the environment of the modernisation processes of the Lithuanian and the USSR late socialism musical culture. Several circumstances, such as the situation of the official art discourse at the time and late and historically irrelevant penetration of dodecaphony into the composers’ scores predetermined the specificity of the context. The first attempts at using a 12-tone technique in the western part of the USSR was marked by the boundaries of the Khrushchev’s “thaw” period (1960–1961): the initiators included Andrei Volkonski, Arvo Pärt, Vitaly Hodziacky, Valentin Silvestrov, Julius Gaidelis (in Boston), and others. The breakthrough of the Second Avant-Garde⁹³ in the USSR was identified by several specific circumstances: the persecution of any “formalist art”, which initiated “a total work of art” syndrome and “a mature post-historical culture”, as the state and the content of the art of social realism was defined by Boris Groys.⁹⁴ The ideological persecution and the

88 Quoted from Osvaldas Balakauskas, “It is not normal for an artist to despise audience”. A talk with Rūta Gaidamavičiūtė, in web: <http://www.delfi.lt/news/ringas/lit/obalakauskas-nenormalu-kad-menininkas-niekina-publika.d?id=60468819>.

89 Ibid.

90 Quoted from Gražina Daunoravičienė’s talk with Osvaldas Balakauskas on 16 April, 2012.

91 Op. cit. (Osvaldas Balakauskas, “It is not normal for an artist to despise the audience.”)

92 Ibid.

93 The term of Levon Hakopian, which separated the Soviet music avant-garde of the 20s of the 20th century from the stage of music modernisation in the late Soviet period.

94 Boris Groys, *The Total Art of Stalinism: Avant-Garde, Aesthetic Dictatorship, and Beyond* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1992).

level of supervision led to the long-term stagnation and backwardness of the musical culture of the USSR.

Nevertheless, the modernisation of Soviet music – its creative and theoretical discourse – was stimulated by a number of synchronic and diachronic events. One of the stimuli was the visit of Igor Stravinsky to Soviet Russia in 1962; a year later (in 1963), an apologist of Webern's music and a believer in communist ideas, Luigi Nono, came to Tallinn, and afterwards to Moscow. His informal talks with Arvo Pärt, Alfred Schnittke, and other progressive composers of the USSR provoked in that part of the world the era of “second conservatoires”, or non-academic studies of the new music of the 20th century. Pärt, Schnittke, Edison Denisov, Sofia Gubaidulina, and Nikolai Karetnikov undertook independent studies of modern compositional techniques; in Ukraine, this was done by the members of the *Kiev avant-garde* group, and in Lithuania, by Vytautas Barkauskas, Julius Juzeliūnas, Eduardas Balsys, Vytautas Montvila, Feliksas Bajoras, Osvaldas Balakauskas, and others. Those were powerful stimuli for alternative (non-formal) creation and the updating of the theoretical discourse of music.

The institutionalisation of the 12-tone composition technique in the 60s through 70s in Lithuania took place in a complex context of ideologized socialist realism, a tiring process of information accumulation, and a heterogeneous composition practice. In fact, it was a delayed adaptation of the already established and finished “mummified” traditions, nonetheless, the formalised modernist composition techniques in the totalitarian regime meant oppositional moods and contributed to modernisation. The road of theoretical works of Bogusław Schäffer, Ernst Křenek, and George Perle to Lithuania was difficult and mostly illegal.⁹⁵ Three rotaprint copies of Křenek's *Zwölf-ton-Kontrapunkt-Studien* (1952) were brought by Vytautas Barkauskas from Tallinn from Arvo Pärt who had secretly brought a copy of the book from Sweden. Eduardas Balsys discovered the dodecaphony technique in 1962, when conductor Piero Bellugi in his home in Florence showed the compositions of Bruno Bartalozzi written in that technique.⁹⁶ Balakauskas studied it from a two-volume Bogusław Schäffer's *Klasyca dodekafonii* (1961–1964), sent to Vilnius by a friend from Poland. However, the information was incomplete: in the 60s, either in Lithuania or the USSR, the scores of Schönberg, Webern, Stravinsky, Messiaen, Nono, Boulez, etc., based on the 12-tone technique and its avant-garde modifications (serialism), were not known. The compositions of Karlheinz Stockhausen, George Rochberg, Karel Goeyvaert, Hans W. Henze, Brian Ferneyhough, etc., sometimes performed in the *Warsaw Autumn* festivals, were known only by ear. Due to the blocking of Western information, Theodor Adorno's *Philosophy of New Music* (1949) was not known, as well as the author's critical alienation from

95 In the academic year 1966/1967, the course *Theoretical Issues of Contemporary Music*, held by Algirdas Ambrazas in the Lithuanian State Conservatoire, included the topics on Bela Bartok's modal thinking, introduced with E. Křenek's *Twelve-Tone Counterpoint Studies* (*Zwölf-ton-Kontrapunkt-Studien*, 1952) and with O. Messiaen's *My Musical Language Technique* (*La technique de mon langage musical*, 1944). From 1970 to 1974, a cycle of lectures devoted to the studies of the 20th century modern music and taught by visiting professors was organised. The lectures were held by Yu. Khholopov, T. Bershadsckaja, A. Schnittke, E. Denisov, V. Dernova, and others. See Gražina Daunoravičienė, “The Battle for New Music in Lithuania of Late Socialism: The Process of Modernisation and Network of Intercultural Partnership,” *Lietuvos muzikologija* [Lithuanian Musicology], 18 (2017): 10–45.

96 Ona Narbutienė, *Eduardas Balsys* (Vilnius: Baltos lankos, 1999), 102.

dodecaphony because, as he stated, that music stopped being expressive.⁹⁷ The criticism of the serial technique as a mechanical, non-communicative system that “aimed to create its own prison”⁹⁸ also did not spread (i.e. Ligeti’s conclusion after the analysis of Pierre Boulez’s *Structures Ia* performed by him). Unknown were *The Raw and the Cooked* (1975) by C. Lévi-Strauss and the works of linguists that based their research on the communicative models of linguistic systems and the dethroning of serialism; the diagnosis of uncommunicativeness of the serial music, based on the deficiency of the hierarchic relationships between structures did not spread either.⁹⁹

For various complex reasons, the dodecaphonic technique in Lithuania and the USSR in the 60s was euphorically accepted by trending modernist composers as a Western composition system. It was desirable as a tool for mastering the process of thinking and of algorithms of the new “order” of musical parameters, as well as for stimulating the very mindset in terms of modern composition. The creators of unofficial music from the Baltic countries and the USSR tended to associate the radically dissonant sound with the opposition to the primitivized stylistics of Soviet music that was protected by the ideology of socialist realism and with a dissident position against the ideology of Soviet culture in the Baltic countries and rallied against their occupation. Thus, the permeation of the 12-tone technique into scores and simultaneously the context of Balakauskas’ theoretical-compositional system of dodecatonics was formed by at least four circumstances.

The first attempts at dodecaphony in Lithuania had programme headings with negative connotations, and the trend was common to many Soviet republics, including Russia.¹⁰⁰ Composers soon found ideological means to justify “formalist” music and covered it up with verbally formulated programmes, which reflected the prerogative of the communist art ideology of the USSR. As is known, the dodecaphonic technique in the USSR in the 60s was partly legitimately used to create a musical analogy of negative dissonance images (aggression, warfare, threat, etc.).¹⁰¹ In the very first case of the dodecaphonic technique in Lithuania – the *Concerto for clarinet and orchestra* by Benjaminas Gorbulskis (1959) – its Part 2 was called *Woe*. An “acrimonious” 12-tone theme and the dissonant sound of the slow part strongly contrasted with the first and third

97 Theodor W. Adorno, *Philosophy of New Music*, translated, edited by Robert Hullot-Kentor (Minneapolis and London: University of Minneapolis Press, 2006), 33, 42–43.

98 Ligeti György, „Pierre Boulez. Entscheidung und Automatik in der Structure Ia,” *Die Rheie* 4 (Wien, 1958), 38.

99 The statement was further developed in the works of Nicolas Ruwet, L. B. Meyer, and Fred Lerdahl, and afterwards, in the studies of S. Heinemann and U. Mosch. See Stephen Heinemann, “Pitch-Class Set Multiplication in Theory and Practice”, in *Music Theory Spectrum* 20, No. 1 (1998), 72–96; Ulrich Mosch, *Musikalisches Hören serieller Musik: Untersuchungen am Beispiel von Pierre Boulez’ Le Marteau sans maître* (Saarbrücken: Pfau-Verlag, 2004).

100 To stop the spreading of the “chickenpox” (dodecaphony - G. D.), Tikhon Khrennikov escalated public criticism of the first Estonian 12-tone composition, *Obituary*, op. 5 by Arvo Pärt (1960) because of its serialism and “an inclination toward foreign influences”. However, in the competition of works of the young composers of the USSR (with about 1,200 entries), Arvo Pärt was awarded one of its seven prizes. Evidently, a decisive role was played by the legitimization of dodecaphony, established by Schönberg’s *A Survivor from Warsaw (Ein Überlebender von Warschau)*, op. 46 (1947), to reflect evil in music, and Pärt made use of it in his *Obituary*. The only legal possibility for the existence of dodecaphony will soon be recognised in the USSR.

101 The trend was confirmed by Valentin Silvestrov who tried to change the stereotypes of thinking and to “tame” the 12-tone technique for the modernisation of his musical compositions. “As it was believed in 1961 or 1962, it could be applied only to the expression of negative emotions: horror, darkness, or tension. In a nutshell, a tragedy with no gleam of hope. My goal in the first compositions was to avoid such simplification and to achieve lyricism.” Quoted from the journal *Советская музыка [Soviet Music]*, 1962, No. 2, 123.

parts (*Flight* and *Humour*), bursting with optimism of socialist realism and composed on the tonal principle.¹⁰² The compositions of Eduardas Balsys with the application of the dodecaphonic principles – *Dramatic Frescoes* (1965) and *Don't Touch the Blue Globe* (1969) – developed the theme of war threats. The adaptations of Schönberg's techniques in the Soviet times were united by a rather amateurish and unclear system of the adaptation practice.

Therefore, the first mature dodecaphonic composition of a Lithuanian composer was *Trio for violin, clarinet, and bassoon* by Julius Gaidelis (1909–1983), an *émigré* in the USA, written in Boston in 1961. In the score, the composer wrote down a 12-tone series (*e-es-d-a-as-g-des-c-f-b-h-fis*) and added “A. Schönberg's 12-tone system technique”.¹⁰³ Comprehensive information and creative courage in the cultural milieu of the USSR were important factors of modernisation: it was by no accident that the 12-tone technique in Russia was applied by “local foreigners”: Andrei Volkonsky (1933–2008) who returned from Geneva, Phillip Gershkovich (1906–1989) who arrived from Austria, etc.

The 60s in Lithuania manifested themselves in another form of a compromise. It was “rendering harmless” the fierce formalistic dissonance of the sound by folk remedies.¹⁰⁴ A specific “socialist realism” method of applying dodecaphonic means reflected the theses of the ideologized realism doctrine in its own way. Series were construed by using segments of the “folk” (folklore) origin, and such compromises was observed in the compositions of Benjaminas Gorbuskis, Algimantas Bražinskis, Eduardas Balsys, Vytautas Barkauskas, and Julius Juzeliūnas. In them, elements of the dodecaphonic technique were crossed with modal scales typical of the national folklore, the complexes of supporting tones coming from folklore, intonations, and rhythmical models. The psychology of application of the dodecaphony technique regulations was reflected by a characteristic comment of Balsys: “I am using the principles of free dodecaphony. Why should I stick to a broken series? A series should come from an emotional need.”¹⁰⁵ Innovative application of dodecaphony was advocated in a presentation of a young Lithuanian musicologist Algirdas Ambrazas¹⁰⁶ during the conference *On True and Supposed Innovation in Contemporary Music*, first organised in Moscow in 1965. Later, the editorial of the journal *Soviet Music* [*Советская музыка*] made a critical comment specifically on the “compromise” version of the Lithuanian dodecaphony of the

102 The exposed 12-tone theme in an original and transformed shape sounds in different parts of the orchestra, however, in further exposition of the material, the principle of tonality is manifesting itself increasingly stronger, and polytonal harmony (chords) starts to prevail.

103 Gaidelis composed his *Trio* in accordance with the regulations of dodecaphonic procedures by applying serial inversions, retrogrades, and retrograde inversions.

104 Dodecaphony was heard in *Poetry* (1964), and *Intimate Compositions* (1968) by Vytautas Barkauskas, in a somewhat freer form it was used in the *Dramatic Frescoes* (1965), an oratorio *Don't Touch the Blue Globe* (1969), and the opera *The Journey to Tilsit* (1980) by Eduardas Balsys. Feliksas Bajoras used the technique in his *Variations for double-bass* (1964), and Vytautas Laurušas applied elements of the 12-tone technique in the poem for male choir *Voices in the Night* (1969), *Sonata for violin* (1979), and *Quartet for Strings No. 1* (1979). Julius Juzeliūnas integrated the principles of the 12-tone technique into his compositional system and on its basis composed his *Concerto grosso*, *Sonata for voice and organ Melika* (1973), *Symphony No. 5 Songs of Plains* (1982), and other. Bronius Kutavičius used this compositional technique in some episodes of his opera for children *Old Man Bones on the Iron Mountain*, etc. He was one of a few Lithuanian composers who in the 70s of the 20th century composed some freestyle serialism opuses, e.g., controlled parameters of pitch and duration were created in his *Quartet Clocks of the Past I* (1977).

105 Ona Narbutienė, ed., *Eduardas Balsys* (Vilnius: Baltos lankos, 1999): 174–175.

106 *Lithuanian Archives of Literature and Art*, Fund 305, schedule/inventory 1, file 501, p. 4–12.

60s, including a sharp observation: “As we can see, our Lithuanian colleagues have nothing in common with dodecaphony as a system.”¹⁰⁷

As we can see, the institutionalisation of the 12-tone technique in Lithuanian music was dictated by numerous circumstances of acquaintanceship, studies, and mastering. Due to fragmentary information and a lack of original examples, compositions abandoned (or, more precisely, did not observe) the technological principles of Schonberg's dodecaphony work with series. The series of Lithuanian composers, as a rule, were organised in a “primary way”, by creating series of 12 non-repeating chromatic tones, however (apart from Balakauskas), rarely implementing a more complex, conceptual serial structural organisation. Thus, by exposing a 12-tone series (theme), in some cases of an incomplete composition, the organisation of the composition material was getting freer, and the sequence of tones, the standards of non-repetition, “pure” permutations, transpositions, and the requirements of other technological procedures were ignored. Moreover, the mastering of dodecaphony co-existed with the long-lasting inertia of the operation of the focal point of the chromatic pitch continuum gravitation centre. Therefore, the scores of Lithuanian composers long preserved the impression of the tonal field and, from the technological viewpoint, the music was approaching the sound of atonal music developed on the basis of the 12-tone themes. The lack of academic Lithuanian or Soviet musical compositions composed on the basis of “pure” serial or serialist technique is accounted for by many of the aforementioned circumstances. However, it is necessary to add the particularly active primacy of the newly contemplated modality, evidently, as an imprint of the national mentality. All those intersections of historical time and art processes predetermined the identity of the Lithuanian musical Modernism of the 20th century late Soviet period and creative events.

The authorial composition systems of Lithuanian composers that emerged in the early 70s and their theoretical discourse was based on complex foundations and a still incomplete theoretical argumentation. The theoretical-compositional system of the dodecatonics of Balakauskas, next to the system created by Juzeliūnas based on supporting tones of Lithuanian folklore¹⁰⁸ in the 70s, represented a strong declaration of ideas and principles of the modern art of the 20th century providing for its individual creative application. The critical overview of the system in the context of the theoretical discourse of the 20th-century music composition revealed the retrospective of the Lithuanian music modernisation in the 60s and 70s and, it should be added, testified to a rather rare case in the process of conceptualisation of Eastern European music composition. Even though due to its theoretical incompleteness and a lack of arguments

107 See “С Трибуны Теоретической конференции” [From the Podium of the Theoretical Conference], *Советская музыка*, 6 (1966): 27.

108 The first authorial compositional system developed by a Lithuanian composer in the early 70s was the conception of supporting tones of Julius Juzeliūnas, laid out in his monograph *On the Issue of Chord Structure* (1972) and his habilitation paper (See Julius Juzeliūnas, *Akordo sandaros klausimu* (Kaunas: Šviesa, 1972)). Starting with mid-60s, Juzeliūnas started construing the “constructive atmosphere” typical of folk music by means of 12-tone rows consisting of 3 or 4-tone segments (“cells”). At first glance, they were similar to Webern's series, however, the sound of the compositions differed radically, since Juzeliūnas formed the series of segments on the basis of archaic cells of the Lithuanian folklore. Even though Juzeliūnas' system had interfaces with the 12-tone technique in terms of 12 chromatic-tone composition of rows, he did not recognise the strict technique of European Modernism (he rejected the requirement for non-repetition of sounds, freely developed the segments of rows, modified and re-grouped them).

of authorial motivation the *Dodecatonics* did not make a deep imprint in the development of composition theory in the 20th century, the very resolution of Balakauskas to conceptualise the process of composition and analysis, and his original application of the system in his works deserves a broader critical discourse. The modernist resolution of Balakauskas realised the belief of his colleague Howard Hanson that “the complete assimilation of a small tonal vocabulary used with mastery is infinitely to be preferred to a large vocabulary incompletely understood by the composer himself”¹⁰⁹ in his own way. As mentioned before, the dodecatonics of Balakauskas, similarly to the systems of Ernst Křenek and George Perle, was an example of the 12-tone composition and simultaneously the synthesis of modality. The epistemic cultural breakthroughs were undoubtedly reflected in the content of the theoretical system of Balakauskas and his application strategies: the 12-tone principle co-existed with individual forms of tonality and modality. In other words, the system enabled the composer to use its content in three states: as modal, as tonal, and as 12-tone atonal. The author of the dodecatonics believed that, after loading the series with a lot of intellectual energy, the composition will grow from the “seed” as a live spiritual organism, and the formative roots of the series will spread through increasingly larger-scale structural levels. The composer himself realised its structural potentials through multiplicative repetitive principles.

The 20th-century music modernisation processes in the theoretical system of the dodecatonics by Balakauskas triggered a critical overview of the cultural development in the environment of ideological and technological transformations.

The fourth feature of contextualisation of the dodecatonics by Balakauskas was pre-determined by another circumstance of the emergence of the Soviet second avant-garde seeking to compensate for the losses of the Stalinism epoch. The time of adaptation of the 12-tone technique in the USSR, the late Soviet period (the 80s and 90s) was the time of the full speed-criticism of the post-war avant-garde in the West, and simultaneously the *stretto*-time of oncoming postmodernism which invaded not only with fierce anti-modernist attitudes, but also with a new philosophy of sound technologies. Having ended the period of their acquaintanceship with dodecaphony and euphoria, Lithuanian composers accepted sonorism and aleatoricism on the basis of the 12-tone technique and integrated the principles of collage and minimalistic repetitivism. Free mixed combinations of the 12-tone technique with other avant-garde or already post-modernist techniques prevailed. When exploring the unofficial music of the USSR in the second half of the 20th century that the intellectuals related to the manifestations of the strongly desired modernisation, Peter J. Schmelz proposed to differentiate between two phases of the development: the *abstract phase* and, (from the mid-60s), the *mimetic phase*¹¹⁰. Schmelz marked the divide between them by two processes: in the abstract phase, Soviet composers mastered the “formalist” 12-tone technique and applied it by opposing the paradigms of socialist realism. Meanwhile, in the mimetic phase, the signs of postmodernism emerged: the means of intertextuality (quotations and allusions) were employed,

109 Howard Hanson, op. cit., 348.

110 Peter Schmelz, *Such Freedom, If Only Musical: Unofficial Soviet Music during the Thaw* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), 12. In that case, Schmelz took over the divide between the abstract and mimetic arts, applied by Karol Berger in *A Theory of Art* (2000).

the tonality did not retreat, and dramaturgical schemas of the socialist realism time were used. Starting with the mid-70s, according to Schmelz, both trends were combined. The 20th-century music modernisation processes in the theoretical system of the dodecatonics by Balakauskas triggered a critical overview of the cultural development in the environment of ideological and technological transformations.

Balakauskas' work (his musical and theoretical system) summarised not only the identity of the Lithuanian composer-modernist of the second half of the 20th century, but also a number of distinctive features of the Pärt – Silvestrov – Schnittke cohort (with reference to the social-cultural concept of the *generational cohort theory* used by Thau, Heflin, Jurkiewicz, and Brown). Compared to the generation of Shostakovich and Lyatoshinsky, the artistic consciousness of the representatives of that cohort was not so badly damaged by the frustrating struggle of the Soviet art ideologists with the “bourgeois” art and formalism in 1948. The character of the Balakauskas' generation could be identified through the aspirations of like-minded people spontaneously grouped in different geographic locations of the USSR: the Moscow *Troika*, Khrennikov's Seven,¹¹¹ Kiev Avant-Garde, and some groups of composers from the Baltic countries. Their creative rebellion in the late Soviet-era cultural milieu identified the cohort's determination to create a unique system of the signs of their art, the grammar of the composers' language, and an individual logic (system) of self-expression. The cohort aggressively declared an alternative artistic approach, disobedience to the clan of ideologists and functionaries, and applied irritating “formalist” techniques in their compositions. The changes predetermined radical modernisation transformations of the Soviet music in the last decades of the 20th century. That was the struggle of the artists in this part of the world for the technological symbols of the 20th century Modernism and for what was the basis of the content of Adorno's concept of *Zeitgeist* and the perspective of Schoenberg's *Zukunftsmusik*.

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111 The crime of the seven people was the performance of unauthorized works in the Cologne Soviet avant-garde music festival *Meetings with the Soviet Union*. The “Khrennikov's Seven” were Jelena Firsova, Dmitriji Smirnov, Aleksandr Knaifel, Viktor Suslin, Viacheslav Artimov, Sofija Gubaidulina, and Edison Denisov. They were interested in the compositional means of the West and the new technologies, which, in Khrennikov's opinion, ousted them from contemporary Soviet music whose identity was “a programme narrative”. “Can they represent our country and our music?” was Khrennikov's rhetoric question with an intonation calling for a negative answer. Quoted after: Тихон Хренников, “Музыка принадлежит народу,” *Советская культура*, 23 ноября 1979.

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POVZETEK

Teoretično-kompozicijski sistem dodekatonike litvanskega modernističnega skladatelja Osvaldasa Balakauskasa (prvič izdan v Krakovu leta 1997) zrcali zapleten proces razvoja glasbene kulture v Litvi in Sovjetski zvezi v poznem sovjetskem obdobju. V svojem delu je Balakauskas premislil epistemološke preboje v glasbeni kulturi 20. stoletja in poizkuse njihove uporabe, pri čemer je dvanajsttonski princip povezal s posebnimi oblikami tonalnosti in modalnosti. Z drugimi besedami, teoretično-kompozicijski sistem Balakauskasa je omogočil interpretacijo različnih vplivov in vzpostavitev harmonskih principov, v katerih se je združevala tonalna, modalna in dvanajsttonska kromatična logika. Analiza uporabe sistema in posameznih kompozicij je potrdila trend v kompozicijski praksi 20. stoletja, ki je vodil k vzpostavitvi individualnih kompozicijskih sistemov. Osrednja ideja sistema dodekatonike izhaja iz aksioma in metode projekcije kvint. Sistem je nadaljeval z razvijanjem principa, ki ga je predlagal Pitagora in znotraj katerega je mogoče konstruirati dvanajsttonsko lestvico (krog), ki ostaja zanimiva. Tehnični termini, uporabljeni v dodekatoniki (kot na primer *projekcija kvint*, *generativni ton*, *opozicijski*

ton, *vektor* itd.) in vzpostavljanje identitete harmonskih lestvic s pomočjo metode kvintnih korakov, so bili podlaga za konceptualne ideje na teoretični ravni. Balakauskas je na začetku razlagal generativni potencial mono- in bivektorjev projekcije kvint, ki so logično vodili do konstruiranja vrst na podlagi kvint. Priznati je treba, da je »magično simetrična vrsta« oz. vrsta Ry, sestavljena s pomočjo sistema Balakauskasa, podobna *cikličnemu setu* Georgea Perla. V razvijanju svojega teoretičnega sistema je dal Balakauskas prednost ustvarjalnosti in je iskal analitično metodo, ki bi omogočala razločevanje harmonske logike in temperiranega sistema preteklih obdobj, seveda v mejah dvanajsttonske lestvice.

Balakauskas je želel individualizirati princip dodekafonije na ta način, da je razvil transpozicije (transpolacije) in jih uporabil v svojih skladbah ter pri tem razporedil elemente različne provinience v 12 vrst. Teoretična podlaga dodekatonike je bila v pričujoči študiji interpretirana v kontekstu širerega teoretičnega diskurza (Pitagora, Rameau, Erpf, Schönberg, Křenek, Perle, Hanson, Dahlhaus, Holopov). Analiza *Simfonije št. 2* s stališča hilmorfizma je prikazala značilnosti modernistične kompozicijske doktrine in je pokazala, kako so bili principi teoretično-kompozicijskega sistema

uporabljeni v skladateljevih delih. Prvenstvo sistematičnega in konstruktivističnega komponiranja v simfoniji se kaže v strategijah konceptualizacije ustvarjalnega procesa, skladateljevem pogledu na zvočnost in v značilnostih organizacije materiala in strukture.

Na prehodu v 21. stoletje se je modernist Balakauskas odrekel komponiranju na osnovi racionalnega sistema in spoznal njegove omejitve, omejen pomen, izpraznjenost in nezmožnost komunikativnosti. V svojih delih se je vrnil k tistemu razumevanju tonalnosti, ki po njegovem mnenju loči *glasbo* (kot umetnost) od *zvokov*, pri čemer je videl posebno sposobnost glasbe v tem, da zmore vznemiriti. Tre-

nutno Balakauskas uporablja logično kontrolirano improvizacijsko metodo in nadaljuje z razvijanjem formalizirane slovnice svojega glasbenega jezika. Igrivo-improvizacijsko oblikovanje glasbenih struktur znotraj kromatičnega kontinuuma vzpostavlja občutek posameznih »tonalitet« in gravitacijskega centra. Modernizacija litvanske glasbe je bila v študiji povezana z začetkom konceptualizacij kompozicijskega procesa, kakor jih izkazuje *Dodekatonika* Balakauskasa. S pomočjo pogleda na ustvarjalne dosežke litvanskih skladateljev so bile inovacije interpretirane s stališča parataktičnega vzporejanja, pri čemer so se pokazale posebnosti modernizacije vzhodnoevropske glasbe.



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Latvian Music History in the Context of 20th-century Modernism and Postmodernism. Some Specific Issues of Local Historiography

Latvijska zgodovina glasbe v kontekstu modernizma in postmodernizma 20. stoletja. Nekaj posebnosti lokalnega zgodovinopisja.

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Keywords: 20th-century music history, modernism, postmodernism, Latvia, local peculiarities and historiography

IZVLEČEK

Ali pojma »modernizem« in »postmodernizem« pravilno zaobjameta tokove v zgodovini glasbe 20. stoletja ali gre zgolj za teoretične abstrakcije? Kako jih lahko uporabljamo v povezavi z zgodovino glasbe specifičnih držav, ko na primer analiziramo lokalne zgodovinske izkušnje? Prispevek se bo osredotočil na ta vprašanja, da bi predstavil modernistično in postmodernistično estetiko in slogovni razvoj v latvijski zgodovini glasbe 20. stoletja.

ABSTRACT

Do the terms "modernism" and "postmodernism" objectively characterize the trends in the music history of the 20th century or are they merely theoretical abstractions? How can they be applied to the music history of specific countries, for example, when analysing a local historical experience? The article will consider these questions primarily to focus on the representation of the modernist and postmodernist aesthetics in the stylistic developments of the 20th-century Latvian music history.

Research on music and its aesthetics has long raised the question of to what extent is it possible to explain music history as a process that reflects a clear schematic development. For instance, do the notions of *Modernism* and *Postmodernism* objectively refer to trends in the music history of the 20th century or are they just theoretical abstractions? How could we apply them to the music history of a specific country, for example, when analysing the local Latvian historical experience? The paper will tackle these questions primarily in order to focus on the representation of modernist and postmodernist aesthetics in the stylistic developments of the 20th-century Latvian music history.

First, I will outline my position concerning Modernism and postmodernism in the context of the notion of style in musicology. Then I will attempt to determine the local peculiarities of Modernism and postmodernism in Latvian music history throughout the 20th century. I will also focus on the various factors that underlie the specific situation of Latvian music history, which can be described as stylistically conservative and artistically vivid postmodernism that was not preceded by either long or intense modernist period. In this respect, we can highlight the 1960s as a very interesting decade in Latvian music history – a time when expressions of moderate and radical Modernism as well as the very first examples of postmodernist aesthetics emerged simultaneously. Our discussion will finally include comparing historical experiences and local features across different (both larger and smaller) countries.

Modernism and Postmodernism in the Context of the Category of Style

Concerning the interpretation of style categories, I have critically evaluated conclusions reached through two musicological research methods. The first method encompasses approaches reflected in theoretical texts; as an example, we can take a look at the following definitions of style in music provided by three well-known musicologists:

*Style is a replication of patterning, whether in human behaviour or in the artefacts produced by human behaviour that results from a series of choices made within some set of constraints. An individual's style of speaking or writing, for instance, results in large part from lexical, grammatical, and syntactic choices made within the constraints of the language and dialect he has learned to use but does not himself create. And so it is in music, painting and the other arts. More generally, few of the constraints that limit choice are newly invented or devised by those who employ them. Rather they are learned and adopted as part of the historical/cultural circumstances of individuals or group.*¹

*Style is a semiotic object in several musical works. These musical works united similar worldviews, who has attributed the view and which is closely related to the designator – a musical means of expression.*²

1 Leonard B. Meyer, *Style and Music: Theory, History and Ideology* (Chicago: University Of Chicago Press, 1997), 3.

2 Vyacheslav Medushevsky, *Музыкальный стиль как семиотический объект (Musical Style as a Semiotic Object)*, *Sovetskaya Muzyka*, no. 3, 1979: 31.

*The musical style is a specific representation of a creative personality – it is the expression of a creative or interpretative personality.*³

The second “method” can be traced in (less and more familiar) musicological research papers by authors of various nationalities dealing with specific periods of European music history as well as specific expressions of style.⁴

These authors define the concept of style – as a historically established, objective and, at the same time, individually subjective, characteristic method of artistic expression that can be analysed as such – from two points of view. First, they understand it as a purely musical phenomenon, which manifests itself in a pool of compositions and is concretised based on specific principles of music expression – harmony, manners of execution, creation, dramaturgical principles, and genre structures. Second, they identify style as a phenomenon, which allows one to make judgements about the dominant basic aesthetic viewpoints of a particular period in cultural-historical space, in various spheres of a person’s life, not just their artistic work; this phenomenon is understood to exist in changing relationships with other processes.

As regards the historical development of composition in Europe from the Renaissance to the beginning of the 20th century within the context of style perception, it is thus possible to evaluate the most diverse aspects of music in the realm of culture, structured by society. At the same time, examining the process of music history through the prism of the category of style also reflects certain problems, which have become particularly acute when considering the music of the 20th century. It is common knowledge that European music history can be divided fairly easily into several major periods, such as Baroque, Classicism and Romanticism, up to the end of the 19th century.

Music and other kinds of art in the above periods, regardless of the different chronology in every single European country, are dominated by one prevalent stylistic tendency, allowing for analytical summarizing and generalizations about artistic heritage. However, since the end of the 19th century it has been difficult to identify at least one prevalent stylistic tendency the perception and analysis of which would enable making generalizations on the musical heritage of the period in question. The abundance of (externally) often essentially different aggregates of stylistic trends in the music of the 20th and early 21st centuries results in difficulties concerning the use of the category of style, music analysis and aesthetic generalizations. Does this abundance of differences allow for the use of the notion of style when studying music creations with relevance to the 20th century? In my opinion, the category of style is still applicable to the analysis of diverse processes that pertain to the development of musical creation in this period.

3 Jevgeny Nazaikinsky, *Стиль и жанр в музыке (Style and Genre in Music)*, Moscow: Vlado, 2003), 78.

4 Cf. Manfred Bukofzer, *Music in the Baroque era. From Monteverdi to Bach* (New York: Norton, 1947), 489; Leonard Ratner, *Classic Music: Expression, Form and Style* (New York: Schirmer, 1980), 295; Larisa Kirillina, *Классический стиль в музыке XVIII - начала XIX веков: самосознание эпохи и музыкальная практика (The Classical Style in the Music of the Eighteenth - Early Nineteenth Centuries. Self-consciousness of the Epoch and Musical Practice)*, Moscow: State Conservatory, 1996), 192; Ray Longyear, *Nineteenth-Century Romanticism in Music* (New Jersey: Prentice-Hall INC., 1973), 289; Marina Lobanova, *Musical Style and Genre. History and Modernity* (Amsterdam: Harwood Academic Publishers, 2000), 210.

When analysing concepts not only in the field of musicology, but also in other arts, Modernism in music proves to be a period of particular creativity of various European composers, especially so in the late 19th century and in the first third of the 20th century (but several aspects of Modernism appear also in the middle of the 20th century). The period of Modernism primarily emerged as a response to the outset of technological progress, the democratization of society and social as well as political controversy linked with the above processes. Modernism pushed the ideas of technological progress to the extreme and reflected rapid changes that took place in social and political spheres. These processes did not resolve social conflicts; on the contrary, the sharpening of conflicts led to two World Wars with tragic results. In the artistic creative sphere, Modernism, with its attempts to reach some cardinaly new, previously not existing forms of expression, is an answer to the spirit of the era. It led to a greater differentiation between popular and elitist art, a tightening of the link between art and the processes and images of (a person's) everyday life, with specific musical intonations that could be heard outside, among the crowd.

The period of Modernism and its aesthetic guidelines in music and other arts are characterized by the simultaneous emergence and development of several and often rather diversified stylistic trends – for instance, impressionism, expressionism, neo-folklorism and avant-garde (a parallel can be drawn to the development of different social-political movements and philosophical schools of the period: existentialism, phenomenology, linguistic philosophy, intuitive philosophy, pragmatism). All of the above trends both individually (in various aspects of musical language and forms of expression) and all together point to the most essential features of the modernist aesthetic. However, the generalization of these features finally makes it possible to perceive Modernism as a significant concept for characterizing the style of music in the first third of the 20th century.⁵ Likewise, the period of the last third of the 20th century may be treated as the period of postmodernism in all fields of art.

Postmodernism in different arts can be considered a period in which radical modernist resolutions lost their status of artistic novelty. That is why the concept of postmodernism circumscribes an expression of deep reflections as well as the actualization of artistic retrospection in diverse forms of art. Additionally, when discussing the synthesis of various traditions as a key element of post-modern culture, the majority of philosophers and authors of new aesthetic theories often stress the aspect of shallow, already-known content. It is enough to remember that, for example, the American philosopher Ihab Hasan (1925–2015) delineates characteristic signs of postmodernism, which express themselves in the cultural life of society, as follows: *anti-form (disjunctive, open), play, chance, text/intertext, combination, difference/trace, irony, indeterminacy, immanence* etc., in contrast to classical cultural values.⁶

5 The proposed conclusions on Modernism are based on the findings that have been expressed by other musicologists. Cf. Hermann Danuser, *Die Musik des 20. Jahrhunderts* (Laaber: Laaber Verlag, 1992), 465; Leo Botstein, "Modernism", in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, vol. 16, ed. Stanley Sadie (London: Macmillan Publishers Limited, 2001), 868-875; Jim Samson, "Avant-garde", in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, vol. 2, ed. Stanley Sadie (London: Macmillan Publishers Limited, 2001), 246-247; Daniel Albright, ed., *Modernism and music* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004), 256.

6 Ihab Hassan, *The Postmodern Turn: Essays in Postmodern Theory and Culture* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1987), 267.

We should also mention French philosopher Jean Baudrillard's deeply ironic views on the commercialisation of art, which has, in his view, stimulated the so-called *simulacrum* or the replacement of true values with imagined objects for mass consumption, and the creation of spiritual concepts.⁷ According to Jean-François Lyotard, the meaning of the post-modern situation is that people no longer believe in an overall story. Faith has vanished, and the process has been going on throughout previous centuries, ever since Renaissance, the era that conceived man as the highest being and the measure of all values (the Renaissance and modern age anthropocentrism). In Renaissance, the intellect of man was understood to be the guarantor of progress, as far as it was rooted in high morals, and the greatest goal of art was to reflect only the beautiful and the ideal.⁸

If we develop Lyotard's ideas further, we can note that this loss of faith developed in its clearest form in the second half of the 20th century, following World War II. This was the time when, due to state politics as well as religious and economic antagonisms, the states of Europe and other continents divided into many hostile groups. Along with these processes, the real threat of an ecological catastrophe became evident, at both a local and global level. As a result, the gained experience and the cultural philosophical concepts stemming from the previous centuries were hidden or denied almost openly. The idea of comprehensive progress culminated during the first half of the 20th century, but afterwards, it was replaced by a period of deep scepticism. This period was characterised by a previously unheard of synthesis and interaction of varied traditions and theories, whose active coexistence was visible not only at the socio-political and economic level but also in the field of artistic creative works. In principle, the *nonbeing* in the artistic language is clearly seen as stimulating artists to turn to the search for the synthesis of many different stylistic elements, and, in this very direction, seeing the possibility to develop their own original handwriting, which very discretely reflects the characteristic stylistic retrospection and intertextuality.

The term *intertextuality* is principally used with the meaning that entered into circulation in the 1960s, thanks to regular publications by the French linguist and philosopher Julia Kristeva dealing with postmodern culture, art and aesthetic questions. Overall, in the analysis of the intertextual aesthetic and artistic processes, it is regularly used as a synonym of *context*, *tradition* and *allusion*. At the same time, intertextuality is also considered to be an expansion of an already familiar idea, namely that one text can be explained by another, which alludes to yet another text, and so on endlessly. In the circulation of codes, any text can be potentially remade into other intertextual qualities. Still, it can be concluded that – unless we want to radicalise the meaning and significance of the concept of intertextuality – postmodernist works of art have developed a notable acuteness in expressing textual relations, and this acuteness is often directed towards the creation of poetic and stylistic allusions through the characteristics of the styles belonging to previous periods.⁹

7 Jean Baudrillard, *Simulacra and Simulation* (Michigan: Michigan University Press, 1994), 164.

8 Jean-François Lyotard, *Toward the Postmodern*, ed. R. Harvey & S. Roberts (New Jersey: Humanities Press, 1995), 256.

9 Toril Moi, ed., *The Kristeva Reader* (Columbia: Columbia University Press, 1986), 328.

Among the most vivid trends of the postmodernist period we can list, for instance, neo-romanticism,¹⁰ minimalism¹¹ and *new inwardness (spirituality)*,¹² with their stylistically conservative expressions in the music of classical genres. At the same time, postmodernism has continued to develop the ideas behind avant-garde music. Another and quite special form of postmodernist aesthetics is music based on the principles of polystylistics (techniques of collage, citations etc.).¹³ Each of the above trends suggests a different way of retrospection, which is inherent to postmodernist art, due to their different and more profound reflection on the musical styles of the various preceding periods – their inherent features, aesthetical values and social significance.¹⁴

Of course, the position on the use of the notion of style in the analysis of 20th century Modernism and postmodernism that is suggested in this paper is only one of the ways how to perceive and interpret this particular musical heritage. Furthermore, I would like to point out some peculiarities that pertain to Latvian music history over the course of 20th century. If we look at the development of European music history in a schematic way, various texts from this field of research often reflect a reference to a chronologically sequential transition from modernism to postmodernism. However, there is no direct concordance with such a schematic viewpoint regarding the peculiarities of the local Latvian music history. It is interesting to assess the perspectives offered by such a schematic view from the viewpoint of the local historical experience.

The Fragmentation of Stylistic Manifestations of Modernism in Latvian Music History

The specific experience of Latvian music history in the 20th century reveals a lack of a period with a convincing and artistically vivid expression of the modernist aesthetics, especially the absence of radical forms of expression characteristic of avant-garde music.¹⁵ It is also notable that in the cultural space of the former Baltic German community,

10 Jann Pasler, "Neo-romantic", in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, vol. 18, ed. Stanley Sadie (London: Macmillan Publishers Limited, 2001), 756–757; Martin Wehnert, "Romantik und romantisch", in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, vol. 8, ed. Ludwig Finscher (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1998), 464–507.

11 Keith Potter, "Minimalism", in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, vol. 16, ed. Stanley Sadie (London: Macmillan Publishers Limited, 2001), 716–718.

12 Christopher Fox, "Neue Einfachheit", in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, vol. 18, ed. Stanley Sadie (London: Macmillan Publishers Limited, 2001), 781.

13 Peter Burkholder, "Collage", in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, vol. 6, ed. Stanley Sadie (London: Macmillan Publishers Limited, 2001), 110–111; Ivan Moody & Alexander Ivashkin, "Alfred Schnittke", in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, vol. 22, ed. Stanley Sadie (London: Macmillan Publishers Limited, 2001), 564–568; Ivana Medić, *From Polystylism to Meta-Pluralism. Essays on Late Soviet Symphonic Music* (Belgrade: SASA, Institute of Musicology, 2017), 219.

14 The proposed conclusions on postmodernism are based on the findings that have been expressed by other musicologists. Cf., Danuser, *Die Musik des 20. Jahrhunderts*, 465; Albright, ed., *Modernism and Music*, 256; Jann Pasler, "Postmodernism", in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, vol. 20, ed. Stanley Sadie (London: Macmillan Publishers Limited, 2001), 213–216; Judy Lochhead & Joseph Auner, eds., *Postmodern Music/Postmodern Thought* (New York: Routledge, 2002), 372.

15 Until the 20th century, the main ethnic group living in Latvia – Latvians – were not full rulers of their own land. From the end of the 18th century, four historically Latvian ethnographic regions came under the rule of the former tsarist Russian empire. In this period, which lasted until the beginning of the 20th century (World War I), the territory of today's Latvia was artificially divided into several provinces. The ruling class at that time was the Baltic Germans (a minority in terms of population) who had lived in the territory of Latvia since the 13th century. It was only in the 20th century, after the end of World War I in 1918, that Latvians established an independent state of their own on their territory – the Republic of Latvia. Cf. Daina Bleiere, ed., *History of Latvia*:

widely represented in Latvia at the end of 19th century and beginning of the 20th century, musical life did not offer any other (modernist) trends.

During the period of Latvia's independence between the two world wars, an important and perhaps decisive role in the romantic aesthetic's initial development was also the close involvement of the Latvian composer Jāzeps Vītols (1863–1948) with the definite and overall conservative romantic traditions of the second half of the 19th century, broadly spread throughout Europe. In that period, the chief cultural influence was exerted by the St. Petersburg Conservatory, founded and, for many years, directed by the Russian composer and music theoretician Nikolai Rimsky-Korsakov (1844–1908), in whose environment Vītols gradually became a noteworthy composer and music teacher (and a professor beginning in 1901). When Vītols returned to the land of his birth in 1918, where he founded (in 1919) and, for many years, directed the Latvian Conservatory (today the Jāzeps Vītols Latvian Academy of Music), including its composition class, it was only natural for him to promote and implement those concepts which had been until that point assuredly tested both in theory and practice – concepts based on the strong classic and academic musical traditions.¹⁶

Thus, the dominant traditions of musical life and the leading academic school of composition before World War II prompted the fragmented representation of modernist ideas in Latvia. During this period, there were almost no Latvian composers educated abroad. These circumstances indicate the main differences in the representation of the aesthetics of Modernism in Latvia in comparison to the music and musical life in Western Europe. However, even in these circumstances, some Latvian composers regularly showed some interest in various aspects of the modernist aesthetics and style. Scattered echoes of the modernist aesthetics and its varied stylistic characteristics can be identified in some works of diverse genres by Latvian composers of this period – for example, the piano music by Lūcija Garūta (1902–1977), Arvīds Žilinskis (1905–1993) and Volfgangs Dārziņš (1906–1962), and the operas (especially *Hamlet*, 1935) by Jānis Kalniņš (1904–2000). Also noteworthy is composer Victor Babin's (1908–1972) creative work in Latvia at this time. Babin was born in Moscow. He graduated from the Riga Conservatory and Jāzeps Vītols' composition class in 1928 with the first performance of his *Piano concerto*, which was, according to reports by his contemporaries and to the then reviews, based on dodecaphonic principles. Unfortunately, the score of the concerto has not survived. After graduating from the Latvian Conservatory, Babin studied composition with Franz Schreker (1878–1934) and the piano with Arthur Schnabel (1882–1951) at the Berlin Hochschule für Musik. He emigrated to the United States in 1937 and lived there until his death in 1961. There are not many similar examples in Latvian music of the interwar period, but they all highlight the unique process with the gradual trend towards the modernist aesthetics and adaptation of a variety of styles.¹⁷

the 20th Century (Rīga: Jumava, 2006), 559; Jānis Kudiņš, "The National Music Identity in the Global Cultural Crossroad. Some Still Topical Local Problems in the Latvian Music History Writing", *Musicology and Cultural Science* 11, no. 2 (2015): 37–44.

16 Cf. Arnolds Klotiņš, "Jāzeps Vītols as a Fundamentalist and Universalist of Music", in: *Music in Latvia, 2013*, ed. Ināra Jakubone (Rīga: Latvian Music Information Centre, 2013), 3–15; see also the website of Latvian Music Information Centre, accessed 10 May 2018, <http://lmic.lv/core.php?pageId=754?pageId=754&id=26793&&subPageId=756&action=showSubPage>

17 Cf. Jānis Kudiņš, "Modernism as a Marginal Phenomenon in the Context of National Music Culture: Some Local Historical Experiences Peculiarities in Latvia Between the Two World Wars", *Lietuvos muzikologija* 16: 40–51.

It is interesting to note that the situation in Latvia was different way than in the other Baltic countries, Lithuania and Estonia: before World War II, Lithuanian and Estonian composers showed greater interest in Modernism.¹⁸ The Latvian music historian Arnolds Klotiņš commented as follows:

*World War I and the founding of the Latvian nation in 1918 was a kind of turning point in the development of national music. Up until then, timeless works had been created in all of the main musical genres, and, if that is seen as an indicator for the establishment of a national musical school, then that had already taken place, prior to the founding of the nation itself. Latvian music began to hold an equal footing in comparison with and in competition against other cultures. It cannot be said that this was as intense during the period between the world wars. Concert life in Riga was not far behind other major metropolises, but in the realm of new music composition there was an attitude of self-preservation and avoidance of foreign influences, and engagement in the latest world trends was not as vital in music as it was in other arts. So, for example, Latvia never joined the International Society for Contemporary Music, which was founded after WWI and organized major new music festivals in the 1920's, representing its member countries. Therefore the contact of Latvian composers with foreign countries was episodic.*¹⁹

A new period in the development of professional music culture in Latvia started in 1940 and lasted until the end of the 1980s. In this period, Latvia was again occupied – twice by the Soviet Union (1940–1941, 1944–1991), and, during World War II, by Germany (1941–1944). The Soviet occupation force that ruled Latvia during this period implemented working practices in cultural institutions that differed dramatically from the experience gained in the first period of Latvian independence – the freethinking and diversity that had developed were no longer possible under Soviet totalitarianism. Since the field of culture was considered one of the most important tools in the upbringing of an obedient “Soviet person”, relentless attempts to include political ideology and control were made in all spheres of culture, including professional music, and methods of political censorship were used widely to hide undesirable information.

Political censorship in the arts (music included) under the Soviet regime in the post-World War II Latvia resulted in extremely limited possibilities to experience the works by the avant-garde and post-avant-garde composers living in Western Europe. In the 1940s and 1950s, almost all composers living in Latvia had to engage in self-censorship as regards aesthetics and stylistics, artificially limiting their creative attempts, so as not to receive new punishment or harsher sanctions. That was also the main reason why so many artistically colourless or contradictorily perceptible works were produced. In the 1940s and 1950s, the creative work of Latvian composers is, in fact, difficult to generalise in terms of stylistic tendencies. The main orientation proved to be towards the

18 Urve Lippus, “Baltic Music History Writings: Problems and Perspectives”, *Acta Musicologica*, vol. 71, no. 1: 50–125.

19 Arnolds Klotiņš, “The Music of Latvia (A brief Historical Overview)”, in: *Music in Latvia, 2004*, ed. Ināra Jakubone (Riga: Latvian Music Information Centre, 2004), 7; see also the website of Latvian Music Information Centre, accessed 10 May 2018, <http://lmic.lv/core.php?pageId=754?pageId=754&id=4489&subPageId=756&action=showSubPage>.

classical romantic music language, which is very distant from the emotionally elevated and sharpened musical expression characteristic of the 19th-century Romanticism. This situation characterized the musical creative processes in Latvia until the end of the 1950s when the socio-political environment in the Soviet Union slightly changed.

A slight weakening of ideological control took place during the period when Nikita Khrushchev (1894–1971) led the Soviet Union (1956–1964). From the end of Khrushchev's rule until the collapse of the Soviet Union at the end of the 1980s, the Soviet authorities allowed artists to become familiar with the experience of Modernism, which had already spread all over Western Europe. At least a small portion of aesthetic and stylistic pluralism was officially allowed only in the two cultural centres of the Soviet Union – Moscow and St. Petersburg (Leningrad at the time). Attempts to let modernist ideas seep into other Soviet states, including Latvia, were strictly controlled, but their success also depended on particular composers, musicians and the subjective opinions of local authorities. In Latvia, only few composers were successful in this regard. Among these we shall draw attention to Jānis Ivanovs (1906–1983) – a musician who represented a synthesis of classical traditions and Modernism in the field of symphonic music (Ivanovs is the author of twenty-one symphonies, composed between 1933 and 1983), and whose own artistic brightness is comparable to the music of such composers as, for example, Arthur Honegger (1892–1955) and Dmitry Shostakovich (1906–1975).²⁰

Overall, Ivanovs' symphonic music represented a new level of clear, constructive form and precision in Latvian symphonic music, avoiding expressive approximation and passiveness. Under the influence of expressionism and neo-classicism, his works gained a new dimension of dramaticity and monumentalism in the decades following World War II, especially in the 1960s and 1970s. The dramatic aspects of his symphonies are multi-layered. His symphonies are defined by the artistic concept of the opposition between individual and mankind; they are associated with a sense of strong will, self-proclamation, and energetic struggle, as well as the pain of loss and resignation.²¹ They do not offer experiments in creating radical new musical language, but incorporate the principles of the twelve-tone technique used in various ways in his symphonies composed in the 1960s. However, the symbiosis of different styles made it possible for Ivanovs to create a vivid individual style, which is regarded as an expression of his personality.²²

Furthermore, it is interesting to note that in Latvia the adaptation of the 1960s radical form of Modernism was often forbidden and disapproved in the traditional symphonic genres (symphony, concerto). A typical example of this is the work of Arturs Grīnups (1931–1989). Unlike the majority of Latvian composers, Grīnups rarely composed in the principal genres of vocal music – choir and solo voice. The main genre of his work was symphony, throughout his creative career (he created altogether nine symphonies, as well

20 More detailed information in English about the music of Jānis Ivanovs can be found online at the website address of the Latvian Music Information Centre, accessed 20 April 2018, <http://www.lmic.lv/core.php?pageId=747&id=289&>.

21 For a more extensive characterization of Ivanovs' importance in Latvian symphonic music history, see Arnolds Klotiņš, *Sinfonia Lettica 125* (Riga: Latvian Music Information Centre, 2005), 59.

22 Cf. Jānis Kudiņš, "Balancing Personal Artistic Interests and the Demands of the Totalitarian Regime: Jānis Ivanovs' Symphonic Music as a Vivid Example of Stylistic Moderate Modernism in Latvia After World War II", in: *Sociocultural Crossings and Borders: Musical Microhistories*, eds. Rūta Stanevičiūte & Rima Povilioniene (Vilnius: Lithuanian Academy of Music and Theatre, International Musicological Society, 2015), 383–408.

as a symphony for string orchestra and the work *Quasi un a sinfonia*), along with other symphonic and instrumental chamber music. The secret to the uniqueness of the composer's musical writing was in the ability to combine the brilliant late Romanticism (of the composers of the last third of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century), with its characteristic range of expression and magnificent impressionistic orchestra sound potential, with the varied topicality of the then musical recording which sought to transform all previous experiences into a new model. Grīnups preferred imagery that was metaphorically able to reflect the secretive process of psychological understanding of personal experiences, and stylistically represented expressionism with the accent on dissonance and deformation. Grīnups was well known to his contemporaries for his sharp tongue and a difficult disposition. The consequence was that none of Grīnups' symphonic works was released until recently; the scores were kept in the Latvian National Library.²³

Another example demonstrating the peculiarities of the local socio-cultural context in connection to the modernist aesthetics is the Latvian composer Romualds Grīnblats' (1930–1995). He was born in Russia (in Tver), but came to live in Latvia after World War II. The composer's activities in the 1960s were characterized by an interest in the avant-garde musical language and aesthetics. In 1970, the Soviet censorship banned Grīnblats' *Concerto for the flute and orchestra*, because he used serial principles in his composition. This was one of the reasons why Grīnblats left Latvia in the 1970s and moved to St. Petersburg (Leningrad at that time).²⁴

Generally, in the late 1950s and in the 1960s, Latvian composers of different generations showed either an orientation towards the musical language typical of Romanticism or to different manifestations of the so-called “moderate Modernism”. The term “moderate Modernism” is based on conclusions reached by other musicologists on the issue of Modernism in music and other arts of the 20th century.²⁵ For instance, the musicologist Arnold Whittall identified three typical features of works belonging to what he terms “moderate mainstream” (a synonym for “moderate Modernism”):

1. the distinction between consonance and dissonance (even though it was no longer an absolute),
2. the identifiable presence of motivic or thematic statement and development, and
3. the consistent use of rhythmic, metric regularity.²⁶

In this context, radical avant-garde experiments appeared in Latvia only in rare cases. However, as a reflection of various aspects of Modernism, there developed a tendency to synthesize the stylistics of academic and popular music. Examples of this kind are *Concerto for the saxophone, piano and string orchestra* (1962) and *Concerto leggiero*

23 More detailed information in English about the music of Arturs Grīnups can be found online at the website address of the Latvian Music Information Centre, accessed 20 April 2018, <http://www.lmic.lv/core.php?pagId=747&id=3149&>.

24 More detailed information in English about the music of Romualds Grīnblats can be found online at the website address of the Latvian Music Information Centre, accessed 20 April 2018, <http://www.lmic.lv/core.php?pagId=747&id=3322&>.

25 Cf. Albright, *Modernism and Music: An Anthology of Sources*, 428; David Joel Metzger, “Musical Modernism at the Turn of the Twenty-first Century”, in *Music in the Twentieth Century* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 254; Robert P. Morgan, “Secret Languages: The Roots of Musical Modernism”, *Critical Inquiry* 10, no. 3 (1984, March 1984): 442–461.

26 Arnold Whittall, “Individualism and Accessibility: The Moderate Mainstream”, in *The Cambridge History of Twentieth-Century Music*, eds. Nicholas Cook and Anthony Pople (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 370.

for nine jazz instruments and string orchestra (1970) by Ģederts Ramans (1927–1999), and *Symphony No. 4* (with rock ensemble instruments and elements of rock style, 1973) by Imants Kalniņš (1941). Additionally, the trend towards Neo-classicism began to develop in the 1960s (between the two world wars this tendency was not present), and there appeared the first samples of polystylistic synthesis. This allows us to conclude that, in the history of Latvian music, modernist stylistic expressions gained ground simultaneously with the emergence of postmodernist aesthetics.

The Actualization of Postmodernist Aesthetics within the Framework of the Totalitarian System. The Case of Mārgeris Zariņš

In the 1960s, the composer and writer Mārgeris Zariņš (1910–1993) introduced into Latvian music a new, previously unknown stylistic concept.²⁷ The artist's interest in various styles of the past, as well as historical themes, was expressed already at the beginning of his creative career, in the second half of the 1930s. Still, World War II and the first ten years of the subsequent Soviet occupation externally restricted Zariņš' artistic interests. At the end of Stalin's dictatorship (in the middle of the 1950s), he was forced to avoid the aesthetics and stylistics that could potentially be called "formalistic", i.e. not fit for the demands of socialistic realism. For example, at that time Zariņš was composing the opera *Uz jauno krastu* (*On a New Shore*), which was premiered in 1955, whose libretto was based on a false interpretation of history, stressing untruths about the occupation of Latvia and its annexation into the former Soviet Union in 1940. Today, we can consider this opera to be an interesting example of the socialist realist aesthetic, with simple, easily understood melodic lines and illustrative musical demonstration.

After the end of Stalin's dictatorship, during the "thaw" that followed at the end of the 1950s, the creative work of Zariņš as a composer (as well as a writer) showed some significant changes. The composer was always interested in the free, experimental view of the music of the past and its various styles, and in the opportunities to contrast and synthesize those with the musical language of the 20th-century modernist and popular music. Thus it is not surprising that in the 1960s, in a slightly different socio-political context of the former USSR, Zariņš was basically the first in Latvia who embraced the birth of the postmodernist aesthetic. He utilized characteristic signs of postmodernism, for example retrospection, intertextuality, conscious stylistic fragmentation and irony (referring to the essays of Ihab Hasan as well as texts by Baudrillard and Lyotard), in an artistically vivid and convincing way, masterfully balancing between the ideological control by the totalitarian regime and his own interests.

All in all, Zariņš wrote operas, a ballet opera, music for the vocal-instrumental and instrumental genres during the 1960s, tracing an original stylistic synthesis (polystylism). A few of his works composed during this time were clear dedications to the official ideology and the totalitarian regime (for example, the opera *Uz laukuma* [*In the Field*], composed in 1969, was dedicated to the 100th anniversary of Lenin's birth, focusing on the idea of the "revolutionary uprising"). Still, in the majority of cases, the composer

27 More detailed information in English about the music of Mārgeris Zariņš can be found online at the website address of the Latvian Music Information Centre, accessed 20 April 2018, <http://www.lmic.lv/core.php?pageId=747&id=2434&>.

primarily indulged himself in playing *with various styles*. Zariņš himself commented on the polystylistic aspects of his music by saying: “The use of varied styles is also my style!”²⁸

In essence, this is a characteristic postmodernist position, and the composer put it into practise in an environment where there was hostility to the term *Modernism* (at that time in Latvia, publications that were controlled by censors used this term very reservedly, often mentioning it as being an “undesirable” Western cultural trend), and where the term *postmodernism* had not yet entered the field of the arts and cultural analysis.

During this period of Latvian music history, Zariņš was basically the only composer dealing with the interaction of modernist and postmodernist aesthetic ideas. Three of his works (examples) allow one to see the variety of ways in which he managed to realize his interest in stylistic play and polystylistic principles.

In 1963, Zariņš composed a cycle for a mezzo-soprano and a chamber orchestra *Partita baroka stilā* (*Partita in Baroque Style*) with texts in French (the authors were the 13th-century French trouvère Adam de la Halle, the 15th-century French poet François Villon and the 16th-century French poet Pierre de Ronsard). The cycle is made up of six parts: “Variations”, “Galliard”, “Intrada”, “Saltarella”, “Menestrel”, “Pavane”. The names of the parts refer not just to Baroque music, but also to the Middle Ages and Renaissance, and the foundation of Zariņš’s vocal cycle is stylistic variety and interpretation. The poetry from different historical periods narrates a story of a young girl falling in love and later being disappointed in love. The main musical impulse is based on a musical quote from a melody by the French trouvère Adam de la Halle (1237–1288) from the musical play *Jeu de Robin et Marion* (c. 1282–83), with which Zariņš’s vocal cycle begins. It is interesting that Zariņš slightly changed the modal foundation of de la Halle’s melody. In de la Halle’s song, the melody is in the Mixolydian mode:

Refrain Fine

Ro - bins m'ai - me, Ro - bins m'a, Ro - bins m'a de - man - dé - e, Si - m'a - ra.

6 (a)

Ro - bins m'a - ca - ta co - te - le D'es - car - la - te bonnē cr be - le,

10 (b) D.C. al fine

Sous - ka - nie et chain - tu - rele A - leu - ri - val

Example No. 1: Example from Adam de la Halle's song Robins m'aime: Richard Taruskin, "Adam de la Halle and the Formes Fixes", in Music from the Earliest Notations to the Sixteenth Century, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009, accessed electronically 20 April 2018, http://www.columbia.edu/~qx2126/upload/oxford_music_history/vol_1/actrade-9780195384819-div1-004004.html.

In Zariņš's quoted version the melody is in the Lydian mode, and it is supplemented by characteristic dissonant harmonic successions, characteristic of the 20th century musical language, as well as a combination of timbres of various instruments:

28 Tatiana Kurysheva, *Marger Zarin*, ed. Marina Sabinina (Маргер Заринь, Moscow: Sovetskiy Kompozitor, 1980), p. 91.

ПАРТИТА В СТИЛЕ
БАРОККО

PARTITA
IN BAROCCO

3

М. ЗАРИНЬ
M. ZARIŅŠ

I. ВАРИАЦИИ
I. VARIĀCIJAS

Allegretto grazioso

Flauto
C ingl. *mf*
Oboe (Corno inglese) *p dolce*
Chitarra *mf*

Violini I *mf*
Violini II *mf*
Viole I *mf*
Viole II *mf*
Violoncelli I *mf*
Violoncelli II *mf* *pizz.*

Fl. *f*
C. ingl. *f*
Chit. *f*

P-no

V-ni *f*
V-le *f*
V-c. *f* *arco*

320

4

Chit. poco rit. **3** a tempo

P-no

M-s.

Лю - бишь ли ты ме - ня, мой Ро -
 Ro - bin's m'oi me, Ro - bin's

V-ni

V-le

V-c.

pizz.

— бн? Друг сер — деч_ный мне ска — зал: «Ты мо —
 m'a. Ro - bin's m'oi de - man de - é si m'a

520

5

Fl. *mf*

C. ingl. *p dolce*

Chit.

P-no *bb*

M-s.

Я - сть ро - л Я - bin's уж ря - дом, м'а - са

V-ni

V-le *mf*

V-c. *bb*

mp

p

дур, с то - бой. А - но - ю по - зой я ро - про, - lei
 - la co - té - le des - car - la - te bonne et bé - lei

sf

Example No. 2: Example from Zariņš's *Partita in the Baroque Style* first edition (text in French with a translation in Russian): Margēris Zariņš, *Partita v style barokko/Partita in Baroque* (Moscow: Muzyka, 1966).

The quoted melody represents the basis for the development of musical material in all parts of the cycle. By including and contrasting various stylistic elements, Zariņš created a vivid polystylistic composition. This was done with the instruments pertaining to the chamber orchestra – violins, violas, cellos, flute, oboe, English horn, saxophone, xylophone, bells, piano, harp and guitar. The varied sonic combinations allowed the composer to create both a baroque and a renaissance music stylization that includes elements of contemporary musical language (in the sections “Variations”, “Galliard”, “Intrada”), allusions to impressionist style (the mezzo-soprano and harp in the section “Menestrel”), and, periodically, musical links to jazz rhythms and their characteristic harmonies (in the sections “Saltarella” and “Pavane”). We should note the dual and reserved view of jazz music in the former USSR, even in the 1960s in the period of thaw. That is why Zariņš’s artistic bravery was especially notable, beside his ability to synthesize various styles.

The jazz sound is realized most vividly in the last section of the cycle – “Pavane”. There, the voice of the mezzo-soprano sings Pierre de Ronsard’s poetry about a young girl’s disenchantment with the boy she loves as well as with love itself. The foundation of the mezzo-soprano vocal line is the recognizable melody of Adam de la Halle’s song “Jeu de Robin et Marion”, though transformed into a new version in a different genre. The instrumental accompaniment in the finale is based on a jazz-like ostinato-type rhythm figure, on marked bass-line motifs and a harmonic procession. The timbre of the bell gives the music both a dramatic and an ironic character: see example No. 3.

Altogether, the combination of varied stylistic elements in Zariņš’s cycle *Partita in Baroque Style* results in vivid *stylistic play*. Zariņš had the ability to synthesize aspects of music from different eras very organically and, at the same time, did not lose the stylistic concept that tied the composition together. In every sense, this composition by Zariņš was something unexpected at the beginning of the 1960s and something new in the history of Latvian academic music. It is possible that today this work could still attract attention, even in a broader European context, as a bright example of a post-modernist aesthetics in its birth process.

Zariņš’ oratorio *Mahagoni*, completed in 1965, is an interesting example of the balance between the ideologically correct theme and the courage to continue with polystylistic experiments. Officially, this oratorio was dedicated to the Congolese independence leader and the first democratically elected Prime Minister of the Republic of the Congo Patrice Lumumba (1925–1961). The oratorio uses texts (translations in Latvian) by the American poet Langston Hughes (1902–1967) as well as texts by the Latvian poet Alfrēds Krūklis (1921–2003).

The oratorio is made up of six parts, and its performance requires three choirs, soloists (a mezzo-soprano, a tenor, a bass and a child’s voice), piano, and a large percussion ensemble. The contrast between various styles (in both the parallel and simultaneous sound) allows one to perceive the vivid theatricality of this work, which can, in fact, be realized as a stage performance. In the multi-layered styles, we can recognize an accent on the contemporary, at times dissonant harmonic language, allusions to American blues, as well as references to Gregorian chorales. All of these layers are very expressively used in the oratorio’s finale, which reflects the text’s “revolution against the imperialistic oppressors” in the wake of Patrice Lumumba’s murder:

VI. ПАВАНА
VI. PAVANE

28

Flauto

Oboe

Saxofono
alto (Es)

Silofono

Chitarra

Piano

Campane

Side drums

Tenor drums

Mezzo-soprano

Violini

Viole

Violoncelli

щётной

p

mp

p sub.

p

p staccato

p

pp sub.

mp

Мир
Re

pizz.

p

pizz.

sfz

sfz

p

pizz.

p

arco

arco

pizz.

p

28

Fl.

Ob.

Sax.

Sil.

Chit.

P-no

C-ni

S. drums

T. drums

M-s.

V-ni

V-le

V.c.

ду - ше тво ей, о храб - рый
 - пос е - тер - nel don - не, don -

44

29

ка - ва - леп-
_ ne - а - цилл

col legno 29

col legno mp
col legno mp
col legno mp
col legno mp
col legno arco
col legno arco

520

Example No. 3: Example from Zariņš's Partita in the Baroque Style first edition (text in French with a translation in Russian): Margeris Zariņš, Partita v style barokko / Partita in Baroque (Moscow: Muzyka, 1966).

102

Bass: MAGNIE,

Bass: DIEI DIAT SE TO DIEI MU, -

Bass: TI TO CLAUDI NO BAB - ES

- 107 -

Finis

105 Ritmico, sempre cresc.

106

107

LIES - MĀM!

pp TARR-ARR, TAM, TAM, TAM, TARR-ARR, TAM, TAM, TAM, TARR-ARR, TAM, TAM, TAM, TARR-ARR, TAM, TAM, TAM.

pp TARR-ARR, TAM, TAM, TAM, TARR-ARR, TAM, TAM, TAM.

pp TAM, TAM TAM, TAM

TAM, TAM, TAM, TARR-ARR, TARR-ARR, TARR-ARR, TARR-ARR, TAM, TAM TARR-ARR, TAM, TAM, TARR-ARR!

TAM, TAM, TAM, TARR-ARR, TARR-ARR TARR-ARR TARR-ARR, TAM, TAM, TARR-ARR!

TAM, TAM, TAM, TARR-ARR, TARR-ARR, TARR-ARR, TARR-ARR, TAM, TAM, TARR-ARR!

S. *ā*-----!

TAM, TAM, TAM, TAM, TAM!

T. D. (M)-TA, (M)-TA, (M)-TA, (M)-TA (M)TA, (M)TA, (M)TA, (M)TA

TAM, TAM, TAM, TAM, TAM!

(con vnaq. elq.)

S. *ā*-----!

TAM, TAM, TAM, TAM, TAM!

T. D. (M)TA, (M)TA, (M)TA, (M)TA (M)TA, (M)TA TAM, TAM, TAM.

1) rieģeļaus iņpildīšanas dēļ var pirms kārtas note dot nolēsiģu, m.!

Handwritten musical score for an oratorio, featuring vocal parts (Soprano, Alto, Tenor, Bass) and piano accompaniment. The score includes lyrics in Latvian and rhythmic markings.

104

Soprano: Kungs To GLĀB mē EL - LES

Alto: Kungs To GLĀB mē EL - LES

Tenors: TAM, TAM, TAM, TĀRĀM!

Bass: TAM!

105

Example No. 4: Example from Zariņš's oratorio Mahagoni score (handwritten, not issued, score held in the library of Jāzeps Vītols Latvian Academy of Music).

The music of Zariņš's oratorio *Mahagoni* is also interesting in the context of the composer's stylistic vision of African music. In the Soviet Union of the 1960s and 70s, the trendy interest in the music of "exotic" cultures was supposed to promote the theme of "revolutionary freedom fight" in service of totalitarian ideology. Still, one cannot really hear any reference to traditional African music in Zariņš's composition. It is more likely that the composer consciously changed the stylistic geographical accents, musically illustrating the historical events in the Congo by deploying characteristic aspects of American blues. At the same time, the composition's artistically interesting idea of stylistic play, implemented particularly in the varied layers of musical language, was interpreted as simultaneously representing modernist and post-modernist aesthetics.

Finally, at the end of the 1960s, Zariņš composed another work regarded today as an interesting example of postmodernism even in the broader context of European musical history. At the time, Zariņš was one of the three composers who represented a new trend of polystylism – the other two being the Italian composer Luciano Berio (1925–2003) with his *Sinfonia* (1968), and the Russian composer Alfred Schnittke (1934–1998) with his *First Symphony* (1968–1971). Zariņš's *Concerto grosso* (1968) is a very vivid polystylistic work, playing with the stylistic elements of Baroque, Romanticism, the 20th-century expressionism and jazz. In *Concerto grosso*, Zariņš highlights some interesting jazz elements, just as Schnittke does in his *First Symphony*. After its first performance, this stylistically innovative work was not performed for a very long time – this interesting fact reflects the overall context.

Zariņš's *Concerto grosso* shows varied stylistic tendencies typical of the 20th century. First, we can discern the characteristic turn to the Baroque concerto genre of Neo-classicism. We can observe the genre-specific principle of a *game* or *competition* between two solo instruments and other instrument groups. Second, the contrast between layers of different styles expresses the principle of collage, which is particularly emphasized with the contrasts between various timbres. The harpsichord alludes to Baroque music, the piano focuses on stylistic expressions characteristic of the 20th-century, with a texture that includes figures of pointillism, while the symphony orchestra provides various stylistic layers reminiscent of both the past stylistic periods and the 20th-century.

The beginning of the first movement encompasses stylistic contrasts and a parallel setting of three varied musical themes. One can hear small stylistic signs in the cembalo part which create clear references to the 17th-century French harpsichord music in the texture:

С 9405

CONCERTO GROSSO

Для фортепиано, чембало и симфонического оркестра
For Piano, Cembalo and Symphony Orchestra

М. ЗАРИНЬ
M. ZARINŠ
1967

Allegro

3 Flauti
3 Oboi
3 Clarinetti (B)
3 Fagotti
3 Corni (F)
Cornetto (B)
3 Tromboni
Timpani
Tamburo di legno
3 Bonghi
Tamburo
Piatto sospeso
Cassa
Frusta
Tam-tam
Campanelli
Silokono
Cembalo solo
Piano solo
Quartetto d' archi
Violini I
Violini II
Viole
Violoncelli
Contrabassi

I solo dolce

Allegro
div. in 4
div. in 4
div.

4

Fl.

Ob.

Fag.

Cor.

Tr-ni

Timp.

Cembalo

V.-c.

C.-b.

Cembalo

V.-c.

C.-b.

Cembalo

V.-c.

C.-b.

Andante, tempo rubato

mf

f

p

pp

ppp

a2

pizz.

pp

pp

pp

f

[1]

[1]

[2]

с 826 κ

5

The image shows a page of a musical score for a concert grosso. The staves are arranged vertically from top to bottom: Flute (Fl.), Oboe (Ob.), Clarinet (Cl.), Bassoon (Fag.), Horn (Cor.), Trumpet (C-tto), Trombone (Sil.), Cymbal (Cembalo), String Quartet (Quartetto d'archi), Violin (V-le), Viola (V-c), and Cello/Double Bass (C-b.). The score includes various musical notations such as notes, rests, and dynamic markings. A piano (pp) section is marked in the Cymbal part, and a fortissimo (ff) section is marked in the Violin and Viola parts. The instruction 'unis.' (unison) is written above the Violin staff. The page number '5' is located in the top right corner.

c 826 κ

Example No. 5: Example from Zariņš's Concerto grosso edition: Marģeris Zariņš, Concerto grosso. (Leningrad: Sovetskyi Kompozitor, 1982).

The piano theme creates a link to the characteristic linear texture of the avant-garde music, underlining the grotesque impression in the characterization of music:

4 Risoluto, accento

4 Risoluto, accento

pizz.

pizz.

pizz.

pizz.

unis.

pizz.

pizz.

p

c 826 κ

10

The image displays a page of a musical score for a symphony orchestra. The score is arranged in systems. The first system includes staves for Flute (Fl.), Oboe (Ob.), Bassoon (Fag.), Horn (Cor.), Piano, and Archi (Violins and Cellos/Double Basses). The second system includes staves for Flute (Fl.), Oboe (Ob.), Clarinet (Cl.), Bassoon (Fag.), Horn (Cor.), and Archi. The third system includes staves for Flute (Fl.), Oboe (Ob.), Clarinet (Cl.), Bassoon (Fag.), Horn (Cor.), and Archi. The score contains various musical notations, including dynamics (pp, p, f), articulation (accents, slurs), and performance instructions (cantabile, arco, pizz., unis.). There are also some markings like 'III' and 'a2'.

Example No. 6: Example from Zariņš's *Concerto grosso* edition: Mārgeris Zariņš, *Concerto grosso*. (Leningrad: Sovetskiy Kompozitor, 1982).

In the third theme, a synthesis of the texture and the harmonies of the cembalo part creates a Neoclassical stylization with a modernist musical language (this material is then transferred to and developed by the symphony orchestra):

Allegretto gracioso

The musical score is arranged in systems. The first system includes Flute (Fl.), Piccolo (Picc.), Cembalo (Cembalo), and Quartetto d'archi (Quartetto d'archi). The second system includes Archi (Archi). The third system includes Picc. and Cembalo. The fourth system includes Picc. and Cembalo. The fifth system includes Quartetto d'archi. The score includes various musical notations such as clefs, time signatures, and dynamic markings like *mp gracioso*. A rehearsal mark [13] is present in the fourth system.

c 826 κ

30

Fl.

Picc.

Ob.

C. ingl.

Cl.

Fag.

Cor.

C-tto

Quartetto d'archi

Archi

sul pontic. non div.

sul pontic. *p* non div.

div. sul pontic. *p*

p

p

p

p

c 826 K

Example No. 7 Example from Zariņš's Concerto grosso edition: Marģeris Zariņš, Concerto grosso. (Leningrad: Sovetskyi Kompozitor, 1982).

Zariņš described his *Concerto grosso* in the following way: “My hope was to contrast the sound of the cembalo with the modern orchestra and piano. It is like two worlds of sound – one is intimate, the other is active, full of activity.”²⁹

Concerto grosso is made up of three movements, which corresponds to the classical instrumental concerto model. In the first movement, the three themes are developed in varied ways, using the characteristic concerto principle of competition between various instruments and their groups, creating fragmentary stylistic allusions to jazz as well as episodes with a sonoristic texture. The second movement of the concerto is created as a collage, or a dialogue between the “ancient music” of cembalo and the “modern” piano. In turn, the work’s finale returns to the frequent changes and varied layers of style in the composition’s various episodes. We can highlight the developed pseudo jazz episode – the improvisational character in the piano music with an orchestral accompaniment in blues style. The direct inclusion of allusions to jazz in the former USSR was courageous because of the country’s official doctrine regarding jazz.

A particularly interesting moment in the realization of the polystylistic approach can be observed in the score of *Concerto*’s third movement, which includes references to and elements of various styles in the function of allusion. For example, shortly before the jazz episodes we can hear an expressive simultaneous development of various styles, which provides a smiling allusion to George Gershwin’s (1898–1937) music in the symphonic jazz style:

29 From an article on Mārgeris Zariņš from Riga's former newspaper *Rīgas balsi*, February 12, 1969.

Musical score for measures 57-60. The score includes parts for Cembalo, V-ni I, V-ni II, V-le, and V-c. div. in 4. Measure 57 is marked with a box containing the number 57. The Cembalo part features a rhythmic pattern of eighth notes. The V-ni I and V-ni II parts have a melodic line with a slur over measures 58-60. The V-le part has a sustained chord. The V-c. div. in 4 part has a bass line with a slur over measures 58-60. Dynamics include *p* and *pl*.

Musical score for measures 57-60 for Fl., Cl., and Fag. The Flute part has a melodic line starting in measure 58. The Clarinet and Bassoon parts have sustained chords. Dynamics include *mp*.

Musical score for measures 61-64. The score includes parts for Cembalo, V-ni I, V-ni II, V-le, and V-c. div. in 4. The Cembalo part has a rhythmic pattern of eighth notes. The V-ni I and V-ni II parts have a melodic line with a slur over measures 62-64. The V-le part has a sustained chord. The V-c. div. in 4 part has a bass line with a slur over measures 62-64. Dynamics include *mp*.

c 826 K

104

The musical score is arranged in a system with six main parts. At the top are the woodwinds: Flute (Fl.), Clarinet (Cl.), and Bassoon (Fag.), each with two staves. Below them is the Cembalo (piano) part, consisting of two staves. The next section is the Quartetto d'archi (string quartet), with four staves. At the bottom are the Archi (strings), with four staves, each marked with 'div.' (divisi). The score spans four measures. The woodwinds and strings play sustained notes, while the piano part features a rhythmic accompaniment. The string quartet part includes dynamic markings such as *p* (piano).

c 826 κ

Fl.
Cl.
Fag.
Cor.
Cembalo
Piano
Quartetto d'archi
Archi

The image shows a page of a musical score for a symphony orchestra and woodwinds. The score is arranged in a system with multiple staves. The instruments listed on the left are Flute (Fl.), Clarinet (Cl.), Bassoon (Fag.), Cor Anglais (Cor.), Cembalo (Harp), Piano, Quartetto d'archi (String Quartet), and Archi (String Orchestra). The music is written in a key signature of one flat (B-flat) and a common time signature (C). The woodwind parts (Fl., Cl., Fag., Cor.) have some notes in the first two measures, while the strings (Archi) play a rhythmic pattern of eighth notes. The Cembalo and Piano parts are mostly rests. The Quartetto d'archi part shows a melodic line with slurs. The Archi part shows a rhythmic pattern of eighth notes. The score is divided into measures by vertical bar lines.

c 826 κ

106

Fl.

Picc.

Ob.

Cl.

Fag.

Cor

C-tto

Piatti

Sil.

Cembalo

Piano

Archi

58

mp

p

f

unis.

unis. pizz.

p

c 826 k

Example No. 8 Example from Zariņš's Concerto grosso edition: Mārgeris Zariņš, Concerto grosso. (Leningrad: Sovetskyi Kompozitor, 1982).

Zariņš's *Concerto grosso* can be evaluated as one of the period's rare and artistically vivid realizations of polystylistic collage. Other composers also employed Neoclassical stylizations and stylistic allusions, but in a much more measured way. Zariņš's polystylistic music embraced the intertextuality, characteristic of modernist and postmodernist aesthetics, and developed varied stylistic fragments as a unique artistic approach. At the end of 1960s, Zariņš created an extraordinary episode in Latvian music history which enabled a quick transition from moderate Modernism to a stylistically conservative postmodernism, which marked the creative endeavours of Latvian composers in the last three decades of the 20th century.

Some Remarks on the Domination of Stylistically Conservative Postmodernism in the Last Third of the 20th Century and the Beginning of the 21st Century

The works of Latvian composers in the 1960s, 70s, 80s and 90s and in the beginning of the 21st century reflected stylistic impulses based on three fundamental trends.

After Zariņš's radical experiments in the 1960s, polystylism continued to attract the attention of the next generation of composers. Zariņš's love of stylistic play was most directly continued by Pēteris Plakidis (1947 -2017), who in *Mūzika (Music)*, composed in 1969, as well as in *Veltījums Haidnam (Dedicated to Haydn)*, 1982) for flute, cello and piano, practiced the principle of quoting and allusion. Still, for the most part, polystylism is often present in Latvian music only in the form of stylisations or an expression of reduced contrast. Stylisation and style allusion received attention from both symphonic music masters Jānis Ivanovs and Ādolfs Skulte, and younger composers in the 1970s, 80s, and 90s, for example, Pauls Dambis (1936), Romualds Kalsons (1936), Maija Einfelde (1939), Vilnis Šmīdbergs (1944), Pēteris Vasks (1946), Selga Mence (1953), Arturs Maskats (1957), Andris Vecumnieks (1964), Rihards Dubra (1964), and others. The composers of this generation made discreet allusions to the musical styles of various eras, without overly accenting the collage principle and the associated contrast and dissonance.

The second stylistic impulse determined by the postmodernist aesthetic was the "new wave of folklore" in the genre of academic music. It should be noted that the term – "new wave of folklore" – is mainly adapted from the Soviet music critics (as *novay'a folklornay'a volna*). Basically, it marked the trend which represented an interest in adapting an authentic style of folk music to academic music genres.³⁰ It was a continuation of folk music adaptations that began in the first third of the 20th century (Béla Bartók, Igor Stravinsky etc.), although after a pause. The term "new wave of folklore" highlights the focus on traditional culture with its most ancient layers as well as artistic interpretation. At that time, the brightest representative of this trend was the Latvian composer Pauls Dambis (1936), who influenced composers of his era and later generations.³¹ When analysing

30 Olga Frayonova, "Неофолклоризм" (Neo-Folklorism), in: Georgi Keldysh, ed., *The Music Encyclopedic Dictionary* (Moscow: Soviet Encyclopedia, 1991), 379.

31 More detailed information in English about the music of Pauls Dambis can be found online at the website address of the Latvian Music Information Centre, accessed 20 April 2018, <http://www.lmic.lv/core.php?pageId=747&id=277&>.

Dambis' music, the Latvian musicologist Ingrida Zemzare aptly concluded that two basic trends could be observed in his creative activity:

First, he appears to be a successor in the continuous chain of traditional regenerators of folklore. But a new aesthetic approach should be noted here. According to the classical conceptions, folklore represents a certain national unity, interpreting the past of a nation as a primordially-collective and natural organism. The romantic conception, however, tends to express its regret for this by-gone oneness. Dambis' perception of folklore is neither strongly romantic nor objectivistic. It is rather lyrical, bound with the spiritual life of a person, intellectualism being the author's aesthetic platform. [...]

The second area of interest is connected with the ideas of the Renaissance. Traditionally Latvian composers have worked with poetry by contemporary authors or, less commonly, national classics. In spite of this tradition, a great many of Dambis' compositions have been inspired by outstanding achievements in world art and ideas, even very remote epochs and nations.³²

Overall, Dambis inspired an interesting creative approach in the contemporary period of Latvian music history. His opus consists of dozens of choral (*a cappella*) cycles with Latvian folklore texts and elements of traditional music, as well as cantatas and oratorios (for choir, symphonic orchestra or instrumental ensemble), many instrumental chamber music works and some operas. In the 1970s and the first half of the 1980s, a number of Latvian composers (for example, Romualds Kalsons, Pēteris Plakidis, Juris Karlsons, Selga Mence) were influenced by Dambis' ideas about folk music adaptation and the synthesis of different styles. However, no other composer in Latvia implemented this trend – “new wave of folklore” – as intensely as Dambis did. It should be noted that, since the 1980s, Dambis started to pay less attention to the “new wave of folklore” in his creative work and his approach to composition has been most commonly associated with neo-romanticist tendencies.

Altogether, the trend of Neo-Romanticism, as the third impulse (with its characteristic forms of expression, tonal music language, and allusions to the musical language of the 19th century), is typical of the music created in the last decades of the 20th century and in the beginning of the 21st century by Latvian composers of the older and middle generations, for instance, Romualds Jermaks (1931), Agris Engelmanis (1936–2011), Romualds Kalsons (1936), Pauls Dambis (1936), Leons Amoliņš (1937), Maija Einfelde (1939), Imants Kalniņš (1941), Pēteris Butāns (1942), Vilnis Šmīdbergs (1944), Pēteris Vasks (1946), Pēteris Plakidis (1947–2017), Juris Karlsons (1948), Alvis Altmanis (1950), Aivars Kalējs (1951), Imants Zemzaris (1951), Selga Mence (1953), Arturs Maskats (1957), Ilona Breģe (1959), Indra Riše (1961), Rihards Dubra (1964), Andris Vecumnieks (1964) and others.

It is also interesting to note that several composers in Latvia (for instance, Zariņš, Dambis, Ivanovs, Kalsons, Karlsons) and two other Baltic countries (for instance,

32 Ingrida Zemzare, *Paula Dambja spēles* (Riga: Liesma, 1990), 196–197.

Vytautas Barkauskas, Osvaldas Balakauskas, Vytautas Jurgutis in Lithuania, and Ester Mägi, Arvo Pärt and Raimo Kangro in Estonia) actively used Latin and Italian, sometimes also French, for the titles or mottos of their musical work in the 1960s, 70s and 80s. The use of text in these languages (in vocal music) became a regular practice for some composers. The music historian Joachim Braun believes that composers thus tried to point out the hidden meaning in musical content – using these languages implied a reference to *the secret message*, the element of *Aesopian language* or *the symbol of Western culture* (especially in connection with music in the avant-garde style) under the totalitarian political regime.³³

All in all, together with a moderate polystylistics, the “new wave of folklore” and, in a fragmentary way also the expression of trends of minimalism, Neo-Romanticism at the end of the 20th century reflects the dominance of a stylistically conservative post-modern aesthetic.³⁴ The Latvian musicologist Arnolds Klotiņš aptly commented on this local peculiarity of the 20th-century Latvian musical history:

*A stylistic renaissance and unpredictability in Latvian music began with the appearance of a new generation of composers, educated in the 1960's. This was a time when the avant-garde in post-war Western Europe had exhausted itself and had set the scene for Neo-Romanticism or, more broadly speaking, postmodernism. Thus there is as much fact as exaggeration in an Italian critic's (Armando Gentilucci (1939–1989), when he was visiting Latvia in 1986 [remark J.K.] saying that “Latvian music has come upon a good postmodernism, while it has almost never contained any modernism itself”.*³⁵

Still, I would like to add that there was a new surge of an active avant-garde trend at the end of the 1990s in Latvia, when many composers born in the 1970s and 80s declared in the media the need for an alternative to “Neo-Romantic traditionalism”.³⁶ Among these, let us list the most notable: Rolands Kronlaks (1973), Mārtiņš Viļums (1974), Gundega Šmite (1977), Santa Ratniece (1977), Andris Dzenītis (1977), Jānis Petraškevičs (1978), Santa Bušs (1981), and Kristaps Pētersons (1982). The creative searches of these composers are conspicuous for their radical approach to the adaptation and creation of concepts and ideas of avant-garde and post-avant-garde music. However, as regards

33 Cf. Joachim Braun, “Zur Hermeneutik der sowjetbaltischen Musik. Ein Versuch der Deutung von Sinn und Stil”, *Zeitschrift für Ostforschung* 31, no.1 (1982): 76–93.

34 Cf. Jānis Kudiņš, “Latvian Symphonic Music at the Turn of the 20th and 21st Centuries: Neoromantic Trend and Reasons for it to be Topical”, in: *Creative Tendencies of Contemporary Music*, ed. Jānis Kudiņš, (Rīga: Jāzeps Vītols Latvian Academy of Music, 2009), 14–24; Jānis Kudiņš, “Neoromanticism as a Dominating Tendency in the Symphonic Music of Latvian Composers in the Last Third of the 20th Century and the Beginning of the 21st Century. The Local Causes for its Topicality in the Context of European Music History”, in: *Principles of Music Composing: National Romanticism and Contemporary Music (11)*, ed. R.Janeliauskas (Vilnius: Lithuanian Academy of Music and Theatre, Lithuanian Composers` Union, 2011), 152–165; Jānis Kudiņš, “Pēteris Vasks as Neo-Romantic: Characteristic Style Signs of Latvian Composer Symphonic Music in the Context of Postmodern Culture and Art”, in: *From Modernism to Postmodernism. Between Universal and Local*. eds. Katarina Bogunovič Hočevar, Gregor Pompe, Nejc Sukljan (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2016), 303–326.

35 Arnolds Klotiņš, “The Music of Latvia” 9; see also the website of the Latvian Music Information Centre, accessed 10 May 2018, <http://lmic.lv/core.php?pageId=754?pagelId=754&id=4489&&subPageId=756&action=showSubPage>.

36 Cf. Jānis Petraškevičs, “New Times. New Paradigms?”, in: *Music in Latvia, 2004*, ed. Ināra Jakubone (Rīga: Latvian Music Information Centre, 2004), 28–31; see also the website of the Latvian Music Information Centre, accessed 10 May 2018, <http://lmic.lv/core.php?pageId=754?pagelId=754&id=4485&&subPageId=756&action=showSubPage>.

aesthetic and stylistic position, the more traditionally oriented older generation of Latvian composers still holds a balance.

In conclusion, the Latvia historical experience shows inconsistency with the overall schematic concept, according to which the varied trends of Modernism were followed by postmodernist stylistic traits in the second half of the 20th century. In Latvian music history, the 19th century Romanticism dominated until the World War II, and in the second half of the 20th century the emergence of Modernism, particularly avant-garde, was delayed as a result of the socio-political situation. Modernism thus appeared fragmentarily and reflected a different, non-Western development of musical styles. It was only at the end of the 20th century and the beginning of the 21st century that one could observe a varied stylistic trend in a broad spectrum from Neo-Romanticism to radical avant-garde and post-avant-garde experiments in music by Latvian composers. In addition, we can claim that the representation of modernist and postmodernist aesthetics in various European nations was determined in the 20th century by different historical situations. The consecutive evolution from Modernism to postmodernism is more of a fiction than reality. Also, the expression of modernist and postmodernist stylistic ideas formed in different ways in varied European nations. These local variations of expression have created an interesting layer of musical heritage, whose understanding (mutual comparisons among the historical experiences of various nations) is still an open research question.

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POVZETEK

Raziskovanje glasbe in njene estetike že dolgo postavlja vprašanje, do katere mere je mogoče glasbeno zgodovino razlagati kot proces, ki izkazuje jasen linearni razvoj. Ali na primer pojma »modernizem« in »postmodernizem« pravilno zaobjameta tokove v zgodovini glasbe 20. stoletja ali gre zgolj za teoretične abstrakcije? Kako jih lahko uporabljamo v povezavi z zgodovino glasbe specifičnih držav, ko na primer analiziramo lokalne zgodovinske izkušnje? Prispevek se bo osredotočil na ta vprašanja, da bi predstavil modernistično in postmodernistično estetiko in slogovni razvoj v latvijski zgodovini glasbe 20. stoletja.

V prispevku avtor zavzema svojo pozicijo v zvezi z modernizmom in postmodernizmom v kontekstu

muzikološkega dojetja sloga. V ta namen najprej razišče lokalne posebnosti modernizma in postmodernizma v latvijski zgodovini glasbe 20. stoletja. Osredotoča se na vzroke za specifično situacijo, ki bi jo bilo mogoče opisati kot konservativno, a hkrati umetniško zavezano živemu postmodernizmu, ki pa ni nastopil po dolgem ali intenzivnem obdobju modernizma. V tem pogledu so bila najbolj zanimivo obdobje latvijske zgodovine glasbe šestdeseta leta, ko sta se hkrati pojavila tako zmerni in radikalnim modernizem kot tudi prvi svetli primeri postmodernistične estetike in sloga (polistilčni postopki kolaža, citatov itd.); v tem pogledu je najbolj zanimiva glasba latvijskega skladatelja Marģerisa Zariņša). Avtor upa, da bo odgovor na zgornja vprašanja v pomoč različnim zgodovinskim izkušnjam in lokalnim značilnostim v različnih državah.



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Beyond Polystylism: Blurring the Boundaries between Different Musics in late-Soviet Estonia

Onkraj polistilizma: Brisanje meja med različnimi glasbami v pozni sovjetski Estoniji

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Accepted: 20th August 2018**Ključne besede:** pozni socializem, glasbeno zgodovinske besede, polistilizem, neuradna glasba, živeti *vnye***Keywords:** late-Socialism, music historiography, polystylism, unofficial music, living in *vnye*

IZVLEČEK

ABSTRACT

Razvoj estonske glasbe in glasbenega življenja v poznem sovjetskem obdobju je mogoče interpretirati v smislu poizkusov glasbenikov in skladateljev, da bi se odtujili sovjetskemu sistemu in ideologiji, ki je bila ta čas pripisana umetnosti. Članek raziskuje vzroke in različne oblike tega procesa s pomočjo analize aktivnosti različnih glasbenih skupnosti in njihovega vpliva na razvoj umetnostne glasbe. Razpravo zamejuje koncept polistilizma, medtem ko sta koncepta življenja *v vnye* in neuradne glasbe, kot ju za raziskovanje sovjetskega obdobja predlagata Aleksej Jurčak (2006) in Peter Schmelz (2009), uporabljena za razpravo o zvezah med glasbo in politiko.

Developments in the Estonian music and musical life of the late Soviet period may be interpreted as attempts on the part of musicians and composers to alienate themselves from the Soviet system and from the ideology that was attributed to the arts at the time. The article examines the reasons for and the various facets of this process by analysing the activities of the different musical communities of the time and the influence of these on the development of art music. The discussion is framed using the concept of polystylism, the concepts of living in *vnye* and unofficial music as proposed by Alexei Yurchak (2006) and Peter Schmelz (2009) for examining the Soviet era are used to discuss the relations between music and politics.

Introduction

The Estonian music culture of the late Soviet period can be researched and interpreted from a number of different perspectives. This article focuses on one of the more prominent trends in Estonian music from the mid-1970s till the end of the 1980s – music that incorporates elements from different musical styles and practices – discussed through the concept of polystylism. More commonly understood as an umbrella term for a type of compositional-technical strategy that has varied between authors, regions and periods of time, this article examines polystylism also as a cultural phenomenon. The study therefore also outlines and discusses the socio-political circumstances and more general cultural contexts that either gave rise to or fostered the emergence of this tendency. To this end the characteristics of the different musical communities of the time – i.e. classical, folk, pop-rock, early music, and those interested in non-Western musical traditions – and the communication between them are examined. Referred to as different musics, these above-mentioned styles and practices individually signify the broadest and most general categories of musics which, in addition to their more or less distinctive musical idioms, have traditionally been differentiated from one another by their different learning modes (educational aspects) and forms of consumption (including performance practice). Compared with the 2000s, when the borders between these musics became more or less blurred in several aspects and fields of music, the 1970s can be marked as the decade when this process of blurring first became noticeable. In Estonia, besides the more general postmodern environment, several other factors in social life and the political sphere conspired to give rise to such tendencies. This decade has thus been selected as the historical starting point for the article.

From the perspective of music historiography, this article aims to contribute to two fields of research: on one hand, to the search for a methodological approach for discussing the developments in different musics in one and the same historical narrative; and, on the other, to complement the studies of late Soviet music in a discourse that focuses on the interconnections between music and the socio-political context. During recent decades, in fact, there has been a growing tendency in musicological studies to call into question the tradition of discussing music according to the styles mentioned above. In music history writing and in musical composition itself the tendency has been to try to avoid any kind of categorization, but instead to seek new approaches and methodological standpoints for narrating the story of all musics more or less simultaneously.¹ Considering the music research of the latter half of the 20th century beyond – and taking into account the changes that have taken place in musical life since then at an institutional level – the need for such a shift in historical musicology seems even more urgent. In the context of late Soviet Estonia, taking the socio-political context of the time as a starting point for musicological research, several issues stand

1 For example, with regard to the most in-depth music histories and dictionaries available in English – the Grove dictionary and the Cambridge series of music history, for example – there are examples of including different musics as equally valuable subjects into one and the same music history volume; however, they have generally been studied as separate topics in different chapters and/or entries. See Nicholas Cook and Anthony Pople, eds., *The Cambridge History of Twentieth-Century Music* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004) and *Grove Music Online*, www.oxfordmusiconline.com/grovemusic.

out as affecting in equal measure the developments in different spheres of musics at the time, eventually blurring the boundaries between these musics and, consequently, offering the possibility of a historical narrative that combines different musics.

As far as the theoretical background is concerned, the first part of the article examines the discourse of the late Soviet era. In this respect, the present research draws primarily on studies by Alexei Yurchak² and Peter Schmelz³, and aims to discuss the applicability of their approaches to the Estonian context of the time. Additionally, as a part of the theoretical framework, the subsection that follows examines the concept of polystylism in an attempt to test its applicability to describing both the tendencies in music and musical life.

The second part of the article offers an overview of research into different musics in Estonia during the 1970s and 1980s. Because of their more direct relationship with and influence on developments in art music, four types of movements are considered: the beginnings of the early music movement, the folk music movement, some Estonian pop and rock music, and the interest in non-Western musical traditions. The section on non-Western music serves as a case study, the discussion here relying on the writings and music of the composer Kuldar Sink (1942–1995). In addition to their reflection of non-Western musics, these sources are very telling with regard to the composer's own attitude towards the ideological pressure on the contemporary (Estonian) art music of the time.

Music in Late-Soviet Estonia: A Historiographical Approach

In the years 1940–1991 Estonia was occupied by the Soviet Union and formed a part of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.⁴ Due to the prevailing totalitarian system, the historiography of Estonia with regard to the latter half of the 20th century, music included, could not escape a political dimension. In this respect, Estonian historian Tõnu Tannberg has aptly summarised the typical understanding of the era: “Cut off from the Western world, Estonia was subjected to the extensive Sovietization of community life and the muzzling of intellectual and spiritual life, the suppression of resistance, the implementation of repressions and the introduction of a Soviet-style controlled economy in the postwar years.”⁵ Another commonly accepted understanding concerns the partial softening of the regime after the death of Stalin (known as the Thaw of the 1960s) followed by the period of Stagnation (in the 1970s and 1980s) and culminating in the years of perestroika from around 1987 till the disintegration of the Soviet Union in 1991. Nevertheless, it is a well-known fact that this

2 Alexei Yurchak, *Everything was forever, until it was no more: the last Soviet generation* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2006).

3 Peter J. Schmelz, *Such freedom, if only musical. Unofficial Soviet Music during the Thaw* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009).

4 In the years 1941–1944 German occupation of Estonia took place. On Estonian political history see <http://www.estonica.org/en/History/>.

5 Tõnu Tannberg, “Foreword” in *Behind the Iron Curtain: Soviet Estonia in the Era of the Cold War*. Tartu Historical Studies, Volume 5, ed. Tõnu Tannberg (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang Verlag, 2015), 7.

periodization varies according to the different regions of the Soviet Union as well as to the various spheres of life. Though it refers to a different period (the post war years), the above extract indicates all the more central themes that Sovietology has traditionally relied on, and still does: isolation from the Western world, the application of Soviet ideology to all spheres of life, resistance to the same regime, and different forms of oppression. Thus, to a certain extent it may be claimed that, similarly to the implications of Cold War rhetoric, the historiography of the Soviet era, too, has long been characterized through oppositions. On the one hand, this oppositional character reveals itself in the conceptual confrontation between the conditions of life in the West and in Eastern Europe, showing the former in a good light and comparing it favourably with the latter. On the other hand, such an approach has caused the rather rigid division of the (creative) acts and processes of the time in the countries of the Soviet Union, characterizing them either as being collaborative or as opposing the system (reflecting the binary distinction between activism and dissidence).

In this respect, Russian anthropologist Alexei Yurchak's approach to the era, first discussed in his book about the last Soviet generation, marked a real break-through, affecting many writers from different disciplines from that time on. According to Yurchak, "dichotomies such as oppression and resistance, truth and lies, official culture and unofficial culture, the state and the people, public self and private self overlook the complex meanings, values, ideals, and realities that constituted the Soviet system and, defying clear-cut divisions, existed both in harmony with the state's announced goals and in spite of them".⁶ In order to describe and research the complex nature of people's mental and spiritual attitudes, as well as the practical way of living of many people in the late Socialist period, Yurchak returns to the concepts of *vnnye* – which literally translates from Russian as "outside" –, and deterritorialization. Referring to *vnnye* as a dominant mode of living during the late Socialist period, Yurchak defines it through a particular relation to authoritative discourse: "[B]eing *vnnye* – that is, occupying a position that was simultaneously inside and outside the rhetorical field of that discourse, neither simply in support nor simply in opposition of it. This relation actively defied boundaries and binary divisions, becoming a dynamic site where new meanings were produced."⁷

In music studies, too, the concept of being *vnnye* has become useful. For example, despite many composers' more or less open aversion to Soviet ideology and the system, at the same time they belonged to and participated in the work of different state institutions (e.g. the Composers' Union, the Philharmonics, the Conservatory). And though it may be claimed that belonging to state institutions was an inevitable part of life if one was to survive socially and financially in Soviet Estonia, this fact nevertheless served to reduce the spread of dissidence.

At the same time, the concept of deterritorialization, in the context of Soviet cultural life signifies the kind of milieus, lifestyles and interests that many musicians were involved with which "were focused on the forms of knowledge, codes and meanings that were not articulated in authoritative discourse, but instead came from various

⁶ Yurchak, *Everything was forever*, 283.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 288.

imaginary ‘elsewheres’ – such as, theoretical science, ancient languages, nineteenth-century poetry, religion, Western rock music, and so on. The meaning of these milieus and their occupations cannot be reduced to the opposition to the system. Rather they were in a deterritorialized relationship toward it, locating themselves simultaneously inside and outside cultural practices, ethics, and ideals.”⁸ Many of the interests shared by several Estonian composers and musicians of the late Soviet era may also be associated with such imaginary “elsewheres”: Studies in early music (and this included religion), folk, rock, and non-Western musics – a phenomenon that will be considered in greater depth later in this paper – were all supported by the state in their own way, yet a closer involvement in these fields also made it possible for musicians to alienate themselves to a certain extent from the regime and thus to live in *vnje*.

With regard to music studies, Yurchak’s approach has been most thoroughly elaborated by the American musicologist Peter Schmelz, firstly in his seminal book *Such freedom, if only musical: Unofficial Soviet Music during the Thaw*.⁹ Taking as his examples selected Soviet composers born around 1930,¹⁰ Schmelz meticulously analyses the music and events of the musical Thaw. As a central concept, the term “unofficial” is used to bring together the characteristics of *vnje* and deterritorialization at the same time, especially with regard to the field of music.¹¹ This paper examines whether and under what circumstances the concept of unofficial music applies to the Estonian music of the late 1970s and 1980s, i.e. that of the period following the musical Thaw. Broadly speaking, two dimensions of the phenomenon are taken into account in discussing unofficial music in the Soviet Union: firstly, the organization of the compositional material in strictly musical terms; and, secondly, all the circumstances relating to the processes of creating and disseminating the works – in other words, everything that concerns the social dimension of being a composer. Relying on Schmelz’s study, the music-specific meaning of the unofficial is finely encapsulated by Kevin Karnes in his book on Arvo Pärt’s *Tabula Rasa*: “As it has been since the 1930s, ‘official’ music of the period remained locked within the uncertain confines of Soviet socialist realism, as promoted by often nameless officialdom and policed by the Ministry of Culture and the Union of Soviet Composers. Such music was to be broadly accessible in terms of its tonal and melodic language, and it was to affirm, in its subjects and texts, sanctioned political ideology and the greatness or promise of the Soviet state or peoples. In contrast, unofficial music was often esoteric in terms of its construction, and it usually avoided sanctioned themes.”¹²

When talking about the Estonian music of the Thaw period, there are examples of works that may be regarded as unofficial due to their compositional material, which contradicts socialist realism in strictly musical terms. The trends in the Estonian music

8 Ibid., 288.

9 Schmelz, *Such freedom*.

10 In particular, Schmelz focuses on the activity of Edison Denisov (1929–1996), Sofia Gubaidulina (b. 1931), Arvo Pärt (b. 1935), Alfred Schnittke (1934–1998), Valentin Silvestrov (b. 1937), and Andrey Volkonsky (1933–2008).

11 The author explains: “Fully aware of the binaries suggested by “unofficial,” I have cautiously chosen to use this term throughout. With its emphasis on the power structures – and, therefore, the inherent tensions – of Soviet life, it proves less problematic than terms such as “dissident”, “outsider,” “nonofficial,” “nonconformist,” “underground,” or even “avant-garde,” all previously favored by writers occupied with the music, art, or literature of the time.” Schmelz, *Such freedom*, 20.

12 Kevin C. Karnes, *Arvo Pärt’s Tabula Rasa*. Oxford keynotes (New York: Oxford University Press, 2017), 18.

of the 1970s and 1980s, however, leave no space for such a contradiction in this respect. Nevertheless, the above-mentioned “social dimension” of “unofficiality” in music still had a certain role to play in late Soviet Estonia: “Whereas official music was purchased by the state, performed under the auspices of philharmonics (regional organizations responsible for official concert programming), and published by government-run firms, unofficial music, typically premiered in composers’ residences, private clubs, or university lecture halls, and it often remained unpublished, generating no income for its composers.”¹³ Here too, the concept of unofficial must be applied to the late Soviet Estonian context only with caution, and with some modifications.

Combining Different Musics: Polystylism Revisited

In addition to focusing on its compositional-technical nature, polystylism may be discussed as a cultural phenomenon reflecting the socio-political context and processes of the time. The Estonian new music of the late Soviet period provides a convincing example of such an interpretation.

The term polystylism is most commonly used in relation to the music and composers of the former Soviet countries with reference to the music from the (mid-)1960s till the end of the 1980s. Despite its manifestation in different forms and contexts, in its most general terms polystylism refers to the compositional-technical approach of classical music composers who incorporated into their works elements originally associated with other musical realms – styles or practices taken either from the past or from contemporary sensibilities. Irrespective of any specific compositional-technical approach, however, there are two questions that may be asked when discussing any type of polystylistic writing: first, the matter of “what” types of musics have been combined together; and, secondly, “how” this combining process has been (compositional-)technically carried out. With regard to both these aspects, significant changes took place in the polystylistic writing of Estonian composers around the mid-1970s. Viewing these changes – or rather, this turn in polystylistic writing – as a reflection of the socio-political situation and of the developments occurring in musical life at the time contributes to an understanding of polystylism as a cultural phenomenon; this will be considered in more depth in the following paragraphs.¹⁴

The “what” layer of polystylistic writing is closely related to questions of time and place in music: manifested either in the form of direct quotations or through more general allusions, the use of elements that usually feature in historical styles or genres in a new composition has the potential to evoke the historical dimension of time. References to the genres and styles belonging to the composer’s contemporary world, on the other hand, direct the listeners’ attention to the present music culture. Considering

¹³ Karnes, *Arvo Pärt's*, 18.

¹⁴ Considering the articles on former Soviet countries in the Grove dictionary, for example, polystylism as a compositional-technical trend from the 1970s on is mentioned in the entries on the art music of Slovenia, Ukraine, and Georgia. Apart from the article on Slovenia, which mentions this tendency in the context of the postmodern situation, in these texts no further attention is paid to the wider cultural or socio-political context of the time. See “Slovenia,” “Ukraine,” and “Georgia” in <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/grovemusic>, accessed March 25, (2018).

the historiography of Soviet music, greater attention has generally been paid to the historical dimension of the phenomenon, largely due to the music and influential writings of Alfred Schnittke, who coined the term “polystylistics” back in the 1970s¹⁵. Although there are examples in Schnittke’s music encompassing elements from contemporary styles and genres, his music is mostly associated with an idea phrased by the composer himself as consisting of invoking “the scents and shadows of other times in music.”¹⁶ Such has been the case with Estonian music too, where the historical narrative emphasizes the role of some of Arvo Pärt’s polystylistic works of the 1960s, such as *Pro et contra* (1966) and *Credo* (1968). However, the definition of polystylism is not restricted to the use of the classical music legacy, but embraces other – more contemporary – musics too. In this respect, Schmelz outlines the growing importance of pop and jazz music for the younger generation of Russian composers from the mid-1970s on.¹⁷ In Estonian professional music, at the same time, the relations with and influences of early music, folk, rock, and non-Western musics grew in popularity. Easily associated with a more general postmodern situation that stresses the role of stylistic plurality, Estonia did not, of course, stand alone in these developments. However, similar tendencies across different regions may have had different “backgrounds”, and they are thus worth discussing. For example, in the context of the Estonian musical life of the time, it is justified to refer to the reflections of early music and folk music in new compositions as a phenomenon that stemmed from the realms of contemporary music, for both the early music and the folk music movements played a significant role in Estonian musical life at the time.

With regard to the question of “how” different musics have been combined together in polystylism, one may also think in binaries: musical material may use and combine elements from different musics either eclectically – in a form of contrasting juxtapositions of different elements (manifested in its most rigid form as a type of collage) –, or it may aim to synthesize originally different sound idioms with the purpose of “blurring the boundaries” more smoothly. In this respect, too, the presence of different, more or less inseparable practices or styles within a single piece of music is a phenomenon which – compared to the 1960s – has tended to grow in importance in Estonian music during and after the 1970s.

In particular, the Soviet polystylism of the (late) 1960s typically presents the use of various styles in the form of severe juxtapositions – stylistic oppositions between avant-garde techniques and tonal styles, for example – which, in many cases, are discussed with reference to composers’ creative crises, reflecting their relations and/or attitudes toward society or academicism.¹⁸ For example, referring to Schnittke’s Second Violin Concert *Quasi Una Sonata* from 1968 as a “work full of frustration”, Schmelz points out: “In this it reflected not only the musical situation but also the upheavals and

15 Schnittke formally presented the idea of polystylism in his paper “Polystylistic Tendencies in Modern Music” at the Seventh International Music Congress held in Moscow by UNESCO’s International Music Council on 8 October 1971. Schmelz, *Such freedom*, 255. For its publishing history and translations into English, see Schmelz, *Such freedom*, 366-367.

16 Alfred Schnittke, “Polistilisticheskie tendentsii sovremennoi muzyki,” in *Besedy s Alfredom Shnitke*, ed. Aleksandr Ivashkin (Moscow: RIK “Kul’tura,” 1994), 143-44. Quoted in Karnes, “Arvo Pärt’s,” 28.

17 Schmelz, *Such freedom*, 296.

18 On this topic, see chapter 6 “From Abstraction to Mimesis, from Control to Freedom: Pärt, Schnittke, Silvestrov, and Gubaidulina” in Schmelz, *Such freedom*, 216-274.

mounting repressions of contemporary Soviet society and politics.”¹⁹ And even in the works of the 1970s where the mixture of musical styles has far greater implications, the “dramatic mixture of styles” reflecting the “contrasts of contemporary life” remained.²⁰

This is the point where developments in Estonian polystylism differ from those in Schnittke’s music. In what may surely be understood partly as a generational turn, composers born around the 1950s in Estonia never use the mixture of different styles in a “dramatic” manner. In this respect, developments in Estonian music seemed to be more akin to those of (Western) Europe and America. For example, to quote the entry in the *Grove dictionary* about the symphony: “The overwrought intensity of much Russian polystylism has a tone distinctly remote from the disengaged and objective attitude that characterized European and American brands of stylistic pluralism in the 1970s and 80s.”²¹

Different Musics in Late-Soviet Estonia

With reference to the periodicization of the Soviet era, Peter Schmelz argues that the musical Thaw ended no earlier than the mid-1970s. In his reasoning, the author outlines the following aspects: the generational change, the gradual relaxation of restrictions in performing (formerly) unofficial music, and the intensification of contacts with the West.²² Though given primarily with reference to Russia, all these factors apply in principle to the Estonian situation as well. First and foremost, in Estonian music history the 1970s is seen as a decade when a new and very influential group of young composers, all born around 1950, came of age. The compositional approach of many of these composers illustrates the shift in polystylistic thinking described above – namely, from the historical dimension to the contemporary, and from eclecticism to synthesis. These developments are largely associable with those of the broader musical life of the time. The following paragraphs therefore offer some insights into the early music movement, the folk music revival, pop and rock music, and the growing interest in non-Western traditional music.

The Early Music Movement

Similarly to the changes in art music, many of the new trends that emerged in the musical life of Estonia in the 1970s also had their equivalents not only in other Soviet countries but in Western Europe as well. However, due to their emergence from a different socio-cultural context, some of these tendencies were filled with different

19 Schmelz, *Such freedom*, 254.

20 Schmelz, *Such freedom*, 308.

21 Charles Wilson, “Symphony. 11. The survival of the symphony” in *Grove Music Online*, accessed March 6, 2018, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0000027254>.

22 Schmelz, *Such freedom*, 295-297. Schmelz also outlines another three more concrete musical events from the mid-1970s that had (a more symbolic) importance in this respect: The emigration of the unofficial composer Andrey Volkonsky from Soviet Russia to the West in 1973, the premiere of Alfred Schnittke’s First Symphony in 1974, and lastly – as a more metaphorical aspect –, the death of Dmitriy Shostakovich in 1975. Schmelz, *Such freedom*, 295-297, 323.

“content”.²³ In this respect, the early music movement that developed rapidly in Estonia from the beginning of the seventies offers a good example. In addition to the unofficial gatherings of musicians, composers and historians at the time, the first early music ensembles – Viljandi Linnakapell and Hortus Musicus, both of which were related to the “pre-Bach” repertoire – were established in Estonia in 1971 and 1972 respectively.²⁴ Much of the activity of these ensembles in the late-Soviet period illustrates the situation regarding the contact of Estonian musicians with other Soviet countries as opposed to Western Europe. For example, the Moscow early music ensemble Madrigal, founded by Andrey Volkonsky in 1964, had close contacts with Estonian musicians and thus served as a role model for them.²⁵ At the same time, the historical performance practice movement with which early music communities were largely associated at the time in Western countries remained largely unknown to the Estonian music audiences, whose experience was primarily of musicians related to the conservatory and concert organizations. In this respect, for example, the first public discussions appeared in the press around 1985, in relation to the anniversaries of Schütz, Bach and Handel.²⁶ At the same time, as an act of deterritorialization, the early music movement in Estonia was concerned with exploring a new (musical) territory, thus offering an escape from the Soviet world of constant control and dictation. Therefore, following some other model or ideology such as historically “informed” – or, more particularly “authentic” – performance practice would in principle have contradicted the very essence of the movement itself, that is, to the desire to alienate oneself from the system and not to have to conform to any rules. More concretely – and in this respect similarly to their colleagues in the West – the early music movement in Estonia alienated itself not only from the Soviet system, but also from the academic world as such: dedicating themselves primarily to the repertoire of the mediaeval and Renaissance eras, many of the qualities attributed to these musics were unknown in academic circles, and even in contrast to them (the different approach to the score, improvisational aspects, instrumentation, and so on).²⁷ Nevertheless, as the hallmark of the era, this alienation from the system

23 Considering the relations between the arts and society from the perspective of opposition, punk music would be the most extreme example of this: both in the West and in Eastern Europe, punk served as a social protest; however, whereas in the West the protest was directed toward capitalism and consumerism, in the Soviet countries punk served as a protest against the communist regime. In an Estonian context, punk music did not have any influence on academic music, and therefore the topic is not included in the discussion that follows.

24 Such gatherings took place under the leadership of the composers Heimar Ilves (1914–2002) and Heino Jürisalu (1930–1991), for example. Early music was also taught and discussed by the flutist Kaljo West (1924–2008) and music historian Toomas Siitan (b. 1958).

25 Madrigal was the ensemble of Moscow State Philharmonic Society that also gave a few concerts in Tallinn in the late 1960s. Before emigrating to the West in 1973, Andrey Volkonsky was forced to sell most of his books and scores. The young Andres Mustonen bought a portion of these for Hortus Musicus. More on Volkonsky's departure see Schmelz, *Such freedom*, 297–302.

26 In this respect, the articles by a young music historian Toomas Siitan about the music of Heinrich Schütz and Johann Sebastian were of particular importance. Siitan also translated and commented the texts of Nikolaus Harnoncourt to Estonian readers. All these articles were published in the cultural magazine *Teater. Muusika. Kino* between 1984–1987. Siitan was also among the first ones in Estonia to draw parallels between the early music idioms and different trends of the 20th century music, a phenomenon that will also be considered in the following paragraphs. See Toomas Siitan, “Vana muusika uues muusikas,” [“Old music in new music.”] *Teater. Muusika. Kino*, no. 6 (1984): 30–37.

27 Today Hortus Musicus still performs under the direction of Mustonen and is the oldest continuously working ensemble in its field in Eastern Europe. Whenever the members of this ensemble happen to talk about the history of its activity, the oppositional role to the Soviet system is mentioned. Also, the ensemble has never associated their activity with strictly historically informed, or “authentic”, performance. See *Hortus Musicus' webpage*, <https://concert.ee/kollektiiv/hortus-musicus/>.

– or, living in *vnje* – also worked in some sense as a contribution to it: in 1976 Hortus Musicus became one of the state ensembles of the State Philharmonic Society – that is to say, as official an ensemble as it was possible to be. Belonging to the Philharmonic guaranteed the musicians a regular income, a lively concert activity, and recording sessions with Melodiya. Nevertheless, at the same time it also meant following a prescribed repertoire. Andres Mustonen, the founder and leader of the ensemble up to the present day, has recalled that Hortus Musicus was not allowed to perform church music; despite this, however, the musicians associated their activity with religious ideas: “People are not stupid inside, everyone has a sense for truth and purity. Even when we were playing some secular piece, the listener could detect its true nature – the turning toward ‘elsewhere’ –, though we were told that you cannot make church music. The ray of your spiritual approach is what accounts. If it is bright or white – or, let us say, of the world of angels – then no matter what you do, it is religious.”²⁸ Thus, regardless of the restrictions at the level of the Soviet system, religious topics were “in the air” among the musicians and composers of the time. Viewed as a part of religious life in Soviet Estonia, the activity of Hortus Musicus indicates the ambiguity surrounding the phenomenon. As Atko Rimmel’s research into the religious policy of the Estonian SSR shows, it was not until the policy of perestroika in 1988 that “religion once again began to be considered a (more or less) normal aspect of social life.”²⁹ Until that time (as Tõnu Tannberg concludes from Rimmel’s work), “[f]ormal religious freedom was preserved in the Estonian SSR, but in practice, believers and congregations faced all manner of direct and indirect obstructions.”³⁰ In the context of music, this meant that while sacred music was, of course, performed in late-Soviet times, it was not discussed in public; therefore, dedicating oneself to this field was associated with a form of resistance to the system. In Tannberg’s words, “the church also filled the role of a distinct kind of spiritual opposition in Soviet society.”³¹ As for the early music enthusiasts, their involvement with religious institutions was less direct, so that, rather than seeing their activities in terms of “opposition” to the system, their relation to the Soviet system in this respect could be interpreted in terms of living in *vnje*.

As far as the music performed was concerned, Mustonen has recalled that the only more concrete prescription regarding the repertoire of Hortus Musicus was that in addition to “old” music they should also perform “new” music.³² Cooperation with contemporary Estonian composers was welcomed, and since 1975 the ensemble has commissioned music from different Estonian composers with increasing regularity. In relation to the late Soviet era, such music included compositions by Raimo Kangro (1949–2001), Arvo Pärt (b. 1935), Lepo Sumera (1950–2000), Peeter Vähi (b. 1955), and Erkki-Sven Tüür (b. 1959). All these works indicate the use of early music instruments, but at the same time they also all reflect several other features that can be associated with early music. Varying according to the composers and the individual works, the

28 Kadri Hunt, “Retk aednike juurde. Hortus Musicus 30,” [“Expedition to the gardeners,”] *Muusika* no. 9 (2002): 4.

29 Atko Rimmel, “(Anti)-Religious Aspects of the Cold War,” in *Behind the Iron Curtain: Soviet Estonia in the Era of the Cold War*. Tartu Historical Studies, Volume 5, ed. Tõnu Tannberg (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang Verlag, 2015), 390.

30 Tannberg, “Foreword,” 14.

31 *Ibid.*

32 Hunt, “Retk aednike juurde,” 7.

diatonic scales, rhythmic patterns, and the forms and/or improvisational aspects intrinsic to early music appear in these compositions in distinctive combinations with each composer's own contemporary compositional style. On the one hand, from the perspective of a composer there is nothing more natural than being inspired and even influenced by the specific qualities of the musicians who commission the music. And with respect to the situation in late Soviet Estonia, collaboration with Hortus Musicus also offered the opportunity for composers to alienate themselves from the Soviet system and to gain a hint of the taste of living in *vnje*.

Owing to the popularity of the ensemble, this new or alternative (musical) world that Hortus Musicus created with their activities reached wide audiences. Together with the new music composed especially for the ensemble, there can be no doubt that the activities of Hortus Musicus played a significant role in the development of Estonian contemporary music in more general terms, involving also a contribution to the tendency of polystylistic writing in its broadest sense towards the blurring of the boundaries between different styles of musics.

As far as more general trends in Estonian contemporary music are concerned, in 1982 Estonian musicologist Mare Põldmäe outlined the following features: a preference for consonant sounds;³³ in orchestral music, timbers are predominant and thus, percussion instruments (such as celesta, xylophone, vibraphone) are used a lot; a preference for static dramaturgy rather than dramatism; a preference for a descriptive as opposed to a conflicting character; and the extensive use of a background-like texture, while the importance of melody and harmony in their former sense are minimized.³⁴ Apart from the background-like texture, perhaps, all these features can be associated with – but not limited to – the influence of early music. However, recognizing the preference for consonant sounds as part of a broader tendency in contemporary classical music world-wide, Põldmäe refers to the music of Kancheli, Terteryan and Schnittke as examples. She also points out that Estonian music seems to walk this path less painfully than others but fails to provide any argument evidence for this. It is worth mentioning, however, that as well as the early music movement there were other contemporaneous movements under way in Estonia at the time which also shared the musical idioms and aesthetic values intrinsic to the development of art music.

Folk Music and Contemporary Composers

Another series of issue that can be observed in relation to the discourse of the authorities in late Soviet Estonia concerns the folk music movement, as manifested in the activity of folklore ensembles, the use of folk tunes in art music, and the more general influence of folk music idioms on contemporary composers. Regarding the

33 Here, Põldmäe uses a word “heakõlaligus” that literally translates as “something that sounds well, is pleasant”; regarding the music under discussion this trend is associated in musical terms with the use of consonant sounds; it is a music retrospectively associated with different stylistic currents of “new tonality”.

34 Mare Põldmäe, “Mõeldes möödunud muusika-aastale,” [“Thinking about the yesteryear in Music.”] *Teater. Muusika. Kino*, no. 2 (1982): 76. With regard to the year 1981, Põldmäe attributes these features to the music of Eino Tamberg (Violin Concerto), Lepo Sumera (First Symphony and *Pantomime*), Alo Põldmäe (Violin Sonata), and René Eespere (*Ave Mater*).

activity of the folklore ensembles, there were two types of these active at the time, distinguishable from one another for their different kinds of repertoire, and hence for their different reception among contemporary composers and their influence on the music of the latter. For example, in June 1977 the activity of the folklore ensembles was discussed at a meeting of the Estonian Composers' Union folk music committee. The committee consisted primarily of professional composers and (ethno-)musicologists, and its activities were covered by Urve Lippus in a monthly journal *Keel ja Kirjandus*. In this text Lippus outlines two types of folklore ensembles existing in Estonia at the time (both in the field of music and dance): those which performed authentic folk music, and those whose approach was more *estrada*-like, i.e. performing repertoire that consisted of folk music arrangements, transcriptions, and pieces composed by (professional) composers in a folk-like manner. According to Lippus, the members of the committee – including Veljo Tormis³⁵ – preferred the activity of the former over the latter and shared the opinion that “by no means can these ensembles be advertised as performers of authentic Estonian folk music or dance.”³⁶ Differentiating between the authentic and *estrada*-like folk musics was a crucial topic for composers at the time. Thus, from the composers' perspective, pointing out the conceptual difference between these ensembles and their repertoire actually reflected composers' own ambiguous attitudes toward the use of folk music in contemporary art music. In fact, in terms of the development of art music, the use of folk music elements in art music compositions was supported ideologically at that time as tool that bound together two ideological currents that composers were compelled to follow in Soviet Estonia. In his article on Veljo Tormis's music, Jaan Ross summarizes these currents as follows: “One of these exhorted them [the composers] to develop the national origin of their composition style as a requirement of ensuring cultural continuity, while the other subjected their work to the doctrine of socialist realism – courtesy of the Soviet occupation regime.”³⁷ However, opinions about the more concrete meaning of this “national origin of the composition style” and its possible manifestation through the use of folk tunes varied from composer to composer. In this respect, one of the most crucial aspects of this “battle” around the use – or otherwise – of folk music idioms concerned the distinction between two different layers of the Estonian oral song tradition, the older and the newer. As the ethnomusicologist Janika Oras has concluded, the earlier oral song culture, the *regilaul* or runosong, is part of the common oral song tradition of the Baltic-Finnic peoples. In terms of its music, “runosong is characterised by linear, monophonic thinking. The repeated narrow-range melody of *regilaul* is comprised of

35 Veljo Tormis (1930–2017) is considered to be one of the most significant composers of choral music of the later twentieth century. His music is drawn on “the integral use of *regilaul*, the ancient runic song of Estonia, as compositional material. Other composers have used this song, but the manner in which Tormis uses *regilaul*, that is, preserving melodies intact, without traditional development is a hallmark of his style.” Mark Lawrence, “Veljo Tormis and Urve Lippus: A Legacy,” *Res Musica* 9 (2017): 93. More on Tormis' musical idiom see Jaan Ross, “Veljo Tormis and Minimalism: On the Reception of His New Musical Idiom in the 1960s,” *Res Musica* 9 (2017), 109–118. About how and where did Tormis discover folk-song see Veljo Tormis, *Lauldud sõna / The Word was Sung*. [Transcribed by Urve Lippus, based on recordings and notes.] Translated by Harry Mürk (Tallinn: Eesti Kõitekunstnike ühendus, 2008 [2000]).

36 Urve Lippus, “Folkloor ja taidlus,” [“Folklore and amateur activity,”] *Keel ja Kirjandus*, no. 8 (1977): 508.

37 Jaan Ross, “Veljo Tormis and Minimalism: On the Reception of His New Musical Idiom in the 1960s,” *Res Musica* 9 (2017), 109.

one or two phrases, the rhythmic units in a phrase correspond to a syllable.³⁸ This was precisely the earlier layer of the Estonian oral song tradition that was primarily championed by the ethnographic folklore ensembles in (late) Soviet Estonia (such as Hellero and Leegajus, both established in 1971), and a phenomenon that might be related to a kind of Estonianness when used in art music by a composer. The use of the newer layer of the oral song tradition, on the other hand, was the subject of very harsh criticism (as is clear from Kuldar Sink's writings, which will be considered later in this article). In musical terms, the newer layer of the oral song tradition refers to the end-ryhmed and stanzaic music that had "evolved during the 17th-18th centuries following European examples, and by the second half of the 19th century this had replaced *regilaul* in most parts of Estonia."³⁹ It is precisely these activities of *estrada*-like folklore ensembles performing the (distorted version) of either older or newer folk music to which Urve Lippus refers at the end of her report on the above-mentioned meeting of Composers' Union folk music committee: "Advocacy of the standardized and eclectic pseudo-folkloristic art was deplored [by the committee] for compromising both the performer [musicians and/or dancers] and the authentic folklore itself."⁴⁰ Thus, in discussing the use of folk material in contemporary classical compositions in the late Soviet era, one should consider primarily the influence of the movement of the ethnographic folklore ensembles which dedicated their activities largely to the runosong tradition. Rather than the use of exact melodies or tunes, however, the influence of this tradition on the contemporary Estonian music of the time was manifested more indirectly through the imitation of the narrow-range melodies of the *regilaul* and their typical rhythmic units.

Pop and Rock Music: Rein Rannap and Erkki-Sven Tüür

Like the younger generation of composers in Russia who came of age in the 1970s, many Estonian composers were profoundly interested in popular music and the contemporary progressive rock movement.⁴¹ As in Western countries, these movements were mainly associated with youth culture and involved a certain element of social protest. At the same time, in Estonia they were also related to national ideas, as manifested in the use of classical and contemporary Estonian poetry.

The influences of pop and rock music on contemporary classical music can be most clearly illustrated through the activity of two composers, Rein Rannap (b. 1953) and Erkki-Sven Tüür (b. 1959). As members of the Estonian Composers' Union from 1979 and 1985 respectively, they may both be considered to be professional classical

38 Janika Oras, "Favourite Children and Stepchildren: Elite and Vernacular Views of Estonian Folk Song Styles," *Res Musica* 9 (2017): 27.

39 Oras, "Favourite Children," 27.

40 Lippus, "Folkloor," 509.

41 In Russia many of these composers "had a deep interest in popular music, especially American jazz of the 1950s and 1960s, the contemporary progressive rock movement, and recent jazz-rock fusion experiments." Schmelz, *Such freedom*, 296. Contrary to the Russian experience, however, jazz remained relatively untapped by composers of classical music in Estonia during the late Soviet era. There are, however, exciting examples of ensembles combining folk music and jazz in Estonian music at the time, e.g. Collage, Hõim. Also, the purest example of the eclectic combination of medieval music idioms with pop and jazz of the 1960s and 1970s concerns Olav Ehala's film music for *Don Juan in Tallinn* ("Don Juan Tallinnas," a musical comedy, 1971).

composers – a term which then had a far more concrete meaning than in the 2000s.⁴² However, since the very beginning of their careers, the activities of both Rannap and Tüür have revealed rather mixed identities: on one hand, both of them are known as interpreter-composers; at the same time, however, since as early as the late 1970s their musical oeuvre has blurred the boundaries between different musics; moreover, their careers reflect an oppositional attitude toward the Soviet system that can be illustrated through their activities in two of the more influential (progressive-)rock bands of the time: Ruja and In Spe.

Ever since the 1970s Rein Rannap has been – and still is – one of the most outstanding figures in Estonian musical life, highly acclaimed by both art and popular music audiences. Trained as a classical pianist,⁴³ it was at the beginning of the 1980s that he established a new concert format in Estonia by performing his improvisations on the concert stage, mixing the styles of classical, pop and jazz music.⁴⁴ At the same time Rannap was a song writer and keyboard player in the rock band Ruja, which he had founded as far back as 1971. Considered to be the most famous Estonian rock band of all times,⁴⁵ much of its activity was associated with protest against the Soviet system. In this context, one of the best-known songs from Ruja's repertoire, entitled *Yesterday I Saw Estonia* (*Eile nägin ma Eestimaad*), was composed in 1981. Of particular importance to the present discussion is the fact that this song includes a guitar solo, an instrumental interludium, which is an exact quotation from a well-known, symbolic Estonian piece of classical music – *Homeland Tune* (*Kodumaine viis*). Composed for piano by the Estonian national composer Heino Eller in 1918, the importance of *Homeland Tune* for the Estonians is comparable with that of *Finlandia* by Jean Sibelius for the Finns.⁴⁶ In view of this, it is worth noting that this brief but telling mixture of rock and classical music in *Yesterday I Saw Estonia* is not intended in any way as a contradiction, but rather as a happy synthesis of otherwise different traditions. Moreover, the inclusion of Eller's music undoubtedly serves to underline the national sentiment of the lyrics of the song: penned by the Estonian contemporary poet Ott Arder (1950–2004), these evoke patriotic feelings describing contemporary Estonian landscapes and people. At the same time, the text serves as a paraphrase of the well-known poem by national poet Juhan Liiv (1864–1913), which dates from as early as 1904.

42 After graduating from Tallinn Conservatory with a composer's diploma, in Soviet times a young composer was expected to join the Composers' Union, which gave him or her more guarantees in social position and income. The list of the Union's members from that period includes several personalities who had a composer's diploma, but whose musical activities included different fields of music.

43 Rein Rannap graduated as a pianist from Tallinn Conservatoire in 1977 and completed his postgraduate studies at the Moscow State Conservatoire in 1979. Already during his studies, Rannap had gained some international acclaim for his performance of classical works: in 1973 he was awarded the first prize at the Estonian pianists' competition, and in 1976 he was awarded a diploma by the International Bach competition in Leipzig. In 1978 he released his first album, an LP with the music of Johann Sebastian Bach.

44 Two albums with his piano improvisations were released as LPs in 1983 (*Melodiya, C60 19989*) and 1986 (*Melodiya, C60 23881004*).

45 Ruja was active from 1971 till 1988, though with some pauses and changes of players. The reasons for their fame and recognition depended on both musical aspects (including the combination of elements from pop, rock and progressive rock, and the professional background of the musicians), as well as on the use of high quality lyrics that often carried some national message.

46 *Homeland Tune* is also known as a piece for string orchestra, orchestrated by Eller in 1953. It is the last piece from the Eller's cycle *Five Pieces for String Orchestra* (*Viis pala keelpilliorkestrile*). In addition to the guitar solo that appears in the middle of the song, Ruja's recorded version of *Yesterday I Saw Estonia* uses a short intro of the *Homeland Tune* played by the strings.

While the song *Yesterday I Saw Estonia* serves as an example of the use of classical music in rock, the opposite case can be illustrated by the music of Raimo Kangro (1949–2001), Igor Garšnek (b. 1958), and Erkki-Sven Tüür. Exposing the biography and music of Tüür to closer scrutiny, we may conclude that the use of elements from rock music in the Estonian classical music of the late Soviet era also served as an attempt to broaden the range of expressive means considered by the academic world, as has already been discussed above in relation to early music movement.

Today Erkki-Sven Tüür is the most outstanding composer of his generation internationally, mainly owing to his orchestral music, which includes nine symphonies and several instrumental concertos. Whereas Rannap began his career as a classical pianist, Tüür was originally a rock musician. Even in his last year at the conservatory as a composition student in 1983, when asked about his musical role models, Tüür mentioned rock artists such as Jethro Tull, King Crimson, Genesis and Mike Oldfield.⁴⁷ Research into Tüür's musical activities also highlights his background as a rock musician, including the fact that from 1976 till 1983 he was the leader of an acknowledged progressive-rock ensemble in Estonia, In Spe. In that band, he used a number of acoustic instruments, including violin, cello and recorders, alongside traditional electric rock music instruments. Conversely, in his later orchestral works – in his “classical” compositions – one can recognize the rhythms and “energies” traditionally attributed to rock music, though never in an eclectic manner. When questioned about the influences of different musics, Tüür often refers to the unity of musical communities in Soviet times. For example, according to Tüür, it was the general spiritual atmosphere in Estonia at that time that prompted the use of old, i.e. early music instruments in his compositions. More precisely, quite a variety of sources had an impact on his oeuvre, including Arvo Pärt's music in *tintinnabuli* style, the activity of Hortus Musicus, non-public lectures on religion and early cultures by the theologian and priest Einar Laigna, and acquaintance with a young musicologist Toomas Siitan, who was interested in early music. Together with some friends Tüür also sang early-Christian monody, sometimes even at the Tallinn Roman Catholic Church.⁴⁸ These impulses affected not only the instrumentation of Tüür's art music, but also his musical style, bringing in the diatonic scales, melodic figures and rhythm-patterns typical of early music.⁴⁹ Tüür's interest in very different kinds of musical sources is also exemplified in his entry in a booklet about Estonian composers published in 1988 in the framework of the Estonian Music festival. Here he writes: “I am 29, that is officially a young composer. I alternate between the labile ground of the radicalism of the avant-garde and post-modernistic tolerance, while at the same time being influenced by the gamelan of Bali, coriac drum sound and early Christian monody. I have never taken summer courses in Darmstadt, nor improved my knowledge at IRCAM, nor won the Prize of Rome.”⁵⁰

47 Peeter Tooma, “Levimuusika puudutusi. Vastab Erkki-Sven Tüür,” [“Touched by popular music. Interview with Erkki-Sven Tüür,”] *Sirp ja Vasar*, June 10, 1983, 13.

48 Anu Paulus, “Eesti nüüdismuusika ajaloolistele pillidele vanamuusika ansambli Hortus Musicus repertuaari näitel” [*Estonian Contemporary Music for Historical Instruments Based on the Repertoire of Early Music Ensemble Hortus Musicus.*], (Master thesis, Estonian Academy of Music and Theatre, 2009).

49 The most outstanding compositions in this respect include his oratorio *Ante finem saeculi* (composed in 1985, revised 1986) and his Second symphony (1987). Available on Erkki-Sven Tüür. *Oratorio Ante finem saeculi for soloists, mixed choir and orchestra. Symphony No. 2 for symphony orchestra and tape*, Finlandia Records CD, 4509-95579-2 (1994).

50 Mare Pöldmäe, ed., *Estonian Composers 1988. Estonian Music Festival 1988 booklet* (Tallinn: Estonian Republican Department of the USSR Music Fund, 1988), 35.

Despite the somewhat sarcastic nature of this statement, Tüür's words also reveal the significant change that had taken place in public – official – discourse on music in the course of the Soviet period: finally, under the politics of perestroika, composers felt free to discuss avant-garde music as well as Christian monody in a positive light, at the same time pointing to their travel restrictions and their rare contact with Western colleagues.

Kuldar Sink on Non-Western musical Cultures and Issues Related to Folk Music

Interest in non-Western musical cultures was growing significantly in Estonia during the 1970s. This can be noticed in the spread of radio programmes on the topic as well as in articles published in the press, and, most importantly, through the reflections of non-Western traditional music in art music compositions. In order to investigate the sources of such interest, the activities of Estonian composer Kuldar Sink will be considered, particularly his series of articles on the traditional music of the peoples of Central-Asia and the Caucasus, which were published in the Estonian cultural press around the year 1980. There are a number of reasons for studying these texts. To begin with, it was the first time in Estonia that anyone had approached non-Western traditional music cultures, describing and analysing them in an academic manner and with scholarly ambitions. As such, Kuldar Sink's approach in his studies of this repertoire coincided with those related to the Estonian folk music revival discussed above. Secondly, the content of these articles reflects the ideological basis of Sink's own musical output, at the same time contextualizing the influences of non-Western musics present in the music of other composers at the time.⁵¹ Finally – and perhaps in a rather unexpected context – these texts include quite a harsh criticism of the cultural and political situation of the Soviet system in their discussion of the topics of nationalness in music and the difficulties surrounding the use of folk tunes in art music compositions.

Whereas Rannap and Tüür were definitely part of a younger generation of composers in the 1970s, Kuldar Sink (1942–1995) had already gained recognition as a composer in the late 1950s.⁵² Together with Arvo Pärt, Veljo Tormis, Jaan Rääts and Eino Tamberg, Sink was one of the most innovative composers of that decade in Estonia: in the 1960s he was swept along by contemporary trends in music such as neo-classicism, serialism, collage and aleatorics. Then, as with Pärt and Tormis – as a result of an inner need – Sink's musical language changed significantly in the mid-1970s. From then on, Sink's works often relied on musical idioms associated with the music from “the East”, primarily from Central-Asia and the Caucasus. However, contrary to

51 Together with Kuldar Sink, two other composers in late-Soviet Estonia were particularly inspired and influenced by non-Western musics: Sven Grünberg (b. 1956) and Peeter Vähi (b. 1955).

52 Sink graduated from the Tallinn Music School in music theory in 1960 and flute in 1961, also studying composition under Veljo Tormis. From 1961–1966 he continued his composition studies at the Leningrad Conservatoire, a fact that merits some explanation. In the 1960s, in fact, it was not very common for Estonian composers to study composition abroad. The only thing that Sink underlined later as a reason for his Leningrad studies was his Christian background. Kuldar Sink was born into a Christian family; his father had been a priest and his mother a church musician, known also for her primarily sacred vocal compositions. These reasons alone were enough for Sink to abandon the idea of studying composition at the Tallinn Conservatory.

the experience of Pärt (and, to a certain extent, of Tormis as well), the fact of dedicating himself to this type of source material brought him no disapproval among Soviet officials. Moreover, unlike the severe restrictions on travel to Western countries, the opportunities for travel across the Soviet Union were both plentiful and affordable at the time. Thus, combining these favourable practical factors and his own musical interests, Sink was able to make several trips to Central-Asia and the Caucasus from the late 1970s till the mid 1980s.⁵³

The composer himself explained the purpose of these trips as follows: "I consciously enhance the expansion of my listening experience. If one has the experience of listening to the music of many peoples, one may be able to listen more objectively to the music of one's own country. [...] Only then does it become possible to assess oneself correctly, by taking a look from larger perspective. That is my musical-political program."⁵⁴ The preceding quotation dates back to the autumn of 1977 and originates from the first newspaper article published in a series about peoples and their music in the countries of Central-Asia and the Caucasus. From 1977 to 1982 Kuldar Sink contributed to the Estonian cultural weekly *Sirp ja Vasar* and the journal *Teater. Muusika. Kino*, publishing altogether eleven articles on this topic.⁵⁵ In these texts, the cultural legacy of seven different countries from these regions was discussed, with the primary emphasis on their traditional music: Kyrgyzstan, Kazakhstan (Central-Asia, focusing on Kirghiz and Kazakh folk music), Georgia (plus two extra articles about Svanetis), Armenia, Dagestan and Azerbaijan (in the Caucasus).⁵⁶ Reflecting the official cultural and political positions of the publication, this series was dedicated to the 60th anniversary of the October revolution and had the task of providing an overview of the music cultures of the peoples of the USSR.⁵⁷ Indeed, this was the very first time that the music of these distant regions had been discussed in Estonia's (printed) media⁵⁸ at such length or in such a scholarly manner.

Sink concludes his observations by pointing to a more general tendency in the development of folk music which can be applied to many regions – the general westernisation of music cultures. Exemplifying his thoughts with Armenian, Georgian and Kazakh

53 With regard to practical matters, it is worth mentioning, that as a member of the Soviet Estonian Composers' Union, it was possible to apply for creative travel support. As a result of doing so, during these trips Sink was appointed on some occasions as a correspondent and had to attend official meetings with other Soviet colleagues or representatives of the authorities. Mostly, however, he traveled by himself – "just me and my tent", as Sink often recalled. Thus, among Estonians, his trips to Central Asia are also known as his peripatetic journeys. See Ruth Alaküla, "Intervjuu Kuldar Singiga. Salvestatud 1992. aasta augustis," ["Interview with Kuldar Sink, recorded in August 1992"], *Teater. Muusika. Kino*, no. 10 (1997): 40.

54 Kuldar Sink, "Eestlased ja kirgiiside muusika (ühed ülimalt subjektiivsed mõtted mõttevahetuse korras)," ["Estonians and Kyrgyz's music (some highly subjective thoughts for the exchange of views)."] *Sirp ja Vasar*, November 18, 1977, 12.

55 Ten articles were published in the cultural newspaper *Sirp ja Vasar* (from 1977 to 1979) and one in the magazine *Teater. Muusika. Kino* (in 1982).

56 Side by side with more general topics (picturesque geographical descriptions, historical events, the introduction of religious beliefs and customs, linguistic issues, etc.), more attention was paid to the music of these people. Sink writes about well-known musicians, folk instruments and genres of music.

57 As such, these articles were paired with a series of music programs Sink made for the Estonian Radio, broadcast regularly about a week after the written texts. However, typically of this period, the radio programs were not recorded, and we cannot know what music was broadcast; however, most of it probably coincided with music mentioned in the articles.

58 As for broadcasts, a few years earlier, in 1974 a series on the traditional music of distant countries had started on Estonian radio (*Kauged rahvad muusikas*). In these broadcasts, composer and music historian Leo Normet gave an insight into the traditional music and cultures of different regions, located as far from each other as Tahiti, Morocco, Iceland, Latin-America, etc. Compared to Sink, however, Normet's broadcasts were more literary and entertaining, with rich musical illustrations, but without any scholarly ambition.

folk music, Sink indicates the vanishing nature of these authentic, valuable traditions. Let us give as an example his thoughts on Kazakh folk music, more precisely concerning the situation in the former capital, Almaty: “It seems that they have started to make something like great art out of folk music. It is a nice idea, but unfortunately, they have totally forgotten all the anonymous folk musicians who actually carry on the traditions in village communities. The aim of this kind of urbanized [folk] music, made in the name of art, is mostly to introduce Kazakh music outside their republic.”⁵⁹ It is precisely here that Sink leads up to the topics that are of most relevance to of our discussion – firstly, to draw parallels between the traditional musics of Central-Asia and the Caucasus with Estonian folk music, and secondly, to address the problematic issues surrounding nationalness in music and its possible relations to the use of folk music in classical works. As mentioned above, the official cultural politics of the Soviet Union supported the view that some kind of national individuality is required of a composer. In particular, it was expected that composers of the national Soviet republics would demonstrate some specific qualities in their music that are common to their own national (Estonian or other) spirit or temperament. To this end, the direct use of folk tunes and/or national themes was seen as the ideal choice. However, this demand was rejected by several Estonian composers, including Kuldar Sink. There were at least two different reasons for such a reaction. On one hand, Estonian composers wanted to belong to and be seen as part of a wider European cultural landscape, and therefore they did not feel any urge to be ‘nationalistic’ *per se*.⁶⁰ The second reason is more multi-faceted. As we can conclude from Sink’s articles, it was seen as improper to present this westernised form of folk music as part of an authentic traditional heritage. And, for the same reason, neither should it be used in art music. Sink writes: “We may feel some ‘homesickness’ for this vanished culture, but the births, vanishings and blending of different cultures have taken place in all times and peoples from the Assyrians to the Indians.”⁶¹ In an Estonian context, by this “vanished culture” Sink is referring to the runosong tradition discussed above, which, due to the Germanic style of choral singing (*Liedertafel*) – which Estonians now incorrectly believed to be Estonian – had already died out slowly a long time before. Sink goes on: “All cultures are equal, one cannot place them one upon another, they should be observed as if side-by-side. What am I fighting against? [I am fighting] against pseudo-Estonianness, against European [i.e. art] music that pretends to be Estonian-like. Also, it is ridiculous to give birth once again to Estonian folk music culture ‘just for fun’. Let us become cosmopolitans! Leave all the ‘Uku’ products⁶² for tourists!”⁶³

The ambiguity of Kuldar Sink’s attitude toward the use of folk music in contemporary music is also manifested in his own compositions. As we have seen, on one hand

59 Kuldar Sink, “Küü traditsioonides praegu [Kasahhi rahvamuusikast],” [“Nowadays traditions of kyui. About Kasakh folk music”,] *Teater. Muusika. Kino*, no. 9 (1982): 74.

60 Anu Veenre, “Changes in Estonian Music and Composer’s Identity in the Last Decade of the Soviet Period,” in *Music and Identities: The Baltic Sea Region in the 21st Century; New Approaches to Music Analysis*. Proceedings from 42nd International Baltic Musicological Conference. Mūzikas akadēmijas raksti VIII, ed. Baiba Jaunslaviete (Riga: Jāzepa Vitola Latvijas Mūzikas akadēmija, 2011).

61 Sink, “Eestlased,” 12.

62 “Uku” was a well-known handicraft company in Estonia at the time, producing beautiful ethnographic textiles. However, the products of “Uku” had little to do with the authentic handicraft traditions.

63 Sink, “Eestlased,” 12.

Sink clearly condemns the combining of different traditions. On the other hand, from the late 1970s onward his own compositions do actually reflect idioms characteristic of non-Western (traditional) music. What seems to matter for Sink in this context is “how” this process of combining different traditions is handled and how the final outcome should be received and understood: One cannot present two different traditions simultaneously, within or inside each other. Rather, both of these traditions will be transformed through this process of combination. As a more concrete example, let us examine Kuldar Sink’s piano sonata trilogy *Mountains and Men* (*Mäed ning inimesed*), composed in May 1977 after a period of creative silence.⁶⁴ The piece was inspired by his hike to lake Issyk Kul, the lake located in the northern Tian Shan mountains in Eastern Kyrgyzstan.⁶⁵ The description of the music on the back of its LP jacket illustrates the range of different musics Sink alludes to in this cycle as well as the synthesizing objective of his approach: “In this work, styles which differ widely both temporally and spatially, such as early medieval music, aleatory music, jazz, Kirghiz and Chinese music, are blended, although not by means of collage. This is a reflection of what the human ear catches individually and of what is drawn from collective memory.”⁶⁶ Thus, Kuldar Sink’s musical world incorporates elements from very many different traditions and musics. Among the listeners his music definitely evoked different musical cultures, but the composer himself did not want to present this material as something exotic. Instead of using national material (as supported by official politics) or forming a European identity (as desired by many of his contemporaries), Sink was interested in combining musics from even more distant regions of the world. At the same time, his use of diatonic scales, static dramaturgy, rhythmic patterns, and tunes that are easily associated with early music, folk, and/or non-Western traditions alike allows us to see his compositions as part of a more general trend in Estonian music in the late Soviet era – a trend manifested in polystylistic thinking.

Conclusion

In Estonian music history, the 1970s are seen as a decade when a new and very influential group of young composers came of age. Many of their creative preoccupations at the time concerned a type of polystylistic writing which manifested itself in the use of elements originally associated with other musical realms, such as early music, folk music, elements of pop-rock, and/or non-Western traditional music. The compositional-technical approach to the polystylism of these composers differs from that of their older colleagues in the preceding decade, and marks a significant shift in

64 The trilogy *Mäed ning inimesed* consists of Piano sonatas no. 2–4; Kuldar Sink’s interest toward Arabic maqams are also reflected in his song cycle *The Songs of Death and Birth* (*Surma ja Sünni laulud*, lyrics by Federico Garcia Lorca) for mezzo soprano and chamber ensemble, composed in 1985/1986.

65 Sink picturesquely describes the surroundings of the lake: “An azure mirror of the lake between snow-capped mountains which, like sentinels, surround you from each side – here everyone is a rider from birth: whole villages on horses and donkeys; here everyone knows how to play the khomyz, the favourite national instrument. Without this skill you are even not thought to be man. Well, this is an idyllic image of Issyk Kul, situated at the attitude of 1,609 meters.” Kuldar Sink, *Sonata-trilogy Mäed ning inimesed*, Kalle Randalu, piano, Melodiya LP, C10 23053 007 (1985).

66 Kuldar Sink, *Sonata-trilogy*.

polystylistic thinking around the mid-1970s. In particular, instead of using elements relating to the historical layers of the classical music legacy, Estonian polystylistic music of the late Soviet era and beyond draws primarily on contemporary sensibilities. Indeed, the allusions to early music, Estonian folk music, elements of pop-rock, and/or non-Western traditional music seen in many of the new compositions of the era may all be interpreted as reflecting the influence of the trends that surrounded composers in the contemporary musical life of the time. Thus, the examples of early or folk music idioms also serve as references to contemporary fields of music. Furthermore, compared with the 1960s, the polystylistic approach of the late Soviet period and beyond definitely favours the symbiotic use of elements in new compositions over eclecticism.

In addition to researching the late Soviet era, this article also had the goal of contributing to national music history writing as approached from the perspective of cultural musicology. To this end, the polystylistic writing of the 1970s and 1980s was also discussed as a cultural phenomenon reflecting the socio-political context and processes in the musical life of the time. In this respect it can be concluded that blurring the boundaries between different musics in late Soviet Estonia served as a tool for bringing the different musical communities of the time closer together. In musical terms, and with respect to the developments in art music, this “blurring process” manifested itself in a form of polystylistic writing that favoured the symbiotic use of different elements in new compositions over processes of juxtaposition. With regard to musical life, the unity of the different musical communities could be seen in their shared attitude – a sort of disaffection – towards the Soviet system, an attitude due largely to the ideological pressure placed by the authorities on the arts.

In fact, regardless of the restrictions at official level, religious topics were “in the air” among the musicians and composers of the time. The activities of early music enthusiasts (including Hortus Musicus), in particular, served as a distinct kind of spiritual opposition in Soviet society at the time. Contemporaneously, the folk music movement, opposed the Soviet system with regard to the problematic issues surrounding nationalness in music – an ideological current that folk ensembles and composers were forced to follow in their activities and in their works at the time. In this respect, it was the earlier layer of the Estonian oral song tradition, runosong, which was primarily championed by the ethnographic folklore ensembles (Hellero and Leegajus) and viewed as a phenomenon that might be related to a kind of Estonianness when used by composers of art music. The use of the newer layer of the oral song tradition, on the other hand, was the subject of harsh criticism. In this article these issues were examined through the writings of Kuldar Sink – a composer whose involvement in non-Western traditional musics also provided him with the opportunity to consider the potential relations between European (classical) music and other musical realms and the possibility of combining them. Finally, with regard to (progressive) rock music, another type of protest against the Soviet system can be noted: the national ideas as manifested in the activity of the ensembles Ruja and In Spe, for example, mainly arose from their yearning for a more liberal spiritual atmosphere in the era, while simultaneously referring to the need for closer contact with their Western colleagues.

Studies in early music, folk, rock, and non-Western musical traditions were all supported by the state in their own way, yet a closer involvement in these fields also made it possible for musicians and composers to alienate themselves to a certain extent from the Soviet system. As an act of deterritorialization, involvement with these musics in Estonia was about exploring new (musical) territories – the imaginary “elsewheres” put forward by Alexei Yurchak in his research on the late Soviet era – that offered an escape from the Soviet world of constant control and dictate, a life in *vnje*. The concept of “unofficial” as proposed by Peter Schmelz for studying the musical Thaw, however, must be applied to the late Soviet Estonian context only with caution. Viewed in musical terms as reflecting early music, folk, pop rock, and/or non-Western music traditions, most of the Estonian contemporary classical music of the period, in fact, preferred more consonant sounds. Thus, this music was much more easily accessible than that of the 1960s, and it did not contradict the doctrine of socialist realism *per se*. With regard to the “social dimension” of the arts, the music discussed in this article was typically purchased by the state, performed under the auspices of the Philharmonic Society, and published by government-run firm, thus making it – in principle – as official as possible. However, as Kevin Karnes has summarized the concept, “unofficial music was not a manifestation of dissent—or even, necessarily, of protest. It simply stood outside the system of state-controlled musical patronage.”⁶⁷ Seen from this perspective, it can be concluded that, rather than any practical matters, it was the general manner of thinking about the essence and mechanisms of the arts and cultural life that differed “unofficial” music from the official Soviet view, and which thus alienated many musicians and composers from the Soviet system in Estonia during the 1970s and 1980s.

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⁶⁷ Karnes, *Arvo Pärt's*, 19.

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POVZETEK

V zvezi z glasbenim življenjem bi lahko povezanost različnih glasbenih skupnosti časa opazovali v njihovem skupnem odnosu – neke vrste nezadovoljstvu – do sovjetskega sistema, odnosu, ki je bil večinoma posledica ideoloških pritiskov oblasti na umetnost. Tako so bile ne glede na omejitve na uradnem nivoju religiozne teme v tem času »v zraku« med glasbeniki in skladatelji. Še posebej prizadevanja navdušencev za staro glasbo (med drugim ansambla Hortus Musicus) so služila kot jasna duhovna opozicija sovjetski družbi tega časa. Hkrati so gibanja za ljudsko glasbo nasprotovala sovjetskemu sistemu na ravni problematike, povezane z vprašanjem nacionalnosti v glasbi – ansamblu za ljudsko glasbo in skladatelji so se bili v svojem delu prisiljeni podrežati temu ideološkemu toku. V članku so ta vprašanja preiskana na podlagi zapisov skladatelja Kuldarja Sinka, ki je prek ukvarjanja z ne-zahodno tradicijsko glasbo prišel do možnosti preišljevanja o zvezah med evropsko (klasično) glasbo in drugimi glasbami ter še posebej o možnostih njihovega povezovanja. Ob opazovanju progresivne rockovske glasbe je mogoče odkriti še eno obliko protesta proti sovjetskemu sistemu: nacionalne ideje, kakor jih je razbrati iz

delovanja skupin Ruja in In Spe, so izšle iz želje po bolj sproščeni duhovni klimi, medtem ko so hkrati izražale potrebo po močnejših kontaktih s svojimi zahodnimi kolegi.

Država je na svoj način podpirala preučevanje stare glasbe, ljudske glasbe in ne-zahodnih glasbenih tradicij, toda bolj pogljobljeno ukvarjanje s temi področji je glasbenikom in skladateljem omogočilo, da so se do določene mere odtujili sovjetskemu sistemu. Kot akt deteritorializacije je bilo ukvarjanje s takšnimi glasbami v Estoniji povezano z raziskovanjem novih (glasbenih) dežel – nekakšnih namišljenih »drugih dežel«, kakor jih poimenuje Aleksej Jurčak v svojih raziskavah poznega sovjetskega obdobja. Te so ponudile možnost pobega iz sovjetskega sveta, zaznamovanega s stalno kontrolo in diktatom, torej nekakšno življenje v *vnje*. Koncept "neuradnega", kakršnega je predlagal Peter Schmelz za študij glasbe v času politične »odjuge«, pa je potrebno uporabljati v zvezi s pozno sovjetsko Estonijo previdno. Šlo je namreč za splošno sprejeto mnenje o bistvu in mehanizmih umetnosti in kulturnega življenja, ki je »neuradno« glasbo razlikovalo od uradnega sovjetskega pogleda in ki je mnoge estonske glasbenike in skladatelje v 70-ih in 80-ih letih odtujilo od sovjetskega sistema.



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Margins of Music

Meje glasbe

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nost, dvojno življenje, samota**Keywords:** Avant-garde, *Tondichter*, marginality,
double life, solitude

IZVLEČEK

ABSTRACT

Poetika Marka Radmija (1910–1996) je bila zaznamovana z zavrnitvijo koncepta »skladatelja«, in sicer z argumentom, da termin sam implicira redukcijo glasbenega na račun znanja in tehnike. V nasprotju s terminom skladatelj pa se je Radmij zdelo, da pozabljen nemški izraz *Tondichter* (»pesnik tonov«) ohranja bistvo glasbenega in je zato uporabljal ta termin, kadar je skušal označiti svoje lastne aktivnosti. V članku so posledice te spremembe raziskane prek Radmijevih glasbe in njegovih misli o glasbi.

The poetics of Marko Radmio (1910–1996) was marked by the rejection of the concept of “composer,” with the argument that the term implies the reduction of that which is musical to knowledge and technique. In contrast, in the forgotten German expression *Tondichter* (tone poet) Radmio found preserved the essence of the musical and therefore used this term when trying to designate his own activities. In this paper, the consequences of this change are explored both through Radmio’s music and through his thoughts on music.

*Ludwig hat als ein Künstler gelebt; was sich die Décadents des ausgehenden Jahrhunderts erschrieben oder ermalten, hat er zu bauen oder zu leben versucht... Doch ist er ein Künstler ohne Kunstfertigkeit. Außerdem ist er ein König, dem nicht so sehr irgendeine Furcht vor Skandal, vielmehr ein tiefes Gefühl von Würde jeden Gedanken an ein bohemhaftes Doppelleben untersagen.*¹

*Quelqu’un est là, où je suis seul.*²

1 Hans Mayer, *Aufseisseter* (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1976), 258–59. “Ludwig lived like an artist; what the decadents at the end of the century had written about or painted, he tried to build and to live... Still, he is an artist without craftsmanship. Besides, he is a king, whom not so much the fear of scandal but rather a sense of dignity forbids every idea of a bohemian double life.” Unless otherwise indicated, all translations are my own.

2 Maurice Blanchot, *L’espace littéraire* (Paris: Gallimard, 2005), 27. In Ann Smock’s translation: “Someone is there, where I am alone.”

When we find ourselves before the work of an unknown artist, a particular carefulness is recommended. Not because we could lose our balance on being touched by his work but because we could hastily reduce it to something else (“this is something like Chopin”) and, in doing so, deprive it of the possibility to appear as it is. Therefore, every identification of style or genre, every historiographic periodisation, and every recommendation (“if you like this, you will like that”) means at the same time the oblivion of individuality. Instead of reducing someone’s work to something familiar, every identification should be put into brackets so that we can start from the beginning. But where to start in the case of Marko Radmio’s musical work? If we take the author as a starting point, we will already encounter considerable problems. Radmio is the artist’s name in the world of art, but he was born in 1910 under the name Marko Kiš Šaulovečki, as a descendant of an old aristocratic family which even today resides in the Šćrbinec castle in the Hrvatsko Zagorje region of Croatia. Very little is known about the life of Marko Kiš. Perhaps not without reason, because his very life seems to be reduced to a minimum, to almost nothing. Marko Kiš spent most of his life in retirement: he was pensioned at the age of thirty-six as a legal clerk in the municipal administration of the city of Zagreb.³ For most of his life, he was a civil servant who was no longer in that role. He lived in Zagreb, in an apartment at the end of Primorska Street, as a single man. On Sundays, he would go for dinner at his relatives’, at the beginning of the same street. In this reduction of his life to almost nothing, there is something enigmatic that might stoke the imagination. How was his relationship with his parents? Did he study law because he liked it? Why was it that he retired so early? Is there something in his retirement that should not or could not be talked about?⁴ Does his solitude indicate a certain fear or discretion, perhaps even within the family circle? Did he ever fall in love? Was there any woman – or any man – in his life? What did he dream about? A photograph of Marko Kiš that the author of these lines had the chance to see shows him in his younger days, elegantly dressed and wearing the small metal-rimmed glasses once often worn by the educated. He had been sitting at a desk, holding a quill in his hand. A scene of writing. The cigarette in his mouth was half-burned, as if he were so absorbed with writing that he had forgotten about it. What had he been writing?

Unlike the life of Marko Kiš, the life of Marko Radmio seems to be more accessible. It was divided between public appearances – mostly as a listener, less frequently as a writer, and only exceptionally as a composer – and his solitary dwelling in his own world of art. This life is testified to by the numerous music manuscripts (never published and mostly unperformed in public) that today are preserved in the archive of the Croatian Music Institute, as well as in his writings, among them particularly the almanac titled *Down with the Dead Art! We Want Live Art! (Dolje mrtva umjetnost! Hoćemo živu umjetnost!)*, published in Zagreb in 1931 at Radmio’s own expense.⁵

3 Cf. Ivona Ajanović-Malinar, “Kiš Šaulovečki, Marko,” *Hrvatski biografski leksikon*, accessed March 1, 2018, <http://hbl.lzmk.hr/clanak.aspx?id=10430>.

4 Was the explanation given by Radmio, a law graduate, merely an *official* one? In an application for membership to the Croatian Association of Composers Radmio states that he had to leave his job “because of medical reasons... and because of advanced disease he had claimed a disability pension.” Marko Radmio, Application for Membership to the Croatian Association of Composers, November 21, 1984 (Manuscript in the Marko Radmio Fonds, Croatian Music Institute, Zagreb), 1.

5 Cf. Marko Radmio, *Dolje mrtva umjetnost! Hoćemo živu umjetnost!* (Zagreb: Kugli, 1931).

For the public, Marko Radmio was a rather unusual person, a bit shy and secluded. He would appear at concerts dedicated to modern music and only his enthusiastic look would reveal his passion towards the art,⁶ a passion which seemed to preoccupy him more than anything else and that did not leave space for anything else. His biographers mention that during the 1930s he was involved in theatre as a promoter, director and actor, and from 1940 to 1945 he was also known as a journalist.⁷ In the long period after his retirement, Radmio was occasionally heard from as a writer, mostly to testify – through his own *marginal notes*⁸ – to artistic phenomena, and mostly on the margins of the official musical life that occupied his attention.⁹

Finally, the public became acquainted with Radmio also as a composer, albeit only exceptionally at public concerts;¹⁰ his music could be heard more often on the air. The recordings of Radmio's music preserved in the phonoarchive of the Croatian Radio, among them some of the composer's own performances, were recorded and broadcast mostly thanks to Dubravko Detoni, a composer colleague and then a music editor at the Croatian Radio, who was perhaps the greatest enthusiast of Radmio's work.

Compared to Radmio the listener and Radmio the writer, Radmio the composer received the most attention, although the word *most* in this case relates just to some radio portraits broadcast on the Croatian Radio¹¹ and to some passing *marginal* references – mostly in the footnotes – in a few scholarly works on the history of composition in

6 An article from the Sunday supplement of the Zagreb daily *Vjesnik*, preserved as a cutting in the Marko Radmio Fonds, testifies that he was a careful listener. Published as a part of the "programme tasks for 1980" announced by what was then Zagreb Radio Television, the article is a sketch of a television portrait of Radmio: "Marko Radmio (pseudonym). An interesting, fine face with a sharp profile which attracts all of the directors of the television concert transmissions as a picture of a careful, maybe even an unusual listener. But didn't we overdo it in wondering whether there are still careful and passionate listeners of serious, even new, music? He is a composer, but entirely unknown, notwithstanding his membership in the Croatian Composer's Society. He is neither a composer by profession, nor is composing just his leisure activity, nor is he an amateur. He must be a music aficionado and connoisseur. The documentary. On him, a talk with him, his story." ***, "Žubor glazbe," *Vjesnik*, November 25, 1979 (A cutting in the Marko Radmio Fonds, Croatian Music Institute, Zagreb). On the next page of the cutting Radmio added, by hand: "But it was not realised."

7 Cf. Ajanović-Malinar, "Kiš Šaulovečki, Marko."

8 This expression appears in the title of two of his writings from this period; cf. Marko Radmio, "Marginalije uz jednu desetogodišnjicu," *Prolog* 6, no. 21 (1974): 17; Marko Radmio, "Marginalije uz 25-godišnjicu ACEZANTEZ-a," in *ACEZANTEZ*, ed. Raul Knežević (Zagreb: Muzički informativni centar Koncertne direkcije Zagreb, 1999), 57.

9 It was also during this period that the extensive – unpublished, but publicly available – family chronicle written by Marko Kiš and his brother came into existence. Cf. Krsto Kiš, and Marko Kiš, *Kronika rođa Kiš Šaulovečki* (Manuscript in Croatian State Archive, Zagreb, 2000).

10 Radmio himself mentions that his works have been performed in concert on only three occasions: "Of all this material only very little has been performed, and that was back in 1969 – be it at the Forum of Composers in Opatija, in the Student centre in Zagreb, on the occasion of the Days of Croatian music, and there are also radio recordings. Thereafter, the performed pieces are: 'For Piano' I and II, three movements from the 'Indian Suite', 'An Unknown Song from an Unknown Port' for mezzo-soprano and piano, 'Prelude for cello and piano', and the second version of 'Chiemsee' for baritone and chamber orchestra." Radmio, Application for Membership, 8–9. There is also a document on the public performance of Radmio's piano piece *In the Range of Ballad*; cf. Dubravko Detoni, Programme Notes for the Concert within the *Europhonia* cycle held on October 16, 1988 in Istra Hall, Zagreb (the Marko Radmio Fonds, Croatian Music Institute, Zagreb).

11 Cf. Eva Sedak, *Vrijeme jednog skladatelja: Marko Radmio*, broadcast at the Third Programme of the Croatian Radio, 1984 (Documentary recording, phonoarchive of the Croatian Radio); Alida Saračević, *Vrijeme jednog skladatelja: Marko Radmio*, broadcast at the Third Programme of the Croatian Radio, September 11, 1989 (Manuscript in the Marko Radmio Fonds, Croatian Music Institute, Zagreb); Dalibor Davidović, *Glazba koju valja tražiti pod krevetom*, broadcast at the Third Programme of the Croatian Radio, December 9, 1994 (Manuscript in the Marko Radmio Fonds, Croatian Music Institute, Zagreb); Dubravko Detoni, *Pierrot mjesecar: Skladatelj Marko Radmio*, broadcast at the Third Programme of the Croatian Radio, 1995 (Documentary recording, phonoarchive of the Croatian Radio); Dubravko Detoni, *In memoriam: Marko Radmio*, broadcast at the Third Programme of the Croatian Radio, 1996 (Documentary recording, phonoarchive of the Croatian Radio).

Croatia in the 20th century.¹² The very contexts of the public performances of Radmio's music (specifically, at the "Musical showroom" of the Student centre in Zagreb, Yugoslav Forum of Composers in Opatija, the *Europhonia* cycle of the world premieres of chamber music, Zagreb) suggested its resolutely *modern* character. The emphasis on the *modernity* of Radmio's music, noticeable in the radio portraits of the composer and in the relevant historiographic studies, was coupled with a narrative on its historical place, namely, on the history of composition in Croatia in the 20th century. During the period "between *Moderne* and the *avant-garde*,"¹³ Radmio's music, because of its resolutely *modern* character, was considered to be a phenomenon on the margins, but since the early 1960s, with the foundation of the Zagreb Music Biennial and the Yugoslav Forum of Composers in Opatija – that is, the festivals which promoted the modernist or *avant-garde* tendencies in music – Radmio's music found an appropriate context. This gave him the possibility to come out in the public sphere as a composer. It seems that Radmio himself had nothing against this way of understanding his music. Thus, in an application for membership to the Croatian Association of Composers, seemingly a dry juridical document, though at the same time a kind of autobiography, Radmio mentioned the "*avant-garde* character"¹⁴ of a group of his works composed during the 1960s and 70s. On the other hand, in a conversation with musicologist Eva Sedak on the issue of the "developing tendency" (*razvojni trend*) of his music, he mentioned the path "towards serialism and complexity" (*serijelnost i slojevitost*), pointing out the "catalytic effect" of the Zagreb Music Biennial, in light of which his earlier efforts were allotted the sense of "anticipations."¹⁵

But what did Radmio mean when he spoke about the *avant-garde character* of his music? Is it a name for a certain music that abandoned its inherited terms, music free of any aesthetic and historical predeterminations? For *Piano II (Za glasovir II)*,¹⁶ according to Radmio, one of his *avant-garde* pieces, seems to confirm this definition. Here, the succession of sound events is neither determined by the logic of tonality (if under tonality the system of music of the Modern Era is meant, a system which determines not just the elements considered musical but also their relations) nor by traditional musical forms. The texture of the piece does not indicate any apriority – for example, the differentiation between the main and the secondary line does not appear to have been decided in advance. The music departs from the narrow

12 Thus, musicologist Eva Sedak, writing on the local musical occurrences that could be subsumed under the name *historical avant-garde*, in one of the footnotes in her historiographic overview of the history of composition in Croatia in the first part of the 20th century, mentions the following: "A sort of the futurist episode (*uklon*) at the outsider margins of Croatian music could be seen in the Satie-esque piano miniatures of Marko Radmio (Marko Kiš, 1910–1996), as well as in his unusual work in general, including his little almanac *Down with the Dead Art! We want Live Art!* from 1931." Eva Sedak, "Hrvatska glazba između moderne i avangarde," in *Hrvatska i Europa: Kultura, znanost i umjetnost*, vol. 5, ed. Mislav Ježić (Zagreb: Hrvatska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti – Školska knjiga, in print), 12, note 31.

13 Sedak, "Hrvatska glazba između moderne i avangarde," 1.

14 "The pieces with the *avant-garde* character: five pieces under the title 'For Piano': I (1967), II (1969), III (1973), IV (1974), and V (1977). Also belonging here is, in a sense, 'Lento cantabile' for piano from 1961, 'In the Range of Ballad' from 1969, some movements in already-mentioned collections, and 'Chiemsee' in three versions: a) for baritone (mezzo-soprano) and piano (1964), b) (much later) for baritone, synthesizer, electric organ, horn, and wind chime, c) for baritone, the same chamber ensemble and one actress (music theatre)." Radmio, Application for Membership, 7.

15 All quotations are from Sedak, *Vrijeme jednog skladatelja*.

16 Cf. Marko Radmio, *Za glasovir II*. (Manuscript in the Marko Radmio Fonds, Croatian Music Institute, Zagreb, 1969).

tone range in the middle of the keyboard, expanding it gradually in order to gain the whole tone range of the instrument, from the highest tones to the dark murmur of the subcontra A, which appears and dies away at the very end of the piece. However, although the sound events do not seem to be connected to each other, this is not the case – the initial tone figure, which consists of fast hovering in the narrow tone range, returns again and again during the piece, functioning as a kind of axis, a centre or a measure for other figures. Its characteristic trait is an interval of the great third ($d\sharp' / e\flat'-g'$), which appears for a moment as a vertical structure at the end of the first bar and is prolonged in bar 4 (see example 1).



Example 1: Marko Radmio, *For Piano II*, p. 1, lines 1–2.

Other figures that appear during the piece seem to be derived from the initial one, whether in the movement consisting of parallel thirds, an isolated sixth as an inverted interval of the third, a movement of the parallel sixths (the first step being the parallel sixths $g'-e\flat''$ and $f\sharp'-d''$ in the first lines of the piece), or just in the movement consisting of any parallel intervals (mostly of sevenths and ninths). The expansion of the tone range, like the course of the piece, does not proceed uniformly but in several sections, whereby every section has a characteristic, recognizable trait. The first section is marked by the initial figure in the initial position, in the middle of the tone range of the instrument. While the tone range of the initial figure expands with each repetition, the initial texture splits into different levels, at first into separate chords for the left and the right hand, then into three levels, with the parallel movements in the high, middle and the low piano registers. The appearance of a violent, rhythmically distinctive iambic figure in the low register of the instrument (see example 2) – which initiates the parallel movement in the sevenths and the ninths and where the left and right hands are widely separated – marks the beginning of the second section. The next one builds on this movement but introduces extreme exchanges of dynamics and the marked isolated tones, ending in long sustained chords in the low register.

It is with the return of the initial figure in the initial position, which initiates a new wave of intensification, that the fourth section begins, its central part consisting of a virtuosic passage towards the highest registers. The last two sections return to the initial tempo and are marked by a fast exchange of the initial figure and intensive movement in widely separated piano registers. During the last pages of the piece, the movement slowly subsides, becoming less intensive, splitting into long isolated tones that are from time to time interrupted by trills.

The musical score is for a piano piece in G major, 3/4 time. It is divided into two systems. The first system (lines 1-2) begins with a piano introduction. The left hand starts with a dotted half note (G2), and the right hand has a half note (G4). Dynamics range from *mp* to *pp*. The second system (lines 3-4) features a more complex texture with triplets and a crescendo. Dynamics include *sf*, *mp*, and *subito f*. The piece ends with a ring-like sign in the bass line.

Example 2: Marko Radmio, *For Piano II*, p. 2, lines 1–2.¹⁷

Composed during approximately the same time period but not publicly performed for the first time until twenty years later – namely, at the concert of the *Europhonia* cycle in Zagreb – the piano piece *In the Range of Ballad (U domašaju balade)*¹⁸ reveals already at the level of its material a proximity to the previous piece. Also here it is possible to find sound figures marked by iambic rhythm, virtuosic passages formed of sequences, and even the initial figure from the former piece appears, albeit in an episodic role. The course of the piece is also similar: derived from the initial texture, always-different sound figures arise until they reach a maximum of intensity, which is followed by the gradual release of tension. The initial uniformity of rhythm gradually changes, and there is a certain logic to this change: each new tone duration is shorter, like the quaver move already in bar 2 (see example 3), followed by the quaver triplet and the semiquavers. The rhythmically distinctive iambic figure gives the impetus to the next section of the piece, marked by the abandonment of the bar lines and the rise of intensity; the left and the right hand are far apart.

Each hand follows obsessively the iambic impulse and moves in parallel octaves or sevenths, imitating the other. The demisemiquaver appears as a new rhythmical unit, introducing the episode in which both the initial figure from the piece *For Piano II* and the virtuosic passage towards the highest registers of the instrument return. The iambic impulse interrupts it abruptly, and the imitative movement in widely separated registers continues, reaching a maximum of intensity.

¹⁷ The designation *m. g.* in bar 3 is an abbreviation for the left hand (*main gauche*). The meaning of the ring-like sign in the last bar is not clear. It is probably a sign indicating soft pedal use.

¹⁸ Cf. Marko Radmio, *U domašaju balade* for piano (Manuscript in the Marko Radmio Fonds, Croatian Music Institute, Zagreb, 1969).

The image shows two systems of musical notation for piano. The first system consists of a treble and bass staff. The treble staff begins with a dynamic marking of *p(mpp)* and features a melodic line with various note values and accidentals. The bass staff provides harmonic support with chords and single notes. A fermata is placed over a note in the treble staff, followed by a repeat sign. The second system also has a treble and bass staff. The treble staff starts with a dynamic marking of *pp* and contains a melodic phrase. The bass staff has a similar harmonic accompaniment. A fermata is present in the treble staff, and a repeat sign is at the end of the system.

Example 3: Marko Radmio, *In the Range of Ballad*, p. 1, lines 1–2.

Afterwards, the iambic impulse gradually disappears, the note values become longer, and the long melodic phrases appear for the right hand. One of them runs to the higher registers, in order to repeat or even top the former climax but does not succeed in this. In the last two sections, the movement calms down; the melodic phrases appear in the longer note values (first in the crotchets, then in minims), gradually becoming a succession of chords. The quiet murmur in the lowest registers of the piano moves around the tone Eb, from time to time dwelling on it, foreshadowing the dark tonality of eb minor as the final destination (see example 4).

The image shows two systems of musical notation for piano. The first system consists of a treble and bass staff. The treble staff has a melodic line with long note values and various accidentals. The bass staff provides harmonic support with chords and single notes. A fermata is placed over a note in the treble staff, followed by a repeat sign. The second system also has a treble and bass staff. The treble staff starts with a dynamic marking of *pppp* (ev. u.c.) and contains a melodic phrase. The bass staff has a similar harmonic accompaniment. A fermata is present in the treble staff, and a repeat sign is at the end of the system.

Example 4: Marko Radmio, *In the Range of Ballad*, p. 10, lines 5–6.¹⁹

19 The tone g in the right hand at the beginning of line 2 is written down in the manuscript as a dotted minim, but this duration would not suit the other tones. Therefore, its duration is here reduced to the minim. In the second line, the crotchet rest in the left hand (in brackets) is an editorial addition. Finally, the chord eb–g–bb in the left hand at the end of the second line, written down in the manuscript as a semibreve, is here reduced to the minim.

In the case of *Chiemsee*, a piece written originally for voice and piano and later arranged for voice and chamber ensemble (there is also a third, scenic version),²⁰ every predetermination of music could be put into brackets in order to foreground the poem. But the poem itself seems not to be something given in advance: Radmio pointed out that the poem was written alongside and in parallel with the music. Perhaps because of that, the piece consists of relatively independent episodes. The lyrical subject addresses Lake Chiemsee, which reminds him of another lake, the one near Berg Castle in which the unfortunate King Ludwig II of Bavaria ended his life under mysterious circumstances. Everything that follows is just details, predominantly acoustic ones, which bear witness to the uncanny landscape marked by Ludwig II's disappearance: the dark shadows, the rustling of the leaves, the dewdrops, the singing of the nuns, the sound of bells, silence. Consequently, the music is built as a succession of sections that correspond to the respective episodes of the poem. The poem itself consists of long free verses penned in Radmio's somewhat idiomatic German and written down in the score mostly without punctuation:

*Chiemsee Du bleiches totes Gewasser
 Als ob es wäre der Bergersee
 Dunkle Schatten ziehen am Waldesrande her und spähen nach den Tiefen, der
 Königsleiche nach
 Elfbeiner Glieder sinken immer tiefer in des Moores grauen Sand
 Der Augenblitz verglomm für immer in den schwarzen Schädels Höhlen
 und alles wird zum Eins im Schlamm, das Herz und die Locke, Sehnsucht und
 Liebe, Bein und Arm, Gram und Haß
 Und es ist so bitterkalt und öde
 Das Grauen lastet über des Königs Ruhestätte
 Und es wird Nacht
 Der Saum des tiefen Dunkels verhüllt die Verborgenheit
 Entlang des Ufers Buchten huscht das Geheimnis zwischen den Blättern
 die zitternd beweinen das grausame Geschick!
 Und die fallenden Tautropfen an der Sees düstren Fläche – es ist der letzte Gruß
 dem König.
 Und Nonnengesang da drüben beschließt das Ganze, und gibt Sinn und Ruhe
 und Requiescant in pace singend verstummt auch diese Stimme bald
 und paar Glockenschläge noch dazu
 dann tritt die Grabesstille ein
 Natur erstarrt auch überall
 Und alles ist zu Ende
 die Mär und das Leben.*

The end of each syntactic unit is at the same time the end of the respective musical section, with some of the sections connected through relatively long instrumental

20 Cf. Marko Radmio, *Chiemsee* for voice and piano (Manuscript in the Marko Radmio Fonds, Croatian Music Institute, Zagreb, 1964). See above note 14.

interludes as a kind of echo of what was previously said. In the first of such interludes, after the mention of the *dark shadows*, the exchange of the monophonic phrases and the chords in the low registers seems to imitate the previous texture for voice and piano, as if it were its shadow. In the interlude, which follows the mention of the *secret that flies off between the leaves*, the rhythmically distinctive figures build cascades and sequences (see example 5).

The image displays two systems of musical notation for a voice and piano piece. Each system consists of a vocal line (Canto) and a piano accompaniment (Piano). The music is written in 3/4 time. The first system begins with a vocal rest followed by a piano introduction. The piano part features a series of triplet figures in the bass register, marked 'nagli crescendo'. The second system continues with similar rhythmic patterns, including a fortissimo ('ff') section. The notation includes various accidentals, slurs, and dynamic markings.

Example 5: Marko Radmio, *Chiemsee*, version for voice and piano, beginning of the second interlude, p. 5, lines 2–3.

The third interlude appears before the last syntactic unit of the poem and begins with a kind of imitation of the bell sound (tones $g'-db'-eb'$), with the exchange between the broken-chord figurations and the uniform movement of chords being reminiscent of a *choral* and tending to the major triad $eb-g-bb$.

However, the musical sections of the piece are not entirely unconnected to one other. While the vocal phrases frequently begin with a descending semi-tone, resembling a mournful litany (whereby the lines of the poem a good many times begin with the conjunction “and,” suggesting enumeration), the uniform movement of chords in crotchets, recalling a funeral march, seems to be the principal setting of the piano part, to which the music returns again and again. Finally, the music reveals also a certain sense in terms of tonality: while the opening sections move around the dark regions of f minor, c minor and – in the second interlude – $f\#$ minor, the final ones, particularly after the evocation of the nun’s singing, tend to the eb region (a tonal region of considerable importance for Radmio’s music in general), oscillating between the minor and the major.

Why did Radmio characterise these pieces as belonging to the *avant-garde*? If the music of the Modern Era started as a *stile rappresentativo*²¹ – that is, as an art which *represents*, stages, enacts the subject as the founding centre of music, thus defining the music as a means to an end – Radmio’s music seems not to subscribe to such a programme. His music is rather ambivalent towards the determination of Modern Era music: on one hand, his music is defined by the categories of the Modern Era (music founded in subject), but on the other hand it maintains a certain distance towards this determination. Putting into brackets predeterminations like tonality, traditional syntactic structures and the respective musical forms, and, in doing so, keeping distance from the determination of music as a language, a medium of communication, this music suggests that music as such should not be equated with music founded in a subject and defined as a means to an end. However, when Radmio mentions the *avant-garde*, perhaps he is speaking about these pieces with something else in mind. These pieces are not just abandoning the Modern Era definition of music, keeping distance from the idea of tonality and of music as a kind of language; *at the same time* they have recourse to other foundations of music. Their suspension of *one* foundation does not mean that they are free of *any* foundation. All of the previously discussed pieces show a tendency towards *greatness* (of course, not absolute greatness but greatness in the realm of Radmio’s work), towards something that would finally be stable and solidly grounded, and they leave aside every ephemerality, everything that could distract music from the planned course. It is as if the manner in which these works are composed would reveal an attempt to derive the whole from the initial material, to reduce music to the *logical* development from one centre, which prefigures everything that succeeds. As if they were giving evidence of the will for a “total consolidation,”²² as Morton Feldman characterised the efforts of the post-war musical *avant-garde*. To safeguard music from everything that is unknown and mysterious, to enter into *eternity* (that is, into History by finding recognition among music historians and within the Academy in general) thanks to knowledge of compositional technique – are these pieces not marked by this demonstrative gesture?

That being said, in the already-mentioned autobiographical document, Radmio explicitly stated that the musical itself should not be equated with the technical level of music. “Essentially the same criteria should be applied to the composer as to the poet or writer. Hence the very appropriate expression ‘Tondichter’ in German (an expression that, however, has completely disappeared from verbal practice).”²³ Did Radmio, despite the insight that the musical as such should not be reduced to knowledge and technical mastery (mentioning therefore the forgotten German term *Tondichter*, the tone poet, in which the essential characteristic of the musician’s profession seems to be still preserved), surrender in the previous discussed works? In other words, was he trying to join the others, the members of the *avant-garde*, to show that he was one of them? On the other hand, didn’t he, precisely as an *avant-garde* composer, gain access

21 Cf. Philippe Lacoue-Labarthe, *Musica ficta (Figures de Wagner)* (Paris: Christian Bourgois, 1991), 13.

22 “Total consolidation. Those two words define the new academy.” Morton Feldman, “Conversations without Stravinsky,” in *Essays*, ed. Walter Zimmermann (Kerpen: Beginner Press, 1985), 61.

23 Radmio, Application for Membership, 1.

to the concert halls and the radio shows, even to Music History, if only as a loner at the margins of music?

But in refusing to reduce the music as such to knowledge and compositional technique, to the question *how* a particular music is made, Radmio seems to sense that becoming an *anticipation* respectively a fully-fledged protagonist of Music History means at the same time the greatest danger for music itself, and therefore for his own music. To identify a particular music as *avant-garde* and other music as being a *thing of the past* means consuming both of them entirely, seeing them as something totally transparent. Identifying the music as one or the other implies considering the music as being of temporary interest, as something that is no longer interesting after the act of identifying, pigeon-holing, and labelling has been carried out. For this view, the music is just a kind of sign that allows one to recognise something that lies behind it, namely, its historical position, whereby the History is understood as a succession of discreet moments. Becoming an index of a particular moment of History, a particular music sees itself, at the same time, as having been relegated to the background, being just a *thing of the past*, like a used ticket. Just as the individual moment in such a conception of history has importance only until the next moment replaces it (thereby dwindling into nothing), so too is music in the sign (and *as* the sign) of History always already a *thing of the past*. To treat music as a sign of History therefore means to annihilate it.

Did Radmio have an inkling of such a danger? It seems that he tried to neutralise it in a certain way, mentioning in an autobiographical statement, besides his *avant-garde* music, also the other pieces within his oeuvre. Moreover, in his description, the music he considered to belong to the *avant-garde* does not appear in an honoured place, as it is mentioned neither at the beginning nor at the end. Radmio's description of his own work is indeed closer to a kind of suite, a succession of movements without a predetermined form, than to a development from one centre. Somewhat like the Chinese encyclopaedia mentioned by Borges,²⁴ Radmio's description contains categories like "greater things" (*veće stvari*) (which comprises a piece for piano and orchestra, an oratorio, a ballet for chamber ensemble and a relatively long piece for piano for four hands), "comprehensive pieces" (*omašne skladbe*) (this category includes piano cycles of programme movements or cycles of variations), "other pieces for solo piano" (*ostale skladbe za klavir solo*) (sonatas, études, nocturnes, variations), "suites and collections of preludes" (*suite i zbirke prehudija*) (albums of short piano pieces), the already-mentioned pieces of "avant-garde character," works for

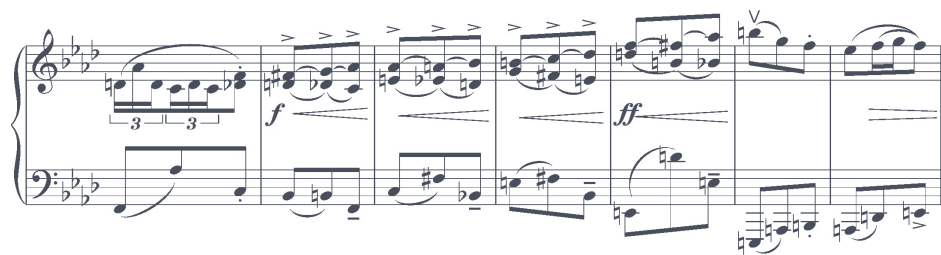
24 "These ambiguities, redundancies, and deficiencies recall those attributed by Dr. Franz Kuhn to a certain Chinese encyclopedia called the *Heavenly Emporium of Benevolent Knowledge*. In its distant pages it is written that animals are divided into (a) those that belong to the emperor; (b) embalmed ones; (c) those that are trained; (d) suckling pigs; (e) mermaids; (f) fabulous ones; (g) stray dogs; (h) those that are included in this classification; (i) those that tremble as if they were mad; (j) innumerable ones; (k) those drawn with a very fine camel's-hair brush; (l) etcetera; (m) those that have just broken the flower vase; (n) those that at a distance resemble flies." Jorge Luis Borges, "John Wilkins' Analytical Language," in *Jorge Luis Borges: Selected Non-Fictions*, ed. Eliot Weinberger, transl. Esther Allen et al. (New York: Viking, 1999), 231. Of course, Borges' intention is not to show that this classification is false and that it should be changed for another one, allegedly correct and universally valid: "I have noted the arbitrariness of Wilkins, the unknown (or apocryphal) Chinese encyclopedist, and the Bibliographical Institute of Brussels; obviously there is no classification of the universe that is not arbitrary and speculative. The reason is quite simple: we do not know what the universe is." Borges, "John Wilkins' Analytical Language," 231.

“individual instruments” (*pojedini instrumenti*) (pieces for organ, a piano trio, pieces for violin and piano and for cello and piano), “vocal lyric pieces” (*vokalna lirika*), and finally “other” (*ostalo*), without closer determination.²⁵ Of all the sound recordings preserved in the phonoarchive of the Croatian Radio, just one piece (*Scherzo* for piano four hands, which is a part of a broad cycle) belongs to the category of “greater things”; Radmio includes three pieces (*Trois études*, *Three nocturnes*, the piano barcarolle *Chopin, which is not one*) under the category of “other pieces for solo piano”; the piano cycles consisting of five (*Railroad*, *The Well*, *Prelude*, *Some Moments Passed as in a Breath*, *Poskočnica dance*), respectively, seven movements (*One Year After...*, *L'air sonnante*, *Josephine Baker*, *Turning*, *Folklore Reminiscence*, *Prelude u Ab major*, *March*), together with the piece *Air espagnol*, are parts of the “suites and collections of preludes”; *The Desinić Elegy* for organ, two *Preludes* for cello and piano, as well as *Elegy* for the same ensemble, are works for “individual instruments”; the songs *An Unknown Song from an Unknown Port* and *Lamento* are, of course, “vocal lyric pieces”; and the composer includes under the category of his *avant-garde* works the piano piece titled *Lento cantabile*, together with the previously discussed pieces. Taking into consideration the portion of recorded music in each of the categories, the emphasis on the *avant-garde* works is remarkable.

In contrast to Radmio's *avant-garde* pieces, his works from other categories were often composed over a long period of time, whether because they include different movements collected through the years or because they achieved their final form many decades after the first sketches. In this part of Radmio's work, at least in the recorded pieces, it is barely possible to find something like an evolution of a musical idiom; rather, one sees that every single piece was a new beginning, something unique. Instead of a tendency towards *greatness* and an attempt to develop the whole from the initial musical material, these works are more playful and can allude to a particular familiar musical idiom. A piece can be identified as belonging to a particular genre or idiom, yet at the same time there is something in the work that exceeds this identification. Thus, the title of the *Orient étude*, the first of Radmio's piano études,²⁶ evokes a certain “oriental” atmosphere, but in the course of the piece it is barely possible to find something more than just a couple of augmented seconds (which was a stereotyped element for the depiction of the “oriental” scenes in 19th-century music). The interval of the augmented second (d \flat –e, respectively, g \flat –a) appears in the first phrases of the piece, being just a part of the harmonic minor scale, and immediately disappears. On the other hand, the metrical structure of the piece suggests the character of a waltz, though the slight irregularities of the succession of two-bar phrases which appear from time to time obstruct its dance character. Similarly ambivalent is also the relation towards tonality: while the key signatures suggest f minor and a minor, the musical course shows that neither is a useful description. Moreover, at the moment of culmination (while the notation suggests f minor; see example 6), and at the very end of the piece, the music unexpectedly drifts into the region of e minor, ending very far from the initial tonal region.

25 Cf. Radmio, Application for Membership, 2–8.

26 Cf. Marko Radmio, *Trois études* for piano (Manuscript in the Marko Radmio Fonds, Croatian Music Institute, Zagreb, 1933).



Example 6: Marko Radmio, *Orient étude for piano*, p. 3, line 2.

The characteristics of being marked by this inner split or “cut,” which essentially determines the respective entity, is even more remarkable in Radmio’s piano nocturnes.²⁷ The movement of the first one is so mechanical that it seems to be the embodiment of everything that runs counter to the typical musical idiom of a nocturne, but its character changes after the culmination point. Yet the nocturnal music of the last part of the work remains incommensurable not just with the beginning but also with most of the piece. The other two nocturnes begin in an atmosphere of perhaps the most famous nocturnes, playing with the wish to reduce them to something familiar (“this is something like Chopin”), but in the middle section, they drift towards a rather faraway land. While the second nocturne, in a reprise, returns not to the initial e \flat minor, ending instead in b minor, the third nocturne, with the subtitle *As in a Dream (Kao u snu)*, moves just slightly from the initial atmosphere. The most distinctive change in this relatively static music comes just before the beginning of the reprise, with the odd step in the left hand moving to the tones D–C \sharp in the low register (see example 7), which are extreme in relation to the previous course of the piece as well as to the rest of it. It is as if this dreamlike music found itself upon a threatening abyss.



Example 7: Marko Radmio, *Nocturne No. 3, “As in a Dream,” for piano*, p. 2, line 4.²⁸

Such discreet gestures appear also in the elegiacal *Prelude* for cello and piano.²⁹ From the very beginning of the piece, its tonal foundation is much clearer than elsewhere in Radmio’s music (which, if there is a recognisable tonal centre at all, tends

27 Cf. Marko Radmio, *Tri nokturna* for piano (Manuscript in the Marko Radmio Fonds, Croatian Music Institute, Zagreb, 1937–1941). The signir, rukopis u sklad1941.tged for another one, ion is sign for their the first part of the 20th century

28 The designation *ev.* in the penultimate bar probably relates to the semiquaver rest and the preceding semiquaver.

29 Cf. Marko Radmio, *Preludij za cello i klavir* (Manuscript in the Marko Radmio Fonds, Croatian Music Institute, Zagreb, 1976).

towards minor keys in general), but already the first piano phrase, through the simultaneity of the tonic and dominant functions, indicates a certain ambivalence: the tonality is indeed specified, but at the same time it is left vague. Also the climax of the piece is divided. The cello achieves it through the ecstatic impetus to the highest register, leaving behind its previous cantilena as it moves through the development. As soon as the cello returns to it, the piano suddenly cancels participation in communal play and starts to repeat the fourth $e_b''-a_b'$, in order to prepare itself for its own climax. The piano stays discreetly distanced until the very end of the piece, exposing in the low register the tones E–D–A, which indeed suggest the initial key of e minor, but in such depths that every tonal determination seems to become vague.

In contrast to that vagueness, the *abyss* in the piano piece *Lento cantabile*³⁰ seems to be much more frightening. After the calm first part, marked by the multiple repetition and variation of the initial situation, built on the pedal tone contra B, to which, each time, the other *mixtures* are added, the music changes its metre and suddenly moves in the other direction. The indication in the score at this place suggests that the character of the music is that of a “dancing swing, which borders on banality” (*tänzelndes an Banalität grenzendes Wiegen*) (see example 8).

Example 8: Marko Radmio, *Lento cantabile* for piano, p. 2, line 3.

The strong dynamic impetus and wide distance between the left and the right hand, with the second (i.e. right) hand often moving in parallel sixths or great thirds or exposing the sequential or ornamental figures, resembles the sound intensive sections of other of Radmio's *avant-garde* pieces; here, however, the distance towards the initial situation is more drastic and the music seems to go crazy, as if a frightening gap had opened in its heart. The development runs to the climax, with the hands maximally distanced from each other, reaching the chord $b-d\#-f-a$. Thereafter the texture just dissolves into isolated tones, in order to slip into silence (see example 9).

30 Cf. Marko Radmio, *Lento cantabile* for piano (Manuscript in the Marko Radmio Fonds, Croatian Music Institute, Zagreb, 1961).

147

calmato

Tempo primo

subito *p*

das noch unbeholfene zuerst sich zurechtfindenmüssende calmato

pp

Example 9: Marko Radmio, *Lento cantabile for piano*, p. 4, lines 1–4.³¹

The piece has two variants: while the first one is shorter and includes just a shortened reprise of the initial sound constellation, the second one returns after the reprise once more to the *abyss*, this time, however, safely and from a distance, animating the initial texture through the movement of the inner lines, like a reminiscence of a wound that cannot heal. Should the *avant-garde* character of this piece be sought in the very depth of its frightening *abyss*?

Distancing himself in an autobiographical statement even from the term *composer*, Radmio argues that the term reduces music to knowledge, to the technique of calculated

31 The meaning of the sign in the left hand in bars 5 and 6, with the square brackets, is not clear. Perhaps it just shows the grouping of the tones.

effects (and affects) that have been institutionalised through schools and academia in general – that is, the institutions where solely the technique of music is taught, with the premise that the technique of musical composition equals music as such. In contrast to that, in the term *tone poet* there still resonates the essential trait of music, which is as forgotten as the term itself – that is why Radmio used “tone poet” when speaking about himself. However, the very term “tone poem” (*Tondichtung*), if it should designate what the tone poet does, had a similar destiny: in the 19th century, it had been used as a term for a certain kind of music, even more, for a musical genre. Since the apposite musical works were composed for an orchestral setting, as a rebirth of symphonism after the presupposed *death* of the symphony, Franz Liszt, the first composer of such “tone poems,” called them “symphonic poems” (*symphonische Dichtungen*).³² This reductive meaning resonates, perhaps, in Radmio’s gesture of remembering the term. Taken as “tone poems,” his works could be indeed seen as belonging to the aesthetic category of “programme music.” His pieces have mostly *programme* titles, evoking a particular scene, location or atmosphere, even if the location evoked is an unknown land, like in the song *An Unknown Song from an Unknown Port* (*Nepoznata pjesma iz nepoznate luke*).³³ What else could evoke the freely-composed syllables (written by Radmio himself) and the static music built on the multiple repetitions of a pentatonically sounding phrase based on the tone sequence b–a–f#?

But Radmio did not call himself a *tone poet* just because he composed programme music but also because of the fact that he composed music at all. What do his pieces, taken into consideration as *tone poems*, reveal? Perhaps it is not by chance that his works – with the exception of his *avant-garde* pieces – are marked by a certain cut that suddenly changes the tone. And that is the case from the very first works, like the short piano piece titled *The Well* (*Bunar*), written down when Radmio was just seventeen years old,³⁴ until the last ones, like the prelude with the title *L’air sonnante*, a piece composed in June 1980.³⁵ While in the first one the cut appears not far from the beginning – as the fast descending passage in bar 5, after which the music becomes suddenly stabilised, as if the passage were guiding it in another direction – in the piece *L’air sonnante* (which is perhaps a reminiscence of Radmio’s own youthful publication),³⁶ the cut appears near the end and, so to speak, from an opposite direction: as if the fracture

32 The very history of this term is marked by the forgetting of that which is poetically irreducible, in favour of compositional technique or knowledge. Already at the beginning of the Modern Era the poetical with respect to music has been understood as something ontic, as a name for the ability to invent a melody in contrast to composition based on the rules (cf. Rainer Schmusch, “Symphonische Dichtung,” in *Handwörterbuch der musikalischen Terminologie*, ed. Hans Heinrich Eggebrecht et al. (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 1999), 1). Later it was used to characterise the compositional invention of the genius in contrast to the prosaic mediocrity of the craftsman (cf. Schmusch, “Symphonische Dichtung,” 5). Consequently, in the 19th century, the term *symphonic poem* designated a musical work composed after a literary source, but having also the surplus of touching the spheres considered inaccessible to poetry, in contrast to the musical work composed after the traditional musical schemes (cf. Schmusch, “Symphonische Dichtung,” 10).

33 Cf. Marko Radmio, *Nepoznata pjesma iz nepoznate luke* (Manuscript in the Marko Radmio Fonds, Croatian Music Institute, Zagreb, 1961).

34 Cf. Marko Radmio, *Bunar* (*Der Brunnen*) for piano (Manuscript in the Marko Radmio Fonds, Croatian Music Institute, Zagreb, 1927).

35 Cf. Marko Radmio, *L’air sonnante* for piano (Manuscript in the Marko Radmio Fonds, Croatian Music Institute, Zagreb, 1980).

36 In his almanac Radmio mentioned Busoni’s idea of music as “sounding air” (*tönende Luft*) being, as such, “free” (Ferruccio Busoni, *Entwurf einer neuen Ästhetik der Tonkunst*, reprint of the 2nd ed. (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 2016), 11). Cf. Radmio, *Dolje mrtva umjetnost!*, 43.

were growing unseen until it suddenly changed the course of the piece. The first part of the piece is, namely, based on the tones of the whole tone scale (c–e–g^b–a^b–b^b) in the middle register of the piano, whereby the longer basic tones are ornamented by the fast triplet figures (see example 10).

The image shows three staves of musical notation in 4/4 time. The first staff begins with a whole note chord (C4, E4, G4) and a triplet of eighth notes (C4, E4, G4). The second staff continues with a triplet of eighth notes (C4, E4, G4) and a whole note chord (C4, E4, G4). The third staff continues with a triplet of eighth notes (C4, E4, G4) and a whole note chord (C4, E4, G4). Each staff has a 'm. s. pausa' label below it.

Example 10: Marko Radmio, *L'air sonnante* for piano, p. 1, lines 1–2.

From the initial situation the two-voice texture has been gradually differentiated (the first step occurs on the last beat of bar 2), the bass tone appears, followed by the parallel melodic line, thickened gradually through thirds, sixth chords and four-two chords. But appearing already in bar 2 is the tone g', which is external to the initial whole tone scale, and is followed by the tone e^b' in bar 4. The two tones build not just a sixth g'–e^b' in bar 5, but soon also the chord e^b–g–b^b. Once the melodic formations, which have arisen from the initial situation, have been consolidated by the triple meter, the music suddenly dismisses the whole tone scale, like a snake which has shed its skin, and conforms to the gravitational field of E^b major, resembling the choral texture built of voices regulated by the rules of classical harmony. It is as if the tone of *modern* music had unexpectedly turned into the tone of Bach's choral played on piano, a scene which embodies the academic instruction of harmony!

Does not the *poetic* trait of Radmio's music lie precisely in this cut? Is his music not marked by a "caesura"³⁷ of the type mentioned by Hölderlin, by a cut which gives poetry the possibility to be a witness to the incompleteness? It seems that even those works of Radmio which tend to completeness, to greatness, his *avant-garde* works, are marked by such a cut. Thus, the piece *For Piano II* ends having conquered indeed the whole keyboard of the instrument, but at the cost of the disintegration of texture into isolated sound events, as if the music had fallen into an abyss. In the case of the piano piece *In the Range of Ballad*, an attempt to gain unity through the development of the initial material will end in a long, gloomy vanishing. And *Chiemsee*? Is it not a piece in which one ambience has been recognised as another? Is it not a kind of requiem, after the tragedy had already happened? Is it not dedicated to the unfortunate king who

37 Friedrich Hölderlin, "Anmerkungen zum Oedipus," in *Sämtliche Werke und Briefe in drei Bänden*, vol. 2 (Frankfurt am Main: Deutscher Klassiker Verlag, 2008), 850.

believed that art was the true and only life, and everything else just its shadow? A shadow, which the king tried to escape as far as possible, until he found his end in lacustrine silt.³⁸ It seems that Radmio, living in his own world of art surrounded by prosaic reality (including schools of music which euthanise music, reducing it to knowledge, technique, calculation), could thoroughly identify with the unfortunate king. Radmio tore himself free of the clamps connecting him to prosaic reality. Writing the verses for *Chiemsee*, did he not – like King Ludwig II's ideal and *mimetic rival*³⁹ Richard Wagner – attempt to turn the whole of reality, including his own life, into art? Finally, did not Radmio reduce the life of Marko Kiš to almost nothing?

But the discussed cut in Radmio's pieces seems itself to be reduced to something present, as if it should show itself just in certain pieces of music, at the identifiable place. Such a cut would be a subject of calculation, of compositional technique, just as Hölderlin wrote when mentioning the various combinations of the “change of tone.” Did Radmio sense the other tone in the case of the cut itself, which reveals its own incompleteness? The photograph of Radmio with the half-burned cigarette in his mouth seems to suggest that his solitude was not just the solitude of a single person, but also the solitude of a writer. To imply or even to recognise the character and reason for his solitude – to treat it like an indication of something – means to convert it into an *inclination*, to understand it as an unrealised possibility, as something that could or should have taken place but that was thwarted by some obstacle. Such a solitude is understood just as a loneliness: Marko Kiš wanted to be with someone (with whom?), but could not do so or was not supposed to do so; because of that his art has to be understood as a means of flight into a world in which he could feel free to be what he was. When Blanchot, speaking of solitude, says that *someone is there, where I am alone*, the previous discussion of solitude, which presumes solitude to be equal to loneliness, would recognise in this *someone* the outline of a certain person. According to this view, nobody is alone because he is always already thrown into the world.

38 Thus, in the interpretation of Hans Mayer, King Ludwig II's idea of art as the true and only life has to be coupled with some *obstacles*: “Ludwig hatte ein Traumleben im Todestraum gipfeln lassen, der in die Wirklichkeit übergeleitet wurde: wie alles in dieser Existenz eines Königs, die stets formale Existenz gewesen war und zu sein hatte. Dreifache Einsamkeit: *die formale Existenz eines Königs; eines Künstlers*, der nicht schaffen kann, es sei denn in seinen Architekturträumen; *eines Homosexuellen*, der König ist und Katholik, also kein Doppelleben zu führen vermag. Verlaines Sonett läßt ahnen, daß der Dichter manches davon spürte. Er selbst hatte die bürgerliche Integration ebenso versucht wie die skandalöse Nichtintegration. Beides war mißlungen; beim ersten Experiment hatte er Frau und Kind verloren, beim zweiten den unvergeßlichen Rimbaud. Doch mit der dritten Möglichkeit, dem Todesrausch, hatte er stets nur gespielt. Neben der verzweifelt angestrebten Gleichschaltung und dem provozierten Skandal ist der *Todesrausch eine rare, dritte Möglichkeit der homosexuellen Existenz* im bürgerlichen Puritanismus des 19. Jahrhunderts.” (Ludwig crowned his dreamy life with the dream of death turned to the reality, like everything in his existence, which always was and had to be formal existence. Threefold solitude: *the formal existence of a king; of an artist*, who cannot create, be it in his dreams of an architecture; *of a homosexual*, who is a king and a Catholic, and therefore cannot live a double life. Verlaine's sonnet [dedicated to King Ludwig] hints that the poet sensed much of this. He himself tried to integrate into the civil life, as well as, through scandals, not to integrate. Both failed; in the first experiment, he lost his wife and his child, and in the second he lost the unforgettable Rimbaud. But with the third possibility, death-rapture, he had always only played around. Besides conformity he desperately sought and the scandal he provoked, *death-ecstasy is a rare, third possibility of homosexual existence* within the bourgeois puritanism of the 19th century.”) Mayer, *Außenseiter*, 250.

39 On King Ludwig II's “mimetic rivalry” towards the artist, see Dalibor Davidović, “Filmfuge,” in *Music Cultures in Sounds, Words and Images: Essays in Honor of Zdravko Blažeković*, ed. Antonio Baldassarre and Tatjana Marković (Vienna: Hollitzer, 2018), 91. On the other hand, it is known that Wagner had by no means been deprived of the statesman's ambitions, and it is also known that he had a tendency to aestheticize his own life, particularly in the later years – consider his need for *beautiful things*, attested to in his correspondence with Judith Gautier. Cf. Richard Wagner, and Cosima Wagner, *Lettres à Judith Gautier*, ed. Léon Guichard (Paris: Gallimard, 1964).

Because of that, in his solitude the others are always already implied, whether they are specified (for example, as mother, father, etc.) or not. But this is not the only tone of Blanchot's sentence, since this *someone* must not be understood just as another person, but could also be something *in* myself, in me as a single person. As something impersonal, general, but unknown at the same time. "Quelqu'un est le Il sans figure, le On dont on fait partie, mais qui en fait partie? Jamais tel ou tel, jamais toi et moi. Personne ne fait partie du On. 'On' appartient à une région qu'on ne peut amener à la lumière, non parce qu'elle cacherait un secret étranger à toute révélation, ni même parce qu'elle serait radicalement obscure, mais parce qu'elle transforme tout ce qui a accès à elle, même la lumière, en l'être anonyme, impersonnel, le Non-vrai, le Non-réel et cependant toujours là. Le 'On' est, sous cette perspective, ce qui apparaît au plus près, quand on meurt."⁴⁰ Even when I am alone, this anonymous, impersonal They (*On*) is always already there, precisely because it is not a certain being but something that lets me appear as a being, something radically unknown, which eludes every time when I try to bring it into the light.

But also Radmio's work, dedicated mostly to piano, an instrument of a solitary person, seems to testify that for him an act of composing was always anew listening to the unknown, the unknown beyond every technique and calculation, even if it was forgotten from time to time in a striving to something definite, united and developed from the one. Radmio the composer allowed anything to enter to his work, from the poet's lines to film, as evinced by his pieces (for example, the *Orient* evoked by the respective étude or the Hispanic atmosphere of his piece *Air espagnol* could be just cinematographic fantasies) as well as by his writings; his almanac concludes with an essay that reveals the passionate cinema-goer.⁴¹ In his horizons, there was a place for the poet Heine,⁴² for the tragic King Ludwig II, for Busoni the visionary, as well as for Greta Garbo, the "phenomenal acting individual."⁴³ His listening seems to be always singular, a listening to every single event as such, welcoming it – with love. Is this not something that makes his work less avant-garde and at the same time more avant-garde than any avant-garde? Perhaps it is therefore no coincidence that Radmio, from a lecture by a famous – avant-garde – composer, noticed and remembered his words, years later mentioning them in one of his rare public appearances as a writer: "In his very precious lecture held at the first Zagreb Biennial, Stockhausen said that in judging and relating to music one should relate to it as to the beloved one (*kao prema ljubavi*)."⁴⁴ One artist uttered what the other one already knew, always.⁴⁵

40 Maurice Blanchot, *L'espace littéraire*, 27–28. In Ann Smock's translation: "Someone is the faceless third person, the They of which everybody and anybody is part, but who is part of it? Never anyone in particular, never you and I. Nobody is part of the They. 'They' belongs to a region which cannot be brought to light, not because it hides some secret alien to any revelation or even because it is radically obscure, but because it transforms everything which has access to it, even light, into anonymous, impersonal being, the Nontrue, the Nonreal yet always there. The 'They' is, in this respect, what appears up very close when someone dies."

41 Cf. Radmio, *Dolje mrtva umjetnosti!*, 44.

42 Cf. Radmio, *Dolje mrtva umjetnosti!*, 27.

43 Radmio, *Dolje mrtva umjetnosti!*, 47.

44 Radmio, "Marginalije uz jednu desetgodišnjicu," 17. The expression "kao prema ljubavi" can be translated both "as to the beloved one" and "as to the love." In the first case it is ambiguous in relation to gender: like the "beloved one" in English, "ljubav" can imply both the female and the male individual, but also non-human beings.

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POVZETEK

Na ime Marka Radmija (1910–1996) naletimo ob nekaj kritičnih in zgodovinskih prikazih zgodovine kompozicije v 20. stoletju na Hrvaškem, in sicer kot primer »avantgardnega« skladanja, ki se začne na »marginah«. Razumevanje Radmiovega komponiranja kot »avantgardnega« so pospešile okoliščine, v katerih se je njegova glasba izvajala, tudi sam skladatelj je bil naklonjen takšni razlagi in se je bolj nagibal k »narrativu« o zgodovinskem razvoju glasbe, v katerem »outsiderska« prizadevanja v resnici »anticipirajo« kasnejše stanje. Hkrati ga je Radmio,

sluteč posledice, ki jih prinaša takšno razumevanje glasbe, skušal tudi nevtralizirati s pomočjo argumenta, da muzikalno nikakor ne gre izenačevati s tehnično platjo glasbe. Namesto izraza »skladatelj«, v katerem je razpoznal takšno enačenje, je Radmio, ko je govoril o sebi, raje izbral pozabljeni nemški izraz *Tondichter* (»pesnik tonov«), v katerem se je še ohranilo bistvo glasbene vokacije. V prispevku avtor raziskuje, kakšne posledice ima takšna sprememba za glasbo Radmija in njegovo misel o glasbi. Pri tem odkriva dvojen pomen reza oziroma cezure, v enaki meri v njegovem glasbenem opusu kot tudi v njegovi eksistenci.



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Slovenian Music in the First Decade after the Second World War – In Search of Socialist Realism

Slovenska glasba v prvem desetletju po drugi svetovni vojni – v iskanju socialističnega realizma

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IZVLEČEK

ABSTRACT

Po drugi svetovni vojni je Slovenija postala del socialistične Jugoslavije, ki je po vzoru Sovjetske zveze umetnost nadzorovala iz ideološke perspektive. Obstoječe študije o vplivih novega družnega sistema na slovensko glasbo niso odkrile nobenih razločnih in odkritih političnih posegov v glasbeno življenje, zato se je smiselno vprašati, ali je mogoče takšne vplive prepoznati v skladateljskih delih, nastalih v prvem desetletju po koncu druge svetovne vojne. Izkáže se, da so bile zahteve in rešitve precej ambivalentne in arbitrarne; nekateri skladatelji, predvsem tisti, ki so nadaljevali s tradicionalnim glasbenim izrazom, niso prilagajali svojih estetskih postulatov, medtem ko lahko slogovne spremembe opazimo predvsem pri tistih skladateljih, ki so se *novi glasbi* zapisali pred vojno.

After the Second World War, Slovenia became a part of socialist Yugoslavia, which, following the example of the Soviet Union, scrutinised art from an ideological perspective. Previous studies of the influence of the new social system on Slovenian music have not discovered any distinct and direct political interventions in musical life, so it is reasonable to enquire whether such influences can be identified in the works of Slovenian composers from the first decade after the end of the Second World War. It turns out that demands and solutions were rather ambivalent and arbitrary; some composers, particularly those who continued traditional musical expression, did not adapt their aesthetic principles, while a change in style is observed especially in those composers who had endorsed the *new music* before the war.

1. 1945: Between Tendentiousness and Autonomy, and between Traditionalism and Innovation

The year 1945 is an important turning point in the history of Slovenia and consequently in the history of Slovenian music. It marked the end of the war, which had caused shortages and suffering, and the emergence of a new country with a new ideological system. The system was imposed by the Communist Party, which had taken the leading position in the Liberation Front (LF) during the war and was the political and moral victor at the end of the war. Following the example of the Soviet Union, it attempted to transform the artistic sphere, too, into a mouthpiece for its ideological slogans. To this end, the Agitation and Propaganda Department, or Agitprop, was established in 1945, its principal task being the “correct” ideological and political education of the masses.¹ Thus the Communist Party began controlling the cultural sphere, with its most typical measures including blocking “opponents”. In the field of music, this meant the abolition of existing institutions – Glasbena matica (The Music Society), organ schools, the journal *Cerkveni glasbenik* (Church Musician) – that appeared to be of bourgeois origin or were too close to the Church authorities. Everything that was of bourgeois provenance was generally suspicious: “Since the new government conceived the new state as a state of workers and peasants, the cultural policy, too, was oriented towards satisfying the cultural needs of the broadest possible social strata.”² In practical terms, this meant the separation of workers’ culture and high culture, with union associations becoming the principal vehicles of culture.³

The end of the war and the establishment of the new government also brought unpleasant existential consequences for some people. All of those who had supposedly broken the cultural silence during the war ended up before the court of national honour, with the interpretation of what constituted cultural silence being made stricter when necessary. Some musicians were also among those convicted (composers M. Lipovšek and P. Ramovš, singers M. Mlejnik and V. Heybalova); however, the Anti-Fascist Council for the National Liberation of Yugoslavia soon proclaimed an amnesty, which meant that “the majority of cultural workers [...] participated normally in the cultural developments restored after the liberation, some of them soon occupying important positions, as well.”⁴ It seems that the post-war “settlements” did not have any long-term consequences, which is probably also related to the fact that many of the musicians who had been closer to “the other camp” during the war left the country in fear of post-war persecution.⁵

Several partial studies made by Slovenian musicologists have attempted to examine the political and ideological influences that accompanied the changes of 1945 and that could be construed from the work of the principal music institutions or musicians. Although they have not revealed any significant evidence that politics interfered directly

1 Aleš Gabrič, *Slovenska agitpropovska kulturna politika 1945–1952* (Ljubljana: Mladika, 1991), 495.

2 *Ibid.*, 489.

3 *Ibid.*, 567.

4 Aleš Gabrič, “Kulturni molk,” *Prispevki za novejšo zgodovino* 29, no. 2 (1989), 410.

5 Cf. Edo Škulji, “Glasbeno ustvarjanje Slovencev po svetu,” *Meddobje/Entresiglo* 31, no. 3–4 (1997).

in the aesthetic orientations and work of the central music institutions, indirect pressures were all the more common. Ivan Klemenčič is convinced of the major and adverse impact of communist totalitarianism on music, as the primary characteristics of the time were allegedly “the abandonment of autonomous aesthetics and the developmental discontinuity of Slovenian music”.⁶ He highlights indirect pressures on musical institutions that were allegedly “under constant ideological supervision and included in the new communist society, or socialist society, as it was later renamed.”⁷ Klemenčič does not provide any actual facts or documentary materials to support his claim, but he was probably aware of the absence of clear evidence himself, as his evaluation of political influences on post-war Slovenian music contains a certain ambivalence: he establishes that “despite the mandatory nature of socialist realism, the model of this materialistically founded and ideologically conditioned art was not presented clearly”.⁸ This kind of dichotomy – between emphasising the power of totalitarianism and the domination of the doctrine of socialist realism, on the one hand, and the absence of evidence and credible testimonies, on the other – can also be discerned in other papers addressing the problem of the intrusion of ideology in the field of musical artistic autonomy in Slovenia. In his survey of the music broadcast on the radio in the first decade after the Second World War, Matjaž Barbo states that the programme became “abnormal” after the war; however, he also admits that “already the first years see, besides politically coloured performances of the radio and philharmonic orchestras [...], the establishment of an increasingly autonomous concert life of an average philharmonic orchestra with a programme similar to those of symphonic orchestras elsewhere.”⁹ A similar paradox is revealed even more clearly by Aleš Nagode, who points out that the Slovenian Philharmonic, “behind the exterior of paroles and submission to imposed patterns of behaviour [...], lived as a protector of the bourgeois musical tradition of its predecessors”;¹⁰ in other words, the post-war “emergence” of the Slovenian Philharmonic was partly a delayed result of the tendencies of the Slovenian bourgeoisie, which could be realised precisely in the era of the proletarian revolution, whose alleged aim was, *inter alia*, “to erase all traces of bourgeois culture”.¹¹

This ambivalent dichotomy between the dictates of ideology and the actual cultural practice is more precisely elaborated by Leon Stefanija, who identifies a clear discrepancy between the two. His analysis of material from the archives of the Society of Slovene Composers points out an interesting ideological “equation” that supposedly applied to Slovenian culture in the 1950s: “We do not prohibit, but only what will not harm us is allowed.”¹² Stefanija therefore points out the paradox that socialist realism

6 Ivan Klemenčič, “Glasba in totalitarna država na Slovenskem,” in *Temna stran meseca*, ed. Drago Jančar (Ljubljana: Nova revija, 1998), 327.

7 *Ibid.*, 328.

8 *Ibid.*, 325.

9 Matjaž Barbo, “Socrealistična glasba na radijskih posnetkih in programih orkestrrov v prvem desetletju po vojni na Slovenskem,” in *300 let Academia Philharmonicorum Labacensium*, ed. Ivan Klemenčič (Ljubljana: Muzikološki inštitut ZRC SAZU, 2004), 252–253.

10 Aleš Nagode, “Slovenska filharmonija v prvem desetletju po 2. svetovni vojni,” in *300 let*, 237.

11 *Ibid.*, 231.

12 Leon Stefanija, “Totalitarnost režima in glasba,” in *Muzikološke razprave: in memoriam Danilo Pokorn*, eds. Nataša Cigoj Krstulović, Tomaž Faganel and Metoda Kokole (Ljubljana: Založba ZRC, ZRC SAZU, 2004), 145.

in Slovenian music should be sought in the “non-existent” (thus, in those art practices that the leading cultural ideologists did not find “agreeable”) and in the fusion of elements from artistic and popular music cultures. Although Stefaniija does not doubt that “the state apparatus of the 1950s established political levers that forced from public life those whose artistic ambitions – if they did not oppose the written rules – tried to live without regard to the nation”.¹³ This is further confirmed by a statement by the newly elected president of the Society of Slovene Composers in 1950, with the predominant thought that the belief “that art does not have anything to do with the development of society [...] is still rather widely accepted among our artists, especially composers, showing that some of our artists are ignorant both of the development of society and the development of art, believing that art goes its own exclusive way with its own laws”.¹⁴ When examining musical journalism in the daily newspaper *Ljubljanski dnevnik* for the relevant period, Stefaniija finds that music “seemed an activity too politically marginal to win the formal political attention devoted especially to literature and later to film.”¹⁵ Similar conclusions are drawn by Gregor Pompe in his analysis of the operation of the Ljubljana Opera in the 1950s, when he establishes that the government was not particularly interested in opera because it seemed unable to recognise its potential as propaganda. Opera was therefore not harmful, nor did it have any ideological potential, so it gradually slipped into social obscurity, as was most apparent from the level of funding. The reduced budget resulted in the number of premieres being cut by almost two thirds, while numerous departures for better paid jobs abroad further weakened the opera ensemble, which is why the Ljubljana Opera was no longer able to maintain a prominent position within the Slovenian cultural sphere.¹⁶

Similar tensions are disclosed by Katarina Bogunović Hočevar, who examines the post-war activities of the Slovenian Philharmonic. She draws attention to a representative article by Vlado Golob, which is not devoid of political paroles in the sense that “our Slovenian Philharmonic [...] will serve all of our people because its work will focus both on raising the artistic level and on the organisation of cultural and art events in industrial towns, in local cultural centres and across our republic”.¹⁷ Although a survey of the post-war concerts of the orchestra paints a similar picture, as the number of tours and occasional concerts significantly exceeded the number of performances in its own concert hall,¹⁸ the authorities were in fact preoccupied “with the reorganisation of the institution itself rather than the content”.¹⁹ Bogunović Hočevar therefore accepts the assumption “that political ideology did not have any influence on the programme policy of the institution in the first two years of the Slovenian Philharmonic’s

13 Leon Stefaniija, “Društvo slovenskih skladateljev do konca 1950. let,” in: *Ustanove, politika in glasba v Sloveniji in Srbiji 1945–1963*, ed. Tatjana Marković and Leon Stefaniija (Ljubljana: Znanstvena založba Filozofske fakultete, 2015), 204.

14 Quoted from *ibid.*, 203.

15 Leon Stefaniija, “Relativna avtonomija glasbe: primer *Ljubljanskega dnevnika* 1951–1961,” *De musica disserenda* 3, no. 1 (2007), 95.

16 Gregor Pompe, “Na obrobju. Delovanje ljubljanske Opere med letoma 1950 in 1960,” in: *Ustanove, politika in glasba v Sloveniji in Srbiji*, 84.

17 Vlado Golob, “Nekaj besed k ustanovitvi Slovenske filharmonije,” *Ljudska pravica*, 11 January 1948.

18 Katarina Bogunović Hočevar, “Slovenska filharmonija v 1950. letih: sledi (družbeno)političnih teženj v delu glasbene ustanove,” in *Ustanove, politika in glasba v Sloveniji in Srbiji*, 14.

19 *Ibid.*, 22.

activities”.²⁰ The ambivalence of the relationship between pressure and practice is also pointed out by Lojze Lebič, who is convinced that “there was no deliberate relationship between ideology and music; there was (fortunately) no outstanding ideologist in the music circles. [...] This is one of the reasons why Lucijan Marija Škerjanc, an impressionist of *Weltschmerz* orientation, was able to be the leading authority in music at a time of heated discussions for and against Slovenian impressionist painters.”²¹ Thus, it seems that Slovenian music lived “in relatively peaceful coexistence with the post-war government,”²² or that aesthetic conservatism (typical of the leading post-war composers Lucijan Marija Škerjanc, Blaž Arnič and Marjan Kozina) and “the doctrine of socialist realism [...] found themselves in a firm marriage practically without any discussion.”²³

The most extraordinary position granted to an individual after the war was undoubtedly that assigned to Lucijan Marija Škerjanc, in a turn of events that alone testifies to the unusual ambivalence of the post-war music era. One would expect Škerjanc to be on the list of artists undesirable for the new country for at least two reasons: firstly, his wartime servility towards the Italian authorities and the dedication of his *Third Symphony* to the High Commissioner Emilio Grazioli, and, secondly, the fact that, as a composer, he was committed to the conservative bourgeois tradition of the past. This is a background on which it was impossible to attach any positive slogans, and that did not allow for the collective spirit, instead being clearly anchored in existentialist subjectivism. Instead of being “lustrated”, however, Škerjanc was “promoted”, becoming the first post-war dean of the Academy of Music.

This leap can be credited to the principal post-war cultural authority Josip Vidmar. As a prominent intellectual and a founding member of the Liberation Front, Vidmar mostly played a positive role during the war as well as during the tense times after its end, as he regularly stood up against the ever-emerging political desire for the ideological indoctrination of art.²⁴ However, in his own personal beliefs – not by any Marxist logic – Vidmar was aesthetically attached to the tradition, to conservative positions; thus, for example, he criticised the works of painter Stane Kregar (1905–1973), claiming that they had an unrealistic basis and that such abstract painting did not have a significant future.²⁵ Similarly, he was reserved towards Modernist innovations in music. In a private conversation about Osterc’s more radical compositions, such as *Štiri simfonične skladbe* (*Four Symphonic Compositions*, 1939), he allegedly stated that “Osterc is a cancerous tumour on the body of Slovenian music,”²⁶ which clearly shows his rejection of the *new music*, and thus also his logical support for the more traditionally oriented Škerjanc.

In post-war Slovenian music, two tension pairs are crossed: in addition to the ambivalent relationship between political tendentiousness and artistic autonomy, there is

20 Ibid., 18.

21 Lojze Lebič, “Glasovi časov I,” *Naši zbori* 45, no. 1 (1993), 111.

22 Ibid., 112.

23 Gregor Pompe, “‘Nove perspektive’ v slovenski glasbi po letu 1945,” in Roger Sutherland, *Nove glasbene perspektive* (Ljubljana: LUD Šerpa and Slovensko muzikološko društvo, 2009), 249.

24 Cf. Gabrič, *Slovenska agitpropovska kulturna politika*, 409 and 646, Aleš Gabrič, *Socialistična kulturna revolucija* (Ljubljana: Cankarjeva založba, 1995), 166, 274 and 285.

25 Ibid., 109.

26 Pavel Šivic quoted after Veronika Brvar, “Mejniki. 10+75,” *Glasbena mladina* 23, no. 4 (1992-93), 9.

also the “duel” between traditional musical expression and the innovations of the *new music*. The “resolution” of this quadrangle of tension seems to be largely arbitrary, as the “advocate of the bourgeois style”, Škerjanc, was given precedence over the successors of Osterc, the bearer of “socialist-oriented ideas.”²⁷ This means two things: firstly, that Vidmar decided on the basis of his own aesthetic preferences rather than political tendencies, and, secondly, that such aesthetic regression, which was at the same time aesthetically immanent to some of the leading Slovenian composers, corresponded with the demands of socialist realism for the comprehensibility and accessibility of musical art. This was not, in fact, one of the central targets of cultural policy authorities, as the semantic elusiveness and the consequent reduced designating potential of music was less interesting to the government until it discovered that it was easier to reach the masses through popular genres.

2. In Search of Socialist Realism

Although not voiced directly, the “demands” that the new government placed on musicians were adopted from the Soviet model, with the idea of socialist realism taking hold around 1946. The idea came from Belgrade and, although socialist realism never grew into an official state art orientation as in the Soviet Union, there were indirect pressures to this end. This is what makes socialist realism even more phantom-like as a stylistic description: part of its ambiguity derives from its unclear terminological status. Nor did the political elites strive to come up with a precise definition, as it was primarily about a list of rules regarding what art must not do if it wanted to serve the new system.²⁸ Socialist realism is therefore not primarily a “musical style, or a method of creating music (as has been claimed many times), but a discourse about the conditions of ‘political correctness’ in music”.²⁹

Socialist realism was an artificially created system of ideological and aesthetic norms that particularly emphasised demands for the “beautiful” and the generally understandable (culture must also be understood by the working class and must not be reserved only for the bourgeoisie), while the artwork must show positive tendencies that highlight the values and achievements of the new social order. In the Soviet Union, the demand for the understandable placed socialist realism in close connection with literary realism,³⁰ which meant that the new style assumed the characteristics of the style of the nineteenth century and was consequently a case of conservative aesthetics. In music, it seemed that such demands could be approximated precisely through certain genres: monumental symphonies, symphonic poems, cantatas, operas and mass songs; that is, through genres in which the political tendency could be clearly expressed through a programme or through lyrics.

27 Ibid., 8.

28 Geoffrey Chew and Mikuláš Bek, “Introduction: The Dialectics of Socialist Realism,” in *Socialist Realism and Music*, eds. Mikuláš Bek, Geoffrey Chew and Petr Macek (Prague: KLP, 2004), 14.

29 Ibid., 15.

30 Ibid., 11.

2.1. Monumental Genres of Socialist Realism

However, an examination of the genre specifics of Slovenian music in the first decade after 1945 strengthens the awareness of the unusual ambivalence of post-war Slovenian music in relation to the ideological requirements: monumental symphonies and operas are hardly found after 1945, or their compositional characteristics are identical to those of works created before 1945, so it would be difficult to attribute ideological connotations to them. This situation is partly related to the specifics of the Slovenian music infrastructure, which was not capable of major philosophical statements even before the war, at the time of early Modernism. The first two Partisan operas were thus written only in the late 1960s, although they had both been conceived by their respective composers much earlier: Rado Simoniti probably began composing *Partizanka Ana* (*Partisan Ana*) on a libretto by Smiljan Samec as early as in 1944, but the radio premiere of the work only took place in 1967 and the stage production eight years later;³¹ Radovan Gobec wrote his opera *Kri v plamenih* (*Blood in Flames*) in 1969, although the libretto was based on his play *Komisar Janez* (*Commissioner Janez*), written in 1944.³²

The situation in the field of symphonic works was not much different. During and after the war, Blaž Arnič continued his series of symphonic poems and symphonies that bear a distinctive mark of the time in which they were created. Thus, *Symphony No. 5, Op. 22, "Particular"* was permeated with the topic of war, as was the symphonic poem *Gozdovi pojejo, Op. 27 (The Forests Sing, 1945)*, which addresses the "freedom coming from once lonely forests that were brimming with partisans and their songs during the Italian and German occupation."³³ In both of these works, Arnič neither seeks new means of expression nor adapts to the new requirements; he persists with his own version of early Modernism with the increasing use of extended ostinato formulae serving as a basis for long melodic ideas, while the form remains committed to a basic tripartite structure. Extended ostinato formulae are also typical of *Symphony No. 7, Op. 35, "Symphony of Labour"* (1948), whose very title suggests that it targets a broad audience and "celebrates" labour as the basic human good, as is further confirmed by the subtitle *Simfonija delovnih brigad (Symphony of Work Brigades)*, the titles of the movements ("Work", "Rest", "Competition") and the composer's note that the motivation to write the symphony came from "music lovers from Ljutomer". Furthermore, the scoring for a small ensemble with piano is rather "amateur", as well, making the piece more accessible to amateur orchestras. *Symphony No. 6, Op. 36, "The Self-Sown"* (1950) establishes contact with the social theme through Arnič's friend, writer Prežihov Voranc, while *Symphony No. 8, Op. 40, "On Home Soil"* (1951) celebrates the native land, but without folkloristic embellishments. The individual movements of the latter evade classical sonata form and again have titles, so we could seek similarities with a symphonic poem, where the cycle is unified through the thematic material. In this

31 Primož Kuret, "Skladatelj in dirigent Rado Simoniti (1914–1981)," *Rado Simoniti. Pevec Goriških Brd*, ed. Jonatan Vinkler, (Nova Gorica: Kulturni dom Nova Gorica, 2008), 18.

32 Borut Smrekar, "Operna dela Radovana Gobca," *Radovan Gobec (1909–1995). Tematska publikacija Glasbeno-pedagoškega zbornika*, ed. Darja Koter, (Ljubljana: Akademija za glasbo, 2010), 134.

33 Blaž Arnič quoted from Andrej Rijavec, *Slovenska glasbena dela* (Ljubljana: Državna založba Slovenije, 1979), 23.

symphony, Arnič uses typical ostinatos to establish close contact with Bruckner's symphonic logic, while numerous sequences, repetitions and gradations, as well as the dense orchestration, also indicate a closeness to Wagner. Furthermore, the emphasised rhythm shows some influence of Mussorgsky, that is, the composer who was considered closest to realism in music. Arnič does not change his idiom after the war: his early Modernism, caught in numerous ostinatos, was fully in accordance with the requirements of socialist realism without any adaptations.

Only slight changes in comparison to the pre-war style are revealed by the most famous symphony of this time, which was – symptomatically and in the same vein as Arnič's works – created as a series of symphonic poems: Kozina's *Symphony*, consisting of the symphonic poems "Ilova gora", "To the Fallen", "Bela krajina" and "Seaward". The individual "movements" do not create a heterogeneous impression. Their symphonic character is impaired by the choice of material: the thematic material does not have distinctive symphonic characteristics and is therefore not suitable for development, instead possessing a more distinctly cantabile character. Although "Ilova Gora" – which supposedly portrays battles between Partisans and Germans, although the composer "did not have the intention to imitate realistically," but rather to "create a general impression that cannot be fully expressed either in words or in images or in melody"³⁴ – is conceived as a sonata movement, new thematic material is introduced in the development section and the transitions between the themes are not smooth, so the presentations of themes become self-contained structural elements that often stand out with prevailing homophony and rich orchestration, creating the impression of a melodic sequence rather than an evolving thematic process. This simplification of symphonic logic, in conjunction with the exuberant orchestration (there is an imbalance between the non-complex compositional technique and its presentation, i.e., the internal and the external), as well as the partial absence of the tarter harmony that had characterised Kozina's pre-war work and the adoption of folk material in the most famous movement "Bela krajina", bring the symphony close to socialist realism.

Thus, rather than in monumental symphonic genres, the new political tones resonate more in the intimate genre of lieder, where composers "adapt" to the situation by selecting lyrics and then applying a simplified musical texture. *Šest Kajuhovih (Six Songs by Kajuh)* (1946) is a tribute to the topic of war by Matija Bravničar. Significantly, these lieder withdraw from the composer's earliest, Expressionist lieder and approach Romantic expression through sumptuous harmonies (in addition to bichords, there are also the typical late Romantic seventh chords) and a formal construction that follows the turns of the lyrics but eschews pure through-composed form by repeating sequences, even approaching Romantic expression. A similar approach can be observed in the *Sixteen Lieder* (1946) by Marijan Lipovšek, based on poems by Mitja Šarabon published in his poetry collection *Bolečina (Pain, 1944)*.³⁵ Pavel Šivic, too, immediately "forgot"

³⁴ Marjan Kozina quoted from Ciril Cvetko, *Marjan Kozina* (Ljubljana: Partizanska knjiga, 1983), 152.

³⁵ Such musical "adaptation" by Lipovšek is, on the other hand, undermined by the choice of lyrics: Mitja Šarabon (1922–1987) fell from grace with the government after the war because he had, during the war, organised a memorial event for his friend France Balantič, a poet killed in a battle against partisans. The government apparently did not find this too disturbing, so it was satisfied with the "appropriate" style of the music, which followed the example of early Modernism.

his Prague models and experiments after the war, when he wrote a series of lieder and choral pieces. His works in this period are again tonal, based on motivic-thematic working, and simply tripartite in terms of form: *Partizanovo slovo* (*Partisan's Farewell*) and *Ciproš* from 1948 are based on lyrics by Matej Bor, while *Pesem dela* (*Song of Labour*) for mixed choir, composed in the same year on lyrics by France Filipič (the author of a novel about the Pohorje Battalion) is also "appropriate" in terms of content.

2.2. Political and Social Demands and the Unmitigated Rule of Tradition

Similar observations to those regarding Arnič and Kozina could apply to a number of other composers: after 1945, the stylistic aspect of their work remains identical to that before the war. In the 1950s, Lucijan Marija Škerjanc's chamber music relates directly to *fin-de-siècle* Modernism. *Pet liričnih melodij* (*Five Lyrical Melodies*, 1953) for violin and cello has a distinctive "Romantic" colouring, with Škerjanc continuing to employ traditional musical technique centred around a melodic line, as suggested by the title itself. In *Twelve Preludes* (1954), he created piano miniatures in which numerous personal signatures of the great nineteenth-century masters are recognisable. *Piano Sonata* (1956), which brings a sequence of three non-contrasting movements, is a similar hybrid of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. In typical Škerjanc spirit, all of the movements are rather slow and lyrical, and only the last movement truly flares, while the eccentric content of the many tempo and expression marks (e.g., *diafano*, *incalxando*, *vittorioso*, *chiaro*, *sognando*) are reminiscent of Scriabin.

Škerjanc confirmed his aesthetic ideals, which were firmly anchored in the past, in several articles and reviews. He most likely sought to pass them on to his composition students, as well, so it is no wonder that his students Zvonimir Ciglič (1921–2006) and Janez Matičič (1926) started from similar bases.

Ciglič concluded his studies with Škerjanc with the *Sinfonia Appassionata* in 1948. The three-movement piece demonstrates the composer's attention to orchestration, while the compositional procedures seem markedly Impressionist and the expression is Romantic and ecstatic. The piece shows recognisable influences of Franck (the cyclical character), Debussy (the meticulous structuring of orchestral textures) and Scriabin (the ecstatic gradation, the exposed role of the first trumpet), while the synthetic mixture of early Modernist motives is not far from Škerjanc's symphonic attempts during the war. It is therefore not surprising that Ciglič won the award of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia in 1948, a success that was probably largely thanks to Vidmar, partly reflecting the latter's inclinations towards Škerjanc and his aesthetic orientation. The composer's dedication written in the score also seems pro-government: "This work is dedicated to those who sacrificed their lives for the freedom of their people in the pandemonium of passion and suffering." However, while the phrase "freedom of the people" sounds like a typical slogan exalting the national liberation struggle, the use of the word "passion" is much more unusual in this context, indicating a less collectivist and a more subjectively coloured interpretation of historical events.

Ciglič later created two more outstanding works. The lush orchestration and ecstatic rhythm of the symphonic choreographic poem *Obrežje plesalk* (*Shore of Dancers*, 1952) partly resembles a similar “Ravelian” turn of Žebre, while the opening lyrical theme on the flute, with its ornamentation and narrow ambit, invokes the opening of *The Rite of Spring*, whose influence may be also recognised in certain other rhythmic, textural and harmonic “situations” (bitonality, severe semitone collisions). Whereas *Obrežje plesalk* demonstrates the temperamental, extroverted nature of the composer, *Concertino for Harp and Strings* (1960) is an introverted lyrical work. From the stylistic perspective, Ciglič was expressly opposed to Modernism, which he considered “anaemic experimentation”, “attractive decoration” and “feminine cries”;³⁶ nevertheless, while strictly observing a periodic and schematic tripartite structure, he mostly abandons simple functional harmonic logic, instead resorting to pentatonic or whole-tone modality, quartal harmonies, and dissonances of seconds and sevenths. Ciglič’s opposition to Modernism was, however, not politically or ideologically motivated, but is better understood as a consequence of the composer’s faith in pre-war traditional aesthetics (Ciglič’s examples are Debussy, Ravel, Franck, and Stravinsky). His “unproblematic” style is therefore not a result of his ideological adaptation, but rather of an acceptable point of departure. The composer’s sense of independence is, after all, confirmed by his fate later in life: he was imprisoned twice after the war and felt strongly politically marginalised in his later years.³⁷

The music of Janez Matičič is also undisturbed by the political upheavals of the time. Even before his arrival to Škerjanc, Matičič’s talent was outstanding. His immanent musical energy was inexhaustible and removed from any extramusical references. It would be futile to seek such references in Matičič’s great form, the symphony. His first symphonic work, *Symphony No. 1 in E minor* (1953), brings sonata-shaped movements in a three-movement sequence, an approach that is also typical of Škerjanc’s symphonic opus. In fact, the combination of clear formal outlines, tonal centres and strongly expanded harmony resembles Škerjanc’s works in general. As Matičič began his musical career torn between pianism and composing, it is no wonder that most of the compositions written in his early period were for “his own” instrument. In *Suite No. 1* (1946) for piano, the titles of the individual movements (“Promenades”, “Reflections on the Lake”, “In the Alps”, “Daydreaming” and “Evening”) still indicate links with the Romantic type of miniature. The style shows strong influences of Impressionism, recognisable in typical “aquatic” passages or the blurred watercolour textures. In *Passacaglia* (1947), the first piece written under the mentorship of Škerjanc, Matičič tackles the strictness of Baroque form, which he fills with a romanticised harmonic flow and abundant pianistic virtuosity, thus placing the work in the tradition of Busoni. Besides Debussy and Ravel, the young composer must have also been impressed by Chopin’s opus, some echoes of which can be traced in *Capriccio* (1947) for piano, while *Eight Preludes* (1947) also reveals Scriabin’s model, not only in the harmony, but also in the fragmented rhythm.

36 Zvonimir Ciglič, “O fenomenu umetniške ustvarjalnosti,” *Bilten Društva slovenskih skladateljev*, 7–8 (1970), 7.

37 Cf. *ibid.*

2.3. *Adaptations, Changes, Alienations*

However, not all composers continue the tradition of early Modernism after the war, as did Arnič, Kozina, Škerjanc, Ciglič and Matičič. This is true especially of those who, in the period between the two wars, were enthusiastic about Kogoj's approximation of Expressionism or Osterc's New Objectivity. Their post-war opuses show clear changes that could be understood partly as adaptations to the aesthetic demands of the new government. Thus Danilo Švara, who reached his peak before the war with the Expressionist cantata *Vizija* (*Vision*, 1931), now creates works containing a certain communicative "flirtatiousness" related to socialist realism, as is indicated by the very title of *Symphony No. 3, "Worker"* (1946) or the overture *Borec* (*Fighter*, 1953) with its partisan topic. Šivic is also very elastic in terms of style, Bravničar is "wrapped" in a safe coat of Neo-Baroque and functional tonality, while Lipovšek explores and experiments.

It seems that the composers whom the government found non-problematic were those who continued in Škerjanc's spirit, with the dolorous tension of Romanticism or the emphasised colourful quality of Impressionism. This is rather paradoxical, as one would expect the new government to interpret this approach as a continuation of the bourgeois aesthetic, which was regarded as inappropriate, decadent and reactionary in the new times. More dilemmas were encountered by those composers who sought a new expression or established a bitterer attitude towards the reality of the world, thus even pointing out the intolerability of the social relations. The changed situation made these composers abandon contemporary means of compositional expression and seek two ways leading to social "appropriateness" or the "evasion" of precise ideological statements:

1. Some resorted to a combination of the national and the folkloristic, partly based on the Romantic heritage and partly on Bartók's premises;
2. Others held on to the apparent lightness of Neoclassicism, especially the type developed by Prokofiev.

2.3.1. *Adaptation No. 1: The Marriage of the National and the Folkloristic*

One of the paths to the great national topics was that of setting Prešeren's verse to music. In this respect, the poetic work of central importance is certainly *Sonetni venec* (*Wreath of Sonnets*), in which Prešeren places patriotic feelings alongside love. It seems that it was precisely this poetic-national prestige, i.e., the status of the "great" national literature, that motivated Lucijan Marija Škerjanc to set it to music (the first version of the cantata was written in 1939, but it was revised a decade later); in other words, it was not only about aesthetic premises, but also – much like Škerjanc motives in the composing of Aškerc's lyrics in the cantata *Ujedinjenje* (*Unification*, 1936) – about political opportunism. Similarly, Škerjanc attempts to "pay tribute to" Prešeren with *Gazele* (*Gazelles*, 1950); this time, however, it is a symphonic work in which the composer addresses the poet with immanent musical means.

Danilo Švara also focuses on the greatest Slovenian poet in his opera *Prešeren* (1952). Following the typical nineteenth-century opera convention, the opera synopsis is based on Prešeren's unhappy love for Julija Primic. This is markedly Romantic, as Julija is not insensitive to the poet; the obstacle is an insurmountable social barrier, which seems almost in line with the classic tragic dispute between the legal and the legitimate. A high level of national value is maintained by the libretto, written by the well-known lawyer and writer Ljuba Prenner (1906–1977) and consisting exclusively of lines from Prešeren's poems, albeit torn from their context. The richly saturated harmonic matrix – which is nevertheless rather basic in its functional turns – reveals, in combination with ecstatic cantabile melodic lines, that Švara must have taken verism as an important example. Besides verism, however, the opera *Prešeren* contains discernible hints of national elements. The safe shelter of the weakened functional harmony is thus invaded by numerous allusions to Slovenian folk music, which is understood in the nineteenth-century manner as a typical national colouring that needs to be adapted to a more “exquisite” musical technique. The combination of national and veristic opera seems like a kind of sum of efforts to increase the communicative aspect of the work, and is thus a reflection of the government's demands for “appropriate” art.

This processing of folk material, adopted from the nineteenth century, is partly achieved by Šivic in *Dve narodni* (*Two Folk Songs*, 1949) for orchestra, while Karol Pahor's formally simple miniatures *Istrijanka* (*Istrian Song*, 1950) attempt to process melodicism and harmony with the use of the Istrian scale. The use of folk material is somewhat more complex in Bravničar's *Symphony No. 2 in D major* (1951), as the composer approaches Bartók's type of folklorism. The adoption of folk patterns in a non-alienated and non-embellished form is then combined with a transparent manner of construction and inherited formal procedures that place the symphony in the vicinity of Neoclassicism. The composer himself considered the use of the folk material to be distinctly nationalistic, as he was sure that

*the essence of Slovenian musical expression contained in our folk songs and dances has not been studied enough. These pieces contain so much wealth, so many original elements and peculiar musical treasures, that they could be an inexhaustible source of our creation. I personally find it unavoidable to create music that brings the scent of our soil, that expresses our essence, and that contains the characteristics of the Slovenian essence. It is interesting to see how the problem of the use of folklore in an artificial artwork was resolved by modern composers such as Stravinsky, Janáček or Bartók. Their works can be an example and inspiration to us. We need to examine the characteristics expressed by our folk songs and strive to create an autonomous music culture, which is the only way of being interesting to others.*³⁸

Bravničar's “credo” reads as an unusual marriage of a desire for music expressing the national spirit and thus showing national autonomy and identity, which is certainly a concept that had already marked the Spring of Nations of the mid-nineteenth century,

38 Quoted from the programme notes of Slovenian Philharmonic 2 (1952/53), No.1.

and music that is modern: it simultaneously draws attention to the models of the use of folk music developed by composers between the two wars, composers who were still considered “modern” in the 1950s.

Even more expressly “Bartókian” in his expression is Marijan Lipovšek with his processing of folk material in the *First Rhapsody for Violin and Piano* (1955, later orchestrated). Free rhapsodic processing bound by harmonic movement aligned to simple functional tonality does not make the songs “Vsi so venci vešli” (“All the Wreaths are White”), “Vün je süša” (“It’s Draughty Outside”), “Zakaj si dečva ne vdaš” (“Girl, Why Don’t You Give Up”) and “Dolenjski furmani” (“Dolenjska Coachmen”) very outstanding; much more distinctive is the hidden folklore spirit subjugated to a basic concertante logic that gradually intensifies the tempo and virtuosity of the piece. In Lipovšek’s case, the folklore material and the compositional structure are fused in a balanced way, thus eliminating the typical sentimental or nationalist tones otherwise associated with similar “potpourris” of folk songs.

After Pahor, the Istrian scale – probably because of its intermediate position between the diatonic and the chromatic – also attracted Danilo Švara, who, in the late 1950s, created a number of compositions in which he used the semitone/whole-tone sequence both melodically and harmonically. It seems that the Istrian scale could be best adapted to the demand for “popular” communicativeness and the renovation of the harmonic idiom. This kind of musical movement is typical of the composition *Sinfonia da camera in modo istriano* (1957), in which the folk spirit is stressed by composed meters, while the formal procedures are traditional. Švara’s *Sinfonia* is based on the intersection of folk material, traditional form and a more innovative understanding of harmony as a result of the tonal implications of the Istrian scale (the latter is actually octatonic, as used by Stravinsky to reconstruct his musical language),³⁹ which represents a late confirmation of the aesthetic guidelines by which Bartók tried to reform the “exhausted” musical movement of early Modernism in the interwar period. For Slovenian composers after the Second World War, this kind of synthesis represents the right combination of the folk (i.e., national), the comprehensible and the aesthetically innovative.

2.3.2. The Non-Programmatic Comprehensibility of Neoclassicism

The second path to a safe haven from the expectations of the new government led through the adoption of Neoclassical formulae with which composers could demonstrate their craftsmanship or, by skilfully manoeuvring between the more traditional (i.e., “classicist”) and modern (associated with the prefix “neo”), successfully mask both their basic commitment to the tradition as well as to the contemporary, that is, the *new music*. The former approach applies to Lucijan Marija Škerjanc, whose *Concertino for Piano and String Orchestra* (1948) represents his most typical Neoclassical work. The external reason for the simplification of the compositional approach should be sought

39 Cf. Richard Taruskin, *Oxford History of Western Music* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2010), Kindle ebook file, location 68745.

in the work's occasional nature, as it was supposedly written for academy production;⁴⁰ on the other hand, it seems like a faithful document of Škerjanc's commitment to the traditional. The form is transparent, the rhythmic flow is pulsating (see the typical "classical" Alberti basses in Example 1) and periodic (a + a'), while the harmony is not so marked by Neoclassical "alienation" (typical is the augmented chord *B-flat-D-F-sharp* in the first bar), but more committed to early Modernism through sequential models.

Allegretto grazioso

Example 1: The first theme from the first movement of Škerjanc's Concertino.

A slightly different approach to Neoclassicism should be adopted with regard to composers who attempt to establish themselves only after the Second World War, or who seek to find their musical expression beyond the models offered by their teachers: Osterc before the war, or Škerjanc immediately after it. Neoclassicism offered itself as a logical choice not only because of its social "suitability", but because it seemed to stand at the midpoint between the Romantic traditional over-emotionality of Škerjanc and Osterc's objectivised commitment to everything new; it seemed to offer an opportunity for evasion, which, at the same time, was not extreme. It is interesting to note that, in the early 1950s, four composers (Lipovšek and Ramovš from Osterc's school, and Krek and Škerl from Škerjanc's school) wrote Neoclassical pieces whose artificial perfection exceeds that of their teacher's works, although they do not solve the dilemmas already troubling their Western European counterparts at the time.

Marijan Lipovšek created such a refined Neoclassical work in 1950. The composer's *Second Suite for Strings* can be considered a paradigmatic example of a Neoclassical

40 Programme notes of the RTV Slovenia Symphony Orchestra, 15 March 1964, 106.

work at all levels: in terms of form, it is conceived as a sonata cycle with the first and last movements as sonata movements and the middle movement in tripartite form; the composer remains committed to the periodic threading of formal units, while the harmony is diatonic with a clear commitment to the central tone *C*, but nevertheless scattered with unexpected retreats to pandiatonicism. In the 1950s, Lipovšek therefore tested different styles: from early Modernism in the symphonic poem *Domovina* (*Homeland*, 1950) through Neoclassicism and Neo-Baroque in the *Second Suite*, to Bartók's type of folklorism in the *First Rhapsody*. He was not the only composer engaged in such explorations at the time; he does, however, demonstrate the unrest of the first post-war years, ignited primarily by the developmental discontinuity associated with the lack of clarity in the expression of the expectations of the new government, but also reflecting personal composing dilemmas concerning issues of fidelity and the abandoning of the traditional musical idiom.

Similar dilemmas troubled Primož Ramovš, who confesses that he was "searching for the new".⁴¹ In this respect, his *Sinfonietta* (1951) reached a special level of refinement and objectivisation. His earlier *Mala suita* (*Little Suite*, 1946) for piano still relied on the genre formulae of the New Objectivity, that is, the models of his teacher Osterc, and the harmony was close to that of Hindemith, while *Symphony No. 3*, with its resolute symphonic movements, is modelled after Shostakovich's examples. In *Sinfonietta*, however, Ramovš seems to have distilled his wartime insights gained in Italy, where he furthered his studies with Vito Frazzi and Alfredo Casella. At the same time, despite the transparent Neoclassical language – as in Lipovšek, the form is transparent while the steady rhythmic pulse is an important formative force – it is not possible to overlook the traits that were to strongly mark Ramovš's future development: above all, a distinct commitment to contrast and partly to timbre, which is nevertheless surprising for Neoclassical technique.

Whereas Ramovš's *Sinfonietta* has an important role in the composer's development, *Simfonietta* (1951) by Uroš Krek (1922–2008) stands at the beginning of his career. Although its external dimensions, as well as its internal design, make the work a genuine symphony, the composer probably avoided the more "ambitious" title because he was aware that his work still explored various stylistic models and possibilities. Neoclassical brio prevails in the first movement, combined with formal transparency: the two themes are stated in the exposition of the sonata movement in a tonic-dominant tonal relationship, and are related melodically in that they both draw from broken chords, which can also be considered a typical classicist feature. The commitment to the periodic structure of the second, variation movement even evokes Brahms in parts, while the closing sonata movement is again playfully Neoclassical.

Even more consistently Neoclassical features are demonstrated by the composer's *Sonatina* (1956) for the string orchestra. The uninhibited musical "discourse" was apparently the consequence of a commission from the ensemble The Zagreb Soloists and their leader, cellist Antonio Janigro, as the composer understood the commissioners' expectation to be that "the work should have a playful character: pleasant to play for the performers and entertaining for the listeners. Therefore, neither confessional

41 Borut Loparnik, *Biti skladatelj* (Ljubljana: Slovenska matica, 1984), 100.

nor dramatic moments should be sought in it, only music written by the composer for his own leisure.”⁴² This description is symptomatic, as it seems that the composer is retreating, that he is only a master of composition making music for the general pleasure of all involved, almost for their entertainment. This objectivisation needs to be necessarily placed in the context of the unwritten demands of the time, but can partly also be understood as a shift away from Škerjanc’s subjectivism and the pathos of works written in connection with the Second World War. As in *Sinfonietta*, the composer was again very careful in the selection of the title, which indicates modesty and a lack of pretension. *Sonatina* as a “small sonata” brings the features of a sonata cycle in its outlines; however, the work is Neoclassical not only in the choice of traditional formal models, but also in its commitment to economic motivic-thematic working.

Much like Krek, the young Dane Škerl (1931–2002) entered the scene in the early 1950s with his *Serenade* (1952) for strings, written only a few months before his graduation and foreshadowing “almost everything” that he later “developed and accomplished”.⁴³ By this, Škerl undoubtedly had in mind the work’s symmetric form and the idea of a kind of monothematicism according to which contrasting movements draw from the same material presented at the beginning. Therefore, the piece really deals with the “metamorphosis of a theme or the atmospheric type represented by this theme”.⁴⁴ *Serenade*, whose basic pulse and humorous shifts follow the example of Prokofiev, opens with an “Intrada”. It indicates the rhythm of a march and the composer deftly evades a clear tonality, although he continuously circles around C major, which is almost realised in the final bars, where an A-flat is added to the notes of the central tonality as an alienating foreign body. Škerl remained faithful to this type of Neoclassicism, which bears the closest resemblance to Prokofiev, in his subsequent works in the 1950s. Thus, the thematic material in his *Concerto for Orchestra No. 1* (1956) is characterised by motor rhythm that is usually derived from accompanying figures and confirms the classicist homophony, while the composer again addresses the idea of motivic unification, as the closing, third movement is built from the material of both previous movements.

It is worth noting that the presented outstanding Neoclassical works of 1951 bear neutral genre names (suite, simfonietta, serenade, sonatina, concerto), which is stylistically appropriate but also means that the composers avoided the emphasis on content and therefore various programmatic or ideological bases. Faced with the demands of socialist realism for the comprehensible and the glorifying, Slovenian composers mostly resorted to communicative Neoclassicism, which addressed listeners with a familiar set of means and procedures; at the same time, they retreated into the sober objectivism of absolute music, thus skilfully avoiding the mandatory emphases in terms of content. Some composers however, did not regard Neoclassicism merely as an egress, but also as a shelter from more modern trends, such as those foreshadowed by Osterc before the war.

42 Quoted from the Programme notes of Slovenian Philharmonic for the Blue Subscription No. 3 (1995/96), 23 December 1995.

43 Quoted from Borut Loparnik’s liner notes to the CD Danijel Dane Škerl, *Ars Slovenica* (Ljubljana: Edicije Društva slovenskih skladateljev).

44 Programme notes of the Slovenian Philharmonic Orchestra, 2, No. 1 (1952/53), 2.

3. The First Political and Aesthetic Thaw – The End of Socialist Realist Searching and Evasion

The peak of post-war Neoclassicism in Slovenia, that is, of objectivist evasion and adaptation, also represents the final stage of the search for socialist realism. In 1951, Edward Kardelj concluded at the plenary session of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Slovenia that low theatre attendance was not a result of the choice of plays but of their permeation with the same topics of socialist realism, leading to boredom.⁴⁵ This position indicates the first changes and slackening, which occur officially in 1952 when the Agitprop apparatus is abolished at the Communist Party Congress and the party and government apparatuses are separated, at least at the external level.⁴⁶ This is the time of the so-called first thaw, which is soon felt in the cultural field, too. At the congress of the Writers' Association of Yugoslavia held in the same year, Miroslav Krleža strongly opposes the adoption of the Soviet Zhdanov logic and, consequently, the socialist realism doctrine.⁴⁷ The same year saw a firmer reaction against socialist realism tendencies in Slovenian cultural policy by Josip Vidmar, which was further confirmed by Ferdo Kozak's statement that "socialist realism serves only political objectives, failing to address either the moral or the ethical transformation of man".⁴⁸ Of course, a decisive role was played by the opinion of the ideological rulers, especially Kardelj, who increasingly advocated the idea that people should have fun in socialism, too.⁴⁹ He stepped up his opposition to the negative assessment of individual art movements, advocating the view that negative assessments should be limited to those movements showing anti-socialist tendencies.⁵⁰ This resulted in greater liberalism and the approval of everything that did not directly threaten the monopoly of the Communist Party.⁵¹ The peak of the ideological concession was probably marked by the polemic between Vidmar and the "most rigid" cultural ideologist Boris Zihelr in 1956. In this conflict, Vidmar reiterated his thesis that the high artistic value of an artwork is emphatically the result of the artist's ability and not the revealed ideology, by which he wanted to emphasise that tendentiousness should not weaken artistic values.⁵²

In music, all of these changes are most clearly mirrored in a concert of works by young composers at the Slovenian Philharmonic, which was organised as a result of Stanko Prek's (1915–1999) intervention with politicians in 1952 and featured new symphonic works by Prek, Gobec, Ciglič and Ramovš. The latter subsequently commented that the concert was a "milestone in our musical history so great that it deserves a monument".⁵³ The next major turning point was the establishment of the Composers' Club in 1954. It was initiated by Ivo Petrić (1931), Škerjanc's student, who was satisfied neither with his professor's work

45 Gabrič, *Slovenska agitpropovska kulturna politika*, 619.

46 Aleš Gabrič, *Socialistična kulturna revolucija* (Ljubljana: Cankarjeva založba, 1995), 5.

47 Gabrič, *Slovenska agitpropovska kulturna politika*, 647.

48 Ferdo Kozak, quoted from *ibid.*

49 Gabrič, *Socialistična kulturna revolucija*, 103.

50 *Ibid.*, 193.

51 *Ibid.*, 202.

52 *Ibid.*, 166.

53 Loparnik, *Biti skladatelj*, 105.

and attitude, nor with the possibilities available to students to present their new works. Since students realised the idea of the club despite the opposition of Prof. Škerjanc, the beginning of its operation can be understood as an important break with post-war conservative aesthetic positions. This was emphasised by Petrić himself in an interview for *Študentska tribuna*, when he remarked that the club “is increasingly dominated by an advanced orientation characterised by a desire to get as close as possible to contemporary European musical aspirations and develop alongside them”.⁵⁴ Petrić’s thought clearly reveals a desire to become acquainted with broader European musical tendencies and take part in “development”; the question is, however, how well the young students at the time were acquainted with contemporary European developments.

A partial answer can be found in a review of the pieces written by club members at the time. In this respect, a quite faithful sketch of the composers considered “contemporary” by young Slovenian composers in the 1950s is *Sedem anekdot* (*Seven Anecdotes*, 1955) for clarinet and piano by Igor Štuhec (1932), as all seven miniatures are conceived as tributes to individual composers: Debussy, Bartók, Prokofiev, Kogoj, Hindemith, Osterc, Slavenski and Webern; it should be noted, however, that the composer added the dodecaphonic tribute to the latter only in 1964. Young Slovenian composers who sought to approach “contemporary European musical aspirations” were therefore familiar with the major musical names from the period between the wars; they did not know the outstanding works of their foreign contemporaries and they understood the classics of the first half of the twentieth century as “contemporary”. This is not surprising if we know that Škerjanc “bad-mouthed” even Bartók and Stravinsky,⁵⁵ while Lojze Lebič, who studied with Marjan Kozina, reveals that most professors at the Academy at that time were “negligent and narrow-minded; they completely ignored the Second Viennese School as well as Bartók, Hindemith and Stravinsky”.⁵⁶

Much like German composers and subsequently other European composers, who had an opportunity to become acquainted with the important works that had emerged during the European isolation after the rise of Nazism and fascism in Darmstadt from 1946 onwards, Slovenian composers began to acquaint themselves with these works over a decade later, when Modernism had already reached its first radical peaks in Europe. Young Slovenian composers who wanted to be “contemporary” in this period therefore followed the examples of Hindemith, Prokofiev or even Shostakovich. This is confirmed by an insight into the compositions of the initiator of the establishment of the Composers’ Club, Ivo Petrić. His *Simfonija Goga* (*Goga Symphony*, 1954) follows the example of Hindemith both in the typical tense harmony and in the expression, which is objectivised and based on a smooth, skilfully perfected musical technique in which an important place is devoted to polyphony, while the motivic-thematic working still takes the central formal role.

Even more consistently Neo-Baroque is Petrić’s *Concerto Grosso* (1955) for five solo strings and string orchestra, in which polyphony serves the compositional

54 Quoted from *ibid.*

55 Jurij Snoj, *Portret skladatelja Janeza Matičiča* (Ljubljana: Slovenska matica, 2012), 98.

56 Matjaž Barbo, Matija Ogrin and Brane Senegačnik, “Glasba, zveneča metafizika. Pogovor s skladateljem Lojzetom Lebičem,” *Tretji dan* 24, no. 1 (1995), 17.

objectification. The Baroque manner is often characterised by a steady rhythmic pulse (“Vivo”) or monothematic motivic development (“Largo”). However, Petrić also explores other possibilities in this period. Thus, *Concerto for Flute and Orchestra* (1955) approaches Neoclassicism, with the dramatic changes of tempo and the emphasis on expression tearing the music away from the grip of Hindemith-like objectivism, while the frequent orchestral climaxes in *Symphony No. 2* (1957) even reveal clear influences of Shostakovich’s symphonic music. Petrić’s opus in the 1950s, therefore, also demonstrates that composers were attempting to search for new musical expression, and that they followed the great composers from the period between the two world wars but did not yet have any real contacts with their foreign contemporaries.

The reasons for this separation from European trends should primarily be sought in the aesthetic poetics of the Slovenian composers who taught composition at the Academy of Music (Škerjanc, Kozina, Pahor, Arnič) and who were distrustful of the musical innovations of the twentieth century and swore by the aesthetics of the nineteenth century. It was, however, also a consequence of the post-war severing of contacts with Western Europe, which resulted from the establishment of a new social system that viewed the “rotten” capitalism of Western society with intense distrust. Even more important than both reasons separately was their firm union, which made significant political interventions in music unnecessary, as the leading composers, the authorities of musical life, were, in their basic aesthetic belief, devoted to traditional musical expression that was comprehensible to listeners and that allowed the attachment of meaning.

4. Conclusion – Slovenian Socialist Realism Caught in an Arbitrary Quadrangle of Tensions

Although, in relation to music, the post-war ideology in Slovenia was not overly precise and direct in its statements, it nevertheless defined and shaped music in the first decade after the end of the Second World War. This was directly reflected in the decline in the funding of the central music institutions and, consequently, the decline in their social significance, as the government apparently could not instrumentalise their potential for ideological purposes; at the same time, much more attention was paid to popular music from the mid 1950s. In the absence of clear “directives”, numerous “solutions” proved quite arbitrary or personally coloured, as is the case with Lucijan Marija Škerjanc, who, due to the personal aesthetic preferences of the important cultural policy representative Josip Vidmar, became one of the main authorities in musical life after the war (dean of the Academy of Music, professor of composition, director of the Slovenian Philharmonic Orchestra, music critic, author of numerous textbooks). This is rather paradoxical in view of his wartime attitude and the stylistic characteristics of his compositions, which reflected a fascination with the subjective, Romantic expression of the nineteenth century. Even more surprising,

however, is the fact that the composers who had to adapt after the war were mostly those who, before the war, had followed Slavko Osterc, not only with regard to his belief in aesthetic innovations, but also in terms of his pronounced social, that is, leftist attitude. Thus, it turns out that Slovenian music in the first decade after 1945 should be examined in a tensioned quadrangle stretched between the traditional and the new, on the one hand, and the ideological and the autonomous, on the other; all combinations appear possible in this respect, which confirms the ambivalent nature of the Slovenian type of socialist realist music.

This music is generally difficult to define in terms of musicology, but its characteristics/intentions are undoubtedly most readily found in monumental symphonic and vocal-instrumental genres with clearly exposed programme or textual support. Such works were, however, rare in Slovenia; if for no other reason than the modest infrastructural conditions and the absence of a strong symphonic tradition of early Modernism. This is why – again paradoxically – more adjustments can be found in the more intimate genre of *lieder*.

Many composers did not change their style after the war but remained faithful to pre-war early Modernism (Škerjanc, Arnič, Kozina, Ciglič, early Matičič), which felt fully in accordance with ideological demands. This continuation of the pre-war heritage should not be understood as an “adaptation”, but rather as a “comfortable” continuation of the old. The opuses of some composers do, however, reveal significant changes, which need to be considered in the light of adaptation to the unclearly expressed demands of politics. In this respect, there are two solutions that turned out to be particularly practical: the linking of the national and the folkloristic (Švara, Šivic, Bravničar, Lipovšek), and the recourse to Neoclassical objectivity. The latter option provided “understandable” music based on historical codes, as well as markedly optimistic music-making in its basic rhythmic pulsation, which performed the double function of masking. Neoclassicism was thus a resort for those composers who were attracted by the *new music* and who wanted to abandon the over-emotional, markedly subjective expression of early Modernism, as well as for those who, in contrast, refused to adopt new means of expression and recognised in Neoclassicism the possibility of continuing basic traditional elements.

Although the years of socialist realism in Slovenia are not strongly ideologically marked in terms of music, they still had a strong impact on the later development of Slovenian music. This is demonstrated especially by the beginnings of the new generation of Slovenian composers, whose work began in the period of the first political thaw, i.e., in the mid-1950s. Although these composers broke with the heritage of the leading post-war composers, especially Škerjanc, and sought contact with the *new music*, their ten-year political isolation and adaptations made them start from a similar point zero as their European contemporaries immediately after the end of the Second World War, that is, a full decade earlier. Consequently, these composers, who were to be the leading figures of Slovenian Modernism in the 1960s, forever missed the first wave of European Modernism, which took place in the beginning of the 1950s, that is, at a time when the most refined Neoclassical masterpieces, remote from any innovation, were composed in Slovenia.

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POVZETEK

Dosedanje analize vplivov novega družbenega sistema po drugi svetovni vojni na slovensko glasbeno življenje, predvsem v povezavi z delom glavnih institucij, niso dale enoznačnih odgovorov, še manj pa konkretnih dokazov o tesni sprepletenosti vsebine, delovanja in ideologije. V pričujočem prispevku se istemu vprašanju bližamo z druge strani, prek analize del, nastalih v prvem desetletju po koncu vojne. Nova oblast je seveda skušala z ideologijo pretopiti tudi umetniško ustvarjanje, pri čemer je več ali manj sledila zgledom iz Sovjetske zveze, toda v uresničevanju takšnih zahtev v glasbi je bila veliko manj precizna, zavezana dihotomičnim in arbitrarnim odločitvam, pogosto povezanim z osebnimi estetskimi preferencami glavnih odločevalcev, kot je bilo to v Sloveniji na primer z Josipom Vidmarjem, ki je proti vsem pričakovanjem na piedestal glavnega protagonist slovenskega glasbenega življenja ustoličil Lucijana Marija Škerjanca. Podobna arbitrarnost se kaže tudi v dejstvu, da bi lahko sledi socialističnega realizma načeloma najlažje odkrili v monumentalnih žanrih (simfonija, kantata, opera), ki nosijo svetovnonazorske vsebine, vendar le-teh zaradi specifičnih infrastrukturnih pogojev in odsotnosti močne tradicije moderne praktično ne najdemo

ali pa je v njih mogoče odkriti le nadaljevanje predvojnih estetskih teženj. Tako mnogi skladatelji svojega estetskega pogleda po vojni n ničemer ne spreminjajo, kar velja predvsem za tiste, ki ostajajo zavezani tradicionalnemu glasbenemu stavku (predvsem moderni). Paradoksalno so k spremembam prisiljen tisti skladatelji, ki so se pred vojno spogledovali z *novou glasbo*, a ne le v kompozicijsko-tehničnem pogledu, temveč tudi v prepričanju, da mora glasba nositi bolj močne socialne poudarke, kar bi načeloma moralo novi oblasti bolj ustrezati. Toda prav zaradi omenjenih arbitrarnih osebnih odločitev svoj glasbeni jezik po vojni spreminjajo predvsem tisti, ki so se pred vojno učili pri S. Ostercu ali M. Kogoju. Pri tem se nekateri zatekajo h kombinaciji nacionalnega in folklorističnega, spet drugi pa bolj zaupajo lahkonosti neoklasicizma. Slovensko glasbo v prvem desetletju po letu 1945 je tako potrebno motriti v napetostnem štirikotniku, razpetem na eni strani med tradicionalnim in novim ter na drugi strani med avtonomnim in ideološkim, pri čemer so možne prav vse kombinacije. Kljub temu, da torej prva povojna leta v proklamativnem smislu niso bila močnejše ideološko zaznamovana, pa je desetletna izolacija, prekinitve stikov z zahodno Evropo vendarle pustila sledi, ki so se pokazale predvsem v osemdesetih letih 20. stoletja.



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Slogovni pluralizem v delih Karola Pahorja

Stylistic Pluralism in the Works of Karol Pahor

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Keywords: Karol Pahor, traditional music, avangarde music, stylistic pluralism, Slavko Osterc

IZVLEČEK

ABSTRACT

Karol Pahor (1896–1974) se je kot skladatelj proslavil na več ravneh in je prepoznan je kot eden najznačilnejših učencev Slavka Osterca, njegov opus pa kaže na slogovno raznolikost, ki je posledica različnih dejavnikov. Kot skladatelj namreč odstopa od običajnih stereotipov, za katere velja, da se komponist v mladih letih opira na svoje učitelje, se nato izostri in profilira v lastno smer, ki ga vodi naprej in ob novih aktualnih kompozicijskih šolah pogosto spreminja. Skušali bomo ugotoviti, kakšne vzore in nazore je imel skozi različna obdobja in kako ga je kot skladatelja oblikovalo okolje, v katerem je živel in deloval.

Composer Karol Pahor (1896–1974) stood out on several levels and is recognized as one of the most distinguished students of Slavko Osterc, his opus shows the stylistic diversity resulting from various factors. As a composer he deviates from the usual stereotypes, the standard being that the composer relies on his teacher during his formative years then sharpens and profiles in his own direction which leads him forward and often changes with the new contemporary compositional schools. This article attempts to determine what patterns and views he had through different periods and how he was shaped as a composer by the environment in which he lived and worked.

Za uvod

Tržačan Karol Pahor (1896–1974) sodi med tiste slovenske skladatelje, ki so se formalno izšolali za instrumentaliste, učitelje in zborovodje ter si prizadevali, da bi svoje

glasbeno delovanje nadgradili in usmerili h komponiranju. Pahor je temeljno glasbeno-teoretično znanje pridobil na goriškem učiteljsčju, kar mu je omogočalo harmonizacije ljudskih napevov in pisanje preprostejših vokalnih skladb, vendar ga to dolgoročno ni zadovoljilo. Da bi postal skladatelj, je po prvi svetovni vojni odšel na dunajsko akademijo, vendar je moral študij po nekaj mesecih opustiti. Poslej se je predal violinski igri, pedagoškemu poklicu in vodenju zborov. V 20. letih je napisal nekaj priredb bosanskih ljudskih pesmi in drugih vokalnih skladb, objavljenih v *Zborih* in *Mali novi muziki*. Želja po boljši glasbeno-teoretični izobrazbi in komponiranju je bila v njem vseskozi prisotna, zato je iskal možnost njene uresničitve. Obrnil se je na Slavka Osterca, s katerim sta nato izpeljala večletno dopisno izobraževanje. Le-to mu je vlilo samozaupanje, da se je pri svojih štiridesetih proglasil za skladatelja.¹ Njegova pot je bila izrazito večplastna in je s tega stališča še posebno zanimiva za proučevanje. Kot skladatelj namreč odstopa od običajnih stereotipov, za katere velja, da se komponist v mladih letih opira na svoje učitelje, se nato izostri in profilira v lastno smer, ki ga vodi naprej in ob novih aktualnih kompozicijskih šolah pogosto spreminja. Skušali bomo ugotoviti, kaj ga je spodbujalo h komponiranju, kakšne vzore je imel in kako ga je kot skladatelja oblikovalo okolje, v katerem je živel in deloval. Pahor se je v dijaških letih naučil klasičnih harmonizacij, nato ob Ostercu ekspresionističnih, neoklasicističnih in atonalnih prvin, narodnoosvobodilna vojna pa ga je prelevila v partizanskega skladatelja, kar je vsaj deloma ostal tudi v socialistični povojni dobi. Tisto, kar se zdi v njegovi skladateljski karieri najbolj presenetljivo, je to, da se ni nikoli vrnil k slogu, ki ga je razvil pod Osterčevim vplivom, pa čeprav je pred vojno zagotavljal, da je to edina prava pot, ko pravi: *»če hoče človek povedati drugim to, kar nosi v sebi, odnosno če hoče prekričati krik današnjega človeka /.../, se mu res zdi smešno še vsako diatonsko moraliziranje – smešen se mu zdi pravzaprav celoten kromatičen aparat, ki je tako zelo, zelo omejen.»*² Nasprotno pa je v svojih zrelih, povojnih letih zapisal:

*Tudi po prvi svetovi vojni je svet zajela ista mrzlica kakor po drugi, da smo se mladi ljudje začeli ubadati z najrazličnejšimi –izmi, s celo vrsto tonskih sistemov itd., ki so bili takrat na pohodu. Sam sem v to smer žrtvoval mnogo dragocenega časa, vendar mi še danes ni žal, kajti le tako sem se lahko uveril, da za umetnost tu ni poti naprej in da mora stopiti previdno naprej le po že utrjenih poteh.*³

Od tradicije do avantgarde

Karol Pahor se je v svojih otroških letih najprej seznanil z istrsko ljudsko melodiko, nad katero se je navdušil do te mere, da jo je desetletja kasneje vpel v številna dela svojega skladateljskega opusa. Ob ljudskih vižah je občudoval mestne godbenike in si želel igrati na gosli, kar mu je bilo dano v osnovni šoli, pri dvanajstih letih pa so ga starši

1 O Pahorjevem življenju in delu glej razprave v publikaciji *Pahorjev zbornik*, ur. Edo Škulj (Ljubljana: Akademija za glasbo, 2005).

2 Odlomek pisma Slavku Ostercu z dne 16. 11. 1934, glej v: Dragotin Cvetko, *Fragment glasbene moderne: iz pisma Slavku Ostercu* (Ljubljana: Slovenska akademija znanosti in umetnosti, 1988), 257.

3 Glej Luisa Antoni, »Pahorjeva tržaška leta«, *Pahorjev zbornik*, 23–24.

vpisali v violinsko šolo (*Liceo Musicale*) tržaškega violinskega pedagoga Arthurja Vrama. Le-ta je bil diplomant dunajske šole, vendar je poučeval po takrat izjemno aktualni Ševčikovi metodi (poimenovani po Otokarju Ševčiku), ki jo je kot prvi prinesel v tržaško okolje.⁴ Vram je bil priznan pedagog, pri katerem se je Pahor profiliral kot violinist in se navzel Ševčikove metode, po kateri je sam kasneje tudi poučeval.⁵ Učenje violine in splošno zanimanje za glasbo ga je po dveh razredih realke pripeljalo na goriško učiteljsko, ki je bilo na začetku 20. stoletja pomembno za šolanje številnih umetniško nadarjenih Primorcev.⁶ V Pahorjevem času je glasbene predmete poučeval pedagog češkega porekla Josip Michl, sicer vodja šole in zbora Pevskega in glasbenega društva v Gorici. Kot diplomant praškega konservatorija je na Goriškem deloval kot violinski pedagog, zborovodja in skladatelj ter bil osrednja glasbena osebnost svojega časa.⁷ Michl je na učiteljsko poučeval violino in glasbeno teorijo, zato menimo, da je Pahor ob njem igranje violine nadgradil in dobil prva bolj poglobljena glasbeno-teoretična znanja. Ni izključeno, da je bil Michl tudi njegov zasebni učitelj violine.⁸ Vojne razmere so Pahorjevo generacijo vključno z njim pahnila na fronto, kjer so preživeli le redki. Po vrnitvi v Trst se je udeleževal kot komorni glasbenik in pomožni učitelj, ob tem pa še naprej študiral violino. Če sledimo najstarejšemu pisnemu viru z njegovimi biografskimi podatki in osebnemu pričevanju, se je po vojni ponovno vpisal na Vramov licej, medtem ko naj bi glasbeno teorijo študiral pri priznanem tržaškem skladatelju Antoniu Illersbergu.⁹ Ker ni podatkov, da bi bil redno vpisan na tržaški konservatorij, se predvideva, da je bil študij zasebne narave. Kot kaže datacija mešanega zbora *Hrepenenje* (bes. Oton Župančič), je v letu 1922 na dunajski Akademiji za glasbo in upodabljajočo umetnost (*Akademie für Musik und darstellende Kunst*) študiral kompozicijo.¹⁰ Kaj več o tem Pahorjevem obdobju ni znanega, zdi se, da je to zanj temno plat življenja kasneje zavestno potisnil v ozadje, saj je bil zaradi skromnih gmotnih razmer primoran študij po nekaj mesecih opustiti. Kot piše Fran Žgur, naj bi na Dunaju opravil izpit iz harmonije, kontrapunkt pa študiral pri znanem pedagogu Josefu Marxu, pri katerem sta se urila tudi Lucijan Marija Škerjanc in Marjan Kozina.¹¹ Sam Pahor dunajsko obdobje omenja le na kratko, ko sta z Ostercem razpravljala o najprimernejši literaturi za študij harmonije in kontrapunkta. Osterc je na začetku njune dopisne šole ugotavljal, da vaje iz klasične harmonije niso potrebne, saj naj bi jo obvladal »prav dobro« in mu svetoval, da se izpopolnjuje s pomočjo Riemannove *Harmonielehre*, čeprav Osterc nad tem priročnikom ni bil najbolj navdušen.¹² Pahor se je po neuspelem poskusu študija

4 Prav tam, 21.

5 Maruša Zupančič, »V iskanju lastne identitete: češki violinisti kot glavni tvorci violinizma na Slovenskem«, *De musica disserenda*, IV/2 (2008): 113–14.

6 Antoni, »Pahorjeva tržaška leta«, 17–18.

7 Marko Waltritsch, *Šola Glasbene matice v Gorici: ob 25. letnici* (Gorica: Šola Glasbene matice v Gorici, 1987), 7–13.

8 Antoni, »Pahorjeva tržaška leta«, 22–23.

9 Prim. prvo objavljeno Pahorjevo biografijo v *Zborih*. Fran Žgur, »Karol Pahor«, *Zbori* III, št. 3–4 (1927): 14 in Pahorjevo rokopisno biografijo z dne 22. 12. 1946, kjer pravi, da je po razpadu Avstro-Ogrske nadaljeval študij v Trstu, na Dunaju in v Bologni.

10 Natančne letnice iz dosegljivih virov ni mogoče določiti, saj se eksplicitno ne navaja. Rokopis skladbe *Hrepenenje* lahko dokazuje, da je študiral leta 1922 (glej NUK, Glasbena zbirka, mapa Karol Pahor), sam pa je o tem obdobju zapisal, da je v Bologni diplomiral leta 1923 ter istočasno študiral še kompozicijo, glej Rotar Pance, »Pedagoško delo K. Pahorja na Akademiji za glasbo«, 59.

11 Žgur, prav tam.

12 Prim. Andrej Rijavec, »Pahorjevo predkompozicijsko dopisno šolanje pri Slavku Ostercu«, *Muzikološki zbornik* XXV (1989): 124.

kompozicije vneto oprijel violine in junija 1923 na Glasbenem liceju v Bologni (*Liceo Musicale di Bologna*) kot eksternist tudi diplomiral.¹³

V prvih letih po prvi svetovni vojni je napisal le malo skladb, poleg že omenjene, so nastali ženski in/ali mladinski zbori *Pojdimo spat*, *Na semnju* (obe bes. Karol Širok), *Pomlad gre v svet* (bes. Stanko Kosovel) idr., napisani v diatoničnem slogu. Izjema je mešani zbor *Hrepenenje*, najverjetneje iz časa študija na Dunaju pod mentorstvom profesorja Marxsa. v Tako v izrazu kot harmoniji kaže takrat aktualne poznoromantične poteze, kot so melodične linije s harmonsko tujimi toni, mediantne zveze, mutacije, modulacije v oddaljene tonalitete, stranske dominante idr., kar je pripomoglo k rahljajnu tonalnosti.¹⁴ To je Pahorjevo edino delo, ki ga lahko pripišemo njegovemu dunajskemu obdobju in vplivu tamkajšnjih učiteljev. Že v naslednji po dataciji znani skladbi, mešanem zboru *Vipavska* (bes. Fran Žgur) iz leta 1925, je Pahor v kompozicijski tehniki stopil korak nazaj proti tradiciji, kar bi lahko pomenilo, da v drznejših harmonijah ni bil dovolj več in zato ne primerno samozavesten, da bi hodil po začeti poti. Potrebno je upoštevati, da je *Hrepenenje* nastalo kot študijsko delo, pri katerem ga je vodila večša profesorjeva roka. Ob tem predvidevamo, da si je Pahor želel izvedb in javnega priznanja, kar naj bi po njegovem prepričanju prišlo z deli, ki so imela več možnosti za izvedbo, torej s takšnimi s klasično zgradbo.¹⁵ Pahorjeva dela so bila pri urednikih različnih zbirk in revij prepoznana kot tehtna, kajti le tako lahko razumemo, da so bila v večini kmalu po nastanku tudi natisnjena v priznanih publikacijah, kot je bila zbirka *Otroške pesmi* v uredništvu Srečka Kumarja (Trst, 1924), revija *Zbori* pod urednikovanjem Zorka Prelovca in *Mala nova muzika* Emila Adamiča. S komponiranjem instrumentalnih del se v tem obdobju ni poskusil.

Pahorjevo novo obdobje se je začelo leta 1924, ko se je iz Idrije, kjer je kakšno leto uspešno vodil glasbeno šolo in več ansamblov, zaradi fašističnih pritiskov umaknil v Jugoslavijo in se za krajši čas zaposlil v orkestru ljubljanske Opere.¹⁶ To ga ni zadovoljilo, pa čeprav mu je bilo mesto violinista zagotovljeno dolgoročno. Ljubljanska Opera se je v prvih povojnih letih ubadala z velikim pomanjkanjem ustreznega kadra, kar je pomenilo, da je bil Pahor v orkestru dobrodošel, vendar zaradi neurejenih razmer ni ostal. Na priporočilo kolega Emila Adamiča je še isto leto sprejel mesto učitelja glasbe na gimnaziji v Banjaluki,¹⁷ kjer se je vključil tudi v tamkajšnje glasbeno društvo Nada in ga dlje časa vodil.¹⁸ Adamič je dobro poznal ljudsko dediščino jugoslovanskih narodov in tako tudi bogastvo z območja Bosne. Priredil je več tamkajšnjih pesmi (npr. zbori *Iz bosanskega perivoja*) in zanje navdušil tudi Pahorja. Tako se zdi, da so prav ambicije po skladanju odločilno vplivale na Pahorjevo življenjsko pot, čeprav je imel ponudbe, da bi odšel za koncertnega mojstra v Zagreb ali za učitelja in ravnatelja glasbene šole na Ptuj. O tem, ali je bil Emil Adamič kot skladatelj njegov vzornik, ni pisnih virov ali

13 O tem najbolj verodostojno piše Luigi Verdi v prispevku »Karol Pahor a Bologna«, *Pahorjev zbornik*, 27–31.

14 Prim. Marko Vatovec, »Pahorjev opus mešanih zborov in njegov Očenaš hlapca Jerneja«, *Pahorjev zbornik*, 89–91.

15 Skladbo *Vipavska* je leta 1927 natisnil Zorko Prelovac v *Zborih*, leta 1930 pa prvi izvedel zbor Glasbene matice Maribor pod vodstvom Vasilija Mirka. Prim. Vatovec, »Pahorjev opus mešanih zborov in njegov Očenaš hlapca Jerneja«, 91.

16 Pahor je svojo odločitev pojasnil v izjavi, ki se hrani v personalni mapi v Arhivu Akademija za glasbo Univerze v Ljubljani. Prim. Rotar Pance, »Pedagoško delo K. Pahorja«, 57.

17 Prav tam.

18 Primož Kuret, »Življenje in delo K. Pahorja«, *Pahorjev zbornik*, 8.

pričevanj, vendar je to precej mogoče, saj je veljal za najpomembnejšega skladatelja zborovske glasbe in mentorja številnim posameznikom. S Pahorjem sta se gotovo dobro poznala še iz Trsta, kjer sta bila oba odkrita podpornika leta 1923 ustanovljenega legendarnega učiteljskega pevskega zbora pod vodstvom Srečka Kumarja. Pahor se je zaradi pisne podpore zameril fašističnim oblastem do te mere, da so ga preganjali in končno pregnali v Idrijo, nato pa v Jugoslavijo. Kot pravi sam, je odšel v Bosno predvsem zaradi »*nabiranja narodnih motivov za obdelavo*« in kot se je izkazalo, so ga izjemno pritegnili, saj je številne tudi uglasbil.¹⁹ V dveh letih vsestranskega delovanja v Banjaluki, se je prvenstveno ukvarjal s poučevanjem, vodenjem zborov in ne nazadnje z organiziranjem prireditev, ob tem pa spoznaval in zapisoval narodno blago, ki mu je služilo za komponiranje. Leta 1926 je uglasbil *Bosansko kolo* (mešani zbor), ki je tudi natisnjeno,²⁰ nekatere bosanske sevdalinke za moške in mešane zasedbe pa so ostale v rokopisu (NUK, Glasbena zbirka, fond Karol Pahor in zapuščina Vasilija Mirka). V Banjaluki pa očitno ni bil popolnoma zadovoljen, sicer ne bi razmišljal o vrnitvi v slovensko okolje. Tudi tokrat se je odločil skladno s predlogom Emila Adamiča, ki ga je priporočil na glasbeni šoli ptujske Glasbene matice. S šolskim letom 1926/27 je Pahor postal tam ravnatelj, učitelj violine in glasbene teorije, zborovodja mladinskega in odraslega zbora ter vodja orkestra. Ob vsem si je prizadeval za prenovitev učnih programov, boljše delovne pogoje učiteljev, vodil koncertno dejavnost gostujočih in domačih glasbenikov in ne nazadnje deloval kot komorni glasbenik v klavirskem triu.²¹ Številne dejavnosti so mu preprečile, da bi napredoval kot skladatelj, saj je v štiriletnem ptujskem obdobju zmožal napisati zgolj eno delo, to je *Snežec* (glas in klavir, 1926),²² napisan v diatoničnem glasbenem stavku s preprosto klavirsko spremljavo, pri čemer ne gre spregledati, da ima skladbica izvirno melodiko.²³ Nezmožnost komponiranja je Pahorja očitno pestila, zato je po nekaj letih ponovno razmišljal o selitvi, in sicer v Maribor.²⁴ V ptujskem obdobju je tako v šolstvu kot z ansambli, ki jih je vodil, dosegel odlične uspehe, prav tako se je dokazal kot dober organizator. Pod njegovim vodstvom so bili na Ptujju redni koncerti priznanih solistov in ansamblov. Leta 1930 sta med drugim nastopila zbor Glasbene matice Ljubljane in Maribora. Z ljubljanskim so prišli kar trije takrat najvidnejši skladatelji, Lajovic, Adamič in Osterc, kar so Ptujčani razumeli kot svojevrstno priznanje svojemu delu. O tem, da bi se Pahor ob tej priliki s komerkoli dogovarjal o svojem nadaljnjem kompozicijskem šolanju, ni podatkov. Pač pa je povedno, da je mariborski zbor, ki ga je vodil Vasilij Mirk, na gostovanju na Ptujju izvedel Pahorjevo *Vipavsko*, ki je edini znani primer izvedbe njegovega dela v tem času in hkrati dokaz, da je bil kljub dotlej skromnemu opusu že upoštevan skladatelj.²⁵

Maja 1930 je bil z dekretom premeščen v Maribor, kjer se je redno zaposlil na Državnem moškem učiteljišču. Poučeval je violino in petje ter vodil zbor. Violino in teoretične predmete je honorarno poučeval tudi na glasbeni šoli Glasbene matice. V

19 Zgodovinski arhiv Ptuj, Fond Glasbena šola Ptuj, št. 1, ovoj št. 6, Pahorjevo pismo z dne 11. 11. 1925.

20 Skladba je objavljena v reviji *Zbori*, l. 7, št. 3 (1931): 22.

21 Darja Koter, »Karol Pahor na Ptujju«, *Pahorjev zbornik*, 33–48.

22 NUK, Glasbena zbirka, mapa Karol Pahor.

23 Glej: Karol Pahor, »Snežec«, *Nova muzika* 2/1928, priloga Mala nova muzika.

24 Koter, »Karol Pahor na Ptujju«, *Pahorjev zbornik*, 48.

25 Prav tam, 49–50.

Večerniku in reviji *Obzorja* se je ves čas udeleževal kot poročevalec glasbenih dogodkov ter veljal za temeljitega in poštenega kritika. Kmalu po tem, ko se je v novem okolju ustalil, je stopil v stik s Slavkom Ostercem, in sicer s pomočjo kolegice Minke Zacherl, ki je bila kot pianistka (diplomantka ljubljanskega konservatorija), učiteljica petja in zborovodkinja sodelavka mariborske Glasbene matice. Zacherlova je bila na ljubljanskem konservatoriju sošolka in tesna prijateljica Emila Adamiča. Kot hči Franca Zacherla, vsestranskega ljutomerskega glasbenika, ustanovitelja tamkajšnje glasbene šole (1922), ki je imel stike s priznanimi kulturniki in glasbeniki, kot so Slavko Osterc, Ciril Pregelj, Fran Ksaver Meško, dr. Karol Grossmann in drugi, je imela širok krog glasbenih prijateljev. Znana je bila kot odlična interpretka, spremljevalka na klavirju in zborovodkinja. Skladatelji so ji v presojo pogosto pošiljali svoja dela za mladinske ali odrasle zборе, kar je pomenilo, da je bila zelo cenjena. Med drugim je kot korepetitorica sodelovala tudi s Trboveljskim slavčkom.²⁶ S Slavkom Ostercem se je poznala od malih nog, po letih je bil njen vrstnik in predvsem družinski prijatelj. O tem, kdaj je Pahorja priporočila Ostercu, da bi ga poučeval v kompoziciji, ni znanih virov, predvidevamo, da v začetku leta 1932, kajti maja tega leta se je Pahor Ostercu pisno zahvalil za njegovo pripravljenost in zapisal: *«Zelo sem bil v skrbeh, da me boste odbili. Začel bi torej najraje takoj in popolnoma od začetka po Vašem načinu. /.../ Sicer pa imate opravka z marljivim učencem, ki bo delal vse z velikim interesom in začel čim prej že praktično uporabljati Vašo šolo.»*²⁷ Pahorjeva odločitev, da za učitelja kompozicije izbere prav Osterca, pove marsikaj. Gotovo je sledil njegovemu renomeju kot avantgardnemu skladatelju in priljubljenemu profesorju teoretičnih predmetov na srednji stopnji konservatorija ter imel jasne cilje – postati skladatelj in to skladatelj sodobnega kova. Ni znano, da bi razmišljal o drugih možnostih. Z Osterčevo privolitvijo, da začneta študij na daljavo in se občasno srečata v Ljubljani, se je Pahorju odprl nov svet, končno je stopil na pot, ki ga je vodila k uresničitvi življenjskih želja. Tudi Osterc je njuno sodelovanje vzel zelo resno ter se redno in poglobljeno odzival na Pahorjeve naloge, vprašanja, dileme...²⁸

Iz njune korespondence razberemo, da Pahor v prvih lekcijah s harmonijo ni imel večjih težav, pač pa s kontrapunktom, za katerega je celo izjavil, da ga *»ta slog niti najmanjše več ne zanima»*.²⁹ Osterc je svojega učenca uril v tradicionalni fugi in razumevanju klasičnega glasbenega stavka, saj je bil prepričan, da šele to znanje omogoča ustvarjanje *»resne disonantne kompozicije»*.³⁰ Priporočal mu je takrat aktualne glasbeno-teoretične priročnike, med njimi Schönbergovo *Harmonielehre*, o kateri je menil, *»da se jo rabi do smrti in še po smrti»*.³¹ Čeprav ni bil velik ljubitelj Schönbergovega sloga, se je zavedal pomena njegovih teoretičnih priročnikov in vloge v modernistični glasbi. Tako je Pahorju nalagal vaje v 12 tonskem sistemu, ki naj bi služile pri *»modernem instrumentalnem komponiranju»*, ter vaje iz *»harmoničnih stavkov v tonalni kromatiki»* in *»harmoničnih stavkov v atonalni kromatiki»*.³² Pahor je bil sicer vztrajen, a

26 Prim. Bojana Škrli, *Ljutomerska glasbenika Franc in Minka Zacherl*, mag. delo (Ljubljana: Akademija za glasbo, 2017), 45–52.

27 Cvetko, *Fragment glasbene moderne: iz pisem Slavku Ostercu*, 255. Odloemek iz Pahorjevega pisma Ostercu z dne 2. 5. 1932.

28 Prav tam, 255–63, prim. tudi Rijavec, »Pahorjevo predkompozicijsko dopisno šolanje pri Slavku Ostercu«, 121–31.

29 Cvetko, *Fragment glasbene moderne iz pisem Slavku Ostercu*, 257.

30 Rijavec, »Pahorjevo predkompozicijsko dopisno šolanje pri Slavku Ostercu«, 126.

31 Prav tam, 125.

32 Prav tam, 127–130.

do določene mere neučakan, ko pravi: »Pisal bi rad akorde z 12 poltoni naenkrat tako, da zrušim dvorano s prvo orkestrsko skladbo!«. ³³ Ob tej izjavi ga je Osterc opomnil na pomen linearne gradnje glasbenega stavka, ki mu je kot neoklasicist tudi pripadal. ³⁴ Pahor se je v času sodelovanja z Ostercem v mariborskem okolju počutil nekaj posebnega, kot nekdo, ki mu je dano, da hodi po najsodobnejših glasbenih poteh, pri čemer se je zavedal, da v takratnih krogih nima sebi enakih. Svojimi glasbenimi kolegi je večkrat prišel navzkriž jih celo označil za malomeščane. Prizadeval si je, da bi tudi tamkajšnja glasbena scena dobila sodobnejši nadih, zato je Osterca nagovarjal, naj pride v Maribor s svojo četrtrtonsko glasbo, »da shecamo malo naše purgarje!«. ³⁵ Vse to je bila posledica nekaterih negativnih odzivov na njegova dela. ³⁶

Skrozi večletno dopisno kompozicijsko šolo, kjer se je Osterc izkazal kot nepopustljiv učitelj, Pahor pa kot izjemno vztrajen in deloven študent, so nastala nekatera tehtna dela, s katerimi se je Pahor postavil ob bok tistim slovenskim skladateljem, ki so se profilirali kot neoklasicisti in snovalci atonalne glasbe. Osterc se je o njegovih delih večkrat izrazil zelo pohvalno, opazile pa so ga tudi razne žirije in mu podelile pomembne nagrade. Čeprav ni šlo vse tako, kot si je Pahor zamislil in je doživel marsikatero bridko na račun svojega opusa, ni klonil in ne odstopil od modernističnih prijemov, kot so načela atematske gradnje in atonalnosti. V nekaterih delih je verno sledil učitelju, npr. v obeh godalnih kvartetih, in sicer z ostrim kromatičnim stavkom, medtem ko je na ravni forme ostal v tradicionalnih okvirih štiristavčne sonatne oblike. Osterc je prvi godalni kvartet, ki je nastal konec leta 1935 in doživel premiero v mariborski Unionski dvorani kmalu po nastanku, označil za eno najboljših slovenskih del te vrste po prvi svetovni vojni. ³⁷ Opredelil ga je kot skladbo v »čisto pravilnem kvartetnem polifonem modernem dvanajsttonskem slogu«. ³⁸ Podobna zasnovani so *Drugi godalni kvartet*, *Pihalni trio* in *Trije divertimenti za flavto, oboo in fagot*, medtem ko je klavirske skladbe predvojnega časa, kot so *Tri arabeske za klavir* (1936), pisal v t. im. »zmernem modernizmu«. Prav klavirski opus kaže na Pahorjevo namero, izhajati iz kompozicijske logike svojega profesorja, vendar se izogniti pretiranemu konstruktivizmu in doseči didaktičen namen. Te poteze glasbenega stavka klavirskih skladb je Leon Stefanija označil kot »zadržano naprednost« ter kot odraz njegove značajske lastnosti, ki ga je pri ustvarjanju vodila k »uporabni glasbi«. ³⁹ Spet drugačno izhodišče razberemo pri zborovski skladbi *Očenaš hlapca Jerneje* (1938), ki je nastala kot odraz Pahorjevega spoštovanja do Ivana Cankarja, ki ga je od mladosti zelo cenil, gotovo pa mu je bila blizu tudi sporočilnost njegovih del, med katerimi še posebno izstopa lik hlapca Jerneja. ⁴⁰ V njem zaznamo vpliv socialnorealistične smeri v slovenski umetnosti, zlasti v literaturi, ki je zaznamovala tudi likovno in glasbeno umetnost. Delo je zasnovano kot pravoslavni liturgični zbor, s poudarjeno vlogo besedila in njegovo tesno simbiozo z glasbeno teksturo, v sožitju tradicije in sodobnosti, kar kaže z inovativnim vodenjem

33 Prav tam, 131.

34 Prav tam.

35 Cvetko, *Fragment glasbene moderne iz pisem Slavku Ostercu*, 256.

36 Prav tam, 260–61.

37 Kuret, »Življenje in delo K. Pahorja«, 8.

38 Ivan Florjanc, »Godalna kvarteta Karola Pahorja«, *Pahorjev zbornik*, 145.

39 Prim. Leon Stefanija, »Kompozicijska zasnova in estetska rešitve Pahorjevih klavirskih skladb«, *Pahorjev zbornik*, 125–139.

40 Prim. Vatovec, »Pahorjev opus mešanih zborov in njegov Očenaš hlapca Jerneja«, 92.

glasov in v drznih harmonskih zvezah. Z njim je dosegel največjo prepoznavnost in zdi se, da mu je »zlata sredina« med avantgardo in tradicijo tudi osebno najbolj ustrezala, saj se je na Osterčevo kritiko *Očenaša*, ki naj bi imel preveč tradicionalnih prvin, odzval z besedami: » /.../ *tehnika je eno – ustvarjalnost pa osebna zadeva avtorja /.../*.«⁴¹ Karol Pahor je bil v drugi polovici 30. let eden vidnejših modernistov, če izvzamemo Osterca, Šturma, Koporca... Sam je o tej dobi kasneje povedal: »*Dosegel sem za takrat najekstremnejši vzpon pri obravnavanju glasbenega stavka - serialne dodekafonije in v tem slogu napisal tudi nekaj del.*«⁴²

In od avantgarde nazaj k tradiciji

Začetek druge svetovne vojne je Pahorja prisilil v migracijo v Ljubljano, kjer se je honorarno zaposlil v glasbeni šoli Glasbene matice in na srednji stopnji Glasbene akademije ter tam poučeval do jeseni 1943, ko je odšel v partizane. V Ljubljani je postal aktivist NOB in napisal prvo skladbo v revolucionarnem narodnem duhu z naslovom *Partizanska* (tudi *V boj*) na besedilo Mateja Bora, ki so jo od leta 1942 izvajali na radiu Kričač. S tem delom se je spontano začelo njegovo obdobje ustvarjanja, ki je pomenilo skoraj popoln odmik od avantgardnih zamisli, ki jih je razvijal ob Ostercu in do začetka vojne. Nastajale so koračnice, revolucionarne pesmi, balade, samospevi in druge priložnostne skladbe za vsakdanjo rabo, pri katerih sta bili ob ustrezni vsebini in karakternosti v ospredju spevnost in oblikovna jasnost. Čeprav je v svojih delih sledil temeljnemu poslanstvu partizanske glasbe, je stremel k izvirnosti in slikovitim razpoloženjem. O tem pravi: »*V tej vrsti glasbe pa nisem videl samo propagandnega sredstva, zahteval sem v njih tudi umetniško raven. Moje koračnice in druge preproste pesmi naj bi bile odraz čustvovanja vsega ljudskega kolektiva, katerega član sem bil.*«⁴³ O svojem vojnem opusu je med drugim povedal: »*Pri partizanski pesmi je oblikovanje na videz minimalno, v resnici pa je treba ne samo spretnosti, temveč tudi domiselnosti in pravega občutka za vsebino /.../. Kar pa je še nad tem, je melodija sama, glavni nosilec vsebine, /.../, njen mogočni, neodvojljivi posrednik /.../*.«⁴⁴ Največ stika z njegovim predvojnim opusom imajo nekateri samospevi z razširjeno tonalnostjo, kot sta *Ne bo me strlo* (bes. Karel Destovnik Kajuh) in *Pesem jetnika* (bes. Jože Udovič), pa tudi ciklična skladba programskega značaja *Slovenska suita za klavir*, v kateri je razpet med tonalnostjo, enharmonijo in bitonalnostjo, medtem ko v razpoloženjih zaznamo onomatopoiije, sicer značilne tudi za samospeve Marjana Kozine.⁴⁵ Pahor slovi kot partizanski skladatelj, česar se ni nikoli sramoval in o tovrstnem opusu prepričljivo izjavil:

»V meni so zapele strune vse drugačno pesem, naenkrat so bila pozabljena vsa dolgoletna naporna natezanja s proučevanjem izumetničenih tonskih sistemov in

41 Povzeto po Vatovec, »Pahorjev opus mešanih zborov in njegov Očenaš hlapca Jerneja«, 95.

42 Povzeto Antoni, »Pahorjeva tržaška leta«, 23–24.

43 Rafael Ajlec, »Srečanja z umetniki partizani«, *Ljudska pravica* 21, št. 28 (1955): 6.

44 Franc Križnar, »Slovenska partizanska glasba in Karol Pahor«, *Pahorjev zbornik*, 108.

45 Koter, »Kozinovi samospevi in klavirja iz zapuščine«, *Marjan Kozina / mednarodni simpozij o Marjanu Kozini* (Novo mesto: Glasbena šola Marjana Kozine, 2002), 112–113.

*podobno. Ugotovil sem, da sem se v svojim mladih letih oddaljeval od človeka v neizmerno težkem času. Vsa moja muzika, ustvarjena v tistem času, je dokaz, ki zgovorno utemeljujejo moj preobrat.*⁴⁶

Konec vojne zanj ni pomenil novega ustvarjalnega obdobja, prej bi rekli, da je čas narodnega boja in socialističnega duha v njem odmeval več let, podobno kot pri nekaterih drugih skladateljih, denimo pri Radovanu Gobcu in Radu Simonitiju. To je bila doba množične zborovske pesmi o mladini, delu, revoluciji, petletki..., ki je imela propagandni značaj. Najbolj vneti zagovorniki novih tokov in glasbenih direktiv so zborovodjem vsiljevali interpretacijo posameznih skladb, kot je na primer komentar prvega povojnega urednika *Naših zborov* Adolfa Groeblinga, ki je za izvedbo priljubljene Pahorjeve skladbe *Komandant Stane* strogo zapisal, naj bo njena interpretacija udarna, preprosta in naravna ter nikakor ne sentimentalna ali izumetničena.⁴⁷ Sam Pahor pa je o svojem videnju vloge zborovske glasbe in njenih interpretov leta 1949 zapisal:

*Danes se ustvarjajo tesni odnosi med delavskimi množicami in umetnostjo. Umetniki si prizadevajo izoblikovati nov slog, slog socialističnega realizma ali socialistične stvarnosti. Vaša naloga je, da jih v tem prizadevanju podpirate, da širite to glasbo in sploh dobro glasbo po vaseh in delavskih kolektivih in da dvigate umetniški nivo delovnih množic, kajti danes je umetnost last delovanjih ljudi.*⁴⁸

Pahor je bil komunist še iz vojnih dni, zato je parole povojnih oblasti dobro obvladal, vprašanje pa je, ali jim je zares tudi verjel. Prenekateri slovenski umetniki in kulturniki so v vihri časov sledili uradni doktrini, pa čeprav jim ni bila zares blizu. V času informbiroja je Pahor celo doživel grenko izkušnjo, ko so ga kot profesorja glasbeno-teoretičnih predmetov na Akademiji za glasbo čez noč odstavili in poslali na daljši izredni dopust (1949–50).⁴⁹ Ni povsem jasno, ali zaradi svaka, ki je bil politični oporečnik, ali zaradi česa drugega, s čimer naj bi ogrozil ustanovo, ki ji je pripadal.⁵⁰ Ko so se leta 1952 razmere nekako uredile, je ponovno sedel med profesorje in napredoval na delovno mesto profesorja kompozicije. Bil je dober pedagog in priljubljen profesor.⁵¹ V petdesetih letih se je angažiral kot predsednik Društva slovenskih skladateljev in si v tej vlogi med drugim prizadeval za ureditev avtorskih pravic, kar mu je tudi uspelo.

Družbeno-politična situacija je zaznamovala vse umetnike, posebno tiste, ki so bili deležni vojnih strahot in povojnega šikaniranja oblasti. Karol Pahor je bil med tistimi, katerih opus se je po vojni obrnil od avantgardnih smeri in se nagnil k folklornim prvinam in tradicionalnemu glasbenemu stavku. Bil je prepričan, da je njegovo poslanstvo

46 Povzeto po Antoni, »Partizanski samospev in Marjan Kozinas«, *Marjan Kozina – ob 100 letnici rojstva* (Novo mesto: Glasbena šola, 2007), 141.

47 Adolf Groebming, »Pevske neokusnosti«, *Naši zbori* 3, št. 2 (1948): 3.

48 Karol Pahor, »Referat o tretji republikanski reviji SKUD«, *Naši zbori* 4, št. 2 (1949): 8.

49 Prim. Rotar Pance, »Pedagoško delo K. Pahorja na Akademiji za glasbo«, 60.

50 O problematiki kulturnikov v času soerealizma in Pahorjevi povojni usodi glej strnjen prikaz v: Koter, *Slovenska glasba 1918–1991* (Ljubljana: Studentska založba, 2012), 246–58, 281–82.

51 Glej izjave v: Rotar Pance, »Pedagoško delo K. Pahorja na Akademiji za glasbo«, 65–70.

v povratku h koreninam, kar naj bi bil edini porok narodove samoohranitve.⁵² Najbolj so ga zaznamovale istrska, prekmurska in belokranjska ljudska pesem; prvo je kot deček spoznal ob istrskih delavcih, drugo v Trstu od madžarskih vojakov, belokranjsko pa gotovo v partizanskih časih, povezanih z osvobojenimi ozemlji. Istrsko tematiko je večinoma vpletel v orkestralni opus, kot so *Tri etude za klavir* (1948), kasneje preoblikovane v orkestralno delo (*Tri koncertne etude*, 1955/56) ter v inačici še za klavir in orkester (*Tri koncertne etude za klavir in orkester*, do 1960). Kot ugotavlja Andrej Misson, se je v etudah odmaknil od svoje nekdanje estetike in se naslonil na bolj tradicionalno harmonijo, razložene akorde, paralelne terce in sekste, lestvične nize ter pisal oktavne nize z dodano kvinto ali kvarto. Vsa orkestralna dela so tonalna in potrjujejo skladateljevo violinsko znanje. Njegov slog se giblje znotraj tradicionalnih okvirjev, s katerim je morda skušal doseči manj zahtevnega poslušalca, kot je bilo v povojnih letih tudi pričakovano.⁵³ Najbolj cenjena med instrumentalnimi deli je suita za klavir *Istrijanka*, katere zametki segajo v partizanski čas, ki ga je Pahor preživel na Mirni gori nad Belo krajino. Kot klavirsko delo je bilo dokončano v letih 1950–51 in posvečeno istrskemu skladatelju Matetiću-Ronjgovu, ki ga je zelo cenil. Čez pet let je skladbo predelal za zasedbo pihal (1956) in podnaslovil kot »15 plesnih miniatur v duhu istrske narodne melodike za simfonična pihala«. V njem je ohranil prvinskost istrske lestvice, odnos celih tonov in poltonov, ki se v modusu značilno izmenjujejo, ozek ambitus, sekundno gibanje ter vodenje glasov v malih terciah.⁵⁴ Glasbene miniature so odlikujejo po kratkih temah, izvirnih kontrastih v tempu in značajih, kot celota pa po prepričljivi epsko naravnani pripovedi.

Od začetka petdesetih let se je Pahor vse bolj posvečal zborovski glasbi za otroke in mladino, skupno pa je zanje skladal več kot 50 let, pri čemer je izbiral najtehtnejša besedila slovenskih pesnikov. Za tiste predvojne je značilno avantgardno glasbeno tkivo, skladno z drugimi glasbenimi oblikami svojega časa (prim. *Polžja suita*, 1938), po vojni pa se je tudi v tem opusu umiril in stopil v bolj tradicionalno smer (*Najdihojca*, 1950, *Petdeset ugank*, 1953, *Belokranjske otroške pesmi*, obj. l. 1953/54, *Tancaj, tancaj črni kos*, 1952–57). Skladbam je praviloma vtisnil didaktično noto in ustvarjal v prepričanju, da je za mlade dobro le najboljše. Poudarjal je, da ima tedanja narodno-zabavna glasba na otroke kvarni vpliv ter da kazi okus in sposobnost vrednotenja resnih glasbenih del. Tudi v tem opusu najdemo ljudsko melodiko Istre in Bele krajine, ob tem pa tonsko slikanje prizorov iz otroškega življenja. Ustvarjal je tonalno, vendar v prepričljivem njemu lastnem glasbenem jeziku, z občutkom za glasovni razpon določenih starostnih skupin in skladnost glasbenih prvin s povednostjo besedila. Posebej izstopa zbirka *Pedenjped* (bes. Niko Grafenauer), izšla 1974, sestavljena kot niz malih umetnin, od katerih ima vsaka svoj tehnični vozle in sodi med zahtevnejša dela te vrste. V njih najdemo številne modulacije, večje skoke, pogosto menjavanje taktovskih načinov in raznolike drobne izrazne odtenke. Izjemno tehtne so tudi klavirske spremljave v obliki variacij, vprašanj in odgovorov, ki tehtno in izvorno dopolnjujejo pevski part.⁵⁵

52 Prim. Vatovec, »Pahorjev opus mešanih zborov in njegov Očenaš hlapca Jerneja«, 85.

53 Andrej Misson, »Pahorjeva orkestralna dela«, *Pahorjev zbornik*, 155–169.

54 Pavel Mihelčič, »Pahorjev odnos do folklore«, *Pahorjev zbornik*, 151–154.

55 Prim tudi Sonja Kralj Bervar, »Pahorjevi otroški in mladinski zbori«, *Pahorjev zbornik*, 75–83.

Za zaključek

Karol Pahor se je kot skladatelj proslavil na več ravneh: prepoznan je kot eden najznačilnejših učencev Osterčeve šole, iz katere izstopata oba godalna kvarteta in samospjev *Večer je, večer*. Antološka je njegova sklada *Očenaš hlapca Jerneja* in priredba primorske ljudske *Pa seliš*; s katerima je trajno zaznamoval slovensko zborovsko glasbo. Večne so njegove partizanske pesmi *Na juriš*, *Hej, brigade* in ne nazadnje *Komandant Stane*, otroški zbori prepevajo pesmice njegovih številnih zbirk in ne nazadnje, legendarna je tudi njegova *Istrijanka*, ki v slovenski literaturi velja za eno pomembnejših del na ljudsko temo. Čeprav mu v mladosti zaradi težkih osebnih razmer ni bilo dano, da bi se izobrazil za komponista in se je moral zadovoljiti s poklicem učitelja violine, je z neumorno voljo in s trdom svoje želje kasneje dosegel. Po zelo tradicionalnih skladateljskih začetkih, kot jih je zmožel s srednješolskim glasbeno-teoretičnim znanjem in z lastnim delom, je imel pri svojih 35. letih dovolj samozavesti, da se je obrnil na avantgardnega skladatelja in učitelja sodobnih kompozicijskih tokov Slavka Osterca. Naj spomnimo, da Osterc kot modernist v ljubljanskih krogih ni doživljal vsestranskega priznanja, največ potrditev je požel na tujem, doma pa od svojih učencev. Pahorjeva izbira se zdi precej drzna tudi zato, ker je živel v Mariboru, kjer modernistična glasba ni bila del vsakdanjika, prej bi rekli, da si je šele utirala pot na tamkajšnje odre. Dopisna šola je Pahorja nedvomno profilirala in zaznamovala za vse življenje, pa čeprav svojemu učitelju ni dosledno sledil. Od leta 1932 do začetka druge svetovne vojne je sicer pisal v takrat avantgardnih tehnikah, vendar se je pri določenih glasbenih oblikah, predvsem zborih in klavirskih miniaturah, nekoliko brzdal in ustvarjal v slogu »zmernih modernistov«, najbrž zato, ker si je prizadeval, da bi njegova glasba prišla med ljudi. Iz prvih pisem Ostercu razberemo, da mu je bila atonalna glasba prvi cilj in da je bila zanj to edina pot, s katero lahko obeleži duh časa, vendar je svojo slogovno usmeritev kmalu omilil. Čeprav o družbeno-političnih situacijah svoje dobe ni pisno razpravljal, se zdi, da je bil zelo tankočuten in dovzeten za njihove vplive. To se je potrdilo z začetkom druge svetovne vojne, ko je hipoma prevzel slog partizanske glasbe in z njim iskreno zaživel. Ob vrsti koračnic, revolucionarnih in drugih priložnostnih pesmih se je sicer tu in tam »spomnil« svojega širokega spektra glasbeno-teoretičnih znanj in ustvaril kaj v sodobnejših smereh, vendar to ni bila več njegova pot. Po vojni je izhajal iz kolektivističnega duha in pisal v mejah estetske in umetniške kategorije socrealizma, a ne povsem dosledno. Svoje zanimanje je usmeril v ljudsko glasbo, kar bi lahko pomenilo, da se je s tem spretno izmuznil poudarjanju ideoloških vsebin. Posvetil se je orkestralnim skladbam z istrsko in belokranjsko tematiko in ustvaril tehtna dela, v katerih je spretno krmaril med tradicionalnim in smelejšim glasbenim stavkom. Največ pozornosti pa je usmeril k otroškim in mladinskim zborom, ki jim je želel zapustiti čim več pristne glasbe, takšne, ki nagovarja k iskrenosti. Tak obrat je bil posledica številnih razočaranj nad kolegi v stroki, kar mu je rahljalo samozavest in ga končno odtegnilo od družbenih okolij in pahnilo v osamo. Svoj opus je sklenil z zbirko otroških pesmic *Pedenjped* Nika Grafenauerja, s katero pa se je vendarle poslovil v iskriem duhu.

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- NUK, Glasbena zbirka, mapa Vasilij Mirk.
- Arhiv Akademije za glasbo, personalna mapa Karol Pahor.

SUMMARY

Composer Karol Pahor (1896–1974) stood out on several levels and is recognized as one of the most distinguished students of Slavko Osterc, a Slovenian modernist from the time between the two world wars. Under his influence, Pahor absorbed a neoclassical and atonal style, where two string quartets are standing out and solo *Večer je, večer* (*It is evening, evening*) (lyrics by Alojz Gradnik). The anthology of his compositions includes *Očenaš hlapca Jerneja* (*The Lord's Prayer of servant Jernej*) (Lyrics by Ivan Cankar), and the adaptation of the coastal folk song *Pa se sliš'* (*You can hear*), which permanently marked Slovenian choral music. His partisan songs *Na juriš* (*In a rush*), *Hej, brigade* (*Hey brigades*), and, of course, *Komandant Stane* (*Commandant Stane*) are eternal, children's choirs sing many of the songs in his collections. Last but not least, his instrumental composition *Istrijanka*,

which is one of the most important works on the folk theme in Slovenian literature, is also legendary. He enrolled in the study of composition at the *University of Music and Performing Arts Vienna*, but because of a difficult personal situation, he was only there for a short time. After graduating from the *Il Liceo Musicale di Bologna* (Musical High school in Bologna), he had to satisfy himself with the profession of a violin teacher, but later on, he reached his goals. After very traditional compositional beginnings, he turned in 1932 to the avant-garde composer and teacher of contemporary compositional style, Slavko Osterc, and with him, he began a long-standing correspondence school of composition. Osterc, as a modernist in Ljubljana's circles, did not experience all-round recognition, most of his approval came from abroad and from his students, today, however, he is considered the greatest Slovenian modernist of his time. Pahor was undoubtedly profiled and marked for all his life by

him, even though he did not consistently follow in his teacher's footsteps. In the second half of the 30s, he wrote in the then-avant-garde techniques, but in certain musical forms, mainly choirs and piano miniatures, he restrained himself and worked in the style of the "moderate modernists", probably because he strived for his music to get on well among the people. He recognized atonal music as the only one with which he could mark the spirit of the time, but he soon eased his stylistic orientation. He was very sensitive and susceptible to socio-political influences. This was confirmed by the beginning of the Second World War when he promptly took over the style of partisan music and sincerely came to life with it. In addition to marches, revolutionary poetry, and other occasional poems he composed, he sometimes created some work in the avant-garde direction, though this was no longer his style. After the war, he emerged from

the collectivist spirit and wrote within the limits of social realism, though not always consistently. He focused his interest on folk music, possibly as a manoeuvre to avoid emphasising ideological content. He devoted himself to orchestral compositions with Istria and Bela krajina themes and created valuable works in which he skilfully navigated between traditional and avant-garde music. He dedicated most of his attention to children's and youth choirs, whom he wanted to leave as much genuine music as possible, the kind of music that encourages an honest character. Such a turn was the result of many disappointments over colleagues in the profession, which caused a loosening of self-confidence and finally kept him from social environments and shoved him into isolation. He concluded his opus with a collection of children's songs, *Pedenjped* by Niko Grafenauer, with which he bid farewell in witty spirit.



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Tržaško vprašanje in Tržaška filharmonija

The Trieste Question and the Trieste Philharmonic

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IZVLEČEK

Prispevek obravnava delovanje orkestra Tržaške filharmonije (1945–1946) v luči sočasnih političnih prizadevanj za razrešitev tržaškega vprašanja. Po poskusu razjasnitve okoliščin, ki so pripeljale do nastanka orkestra, so predstavljeni njegovo organizacijsko delovanje, njegova turneja po pomembnejših jugoslovanskih mestih in njene politične razsežnosti in slednjič njegov razpust.

ABSTRACT

This paper discusses the activities of the Trieste philharmonic orchestra (1945–1946) in the context of the concurrent political efforts to solve the Trieste question. An attempt to clarify the circumstances under which the orchestra was founded is then followed by a sketch of its organizational structure and a presentation of the orchestra's tour of the main Yugoslav centres and its political connotations. Finally, the circumstances under which the orchestra was dissolved are explained.

1. maja 1945 so enote 9. korpusa in 4. armade jugoslovanske partizanske vojske vkorakale v Trst in pri tem le za las prehiteli britansko 8. armado pod poveljstvom feldmaršala Alexandra. Zmaga v tekmi za zasedbo tega pomembnega severnojadranskega pristanišča (in celotne Julijske krajine) za jugoslovansko stran nikakor ni bila le stvar vojnega prestiža, temveč predvsem odločen korak v prizadevanjih za popravek v očeh Slovencev nedvomno krivične meje z Italijo, kot je bila z Rapalsko pogodbo določena po prvi svetovni vojni.

Trst, ki je od začetka 18. stoletja, ko ga je cesar Karel VI. proglasil za svobodno pristanišče, doživljal hiter gospodarski in demografski vzpon, je do začetka 20. stoletja postal tudi mesto, v katerem je živel največ (ok. 60.000) Slovencev, pri čemer je bila tržaška okolica (podeželje) povsem slovenska. Postal je pomembno slovensko politično in gospodarsko, pa tudi intelektualno in kulturno središče, zaradi česar zahteve po njegovi priključitvi k slovenskemu ozemlju nikakor niso bile presenetljive.

Zahteve za priključitev Trsta in Julijske krajine k Jugoslaviji ob nujni reviziji rapalske meje so bile posebej odločno postavljene v zadnjih letih druge svetovne vojne, ko so si jugoslovanski komunisti s Titom na čelu za njihovo uresničitev intenzivno prizadevali tudi z živahno mednarodno diplomatsko dejavnostjo. Postalo je jasno, da tržaško vprašanje (t. j. vprašanje o pripadnosti Trsta in njegovem statusu), ki je ob nakazujoči se blokovski delitvi sveta dobilo tudi globalno strateško dimenzijo, ne bo lahko rešljivo.¹ V prvih povojnih letih je bilo z njegovim razreševanjem tesno povezano tudi delovanje orkestra Tržaške filharmonije (1945–1946).²

Ustanovitev Tržaške filharmonije

Vseh okoliščin in političnih ozadij, ki so botrovala nastanku Tržaške filharmonije – tudi spričo omejenega dostopa do nekaterih fondov v Arhivu Republike Slovenije – ni

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- 1 Vloga Trsta v slovenskem političnem, gospodarskem in kulturnem življenju in geneza tržaškega vprašanja vse od srede 19. stoletja dalje sta podrobno obravnavani v Jože Pirjevec, *»Trst je naš!«: Boj Slovencev za morje (1848–1954)* (Ljubljana: Nova revija, 2007). Osrednji politični mejniki v reševanju tržaškega vprašanja po drugi svetovni vojni so pregledno prikazani v Dušan Nečak, »Od železne zavese do zelene meje: Regija Alpe-Jadran 1945–1991, 1. del«, *Zgodovinski časopis* 52, št. 2 (1998): 201–214. O širšem mednarodnem kontekstu tržaškega vprašanja se je podrobneje moč poučiti v zborniku *Trst 1945: zbornik predavanj* (Trst: Narodna in študijska knjižnica v Trstu, 1985). Navedena literatura ponuja le osnovni vpogled v problematiko tržaškega vprašanja, s katero se je tako domače kot tuje zgodovinopisje sicer veliko ukvarjalo; obširnejši seznam študij je dostopen v navedeni Pirjevčevi knjigi.
 - 2 Študija, ki bi podrobneje obravnavala delovanje Tržaške filharmonije, do sedaj še ni bila napravljena. Še največ podatkov o njenem delovanju prinaša ustrezno poglavje v knjigi Marka Koširja o dirigentu Jakobu Cipciju, ki je vodil tudi tržaške filharmonike (Marko Košir, *Jakov Cipci: umetniško življenje* (Maribor: Pro-Andy, 2010), 30–39), a je besedilo v več pogledih problematično in zato za namen znanstvene študije manj uporabno. Ker je delo poljudnega značaja, težavo v prvi vrsti predstavlja preverljivost navedenih podatkov, saj ob besedilu ni sprotih opomb s sklici na vire. Knjiga sicer vsebuje splošno poglavje *Kako sem zbiral podatke* (Košir, *Jakov Cipci*, 14–17), v katerem so navedeni nekateri najpomembnejši viri, a je avtor ob redkih priložnostih, ko se v besedilu nanje tudi dejansko sklicuje, precej nedosleden, tako da večkrat ni jasno, za kateri vir pravzaprav gre. Tako na str. 14 govori o tem, da je »drugi in najpomembnejši vir Cipcijeve umetniška zapuščina v UKM«, kmalu zatem (str. 17) pa omenja »Cipcijev arhiv«. V poglavju o Tržaški filharmoniji se nato sklicuje na (str. 32) »Cipcijev koledar nastopov«, zatem pa še na (str. 33) »natančno vodeno evidenco maestra Cipcija« in na (str. 37) »Cipcijevo zapuščino«; ob rabi navedenih sklicev v različnih kontekstih lahko (predvsem na podlagi vsebine) le domnevamo, da gre v vseh primerih morda za isti vir. V Koširjevem delu so nadalje prisotne tudi nekatere nedoslednosti pri navajanju podatkov oz. njihovem prevzemanju iz uporabljenih virov (npr. nekateri datumi koncertov), predvsem pa je problematično dejstvo, da je podana slika o nastanku in delovanju orkestra spričo relativno omejene uporabe virov precej nepopolna. Kot je moč sklepati iz vsebine poglavja o Tržaški filharmoniji in iz nekaterih avtorjevih navedb, so bili podatki povečini prevzeti iz prvih dveh od petih Cipcijevih albumov *Vita artistica di Jakob Cipci*, ki jih hranijo v Zbirki drobnih tiskov Univerzitetne knjižnice Maribor in v katerih so zbrani predvsem časopisni članki in koncertni listi. Ostale omenbe Tržaške filharmonije v literaturi (tako znanstveni kot tisti poljudnejšega značaja) so le obrobne in so v veliki večini povezane z delovanjem orkestra ljubljanskega radia in orkestra Slovenske filharmonije. Kot bo prikazano v nadaljevanju, so namreč najprej v radijski orkester, nato pa še v orkester Slovenske filharmonije po njenem razpustu prešli tudi nekateri člani Tržaške filharmonije (vključno z dirigentom Cipcijem). Izmed tovrstnih prispevkov velja omeniti predvsem monografiji dr. Primoža Kureta o delovanju Slovenske filharmonije (Primož Kuret, *100 let Slovenske filharmonije: 1908–2008* (Ljubljana, Slovenska filharmonija, 2008), 57–60 in Primož Kuret, *Slovenska filharmonija/Academia philharmonicorum: 1701–2001* (Ljubljana: Slovenska filharmonija, 2001), 77–79) in zbornik, ki je izšel ob 50-letnici Simfoničnega orkestra RTV Slovenija (Matej Venier in Nela Malečkar, ur., *Simfonični orkester RTV Slovenija – 50 let* (Ljubljana: Radiotelevizija Slovenija, 2006), 68).

mogoče docela pojasniti. Ob omejeni dostopnosti do virov težavo predstavljajo tudi velikokrat nepopolna, včasih pa tudi dvomna in nasprotujoča si poročila o delovanju orkestra v literaturi in posebno v sočasnem dnevnem časopisju.³ Kot izhodišče poskusa rekonstrukcije okoliščin, ki so pripeljale do ustanovitve Tržaške filharmonije, velja nedvomno izpostaviti pričevanja dirigenta Jakova Cipcija,⁴ ki je v intervjuju z začetka petdesetih let, objavljenem v *Koncertnem listu*, o ustanovitvi in delovanju orkestra povedal:

Radio Trst je leta 1943 ustanovil svoj simfonični orkester. Po osvoboditvi je orkester dobil ime Tržaške filharmonije. Toda ko so angleške zasedbene oblasti prevzele radijsko postajo, so razpusile orkester, češ da so prizadeti godbeniki odpuščeni zato, da s svojo pomočjo in s svojim sodelovanjem okrepe mnogo važnejši operni orkester. Ravno tedaj pa je bil v Trstu tov. Marjan Kozina, ki se je dobro zavedal, kaj bi pomenila pridobitev takega korpusa za Jugoslavijo. Zavzel se je za to in avgusta 1945 se je ves orkester odločil ter prišel v Zagreb, odkoder se je malo kasneje – novembra – napotil v Ljubljano, kjer je ostal do konca leta 1946, ko je bil razformiran.⁵

Nekoliko drugače je o ustanovitvi Tržaške filharmonije januarja 1946 v *Tovarišu* pisal Ciril Cvetko:

Tržaška filharmonija je mlada ustanova. Ustanovljena je bila z dnem osvoboditve Trsta po jugoslovanskih četah. Dotedanji orkester tržaške radijske postaje je pričel dopolnjevati svoja mesta s protifašističnimi glasbeniki. [...] Ob odhodu jugoslovanskih čet iz Trsta, se je situacija za filharmonijo dokaj izpremenila. [...] Končno je bilo njihovo delovanje povsem onemogočeno. V tem času so se pričeli dogovori z jugoslovanskimi forumi, ki so razumeli pomembnost obstoja take filharmonije ne samo sedaj, temveč tudi v bodočnosti. Dogovorjeno je bilo, da se Tržaška filharmonija v celoti preseli v Jugoslavijo in da izmenoma gostuje v Beogradu, Zagrebu in Ljubljani.⁶

Pomenljivo notico o ustanovitvi Tržaške filharmonije najdemo tudi v Cipcijevem nekrologu, ki je bil julija 1975 objavljen v časopisu *Il meridiano di Trieste*:

Prišla je osvoboditev in Cipci je za vedno zapustil svoj Trst. Paolo Jancovich in Marjan Kozina sta z jasnimi političnimi nameni ustanovila tržaški filharmonični orkester in Cipci je bil povabljen za dirigenta.⁷

3 O delovanju orkestra Tržaške filharmonije so poročali mnogi sočasni jugoslovanski in tržaški časopisi, med drugim tudi osrednji dnevnik: slovenska *Ljudska pravica* in *Slovenski poročevalec*, hrvaška *Vjesnik* in *Narodni list* ter srbska *Borba* in *Politika*; izmed tržaških časopisov velja posebej izpostaviti dnevnik tržaške komunistične partije *Il lavoratore*.

4 Jakov Cipci (1901–1975) je bil v Splitu rojeni violinist, violist in dirigent. Na tržaškem konservatoriju je študiral violino in že med študijem začel igrati v opernem orkestru. V letih pred drugo svetovno vojno je med drugim dirigiral salonskim orkestrom na ladjah *Vulcania* in *Saturnia*, med vojno pa je deloval kot dirigent orkestra tržaškega radia. Po vojni je med drugim kot stalni dirigent vodil orkester Tržaške filharmonije, orkester Radia Ljubljana, orkester Slovenske filharmonije in orkester mariborske opere, kjer je bil tudi ravnatelj. Podrobneje glej Maks Šah, »Cipci, Jakob (Jakov)«, v *Primorski slovenski biografski leksikon*: 3. snopič (Gorica: Goriška Mohorjeva družba, 1976), 189.

5 »Razgovor z dirigentom Jakovom Cipcijem«, *Koncertni list* 1, št. 1 (1951/1952): 35–36.

6 Ciril Cvetko, »Tržaška filharmonija pri nas«, *Tovariš*, januar 1946: 28.

7 »La scomparsa del maestro Cipci: una vita emblematica«, *Il meridiano di Trieste*, 17.–20. julij 1975: 17.

Slednjič velja omeniti še podatek v zvezi z imenom orkestra, naveden v napovedi enega izmed njegovih beograjskih koncertov maja 1946, ki je bila objavljena v časopisu *Glas Narodnog fronta Srbije*:

Ker se je nenehno razvijal in vključeval nove izvajalske moči, je nekdanjemu radijskemu orkestru uspelo, da je od PNOO (Pokrajinskega narodnoosvobodilnega odbora) 9. junija 1945 prejel naziv Tržaške filharmonije.⁸

Ob navedenih zapisih, v katerih je sicer moč najti tudi nekatere stične točke, se postavljajo naslednja vprašanja: Kdaj točno in zakaj je bil ustanovljen orkester Tržaške filharmonije? Ali gre res za orkester tržaškega radia, ki je le prevzel drugo ime? Kakšna je bila vloga Marjana Kozine pri ustanovitvi orkestra? Kakšno je morebitno politično ozadje ustanovitve Tržaške filharmonije in kakšna je bila nacionalna sestava orkestra? Odgovore na zastavljena vprašanja gre iskati v povezavi z nekaterimi vidiki tržaškega glasbenega življenja v prvih povojnih mesecih, posebno v povezavi z delovanjem tržaškega radia.

Ko je jugoslovanska vojska v začetku maja 1945 prišla v Trst, je tu naletela na za vojni čas precej razvejano glasbeno življenje. Središče glasbenega dogajanja je bilo gledališče Verdi, kjer se je med vojno število predstav in simfoničnih koncertov celo povečalo in kjer je bil marca 1944 ustanovljen tudi stalni orkester.⁹ Pestro je bilo tudi glasbeno življenje tržaškega radia, ki se je po kapitulaciji Italije in nemški zasedbi Trsta septembra 1943 preimenoval v *Radio Litorale Adriatico – RLA (Radio Jadransko Primorje)*. V njegovem okviru je delovalo ok. 90 glasbenikov, ki so igrali v več stalnih zasedbah: v ok. 50-članskem velikem orkestru (Grande orchestra del RLA), ki ga je kot stalni dirigent vodil Cipci, občasno pa so mu dirigirali še Pino Trost, Nino Verchi, Luigi Toffolo, Max Schönherr in Rudolf Moralt), v malem orkestru (Piccola orchestra della RLA) in v plesnem orkestru (Orchestrina di ritmi e canzoni del RLA oz. Orchestrina da ballo della RLA); zadnja dva so vodili Roberto Erlach, Guido Cergoli in Bruno Paoletti. Poleg tega so na radiu zaposleni glasbeniki za potrebe programa oblikovali tudi razne priložnostne zasedbe, v glasbenih oddajah pa so občasno sodelovali tudi nekateri zunanji posamezniki in skupine, med katerimi velja posebej izpostaviti harmonikarski orkester (dir. Saveria Zacutti), takratno mestno godbo in zbor, ki sta oba delovala v okviru organizacije Dopolavoro. Veliki radijski orkester pod vodstvom Cipcija nikakor ni izvajal le radijskih simfoničnih koncertov, temveč pogosto tudi popularnejše zvrsti in jazz. *Radio Litorale Adriatico* je zadnjič oddajal 29. aprila 1945 zvečer.¹⁰

Po zasedbi Trsta je jugoslovanska vojska v mestu nemudoma začela z vzpostavljanjem svoje oblasti in takoj zasedla tudi radijsko poslopje. 3. maja je Komanda mesta

8 »Trščanska filharmonija prireduje večeras koncert na Kolarčevom univerzitetu«, *Glas Narodnog fronta Srbije*, 16. maj 1946: 1.

9 O glasbenem delovanju tržaške opere med drugo svetovno vojno se je podrobneje moč poučiti v Vito Levi, *La vita musicale a Trieste: Cronache di un cinquantennio 1918–1968* (Milano: All'insegna del pesce d'oro, 1968), 137–140.

10 Podrobneje glej Guido Candussi, *Storia della radiodiffusione II* (Trst, samozaložba, 2003), 911–918, 925–927, 930–947. Inženir Guido Candussi (roj. 1916) je na tržaškem radiu kratek čas deloval že med vojno, po vojni pa je bil tu najprej vodja tehničnega odseka in zatem direktor izpostave RAI. V svojem monumentalnem delu *La storia della radiodiffusione* v treh obsežnih zvezkih med drugim podrobno opisuje delovanje tržaškega radia, pri čemer je podatke, ki jih navaja, pridobival tudi od nekaterih ključnih posameznikov, ki so tam službovali. V tem pogledu je delo neprecenljiv vir informacij, ki bi bile (tudi spričo izgubljenega radijskega arhiva) sicer najbrž za zmeraj pozabljene.

Trst izdala odredbo, v kateri je v petih točkah določeno, kaj naj se zgodi s tržaškim radiem:

1. *Radijska postaja EIAR v Trstu se postavlja pod vojaško oblast.*
2. *Komando nad postajo prevzame major Ante Novak.*
3. *Vse osebje, ki je bilo v službi pri tej postaji kot uslužbenci EIARA ali Litorale Adriatico se mobilizirajo in ostajajo na svoji doseganji službi.*
4. *Dosedanja radijska postaja EIARA v Trstu se preimenuje v 'Radio Trst – Radio Trieste'.*
5. *Radio Trst naj z oddajanjem začne takoj, ko bodo dani tehnični pogoji.¹¹*

Po prevzemu vodstva radijske postaje si je major Ante Novak prizadeval za čim hitrejši pričetek ponovnega oddajanja in po nekaj tehničnih zapletih je bilo Radio Trst ponovno moč slišati v soboto, 5. maja, zvečer.¹² Do 10. maja je bilo delovanje radia vzpostavljeno do te mere, da so v *Poročilo o normalizaciji življenja v mestu Trstu* lahko zapisali: »Funkcionira radio Trst.«¹³

Ob ostalih zaposlenih se je v skladu z zgoraj navedeno odredbo k delu na radiu vrnila tudi večina glasbenikov. Vodja glasbenega programa je najprej postal Bojan Adamič,¹⁴ ki pa je že 9. maja odšel v Ljubljano, kjer je sodeloval pri postavljanju glasbenih oddaj Radia Ljubljana.¹⁵ Na Adamičevo mesto je bil po njegovem odhodu imenovan skladatelj Marjan Kozina, ki je bil z odlokom Generalštaba Jugoslovanske armade 18. maja 1945 tudi stalno razporejen pod Komando mesta Trst;¹⁶ že 16. maja je Kozina v okviru programa dirigiral velikemu radijskemu orkestru.¹⁷

Ciril Cvetko v monografiji o Marjanu Kozini navaja, da »je kot novi glasbeni šef tržaškega radia že prve majske dni razgibal orkestrov repertoar, predvsem pa je začel ansambel kadrovske krepiti in širiti. Vanj je vključil mnoge odlične glasbenike, ki so dotlej igrali v milanski Scali, v rimski Operi in drugje. V kratkem času je postal novi tržaški orkester sposoben izvajati tudi zahtevnejše simfonične koncerte.«¹⁸ Iz ohranjenih sporedov radijskih koncertov za drugo polovico maja 1945¹⁹ velikega preboja v delovanju radijskega orkestra, o katerem govori Cvetko, ni zaznati. Prav tako je v zvezi z navedenim

11 AS 1864 (Komanda vojne oblasti), t. e. 321 (Komanda mesta Trst), mapa IV, »Odredba«, 3. maj 1945.

12 Notica o začetku ponovnega oddajanja Radia Trst je bila naslednji dan objavljena v *Partizanskem dnevniku* (»Radio Trst spet oddaja«, *Partizanski dnevnik*, 6. maj 1945: 1). Ante Novak v svojem pričevanju, objavljenem v zborniku *Glas v ... etru*, sicer navaja, da je »Radio Trst – Radio Trieste Libera začel z rednimi oddajami ob 12. uri« (Lidia Turk, *Glas v ... etru* (Trst: Deželni sedež RAI za Furlanijo-Juljsko krajino, 1991), 14). Predstavljamo si lahko, da je bilo oddajanje 5. maja zvečer morda poskusno, po odpravljenih tehničnih težavah, z rednimi oddajami pa je radio začel naslednji dan.

13 AS 1864 (Komanda vojne oblasti), t. e. 321 (Komanda mesta Trst), mapa III, »Poročilo o normalizaciji življenja v mestu Trstu«, 10. maj 1945.

14 Turk, *Glas v ... etru*, 12–13, 17.

15 Venier, *Simfonični orkester RTV Slovenija*, 67.

16 AS 1864 (Komanda vojne oblasti), t. e. 321 (Komanda mesta Trst), mapa III, »Vsem oddelkom glavnega štaba Slovenije«, 23. maj 1945. V istem dokumentu je navedeno, da se Komandi mesta Trst dodeli tudi Godba Generalštaba Slovenije, ki je nato sodelovala tudi v radijskem programu tržaškega radia.

17 AS 1747 (Radio Trst), t. e. 1, »Spored oddaje v sredo dne 16. 5. 45.« O tem, da je prevzel glasbeno vodstvo tržaškega radia, in o razmerah, na katere je naletel v Trstu, je Kozina poročal tudi v pismu domačim: »V tem trenutku sem moral prevzeti glasbeno vodstvo tržaškega radia in nimam pojma, kdaj bom mogel domov. [...] Kakor hitro bom mogel, pridem domov, kdaj bo to, pa ne vem, ker je tu kaos, ki ga je treba urediti, kar ni lahka stvar.« (NUK, Glasbena zbirka, Kozina, Marjan, Kronika, I, Pisma, Ovoj Pisma družini 1945–1947, Pismo Marjana Kozine domačim iz Trsta, nedatirano [maj 1945?]).

18 Ciril Cvetko, *Marjan Kozina* (Ljubljana: Partizanska knjiga, 1983), 143.

19 Sporedi nekaterih koncertov so ohranjeni v AS 1747 (Radio Trst), t. e. 1.

povedno dejstvo, da je moral biti radijski orkester ob simfoničnem koncertu, s katerim je 28. maja gostoval v Unionski dvorani v Ljubljani, »pomnožen s člani orkestra Verdi-jevega gledališča v Trstu«. ²⁰ Slednjič velja omeniti še Candussijevo navedbo, da je bilo 11. junija 1945 na radiu zaposlenih le 45 orkestrašev, ²¹ in navedbo iz časopisa *Giornale Alleato*, da je bil orkester na koncertu, ki ga je imel 13. julija, le »maloštevilen«. ²²

Zdi se torej, da se je glasbeno življenje tržaškega radia po jugoslovanskem prevzemu oblasti relativno hitro obnovilo in da je še naprej teklo po ustaljenih tirnicah. Iz radijskih sporedov lahko razberemo, da so v okviru programa še naprej delovali veliki radijski orkester (grande orchestra), katerega glavni dirigent je bil Cipci, ²³ ter mali radijski orkester (piccola orchestra) in plesni orkester (orchestra ritmica) pod vodstvom Cergolija in Erlacha. V programu so še naprej sodelovali razni zunanji izvajalci (kot npr. že omenjeni orkester harmonik), potekali pa so tudi prenosi koncertov in opernih predstav iz gledališča Verdi. ²⁴

Kljub temu, da se je jugoslovanska oblast v Trstu hitro vzpostavljala, je bilo jasno, da se zahodni zavezniki mestu ne bodo odpovedali. Tako je že 8. maja v Beograd odpotoval general Morgan, načelnik štaba feldmaršala Alexandra, ki je od Tita zahteval, naj do 11. maja umakne svoje enote za t. i. Morganovo črto. Ker se jugoslovanska stran zahtevam ni želela ukloniti, je prišlo do t. i. majske krize. Ob močnih mednarodnih pritiskih (tudi s strani Sovjetske zveze) je jugoslovanski vladi postalo jasno, da se njen maksimalistični načrt ne bo uresničil. 9. junija 1945 je bil slednjič podpisan beograjski sporazum, na podlagi katerega so se že čez 3 dni, 12. junija, jugoslovanske čete umaknile tako iz Trsta kot tudi s celotnega območja novooblikovane cone A Julijske krajine; cona B je ostala pod jugoslovansko upravo. ²⁵ Čeprav so morale jugoslovanske enote zapustiti Trst in čeprav so se vodilni jugoslovanski politiki najbrž zavedali, da bo mesto težko priključiti k Jugoslaviji, se mu nikakor niso želeli odreči. Reševanje tržaškega vprašanja se je z vojaške šahovnice preselilo na diplomatski parket, diplomatska prizadevanja Jugoslavije pa je spremljala intenzivna politična propaganda, namenjena tako domači kot tuji javnosti. ²⁶

20 »Kulturne vezi med Ljubljano in Trstom«, *Ljudska pravica*, 29. maj 1945: 6. Od orkestra gledališča Verdi si je radijski orkester ob tej priložnosti »izposodil« tudi dirigenta, saj na koncertu ni diriral Cipci, temveč Luigi Toffolo.

21 Guido Candussi, *Storia della radiodiffusione III* (Trst: [samozaložba], 2007), 33.

22 »Concerto dedicato ai lavoratori«, *Giornale Alleato*, 16. julij 1945: 2.

23 Kdaj točno je veliki radijski orkester ponovno začel koncertirati, ni znano. Gotovo je najkasneje do 16. maja, ko mu je v okviru radijskega programa dirigiral Kozina, že deloval. Na podlagi notice, objavljene v *Ljudski pravici* (datirana 15. maja), se zdi, da je bil to v resnici njegov prvi koncert pod jugoslovansko oblastjo v Trstu: »Gledališče 'Verdi' je že pričelo s predstavami. Orkester gledališča 'Verdi' in orkester 'Cipci' bosta v najkrajšem času pričela prirejati koncerte.« Vsekakor ne bi bilo nič presenetljivega, če bi radijskemu orkestru ob ponovnem pričetku njegovega delovanja dirigiral vodja glasbenih programov. V naslednjih dneh sta orkestru dirigirala Cipci (17. in 18. maj) in Pino Trost (19. maj). Kozina pa se kot dirigent v razpoložljivih sporedih ne omenja več. Podrobneje glej AS 1747 (Radio Trst), t. e. 1, »Program v sredo dne 16. 5. 45«, »Spored za petek [v resnici četrtek] 17. maja 1945«, »Spored dne 18. maja 1945«, »Spored oddaje v soboto dne 19. 5. 45«.

V Arhivu Slovenije se je ohranilo tudi pričevanje o organizacijskih težavah pri prenosih radijskih koncertov, katerega avtorica je najverjetneje znana napovedovalka Draga Rogl: »Koncerte simfoničnega orkestra smo prenašali iz koncertne dvorane. Bili so vedno pozno v sporedu. Godbeniki niso imeli prepustnic za policijsko uro. Peljali smo jih domov z džipom, tiste, ki so stanovali najbližje pa sem spremila (seveda v uniformi z malo bereto) sama na njih domove. Mnogi se radi spominjajo na ta spremstva, ko jih je 'bionda partigiana' vodila domov.« (AS 1215 (Arhiv RTV), t. e. 1 (Radio Trst - Radio Trieste), »Spomini na Trst«).

24 Podroben seznam sodelujočih v programu je naveden v Candussi, *Storia della radiodiffusione II*, 965-966.

25 Podrobneje glej Nečak, »Od železne zavese do zelene meje«, 205-208.

26 Kot del tovrstne propagande lahko v več pogledih razumemo tudi že omenjeni koncert tržaškega radijskega orkestra v Ljubljani 28. maja 1945. V časopisnih poročilih, ki so ga spremljala, so se poudarjale kulturne vezi med Ljubljano in Trstom. Pri tem se

Tako kot pred njimi Jugoslovani so tudi zahodni zavezniki po 12. juniju v Trstu hiteli z vzpostavljanjem svoje oblasti, čemur se ni izognilo niti glasbeno življenje. Če se le-to v času, ko je bila v mestu jugoslovanska vojska, ni bistveno spreminjalo, so anglo-ameriške oblasti vanj vpeljale pomembne spremembe. Te pa se vendarle niso zgodile čez noč in v prvih tednih Zavezniške vojaške uprave se je tržaško glasbeno dogajanje odvijalo v ustaljenem ritmu: nadaljevale so se tako produkcije v gledališču Verdi kot tudi dejavnost glasbenih ansamblov v okviru tržaškega radia.²⁷ Pravzaprav se je delovanje velikega radijskega orkestra pod Cipcijevim vodstvom še okrepilo, saj je ob rednih »programskih« zadolžitvah pričel izvajati še t. i. koncerte za delavce (concerti per i lavoratori).²⁸

Organizacijske spremembe, do katerih je zatem prišlo v tržaškem glasbenem življenju, imajo v prvi vrsti finančno ozadje. Novi direktor tržaškega radia, britanski kapitan Edward Astley, se je moral namreč ob prevzemu vodstva radijske postaje soočiti s težko finančno situacijo, saj Radio Trst zaradi svojega neurejenega pravnega statusa ni mogel biti upravičen do prejemanja naročniških prispevkov, čeprav so naročniki le-te plačevali. Za razrešitev težavnega finančnega stanja²⁹ si je kapitan Astley uspel zagotoviti pomoč izkušenega računovodje Luigija Fonde, ki so ga prav za ta namen v Trst premestili iz Milana. Fonda se je takoj povezal s tržaškim odvetnikom Manliem Cecovinijem, ki je bil tačas svetovalec Zavezniške vojaške uprave, in skupaj sta

je skušalo ustvariti vtis, da je pripadnost Trsta Jugoslaviji dejstvo, čeprav so se oblasti ob vsem javnosti prikritem zakulisnem dogajanju takrat že nedvomno zavedale, da temu ni tako in da se bo potrebno iz mesta umakniti: »Vezi med Trstom in novo Jugoslavijo postajajo iz dneva v dan vse krepkejše, vse tesnejše. To je pokazal tudi ponedeljski koncert, ki ga je izvajal tržaški radijski orkester, pomnožen s člani orkestra Verdijevega gledališča v Trstu. [...] Tržaško ljudstvo je vedno čutilo, da njegova usoda zavisi od skupnih naporov Italijanov in Slovencev, od njihovega sodelovanja in povezanosti. Tržačan je že po svojem značaju miroljuben, visoko kulturne človek, ki se nikoli ni mogel sprijazniti z imperialističnimi, nasilniškimi metodami in cilji fašizma. Jugoslovanska armada, ki je osvobodila Trst, je tržaškemu prebivalstvu prinesla tudi neomejene možnosti razvoja.« (»Prvi simfonični koncert v svobodni Ljubljani«, *Ljudska pravica*, 31. maj 1945: 4.)

- 27 Po odhodu jugoslovanskih čet je sicer prišlo do zamenjave nekaterih vodilnih radijskih kadrov. Radio je postal podrejen t. i. *AIS oz. Allied Information Service* in 24. junija je bil za njegovega vodjo imenovan britanski kapitan Edward Astley, vodja glasbenega oddelka pa je že 12. junija, ko je iz Trsta skupaj z jugoslovansko vojsko odšel Kozina, postal dr. Gobjmir Demšar. Podrobneje glej Candussi, *Storia della radiodiffusione III*, 6 in Turk, *Glas v ... etru*, 21.
- 28 Prvi koncert je bil že 15. junija, sledila sta še koncerta 29. junija in 13. julija. Sprva je bilo sicer predvideno, da se bodo koncerti odvijali vsak teden, a so bili zaradi »tehničnih težav« nato organizirani vsakih štirinajst dni (»Concerti per il lavoratore«, *Il Lavoratore*, 21. junij 1945: 2). Organizator koncertov je bil Odsek za tisk in propagando pri Okrožnem mestnem komiteju enotnih sindikatov (Comitato Circondariale Cittadino Sindacati Unici - Sezione Stampa e Propaganda), njihov namen pa izboljšanje glasbene izobrazbe delovnega ljudstva; zainteresirani delavci naj bi imeli tudi možnost predlagati izvedbe njim ljubih skladb. (»Gradne concerto al Teatro Verdi per i lavoratori«, *Il Lavoratore*, 12. junij 1945: 2 in »Il Concerto vocale - instrumentale per I lavoratori al Tatro Verdi«, *Il Lavoratore*, 16. junij 1945: 2.) Ker je bila prva napoved koncertov v dnevnem časopisu objavljena že 12. junija, lahko domnevamo, da so bili koncerti zamišljeni še v času jugoslovanske oblasti v Trstu. To potrjuje tudi zapisnik seje Osvobodilnega sveta za Trst s 24. junija 1945, v katerem je navedeno, da je zamisel o koncertih za delavce pri radijskem orkestru nastala po vrnitvi z gostovanja v Ljubljani konec maja, a je zaradi zavrivanja anglo-ameriških oblasti niso mogli takoj uresničiti. (AS 1583 (Mestni osvobodilni svet Trst), t. e. 2 (Zapisniki MOS 1945), »Seja osvobodilnega Sveta dne 24. 6. 1945 ob 9.30«, str. 4.) Programi koncertov sicer niso bili prav nič »delavski«, temveč je šlo za običajne simfonične koncerte, na katerih pa so prevladovali slovanski skladatelji; med drugim so izvajali simfonična dela Dvořaka, Rimskega-Korsakova, Mendelssohna, Smetane in Borodina in odlomke iz (predvsem italijanske) operne literature. Podrobneje glej: »Il concerto sinfonico-vocale per i lavoratori al Verdi«, *Giornale alleato*, 20. junij 1945: 2; »Il concerto sinfonico-vocale di venerdì scorso per il lavoratore«, *Giornale alleato*, 2. julij 1945: 2; »Il concerto dedicato ai lavoratori«, *Giornale alleato*, 16. julij 1945: 2; »Il concerto sinfonico per i lavoratori al Verdi«, *Il Lavoratore*, 30. junij 1945: 2; »Il concerto sinfonico vocale per i lavoratori«, *Il Lavoratore*, 15. julij 1945: 2.
- 29 Finančno stanje je bilo v začetku julija tako pereče, da zaposlenim niso mogli izplačati plač, o tem je (povzemajoč po agencijski novici Tanjug) poročala tudi *Ljudska pravica* (»Angloameriška vojna uprava radijske postaje Trsta«, *Ljudska pravica*, 11. julij 1945: 2). Finančno stanje tržaškega radia pod Zavezniško vojaško upravo je podrobneje predstavljeno v Candussi, *Storia della radiodiffusione III*, 40–50.

pripravila predlog rešitve. Po preučitvi pravnih in finančnih okvirjev se je izkazalo, da bo potrebno ustanoviti nov zavod, katerega pravni status bo dopuščal tudi pobiranje naročnine. Zavezniške oblasti so se s predlagano rešitvijo strinjale, v ustanavljanju novega zavoda pa so videle tudi priložnost za širšo reorganizacijo in finančno racionalizacijo tržaškega glasbenega življenja: z željo po učinkovitejši izrabi obeh simfoničnih orkestrów, radijskega in opernega, je bilo določeno, da se bo v novi zavod poleg radia združilo tudi tržaško operno gledališče Verdi.³⁰ Nova ureditev je bila formalizirana z *Ukazom št. 30*, ki ga je (z retroaktivnim učinkom) 20. oktobra 1945 izdal polkovnik Alfred C. Bowman, višji častnik za civilne zadeve. V skladu s tem ukazom je bil ustanovljen Zavod Radio Gledališče Trst (Ente Radio Teatro Trieste), ki »bo upravljal in vodil opravke in posle tržaške radijske postaje, Verdijevega občinskega gledališča v Trstu in tržaškega filharmoničnega orkestra«.³¹

Reorganizacija, do katere je prišlo šele po zaključku sezone v tržaški operi (21. julija 1945³²), je v praksi pomenila ukinitvev vseh glasbenih zasedb, ki so do tedaj delovale na tržaškem radiu, ukinitvev orkestra v gledališču Verdi in, končno, ustanovitev novega, večjega orkestra z imenom *Tržaška filharmonija* (*Orchestra filarmonica triestina*), za katerega je bilo predvideno, da bo tako prirejal simfonične koncerte kot tudi sodeloval pri opernih uprizoritvah.³³ Razloge za razpustitev obstoječih orkestrów in potek ustanovitve nove Tržaške filharmonije so zavezniki (morda tudi spričo nekaterih ostrih nasprotovanj, ki so se ob tem pojavila³⁴) podrobno pojasnili v časopisu *Giornale alleato*:

Ko so zavezniki prišli v Trst, sta v mestu delovala dva orkestra, en šestdesetčlanski v Gledališču Verdi in drugi petdesetčlanski na Radiu. Očitno je bilo, da noben izmed njiju ni mogel delovati kot pravi simfonični orkester; poleg tega najboljši glasbeniki prvega niso bili na razpolago drugemu in obratno. Radijski orkester so ustanovili Nemci, ki so vlagali velike vsote denarja v uspešno propagando. Nadaljnje plačevanje takega stroška ne bi bilo smiselno in bi bilo tako v nasprotju z interesi Radia kot z interesi Gledališča Verdi, posledično pa tudi v nasprotju z interesi ljudi.

Tako v umetniškem kot v finančnem pogledu se je zato zdelo koristno oblikovati en velik simfonični orkester s 85 ali 90 člani; hkrati bi bilo poskrbljeno tudi za zaposlitve tistih, ki v ta orkester ne bi mogli biti vključeni. Ta načrt so podprli tako zavezniške oblasti kot tudi vsi tisti, ki jim je mar za glasbeno prihodnost mesta. Združitvev dveh orkestrów s svojo zgodovino in različnim značajem ni enostavna stvar. Da bi bili pravični do glasbenikov in da bi v novem orkestru ohranili demokratični duh, je bila oblikovana izborna komisija, ki so jo sestavljali maestro De Vecchi, maestro

30 Candussi, *Storia della radiodiffusione III*, 11–12, 84.

31 Alfred C. Bowman, »Ukaz št. 30«, *Uradni list zavezniške vojaške uprave*, 15. november 1945: 3–4.

32 »L'annata lirica e sinfonica: 35 concerti e 107 esecuzioni d'operas«, *Giornale alleato*, 24. julij 1945: 2.

33 To sicer v Trstu ni bilo nič novega, saj je simfonične koncerte izvajal že zgoraj omenjeni stalni orkester, ki je bil v operi osnovan leta 1944; na njih je nastopal kot *Stalni orkester mesta Trst* (*Orchestra stabile della città di Trieste*). Programski listi teh koncertov so ohranjeni v fondu dirigenta Luigiija Toffola v tržaškem muzeju Schmidl (Civico museo teatrale Carlo Schmidl, fond Luigi Toffolo, Fascikel 5, mapa 1944).

34 Candussi navaja, da se je združitvi opernega in radijskega orkestra odločno uprl Mario Bugamelli, zadnji direktor radia pod jugoslovansko oblastjo. Kapitan Astley naj bi ga po Candussijevih navedbah odstranil z radia – tudi zato, ker je bil po svojem političnem prepričanju odkrit jugoslovanski komunist. (Candussi, *Storia della radiodiffusione III*, 13).

Toffolo in po en glasbenik iz vsakega orkestra; njen tajnik je bil maestro Cervi-Pelizzoni z Radia Trst. Ta komisija je svoje delo opravila tako dobro, da so vsi, ki so bili povabljeni, da se pridružijo novemu orkestru (med njimi tudi vsi najboljši glasbeniki), razen desetih podpisali pogodbe.

Kar se tiče zaposlitve članov obeh orkestrrov, ki so bili izključeni in ki so jim v primeru potrebe zaposlitve zagotavljali zavezniki, je bilo ob aktivnem sodelovanju profesorjev Jancovicha in Kuhacevica oblikovano jedro drugega orkestra pod vodstvom maestra Cipcija. Ta orkester je že sklenil pogodbo z Ljubljano in bo najbrž odšel na turnejo po Jugoslaviji.³⁵

Prvi koncert novoustanovljenega orkestra, ki je bil v tržaškem časopisju večinoma pozitivno sprejet,³⁶ je bil v soboto, 18. avgusta 1945, v Gledališču Verdi.³⁷ Hkrati z oblikovanjem novega orkestra se je bistveno spremenil program Radia Trst: veliki orkester pod vodstvom Cipcija je zadnjič nastopil 21. julija,³⁸ do 10. avgusta pa sta z delom prenehali tudi zasedbi pod vodstvom Cergolija in Erlacha.³⁹ Manko v programu so zavezniki nadomestili s prenosi glasbenih oddaj Radia Britanskih oboroženih sil, vključili pa so tudi prenose novic BBC.⁴⁰ Notica o spremembah na tržaškem radiu, ki le-te prikazuje v nekoliko drugačni luči, je bila 9. avgusta objavljena tudi v *Ljudski pravici*:

Odповed godbenikom tržaškega radia

Vodstvo tržaškega radia, ki je v rokah zavezniške vojaške uprave, je odpovedalo službo vsem godbenikom, ker bo postaja oddajala odslej v glavnem glasbo na ploščah in bo delala v relejni zvezi z radijsko postajo v Vidmu, tako da ne bo rabila več svojega stalnega orkestra. Doslej je zaposlovala tržaška radijska postaja okoli 100 godbenikov, ki so imeli tri orkestre: simfoničnega, orkester za lahko glasbo in orkester za plesno glasbo.

Večina članov simfoničnega orkestra, ki so sami tržaški Italijani, se je odločila preseliti se v Zagreb. Sklenili so že tozadevno pogodbo. Tudi člani ostalih orkestrrov se nameravajo preseliti v Jugoslavijo.⁴¹

Ob predstavljeni reorganizaciji tržaških glasbenih ustanov je bil poleti 1945 v Trstu torej osnovan še en orkester, ki pa ni ostal v mestu, temveč je deloval v Jugoslaviji; tudi ta orkester je nastopal pod imenom *Tržaška filharmonija (Orchestra filarmonica triestina)*. Iz zgoraj podanega prikaza glasbenega življenja v Trstu v prvih povojnih mesecih in posebno iz prikaza njegove reorganizacije pod Zavezniško vojaško upravo se zdi, da ustanovitev Tržaške filharmonije, ki je zatem delovala v Jugoslaviji, nikakor ni bila

35 »Concerto inaugurale dell'Orchestra filarmonica triestina«, *Giornale alleato*, 18. avgust 1945: 2.

36 Poleg že navedenega prim. še »La creazione dell'Orchestra filarmonica triestina«, *Corriere di Trieste*, 9. avgust 1945: 2 in »L'inaugurazione del ciclo dei grandi concerti sinfonici«, *Corriere di Trieste*, 19. avgust 1945: 2.

37 »Il primo concerto al Verdi con l'Orchestra filarmonica triestina«, *Giornale alleato*, 19. avgust 1945: 2.

38 »Radio Trieste«, *Giornale alleato*, 21. julij 1945: 2.

39 »Radio Trieste«, *Giornale alleato*, 7. avgust 1945: 2.

40 »A Radio Trieste Programmi musicali delle Forze britanniche«, *Giornale alleato*, 5. avgust 1945: 2.

41 »Odповed godbenikom tržaškega radia«, *Ljudska pravica*, 9. avgust 1945: 4.

tako enoznačna, kot je bila večinoma orisana v kasnejših poročilih o njenem delovanju, objavljenih v jugoslovanskem časopisju. Tu se največkrat navaja, da so zavezniki v Trstu odpustili celotni radijski orkester, ki je že pred tem deloval pod imenom *Tržaška filharmonija*, ta pa se je nato v celoti preselil v Jugoslavijo, kjer je nadaljeval z delom, ki mu je bilo v domačem mestu onemogočeno.⁴² Upoštevaajoč zgoraj predstavljeno pojasnilo zaveznikov iz *Giornale Alleato* je jasno naslednje: (1) Tržaška filharmonija, ki je iz Trsta odšla v Jugoslavijo, ni bila zgolj preimenovani takrat razpuščeni orkester tržaškega radia, temveč na novo osnovana zasedba.⁴³ (2) Tržaški filharmoniji, ki je odšla v Jugoslavijo, so se gotovo pridružili nekateri člani razpuščenega radijskega orkestra⁴⁴ (vključno z dirigentom Jakovom Cipcijem⁴⁵), najbrž pa tudi nekateri člani razpuščenega opernega orkestra;⁴⁶ poleg tega so v njej igrali tudi glasbeniki, ki pred tem niso bili člani nobenega od obeh razpuščenih tržaških orkestrrov in so bili k sodelovanju pritegnjeni povsem na novo. (3) Važno vlogo pri oblikovanju Tržaške filharmonije sta imela Paolo Janković in Karlo Kuhačević. (4) Čeprav morebitnih političnih vzrokov za ukinitvev radijskega orkestra ne gre povsem izključiti, se vendarle zdi, da so bili poglobitni razlogi, zaradi katerih so anglo-ameriške oblasti reorganizirale tržaško glasbeno življenje, predvsem ekonomske narave.

Določitev točnega datuma začetka delovanja Tržaške filharmonije, ki je nato odšla v Jugoslavijo, je nekoliko bolj zapletena; ponuja se več možnosti. Predstavljamo si lahko, da je ustanavljanje novega orkestra potekalo hkrati s pripravami na zgoraj predstavljeno

42 Ob že navedenih Cipcijem in Cvetkovec poročilu prim. npr. še »Prvi veliki koncert Trščanske filharmonije«, *Vjesnik*, 29. september 1945: 2–3; »I. simfonični koncert tržaškega filharmoničnega orkestra v Ljubljani«, *Slovenski poročevalec*, 13. december 1945: 6; »Gostovanje Trščanske filharmonije u zoni B«, *Glas Istre*, 20. avgust 1946: 3; »Musicisti triestini in Jugoslavia«, *Il Lavoratore*, 3. januar 1946: 2.

43 Zgoraj navedenega podatka, da je PNOO 9. junija radijskemu orkestru podelil naziv *Tržaška filharmonija*, ki se omenja v nekaterih časopisnih člankih, ni bilo mogoče preveriti, saj avtorju ustrezen fond v Arhivu Republike Slovenije do oddaje prispevka ni bil dostopen. Četudi bi do takega poimenovanja v resnici prišlo, je njegova uveljavitev zelo vprašljiva: do razpusta se orkester v vseh radijskih programih, objavljenih v tržaških časopisih, navaja le kot veliki radijski orkester.

44 Seznama članov takratnega radijskega orkestra ni bilo mogoče pridobiti, saj radijski arhiv (po informacijah, pridobljenih na Radiu Trst) za tisti čas ne obstaja več. Posledično ni bilo mogoče dokončno preveriti, kateri člani razpuščenega radijskega orkestra so kasneje sodelovali v Tržaški filharmoniji, ki je odšla v Jugoslavijo. Seznam članov le-te je na podlagi arhivskih in nekaterih drugih virov namreč mogoče v veliki meri rekonstruirati; objavljen je v prilogi.

Kateri člani radijskega orkestra so prešli v Tržaško filharmonijo, moremo domnevati na podlagi nekega drugega ohranjenega dokumenta. V Arhivu Republike Slovenije obstoji v fondu *Mestni osvobodili svet Trst* (AS 1583) tudi fascikel, za katerega je v popisu zavedeno, da vsebuje arhiv Tržaške filharmonije. Pri njegovem pregledu je moč ugotoviti, da gre v resnici za del arhiva tega orkestra, v katerem so ohranjeni mnogi, za preučevanje njegovega delovanja izjemno pomembni dokumenti. Ob nekakšnih matičnih listih članov, odhodni in dohodni korespondenci, raznih obvestilih in nekaterih finančnih dokumentih sta se ohranila tudi zvezka z zapisniki sestankov upravnega odbora (comitato direttivo) in zbora članov (assemblea generale).

V mapi z odhodno pošto se je med drugim ohranil dokument, v katerem nekateri člani Tržaške filharmonije pooblaščajo Mario Isabello Ruggiero, da lahko v njihovem imenu prevzame in potrdi prejem vseh honorarjev, ki jim jih še dolguje Radio Trst; ob dirigentu Cipciju je na seznamu (poimensko) navedenih še 22 članov orkestra. (AS 1583 (Mestni osvobodilni svet Trst), t. e. 17 (Arhiv Tržaške filharmonije), mapa II, »Dopis Tržaške filharmonije upravi Radia Trst«, 26. oktober 1945.) Domnevati moremo, da so prav ti glasbeniki tisti, ki so pred vstopom v Tržaško filharmonijo, ki je nato odšla v Jugoslavijo, delovali v radijskem orkestru, ki jim še konec oktobra 1945 (ko je nastal dokument) očitno ni poplačal vseh preteklih obveznosti. Če to drži in če so na seznamu v resnici vsi člani, ki so pred tem delovali v radijskem orkestru (česar pa ni mogoče dokončno potrditi), potem so le-ti predstavljali približno eno tretjino vseh članov Tržaške filharmonije (število njenih članov bo podrobneje obravnavano v nadaljevanju).

45 Ob Cipciju, ki je bil stalni dirigent, so ob redkih priložnostih dirigirali drugi, večinoma glasbeniki iz orkestra. Glej npr. »Fervide accoglienze alla Filarmonica Triestina nei principali centri della Slovenia«, *Il Lavoratore*, 27. marec 1946: 2; »Spored simfoničnega koncerta Tržaške filharmonije«, *Ljudska pravica*, 23. januar 1946: 6; »Gostovanje Trščanske filharmonije u zoni B«, *Glas Istre*, 20. avgust 1946: 3.

46 Gre za člane obeh ob reorganizaciji razpuščenih orkestrrov, ki bodisi niso opravili avdicije za sodelovanje v novoustanovljeni Tržaški filharmoniji, ki je ostala v Trstu, bodisi so kljub opravljeni avdiciji sodelovanje v tem orkestru odklonili.

reorganizacijo glasbenega življenja v Trstu. Domnevamo lahko tudi, da so se aktivnosti za njegovo ustanovitev začele vsaj v začetku julija 1945, ko so morali biti načrti anglo-ameriške uprave že znani, posebej intenzivne pa so postale po zaključku operne sezone (21. julija) in advicijah za novi simfonični in operni orkester, ki je ostal v Trstu.

Pomembne podatke, ki dopolnjujejo tako postavljeni okvir, prinašajo nekateri ohranjeni dokumenti violinistke Josipine Kalc,⁴⁷ ki je v orkestru igrala ves čas njegovega obstoja in je bila ena od tistih glasbenikov, ki pred tem niso igrali niti v orkestru tržaškega radia niti v opernem orkestru Gledališča Verdi.⁴⁸ V svojem življenjepisu Kalčeva med drugim navaja, da se je v maju 1945 vrnila v Trst, kjer »Pavle Janković, sin njenega profesorja, zbira glasbenike za Zagreb. Sestavlja kompletni orkester, za katerega že ima kolektivno pogodbo, podpisano od tedanjega gledališkega intendanta Iva Tjardovića.«⁴⁹ Med dokumenti Josipine Kalc se je nadalje ohranila njena izjava (datirana 30. julija 1945) o strinjanju z določili omenjene pogodbe, ki jo je poleg nje podpisal še Paolo Janković. Iz tega dokumenta je razvidno, da je bila kolektivna pogodba z intendantom Tijardovićem podpisana 28. julija 1945,⁵⁰ kar bi lahko postavili za najzgodnejši datum ustanovitve orkestra.⁵¹ Iz besedila izvemo še, da bo Josipina Kalc v orkestru igrala prvo violino in da bo njena plača 4.000,00 dinarjev.⁵²

Kot naslednji možen datum ustanovitve orkestra bi lahko postavili 15. avgust 1945, ki se v nekakšnih matičnih listih članov, ki so ohranjeni v arhivu Tržaške filharmonije, navaja kot najzgodnejši datum pristopa (data d'assunzione) članov k orkestru.⁵³ To je hkrati tudi datum, ko je iz Trsta v Zagreb, na svoje novo delovno mesto, prispela prva skupina (ok. 40) orkestrašev.⁵⁴ Vendar pa orkester takrat še ni bil povsem vzpostavljen, saj je iskanje glasbenikov potekalo še vsaj dober mesec, o čemer

47 Dokumente v svojem biografskem arhivu hrani Odsek za zgodovino in etnografijo Narodne in študijske knjižnice v Trstu.

48 Josipina Kalc (1915–2003) se je rodila na Opčinah in kasneje študirala violino v razredu znanega tržaškega violinista Avgusta Jankovića (očeta Paola Jankovića) na tržaškem konservatoriju Giuseppe Verdi. V letih pred drugo svetovno vojno je delovala v Mariboru, leta 1941 pa se je preselila k sestri v Furlanijo in v letih 1942/1943 sodelovala v opernih orkestrih v Vidmu in Trstu. Po koncu vojne se je priključila Tržaški filharmoniji in z njo nastopala po Jugoslaviji, zatem pa je do konca svoje poklicne poti igrala v reškem opernem orkestru. Podrobneje glej Odsek za zgodovino in etnografijo NŠK v Trstu, arhiv Bio, Mapa Josipina Kalc, »Življenjepis Josipine Kalc«, nedatirano [12. avgust 1985].

49 Odsek za zgodovino in etnografijo NŠK v Trstu, arhiv Bio, Mapa Josipina Kalc, »Življenjepis Josipine Kalc«, nedatirano [12. avgust 1985], str. 7.

50 Zapis Josipine Kalc iz njenega življenjepisa je v časovnem pogledu nekoliko nenatančen in nejasen, saj bi ga bilo moč razumeti tudi tako, da je Paolo Janković glasbenike za novi orkester iskal že v maju 1945. To pa se ne ujema z jasno določenimi datumi iz navedenega dokumenta, v katerem se Kalčeva strinja z določili kolektivne pogodbe, kjer je jasno zapisano, da je bila leta podpisana 28. julija 1945. Janković torej v maju 1945 kolektivne pogodbe s Tijardovićem še ni imel, Kalčeva pa iz izjavo, da se z njo strinja (in s tem svoj angažma v orkestru) podpisala šele 30. julija.

51 V povezavi z navedenim datumom velja opozoriti na še en važen podatek. V arhivu Tržaške filharmonije se je ohranil nedatirani dokument (najverjetneje iz oktobra 1945), v katerem je zapisan predlog nove pogodbe o delovanju orkestra. V začetku tega besedila je navedeno, da je bila pogodba med Tržaško filharmonijo in zagrebškim narodnim gledališčem podpisana 27. avgusta 1945, 28. julija 1945 pa naj bi bilo orkestru izstavljeno le nekakšno pismo. (AS 1583 (Mestni osvobodilni svet Trst), t. e. 17 (Arhiv Tržaške filharmonije), mapa II, »Predlog za pripravo nove pogodbe s Tržaško filharmonijo«, nedatirano [oktober 1945].) Ker sta tako kolektivna pogodba v omenjeni izjavi Josipine Kalc kot pismo v navedenem dokumentu označena s št. 110/45, lahko domnevamo, da gre za isti dokument, na podlagi katerega so glasbeniki s podpisi izjav, ki se nanj sklicujejo, pristopali k orkestru Tržaške filharmonije.

52 Odsek za zgodovino in etnografijo NŠK v Trstu, arhiv Bio, Mapa Josipina Kalc, »Izjava Josipine Kalc o strinjanju z določili kolektivne pogodbe«, 30. julij 1945.

53 AS 1583 (Mestni osvobodilni svet Trst), t. e. 17 (Arhiv Tržaške filharmonije), matični listi članov Tržaške filharmonije.

54 Podrobneje glej »Trščanski filharmonijski orkester 'Filharmonica di Trieste' djelovat će u Zagrebu«, *Vjesnik*, 24. avgust 1945: 5; »Musičisti triestini in Jugoslavija«, *Il Lavoratore*, 3. januar 1946: 2; Odsek za zgodovino in etnografijo NŠK v Trstu, arhiv Bio, Mapa Josipina Kalc, »Odgovori Josipine Kalc na novinarska vprašanja«, nedatirano, str. 1.

med drugim pričajo tudi datumi njihovega pristopa na že omenjenih matičnih listih. O začetnih organizacijskih težavah v svojem življenjepisu poroča tudi Josipina Kalc, ki pravi, da »v Zagrebu ni teklo vse gladko s tem orkestrom, bilo je mnogo težkoč vseh vrst, mnogo bučnih sestankov, mnogo neželjenih presenečenj«. ⁵⁵ Tržaška filharmonija je tako v resnici postala operativna šele ob koncu septembra oz. v začetku oktobra 1945, zaradi česar bi slednjič kot tretji možen datum začetka njenega delovanja lahko postavili 4. oktober 1945, ko se je v Zagrebu predstavila na svojem prvem koncertu. ⁵⁶

Ob predstavljenih okoliščinah, v katerih je bila ustanovljena Tržaška filharmonija, se sama na sebi postavljajo vprašanja o morebitnem političnem ozadju njene ustanovitve. Zdi se namreč, da je morala biti ustanovitev orkestra predvsem politično motivirana, kar pa seveda nikakor ne pomeni, da so vsi člani orkestra v njem igrali zaradi svojih političnih prepričanj, čeprav je bilo prav to v poročilih o delovanju orkestra, objavljenih v jugoslovanskih časopisih, velikokrat poudarjeno. V nekem članku, objavljenem v časopisu *Glas Istre* tako med drugim beremo, da so »vsii člani gotovo antifašisti, med njimi pa so tudi taki, ki so v času vojne aktivno delovali v Narodnoosvobodilni fronti«. ⁵⁷ Še nekoliko bolj konkretna sta zapisa v dveh izmed člankov iz *Borbe*:

Umetniki – člani Tržaške filharmonije s svojo odločitvijo [da se preselijo v Jugoslavijo] niso potrdili le svoje ljubezni do Jugoslavije in maršala Tita, temveč so z njo potrdili tudi svojo vero v zmago pravične stvari, za katero so umirali ne le Slovenci in drugi narodi naše domovine, temveč tudi junaki – antifašisti Italije. Njihova odločitev je izraz te ljubezni in izraz te vere, hkrati pa še ena trdna in prepričljiva obsodba vseh sovražnikov svobode, napredka in kulture, ki so si napravili svoje brloge v Trstu in Julijski krajini. ⁵⁸

Člani Tržaške filharmonije so bili kot zvesti pripadniki Narodne fronte prisiljeni, da zapustijo Trst, saj jim je bilo delo tam onemogočeno. ⁵⁹

55 Odssek za zgodovino in etnografijo NŠK v Trstu, arhiv Bio, Mapa Josipina Kalc, »Življenjepis Josipine Kalce«, nedatirano [12. avgust 1985], str. 7.

56 Da je imel orkester v septembru večje organizacijske težave, je razvidno tudi iz dejstva, da je bil njegov prvi koncert večkrat preložen. Kot lahko sklepamo iz nekaterih ohranjenih dokumentov in časopisnih poročil, je bilo sprva predvideno, da bo orkester v Zagrebu začel koncertirati že v začetku septembra (glej npr. »Trščanski filharmonijski orkester 'Filharmonica di Trieste' djelovat će u Zagrebu«, *Vjesnik*, 24. avgust 1945: 5). Prvi koncert je bil nato v časopisju napovedan za soboto, 29. septembra, a je bil prav tako odpovedan (»Prvi veliki koncert Trščanske filharmonije«, *Vjesnik*, 29. september: 2-3; »Trščanska filharmonija daje u četvrtak 4. o. mj. svoj veliki koncerat«, *Vjesnik*, 4. oktober 1945: 3). Ob tem je zanimivo, da je *Slovenski poročevalec* 3. oktobra vseeno (očitno po pomoti) objavil notico o tem, da se je ta koncert zgodil (»Koncert Tržaške filharmonije v Zagrebu«, *Slovenski poročevalec*, 3. oktober 1945: 6). Do koncerta je nato v resnici prišlo 4. oktobra 1945 (AS 1583 (Mestni osvobodilni svet Trst), t. e. 17 (Arhiv Tržaške filharmonije), mapa II, »Predlog za pripravo nove pogodbe s Tržaško filharmonijo«, nedatirano). Marko Košir v svoji monografiji o Jakovu Cipciju na koledarju vseh Cipcijevih nastopov navaja, da je Tržaška filharmonija svoj uvodni koncert v Zagrebu imela 25. septembra 1945, pri čemer vir ni naveden (Košir, *Jakov Cipci*, 259). S pregledanimi viri tega datuma ni bilo moč potrditi.

57 »Gostovanje Trščanske filharmonije u zoni B«, *Glas Istre*, 20. avgust 1946: 3.

58 »Prvi koncert Trščanske filharmonije u Beogradu«, *Borba*, 18. maj 1946: 4.

59 »Trščanska filharmonija u Beogradu«, *Borba*, 16. maj 1946: 2.

Čeprav so tovrstna poročila gotovo pretirana in imajo v obravnavanem zgodovinskem kontekstu jasen propagandni namen,⁶⁰ se zdi, da je ožje vodstvo orkestra vendarle bilo predvsem politično motivirano. Kot glavna organizatorja Tržaške filharmonije velja tako izpostaviti Karla Kuhačevića in posebej že večkrat omenjenega Paola Jankovića, ki sta bila že med vojno aktivna v raznih organih odporniškega gibanja,⁶¹ po vojni pa sta imela pomembno vlogo pri oblikovanju Sindikata poklicnih glasbenikov.⁶² Da sta bila pomembno vključena v politične strukture povojnih jugoslovanskih oblasti v Trstu, med drugim nakazuje tudi pričevanje dirigenta Toffola, ki v nekem pismu navaja, da sta ga v maju 1945 Janković in Kuhačević opozorila, da je »v nevarnosti življenje maestra Antonicellija«. ⁶³ Janković je bil po vojni tudi član tržaške konzulte in na ta način tesno vpet v politično dogajanje v mestu.⁶⁴

Predstavljamo si lahko, da so vodilni organizatorji (med njimi predvsem Janković) pri ustanavljanju Tržaške filharmonije tesno sodelovali z jugoslovanskimi oblastmi. Navsezadnje so bile prav jugoslovanske oblasti tiste, ki so morale sprejeti odločitev, da bo orkester deloval v Jugoslaviji in ki so zatem njegovo delovanje tudi financirale.⁶⁵ Kot je med drugim razvidno iz že predstavljenih časopisnih poročil, je dogajanje okrog ustanovitve Tržaške filharmonije postajalo predmet politične propagande, še preden je orkester sploh prišel v Jugoslavijo, kasneje pa so se tovrstni časopisni zapisi o njem in njegovem delovanju le še stopnjevali. Zato se zdi, da so na odločitev jugoslovanskih oblasti o ustanovitvi orkestra in njegovi finančni podpori vplivale tudi aktualne

60 Da velikega dela orkestrašev k sodelovanju v orkestru gotovo niso vodila njihova politična prepričanja, moremo razbrati iz korespondenc, ohranjenih v arhivu Tržaške filharmonije (AS 1583 (Mestni osvobodilni svet Trst), t. e. 17 (Arhiv Tržaške filharmonije), mapa II (Corrispondenza in partenza) in mapa III (Corrispondenza in arrivo). Značilna je tudi izjava Jospine Kalc, ki je v svojem življenjepisju zapisala: »Kalčeva ni mnogo razmišljala o vzrokih in ozadju tega Pavlovega (avanturoznega) podviga. Ob sami pomisli, da bi se zopet znašla v »pravem« orkestru, so se razplinili vsi dvomi.« (Odsek za zgodovino in etnografijo NŠK v Trstu, arhiv Bio, Mapa Josipina Kalc, »Življenjepis Jospine Kalc«, nedatirano [12. avgust 1985], str. 7). Če zgoraj predstavljena navedba iz pojasnila anglo-ameriških oblasti v *Giornale alleato*, da bi poskrbeli za vse glasbenike, ki bi ob reorganizaciji glasbenih ustanov v Trstu ostali brez službe, drži, si lahko predstavljamo, da so snovalci Tržaške filharmonije, ki je nato odšla v Jugoslavijo, glasbenikom morda ponudili boljše pogoje.

61 Med drugim je bil na radiu osnovan ilegalni komite mestne osvobodilne fronte, povezan s slovensko Osvobodilno fronto. (»Musicisti Triestini in Jugoslavia«, *Il Lavoratore*, 3. januar 1946: 2; »Trščanski filharmonijski orkestar 'Filharmonica di Trieste' djelovat će u Zagrebu«, *Vjesnik*, 24. avgust 1945: 5; »L. simfonični koncert tržaškega filharmoničnega orkestra v Ljubljani«, *Slovenski poročevalec*, 13. december 1945: 6.)

62 »Iz Trsta«, *Ljudska pravica*, 19. maj 1945: 3 in AS 1583 (Mestni osvobodilni svet Trst), t. e. 1 (Zapisniki MOS 1945), »Appunti per la stazione Radio Trieste«. V akcijskem odboru sindikata je bil poleg Kuhačevića in Jankovića še en kasnejši član Tržaške filharmonije, Alberto Nicoletti. V knjigi *Radio Trieste 1931–2006* je nadalje navedeno, da naj bi bil tudi dirigent Jakov Cipci »neke vrste Jugoslovanski 'agent'« (Guido Botteri in Roberto Collini, ur., *Radio Trieste 1931–2006: Un microfono che registra 75 anni di storia* (Roma: Rai Radiotelevisione Italiana, 2007), 33). Podatka ni bilo moč preveriti, saj vir ob besedilu ni naveden, avtor besedila (Guido Botteri) je pokojni, urednik (Roberto Collini), pa na vprašanja avtorja, posredovana po e-pošti, do oddaje prispevka ni odgovoril.

63 Civico museo teatrale Carlo Schmidl, fond Luigi Toffolo, mapa 2 (Corrispondenza Giuseppe Antonicelli - Luigi Toffolo), »Pismo Luigi Toffola«, nedatirano, str. 1.

64 AS 1583 (Mestni osvobodilni svet Trst), t. e. 1 (Zapisniki MOS 1945), »Membri della consulta«, str. 2. Kot je razvidno iz nekaterih dokumentov, ohranjenih v arhivu Tržaške filharmonije, je Janković tudi po ustanovitvi orkestra in njegovem odhodu v Jugoslavijo še vedno ostal tesno povezan s tržaškim političnim življenjem. Prim. AS 1583 (Mestni osvobodilni svet Trst), t. e. 17 (Arhiv Tržaške filharmonije), mapa I, »Pismo Paola Jankovića članom Tržaške filharmonije«, 26. marec 1946; »Pismo Paola Jankovića članom Tržaške filharmonije«, 27. marec 1946.

V tržaškem političnem življenju je bila kot sekretarka Antifašistične fronte žensk (AFŽ) aktivna tudi Paolova žena Vlasta Janković, ki se je prav tako pridružila Tržaški filharmoniji, kjer je opravljala tajniška opravila. Za podatke o povezavi med Paolom in Vlasto Janković, pridobljene iz družinskih virov, se zahvaljujem dr. Luisi Antoni. Prim. tudi »Sprejem v Ljudski skupščini FLRJ na čast maršalu Titu«, *Slovenski poročevalec*, 28. maj 1945: 1 in AS 1583 (Mestni osvobodilni svet Trst), t. e. 17 (Arhiv Tržaške filharmonije), matični list Vlaste Janković.

65 Financiranje orkestra bo podrobneje obravnavano v nadaljevanju.

mednarodne okoliščine, povezane z reševanjem tržaškega vprašanja: Po odhodu jugoslovanske vojske iz Trsta 12. junija 1945 se je v poletnih mesecih jugoslovanska diplomacija intenzivno pripravljala na zasedanje sveta zunanjih ministrov, ki je potekalo od 11. septembra do 2. oktobra 1945 v Londonu in ki naj bi postavilo temelje za pripravo mirovne pogodbe z Italijo, ki bi bila nato obravnavana na pričakovani mirovni konferenci. O tržaškem vprašanju so na zasedanju spregovorili že 18. septembra, ko je podpredsednik zvezne jugoslovanske vlade Edvard Kardelj predstavil rešitev, ki je predvidevala Trst kot avtonomno mesto pod jugoslovansko suverenostjo. Pri tem je poudarjal, da »bi bila edina pravična rešitev mejnega spora z Italijo dodelitev celotne Julijske krajine Jugoslaviji«. ⁶⁶ Prav pravičnost pri reševanju meje z Italijo, v skladu s katero bi tako Trst kot celotna Julijska krajina pripadla Jugoslaviji, se vseskozi intenzivno izpostavlja tudi v časopisnih zapisih, ki poročajo o delovanju Tržaške filharmonije.

V politično-propagandne namene je bila v veliki meri izrabljena tudi nacionalna pripadnost članov Tržaške filharmonije. V zvezi s slednjo v sočasnih jugoslovanskih časopisih sicer zasledimo različne navedbe: V njih je na eni strani zapisano, da je orkester sestavljen tako iz Italijanov kot iz Slovencev, pri čemer so nekateri članki tudi zelo konkretni in navajajo podatke, da je od 67 članov 18 Slovencev. ⁶⁷ Na drugi strani moremo v časopisju zaslediti navedbe, da je orkester sestavljen v glavnem ali celo izključno iz Italijanov. ⁶⁸ Na podlagi dokumentov, ohranjenih v arhivu Tržaške filharmonije in v mapi Josipine Kalc, se zdi, da je resnica pravzaprav nekje vmes: orkester je bil pretežno italijanski, v njem pa je igralo tudi nekaj Slovencev (morda 2 ali 3). ⁶⁹

Slednjič velja ob obravnavi okoliščin, ki so pripeljale do ustanovitve Tržaške filharmonije, premisliti še o vlogi, ki naj bi jo pri njenem ustanavljanju imel skladatelj Marjan Kozina: navedb, da je imel pri ustanovitvi orkestra in njegovem prihodu v Jugoslavijo važno vlogo (tudi spričo nedostopnosti nekaterih fondov v Arhivu Republike Slovenije), ni moč dokončno potrditi ali ovreči. Kot moremo razbrati iz nekaterih ohranjenih dokumentov, Kozine v času formiranja Tržaške filharmonije, ki je nato delovala v Jugoslaviji (torej julija in avgusta 1945) ni bilo več v Trstu. ⁷⁰ Da je bil z orkestrom (ali

66 Podrobneje glej Nečak, »Od železne zaveso do zelene meje«, 208–210.

67 Prim. mdr. »I. simfonični koncert tržaškega filharmoničnega orkestra v Ljubljani«, *Slovenski poročevalec*, 13. december 1945: 6 in »Gostovanje Trščanske filharmonije u zoni B«, *Glas Istre*, 20. avgust 1946: 3.

68 Prim. mdr. »Trščanska filharmonija u Beogradu«, *Borba*, 16. maj 1946: 2, »Prvi koncert Trščanske filharmonije u Beogradu«, *Borba*, 18. maj 1946: 4 in »Slavna Trščanska filharmonija gostuje u Osijeku«, *Glas Slavonije*, 11. junij 1946: 5.

69 Da je bil orkester v veliki večini italijanski, moremo med drugim domnevati na podlagi naslednje navedbe Josipine Kalc: »Vedno sem morala [...] pomagati kot prevajalka. V Sloveniji mi je lahko pomagal kolega Gruden, Slovenec po rojstvu, ki pa se je šolal le v italijanščini. Na Hrvaškem, v Srbiji, Vojvodini in Makedoniji si Gruden ni upal odpreti ust.« (Odsek za zgodovino in etnografijo NSK v Trstu, arhiv Bio, Mapa Josipina Kalc, »Odgovori Jospine Kalc na novinarska vprašanja«, nedatirano, str. 13.) Izmed dokumentov, ohranjenih v arhivu Tržaške filharmonije, ki nakazujejo na večinsko italijanske člane orkestra, so važni v prvi vrsti že omenjeni matični listi, v katere je vpisana tudi narodnost članov. Čeprav rubrika na pribl. eni četrtini obrazcev ni izpolnjena, je slovenska narodnost na izpoljenih obrazcih zelo redko zapisana (na 4 od 66 obrazcev, pri čemer sta dva izmed njih matična lista tajnik orkestra in ne glasbenikov). Čeprav jezik – posebno v narodnostno tako kompleksnem okolju kot je bil Trst – nikakor ne more biti absolutno merilo, na večinsko italijansko narodnost članov orkestra slednjič morda nakazuje tudi dejstvo, da je velika večina poslovanja orkestra potekala v italijanščini (tako komunikacija znotraj orkestra kot zunanja korespondenca, vključno z večino korespondence z jugoslovanskimi oblastmi). Podrobneje glej AS 1583 (Mestni osvobodilni svet Trst), t. e. 17 (Arhiv Tržaške filharmonije).

70 V življenjepisu, ki ga hranijo v novomeški enoti Zgodovinskega arhiva Ljubljana, je Kozina med drugim zapisal: »Ob koncu [vojne] sem prišel s IV. armado v Trst, kjer sem po nalogu štaba skupaj s tov. Koršičem prevzel upravo Radio postaje, tu sem ostal do angloameriške okupacije Trsta. 2. julija sem bil demobiliziran in sem se vrnil na svoje staro službeno mesto v Beograd.« (ZAL NME, Arhivska zapuščina Marjana Kozine, a. e. 8 (Sam o sebi in svojem delu, 1957–1966), avtobiografija, str. 23.)

morda zgolj z nekaterimi njegovimi člani, ki bi jih mogel spoznati v času, ko je deloval na Radiu Trst) vendarle na neki način povezan, nakazuje dejstvo, da je 28. januarja 1946 dirigiral na enem izmed simfoničnih koncertov, ki jih je Tržaška filharmonija priredila v Ljubljani.⁷¹ Pomenljiv je tudi skladateljev zapis v poročilu o enem od beograjskih koncertov orkestra, objavljenem konec maja 1946 v *Slovenskem poročevalcu*: »Tudi jaz dobro poznam ta orkester in lahko rečem, vsakega njegovega člana.«⁷² Vsekakor se zdi, da bi Kozina (ki se je kmalu po kratkem delovanju v Trstu vrnil v Beograd) kot uveljavljeni skladatelj in kulturni delavec iz časa NOB in, navsezadnje, poznavalec aktualnega tržaškega glasbenega življenja, mogel sodelovati v pogovorih z jugoslovanskimi oblastmi o vzpostavitvi orkestra Tržaške filharmonije in njegovem delovanju v Jugoslaviji.

Organizacijsko in finančno delovanje Tržaške filharmonije

Čeprav je po podpisu pogodbe z intendantom Tijardovićem Tržaška filharmonija administrativno sprva prešla pod okrilje zagrebške opere, je bila pri svojem delovanju v mnogih pogledih povsem avtonomna. Tako je bil že ob njeni ustanovitvi oblikovan nekakšen tričlanski upravni svet (*consiglio direttivo*), ki je skrbel za organizacijsko-administrativne zadeve; kasneje se je razširil na 5 članov in se preimenoval v upravni odbor (*comitato direttivo*).⁷³ Poleg upravnega odbora sta se oblikovali še umetniška in disciplinska komisija (*commissione artistica, commissione disciplinaria*),⁷⁴ vsaj od

71 Glej npr. »Sporod simfoničnega koncerta Tržaške filharmonije«, *Ljudska pravica*, 23. januar 1946: 6. Kot moremo sklepati iz enega od Kozinovih pisem domačim, je bilo predvideno, da bo v začetku aprila 1946 dirigiral še en koncert Tržaške filharmonije, tokrat v Beogradu. (NUK, Glasbena zbirka, Kozina, Marjan, Kronika, I, Pisma, Ovoj Pisma družini 1945–1947, Pismo Marjana Kozine domačim iz Beograda, 13. marec [1946], str. 2) Ti načrti se niso uresničili; kot bo prikazano v nadaljevanju, je Tržaška filharmonija v Beogradu gostovala v maju 1946, Kozina pa takrat ni dirigiral na nobenem njenem koncertu. Iz nekaterih drugih ohranjenih Kozinovih pisem domačim lahko razberemo tudi, da je vsaj do pomladi 1946 resno računal z možnostjo, da se bo vrnil v Trst, ko bo ta dodeljen Jugoslaviji. Podrobneje glej NUK, Glasbena zbirka, Kozina, Marjan, Kronika, I, Pisma, Ovoj Pisma družini 1945–1947, Pismo Marjana Kozine domačim iz Beograda, 5. november 1945, str. 1; Pismo Marjana Kozine domačim iz Beograda, nedatirano [začetek 1946?], str. 2; Pismo Marjana Kozine domačim iz Beograda, nedatirano [pomlad 1946?], str. 5.

72 Marjan Kozina, »Tržaška filharmonija v Beogradu«, *Slovenski poročevalac*, 24. maj 1946: 3.

73 V začetku novembra 1945 so bili v upravni svet izvoljeni Paolo Janković (tehnično-umetniški organizator), Alberto Nicoletti (administrator) in dr. Bruno Degrassi (član). (Podrobneje glej AS 1583 (Mestni osvobodilni svet Trst), t. e. 17 (Arhiv Tržaške filharmonije), mapa II, »Dopis hrvaškemu Ministrstvu za prosveto«, 11. november 1945.) Zanimivo je, da med člani upravnega sveta ni bilo Karla Kuhačevića, ki je bil eden ključnih akterjev pri ustanavljanju orkestra. Iz dopisa, ki mu ga je konec oktobra 1945 poslalo vodstvo Tržaške filharmonije, se zdi, da je med člani prišlo do trenj, ki so imela za posledico, da je bil Kuhačević iz njegovega upravljanja umaknjen (AS 1583 (Mestni osvobodilni svet Trst), t. e. 17 (Arhiv Tržaške filharmonije), mapa II, »Dopis vodstva Tržaške filharmonije Karlu Kuhačeviću«, 31. oktober 1945), 20. novembra pa je iz Tržaške filharmonije povsem izstopil (AS 1583 (Mestni osvobodilni svet Trst), t. e. 17 (Arhiv Tržaške filharmonije), matični list Karla Kuhačevića). Iz nekaterih administrativnih dokumentov, ohranjenih v arhivu Tržaške filharmonije, se zdi, da je njegovo vlogo v veliki meri prevzel Alberto Nicoletti, ki je imel – kot v nekem dopisu zatrjuje sam – tudi velik politični vpliv. (Podrobneje glej AS 1583 (Mestni osvobodilni svet Trst), t. e. 17 (Arhiv Tržaške filharmonije), mapa II, »Dopis Alberta Nicolettija Renzeju«, 11. november 1945.) Petčlanski upravni odbor je orkester vodil vsaj od konca februarja 1946. Kot je razvidno iz zapisnikov (ti so v arhivu Tržaške filharmonije v posebnem zvezku ohranjeni za čas od konca februarja do začetka decembra 1946), so bili vanj sprva izvoljeni Bruno Solero (administracija in blagajna), Ernesto Gruden (živilske karte, prehrana), Paolo Janković (organizator orkestra, koncertov in umetniških turnej), Argeo Lusardi (umetniški referent, oblikovanje programov, razvoj orkestra), Everardo Bisotti (disciplina, kultura in propaganda), kasneje pa so v njem sodelovali tudi drugi člani. Podrobneje glej AS 1583 (Mestni osvobodilni svet Trst), t. e. 17 (Arhiv Tržaške filharmonije), »Sedute del Comitato Direttivo O. F. T.«, 9. septembra 1946 je Jankovića (ki je iz orkestra konec avgusta izstopil) kot glavni organizator zamenjal Edoardo Rudes. AS 1583 (Mestni osvobodilni svet Trst), t. e. 17 (Arhiv Tržaške filharmonije), »Sedute del Comitato Direttivo O. F. T.«, str. 52, 57, 63–64.)

74 Umetniška komisija, ki je sprva delovala pod imenom umetniška uprava (*direzione artistica*), je bila osnovana že kmalu po ustanovitvi orkestra. Konec oktobra 1945 so bili vanjo izvoljeni dirigent Jakov Cipci in člani orkestra pianist dr. Bruno Degrassi,

začetka marca 1946 pa so člani o pomembnejših odločitvah odločali na zboru članov (*assemblea generale*).⁷⁵ Orkester je imel tudi svojega arhivista in tajnico,⁷⁶ posloval je samostojno,⁷⁷ prek dopisov z lastnim logotipom.



Slika 1: Logotip Tržaške filharmonije. AS 1583 (Mestni osvobodilni svet Trst), t. e. 17 (Arhiv Tržaške filharmonije).

31. oktobra zvečer so Paolo Janković, Alberto Nicoletti in Ivo Tijardović odpotovali v Beograd na pogovore za sklenitev nove pogodbe.⁷⁸ Predlog zanjo, ki je ohranjen v arhivu Tržaške filharmonije, za delovanje orkestra predvideva precejšnjo avtonomijo, saj je med drugim zapisano, da lahko vodstvo samo izbira program (pri čemer lahko upošteva tudi želje umetniških komisij posameznih krajev, kjer bo filharmonija nastopala) in da bo Tržaška filharmonija poslej delovala samostojno, nepovezano z zagrebškim gledališčem, saj bo podrejena neposredno zvezni vladi v Beogradu. V predlogu je predvideno še, da se bo pogodba lahko spremenila, če bi se ustvarili pogoji za vrnitev orkestra v Trst.⁷⁹

Kljub temu, da se vsi navedeni predlogi v novi pogodbi niso uresničili, se v resnici zdi, da je orkester še naprej deloval precej avtonomno. Tako je Tržaška filharmonija, ki se je v novembru 1945 preselila iz Zagreba v Ljubljano, tam sicer prešla pod administrativni okvir ljubljanske opere,⁸⁰ a je programske in notranje-organizacijske odločitve še

violist Giusto Cappone, čelist Luigi Vecchia in hornist Argeo Lusardi. (AS 1583 (Mestni osvobodilni svet Trst), t. e. 17 (Arhiv Tržaške filharmonije), mapa II, »Dopis vodstva Tržaške filharmonije Karlu Kuhačeviću«, 31. oktober 1945.) Delovanje disciplinske komisije se v zapisnikih seh upravnega odbora omenja šele v jeseni 1946. (Podrobneje glej AS 1583 (Mestni osvobodilni svet Trst), t. e. 17 (Arhiv Tržaške filharmonije), »Sedute del Comitato Direttivo O. F. T.«, str. 63 in sl.)

75 Zapisniki zbora članov za čas od 12. marca do 10. decembra 1946 so se v posebnem zvezku ohranili v arhivu Tržaške filharmonije. AS 1583 (Mestni osvobodilni svet Trst), t. e. 17 (Arhiv Tržaške filharmonije), »Registro Assemblea Generale«.

76 AS 1583 (Mestni osvobodilni svet Trst), t. e. 17 (Arhiv Tržaške filharmonije), mapa II, »Dopis Tržaške filharmonije tovarišu Gamulinu«, 11. januar 1946; AS 1583 (Mestni osvobodilni svet Trst), t. e. 17 (Arhiv Tržaške filharmonije), »Sedute del Comitato Direttivo O. F. T.«, str. 1.

77 Kot lahko razberemo iz zapisnikov sestankov upravnega odbora, so bila notranja razmerja v orkestru urejena s statutom in s posebnim pravilnikom. Oba dokumenta, ki v arhivu Tržaške filharmonije žal nista ohranjena, je upravni odbor poslal tudi na slovensko Ministrstvo za prosveto. (AS 1583 (Mestni osvobodilni svet Trst), t. e. 17 (Arhiv Tržaške filharmonije), »Sedute del Comitato Direttivo O. F. T.«, str. 16 in »Registro Assemblea Generale«, str. 15.) Vpogled v ustrezne fonde v Arhivu Republike Slovenije, v katerih bi se omenjena dokumenta lahko ohranila, avtorju do oddaje prispevka ni bil omogočen.

78 AS 1583 (Mestni osvobodilni svet Trst), t. e. 17 (Arhiv Tržaške filharmonije), mapa II, »Dopis Tržaške filharmonije vodstvu zagrebške opere«, 30. oktober 1945. Če gre verjeti navedbam Paola Jankovića v enem od dopisov, ohranjenem v arhivu Tržaške filharmonije, so na sestankih v Beogradu ob oblikovanju nove pogodbe za orkester razpravljali še o marsičem drugem, v prvi vrsti o bodoči ureditvi tržaškega glasbenega življenja. Janković namreč piše: »Jutri zvečer potujem v Beograd, kjer bom predstavil svoj sistem za Državno gledališče v Trstu in morda za vso Jugoslavijo. Upam, da bom uspešen in sporočil ti bom rezultate.« (AS 1583 (Mestni osvobodilni svet Trst), t. e. 17 (Arhiv Tržaške filharmonije), mapa II, »Dopis Paola Jankovića Koršiču«, 30. oktober 1945.)

79 AS 1583 (Mestni osvobodilni svet Trst), t. e. 17 (Arhiv Tržaške filharmonije), mapa II, »Predlog za pripravo nove pogodbe s Tržaško filharmonij«, nedatirano [oktober 1945].

80 AS 1583 (Mestni osvobodilni svet Trst), t. e. 17 (Arhiv Tržaške filharmonije), mapa II, »Dopis Ministrstvu za prosveto zvezne vlade v Beogradu«, 22. december 1945, »Dopis Tržaške filharmonije Giorgiu Tieghiju«, 12. november 1945, in »Dopis Tržaške filharmonije Ministrstvu financ FNRJ«, 7. februar 1946; AS 1583 (Mestni osvobodilni svet Trst), t. e. 17 (Arhiv Tržaške filharmonije), mapa I, »Dopis Slovenskega narodnega gledališča vodstvu Tržaške filharmonije«, 14. avgust 1946.

naprej sprejemala povsem samostojno, prav tako se je o svojem delovanju dogovarjala neposredno z ljubljanskimi in beograjskimi oblastmi.⁸¹ Čeprav so se že v začetku leta 1946 pojavili premisleki o tem, da bi sedež Tržaške filharmonije prenesli na Reko,⁸² je orkester v Ljubljani ostal vse do poletja 1946, zatem je kratek čas deloval v Opatiji in Portorožu in se konec oktobra slednjič preselil na Bled;⁸³ zdi se, da je ves ta čas ostal pod administrativno upravo ljubljanske opere.⁸⁴

V predlogu pogodbe o delovanju Tržaške filharmonije so zarisani tudi okviri njene financiranja. Za osnovo financiranja je določeno fiksno število 70 članov, za vsakega izmed njih pa je predviden mesečni pavšal v višini 4.000,00 dinarjev. To pomeni, da bi morala država za vzdrževanje Tržaške filharmonije mesečno nameniti 280.000,00 dinarjev, ki bi jih morala orkestru zagotoviti do 15. v mesecu.⁸⁵ Kot je razvidno iz dokumentov, ohranjenih v arhivu Tržaške filharmonije, je tak predlog tudi obveljal.⁸⁶ Da je orkester v veliki meri deloval avtonomno, nakazuje tudi dejstvo, da je mogel s sredstvi, ki so mu jih izplačevali neposredno (in ne npr. prek ljubljanske opere), prosto razpolagati.⁸⁷

Predlog pogodbe nadalje predvideva, da bi bilo ob mesečnem pavšalu orkestru namenjenih še 20 % bruto prihodkov od vstopnin ter dodatni 4 %, ki bi bili namenjeni za plačilo solistov.⁸⁸ Iz ohranjene finančne dokumentacije in iz nekaterih drugih dokumentov, ohranjenih v arhivu Tržaške filharmonije je razvidno, da je tudi ta predlog obveljal oz. da je bil tak dogovor v veljavi že pred novembrskimi spremembami

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- 81 Avtonomno delovanje orkestra je med drugim razvidno iz dokumentov, ohranjenih v arhivu Tržaške filharmonije. Glej npr. AS 1583 (Mestni osvobodilni svet Trst), t. e. 17 (Arhiv Tržaške filharmonije), mapa II, »Dopis upravnega odbora Tržaške filharmonije Pavlu Šivicu«, 14. april 1946; AS 1583 (Mestni osvobodilni svet Trst), t. e. 17 (Arhiv Tržaške filharmonije), »Sedute del Comitato Direttivo O. F. T.«, predvsem str. 51, 64, 73; AS 1583 (Mestni osvobodilni svet Trst), t. e. 17 (Arhiv Tržaške filharmonije), mapa III, »Račun za bivanje Paola Jankovića v Beogradu od 9. do 14. januarja 1946«. Februarja 1946 je slovensko Ministrstvo za prosveto pri Tržaški filharmoniji imenovalo tudi svojega delegata. (AS 1583 (Mestni osvobodilni svet Trst), t. e. 17 (Arhiv Tržaške filharmonije), mapa I, »Odlok Ministrstva za prosveto Narodne vlade Slovenije«, 11. februar 1946.
- 82 AS 1583 (Mestni osvobodilni svet Trst), t. e. 17 (Arhiv Tržaške filharmonije), mapa II, »Dopis Tržaške filharmonije tovarišu Gamulinu«, 11. januar 1946. Kot lahko razberemo iz nekaterih drugih dokumentov, so o prenosu sedeža na Reko resno razmišljali tudi kasneje. (Prim. npr. AS 1583 (Mestni osvobodilni svet Trst), t. e. 17 (Arhiv Tržaške filharmonije), mapa I, »Pismo članu Tržaške filharmonije«, 4. junij 1946.) Predstavljamo si lahko, da prenos sedeža na Reko – torej neposredno na sporno ozemlje cone B Julijske krajine med Italijo in Jugoslavijo –, kjer bi delovanje orkestra gotovo pomenilo tudi svojevrstno politično propagando, ne bi bil nič presenetljivega. Kot bo prikazano v nadaljevanju, je Tržaška filharmonija kasneje v coni B tudi dejansko nastopala.
- 83 AS 1583 (Mestni osvobodilni svet Trst), t. e. 17 (Arhiv Tržaške filharmonije), »Sedute del Comitato Direttivo O. F. T.«, str. 51–53, 59–60, 73.
- 84 AS 1583 (Mestni osvobodilni svet Trst), t. e. 17 (Arhiv Tržaške filharmonije), mapa II, »Dopis Vlaste Janković Ministrstvu financ FLRJ«, 30. avgust 1946; »Attività della Filarmonica Triestina nella zona B«, *Il Lavoratore*, 26. september 1946: 2.
- 85 AS 1583 (Mestni osvobodilni svet Trst), t. e. 17 (Arhiv Tržaške filharmonije), mapa II, »Predlog za pripravo nove pogodbe s Tržaško filharmonijo«, nedatirano [oktober 1945].
- 86 AS 1583 (Mestni osvobodilni svet Trst), t. e. 17 (Arhiv Tržaške filharmonije), mapa II, »Dopis Tržaške filharmonije ministru Vladimirju Ribnikarju«, 9. november 1945, in »Potrdilo Tržaške filharmonije o prejemu sredstev za marec 1946«, 14. marec 1946. 280.000,00 dinarjev mesečno je Tržaška filharmonija prejela od decembra 1945 dalje. Do takrat je prejela nekoliko manjši mesečni pavšal v višini 268.000,00 dinarjev. (Glej AS 1583 (Mestni osvobodilni svet Trst), t. e. 17 (Arhiv Tržaške filharmonije), mapa I, »Dopis Narodnega gledališča v Zagrebu Pavlu Šivicu«, 11. marec 1946, in »Dopis zveznega Ministrstva za prosveto upravi narodnega gledališča v Zagrebu«, 14. januar 1946.
- 87 AS 1583 (Mestni osvobodilni svet Trst), t. e. 17 (Arhiv Tržaške filharmonije), mapa III, »Dopis Narodne banke Tržaški filharmoniji«, 28. februar 1946. Finančno poslovanje orkestra za prve mesece njegovega delovanja je razvidno tudi iz izpiska postavk na računu Tržaške filharmonije, ki jih je pripravilo računovodstvo zagrebske opere. Glej AS 1583 (Mestni osvobodilni svet Trst), t. e. 17 (Arhiv Tržaške filharmonije), mapa I, »Račun Trščanske filharmonije«, 11. marec 1946.
- 88 AS 1583 (Mestni osvobodilni svet Trst), t. e. 17 (Arhiv Tržaške filharmonije), mapa II, »Predlog za pripravo nove pogodbe s Tržaško filharmonijo«, nedatirano [oktober 1945].

podobne.⁸⁹ Slednjič je med predlogi za novo pogodbo tudi določilo, da se lahko mesečna subvencija za Tržaško filharmonijo v primeru nepredvidenih izdatkov tudi poveča.⁹⁰

Člani

Števila članov Tržaške filharmonije na podlagi pregledanih virov ni moč natančno določiti: mesečni pavšal, ki ga je orkester prejemal od države, je bil resda postavljen na podlagi fiksnega števila 70 glasbenikov, a se je njihovo dejansko število vseskozi spreminjalo, saj so bili odhodi in prihodi stalnica. Na podlagi dokumentov, ohranjenih v arhivu Tržaške filharmonije, in na podlagi nekaterih že navedenih časopisnih objav moremo tako podati le okvirno oceno njihovega števila: zdi se, da jih je bilo ob največji popolnitvi orkestra med 60 in 70. Včasih je v zasedbi manjkalo toliko instrumentalistov, da so si morali pomagati s substituti, ki so jih v času, ko je bil sedež orkestra v Ljubljani, med drugim najemali izmed članov tamkajšnjega radijskega orkestra.⁹¹

Kot je bilo predstavljeno zgoraj, so jedro Tržaške filharmonije ob njeni ustanovitvi tvorili glasbeniki, ki ob reorganizaciji glasbenega življenja v Trstu poleti 1945 avdicije v novi operno-simfonični orkester bodisi niso opravili bodisi se je sploh niso udeležili ali pa se kljub opravljeni avdiciji v novi orkester niso želeli vključiti. Toda bilo jih je premalo in ustanovitelji novega orkestra, ki je nato odšel v Jugoslavijo, so že julija, še bolj intenzivno pa avgusta in septembra 1945 začeli z iskanjem instrumentalistov, ki bi se mu bili pripravljene priključiti; iskanje novih izvajalskih moči se je spričo mnogih odhodov nadaljevalo domala ves čas njegovega obstoja.

Glasbenike so pridobivali predvsem prek osebnih poznanstev. V korespondenci z njimi tako najdemo zapise, kot: »Tovariš Giralanda je omenil, da igrate tubo. Če ste pripravljeni sprejeti naše pogoje, lahko takoj odpotujete [...]»⁹² Ali pa: »Trenutno sem z orkestrom Tržaške filharmonije v Jugoslaviji in – odkrito – počutim se odlično. Zaenkrat igram prvo flavto, a bi bil brez težav pripravljen poprijeti za pikolo [...], če bi našel flautista, kot si ti, ki ti povsem zaupam. [...] Sporoči mi, prosim, če bi bil čez kak mesec pripravljen zasesti to mesto.»⁹³

Potencialne člane orkestra so v dopisih seznanili tudi s pogoji zaposlitve. Ponudili so jim pogodbo za nedoločen čas (ki bo veljavna ne glede na to, kako se bo razrešilo tržaško vprašanje), s plačo med 3.950,00 in 4.050,00 dinarjev, med glasbenike pa bi se razdelilo še 10 % od vsakokratnega prihodka od vstopnin; po prihodu na sedež Tržaške

89 AS 1583 (Mestni osvobodilni svet Trst), t. e. 17 (Arhiv Tržaške filharmonije), mapa III, »Odločba intendanta Tijardovića o razdelitvi zaslužka s koncerta 22. oktobra 1945«, 22. oktober 1945, in »Odločba intendanta Tijardovića o razdelitvi zaslužka s koncerta 7. novembra 1945«, 7. november 1945.

90 AS 1583 (Mestni osvobodilni svet Trst), t. e. 17 (Arhiv Tržaške filharmonije), mapa II, »Predlog za pripravo nove pogodbe s Tržaško filharmonijo«, nedatirano [oktober 1945]. V arhivu Tržaške filharmonije je v resnici ohranjenih nekaj dokumentov, iz katerih lahko razberemo, da je orkester prosil za dodatna sredstva, ki jih je v nekaterih primerih tudi prejel. Prim. npr. AS 1583 (Mestni osvobodilni svet Trst), t. e. 17 (Arhiv Tržaške filharmonije), mapa II, »Dopis Alberta Nicolettija slovenskemu Ministrstvu za prosveto«, 11. 1. 1946, in »Dopis Tržaške filharmonije Ivu Tijardoviću«, 6. februar 1946.

91 Prim. npr. AS 1583 (Mestni osvobodilni svet Trst), t. e. 17 (Arhiv Tržaške filharmonije), mapa I, »Potrdilo Josipa Straška o prejemu plačila za sodelovanje v Tržaški filharmoniji«, 16. maj 1946.

92 AS 1583 (Mestni osvobodilni svet Trst), t. e. 17 (Arhiv Tržaške filharmonije), mapa II, »Dopis Tržaške filharmonije Giorgiu Tieghiju«, 12. november 1945.

93 AS 1583 (Mestni osvobodilni svet Trst), t. e. 17 (Arhiv Tržaške filharmonije), mapa II, »Dopis Alberta Nicolettija Renzeju«, 11. november 1945.

filharmonije bi se jim povrnili tudi potni stroški in stroški prevoza instrumenta.⁹⁴ Poudarjeno je še, da ima orkester sklenjeno pogodbo neposredno z zvezno jugoslovansko vlado in da zaposlitev v orkestru prinaša pravico do pokojnine in vseh drugih socialnih ugodnosti. Slednjič je pojasnjeno tudi, da bodo filharmoniki v prihodnje svoj stalni sedež imeli bodisi v Trstu bodisi v katerem izmed drugih jugoslovanskih mest, ki si ga bodo po razrešitvi tržaškega vprašanja izbrali sami.⁹⁵ Iz že omenjenega predloga za novo pogodbo za Tržaško filharmonijo lahko k navedenemu dodamo še, da naj bi orkester vsako leto za 45 dni odšel na letni dopust (*ferie annuali*).⁹⁶

Kot lahko izvemo iz zapisnikov sestankov upravnega odbora, so bile dolžnosti orkestrašev določene predvsem z že omenjenima statutom in pravilnikom, ki se v arhivu Tržaške filharmonije žal nista ohranila.

Iz dopisov potencialnim članom orkestra, ki so ohranjeni v arhivu Tržaške filharmonije, in odgovorov nanje je jasno razvidno, da se tudi glasbeniki, ki so se zasedbi priključili kasneje, za sodelovanje v veliki večini niso odločali iz prvenstveno političnih vzgibov, temveč so predvsem iskali možnosti zaposlitve in varnega življenja. Nazoren primer za pravkar povedano je violist Primo Palazzi, ki je v svojem pismu Tržaški filharmoniji jasno zapisal: »Na razpolago sem, kajti tu je le malo dela.«⁹⁷ Kot je razvidno iz ohranjenih matičnih listov, je velika večina netržaških članov, ki jih je vodstvu orkestra uspelo pritegniti k sodelovanju, prihajala iz severne Italije (prednjačijo Bergamo, Milano, Benetke, Piacenza, Padova).⁹⁸

Mnogi izmed članov Tržaške filharmonije so imeli družine in omogočeno jim je bilo, da so zanje poskrbeli bodisi tako, da so jim v Italijo pošiljali denar⁹⁹ bodisi tako, da se jim je družina pridružila v Jugoslaviji. Takih, ki so izkoristili drugo možnost, ni bilo malo in tako so skupaj z nekaterimi glasbeniki prebivali in potovali tudi njihovi partnerji in otroci. Da so se glasbenikom njihove družine lahko pridružile, je moralo vodstvo orkestra najprej poskrbeti za njihova dovoljenja za prehod meje,¹⁰⁰ kasneje pa še za njihovo nastanitev in prehrano, ki so ju morali sicer plačati sami.¹⁰¹

94 Iz dokumentov, ohranjenih v arhivu Tržaške filharmonije, je razvidno še, da je orkester godbenikom kril tudi stroške potrošnega materiala za vzdrževanje instrumenta (npr. nakup strun, kolofonije ipd.). Glej npr. AS 1583 (Mestni osvobodilni svet Trst), t. e. 17 (Arhiv Tržaške filharmonije), »Potrdilo o zalogi potrošnega materiala«, 6. julij 1946.

95 Podrobneje glej AS 1583 (Mestni osvobodilni svet Trst), t. e. 17 (Arhiv Tržaške filharmonije), mapa II, »Dopis Tržaške filharmonije Giorgiu Tieghiju«, 12. november 1945, »Dopis Alberta Nicolettija Renzeju«, 11. november 1945, »Dopis Tržaške filharmonije tovarišu Siliottiju«, 11. julij 1946, »Dopis Tržaške filharmonije Callegaru Veniciu«, 14. februar 1946 in »Dopis Tržaške filharmonije Paolinu«, 12. november 1945.

96 AS 1583 (Mestni osvobodilni svet Trst), t. e. 17 (Arhiv Tržaške filharmonije), mapa II, »Predlog za pripravo nove pogodbe s Tržaško filharmonijo«, nedatirano [oktober 1945].

97 AS 1583 (Mestni osvobodilni svet Trst), t. e. 17 (Arhiv Tržaške filharmonije), mapa I, »Pismo Prima Palazzija Jakovu Cipciju«, 14. avgust 1946, str. 1.

98 AS 1583 (Mestni osvobodilni svet Trst), t. e. 17 (Arhiv Tržaške filharmonije), matični listi članov Tržaške filharmonije.

99 V navedenih pisnih potencialnim članom orkestra je pojasnjeno, da večini orkestrašev uspe mesečno v Italijo poslati okrog 2.000,00 dinarjev. Kot je razvidno iz dokumentov, ohranjenih v arhivu Tržaške filharmonije, je bilo z menjavo (po tečaju 1,00 dinar = 3,28 lire) in nakazili denarja iz Jugoslavije v Italijo v času neposredno po vojni sicer pogosto nemalo težav. Prim. npr. AS 1583 (Mestni osvobodilni svet Trst), t. e. 17 (Arhiv Tržaške filharmonije), mapa III, »Spedizione rimesse alle famiglie«, 11. december 1945, in AS 1583 (Mestni osvobodilni svet Trst), t. e. 17 (Arhiv Tržaške filharmonije), mapa II, »Dopis Vlaste Janković Ministrstvu financ FLRJ«, 30. avgust 1946, in »Dopis Tržaške filharmonije ministru Vladimirju Ribnikarju«, 9. november 1945.

100 V arhivu Tržaške filharmonije je ohranjenih več prošelj obmejnim oblastem v Postojni, naj družinskim članom orkestrašev omogočijo prehod meje. Podrobneje glej npr. AS 1583 (Mestni osvobodilni svet Trst), t. e. 17 (Arhiv Tržaške filharmonije), mapa II, »Prošnja obmejnim oblastem za prehod meje Vecchia Natalini«, 6. april 1946, »Prošnja obmejnim oblastem za prehod meje Brunu Giorginu«, 5. april 1946, in »Prošnja obmejnim oblastem za prehod meje Rosi Viviani in Lini Morcia«, 5. april 1946.

101 Člani orkestra so za nastanitev in hrano prispevali le na sedežu Tržaške filharmonije, medtem ko so morali njihovi družinski člani - v primeru, da so se je udeležili - poravnati stroške bivanja in prehrane tudi na turneji. Podrobneje glej AS 1583 (Mestni

Filharmoniki so v Zagrebu, Portorožu, na Bledu in v času turneje prebivali v hotelih,¹⁰² medtem ko jih je v Ljubljani dobra polovica (48) prebivala tudi v Delavskem domu.¹⁰³ V času bivanja v Ljubljani je bilo za prehrano poskrbljeno v Javni kuhinji v Delavski zbornici,¹⁰⁴ pri čemer je imel orkester lastno (italijansko) kuharico, na kar so v pismih posebej opozorili tudi potencialne člane.¹⁰⁵ Vpogled v življenje tržaških glasbenikov v Delavskem domu v Ljubljani prinaša pričevanje Josipine Kalc:

Neke vrste štirinadstropni blok iz armiranega betona, 'celice' tako male, da je bilo v njih prostora za zložljivo posteljo, stol in majhno mizico. Omara vgrajena v zidu. Skupna kopalnica za vsako nadstropje. Ni bilo preveč udobno, bilo je mrzlo in vlažno, a smo bili večinoma zadovoljni, saj je imel vsak svojo sobico. Ker smo vsi vadili na svoje instrumente, bi bilo na vrata odveč zapisati priimek in ime. Plemenit in svojevrsten zvok violončela je pomenil: 'Tu 'prebiva' Dante Barzano.' Topla struna violine? Lahko bi bil bodisi Guidi bodisi Solero; in tako dalje za fagote, trobente, rogove, flaute ... V kleti je bila zelo dobro delujoča pralnica in likalnica, ki smo jo vsi zadovoljni uporabljali.¹⁰⁶

Nekoliko drugače je bilo v zagrebških in portoroških hotelih:

[V Zagrebu] so nas namestili v hotel 'Esplanade', čvrsto in prostorno stavbo s širokimi stopnicami, debelimi zidovi in prostornimi prostori. Tudi tu smo vadili, a postaviti se je bilo potrebno k dvojnimi vratom kake sobe, da je bil zvok violine slišen kot brenčanje komarja.¹⁰⁷

(Kratkotrajna) namestitev [v Portorožu] v velikem hotelu prve kategorije je bila gosposka. Pri mizi so nam zmeraj stregli najizvrstnejšo ribo (brancine, orade, vahnje) in nikdar ne bom pozabila, kako je naš arhivist [...], nekdanji mornar, odstopil svojo porcijo v zameno za glave, ki smo jih vsi (ali skoraj vsi) zavrgli.¹⁰⁸

osvobodilni svet Trst), t. e. 17 (Arhiv Tržaške filharmonije), mapa II, »Predlog za pripravo nove pogodbe s Tržaško filharmonijo«, nedatirano [oktober 1945], in AS 1583 (Mestni osvobodilni svet Trst), t. e. 17 (Arhiv Tržaške filharmonije), »Sedute del Comitato Direttivo O. F. T.«, str. 35, 38.

102 Podrobneje glej Odsek za zgodovino in etnografijo NŠK v Trstu, arhiv Bio, Mapa Josipina Kalc, »Odgovori Jospine Kalc na novinarska vprašanja«, nedatirano, str. 3, 10.

103 Preostali so prebivali v hotelih Štrukelj (38) in Balkan (4); v številkah so vključeni tudi družinski člani, ki so se pridružili glasbenikom. Podrobneje glej AS 1583 (Mestni osvobodilni svet Trst), t. e. 17 (Arhiv Tržaške filharmonije), mapa III, »Estratto conto«, 19. februar 1946, »Preventivo spese«, 11. januar 1946, in »Prospeto costo camere«, 11. februar 1946.

104 AS 1583 (Mestni osvobodilni svet Trst), t. e. 17 (Arhiv Tržaške filharmonije), mapa III, »Račun za prehrano v Javni kuhinji v Delavski zbornici«, 17. december 1945.

105 AS 1583 (Mestni osvobodilni svet Trst), t. e. 17 (Arhiv Tržaške filharmonije), mapa II, »Dopis Tržaške filharmonije Callegaru Veniciu«, 14. februar 1946; AS 1583 (Mestni osvobodilni svet Trst), t. e. 17 (Arhiv Tržaške filharmonije), »Sedute del Comitato Direttivo O. F. T.«, str. 9. Posebej skrbno so skrbeli tudi za prehrano otrok članov orkestra. (AS 1583 (Mestni osvobodilni svet Trst), t. e. 17 (Arhiv Tržaške filharmonije), mapa II, »Prošnja za dovoljenje za prenos živil iz Zagreba v Ljubljano«, 2. december 1945.)

106 Odsek za zgodovino in etnografijo NŠK v Trstu, arhiv Bio, Mapa Josipina Kalc, »Odgovori Jospine Kalc na novinarska vprašanja«, nedatirano, str. 4–5.

107 Odsek za zgodovino in etnografijo NŠK v Trstu, arhiv Bio, Mapa Josipina Kalc, »Odgovori Jospine Kalc na novinarska vprašanja«, nedatirano, str. 5.

108 Odsek za zgodovino in etnografijo NŠK v Trstu, arhiv Bio, Mapa Josipina Kalc, »Odgovori Jospine Kalc na novinarska vprašanja«, nedatirano, str. 10.

Tržaška filharmonija v Zagrebu in Ljubljani

Čeprav je bilo v pogodbi z intendantom Tijarovićem predvideno, da bo sedež Tržaške filharmonije v Zagrebu, so se tržaški glasbeniki relativno hitro, po štirih uspešnih koncertih, ki so jih izvedli med 4. oktobrom in 16. novembrom 1945,¹⁰⁹ iz hrvaške prestolnice preselili v Ljubljano, kamor so z vlakom prispeli 25. novembra.¹¹⁰ Na podlagi dopisa hrvaškega Ministrstva za prosveto, ohranjenega v arhivu Tržaške filharmonije, se zdi, da so prenosu sedeža iz Zagreba v Ljubljano botrovale tudi nekatere organizacijske neprilike in slabši materialni pogoji za njegovo delo.¹¹¹ V Ljubljani je orkester v naslednjih mesecih priredil pravo koncertno sezono s sedmimi koncerti, nastopal pa je tudi na raznih priložnostnih koncertih ter v okviru programa Radia Ljubljana.¹¹²

Kot je razvidno iz sočasnih časopisnih poročil o delovanju tržaških filharmonikov, je tako zagrebške koncerte kot tiste, ki so jih zatem prirejali v Ljubljani in nekaterih drugih slovenskih krajih, ves čas spremljala živahna politična propaganda; mnogi so prerasli v prave politične manifestacije za priključitev Trsta k Jugoslaviji. Tako lahko že v članku, ki je bil v *Vjesniku* objavljen ob prihodu orkestra v Zagreb, preberemo, da »bivanje tržaške filharmonije v Zagrebu predstavlja značilno manifestacijo novega bratstva Hrvatov in Slovencev z naprednimi Italijani« in da »Zagreb nestrpnost pričakuje prve koncerte«,¹¹³ v poročilu po enem izmed koncertov pa, da je bila »v okviru prvega koncerta Tržačanov pripravljena tudi manjša politična manifestacija«. Avtorju se slednje sicer ne zdi prav nič nenavadno, saj »za človeka, ki kulturne in umetniške dogodke razume na sodoben način, ni važno, če je neka umetniška manifestacija imela politični okvir, saj danes enega od drugega ne moremo ločevati.«¹¹⁴ Tovrstnim zapisom so bila v tržaškem časniku *Il Lavoratore* dodana še poročila o toplem sprejemu in dobrem počutju članov Tržaške filharmonije v Zagrebu ter o njihovem navdušenju nad novo, napredno Titovo Jugoslavijo.¹¹⁵

Z izjemo kritik rednih koncertov v Ljubljani, ki sta jih prispevala Dragotin in Ciril Cvetko,¹¹⁶ moremo politično-propagandnim vsebinam slediti tudi v poročilih o delovanju tržaških filharmonikov iz osrednjih slovenskih dnevnikov, *Ljudske*

109 Seznam koncertov Tržaške filharmonije, kot ga je bilo moč rekonstruirati na podlagi dostopnih virov in literature, je objavljen v prilogi.

110 Tržaška filharmonija, pozdravljena!« *Slovenski poročevalec*, 25. november 1945: 2; »Tržaška filharmonija v Ljubljani«, *Ljudska pravica*, 25. november 1945: 8.

111 AS 1583 (Mestni osvobodilni svet Trst), t. e. 17 (Arhiv Tržaške filharmonije), mapa I, »Dopis hrvaškega Ministrstva za kulturo upravi Tržaške filharmonije«, 23. oktober 1945.

112 S simfoničnimi koncerti je v okviru radijskega programa sodeloval že v decembru 1945. Kot je bilo že nakazano, je Tržaška filharmonija večkrat sodelovala tudi z radijskim orkestrom, saj sta si obe zasedbi v primeru potrebe med seboj posojali glasbenike. Prim. npr. AS 1583 (Mestni osvobodilni svet Trst), t. e. 17 (Arhiv Tržaške filharmonije), mapa II, »Dopis Tržaške filharmonije upravi radia«, 20. december 1945, in AS 1583 (Mestni osvobodilni svet Trst), t. e. 17 (Arhiv Tržaške filharmonije), mapa I, »Dopis Radia Ljubljana Tržaški filharmoniji«, 17. april 1946.

113 »Trščanski filharmonijski orkestar 'Filharmonica di Trieste' djelovat će u Zagrebu«, *Vjesnik*, 24. avgust 1945: 5.

114 »Drugi koncert orkestra Trščanske filharmonije«, *Vjesnik*, 25. oktober 1945: 5.

115 »I nostri filarmonici a Zagabria«, *Il Lavoratore*, 10. november 1945: 2.

116 Kritike so bile pretežno pozitivne, predvsem dr. Dragotin Cvetko pa se v njih ne omejuje le na oceno izvedbe, temveč se posveti tudi podrobnejšim predstavitev skladb, ki so bile na programih koncertov. Prim. npr. Dragotin Cvetko, »Prvi koncert Tržaške filharmonije«, *Slovenski poročevalec*, 18. december 1945: 6; Ciril Cvetko, »Koncert Tržaške filharmonije«, *Ljudska pravica*, 19. december 1945: 3; Dragotin Cvetko, »Simfonični koncert Tržaške filharmonije«, *Slovenski poročevalec*, 22. januar 1946: 6.

pravice in *Slovenskega poročevalca*. Tu se (vedno v povezavi z nujnostjo dodelitve Trsta Jugoslaviji) poudarja predvsem bratstvo med Jugoslovani/Slovenci in Italijani/Tržačani ter izpostavlja, da je orkester prišel v novo, svobodno in napredno Jugoslavijo, ki podpira vrhunsko umetnost, zato, ker mu je bilo delovanje v Trstu (ki po odhodu jugoslovanske vojske očitno ni več tako »napreden«) onemogočeno. Delovanje orkestra je postavljeno tudi v okvir nove politično-kulturne paradigme, saj želi Tržaška filharmonija »s svojim prihodom k nam dokazati svetu, da je v Jugoslaviji prostora za vsakega delavca pa najsi pripada kateremukoli narodu. Zavedajo se, da v Jugoslaviji umetnost ni luksuz, temveč potreba duha in kulturno stremljenje vsega delovnega ljudstva.«¹¹⁷ Zato filharmoniki »zastavljajo vse svoje sile z namenom, čim bolj seznaniti občinstvo v Ljubljani in izven nje s svojim bogatim sporedom ter s posredovanjem sindikalnih organizacij povzdigniti zanimanje za glasbo in užitek nad glasbenimi umotvori tudi v tistih slojih, ki so bili glede tega doslej zanemarjeni.«¹¹⁸ To svoje poslanstvo so uresničevali predvsem z gostovanji v nekaterih slovenskih krajih, ki so se »povsod spremenila v mogočne manifestacije za Trst in Slovensko Primorje.«¹¹⁹ Tržaška filharmonija je ob teh priložnostih »dajala glasbene prireditve delavcem po tovarnah, kmetom, vojski, invalidom itd. [...] Naše ljudstvo je tržaške glasbenike sprejemalo z velikim navdušenjem in prisrčnostjo. Za njihov prihod je lepo okrasilo prostore, kjer so bili koncerti.«¹²⁰ Na Jesenicah so tako v začetku marca 1946 »goste pred tovarno pričakali zastopniki ljudskega odbora, sindikatov, AFŽ in mladine ter jim priredili prisrčen sprejem«, sam koncert pa je bil »manifestacija bratstva in povezanosti z gosti iz Trsta«, ki so jo člani orkestra pospremili z besedami: »Mi vsi čutimo, da se naša skupna stvar približuje svojemu vrhuncu, zato je važno, da smo v teh velikih dneh edini in drug drugemu čim bližji.«¹²¹ Tudi ko so filharmoniki 18. marca 1946 prišli v Maribor, »jih je sprejelo vzklikanje, pionirji so goste obsuli s cvetjem, predstavniki ljudske oblasti so jih pozdravili in njihovemu pozdravu so se Tržačani prisrčno zahvalili.«¹²² Da se zavedajo, »da je umetnost last najširših množic«, so tržaški glasbeniki »dokazali s tem, da so v torek zjutraj [naslednji dan] na lastno pobudo priredili koncert v tovarni letal. Dr. Degrassi je pozdravil delavce: 'Danes prihajamo k vam in vam prinašamo svojo umetnost, ker čutimo kot umski delavci bratsko povezanost z vami, ročnimi delavci.'«¹²³ Podobne manifestacije so se razvile tudi ob koncertih orkestra na Ptuj, v Celju, Trziču, Škofji Loki¹²⁴ in nekaterih drugih

117 »Tržaška filharmonija, pozdravljena!« *Slovenski poročevalec*, 25. november 1945: 2.

118 »Spored prvega koncerta tržaškega filharmoničnega orkestra v Ljubljani«, *Ljudska pravica*, 13. december 1945: 3.

119 »Delo Tržaške filharmonije za popularizacijo glasbe med ljudstvom«, *Ljudska pravica*, 16. maj 1946: 4.

120 »Delo Tržaške filharmonije za popularizacijo glasbe med ljudstvom«, *Ljudska pravica*, 16. maj 1946: 4.

121 »Koncert tržaške filharmonije na Jesenicah«, *Slovenski poročevalec*, 7. marec 1946: 3.

122 »Tržaška filharmonija v Mariboru«, *Slovenski poročevalec*, 27. marec 1946: 6.

123 »Tržaška filharmonija v Mariboru«, *Slovenski poročevalec*, 27. marec 1946: 6.

124 V Škofji Loki ni nastopila celotna Tržaška filharmonija, temveč le njen godalni orkester, ki mu je dirigiral eden od članov, Mario Ferraro. (»Delo tržaške filharmonije za popularizacijo glasbe med ljudstvom«, *Ljudska pravica*, 16. maj 1946: 4.) O ustanovitvi godalnega (komornega) orkestra Tržaške filharmonije je upravni odbor razpravljal na sestanku 25. marca 1946 in sprejel sklep, da bo orkester svojo dejavnost lahko izvajal umetniško in finančno avtonomno, a le do te mere, da pri tem ne bo ovirano delovanje Tržaške filharmonije. (AS 1583 (Mestni osvobodilni svet Trst), t. e. 17 (Arhiv Tržaške filharmonije), »Sedute del Comitato Direttivo O. F. T.«, str. 12.) V pregledanih virih ob navedenem koncertu v Škofji Loki omemb morebitnih drugih koncertov godalnega orkestra Tržaške filharmonije sicer ni bilo moč zaslediti, zaradi česar se postavljajo vprašanja o njegovem dejanskem kontinuiranem obstoju.

slovenskih krajih.¹²⁵ V času, ko so prve strani časopisov polnili naslovi, kot so »Antifašistične množice Trsta stoje odločno v boju za svobodo in za priključitev k Jugoslaviji«,¹²⁶ »200.000 Tržičanov zahteva Jugoslavijo«¹²⁷ ali »Istra, Trst in Slovensko Primorje – to je naša zahteva«,¹²⁸ so mogli bralci na notranjih straneh prebirati, kako italijanski tržaški orkester s svojimi koncerti v raznih slovenskih krajih promovira pravično razrešitev tržaškega vprašanja, ki lahko pomeni le priključitev Trsta k Jugoslaviji, in kako si s svojim delom v skladu z naprednimi politično-kulturnimi usmeritvami prizadeva za razširjanje visoke glasbene kulture med najširše ljudske množice. Spričo tovrstnih časopisnih poročil ne preseneča, da je slovensko Ministrstvo za prosveto v dopisu zveznemu Ministrstvu za finance v zvezi s Tržaško filharmonijo izpostavilo predvsem »njeno edinstveno kulturno in politično propagandno delovanje pri nas, njeno odlično izvajanje domačih in svetovnih avtorjev, njene nastope v okviru sindikatov in njeno manifestacijo skupnosti Trsta in Jugoslavije«.¹²⁹

Izmed priložnostnih koncertov, ki jih je Tržaška filharmonija priredila v Ljubljani,¹³⁰ v propagandnem pogledu posebej izstopajo sodelovanja orkestra v okviru nekaterih javnih prireditev, kot je bila proslava ob obletnici ustanovitve Rdeče armade 23. februarja,¹³¹ proslava ob mednarodnem dnevu žena 8. marca¹³² in posebno proslava ob dnevu zmage 9. maja 1946; v okviru slednje so tržaški filharmoniki v sodelovanju z radijskim in opernim orkestrom izvedli Šostakovičevo *Simfonijo št. 7* v C-duru, op. 60 (*Leningrajsko*).¹³³ Nekaj orkestrašev se je nadalje s transparenti, na katerih so bili zapisani pozivi o priključitvi Trsta k Jugoslaviji,¹³⁴ udeležilo svečane povorke ob praznovanju 1. maja, kjer so bili »burno pozdravljeni«,¹³⁵ tržaški glasbeniki pa so se s posebnim javnim pismom odzvali tudi na tragične dogodke v Šklednju pri Trstu, kjer sta 10. marca 1946 pod streli civilne policije umrla dva projugoslovanska demonstranta, 17 pa je bilo ranjenih.¹³⁶

125 Glej npr. »Dve kulturni prireditvi v Tržiču na Gorenjskem«, *Ljudska pravica*, 26. april 1946: 6, in »Fervide accoglienze alla Filarmonica Triestina nei principali centri della Slovenia«, *Il Lavoratore*, 27. marec 1946: 2.

126 »Antifašistične množice Trsta stoje odločno v boju za svobodo in za priključitev k Jugoslaviji«, *Ljudska pravica*, 28. marec 1946: 1.

127 »200.000 Tržičanov zahteva Jugoslavijo«, *Ljudska pravica*, 28. marec 1946: 1.

128 »Istra, Trst in Slovensko Primorje – to je naša zahteva«, *Ljudska pravica*, 14. maj 1946: 1.

129 AS 1583 (Mestni osvobodilni svet Trst), t. e. 17 (Arhiv Tržaške filharmonije), mapa I, »Dopis Lore Kerne Ministrstvu financ FNRJ«, 7. februar 1946.

130 Med drugim so prirejali tudi koncerte za mladino. Glej npr. »Dva koncerta Tržaške filharmonije«, *Ljudska pravica*, 26. januar 1946: 6.

131 »Proslava obletnice ustanovitve Rdeče armade v Ljubljani«, *Slovenski poročevalec*, 26. februar 1946: 1 in »Sla Slovenija je svečano proslavila 28. obletnico Rdeče armade«, *Ljudska pravica*, 26. februar 1946: 1.

132 »Letošnji 8. marec je bil dan mobilizacije vseh žena za izvršitev nalog, ki jih postavlja pred nas gospodarska obnova domovine«, *Ljudska pravica*, 10. marec 1946: 5.

133 »Šostakovičeva Leningrajska simfonija«, *Slovenski poročevalec*, 12. maj 1946: 7.

134 »Delovno ljudstvo je pokazalo plodove svojega dela«, *Ljudska pravica*, 3. maj 1946: 3.

135 »Proslava 1. maja v Ljubljani«, *Slovenski poročevalec*, 3. maj 1946: 3.

136 »PNOO protestira«, *Primorski dnevnik*, 12. marec 1946: 1. Člani Tržaške filharmonije so v pismu zapisali, da njim, ki gostujejo »v Federativni ljudski republiki Jugoslaviji, kjer vlada mir, napredek in se izvaja obnova, se zdi neverjetno, ker lahko še danes fašistična klika uporablja sredstva, ki jih ima na razpolago proti našemu ljudstvu, ko se bori za dosego svojih pravic! V nadaljevanju dogodek v Šklednju obžalujejo in svojem žrtvi in tragičnem dogodku pošiljajo 11.000 lir. Podrobneje glej »Tržaška filharmonija obsoja početje protidemokratskih sil v coni A«, *Slovenski poročevalec*, 23. april 1946: 2.

Bratje Italijani v prizadevanjih za jugoslovansko rešitev vprašanja Trsta: propagandna turneja Tržaške filharmonije po Jugoslaviji

Vrhunec politično-propagandnega delovanja Tržaške filharmonije je bilo njeno gostovanje v Srbiji in Makedoniji. Da bodo filharmoniki, potem ko bodo v Zagrebu priredili nekaj koncertov, odšli na »propagandno turnejo« po republiških glavnih mestih in pomembnejših jugoslovanskih kulturnih središčih, je bilo predvideno že v pogodbi s konca julija 1945.¹³⁷ Najprej naj bi obiskali Beograd, Niš, Skopje, Novi Sad, Subotico, Osijek in Varaždin, v drugem delu gostovanj pa Reko, Pulj, Zadar, Šibenik, Split, Dubrovnik, Mostar in Sarajevo.¹³⁸ A zdi se, da je bilo okrog organizacije gostovanj – pa tudi delovanja orkestra nasploh – ves čas precej zmede in nedorečenosti, saj se orkester iz Zagreba ni odpravil na pot po Jugoslaviji, temveč v Ljubljano.¹³⁹ Kot lahko razberemo iz nekaterih ohranjenih dokumentov in časopisnih poročil, so turnejo v naslednjih mesecih še večkrat preložili,¹⁴⁰ pa tudi ko so se na gostovanje v Beograd v maju 1946 vendarle odpravili, do zadnjih dni pred odhodom ni bilo jasno, kdaj točno bo orkester odpotoval, kdaj bodo imeli koncerte in koliko jih bo, ali bodo gostovali le v Beogradu ali tudi v kakem drugem kraju in kdaj se bodo s turneje sploh vrnili.¹⁴¹

Čeprav je bilo odlaganje turneje Tržaške filharmonije po Jugoslaviji do neke mere nedvomno posledica finančnih in organizacijskih preprek, se ob tem vendarle zdi, da so politični odločevalci v Beogradu in Ljubljani pred njeno izpeljavo čakali tudi na primeren trenutek v mednarodnih okoliščinah, saj so aktivnosti v zvezi z razreševanjem tržaškega vprašanja intenzivno stekle prav spomladi 1946. Zasedanje sveta zunanjih ministrov septembra 1945 ni prineslo prav nobene dokončne rešitve in dogovorjeno je bilo, da bodo za razrešitev mejnega vprašanja oblikovali posebno strokovno komisijo.

137 AS 1583 (Mestni osvobodilni svet Trst), t. e. 17 (Arhiv Tržaške filharmonije), mapa II, »Predlog za pripravo nove pogodbe s Tržaško filharmonijo«, nedatirano [oktober 1945].

138 »Trščanski filharmonijski orkestar 'Filharmonica di Trieste' djelovat će u Zagrebu«, *Vjesnik*, 24. avgust 1945: 5.

139 Da bo orkester po zagrebških koncertih odšel na turnejo po Jugoslaviji, se omenja še v časopisnih poročilih s konca oktobra in začetka novembra (prim. »La Filarmonica Triestina nel suo secondo concerto a Zagabria«, *Il Lavoratore*, 2. november 1945: 2). Domnevamo lahko, da je bila odločitev o tem, da orkester v novembru 1945 še ne bo odšel na turnejo, temveč se bo (zdi se, da za nedoločen čas) preselil v Ljubljano, sprejeta na omenjenih sestankih za sklenitev nove pogodbe v začetku novembra v Beogradu. Glede na vsebino nekaterih dokumentov, ohranjenih v arhivu Tržaške filharmonije, je morala biti ta odločitev gotovo sprejeta pred 11. novembrom 1945. Glej AS 1583 (Mestni osvobodilni svet Trst), t. e. 17 (Arhiv Tržaške filharmonije), mapa II, »Dopis Alberta Nicolettija Renzeju«, 11. november 1945.

140 Časopis *Il Lavoratore* 3. januarja 1946 navaja, da naj bi orkester na turnejo odšel še v istem mesecu (glej »Musicisti triestini in Jugoslavia«, *Il Lavoratore*, 3. januar 1946: 2); da so se v tem času v resnici dogovarjali o izpeljavi gostovanj, nakazuje tudi potovanje Paola Jankovića v Beograd med 9. in 14. januarjem (AS 1583 (Mestni osvobodilni svet Trst), t. e. 17 (Arhiv Tržaške filharmonije), mapa III, »Račun za bivanje Paola Jankovića v Beogradu od 9. do 14. januarja 1946«). A filharmoniki se na turnejo tudi tokrat niso odpravili in Janković je konec marca ponovno iskal možnosti, kako bi jo lahko izpeljali. V pismu enemu izmed članov orkestra, Gianniju Bertolinju, tako pravi, da so gostovanja v okolici Ljubljane sicer res prikladna, a da bi si vendarle morali še naprej prizadevati za gostovanje v Beogradu. Očitno pa je bilo to gostovanje finančno in organizacijsko težko izpeljati, saj Janković nato predstavi predlog, da bi si od vlade izprosili tri spalne vagonne in da bi orkestraši v času turneje lahko prebivali kar na vlaku, kot to počnejo Rusi. (AS 1583 (Mestni osvobodilni svet Trst), t. e. 17 (Arhiv Tržaške filharmonije), mapa I, »Pismo Paola Jankovića članom Tržaške filharmonije«, 26. marec 1946.) Da so se tudi v tem primeru za gostovanje v Beogradu resno dogovarjali, morda nakazuje že omenjeni zapis Marjana Kozine v enem izmed pism domačim, v katerem pravi, da bo v začetku aprila 1946 v Beogradu dirigiral tržačanom. (NUK, Glasbena zbirka, Kozina, Marjan, Kronika, I, Pisma, Ovoj Pisma družini 1945–1947, Pismo Marjana Kozine domačim iz Beograda, 13. marec [1946], str. 2). Turneja je bila tudi v tem primeru preložena.

141 AS 1583 (Mestni osvobodilni svet Trst), t. e. 17 (Arhiv Tržaške filharmonije), mapa II, »Dopis upravnega odbora Tržaške filharmonije Luigiju Girlandis«, 7. maj 1946, in AS 1583 (Mestni osvobodilni svet Trst), t. e. 17 (Arhiv Tržaške filharmonije), mapa I, »Dopis generalnega sekretarja Vlade Ljudske republike Slovenije Danila Dougana železniški upravi«, 7. maj 1946.

Njena naloga je bila, da (predvsem na podlagi ugotovitev na terenu) pripravi predloge za novo mejno črto med Jugoslavijo in Italijo, ki naj bi bila zarisana tako, da bi upoštevala etnično pripadnost prebivalstva.¹⁴² Člani komisije so si stanje na terenu ogledovali med 7. marcem in 15. aprilom 1946. Na podlagi njihovih ugotovitev so nato rešitve v maju in juniju 1946 ponovno iskali na zasedanjih sveta zunanjih ministrov, tokrat v Parizu. Čeprav je strokovna komisija pripravila enotno poročilo, pa to stališč štirih odločujočih velesil ni bistveno zbližalo, saj je vsaka pripravila svoj predlog mejne črte, pri čemer je status Trsta ostajal osrednja težava. V začetku maja je francoski zunanji minister Georges Bidault predstavil predlog, ki je predvideval, da bi mestu po vzoru razrešitve vprašanja Gdanska po prvi svetovni vojni priznali mednarodno avtonomijo. Čeprav so se jugoslovanski politiki tej ideji na vse pretege upirali (Kardelj ji je odločno nasprotoval že 16. maja 1946), je proti koncu maja dokončno postalo jasno, da svet zunanjih ministrov rešitve, ki bi Trst dodelila Jugoslaviji, ne bo sprejel. To je Titu ob njegovem obisku v Moskvi 27. maja 1946 odkrito povedal tudi Stalin. Ko so se 15. junija 1946 zunanji ministri v Parizu ponovno sestali, je francoska rešitev prevladala in 2. julija so jo dokončno oblikovali v predlog, ki so ga nato predstavili na zasedanju mirovne konference, ki se je v francoski prestolnici začela konec meseca. Predvideno je bilo, da bi Jugoslaviji pripadlo ozemlje vzhodno od mejne črte, ki so jo Francozi zarisali po načelu etničnega ravnovesja (na obeh straneh meje bi ostalo približno enako velika narodna manjšina), ozemlje zahodno od nje pa bi se razdelilo na dva dela: severni del (ki je vključeval tudi Gorico) naj bi pripadel Italiji, na južnem delu pa naj bi bilo ustanovljeno Svobodno tržaško ozemlje (STO), razdeljeno na cono A STO (Trst z okolico) pod zavezniško vojaško upravo in cono B STO (bujski in koprski okraj) pod jugoslovansko vojaško upravo.¹⁴³

Sodeč po sočasnih časopisnih poročilih je bila v teh za reševanje tržaškega vprašanja na mednarodnem diplomatskem parketu odločilnih trenutkih turneja Tržaške filharmonije po Srbiji in Makedoniji (posebno beograjski koncerti) nadvse pomemben del politične propagande, ki so jo jugoslovanske oblasti izvajale za domačo javnost. To nazorno ilustrira tudi povedni zapis iz ene od napovedi prvega koncerta v Beogradu:

*V trenutku, ko vsi naši narodi pozorno spremljajo zasedanje konference zunanjih ministrov v Parizu in pričakujejo pravično rešitev vprašanja Trsta, koncerti Tržaške filharmonije v Beogradu zaslužijo ne le umetniško, temveč tudi vso politično pozornost našega občinstva.*¹⁴⁴

Poziv se je več kot uresničil. Filharmoniki so v Beograd z vlakom prispeli v torek, 14. maja, in v prestolnici v slabih dveh tednih priredili 6 koncertov. Že prvi izmed njih, 16. maja, se je prelevil v veliko politično manifestacijo. Dogajanje na prireditvi je v poročilu za *Slovenski poročevalec* slikovito opisal Marjan Kozina:

142 Strokovni komisiji, ki je na terenu zbirala informacije za določitev meje med Italijo in Jugoslavijo, je pismo, v katerem se zavzema za priključitev Trsta k Jugoslaviji, kjer bi imel status sedme republike, napisal tudi upravni odbor Tržaške filharmonije. Glej AS 1583 (Mestni osvobodilni svet Trst), t. e. 17 (Arhiv Tržaške filharmonije), mapa II, »Pismo upravnega odbora Tržaške filharmonije strokovni komisiji za določitev meje«, 8. marec 1946.

143 Podrobneje glej Pirjevec, *Trst je naš*, 333–338 in Nečak, »Od železne zaveso do zelene meje«, 210–211.

144 »Večeras u dvorani Kolarčeve zadužbine prvi simfoniski koncert Tršćanske filharmonije«, *Politika*, 16. maj 1946: 6.

Koncert se je razvil v kulturno manifestacijo, kakor jih Beograd ni doživel mnogo. Dvorana je bila svečano okrašena, na podiju so visele poleg državne zastave in slike maršala Tita italijanska zastava s peterokrako zvezdo in zastava mesta Trsta. Dvorana nabito polna, prisotni so bili predsednik Prezidija ljudske skupščine dr. Ivan Ribar, podpredsednik Jože Rus, načelnik generalnega štaba generallajtnant Koča Popovič, predsednik komiteta za kulturo in umetnost Vladislav Ribnikar, minister prosvete Srbije Mitra Mitrovič in še mnogo drugih ministrov, poslancev in kulturnih delavcev.

Ko so se pojavili Tržaçani na koncertnem podiju, jih je sprejel ogromen aplavz in glasno pozdravljanje. To je trajalo vse dokler ni zadnji član sedemdesetih filharmonikov zasedel svoje mesto in se še stopnjevalo, ko je prišel za pult maestro J. Cipci.

Orkester je odigral najprej državno himno, za tem pa tržaško himno Sv. Justa, ki jo je občinstvo sprejelo z navdušenim aplavzom. Ustvarjena je bila že takoj v začetku atmosfera, ki je v tej dvorani morda še nikdar nisem občutil.

Orkester, ki je takorekoč pribežal v »nekulturno« Jugoslavijo, da tu nadaljuje svoje komaj začeto umetniško poslanstvo, ta orkester je stopil pred javnost prestolnice one države, s katero se želi njegovo mesto spojiti, v trenutku, ko se vsak dan polnijo kolone listov vseh evropskih listov s članki, v katerih vedno bereš že v naslovih o Trstu, v trenutku, ko si zunanji ministri štirih velesil belijo glave o tem, ali naj iz te besede izvedejo enostavno resnico ali komplicirano laž. Če pomislimo še to, da je vsak Beograjec zainteresiran na usodi Trsta nič manj, kot vsak Slovenec, postane razumljiv občutek, ki sem ga podal, da je namreč vladala v dvorani čisto posebna atmosfera navdušenja, napetega pričakovanja, občutek srčnega prijateljstva do teh umetnikov, ki so doma tujci, a v tujini domačini.

Ko so odigrali obe himni, je najprej spregovoril v imenu komiteja za kulturo in umetnost srbski književnik Čeda Minderovič. [...]

V imenu članov Tržaške filharmonije je v italijanščini odgovoril pianist dr. Bruno Degrassi. Med drugim je rekel: 'Na svojem potu po Jugoslaviji ima Tržaška filharmonija čast, da se izpolni velika njena želja – koncert v prestolnici tistega naroda, ki je med prvimi šel v borbo proti fašistični tiraniji. Na svoji poti skozi mesta in vasi, velike in male, smo povsod hoteli ponesti duh delovnega ljudstva Trsta. Borili smo se skupaj z Jugoslavijo in mi smo za jugoslovansko rešitev vprašanja Trsta. Mi, Italijani, tržaški demokrati, želimo, da se naše vprašanje reši v jugoslovanskem smislu. Prepričani smo, da ni to važno le zaradi naše ekonomske obnove, temveč tudi zato, ker verujemo besedam vašega – upam, da bomo kmalu lahko rekli, tudi našega – maršala Tita, da je v Jugoslaviji vprašanje nacionalne pripadnosti svetinja. Še danes mora delavski narod Trsta klicati 'Smrt fašizmu', ker tam fašizem še ni mrtev. Naj vam naša muzika tolmači zahtevo Trsta: Mir, svoboda in edinstvo'.

Njegov govor so od začetka prevajali v srbsčino, proti koncu pa so burni aplavzi po vsakem stavku Degrassija pokazali, da publika razume in da je prevod nepotreben.¹⁴⁵ [...]

145 V nekaterih drugih časopisnih poročilih je navedeno, da so Degrassijev govor ves čas prekinjali vzkliki, kot so »Živeli italijanski antifašisti!« ali »Živela svobodna Republika Trst v Federativni narodni republikli Jugoslaviji!«. Prim. npr. »Prvi koncert Trščanske filharmonije u Beogradu«, *Borba*, 18. maj 1946: 4.

*Strokovne kritike ne bom podajal, saj so kvalitete tega orkestra in vsa izvajana dela ljubljanskemu občinstvu znana.*¹⁴⁶

V podobne politične manifestacije so se razvili tudi ostali beograjski koncerti, posebno tisti, ki so jih filharmoniki priredili za vojsko ali sindikate.¹⁴⁷ Koncerte so na prvih straneh beograjskega dnevnega časopisja (*Borba, Politika*) domala vsakodnevno spremljali naslovi, kot so »Naša borba za Trst«,¹⁴⁸ »Mi od naših pravičnih zahtev ne bomo niti najmanj odstopili«,¹⁴⁹ »Pravica Trstu in Julijski Krajini«,¹⁵⁰ »Julijska Krajina je etnično Slovenska«,¹⁵¹ poročila o delovanju orkestra na notranjih straneh pa so prinašala zapise o tem, da Tržaška filharmonija »predstavlja občutke, želje in vero ne le slovenskega naroda, temveč tudi naprednih tržaških Italijanov, da sta jim svoboda in ekonomski napredek zagotovljena samo v Demokratični Narodni Republiki Jugoslaviji«. ¹⁵²

Med bivanjem v Beogradu so tržaški filharmoniki obiskali tudi grob neznanega junaka na Avali,¹⁵³ tik pred odhodom iz prestolnice pa so 25. maja v skupščini nastopili še na sprejemu ob Titovem rojstnem dnevu. Vprašanje Trsta je bilo v ospredju tudi ob tej priložnosti. Dirigent Cipci je v svojem pozdravu predsedniku Titu med drugim dejal, da bo »najsrečnejši dan [...] za nas, ko bo Trst priključen k FLRJ. Naj živi Trst kot sedma republika v Titovi Jugoslaviji! Naj živi maršal Jugoslavije Tito! Naj živi FLRJ!«¹⁵⁴ Tito se je filharmonikom zahvalil in jim zagotovil, »da so Vaše in naše želje – želje jugoslovanskih narodov enake« ter da bodo »nadaljevali [...] naše delo in naše borbe, da boste dobili mesto v ljudski skupnosti narodov FLRJ«. ¹⁵⁵ Glasbeniki so bili povabljeni tudi na razkošen banket v predsednikovo rezidenco, ki ga je slikovito opisala Josipina Kalc:

*Ko smo se v času hudega pomanjkanja in racionirane prehrane znašli pred razkošnimi mizami, ki so se šibile pod vsakovrstnimi dobrotami, nas je skorajda obšla vrtoglavica. Ob umetelno postreženih izbranih jedeh ni manjkalo pijače, vina, piva, brezalkoholnih napitkov, pa svežega sadja, sočnega in dišečega. Okrog miz ni bilo stolov. Sprehajali smo se, s pladnjem v levi roki, medtem ko smo ga z desno poskušali po svojem okusu napolniti. In to še ni vse. V vsaki od štirih ali petih sob je bila »konstrukcija« v obliki piramide, napravljena iz kakih sto zavojev najboljših cigaret. Če nas je izobilje jedi in pijače osupnilo, so se nam zdele te velikodušno podarjene cigarete na meji verjetnega, tudi nekadilcem.*¹⁵⁶

146 Marjan Kozina, »Tržaška filharmonija v Beogradu«, *Slovenski poročevalec*, 24. maj 1946: 3.

147 Prim. npr. »Koncert Tršćanske filharmonije za sindikate u Beogradu«, *Politika*, 26. maj 1946: 4; »Veliki uspeh simfoniskog orkestra Tršćanske filharmonije u Beogradu«, *Borba*, 26. maj 1946: 3.

148 »Naša borba za Trst«, *Politika*, 15. maj 1946: 1.

149 »Mi od naših pravednih zahtjeva nećemo ni najmanje otstupiti«, *Borba*, 18. maj 1946: 1.

150 »Pravda Trstu i Juljskoj Krajini«, *Politika*, 18. maj 1946: 1.

151 »Julijska Krajina etnički je slovenačka«, *Politika*, 20. maj 1946: 1.

152 »Prvi simfonijski koncert Tršćanske filharmonije«, *Politika*, 20. maj 1946: 3.

153 AS 1583 (Mestni osvobodilni svet Trst), t. e. 17 (Arhiv Tržaške filharmonije), mapa II, »Poročilo o turneji po Jugoslaviji«, 19. junij 1946.

154 »Sprejem v Ljudski skupščini FLRJ na čast maršalu Titu«, *Slovenski poročevalec*, 28. maj 1946: 1.

155 »Sprejem v Ljudski skupščini FLRJ na čast maršalu Titu«, *Slovenski poročevalec*, 28. maj 1946: 1.

156 Odsek za zgodovino in etnografijo NSK v Trstu, arhiv Bio, Mapa Josipina Kalc, »Odgovori Jospine Kalc na novinarska vprašanja«, nedatirano, str. 16–17.

Podobnega gostoljubja so bili člani Tržaške filharmonije deležni tudi ob ostalih postankih v srbskih, makedonskih in hrvaških mestih. Prav tako so tudi koncerti, ki so jih izvedli v nadaljevanju turneje, ohranili izrazit politično-propaganden značaj; mnogi izmed njih so bili namenjeni sindikatom in vojski. Josipina Kalc poroča, da so v vsakem kraju najprej stopili v stik z vodjo lokalne partijske celice in se dogovorili o poteku gostovanja in koncertih; sama je na teh sestankih sodelovala kot prevajalka.¹⁵⁷

Iz Beograda je orkester najprej odšel v Niš, kjer je do 29. maja 1946 priredil štiri koncerte. Ob prihodu tržaških glasbenikov so meščane pozvali, naj jih pričakajo na postaji, saj bodo s tem »izkazali vso ljubezen do bratov v Trstu in Julijski Krajini in pokazali pripravljenost, da jim pomagajo v naporih za njihovo osvoboditev«. ¹⁵⁸ 30. maja so filharmoniki odpotovali v Skopje, kjer jih je na postaji z vzkliki, kot sta »Pravico Trstu – Trst Jugoslaviji« in »Živelo bratstvo in enotnost ljudstva Trsta in Julijske krajine«, ponovno pričakala množica ljudi, med katerimi so bili tudi člani mestnega ljudskega odbora in direktor radia; do 2. junija so bili v Skopju izvedeni trije javni koncerti in koncert za jugoslovansko armado.¹⁵⁹ Tudi na teh koncertih se je občinstvo, v katerem so sedeli vsi vidnejši lokalni politični veljaki,¹⁶⁰ »dvignilo s sedežev in dolgo manifestiralo za bratstvo Italijanov in Slovanov, za priključitev Julijske Krajine in Trsta k Jugoslaviji«. ¹⁶¹ Bučen sprejem je Tržaško filharmonijo pričakal tudi v Bitolju, kamor je prispela 3. junija popoldne. Naslednji dan ji je na koncertu prisluhnilo sicer »nedisciplinirano, a nadvse muzikalno občinstvo«. ¹⁶²

5. junija so se tržaški filharmoniki z vlakom odpeljali nazaj proti severu in po 23-urni vožnji naslednji dan že igrali na koncertu za vojsko v Beogradu (Zemun). 8. junija zjutraj je orkester odpotoval proti Novemu Sadu, kjer je po množičnem manifestativnem sprejemu prvi koncert priredil še isti dan; v naslednjih dneh sta mu sledila še dva.¹⁶³ Drugi izmed koncertov je bil organiziran za člane sindikatov in udeležilo naj bi se ga prek 2000 delavcev. Tržaške glasbenike je pozdravil sekretar Mestnega sindikalnega sveta Milorad Petrović, ki je v svojem govoru poudaril, da je »edina prava rešitev, da Trst in Julijska Krajina pripadeta Jugoslaviji«. ¹⁶⁴ Sledila sta dva koncerta v Subotici (11. in 12. 6.) ter koncert v Somboru (13. 6.), od koder je orkester še isti večer odpotoval proti Osijeku, kjer je nato 15. 6. izvedel dva koncerta. Tudi v poročilu o slednjih,

157 Odsek za zgodovino in etnografijo NŠK v Trstu, arhiv Bio, Mapa Josipina Kalc, »Odgovori Jospine Kalc na novinarska vprašanja«, nedatirano, str. 13.

158 Univerzitetna knjižnica Maribor, Zbirka drobnih tiskov, *Vita artistica di Jakob Cipci I*, str. 38. V poročilu o poteku turneje, ohranjenem v arhivu Tržaške filharmonije, je navedeno, da je prišlo ok. 15.000 ljudi. Glej AS 1583 (Mestni osvobodilni svet Trst), t. e. 17 (Arhiv Tržaške filharmonije), mapa II, »Poročilo o turneji po Jugoslaviji«, 19. junij 1946.

159 AS 1583 (Mestni osvobodilni svet Trst), t. e. 17 (Arhiv Tržaške filharmonije), mapa II, »Poročilo o turneji po Jugoslaviji«, 19. junij 1946; »Obisk tržaške filharmonije v Skoplju«, *Ljudska pravica*, 1. junij 1946: 2; »Manifestacije u Skoplju prilikom dočeka Tršćanske filharmonije.« *Borba*, 1. junij 1946: 2.

160 Podrobneje glej »Na prvom koncertu Tršćanske filharmonije u Skoplju priredene su oduševljene manifestacije Julijskoj Krajini i Trstu«, *Borba*, 3. junij 1946: 2.

161 »Na prvem koncertu Tržaške filharmonije v Skoplju so se vršile navdušene manifestacije za Julijsko Krajino in Trst«, *Ljudska pravica*, 8. junij 1946: 2.

162 AS 1583 (Mestni osvobodilni svet Trst), t. e. 17 (Arhiv Tržaške filharmonije), mapa II, »Poročilo o turneji po Jugoslaviji«, 19. junij 1946.

163 AS 1583 (Mestni osvobodilni svet Trst), t. e. 17 (Arhiv Tržaške filharmonije), mapa II, »Poročilo o turneji po Jugoslaviji«, 19. junij 1946; »Pravda Trstu – Trst Jugoslaviji«, *Slobodna Vojvodina*, 9. junij 1946: 4.

164 »Drugi koncert Tršćanske filharmonije u Novom Sadu«, *Slobodna Vojvodina*, 11. junij 1946: 6.

objavljenem v časopisu *Glas Slavonije*, je bilo poudarjeno, da »turneja filharmonije iz Trsta ni običajno potovanje glasbenih umetnikov, temveč pomeni manifestacijo ljudske volje slovenskega in italijanskega prebivalstva Trsta po priključitvi k Jugoslaviji, v kateri bodo kot sedma federalna enota uživali polno svobodo in enakopravnost«. ¹⁶⁵ Propagandna turneja Tržaške filharmonije se je zaključila 17. junija s (slabo organiziranim) koncertom v Zagrebu, 18. junija ob 14.30 so se filharmoniki z vlakom vrnili v Ljubljano: v 35 dneh so izvedli 25 koncertov in prepotovali 3000 kilometrov. ¹⁶⁶

Tržaška filharmonija in pariška mirovna konferenca

Pariška mirovna konferenca (29. 7.–15. 10. 1946) je za jugoslovansko politiko pomenila še zadnjo priložnost za poskus spremembe odločitve, sprejete na svetu zunanjih ministrov v začetku julija 1946. A možnosti, da bi v Parizu drugačno rešitev tržaškega vprašanja tudi dejansko sprejeli in spremenili predvideni potek meje med Italijo in Jugoslavijo, so bile v resnici minimalne: že na potsdamski (konec julija in začetek avgusta 1945) in moskovski konferenci (december 1945) je bilo določeno, da bodo predlog za mirovno pogodbo z Italijo pripravili veliki štirje. Čeprav je bilo predvideno, da se bo na mirovni konferenci o njem razpravljalo, je bilo hkrati določeno, da bodo te razprave le posvetovalne narave. Pomeni: ostali zavezniki so v Pariz sicer lahko prišli in tam predstavili svoje rešitve, a se le-te brez potrditve velikih štirih niso mogle uveljaviti. Priprava mirovne pogodbe z Italijo (in drugih mirovnih pogodb) je bila torej v domeni velikih štirih, podpisali pa naj bi jo vsi. ¹⁶⁷ Čeprav je jugoslovanska delegacija na mirovni konferenci temu ostro nasprotovala, je bil francoski predlog, ki so ga v začetku julija 1946 potrdili na svetu zunanjih ministrov, v mirovno pogodbo z Italijo v celoti vključen. Pogodba je bila nato podpisana 10. februarja 1947, z njeno uveljavitvijo 15. septembra 1947 pa naj bi zaživelo tudi Svobodno tržaško ozemlje. ¹⁶⁸

Ko se je mirovna konferenca v Parizu začela, so bili tržaški filharmoniki po intenzivni turneji na dopustu. Kot lahko razberemo iz zapisnikov sestankov upravnega odbora, so se že v času gostovanja v Beogradu dogovarjali, da bi tisti člani orkestra, ki bi to želeli, dopust skupaj preživeli v Opatiji, kjer bi v poletnih mesecih ustanovili tudi manjši priložnostni orkester. Dirigent Cipci je nato s skupino glasbenikov v Istro odpotoval 3. julija. ¹⁶⁹

165 Koncert Trščanske filharmonije bio je snažna politička i kulturna manifestacija», *Glas Slavonije*, 19. junij 1946: 5.

166 AS 1583 (Mestni osvobodilni svet Trst), t. e. 17 (Arhiv Tržaške filharmonije), mapa II, »Poročilo o turneji po Jugoslaviji«, 19. junij 1946. V dokumentu je navedeno, da je Tržaška filharmonija v okviru turneje nastopila 26-krat, a če seštejemo vse omenjene koncerte, jih je v resnici 25. Jospina Kalc navaja nekoliko drugačno zaporedje gostovanj in še nekaj drugih krajev, v katerih naj bi se odvijali koncerti (Vinkovci, Slavonski Brod, Maribor), ki naj bi jih bilo v 30 dneh turneje prek 30. (Glej *Odsek za zgodovino in etnografijo NSK v Trstu*, arhiv Bio, Mapa Jospina Kalc, »Odgovori Jospine Kalc na novinarska vprašanja«, nedatirano, str. 4–5.) Ker v uradnem poročilu o poteku turneje, ohranjenem v arhivu Tržaške filharmonije, kot tudi v poročilih, objavljenih v sočasnih časopisih, ti koncerti niso omenjeni in ker tudi Jospina Kalc sama pravi, da se poteka turneje ne spomni več povsem dobro, se zdi, da podatki, ki jih navaja, niso točni.

167 Nečak, »Od železne zavese do zelene meje«, 210.

168 Nečak, »Od železne zavese do zelene meje«, 211.

169 AS 1583 (Mestni osvobodilni svet Trst), t. e. 17 (Arhiv Tržaške filharmonije), »Sedute del Comitato Direttivo O. F. T.», str. 43, 51; AS 1583 (Mestni osvobodilni svet Trst), t. e. 17 (Arhiv Tržaške filharmonije), »Registro Assemblea Generale«, str. 11–12. Paolo Janković že v dopisih dvema novima članoma Tržaške filharmonije, ki sta datirana 24. in 29. junija, prejemnikoma pošilja navodila, kako naj

Iz zapisnikov razprav upravnega odbora in zbora članov lahko razberemo tudi, da je bilo v zvezi z delovanjem orkestra po zaključku turneje po Srbiji in Makedoniji veliko nejasnosti. Tako so filharmoniki na enem izmed zborov članov med drugim glasovali o tem, kje bo orkester v prihodnje imel svoj sedež: izbirali so med Reko (kamor se je želel preseliti del glasbenikov) in Beogradom (ki ga je predlagala zvezna vlada) in se večinsko odločili za drugega.¹⁷⁰ A člani Tržaške filharmonije se po koncu dopusta niso zbrali ne na Reki in ne v Beogradu, temveč so 21. avgusta 1946 za nekaj tednov najprej vsi prišli v Opatijo,¹⁷¹ nato pa so dober mesec prebivali v Portorožu. Na sestankih, na katere sta v začetku julija v Beograd odpotovala člana upravnega odbora Bertolini in Janković,¹⁷² je bilo očitno dogovorjeno, da bo orkester ob koncu poletja in v začetku jeseni 1946 gostoval v Istri (in na ta način pravzaprav v okrnjeni različici izvedel še drugi del turneje po Jugoslaviji, ki je bila predvidena že ob njegovi ustanovitvi). Tržaški filharmoniki so tako koncerte v coni B Julijske krajine, na spornem ozemlju med Italijo in Jugoslavijo, prirejali prav v času, ko so bile razprave na mirovni konferenci v Parizu najbolj intenzivne.

Iz pregledanih virov in literature moremo razbrati, da je Tržaška filharmonija med 25. avgustom in 6. oktobrom 1946 v Istri priredila 14 koncertov: 4 v Opatiji, po 2 v Izoli in Piranu ter po 1 koncert na Reki, v Pazinu, Kopru, Portorožu, Bujah in Umagu. Časopisna poročila, objavljena v osrednjem istrskem dnevniku *Glas Istre*, tržaškem *Il Lavoratore* in ljubljanskih dnevnikih *Slovenski poročevalec* in *Ljudska pravica*, ki so spremljala gostovanje orkestra v coni B, se, za razliko od prispevkov, ki so nastajali v času turneje po Srbiji in Makedoniji, tržaškega vprašanja in vprašanja meje med Jugoslavijo in Italijo le posredno dotikajo. V njih najdemo večinoma navedbe izvajanega programa, omembe spomladanskega gostovanja orkestra po Jugoslaviji (in posebno srečanja s Titom v beograjski skupščini), nekaj poudarkov o tem, kako je kulturno življenje v Jugoslaviji/na vzhodu na višjem nivoju kot tisto v Italiji/na zahodu, in predvsem splošne zapise o Tržaški filharmoniji in dirigentu Cipciju; v okviru slednjih se poudarja, da so bili tržaški glasbeniki, vsi prepričani antifasisti, po prihodu zaveznikov v Trst prisiljeni zapustiti mesto.¹⁷³ Posredno omembo vprašanja meje med Italijo in Jugoslavijo zasledimo le v enem članku, kjer je izraženo upanje, da »bomo drage goste iz Trsta pri nas ponovno slišali ob boljših priložnostih, ko med Julijsko Krajino, Trstom in Jugoslavijo ne bo več nikakršnih meja in črt«.¹⁷⁴ Tudi tržaško vprašanje se omenja zgolj posredno in zgolj v enem članku, kjer avtor pravi, da se je »turneja [Tržaške filharmonije v Istri]

si priskrbita dovoljenje za pot do Opatije. (Glej AS 1583 (Mestni osvobodilni svet Trst), t. e. 17 (Arhiv Tržaške filharmonije), mapa II, »Dopis Paola Jankovića Benedettelliju«, 24. 6. 1946), in »Dopis Paola Jankovića neznanemu glasbeniku«, 29. junij 1946. Ali je bil priložnostni orkester v Opatiji tudi dejansko ustanovljen, iz razpoložljivih virov ni bilo moč ugotoviti.

170 AS 1583 (Mestni osvobodilni svet Trst), t. e. 17 (Arhiv Tržaške filharmonije), »Registro Assemblea Generale«, str. 9.

171 AS 1583 (Mestni osvobodilni svet Trst), t. e. 17 (Arhiv Tržaške filharmonije), »Dopis Jakova Cipcija upravnemu odboru Tržaške filharmonije«, 4. november 1946.

172 AS 1583 (Mestni osvobodilni svet Trst), t. e. 17 (Arhiv Tržaške filharmonije), »Sedute del Comitato Direttivo O. F. T.«, str. 50.

173 Podrobneje glej »Gostovanje Tršćanske filharmonije u zoni B«, *Glas Istre*, 20. avgust 1946: 3; »Povodom gostovanja Tršćanske filharmonije«, *Glas Istre*, 29. avgust 1946: 3; »Gostovanje Tršćanske filharmonije u Pazinu«, *Glas Istre*, 17. september 1946: 3; »Grande concerto sinfonico a Pisino«, *Il Lavoratore*, 19. september 1946: 2; »Tršćanska filharmonija u Bujama«, *Glas Istre*, 6. oktober 1946: 3; »Vojmil Dekleva, »Turneja Tržaške filharmonije po coni B«, *Ljudska pravica*, 3. oktober 1946: 6; »Koncerta tržaške filharmonije v Bujah in Umagu«, *Ljudska pravica*, 10. oktober 1946: 3; »Oprostajni koncert Tršćanske filharmonije u Piranu«, *Glas Istre*, 15. oktober 1946: 3; »Vojmil Dekleva »Poslovilni koncert Tržaške filharmonije«, *Ljudska pravica*, 17. oktober 1946: 6; »L'orchestra Cipci all'Amplea«, *Ricostruzione*, 1. november 1946: 2.

174 »Gostovanje Tršćanske filharmonije u Pazinu«, *Glas Istre*, 17. september 1946: 3.

vršila v času, ki je za usodo teh pokrajin nadvse odločilen« in »ko ves narod upa, da se bodo njegove želje izpolnile in da bo v teh krajih definitivno potrjena ljudska oblast«. ¹⁷⁵

Zdi se, da v času, ko je bil predlog meje med Jugoslavijo in Italijo sprejet, ko je bila rešitev za Tržaško vprašanje dogovorjena in ko je postalo jasno, da bo na pariški mirovni konferenci kakršnekoli spremembe enega ali drugega težko ali celo povsem nemogoče doseči, prirejanje političnih manifestacij na koncertih ni bilo več tako pomembno (čeprav je do njih na nekaterih koncertih vendarle prišlo ¹⁷⁶). Zdi se, da je bilo pomembneje izpostavljati krivico, ki se je zgodila tržaškim glasbenikom, ki da so morali zaradi svojih političnih prepričanj zapustiti Trst (s tem se je posredno opominjalo tudi na krivično razrešitev tržaškega vprašanja), in hkrati poudarjati superiornost jugoslovanske kulture nad italijansko. ¹⁷⁷ Očitno je, da so časopisna poročila nastajala v času, ko se je razdelitev sveta s Churchillovo železno zaveso že jasno kazala.

Od Tržaške do Slovenske filharmonije

Zdi se, da je orkester Tržaške filharmonije sredi oktobra 1946, ko je po zaključku mirovne konference v Parizu dokončno postalo jasno, da Trst ne bo jugoslovanski, nekako izgubil svoj osnovni namen; to se kaže tudi v nekakšni praznini v njegovem delovanju, ki je slednjič pripeljala do njegovega razpusta.

Z večjimi organizacijskimi težavami se je orkester začel spopadati že kmalu po zaključku spomladanske turneje po Srbiji in Makedoniji. Prav v tistem času so namreč pospešeno potekale priprave za ustanovitev novega gledališča na Reki, v okviru katerega naj bi deloval tudi operni orkester; za delovanje v njem so se zanimali tudi nekateri izmed tržaških filharmonikov. ¹⁷⁸ Čeprav ni znano, koliko se jih je želelo preseliti na Reko, jih je bilo očitno toliko, da je moral upravni odbor na sestanku 27. avgusta 1946 sprejeti sklep, da bodo »člani, ki so prevzeli obveznosti pri Gledališču Reka¹⁷⁹ novo službo lahko nastopili takoj, ko bodo ustrezno zamenjani; vse v dogovoru z upravo

175 »Oproštajni koncert Trščanske filharmonije u Piranu«, *Glas Istre*, 15. oktober 1946: 3.

176 Glej npr. »Trščanska filharmonija u Bujama«, *Glas Istre*, 6. oktober 1946: 3.

177 V italijanski javnosti so se tudi po zlomu fašizma pogosto pojavljale ideje o kulturni superiornosti italijanskega naroda nad barbarскими in neciviliziranimi (Jugo)Slovani. Na Tržaškem so se tovrstna prepričanja po jugoslovanski zasedbi Trsta in Julijske krajine spriči represije, ki so jo na zasedenem ozemlju takoj začele izvajati OZNA in vojaška policija KNOJ, med mnogimi Italijani le še okrepila. (Podrobneje glej Pirjevec, *Trst je naš!*, 303–304.) Zdi se, da je bila politična podpora delovanju orkestra Tržaške filharmonije tudi (ne tako nepomemben) kamenček v mozaiku jugoslovanskih odgovorov na tovrstne očitke: Italijani in zavezniki (!) so »izgnali« glasbenike, ki v Trstu zato ne morejo več delovati, v Jugoslaviji, kjer je v novi, napredni in demokratični ureditvi omogočeno kar najširše kulturno delovanje, pa so bili ti glasbeniki sprejeti z odprtimi rokami. Posledično so tržaški filharmoniki tako zadovoljni, da si želijo tu ostati in tudi zaradi tega (torej bistveno boljših možnosti za kulturno delovanje, kot jih ponuja Italija) zahtevajo priključitev Trsta in Julijske krajine k Jugoslaviji.

178 AS 1583 (Mestni osvobodilni svet Trst), t. e. 17 (Arhiv Tržaške filharmonije), mapa I, »Dopis uprave SNG Ljubljana vodstvu Tržaške filharmonije«, 14. avgust 1946.

179 V zapisniku enega od predhodnih sestankov je navedeno, da so ti člani pogodbo z reškim gledališčem podpisali brez vednosti upravnega odbora. (Glej AS 1583 (Mestni osvobodilni svet Trst), t. e. 17 (Arhiv Tržaške filharmonije), »Sedute del Comitato Direttivo O. F. T.«, str. 59.) To je moralo biti za člane upravnega odbora neljubo presenečenje, saj so se o prehodu zainteresiranih tržačanov na Reko z intendanco reškega gledališča v poletnih mesecih dogovarjali tudi sami in tamkajšnje odgovorne prosili, naj se v zvezi s tem obračajo nanje; dogovarjali so se tudi že za opravljanje ustreznih avdicij. Glej AS 1583 (Mestni osvobodilni svet Trst), t. e. 17 (Arhiv Tržaške filharmonije), mapa II, »Dopis upravnega odbora Tržaške filharmonije intendanci reškega gledališča«, 19. julij 1946, in »Dopis upravnega odbora Tržaške filharmonije nadintendantu reškega gledališča«, 7. avgust 1946.

gledališča.«¹⁸⁰ Na Reko so gotovo odšli do 20. oktobra, ko je novi operni orkester igral v okviru svečane otvoritve gledališča.¹⁸¹

Že pred tem je v začetku oktobra v Beograd na ponovni sestanek o prihodnjem delovanju Tržaške filharmonije odšel član upravnega odbora Edoardo Rudes.¹⁸² Dogovorjeno je bilo, da se bo orkester iz Portoroža 26. oktobra s štirimi avtobusi in enim tovornjakom preselil na Bled,¹⁸³ pri čemer ni bilo čisto jasno, kaj bo tam počel in kdaj bo ponovno začel s koncertiranjem. Čeprav je upravni odbor razpravljal o organizaciji koncertov zabavnejšega značaja s katerimi bi filharmoniki gostovali v Beogradu¹⁸⁴ in – potem, ko je novembra orkester zapustil dirigent Cipci¹⁸⁵ – o oblikovanju novega orkestra z začasnim dirigentom Liviem Benedettellijem,¹⁸⁶ se je izkazalo, da se je s koncertom 6. oktobra v Piranu, o katerem so časopisi poročali kot o poslovlilnem koncertu s turneje po Istri, Tržaška filharmonija v resnici poslovlila od javnega delovanja nasploh, saj po tem datumu ni priredila nobenega samostojnega koncerta več. Kot vzroka za prekinitev nastopanja sta v enem od zapisnikov upravnega odbora navedena nepopolna zasedba (pomanjkanje članov) in organizacijska nesposobnost okrožnih in okrajnih organov.¹⁸⁷

Iz dokumentov, ohranjenih v arhivu Tržaške filharmonije, o usodi orkestra ne izvemo ničesar: zadnja sestanka upravnega odbora in zbora članov, na katerih so razpravljali o povsem tekočih zadevah (povračila stroškov in odškodnine za uničeno ali izgubljeno imovino), sta bila 9. in 10. decembra.¹⁸⁸ Kdaj, kako in zakaj je bil orkester ukinjen, tako lahko izvemo le iz ohranjenih pričevanj Josipine Kalc. V enem izmed dokumentov Kalčeva navaja, da na Bledu sicer niso imeli možnosti izvedbe koncertov, so pa vadili individualno, saj so vedeli, da bo iz Beograda prišla posebna komisija, pred katero bodo glasbeniki posamično opravljali avdicije. Pojasni še, da je bil propagandni namen orkestra očitno uresničen z dobro uspešo turnejo po Jugoslaviji.¹⁸⁹ O zadnjih dnevih delovanja Tržaške filharmonije nekoliko podrobneje spregovori v svojem življenjepisu, kjer navaja:

Orkester, ki je nosil naziv 'Trščanska filharmonija', je bil 31. decembra 1946 rasformiran. Nahajal se je na Bledu, razmeščen v treh hotelih. Komisija sestavljena od treh uglednih dirigentov, na čelu z M^{om} Vuk-Dragovićem iz Beograda, je vsakega člana podvrgla avdiciji in mu na podlagi rezultata in potreb različnih simfonijskih in opernih orkestrrov – dodelila mesto. Zagreb, Ljubljana, Sarajevo, Beograd, Skopje in Reka so tedaj sprejeli v svoje 'škrbaste' ansamble po

180 AS 1583 (Mestni osvobodilni svet Trst), t. e. 17 (Arhiv Tržaške filharmonije), »Sedute del Comitato Direttivo O. F. T.«, str. 53.

181 »Slovesen dan na Reki«, *Primorski dnevnik*, 23. oktober 1946: 2.

182 AS 1583 (Mestni osvobodilni svet Trst), t. e. 17 (Arhiv Tržaške filharmonije), »Sedute del Comitato Direttivo O. F. T.«, str. 64.

183 AS 1583 (Mestni osvobodilni svet Trst), t. e. 17 (Arhiv Tržaške filharmonije), »Sedute del Comitato Direttivo O. F. T.«, str. 73.

184 AS 1583 (Mestni osvobodilni svet Trst), t. e. 17 (Arhiv Tržaške filharmonije), »Sedute del Comitato Direttivo O. F. T.«, str. 77.

185 AS 1583 (Mestni osvobodilni svet Trst), t. e. 17 (Arhiv Tržaške filharmonije), »Dopis Jakova Cipcija upravnemu odboru Tržaške filharmonije«, 6. december 1946.

186 AS 1583 (Mestni osvobodilni svet Trst), t. e. 17 (Arhiv Tržaške filharmonije), »Sedute del Comitato Direttivo O. F. T.«, str. 86.

187 AS 1583 (Mestni osvobodilni svet Trst), t. e. 17 (Arhiv Tržaške filharmonije), »Sedute del Comitato Direttivo O. F. T.«, str. 75.

188 AS 1583 (Mestni osvobodilni svet Trst), t. e. 17 (Arhiv Tržaške filharmonije), »Sedute del Comitato Direttivo O. F. T.«, str. 86; AS 1583 (Mestni osvobodilni svet Trst), t. e. 17 (Arhiv Tržaške filharmonije), »Registro Assemblea Generale«, str. 28–29.

189 Odsek za zgodovino in etnografijo NŠK v Trstu, arhiv Bio, Mapa Josipina Kalc, »Odgovori Jospine Kalc na novinarska vprašanja«, nedatirano, str. 10.

*nekoliko članov, presejanih na Bledu. Bilo je med njimi preko dvajset vrhunskih instrumentalistov.*¹⁹⁰

Tržaška filharmonija je bila torej ob koncu 1946, potem ko sta bili vprašanji Trsta in meje z Italijo razrešeni, razpuščena, njenim članom pa je bilo očitno ponujeno, da na podlagi uspešno opravljene avdicije še naprej ostanejo v Jugoslaviji in se vključijo v katerega ob obstoječih orkestru, ki jih je pestilo pomanjkanje kadra; Josipina Kalc je odšla na Reko, kjer je nato delovala do konca svoje glasbene kariere.¹⁹¹

Kar nekaj filharmonikov je po razpustu orkestra ostalo v Sloveniji in okrepilo vrste radijskega orkestra, ki se je tako povečal na 70 članov.¹⁹² V *Ljudski pravici* so ob tem 23. decembra zapisali, da smo »po zaslugi naših ljudskih oblasti [...] dobili prvi, enotni slovenski simfonični orkester«.¹⁹³ Le-ta je začel delovati še pred uradnim razpustom Tržaške filharmonije 31. decembra 1946, o katerem govori Josipina Kalc: prva notica o novem, povečanem radijskem orkestru je bila v *Ljudski pravici* objavljena že 22. decembra 1946, prvi koncert pa je pod vodstvom gostujoče ameriške dirigentke dr. Antonije Brico priredil že nekaj dni zatem, 28. decembra 1946.¹⁹⁴

Kateri člani Tržaške filharmonije so prešli v radijski orkester in koliko jih je bilo, na podlagi pregledanih virov ni bilo moč dokončno ugotoviti.¹⁹⁵ O tem lahko sklepamo le posredno, na podlagi podatkov o članih Slovenske filharmonije, ki je bila z odločbo ustanovljena 1. januarja 1948¹⁹⁶ in pod okrilje katere sta prešla radijski zbor in radijski orkester.¹⁹⁷ V njenem arhivu je bila nedavno najdena dragocena kadrovska knjiga z začetka njenega delovanja, ki prinaša raznovrstne podatke o njenih članih, med drugim tudi podatke o njihovi predhodni zaposlitvi, državljanstvu, izobrazbi, plači ipd. Iz nje lahko na podlagi podatkov o predhodni zaposlitvi razberemo, da so bili domala vsi člani orkestra, ki so se v Slovenski filharmoniji zaposlili ob njeni ustanovitvi, predhodno

190 Odsek za zgodovino in etnografijo NŠK v Trstu, arhiv Bio, Mapa Josipina Kalc, »Življenjepis Josipine Kalc«, nedatirano [12. avgust 1985], str. 7.

191 Odsek za zgodovino in etnografijo NŠK v Trstu, arhiv Bio, Mapa Josipina Kalc, »Življenjepis Josipine Kalc«, nedatirano [12. avgust 1985], str. 7 in sl.

192 »Dnevne vesti«, *Ljudska pravica*, 23. december 1946: 4.

193 »Dnevne vesti«, *Ljudska pravica*, 23. december 1946: 4.

194 »Dnevne vesti«, *Ljudska pravica*, 22. december 1946: 7.

195 Po poizvedovanju na RTV Slovenija se podatki o tem, kateri člani razpuščene Tržaške filharmonije so se vključili v radijski orkester, v tamkajšnjem arhivu kadrovske službe niso ohranili. Za informacijo se zahvaljujem ge. Bredi Kralj iz Kadrovske službe RTV Slovenija.

Tjaša Ribizel v prispevku *Simfonični orkester radia Ljubljana 1945–1948* navaja, da je »mnogo tržaških glasbenikov, ki so ostali v Ljubljani, prevzel v svoj orkester Radio Ljubljana«, pri čemer se sklicuje na »Kroniko Radia Ljubljana do leta 1945, ki jo hrani Glasbena zbirka Narodne in univerzitetne knjižnice v Ljubljani«. (Tjaša Ribizel, »Simfonični orkester radia Ljubljana 1945–1948«, *De musica disserenda* 7, št. 2 (2011): 18. Podatka ni bilo mogoče preveriti, saj Kronike Radia Ljubljana, iz katere je bil prevzet, v Glasbeni zbirki NUK na podlagi zapisa v sklicu na vir v navedenem članku ni bilo moč poiskati.

196 »Odločba o ustanovitvi Slovenske filharmonije«, *Uradni list LRS*, 3. januar 1948: 7.

197 Venier, *Simfonični orkester RTV Slovenija*, 69. Primož Kuret v svoji monografiji o Slovenski filharmoniji navaja, da so »orkester sestavljali sprva glasbeniki simfoničnega orkestra Radia Ljubljana in člani Tržaške filharmonije« in v nadaljevanju pojasnjuje, da je orkester Tržaške filharmonije novembra 1945 prišel v Ljubljano, »kjer je ostal do konca 1946, ko je bil razpuščen in so bili številni glasbeniki vključeni v novoustanovljeno Slovensko filharmonijo«. (Kuret, *Slovenska filharmonija/Academia philharmonicorum: 1701–2001*, 79; glej tudi Kuret, *100 let Slovenske filharmonije*, 60.) Kuretove navedbe bi mogli razumeti na način, da je bil orkester Slovenske filharmonije na novo sestavljen tako, da so vanj združili radijski orkester in del tržaških filharmonikov (po enem letu od njenega razpada), kar pa ni v skladu z zgoraj predstavljenimi podatki o razpustu Tržaške filharmonije: nekateri tržaški glasbeniki so se po razpustu svojega orkestra najprej (že konec leta 1946) vključili v radijski orkester, ta pa je nato z ustanovitvijo Slovenske filharmonije v celoti prešel v nov institucionalni okvir. Kot bo pojasnjeno v nadaljevanju, je bil torej orkester Slovenske filharmonije v resnici le preimenovan dotedanji radijski orkester.

zaposleni na Radiu Ljubljana; med njimi je tudi 16 članov Tržaške filharmonije in dirigent Cipci.¹⁹⁸ Ob upoštevanju (sicer manj verjetne) možnosti, da v novoustanovljeni orkester Slovenske filharmonije niso prešli vsi člani radijskega orkestra, moremo vendarle domnevati, da število tržaških filharmonikov, ki so po razpustu svojega orkestra delovali na Radiu Ljubljana, ni bilo bistveno večje.

Josipina Kalc navaja, da so se po letu 1950 domala vsi nekdanji člani Tržaške filharmonije vrnili v Italijo; nekateri izmed njih so svojo glasbeno pot nadaljevali tudi v tako priznanih institucijah, kot je milanska Scala. Dodaja, da je na Reki poleg nje ostal le še flautist Alberto Nicoletti.¹⁹⁹ Nekoliko več tržačanov je ostalo v Slovenski filharmoniji, saj jih je na seznamu članov iz sezone 1950/1951 še 7, v sezoni 1955/1956 pa so v orkestru igrali še 4.²⁰⁰ Posamezni tržaški glasbeniki so torej slovenski glasbeno-kulturni prostor pomembno sooblikovali še vsaj deset let po razpustu orkestra.²⁰¹ Toda kljub nespornemu velikemu pomenu za jugoslovansko glasbeno življenje (navsezadnje so bili koncerti tržaškega orkestra ob precej naključnih nastopih radijskega orkestra prvi redni simfonični koncerti v povojni Ljubljani) ostaja dejstvo, da je bila Tržaška filharmonija v danih zgodovinskih okoliščinah ustanovljena s točno določenim namenom in da se bo njeno delovanje v zgodovino zapisalo tudi ali pa predvsem kot vzorčni primer politične propagande in politične manipulacije z glasbeno umetnostjo.

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»Dopis Jakova Cipcija upravnemu odboru Tržaške filharmonije«, 4. november 1946.

198 Slovenska filharmonija, arhiv Slovenske filharmonije, *Kadrovska knjiga 1948–1960*, str. 1–20. Ob navedenih 16 članih (označeni so na priloženem seznamu članov Tržaške filharmonije) in dirigentu Cipciju je bil pred zaposlitvijo v Slovenski filharmoniji v orkestru Radia Ljubljana zaposlen še italijanski glasbenik Vlado Bargnesi, za katerega pa s pomočjo pregledanih virov ni moč potrditi, da je pred tem igral tudi s Tržaško filharmonijo.

199 Odsek za zgodovino in etnografijo NŠK v Trstu, arhiv Bio, Mapa Josipina Kalc, »Odgovori Jospine Kalc na novinarska vprašanja«, nedatirano, str. 11–12.

200 Seznama članov sta navedena v Kuret, *Slovenska filharmonija/Academia philharmonicorum: 1701–2001*, 81, 95.

201 Iz omenjene kadrovske knjige Slovenske filharmonije je sicer razvidno, da so se tudi kasneje v orkestru zaposlovali italijanski in tržaški glasbeniki (ki pred tem niso bili člani Tržaške filharmonije).

»Dopis Jakova Cipcija upravnemu odboru Tržaške filharmonije«, 6. december 1946.

matični listi članov Tržaške filharmonije

»Potrdilo o zalogi potrošnega materiala«, 6. julij 1946.

»Registro Assemblea Generale.«

»Sedute del Comitato Direttivo O. F. T.«

mapa I (Corrispondenza in arrivo)

»Dopis generalnega sekretarja Vlade Ljudske republike Slovenije Danila Dougana železniški upravi«, 7. maj 1946.

»Dopis hrvaškega Ministrstva za kulturo upravi Tržaške filharmonije«, 23. oktober 1945.

»Dopis Lore Kerne Ministrstvu financ FNRJ«, 7. februar 1946.

»Dopis Narodnega gledališča v Zagrebu Pavlu Šivicu«, 11. marec 1946

»Dopis Predsedstva Vlade LRS Tržaški filharmoniji«, 2. julij 1946.

»Dopis Radia Ljubljana Tržaški filharmoniji«, 17. april 1946.

»Dopis Slovenskega narodnega gledališča vodstvu Tržaške filharmonije«, 14. avgust 1946.

»Dopis uprave SNG Ljubljana vodstvu Tržaške filharmonije«, 14. avgust 1946.

»Dopis zveznega Ministrstva za prosveto upravi narodnega gledališča v Zagrebu«, 14. januar 1946.

»Odlok Ministrstva za prosveto Narodne vlade Slovenije«, 11. februar 1946.

»Pismo članu Tržaške filharmonije«, 4. junij 1946.

»Pismo Paola Jankovića članom Tržaške filharmonije«, 26. marec 1946.

»Pismo Paola Jankovića članom Tržaške filharmonije«, 27. marec 1946.

»Pismo Prima Palazzija Jakovu Cipciju«, 14. avgust 1946.

»Potrdilo Josipa Straška o prejemu plačila za sodelovanje v Tržaški filharmoniji«, 16. maj 1946.

»Račun Trščanske filharmonije«, 11. marec 1946.

mapa II (Corrispondenza in partenza)

»Dopis Alberta Nicolettija Renzeju«, 11. november 1945.

»Dopis Alberta Nicolettija slovenskemu Ministrstvu za prosveto«, 11. januar 1946.

»Dopis hrvaškemu Ministrstvu za prosveto«, 11. november 1945.

»Dopis Paola Jankovića Benedettelliju«, 24. junij 1946.

»Dopis Paola Jankovića Koršiču«, 30. oktober 1945.

»Dopis Paola Jankovića neznanemu glasbeniku«, 29. junij 1946.

»Dopis Tržaške filharmonije Callegaru Veniciu«, 14. februar 1946.

»Dopis Tržaške filharmonije Ivu Tijardoviću«, 6. februar 1946.

»Dopis Tržaške filharmonije Giorgiu Tieghiju«, 12. november 1945.

»Dopis Tržaške filharmonije Ministrstvu financ FNRJ«, 7. februar 1946.

»Dopis Tržaške filharmonije ministru Vladimirju Ribnikarju«, 9. november 1945.

»Dopis Tržaške filharmonije Paolinu«, 12. november 1945.

»Dopis Tržaške filharmonije tovarišu Gamulinu«, 11. januar 1946.

- »Dopis Tržaške filharmonije tovarišu Siliottiju«, 11. julij 1946.
- »Dopis Tržaške filharmonije upravi Radia Ljubljana«, 20. december 1945.
- »Dopis Tržaške filharmonije upravi Radia Trst«, 26. oktober 1945.
- »Dopis Tržaške filharmonije vodstvu zagrebške opere«, 30. oktober 1945.
- »Dopis upravnega odbora Tržaške filharmonije intendanci reškega gledališča«, 19. julij 1946.
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mapa III (Copia conti e spese)

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- »Estratto conto«, 19. februar 1946.
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- »Preventivo spese«, 11. januar 1946.
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t. e. 321 (Komanda mesta Trst)

mapa III

»Poročilo o normalizaciji življenja v mestu Trstu«, 10. maj 1945.

»Vsem oddelkom glavnega štaba Slovenije«, 23. maj 1945.

mapa IV

»Odredba«, 3. maj 1945.

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Priloga 1: Seznam koncertov Tržaške filharmonije

Seznam koncertov Tržaške filharmonije je pripravljen na podlagi pregledanih virov in literature; viri za posamezne koncerte so navedeni v zadnjem stolpcu tabele, iz njih so bili prevzeti datum in kraj koncerta ter izvajani program. V nekaterih primerih vsi navedeni podatki niso na voljo, zaradi česar je tabela na nekaterih mestih nepopolna. Prav tako v njej gotovo niso zabeleženi prav vsi koncerti Tržaške filharmonije: Orkester je ob navedenih nedvomno priredil še kakšen, v virih nedokumentiran priložnostni koncert ali krajši nastop (v okviru gostovanj, pa tudi sicer so večkrat nastopali na priložnostnih nenačrtovanih koncertih za delavce, v tovarnah ipd.). Na seznam koncertov prav tako niso vključeni simfonični koncerti, ki jih je orkester izvedel v okviru radijskega programa – čeprav so koncerte v neposrednem prenosu na radiu imeli, iz radijskih sporedov, objavljenih v dnevnem časopisju, velikokrat ni jasno razvidno, kdaj je bil koncert prenašan neposredno in kdaj so predvajali posnetek.

Št.	Datum	Kraj	Program	Vir
1.	4. 10. 1945	Zagreb	Rossini, <i>Uvertura</i> k operi <i>Viljem Tell</i> Mendelssohn-Bartholdy, <i>Koncert za klavir in orkester</i> v g-molu, op. 25 Dvořak, <i>Simfonija št. 8</i> v G-duru, op. 88	Univerzitetna knjižnica Maribor, Zbirka drobnih tiskov, <i>Vita artistica di Jakob Cipci I</i> , Koncertni list, 4. oktober 1945, str. 3.
2.	22. 10. 1945	Zagreb	Odalak, <i>Herojska uvertura</i> Haydn, <i>Koncert za violončelo in orkester</i> v D-duru Čajkovski, <i>Simfonija št. 6</i> v h-molu, op. 74 (<i>Patehična</i>) Weber, <i>Uvertura</i> k operi <i>Oberon</i>	Univerzitetna knjižnica Maribor, Zbirka drobnih tiskov, <i>Vita artistica di Jakob Cipci I</i> , Koncertni list, 22. oktober 1945, str. 5.
3.	7. 11. 1945	Zagreb	Beethoven, <i>Simfonija št. 3</i> v Es-duru, op. 55 (<i>Eroica</i>) Čajkovski, <i>Simfonija št. 5</i> v e-molu, op. 64	Univerzitetna knjižnica Maribor, Zbirka drobnih tiskov, <i>Vita artistica di Jakob Cipci I</i> , Koncertni list, 7. november 1945, str. 7.
4.	16. 11. 1945	Zagreb	Bersa, <i>Dramatična uvertura</i> Brahms, <i>Koncert za violino in orkester</i> v D-duru, op. 77 Schubert, <i>Simfonija št. 8</i> v h-molu (<i>Nedokončana</i>) Suk, <i>Pravljica, suita za orkester</i>	Univerzitetna knjižnica Maribor, Zbirka drobnih tiskov, <i>Vita artistica di Jakob Cipci I</i> , Koncertni list, 16. oktober 1945, str. 8.
5.	14. 12. 1945	Ljubljana	Rossini, <i>Uvertura</i> k operi <i>Viljem Tell</i> Osterc, <i>Mouvement symphonique</i> Debussy, <i>Preludij k faunovemu popoldnevu</i> Borodin, <i>V Srednji Aziji</i> Dvořak, <i>Simfonija št. 8</i> v G-duru, op. 88	Univerzitetna knjižnica Maribor, Zbirka drobnih tiskov, <i>Vita artistica di Jakob Cipci I</i> , Koncertni list, 14. december 1945, str. 10.
6.	19. 12. 1945	Ljubljana	Rossini, <i>Uvertura</i> k operi <i>Viljem Tell</i> Osterc, <i>Mouvement symphonique</i> Debussy, <i>Preludij k faunovemu popoldnevu</i> Borodin, <i>V Srednji Aziji</i> Dvořak, <i>Simfonija št. 8</i> v G-duru, op. 88	<i>Slovenski poročevalec</i> , 19. december 1945, str. 7.

Št.	Datum	Kraj	Program	Vir
7.	18. 1. 1946	Ljubljana	Škerjanc, <i>Dramatična uvertura</i> Mendelssohn-Bartholdy, <i>Koncert za klavir in orkester</i> v g-molu, op. 25 Čajkovski, <i>Simfonija št. 6</i> v h-molu, op. 74 (<i>Patetična</i>)	Univerzitetna knjižnica Maribor, Zbirka drobnih tiskov, <i>Vita artistica di Jakob Čipci I</i> , Koncertni list, 14. december 1945, str. 12.
8.	27. 1. 1946	Ljubljana	Škerjanc, <i>Dramatična uvertura</i> Mendelssohn-Bartholdy, <i>Koncert za klavir in orkester</i> v g-molu, op. 25 Čajkovski, <i>Simfonija št. 6</i> v h-molu, op. 74 (<i>Patetična</i>)	<i>Ljudska pravica</i> , 26. januar 1946, str. 6.
9.	28. 1. 1946	Ljubljana	Dvořák, <i>Koncertna uvertura Karneval</i> , op. 92 Hristič, <i>Ohridska legenda</i> Musorgski, <i>Noč na golem brdu</i> Kozina, <i>Balada Petrice Kerempuha</i> Beethoven, <i>Simfonija št. 7</i> v A-duru, op. 92	<i>Ljudska pravica</i> , 23. januar 1946, str. 6.
10.	februar 1946	Ljubljana	/v okviru večera sodobne slovenske opere/ Švara, <i>Veronika Deseniška</i> , 2. dejanje	<i>Slovenski poročevalec</i> , 12. februar 1946, str. 6
11.	8. 2. 1946	Ljubljana	Bravničar, <i>Kralj Matjaž</i> Škerjanc, <i>Koncert za violino in orkester</i> Arnič, <i>Gozdovi pojejo</i>	Univerzitetna knjižnica Maribor, Zbirka drobnih tiskov, <i>Vita artistica di Jakob Čipci I</i> , Koncertni list, 8. februar 1946, str. 14.
12.	20. 2. 1946	Kranj	Rossini, <i>Uvertura</i> k operi <i>Seviljski brivec</i> Smetana, <i>Vltava</i> Bravničar, <i>Slovenska plesna burleska</i> Čajkovski, <i>Simfonija št. 6</i> v h-molu, op. 74 (<i>Patetična</i>)	Univerzitetna knjižnica Maribor, Zbirka drobnih tiskov, <i>Vita artistica di Jakob Čipci I</i> , Koncertni list, 20. februar 1946, str. 16.

Št.	Datum	Kraj	Program	Vir
13.	23. 2. 1946	Ljubljana	/v okviru proslave ob 28-letnici ustanovitve Rdeče armade/ Sovjetska himna Jugoslovanska himna Čajkovski, <i>Simfonija št. 5</i> v e-molu, op. 64	<i>Slovenski poročevalec</i> , 16. februar 1946, str. 1.
14.	konec februarja/začetek marca 1946	Trnovo	/koncert v Invalidskem domu/	<i>Ljudska pravica</i> , 16. maj 1945, str. 4.
15.	1. 3. 1946	Ljubljana	Ipavec, <i>Serenada za godalni orkester</i> , 1. stavek Vivaldi, <i>Concerto grosso v d-molu</i> Corelli, <i>La follia</i> Beethoven, <i>Simfonija št. 3</i> v Es-duru, op. 55 (<i>Eroica</i>)	<i>Ljudska pravica</i> , 12. marec 1946, str. 5.
16.	3. 3. 1946	Radovljica	Dvořák, <i>Slovanski ples št. 8</i> Dvořák, <i>Slovanski ples št. 6</i> Smetana, <i>Vltava</i> Bravničar, <i>Slovenska plesna burleska</i> Rossini, <i>Uvertura k operi Seviljski brivec</i> Fiorillo, <i>Caprice</i> Arnič, <i>Gozdovi pojejo</i>	<i>Slovenski poročevalec</i> , 26. februar 1946, str. 7.
17.	3. 3. 1946	Jesenice	Dvořák, <i>Slovanski ples št. 8</i> Dvořák, <i>Slovanski ples št. 6</i> Smetana, <i>Vltava</i> Bravničar, <i>Slovenska plesna burleska</i> Rossini, <i>Uvertura k operi Seviljski brivec</i> Fiorillo, <i>Caprice</i> Arnič, <i>Gozdovi pojejo</i>	<i>Slovenski poročevalec</i> , 26. februar 1946, str. 7.

Št.	Datum	Kraj	Program	Vir
18.	8. 3. 1946	Ljubljana	/v okviru proslave ob mednarodnem dnevu žena/ Beethoven Bravničar Borodin	<i>Ljudska pravica</i> , 10. marec 1946, str. 5.
19.	15. 3. 1946	Ljubljana	Rossini, <i>Uvertura</i> k operi <i>Seviljski brivec</i> Haydn, <i>Koncert za violončelo in orkester</i> v D-duru Čajkovski, <i>Simfonija št. 5</i> v e-molu, op. 64	Univerzitetna knjižnica Maribor, Zbirka drobnih tiskov, <i>Vita artistica di Jakob Cipeč I</i> , Koncertni list, 15. marec 1946, str. 20.
20.	18. 3. 1946	Maribor	Dvořák, <i>Slovanski ples št. 8</i> Dvořák, <i>Slovanski ples št. 6</i> Smetana, <i>Vltava</i> Bravničar, <i>Slovenska plesna burleska</i> Rossini, <i>Uvertura</i> k operi <i>Seviljski brivec</i> Fiorillo, <i>Caprice</i> Arnič, <i>Gozdovi pojejo</i>	<i>Slovenski poročevalec</i> , 13. marec 1946, str. 7.
21.	18. 3. 1946	Maribor	Bravničar, <i>Slovenska plesna burleska</i> Corelli, <i>Koncert za violo in orkester</i> Musorgski, <i>Noč na golem brdu</i> Čajkovski, <i>Simfonija št. 5</i> v e-molu, op. 64	<i>Slovenski poročevalec</i> , 13. marec 1946, str. 7.
22.	19. 3. 1946	Tezno pri Mariboru	/koncert v tovarni letal/	<i>Slovenski poročevalec</i> , 27. marec 1946, str. 6.
23.	19. 3. 1946	Ptuj	Dvořák, <i>Slovanski ples št. 8</i> Dvořák, <i>Slovanski ples št. 6</i> Smetana, <i>Vltava</i> Bravničar, <i>Slovenska plesna burleska</i> Čajkovski, <i>Simfonija št. 6</i> v h-molu, op. 74 (<i>Patetična</i>)	<i>Slovenski poročevalec</i> , 15. marec 1946, str. 7.

Št.	Datum	Kraj	Program	Vir
24.	19. 3. 1946	Celje	Dvořák, <i>Slovanski ples št. 8</i> Dvořák, <i>Slovanski ples št. 6</i> Smetana, <i>Vltava</i> Bravničar, <i>Slovenska plesna burleska</i> Čajkovski, <i>Simfonija št. 6</i> v h-molu, op. 74 (<i>Patetična</i>)	<i>Slovenski poročevalec</i> , 15. marec 1946, str. 7.
25.	1. 4. 1946	Ljubljana	Borodin, <i>Simfonija št. 2</i> v h-molu Čajkovski, <i>Suita iz baleta Hrestač</i> Grieg, <i>Koncert za klavir in orkester</i> v a-molu	Univerzitetna knjižnica Maribor, Zbirka drobnih tiskov, <i>Vita artistica di Jakob Čipci I</i> , Koncertni list, 1. april 1946, str. 22.
26.	15. 4. 1946	Ljubljana	Dvořák, <i>Simfonija št. 9</i> v e-molu, op. 95 (<i>Iz Novega sveta</i>) Mozart, <i>Simfonia concertante</i> v Es-duru, K 364 Mihevec, <i>Predigra k Planetom</i>	Univerzitetna knjižnica Maribor, Zbirka drobnih tiskov, <i>Vita artistica di Jakob Čipci I</i> , Koncertni list, 15. april 1946, str. 24.
27.	27. 4. 1946	Ljubljana	/koncert v okviru proslave ob 5. obletnici ustanovitve OF/ Smetana, <i>Uvertura</i> k operi <i>Prodana nevesta</i> Osterc, <i>Suita za orkester (Religioso, Presto)</i> Arnič, <i>Pričakovanje</i> , simfonična pesnitev Bersa, <i>Dramatična uvertura</i> Dvořák, <i>Zlati kolovrat</i> , simfonična pesnitev Borodin, <i>Polovski plesi</i> iz opere <i>Knez Igor</i>	Univerzitetna knjižnica Maribor, Zbirka drobnih tiskov, <i>Vita artistica di Jakob Čipci I</i> , Koncertni list, 27. april 1946, str. 26.
28.	28. 4. 1946	Golnik	/koncert v zdravilišču na Golniku ob 5. obletnici ustanovitve OF/	<i>Slovenski poročevalec</i> , 27. april 1946, str. 15.
29.	28. 4. 1946	Tržič	/koncert ob 5. obletnici ustanovitve OF/	<i>Slovenski poročevalec</i> , 27. april 1946, str. 15.
30.	29. 4. 1946	Ljubljana	/koncert v Splošni bolnišnici v Ljubljani ob 5. obletnici ustanovitve OF/	<i>Slovenski poročevalec</i> , 27. april 1946, str. 15.
31.	maj 1946	Škofja Loka	/nastop godalnega orkestra Tržaške filharmonije/	<i>Ljudska pravica</i> , 16. maj 1946, str. 4.

Št.	Datum	Kraj	Program	Vir
32.	8. 5. 1946	Kamnik	Smetana, <i>Uvertura</i> k operi <i>Prodana nevesta</i> Smetana, <i>Vltava</i> Bravničar, <i>Slovenska plesna burleska</i> Osterc, <i>Suita za orkester (Religioso, Presto)</i> Čajkovski, <i>Suita</i> iz baleta <i>Hrestač</i> Arnič, <i>Gozdovi pojejo</i> /koncert ob dnevu zmage/ Šostakovič, <i>Simfonija št. 7</i> v C-duru, op. 60 (<i>Leningrajska</i>) /koncert na prostem v Tivoliju/	Univerzitetna knjižnica Maribor, Zbirka drobnih tiskov, <i>Vita artistica di Jakob Čipci I</i> , Koncertni list, 8. maj 1946, str. 28.
33.	9. 5. 1946	Ljubljana		Univerzitetna knjižnica Maribor, Zbirka drobnih tiskov, <i>Vita artistica di Jakob Čipci I</i> , Koncertni list, 9. maj 1946, str. 26.
34.	12. 5. 1946	Ljubljana		AS 1583 (Mestni osvobodilni svet Trst), t. e. 17 (Arhiv Tržaške filharmonije), »Secute del Comitato Direttivo O. F. T.«, str. 29.
35.	16. 5. 1946	Beograd	Čajkovski, <i>Simfonija št. 6</i> v h-molu, op. 74 (<i>Patetična</i>) Bersa, <i>Dramatična uvertura</i> Mozart, <i>Simfonia concertante</i> v Es-duru, K 364 Rossini, <i>Uvertura</i> k operi <i>Viljem Tell</i>	<i>Slovenski poročevalec</i> , 24. maj 1946, str. 3.
36.	19. 5. 1946	Beograd	/koncert za sindikate, vojsko in delavstvo/ Beethoven, <i>Simfonija št. 7</i> v A-duru, op. 92 Bersa, <i>Dramatična uvertura</i> Bravničar, <i>Slovenska plesna burleska</i> Borodin, <i>Polovski plesi</i> iz opere <i>Knez Igor</i>	Univerzitetna knjižnica Maribor, Zbirka drobnih tiskov, <i>Vita artistica di Jakob Čipci I</i> , Koncertni list, 19. maj 1946, str. 35.
37.	20. 5. 1946	Beograd	/koncert za sindikate, vojsko in delavstvo/ Dvořak, <i>Koncertna uvertura Karneval</i> , op. 92 Hristić, <i>Ohridska legenda</i> Beethoven, <i>Simfonija št. 3</i> v Es-duru, op. 55 (<i>Eroica</i>) Rossini, <i>Uvertura</i> k operi <i>Viljem Tell</i>	Univerzitetna knjižnica Maribor, Zbirka drobnih tiskov, <i>Vita artistica di Jakob Čipci I</i> , Koncertni list, 20. maj 1946, str. 35.

Št.	Datum	Kraj	Program	Vir
38.	21. 5. 1946	Beograd (Zemun)	Čajkovski, <i>Simfonija št. 6</i> v h-molu, op. 74 (<i>Patetična</i>) Bersa, <i>Dramatična uvertura</i> Bravničar, <i>Slovenska plesna burleska</i> Borodin, <i>Polovski plesi</i> iz opere <i>Knez Igor</i>	Univerzitetna knjižnica Maribor, Zbirka drobnih tiskov, <i>Vita artistica di Jakob Čipci I</i> , Koncertni list, 21. maj 1946, str. 36.
39.	23. 5. 1946	Beograd	Beethoven, <i>Uvertura Koriolan</i> , op. 62 Mendelssohn-Bartholdy, <i>Koncert za klavir in orkester</i> v g-molu, op. 25 Dvořák, <i>Koncert za violončelo in orkester</i> v h-molu, op. 104 Rossini, <i>Uvertura</i> k operi <i>Viljem Tell</i> /koncert za sindikate/	Univerzitetna knjižnica Maribor, Zbirka drobnih tiskov, <i>Vita artistica di Jakob Čipci I</i> , Koncertni list, 23. maj 1946, str. 37. <i>Borba</i> , 26. maj 1946, str. 3.
40.	24. 5. 1946	Beograd	Beethoven, <i>Uvertura Koriolan</i> , op. 62 Čajkovski, <i>Simfonija št. 6</i> v h-molu, op. 74 (<i>Patetična</i>) Dvořák, <i>Koncert za violončelo in orkester</i> v h-molu, op. 104 Osterc, <i>Suita za orkester (Presto)</i>	Univerzitetna knjižnica Maribor, Zbirka drobnih tiskov, <i>Vita artistica di Jakob Čipci I</i> , Koncertni list, 24. maj 1946, str. 38. <i>Politika</i> , 26. maj 1946, str. 4.
41.	25. 5. 1946	Beograd	/koncert v zvezni skupščini ob Titovem rojstnem dnevu/	AS 1583 (Mestni osvobodilni svet Trst), t. e. 17 17 (Arhiv Tržaške filharmonije), mapa II, »Poročilo o turneji po Jugoslaviji«, 19. junij 1946.
42.	27. 5. 1946	Niš		AS 1583 (Mestni osvobodilni svet Trst), t. e. 17 (Arhiv Tržaške filharmonije), mapa II, »Poročilo o turneji po Jugoslaviji«, 19. junij 1946. Univerzitetna knjižnica Maribor, Zbirka drobnih tiskov, <i>Vita artistica di Jakob Čipci I</i> , str. 38.

Št.	Datum	Kraj	Program	Vir
43.	28. 5. 1946	Niš	/koncert za sindikate/ /koncert za Jugoslovansko armado/	AS 1583 (Mestni osvobodilni svet Trst), t. e. 17 (Arhiv Tržaške filharmonije), mapa II, »Poročilo o turneji po Jugoslaviji«, 19. junij 1946. Univerzitetna knjižnica Maribor, Zbirka drob- nih tiskov, <i>Vita artistica di Jakob Cipci I</i> , str. 38. AS 1583 (Mestni osvobodilni svet Trst), t. e. 17 (Arhiv Tržaške filharmonije), mapa II, »Poročilo o turneji po Jugoslaviji«, 19. junij 1946.
44.	29. 5. 1946	Niš	/koncert popularnejšega značaja na prostem/ /koncert popularnejšega značaja na prostem/	Univerzitetna knjižnica Maribor, Zbirka drob- nih tiskov, <i>Vita artistica di Jakob Cipci I</i> , str. 38. AS 1583 (Mestni osvobodilni svet Trst), t. e. 17 (Arhiv Tržaške filharmonije), mapa II, »Poročilo o turneji po Jugoslaviji«, 19. junij 1946.
45.	29. 5. 1946	Niš	/koncert popularnejšega značaja na prostem/	AS 1583 (Mestni osvobodilni svet Trst), t. e. 17 (Arhiv Tržaške filharmonije), mapa II, »Poročilo o turneji po Jugoslaviji«, 19. junij 1946.
46.	31. 5. 1946	Skopje	Rossini, <i>Uvertura</i> k operi <i>Viljem Tell</i> Mendelssohn-Bartholdy, <i>Koncert za klavir in orkester</i> v g-molu, op. 25 Čajkovski, <i>Simfonija št. 6</i> v h-molu, op. 74 (<i>Patetična</i>)	AS 1583 (Mestni osvobodilni svet Trst), t. e. 17 (Arhiv Tržaške filharmonije), »Sedute del Comitato Direttivo O. F. T.«, str. 35. Univerzitetna knjižnica Maribor, Zbirka drob- nih tiskov, <i>Vita artistica di Jakob Cipci I</i> , Koncertni list, 31. maj 1946, str. 40.
47.	1. 6. 1946	Skopje	Beethoven, <i>Simfonija št. 3</i> v Es-duru, op. 55 (<i>Eroica</i>) Dvořák, <i>Koncert za violončelo in orkester</i> v h- molu, op. 104 Bersa, <i>Dramatična uvertura</i>	Univerzitetna knjižnica Maribor, Zbirka drob- nih tiskov, <i>Vita artistica di Jakob Cipci I</i> , Kon- certni list, 1. junij 1946, str. 41.

Št.	Datum	Kraj	Program	Vir
48.	2. 6. 1946	Skopje	Beethoven, <i>Uvertura Koriolan</i> , op. 62 Mozart, <i>Sinfonia concertante</i> v Es-duru, K 364 Hristić, <i>Ohridska legenda</i> Bravničar, <i>Slovenska plesna burleska</i> Borodin, <i>Polovski plesi</i> iz opere <i>Knez Igor</i> /koncert za jugoslovansko vojsko/	Univerzitetna knjižnica Maribor, Zbirka drobnih tiskov, <i>Vita artistica di Jakob Čipci I</i> , Koncertni list, 2. junij 1946, str. 41. AS 1583 (Mestni osvobodilni svet Trst), t. e. 17 (Arhiv Tržaške filharmonije), mapa II, »Poročilo o turneji po Jugoslaviji«, 19. junij 1946.
49.	2. 6. 1946	Skopje	/koncert za jugoslovansko vojsko/	AS 1583 (Mestni osvobodilni svet Trst), t. e. 17 (Arhiv Tržaške filharmonije), mapa II, »Poročilo o turneji po Jugoslaviji«, 19. junij 1946.
50.	4. 6. 1946	Bitolj	Dvořák, <i>Simfonija št. 9</i> v e-molu, op. 95 (<i>Iz Novega sveta</i>) Bersa, <i>Dramatična uvertura</i> Bravničar, <i>Slovenska plesna burleska</i> Borodin, <i>Polovski plesi</i> iz opere <i>Knez Igor</i>	Univerzitetna knjižnica Maribor, Zbirka drobnih tiskov, <i>Vita artistica di Jakob Čipci I</i> , Koncertni list, 4. junij 1946, str. 41.
51.	6. 6. 1946	Beograd (Zemun)	/koncert za jugoslovansko vojsko/ Dvořák, <i>Simfonija št. 9</i> v e-molu, op. 95 (<i>Iz Novega sveta</i>) Hristić, <i>Ohridska legenda</i> Fiorillo, <i>Caprice</i> Rossini, <i>Uvertura</i> k operi <i>Viljem Tell</i>	Univerzitetna knjižnica Maribor, Zbirka drobnih tiskov, <i>Vita artistica di Jakob Čipci I</i> , Koncertni list, 6. junij 1946, str. 42.
52.	8. 6. 1946	Novi Sad	Čajkovski, <i>Simfonija št. 6</i> v h-molu, op. 74 (<i>Patetična</i>) Mendelssohn-Bartholdy, <i>Koncert za klavir in orkester</i> v g-molu, op. 25 Rossini, <i>Uvertura</i> k operi <i>Viljem Tell</i>	Univerzitetna knjižnica Maribor, Zbirka drobnih tiskov, <i>Vita artistica di Jakob Čipci I</i> , Koncertni list, 8. junij 1946, str. 43.

Št.	Datum	Kraj	Program	Vir
53.	9. 6. 1946	Novi Sad	Beethoven, <i>Uvertura Koriolan</i> , op. 62 Bravničar, <i>Slovenska plesna burleska</i> Mozart, <i>Simfonia concertante</i> v Es-duru, K 364 Dvořák, <i>Koncertna uvertura Karneval</i> , op. 92	Univerzitetna knjižnica Maribor, Zbirka drobnih tiskov, <i>Vita artistica di Jakob Čipci I</i> , Koncertni list, 9. junij 1946, str. 44.
54.	10. 6. 1946	Novi Sad	Bersa, <i>Dramatična uvertura</i> Borodin, <i>Polovski plesi</i> iz opere <i>Knez Igor</i> Osterc, <i>Suita za orkester (Presto)</i> Dvořák, <i>Simfonija št. 9</i> v e-molu, op. 95 (<i>Iz Novega sveta</i>)	Univerzitetna knjižnica Maribor, Zbirka drobnih tiskov, <i>Vita artistica di Jakob Čipci I</i> , Koncertni list, 10. junij 1946, str. 44.
55.	11. 6. 1946	Subotica	Rossini, <i>Uvertura</i> k operi <i>Viljem Tell</i> Mozart, <i>Simfonia concertante</i> v Es-duru, K 364 Dvořák, <i>Simfonija št. 9</i> v e-molu, op. 95 (<i>Iz Novega sveta</i>)	Univerzitetna knjižnica Maribor, Zbirka drobnih tiskov, <i>Vita artistica di Jakob Čipci I</i> , Koncertni list, 11. junij 1946, str. 46.
56.	12. 6. 1946	Subotica	Beethoven, <i>Simfonija št. 3</i> v Es-duru, op. 55 (<i>Eroica</i>) Mendelssohn-Bartholdy, <i>Koncert za klavir in orkester</i> v g-molu, op. 25 Bersa, <i>Dramatična uvertura</i>	Univerzitetna knjižnica Maribor, Zbirka drobnih tiskov, <i>Vita artistica di Jakob Čipci I</i> , Koncertni list, 12. junij 1946, str. 46.
57.	13. 6. 1946	Sombor	Rossini, <i>Uvertura</i> k operi <i>Viljem Tell</i> Brahms, <i>Koncert za violino in orkester</i> v D-duru, op. 77 Dvořák, <i>Simfonija št. 9</i> v e-molu, op. 95 (<i>Iz Novega sveta</i>)	Univerzitetna knjižnica Maribor, Zbirka drobnih tiskov, <i>Vita artistica di Jakob Čipci II</i> , Koncertni list, 13. junij 1946, str. 1.
58.	15. 6. 1946	Osijek	/koncert na prostem za sindikate in vojsko/ Dvořák, <i>Simfonija št. 9</i> v e-molu, op. 95 (<i>Iz Novega sveta</i>) Bravničar, <i>Slovenska plesna burleska</i> Borodin, <i>Polovski plesi</i> iz opere <i>Knez Igor</i>	AS 1583 (Mestni osvobodilni svet Trst), t. e. 17 (Arhiv Tržaške filharmonije), mapa II, »Poročilo o turneji po Jugoslaviji«, 19. junij 1946. <i>Glas Slavonije</i> , 19. junij 1946, str. 5.

Št.	Datum	Kraj	Program	Vir
59.	15. 6. 1946	Osijek	Bersa, <i>Dramatična uvertura</i> Dvořák, <i>Koncert za violončelo in orkester v h-molu</i> , op. 104 Čajkovski, <i>Simfonija št. 6 v h-molu</i> , op. 74 (<i>Patetična</i>) Rossini, <i>Uvertura k operi Viljem Tell</i>	Univerzitetna knjižnica Maribor, Zbirka drobnih tiskov, <i>Vita artistica di Jakob Cipci II</i> , Koncertni list, 15. junij 1946, str. 3.
60.	17. 6. 1946	Zagreb		AS 1583 (Mestni osvobodilni svet Trst), t. e. 17 (Arhiv Tržaške filharmonije), mapa II, »Poročilo o turneji po Jugoslaviji«, 19. junij 1946.
61.	30. 6. ali 1. 7. 1946	Ljubljana	/koncert ob obisku albanskega predsednika vlade/	AS 1864 (Komanda vojne oblasti), t. e. 321 (Komanda mesta Trst), mapa I, »Dopis Predsedstva Vlade LRS Tržaški filharmoniji«, 2. julij 1946.
62.	25. 8. 1946	Opatija	Čajkovski, <i>Simfonija št. 6 v h-molu</i> , op. 74 (<i>Patetična</i>) Smetana, arija iz 3. dejanja <i>Prodane neveste</i> Puccini, <i>Romanca</i> iz 3. dejanja <i>La Boheme</i> Dvořák, <i>Koncertna uvertura Karneval</i> , op. 92 Cilea, arija iz 1. dejanja <i>Adriane Lecoureur</i> Verdi, arija <i>Ave Maria</i> iz <i>Otella</i> Puccini, arija <i>Nekega lepega dne</i> iz <i>Madame Butterfly</i> Rossini, <i>Uvertura k operi Semiramide</i>	Univerzitetna knjižnica Maribor, Zbirka drobnih tiskov, <i>Vita artistica di Jakob Cipci II</i> , Koncertni list, 25. avgust 1946, str. 9.
63.	1. 9. 1946	Opatija		<i>Glas Istre</i> , 20. avgust 1946, str. 3.

Št.	Datum	Kraj	Program	Vir
64.	8. 9. 1946	Opatija	Dvořak, <i>Simfonija št. 9</i> v e-molu, op. 95 (<i>Iz Novoga sveta</i>) Smetana, <i>Vltava</i> Rossini, <i>Uvertura</i> k operi <i>Semiramide</i>	Univerzitetna knjižnica Maribor, Zbirka drobnih tiskov, <i>Vita artistica di Jakob Cipcic II</i> , Koncertni list, 8. september 1946, str. 10.
65.	10. 9. 1946	Reka	Rossini, <i>Uvertura</i> k operi <i>Seviljski brivec</i> Smetana, <i>Vltava</i> Fibich, <i>V noči</i> Borodin, <i>Polovski plesi</i> iz opere <i>Knez Igor</i>	Univerzitetna knjižnica Maribor, Zbirka drobnih tiskov, <i>Vita artistica di Jakob Cipcic II</i> , Koncertni list, 10. september 1946, str. 10.
66.	14. 9. 1946	Pazin	Čajkovski, <i>Simfonija št. 6</i> v h-molu, op. 74 (<i>Patetična</i>) Rossini, <i>Uvertura</i> k operi <i>Seviljski brivec</i> Smetana, <i>Vltava</i> Borodin, <i>Polovski plesi</i> iz opere <i>Knez Igor</i> /koncert v okviru zdravniškega kongresa/	<i>Glas Istre</i> , 17. september 1946, str. 3. <i>Il Lavoratore</i> , 19. september 1946, str. 2.
67.	16. 9. 1946	Opatija		<i>Slovenski poročevalec</i> , 4. september 1946, str. 4.
68.	23. 9. 1946	Piran	Čajkovski, <i>Simfonija št. 6</i> v h-molu, op. 74 (<i>Patetična</i>) Smetana Borodin Rossini	<i>Il Lavoratore</i> , 26. september 1946, str. 2.
69.	24. 9. 1946	Izola	/koncert za sindikate tovarn Ampelea in Arri-goni/	<i>Ijudska pravica</i> , 3. oktober 1946, str. 6.
70.	25. 9. 1946	Izola		<i>Il Lavoratore</i> , 26. september 1946, str. 2.
71.	26. 9. 1946	Koper	Dvořak, <i>Simfonija št. 9</i> v e-molu, op. 95 (<i>Iz Novoga sveta</i>) Fiorillo, <i>Caprice</i> Smetana, <i>Vltava</i> Rossini, <i>Uvertura</i> k operi <i>Seviljski brivec</i>	Univerzitetna knjižnica Maribor, Zbirka drobnih tiskov, <i>Vita artistica di Jakob Cipcic II</i> , Koncertni list, 26. september 1946, str. 11.

Št.	Datum	Kraj	Program	Vir
72.	konec septembra/ začetek oktobra 1946	Portorož	/koncert za Jugoslovansko armado/	<i>Glas Istre</i> , 15. oktober 1946, str. 3.
73.	2. 10. 1946	Buje	Rossini, <i>Uvertura</i> k operi <i>Seviljski brivec</i> Smetana, <i>Vltava</i> Rossini, <i>Uvertura</i> k operi <i>Semiramide</i> Fiorillo, <i>Caprice</i> Borodin, <i>Polovski plesi</i> iz opere <i>Knez Igor</i> Dvořak, <i>Slovanski ples št. 8</i>	<i>Glas Istre</i> , 6. oktober 1946, str. 3.
74.	3. 10. 1946	Umag	Rossini, <i>Uvertura</i> k operi <i>Seviljski brivec</i> Smetana, <i>Vltava</i> Rossini, <i>Uvertura</i> k operi <i>Semiramide</i> Fiorillo, <i>Caprice</i> Borodin, <i>Polovski plesi</i> iz opere <i>Knez Igor</i> Dvořak, <i>Slovanski ples št. 8</i>	<i>Glas Istre</i> , 6. oktober 1946, str. 3. AS 1583 (Mestni osvobodilni svet Trst), t. e. 17 (Arhiv Tržaške filharmonije), »Sedute del Comitato Direttivo O. F. T.«, str. 65.
75.	6. 10. 1946	Piran	Beethoven, <i>Sinfonija št. 3</i> v Es-duru, op. 55 (<i>Eroica</i>) Rossini, <i>Uvertura</i> k operi <i>Semiramide</i> Dvořak, <i>Koncertna uvertura Karneval</i> , op. 92 Bevilacqua, <i>Danza burlesca</i>	<i>Glas Istre</i> , 15. oktober 1946 str. 3.
76.	30. 10. 1946	Bled	/nastop na maši zadušnici za padlim Lakoto/ Hej Slovani	AS 1583 (Mestni osvobodilni svet Trst), t. e. 17 (Arhiv Tržaške filharmonije), »Sedute del Comitato Direttivo O. F. T.«, str. 77.

Priloga 2: Abecedni seznam članov Tržaške filharmonije

Seznam je sestavljen v predvsem na podlagi matičnih listov, ohranjenih v arhivu Tržaške filharmonije, nekateri člani pa so bili identificirani tudi na podlagi drugih ohranjenih dokumentov iz istega arhiva. Za nekatere posameznike, ki se prav tako omenjajo v navedenih dokumentih, članstva v orkestru ni mogoče z gotovostjo potrditi (npr. v primeru, ko jim je bilo poslano pismo z navedbo pogojev za sodelovanje v orkestru, njihovega odgovora pa v arhivu ni moč najti); ti so navedeni na posebnem seznamu. Z zvezdico so označeni člani, za katere je moč potrditi, da so se Tržaški filharmoniji pridružili pred prvim koncertom 4. oktobra 1945 v Zagrebu, podčrtani pa so tisti, ki so v januarju 1948 iz radijskega orkestra prešli v Slovensko filharmonijo.

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|---|--|
| 1. Balestri, Ettore (violina) | 31. De Cilia, Lionello (timpani) |
| 2. Barilli, Enzo (violončelo) | 32. *Degrassi, Bruno (klavir) |
| 3. Barzano, Dante (violončelo) | 33. *Ferraro, Mario (violina) |
| 4. * <u>Beccari, Eugenio</u> | 34. Fort, Sergio (violina) |
| 5. Bendettelli, Glauco (rog) | 35. Franzosi, Mario (kontrabas) |
| 6. Benedettelli, Livio (oboa) | 36. *Gastaldello, Felice (viola) |
| 7. Benedettelli, Ubaldo (fagot) | 37. * <u>Gavazzo, Giacinto (violina)</u> |
| 8. Berlendis, Gian Maria | 38. Gentili, Isaia (violončelo) |
| 9. <u>Bertolini, Gianni (violina)</u> | 39. <u>Giorgini, Valter (violina, viola)</u> |
| 10. *Bertuzzi, Vasco (kontrabas) | 40. Girlanda, Luigi |
| 11. * <u>Bettinelli, Bruno (rog)</u> | 41. *Goos, Galliano (kontrabas) |
| 12. *Bettinelli, Aldo | 42. *Gruden, Ernesto (flavta) |
| 13. Bianchi, Luigi (rog) | 43. <u>Guareschi, Alfio (flavta)</u> |
| 14. Biasetto, Guglielmo (violina) | 44. Guidi, Alberico |
| 15. *Bigotti, Giovanni (oboa) | 45. *Janelli, Orlando |
| 16. Bisotti, Everardo (viola) | 46. *Janković, Paolo (violina) |
| 17. *Bizjak, Giusto (tolkala) | 47. *Kalc, Jožica (violina) |
| 18. Boari, Leonardo (violončelo) | 48. Kocjančič, Dragica (violina) |
| 19. *Böhm, Bruno (viola) | 49. Kolenc, Bruno (violina) |
| 20. Bonazzi, Tomaso (trobenta) | 50. *Krecich, Karlo (violina) |
| 21. <u>Borzatta, Simone (violina)</u> | 51. *Kuhačević, Karlo (violina) |
| 22. * <u>Bottazzi, Alfredo (oboa, angleški rog)</u> | 52. <u>Lipeti, Eugenio (rog)</u> |
| 23. *Braidotti, Fiorello (klarinet) | 53. Lolli, Roberto (pozavna) |
| 24. *Calligaris, Luciano (violina) | 54. Lorigo, Antonio |
| 25. * <u>Cappone, Giusto (viola)</u> | 55. Lusardi, Argeo (rog) |
| 26. * <u>Cipci, Jakov (dirigent)</u> | 56. Macchinizzi, Edgardo (violina) |
| 27. <u>Colli, Bruno (violina)</u> | 57. Marani, Emo (klarinet) |
| 28. <u>Conti, Benedetto (violina)</u> | 58. * <u>Marcellini, Carlo (violončelo)</u> |
| 29. Cremaschi, Gian Luigi (fagot) | 59. *Marcello, Benedetto (violina) |
| 30. *Dario, Giovanni | 60. Mazzoleni, Camillo (violončelo) |
| | 61. *Micheli, Francesco |

- | | |
|------------------------------------|--|
| 62. *Miličević, Franjo (kontrabas) | 77. *Repini, Roberto (violončelo) |
| 63. Morcia, Giuseppe (fagot) | 78. <u>Rupel, Karlo</u> (violina) |
| 64. Neri, Narciso (violina) | 79. Santamaria, Luigi (viola) |
| 65. *Nicoletti, Alberto (flavta) | 80. Scanniello, Giuseppe |
| 66. *Noviello, Arcangelo (flavta) | 81. *Sheleznik, Giuseppe |
| 67. *Osvaldella, Mario | 82. Silotti, [?] |
| 68. *Pacar, Karlo (violina) | 83. Solero, Bruno (violina) |
| 69. Pacchiorri, Carlo | 84. Sommelli, [?] |
| 70. <u>Palazzi, Primo</u> (viola) | 85. Speri, [?] |
| 71. *Pavan, Bruno (rog) | 86. Tommasi, Angelo (violina) |
| 72. Pecher, Augusto | 87. *Tosello, Gino (viola) |
| 73. Persico, Alberto (violina) | 88. *Valcini, Antonio (violina) |
| 74. *Petronio, Tullio | 89. *Veccia, Luigi (violončelo) |
| 75. *Piatti, Alfredo (violina) | 90. Virgili, Mario (basovski klarinet) |
| 76. *Repini, Mario (violina) | 91. *Viviani-Ferraro, Laura (harfa) |

Omembe posameznikov, katerih članstva v Tržaški filharmoniji ni bilo moč dokončno potrditi

1. Albini, [?]
2. Baggi, [?]
3. Bettinelli, Giorgio
4. Bilus, [?]
5. Bracco, [?]
6. Callegaro, Venicio
7. Canciani, [?]
8. Casale, [?]
9. Castiglioni, Arnaldo
10. Colline, [?]
11. Giardini, [?]
12. Gori, [?]
13. Labate, [?]
14. Musesti, [?] (violina)
15. Orlando, [?]
16. Paolin, [?]
17. Pellegrini, [?]

SUMMARY

The Trieste philharmonic orchestra was established during the reorganisation of the Trieste musical institutions, carried out by the Allied forces in the summer of 1945. Both the orchestra's foundation and its later activities were closely connected with the pending Trieste question, which, at the time, as one of the key political issues in Europe, occupied the attention of the international diplomatic community.

On 1 May 1945, the Yugoslav partisan army marched into Trieste. Forced to relinquish the city to the Western Allies approximately a month later, the Yugoslav government engaged in an intense diplomatic struggle to regain permanent control over it. The diplomatic endeavours were accompanied by extensive political propaganda (designed for both domestic and foreign audiences), within which the newly founded Trieste Philharmonic played a significant role.

Following its foundation, the orchestra (almost entirely composed of Italian musicians) was immediately transferred to Yugoslavia to first perform in Zagreb and Ljubljana. In May 1946, when the diplomatic activities to resolve the Trieste question reached their peak, the Trieste Philharmonic was engaging in a propaganda tour in Serbia and Macedonia. The concerts that the orchestra gave during this tour turned into exemplary political

manifestations demanding that Trieste be annexed to Yugoslavia. They were accompanied by intensive newspaper propaganda as well.

The orchestra seemed to have somehow lost its purpose when, in the beginning of July 1946, the Big Four reached an agreement on how to solve the Trieste question. Even though, during the peace conference in Paris (29 July – 15 October, 1946), the Trieste Philharmonic was touring in Istria (which, at the time, was a part of Zone B in Julian March, a disputed territory between Yugoslavia and Italy), this tour did not attract as much attention as the previous one.

When the Paris peace conference concluded, the orchestra had no actual reason to exist anymore: Since its commitments had been fulfilled, in December 1946, the Trieste Philharmonic was dissolved. However, the members who chose to were, after passing an audition, warmly welcomed into professional Yugoslav orchestras and thus able to stay in the country. In this way, they had a remarkable impact on the Yugoslav musical scene for years following the Trieste Philharmonic.

However, despite its significant contribution to the Yugoslav musical scene, in its historical context, the Trieste Philharmonic had been formed with a clear political purpose. Therefore, the orchestra and its concerts went down in history principally as a prime example of political propaganda and political manipulation in music.



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Faculty of Arts, University of LjubljanaOdprta oblika in njen odmev
v slovenski glasbiOpen Form in its Resonance
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IZVLEČEK

ABSTRACT

Članek se ukvarja z odprto obliko in na podlagi pregleda reprezentativnih del skuša izluščiti njene osnovne značilnosti; pri tem so v oporo teoretski teksti, ki so jih skladatelji objavljali vzporedno z glasbenimi deli. Na podlagi ugotovitev se članek v nadaljevanju osredotoča na odprto obliko v delih mlajše generacije slovenskih skladateljev prvega povojnega obdobja in v kontekstu družbenega dogajanja skuša razložiti njene pojavnostne specifikke.

The article deals with the open form and tries to uncover its features by examining a number of representative compositions. Theoretical texts published by the composers along with their pieces of music serve as the foundation of the analysis. Based on these findings, the article subsequently focuses on the open form in the work of the younger generation of Slovenian composers of the first post-war era and attempts to explain its specifics in the light of social developments.

Uvod

Paul Griffiths v *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* definira aleatoriko kot skladateljevo namensko opuščanje kontrole nad glasbenim delom na ravni kompozicije ali izvedbe. Odprta oblika v njegovi klasifikaciji predstavlja eno od treh temeljnih aleatoričnih tehnik; poleg nje navaja še vpeljavo naključja na ravni kompozicijskega

procesa in naključje kot posledico novih vrst notacije.¹ V delih z odprto obliko je izvajalcem prepuščena naključna ali zavestna izbira zaporedja oblikovnih enot, s tem pa tudi nadzor nad končno oblikovno zasnovo glasbenega dela. Ob pregledu posameznih praktičnih uresničitvev koncepta pa se izkaže, da se med seboj precej razlikujejo in sicer predvsem v stopnji odprtosti, torej v razmerju med nadzorom, ki ga skladatelj ohranja nad končno obliko dela in odločitvami, ki jih prepušča naključni ali zavestni izbiri izvajalcev. Eden od ciljev članka je s primerjalno analizo izluščiti osnovne značilnosti odprte oblike in opozoriti na njihove praktične variacije. V nadaljevanju želimo ugotoviti, na kakšen način je odprta oblika prisotna v delih slovenskih skladateljev in poiskati razloge za njeno (ne)pojavnost. Ker odprta oblika v slovenskih muzikoloških razpravah še ni bila deležna posebne pozornosti, se bomo pri tem opirali na literaturo, ki se bodisi pregledno bodisi analitično ukvarja s slovenskim glasbenim modernizmom. Članek se osredotoča na prvo obdobje povojnega modernizma, torej na obdobje od zgodnjih petdesetih do poznih sedemdesetih let, ko se je mlajša generacija slovenskih skladateljev pospešeno spoznavala in soočala s potmi glasbenega modernizma in iskala svoj prostor v njem.

Združene države Amerike

Leta 1935 je ameriški skladatelj Henry Cowell ustvaril svoj tretji godalni kvartet, imenovan *Mosaic*. Skladbo sestavlja pet krajših delov, ki jih glasbeniki izvedejo v poljubnem zaporedju, poleg tega se vsak od njih se lahko ponovi večkrat. Skladatelj je torej priskrbel glasbeni material, oblikovanje končne forme skladbe pa prepušča okusu, zavestnim težnjam in glasbenemu instinktu izvajalcev. Z godalnim kvartetom *Mosaic* je Cowell postal avtor nečesa, kar bo kasneje dobilo ime odprta oblika in bo v petdesetih in šestdesetih letih 20. stoletja bistveno zaznamovalo tako ameriško kot evropsko modernistično glasbeno prakso. Cowell je odprto obliko – sodeč po naslovih skladb – močno povezoval z vizualno umetnostjo, konkretno z mozaikom. Leta 1963 je na podoben način zasnoval delo *26 Spontaneous Mosaics*; skladba obsega šestindvajset partov, ki jih v naključnem zaporedju izvajajo pet glasbenikov.

Če je bil *Mosaic* v času svojega nastanka osamljen primer, pa je bila v času nastanka skladbe *26 Spontaneous Mosaics* odprta oblika že ustaljena – v Ameriki jo je utrdil predvsem Earle Brown, jazzovski trobentač in član t. i. newyorške skladateljske šole. Tudi Brownovo delo je pomembno zaznamovala navezava na vizualno umetnost, posebej na dela ameriških sodobnikov. Od izvajalca pogosto pričakuje spontane, instinktivne odločitve med izvajanjem skladbe, kar smatra za glasbeni ekvivalent akcijskemu slikarstvu Jacksona Pollocka. V formalnem smislu so ga navdihovali gibajoči objekti Alexandra Calderja, ki jih je Marcel Duchamp poimenoval mobilni. Za razliko od kinetičnih objektov, ki se premikajo s pomočjo motorjev in je njihovo gibanje posledično predvidljivo, Calderjevi mobilni izkoriščajo naravno gibanje zraka v prostoru. Osnovni gradniki mobilov se tako opazovalcu vedno znova ponujajo v novih kombinacijah in

1 Paul Griffiths, »Aleatory«, *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians vol. 1*, ur. Stanley Sadie (London: Macmillan Publishers Limited, 1980), 237.

medsebojnih razmerjih ter tako tvorijo unikatne, a integralne variacije neobstoječega originala. Prenesena v glasbo, se mobilnost pri Brownu izraža na dva načina:

- a) kot *mobilna oblika*, pri kateri je zvočni material posameznih odsekov notiran in natančno določen. Izvajalec med izvedbo spontano določi vrstni red odsekov, njihov tempo in morebitno ponavljanje;
- b) kot *konceptualna mobilnost*, ki se nanaša na fiksne, a pomensko odprte grafične partiture. Te izvajalcu predstavljajo ustvarjalni impulz, možnosti za njihovo realizacijo so odprte in neštete.²

Konceptualno mobilnost je Brown uresničil v ciklu *Folio* (1952), del katerega je tudi slavni *December 1952*, ter v delu *Four Systems* (1954). Partituro skladbe *December 1952* sestavljajo vodoravne in navpične črte različnih debelin, ki so naključno razporejene po listu papirja. V napotkih izvajalcu je Brown zapisal, da se lahko delo izvaja v katerikoli smeri, pri čemer položaj in debelina črt lahko označujeta lastnosti posameznih glasbenih parametrov, lahko pa celotna grafika predstavlja izvajalcu zgolj ustvarjalni impulz, na katerega se odziva.³ Brown izvajalca poziva, naj delo izvede brez predhodne priprave – edina določena stvar naj bo trajanje izvedbe – in na ta način izkoristi prednosti, ki jih ponuja spontano reagiranje na grafične oblike. V primeru, da se izvajalec vendarle odloči in si vnaprej pripravi plan izvedbe, mora biti le-ta nujno konsistenten in impliciran bodisi v partituri bodisi v avtorjevih spremnih zapiskih.⁴ Med obema omenjenima deloma je nastala skladba *Twenty-five pages* (1953) za enega do petindvajset pianistov. Gre za mobilno obliko z relativno determiniranim glasbenim materialom, ki je razporejen na petindvajsetih straneh. Te so lahko izvajane v poljubnem zaporedju, pa tudi od zgoraj navzdol ali od spodaj navzgor, v violinskem ali basovskem ključu. Dodaten impulz nedoločenosti v skladbo vnaša specifičen sistem notacije, ki jo je Brown poimenoval časovna notacija – v širši uporabi se je zanjo uveljavil termin proporcionalna notacija, redkeje tudi časovno-prostorska notacija⁵ – in pri kateri namesto urejenega metruma prihaja do izraza izvajalčevo subjektivno občutenje časa.⁶

V šestdesetih letih se je Brown posvečal mobilnim oblikam za raznolike zasedbe. Nastala so dela *Available Forms I in II* (1961–62), *Novara* (1962), *From Here* (1963), *Module I, II in III* (1966/1969) ter *Calder Piece* (1966). Skladbe sestavljajo posamezni glasbeni dogodki, katerih zaporedje, sočasnost, tempo, dinamiko in morebitno ponavljanje določa dirigent med potekom izvedbe dela. Oblika je torej pri vsaki izvedbi unikatna, hkrati pa dejstvo, da je glasbeni material relativno natančno notiran, zagotavlja prepoznavno identiteto glasbenega dela. Za tiskane notne izdaje je Brown pripravil tudi spremno besedilo, ki vsebuje splošne informacije o mobilni formi in časovni notaciji, izjemno natančno pa se posveča vlogi dirigenta, ki mu skladatelj dovoljuje tudi določene posege v sicer determinirane glasbene dogodke. Vendar pa Brown vztraja, da se

2 Earle Brown, *Folio – Prefatory Note* (New York: Associated Music Publishers, 1954).

3 Gregor Pompe, *Novi tokovi v glasbi 20. stoletja* (Ljubljana: Znanstvena založba Filozofske fakultete UL, 2014), 200.

4 Earle Brown, *Folio – Prefatory Note*.

5 Nikša Gligo, *Pojmovnik glasbe 20. stoletja* (Ljubljana: Znanstvena založba Filozofske fakultete UL, 2012), 264.

6 Earle Brown, *Novara* (Leipzig, London, New York: Edition Peters, 1962). Tovrstna notacija se je postala v obdobju modernizma skoraj standardni postopek, posluževali so se je tudi vsi slovenski modernisti.

tovrstne modifikacije pojavljajo le izjemoma kot variacije in da se dogodki načeloma izvajajo tako, kot so notirani. Le na ta način se namreč znotraj mobilnosti oblike ohranja identiteta glasbenega dela. Earle Brown je trdno verjel v medsebojno prepletanje različnih vej umetnosti. Prav poseben preplet vizualne in glasbene umetnosti predstavlja delo *Calder Piece*, ki v izvedbo vključuje Calderjev mobil *Chef d'Orchestre* – ta je bil v sodelovanju z Brownom izdelan posebej za potrebe skladbe. Poleg funkcije glasbila ima umetnina tudi vlogo dirigenta; okrog nje so namreč razporejeni štirje tolkalci, ki glede na trenutni položaj mobila izbirajo, katere dele partiture bodo v nekem trenutku izvajali. Skladba in objekt sta nerazdružljivo povezana in izvedba skladbe je mogoča samo ob prisotnosti tega unikatnega mobila.

Na tem mestu se je smiselno dotakniti terminološke zmede, ki vlada pri poimenovanju različnih individualnih oblik odprtega tipa.⁷ Analiza Nikše Gliga pokaže, da se termina mobilna oblika in odprta oblika pogosto pojavljata kot sopomenki, kar se mu ne zdi sprejemljivo. Predlaga, da se pojem mobilna oblika uporablja le takrat, ko zanj »obstaja trdna teoretična osnova, vsaj v skladateljski teoriji«.⁸ Mobilne oblike Earla Browna zagotovo predstavljajo tak primer – je pa termin odprta oblika tu enako ustrezen in ga v kasnejših tekstih pogosto uporabi tudi skladatelj sam.

Zahodna Evropa

Pierre Boulez je svojo verzijo odprte oblike izpeljal iz spoznanja, da tako strogi serializem, ki ga je prakticiral sam, kot aleatorika, do katere je bil sicer izrazito kritičen,⁹ v končni fazi prineseta podoben, na videz samovoljen zvočni rezultat.¹⁰ Rešitev je našel v strogem nadzoru naključja in njegovem skrbnem odmerjanju. V praksi to pomeni, da mora skladatelj v procesu ustvarjanja nedeterminiranega dela skrbno pretehtati vse možne rešitve, ki jih tovrstna odprtost prinese, in jih vključiti v koncept celote. Skladatelj končne podobe dela posledično ne prepušča naključju, pač pa zgolj izvajalčevi izbiri predlaganih možnosti. Idejo na tak način zasnovane skladbe je Boulez dodelal in uresničil v delu *Troisième sonate pour piano* (1956–57), ki jo sestavlja več strukturnih enot oziroma glasbenih dogodkov. Boulez je strukturne enote po analogiji iz akustike poimenoval formanti. V akustiki so formanti tisti alikvotni toni, ki zaradi svoje intenzitete dajejo tonu specifično barvo; podobno tudi glasbeno delo svojo identiteto črpa iz karakteristik posameznih strukturnih delov.¹¹ Vendar pa obstaja med predhodno obravnavanimi odprtimi oblikami obeh Američanov in Boulezovo sonato pomembna razlika. Pri Cowellu je razporejanje strukturnih enot povsem poljubno (isti del lahko nastopa v vlogi začetka, sredine ali konca skladbe), Brownove glasbene dogodke je poleg tega mogoče izvajati sočasno in jih na razne predpisane načine modificirati. Vse to bistveno načenja koncept glasbenega dela, ki sta ga v zahodni klasičnoglasbeni praksi

7 Gl. Gligo, *Pojmovnik*, 162, 189, 227–28, 347.

8 Prav tam, 190.

9 Gl. Pierre Boulez, »Alea«, *Perspectives of New Music*, Vol. 3, No. 1 (Autumn – Winter, 1964).

10 Gl. Gregor Pompe, »Boulezova racionalna serialna organizacija in Cageovo naključje – enakost različnega«, *Muzikološki zbornik*, letnik 37 (2001).

11 Pierre Boulez, »Sonate, que me veux-tu?«, *Perspectives of New Music*, Vol. 1, No. 2 (Spring, 1963), 38.

stoletja opredeljevala zaključenost in logika formalnega razvoja.¹² Zdi se, da se Boulez prav nadzoru nad formalnim razvojem ni pripravljn povsem odpovedati – razporejanje strukturnih enot namreč ni arbitrarno, pač pa sledi precizno zasnovanemu načrtu. Pet formantov (*Antiphonie, Trope, Constellation/Constellation-miroir, Strophe, Séquence*) lahko nastopa v (zgolj) osmih različnih zaporedjih, poleg tega pa se natančno opredeljene možnosti izbire ponujajo tudi znotraj posameznih formantov in njihovih delov.

Za razlago oblike dela je Boulez pogosto uporabil prisposodbo labirinta ali pa jo je primerjal z mestom, ki se samo po sebi ne spreminja, obstajajo pa različne poti, po katerih ga lahko prehodimo.¹³ Gligo za poimenovanje takšne oblike predlaga termin variabilna oblika. Gre za podvrsto odprte oblike, pri kateri variabilnost vsakega formanta in variabilnost odnosa med formanti bistveno omejujeta njeno odprtost.¹⁴ Več odprtosti prinaša t. i. večpomenska oblika – kot primer zanjo Gligo navaja *Klavierstücke XI* (1956) Karlheinz Stockhausna.¹⁵ Na velikem papirju je razporejenih devetnajst različno dolgih odsekov skladbe, ki jim izvajalec povsem poljubno in naključno določa zaporedje. Vsakemu odigranemu odseku sledijo napotki, ki določijo tempo, dinamiko in artikulacijo sledečega odseka. Skladba se konča, ko se en od odsekov ponovi tretjič. Podobno kot Brown tudi Stockhausen pričakuje instinktivne odločitve izvajalca v trenutku izvajanja skladbe in s tem namesto Boulezove izbire v formalno zasnovano skladbo prepušča element naključja. Vendar pa se velja vprašati, do kakšne mere so odločitve res intuitivne, naključne, prepuščene trenutku in ali ni verjetneje, da bo izvajalec potek skladbe vsaj okvirno določil pred izvedbo. John Cage je poleg tega opozoril tudi na diskontinuiteto med formalno odprtostjo in serialnostjo kompozicijske metode v *Klavierstücke XI*.¹⁶ Medtem ko odprtost oblike prinaša jasen odmik od zahodne klasičnoglasbene tradicije, pa nasprotno dvanajstonska delitev vertikale in metrična delitev horizontale predstavljata njena osnovna koncepta. Kljub oblikovni odprtosti torej ostaja skladba v trenutku izvedbe globoko zakoreninjena v zahodnih klasičnoglasbenih konvencijah. Cage vidi Stockhausnovo različico vključevanja naključja kot nesmiselno in nepotrebno, saj je po njegovem mnenju v končni fazi neučinkovita – »delo bi lahko tudi popolnoma dterminirano in bi v tem primeru izgubilo zgolj svoj edini neobičajni vidik in sicer to, da je natisnjeno na nenavadno velikem papirju.«¹⁷ V nasprotju z evropskimi skladatelji pa tudi Earlom Brownom, ki so oblikovali bolj ali manj kompleksna pravila, ki jim mora izvajalec slediti pri formalnem oblikovanju skladbe, je Cage puščal možnosti kar se da odprte. Skladbo *Concert for Piano and Orchestra* (1957–58) je tako na primer mogoče izvajati v celoti ali poljubno izbrati zgolj njene posamezne dele, izvaja se lahko sama ali v kombinaciji s parti iz drugih podobnih Cagevih del.

Specifične primere odprte oblike ponuja tudi opus belgijskega skladatelja Henrija Pousseurja. *Scambi* (1957) je eno redkih elektronskih del z odprto obliko. Šestnajst odsekov, ki jih je Pousseur imenoval plasti, je mogoče razporediti v poljubno zaporedje, ne da bi bila pri tem oslABLJENA kontinuiteta glasbenega toka. Nekatere plasti so si med

12 Gl. Lydia Goehr, *The Imaginary Museum of Musical Works: An Essay in the Philosophy of Music* (Oxford: Clarendon press, 1992).

13 Pompe, *Novi tokovi*, 203.

14 Gligo, *Pojmovnik*, 347.

15 Prav tam, 349.

16 John Cage, *Silence: lectures and writings* (Hanover: Wesleyan University Press, 2007), 36.

17 Prav tam, 36.

seboj sorodne: dve se na primer začeta enako in se nato razvijeta različno, dve pa se iz različnih začetkov iztečeta v podobne viške; sorodni plasti lahko potekata tudi sočasno.¹⁸ Skladatelj je v proces oblikovanja skladbe vključil tudi poslušalca in sicer tako, da mu je priskrbel šestnajst kolutov traka s posnetki posameznih delov skladbe, ki jih lahko poslušalec poljubno razporeja v celoto. Kakor pri Boulezu tudi pri Pousseurju torej ne gre za vključevanje naključja, pač pa za možnost izbire. *Scambi* ni edino Pousseurjevo delo, ki v proces oblikovanja končne oblike vključuje tudi poslušalce. V operi *Votre Faust* (1960–68) je občinstvo večkrat povabljen, da z glasovanjem sodeluje pri odločanju o nadaljnjem poteku dogajanja. Pousseur se je dobro zavedal specifik komunikacijske verige v glasbeni umetnosti in v proces oblikovanja skladbe poleg avtorja in izvajalcev vključil tudi poslušalce. Pomen kolektivnih odločitev pri ustvarjanju končne podobe glasbenega dela korenini v njegovem dojemanju glasbe kot modela družbene strukture,¹⁹ torej prihaja iz zunajglasbenih vzpodbud. Nasprotno pa je izvor odprtosti Stockhausnovih oblik imanentno glasben. Med ukvarjanjem s serialnimi postopki in komponiranjem s skupinami je Stockhausen spoznal, da »glasbeni dogodki ne izbirajo začrtane poti med določenim začetkom in neizbežnim koncem in trenutki niso zgolj posledice tega, kar se zgodi prej, in napovedi tega, kar sledi; bolj gre za osredinenje na Zdaj«. ²⁰ S konceptom momenta²¹ je želel Stockhausen zaobjeti značilnosti serialne in postserialne glasbe, ki pri oblikovanju glasbenega toka ne sledi več kavzalni logiki. Momenti so lahko različnih dolžin, vsak od njih ima lastno identiteto, ki se ne navezuje na predhodno ali sledeče dogajanje. Moment je »popoln sam po sebi. Tisto, kar se dogaja znotraj momentov skladbe (včasih tudi proporcionalna dolžina različnih momentov) je pogosto bolj pomembno od odnosov med momenti«. ²² Hkrati koncept predstavlja oporo poslušalcu pri spopadanju s slušno zahtevnimi formami modernizma; ker vsak moment obstaja samostojno in neodvisno od drugih, se jim poslušalec lahko posveti selektivno in kolikor mu dopušča koncentracija. Miselni preskok od koncepta momenta do koncepta odprte forme je kratek in zelo jasen. Momenti si sledijo brez logične povezave, torej ni pomembno v kakšnem zaporedju nastopijo pri posamezni izvedbi skladbe; identiteta glasbenega dela ne korenini v sosledju momentov in njihovi medsebojni navezavi, pač pa v glasbenih značilnostih posameznih momentov.

Kakor Brown je tudi Stockhausen verjel v preplet vizualne in glasbene umetnosti in v njuno vzajemno prevedljivost.²³ Na drugi strani pa je Pierre Boulez vzpodbude za svoje glasbeno ustvarjanje našel predvsem v literarni umetnosti, v delih Jamesa Joyca, Stephana Mallarméja in Franza Kafke. Podobno medsebojno prežemanje različnih zvrsti umetnosti, kot ga lahko opazujemo v Brownovem delu *Calder Piece*, je prisotno tudi v Boulezovem *Pli selon pli. Portrait de Mallarmé* (1957–62). Petstavčni cikel je komponiran v prepletu s soneti francoskega simbolističnega pesnika Stéphanu Mallarméja

18 Umberto Eco, *The Open Work* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1989), 2.

19 Henri Vanhulst, »Pousseur, Henri«, *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians vol. 1*, ur. Stanley Sadie (London: Macmillan Publishers Limited, 1980), 170.

20 Navedeno v Roger Sutherland, *Nove glasbene perspektive* (Ljubljana: LUD Šerpa, 2009), 53.

21 Gligo v *Pojmovniku glasbe 20. stoletja* predlaga uporabo že uveljavljenega termina momentna forma, čeprav priznava tudi ustreznost slovenske različice trenutna oblika (Gligo, *Pojmovnik*, 199).

22 Gligo, *Pojmovnik*, 200.

23 Hopkins, »Stockhausen, Karlheinz«, 152.

in vsebuje nekatere odlomke, ki so oblikovno odprti na podoben način kot zgoraj omenjena *Troisième sonate pour piano*. Še bolj povedne v smislu odprtosti oblike so morda številne dodelave in predelave posameznih delov cikla (pa tudi drugih skladb), ki jih je Boulez objavljaval v sedemdesetih letih in kasneje. Erling E. Guldbrandsen v analizi transformacij četrtega stavka z naslovom *Improvisation III sur Mallarmé* namiguje, da je k tovrstnim spremembam v skladateljski praksi botrovala tudi sprememba fokusa Boulezove dejavnosti – v tem času se je namreč intenzivno posvečal predvsem dirigiranju lastnih in tujih del.²⁴ Idejo nikoli zares dokončanega dela, dela v nastajanju oziroma t. i. *work in progress* Boulez dolguje pisatelju Jamesu Joycu, ki je pod tem naslovom objavljaval odlomke kasneje izdane novele *Finnegans Wake*.²⁵ Samoreflektivnost in »referencialna moč« Joycevega pisanja sta Boulezu pomagali odkriti, da mora bistvo sodobne glasbe koreniniti v »interakciji med slogom in obliko«.²⁶ Medtem ko je glasba njegovega časa posedovala širok spekter novih tehnik in slogovnih sredstev, pa je bila forma potrebna ustrezne prenove na način, da bo »fluidnost forme vključevala fluidnost slogovnih sredstev«.²⁷ Podobno ga je vzpodbudila tudi Mallarméjeva pesem *Un coup de des*, v kateri pesnik s pomočjo grafičnega oblikovanja teksta prevprašuje razmerje med obliko in vsebino. Čeprav številni teksti označujejo delo *Troisième sonate pour piano* kot glasbeni dvojnik Mallarméjeve konceptualno zasnovane in nikoli dokončane zbirke *Le livre*, pa Boulez trdi, da v času skladanja sonate Mallarméjevega dela ni poznal; idejo za labirintno obliko naj bi dobil v Kafkovi kratki zgodbi *Der Bau*.²⁸

Boulez je torej s pomočjo literarnih referenc spoznal, da glasbeno delo ne more biti več zgolj enostavna linearno začrtana pot med začetkom in koncem.²⁹ Delo v takšni obliki je namreč neskladno tako s tendenco glasbenega materiala (Theodor W. Adorno) kot tudi z duhom časa (G. W. F. Hegel). Podobno o odprti obliki in njeni vpetosti v družbeni kontekst razmišlja italijanski filozof Umberto Eco. V vsakem zgodovinskem obdobju umetnost odslikava tako družbena razmerja, znotraj katerih nastaja, kot tudi način, na katerega znanost tistega obdobja razlaga svet okrog sebe. Srednjeveška umetnost v svoji urejenosti zrcali avtoritarno teokracijo in svet, ki mu vladajo stroga pravila in nespremenljiva hierarhija. Umetniška dela so vsebinsko zaprta in stremijo k eni vrsti interpretacije. Prve primere zavestnega vsebinskega odpiranja umetnosti Eco poišče v simbolizmu 19. stoletja in Mallarméjev projekt *Le livre* prikaže kot umetniški odraz znanosti, ki je začela presegati pojme klasične evklidske geometrije.³⁰ Odprtost modernističnih umetniških oblik najde svoj znanstveni ekvivalent v kvantni mehaniki in teoriji relativnosti, družbenega pa v razkroju tradicionalnih moralnih avtoritet, ki jih nadomesti modernistično idealiziranje individualizma in prisila osebne izbire (Ulrich Beck). Ni torej nenavadno, da Henri Pousser svojih odprtih oblik ne imenuje kompozicije ali skladbe, pač pa 'polja možnosti'. Termin polje je izposojen iz fizike in »implicira

24 Erling E. Guldbrandsen, »Playing With Transformations«, *Transformations of Musical Modernism*, ur. Erling E. Guldbrandsen, Julian Johnson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 226.

25 Prav tam, 227.

26 Pierre Boulez, »Sonate, que me veux-tu?«, *Perspectives of New Music*, Vol. 1, No. 2 (Spring, 1963), 33.

27 Prav tam.

28 Prav tam, 36.

29 Prav tam, 33.

30 Umberto Eco, *The Open Work* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press), 15.

spremenjen pogled na razmerje med vzrokom in posledico, ki je bilo tradicionalno togo in enosmerno: namesto tega smo soočeni s kompleksnim medsebojnim delovanjem posameznih sil, razporeditvami možnih dogodkov in popolno dinamiko strukture; 'možnost' na drugi strani predstavlja nekakšen splošen slogan sodobnega filozofskega kanona.³¹

Vzhodna Evropa

Glasba vzhodnega bloka se v raziskovalnem kontekstu le stežka ločuje od svojega družbenega in ideološkega okolja. V tem smislu je simptomatičen izraz poljska šola, ki ga bolj kot skupna estetska usmeritev skladateljev opredelujeta njegov zgodovinski in politični kontekst.³² Na Poljskem so socialistični realizem sicer v klasično glasbo formalno uvedli avgusta 1949, vendar pa je poljska komunistična oblast namesto s klasično prisilo in cenzuro slogovno in ideološko ustreznost novih del zagotavljala s sistemom javnih naročil.³³ Obdobje prevlade socialističnega realizma na Poljskem je bilo kratko. Politična otoplitev, ki se je začela s Stalinovo smrtjo leta 1953 in dosegla vrhunec s poljskim oktobrom leta 1956, je prinesla tudi postopno avtonomijo skladateljem in drugim umetnikom. Kljub temu Witold Lutosławski ugotavlja, da je bila v kratkem času poljski glasbi storjena nepopravljiva škoda. Desetletje socialističnega realizma so izkoristili predvsem »zagrenjeni ljudje s pomanjkanjem talenta«, ki so v njem videli »naravnega zaveznika«, doktrino antiformalizma pa kot »orožje v boju proti potencialnim tekmečem«. Predvsem pa so bili skladatelji v tem času odrezani tako od lastne zgodovine kot tudi od sočasnega dogajanja na Zahodu.³⁴ Z namenom seznanjanja z obema je bil leta 1956 ustanovljen glasbeni festival Varšavska jesen. Oblasti se niso vmešavale v pripravo programa, hkrati pa so finančno pomagale pri njegovi izpeljavi. Stik z novostmi z Zahoda je bil za večino mladih poljskih skladateljev velik šok in v poplavi novih informacij mnogi več let niso uspeli izoblikovati lastne identitete.³⁵

Eden tistih, ki jim je uspelo relativno hitro, je bil Kazimierz Serocki. V prvi polovici petdesetih je kot član Grupe 49 ustvarjal ideološko ustrezne množične pesmi in kantate, a se je že v tem obdobju spogledoval z dvanajsttotsko tehniko in jazzom. V šestdesetih letih se je Serocki vključil v evropske in ameriške diskusije o problemu forme v sodobni glasbi in možnostih njenega odpiranja. Njegov princip oblikovanja, ki ga je uporabil tako v klasičnih 'zaprtih' kot tudi v oblikovno odprtih delih, temelji na t. i. zvočnih strukturah – običajno krajših odsekih, ki jih opredeljujejo specifične glasbene značilnosti in so zato slušno lahko prepoznavni, med sabo pa se povezujejo na temeljih podobnosti ali kontrasta. V predavanju, ki ga je Serocki na temo odprte

31 Prav tam, 14.

32 Ruth Seehaber, »The construction of the 'Polish School': Self-perception and foreign perception of Polish contemporary music between 1956 and 1976«, *Polish music since 1945*, ur. Eva Mantzourani (Krakow: Musica Iagellonica, 2013), 53–54. Za večino skladateljev je značilna pozornost do zvočne barve, zato se včasih pojavlja tudi izraz 'poljski sonorizem'. Zanimivo pa to ne drži za Lutosławskega, ki pa je pogosto navajen kot vodja oz. glavni predstavnik poljske šole.

33 David Tompkins, »The Stalinist state as patron: Composers and commissioning in early Cold War Poland« v *Polish music since 1945*, ur. Eva Mantzourani (Krakow: Musica Iagellonica, 2013), 71.

34 Zbigniew Skowron in Witold Lutosławski, *Lutosławski on Music* (Lanham: Scarecrow Press, 2007).

35 Skowron, *Lutosławski on Music*, XVII, 231, 260

oblike pripravil za študente glasbene akademije v Baslu leta 1976, je zvočno strukturo opredelil s tremi lastnostmi:

- a) biti mora zaprta in neodvisna
- b) vsaka struktura mora imeti lasten, izrazit glasbeni značaj
- c) vsaka struktura mora ponujati možnost smiselnega povezovanja z drugimi strukturami; v primeru povezave morajo skupaj tvoriti smiseln glasbeni tok in končno formo.³⁶

V svojih skladbah odprtega tipa Serocki izvajalcem prepušča izbiro zvočnih struktur in njihovo razporeditev, sam pa poskrbi za identiteto in kontinuiteto glasbenega dela – priskrbi torej komponirane strukture, ki bodo delovale ustrezno v vseh možnih kombinacijah, hkrati pa bodo slušno dovolj prepoznavne, da bodo glasbenemu delu dajale potrebno identiteto, ne glede na zaporedje, v katerem se bodo pojavljale. Prvič se je z odprto obliko soočil med letoma 1962 in 1963, ko je nastalo delo *A piacere* za klavir. Skladba je razdeljena v tri segmente, vsak od teh segmentov pa sestoji iz desetih struktur. Izvajalec lahko izbira poljubno zaporedje tako struktur kot segmentov, vendar pa jih ne sme ponavljati ali izpuščati. Čeprav delo na prvi pogled zaradi okvirčkov, znotraj katerih so strukture notirane, spominja na Stockhausnove *Klavierstücke XI*, pa obstaja med njima pomembna konceptualna razlika. Medtem ko Stockhausen od izvajalca pričakuje naključno izbiro zaporedja odlomkov med izvedbo dela, Serocki pianista poziva, da pred izvedbo premisli oblikovni in dramatski koncept dela. Poleg tega vsakega od treh segmentov skladbe odlikuje lasten glasbeni značaj in ne glede na njihovo zaporedje bo skladba ohranila tridelno zasnovano.³⁷ V sedemdesetih letih je Serocki princip odprte oblike razširil in dodelal. *Arrangements* (1976) za eno do štiri kljunaste flavte poleg oblikovne odprtosti ponuja tudi možnost različnih izvajalskih zasedb. Skladatelj dovoljuje zaporedne izvedbe več različic dela na enem koncertu ali njihovo simultano izvedbo v različnih prostorih istega koncertnega prizorišča – v tem primeru se lahko poslušalci svobodno sprehajajo med prostori in poslušajo dele različnih izvedb.³⁸ Orkestrsko skladbo *Ad libitum* (1973–77) sestavlja pet kontrastnih delov, vsak od njih pa se nadalje deli v pet do osem segmentov različnih dolžin. Zaporedje delov in segmentov znotraj njih določi dirigent in s tem pa bistveno vpliva na dramatični lok celotne skladbe.³⁹ Podobno kakor Boulez je tudi Serocki vnaprej predvidel vse možne izvedbene variante in jih integriral v koncept glasbenega dela.

36 Povzeto po »Open form«, <http://www.serocki.polmic.pl/index.php/en/tworczosc/tworczosc-dojrzala-1961-81/forma-otwarta>, dostopano 20. 7. 2018.

37 <http://www.serocki.polmic.pl/index.php/en/tworczosc/omowienia-utworow/58-a-piacere-suggestions-for-piano>, dostopano 20. 7. 2018.

38 <http://www.serocki.polmic.pl/index.php/en/tworczosc/omowienia-utworow/52-arrangements-for-1-4-records>, dostopano 20. 7. 2018.

39 <http://www.serocki.polmic.pl/index.php/en/tworczosc/omowienia-utworow/50-ad-libitum-five-pieces-for-orchestra>, dostopano 20. 7. 2018.

Slovenija

Jugoslavijo sta kulturno in politično zaznamovali njena večnacionalnost in centralizacija. Ker so republike in avtonomna območja zgodovinsko pripadali raznolikim kulturnim tokovom, je bila ena glavnih nalog kulturne politike (umetno) oblikovanje in vzdrževanje enotne jugoslovanske kulture. Kljub temu je bila Jugoslavija zaradi spora med Titom in Stalinom bolj kot katera koli druga socialistična država že na prehodu iz štiridesetih v petdeseta leta odprta proti Zahodu, kar je imelo posebej velik pomen za Slovenijo, ki je »po zgodovinskem razvoju sodila v zahodni kulturni svet«. ⁴⁰ Razlog za otežene stike s tujino v prvih letih po vojni morda torej ne leži toliko v sovražnosti oziroma odklanjanju Zahoda kot v prepričanju, da bo to pripomoglo k notranjemu poenotenju kulture. Centralizacija oblasti v Beogradu pa je v življenje slovenskih umetnikov prinesla predvsem praktične nevšečnosti, kot je na primer problem z naročanjem in nakupom materiala (papirja, notnega papirja) in tiskanih izdaj. Neposredna naročila materiala in partitur v tujini so bila draga, poskus navezave kulturnih stikov pa je prinesel sumničavost oblasti. ⁴¹ Kljub temu so slovenski skladatelji potovali v tujino na festivale sodobne glasbe in za to celo pridobivali finančna sredstva – izjemoma že v petdesetih letih, ⁴² porast tovrstnih študijskih potovanj pa prinese splošna politična otopletev v šestdesetih letih, ki časovno sovпада z ustanovitvijo in zlatimi leti festivala Varšavska jesen.

Slovenija se je jugoslovanski centralizaciji in težnjam po kulturni unifikaciji, predvsem na področju jezika, močno upirala in Aleš Gabrič prav skladen upor politike in kulture proti centralizaciji in v bran nacionalnih interesov vidi kot novost v slovenskem pojavnem razvoju. ⁴³ Z izjemo tega skupnega nastopa sta si slovenska kultura in oblast namreč večinoma stali na nasprotnih polih in v času absolutne oblasti je t. i. »kulturniška opozicija« zasedla »izpraznjeno mesto politične opozicije«. ⁴⁴ Najbolj kritični so bili mladi pisatelji, medtem ko je bila v klasični glasbi družbena kritičnost prej izjema. Razlog za nezainteresiranost klasične glasbe za sodobno družbeno dogajanje deloma korenini v naravi glasbene umetnosti, ki je v svojem izražanju najmanj neposredna in najbolj abstraktna, ⁴⁵ pomembnejše pa so osebne odločitve in prepričanja skladateljev. Zgovorna v tem smislu je zgodba Muzike 59, ki se je v okviru Kulturnega društva Anton Tomaž Linhart na pobudo Igorja Štuhca oblikovala kot glasbeni ekvivalent gledališkemu delovanju Odra 57. Skupina naj bi predstavljala in vzpodbujala sodobno slovensko glasbeno ustvarjalnost in na ta način nadaljevala poslanstvo Kluba komponistov, vendar pa v resnici ni nikoli zaživela. Matjaž Barbo enega glavnih razlogov za to vidi v

40 Aleš Gabrič, *Socialistična kulturna revolucija. Slovenska kulturna politika 1953–1962* (Ljubljana: Cankarjeva založba, 1995), 15.

41 Prav tam, 310.

42 Leon Stefanija v raziskavi arhivskega gradiva DSS omenja potovanje Jakoba Ježa na festival sodobne glasbe v Donaueschingenu leta 1953. V zameno za 30 minutni referat je pridobil tudi finančna sredstva za pomoč pri kritju stroškov bivanja in prevoza (Leon Stefanija, »Totalitarnost režima in glasba. Iz arhiva Društva slovenskih skladateljev v petdesetih letih 20. stoletja« v *Muzikološke razprave: in memoriam Danilo Pokorn*, ur. Nataša Cigoj Krstulović (Ljubljana: Založba ZRC, ZRC SAZU, 2004), 139).

43 Gabrič, *Socialistična kulturna revolucija*, 353.

44 Prav tam, 9.

45 Velja tudi obratno – oblast klasične glasbe ni dojemala kot grožnje, saj je »med vsemi umetnostmi vedno politično najmanj nevarna« (Vinko Globokar, *Laboratorium* (Ljubljana: Slovenska matica, 2002), 14).

nepripravljenosti skladateljev, da bi se vključili v »skupino, ki je nastala pod pokroviteljstvom oblastem nesimpatičnega kulturnega društva«. ⁴⁶

Slovenska komunistična oblast se v delo skladateljev ni neposredno vmešavala. ⁴⁷ Čeprav so bili nekateri skladatelji zaslišani ali priprti ⁴⁸ in so jih oblasti obravnavale kot 'sumljive', si takšne oznake niso prislužili zaradi svojega glasbenega dela. ⁴⁹ Namesto prek neposrednega pritiska ali cenzure je oblast izvajala kontrolo nad kulturnimi, umetniškimi in znanstvenimi institucijami prek sistema družbenega upravljanja. Zavode so vodili upravni odbori, v katere je lahko osebje zavoda volilo največ tretjino članov, preostali dve tretjini pa je nastavljal ustanovitelj, ki je imel poleg tega tudi pravico razpustiti upravni odbor. Poleg organizacijskih nalog je odbor sprejemal letni delovni načrt, kar je dejansko pomenilo nadzor nad programsko politiko zavoda. ⁵⁰ Na podoben način Gregor Pompe razlaga dodeljevanje vodilnih funkcij v izobraževalnih in koncertnih ustanovah skladateljem, katerih osebna estetska prepričanja so bila skladna z idejami socialističnega realizma o široki dostopnosti in razumljivosti umetnosti. ⁵¹ Glavni problem mladih slovenskih skladateljev povojnega obdobja je bilo tako predvsem do novosti izrazito odklonilno okolje in posledično težavno pridobivanje informacij o sodobnem glasbenem dogajanju. ⁵²

Ob pregledu literature, ki se bodisi pregledno bodisi analitično ukvarja s slovensko glasbo v prvih povojnih desetletjih, se zdi, da odprta forma v delih slovenskih modernistov tega obdobja ni imela večjega odmeva. Matjaž Barbo v študiji del skladateljev skupine Pro Musica Viva ⁵³ kot enega najzgodnejših primerov posega aleatorične izbire v formo glasbenega dela navaja *Igra v četvero* (1965) Iva Petrića, kot zametek odprte forme *Asonance* (1966/67) za oboo, harfo in klavir Jakoba Ježa, poleg tega pa še skladbi *Mondo* (1965) in *Asimilacija* (1965) Milana Stibilja ter *Protestno pesem* (1967) Darijana Božiča. ⁵⁴ Ivan Klemenčič v delu *Musica Noster Amor* kot delo, ki »temelji na aleatorični zgradbi« omenja *Art* (1973) za klavirski trio Igorja Štuhca, ⁵⁵ Gregor Pompe pa v monografiji Lojzeta Lebiča kot skladbe z bolj ali manj odprto obliko navaja *Atelier* (1973) za violino in klavir, *Impromptu IV* (1974) za klavir, *Sonet* (1976) za klavir in *Tan-gram* (1977) za orkester. ⁵⁶

Igra v četvero Iva Petrića je komorno delo za harfo, tolkala, Es klarinet in solo flavto; slednja se pojavlja v štirih različicah, poleg klasične prečne flavte še kot piccolo, basovska kljunasta flavta in frula, lesena pastirska piščal s področja Balkana. Značilno

46 Matjaž Barbo, *Pro Musica Viva. Prispevek k slovenski moderni po II. svetovni vojni* (Ljubljana: Znanstveni inštitut Filozofske fakultete, 2001), 65.

47 Gl. Leon Stefanija, »Totalitarnost režima in glasba. Iz arhiva Društva slovenskih skladateljev v petdesetih letih 20. stoletja« v *Muzikološke razprave: in memoriam Danilo Pokorn*, ur. Nataša Cigoj Krstulović (Ljubljana: Založba ZRC, ZRC SAZU, 2004).

48 Gl. Leon Stefanija, *Prispevek k analizi institucij slovenske glasbe v 20. stoletju* (Ljubljana: Znanstvena založba Filozofske fakultete, 2010), cf. 38, 49.

49 Stefanija, *Totalitarnost režima in glasba*, 137.

50 Gabrič, *Socialistična kulturna revolucija*, 22.

51 Gregor Pompe, »Nove perspektive« v slovenski glasbi po letu 1945« v Roger Sutherland: *Nove glasbene perspektive* (Ljubljana: LUD Šerpa, 2009), 249.

52 Gl. na primer Lojze Lebič, *Od blizu in daleč* (Prevalje, Kulturno društvo Mohorjan, 2000), 17, 18.

53 Barbo se tu osredotoča na dela, nastala približno v času delovanja skupine Pro Musica Viva oziroma med leti 1961 in 1967.

54 Barbo, *Pro Musica Viva*, 144.

55 Ivan Klemenčič, *Musica Noster Amor* (Maribor: Založba Obzorja, Ljubljana: ZRC SAZU, 2000).

56 Gregor Pompe, *Zveneca metafizika: skladateljski opus akademika Lojzeta Lebiča* (Ljubljana: Znanstvena založba Filozofske fakultete, 2014).

za Petrića je vsak od petih odsekov skladbe namenjen drugačni zasedbi, poleg tega pa prinaša kontrasten tempo in značaj (*animato, moderato, vivo, larghetto – arcaico, libero*). Hkrati je to delo, v katerem je skladatelj začel intenzivneje uvajati modernistične postopke – predvsem na področju ritmičnega zapisa (proporcionalna notacija, kontrolirana aleatorika), izjemoma pa ostaja nedoločena tudi tonska višina. Značilna za Petrićev opus tega obdobja je tudi uporaba novih izvajalskih tehnik, pri čemer se je v šestdesetih letih veliko posvečal predvsem harfi.⁵⁷ Četrty odsek *Igre v četvero* je razdeljen v dva dela, ki sta označena s črkama A in B, pri obeh pa je skladatelj dopisal 'ad libitum'. Izvajalci torej lahko izberejo več opcij: oba odseka lahko izpustijo, lahko izvajajo zgolj enega od njiju ali oba. Vendar pa ne gre prezreti dejstva, da sta ravno to odseka, v katerih je skladatelj uporabil dve nenavadni, manj pogosti glasbili: v odseku A uporabi basovsko kljunasto flavto, v odseku B pa frulo. Posledično se pojavlja dvom, ali je pripis 'ad libitum' res znak odpiranja oblike ali gre bolj za možnost prilagajanja izvedbe dostopnosti teh glasbil. V uvodnih pojasnilih skladatelj namreč zapiše tudi, da je budistično ritualno glasbilo kane, ki se pojavlja v več odsekih, mogoče nadomestiti s trianglom. Petrićev opus je izključno inštrumentalen. Kot vodja ansambla Slavko Osterc in dejaven organizator glasbenega življenja je bil vedno v intenzivnem stiku z izvajalci, njegove dela so nastajala v sodelovanju z glasbeniki ali z misljo nanje, vedno s pozornostjo na izvajalske možnosti.⁵⁸ Vse to dodatno potrjuje domnevo, da je šlo pri 'ad libitum' odsekih *Igre v četvero* prej za prilagajanje možnostim izvedbe, kot za aleatorično razpiranje forme.

Nasprotno pa gre pri istega leta nastalih delih Milana Stibilja – *Mundu* za klarinet, violino, kontrabas in tolkala ter *Assimilation* za violino solo – nedvomno za namensko odprtost oblike. Stibilj je nekakšen *enfant terrible* slovenskega modernizma in njegovo glasbeno delovanje je vpeto v številne dihotomije. Kot pisec številnih in pogosto kritičnih prispevkov o sodobni glasbi doma in po svetu, sodelavec Glasbene mladine Slovenije in Sekretariata za kulturo RS ter pobudnik festivala Slovenski glasbeni dnevi in član njegovega programskega odbora je dejavno sooblikoval slovensko glasbeno okolje, hkrati pa je do njega gojil tako globoke zamere, da je prepovedal izvajanje svojih del, svoj osebni arhiv pa je po smrti zapustil tujini. Njegovo zanimanje za sodobne tokove zahodne glasbe se je prepletalo s kritičnostjo in iskanjem individualnih sintez in rešitev. Morda najbolj izrazito pa je protislovje med težnjo po racionalnem oblikovanju glasbene strukture in poudarjanjem slušne zaznave kot glavnega kriterija pri skladanju ter med racionalno zasnovano in, kakor se je izrazil sam, »prečustvovano vsebino«. Zadnji dve protislovji je Matjaž Barbo strnil takole:

Težnja po oblikovanju svojega lastnega kompozicijskega sloga, povsem neodvisnega od vzorov okolja, ki je v svojem izhodišču značilno modernistična, pa je v svojih rezultatih privedla do protislovja, ki se mu tudi Stibilj ni mogel ogniti. V zankanju vseh vzorčnih modelov oblikovanja glasbenih prvin v glasbene strukture je ostal v razdalji tudi do Novega samega, do modernističnega poskusa negiranja

57 Gl. skladbi *Élegié sur le nom de Carlos Salzedo* (1962) in *Croquis sonores* (1963) ter članek »Harfa – instrument savremene muzike«, *Zvuk* 56 (1962).

58 Barbo, *Pro Musica Viva*, 140–41.

tradicionalnega 'instinkta', 'muzikalnega občutka', 'neizrekljivega'... To je povzročilo, da je skladatelj, ki se je v svojem izčrpnem študiju kompozicije seznanil s številnimi kompozicijskimi sistemi, oblikoval nekakšno mešanico modernističnih tehnik Nove glasbe, uokvirjenih v idealistično estetiko slušne zaznave kot temeljne presojevalne instance sicer transcendentno nespoznavne glasbene biti.⁵⁹

V skladbi *Mondo* za violino, klarinet, tolkala in kontrabas Stibilj izvajalcem na štirih mestih ponudi možnost izbire med štirimi odlomki, ki so kot dodatek izpisani na koncu partiture in označeni s črkami od *a* do *d*. Pri tem je pomembno dejstvo, da so odlomki za posamezne inštrumente zapisani in obravnavani individualno in jih tudi izvajalci izbirajo samostojno, brez medsebojnega dogovora. Poleg tega v navodilih ni jasno opredeljeno, ali mora izvajalec pri izvedbi porabiti vse štiri odlomke ali lahko posamezni odlomek ponovi večkrat in posledično ne uporabi vseh predlogov. Takšna zasnova ponuja številne izvedbene možnosti in raznovrstne načine prepletanja in sopostavljanja ponujenih odlomkov. Dodatno variabilnost vnaša dejstvo, da se odlomki (z izjemo tretjega nastopa) ne začenjajo istočasno, pač pa se prepletajo tudi s preostalim materialom skladbe. Odlomke je Stibilj poimenoval 'improvisations' – improvizacije, najbrž v želji po njihovem ločevanju od preostalega, natančno determiniranega materiala skladbe. Vendar pa je poimenovanje lahko zavajajoče – tudi material 'improvizacij' je namreč relativno natančno definiran oz. v nekaterih primerih celo popolnoma izpisan. Taka sta na primer odlomka *d* za klarinet in kontrabas. Preostali odlomki so odprti ritmično; nekateri so notirani proporcionalno, drugi pa omogočajo ritmično improvizacijo na določenih tonskih višinah.⁶⁰ Posledično se pri posameznih izvedbah pojavljajo tudi variacije v medsebojni ritmični koordinaciji posameznih odlomkov. Vendar pa so tudi ti ritmično aleatorični odlomki vedno natančno umeščeni v metrično shemo celote – vsaka od improvizacij namreč obsega natančno 15 taktov in se tako smiselno umešča v celotno oblikovno zasnovo skladbe. *Mondo* predstavlja inovativno rešitev v združevanju oblikovne determiniranosti in odprtosti.

Podobno kot *Mondo* tudi skladbo *Assimilation* za violino solo zaznamuje ritmična kompleksnost, ki pa se izkaže za še eno Stibiljevo dihotomijo. Skladatelj izvorno solistično linijo violine razsloji na več sočasnih plasti z izjemno kompleksno ritmično zasnovo. Prva Bärenreiterjeva izdaja iz leta 1966 je bila še notirana v 4/8 taktovskem načinu, v novi izdaji založbe Skladje pa je notacija prostorska oziroma proporcionalna.⁶¹ V izvajalskih opombah iste izdaje skladatelj predlaga, da glasbenik vadi krajše odseke in pri tem natančno sledi ritmičnim vrednostim, ko posamezne dele združi med sabo, pa postane pomemben zgolj izvajalčev subjektivni »občutek za ritmična razmerja«.⁶² Racionalnost kompozicijske zasnove se tako v končni fazi izteče v izvajalčevo »občutenje ritmičnega toka«⁶³ in »videti je, da je tako nalaganje različnih ritmov na eno samo

59 Prav tam, 123.

60 Gre torej za tako imenovano kontrolirano aleatoriko, ki jo je razvil poljski skladatelj Witold Lutoslawski in so jo slovenski skladatelji redno uporabljali.

61 Niall O'Loughlin, *Novejša glasba v Sloveniji* (Ljubljana: Slovenska matica, 2000), 219.

62 Milan Stibilj, *Assimilation for violin solo* (Ljubljana: Skladja).

63 Prav tam.

melodično linijo bolj intelektualna abstrakcija kot ritmična resničnost⁶⁴. *Assimilation* sicer sestavlja pet značajsko kontrastnih odsekov, ki jih glasbenik lahko izvaja v poljubnem zaporedju. V kontekstu odprtosti oblike je pomemben napotek, da si pri izvedbi posamezni deli sledijo brez predaha. Izvajalec torej ne določa zgolj zaporedja stavkov, kot je to počel v Cowellovem *Mosaicu*; razporejanje petih raznolikih odsekov lahko pripelje do številnih različic iste skladbe, ki se med sabo bistveno razlikujejo po dramaturški zasnovi oziroma poteku formalnih stopnjevanj in razrešitev; v vsakem primeru pa se ohranja osnovna petdelnost oblikovne sheme. V tem pogledu je sorodnost smiselno iskati v odprtih formah Serockega.

Leto kasneje so nastale *Asonance* za oboo, harfo in klavir Jakoba Ježa. Ježeva glasbena ustvarjalnost se je prvenstveno razvijala v navezavi na besedilo, vendar pa so ravno kratke inštrumentalne skladbe tiste, v katerih je preizkušal kompozicijske novosti.⁶⁵ Podobno kot Petričeva *Igra v četvero* tudi to tristavčno delo zaznamuje predvsem »osvoboditev od tradicionalne ritmično-metrične urejenosti«.⁶⁶ Jež opušča taktnice in ritmične dogodke notira proporcionalno, poleg tega pri vseh treh glasbilih uvaja številne nove možnosti vzbujanja zvoka.⁶⁷ Obrazložitev prijemov za flažoete oboe (najbrž pa tudi ideje za nekatere nove zvočnosti harfe) je Jež našel v delu oboista in skladatelja Hainza Holligerja *Mobile* (1962) za oboo in harfo. Poleg uporabe proporcionalne notacije in sodobnih inštrumentalnih prijemov je Holligerjevo delo zanimivo tudi, ker gre za odprto obliko. Skladbo sestavlja dvanajst krajših odsekov, skladatelj pa je predvidel tri možne poti, po katerih se lahko pomikata izvajalca – pri tem so jima v oporo simboli v obliki kvadrata, ovala in koga. V času nastanka skladbe je Holliger študiral pri Boulezu in tudi princip odprtosti skladbe je podoben Boulezovemu v *Troisième sonate pour piano*; po Gligovi klasifikaciji gre torej tudi v tem primeru za variabilno obliko. V izvajalskih opombah *Asonanc* Jež zapiše, da »prepušča izvajalcem, da eventualno izpustijo drugo polovico strani 11, odstavek Molto sostenuto«⁶⁸, na podlagi česar Barbo sklepa, da skladba predstavlja »zametek odprte forme, ki je v takratni Evropi odmevala kot posebna novost«.⁶⁹ Odsek, ki ga izvajalci lahko izpustijo, obsega zgolj dva sistema in predstavlja proporcionalno približno desetino tretjega stavka. Njegov morebitni izpust ne vpliva bistveno na obliko stavka, sploh pa ne na obliko celotne skladbe. Tovrstne izpuste krajših delov skladbe so skladatelji iz različnih razlogov dovoljevali že pred modernističnimi posegi v oblikovno determiniranost skladbe. Hkrati pa lahko z gotovostjo trdimo, da je Jež v času nastajanja *Asonanc* prek študija skladbe *Mobile* že spoznal princip kompleksne variabilne forme, a se ni odločil za njeno uporabo.

Kot je bilo nakazano v uvodu poglavja, slovenski glasbeni modernizem ni bil eksplicitno družbeno kritičen. Med člani skupine Pro Musica Viva je bil Darijan Božič eden redkih, ki je svojo glasbeno ustvarjanje povezoval s sodobnimi družbenimi tematikami. Poleg tega njegova dela pogosto zaznamuje kolažna zasnova, ki že napoveduje eno od temeljnih značilnosti postmodernizma. Obe omenjeni značilnosti – družbena

64 O'Loughlin, *Novejša glasba*, 219.

65 Barbo, *Pro Musica Viva*, 113.

66 Jež v Andrej Rijavec, *Slovenska glasbena dela* (Ljubljana: DZS, 1979), 101.

67 Gl. »Pojasnilo« v Jakob Jež, *Asonance za oboo, harfo in klavir* (Ljubljana: Društvo slovenskih skladateljev, 1967), 17.

68 Prav tam.

69 Barbo, *Pro Musica Viva*, 119.

kritika in kolažnost zgradbe – se nanašata tudi na *Protestno pesem*, ki hkrati prinaša specifično verzijo oblikovne odprtosti. Besedilo je vzeto iz prve pesniške zbirke Marta Ogna, naslovljene *Dediščina*.⁷⁰ Ognja je navdihovalo ameriško beatniško gibanje, ki se je pojavilo po drugi svetovni vojni in je s surovimi in brezkompromisnimi teksti opozarjalo na materializem s pomočjo vojne obogatene ameriške družbe, na zlaganost njene demokracije in na njeno zatiranje individualnosti. Tradicionalna estetika se je v njihovih pesmih umikala novemu, silovitejšemu, bolj divjemu in napadalnemu izrazu, ki bo imel moč »spreminjati nečloveški ustroj ameriške družbene stvarnosti«. ⁷¹ V *Protestni pesmi* uporabljeni verzi se nanašajo predvsem na kritiko sodobnega potrošništva. Z uporabo Ognovega besedila Božič svojo glasbo – sicer posredno – navezuje na ameriško ustvarjalno okolje, kar v glasbi slovenskih modernistov predstavlja prej izjemo kot pravilo. Besedilo je razdeljeno med posneta moški in ženski glas ter mezzosopran v živi izvedbi. Poleg tega skladatelj na treh magnetofonih predvideva še posnetke trobente, klarineta in činel, pri živi izvedbi pa se mezzosopranu pridružita klavir in kontrabas. Skladatelj izvajalcem omogoča svobodno izbiro odlomkov in njihovega zaporedja, a le v procesu snemanja materiala na magnetofonski trak.⁷² Barbo »poljubno povezovanje glasbenih drobcov in njihovo kombiniranje z izvedbo na koncertnem odru« vidi kot glasbeni ekvivalent likovni tehniki kolaža.⁷³

Ivan Klemenčič kot delo z aleatorično zgradbo navaja *Art* za klavirski trio Igorja Štuhca. Štuhčevo široko sprejemanje raznorodnih tradicionalnih in naprednih smeri se je v teku njegovega ustvarjanja razvilo predvsem v napetost med determiniranimi in nedeterminiranimi odlomki, ki jo lahko opazujemo tudi v obravnavanem delu. Med metrično in ritmično določene odseke skladatelj vstavlja odlomke, ki so časovno opredeljeni s številom sekund, notirani pa običajno v smislu kontrolirane aleatorike. Najdaljši tovrstni odsek (traja 25 sekund) se pojavi proti koncu skladbe in prinaša ostanatni vzorec klavirja nad katerim violina in violončelo izbirata in poljubno razporejata šest vzorcev, ki so notirani v aleatoričnih kvadratih in prinašajo raznovrstne zvočnosti – od udarjanja po trupu glasbila, *sul ponticello* tremola in enakomernega hitrega gibanja nedoločenih tonskih višin pa do klasičnega osminkeskega ali četrtrinskega gibanja in dolgih ležečih tonov. Oblika tega kratkega odseka je torej nedvomno aleatorična in odprta, a hkrati predstavlja v razmerju do celote zelo majhen del, ki ne vpliva na končno obliko skladbe.

Vsi do sedaj omenjeni skladatelji so odprto formo preizkusili, v nadaljnjem ustvarjanju pa tudi opustili. Izjema je Lojze Lebič – v njegovem opusu odprta oblika doživlja razvoj, hkrati pa Lebič ponuja zanimive individualne rešitve razpiranja forme. *Atelier* za violino in klavir je nastal v obdobju skladateljevega ustvarjanja, ki ga Gregor Pompe poimenuje 'visoki modernizem'. Gre za čas, ko se je Lebič že popolnoma osvobodil tradicionalnih modelov oblikovanja glasbenih parametrov, s pomočjo raznolikih modernističnih postopkov osvobojeni glasbeni material pa se je naučil »smiselno organizirati«

70 Prav tam, 186.

71 Mart Ogen, »Beat generacija in njeno mesto v ameriški sedanosti in literaturi«, *Sodobnost* (1963), letnik 13, številka 11 (1965), 1187–88.

72 Barbo, *Pro musica viva*, 186.

73 Prav tam.

in vse novosti spretno integrirati »v homogeno zaključene celote«.74 Forma se odpre v delu skladbe, ki je namenjen solistični violini in zgrajen iz več kratkih odsekov, ki jih skladatelj poimenuje primeri.75 Vrsten red primerov je prepuščen presoji izvajalca, dodaten element nedoločenost pa vnaša kombinacija tradicionalne in proporcionalne notacije – skladatelj v partiturni opombi zapiše, da so odnosi med obema »aproksimativni in relativni – prepuščeni izvajalčevi interpretaciji«.76 Vendar Pompe v analizi *Ateliera* ugotavlja, da je »glede na celotno skladbo delež takšne odprte forme razmeroma majhen«.77

Klavirska miniatura *Impromptu IV* je nastala leta 1974, torej sedem let za prvimi tremi deli cikla, a jim je materialno podobna. Da gre za odprto formo, izdaja že »grafična realizacija partiture v obliki posameznih samostojnih domislekov, ki so na notnem listu razporejeni v krožni obliki«78; od tod tudi podnaslov dela *Krog – Circle*. Posamezni odseki so označeni s črkami abecede. Podobno kot Stockhausnova *Klavierstücke XI* so tudi Lebičevi odseki – sam jih je poimenoval domisleki – razporejeni na neobičajno velikem formatu, načrt prehajanja med njimi pa bolj spominja na Boulezovo labirintno oziroma variabilno formo. Osem domislekov je razporejenih v tri sloje, ki jih med seboj povezuje centralni del skladbe. Ta v Lebičevi predlogi prinaša material iz *Impromptuja I*, vendar pa ga izvajalec lahko »zamenja z drugim citatom ali lastnim glasbenim utrinkom«.79 Skladatelj ponuja tri variante prehajanja med posameznimi domisleki in plastmi:

- a) po predlogi skladatelja;
- b) izvedba se prične s katerim koli domislekom, vendar se odtod odvija po označenem zaporedju (npr. DEFGHABC) dokler vsi domisleki niso odigrani;
- c) izvajalec se odloči za drugačno zaporedje domislekov. V tem primeru pa je novo zaporedje treba vnaprej izbrati in uvežbati.⁸⁰

Svojevrstno odprtost prinaša še ena klavirska skladba, *Sonet*. Delo se oblikovno nahaja »na presečišču pesniške in glasbene forme«; sestavlja ga pet odsekov, ki jih Pompetova analiza povezuje v tridelno sonatno formo. Začetni odsek razume kot sonatno ekspozicijo, *Interludij* naznanja izpeljavo, ki »se razraste v nizu treh komentarjev in interpolacij«, *Epilog* pa »je treba razumeti kot neuspeli poizkus reprize«.81 Vendar pa tik pred *Epilogom* skladatelj razpre obliko in ponudi izvajalcu dve možnosti nadaljevanja:

- a) da skladbo po zapisani predlogi nadaljuje
- b) da skladbo z improvizacijo razširi tako, da nadaljuje v *Komentarju II* eksponirano zvočno gradivo. Z improvizacijo je treba ob vse večji izvajalčevi psiho-motorični aktivnosti doseči največjo gostoto⁸²

74 Gregor Pompe, *Zveneča metafizika: skladateljski opus akademika Lojzeta Lebiča* (Ljubljana: Znanstvena založba Filozofske fakultete UL, 2014), 68.

75 Odsek je v partituri označen z rimsko številko I; glej Lojze Lebič: *Atelier* (Ljubljana, Društvo slovenskih skladateljev, 1973).

76 Prav tam, 3.

77 Pompe, *Zveneča metafizika*, 101.

78 Prav tam, 104.

79 Lojze Lebič, *Impromptus za klavir* (Ljubljana: Društvo slovenskih skladateljev, 1975), 9.

80 Prav tam.

81 Pompe, *Zveneča metafizika*, 118–19.

82 Lebič, *Sonet za klavir* (Ljubljana: Društvo slovenskih skladateljev, 1979), 12.

Tudi v primeru, da se izvajalec odloči za ponujeno improvizacijo, pa bi težko rekli, da gre za odprto obliko v modernističnem smislu; vstavljeno improvizacijsko kadenco je bolj smiselno razumeti kot navezavo na preteklost.

Tangram za komorni orkester predstavlja začetek obdobja, v katerem se je Lebič deloma odmaknil od radikalnosti modernističnega izraza in v slogu postmoderne dostopnosti začel ponovno iskati sredstva komunikacije s poslušalstvom.⁸³ Tangram je kitajska miselna igra, pri kateri igralec uporablja sedem ploščic osnovnih oblik (trikotniki, trapez in kvadrat), ki originalno izhajajo iz razreza kvadrata. Cilj igre je z uporabo vseh ploščic – imenujejo se tan – sestaviti specifične oblike. Skladno s tem skladatelj v enem od odsekov skladbe (partiturna oznaka 34) oblikuje tri zvočne plasti, ki jih poimenuje TAN – vsako od plasti zaznamujeta specifična inštrumentacija in glasbena funkcija. TAN I sestavljajo pihala in del godal; njihov glasbeni material je kombinacija zadržanih tonov in pasaž v ozkem ambitusu, funkcija plasti je primarno melodična. TAN II predstavljajo signalne figure trobil in dela godal, ki strukturirajo teksturo. Harfa, klavir in tolkala kot TAN III z mirnim in razbitim osminskim gibanjem opravljajo funkcijo spremljave in okraševanja.⁸⁴ Glasbeni tok se ustvarja z naslojevanjem skupin, njihovo zaporedje, mesto nastopa in morebitno ponavljanje je prepuščeno izbiri dirigenta, ki pa mora strukturo oblikovati pred izvedbo dela.⁸⁵ Začetek vsakega TAN dirigent nakaže s številom prstov na levi roki – na enak način, kot ga je za dirigiranje svojih odprtih oblik predvidel Earle Brown. V partiturni opombi je Lebič predlagal eno od možnih različic izvedbe in Pompe v zvezi s tem ugotavlja, da se skladba »ni nikoli izvajala drugače, kot je notirano v partituri«.⁸⁶ Ne glede na to, kakšno kombinacijo tangramov bi dirigent izbral, pa »je osrednja skladateljeva želja nedvomno to, da bi zgradil daljšo gradacijo, ki naj pripelje do središčnega viška skladbe«, kar potrjuje tudi skladateljev partiturni napotek, da naj bo »vsaka repetacija [tangramov] povezana z intenzivnejšo dinamiko«.⁸⁷ Lebič je torej kljub odpiranju želel nadzorovati formalno zasnovo dela; vzporednice lahko iščemo v težnji po kontroli vseh možnih izidov odprte forme, ki sta jo izražala Boulez in Serocki.

Za trenutek se vrnimo v izhodiščno točko raziskave. Omenili smo, da se v teoretičnih razmišljanjih in opusu Earla Browna mobilnost v glasbi oblikuje v dveh smerih – kot mobilna oblika in kot konceptualna mobilnost. Slednja že posega v območje glasbene grafike in je v tem članku nismo podrobneje obravnavali. Vendar pa v praksi meje seveda niso jasne in neprehodne; glasbeni dogodki so v odprtih oblikah pogosto notirani proporcionalno ali grafično in glasbena grafika skoraj vedno obstaja kot odprta oblika.⁸⁸ To velja tudi za skladbo (*Ne*)-simetrija (1965) Primoža Ramovša, ki tako v slovenskem glasbenem prostoru tistega časa kot v avtorjem opusu predstavlja svojevrsten unikat. Partituro sestavljata dve med seboj prekrizani notni črtovji z vpisanimi violinskimi ali basovskimi ključi in notnimi glavicami, vselej v padajočih terčnih razmikih. Poleg tega se pred in med črtovji nahajajo še višaji, nižaji in dinamične oznake.

83 Pompe, *Zveneča metafizika*, 125.

84 Prav tam, 133.

85 Lojze Lebič, *Tangram* (Ljubljana: Edicije Društva slovenskih skladateljev, 1977), 21.

86 Pompe, *Zveneča metafizika*, cf. 134.

87 Pompe, *Zveneča metafizika*, 134.

88 Po Gligu je grafična notacija vrsta notacije, ki »ima za samoumevno realizacijo v zvoku«, medtem ko glasbena grafika lahko obstaja tudi »izključno kot likovni objekt«, pri katerem je realizacija v zvoku možna, a ne nujna (Gligo, 118, 125).

Partituro je mogoče brati v katerem koli položaju, skladatelj pa ne ponuja nikakršnih napotkov za njeno razvozlanje. Enako enigmatičen je namreč 'ključ', ki podobno kot partitura prinaša spuščajoče-se molove septakorde z malo septimo in dinamične oznake, ki sugerirajo krožno prehajanje med obema skrajnima dinamikama (ppp in fff). Ramovš razen tega ne ponuja nobene informacije ne o branju partiture ne o njeni povezavi s 'ključem'. Možno je torej, da ima »grafična razporeditev notnih črtovij in znakov v njih predvsem likovno vrednost«⁸⁹ ali pa, da deluje v smislu Brownove konceptualne mobilnosti – da ima torej izvajalec možnost izdelave povsem lastne interpretacije uporabljenih grafičnih znamenj oziroma da mu grafika kot celota predstavlja zgolj vizualni ustvarjalni impulz, na katerega se odzove z glasbo.

Ukvarjanje s slovenskim glasbenim modernizmom, pa tudi glasbenim modernizmom na splošno, ne more mimo dela Vinka Globokarja. Z ozirom na Globokarjevo življenjepisne podatke – rojen je bil slovenskih staršem v Franciji in tudi njegovo izobraževanje in delovanje sta vezana pretežno na francoski in nemški prostor – se seveda prej ali slej pojavi vprašanje, v kolikšni meri ga lahko sploh obravnavamo kot 'slovenskega skladatelja'. Morda je na vprašanje najustreznejše odgovoriti kar z Globokarjevo razlago, da ustvarjalca in njegovo delo zaznamujejo življenjske okoliščine in da je glasba vedno »odsev družbe« znotraj katere in za katero nastaja.⁹⁰ Njegovega dela torej ni smiselno primerjati z delom slovenskih skladateljev, ki so se šolali in ustvarjali doma, a Globokarja izkušnja izseljenstva in mladostniško obdobje, ki ga je preživel v socialistični Ljubljani, hkrati ločujeta od zahodnih skladateljev. Kakor Brown, tudi Globokar izhaja iz jazzovskega okolja in njegovo glasbeno delovanje je bilo dolgo časa omejeno na izvajalsko prasko. Skladati je začel pozno, pri tridesetih letih⁹¹, hkrati pa je ostal dejaven tudi kot pozavnist, predvsem na področju proste improvizacije. V tem kontekstu je razumljivo, da vprašanje odnosa med skladateljem in izvajalcem ter med izvajalci samimi zaseda pomembno mesto tako v njegovem teoretskem kot praktičnem delu. Odprta oblika je pogosta in njene variacije številne. Vendar Globokar hkrati ugotavlja, da izvajalcev naloge, ki temeljijo predvsem na intelektualnem pristopu, v resnici ne zanimajo. Iz izkušenj je spoznal, »da se izvajalec zanima predvsem za neposredne muzikalne akcije, za naloge, v katerih dobi neposreden stik z zvočno materijo; pri tem so akcije, ki temeljijo na odločanju, izboru in globljem razmišljanju, izključene«;⁹² prav tako se izkaže za preveč racionalen poskus, »da bi izvajalcu z vizualnimi simboli nalogali abstraktne in skrajno zapletene naloge«.⁹³ Namesto tega želi Globokar izvajalcu ponuditi glasbeni material, na katerega se bo odzival, hkrati po poskrbeti, da se bo pri oblikovanju teh odzivov ognil delovanju habitusa.⁹⁴ Na odprtost Globokarjevih del bistveno vpliva tudi njegovo globoko prepričanje, da je glasba vedno odraz okolja, v katerem nastaja in da se mora nanj tudi odzivati; larpurlartizem je zanj nesmiseln, klasična

89 Jurij Snoj in Gregor Pompe, *Pisna podoba glasbe na Slovenskem* (Ljubljana: Založba ZRC, ZRC SAZU, 2003), 151.

90 Vinko Globokar, *Vdih-izdih* (Ljubljana: Slovenska matica, 1987), 14.

91 Prav tam, 11.

92 Vinko Globokar, *Laboratorium* (Ljubljana: Slovenska matica, 2002), 6.

93 Prav tam, 9.

94 Sociolog Pierre Bourdieu definira habitus kot sistem kulturno pridobljenih vzrocev, delovanj in načel, ki porajajo in organizirajo naše prakse in predstave (Pierre Bourdieu, *Praktični čut I* (Ljubljana, Studia humanitatis, 2002)). Gl. Vinko Globokar, *Laboratorium*, 33, 64.

glasba v sodobnem svetu ne more biti namenjena zabavi ali kratkočasju,⁹⁵ ustvarjanje pa vedno predpostavlja zavzemanje jasnega stališča, »ne da bi se sklicevali na meglene pojme, kot so čustvenost, lepota, muzikalnost«. ⁹⁶ V skladu s tem se tudi njegova odprta oblika preoblikuje v smislu, ki namesto izvajalčeve izbire v končno podobo glasbenega dela prepušča elemente vsakokratne družbene realnosti:

*Lahko vključim različne dogodke v neko skladbo, vendar bom v njej na primer pustil odprta okna. Zapolnil jih bom v trenutku izvedbe, in sicer z zvočnimi, besednim ali vizualnim gradivom, ki je neposredno v zvezi s pojavom, ki ga obravnavam. Samo po sebi je umevno, da bo gradivo vselej nekoliko drugačno. Odvisno od kraja, kjer bo delo izvedeno, pa tudi od datuma. [...] Podtalna zamisel dela bo ostala, podrobnosti njegove vsebine pa se bodo neprestano spreminjale.*⁹⁷

Globokarjevo ustvarjanje presega meje – ne samo med skladateljem in izvajalcem, pač pa tudi med telesom in glasbilom, med posameznikom in skupino, med zvočnim in vizualnim ter med umetnostjo in teorijo. Njegovi zbirki *Laboratorium* in *Individuum-Collectivum*, ki ju je začel ustvarjati v sedemdesetih letih, tako poleg eksperimentalnih skladb vsebujeta tudi ideje, koncepte in didaktične ponazoritve, ki jih je mogoče poljubno izbirati, kombinirati, sopostavljati in preoblikovati. Namesto odprte oblike, nam Globokar v uporabo ponuja »odprto gradivo«. ⁹⁸

Sklep

Za odprto obliko v glasbi se zdi, da ima izvor zunaj nje same, v drugih področjih umetnosti ali v elementih družbene realnosti. To vsekakor drži za ameriška skladatelja Henryja Cowella in Earla Browna, ki sta odprto obliko zasnovala kot glasbeni ekvivalent vizualni umetnosti ter za Henryja Pousseurja in Vinka Globokarja, ki sta izhajala iz glasbe kot modela družbene strukture in dogajanj. Pierre Boulez je impulze našel v literarni umetnosti, vendar pa hkrati ne gre prezreti dejstva, da je njegov vzrok za iskanje novih oblikovnih možnosti imanentno glasben in izhaja iz spoznanja, da se mora glasbena forma prilagoditi razvoju glasbenega materiala. ⁹⁹ Karlheinz Stockhausnu je prav koncept momenta, ki ga je razvil kot orodje za soočanje s kompleksno zvočnostjo modernizma, priskrbel teoretično podlago za odpiranje oblike. Tradicionalno je pomen zvočnih dogodkov izhajal iz njihovega razmerja do tistega, kar je bilo pred njimi in do tistega, kar jim sledi; nasprotno pa Stockhausnov moment obstaja samostojno in neodvisno od okolja. Na enak način – »kot del splošnega kolapsa koncepta vzročnosti«¹⁰⁰ – izvor odprtega dela razlaga tudi filozof Umberto Eco.

95 »Za zabavo in kratkočasje poznamo druge zvrsti, ki opravljajo to bolje kot sodobna glasba, na primer pop glasbo« (prav tam, 210).

96 Prav tam, 61.

97 Globokar, *Vdih-izdih*, 68.

98 Globokar, *Vdih-izdih*, 71, 77.

99 Boulez, *Sonate, que-me veux-tu?*, 33.

100 Eco, *The poetics of open work*, 15.

Bistvo odprte oblike ni v težnji, da bi skladatelj odgovornost za identiteto dela prepuščal izvajalcem. Modernistično glasbeno delo je fragmentirano in kontinuiteta glasbenega toka pogosto niti ni več pomemben element njegove identitete – ta je trdo zakoreninjena v komponiranem materialu, ki ga skladatelj odprte oblike ponudi izvajalcu.¹⁰¹ Ravno pri odločitvi, do katere mere so se pripravljene odpovedati nadzoru nad glasbenim tokom, pa se skladatelji odprtih oblik bistveno razlikujejo. Boulez in Serocki sta v procesu ustvarjanja predvidela vse možne izvedbene različice. Na ta način sta ohranila nadzor nad glasbenim tokom in oblikovno zasnovo, njun koncept glasbenega dela pa predstavlja vsoto vseh izvedbenih možnosti. Nasprotno Brown poleg sopostavljanja deloma dovoljuje modifikacijo glasbenih dogodkov, skrajni pol pa predstavlja John Cage, ki v skladbo prepušča tudi tuj material. Pomembna konceptualna razlika med posameznimi odprtimi oblikami izhaja tudi iz navodila, na kateri točki priprave skladbe naj izvajalec določi vrstni red posameznih odsekov. Skladatelji, ki zahtevajo pripravo oblikovne zasnove pred izvedbo dela (Cowell, Boulez in Serocki), vpeljujejo element zavestne izbire, medtem ko tisti, ki zahtevajo naključne in instinktivne odločitve med izvedbo (Brown, Cage, Stockhausen in Pousseur), v skladbo prepuščajo element naključja.

	<i>Oblikovanje formalne zasnove skladbe pred ali med izvedbo → izbira ali naključje</i>	<i>Stopnja odprtosti</i>	<i>Izvor oz. vzor odprtosti</i>
<i>H. Cowell: Mosaic Quartet (1935)</i>	pred	zaporedje, ponavljanje	vizualna umetnost: mozaik
<i>E. Brown: December 1952 (1952)</i>	pred ali med	konceptualna mobilnost/glasbena grafika	vizualna umetnost: akcijsko slikarstvo, mobili
<i>E. Brown: Available forms (1961–62), Novara (1962), From here (1963)</i>	med (dirigent)	zaporedje, ponavljanje, sopostavljanje in modifikacija	
<i>P. Boulez: Troisième sonate pour piano (1956–57)</i>	pred	omejena izbira zaporedij	immanentno glasben, literarna umetnost
<i>K. Stockhausen: Klavierstücke XI (1956)</i>	med	zaporedje, ponavljanje (do 3x), izpuščanje	immanentno glasben (koncept momenta)

101 Izjema je konceptualna mobilnost, ki odprto obliko povezuje z glasbeno grafiko in ki prek glasbenih grafik izvajalcu predstavlja zgolj impulz za ustvarjanje; glasbeni material mora priskrbeti sam.

<i>J. Cage: Concert for Piano and Orchestra (1957–58)</i>	med	zaporedje, ponavljanje, izpuščanje, sopostavljanje, uporaba materiala iz drugih skladb	imanentno glasben, vizualna umetnost, vzhodna filozofija
<i>H. Pousseur: Scambi (1957)</i>	med (poslušalec)	zaporedje, deloma sopostavljanje	glasba kot model
<i>H. Pousseur: Votre Faust (1960–68)</i>	med (poslušalci z glasovanjem)	selekcija iz nabora materiala	družbene strukture
<i>K. Serocki: A piacere (1962–63)</i>	pred	zaporedje, brez ponavljanj in izpuščanj, v vsakem primeru tridelna zasnova	imanentno glasben (koncept zvočne strukture)

Tabela 1: Osnovne značilnosti odprte oblike; stolpec, poimenovan 'stopnja odprtosti' se nanaša na razmerje med nadzorom, ki ga skladatelj ohranja nad končno obliko dela in odločitvami, ki jih prepušča izvajalcem.

Navedli smo deset skladb slovenskih skladateljev, ki jih različni avtorji navajajo kot odprto obliko oziroma njene zametke. Za šest od njih – Petricovo *Igro v četvero*, Ježeve *Asonance*, Božičevo *Protestno pesem*, Štuhčev *Art* ter Lebičeva *Atelier* in *Epilog* – se je ob podrobnejši analizi izkazalo, da bodisi ne gre za odprto obliko bodisi je njen delež v razmerju do celote premajhen, da bi celotno delo lahko obravnavali kot odprto obliko. Tudi v *Tangramu* Lojzeta Lebiča se oblika razpre samo v delu skladbe, poleg tega pa material ne glede na izbrano zaporedje prinaša gradacijo in na ta način služi skladateljevemu vnaprej zamišljenemu dramatskemu poteku skladbe. V Stibiljevem *Mondu* je odprtost omejena na izbiro odlomka, ki ga bo izvajalec 'vstavil' v za to predviden in natančno odmerjen (petnajst taktov) prostor v formalni zasnovi skladbe. Stibiljev *Assimilation* in Lebičev *Impromptu IV* sta edini skladbi, pri katerih se odprtost oblike razširi na celotno delo, poleg njiju pa seveda Ramovševa (*Ne*)-*simetrija* kot primer konceptualne mobilnosti. Zdi se, da so se skladatelji kljub vključevanju aleatoričnih postopkov le stežka odpovedali nadzoru nad zvočnim rezultatom. Zanimivo razlago tega nam v luči družbenega konteksta ponuja Vinko Globokar:

V kapitalističnih deželah se danes pojavlja močna težnja, da bi umetnost podružbili, jo približali množicam, ko naj bi vsak posameznik bil ustvarjalec, ko bi kolektivno porajali glasbo, pritegnili k sodelovanju tudi občinstvo, oblikovali samoupravne umetniške strukture. [...] Logično bi torej sklepali, da v Jugoslaviji, deželi, ki je udeležena samoupravljanje, ki je zgrajena globoko na socialističnem sistemu, kjer je beseda 'kolektivno' ves čas prisotna, kjer je kolektivna ustvarjalnost v polnem zamahu, da ustvarjalnost ali pravzaprav individualistični položaj skladatelja doživljata korenite spremembe. In vendar ne, razen izredno redkih izjem vsi pišejo dokončana dela in nato poskušajo doseči, da bi jim jih velike

ustanove izvajale. Opažamo, da je ustvarjalni posameznik preprosto tu, malo mu je mar; da bi k ustvarjalnemu dejanju pritegnil še druge posameznike. Zagrizeno širi okoli sebe individualizem. Če pristanemo na to, da mora živi umetnik nasprotovati sistemu, v katerem živi, da je koristen, ko se kritično postavi proti svojemu okolju, s čimer pomaga spremeniti človeško usodo, postaneta socializacija umetnosti v kapitalističnem sistemu in umetnikov individualizem v socialističnem sistemu razumljiva, potrebna; paradoks izgine.¹⁰²

	<i>Oblikovanje formalne zasnove skladbe pred ali med izvedbo → izbira ali naključje</i>	<i>Stopnja odprtosti</i>	<i>Izvor oz. vzor odprtosti</i>
<i>M. Stibilj: Mondo (1965)</i>		selekcija iz nabora materiala	
<i>M. Stibilj: Assimilation (1965)</i>		zaporedje	
<i>L. Lebič: Impromptu IV (1974)</i>	pred	omejena izbira zaporedij	
<i>L. Lebič: Tangram (1977)</i>	pred (dirigent)	mesto nastopa, ponavljanje	tangram, kitajska miselna igra
<i>P. Ramovš: (Ne)-simetrija (1965)</i>		konceptualna mobilnost/glasbena grafika	

Tabela 2: Osnovne značilnosti odprte oblike slovenskih skladateljev; številni deli tabele so prazni, saj skladatelji niso podali njene razlage ali natančnih navodil za izvedo.

V primerjavi z odprtimi oblikami tujih skladateljev je pri slovenskih zgovorna tudi odsotnost teoretskega konteksta, ki ima za posledico številna prazna mesta v zgornji tabeli in je povedna v dveh smereh. Eco ugotavlja, da je v modernistični umetnosti vprašanje poetike¹⁰³ in konstrukcije dela pogosto postalo pomembnejše od dela samega,¹⁰⁴ čemur pritrjuje tudi Jamesonova analiza modernistične umetnosti kot tiste, ki je »po koncu stare umetnosti zavzela mesto filozofije, uzurpirala sleherno filozofsko pravico dostopa do Absolutnega, pravico do tega, da je 'najvišja oblika, v kateri biva resnica'«. ¹⁰⁵ Nekateri omenjeni skladatelji, na primer Petrič, Stibilj in Lebič, so sicer pogosto objavljali tekste, vendar pa so se le redko spuščali v teoretično razlago lastnih del in konceptov. V tem kontekstu je zgovorna usoda diskusij pred občinstvom,

102 Globokar, *Vdih-izdih*, 15.

103 Poetika kot praktičen nivo nasproti estetiki kot filozofski disciplini.

104 Eco, *Poetics of open work*, 171.

105 Fredric Jameson, *Kulturni obrat: izbrani spisi o postmoderni 1983–1998* (Ljubljana: Studia humanitatis, 2012), 104.

ki so jih leta 1964 želeli uvesti na Jugoslovanski glasbeni tribuni v Opatiji.¹⁰⁶ Ideja, da bi občinstvu predstavili estetske in tehnične elemente glasbenega modernizma in morebiti vzpodbudili izmenjavo mnenj o njih, je neslavno propadla:

*Večino skladateljev so namreč veliko bolj pestile težave zaradi nezadovoljivih razmer za izvajanje, snemanje, tiskanje in predstavitev njihovih del, zato so se hoteli posvečati predvsem tem vprašanjem, razprave estetskega značaja pa so se jim največkrat zdele nepotrebne. Zavračali so jih in onemogočali, včasih z neprikritim odporom ali samo s pasivnim nezanimanjem.*¹⁰⁷

Zdi se, da je reševanje povsem praktičnih problemov v obdobju po vojni do določene mere zasenčilo ukvarjanje z estetskimi vprašanji. Temu pritrjuje tudi zgodba skupine Pro Musica Viva, ki so jo njeni člani – mladi in še ne uveljavljeni skladatelji – videli predvsem kot možnost skupnega seznanjanja s sodobnimi glasbenimi tokovi na eni in kot orodje preboja na glasbeni trg na drugi strani. Skupina ni predvidevala skupnih estetskih izhodišč svojih članov, prav tako pa so se člani na sestankih izogibali razpravam o lastnih delih.¹⁰⁸ V trenutku, ko so se skladatelji umetniško dozoreli in se uveljavili na trgu, je izginila tudi potreba po njihovem povezovanju in Pro Musica Viva je razpadla.¹⁰⁹

Teksti, ki so jih skladatelji, kot so Brown, Boulez, Stockhausen in Serocki, objavljali vzporedno s svojimi odprtimi oblikami, nam pomagajo razumeti izvor odprte oblike. Ta deloma izhaja iz navezave na vizualno in literarno umetnost, veliko pomembnejše pa je spoznanje, da jo je deloma omogočil prav serializem, ki je razrušil logično sosledje glasbenih dogodkov in jim dovolil, da obstajajo samostojno in neodvisno od okolja ter posledično v poljubnem zaporedju. Medel odmev odprte oblike in njeno omejeno uporabo v slovenski povojni glasbi tako lahko razumemo in razlagamo prav v navezavi na enako medel odmev serializma, čemur pritrjuje tudi Andrej Rijavec, ki v raziskavi o problemu forme v delih Iva Petriča zapiše:

*Ker med tem ni bil doživel 'totalitarne' faze komponiranja, načina, ki se mu je izognil že zavoljo drugače usmerjenih dispozicij, je razumljivo, da na oblikovni ravni sedaj ni zašel v katerokoli od različic odprtih form.*¹¹⁰

Odprta oblika je v slovenski glasbi prvih povojnih desetletij povedna predvsem v svoji odsotnosti oziroma načrtni omejenosti. Modernistični postopki, ki so v delih zahodnih skladateljev doživeli logičen razvoj, so v zavest slovenskih skladateljev prodrli hkrati in brez konteksta. Pri mladih in še ne povsem izoblikovanih ustvarjalcih je velika količina novosti, nad katerimi so se navduševali in jih želeli preizkusiti, povzročila precejšnjo zmedo.¹¹¹ Zdi se, da jim je v tej situaciji ravno jasno zasnovana oblika predstavljala

106 Barbo, *Pro musica viva*, 70.

107 Prav tam, 70, 71.

108 Prav tam, 90.

109 Prav tam, 109.

110 Andrej Rijavec, »Problem forme v delih Iva Petriča«, *Muzikološki zbornik XI*, 1975.

111 O tem večkrat govorita Primož Ramovš in Lojze Lebič; glej Borut Loparnik, *Biti skladatelj: pogovori s Primožem Ramovšem* (Ljubljana: Slovenska matica, 1984) in Lojze Lebič, *Od blizu in daleč* (Prevalje, Kulturno društvo Mohorjan, 2000).

varno ogrodje, znotraj katerega so lahko svobodno eksperimentirali z novostmi. V tem kontekstu odsotnost odprte oblike oziroma njena previdna odmerjenost ne predstavljata anomalije, pač pa logično stopnjo v razvoju slovenskega glasbenega modernizma.

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<http://www.serocki.polmic.pl>. Dostopno 20. 7. 2018.

SUMMARY

The article deals with the open form and uses comparative analysis in order to highlight its basic characteristics as well as to point out the different approaches of selected composers: Henry Cowell, Earle Brown, John Cage, Pierre Boulez, Karlheinz Stockhausen, Henri Pousseur and Kazimierz Serocki. Theoretical texts published by the composers are equally important and serve as the foundation of the analysis. In creating open forms, several composers were influenced by visual arts and literature, but equally important were the impulses that came from the music itself. Boulez felt that the form should adapt to integrate the fluidity of musical vocabulary and Stockhausen originally created the concept of a moment - which later led him to the open form - to help listeners deal with serialism. There are two main conceptual differences concerning open forms. The first one is rooted in the ratio between the composer's control over the final form and decisions left to the performer. While Boulez and Serocki aim to foresee every possible outcome and incorporate it into the concept of work, works by Stockhausen, Brown and especially Cage are much more open and allow many unpredictable results. The second one deals with chance and choice. Cowell, Boulez, and Serocki specifically ask the performer to contemplate the sequence of musical events before the performance and therefore favor choice over chance; Brown, Stockhausen, and Cage expect spontaneous and instinctive decisions during the performance and subsequently allow the chance to interfere. The open form has not yet been specifically researched in the context of Slovenian music; however, eleven examples of the open form are men-

tioned in different texts. The analysis shows that most of them are either not open forms or that the openness is extremely limited. *Assimilation* (1965) by Milan Stibilj, *Impromptu IV* (1974) by Lojze Lebič and *(Ne)simetrija* (1965) by Primož Ramovš are the only pieces in which the openness is applied to the work as a whole (the last one is essentially a graphic score and falls into Brown's category of conceptual mobility). Also apparent is the absence of a theoretical context, usually intertwined with such modernist practices.

This can be explained by taking into account the social context of Slovenian music after the war. Slovenia was then a part of Yugoslavia, a federal multinational country, whose socialist leadership struggled to maintain a sense of cultural unity among nations with fairly different historical and cultural backgrounds. Novelties from the West were not welcome and composers on the leading positions (i. e. professors, musical directors) were in fact personally not interested in them; therefore young composers remained isolated from the first wave of post-war modernism. As they never experienced radical serialism that caused the break-down of the concept of musical causality, it is understandable that they were not keen on the idea of the open form. In the sixties, young composers became more aware of recent developments in music by attending festivals such as the Warsaw Autumn. The abundance of new techniques was overwhelming as they wanted to experience them all. It seems that it was the firmly constructed form that offered them a safe frame for experimenting with novelties.

Imensko kazalo • Index

- Adam de la Halle 108, 112
 Adamič, Bojan 227
 Adamič, Emil 212–214
 Adorno, Theodor W. 47, 48, 87, 88, 92, 287
 Agejev (Ageev), Vladimir 46
 Ajanovič-Malinar, Ivona 166, 167, 184
 Ajlec, Rafael 216, 220
 Akvinski (Aquinas), Tomaž (Thomas) 80
 Alaküla, Ruth 157, 161
 Alaleona, Domenico 51
 Albini 279
 Albright, Daniel 101, 102, 106, 136
 Alexander, Harold 223, 228
 Alfvén, Hugo 134
 Allen, Esther 175, 184
 Althusser, Louis 10, 13–18, 27, 28
 Altmanis, Alvis 134
 Ambrazas, Algirdas 87, 89
 Amoliņš, Leons 134
 Anderson, Keith 22, 28
 Andersson, Gregor 37, 41
 Antoni, Luisa 210, 211, 216, 217, 235
 Antonicelli, Giuseppe 235, 259
 Aranovsky, Mark 84
 Arder, Ott 154
 Aristotle (Aristotle) 46–48
 Arnič, Blaž 191, 193–195, 197, 205, 206, 266–270
 Artjomov (Artiomov), Vjačeslav 92
 Ashby, Arved 72, 92
 Astley, Edward 229, 230
 Åstrand, Hans 37, 39, 41–43
 Aškerc, Anton 197
 Atterberg, Kurt 35, 36, 41
 Auner, Joseph 102, 137
 Avguštin (Augustine) iz Hipona 80
- Babbitt, Milton 52, 58, 62, 67, 68, 81, 85
 Babin, Victor 103
 Bach, Johann Sebastian 74, 99, 136, 149, 154, 181
 Baggi 279
 Bahti, Timothy 23, 29
 Bajoras, Feliksas 87, 89
 Balakauskas, Osvaldas 6, 10, 11, 45, 46, 48–67, 69–88, 90–92, 94, 95, 135
 Balantič, France 194
 Baldassarre, Antonio 182, 184
 Balestri, Ettore 278
 Baley, Virko 161
 Balibar, Etienne 17, 18, 28
 Ballif, Claude 71

- Balsys, Eduardas 87, 89
 Barbo, Matjaž 189, 204, 207, 290–292, 294, 295, 303,
 304
 Bargnesi, Vlado 256
 Barilli, Enzo 278
 Barkauskas, Vytautas 87, 89, 135
 Barkefors, Laila 39, 41
 Bartalozzi, Bruno 87
 Bartók, Béla 56, 71, 87, 133, 197–199, 201, 204
 Barzano, Dante 242, 278
 Baudelaire, Charles 23, 30
 Baudrillard, Jean 101, 107, 136
 Bauman, Zygmunt 15, 28
 Beccari, Eugenio 278
 Beck, Ulrich 287
 Beethoven, Ludwig van 265–268, 270–274, 277
 Beiche, Michael 68
 Bek, Mikuláš 192, 207
 Bellugi, Piero 87
 Bendettelli, Glauco 278
 Benedettelli, Livio 278
 Benedettelli, Ubaldo 278
 Berg, Alban 51, 72, 92, 93
 Berg, Natanael 35
 Bergendal, Göran 39, 41
 Berger, Karol 91
 Berio, Luciano 120
 Berlendis, Gian Maria 278
 Bernhardt, Sarah 25
 Bersa, Blagoje 265, 269–275
 Beršadskaja (Bershadskaja), Tatjana 87
 Bertolini, Gianni 252, 278
 Bertuzzi, Vasco 278
 Bettinelli, Aldo 278
 Bettinelli, Bruno 278
 Bettinelli, Giorgio 279
 Bevilacqua, skladatelj 277
 Bezić, Nada 183
 Bianchi, Luigi 278
 Biasetto, Guglielmo 278
 Bidault, Georges 247
 Bigotti, Giovanni 278
 Bilus 279
 Bisotti, Everardo 237, 278
 Bizjak, Giusto 278
 Blanchot, Maurice 165, 182–184
 Blažeković, Zdravko 182, 184
 Blažkov (Blazhkov), I. 49
 Bleiere, Daina 102, 136
 Blomdahl, Karl-Birger 37, 38
 Boari, Leonardo 278
 Bogunović Hočevar, Katarina 135, 137, 190, 207
 Böhm, Bruno 278
 Bonazzi, Tomaso 278

Bor, Matej	195, 216
Boretz, Benjamin	68
Borges, Jorge Luis	175, 184
Borodin, Aleksander	229, 265, 268–271, 273, 274, 276, 277
Borzatta, Simone	278
Botstein, Leo	100, 136
Bottazzi, Alfredo	278
Botteri, Guido	235, 259
Boulez, Pierre	70, 85–88, 284–287, 289, 294, 296–300, 303–306
Bourdieu, Pierre	16, 24, 28, 298, 304
Bowman, Alfred C.	230, 264
Božič, Darijan	291, 294, 295, 301
Bracco	279
Brahms, Johannes	201, 265, 274
Braidotti, Fiorello	278
Brand, Julianne	92
Braun, Joachim	135, 136
Bravničar, Matija	194, 197, 198, 206, 266–271, 273, 274
Bražinskas, Algimantas	89
Brege, Ilona	134
Brewster, Ben	14, 28
Brico, Antonia	255
Brindle, Reginald Smith	304
Bristow, Richard	47
Broman, Per	41
Brooks, Peter	24
Brown, Earle	282–286, 297–300, 303, 304, 306
Brown, Roger G.	92
Broz, Josip - Tito	224, 235, 243, 247, 249, 252, 263, 271, 290
Bruckner, Anton	194
Brvar, Veronika	191, 207
Bugamelli, Mario	230
Bukofzer, Manfred	99, 136
Burkholder, Peter	102, 136
Busoni, Ferruccio	37, 180, 183, 184, 196
Bušs, Santa	135
Butāns, Pēteris	134
Byström, Britta	40
Cage, John	284, 285, 300, 301, 304–306
Calder, Alexander	282–284, 286
Callegaro, Venicio	241, 242, 257, 279
Calligaris, Luciano	278
Canciani	279
Candussi, Guido	226, 228–230, 260
Cankar, Ivan	215, 220
Cappone, Giusto	238, 278
Carlstedt, Jan	37, 43
Carter, Roy E.	94
Casale	279
Casella, Alfredo	201
Castiglioni, Arnaldo	279
Caston, Victor	46

Castoriadis, Cornelius	6, 10, 15, 17, 28, 30
Catoire, Georgy	70
Cecovini, Manlio	229
Cergoli, Guido	226, 228, 231
Cervi-Pelizzoni, maestro	231
Chew, Geoffrey	192, 207
Chkhikvadze, Grigol	glej Čhikvadze, Grigol
Chopin, Frédéric (Fryderyk)	166, 176, 17,7 296
Churchill, Winston	253
Ciglič, Zvonimir	195–197, 203, 206, 207
Cigoj Krstulović, Nataša	189, 208, 290, 291, 305
Cilea, Francesco	275
Cipci, Jakov (Jakob)	224–226, 228, 229, 231, 232, 234, 235, 237, 241, 248–252, 254, 256, 257, 259, 260, 262–266, 268–276, 279
Colli, Bruno	278
Colline	279
Collini, Roberto	235, 259
Cone, Edward	68
Connor, Herbert	36, 41
Conti, Benedetto	278
Cook, Nicholas	106, 138, 142, 161
Corelli, Arcangelo	267, 268
Cowell, Henry	71, 282, 284, 294, 299, 300, 306
Cremaschi, Gian Luigi	278
Croce, Benedetto	80
Cunningham, Sarah	21, 29
Cvetko, Ciril	194, 207, 225, 227, 232, 243, 260
Cvetko, Dragotin	210, 214, 215, 220, 243, 260, 261
Čajkovski, Peter Iljič	265–273, 275, 276
Čhikvadze, Grigol	161
Čiurlionis, Mikalojus Konstantinas	80
Dahlhaus, Carl	47, 67, 94
Dambis, Pauls	133, 134
Danuser, Hermann	100, 102, 136
Dario, Giovanni	278
Dārziņš, Volfgangs	103
Daunoravičienė, Gražina	6, 10, 48, 70, 71, 73, 75, 82, 86, 87, 93
Daunoravičienė-Žuklytė, Gražina	glej Daunoravičienė, Gražina
Davidović, Dalibor	7, 11, 167, 182, 184
De Cilia, Lionello	278
De Vecchi, Edmondo	230
Debeljak, Aleš	304
Debussy, Claude	32, 195, 196, 204, 265
Degrassi, Bruno	237, 244, 248, 278
Dekleva, Vojmil	252, 261
Deleuze, Gilles	5, 9
Demšar, Gojmir	229
Denisov, Edison	84, 87, 92, 145
Derkert, Jacob	32, 42
Dernova, Varvara	87
Destovnik – Kajuh, Karel	194, 216

Detoni, Dubravko	167, 184
Dolidze, Dali	161
Dolidze, Leah	161
Donatelli-Salvini, Fanny	24
Dougan, Danilo	246, 257
Dubra, Rihards	133, 134
Duchamp, Marcel	282
DuGay, Paul	16, 29
Dumas, Alexandre ml.	24, 25, 29
Dvořak, Antonín	32, 229, 265–277
Dzenitis, Andris	135
Eagleton, Terry	16, 29
Eco, Umberto	286, 287, 299, 304
Eespere, René	151
Eggebrecht, Hans Heinrich	68, 180, 185
Ehala, Olav	153
Eimert, Herbert	62
Einfelde, Maija	133, 134
Eisler, Hanns	51
Elgar, Edward	32
Eller, Heino	154
Engelmanis, Agris	134
Engström, Bengt Olof	33, 41
Eriksson, Orwar	33, 41
Erlach, Roberto	226, 228, 231
Erpf, Hermann	68, 93, 94
Everdell, William R.	93
Faganel, Tomaž	189, 208
Fay, Laurel E.	21, 22, 29
Feldman, Morton	174, 184
Ferneyhough, Brian	87
Ferraro, Mario	244, 278
Fibich, Zdeněk	276
Fibonacci	74, 85
Filipič, France	195
Finscher, Ludwig	102, 138
Fiorillo, Federigo	267, 268, 273, 276, 277
Firsova, Jelena	92
Fisher, Burton D.	25, 29, 30
Flaubert, Gustave	23
Florjanc, Ivan	215
Fonda, Luigi	229
Fort, Sergio	278
Forte, Allen	52, 58, 62, 93
Foucault, Michel	15, 16, 29
Fox, Christopher	102
Franck, César	195, 196
Franzosi, Mario	278
Frajonova (Frayonova), Olga	133, 136
Frazzi, Vito	201
Frye, Northrop	18, 29
Furtwängler, Wilhelm	36

- Gabrič, Aleš 188, 191, 203, 207, 290, 291, 304
 Gačša, Marjeta 304
 Gaidamavičiūtė, Rūta 50, 86, 92
 Gaidelis, Julius 86, 89
 Gamulin 238, 239, 257
 Garberding, Petra 35, 36, 41
 Garbo, Greta 183
 Garšnek, Igor 155
 Garūta, Lūcija 103
 Gastaldello, Felice 278
 Gautier, Judith 182, 185
 Gautier, Théophile 23
 Gavazzo, Giacinto 278
 Gentili, Isaia 278
 Gentilucci, Armando 135
 Gershkovich, Phillip 89
 Gershwin, George 128
 Gevaert, François-Auguste 70
 Giardini 279
 Gill, Mary 46
 Giorgini, Valter 278
 Girlanda, Luigi 240, 246, 258, 278
 Gligo, Nikša 283, 284–286, 294, 297, 304
 Globokar, Vinko 290, 298, 299, 301, 302, 304
 Gobec, Radovan 193, 203, 208, 217
 Godziatsky, Vitaly 49
 Goehr, Lydia 285, 304
 Goetschius, Percy 47
 Goeyvaerts, Karel 85, 87
 Göller, Stefan 81
 Golob, Vlado 190, 207
 Goos, Galliano 278
 Gorbulskis, Benjaminas 88, 89
 Gori 279
 Grabner, Hermann 68
 Grafenauer, Niko 218, 219, 221
 Grazioli, Emilio 191
 Grieg, Edvard 32, 33, 269
 Griffiths, Paul 281, 282
 Grīnblats, Romualds 106
 Grīnups, Arturs 105, 106
 Grisey, Gérard 71
 Groebming (Gröbming), Adolf 217, 220
 Grossmann, Karol 214
 Groys, Boris 86, 93
 Gruden, Ernesto 236, 237, 278
 Guareschi, Alfio 278
 Guattari, Felix 5, 9
 Gubajdulina (Gubaidulina), Sofia 87, 92, 145, 147
 Guichard, Léon 182, 185
 Guidi, Alberico 278
 Guined, Brandi L. 25, 29
 Guldbrandsen, Erling E. 287, 304
 Gur, Golan 93

Hába, Alois	71
Hailey, Christopher	92
Haimo, Ethan	93
Hakopjan (Hakobian, Hakopian), Levon	93
Hall, Stuart	15, 16, 29
Hallén, Andréas	32, 41
Händel, Georg Friedrich	149
Hannick, Christian	161
Hanslick, Eduard	50, 78
Hanson, Howard	48, 50, 52, 54, 56, 65, 71, 91, 93, 94
Harnoncourt, Nikolaus	149
Harris, Donald	92
Harvey, Robert	101, 138
Hasan (Hassan), Ihab	100, 107, 136
Hauer, Josef Mattias	68
Haydn, Joseph	50, 133, 265, 268
Hedwall, Lennart	33, 34, 37, 41
Heflin, Jay S.	92
Hegel, G. W. F.	287
Heine, Heinrich	183
Heinemann, Stephen	88
Henze, Hans W.	87
Heybalova, Valerija	188
Hindemith, Paul	47, 52, 59, 68–70, 81, 82, 93, 201, 204, 205
Hipkins, Danielle	24, 25, 29
Hitler, Adolf	38
Hobsbawm, Eric	32, 41
Hodziacky, Vitaly	glej Godziatsky, Vitaly
Hölderlin, Friedrich	181, 182, 184
Holliger, Hainz	294
Holopov, Jurij N.	94
Honegger, Arthur	105
Hopkins, Bill	286
Hrabovski (Hrabowsky), Leonid	48, 49
Hrenikov, Tihon	92
Hristić, Stevan	266, 270, 273
Hruščov, Nikita	86, 105
Hrytsa, Sofia	161
Hughes, Langston	112
Hullot-Kentor, Robert	48, 88
Hunt, Kadri	150, 161
Hyde, Martha M.	93
Illersberg, Antonio	211
Ilves, Heimar	149
Ipavec, Benjamin	267
Iser, Wolfgang	6, 10, 17, 19, 20, 29, 30
Iščenko (Ishchenko), Jurij (Yury)	49
Ivanovs, Jānis	105, 133, 134, 137
Ivaškin (Ivashkin), Aleksander (Alexander)	102, 138, 147

Jakubone, Ināra	103, 104, 135, 137, 138
Jameson, Fredric	84, 302, 304
Janáček, Leoš	189
Jančar, Drago	189, 207
Janeliauskas, Rimantas	135, 137
Janelli, Orlando	278
Janigro, Antonio	201
Janković (Jancovich), Pavle (Paolo)	225, 232, 233, 235, 237–239, 246, 251, 252, 257, 258, 278
Janković, Avgust	233
Janković, Vlasta	235, 239, 241, 258
Jaunslaviete, Baiba	158, 163
Jauss (Jau), Hans Robert	18, 21, 23, 24, 29, 30
Jelinek, Hanns	51, 68, 93
Jermaks, Romualds	134
Jež, Jakob	290, 291, 294, 301, 304
Ježić, Mislav	168, 185
Johnson, Julian	93, 287, 304
Jones, Michael	22, 29
Jonsson, Leif	39, 42
Jordania, Joseph	161
Joyce, James	286, 287
Jurčák, Aleksej	141, 143–145, 161, 163
Jurgutis, Vytautas	135
Jürisalu, Heino	149
Jurkiewicz, Carole L.	92
Juzeliūnas, Julius	887, 89, 90
Kafka, Franz	286, 287
Kalc, Jospina (Jožica)	233–236, 242, 249–251, 254–256, 259, 278
Kalējs, Aivars	134
Kalniņš, Imants	107, 134
Kalniņš, Jānis	103
Kalsons, Romualds	133, 134
Kančeli (Kancheli), Gija	151
Kangro, Raimo	135, 150, 155
Kant, Immanuel	80
Kardelj, Edvard	203, 236, 247
Karel VI., habsburški cesar	224
Karetnikov, Nikolaj (Nikolai)	87
Karkoff, Maurice	37
Karlsons, Juris	134
Karlsson, Henrik	33, 41
Karnes, Kevin C.	145–147, 161, 162
Keldysh, Georgi	133, 136
Kelley, Robert T.	47
Kerne, Lora	245, 257
Keym, Stefan	37, 41, 42
Kholopov, Yury N.	glej Holopov, Jurij N.
Khrennikov, Tikhon	glej Hrenikov, Tihon
Khrushchev, Nikita	glej Hruščov, Nikita
Kirilina (Kirillina), Larisa	99, 136
Kiš Šuvelečki, Marko	glej Radmio, Marko
Kiš, Krsto	167, 184

Kjellberg, Erik	42
Klein, Fritz	72–74, 92
Klemenčič, Ivan	189, 207, 291, 295, 305
Klotiš, Arnolds	103–105, 135, 137
Knaifel, Aleksandr	92
Knežević, Raul	167, 185
Knight, Richard	47
Knust, Martin	6, 10, 32, 39, 42
Kocjančič, Dragica	278
Kogoj, Marij	197, 204, 208
Kokole, Metoda	189, 208
Kolarac, Ilija M.	226, 247, 263
Kolenc, Bruno	278
Konn, Yury	62
Koporc, Srečko	216
Koršič, Mirko	236, 238, 257
Kosovel, Stanko	212
Košir, Marko	224, 234, 260
Koter, Darja	7, 11, 193, 208, 213, 215, 217, 220, 305
Kozak, Ferdo	203
Kozina, Marjan	191, 194, 195, 197, 204–207, 211, 216, 217, 220, 225–229, 236, 237, 246, 247, 249, 259, 260, 262, 266
Kralj Bervar, Sonja	218
Kralj, Breda	255
Krecich, Karlo	278
Kregar, Stane	191
Krek, Uroš	200–202
Křenek, Ernst	51, 62, 70, 87, 91, 94
Kristeva, Julia	101, 138
Križnar, Franc	216
Krleža, Miroslav	203
Kronlaks, Rolands	135
Krūklis, Alfrēds	112
Kudiņš, Jānis	6, 11, 103, 105, 135, 137
Kuhačević (Kuhacevic), Karlo	231, 232, 235, 237, 238, 258, 278
Kuhn, Franz	175
Kumar, Srečko	212, 213
Kuret, Primož	193, 207, 212, 215, 224, 255, 256, 260
Kuriševa (Kuryшева), Tatjana	108, 137
Kutavičius, Bronius	89
Labate	279
Lacoue-Labarthe, Philippe	147, 184
Laigna, Einar	155
Lajovic, Anton	213
Lakota, Franc	277
Larsson, Lars-Erik	36, 37
Laurušas, Vytautas	89
Lawrence, Mark	152, 162
Lebič, Lojze	8, 12, 191, 204, 207, 291, 295–297, 301–306
Lefort, Claude	15, 29
Lendvai, Ernő	56, 71
Lenedeva, Alena V.	93

Lenin, Vladimir Iljič	14, 16, 18, 28, 107
Leoncavallo, Ruggiero	27, 29
Lerdahl, Fred	88
Levi, Vito	226, 260
Lévi-Strauss, Claude	88
Ligeti, György	38, 78, 88
Liiv, Juhan	154
Lindberg, Oskar	35
Linde, Bo	37
Lindfors, Per	42
Ling, Jan	42
Linhart, Anton Tomaž	290
Lipeti, Eugenio	278
Lipovšek, Marijan	188, 194, 197, 199–201, 206
Lippus, Urve	104, 137, 152, 153, 162
Liszt, Franz	180
Ljatošinski (Lyatoshinsky), Boris	85, 92, 48
Lobanova, Marina	99, 137
Lochhead, Judy	102, 137
Lolli, Roberto	278
Longyear, Ray	99, 137
Loos, Helmut	37, 41, 42
Loparnik, Borut	201–203, 207, 303, 305
Lorca, Federico García	159
Lorigo, Antonio	278
Ludvik (Ludwig) II., bavarski kralj	165, 172, 182, 183
Lumumba, Patrice	112
Lundberg, Dan	34, 42
Lusardi, Argeo	237, 238, 278
Lutosławski, Witold	288, 293, 305
Lytard, Jean-François	6, 10, 101, 107, 138
Macchinizzi, Edgardo	278
Macdonell, Diane	16, 29
Macek, Petr	192, 207
Macherey, Pierre	17, 18, 28, 29
Mägi, Ester	135
Mahler, Gustav	19, 39
Malečkar, Nela	224, 260
Mallarmé, Stéphane	286, 287
Mantzourani, Eva	288, 305, 306
Marani, Emo	278
Marcellini, Carlo	278
Marcello, Benedetto	278
Marković, Tatjana	182, 184, 190, 207, 208
Martinov (Martynov), Vladimir	84
Marx, Josef	211, 212
Marx, Karl	17, 191
Mascagni, Pietro	24, 27, 29, 30
Maskats, Arturs	133, 134
Matetič-Ronjgov, Ivan	218
Matičič, Janez	195–197, 204, 206, 208
Mayer, Hans	165, 182, 184
Mazzola, Guerino	81

Mazzoleni, Camillo	278
McHard, James L.	93
Medić, Ivana	84, 102, 138
Meduševski (Medushevsky), Vjačeslav	98, 138
Menasci, Guido	24, 26, 27, 29
Mence, Selga	133, 134
Mendelssohn Bartholdy, Felix	229, 265, 266, 271-274
Merrel, Floyd	19, 21, 29
Messiaen, Olivier	71, 78, 85, 87
Meško, Franc Ksaver	214
Metzer, David Joel	93, 106, 138
Meyer, Leonard B.	88, 98, 138
Micheli, Francesco	278
Michl, Josip	211
Mihelčič, Pavel	218
Mihevec, Jurij	269
Miličević, Franjo	279
Minderović, Čeda	248
Mirk, Vasilij	212, 213, 220
Misson, Andrej	218
Mitrović, Mitra	248
Mlejnik, Manja	188
Moi, Toril	101, 138
Monelle, Raymond	19, 29
Montvila, Vytautas	87
Moody, Ivan	102, 138
Moralt, Rudolf	226
Morcia, Giuseppe	279
Morcia, Lina	241, 258
Morgan, Frederick E.	228
Morgan, Robert P.	106, 138
Mosch, Ulrich	88
Mozart, Wolfgang Amadeus	84, 269, 270, 273, 274
Mukařovský, Jan	18, 19, 21, 29
Müller, Stefan	81
Mürk, Harry	152, 162
Musesti	279
Musorgski (Mussorgsky), Modest	40, 194
Mussolini, Benito	38
Mustonen, Andres	149, 150
Nagode, Aleš	189, 207
Nagpal, Harbans	14, 29
Nankov, Nikita	23, 29
Narbutienė, Ona	87, 89
Nattiez, Jean-Jacques	20, 28, 30, 305
Nazajkinski (Nazaikinsky), Jevgenij	99, 138
Nećak, Dušan	224, 228, 236, 247, 251, 260, 264
Neri, Narciso	279
Nicoletti, Alberto	235, 237, 238, 240, 241, 246, 256, 257, 279
Nielsen, Carl	34
Nietzsche, Friedrich	33
Nono, Luigi	73, 86, 87
Normet, Leo	157

Novak, Ante	227
Noviello, Arcangelo	279
Nyman, Michael	305
Odak, Krsto	265
Ogen, Mart	295, 305
Ogolovec (Ogolovets), Aleksej	70
Ogrin, Matija	205, 207
Ojdip (Oedipus)	181, 184
Oldfield, Mike	155
O'Loughlin, Niall	293, 294, 305
Oras, Janika	152, 153, 162
Orlando	279
Osterc, Slavko	7, 11, 191, 192, 197, 200–202, 204, 206, 208–211, 213–216, 219, 230, 265, 269– 271, 274, 292
Österling, Fredrik	42
Osvaldella, Mario	279
Pacar, Karlo	279
Pacchiorri, Carlo	279
Pahor, Karol	7, 11, 198, 199, 205, 209–221
Palazzi, Primo	241, 257, 279
Paoletti, Bruno	226
Paolin	241, 257, 279
Pärt, Arvo	84–88, 92, 135, 145–147, 150, 155–157, 161, 162
Pasler, Jann	102, 138
Paulus, Anu	155, 162
Pavan, Bruno	279
Pecher, Augusto	279
P cheux, Michel	14, 15, 29
Pellegrin, Pierre	46
Pellegrini	279
Penderecki, Krzysztof	38, 39
Pergament, Moses	37, 42
Perle, George	51, 68–70, 72, 74, 87, 91, 93, 94
Persichetti, Vincent	62
Persico, Alberto	279
Peterson-Berger, Wilhelm	32–34, 36, 37, 41, 42
Pētersons, Kristaps	135
Petraškevičs, Jānis	135, 138
Petrić, Ivo	203–205, 291, 292, 294, 301–303, 305
Petronio, Tullio	279
Petrović, Milorad	250
Pettan, Svanibor	162
Pettersson, Allan	39, 41, 42
Pfitzner, Hans	37
Piatti, Alfredo	279
Piave, Francesco Maria	24, 25, 30
Pij IX. (Pius IX), papež	25
Pirjevec, Jože	224, 247, 253, 260
Pitagora (Pythagoras)	50, 52, 54
Plakidis, Pēteris	133, 134

Pokorn, Danilo	189, 208, 290, 291, 305
Pöldmäe, Alo	151
Pöldmäe, Mare	151, 155, 162
Pollock, Jackson	282
Pompe, Gregor	7, 11, 19, 20, 30, 135, 137, 190, 191, 207, 283–285, 291, 295–298, 305
Pople, Anthony	106, 138, 142, 161
Popović, Koča	248
Potocco, Marcello	6, 10, 14, 18
Potter, Keith	102, 138
Pousseur, Henri	71, 85, 285, 286, 299–301, 306
Povilioniene, Rima	105, 137
Pregelj, Ciril	214
Prek, Stanko	203
Prelovec, Zorko	212
Prenner, Ljuba	198
Prešeren, France	197, 198, 260
Prežihov Voranc	193
Prieberg, Fred K.	40, 42
Primic, Julija	198
Prokofjev (Prokofiev), Sergej (Sergei)	197, 202, 204
Puccini, Giacomo	275
Pustynnik, Ivan	70
Quist, Robert	38, 42
Rääts, Jaan	156
Radmio, Marko	7, 11, 165–186
Ramans, Ģederts	107
Rameau, Jean-Philippe	52, 54, 94
Ramovš, Primož	8, 12, 188, 200, 201, 203, 297, 298, 301– 303, 305, 306
Randalu, Kalle	159, 162
Rangström, Ture	35
Rannap, Rein	153–156
Rapoport, Paul	42
Ratner, Leonard G.	99, 138
Ratniece, Santa	135
Rautavaara, Einojuhani	39
Ravel, Maurice	196
Rehnqvist, Karin	40, 43
Remmel, Atko	150, 162
Renze	237, 240, 241, 246, 257
Repini, Mario	279
Repini, Roberto	279
Réti, Rudolph	67
Ribar, Ivan	248
Ribizel, Tjaša	255, 264
Ribnikar, Vladislav	239, 241, 248, 257
Ricoeur, Paul	19
Riemann, Hugo	68, 70, 211
Rihtaršič, Urška	7, 12
Rijavec, Andrej	193, 207, 211, 214, 220, 294, 303, 305
Rimbaud, Arthur	85, 182

Rimski-Korsakov (Rimsky-Korsakov), Nikolaj	103, 229
Riše, Indra	134
Roberts, Mark S.	101
Rochberg, George	87
Rogl, Draga	228
Ronsard, Pierre de	108, 112
Rosenberg, Hilding	36, 37, 41, 43
Rosengren, Henrik	37, 42
Ross, Jaan	152, 162
Rossini, Gioacchino	265–268, 270–277
Rotar Pance, Branka	211, 212, 217
Rudén, Jan-Olof	34, 43
Rudes, Edoardo	237, 254
Ruggiero, Maria Isabella	232
Rupel, Karlo	279
Rus, Jože	248
Ruwet, Nicolas	88
Sabinina, Marina	108
Sadie, Stanley	100, 102, 136, 138, 282, 286, 305
Salmi, Hannu	43
Samec, Smiljan	193
Samson, Jim	94, 100, 138
Sandström, Sven-David	39
Santamaria, Luigi	279
Saračević, Alida	167, 185
Sattler, Miran	263
Scanniello, Giuseppe	279
Schaeffer (Schäffer), Bogusław	48, 87
Schmelz, Peter J.	91, 92, 94, 141, 143, 145, 147–149, 153, 161–163
Schmidl, Carlo	230, 235, 259
Schmusch, Rainer	180, 185
Schnabel, Arthur	103
Schnebel, Dieter	75
Schnittke, Alfred	87, 92, 120, 138, 145, 147, 148, 151
Schönberg (Schoenberg), Arnold	37, 48, 49, 51, 67–70, 72, 74, 78, 84, 87–90, 92–94, 214
Schönherr, Max	226
Schopenhauer, Arthur	51
Schreker, Franz	103
Schubert, Franz	265
Schütz, Heinrich	149
Scriabin, Alexander	glej Skrjabin, Aleksander
Sedak, Eva	167, 168, 185
Seehaber, Ruth	288, 305
Senegačnik, Brane	204, 207
Serocki, Kazimierz	288, 289, 297, 300, 301, 303, 306
Sheleznik, Giuseppe	279
Shostakovich, Dmitri	glej Šostakovič, Dmitrij
Sibelius, Jean	32, 36, 154
Siitan, Toomas	149, 155, 162
Siliotti	241, 258

Silotti	279
Silvestrov, Valentin	48–50, 84–86, 88, 92, 145, 147
Simbriger, Heinrich	71
Simoniti, Rado	193, 207, 217
Sink, Kuldar	143, 153, 156–163
Sitsky, Larry	94
Skljarov, Helena	183
Skorik, Miroslav (Myroslav)	48
Skowron, Zbigniew	288, 305
Skrjabin, Aleksander	195, 196
Skulte, Ādolfs	133
Slavenski, Josip Štolcer	204
Smetana, Bedřich	32, 229, 266–270, 275–277
Smirnov, Dmitrij	92
Smock, Ann	165, 183
Smrekar, Borut	193, 208
Snoj, Jurij	162, 204, 208, 290, 305
Solero, Bruno	237, 242, 279
Solomonova, T.	67
Sommelli	279
Speri	279
Stalin, Josip Visarijonovič	21, 22, 91, 93, 107, 143, 247, 288, 290, 306
Stanevičiūte, Rūta	105, 137
Starr, Eric	47
Stefanija, Leon	21, 30, 162, 189, 190, 207, 208, 215, 290, 291, 305
Stein, Leonard	94
Stenhammar, Wilhelm	32–34, 43
Stibilj, Milan	8, 12, 291–293, 301, 302, 305, 306
Stockhausen, Karlheinz	71, 75, 86, 87, 183, 281, 285, 286, 289, 296, 299, 300, 303, 306
Strašek, Josip	240, 257
Straus, Joseph N.	84
Strauss, Richard	33, 36
Stravinski (Stravinsky), Igor	69, 81, 84, 85, 87, 133, 174, 184, 196, 198, 199, 204
Stručalina, E.	67
Suk, Josef	265
Sukljan, Nejc	7, 11, 135, 137
Sumera, Lepo	150, 151
Suslin, Viktor	92
Sutherland, Roger	191, 207, 286, 291, 305
Szymanowski, Karol	32
Šah, Maks	225, 260
Šarabon, Mitja	194
Ševčík, Otakar	211
Širok, Karel	212
Šivic, Pavel	191, 194, 197, 198, 206, 239, 257, 258
Škerjanc, Lucijan Marija	191, 192, 195–197, 199, 200, 202–206, 208, 211, 266
Škerl, Danijel Dane	200, 202
Škrlj, Bojana	214, 220
Škulj, Edo	188, 208, 210, 220

Šmīdbergs, Vilnis	133, 134
Šmite, Gundega	135
Šostakovič, Dmitrij	21–23, 28–30, 83, 92, 105, 148, 201, 204, 205, 245, 261–263, 270
Štuhec, Igor	204, 290, 291, 295, 301, 306
Šturm, Franc	216
Švara, Danilo	197–199, 206, 266
Tadday, Ulrich	30, 42
Tamberg, Eino	151, 156
Tannberg, Tõnu	143, 150, 162
Targioni-Tozzeti, Giovanni	24, 26, 27, 29
Taruskin, Richard	84, 94, 108, 199, 208
Taylor-Jones, Kate	24, 25, 29
Tegen, Martin	32, 37, 42, 43
Ternhag, Gunnar	34, 42, 43
Teterjan (Terteryan), Avet	151
Thau, Richard D.	92
Therborn, Göran	14, 17, 30
Tieghi, Giorgio	238, 240, 241, 257
Tijardović, Ivo	233, 237, 238, 240, 257, 258
Tillman, Joakim	43
Tinctoris, Johannes	47
Tirén, Karl	33
Tito	glej Broz, Josip – Tito
Tiullin, Yury	70
Toffolo, Luigi	226, 228, 230, 231, 235, 250
Tommasi, Angelo	279
Tompkins, David	288, 306
Tooma, Peeter	155, 162
Tormis, Veljo	152, 156, 157, 162
Toscanini, Arturo	36
Tosello, Gino	279
Trost, Pino	226, 228
Turk, Lidia	227, 229, 260
Tüür, Erkki-Sven	150, 153–156, 162, 163
Udovič, Jože	216
Vähi, Peeter	150, 156
Valcini, Antonio	279
Vanhulst, Henri	286
Vasks, Pēteris	133–135, 137
Vatovec, Marko	212, 215, 216, 218
Veccia, Luigi	238, 279
Veccia, Natalina	241, 258
Vecumnieks, Andris	133, 134
Veenre, Anu	7, 11, 158, 163
Venckus, Antanas	70
Venicio, Callegaro	279
Venier, Matej	224, 227, 255, 260
Verchi, Nino	226
Verdi, Giuseppe	24, 25, 30, 32, 226, 228–231, 233, 261, 262, 275

Verdi, Luigi	212
Verga, Giovanni	26, 27, 30
Verlaine, Paul	182
Vidmar, Josip	191, 192, 195, 203, 205, 208
Vieru, Anatol	52, 71
Villon, François	108
Viļums, Mārtiņš	135
Vinkler, Jonatan	193, 207
Virgili, Mario	279
Vitols, Jāzeps	103, 119, 135, 137
Vivaldi, Antonio	267
Viviani, Rosa	241, 258
Viviani-Ferraro, Laura	279
Volkonski, Andrej (Andrei)	84, 86
Volkov, Salomon	22, 30
Vram, Arturo	211
Vukdragović (Vuk-Dragović), Mihailo	254
Wagner, Cosima	182, 185
Wagner, Peter	15, 30
Wagner, Richard	33, 37, 42, 174, 182, 184, 185, 194
Wall, Geoffrey	17, 29
Wallner, Bo	33, 37, 41, 43
Waltritsch, Marko	211, 220
Watkins, Glenn	94
Weber, Carl Maria	265
Webern, Anton	52, 67, 70, 73, 75, 85, 87, 90, 93, 204
Wehnert, Martin	102, 138
Weinberger, Eliot	175, 184
West, Kaljo	149
White, John D.	41
Whittall, Arnold	94, 106, 138
Wilkins, John	175, 184
Wilson, Charles	148
Wilson, Sven	37, 41
Wirén, Dag	36, 37, 43
Xenakis, Iannis	85
Young, Robert	17, 28
Yurchak, Alexei	glej Jurčak, Aleksej
Zacherl, Franc	214, 220
Zacherl, Minka	214, 220
Zacutti, Saveria	226
Zariņš, Marģeris	7, 11, 107, 108, 111, 112, 115, 119, 120, 123, 125, 127, 128, 132-134, 139
Zemzare, Ingrīda	134, 138
Zemzaris, Imants	134
Zhdanov, Andrei Alexandrovich	glej Ždanov, Andrej Aleksandrovič
Ziherl, Boris	203
Zimmermann, Bernd Alois	73
Zimmermann, Walter	174, 184
Zupančič, Maruša	211, 220

Ždanov, Andrej Aleksandrovič	21, 30, 203
Žebre, Demetrij	196
Žgur, Fran	211, 212, 220
Žilinskis, Arvīds	103
Župančič, Oton	211

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