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Goran Kapetanović (1969 –2014)

As preparations for the present issue of *New Sound* were under way, we were struck by the devastating news of the loss of our esteemed translator, composer Goran Kapetanović. As the creator of the composition *The Little Mermaid* which was awarded the Second Prize at the International Review of Composers in 1994, the same year in which his *Alcune le stesse cose* was selected for the finale of the International “Gaudeamus” Competition in the Netherlands, and when he received the Youth October Award for creativity; also as the author of the composition *Speed* which was awarded the First Students’ Prize in 1996, Kapetanović will be remembered in the history of contemporary Serbian music as an extraordinarily powerful, imaginative and authentic creator.

After his personal decision to relinquish his position at the Faculty of Music in 2002, Kapetanović devoted himself entirely to translation. A superb expert in both the Serbian and the English language, a highly creative artist of impressive musical and general erudition, he approached with equal intensity, and was equally successful in translating both literary texts and scholarly texts on music. Thus, for the “Laguna” publishing house alone, he translated more than twenty novels in only five years, including Barbara Kingsolver’s famous *The Poisonwood Bible*. The latter, recognized by experts as an anthological piece of translation, testifies to the complexity of his understanding of translation as a process of the *creative transfer* of all – even the most subtle – dimensions of a certain text into another linguistic system with its different logic.

Such was Kapetanović’s creative poetics of translation, as we might call it, and he applied it when working on the most diverse genres of musical texts: from very intricate musicological studies to strictly analytical ones, and from aesthetic-philosophical interpretations to critical reviews. He covered this broad range of textual genres with supreme mastery and a unique sensitivity to different authorial styles, as he worked on contributions to all the rubrics of *New Sound*.

During the 1990s and the first years of this century, he translated for *New Sound* only occasionally, but after 2006, this journal became his primary institution and he was its chief translator.

And not only in view of that role: it was also his readiness to promptly and efficaciously intervene should any obstacle arise while an issue of the journal was being prepared and, above all, his professional solidarity and friendship, which made Goran Kapetanović one of the pillars of *New Sound*. He ceased to be with us in the fall of 2014.

M. V. H

EDITOR'S NOTE

In 2014, both issues of the *New Sound* International Journal of Music (Nos. 43 and 44) are dedicated to problems of music / musical creativity / musical life / musical culture... under the socio-historical, ideological-political, artistic and philosophical-aesthetical conditions in European countries and Serbia during / regarding / 'around' the First World War. In that context, we devote special attention to Stevan Stojanović Mokranjac (1856–1914), Serbian composer and author of a genuinely based stylistic and methodological-theoretical system and artistic 'sound-map' in approaching folk music.

Although both issues contain contributions marking both centenaries, No. 43 is nevertheless mostly focused on Mokranjac's work and No. 44 on Serbian and European music of / 'around' the Great War. Also, the thematic section related to European music in No. 44 is guest-edited by Dario Martinelli, musicologist and professor at Kaunas University of Technology, Lithuania, who has collaborated over the past few years with the Department of Musicology under the auspices of the Tempus Programme.

The thematic areas of Nos. 43 and 44 were preceded, as a sort of theoretical prequel, by the core issue of the *New Sound* No. 42, "Music – Politics – Language". Interpretation of this topic from different angles – musicological and philosophical-aesthetical – was designed to establish a broader context for analysing the aforementioned range of issues, related directly or indirectly to the artistic and political 'vibrations' of a historically complex, creatively rather restless, innovative, artistically densely 'punctuated', and richly layered period in the development of art music during the first few decades of the 20th century. Therefore today, a century later, the year 1914, which in many ways symbolizes that period, is a strong incentive for scholarly 'recollections', reassessments, and new research, the kind of which will also be recognized on the pages of this year's issues of the *New Sound*.

M. V. H.

COMPOSER SPEAKS

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A LOOK AT THE MIRROR/SCREEN¹ **Pop-up Interview with Srđan Hofman**



Srđan Hofman

The thematic register which truly announced and paved the way for the two issues of our journal published in this year, a year of great anniversaries – and which was formed in the last number of 2013 along the lines music-politics-language, proved to be the right choice at a time that was not only “out of joint” but apparently “out of its wits”. At such a time, marked by an incessant quest for stable, rational and perspicacious answers concerning our profession and the “world around us”, we turn to those in (our) music world whose works, commitment and merits provide the “fulcrum”, the point at which, at least temporarily, we find a “refuge”; we find meaning

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¹ This paper presents part of the research project Identities of Serbian Music within the World Cultural Context (No. 177019) financed by the Ministry of Education, Science and Technological Development of the Republic of Serbia

and “mechanisms of survival”. Thus, the fact that Srđan Hofman (1944) turned seventy this year ought to be regarded as a symbolic coincidence, an opportunity to pay tribute, to the best of our current abilities, to all his achievements, primarily in his creative work, but also in his praiseworthy contributions in the spheres of our educational and cultural policies (albeit these can be conceived of as another form of his art). There does not seem to be a more suitable collocutor on the subject of the relationships between music and politics, for this is a man whose experiences in both domains of social life (insofar as they could be distinguished) are not only unique, but they set up a kind of unattainable standard.

Precisely owing to such an orientation in this interview, I avoid identifying Hofman as a composer. Certainly, the very title of this rubric defines him as one, and we believe (or are about to find out?) that he styles himself as a composer.² It

² Hofman’s creative output belongs to diverse genres; it is marked – as for instance along the line from *Hexagons* to *Mirrors* – by an incessant search for a perfect, autochthonous “sonic object”, never at the expense of clearly defined and resolutely obeyed formal principles. This search has logically led towards mastering the electroacoustic medium; thus, in our milieu, Hofman stands out for the consistency of his activities in that field. Works (selection): orchestral: *Movimento energico* (1968, graduation work); *Symphony in two movements* (1969); *Concerto dinamico* (1971), *Concerto Episodes for Violin and Orchestra* (1972); chamber: *Succession of the Legal Code – Four Letters* for Clarinet and Two String Sextets (1974); *Hexagon – A Farce* for Violin, Cello and Piano (1976); *Movable Mirrors* for Two Pianos – Four Players (1979); *It’s Coming! – Sound Objects* for Eleven Strings (1981); *Refrains* for Wind Quintet (1983); *Replica* for Violin and Piano (1990); *Hadedas – A Statement and Three Developments* for Cello and Piano (2004); *Musical Toys* for Amplified Cello and Double Bass (2008); soloistic: *Hexagons – Monodrama* for Cello (1975); *Hexagons–Pastoral* for Violin (1975); *Time-machine* for Piano (1990); *Recitative and Toccata* for Organ (2004); vocal-instrumental: *Cantus de morte* for Mezzo-soprano, Narrator, Mixed Choir and Orchestra (1978); *Hexagons – Ritual: Musical Scenes* for Six Groups of Girls, Orff Instruments and Conductor (1978); *Games* for Mixed Choir, Narrator ad Piano (1984); *Makamba – Ritual* for Women’s Choir and Chamber Ensemble (1997), *Mirror* for Trio (mezzo-soprano, cello, piano) and Chamber Ensemble (2012); choral: *Imprints of Sound* for Mixed Choir (1982); *What Have I Said?* for Mixed Choir (2007); electroacoustic: *Déjà vu* for Saxophone (Clarinet) and Tape (1985); *Who Am I?* for Mezzo-soprano, Eight Actresses, Women’s Choir, Chamber Ensemble and Tape (1986); *Puzzle I* for electronics (1988); *Puzzle II* for electronics (1989); *Samples* for Flute, Clarinet, Sampler AKAI 1000 HD and Apple Macintosh Computer (1991); *Musica concertante* for Piano, 13 String and Electronics (1993); *Signs* for Flute, Cello, and Live Electronics (1994); *Duel* for Piano and Live Electronics (1996); *Nocturne of Belgrade Spring 1999* for Chamber Ensemble, Live Electronics and Audio Tape (1999); *Looking at the Mirrors of Anish Kapoor* for *Two Amplified Harps and Sound Processors* (2010).

I will mention only the basic biographical data: Srđan Hofman (1944) graduated in 1968 and received his masters’ degree in composition in 1972, class of Professor Stanojlo Rajičić. After teaching at the Josip Slavenski School of Music (1968-1974) he continued his career in pedagogy at the Composition Department of the Music Academy, later the Faculty of

is, then, up to me to induce him into disclosing his other identities. The multitude of these identities has been constantly invoked in his music by the question of “Who am I”, in the sphere “outside the mirror/screen”,³ the sphere of different forms of social relations in the fields of pedagogy, (culture) politics, (educational) politics, and finally (cultural) diplomacy, all of which constitutes something like a “meta-identity”: the composer as an intellectual.⁴

Music in Belgrade (going through all the ranks: assistant 1974, assistant professor 1978, associate professor 1986, full professor 1994). He was the vice dean (1983–1989) and then the dean of the Faculty in two terms (1989–1998), as well as the vice rector of the University of Arts in Belgrade (2007–2009), President of the Composers’ Association of Serbia (1978–1979), Chairman of the Board of Sokoj – collecting society (2006–2014). He founded the Faculty of Music’s Recording Studio (1985) and was its head until this year. He is one of the founders and the first selector of the International Review of Composers (1992). He was the ambassador of FR Yugoslavia (later Serbia and Montenegro) in the South African Republic (2002–2006). His works have been performed at concerts and festivals at home and abroad. He received the Mokranjac Award for the work *Looking at the Mirror of Anish Kapoor* for Two Amplified Harps and Sound Processors (2010). He is the author of theoretical works *Fundamentals of Electronic Music* (Nota, Knjaževac, 1995).

³ In Hofman’s music, the search for “identity”, marked by “looks” into the mirror/screen and by the question Who am I? can be conceived of as a symptom of the quest for a perfect “sonic object”, for example in the works: *Movable Mirrors* for Two Pianos – Four Players (1979), *Who Am I?* for Mezzo-soprano, Eight Actresses, Women’s Choir, Chamber Orchestra and Tape (1986); *Duel* for Piano and Live Electronics (1996); *Looking at the Mirror of Anish Kapoor* for Two Amplified Harps and Sound Processors (2010); *Mirror* for Trio (mezzo-soprano, cello, piano) and Chamber Ensemble (2012). See Mikić, Vesna, “The Duel as the Answer”, *International Magazine for Music New Sound*, 8, 1996, 39–42; Mikić, Vesna, „Hofman’s Electroacoustic Music / Constructing a Story of Serbian Electroacoustics and Beyond”, *Music and Society in Eastern Europe*, vol. 7, 2012, 11–21, Idyllwild, CA; Mikić, Vesna, “From (Listening to) *Moving Mirrors* to (Listening Through/In) *Mirrors in Motion – Srđan Hofman: Looking at the Mirrors of Anish Kapoor* for two Amplified Harps and *Logic Pro* Software”, *International Magazine for Music New Sound*, 37, 1/2011, 63–74; Veselinović-Hofman, Mirjana, *Fragments o muzičkoj postmoderni* [Fragments on Musical Postmodernism], Matica srpska, Novi Sad, 1997.

⁴ By ascribing the identity of an intellectual to my interlocutor, I do not intend to portray him as the nowadays familiar and ubiquitous figure of an intellectual “general practitioner”: on the contrary, my aim is to point to the specific position of an intellectual in today’s world and in our (musical) culture, to underline the specific difference that intellectuals must make with respect to society today. If an intellectual is a person whose “specific activity proposes ‘the course that a society ought to take’”, and whose “political and intellectual engagement earns him the reputation and recognition he already enjoys in his field” then all this – and having in mind also everything that has been said in the introduction to this text – speaks in favor of the “metaindentification” of Srđan Hofman as a „composer-intellectual“. Qtd. sfter Jane Fulcher, *The Composer as Intellectual, Music and Ideology in France*, Oxford–New York, Oxford University Press, 2005, 4–5.

This specific “shape-shifting” nature of Srđan Hofman is definitely a product of his outstanding vitality, perceptiveness, intellect and his lasting fascination with people and their relations, their world and life. I have, therefore, conceived this interview as a “pop-up” questionnaire, because Hofman’s different “modes of appearance” will inevitably “overlap”, “intersect” and “spring up” during this conversation, and because I have countless questions. Clearly, such a starting point for conversation also relies on that quest-like quality that characterizes the creative work of Srđan Hofman, so well. But, seeing that whenever we use language – be it music, politics or language itself that we speak about – we chiefly speak of ourselves, I have taken the liberty (and I promise to withdraw to the role of a listener afterwards) to shape this interview in accordance with both my own musicological observations on Srđan Hofman’s music, and on my professional, quarter of a century long acquaintance with him.

Do you think we can begin this conversation with a “rough” question: who are you? A composer, professor, politically committed “cultural activist”, ambassador? More precisely, is any of your professional identities “stronger”, or is there a “source identity” from which all the others emanate? Of course, when you reflect on all that you have worked on and accomplished, is it possible to set up a hierarchy of a kind, and make a decision in that sense, regardless of your education, life circumstances, politics? Or do you think that if you give a definitive answer to this question, the “quest” will no longer be amusing?

My “source” professional identity certainly stems from composing; I am primarily a composer. I do not think one can become a professor of composition and survive without any shame as a pedagogue in that field, unless one is continually and permanently engaged in creative work, unless one is a practitioner, who performs these tasks as a matter of course. Composition classes, and for that matter also orchestration, are not only lectures.

All my other professional, or if you wish “social” commitments, all I have done in my life is determined by my being a composer, and owing to that, a university professor. I wished, and somewhat naively believed I could influence the content of professional, even political decisions that produced direct consequences on the social position of music creators, the promotion of their works, the level of the protection of their rights, the quality of art studies, the material and social status of higher education in Serbia, particularly the status and activities of the University of Arts and the Faculty of Music. Even my appointment as an ambassador was not the result of my being a “general practitioner” in politics, but precisely because I came from the world of art and culture. This happened at a unique, decisive moment when it was realized that the radically new

foreign policy of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia could not be represented by people who, until October 2000, had been active and agile promoters of the previous policies.

Naturally, the various occupations I have been engaged in throughout my working life along with my primary profession, directed me towards mastering the basic knowledge, skills and facts from many other fields. In order to be successful as a member of collective decision-making and executive bodies, various committees, working groups, etc., I had to know more and to think more quickly than the others did, and to propose acceptable and sustainable solutions to the problems we were all confronted with.

First contacts with music? When and why did you decide to study composition?

The first thing that springs to my mind is a *Grundig* record player and a large collection of LP records that my father diligently enlarged, and which I very often listened to with my parents. I also remember being regularly taken to concerts from my earliest childhood, the Belgrade Philharmonic Orchestra included. I was fascinated by the sound of the orchestra, the multitude of lines harmoniously complementing each other in these compositions: I felt it then, but could not explain how anyone could conceive and accomplish it.

When I was eight, I began to play the violin. I finished the “Stanislav Binički” Primary Music School, played for a few years in the Radio Belgrade *Youth Philharmonic*, and it was quite natural that I should continue with my music studies. I enrolled in the “Josip Slavenski” secondary music school where (fortunately) at that time there were no separate instrumental and theoretical departments, so that instrumentalists also received piano lessons and a very serious theoretical education. On the other hand, the scope and the standards the school imposed in general education was really very modest, so my parents promptly enrolled me into a “normal” high school, division of mathematics and science, for fear that my education would remain defective. Thus, for three years I attended both schools, only to decide in my fourth year to study music as a profession, but not the violin. My decision was strengthened by the support and encouragement I received for my first attempts in composition from my teachers of Harmony, Counterpoint, and Forms: the composers Radomir Petrović, and – quite young at that time – Berislav Popović and Petar Ozgijan. Berislav Popović played a particularly important role in my reaching greater maturity, who encouraged me to transcribe my improvisations correctly and to provide them with an adequate form. He gave me informal, but proper composition lessons, and finally introduced me to Professor Rajičić with whom I studied for my bachelors’ and master’s degrees.

The first awareness of politics and political life as the regulator of social relations?

Political events, recent world political history, memoirs, sociological studies and the like: for me this was interesting reading matter while I was still a high school student. Besides, at the time I was growing up, political events, domestic and worldwide, were the main content of news and the press; the system of socialist self-government included, at least nominally, a large number of people in social engagement; political and propaganda events on a massive scale were relatively frequent. I was, therefore, more than aware of the decisive influence of politics on the establishing of a value system, and on the social relations in the country. This order of things appeared to be stable, lasting, and from my vantage point – unquestionable. This may be the very reason why I did not pay much attention to it, nor was I included in the activities of youth or student organizations at that time. Until the age of thirty, I was, according to the jargon of that time, “socially inactive”.

You belong to the line of modernist composers dedicated to the exploration of sound, of the possibilities of working with sound. In that sense, did you follow the example from other composers? Whose music had special significance for you? Finally, while you matured as a composer, was there any circle of friends or like-minded colleagues with whom you could share your fascinations? How important were your experiences from the Zagreb Biennale or Opatija Review of Composers?

Already as a student, I discovered that what particularly interested me in music was exciting sonority, the processes of continual, but subtle changes within it, the created beauty (or ugliness) of what I later came to call the *sonorous object*. Specific features of a musical sound result primarily from the joint effect of its harmonic content, construction and disposition of chords and its spectral characteristics, articulation of the timbre and intensity of impulses produced by the instrument (voice), or some kind of mixture of instruments (voices). During the 1960s and well into the 1970s, “new music” that was familiar to me was dominated by vertical seconds and by a quest for previously unexploited means of producing sound with voice or musical (or even “non-musical”) instruments. It is understandable, then, that I listened to musical works and analyzed the ways in which the texture and sonority were realized, particularly in compositions by Lutoslawski (for instance *Trois poèmes d’Henri Michaux*), Ligeti (*Requiem*, *Lontano*), Penderecki, Ozgijan, Lebič, Ramovš, Maksimović, Sakač, but also the creators of new orchestral solutions who did not belong to the same poetics: Shchedrin, Zimmerman, Obradović, Bergamo... Besides, I was fasci-

nated by the refinement and creativity of the “old” composers in building sonic situations: Berlioz, Rimsky-Korsakov, Debussy, Respighi, Stravinsky, Bartók; in a different, specific way in Honegger, Schoenberg, Berg, even Vivaldi, who certainly never thought about that aspect of his music.

Although the *Music Biennale* and the *Opatija Review* were precious sources of information (I would also add the *Warsaw Autumn*, concerts of the Radio Belgrade Choir and Orchestra dedicated to new music, the broadcasts and concerts of Radio Belgrade III Program), our knowledge of new music, looking from our present perspective, was somewhat narrow, filtered through the program policies of art directors (editors, selectors, program committees...) of domestic festivals, concert seasons, radio programs. Procuring recordings, scores, periodicals, analytic studies and professional literature from abroad was complicated and expensive, and we lacked even a superficial insight into the entire scope of contemporary music production: insight that would help us select potentially useful material in a more comprehensive and systematic way. What I mean to say is that we did not have the Internet, we exchanged information, records, scores that any of us would sporadically “come across” when travelling abroad. When I say “we”, I mean primarily the generation with whom I studied and intensively socialized with: Milan Mihajlović, Andrija Galun, Ivana Stefanović, Aleksandar Kolarević, Jelena Milenković, and somewhat later, Zoran Erić. Our interests were similar, but even then, we did not hold identical opinions. I would underline the fact that I hail from the Belgrade school of composition – at that time still under a heavy influence of neoclassical procedures – and this fact certainly influenced my development. Just remember the compositions of Belgrade students and graduates some ten years older than my generation; just the fact that in Zagreb, even in the late 1960s, students of Professor Stjepan Šulek finished their studies with baroque fugues and passacaglias, or Brahms-like symphonies at best; or that composition studies in Prague consisted chiefly of writing detailed reconstructions of the style, formal patterns and procedures of Haydn, Mozart, Beethoven... and see how far you can get! At the same time, in many European centers, composition was taught as if no music had ever existed before Webern. I was fortunate that my work with Professor Stanojlo Rajičić, and with Petar Bergamo, who began his career as an assistant when I was a fourth-year student, as well as the overall content of the studies at the Academy, provided a broad basis for my future independent studies and enabled me to “specialize” in various ways.

It also seems possible to regard your creative work so far from the perspective of intermedial relationships – and I don't mean relationships between musical

media (your experience with the electronic medium will merit a separate question), I mean the fact that in your works one sometimes discovers (perhaps partly hidden) (voco)visual “triggers”? I am referring to pieces like It’s Coming!; Looking at the Mirrors of Anish Kapoor; The Mirror, and why not also The Duel, Musical Toys, Samples, Hadedas? Musical/sonic objects seem to be the same as voco-visual ones, are they not?

I would also add verbo-impulses. My musical ideas are often triggered by the meaning, the experience, but sometimes merely by the sound of a certain text, verse, word, or a combination of phonemes. Thus, already the composition I wrote for my master’s degree, *Concerto Dinamico* for symphony orchestra, was “secretly” spurred by my experience of the novel *The Dervish and Death* by Meša Selimović; the composition *Succession of the Legal Code* for clarinet and two string sextets was actually based on four poems from *I Have No More Time*, by Desanka Maksimović. In the first movement, the clarinet even “sings” Desanka’s verses: “*I, the Emperor of the Serbs, Greeks and Albanians, give this Code of Laws, and let there be no other codes beside mine*”. For the composition *Makamba* for women’s choir and instrumental ensemble, I first wrote the “verses” in a non-existent, irrational language, choosing phonemic combinations that sounded interesting, but also shaping the stanzas, their relations and rhythms in a way that to me appeared as though evoking an unknown, mysterious, magic ritual. The form and content of the fifth movement of *Cantus de morte* establish an analogy with the meaning and structure of the poem *And Silence Ensued* by Desanka Maksimović, through two visually conceived “funnels” turned sideways, stacked one on top of the other and aiming at opposite directions. The one is characterized by great rhythmic density (and high dynamic level) which gradually thins out, slows down, the note values becoming ever longer and dynamic lower (metaphorically, it spreads out and moves further away). The other is first filled with the wide ambit of a twelve-tone simultaneous sonority, and after eliminating tone by tone, narrows down to a single tone.

I examined analogies between an imagined or actually experienced visual sensation and the content of musical structure most consistently in *Movable Mirrors* and *Looking at the Mirrors of Anish Kapoor*. This examination was carried out at the level of compositional procedure, which abounds in symmetrical chords, inversions, retrograde motions, stretto imitations, irregular augmentations, diminutions, echo effects, etc. In the works *It’s Coming!*, *Who Am I?* and *Puzzles*, for example, I rather relied on the similarities I was discovering between the data that we receive simultaneously with our senses of sight and hearing, enabling our comprehension of and our orientation within the sound-filled space we dwell in; making it possible for us to experience that space even

when the data is disjoined, when we are deprived of visual information and left with the auditory sensation alone. In that sense, the intimate experience provoked by the actual sights and sounds of night, both real and metaphorical, above our city, was the immediate trigger and the source of all musical material for the composition *The Nocturne of the Belgrade Spring 1999*.

Thus, I listen to music, and at the same time I imagine it visually, as the movements of some undefined, constantly changing, transparent, sound-producing objects, or as moving sounds drawing closer to each other, departing into the infinite, then returning, reverberating, assuming hazy visual forms. Being a composer, I know how to gradually clarify these initially hazy musical ideas through a long process of composing, how to test their potentials, to render them precise, to fashion them into a music flow meticulously and in detail. The voco-visual aspect of the idea remains a kind of trigger, concealed or only hinted at by the title, although I am aware that it could be materialized, for instance, in the form of an animated computer graphic, 3D animation, video art and the like. For such multimedia “excursions” that would require mastering the techniques of various arts, I simply did not find enough time in my life. This is why (with the exception of *Ritual – A musical Scene for Six Groups of Girls, Orff Instruments and Conductor*, and *Imprints of Sound* for mixed choir, which belong to multimedia art) some of my pieces only approach what Vladan Radovanović termed *factitious polymedia art*.

This frame of thinking was inspired by your engagement in the Group for Multimedia Arts, within Interdisciplinary Graduate Studies at the University of Arts, which happened at the very end of your career as a Professor?

The work with graduate students of art at the Department of Multimedia Arts – young artists whose primary education belongs to various areas of art – was for me a great challenge, a refreshment, as well as an opportunity to systematize my knowledge and ideas about multimedia arts and to find ways in which different aspects of music can be explained to listeners who, as a rule, do not possess significant prior knowledge of this art. As part of the main subject (Realization of a Multimedia Work), I am nonetheless concerned primarily with the sonic layer of multimedia projects, sharing the responsibility for their overall content with Professor Čedomir Vasić. I believe that our cooperation functions perfectly.

And, since it really sounds harsh when you say of a professor that he is no longer active, the question that logically follows is: does a professor ever cease to be actively involved with his work? What does professorship mean to you?

He does: from the legally defined moment, depending on the date of birth, a professor can no longer be active in teaching, nor a member of examination boards. I have not reached that stage completely: “freshly” retired, this year I still teach master and doctoral students of composition, as well as students at the University of Arts.

My pedagogical career began almost forty-five years ago when I was still in my last year of studies, first at the “Josip Slavenski” Secondary School of Music, and afterwards at the Academy of Music. Generally speaking, teaching arts (and for that matter sciences, as well) includes two essential components: first, the content of the subject is changing all the time, for the “life” of art constantly assumes new forms, media, new poetics, techniques, modes of representation..., and second, each year there is a new generation of students: new, young, ambitious people are coming, each of them with their own specific interests, inclinations, predispositions, abilities, prior knowledge, character traits... Therefore, my work with each new student was always a new challenge, which has compelled me to continually keep abreast of and analyze developments in musical (artistic) production. This – at least I hope so – prevented me from falling into a routine of endlessly repeating the same, a routine which would be boring to me in the first place. Yet, unlike a specialized summer course, a seminar or a workshop, academic studies of composition are necessarily broad in scope, and they must rely on fundamental, long-lasting postulates of shaping sound that are deeply ingrained in any musical work. What I mean to say is that a good school ought to possess a certain amount of conservatism, pointing at the same time towards various ways of surpassing it, to encourage the searching, inquiring spirit of students and develop their creative individualities. I do not really believe that a freshly enrolled student of composition is already aware of what he or she wants to create, what compositional procedures to apply and what types of music will become (or cease to be) close to their hearts. Accordingly, an important task of studies is to enable students for independent thinking by introducing them to various compositional ideas, philosophies and techniques, and to provide them with a professional basis for mastering anything that may become the object of their closer interest during their careers.

Composing is a long process of mentally organizing and testing various variants of material, finding their potentials for development, examining alternative ways of shaping the music flow, and finally, of writing it down minutely, yet functionally. This means that each young composer, already during his studies, must find his own individual method of work, his own sequence of actions whereby his, sometimes vague, ideas will be transformed into a complete musical work. The professor’s help and counsel are needed in that process, as well.

I believe that in pedagogy, it is very important to establish relationships of mutual confidence between the teacher and the student, relationships in which both sides contribute their maximum of knowledge, time and invention so that the student is enabled to realize the full potential of his talent. For me it is very important that the student write each of his compositions to the best of his abilities, in accordance with his current technical and general musical knowledge, his natural creative intelligence, inventiveness and imagination. I wish to create a situation in which the student competes with himself, not with his colleagues from the same, or from other classes, or with the classics.

Your early professional years also meant political and (cultural)-political engagement, first in the Composers' Association, then at the Academy of Music. You served two terms as Dean of the Faculty of Music (1989-1998). This was a time that demanded a specific form of political engagement – not only within your own institution and in the domain of educational policies, which goes without saying – but also one which apparently involved much greater risks. From the present distance, would you share with us your views on that time, both in general and regarding your own position? I must add that we felt quite confident, having you in those positions.

For six years I was a vice-dean, and subsequently for nine years the dean of the Faculty. When Darinka Matić Marović was the dean, and Nikola Rackov and I, vice-deans, the Faculty building was refurbished, central heating introduced, many new instruments, spare parts and accessories procured, and a recording studio established; the Faculty began with its regular concert activities and systematic research; international cooperation developed... Although the gradual entropy of the social system, as well as economic problems became ever more clearly manifest, while the government seemed to endure in a kind of mild hibernation, higher education still enjoyed a considerable degree of autonomy, tolerable financial means and social prestige, so the whole of society, complete with the Faculty, functioned fairly well. However, after the failed historical opportunity for a painless transition into a multi-party democracy and market economy – for which Yugoslavia in the late 1980s was in every respect better prepared than the countries of the “Eastern bloc” – the blood-and-soil ideology prevailed. Thus, after the orchestrated nationalist rallies in Serbia, and the elections in Croatia won by the Croatian Democratic Union permeated with elements of Ustasha ideology, after intimidation and shameless war-mongering propaganda through the media, we suddenly found ourselves in the midst of the creation (some called it a “revival”) of tiny national states. The claims for such nation-building were based now on some self-proclaimed historical rights,

and then on the demographics of a given region, but the borders were drawn by weapons, and in the course of that process, the ethnic composition of disputed territories was being forcibly altered. As we all know, this was accompanied by war crimes, murders and looting. In Serbia, there were sanctions to boot, with the accompanying economic, cultural and every other form of isolation, galloping inflation, dreadfully empty shops, banks with no money, hospitals without medicines, salaries (of university professors, for instance) which at a certain moment fell to the equivalent of four to five German marks a month, shortages of fuel, heating... The early 1990s saw not only the total breakdown of the Serbian economy, but also the destruction of the existing system of values, socially acceptable moral norms and the functioning of the legal system. In such circumstances, my main preoccupation was to sustain and advance the professional level of teaching at the Faculty, to create an atmosphere in which both teachers and students could devote themselves to the development of their profession. I was convinced that we could not allow the best high school students who were to become our students, or the students already enrolled in our Faculty, to end up professionally as a “lost generation”. The human ability for intensive learning and the swift acquisition of new knowledge is tied to a certain age; particularly in music, one can hardly ever make up for lost time. This is why I persevered – rather successfully at that – in keeping the Faculty outside of politics, and politics outside of the Faculty, defending, to the extent possible, the autonomy and authority of the Faculty and University. Together with my vice-deans Zoran Erić, Fern Rašković, later Zorica Dimitrijević-Stošić, I managed, especially after the signing of the Dayton Accords and loosening of the sanctions, to secure the most essential means for work, for artistic and scholarly activities; we even managed to maintain modest international cooperation. We were given occasional support by certain individuals from the establishment, and after 1995 by the Soros Foundation.

I departed from this policy only once, during the big students’ demonstrations against the rigged local elections in Belgrade, in the winter of 1996–97. I expressed my public support for the students, took part in their rallies and protests (the Faculty of Music students’ “headquarters” was based in the Dean’s office), and suspended teaching at the Faculty. I was of the opinion that a fair and square organization of elections was in the interest of every individual, regardless of their political views, and that the academic community had the right and duty to uphold basic democratic principles.

I resigned my function, together with my vice-deans, in protest against the new Law on Higher Education, passed in 1998. According to the Law, the Minister was authorized to appoint deans and rectors, while deans were given excessive power, especially in the process of appointing teaching staff. Our

Faculty and some faculties of the University of Belgrade put up strong resistance against this socialist-radical assault on the autonomy of higher education, and although the resistance was crushed with the aid of individuals and groups within each of the faculties, it left certain consequences. After all, the governing bodies (or the overall policies) of faculties and universities in Serbia do not change in accordance with the results political parties achieved in elections. Just how important it is to uphold the attained level of the autonomy of higher education is best understood if we look at the disastrous state of cultural institutions, artistic ensembles, schools, not to mention state-run enterprises, precisely because each political party that was in power interfered with the appointment of managements in these institutions.

Concurrent with this, your efforts in the field of cultural politics, primarily within the Composers' Association, did not subside. Precisely at that time which was "out of joint", you initiated and established (together with Milan Mihajlović, then president of the Composers' Association, and Ivana Stefanović) the International Review of Composers, bringing into this project your experience in organizing an earlier festival Music in Serbia. In short: the Review now and then – how would you compare the two, conceptually, financially, geographically, politically...?

My program concept of the Review arose from the need to present to the public each year new works by Serbian composers, after the Yugoslav Review in Opatija had become a local event, closed to Serbian composers. I believed that the Review's task was to offer the broadest possible view of domestic musical production, on condition that the presented works fulfilled the elementary professional criteria. In that sense, the Review was in one of its segments a true cross section of our current production, rather than a selection that would in any way reflect my personal judgments, affinities, inclinations or interests. I wanted to present this fair-like content in the context of the current, rich and varied production in the world, and to this end, the selection of foreign composers was of particular importance. In those circumstances of isolation from the world, of a strong ideology of "back-to-the-roots" and "traditional values" in culture, the Review, even if of limited influence, was a subversive event which proved that composers and musicians in Serbia were alive and active, and were not resigned to the existing state of affairs.

The founding of the Serbian Music Information Center, the former "home" of our journal, also goes to your credit. How do you comment on its being closed?

The Music Information Center partly took over, and then successfully developed the functions that until the break-up of Yugoslavia had been performed by the information office of the Alliance of Yugoslav Composers' Associations. Under new legal provisions, the field of action of a collecting society was largely limited to collecting and distributing royalties, and this made the relationships between the collecting society (SOKOJ) and MIC complicated; yet, with mutual good will and common interest, this could have been negotiated. Unfortunately, it turned out that the creators of popular music, holding a two-thirds majority in all SOKOJ governing bodies, did not recognize that common interest. All my efforts to make government institutions in charge of cultural affairs interested in the survival of the Center (and of course the Legacies of Josip Slavenski and Vlastimir Peričić) came to nothing. As a result, Serbia, unlike the majority of culturally advanced countries, has neither a reliable insight into its own musical life, an integrated musical archive or the promotional material devoted to music. This says enough about the preservation of the cherished national identity that the "world power-mongers" and domestic "Eurofanatics" aim to destroy, and about genuine care for the promotion of national cultural values.

In the past decade you were also the vice-rector of the University of Arts. In that position, which at that moment involved a re-engagement of your educational-political identity in the implementation of the Bologna system, you achieved remarkable results, and left a trace similar to the one you left at the Faculty, briefly described as a stable/orderly system. What is your opinion about the possibilities and modalities of the application of the Bologna "recipe" in our environment, given our tradition, infrastructure and financial means? It seems that in this manner we could talk about any aspect of our social reality?

I don't think that rules and procedures can completely regulate and foresee every aspect of a certain activity, including university education. On the other hand, the lack of fixed rules or their selective use, open a wide space for overstepping one's authority, abuse of function and inconsistencies in decision-making. In order to determine just to what extent a system ought to be regulated, one must possess a detailed knowledge and understanding of the functioning of a faculty or a university, especially regarding the specific features of art studies.

Speaking about the implementation of the then new Law on Higher Education, fashioned in accordance with the principles of the Bologna Declaration, my engagement in the Rectorate of the University of Arts was primarily concerned with the newly formed doctoral studies in the field of art: creating the concept, defining criteria, contents and procedures. I encountered diverse starting positions among my colleagues, the questions of whether, in the first place,

there was such content and subject matter in art that could be taught beyond the undergraduate level; whether doctoral studies should be only for exceptional, already established artists, or they were a natural and immediate continuation of studies for excellent students; why should an artist need doctoral studies and theoretical reflection on his own work, the context in which he creates etc. Although doctoral studies in art still elicit certain doubts in our academic community, and they do have their shortcomings, I believe that the foundation for their successful “life” and further development has been laid. In a broader sense, the ideas of a unified European area of education, student and faculty mobility, the right of students to choose their own plan of studies (hence professional qualifications), the obligation of responsible and continuous fulfillment of duties by both students and teaching staff – these ideas are close to my mind. Such ideas, however, are not sufficiently supported by legal provisions, which are mostly concerned with excessively detailed (and in the field of arts often illogical and economically unsustainable) norms of working conditions; and there are extra complicated administrative procedures of accreditation, planning, reporting, quality assessment, recognition of exams taken at other faculties and foreign diplomas, etc. Compound this with resistance on the part of a good portion of the academic community to any change in the routine modes of work, and add the organizational difficulties, chronic financial problems of students, and the total lack of material support from the government for the reform of higher education, and the result is that in our society, the ideas of the Bologna Declaration to this day remain only a dead letter.

The end of the last question actually foreshadows the next one in its intentional widening of the focus towards the society. Namely, at the beginning of this century, owing to your political engagement in the Social Democratic Party, and your professional achievements, you were appointed ambassador (of FR Yugoslavia at that time, later Serbia and Montenegro) to the South African Republic (2002-2006). You boldly accepted the post and found yourself in the world of diplomacy. How different is that world from the world of music/arts? Or perhaps in your case there is no difference? And how did it feel to come back home?

Besides South Africa, I “covered” eight other countries in the region. This happened at the time when our foreign policy was all too ready to neglect our ties with African countries, the manifold ties that previous generations had spent a great deal of effort and means to develop, albeit in different political and economic circumstances. I saw it as my task to understand, analyze, assess and inform the Ministry about the key aspects, dilemmas, goals and perspec-

tives of foreign and domestic politics in each of these countries. At the same time, I sought to offer detailed and objective information to the governments, non-government organizations, opposition, business associations, trade unions, academia, our diaspora and the public at large in the region, and especially in South Africa as the regional leader, about the situation, politics, problems and aims of our country. I thought that in the long run, a wider awareness of the state of affairs could lead to a better understanding between countries and peoples, and further to the recognition of common interests, to more intense and comprehensive bilateral and multilateral cooperation. Besides, I was very much preoccupied with day-to-day practical and administrative jobs in the embassy; I was thus far removed from, as you say, “the world of music/art”. For the first time in my life, I had to keep regular office hours, in addition to other duties pertaining to the ambassadorial function; I was part of a strict, inviolable hierarchical chain, characteristic of the functioning of the Ministry.

Yet, my true profession occasionally helped me with establishing close, politically so important contacts with government officials and other citizens of South Africa, as well as within the diplomatic corps. I learned how important general culture was in diplomacy, the handling of all sorts of information one incidentally picks up from the first day of school, and I understood the importance of choosing the appropriate, convincing manner of addressing each possible interlocutor.

Upon your return, you became Chairman of the Board of SOKOJ; soon afterwards, you “plunged” into a huge debate about author’s rights. The system needed reshaping?

The order of events was actually the reverse, and in order to understand the complex causes for this “debate”, it is necessary to take a step backwards.

I would like to remind you that the founders of the SOKOJ, organization for the collective protection of author’s rights, were composers’ associations from the former Yugoslav republics and provinces, which governed SOKOJ through their representatives. These associations were concerned, among other things, with cultural policies, the advancement of the social status of composers, the presentation of new works, organization of concerts, and they had elaborate criteria and procedures for the admittance of new members. This means that a large number of composers of popular music and authors of lyrics, some of whom were extremely prosperous in the music industry, were for decades excluded from the decision-making in SOKOJ, and therefore deeply discontented.

On the other hand, after the break-up of Yugoslavia, the whole system of the collective protection of authors’ rights crumbled virtually overnight. Its revival

in Serbia was hindered by the interruption of the foreign payment system, inflation, the general shortage of money, rule-breaking on a massive scale, the thriving of contraband and pirate editions, and especially by the “witticism” of large broadcasting companies, supported by the government, whereby it was deemed a patriotic act not to remunerate world authors (but domestic ones were also affected). The people had the right to watch and listen to whatever they were served, free of charge at that. These large broadcasters would allegedly compensate “their” chosen authors through an organization of their own making.

Although politically and formally speaking the situation changed after the year 2000, even in this domain the state has not succeeded in achieving full compliance with the law and the financial discipline of the users of musical works, nor has it managed to secure the efficiency of the judicial system to which SOKOJ applied countless times. “I won’t pay, and nobody can do anything about it” is the attitude emblematic of the practices of Aleksandar Tijanić, the former director of the Public Service of Serbia, and such an attitude survives practically to this day. I will also remind you of Minister Mladen Dinkić’s strong populist propaganda, soon codified into legal provisions, whereby the state, in token of support to small entrepreneurs, exempts them from paying royalties to the composers whose works they use! Does this mean that the state can likewise relieve young married couples from paying their dues to the private owner whose flat they rent, or to grant a novice entrepreneur a start-up credit so that he can take a picture from an exhibition to beautify his premises and attract customers?

All this has led to a long-lasting and drastic fall in the collection of royalties, hence to significantly diminishing the funds for distribution among composers. These funds were symbolic during the 1990s, and since the year 2000, they have not increased sufficiently (nor quickly enough). The discontent of composers, particularly those who were not members of the Composers’ Association, with the results SOKOJ achieved, was unfortunately directed less towards the problems of exacting payment from users, and more, that is, primarily, to the expenditures of SOKOJ itself, and to the schemes of distribution of royalties. The culprits for the current state of affairs were sought in the entire community of academic composers (although in the mid-2000s their share in the overall distribution amounted to some 9%); accusations were then narrowed down to the SOKOJ Board, and especially to the long-standing director Ivan Tasić, who was accused of the most incredible criminal offences without a shred of evidence. In such a heated atmosphere, immediately prior to my return from Pretoria in 2006, the new SOKOJ statute was introduced, according to which membership in the Assembly (its most important governing body) was determined by the royalties of each individual composer, with some measures

to protect the “minorities”, i.e. composers of art music; the same principle was applied to other bodies of SOKOJ. Thus, the usual way of securing authority to govern companies, corporations, banks, enterprises, etc., was “transplanted” into our organization for the protection of music rights: the practice applied in many other countries.

At that specific moment, I was a new “character on the stage”. As it happened, I had not taken part in those previous arguments, and this was to my advantage. Through my influence as Chairman of the Board, the situation calmed down gradually; I managed to neutralize the “extremists” and steer the bodies of the organization towards constructive joint efforts, towards respecting democratic procedures, and I contributed to activities that were more vigorous and to the better business results of SOKOJ (renamed now as Sokoj). Besides, we have managed to preserve, at least for the time being and after a great deal of discussion, the general principles of the distribution of royalties, which begin by assigning different “initial” values to musical works with respect to their being categorized as either art or popular music, and also with respect to their complexity and their intended use. These principles have been preserved despite the fact that our society, led by the electronic and printed media, devotes increasingly less attention, recognition and support to artistic creation, and in the field of music it does not make distinctions in category and value between works belonging to high art, and those belonging to the music industry.

After a long while, I lately attended the defense of the doctoral artistic project of your student Svetlana Savić, and was surprised that the disputes over electronic music still linger. To what extent are these debates political, and to what extent are they musical? Could you possibly answer this question from the position of a professor, and from the position of the founder of the Faculty of the Music’s Electronic Studio (1985), author of the Fundamentals of Electronic Music (1995) and, of course, a composer of electroacoustic music?

I believe that in the context of your question, the medium, electronic or otherwise, is of secondary importance. The question is about the specific subjective evaluation of ideas, musical styles, aesthetics and compositional procedures in music of the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. This evaluation relies on the affinity for certain ideas and procedures, and a hostility towards others. Electronic music began as a direct manifestation of the tendency towards the radically novel, the expression of such a tendency, and it is by nature oriented towards exploration and research; yet today, it can easily simulate or “suck into” its tissue, any recognizable musical or extramusical piece of information. It may, however, serve as a mere signifier which stands for everything that many of my

colleagues considered to be musical blind alleys, misguided attempts with no sense or value, within whose frameworks it was, and still is, simply impossible to compose an artistically valuable work. When such personal attitudes are transferred from the choice of a musical “language” for one’s own creative work to the imposition of a value system into which all young composers must fit in order to earn recognition, and especially if such personal attitudes are expressed as a tendency to radically revise the history of new music, then we are in the domain of politics.

So we are back to the current academic/political antagonisms, but also back to where we started. The difference between recording/composing music and recording/composing sound from the position of a dedicated explorer of (new) sound?

I am puzzled by this question. If you mean the differences between composing and recording non-electronic music, and recording/composing sounds for electronic music, then such differences do exist. The composing of any instrumental, vocal or vocal-instrumental piece starts from the existing, familiar sonic facts that we have imposed on ourselves by the very choice of the performing ensemble. The composer combines these facts, reorders and mixes them, creating sound colors and values needed for the work. The ultimate result of the compositional process is the score, the form written down, that is, of what instrumentalists/singers are supposed to execute, synchronously and precisely, so that the composition, through the act of performing, may exist in its auditory mode. The audio recording of such a composition aims to register, as faithfully as possible, everything that an acoustically suitable space would allow us to hear, indeed everything that is actually heard in a rendering of the piece in an appropriate (concert) space. Any intervention by the recording engineer to alter the authenticity, the “natural quality” of the sonic image as such, is, in my opinion, unwelcome, unless it is executed with the aim of producing a specific, electroacoustic variant of the work: the procedure I tried out while recording and mixing my composition *Movable Mirrors*.

The composing of an electronic (and electroacoustic) composition also expands to the domain of creating sounds for the work, and it does not end with the written score (provided it exists in the first place), but with the recording, or the recording of the electronic part of a mixed media work. Sounds for an electronic piece can be electronically generated, but they can also be “natural” sounds from our acoustic environment. Unlike the recording of music, the recording of sounds for an electronic work very often starts from a desire to find a specific, unusual mode of recording, which enables us to discover in sound

certain details otherwise inaccessible to our sense of hearing, or the recording takes place in a characteristic, not easily accessible or even bizarre space. Such a material, already “roughly” processed so as to become music, can subsequently be further elaborated with electronic equipment.

Finally, does the “actual” political engagement of an artist abolish, in your opinion, the need for artistic political engagement, or are we all political beings, whatever our engagements might be. What are your views on the relationships between music and politics?

After everything I have tried in life, I believe that an artist ought not to be involved in “actual” politics, for it will soon become his profession, often a very unpleasant profession. The rules of political games are firmly established and fully worked out, and it is impossible to build into them any kind of “artistic” (or scientific) approach. The exceptions are reserved for extreme situations, and everyone, including an artist, is entitled to rebellion, to protest, to civil disobedience. On the other hand, I firmly believe that the engagement of artists in the domain of cultural politics, promotion of art, preservation of cultural heritage and artistic education is much needed.

I have read a great deal about artists who advocated political engagement through works of art, music included; I am familiar with their ideas and aims, many of these ideas I respect. However, I value the achievements of such creators according to the artistic level they attain, not the advanced political ideas they champion. Personally, I have never felt the need to create “engaged art” (music), probably because it implies a certain adjustment of content and form to the habits, the educational and cultural level of as wide a circle of recipients as possible; besides, such a work must have a sufficiently clear, unequivocal “message”. With both of these aspects of music created with the intention to influence the circumstances of a society, I have little affinity. Anyhow, I believe that politics influences music inevitably and intensely through its manifold impact on all its institutions, but music has no influence whatever on politics. It can only be used (and abused) to political ends.

CORE ISSUE – MUSIC AROUND FIRST WORLD WAR AND STEVAN ST. MOKRANJAC

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GUEST-EDITOR'S NOTE

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INTRODUCTION

*It was the best of times, it was the worst of times,
It was the age of wisdom, it was the age of foolishness,
It was the epoch of belief, it was the epoch of incredulity,
It was the season of Light, it was the season of Darkness,
It was the spring of hope, it was the winter of despair,
We had everything before us, we had nothing before us,
We were all going direct to Heaven, we were all going direct the other way – in
short, the period was so far like the present period, that some of its noisiest
authorities insisted on its being received, for good or for evil, in the superlative
degree of comparison only.*

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It is, of course, Dickens. And they are, of course, the opening lines of *A Tale of Two Cities*, a novel about the French Revolution. It would therefore be difficult to blame the readers of this introduction, if they began wondering if they are, after all, holding in their hands a special issue of a musicological journal on the topic of World War I.

However, I could not think of a better way to describe the period this thematic issue of *New Sound* is set to deal with. The early 20th century: an age of social, cultural, individual transitions and contradictions, and an age when these contradictions were big in size, loud in sound, fast in time. An age when people witnessed daily revolutions of nearly any sort: cars in the streets; one or two airplanes in the sky; psychoanalysis, department stores, great exhibitions; entire social (anthropological, in fact!) categories, like women or workers, claiming, shouting their right to play a role in society; artists of any field questioning nearly any existing preconception of what arts should look or sound like; capitalistic actions and socialist ideas reaching the dramatic, yet poignant, peak of their confrontation... and, along with all of this, phonographs, *café chantants*, noise-intoners, hexatonic scales, microtonal works. *It was the age of wisdom, it was the age of foolishness. It was the epoch of belief, it was the epoch of incredulity.*

Then came the war, the *Great War*. The war that invented globality: the loudest and biggest of them all, but not the fastest. It was *supposed* to be the fastest, it ended up in a tragedy the world had not yet witnessed, and would hardly witness afterwards. And the contradictions went on: those who opposed the war, those who welcomed it; the artists who portrayed its tragedy, the artists who celebrated its *grandeur*; the social classes that profited from it, and the social classes that were sent to the Front.

This special issue of *New Sound* attempts to explore a number of different relations between musical phenomena and the Great War. When I say “different relations”, I actually mean that what the readers will find here is not just an analysis of the music of World War I, but also *about, during, before, after, towards, despite, stemming from, leading to, reflecting on, representing* and so forth.

My decision as guest-editor was to place the contributions in alphabetical order, by author. More than a Solomonic action (which would anyway be justified by the very high level of the scholars involved, so that the unwritten rule of placing the most important contributions in the first and in the last position cannot really be applied), my intention was to deprive the sequence of any possible “narrative” setting (be it chronological, thematic, or anything). In doing so, hopefully, one may convey the message of the remarkable “polifunctionality” of these articles.

Let us take the most evident example: Paolo Ribaldini's article deals with the topic of the *representation* of WWI in the heavy metal genre, that is, a style of music that emerged a good fifty years after the end of the conflict. In a logical narrative order this article should *conclude* the issue, as a kind of "years later..." coda in a movie. However, Ribaldini says more than this: he argues that the very ideological paradigm of the classic heavy metal is in fact *rooted* in (the crisis of) some of the social/moral/cultural values which emerged during WWI. An argument like that transcends the chronological axis and brings to the centre of the discussion the question of the historical foundations of the 20th century as a whole. Which is, at the end of the day, what several scholars agree about World War I: keeping up with the rhetorical anachronisms I introduced by mentioning Dickens, if Jack the Ripper, in one of his letters to Scotland Yard, could boldly claim that he would be remembered for having *invented* the 20th century (and had a bit of a point there), there is no doubt that, in many ways, the Great War *defined* it.

Another example is Joan Grimalt's contribution, which stands as a *prequel* as much as Ribaldini's article stands as a *coda*. Grimalt deals with military musical topics in concert music that, *before* WWI, set the almost opposite musical tones to the idea itself of "war", "fight", "heroism", and the like. As Grimalt himself puts it, "until World War 1 (...), the martial genre, even sublimated to its spiritual essence, denotes positive forces, linked to 'our side' [...] In most of the music after the bloody conflict, however, the march represents the dark side of humanity's aggressiveness".

To understand the relation between music and WWI means also to understand the society of those days, in their direct or less direct impact on music, as an artistic phenomenon and as an industry (the latter term being exactly one of the many things for which this early 20th century historical period ended up setting the tones). We mentioned transitions and contradictions: Monteiro and Povilionienė's contributions help us to become acquainted with a few of them, chosen among the most important ones. Monteiro describes the "radical and important change in the history of both music and the phonographic industry, gradually putting popular rather than classical music under the spotlight and shifting the axis of entertainment music production across the Atlantic into the New World". Povilionienė, through the case-study of the Lithuanian musical press, offers us a significant glimpse into what musical life was like, during the war, with its daily struggles and also with its forms of adaptation to such an exceptional event (an increase in nationalistic repertoires, to begin with).

Finally, and of course, this thematic issue also offers a *direct* approach to the question, as we see it best-embodied in Jeffrey Wood's article, which consists in

a thorough analysis of the processes and dynamics of the “memorialization” of WWI by classical composers. Needless to say, an enterprise of this kind implies taking into account the different tones and descriptions of the event – which Wood identifies in four different “modes”: from the “heroic” to the “elegiac”, from “denunciation” to “reconciliation”. *It was the best of times, it was the worst of times.*

I would like to express my gratitude to the five contributors to this issue, Joan Grimalt, Ricardo de Castro Monteiro, Rima Povilonienė, Paolo Ribaldini and Jeffrey Wood: I am extremely pleased with the final result of this collection of essays, and I believe each of them made a very precious contribution to this research area. I also would like to thank the whole editorial team of *New Sound*, for having been gracious hosts and for the friendly and productive atmosphere of this collaboration in general. Finally, I am also grateful to the Lithuanian Research Council for having supported my work on this enterprise, within the framework of the “Music and Politics” research project I am currently conducting (No. MIP-14172).

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SOME MILITARY MUSICAL TOPICS BEFORE 1914

Abstract: The article deals with military musical topics in concert music. Historically, the first World War marks a shift in the value of those topics. In Romantic music, martial topics are mostly euphoric: the virtual marching characters are the “good guys”. In most of the music after the bloody conflict, however, the march represents the dark side of humanity’s aggressiveness. This shift can be heard in Shostakovich’s and Prokofiev’s works, and has a clear precedent in the music of Gustav Mahler, who intuitively foresaw the forthcoming disasters. The article also describes two military topics that have received too little attention, despite their frequent use: the ‘Dysphoric March’ and the ‘Toy Army’. (The latter was described, but not labelled, by Raymond Monelle [2000]).

Key words: military musical topics, music before 1914, Raymond Monelle

Military and Classical music?

The military has an enormous presence in Classical music. Considering the pacifist stance of most musicians and musicologists of our time, it requires quite an effort for us to understand this historical phenomenon. To evaluate the expressive meaning of marches in Mozart’s or Mahler’s music, the fundamental role of the army in society at that time needs to be taken into account. On the other hand, enlightened, emancipatory thinking pushed those composers and their output into an ambiguous position regarding the army – or any institutionalized power. Here, two musical manifestations of a challenge to the military are shown: the ‘Toy Army’ and the ‘Dysphoric March’.

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Ex. No. 1: Mozart, *Jupiter* Symphony/I: begin.

The image shows a musical score for the beginning of the first movement of Mozart's Jupiter Symphony. The tempo is marked 'Allegro vivace'. The score is written for the first violin and first bassoon parts. The first violin part starts with a forte (f) dynamic and a tutti marking, followed by a piano (p) dynamic and a string (Str.) marking. The first bassoon part starts with a forte (f) dynamic and a tutti marking, followed by a piano (p) dynamic and a string (Str.) marking. The music features a mix of rhythmic patterns, including dotted rhythms and triplets.

In concert music, the ‘Lyric’ and the ‘Epic’ are semantic fields, rather than genres. The Epic is a field of rich profusion, with great expressive versatility, ranging from euphoria to despair. Yet, epic markers tend to appear in conjunction with other meanings, including fields traditionally considered incompatible with the army. The main subject of Mozart’s *Jupiter* symphony, e.g., combines the military with the ‘sensitive’ style, with no transition (Ex. No. 1)

Note the imitation of the drums by the violins: first incongruence. Both semantic fields, ‘Lyric’ and ‘Epic’, are put into question through their contiguity. This is a strategy that conveys ‘Irony’, arguably the predominant attitude in the Classical style. It colours the martial topics found in most of the music by Haydn, Mozart and Beethoven.

The markers of musical ‘Epic’ are

- Marches,
- Calls and fanfares,
- Trumpets and drums, and their imitation;
- Dotted rhythms;
- Accents (*sforzati*), intensity (*forte*, *fortissimo*).

Marches, dotted rhythms

The march as a functional genre can still be heard occasionally today, but we can only imagine the importance it had for the acoustical environment of the people in the 18th and 19th centuries. One example of a patent use of the genre is found in no. 8 of Mozart’s opera seria *Idomeneo* K 366 (1781). It bears the explicit title of *Marcia*, and it is meant to honour Neptune, who just saved the Trojan sailors. The stage directions say, “Warlike march during disembarkment” (*Marcia guerriera durante lo sbarco*). (Ex. No. 2a, 2b)

The aforementioned markers are there: a binary metre, calls, dotted rhythms, the sonority of brass and percussion, and a propensity to broken chords and to the overtone series which mark the natural cornet. But even in such a patent ex-

Ex. No. 2a: Mozart, *Idomeneo*, no. 8: *Marcia*, begin.

No. 8 Marcia

Flauto I, II
Oboe I, II
Fagotto I, II
Corno I, II
in Re/D
Tromba I, II
in Re/D
Timpani
in Re-La/D-A
Violino I
Violino II
Viola I, II
Violoncello
e Basso

Ex. No. 2b: Mozart, *Idomeneo*, no. 8: mm. 23-26.

23

p crescendo
p crescendo
p crescendo
p crescendo
p crescendo
p crescendo
p crescendo
p crescendo
p crescendo
p crescendo

ample, irony finds its way. In the contrasting sections, *piano*, one hears motives from the opera *buffa*, and even some laughter¹

The march is often integrated into foreign contexts in a topical, latent way. Josef Haydn's Sonata Hob. xvi/21 (1773), e.g., starts like this.

Ex. No. 3: Haydn, Sonata Hob. xvi/21/I, begin.

Allegro con brio.

The 'March' works as a topic, as an allusion to its functional origin, integrated into an autonomous genre. This monothematic movement offers contrast through Lyricism, with occasional triplet rhythms in step motion, and through dysphoric details such as the minor mode, flats, and some dissonance.

Something similar happens in Franz Schubert's song *Der Schäfer und der Reiter* D517 ('The shepherd and the horseman'), 1817. The two main characters suggest the musical opposition between the pastoral and the military world, just as in the song cycle *Die schöne Müllerin*. The hunter is a predator, a symbol of human aggressiveness, focused on survival. The historical correlate is 'Gallop'.² However, the 'Gallop' topic appears here in its dysphoric variant.

Beethoven's *Waldstein* Sonata op. 53 (1804) also displays a martial start (Ex. No. 4).

Here, the march and the military world are far away from the expressive meaning of the piece. It seems to use the semantic field of Epic, and specifically what Charles Rosen calls "energetic pulsion", as a correlate of some psychological mood within the 'musical Persona', not on the battlefield.³ In contrast, the secondary theme uses the topic of the 'Choral'. That doesn't indicate 'Church' or 'Luther', but the gravity and the spiritual attitude proper to that semantic field.

¹ The 'Laughter' as a musical topic is described in Grimalt 2014.

² Raymond Monelle masterfully recreates its history and calls it the 'Noble Horse':

³ Rosen 1972 and 2002. See also Grabócz 2009: pp. 167–190.

Both fields have in common that they represent the collective force of law to the individual. Moreover, the modern state – as the institutionalization of the army’s force – and the Religious share an ultimately transcendent goal.

Ex. No. 4: Beethoven, Sonata op. 53/I, beginning.



Following in Beethoven’s footsteps, the Romantic generation uses the energy of the march to allude to a positive, euphoric mood, but in a spiritual rather than a materialistic sense. The patriotic, aggressive connotation of the martial is thus eliminated from the common practice of the ‘March’ topic. The “March of David’s Confederates against the Philistines,” which closes Schumann’s *Carnaval* op. 9 (1834/35), for instance, is no march, in spite of its title: it is in three-quarter time. But it does retain its character, combining the genres of the ‘Triumphal Hymn’ and the ‘Minuet’ (Ex. No. 5).

Ex. No. 5: Schumann, *Carnaval* op. 9: final march, beginning.



It is not surprising to find this “subversive” bias in a genre originally linked to authoritarianism and submission, considering that century’s love for freedom. There are some cases, however, where the ‘March’ is clearly a march. The question is: what does this ‘March’ as a topic mean, in a Romantic context? Surely something besides soldiers and war.

To prepare the dénouement of his *Fantasie* op. 17, Schumann dares to employ this trope between ‘Hymn’ and ‘Epic’, maybe with a patriotic background (Ex. No. 6).

Ex. No. 6: Schumann, *Fantasie* op. 17/II: beginning.

Mässig. Durchaus energisch. M. M. $\text{♩} = 66$.

The musical score shows the beginning of the second movement of Schumann's *Fantasie* op. 17. It is in 2/4 time, marked 'Mässig. Durchaus energisch. M. M. ♩ = 66'. The key signature has three flats (B-flat, E-flat, A-flat). The music starts with a mezzo-forte (mf) dynamic. The bass line begins with a 'P.W.' marking. The score consists of two staves: a treble clef staff and a bass clef staff. The treble staff contains chords and some melodic fragments, while the bass staff contains a more active line with some chromatic movement.

The work’s primary subject, however, seems to be ‘Love’, as it can be inferred from the quotation of Beethoven’s song cycle *An die ferne Geliebte*. This second movement continues with some *cantabile* clauses, a falling, partially chromatic bass, and some sixth ascendent leaps that are often qualified as “yearning”. These lyrical elements further question the previous military accents, reducing them to their energetic essence, full of a positive, bodily vibration.

Marching into the 20th century

In all previous examples of latent marches, the character is euphoric. Until First World War 1 (1914–1918), the martial genre, even sublimated to its spiritual essence, denotes positive forces, linked to “our side”. The collective “Us” that marches courageously, until the turn of the 20th century, does so by inviting the hearer to identify with it. In Dmitri Shostakovich’s work, instead, it is quite clear that those marching are “the bad guys”. The government of the Soviet Union held him under suspicion for many years, no matter how hard he tried to convince them that his music and his efforts were on the side of the 1917 revolution. The Soviet authorities refused to believe the composer’s interpretation, which associated those marches with the enemies of his country, e.g. the Nazis. His use of military topics conveys overt sarcasm, or caricature, often projecting a grotesque image of warfare. Issues like this made him lose the favour of the Politburo and the Soviet government for nearly two years.⁴

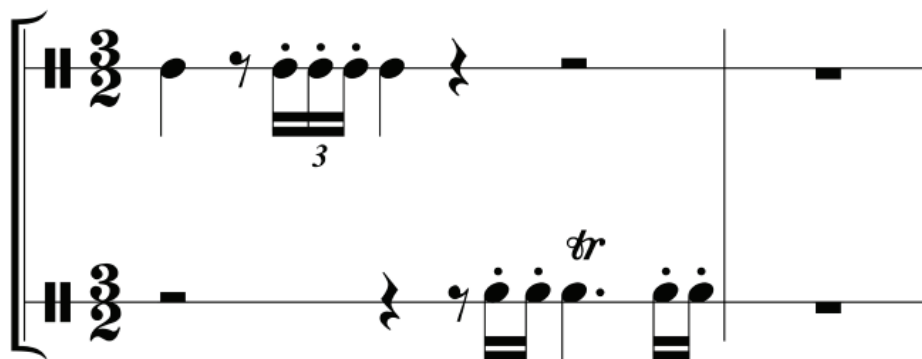
⁴ Meyer 1995/1997, Gojowy 1983, Volkov 1979, and especially Sheinberg 2000, who establishes a hermodelic study on a “Theory of Musical [ironic] Incongruities”.

An example of an aggressive march, closer to the terror of the 18th-century *Ombra* than to the Romantic world, is the 2nd movement of Shostakovich's Tenth Symphony op. 93 (1953). The work is widely heard as a musical portrait of Stalin, who died that very year after holding a long, personal standoff with the composer: an unfair one, humiliating and exhausting for the one who had but the music to defend himself.

Shostakovich could have learned this feature from one of his favourite composers, Gustav Mahler (1860–1911). Most of the marches which appear in the latter's work are dysphoric or threatening as well. As if Mahler sensed the bloody brutality that was about to fall over Europe, his marches have lost, once and for all, the innocence of the Schumannesque ones. They still seem to believe in the possibility of a modern, national fight; a fight that culminates in a brotherly triumph over an enemy who is not only stranger, but above all evil, morally inferior.

One example of a terrifying march that could have been a model for Shostakovich's is found in the 1st movement of Mahler's Third Symphony (1893–96). The rhythm is martial and dysphoric, but it does not match any of the usual marching rhythms (Ex. No. 7).

Ex. No. 7: Mahler, Symphony no. 3/I: Rhythm of the first march.



Within the 1st movement, this peculiar march has the role of an anti-theme. There is no other main subject; the search for thematic material constitutes the Exposition of the sonata form. Even if Beethoven does the same thing in op. 31 no. 2/I, this procedure is so rare that some experts even consider this Exposition an Introduction. In a classicist gesture, however, Mahler repeats the Exposition and saves his main subject for the second part of the Reprise, where a new march has its epiphany. It is the a-theme, heralded in the initial motto, and used throughout the Development. Only through the whole piece, *per aspera ad*

astra, the musical subject of Mahler's Third eventually reveals itself in a quiet triumph, in the last *Adagio*. Thus is its subtitle fulfilled: "Pan's awakening. Summer marches in".

In recent decades, the march has been revived in the field of soundtracks. John Williams, Steven Spielberg's favourite composer, uses them extensively, in an exhilarating way. In his marches, the martial pace is combined with the syncopated rhythms of popular music with Afro-American roots.

Calls and fanfares

The 'Call', whether of hunting or military origin, certainly deserves discussion as a musical topic. As part of a hunting code, it has been studied in depth as a cultural phenomenon by Raymond Monelle (2006: 42 ff.). A comparison between both kinds of calls is outlined in table No. 1, *infra*.

The music of the Viennese classics provided a new medium for 'Calls' as musical topics. Their adaptation from a functional origin to an artistic, autonomous context allowed for expressive possibilities that the composers of Modernity readily explored. In this case, the topic and its functional counterpart work contemporaneously and influence each other, in France as well as in the Germanic countries. There are collections of calls or fanfares from the 18th century for two or three horns, where the emphasis was obviously on the music rather than on the sporting activity. On the other hand, the shift from the functional to the artistic reverts to stylization. The 'Calls' found in sonatas, symphonies, etc., are mostly simpler and shorter, often just one note.

Faced with a 'Call' in an artistic context, a useful question is: Who is calling whom? And why? An astonishing example of a reduction to a minimum of both signifier and signified is to be found in Giovanni P. da Palestrina's *Missa Papæ Marcelli* (1562?). The initial invocation 'Lord, have mercy' (*Kyrie, eleison*) seems to find in the ascending interval of fourth the most suitable translation. It has to be taken into account that, in the classic polyphony style, a leap of a fourth is considered quite a big one.⁵ The composer, in any case, not only uses this 'Call' as the keystone of the whole *Kyrie*, but he lets it appear again, as a kind of *Leitmotiv*, throughout the Mass. (Ex. No. 8).

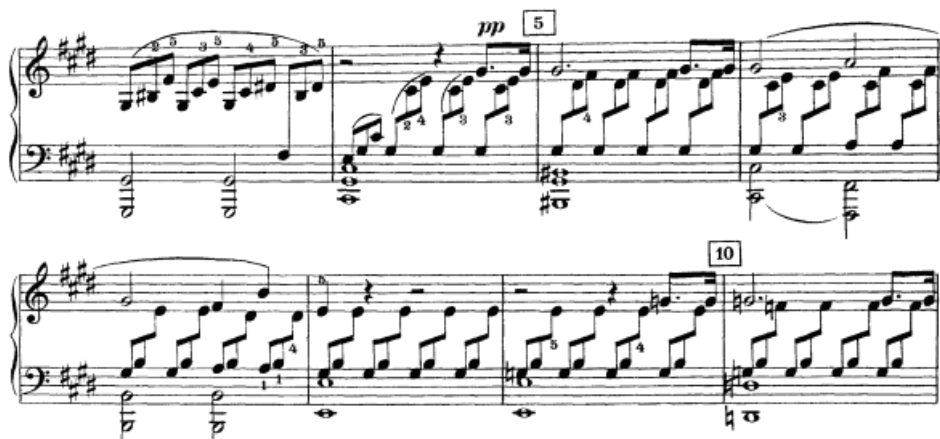
A more modern example of the expressive possibilities of the 'Call' is in the first movement of the *Sonata quasi una fantasia* by Beethoven, op. 27 no. 2, traditionally called *Moonlight* (*Mondschein-Sonate*, 1801). The main theme becomes melodic only after emitting a whole series of 'Calls' in a dysphoric tone. (Ex. No. 9).

⁵ Vg. Jeppesen 1935 (1930).

Ex. No. 8: Palestrina, *Missa Papæ Marcelli*: Kyrie, beginning.



Ex. No. 9: Beethoven, Sonata op. 27 n. 2/I, mm. 3-10.



Imagining someone mournfully calling out in the middle of the night, albeit discreetly, accompanied by a plucked-string instrument, can help to locate the genre of this well-known piece. The nocturnal scene, however, is not described in a realistic manner, but seems to take place as a memory, within the spirit of the ‘musical Persona’. That the memory takes the form of a lyrical melody, with the typical accompaniment of the serenade, and that a second voice is heard, later on, seems to indicate that the musical Persona’s inner ‘Call’ has a virtual addressee: behind the whole thing ‘Romance’ can be sensed. The minor mode, as if giving a dysphoric version of the remembered serenade, on the other hand, might connote that those ‘Calls’ do not expect to receive any reply, because the relationship belongs to an irretrievable past.

The main subject of the *Adagio* in Schubert’s Quintet D 956 (1828) utters some similar ‘Calls’ (Ex. No. 10).

The compound metre and the *pizzicato* on the second violoncello, as well as the *pianissimo* dynamics, all seem to point to another nightly serenade. Here, however, the mode starts in a major key. Now who might be calling whom? What is the relationship between this first section and the inner *Tempesta* of the

Ex. No. 10: Schubert, Quintet D 956/II: beginning.

The image shows the beginning of the second movement of Schubert's Quintet D 956. The tempo is marked 'Adagio'. The score consists of five staves. The first staff (Violin I) is marked 'pp espressivo' and features a melodic line with a 'Call' motif. The second staff (Violin II) is marked 'pp'. The third staff (Viola) is marked 'pp'. The fourth staff (Cello) is marked 'pp'. The fifth staff (Double Bass) is marked 'pp' and 'pizz. sempre'. The music is in F major and 3/4 time.

central part of the movement? How should we interpret the static serenity of the initial accompaniment, combined with the 'Calls', which are by definition an invitation to movement? And what is the narrative sense of the return of the first section, after the 'Storm'? Those are fundamental questions, for the listeners as well as for performers, but every interpretation answers them in its own terms, explicitly or implicitly.

The theme that dominates Schubert's F-minor *Fantasia* for four hands D 940, also composed just months before the composer's death, in 1828, sounds very similar to the previous example. Both share the combination of 'Call' and 'Lyricism'. Here the minor mode and the imitation of plucked strings are reminiscent of Beethoven's *quasi una fantasia* (Ex. No. 11).

Both Schubert 'Calls' present the fourth interval that we found first in Palestrina, and that Raymond Monelle (2006: 35 and ff.) identifies as typical of primitive hunting horns since mid-14th century. Musical 'Hunting' is the gentler part of the globally violent terrain of Epic. Therefore, 'Calls' that can be linked to it, especially in 19th-century music, are closer to melancholy and Lyric than to the epic field where they originally belong.

All these dysphoric 'Calls', integrated into a lyric, instrumental piece, remind of Josef Haydn's *Andante con variazioni* in F-minor, Hob. xvii/6 (1793). Those are double variations: the theme has a minor, dysphoric face, and then another one in a major key, in a euphoric tone. Each receives, in turn, two variations; an epilogue closes the piece. Moreover, the minor section shows features of the 'Love Duet', but instead of the usual harmony, the 'masculine' voice (in a lower register) seems to lead quite a different discourse than the 'feminine': the only agreement is on the minor mode.

Ex. No. 11: Schubert, *Fantasia* D 940 (arr. for 2 hands): beginning.



As for the fanfare, it could be described as an enlarged call. Fanfares were usually played with a set of brass instruments, to announce the arrival of an important person. However, in the collections of calls of the 18th century, both ‘call’ and ‘fanfare’ are used as synonyms.

Two examples of the ‘Fanfare’ as a topic, in a symphonic context, are the beginning of Gustav Mahler’s First Symphony (1888/96), where the clarinets first imitate, *pianissimo*, some faraway trumpets (mm. 9-12). A few measures later, the real trumpets, behind the stage “at a great distance”, as the score reads, start a second fanfare, in a similar mood. They combine military features – short upbeats with triple-tonguing, or the timbre of the trumpet – with hunting signs – *Horn motion*, the diatonic melody. In spite of the rhapsodic character of the various motivic elements appearing in this slow introduction, without any apparent connection, they all have consequences and end up configuring a coherent world, formally as well as semantically. (Ex. No. 12).

A comparison between signifiers –or markers– and signifieds –or connotations– of the hunting and the military topics can be shown in a diagram (Table No. 1)

Table No. 1: Comparison between the military and the hunting topics

		Military	Hunting
Signifiers	Metre	2/4, 4/4, simple.	6/8, compound.
	Timbres	Trumpets, drums.	Horns
	Texture	Basically monodic	Horn motion (<i>Hornquinten</i>)
	Melody	Triads, broken chords.	Diatonic, fourths, repeated notes.
	Rhythms	Dotted	Dotted, galloping.
	Typical keys	C-major, G-major, D-major.	F-Major, E-flat major, D-major.
Signifieds	Functional origin	Marches, calls, parades.	Calls, (staged) hunting.
	Setting	Battlefield, parade.	Woods
	Character	Brilliant, aggressive, triumphant.	Kind, close to pastoral.
	Typical time	Undetermined	Morning, autumn.
	Values	Fatherland, masculine bravery.	Freedom, masc. bravery, nobility.

Ex. No. 12: Horn motion (*Horn quinten*)



Dysphoric march: the defeated.

The expressive meaning of the martial genre, as it appears in much of music of the 19th century, is full of euphoric energy, but this can also turn into its opposite. In Franz Schubert's A-minor Sonata D 784, the first movement suggests the pace of a march, but a dysphoric one. (Ex. No. 13).

Ex. No. 13: Schubert, Sonata D 784/I: beginning.



The initial song of Schubert's *Winterreise* D 911 (1828), *Gute Nacht*, is also a 'Dysphoric march'. As in the initial theme of his F-minor *Fantasie* for piano four hands D 940 (1828), mentioned above, a propos 'Dysphoric calls'.

'Dysphoric Marches' are sometimes erroneously labelled 'Funeral Marches'. The latter, however, is a genre unto itself, in function until very recently. Even as a topic, imported to a purely musical context, it conveys a perfectly delimited situation. The one in Beethoven's Third Symphony, e.g., bears the title *Sulla morte di uneroe*. The third movement of Chopin's Sonata en B-flat minor op. 35 reads also *Marche funèbre*. The 'Dysphoric March', on the other hand, is an altered version of a euphoric march; a completely artificial subgenre, that can be imagined within the 'musical Persona', but never in a realistic context.

This is manifest in Mahler's music, and in its experiments with the March genre and all its variants. Among the 11 kinds of march described in *La música de Gustav Mahler* (2012: p. 402), both the 'Dysphoric' and the 'Funeral' march play an important role. Of the former, the clearest example is the last song of the Wayfarer cycle, *Die zwei blauen Augen*. The score reads: *Alla marcia. Durch*

aus mit geheimnis voll schwer müthigem Ausdruck (nicht schleppen), i.e. “Alla-marcia. With a mysteriously melancholic expression throughout (no dragging)”. This is a ‘Funeral March’, but in a topical use. It is not the situation but the mood of a burial that is represented. (Ex. No. 14).

Ex. No. 14: Mahler, *Die zwei blauen Augen*, beginning.

Mit geheimnisvoll schwermütigem Ausdruck. Ohne Sentimentalität
Con espressione mesta misteriosa. Senza sentimentalità

WWinds

Die zwei blau-en Augen von mei-nem Schatz,

As for the ‘Dysphoric March’, there is a beautiful example in Mahler’s song *Wo die schönen Trompeten blasen* (*Humoresken*, 1898). After an introduction full of ‘Dysphoric Calls’ – too slow, in minor mode, or on inadequate instruments – the singer introduces a march in the same dismaying mood. The musical setting of the poem presents an incongruence: the original *Wunderhorn* text, a love song, receives the music of this ‘Dysphoric March’. Mahler’s own text, however, adds to the song the military subject, and death. Neither of them were mentioned in the poem. This new aspect’s musical correlate is a diatonic, euphonic (ironical) waltz, just too pretty to be true.

In a purely instrumental context, the first movement of Mahler’s Second Symphony (1888–1895) offers a ‘Dysphoric and Heroic March’. Style and key

correspond to the *Pathetic* Style described by Elaine Sisman (1994). On the other hand, the narrative archetype – or “expressive genre”, in Robert Hatten’s terminology– that gives coherence to the whole work is the transformation of an initial tragic state into a triumphant one. In this case, the analysis of the genres contradicts the piece’s original subtitle, *Totenfeier*, “Funeral”.

There is a variant of the ‘Dysphoric March’ that might have its origin in Anton Bruckner’s music: the ‘Elegiac March’. Mahler’s song *Der Tamboursg’sell* starts as a ‘Dysphoric March’: the first 3 stanzas describe a drummer boy being carried to the scaffold, for unknown reasons. And then this enthralling moment arrives: an orchestral interlude that separates both halves of the song. The first half, in a descriptive tone, works as a recitative to the second, which corresponds to the lyric expansion one normally finds in operatic arias. The mood is elegiac: rather than the march’s aggressiveness, a melancholic, resigned lyricism dominates. (Ex. No. 15).

Ex. No. 15: Mahler, *Der Tamboursg’sell*: Interlude.



An ‘Elegiac March’ is also heard in Schubert’s Trio in E-flat D 929 (1827). Its second movement, *Andante con moto*, has been often used in films, in dramatic contexts of loss or grief.

Ex. No. 16: Schubert, Trio D 929/II, beginning.



In a scene from the American tv-series *John Adams* (Tom Hooper 2008), the second president of the USA leaves the White House, in the early morning, all by himself. He gets in a carriage full of common people, stupefied to share transport with him. Adams's exit from the house and his entrance into the coach receive some original music, thematically loose, slow and dysphoric. The moment the carriage starts, however, an arrangement of Schubert's 'Elegiac March' is heard (Ex. No. 16), while the vehicle is seen moving away, thus sealing the end of the protagonist's time in office.⁶

The 'Dysphoric March' has the markers of the march – simple metre, dotted rhythms, triadic broken chords, drum rolls – but in a slower tempo, and in minor mode. Its expressive meaning can be interpreted as the loser's march, the one who comes defeated from battle, whereto he or she had gone full of hope and energy.

A 'Toy Army'

The music of the Viennese classics usually treat martial topics with an ironic tone. One frequent feature of that irony is to reduce the virtual army it evokes into a harmless, toy-like one. In *The Sense of Music*, Raymond Monelle mentions "a 'toy' aria about military life, with fanfares".⁷ He means François-Adrien Boieldieu's opera *La dame blanche* (1825), whose n. 2, *Ah, quel plaisir d'être soldat*, in spite of the horrific wars of the 19th century, keeps a jovial, cheerful tone.⁸ Both World Wars will bring in an appalling contrast to that nonchalance: listen e.g. to the planet *Mars, the Bringer of War* by Gustav Holst (1914), or Benjamin Britten's *War Requiem* (1962), with precursors in Mahler's or Shostakovich's dysphoric or terror-infused marches.

This difference is manifest in the way Haydn, Mozart and Beethoven treat the musical army. Monelle himself offers the paradigmatic example of what could be labelled the 'Toy Army': Figaro's aria *Non più andrai*. Figaro addresses a young aristocrat whom the count would like to move from the palace and into the army, to avoid bumping into him again during his erotic adventures. For the teenager Cherubino, the access to the Officers School is a great gift. All of Figaro's descriptions about the negative sides of the military service apply to somebody like the singing servant, not to the young nobleman listening. With this dramaturgic situation in mind, Mozart finds pleasure in parodying musically

⁶ See <http://youtu.be/F8JHDinpGIw>. The 'Elegiac March' starts on minute 1:38.

⁷ Monelle 2000: pp. 19–20.

⁸ There is a version of the aria, with R. Blake and M. Minkovski, at <http://youtu.be/aSO8t-UGG-M>, including the text.

Ex. No. 17: Mozart, *Le nozze di Figaro*: *Non più andrai*, beginning.

Ob. Fg. Hr.

f *p*

f *p*

Non più an - drai, far - fal - lo - ne a - mo - ro - so,

the epic markers appearing in the aria. The contrast between the *forte* accent on the first beat and the *piano* on the violins' figuration, at the very start, place the march on the terrain of the *buffo* opera. It is a march, but with incongruent dynamics and accompaniment. To this, the parodic responses of the oboes are added: to Figaro's first line, and at the end of every stanza. (Ex. No. 17).

The music Mozart sets to the repetition of the second stanza's last line, *quel vermiglio, donnesco color* ('that reddish, feminine colour'), m. 25, is also incongruent, in its exaggerated martial character. The previous stanza had already presented this ironic clash between a reference to the women and some military calls. It calls to mind Denis de Rougemont's description (1940) of the army of officers of that time:

In place of sacred chivalry, ascetic, bloody, and barded with iron, there arose [...] an army commanded by courtiers in lace cuffs, who, since they were libertines, did not intend to jeopardize the refinements of life.⁹

⁹ Rougemont *Passion and Society* (1956/1940), p. 257. Quoted by Monelle 2000: 37.

But above all the juicy descriptions of military life which da Ponte sets in Figaro's mouth awaken Mozart's parodic vein, to display an amazing array of calls, fanfares and dotted rhythms. They are not only excessive, but also inadequate to the situation on stage. The hyperbole culminates in the instrumental epilogue to the aria, a pompous march where the trumpet calls on mm. 109 and 111 stand out, and the final chords, that could serve to close a whole symphony. The pleasure of the composer in presenting all these martial markers in an ironic tone seems remarkable.

In fact, Mozart's music makes this semantic field to one of his favourite places, with the ironic distance that is typical of the Viennese classicism. Leonard Ratner (1980: p. 16), with his usual sharpness, registers a *different* tone in many of Mozart's marches, and calls them a "Mixture of bourrée and march". The bourrée is a genre with a popular origin, which in the hands of Classical composers connotes the opera *buffa*, or parody of the baroque world of the *Ancien Régime*. This is Ratner's example, based on an observation by Quantz (1752). (Ex. No. 18).

Ex. No. 18: Mozart, Sonata for piano and violin K 376/III (1781), beginning.



The martial elements appear as in miniature, questioned by comical repetitions and by the neatly vocal style of the first two measures. Raymond Monelle does not label the topic, but describes it accurately in *The Sense of Music* (2000: pp. 35–38). And he explains the historical circumstances of that attitude of distance and refinement towards the military world during the last third of the 18th century:

Mozart's concerto dates, however, from a period like our own, in which traditional heroism was not much written about. The soldiery reflected in Mozart's themes is merely a picturesque fable of the salon, but also reflects a development in the social and technological history of warfare, not very much chronicled in literature.

And he concludes:

The good-mannered, small-time bonhomie of the eighteenth-century army reflected a kind of compromised masculinity somewhere between heroism and playacting. This helps to explain the diminutiveness, the toy-like quality, of many manifestations of fanfarism.

Monelle's example, besides that of *Non più andrai*, is Mozart's piano concerto K 595, that he qualifies as *concerto guerriero*, "a chamber piece touched with warlike sentiments that are light-hearted and ironic".¹⁰ All the themes of the initial *Allegro* are based on calls, fanfares or triads. The second movement features the dotted rhythms which mark the martial topic, and the finale is a "military gigue". Another example of a 'Toy Army' by Mozart is the first movement of the piano concerto in B-flat K 456.

But this stance towards the military fits with the time, and is not an exclusively Mozartian feature. Many examples in Haydn's and Beethoven's music document this. Haydn's Sonata n. 48 Hob. xvi/35 (1777/79?) seems to allude to the enlightened 'Toy Army', from the first subject on: a miniature march, including a comical version of the rhetoric figure of the *exclamatio* on the fourth beat of the first measure, and a melody reminiscent of calls and fanfares. (Ex. No. 19a)

In mm. 32–35, the lyric accompaniment interrupts itself to articulate the transition and the first thematic section in an excessively high-flown gesture,

Ex. No. 19a: Haydn, Sonata in C-major Hob. xvi/35/I, beginning.



Ex. No. 19b: Haydn, Sonata in C-major Hob. xvi/35/I, mm. 32–35.



¹⁰ Monelle 2000: 35.

suggesting a theatrical baroque orchestra. This is an ironic feature that could be called the ‘Grandiloquent Unison’. It serves to manifest the arrogance of some *Ancien Régime* character, e.g. in Mozart operas. (Ex. No. 19b).

The main subject of the first movement of Beethoven’s Sonata op. 2 no. 2 in A-major sounds like a ‘Call’, replied by a drum roll, and by an operatic ‘Grandiloquent Unison’. The *piano* dynamic, in this initial version of the theme, is the first ironic incongruence. (Ex. No. 20).

Ex. No. 20: Beethoven, Sonata op. 2 n. 2/I, beginning.



There is an overt parody of the military march in the second movement of Beethoven’s Sonata op. 14 no. 2. (Ex. No. 21)

Ex. No. 21: Beethoven, Sonata op. 14 n. 2/II, beginning.



The translation from the intimate atmosphere of the piano to the public one in the orchestral medium underlines the freethinking, if not subversive, background of the ‘Toy Army’ procedure. This is evident throughout Beethoven’s First Symphony, and also in the finale of his Concerto in C-minor (1800), where the hearer witnesses the transformation of military and dysphoric motives into a laughing, uncontrolled dance.

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THE FIRST WORLD WAR AND THE ASCENSION OF THE PHONOGRAPHIC INDUSTRY IN THE NEW WORLD

Abstract: The First World War years witnessed a radical and important change in the history of both music and the phonographic industry, gradually putting popular rather than classical music under the spotlight and moving the axis of entertainment music production across the Atlantic into the New World. It is no coincidence that the first jazz, the first samba and also the first *tango-canción* were all recorded and released in the same year, 1917 – in the twilight of the Great War. This article intends to shed light on this process, discussing the cultural and socioeconomic factors that determined it.

Keywords: musicology; semiotics; tango; jazz; samba; music history; First World War; comparative history

Introduction

The British historian Eric Hobsbawm regarded as the “Age of Empire” the period between 1875 and 1914, defined as “an era of unparalleled peace in the western world, which engendered an era of equally unparalleled world wars”.¹ The present article aims to examine such a period through an unusual perspective: the development of the cultural industry – specifically, the phonographic

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¹ Eric Hobsbawm, *The Age of Empire*, London, Orion [Kindle Edition], 2010, location 244.

industry – and its interrelations with the geopolitical, economic, aesthetic and sociological forces that shaped that time and ultimately determined some of the major trends to be followed by popular culture ever since.

To an observer who intends to follow the history of music throughout these last centuries, a very complex – and even enigmatic – shift seems to have taken place around the first decade of the 20th century. Until that moment, classical Western music – or even more specifically, classical European music – occupied an unrivaled position of prestige, exerting a powerful influence on other forms of musical expression such as the *musique légère* and popular music. Nevertheless, in the first decades of the 20th century, a dramatic change took place, gradually putting popular music rather than classical music under the spotlight and moving the geographic axis of entertainment music production across the Atlantic to the New World.

Although the history of the phonographic industry actually places its introductory chapters on the American continent with the invention of the phonograph by Thomas Edison in 1877, and the first labels like the Edison Phonograph Company (1888), the Columbia Phonograph (1888) and the United States Gramophone Company (1894), the business quickly spread through Europe, reaching the United Kingdom in 1897 through the UK Gramophone Company – a sister to the American-based United States Gramophone Company. Columbia was the next to settle in Europe, opening an office in Paris in 1895 and in London in 1900. Nonetheless, by the time all these American labels expanded to Europe, the first native continental phonographic empire had already been established by Carl Lindström in Berlin (1893), soon to be joined by Parlophone (1896), Odeon (1903), Beka (1903) and Okeh (1916). In 1896, in Paris, the Pathé brothers founded a second but no less important empire, which became later one of the most important entertainment companies in the world. Hence, it becomes clear that a steady and consistent phonographic market was already well established in Europe by the end of the first decade of the 20th century.

Despite the significant interest and efforts of the Victor Talking Machine Company (1901), classical music was eclipsed by popular music in sales practically from the beginning of the phonographic industry. If one could argue that the young, democratic and republican American society would find it particularly difficult to empathize with the masterpieces of the old, aristocratic, monarchic and geographically distant Europe, this explanation could by no means be extended to the European audiences. Even so, a quick examination of the *Cylindres Pathé* 1900–1910 catalog reveals first a reasonable balance and later a growing disadvantage of operatic singers with respect to the *chansoniers* who performed in the most prestigious cabarets and music halls of the time, like the Alcazar, the Casino de Paris or the Eldorado. Slowly but steadily, the classics performed by

interpreters such as Affre “de l’Opéra”, A. Mai – identified as “Primo Violino del Teatro alla Scala” – Jane Mérey and Noté “de l’Opéra” were outnumbered by the hits of singers like Charlus, Féraudy, Fragon, Duparc and the ever more acclaimed Polin.

If the above-mentioned description can possibly shed some light on the gradual process of the ascension of local popular music with respect to classical music on the European phonographic market at the beginning of the last century, explaining the rise in popularity of New World music definitely demands much more effort from any researcher interested in that subject.

Continuity

One can trace back to the second half of the 18th century the first traces of what can be called “orientalism” – a specific expression of a wider phenomenon traditionally identified as “exoticism”. Works like *Die Entführung aus dem Serail* [The Abduction from the Seraglio] (1782) by Mozart reveal a caricatural representation of the Austrian Empire’s declining neighbor and rival – the Ottoman Empire – reinforcing stereotypes of customs seen in the West as barbarian, like polygamy and slavery. Ralph P. Locke explains the upheaval of orientalism in the following terms:

In the 19th and early 20th centuries, with the decline of the Ottoman Empire, the Middle East became a prime target for the colonization efforts of the Western powers and, accordingly, a much-favored locale in which to set operas and other musical works. Various standard ‘Middle Eastern’ musical gestures were first established in the popular *Le desert* of the French composer Félicien David, who had lived in Egypt for two years, and were then exploited by other composers, such as Bizet (*Les pêcheurs de perles*), Verdi (*Aida*), Massenet (*Thaïs*) and Richard Strauss (*Salome*). This heavily imaginary ‘Middle East’ was also a favored setting for ballets (*La source*, with music by Delibes and Minkus) and modern-dance works (e.g. by Ruth St Denis). Many successful works were also set in East Asia, notably Puccini’s *Madama Butterfly* and *Turandot*.²

Thus, the ascension of orientalism as a whole can be explained not only by the authentic interest in the aesthetic production of foreign nations – which was certainly the case for most of the artists involved in it – but also by its political usage, affirming the superiority of Western civilization during the age of Empire as a means of legitimating colonialism either by depicting the marvels of “the jewels of the Crown” (i.e. the colonies) as a form of reinforcing the prestige of

² Ralph P. Locke, “Orientalism”, In: *Grove Music Online*, Oxford Music Online, Oxford University Press, from <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/40604>, acc. 25 August 2014.

the metropolis, or by ridiculing their “barbarian” customs. On the other hand, nationalism arguably capitalized from the popularity of exoticism to promote the interest of rising young nations or new powers from Russia to the Americas, assuming some aesthetic procedures foreign to the European traditional standards as components of their national identities. Debussy’s considerations on how he benefited from his contact with the “exoticism” of Eastern Asian music, as much as his opinion on how Albéniz successfully expressed Spanish identity, appear in the article about the French composer signed by François Lesure and Roy Howat in the prestigious Grove Encyclopedia:

It was at the precise moment when he first turned his back on Wagner that Debussy discovered the music of East Asia at the 1889 Exposition. For him the revelation was far removed from the attraction of the exotic or the picturesque that it meant for many French composers, and concerned essentially the use of musical scales obeying conventions other than those of the West. He listened spellbound to the ‘infinite arabesque’ of the Javanese gamelan with its percussion – the Western equivalent of which he likened to the ‘barbaric din of a fairground’ – and the counterpoint ‘beside which Palestrina’s is child’s play’, and he was equally fascinated by the Annamite theatre, which impressed him by its economy of means: ‘an angry little clarinet’ and a tam-tam. He himself never introduced any form of unmediated exoticism into his music, except arguably into *Pagodes*, but the gamelan has been suggested as one influence in the *Fantaisie for piano and orchestra*, and in the Toccata of the suite *Pour le piano*, composed shortly after the 1900 Exposition. Debussy was always consistent on the point that a folk or national music should not be used for its themes but rather in the manner of Albéniz: ‘Without using actual popular tunes he is the kind of person who has them in his blood. They have become so natural a part of his music that one barely distinguishes a demarcation line’.³

Quite different from such a positive description – and closer to an allegory of colonialism – are songs like *La Petite Tonkinoise*, a hit written in 1905–1906 by the successful popular composer Vincent Scotto with lyrics by Georges Villard and Henri Christiné. The enunciator of the song is not really concerned with learning something as basic as the name of his lover, a native woman from Tonkin – a region that belonged to the former French colony of Indochina, in present day Vietnam. He simply calls her “ma p’tite bourgeoise, ma Tonkiki, ma Tonkiki, ma Tonkinoise”. The song starts insinuating that she might not be his only affair, saying “Y en a d’autres qui m’font les doux yeux, mais c’est elle que j’aime le mieux” [there are others that bring sweetness to my eyes, but she is my favorite one]. Some metaphors of dubious taste present the male enunciator exploring her body as if he were learning geography – not surprisingly,

³ François Lesure and Roy Howat, “Debussy, Claude”, In: *Grove Music Online*, Oxford Music Online, Oxford University Press, from <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/07353>, acc. 25 August 2014.

often alluding to the domains of the Asiatic colonies – with images as crude as “l’Amour, c’est curieux, qu’arrose l’Empire du Milieu” [love, how intriguing, irrigates the Middle Kingdom]. Ironic remarks abound, like mentioning that, as the daughter of a powerful mandarin, she had on her chest two small mandarins, making it difficult to believe in the sincerity of the enunciator despite his claims that his heart was full of sadness at bidding her goodbye – but never considering the possibilities of marrying her or taking her back to France with him.

In this complex context that combined in the Belle Époque the apparent cynicism of *La Petite Tonkinoise* with the reverence of artists like Debussy and the last echoes of nationalism, the music of the New World slowly started to be heard in the Parisian saloons. Pierre Saka affirms in his *La chanson française: des origines à nos jours* [The French Song: From the Origins till Our Days] that the year of 1902 would mark the arrival of North American music in Paris with the boom of the Cakewalk music and dance⁴ – a novelty that maybe Parisians had already been introduced to thanks to John Philip Sousa’s successful concerts in the 1900 “Grande Exposition”. Affirming that the Cakewalk was “the first American dance to cross over from black to white society as well as from the stage to the ballroom”, Claude Conyers identifies its origins in a “contest for performers walking solemnly while balancing buckets of water on their heads” that “seems to have been a parody of the elegant manners and fancy dances of white slaveholders” in Florida in the middle of the 19th century, and which ordinarily offered a piece of cake as a prize – thus, the origin of its name. Surviving the end of the slavery era, the cakewalk reached the 1890s as a popular dance, and “cakewalk contests’ among dancing couples were being organized as public entertainments in many northern American cities” around that time.⁵ Reaching France, the dance becomes extremely popular and soon develops a local repertoire, including hits like *Américain noir* by Félix Mortreuil and Émile Spencer, where a female enunciator is infatuated with a man who “par sa danse nègre il me charme” [a man who has captivated me with his negro dancing]. Other songs had a far more contemptuous attitude towards the exoticism of the new fashion, like *Le cake-walk-irie*, by E. Sérard and F. Chaudoir, whose lyrics describe that “dans la France, chacun danse en cadence et furie; c’est stupide, insipide, c’est de la cake-walk-irie” [in France, everyone is furiously dancing that cadence; it’s stupid, tasteless, it’s the cake-walk-irie].

⁴ Pierre Saka, *La Chanson Française: Des Origines à Nos Jours* [The French Song: From the Origins till our Days], Paris, Éditions Fernand Nathan, 1983, p. 95.

⁵ Claude Conyers, “Cakewalk”, In: Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online, Oxford University Press, from <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/A2092374>, acc. 25 August 2014.

Nonetheless, the Cakewalk in particular, or even American music in general, was not the only New World musical expression that was booming in Paris in the pre-war era. A far more important cultural phenomenon both with its historical relevance and its complexity would take place with the vertiginous ascension of the Argentinian tango. If a young student in the 21st century might be surprised with the boom of a South American style and its prestige in the old, powerful and rich Europe of the early 20th century, a well-informed observer from that time would hardly feel amazed at it. Meantime, dramatically shaken by an economic crisis that had been ruining its finances for more than 20 years, Argentina in the early 1900s was one of the 10 wealthiest countries in the world.⁶ According to Harvard Economics Professor Edward Glaeser, “in 1909, the per capita income in Argentina was 50% higher than in Italy, 180% higher than in Japan, and almost five times higher than in neighboring Brazil”.⁷

If this data can partly explain the prestige Argentina could claim in European eyes, still it could not respond to its widespread presence in the French capital. Horacio Salas sheds some light on this phenomenon, pointing to a longstanding Francophile tradition among the Argentinian elite, who cultivated the custom of sending their sons to Paris in order to complete their education and enrich their intellectual horizons.⁸ A more thorough analysis of the meaning and importance of the presence of the Argentinian elite in Paris is offered by Andrés Carretero in his *Tango: testigo social* [Tango: a Social Witness]. According to Carretero, the same elite that was deaf to the aspirations of the less favored classes, used to travel to Europe in the Belle Époque to flaunt their wealth, joining a small social segment whose lifestyle was as expensive as hedonistic. Thus, the sons of the Argentinian elite would believe that their money and lavish spending could grant them culture, refinement, beauty and social distinction.⁹ Actually, their behavior did impress French society – but not exactly in the most positive way. A French neologism, *rastaquouère*, originated from the Spanish *rastacero* (literally, “leather dragger”, alluding to the ostentation of fortune earned by cattle-raising)

⁶ Ana I. Eiras and Brett D. Schaefer, Argentina’s Economic Crisis: An “Absence of Capitalism”, In: *The Heritage Foundation – Backgrounder*, 2001, no.1432, from <http://www.heritage.org/research/reports/2001/04/argentinas-economic-crisis-an-absence-of-capitalism>, acc. 25 August 2014.

⁷ Edward L. Glaeser, “What Happened to Argentina?”, In: *The New York Times*, 6 October 2009, Economix, from http://economix.blogs.nytimes.com/2009/10/06/what-happened-to-argentina/?_php=true&_type=blogs&_r=0, acc. 25 August 2014.

⁸ Horacio Salas, *El Tango* [The Tango], Buenos Aires, Emecé, 2004, p. 114.

⁹ Andrés M. Carretero, *Tango: Testigo Social* [Tango: a Social Witness], Buenos Aires, Ediciones Continente, 1999, p. 78.

indicated an exotic character that lived a luxurious life but had rather dubious taste, or even, according to the prestigious French dictionary *Le Nouveau Petit Robert*, “whose fortune might have a suspicious origin”.¹⁰

Thus, admired or disdained, a small but significant part of the Argentinian elite used to sojourn in Paris during the Belle Époque. But it was not the cattle-raising aristocracy that was to leave a long-lasting mark in Western culture, but the predominantly lower or middle class tango geniuses that began to flood into the city during that period. According to Luis Labraña and Ana Sebastián in their *Tango: una historia* [Tango: A History], a pioneering Argentinian group of tango authors arrived in Paris as early as 1903, including the successful author of the classic *El Choclo*, Ángel Villoldo, and other names like Enrique Saborido, Alfredo Gobbi and his wife, the Chilean singer Flora Rodríguez.¹¹ Salas slightly contradicts – or maybe just develops in greater detail – this affirmation, claiming that the previously mentioned couple and Villoldo would have reached Paris in 1907, and that Gobbi and Rodríguez would have spent about seven years in the French capital, composing, giving tango dance lessons and producing recordings registered by the Pathé Brothers.¹²

Friction

The spread of the tango, in Paris, and worldwide, did not take place without resistance. But its rejection – just as the rejection of jazz and the samba – actually represents a key social and cultural phenomenon to understand its ascension in the First World War period. The balance of forces was changing, the conservative trends on one side, with a strong prejudice against those new styles rooted in the basis of the social pyramid, and on the other side the aesthetic and cultural transformations related to accepting and absorbing the rising classes and their respective values. Nicolás Slonimsky displays in his *La música de América Latina* [Latin American Music] an interesting – and sometimes even funny – collection of critics among remarkable personalities from both the European and the American continent who were against the tango and its fashion:

In his message of January 1, 1914, the Archbishop of Paris threatened Tango addicts with excommunication: ‘We condemn the dance of foreign origin known as the Tango, which by its lascivious nature offends morality. Christians ought not in con-

¹⁰ Paul Robert, *Le Nouveau Petit Robert* {The Hew Petit Robert}, Paris, Dictionnaires Le Robert, 1994, pp. 1870–1871.

¹¹ Luis Labraña & Ana Sebastián, *Tango: Una Historia* [Tango: A History], Buenos Aires, Corregidor, 2000, p.43.

¹² Horacio Salas, op. cit., p. 116.

science to take part in it. Confessors must in the administration of the sacrament of penance enforce these orders.’ Cardinal O’Connell of Boston declared: ‘If this Tango-dancing female is the new woman, then God spare us from any further development of an abnormal creature.’ To vindicate the honor of his country, the Ambassador of Argentina in Paris was compelled to state formally that the Tango was ‘a dance peculiar to the houses of ill repute in Buenos Aires, and is never cultivated at respectable gatherings’.¹³

The Ambassador’s phrase is another most important point to be considered, for it openly expresses how despised the tango was by the Argentinian elites in Buenos Aires, and how surprised the “rastacueros” were to see it acclaimed in the most exclusive and prestigious Parisian addresses. Hélio Fernandes reinforces in his *Tango: uma possibilidade infinita* [Tango: An Infinite Possibility] that the triumph in Paris was instrumental to a complete change of attitude from the Argentinian elites with respect to the tango, from total rejection to absolute consecration, and finally pride as an authentic national symbol of identity. Fernandes quotes the Buenos Aires magazine *El Hogar* [The Home], that writes in 1911 that “the aristocratic halls of the great capital have welcomed with enthusiasm a gender which, here, due to its filthy tradition, is not even mentioned at our balls [...]. Will Paris ultimately make our good society accept the Argentinian tango?”¹⁴

Yes, it really did. And this fact had capital importance not only for the further national and international development of the tango, but also for the acceptance of some Brazilian genres in Brazil. As Glaeser points out in his article, the Brazilian giant’s southern neighbor was in that time five times as rich as Brazil, despite being approximately one third of the size of Brazil. Buenos Aires in 1930 still had a population that was approximately 28% larger than Rio de Janeiro’s,¹⁵ at that time the capital and largest city of Brazil, and it was a far more prestigious cultural center. Rio de Janeiro was a necessary stop for most ships heading to Buenos Aires – and also to most ships leaving the Argentinian capital – which favored an intense cultural communication between the two cities. For that reason, Brazil’s most prominent composer of the national style called “choro” classified his compositions as “Brazilian Tangos” instead of using the proper – but less prestigious – term to define their genre. Choro (mainly instrumental) and Samba

¹³ Nicolás Slonimsky, *La Música de América Latina* [Latin American Music], Buenos Aires, El Ateneo, 1947, p. 26.

¹⁴ Hélio de Almeida Fernandes, *Tango: Uma Possibilidade Infinita* [Tango: An Infinite Possibility], Rio de Janeiro, Bom Texto, 2000, p. 69.

¹⁵ Olivier Dabène, *América Latina no Século XX* [Latin America in the 20th Century], Porto Alegre, EDIPUCRS, 2003, p. 30.

(a song style) are musically deeply related, and not surprisingly the rise of the first preceded the breakthrough of the second in 1917.

Aesthetically conservative forces in the Americas were often hostile to local musical expressions, identifying themselves with a culture and values purported to be European – in fact were only a fragile discourse of the elites to try to legitimate social inequality with an alleged, ethnic distance with respect to the majority of the population, who were invariably supposed to be more miscegenated, and revealed the top classes' constant tendency to empathize with interests foreign to the nation as a whole but beneficial to their own social group or part of it. This problem was not an exclusively Latin American issue. It is again Slonimsky who collects some invaluable quotes about an analogous phenomenon regarding resistance to American music. Among the European voices that rose against Jazz, he highlights Maxim Gorky and Cyril Scott. The great Russian writer described his impressions of jazz in the following words: "Listening to this screaming music for a minute or two, one conjures up an orchestra of madmen, sexual maniacs, led by a man-stallion beating time with an enormous phallus". No less exaggerated is the caricatural view by the English composer and theosophist Cyril Scott: "After the dissemination of jazz, which was definitely put through by the Dark Forces, a very marked decline in sexual morals became noticeable. Whereas at one time women were content with decorous flirtation, a vast number of them are now constantly preoccupied with the search for erotic adventures, and have thus turned sexual passion into a species of hobby".¹⁶ The critics in America were no less fierce or passionate, as can be read in the following passage:

The custodians of public morals were profoundly shocked by the rise of syncopated music in America at the turn of the century. The *Musical Courier*, in an editorial entitled 'Degenerate Music,' published in its issue of September 13, 1899, took note of the new peril: 'A wave of vulgar, filthy and suggestive music has inundated the land. Nothing but ragtime prevails, and the cake-walk with its obscene posturings, its lewd gestures.... Our children, our young men and women, are continually exposed to the contiguity, to the monotonous attrition of this vulgarizing music. It is artistically and morally depressing, and should be suppressed by press and pulpit'.¹⁷

The objections against these forms of the expression of popular music often choose arguments based upon physical and/or moral repulsion. The mottos of obscenity, treated both as a social and religious issue, as much as animality and filthiness, among other isotopies, reinforce the reading of physical and/or cultural miscegenation as negative values, coherently with the infamous Eugenist

¹⁶ Nicolás Slonimsky, *op. cit.*, pp. 24–26.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*

theories which were growing in popularity among the ruling classes of the period. Another important invariance consists of a common feature of these three so different musical genres: the syncope. The entry for “syncopation” in the prestigious *Grove*, the largest music encyclopedia in the world, reads:

The regular shifting of each beat in a measured pattern by the same amount ahead of or behind its normal position in that pattern [...] Because any syncopated musical line can be perceived as contrary to the pulse established by the organization of the music into bars, syncopation is related to, and sometimes used as a synonym for, cross-accent, agogic accent and cross-rhythm [...] A texture in which every part conflicts with the sense of the prevailing metre, or even overcomes it, is also called syncopated...

Let us bear in mind here not only a musical procedure as “to vary position of the stress on notes so as to avoid regular rhythm”, as defined in *The Oxford Dictionary of Music*, but also the semiotic chain of meanings related to that definition. It is fundamental here to have in mind that syncopation is “contrary” to the prevailing “organization”, and that it essentially “conflicts with” “or even overcomes” it. With these ideas in mind, would it be defensible to recognize in syncopation a metaphor or a gesture connoting some kind of subversion or social rebellion? Even if one considers the fact that this was quite a common musical procedure both in the Maghreb and in the Sub-Saharan area, the African-American syncopation in North as in South America takes place in a multicultural context where European aesthetic patterns stand as the “rule”, the syncope being a structural procedure in the new popular music whereas it appears as an occasional resource in the European reference repertoire. Figures 01 to 04 display the omnipresence of syncope in such different styles as the cakewalk, tango, samba and early jazz.

Fig. 01 – Syncopes in *Cake-walk*, composition by Kerry Mills published in *L'Illustration* in 1903



Fig. 02 – Syncopes in *Mi noche triste*, tango by Samuel Castriota recorded by Carlos Gardel in 1917, considered the first *tango-canción* [song tango] recording



Fig. 03 – Syncopes in *Pelo telefone*, samba recorded by Donga in 1917, considered the first samba recording

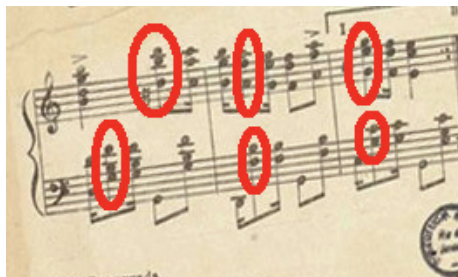
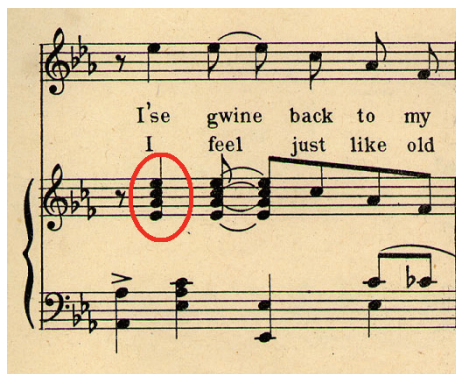


Fig. 04 – Syncopes in *Livery Stable Blues*, recorded by the Original Dixieland Jass Band in 1917, considered the first jazz recording



Anyway, despite fierce social and racial prejudice, in the United States as in Brazil and Argentina, an ascending middle class, not exclusively but at least partially constituted of descendants of former African slaves, did empathize with the mixed-African new styles as a component of their sense of social identity. At the same time, as described above, the tango and cakewalk in Europe were becoming increasingly popular. Nonetheless, the resistance against the above mentioned genres of popular music would undergo a radical change at the beginning of the First World War, as it will be examined in the following item.

Discontinuity

While the First World War had a terrible impact on the European phonographic industry, its consequences in the Americas were extremely complex. If, on the one hand, it jeopardized both the productive chain and sales, on the other, it not only knocked the European competitors practically out of the market for some years but also created a vacuum in terms of artistic production that the New World labels and artists promptly struggled to occupy. In his *Cowboys and Indies: The Epic History of the Record Industry*, Gareth Murphy informs us that one year after the outbreak of the war, Victor Talking Machine had reached its first million-unit record and by 1917, the year the United States joined the war, Victor had sold one million victrolas and released about 7,000 titles.¹⁸ Even Carl Lind-

¹⁸ Gareth Murphy, *Cowboys and Indies: The Epic History of the Record Industry*, New York, Thomas Dunne Books, 2014, p. 26.

stron's European-based phonographic empire greatly benefitted from an expansion to the American continent, intelligently organized in the years immediately before the war. The opening of the Odeon factory in Rio de Janeiro in 1913 made it viable to produce and distribute Lindstron's records during the eclipse of the European production, allowing the German group to witness and profit from the expansion of the South American market through Brazil, Argentina and Uruguay while its original market in the Berlin headquarters became practically non-existent.¹⁹ Nevertheless, the impact of the war on the phonographic industry would by far transcend the limits of logistic and market issues. The trend to improve the balance in gender relations gained momentum when the war effort in Great Britain started to absorb as much female labor as possible in the factories, since the majority of the male work force were at the Front. With a massive contingent of women working outside their homes and making their living independently with their own resources, it is no wonder that between 1913 and 1920 women conquered the right to vote in countries like the United Kingdom, the United States, Germany, Holland, Russia, Poland, Denmark, Norway and Australia. Meanwhile, in the United States, the war effort accentuated the so-called Great Migration, whereby a significant section of the African-American population would migrate from the Southern plantations and cities towards the North and Northeast to join their industrial boom, occupying in particular neighborhoods such as Harlem in New York City, and Chicago, and Illinois. There, according to Murphy:

All these migrations and upheavals in black and female culture explain why suddenly in 1917, the year America joined the war, a new dance craze exploded in Chicago and New York – jazz, the first organically grown musical wave to rise from the street and change the face of the record business.²⁰

Nevertheless, the launching of the *Livery Stable Blues* by the *Original Dixieland Jass Band* in 1917, considered the first jazz ever to be recorded, cannot be analyzed in depth if regarded as an exclusively American phenomenon. After all, the phonographic industry requires a vivid counterpoint with popular culture, echoing or fabricating trends and “musical waves” that reflect the values and beliefs of a society as a whole or of some of its margin groups. Franceschi observes that the war years coincided with the ascendance of the American influence upon Brazilian culture and consumer habits, with a significant burst of popularity of genders such as the Charleston and fox-trot.²¹ Such a scenario would easily sug-

¹⁹ Humberto Franceschi, *A Casa Edison e Seu Tempo* [Casa Edison and its Time], Rio de Janeiro, Biscoito Fino, 2002, p. 188.

²⁰ Gareth Murphy, op. cit., p. 32.

²¹ Humberto Franceschi, op. cit.

gest a simple change of axis from European to North American cultural predominance in countries, such as Brazil and Argentina.

The reasons why such a shift did not take place at that moment are both complex and varied. First, before the radio age, local traditions were still far more resistant to foreign influences than they would later become – and it is important to bear in mind that the tango had been heard in Argentina since at least the 1850s, and genres related to the samba can be traced back in Brazil as early as the late 18th century. Secondly, at the beginning of the war, the tango had already consistently succeeded in conquering hearts and minds on both sides of the Atlantic, whereas the golden years of American music were still to appear on the horizon. Thirdly, the United States would enter the war in 1917, which led to the Victor factories, for example, being partly used to manufacture rifle parts and biplane wings, and reducing its production by 40%, to only 21 million discs in 1918²² and consequently producing an invaluable opportunity to the modern and rapidly expanding phonographic industry in South America. Evaldo Piccino observes that the international catalogue of phonograms by Casa Edison, the Brazilian company that owned the Odeon rights in Brazil during the war years, was understandably dominated by Argentinian rather than by European or American titles – but also that international titles were becoming vastly outnumbered by the local Brazilian recordings.²³ Argentina, in the splendor of its glorious years, as one of the largest economies in the world, now exporting a tango culture that was revered in Paris, New York, Tokyo, Rio de Janeiro and worldwide, was therefore far from being tempted to succumb to American cultural domination. Brazil, without the Argentinian glamour and GDP, was then, on the other hand, the headquarters of the phonographic industry in South America. Not surprisingly, not long after the crisis of the phonographic industry finally reached Brazil, the first samba was recorded by Donga in 1917, starting a process intentionally or not, which was analogous to those that in Argentina and the United States resulted both in the vigorous expansion of the local market and an everlasting mark on popular culture.

Thus, the First World War was instrumental to the ascendance of the New World's Music in the phonographic industry not only due to the collapse of European recording production, but also because it indirectly triggered a chain socioeconomic reaction that has greatly contributed to the local cultural production

²² Gareth Murphy, *op. cit.*, p. 26.

²³ Evaldo Piccino, “Um Breve Histórico dos Suportes Sonoros Analógicos: Surgimento, Evolução e os Principais Elementos de Impacto Tecnológico” [A Brief History of Analogic Sound Supports: Origins, Evolution and the Most Important Factors of Technological Impact], In: *Revista Sonora* [Sound Magazine], Vol. 1, No. 2 (1), 2003.

on the American continent ever since. As a result of that process, by the end of the war, the New World's music had gained sufficient momentum, from that moment on, to rival European phonographic production on the international market worldwide, and even the European market itself – an almost unthinkable situation at the dawn of the phonographic industry's history.

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REFERENCES TO LITHUANIAN MUSICAL LIFE IN LITHUANIAN PERIODICALS, 1914–1915: A REVIEW OF THE *LITHUANIAN NEWS DAILY*

Abstract: During the initial wartime years, the music life in Lithuania was slowed down first of all by the prevailing mood. On the other hand, Lithuanian evenings that were held at that time (their programmes usually consisted of one or two plays/performances and a musical part – a choir concert) acquired the role of fostering and promoting nationalism. The Lithuanian press often carried items about local choirs in various parts of the country (most often formed and led by the local organist). Systemised information in the years 1914 and 1915 is presented in the article: how musical life in Lithuania was covered in one of the main Lithuanian newspapers published in Vilnius – *Lithuanian News*.

Key words: musical events in Lithuania in 1914–1915, Lithuanian press, dailies *Lithuanian News* (Lietuvos žinios), *Hope* (Viltis), *Dawn* (Aušra)

At the beginning of the 20th century, Lithuania was still a part of the Russian Empire, the Empire's "borderland lashed with the sword of Russification and Polonisation," while the historical capital city Vilnius was "a city of the tsar's eagles and Russian signboards".¹ However, even as soon as the ban on the press in the Latin alphabet was lifted on 7 May, 1904, various periodicals in the

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¹ Alma Lapinskienė, "Vilnius 'Ryto' aušroje: istorinė, kultūrinė retrospekcija", in: *Voruta*, 2013-0203, <http://www.voruta.lt/vilnius-ryto-ausroje-istorine-kulturine-retrospekcija/> [2014-08-25].

Lithuanian language appeared in Lithuania. That year in St. Petersburg, the first Lithuanian publication, the weekly *Lietuvių laikraštis* (*Lithuanian Newspaper*, published until 1906) came out, while in Vilnius on 10 December, 1904 (old calendar), thanks to Petras Vileišis' efforts the daily *Vilniaus žinios* (*Vilnius News*) appeared.² In 1905–1917, over 200 Lithuanian periodicals came out in Lithuania, while the centre of the Lithuanian press was Vilnius, a multinational city where Belarusian, Polish, Lithuanian, Russian and Jewish traditions and culture existed side by side.³ In a 1913 report by a temporary committee on Vilnius press matters, it was said that over ten months, 944 publications came out in Vilnius, of them 382 – in Yiddish, 271 – Russian, 158 – Polish and 120 – Lithuanian.⁴ In Vilnius in 1913, there were 60 publishers; ten of them printed Lithuanian publications,⁵ while in June 1914, the Lithuanian Science Society held the first Lithuanian press exhibition there, with 2,500 Lithuanian publications from 1883 on display.⁶

² The *Vilnius News* was published until the beginning of March 1909. The Father Juozas Tumas-Vaižgantas wrote about the newspaper: “The Lithuanian print is back; true, it is restricted, not free, but still it is the press. Who was the first to use it? Certainly, the one who was the first to fight for it, the engineer Petras Vileišis. He immediately started a printing house, which could print the first Lithuanian daily. It was not easy even for him to get a concession for it. P. Vileišis had to cross many thresholds before he received it. But he did get it, endeavoring unpretentiously to be the representative of a culture, not a political figure; he even chose the most innocent title for the newspaper, ... the same as the official publication *Vilenskij Viestnik*”. See: Juozas Tumas-Vaižgantas, *Lietuvių literatūros paskaitos*, Kaunas, 1924, p. 172.

³ According to the 1897 Russian Empire population census, Vilnius City had 154,532 inhabitants, 40 percent of them were Jews, 31 percent – Poles, 20 percent – Russians, 4.23 percent – Belarusians, 2.1 percent – Lithuanians.

⁴ Violeta Černiauskaitė, “Atgimusių lietuviškos spaudos tradicijos Vilniuje 1904–1914 metais“, in: *Knygotyra*, 44, Vilnius, 2005, 117–118.

⁵ The main publishers of Lithuanian periodicals were Martynas Kukta, Jozef Zawadzki, Petras Vileišis with the *Vilnius News*, Kazimieras Strazdas and Alfonsas Vėgėlė, Anatolijus Syrkinas' publishing house Znicz (Violeta Černiauskaitė, *Ibid.*, 125).

⁶ Information about the exhibition was printed in the newspaper *Lithuanian News* (No. 128, 13 (26) June 1914, p. 2). Displayed were books, newspapers, magazines, music sheets, etc. According to the organisers, about 500 publications printed mostly in other countries were missing, for instance, in America. The 30th anniversary was counted from the first national monthly, also a newspaper, called *Dawn*, which was published in Ragainė and Tilžė in 1883–1886. The first copy was signed by the publisher Jonas Basanavičius (1851–1927, a scholar and physician, a Lithuanian public figure, one of the most prominent figures who strove for the country's independence. On 16 February 1918, twenty members of the Lithuanian Council chaired by him declared Lithuania's independence, and Basanavičius was the first to sign the Act of Independence).

At the beginning of the 20th century, among Lithuanian periodicals, there were various newspapers and magazines that represented different political trends, societies, or private persons. According to Jonas Bulota, before the First World War their goals and readership became evident. For instance, Catholics published in Kaunas the magazines and newspapers *Nedėldienio skaitymas* (*Weekly Reading*, 1905–1907), *Vienybė* (*Unity*, 1907–1914), *Draugija* (*Society*, 1907–1914), the first Lithuanian cultural humour and satire newspaper *Garnys* (*Heron*, 1910–1914, 1922–1929) and in Seinai and Vilnius – a newspaper *Šaltinis* (*Spring*, 1906–1915); the Nationalists published in Vilnius the newspapers *Viltis* (*Hope*, 1907–1915) and *Vairas* (*Wheel*, 1914–1915); the Liberals were represented by the newspapers published in Vilnius the *Lietuvos žinios* (*Lithuanian News*, 1909–1915) and *Lietuvos ūkininkas* (*Lithuania Farmer*, 1905–1915) and their supplements; the LSDP published in Vilnius the newspapers *Naujoji gadynė* (*The New Time*, 1906–1907), *Skardas* (*Echo*, 1907) and *Žarija* (*Ember*, 1907–1908); in Vilnius in 1910–1911, the Social Democrats had the journal *Visuomenė* (*Community*). There were also specialised publications – *Lietuvos bitininkas* (*Lithuanian Beekeeper*, 1905), *Žemdirbys* (*Farmer*, 1909–1913), publications for students and young people *Draugas* (*Friend*, 1904–1905), *Jaunimas* (*Youth*, 1911–1914), *Pavasaris* (*Spring*, 1912–1914), *Aušrinė* (*Dawn*, 1910–1933) and *Ateitis* (*Future*, 1911–1940); publications for teachers – the newspaper *Mokykla* (*School*, 1909–1914) and magazine *Mokytojas* (*Teacher*, 1914), for women – *Lietuvaite* (*Lithuanian Girl*, 1910–1914), for children – *Šaltinėlis* (*Little Stream*, 1906–1914), the journal initiated by the composer Juozas Naujalis *Vargonininkas* (*Organist*, 1909–1910), literary and art journal *Vaivorykštė* (*Rainbow*, 1913–1914), *Teatras* (*Theatre*, 1911–1914), in 1907–1936 *Lietuvių tauta* (*Lithuanian Nation*), a scientific publication was published.⁷

As it can be seen from the list of Lithuanian periodicals, the end of 1914 and early 1915 was a critical time when, with the First World War approaching and after it broke out, most of the Lithuanian press was discontinued.⁸ In 1914 and

⁷ Jonas Bulota, “Periodinės spaudos raida Lietuvoje. XVI–XX a. pirmoji pusė“, in: *Žurnalisto žinynas*, Kaunas, 1992, 23–38, http://www.spaudos.lt/Spauda/Periodines_spaudos_raida.htm [2014 08 25].

⁸ According to Laima Laučkaitė, “The Germans [who entered Lithuania in 1915] were not only well-armed, they had a well-prepared propaganda machine, as well as the basics for modern printing houses; therefore they started publishing their own newspapers after the closure of the local newspapers in the occupied territories”. In Vilnius the newspapers *Zeitung der 10. Armee*, *Wilnaer Zeitung*, and the illustrated weekly four-page supplement *Bilderschau der Wilnaer Zeitung* were published; the latter is considered perhaps the most important source of the wartime images of Vilnius. In these publications, the German artist and graphic artist Walter Buhe (1882–1958) published his drawings and illustrations. He lived in Vilnius

1915, various cultural institutions were also disrupted. The Vilnius Art Society that devoted attention to Lithuanian music stopped its activities (in operation from 1907); in 1914, the Vilnius City Theatre that was opened in 1785 ceased holding performances;⁹ in 1915, the Music School of the Vilnius Department of the Imperial Russian Music Society was transferred to Russia (est. 1873),¹⁰ in the Vilnius City Hall (now the Lithuanian national Philharmonic) a German military hospital was opened during the war; in Kaunas the organ school that was opened in 1914 suspended its activities and renewed its work in 1919. When the Germans took Vilnius, the Rūta Society that used to organise concerts, lectures, performances was closed (est. 1908); in Kaunas, the Daina Society was closed (est. 1899; the Kaiser's authorities allowed it to resume its activities in 1917); in Šiauliai, the war interrupted the work of the Varpas drama, music and song society, in Marijampolė it was the Gabija Society that intended to hold a song festival in Suvalkija in August 1914. The withdrawal of Lithuania's intelligentsia from Vilnius in 1914 interrupted but did not stop the activities of the Lithuanian Education Society Rytas and so on.

Nevertheless, war only paralysed the country's cultural life, but did not put an end to it. Part of the Lithuanian intelligentsia withdrew (for example, to Russia), others considered it their duty to stay in the country. For instance, the composer, organist and conductor Juozas Naujalis (1869–1934) moved from Kaunas to Švenčionėliai with his family in the summer of 1914, later to Vilnius, where he formed a choir and gave concerts,¹¹ worked as a music teacher at the Rytas Gymnasium¹² that was opened in the autumn of 1915. It is known that Naujalis associated with the dramatist Gabrielius Lansbergis-Žemkalnis (1852–1916),

in 1916–1918, and depicted the city's inhabitants, monuments, as well as various events (see: Laima Laučkaitė, "The Image of an Occupied City: Walter Buhe's Vilnius of the First World War", *Art and Artistic Life During the Two World Wars*, Vilnius, 2012, 121–140).

⁹ In 1845, the Vilnius City Theatre was located at the present-day Town Hall; there was also an opera company and operas were staged.

¹⁰ The Vilnius branch music school can be considered perhaps the most important professional institution of musical education in Lithuania. From 1906, the violinist Jascha Heifetz studied there, and in 1908–1918, the pianist Elena Stanek-Laumenskienė was a teacher (she had studied piano at the Moscow Conservatoire under Alexander Scriabin and Konstantin Igumnov). When the school was closed in 1915, it was "evacuated together with instruments, students and the staff" and continued its activities in Moscow (see: Janina Stankevičienė, "Muzikos mokymo įstaigos", in: *Lietuvos muzikos istorija, I knyga. Tautinio atgimimo metai 1883–1918*, in: ed. Dana Palionytė-Banevičienė, Vilnius, 2002, 176–177).

¹¹ For instance, the weekly *Dawn* carried an advertisement that "J. Naujalis continues the work with the choir and asks the singers to attend the rehearsals at the St. Nicholas Church hall" (*Dawn*, No. 28, 22 July 1915, p. 359).

¹² Ona Narbutienė, *Juozas Naujalis*, Kaunas: Šviesa, 1989, 53–54.

who, at a little hall in St. Nicholas Church, rehearsed Mikas Petrauskas' operetta *Adam and Eve*,¹³ while in Panevėžys, in January and March of 1915, the performances of the operettas *Adam and Eve* and *Consilium facultatis* by Petrauskas were held.¹⁴ Other teachers who taught at the Rytas Gymnasium were the composer and organist Father Teodoras Brazys (1870–1930), who lived in Vilnius in 1907–1917 and taught music; he also taught singing at the Vilnius Seminary and also worked as the choir and orchestra conductor at Vilnius Cathedral.¹⁵ In the summer of 1914, after his studies in St. Petersburg, the composer and conductor Stasys Šimkus (1887–1943) returned to Lithuania, which is documented in a news item in August in 1914 in the newspaper *Wheel*: “Stasys Šimkus, graduating from the Petrograd [St Petersburg] Conservatoire, settled in Vilnius. He gives music lessons: piano, composition theory, etc. Lidskij per. No. 7. Lithuanian Science Society”.¹⁶ Having just returned, on 5 June 1914 Šimkus gave a concert¹⁷ of his music at the Kaunas City Theatre; living in Vilnius he led a choir and held rehearsals at the premises of the Saulė School and at St. Nicholas Church;¹⁸ he also taught music at the Lithuanian two-class school.¹⁹ Various Vilnius periodicals gave a wide coverage of Šimkus' concerts with the choir, among the most prominent were Evening of Lithuanian Songs at the Officers' Hall on 9 February 1915, where harmonised and original Lithuanian folk songs were performed; the composer played his piano pieces, while Stasys Šilingas gave the lecture *Tautų dainų genesis* (*Genesis of National Songs*).²⁰ At the Katche Gymnasium on 19

¹³ Ona Narbutienė, *Ibid.*, 53.

¹⁴ Gražina Daukšaitė, *Ibid.*, 101.

¹⁵ Dana Palionytė-Banevičienė, “Teodoras Brazys“, in: *Lietuvos muzikos istorija*, *Ibid.*, 358.

¹⁶ *Vairas*, No. 14, 30 August 1914, p. 16.

¹⁷ See concert program: *Kauno miesto teatras. Birželio 5 d. 1914 m. Programas St. Šimkaus veikalų koncerto*, <http://www.epaveldas.lt/vbsp/biRecord.do?biRecordId=32268> [2014 08 25].

¹⁸ The daily *Lithuanian News* carried several items about the invitation to attend the rehearsals (Nos. 15 and 28, 1915).

¹⁹ At the Lithuanian two-class school (address: Lydos skersgatvis 7, present Pranciškonų g. 3/Lydos g. 6) the composer's wife also worked as a teacher (*Aušra*, No. 42, 29 October 1914, p. 521).

²⁰ The 9 February 1915 concert received wide coverage in various publications: the weekly *Dawn* carried a comprehensive review (No. 7, 15 April 1915, p. 82), several announcements and reviews of the concert were published in the *Lithuanian News* (1915, No. 11, 13, 15, 16, 18) and *Hope* (1915, No. 21, 25, 26, 27, 30, 31, 33, 34). Attention should be paid to the fact that sometimes in the bibliography the wrong date of the concert is given – 1 February (see: Gražina Daukšaitė, “Lietuvių muzikos draugijų veikla Lietuvoje“, in: *Lietuvos muzikos istorija*, *Ibid.*, 91). At the beginning, the concert was planned for 1 February, but permission was denied and it was put off for a later date, which is recorded in the *Lithuanian News* (1915, No. 15, 16, 18) and *Hope* (1915, No. 27, 30, 31, 33, 34).

April 1915, songs by Šimkus, Čiurlionis and Sasnauskas were performed, the pianist P. Kimantienė played; Beethoven's symphony and Schubert's *Rosamunde* were performed together with Šimkus on the piano.²¹ The composer, conductor and educator Konstantinas Galkauskas (1875–1963) worked in Vilnius until his withdrawal to Moscow in 1915: on 1 November 1914, at a benefit concert at the Cadets' School, he gave a lecture entitled *Meno tikėjimo simbolis – muzika (Music as a Symbol of Faith in Art)*, sang at the 21 November 1914 evening of music, gave music lessons at the Cadets' and Vilnius Music schools, edited popular music library publications, helped the Vilnius Art Society, which on 8 December 1914 published the magazine *Meno diena (Art of the Day)* in five languages (Belarusian, Polish, Lithuanian, Russian, and Yiddish).²² Living in Vilnius during the First World War, was the opera singer Yosef Weinstein (Josif Vinogradov, 1866–1936), who was presented as a famous baritone of the Russian Empire in the 2002 *Freedman Catalogue Album* (in 1920, he emigrated to the US).²³

It is obvious that during the initial wartime years, the music life in Lithuania was slowed down first of all by the prevailing mood as “it would not be nice to be merry and have a good time when the sound of shelling is heard from the battle field nearby”.²⁴ On the other hand, Lithuanian evenings that were held at that time (their programmes usually consisted of one or two plays/performances and a musical part – a choir concert) acquired the role of fostering and promoting nationalism. A 1914 review noted: “The public came to like concerts with the more frequent participation of our people – S. Šimkus with his choirs,

²¹ The 19 April 1915 concert was described by the *Dawn* (announcement in No. 14, 15 April 1915, p. 176), *Lithuanian News* (announcements in 1915, No. 40, 41, 43, review in No. 46) and *Hope* (announcements in 1915, No. 79, 85, 86, 87, review in No. 88). Shortly after the concert, Šimkus, authorised by the Society for Aid to War Victims went to the US to collect funds. The weekly *Dawn* (No. 15, 21 April 1915) wrote about Šimkus' trip; the *Hope* wrote about the composer who left “two days ago” (No. 91, 24 April (7 May) 1915); the *Lithuanian News* carried an item that Šimkus was already in America (No. 75, 3 (16) July 1915), while issue No. 88 carried an article about how the composer succeeded in collecting funds (No. 88, 7 (20) August 1915).

²² See: Aldona Matulaitytė, *Konstantinas Galkauskas*, Vilnius: Vaga, 1975, 48–50; Markova, Vera. “Muziko švietėjo Konstantino Galkausko veikla XX a. I pusės Vilniaus kultūriniam gyvenimui“, in: *Lietuvos muzikologija*, 2005, 6, 93–95.

²³ Vida Bakutytė, “Yosefas Weinsteinas (Josifas Vinogradovas, 1866–1936): Haskalos siekių raiška vilniečio dainininko kūrybinėje biografijoje“, in: *Lietuvos muzikologija*, 2010, 11, 91–99.

²⁴ *Lietuvos žinios*, No. 186, 30 November (13 December) 1914, p. 2.

K. Petrauskis (soloist)²⁵ and others”.²⁶ The Lithuanian press often carried items about local choirs in various parts of the country (most often formed and led by the local organist).²⁷ The weekly *Aušra* (*Dawn*) in June 1915 carried an article entitled *Mūsų daina* (*Our Song*) urging people to pay attention to the importance of promoting Lithuanian song and melody (not words).²⁸ In several issues of the *Dawn* in 1915, there were announcements that books of hymns collected and harmonised for choir by Naujalis were on sale;²⁹ Lithuanian hymns and harmonised folk songs with music sheets, prepared by the composer Father Teodoras Brazys, and composers Šimkus and Naujalis were published.

Systemised information of the years 1914 and 1915 is given below: how musical life in Lithuania was covered in one of the main Lithuanian newspapers published in Vilnius – *Lithuanian News*. The beginning of the research period was chosen, taking into account the date of the declaration of the First World War, on 1 August 1914 (old style calendar 19 July),³⁰ while the end was deter-

²⁵ Kipras Petrauskas (1885–1968), an opera singer (tenor). The beginning of the national Lithuanian opera is linked with his name. The singer’s brother, the composer Mikas Petrauskas (1873–1937) is the author of the first Lithuanian opera *Birutė*.

²⁶ *Lietuvos žinios*, No. 1, 4 (17) January 1915, p. 1.

²⁷ For instance, *Dawn* issue No. 38 (1 October 1914, p. 467) carried a photograph of the Lithuanian choir in Rodūnia (Lyda County), led by Father J. Breiva, 1914; issue No. 15 (21 April 1915) carried a photograph of the composer Šimkus; in the column *From Lithuania* there were the following items:

No. 12, 1 April 1915, p. 150, in Varėna: the organist K. Mieliauskas formed and trained a choir that sings in four voices;

No. 15, 21 April 1915, p. 188, in Gegrėnai: for three years in that town there has been a musicians’ group that performs on festive days, but there is no organist to organize a choir;

No. 16, 29 April 1915, p. 202, in Semeliškės: 23 April an evening was organised; two performances were given; there was no choir, but the girls sang some local songs;

No. 17, 6 May 1915, p. 216, in Marcinkonys: it was written that the local choir is about to disband;

No. 22, 10 June 1915, p. 278–279, in Butrimonys: there was an item about a folk song concert on 3 May;

No. 23, 17 June 1915, p. 292–293, in Jieznas: the priest formed a choir, but the local organist is very rude with the choir members; a piano is needed to train the choir.

²⁸ A.[Antanas] Vaičiūnas, “Mūsų daina“, *Aušra*, No. 21, 3 June 1915, p. 263–264.

²⁹ Advertisements about hymnals were printed on the last page of the weekly *Dawn* in the following issues: Nos. 16–26, April–July 1915.

³⁰ That day, the *Lithuanian News* wrote on the front page (No. 159, 19 July (1 August) 1914): “The Austrian government presented the Austrian ultimatum to Serbia, Serbia gave a negative response to it, Franz Joseph officially declared war; nevertheless, still no one wants to believe that blood will be spilt. But there came a terrible piece of news over the telegraph: war has broken out, Belgrade is being bombarded”.

mined by the fact that in September 1915, the publication of this newspaper was stopped.³¹

Review of Lithuanian Music Events in the daily *Lithuanian News*

Lithuanian News was a political, social and literary newspaper for the intelligentsia, published in 1909–1915 in Vilnius by the company F. Bortkevičienė, Dr. K. Grinius & Co.³² Articles for the paper were written by its correspondents in Lithuania, as well as in Paris, London, Berlin, Stockholm, Warsaw, Prague, and Madrid. In 1914 and 1915, the official editor was the Lithuanian writer Žemaitė (Julija Žymantienė, 1845–1921).

Until the end of 1913, the newspaper used to be a weekly, from the beginning of 1914 it became a daily. When the war broke out in August 1914, not a single issue was published, in September there was one issue, and from October 10 the newspaper was printed three times a week. In August 1915, the publication of the newspaper was disrupted. The last issue came out on 5 (18) September 1915 and carried an item on the cover page: “Today, on 5 (18) September the Russian troops withdrew from Vilnius. Vilnius is Lithuania’s heart, the capital city of the Lithuanians. Soon, the German army will enter the city. A new life for Lithuania will start. What this life will be is too early to see. Let us be united, composed and strong, and avoid excesses”.³³

Over the period researched, 129 issues came out: in 1914–39 issues, in 1915–90 issues (Table 1, dates given in the old style calendar, the new-style date in brackets as it was printed on the newspaper).³⁴ The list of the information printed in the newspaper issues is divided into two groups: 1) items about the

³¹ The newspaper *Lithuanian News* that published the last issue (No. 90) on 5 (18) September 1915, later renewed its activities in Kaunas in 1922. A similar fate happened to another daily, the *Hope*, published in Vilnius: the last issue was printed on 19 September (6 October) in 1915 (No. 188), and was not renewed until 1991. The publication of the two newspapers, after the work of the post office stopped, was already disrupted in August 1915 (issues did not come out regularly), however, it can be gathered from the news in the last issues that the publishers intended to stay in operation for as long as possible. For instance, in August 1915, the Vilnius-based weekly *Dawn* printed the last issue (No. 31) on 30 August, although the editors declared that “the weekly, war circumstances notwithstanding, will continue to be published” (*Aušra*, No. 31, 30 August 1915, p. 394).

³² After an interval, the newspaper *Lithuanian News* was renewed in Kaunas in 1922–1940, after that in Vilnius 1990–1994 and since 1996, it has been published in Vilnius. In 1996–2000 it was a tabloid, since 2001 – a political, social and cultural publication.

³³ *Lietuvos žinios*, 5 (18) September 1915.

³⁴ The digital archive of newspaper *Lithuanian News* is available online: <http://www.epaveldas.lt/vbspi/biSerial.do?biRecordId=6814> [2014 08 25].

musical life in Lithuania, and 2) other information, connected with representatives of the cultural life of Lithuania, etc. (in the text *Other information*).

Table 1. Newspaper *Lithuanian News*, a list of published issues from 19 July (1 August) 1914 to 5 (18) September 1915

1914 – 39 issues

JULY 4 issues	Events in Lithuania	Other Info	AUGUST 0 issues	Events in Lithuania	Other Info
No. 159, July 19 (August 1) No. 160, July 20 (August 2) No. 161, July 22 (August 4) No. 162, July 25 (August 7)	2 3 1 -	- 1 - -	-		
SEPTEMBER 1 issue	Events in Lithuania	Other Info	OCTOBER 10 issues	Events in Lithuania	Other Info
No. 163, September 8	-	-	No. 164, October 10 (23) No. 165, October 12 (25) No. 166, October 15 (28) No. 167, October 17 (30) No. 168, October 19 (November 1) No. 169, October 22 (November 4) No. 170, October 24 (November 6) No. 171, October 26 (November 8) No. 172, October 29 (November 11) No. 173, October 31 (November 13)	- - - - - - - - - -	- - - - - - - - - -
NOVEMBER 13 issues	Events in Lithuania	Other Info	DECEMBER 11 issues	Events in Lithuania	Other Info
No. 174, November 1 (14) No. 175, November 5 (18) No. 176, November 7 (20) No. 177, November 9 (22) No. 178, November 12 (25) No. 179, November 14 (27) No. 180, November 16 (29) No. 181, November 19 (December 2) No. 182, November 21 (December 4) No. 183, November 23 (December 6) No. 184, November 26 (December 9) No. 185, November 28 (December 11) No. 186, November 30 (December 13)	- - - - - - - - - - 2 - - - -	- 1 - 1 - - - - - 1 1 - - -	No. 187, December 3 (16) No. 188, December 5 (18) No. 189, December 7 (20) No. 190, December 10 (23) No. 191, December 12 (25) No. 192, December 14 (27) No. 193, December 17 (30) No. 194, December 19 (January 1) No. 195, December 21 (January 3) No. 196, December 24 (January 6) No. 197, December 31 (January 13)	2 - - - - - 1 - - 1 - - - -	- - - - - - 1 - - 1 - - - -

Povilionienė, R.: References To Lithuanian Musical Life In Lithuanian...

1915 – 90 issues

JANUARY 12 issues	Events in Lithuania	Other Info	FEBRUARY 12 issues	Events in Lithuania	Other Info
No. 1, January 4 (17)	3	-	No. 13, February 1 (14)	2	1
No. 2, January 6 (19)	2	-	No. 14, February 4 (17)	-	-
No. 3, January 9 (22)	-	1	No. 15, February 6 (19)	2	2
No. 4, January 11 (24)	1	-	No. 16, February 8 (21)	1	1
No. 5, January 13 (26)	1	1	No. 17, February 11 (24)	-	-
No. 6, January 16 (29)	-	1	No. 18, February 13 (26)	1	-
No. 7, January 18 (31)	1	-	No. 19, February 15 (28)	-	-
No. 8, January 21 (February 3)	1	1	No. 20, February 18 (March 3)	1	2
No. 9, January 23 (February 5)	1	3	No. 21, February 20 (March 5)	-	-
No. 10, January 25 (February 7)	1	-	No. 22, February 22 (March 7)	-	1
No. 11, January 28 (February 11)	3	-	No. 23, February 25 (March 10)	-	-
No. 12, January 30 (February 12)	-	1	No. 24, February 27 (March 12)	-	1
MARCH 11 issues	Events in Lithuania	Other Info	APRIL 13 issues	Events in Lithuania	Other Info
No. 25, March 1 (14)	-	1	No. 36, April 1 (14)	1	-
No. 26, March 4 (17)	3	-	No. 37, April 3 (16)	-	-
No. 27, March 6 (19)	-	1	No. 38, April 5 (18)	-	-
No. 28, March 8 (21)	1	-	No. 39, April 8 (21)	1	1
No. 29, March 11 (24)	-	1	No. 40, April 10 (23)	3	1
No. 30, March 13 (26)	1	-	No. 41, April 12 (25)	1	-
No. 31, March 15 (28)	-	-	No. 42, April 15 (28)	1	-
No. 32, March 18 (31)	1	-	No. 43, April 17 (30)	2	-
No. 33, March 20 (April 2)	2	2	No. 44, April 19 (May 2)	-	-
No. 34, March 27 (April 9)	1	-	No. 45, April 22 (May 5)	-	-
No. 35, March 29 (April 11)	-	-	No. 46, April 24 (May 7)	1	-
			No. 47, April 26 (May 9)	1	-
			No. 48, April 30 (May 13)	-	-
MAY 13 issues	Events in Lithuania	Other Info	JUNE 12 issues	Events in Lithuania	Other Info
No. 49, May 3 (16)	-	-	No. 62, June 3 (16)	1	-
No. 50, May 6 (19)	-	-	No. 63, June 5 (18)	1	-
No. 51, May 8 (21)	-	1	No. 64, June 7 (20)	-	-
No. 52, May 10 (23)	1	-	No. 65, June 10 (23)	-	-
No. 53, May 13 (26)	-	-	No. 66, June 12 (25)	1	-
No. 54, May 15 (28)	1	-	No. 67, June 14 (27)	-	-
No. 55, May 17 (30)	-	-	No. 68, June 17 (30)	1	-
No. 56, May 20 (June 2)	-	1	No. 69, June 19 (July 2)	1	-
No. 57, May 21 (June 3)	-	-	No. 70, June 21 (July 4)	-	-
No. 58, May 24 (June 6)	-	-	No. 71, June 24 (July 7)	-	-
No. 59, May 27 (June 9)	-	-	No. 72, June 26 (July 9)	1	-
No. 60, May 29 (June 11)	1	-	No. 73, June 28 (July 11)	2	-
No. 61, May 31 (June 13)	-	-			
JULY 12 issues	Events in Lithuania	Other Info	AUGUST 4 issues	Events in Lithuania	Other Info
No. 74, July 1 (14)	1	-	No. 86, August 2 (15)	-	1
No. 75, July 3 (16)	-	1	No. 87, August 5 (18)	-	-
No. 76, July 5 (18)	1	-	No. 88, August 7 (20)	-	1
No. 77, July 8 (21)	-	-	No. 89, August 9 (22)	-	1
No. 78, July 10 (23)	1	-			
No. 79, July 12 (25)	1	-			
No. 80, July 15 (28)	1	-			
No. 81, July 22 (August 4)	1	-			
No. 82, July 24 (August 6)	-	-			
No. 83, July 26 (August 8)	-	-			
No. 84, July 29 (August 11)	-	-			
No. 85, July 31 (August 13)	-	-			
SEPTEMBER 1 issue	Events in Lithuania	Other Info			
No. 90, September 5 (18)	1	-			

July 1914

No. 159. 2 items:

1) Column *Theatre*: a comprehensive review about an event in Šilalė on 6 July. After the play/performance *Genovaitė*, the church choir sang several songs (the song *Ant kalno karklai siūbavo* should be mentioned), conducted by the organist Žurpauskis: “the voices are out of harmony, ... the choir is not prepared. The leader shows one thing, the singers do not listen. ... the impression is such as if some drunks were shouting”.

2) Column *Various News*, announcement: in Palanga, an evening is planned with a choir and songs (no date given).³⁵

No. 160. 3 items:

1) Column *Theatre*: in Josvainiai (Kaunas County) on 13 July, the performances *Genovaitė* and *Tarnas įpainiojo* were performed, the local choir sang during the intervals, conducted by the local organist.

2) Column *Theatre*, announcement: a concert in Naumiestis (Suvalkai prov.) on Assumption Day, on 15 August (new style), with soloists, choir, conductor Antanas Vaičiūnas, concert master Viktoras Žadeika, both graduates from the Warsaw Conservatoire.

3) Column *Theatre*, announcement: an evening in the woods on the estate of Guršauckis, on July 27; “senior teacher Mr. Vokietaitis wanted to have a Lithuanian choir singing, but instead of a choir others decided to put out a table laden with strong drinks”.

Other information. Column *Various News*: the composer Šimkus is mentioned, who came to the Palanga resort for the summer.

No. 161. 1 item:

1) Column *Announcements*: “K. Dambrauskienė’s piano and fortepiano storehouse moved to Vokiečių g. 3–6” (Vilnius).

No. 162. No information.

August 1914. *The newspaper was not published.*

September 1914

No. 163. No information.

October 1914

No. 164–173. No information.

³⁵ It is not known if the events advertised in similar announcements, took place, as a special permit was needed to hold a public event during the war, for instance from the governor, but it was not always granted. If there is information that the event announced was held, it will be mentioned in this article.

November 1914

No. 174. No information.

No. 175. Other information. Column *Lithuanian News*: the composer Čiurlionis was mentioned: the permanent exhibition of his paintings closed.

No. 176. No information.

No. 177. Other information. An obituary commemorating the 15th anniversary of the Lithuanian national anthem's author, Vincas Kudirka.

No. 178–182. No information.

No. 183–184. Other information. On 21 November, a meeting took place, at which the Lithuanian Society for Aid to War Victims was founded; the composer Šimkus was a candidate for the Society's committee (received 28 votes).

No. 185. 2 items:

1) Column *Lithuanian News*: in Pajstrys (Panevėžys County) on 16 October, a public school was consecrated; the local church organist works as the second teacher.

2) Column *Lithuanian News*: the organist in Lazdijai (Seinai County) failed to teach the young Polish people any folk songs.

No. 186. No information.

December 1914

No. 187. 2 items:

1) Column *Lithuanian News*, announcement: in Panevėžys on 6–7 December, Russian amateurs will give two concerts.

2) Column *Lithuanian News*: a new church in Anykščiai, “there is no organ in the church, but we have a good choir ...”.

No. 188–192. No information.

No. 193. 1 item:

1) Column *Lithuanian News*, announcement: in Vilnius “the Belarusian music-drama club decided to give an evening performance in aid of Lithuanian victims. A new operetta composed by Mrs. Kimontienė will be performed. The roles have already been given to actors and are being rehearsed” (no date given).

Other information. Column *Lithuanians Abroad*: in Moscow on 5–7 December, a fair was held; Lithuanians sang Lithuanian folk songs during the fair.

No. 194–195. No information.

No. 196. Other information. Column *Lithuanians Abroad*: in Moscow, a concert planned for 10 December did not take place (permission was not granted). These performers were planned: the singer Kipras Petrauskas, composer Šimkus with the choir from Moscow, and a music programme with ten Lithuanian folk songs, as well as songs harmonised by Šimkus and Čiurlionis (song list provided).

No. 197. 1 item:

1) Column *Lithuanian News*, announcement: in Vilnius at the end of January a “big Lithuanian concert” will be given; a choir will perform, conductor Šimkus (no date given, likely 1 February, see below No. 11).

January 1915

No. 1. 3 items:

1) in the article *1914 metų apžvalga (A Review of 1914)*: “The public came to like concerts with more and more of our people taking part – St. Šimkus with his choirs, K. Petrauskis (soloist) and others”.

2) Column *Lithuanian News*, announcement: a concert is planned for 6 January at the Vilnius City Club.

3) Column *Lithuanian News*, announcement: a concert is planned at the Kaunas City Theatre on 18 January, with the participation of the Šančiai Lithuanian Choir, conductor Kavaliauskas, a military orchestra.

No. 2. 2 items:

1) Column *Lithuanian News*: the organist of the church in Marijampolė, J. Benderavičius, did not prepare the choir for Christmas, therefore, “this year the parishioners were surprised”.

2) Column *Lithuanian News*: in Alunta on 28 December, an evening program was held: two performances and a choir concert. The church choir, led by the organist Karosas, sang.

No. 3. Other information. Column Lithuanians Abroad: A concert is planned in Smolensk (Russia) and Šimkus has been invited (no date given).

No. 4. 1 item:

1) article *Kultūros pramoga (Cultural Entertainment)*: the importance of folk songs and musical programmes is stressed, mention is made of Mikas Petrauskas and the opera *Birutė*.

No. 5. 1 item:

1) Column *Lithuanian News*: in Žagarė, on 28 December a Lithuanian evening program was organised, there was one performance, the choir, conducted by the organist J. Grigaitis, sang. It was stressed that this was already the fourth evening program.

Other information. Column Lithuanians Abroad: in Riga before the New Year, the Lithuanian community theatre organised an evening program; “the songs and recitations failed”.

No. 6. Other information. Column Lithuanians Abroad: in St Petersburg on 3 January, the local Lithuanian society organised an evening program (no information if there was a musical part).

No. 7. 1 item:

1) Column *Lithuanian News*: in Žagarė, on 4 January, there was a party for children around a Christmas tree, a choir performed.

No. 8. 1 item:

1) Column *Lithuanian News*: in Panevėžys, on 11 January, an evening program was organised, a performance of Mikas Petrauskas' operetta *Adam and Eve*.

Other information. Column *Lithuanians Abroad*, announcement: in St Petersburg on 1 February, students are organising an evening program (see below No. 9, 12, 16, 20).

No. 9. 1 item:

1) Column *Lithuanian News*, announcement: in Vilnius on 25 January, at the hall of the Intellectuals' Club, at 1 a.m. Ignas Jurkūnas (Ignas Šeinius) will deliver the lecture *Meno problemos (On Art Problems)*, Jadvyga Čiurlionytė at the piano (see below No. 10, 11).

Other information, 3 items:

1) Column *Lithuanians Abroad*, announcement: in St Petersburg, at the Pollak music and drama school hall (Galernaja ul. 33) on 1 February, students are organising a big evening concert (see above No. 8, below No. 12, 16, 20);

2) Column *Lithuanians Abroad*: in Moscow, the Lithuanian Students' Society organise songs and music evenings every other week;

3) Column *Lithuanians Abroad*, announcement: at the Riga Lithuanian theatre on 29 January, an evening program is planned, which includes a play and songs.

No. 10. 1 item:

1) Column *Lithuanian News*, announcement: in Vilnius "today" [25 January] at the Intellectuals' Club hall at 1 a.m., a lecture-concert is being organised (see also issue No. 9, below No. 11).

No. 11. 3 items:

1) Column *Lithuanian News*: in Vilnius on 27 January,³⁶ the lecture-concert was successful, Jurkūnas presented a lecture *On Art Problems*, Jadvyga Čiurlionytė played Čiurlionis' compositions for piano.

2) Column *Lithuanian News*, announcement: in Vilnius, at the Intellectuals' Club on 1 February, an evening of Lithuanian songs is being organised, with a women's and mixed choirs, conductor Šimkus; Šimkus also will play several of his compositions on the piano. Stasys Šilingas will deliver the lecture *Tautų dainų genezsis (Genesis of National Songs)* (see below No. 13, 15, 16, 18).

3) Column *Lithuanian News*, review: in Vilnius, at the Philharmonic Hall on 25 January, a Belarusians' evening program took place, the operetta *Zaloty*

³⁶ The wrong date must have been given as the concert-lecture took place on 25 January.

(*Match-Making*) was performed; mentioned were the author of the music, Mrs. M. Kymontienė, and the singer, Strazdas.

No. 12. Other information. Column *Lithuanians Abroad*, announcement: in St Petersburg, at the Pollak hall on 1 February at 7 p.m., students are organising a gala evening concert; two plays *Kova (Fight)* and *Be šulo (No Heavyweight)*, the director G. Vaičkus, the performers musicians Vaičkienė, Grigaitienė, Dvaranavičaitė, Kutnauskas, the composer Tallat-Kelpša are mentioned (see above No. 8, 9, below No. 16, 20).

February 1915

No. 13. 2 items:

1) Column *Lithuanian News*, announcement: at Vilnius, at the Intellectuals' Club on 1 February, at 8 p.m., an evening of Lithuanian songs is being organised, with a women's and mixed choirs, conductor Šimkus; Šimkus also will play several of his compositions on the piano. Stasys Šilingas will deliver the lecture *Genesis of National Songs* (see above No. 11, below No. 15, 16, 18).

2) Column *Lithuanian News*: at the Kaunas City Theatre on 24 January, a Lithuanian-Russian concert was performed. Participants: the Šančiai choir, conductor Kavaliauskas, accompanied by a military orchestra (the Lithuanian songs mentioned).

Other information. Column *In Latvia*: an article about cultural and musical life in Riga.

No. 14. No information.

No. 15. 2 items:

1) Column *Lithuanian News*, announcement: the Evening of Lithuanian Songs was not staged in Vilnius on 1 February; it was put off for 9 February, 8 p.m. (see above No. 11, 13, below No. 16, 18).

2) Column *Lithuanian News*: Šimkus will hold a rehearsal for the choir singers on at 3 p.m. on 8 February at the premises of the Saulė School.

Other information. 2 items:

1) Column *Lithuanians Abroad*, announcement: in St Petersburg, a concert evening will be held at Easter time;

2) Column *Lithuanians Abroad* review: in Riga on 29 January, a patriotic evening was held, with a choir, conductor Kačanauskas, some Lithuanian songs are mentioned.

No. 16. 1 item:

1) Column *Lithuanian News*, announcement: in Vilnius at the Officers' Club on 9 February at 8.30 p.m., an Evening of Lithuanian Songs will take place (see above No. 11, 13, 15);

Other information. Column *Lithuanians Abroad*, review: in St Petersburg, at the

Pollak school hall on 1 February, an evening concert was staged, Grigaitienė and Kutkauskas sang, with concert master Tallat-Kelpša at the piano (see above No. 8, 9, 12, below No. 20).

No. 17. No information.

No. 18. 1 item:

1) Article *Lietuvių dainos vakaras (Evening of Lithuanian Songs)*: review about an evening that was staged in Vilnius, on 9 February, the choir sang the harmonised songs and songs by Čiurlionis and Šimkus, Šimkus played his piano compositions *Andante* and *Scherzo* (see above No. 11, 13, 15, 16).

No. 19. No information.

No. 20. 1 item:

1) Column *Lithuanian News*, review: in Raseiniai on 24 and 25 January, a Russian-Lithuanian concert performance was staged, Lithuanian songs were performed. The same evening program was held in Šiluva on 1 February.

Other information. 2 items:

1) Column *Lithuanians Abroad*, announcement: in Moscow on 20 February, a concert-lecture is being organised, Šimkus and his choir will take part, Čiurlionis' piano compositions will be performed (see below No. 25, 26).

2) Column *Lithuanians Abroad*, acknowledgements: in St Petersburg on 1 February, a play and a concert were held; gratitude were expressed to the director Vaičkus, musicians Grigaitienė, Dvaranavyčaitė, Vaičkienė, Tallat-Kelpša and Kutkauskas (see above No. 8, 9, 12, 16).

No. 21. No information.

No. 22. Other information. Column *Lithuanians Abroad*, announcement: in Riga on 7 March, an evening for families is being organised; a play and songs are planned, a duo, quartet and a concert part.

No. 23. No information.

No. 24. Other information. Column *Lithuanians Abroad*, announcement: in Riga after Easter, the Latvian clergy is putting on a concert of songs, Lithuanian, Estonian, Latvian, Jewish and Polish choirs are invited.

March 1915

No. 25. Other information. Column *Lithuanians Abroad*: in Moscow on 20 February a concert-cum-lecture was put on. The lecture was interrupted by the police, the concert took place (see above No. 20, below No. 26).

No. 26. 3 items:

1) Column *Lithuanian News*: in Vilnius, St. Nicholas Church hall on 1 March, artists from Naumištis held a Lithuanian evening; the program included a play, a recital and solo singing.

2) Column *Lithuanian News*, announcement: in Anykščiai, an evening will be held for Easter, with a play and songs on the program.

3) Column *Lithuanian News*: in Seda (Telšiai county), there is no choir; forming a church choir is planned.

Other information. Column *Lithuanians Abroad*, review: in Moscow on 20 February, a concert-cum-lecture was held. The choir conducted by Šimkus gave a performance (mention is also made of the conductor Bieliūnas, who taught the choir), Čiurlionis' piano Sonata, Humoresque, Prelude in B flat minor and other pieces were played by Petražickaitė; the songs harmonised by Čiurlionis and Šimkus are mentioned. A review is given of the concert in the Russian press (see above No. 20, 25).

No. 27. No information.

No. 28. 1 item:

1) Column *Lithuanian News*, announcement: in Vilnius, St. Nicholas Church hall 8 March, 6 p.m., a meeting (rehearsal) of the Lithuanian choir, conductor Šimkus.

No. 29. Other information. Article *Dailės draugijos susirinkimas (Art Society Meeting)*: in Vilnius in October 1913, the Čiurlionis Gallery was open until 1 November 1914, 227 pictures were on display; a report about the activities of the Čiurlionis group.

No. 30. Other information. Column *Lithuanians Abroad*, review: in Riga on 7 March, the Kanklės Society organised an evening performance of Lithuanian pieces, Volovičaitė and the Russian singer Sokolovskis performed, piano music was played.

No. 31. No information.

No. 32. 1 item:

1) Column *Lithuanian News*, announcement: in Mažeikiai a Lithuanian evening is being organised for the Sunday after Easter, the program includes a play and songs (see below No. 34).

No. 33. 2 items:

1) Column *Lithuanian News*, announcement: in Vilnius, Rufa, on 9 February³⁷ at 4–8 p.m., an event for children is being organised, later there will be a concert.

2) Column *Theatre*: in Skiemiai (Šiauliai County) an event was organised (no date given). The choir was conducted by the organist.

Other information. 2 items:

1) Column *Theatre*: in Riga on 2 February, Kanklės Society organised an evening program, with the little girl Onytė singing, song music by Šimkus;

³⁷ The date must be wrong. The exact date is not established.

2) Column *Theatre*, announcement: in Warsaw, at the Orpheon hall 22 February³⁸, 8.30 p.m., an evening will be held. The program includes a play; the Warsaw Lithuanians' Mutual Aid Society's choir will sing, conductor Ratušinski, songs by Iešmanta, Naujalis, Sasnauskas, Šimkus mentioned.

No. 34. 1 item:

1) Column *Lithuanian News*, announcement: in Mažeikiai, a Lithuanian evening is being organised for the Sunday after Easter, on the program – a play and songs (see below No. 32).

No. 35. No information.

April 1915

No. 36. 1 item:

1) Column *Lithuanian News*: in Kairiai (Šiauliai County) a school teacher teaches children to read, write and sing in Lithuanian.

No. 37. No information.

No. 38. No information.

No. 39. 1 item:

1) Column *Lithuanian News*: in Anykščiai, at the Survila Hall on 23 March, an event was organised, on the program – two plays, a girl, Daugirdaitė, sang, accompanied by the violin and Survila at the piano.

Other information. Column *Lithuanians Abroad*, announcement: in Riga on 11 April, an event with songs is organised.

No. 40. 3 items:

1) Column *Lithuanian News*, announcement: in Vilnius, at the Katche Gymnasium, 19 April, a Lithuanian evening is being organised, choirs will perform, conductor Šimkus, the pianist Kymantienė (see below No. 41, 43, 46).

2) Column *Lithuanian News*: in Panevėžys on 20 March, a Lithuanian evening was held, soloists Palakarnis and Frankaitė.

3) Column *Lithuanian News*: in Griva (Kuršas prov.), there have been no Lithuanian evenings for a second year.

Other information. Column *Lithuanians Abroad*, announcement: in St Petersburg, at the Comedy hall on 11 April, an evening program organised, there will be a “concert part”.

No. 41. 1 item:

1) Column *Lithuanian News*, announcement: in Vilnius, at the Katche Gymnasium on 19 April, a Lithuanian evening will be organised. The programme includes about 20 folk songs, songs by Šimkus, Čiurlionis and Sasnauskas; a choir

³⁸ The wrong date. It should be 20 March (2 April) 1915.

will sing, conductor Šimkus, the pianist Kymantienė, Kymantienė and Šimkus piano duet will play a Beethoven symphony and Schubert's *Rosamunde* (see above No. 40, below No. 43, 46).

No. 42. 1 item:

1) Column *Lithuanian News*, announcement: in Joniškis (Šiauliai County) on 5 April, the planned evening program did not take place (a choir was to sing, conductor Končius), it is planned for 19 April, a choir will perform, conductor Končius.

No. 43. 2 items:

1) Column *Lithuanian News*, announcement: in Vilnius, at the Katče Gymnasium on 19 April, a Lithuanian evening will be organised, the program includes about twenty folk and harmonised/original songs by Šimkus, Čiurlionis and Sasnauskas, a choir will sing, conductor Šimkus, the pianist Kymantienė, Kymantienė and Šimkus' piano duet will play a Beethoven Symphony and Schubert's *Rosamunde* (see above No. 40, 41, below No. 43, 46).

2) Column *Lithuanian News*, announcement: in Telšiai on 19 April, an evening was planned, a choir was to be invited, but permission was not granted.

No. 44. No information.

No. 45. No information.

No. 46. 1 item:

1) Column *Lithuanian News*, review: in Vilnius 4 April³⁹ a concert was held, the choir sang, conductor Šimkus, the pianist Kymantienė took part, songs were performed, Kymantienė and Šimkus together and separately played Beethoven's Sonatas No. 2 and No. 3, other compositions (see above No. 40, 41, 43).

No. 47. 1 item:

1) Column *Lithuanian News* review: Vilnius, St. Nicholas Church hall on 23 April, an event was organized, a choir led by Jadvyga Čiurlionytė sang, Čiurlionis and Šimkus harmonised songs were performed, there was a violinist.

No. 48. No information.

May 1915

No. 49. No information.

No. 50. No information.

No. 51. Other information. Column *Lithuanians Abroad*: it was written that "last year" in Warsaw, Lithuanians had their own choir, but it does not exist any more.

³⁹ The date is wrong, as the item is about the concert that was held at the Katče Gymnasium on 19 April 1915.

No. 52. 1 item:

1) Column *Lithuanian News*, announcement: in Vilnius, in Zakret, symphony concerts are planned (dates not given).

No. 53. No information.

No. 54. 1 item:

1) Column *Lithuanian News*: it says that at the church in Stakliškės (Trakai County), a choir of sorts was formed.

No. 55. No information.

No. 56. Other information. The article *Iš Amerikos lietuvių raštijos (On Writings by American Lithuanians)* deals with the magazine *Jaunoji Lietuva (The Young Lithuania)*; mention was made of the composer Mikas Petrauskas' book on Vincas Kudirka.

No. 57. No information.

No. 58. No information.

No. 59. No information.

No. 60. 1 item:

1) Column *Lithuanian News*, announcement: in Vilnius, St. Nicholas Church hall, choir rehearsals are held on Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays at 8 p.m., leader and conductor Iešmanta (see below No. 68).

No. 61. No information.

June 1915

No. 62. 1 item:

1) Column *Lithuanian News*, announcement and information about the past event: in Vilnius, Bernardine Garden, symphony concerts are planned for the summer, conductors Vout, Galkovski (Galkauskas) and Viležinski. The orchestra soloists: Karpilovski (violin), who graduated from Leopold Auer's class at the St Petersburg Conservatoire, and Kinkunkin ('cello). It is mentioned that the violinist Karpilovski performed concertos by Conus and Beriot at the symphony music concert in Vilnius on 1 May.

No. 63. 1 item:

1) Article *Iš Lietuvių mokslo draugijos (From the Lithuanian Scientists' Society)*, announcement: in Vilnius, at the hall of the Gurevičienė Gymnasium on 10–13 (23–26) June, a society's meeting will be held, on the program, between reports: Vytautas Bičiūnas' presentation on Mikalojus Konstantinas Čiurlionis, Jonas Basanavičius' *Gamta lietuvių dainose ir pasakose (The Nature in Lithuanian Songs and Tales)*, and Mykolas Biržiška's *Iš dainų rinkimo istorijos (History of Song Collection)* (see below No. 66, 69, 72).

No. 64. No information.

No. 65. No information.

No. 66. 1 item:

1) Article *IX visuotinis Mokslo draugijos susirinkimas (Lithuanian Scientists' Society's 9th Meeting)*: the 10 June Bičiūnas' lecture on Čiurlionis is reviewed (see above No. 63, further No. 69, 72).

No. 67. No information.

No. 68. 1 item:

1) Column *Lithuanian News*, announcement: in Vilnius, at the Švaibman's Dance School from 17 June at 8–10 p.m., choir rehearsals will be held on Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays at 8 p.m., leader and conductor Iešmanta (see above No. 60).

No. 69. 1 item:

1) Article *Lithuanian Scientists' Society's 9th Meeting*: Basanavičius' presentation, describing *Nature in Lithuanian Songs and Tales* (see above No. 63, 66, further No. 72).

No. 70. No information.

No. 71. No information.

No. 72. 1 item:

1) Article *Lithuanian Scientists' Society's 9th Meeting*: Introduction of Biržiška's lecture on Lithuanian song collection (see above No. 63, 66, 69).

No. 73. 2 items:

1) Column *Lithuanian News*: in Biržai the Lyra Music and Drama Society was established several years ago; it organised performances and concerts. However, at present the Society's activities are slack.

2) Review *Dėl tradicijinio 'rūtiečių' vakaro Vilniuje (On Rūta Traditional Evening in Vilnius)*: there is a detailed description of the evening of the Rūta Lithuanian Students' Society on 13 June,⁴⁰ the play and the musical part – a singer-

⁴⁰ In this *Lithuanian News* article, the event's date is not given, nor other factual data, i.e. what plays were performed (only the title is mentioned *Gedulių šeima*), or what music was performed (it is only said that it was solo sung, Kamaitis played the piano). Drawing on the fact that the characters in the play(s) are given (Mikas, Baltrus, Morta, Vytautas, Gimbutas, Kunigaikštienė, Žemaičių Kunigaikštis, Bilginas and Mirga), in the concert part, the name of the pianist Kamaitis and two reviews are criticised in this review published in the *Hope* (their authors P. Šapas and V-tis), it was established that the *Lithuanian News* wrote about the evening given by the Lithuanian Moscow students' society *Rūta*, which took place in Vilnius at the Officers' Club on 13 June (more about this event – *Hope*, 1915, No. 122, 127, 129, 130, 131). At the event, K. Puida's drama *Mirga* and Gustaitis' trilogy *Gedulių šeima* were performed, Morta Vaičkienė sang, accompanied by Juozas Naujalis, piano solo Kamaitis. It is not clear why the *Lithuanian News* carried no items that announced this event.

soloist and Kamaitis at the piano (“played very technically, but also ... without any feeling”); there is discussion about the reviews published in the daily *Hope* (1915, No. 136) (the authors given – Mr. Šapas and V-tis).

July 1915

No. 74. 1 item:

1) Column *Lithuanian News*, announcement: in Daugai (Trakai County) on 29 June, an evening is organised, on the program – the play *Amerika pirtyje (America in Bath)*. If it does not take place, there are plans to perform it on 12 July, the program includes the mentioned play and Mikas Petrauskas’ operetta *Adam and Eve* (see below No. 79).

No. 75. Other information. Column *Lithuanian News*: “S. Šimkus informed the Society that he is already in America and collecting money to support the war victims”.

No. 76. 1 item:

1) Column *Lithuanian News*, announcement: in Vilnius, St. Nicholas Church hall on 12 July, an evening will be organised, the program consists of two plays and a concert of choral music: “The composer, Mr Naujalis, who is in Vilnius, promised to teach the choir to perform a larger musical composition”.

No. 77. No information.

No. 78. 1 item:

1) Column *Lithuanian News*, announcement: in Vilnius on 11 June, after the joint evening of Lithuanian students from St Petersburg, Moscow, Warsaw and Dorpat,⁴¹ it will be organised again on 18 July, the program includes two plays and a concert of choral music; conductor A. Iešmanta (see below No. 80, 81).

No. 79. 1 item:

1) Column *Lithuanian News*, announcement and information about the past event: in Daugai (Trakai County) on 29 June, an evening was held, on the program – the play *Amerika in Bath*. On 12 July at 6 p.m.. one more evening is planned, the program includes Mikas Petrauskas’ operetta *Adam and Eve*, various national songs. A third evening is planned for 2 August. The events are being organised by the local organist A. Vanagaitis (see above No. 74).

No. 80. 1 item:

1) Column *Lithuanian News*, announcement: in Vilnius, at the Russian Club on 18 July at 7.30 p.m., an evening of Lithuanian students in St Petersburg, Moscow, Warsaw and Dorpat, on the programme – two plays and a concert of choral music, conductor A. Iešmanta (see above No. 78, further No. 81).

⁴¹ Dorpat – historical name for the city Tartu in Estonia.

No. 81. 1 item:

1) Column *Lithuanian News*: in Vilnius, at the Russian Club on 18 July, the planned evening of Lithuanian students did not take place as “all Vilnius residents from 18 to 50 years of age were to do military work on 16 July” (see above No. 78, 80).

No. 82. No information.

No. 83. No information.

No. 84. No information.

No. 85. No information.

August 1915

No. 86. Other information, column *Lithuanian News*. The composer Čiurlionis was mentioned: the *Lithuanian News* contributor, the late Vladas Juodišius was buried in the Rasos cemetery on 30 July, “next to the painter Čiurlionis’ grave”.

No. 87. No information.

No. 88. Other information. In the article *Iš Amerikos lietuvių gyvenimo (From the Life of American Lithuanians)* the composer Šimkus, who was sent to America to collect funds, was mentioned.

No. 89. Other information. Column *Lithuanians Abroad*: in Vladivostok (Russia) on 29 May, a concert took place with choirs from Latvia, Lithuania, Belarus, Poland, Russia and Japan taking part. The event was directed by Mr. Dvaranavičius. Two Lithuanian songs were sung, the Lithuanian choir was organised [conducted] by Mr. Kudirka and Mr. Vaitiekaitis.

September 1915

No. 90. 1 item:

1) In the article *Iš gduų visuomenės gyvenimo (From the Life of Belarusian Society)*, the activities of the Belarusian Society for Aid for War Victims are described, as well as plans to establish a school and a Belarusian newspaper. It states that the activities of the Vilnius Belarusian Democrats’ Club included a call to the Belarusian music-drama company, after a short break due to the circumstances connected with the war, to start work again.

This was the last issue of the *Lithuanian News* that came out on 5 September, when the German army entered Vilnius. It is obvious that the mentioned article was prepared beforehand and the optimistic mood prevailing in it soon changed. Other items in this issue openly write that the front line was approaching Vilnius. The column in *Lithuanian News* carries disturbing facts about the educated people who were leaving the city, and the situation in the press:

There were also some changes in the public life of the various nations, living in Vilnius. It can be said that most of the educated people left; fewer newspapers

came out. As for the Lithuanian newspapers, their publication was suspended for some time. Then, besides the *Lithuanian News*, *Hope* and *Dawn* appeared again. The Polish *Kurjer Litewski* and the Russian *Vilenskij Viestnik* moved out. Instead of the *Kurjer Litewski* in Vilnius, the *Maly Kurjer* was published, while the large paper subsequently came out under the name of *Nowy Kurjer Litewski*, in Minsk.

...

Our educated people who have left. We have learned the addresses of some of them who have withdrawn from Vilnius and give them here: ...⁴²

In conclusion

The daily *Lithuania News* and other Lithuanian newspapers published in Vilnius, *Dawn* and *Hope*, with which the information published in the former is compared in this article, was, since the first years of publication, a platform suitable for disseminating information about art events. Various Lithuanian composers – Čiurlionis, Sasnauskas, Mikas Petrauskas, Šimkus, Tallat-Kelpša, Brazys, and Banaitis – contributed their articles and art reviews that dealt with music.⁴³ However, the paralysis that set in, in the musical life of Lithuania during the initial years of the war, is seen in the Lithuanian periodicals from the aspects of number and content. Naturally, attention focused on a review of the military events in the country and elsewhere. For instance, the *Lithuanian News* constantly carried the column *War*, while the column *The Great European War* featured on the first pages of the *Hope*.⁴⁴ The column *Theatre*, which often appeared in

⁴² Among the persons mentioned are: A. and A. Bulota, J. Žimantienė (Žemaitė), D. and M. Sleževičius, P. Leonas, Stasys Šilingas, M. Višinskienė, doctor J. Bagdanavičius, doctor S. Matulaitis, agronomist J. Kriščiūnas, engineer Čiurlys, businessman D. Šidlauskis, doctor Laumianskis, J. Balčikonis, dentist Biliūnienė, painter Varnas-Rikkers, J. Kubilius, doctor Pietaris, gymnasium teacher Z. Žemaitis, doctor Alseikienė, teacher Šakenis.

It is estimated that on the eve of the war and when it actually broke out, about 700,000 of Lithuania's inhabitants withdrew to Russia of their own will or the authorities forced them out, of whom about 300,000 were Lithuanians ("Gyventojai. Istorinė demografinė apžvalga", in: *Visuotinė lietuvių enciklopedija*, 12, Vilnius: Mokslo ir enciklopedijų leidybos institutas, 2007, 108)

⁴³ Dana Palionytė-Banevičienė, "XIX a. pabaigos–XX a. pradžios lietuvių muzikinis gyvenimas", in: *Lietuvos muzikos istorija*, Ibid., 21.

⁴⁴ In the *Hope*, the name of this column was being changed constantly, which indicated that the military territorial expansion finally included Lithuania. At the beginning of the period researched, the column was called *Didysis Europos karas* (*The Great European War*); from 23 October (5 November) 1914 it was *Didysis pasaulio karas* (*The Great World War*); from 28 December (10 January) 1914, it was *Karas* (*The War*), while from 21 July (August 3) 1915, the column *Karas Lietuvoje* (*The War in Lithuania*) became the leading column.

the *Lithuanian News* until the beginning of August 1914 and also carried news about musical events, disappeared,⁴⁵ while separate items about concerts, open-air events or cultural events with musical programs, were transferred to the general information column in the *Lithuanian News*. Between 1914 and 1915, the number of critical texts devoted to music declined, and for the most part musical events were merely announced, but there were few comprehensive descriptions about the concerts which took place, nor was such information regularly published.

The review carried out testifies to the fragmentary description of musical life, from which one can see that during the first wartime months, the number of such reports decreased. Concerts and musical evenings became more actively publicised and reviewed in January 1915; in the spring and summer of 1915, there were announcements in every second or third issue, while at the end of July they disappeared almost completely.

According to the review of information on Lithuanian musical life that was published in the *Lithuanian News* from 19 July (1 August) 1914 – 5 (18) September 1915, one can distinguish five groups:

1) the announcement of events and brief factual information about the events that have already taken place. The texts of this nature account for a larger part of the information carried in the *Lithuanian News*. Although it is possible to see the country's cultural landscape through them and shows the situation not only in Vilnius or Kaunas, but also in the remote places of Lithuania, as it is recorded in issue No. 187 (3 (16) December 1914): allegedly there was a new church in Anykščiai which “still does not have an organ, but we have a good choir instead...”. Another instance: an item about the town of Biržai in the northern part of Lithuania, which was published in issue No. 73 (28 June (11 July) 1915). It says the Lyra Music and Drama Society was established several years before that organised performances and concerts; however, at present the society's activities are “slack”. Information such as appears on the last page of issue No. 161 (22 July 1914) can also be attributed to this group: the announcement carried about K. Dambrauskienė's piano and fortepiano storehouse testifies to the fact that there was a musical instrument shop in Vilnius at the beginning of the war, etc.

Such announcements informed the public that in Vilnius in 1914–1915, concerts were organised at several venues. Lithuanian musical evenings were held

⁴⁵ The column *Theatre* was published in only four issues: in No. 159 (20 July [1 August] 1914), No. 160 (20 July [2 August] 1914), No. 33 before Easter (20 March [2 April] 1915, incidentally, it was the only time that the issue did not carry the usual column *The War*) and No. 55 (17 [30] May 1915).

in the Intellectuals' Club,⁴⁶ the Officers' Club,⁴⁷ the St. Nicholas Church Hall⁴⁸ and the Katche Gymnasium Hall.⁴⁹ The Philharmonic Hall⁵⁰ and Russian Club⁵¹ should also be mentioned, as other national communities held concerts there. In the Bernardine Garden in the summer of 1915, symphony music concerts took place.

2) comprehensive descriptions of the events held, a genre of critical reviews. Reviews carried by the *Lithuanian News* are of a general nature. In some of them, however, the rudiments of critical musicology are seen. For example, the review of the pianist Kamaitis' performance in No. 73 (28 June (11 July) 1915) was evaluated ("he played very technically, but also... without any feeling"); besides that issue, there was a polemical review of the same pianist and event in the newspaper *Hope*.

3) culturological articles meant to educate the public, and promote the national identity. Here, several articles can be attributed to this event, which were published after the June 1915 meeting of the Lithuanian Science Society: an item was published in No. 66 on Vytautas Bičiūnas' report on Čiurlionis, given at this meeting; in No. 69 it was Jonas Basanavičius' report on Lithuanian songs, in No. 72 – Mykolas Biržiška's report on Lithuanian songs too.

4) general information of another nature, linked with representatives of Lithuanian musical culture or phenomena. For instance, in 1914, No. 160 in the column *Various News*, the composer Šimkus, who went to the Palanga resort in the summer, was mentioned. In No. 183–184, mention is made of this composer as he participated in the founding meeting of the Lithuanian Society for Aid to War Victims on 21 November 1914, and was a candidate for membership in the Society's committee.

5) a separate group of information, consisting of items about Lithuanians living abroad, should be mentioned in this review (column *Lithuanians Abroad*). Information was collected concerning musical events that often took place in the

⁴⁶ Now Gedimino pr. 22, Vilnius. In 1914–1915 Gediminas Avenue was called St. George Avenue (Jurgio pr. 22). Currently, the Vilnius Little Theatre is located at this address.

⁴⁷ Now Šv. Ignotas g. 6, Vilnius. The Officers' Club was on the so-called Ignatjev square (*Lithuanian News*, No. 15, 6 (19) February 1915); earlier there was a church on the site (*Lithuanian News*, No. 18, 13 (20) February 1915), i.e. St. Ignatius Church.

⁴⁸ Now Šv. Mikalojaus g. 4, Vilnius.

⁴⁹ The address of the gymnasium was on Junkerių Street; now likely M. K. Čiurlionio g. 21, Vilnius.

⁵⁰ In the announcements, it was said the Philharmonic was at the crossroads of Nižegorodo and Makarijaus streets.

⁵¹ Address Šv. Jono g. 21, Vilnius.

cities with the largest Lithuanian émigré communities, in Moscow, St Petersburg, Riga and Warsaw.

Nevertheless, the *Lithuanian News* was not concerned with cultural life in the whole of the country, but was particularly concerned with the musical life in Vilnius. For instance, in Vilnius there was a Polish theatre where Polish performers gave concerts, as well as a Belarusian theatre; the Belarusian music-drama circle organised concerts. In Vilnius from 1905 until the First World War, several symphony concerts would take place every year; in 1909, the Vilnius City Symphony Orchestra (its members were not Lithuanians) started its activities. In the summer of 1915, the orchestra gave eight classical music concerts and one concert of Jewish symphony music.⁵² However, the *Lithuanian News* carried only a couple of items about symphony music concerts over the period under research: the column *Lithuanian News*, No. 52, 10 (23) May 1915, carried an announcement that in Vilnius, in Zakret,⁵³ a concert of the symphony orchestra was planned (date not given). In the column *Lithuanian News*, No. 62, 3 (16) June 1915, there was an item about symphony orchestra concerts in the Bernardine Garden in the summer; and about the talented orchestra soloist, the violinist Karpilovski, who graduated from the St Petersburg Conservatoire in Leopold Auer's class, at the 1 May 1915 symphony music concert performed solo parts of music by the composers, Conus and Beriot.

Detailed information about concerts given by other national communities was published in the Polish and Russian newspapers. For example, the *Severo-Zapadnyj golos*, the Russian-Jewish periodical that was independent of the tsarist authorities and came out in Vilnius in 1898–1915, and the Polish newspaper *Przegląd Wileński* published news about the cultural events of other national communities. In the *Lithuanian News* such information was almost entirely missing, which shows that the *Lithuanian News* – a daily in Lithuanian – first of all, even when the war broke out, promoted Lithuanian realities and the national identity, especially in the multinational environment of Vilnius.

⁵² Gražina Daukšaitė, “Koncertinis ir muzikinis teatrinis gyvenimas Lietuvoje“, in: *Lietuvos muzikos istorija*, Ibid., 36–38.

⁵³ Vingis Palace (Vingis rūmai) on M. K. Čiurlionis Street, Vilnius.

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A CONCEPTUAL CONNECTION BETWEEN CLASSIC HEAVY METAL AND WORLD WAR I: THE CASE OF IRON MAIDEN'S 'PASCHENDALE' AND MOTÖRHEAD'S '1916'

Abstract: In this essay, I deal with the connections between World War I and the musical style of early Heavy Metal (HM). HM has always dealt thoroughly with the topic of war, sometimes criticizing it, sometimes celebrating it. While World War II is a very frequent, lyrical topic, World War I is definitely less addressed, for a number of reasons. I nevertheless argue that, in spite of this general lack of interest, with such a historical topic early HM shares the ideological perspective of a crisis in the existing systems of values.

Key words: classic or early heavy metal, World War I, Iron Maiden, Motörhead

In this study, I approach the relationship between World War I and the popular music style of classic heavy metal. Such a musical style can be traced back to the beginning of the 1970s and is usually considered to have been born in England and the USA.

I neither expect to give an ample analysis of any of the First World War causes, phenomena, events, or consequences, nor attempt an explanation of what classic heavy metal consists of in technical terms. Both endeavours would take a lifetime of academic work, and they are not the main point of this study. My purpose is to raise the awareness of a parallel relationship between the two topics of the study, which consists of a crisis in moral values and a loss of faith in optimistic world views.

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The paragraph *Characteristics of classic heavy metal* gives a short account of the main historical, musical, and contextual stylistic features of the genre.

The rise of heavy metal music and the end of the hippie movement points out – primarily by referring to previous literature – how original heavy metal re-elaborated many themes of the 1960s youth subculture, and blended them with working-class, blue-collar cultural patrimony. The point is to illustrate how this culture blending is a partial response to the disappointment with the ‘peace-and-love’ ideals, which entered a phase of decline and fall at the turn of the 1970s. Flower-power addressed many problems of contemporary society with a prescriptive attitude and the belief that they could be permanently solved, whereas classic heavy metal culture acknowledges them and fully understands their importance, though giving no prescriptive indication about how to deal with them. On the contrary, it looks like classic metal was born as a fantasizing way to successfully manage the disillusion and disappointment left by the decline of the hippie movement, without trying to find a solution to the same categories of problems.

The scarcity of references to World War I in classic heavy metal presents some plausible reasons why such a topic is less often addressed, musically or contextually, by classic heavy metal in comparison to other war topics, primarily World War II. Nevertheless, songs like ‘Paschendale’ by Iron Maiden and ‘1916’ by Motörhead are later presented as meaningful examples of classic heavy metal bands addressing WWI.

The crisis of moral values after World War I temporarily leaves music aside. It describes the role of the First World War in the radical change of values, which took place during the 19th and the 20th centuries; this multifaceted subject cannot be dealt with in detail here, and originated from a plurality of factors mostly related to the advent of the mass society. Such a change undermined the credibility of the all-embracing philosophical narrations of the Modern Age. In response to these optimistic models, others arose with a darker and more pessimistic cypher (each one to a different degree).

Direct references and conceptual connection: ‘Paschendale’ and ‘1916’ focus on the understanding of such a relationship as a parallelism: its common trait is the decline of an optimistic view after World War I, and at the rise of classic heavy metal from the ashes of the hippie movement. Of course, such a trend arguably originated for very different reasons in the two scenarios, and expressed itself in different ways. The crisis of morality, the interest in mysticism, and suspicion towards technology are the most outstanding of these tendencies. ‘Paschendale’ and ‘1916’ exemplify some of these elements in an excellent way.

As a result, a strong parallel between World War I and classic heavy metal can be established. The purpose of this study is not to establish WWI as a pri-

mary topic in this music genre, but it is rather to shed light on how – although seemingly, quantitatively so distant – they share a pivotal element of crisis as a constitutive cypher. The crisis in moral values and the hope for a better (i.e. a ‘progressive’) future was spawned from the immediate consequences of the war. The crisis in the flower-power ideals gave rise to many of the primary features of classic heavy metal.

Characteristics of classic heavy metal

Previous studies report many different opinions about when exactly heavy metal came into existence.¹ Walser states that the namesake albums *Led Zeppelin II* (1969), *Deep Purple In Rock* (1970), and *Black Sabbath* (1970), all produced by English bands, marked a fundamental milestone in defining the primary features of heavy metal.

The main musical characteristics include a) loud volumes and distortion; b) strong riffs usually played on the electric guitar, sometimes on keyboards; c) the frequent use, according to each singer’s style, of high-pitched strong vocals; d) the great display of virtuosity derived from the aesthetics of Western art music practice;² e) the predominance of modes other than major and minor, and a preference for modal harmony rather than tonic-dominant (i.e. ‘classical’) structures;³ f) the extensive use of power-chords. A power-chord is an amplified and distorted chord – usually performed on the guitar or keyboard – formed by the chord root, the perfect fourth or fifth, and sometimes also, the perfect octave.⁴

In the end of the 1970s, this once rather coherent genre began to split into sub-genres with further particular characteristics. *Extreme* metal enhanced the roughness and violence of the sound through heavier distortion, vocal harshness, aggressive and hectic drumming influenced by punk music, and frequent detuning of the string instruments in order to achieve a deeper and darker sound. Mainly due to its uncompromisingly violent characteristics, *extreme* metal has often been an esoteric genre, disinterested in achieving mainstream success, and

¹ Esa Lilja, *Theory and Analysis of Classic Heavy Metal Harmony*, Helsinki, IAML, 2009, 29–47; Robert Walser, *Running with the Devil: Power, Gender, and Madness in Heavy Metal Music*, Hanover, University Press of New England, 1993, 1–16; Deena Weinstein, *Heavy Metal. The Music and its Culture*, rev. ed., sine loco, Da Capo Press, 2000, 11–21, 43–45.

² Robert Walser, op. cit., 53–107.

³ For a definition of “mode”, Cf. Philip Tagg, *Everyday Tonality*, New York & Montréal, The Mass Media Music Scholar’s Press, 2009, 45–48.

⁴ Robert Walser, op. cit., 2–3. Esa Lilja, op. cit., 102–104.

targeted to an exclusive committed fandom.⁵ Metallica, Slayer, and Death are examples of *extreme* metal groups.

In contrast, *pop* metal has been orientated to the mass media since the very beginning of its existence. The birth of the television cable channel MTV in the USA in 1981 gave wide visibility to many *pop* metal acts, which proposed a less exclusive music than classic heavy metal. The musical characteristics are similar to the ones of earlier metal, except for the usually shorter duration of the songs – tailored to the format of mainstream radio stations –and the inclusion of various pop music elements. From the non-musical point of view, *pop* metal generally presents an androgynous outfit and make-up, and romantic lyrical themes. The successful *pop* metal bands are, for instance, Bon Jovi, Def Leppard, and Journey.

The rise of heavy metal music and the end of the hippie movement

Many agree that the sub-culture of classic heavy metal immediately assumed a distance from the flower-power ideals, which had been very influential among the younger generation throughout the 1960s.⁶ Some of the causes for such a rejection are certainly to be found in the social fabric of both the audience and the musicians' community.

Several historical events contributed to such dismay: the police action against the youth demonstrations in Chicago, Paris, and Mexico City; the murders of M. L. King and Robert Kennedy; the killings of students at the Kent State and Jackson State universities in the USA; the tragedy of Altamont in 1969, when a youngster was stabbed to death during a Rolling Stones' concert; the break-up of the Beatles; the Vietnam War and the protest movement related to it, etc. "Heavy metal was born amidst the ashes of the failed youth revolution".⁷

Weinstein states that the origins of the heavy metal sub-culture are rooted in the appropriation and re-elaboration of youth culture, achieved by blending its ideals about sexuality, politics, hedonism, drug use, and gender with the pre-existing cultural heritage of the working-class.

By the late 1960s, the youth culture had spilled beyond its origins in the fusion between political protest and romantic hedonism to become a style and a mood, a fashion and an ethos, which could be appropriated by youth outside the colleges and the middle class, the sites at which that culture originated.... Blue-collar, white, male youth found in the styles and hedonistic pursuits of the 1960s youth culture a means of justifying and enhancing their normal rebelliousness against conforming to the

⁵ Deena Weinstein, op. cit., 48.

⁶ Cf. *infra*, n. 1.

⁷ Deena Weinstein, op. cit., 13.

disciplines of a social order that did not provide them with privileges or an attractive future. They adopted the long hairstyle, the casual dress, the drugs, and the psychedelic music of the prevailing youth culture, but they preserved their traditional machismo and romance with physical power, which were epitomized by the images of the outlaw biker gang.⁸

Classic metal fans and performers were almost exclusively white people, from the lower or middle-level working-class, with a strong industrial background. The original members of Black Sabbath, for example, were all born and raised in Aston, an industrial district of Birmingham where the landscape, at the time of their adolescence in the 1960s, consisted of factories and wrecked buildings which had mostly been destroyed in the bombings of WWII.⁹

Lilja identifies five main themes which hippie culture transmitted to heavy metal: love, peace, drugs, mysticism, and musical style. Love maintained its previous connection to the theme of peace, such as a concrete, far more carnal dimension, mainly due to the development in contraceptives and the loosening of sexual intercourse from marriage.¹⁰ Peace, at least in its romantic ‘Lennonian’ interpretation, lost its credibility from Altamont onwards, “... a point after which faith in the goodness of mankind was no longer taken as self-evident – at least in rock circles”.¹¹ The anti-militaristic stance, especially against the Vietnam War, did not blow over but underwent a major attitude change, clearly replacing the typical hippie philosophy of ‘peace and love’ with “unmasked frustration and depression about mankind’s evil deeds”.¹² The point was the abandonment of faith in a better world, which gave way to the pessimistic descriptive (not prescriptive) addressing of the war topic.

Death became a particularly celebrated topic in classic heavy metal, especially when its protagonists were the musicians themselves, e.g. B. Scott (Ac/Dc), K. Moon (The Who), J. Bonham (Led Zeppelin). Death became a way of achieving immortality and a mystical aura in the memory of the fandom, and continued the hippie rock tradition of early demises, exemplified by J. Hendrix and J. Joplin, but also by the classical musicians such as Pergolesi, Mozart, Schubert, and Mendelssohn.¹³

Mysticism, sometimes in its darkest implications, was particularly famous as a topic in classic heavy metal. The bands Black Sabbath and Mercyful Fate built

⁸ *Id.*, 100.

⁹ Deena Weinstein, *op. cit.*, 75. Cf. *Id.*, 98–117. Cf. also Robert Walser, *op. cit.*, 180 n. 7.

¹⁰ Esa Lilja, *op. cit.*, 26.

¹¹ *Id.*, 27.

¹² *Ibid.*

¹³ Cf. *Id.*, 28.

most of their contextual references upon Judaic and Christian-based occultism; Jimmy Page and Ritchie Blackmore, two guitar heroes from the classic metal generation, were passionate about spiritualism and séances (Page, for example, was a collector of Aleister Crowley's memorabilia);¹⁴ outside the classic metal scene, Iron Maiden and Dio used Egyptian themes, later in the 1980s.¹⁵ Walser observed, anyway, how such a use of mythological references should not be taken literally:

... all have certain fundamental characteristics in common, not in terms of their 'real' history, but rather in terms of their present significance. Christianity, alchemy, myth, astrology, the mystique of vanished Egyptian dynasties: all are available in the modern world as source of power and mystery. Such eclectic constructions of power, which might be usefully called postmodern, are possible *only because* they are not perceived as tied to a strict historical context. All can be consulted, appropriated, and combined, used to frame questions and answers about life and death... Then, heavy metal surely qualifies as a religious phenomenon. But mystical metal draws upon the power of religious traditions without obeisance to any.¹⁶

Furthermore, Cope identifies a strong misogynistic feature in classic heavy metal, as exemplified by Led Zeppelin. This misogynistic element collides with most of what was expressed by the youth culture in the 1960s about gender equality and the role of women in society.

In other places, the lyrics of Led Zeppelin, in further drawing on the blues, frequently reflect the 'cheating woman' themes found within much rural and electric blues... The idea of the woman as 'lyin' [sic], 'cheatin', hurtin'', as heard in the opening line of 'Your Time Is Gonna Come', draws on the established precepts by upholding the woman as 'un-natural', as challenging the subordinated aspects of patriarchal dualities – man/woman, dominance/nurturance.¹⁷

The exiguity of references to World War I in classic heavy metal

If one considers war as "Hostile contention by means of armed forces, carried on between nations, states, or rulers, or between parties in the same nation or

¹⁴ Cf. Camille Paglia, "Cults and Cosmic Consciousness: Religious Vision in the American 1960s", *Arion: A Journal of Humanities and the Classics*, 10.3, winter 2003, Trustees of Boston University, 57–110.

¹⁵ Esa Lilja, op. cit., 28.

¹⁶ Robert Walser, op. cit., 154.

¹⁷ Andrew L. Cope, *Black Sabbath and the Rise of Heavy Metal Music*, Farnham, UK / Burlington (VT), USA, Ashgate Popular and Folk Music Series, 2010, 75–76.

Cf. Robert Walser, op. cit., 114–119.

Cf. Deena Weinstein, op. cit., 102–106.

state”,¹⁸ a great many immediate references between war and classic heavy metal can be found, mainly from the lyrical point of view, but also in the attempt of recalling the sounds and atmospheres of conflict through musical characteristics.¹⁹ While metal in its many afore mentioned forms has addressed war from many perspectives and with various evaluative attitudes – disapproval, idealisation, praise, historical description, etc. – through more than four decades of existence, classic heavy metal usually gives a negative moral judgment on most forms of war. This is exemplified by songs such as ‘War Pigs’ (1970) by Black Sabbath, ‘Child In Time’ (1970) by Deep Purple, and ‘Genocide’ (1976) by Judas Priest. Although few if any bands at all developed an explicitly declared political consciousness in their musical production, anti-militaristic lyrics and behaviour are relevant in the history of classic heavy metal.²⁰

When the field of inquiry is narrowed down to the two World Wars, one acknowledges that World War II is much more frequently mentioned as a topic than World War I. Understandably, the most common connection can be found in the lyrics, which often describe the events of WWII from the Allies’ perspective, since the vast majority of classic heavy metal bands came from the environment of Great Britain and United States. In a few rare cases, the music tries to imitate the sounds of war, mostly the clanking of tank girdles or the sirens of aeroplanes. The conspicuous amount of references to the Second World War can be possibly explained with various reasons:

1) Most classic heavy metal musicians were born in the immediate post-war period, which means they grew up surrounded by the most visible consequences of the conflict, and most likely heard about the war from their parents or relatives.

2) The Allies’ victory contributed to creating the idea of a ‘righteous’ war, and to exalting its most important or heroic deeds.

3) The Second World War was thoroughly documented through the mass media, such as newsreels, radio, films, and newspapers. Also, the alphabetisation and the possibility of access to information after WWII were generally higher than after WWI, thus musicians achieved a great amount of knowledge about the historical facts of their recent past.

But why are references to WWI much rarer than those to WWII in heavy metal? Although the chronological distance is the first possible cause that comes

¹⁸ “war, n.1.” OED Online. Oxford University Press, March 2014. Web. 10 June 2014.

¹⁹ An obvious but easily understandable example is the bolero march played on drums in ‘Child In Time’ by Deep Purple (1970).

²⁰ Andrew L. Cope, op. cit., 90.

to mind, it does not seem a reasonable one, since other less recent historical topics received more attention than World War I, e.g. the Norsemen's invasions in the Middle Ages. There are, though, other credible reasons.

1) The First World War was a conflict in movement only at its very beginning. After a few weeks or months, the positions became substantially stationary, and were held by trench warfare. Unlike the many swift and hectic assaults of WWII, the so-called 'war of attrition' primarily involved the use of resources, rather than the ability of commanders or the bravery of the combatants, therefore offering less 'epic' or sensational narrative material than WWII.

2) WWI was – politically speaking – quite consistent with most wars fought in the previous two centuries: its causes were mainly economic and territorial, which might have lessened its appeal as a lyrical topic. In the culture of the former Allied nations, on the contrary, WWII is often depicted as a fight for freedom from the tyranny of German National-Socialism.

3) The First World War deployed a vast array of technologically improved weapons of mass slaughter, e.g. machine guns, *barrage* artillery fire, and poisonous gas.²¹ Signs of such destructive potential had been revealed during the American Civil War (1861–65), but they had been sporadic and substantially unknown outside of the USA. The psychological consequences of the horrors of such technological massacre, which led to a massive number of men suffering from post-traumatic stress disorders unseen thus far,²² made many WWI veterans reluctant or unable to offer extensive accounts of their experiences, even if they had been able to keep their full mental sanity.

4) The political outcomes of the conflict were extremely disappointing compared to the initial expectations of a 'war to end all wars',²³ which was supposed to last just for a few weeks or months, and the view was held that the loss of

²¹ Cf. John Keegan, *The Face of Battle*, London, Jonathan Cape, 1976, 227–37, 243–46, 254–56, 305–07, 322–23.

Cf. Sir Douglas Haig, "Features of the War", document n° 952, Washington, Government Printing Office, 1919, web, accessed 20 June 2014, <http://net.lib.byu.edu/~rdh7/wwi/comment/haigvue.htm>.

Cf. "AEF Weaponry Resources", web, accessed 20 Jun 2014, <http://www.worldwar1.com/dbc/weapons.htm>.

²² Joanna Bourke, "Shell Shock During World War One", 2010, web, accessed 12 June 2014, http://www.bbc.co.uk/history/worldwars/wwone/shellshock_01.shtml.

YouTube, "Shell Shock 1914-18", 2013, web, accessed 12 June 2014, <http://youtu.be/faM42-KMeB5Q>.

²³ Cf. Herbert George Wells, *The War that Will End War*, London, Frank & Cecil Palmer Red Lion Court., 1914.

millions of lives had led to no benefit of any sort, inasmuch that Pope Benedict XV described it as ‘the useless carnage’.²⁴

The crisis of moral values after World War I

The process through which the moral values of modernity entered an irreversible crisis has countless causes. Such a phenomenon began in the second half of the 19th century, and the awareness of it emerged throughout European culture in various forms and degrees. Intellectuals such as Spengler, Nietzsche, Freud, Wilde, and many others – although in different manners, results, and prescriptive paradigms – acknowledged the twilight of modernity and the rise of mass society. Most great narrative frames conceived between the 17th and the 19th centuries, e.g. as Hegelian rationalism, economic capitalism, scientific positivism, lost their credibility: this brought an end to the idea that a single all-embracing key principle could explain the whole of reality and its complex processes.²⁵ Furthermore, the generally optimistic consideration of the human being was undermined by the gradual realisation that the human mind is multifaceted and multi-layered, that it often acts irrationally, and is sometimes driven by a compulsively destructive instance, which apparently contradicts – for example – the instinct of self-preservation.

The First World War did not *cause* these forms of disbelief, but it certainly made a major contribution in aggravating them. Some of the grounds exposed in the previous paragraph soon signalled how technological expansion could greatly help civilization, but could also lead it on the road to ruin. Not only did highly technological weaponry in a strict sense raise suspicion, but also ‘mechanisation’ and automatism in general,²⁶ which partly came from the development of mass industrial production. History ceased to be considered as a teleological process towards a better human society, since the World War had been the costliest in terms of human casualties and material resources until then, and had deployed new weapons meant to be as deadly and destructive as possible.

²⁴ Pope Benedictus XV, “Lettera del Santo Padre Benedetto XV ai Capi dei Popoli Belligeranti”, 1 August 1917, web, accessed 12 June 2014, http://www.vatican.va/holy_father/benedict_xv/letters/1917/documents/hf_ben-xv_let_19170801_popoli-belligeranti_it.html. The letter is also available in French language.

²⁵ Cf. Gilles Deleuze, *Nietzsche and Philosophy*, tr. H. Tomlinson, London and New York, Continuum, 2002, 147–194, et al.

²⁶ Cf. Franz Kafka, *In der Strafkolonie*, Leipzig, Kurt Wolff Verlag, 1919.

Id., *Der Prozess*, Berlin, Die Schmied, 1925. Kafka’s work is enlightening about the dangers of excessive bureaucratization and particularization of the social processes, which were a trait of the development of mass society.

In general, the European culture of the post-war period was dramatically influenced by this awareness: good examples can be found in the visual arts (Expressionism, the French *fauves*, the cinema of R. Wiene and F. Lang), philosophy (Bloch, Benjamin, Marcuse, Adorno, Russell), poetry (Ungaretti, Owen, Rilke), and prose (Kafka). The crisis of moral values and the dispersion of the individual self in the vastness of mass society contributed to starting many of the historical post-war phenomena, and facilitated the rise of fascisms and nationalisms, which took over in Europe throughout the next two decades.²⁷

Direct references and conceptual connection: ‘Paschendale’ and ‘1916’

Considering the scenario so far described, it is possible to identify at least three important conceptual connections between the two topics.

A first term of comparison is the revolution of moral standards and values, encouraged by the failure of previous ones. In the case of the post-World War I scenario, this phenomenon contributed to amplifying distrust in the old political categories, the loss of individual identity, and ultimately led to the rise of totalitarian regimes, which exploited the masses’ thirst for strong and determined leaders who promised a new golden age, often by recalling a glorious past: the Aryan race for Austro-Germans, the Roman Republic for Italians, the consolidation of the colonial empire for Great Britain, equality and socialism for the USSR. In the case of classic heavy metal, the actual failure of the ‘peace-and-love’ movements was re-elaborated in a blend of hippie and working-class heritage. Two of the afore mentioned examples are the relinquishment of active anti-militarism in favour of a fierce but discouraged disapproval of war, and the misogynistic cypher of early heavy metal.

A second common trait is the rise of interest in mysticism. Occultism and spiritualism were overtly part of the National-Socialist ideology, and were employed as an ancestral justification for the theory of supremacy of the Aryan race. Nevertheless, Nazism did nothing but exalt a school of thought which was already at a very advanced stage of development in the Germanic world, primarily due to the work of G. von List and J. Lanz, two Viennese scholars who were deeply involved in ancient German mythology, and had theorised – way before the outbreak of WWI – most of what Hitler wrote in *Mein Kampf* (1925) about the theory of the master race. The mythology of the elected race was a tremendously influential narration, and a successful tool for Nazi propaganda.²⁸

²⁷ Cf. among others Eric J. Hobsbawm, *Age of Extremes. The Short Twentieth Century*, London, Abacus, 1995.

²⁸ Goodrick-Clarke, *The Occult Roots of Nazism. Secret Aryan Cults and their Influence on Nazi Ideology*, London and New York, Tauris Parke Paperbacks, 2004 (1985), cf. especially 33–48, 90–105, 192–204.

Furthermore, while spiritualism had usually been considered as no more than lots of spectacular tricks in the 19th century (true science lying ‘elsewhere’), the post-war German scenario offered more interaction between official science and mysticism, as in the case of *Ariosophy*.²⁹ Other European totalitarianisms did not have such powerful occult elements, but still relied on a mythical past in order to enhance their own moral credibility. Classic heavy metal, as explained earlier, made extensive use of mythological and mystical contextual references, as well. The main characteristic of this usage is the re-appropriation of the meaning of such narrations, mainly untying them from their original context and religious implications. This process has resulted in a source of alternative reality, which can be inhabited without requiring a commitment of faith, and appears as a possibility to escape the disillusionment with contemporaneity and everyday life.

Technology is a third important connecting topic. The improved lethality of weapons employed on the battlefield and the increasing involvement of civil life in military industrial efforts amplified already existing forms of technophobia, which had been processed since the Romantic age.³⁰ In parallel, a similar distrust in technology can be found in classic heavy metal. ‘Children Of The Grave’ (1971) by Black Sabbath and ‘Electric Eye’ by Judas Priest (1982) are just two examples. In particular, classic heavy metal conveys the influence of the Cold War and shows serious concern about a possible ‘nuclear winter’, artificial intelligence, space war, alien invasion, mass warfare, and so on.

The connection between classic metal and WWI is exemplified in the songs ‘Paschendale’³¹ and ‘1916’.³² Despite being quite recent, thus outside the actual ‘early age’ of metal, they were composed and performed by two fundamental bands of that era, which retained most of the classic characteristics. Therefore, they can be fully considered as classic heavy metal songs dealing with WWI, in which some of the above mentioned themes appear.

‘Paschendale’ has a long complex structure, and a very detailed lyrical description of the battlefield; it expresses the meaninglessness of the conflict and the absence of any glory in the death of the soldiers, both for the Allies and the Germans. The idea of death as anything but ‘tragic’ in the classic Greek sense, being that it serves no higher purpose, is mirrored in the lyrics “*Many soldiers*

²⁹ *Ibid.*

³⁰ E.g. Mary Shelley, *Frankenstein: or, the Modern Prometheus*, London, Lackington, Hughes, Harding, Mavor & Jones, 1818.

³¹ Iron Maiden, *Dance Of Death*, EMG Records, 2003. For the complete lyrics, consult the link at http://www.metal-archives.com/albums/Iron_Maiden/Dance_of_Death/21633.

³² Motörhead, *1916*, WTG Records, 1991. Complete lyrics at <http://www.metal-archives.com/albums/Mot%C3%B6rhead/1916/948>.

eighteen years / Drown in mud, no more tears / Surely a war no one can win / Killing time about to begin"; furthermore, the combatants do not show any sign of bravery or nobility: *"In the smoke, in the mud and lead / Smell the fear and the feeling of dread"* denounce war as a mere massacre, despoiling it of any possible glorious dimension. At the same time, the uncompromising criticism of war is matched by the awareness that there is no hope for a reasonable solution to the conflict, and that – in a more general sense – mankind will keep on fighting until the end of its days, as proclaimed in the chorus: *"Home, far away / From the war, a chance to live again / Home, far away / But the war, no chance to live again"*. The recurring reference to gunfire, barbed wire and artillery offer a precise picture of the confusion and horror on the battlefield, also hinting at the increased destructive potential provided by technological discoveries: *"Whistles, shouts and more guns fire / Lifeless bodies hang on barbed wire"*, and later *"Cruelty has a human heart / Every man does play his part / Terror of the men we kill / The human heart is hungry still / I stand my ground for the very last time / Gun is ready as I stand in line / Nervous wait for the whistle to blow / Rush of blood and over we go"*. Furthermore, the lyrics offer a quite precise picture of the nervous tension of life in the trenches, constantly waiting for the next assault: *"Laying low in a blood filled trench / Killing time 'til my very own death / On my face I can feel the falling rain / Never see my friends again"*.

'1916' is a slow and solemn ballad, rather atypical in the otherwise hectic and punk-like style of Motörhead, presenting only three verses and no chorus. The lyrics describe how the point of view of a volunteer soldier changes as the war progresses. In the beginning, he takes up arms, moved by the noble ideals of homeland, religiousness, glory, and by the hope for a better society: *"16 years old when I went to war / To fight for a land fit for heroes / God on my side, and a gun in my hand / Counting my days down to zero"*. As the war goes on, he witnesses the slaying of his comrades, without any trace left of the previous spirit of greatness and nobility. Soldiers die side by side, screaming for their mothers, *"Clinging like kids to each other"*, and the fact that nobody will remember their names intensifies the senselessness, and the absence of glory in warfare in WWI.

As they are depicted in the song, the comrades are valuable only to their immediate neighbours on the field, but their identity and personalities are lost among the millions of casualties of a war which did not leave any heroic character to posterity (*"Though it wasn't my fault and I wasn't to blame / The day not half over and ten thousand slain / And now there's nobody remembers our names / And that's how it is for a soldier"*).

Conclusions

At a first glimpse, World War I seemed a theme of little importance in classic heavy metal, primarily due to its seldom being adopted directly as a contextual topic (even more rarely, compared to the sheer quantity of references to WWII). Examples like 'Paschendale' and '1916', though, prove the contrary. Furthermore, there is a more subtle connection, which derives from a common distrust in previous ideologies and moral values; the optimistic, progressive tendencies of Positivism, systemic dialectics (e.g. Hegelianism), and the natural sciences were heavily questioned starting from the second half of the 19th century, while classic heavy metal re-discussed the fundamental ideals of the 1960s youth sub-culture, giving them new contexts and meaning, mainly by re-contextualising them in the working-class background of values. In the specific case of the two mentioned songs, the focus is on themes such as the pessimistic criticism of war, the horrendous scenes of massacre caused by the technologically more advanced lethality of the means of warfare, and disenchantment with the mythology of a noble death on the battlefield.

What is important is to point out the similar direction towards which ideals moved: crisis, disbelief, pessimism. Understanding the common features of the two historical phenomena certainly helps to contextualise them and find out their causes and repercussions. World War I and classic heavy metal share being turning-points, the former is the macro-event, which possibly starts what Hobsbawm called 'the short century', and the latter is the beginning of one of the most controversial and revolutionary genres in popular music.

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THE GREAT WAR AND THE CHALLENGE OF MEMORY

Abstract: An assessment of the responses of “classical” composers to World War I. A discussion of the responsibilities of the composer as they respond to war will be followed by a presentation of four different “modes” of artistic response: “heroic,” “elegiac,” “denunciation,” and “reconciliation.” These responses represent different modes of expression by which composers are able to respond to events such as World War I. Specific works representing these responses – Arthur Bliss’ *Morning Heroes*, Alban Berg’s *Wozzeck*, Edward Elgar’s *Violoncello Concerto*, John Foulds’ *A World Requiem* and Benjamin Britten’s *War Requiem* – will also be discussed.

Key words: World War I, remembrance, memorialization in music, Paul Fussell

In this article I would like to discuss the relationship between World War I and the varying kinds of musical responses it generated. At the same time, and perhaps more importantly, I would like to discuss the relationship between war and remembrance itself, as seen from the standpoint of classical art music. Since the issue of how creative artists respond to historically cataclysmic events is a larger issue than just responses to this specific war by these specific composers, I will not confine my discussion exclusively to World War I. After all, it must be admitted that it is often difficult to separate the world wars: even Winston Churchill himself felt that World War II was simply the second part of a larger thirty years’ war.¹

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¹ P. M. H. Bell, *The Origins of the Second World War in Europe*. Harlow/London, Longman, 1988, 15.

One case in point concerning this conflation of the wars might be a work that is generally considered to be the single most famous musical response to war, Benjamin Britten's *War Requiem*. This extraordinary work – which is very much a World War II piece – is often mistaken as a World War I memorial because it uses the poetry of World War I poet Wilfred Owen. This misunderstanding has appeared most notably in Hew Strachan's short history of the war, *The First World War* (2003) where he states that Britten had “used nine poems by Wilfred Owen in his *War Requiem*, which he dedicated to the memory of four friends who had been killed in 1914–18.”² Given that Britten himself was born in 1913, the fact is that three of the four dedicatees of the *War Requiem* were killed in World War II between 1942 and 1944, and the fourth, who also served in that war, died in 1959. This error has been repeated often throughout the Internet.

Among the biggest challenges facing creative artists confronting the challenges of remembrance is the Holocaust, an event that has generated a tremendous amount of discussion about memorialization. Memorials are created, and each has inevitably brought its own kind of often bitter controversy. With this in mind, some of what I will discuss here will refer to the Holocaust as it has generated the greatest amount of discussion along these lines. I do not think this is entirely out of place: while the Holocaust has come to dominate issues of memorialization as they pertain to war and remembrance, it should be remembered that

It took a second world war to make the meaning of the first reasonably clear. ... In the Battle of Verdun, for example, casualties on both sides numbered over 750,000; at the Somme it was over 1,200,000 and the battle lines hardly changed. ... If Europeans could accept casualties on such a scale, they could accept almost anything in the way of slaughter. ... Verdun and the Somme opened the way to Auschwitz and Hiroshima.³

We are faced with another challenge when we consider memorializing World War I in music. While some of these events (World War II, the Holocaust, 9/11) remain within living memory, for the Great War – with the recent passing of the last surviving veterans – this is no longer true. This puts a particular responsibility on those who would wish to honor and memorialize that conflict.

The fact is, as time passes, the challenges of memory and memorialization become more complicated. The greatest danger seems to be the transformation of an event from its focus on survivors to the creators of what one might call

² Hew Strachan, *The First World War*, New York, Viking Penguin, 2003, xv-xvi.

³ Jack J. Roth, *World War I: A Turning Point in Modern History*, New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1967, 4–6.

“war mediations.”⁴ In an article about Steven Spielberg’s film *Saving Private Ryan*, author Nicholas Confessore stated that

For many Americans, World War II has been replaced by *World War II* – written by Stephen E. Ambrose, directed by Steven Spielberg, hosted by Tom Brokaw, and starring Tom Hanks.⁵

In other words, in the process of memorializing the war in that film, a distortion occurred that fundamentally changed our perception of that war, and not perhaps in an entirely good way.

Our perceptions of the Great War are no less a victim of this kind of distortion, and this occurs sometimes in surprising ways. In the preface to his anthology of First World War verse *Never Such Innocence*, editor Martin Stephen related an experience he had, interviewing a war veteran, a Norfolk man who had served during the war with the artillery:

He listened carefully as I waxed enthusiastic about Wilfred Owen and Siegfried Sassoon. Yes, he agreed, they were fine men, and fine poets. But, he added, I was not to think that they were altogether representative. ... He remembered the war with sadness, sometimes with repulsion, but more often with pride. They had taken on the most professional army in Europe, and beaten it in a fair fight.⁶

This example shows how even with the best of intentions the memorialization of events as complex and cataclysmic as World War I can sometimes distort the experience – however unintentionally – and shape it into something else.

The challenge of artistic memorialization, however, goes beyond even this. One of the most famous dictums on Holocaust memorialization was that of philosopher Theodor Adorno, who wrote:

The critique of culture is confronted with the last stage in the dialectic of culture and barbarism: to write a poem after Auschwitz is barbaric, and that corrodes also the knowledge which expresses why it has become impossible to write poetry today.⁷

And while the slaughter on the Western Front pales in the face of the vast numbers of victims in the Holocaust, it would be wrong to belittle the dead of the earlier war simply because the numbers are smaller or that the victims were soldiers. In other words, one might just as easily say that to write poetry or music

⁴ Tim Cole, *Selling the Holocaust*, New York: Routledge, 1999, xii.

⁵ Nicholas Confessore, “Selling Private Ryan: Stephen Ambrose, Tom Brokaw, Steven Spielberg, and the Abuse of Nostalgia,” *American Prospect*, vol. 12, No. 17, 7 June 2002.

⁶ Martin Stephen, *Never Such Innocence: A New Anthology of Great War Verse*, London, Buchan and Enright, 1988, 7.

⁷ Theodor Adorno, *Prisms*, 1955, MIT Press. Reprinted London, 1967, 34.

after the deaths of 9,000,000 combatants and 7,000,000 civilians in World War I could also be seen as barbaric.

Nevertheless, we are confronted with war memorials in all forms of artistic media. Artistic memorials about World War I will continue to be written, and this is as it should be and, in fact, as it must be.⁸

I would like to present what I see as the problems concerning war memorialization in the form of a circular paradox:

[1] *We have an obligation to remember war and to commemorate and honor both its victims and its survivors.*

This may seem like stating the obvious, but there are significant challenges that artists must face if they are to meet this obligation. While we are reminded of George Santayana's famous statement that "those who cannot remember the past are condemned to repeat it",⁹ some historical events represent significant challenges to conventional memorialization. In a 1974 essay entitled "Cloud of Smoke, Pillar of Fire," Rabbi Irving Greenberg offered a "working principle" for memorialization of the Holocaust, which could be applied, I believe, to the memorialization of any major modern conflict. He wrote:

Let us offer, then, as a working principle the following: No statement, theological or otherwise, should be made that would not be credible in the presence of burning children.¹⁰

Jeffrey Milligan, in his essay "Teaching in the Presence of Burning Children," responded to Rabbi Greenberg's dictum by saying:

[O]ne is tempted to remain silent in the face of such a principle lest anything one says falls short of it and risks banality, risks a trivial response to the most profound and troubling of human experiences. Moreover, the problem of evil and the inevitability of the tragic have vexed philosophical and theological reflection for centuries. [Greenberg's response] is simultaneously a call to speak out in response to such ex-

⁸ I should add here that in the interests of full disclosure, I have myself written many works along these lines, including a series of vocal works concerning the First World War: *MCMX-IV* (1985), *Kriegeslieder* (1988) and *Iyül' 1914/July 1914* (1991), culminating in a chamber opera based in part on Lyn Macdonald's *The Roses of No Man's Land* (1980) called *Diaries: A Parable for Voices* (1995), as well as *Night* (1997/2004), *Lamentationes Ieremiæ Prophetæ* (1998) and *In the Dark Times Will There Also Be Singing?* (2011) concerning the Holocaust. In each of these works, I have struggled with the questions I raise here.

⁹ George Santayana (1905) *The Life of Reason*, "Reason in Common Sense," New York, Prometheus Books, 1998, 82.

¹⁰ Greenberg, "Cloud of Smoke, Pillar of Fire: Judaism, Christianity, and Modernity After the Holocaust," in Eva Fleischer, ed., *Auschwitz: Beginning of a New Era?*, 23.

periences as well as a measure of the credibility of such speech. ... We must, therefore, respond, albeit from the ultimately inadequate, provisional and circumscribed locations of our own experience, understanding, and insight.”¹¹

While commemorating the Holocaust and commemorating the First World War are obviously two very different things, Rabbi Greenberg’s “working principle” underlines the seriousness of the task of remembrance. Put another way, it would do memorializations of the Great War a grave disservice if all that is done is to trot out arrangements of *It’s a Long Way to Tipperary* and *Pack Up Your Troubles in Your Old Kit-Bag*, as if these and other popular songs of the period fully summarized the war experience.

[2] In commemorating and remembering, however, we must acknowledge that we cannot possibly know or understand what the participants went through – the soldiers, the survivors, the victims – so therefore we have no right to pretend that we can understand, and as such, we must forego any right to speak for them: to do so would be an act of co-opting their suffering for our own purposes and as such would be morally and ethically wrong.

A very interesting take on this problem appeared in a recent article by Robert Zaretsky, “Dissolution: My Life as an Accidental Holocaust Expert – and Why I Decided to Quit,” where the author relates an experience he had addressing an audience as a Holocaust scholar where an elderly man raised his hand and announced he was a survivor.

[The man] suggested [that] anyone who tried to offer a literary or theoretical account of Auschwitz was little better than an interloper. I tried to respond but soon gave up; as a survivor, [the man] commanded not just the moral high ground but the ontological depths, too. What could I say? He was right: I had not been there. ... With a wince, I recalled Elie Wiesel’s claim: “Any survivor has more to say than all the historians combined about what happened.” As a historian, I knew Wiesel’s statement was nonsense; but as a Jew facing a survivor, I knew it was irrefutable.¹²

This clearly states the enormous challenge that memorializing the Holocaust – and by extension both world wars – presents to anyone who chooses to take it on.

[3] However, the only way that we can remember, to fulfill our obligation to remember and our obligation to the dead, is, in fact, to speak for the dead. Once the survivors are gone, and an event is no longer in living memory, they are no longer around

¹¹ Jeffrey Ayala Milligan, “Teaching in the Presence of Burning Children: Attending to Tragedy and Faith in Philosophy of/and Education,” *Educational Foundations*, 2003, 55–56.

¹² Robert Zaretsky, “Dissolution: My Life as an Accidental Holocaust Expert – and Why I Decided to Quit.” *Tablet: A New Read on Jewish Life*, 19 December 2011.

to bear witness. Therefore, even though co-opting the suffering of others is morally and ethically wrong, we must speak for them because ...

[1] We have an obligation to remember war and to commemorate and honor both its survivors and its victims.

It may seem that I have overstated my concern: after all, isn't any form of memorialization, if done with sincerity, meaningful? For myself, I believe it to be of great significance artistically. As a composer, one ignores these concerns at the peril of producing music that is dishonest to the subject matter it pretends to represent. It dishonors the memories of the survivors and the dead by creating what amounts to trivial or even distorted responses to some of the most profound and troubling of experiences in human history.

Four Responses

I am going to attempt to organize the musical responses to war into four categories. These categories, of necessity artificial, might help in bringing about an understanding about how art music has dealt with the subject of war and some of the challenges that these approaches create.

I am using as my model categories that Paul Fussell defined for the literature of World War I in his *The Great War and Modern Memory* (1975), a study of the cultural impact of World War I on modern society as seen through the literature of the group of British writers known collectively as "the war poets." Fussell divides that literature into three "modes": "epic," "realistic" and "ironic." The epic mode can be defined as where the hero stands above us, in the manner of gods; the realistic mode is defined as one where the hero's freedom of action is about the same as ours: our hopes and aspirations are theirs; finally the ironic mode is defined as where the hero's freedom of action is decidedly less than ours. His life is bounded by the grotesque, the absurd, and the imminence of death.¹³

I'm going to adapt Fussell's terms by calling my three "modes" – to which I will add a fourth – the "heroic mode," more or less equivalent to Fussell's "epic" mode; the "elegiac mode," equivalent to his "realistic" mode, a mode where the hero's tragedy is our tragedy and his suffering our suffering; and finally the "denunciation mode," loosely parallel to Fussell's "ironic" mode, where the hero, as the victim of the absurdity of war and the immanence of death denounces the actions of those who have put him in his predicament. To this I add a fourth mode, the "reconciliation mode," where the intent of the artist is not to celebrate

¹³ J. M. Winter, *The Experience of World War I*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1989, 226–229.

heroically, or to simply mourn, or much less to denounce, but to offer an artistic space where people may come together with a greater understanding of what is being memorialized. Of course, many pieces will not comfortably fit into these categories, but for our purposes they will be useful.

The Heroic Mode

While the war music of the 19th century often fits into this category, this is a mode that has tended not to serve war remembrance in the 20th century terribly well. It was in fact the First World War that changed this artistic climate: Paul Fussell observed,

We may conclude that, (as Francis Hope has said,) ‘In a not altogether rhetorical sense, all poetry written since 1918 is war poetry.’¹⁴

I would extend this to include really all forms of artistic expression and not just poetry. There were pieces that were written for the purposes of what can be described as propaganda. Certainly the former Soviet Union provides no shortage of examples of what was known as “socialist realism,” and these heroic pieces were often dreadful, even when written by otherwise fine composers.

There is one notable example of the heroic from the years immediately following the war. English composer Arthur Bliss (1891–1975), who served with the Royal Fusiliers during the war, found himself struggling with his wartime memories in the aftermath. By way of an act of exorcism, he began to compose a new work. The result was *Morning Heroes* (1930). This large-scale work scored for speaker (called “orator”), chorus and large orchestra struggles at times to find a musical and gestural language appropriate for expressing the nearly inexpressible. The piece attempts to present the war heroically, using texts from Homer’s *Iliad* (“Hector’s Farewell to Andromache”), Walt Whitman’s *Drum Taps* (“The City Arming”), as well as poems from two war poets, Wilfred Owen (“Spring Offensive”) and Robert Nichols (“Dawn on the Somme”). It is not always a comfortable mix that Bliss creates between the war poems and the spoken text from the *Iliad*, and the work could be described as being somewhat overly grandiose in its rhetoric. It is clear that Bliss was attempting what some would say was the impossible by trying to cast World War I in terms of ancient Greek epic/heroic models.

Denunciation Mode

The denunciation mode is probably the most familiar response to the modern artist. It is, in fact, almost a required part of the contemporary artist-figure,

¹⁴ Paul Fussell, *The Great War and Modern Memory*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1975, 325.

vociferously condemning an insensitive and ignorant public for their aesthetic blindness and moral shortcomings. However, in the years immediately following the end of World War I, any piece that denounced the war would clearly not serve the needs of a public still in mourning. Because of the nature of its more public presentation, music had greater difficulty offering denunciations of the war in the years that followed than did the painters, poets and authors of the period. Poets such as Siegfried Sassoon, painters such as Otto Dix and authors such as Robert Graves contributed to our popular sense of World War I being a war that, in the words of historian Leon Wolff, “had meant nothing, solved nothing, and proved nothing.”¹⁵

One problem composers immediately ran into was that outside of the musical experiments of modernist composers such as Arnold Schönberg, Béla Bartók and others, traditional musical languages seemed insufficient for describing what they had experienced. So it is not surprising that probably one of the most successful denunciation responses to the war came in the form of Alban Berg’s (1885–1935) opera, *Wozzeck*. While not specifically a World War I piece, the work was written when the composer was on leave from his regiment in 1917–1918 and shows the influence of the war in its treatment of its title character. In him we have the perfect manifestation of the tragic-comic hero whose life is bounded by the grotesque and the absurd. One can also see echoes in *Wozzeck* of earlier works that dealt with similar kinds of victims, from Arnold Schönberg’s *Pierrot Lunaire* (1912) – whose “moon-drunk” Everyman is presented in a series of grotesquely tragicomic vignettes; to Igor Stravinsky’s *Le sacre du printemps* (1913), whose death of a “chosen innocent” before watching “elders” became chillingly prophetic (the work was originally titled “The Victim”).¹⁶

In *Wozzeck* Berg found a perfect expression of the feelings of victimization that permeated Europe after the war. The title character is unable to connect in any meaningful way with the world around him, and ends up destroying the one person he loves (Marie) and ultimately destroying himself. He is a tortured Everyman, a victim of the meaninglessness of post-war life. Berg’s musical language juxtaposes passages of almost romantic tonality and lyricism with a far harsher atonal expressionism, a perfect mixture of musical language that few composers were able to master.

¹⁵ Leon Wolff, *In Flanders Fields: The 1917 Campaign*, London, Penguin Books, 1979, 317.

¹⁶ Modris Eksteins, *Rites of Spring: The Great War and the Birth of the Modern Age*, New York, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1989, 39.

Elegiac Mode

In recent years the elegiac mode has taken on greater prominence than even the denunciation mode. Elegiac works can be hard to pin down to a specific event: oftentimes the grief expressed is one that goes beyond words, and, thus, the original inspiration for the grief can sometimes be lost. One superb example is Edward Elgar's *Concerto for Violoncello and Orchestra in e minor*, op. 85 (1918–1919). This work is a powerful and heartfelt elegy, and is one of the most moving examples of elegiac war music from the 20th century. One of its more extraordinary aspects is the composer's decision to approach memorialization without the benefit of words. Elgar had written more overtly patriotic works with text, such as *The Spirit of England* (1916) using poems of Lawrence Binyon and *The Fringes of the Fleet* (1917), and using the poems of Rudyard Kipling. However, the *Violoncello Concerto* is the far superior memorial. Its haunting 9/8 theme – written in March 1918 in Sussex, where the composer could hear artillery from across the Channel – drew the composer out of a period of inactivity brought on by the war. As an instrumental piece it is not possible to assign specific meanings or interpretations to various moments. Nevertheless, insofar as an elegiac response to the war, the *Violoncello Concerto* is one of the finest examples of the genre.

Reconciliation Mode

I define this fourth mode as an attempt on the part of the composer to go beyond the earlier modes: these pieces are not interested in patriotic display; nor are they content to “point a finger” and call down righteous wrath upon monstrous war-mongers. And they are not simply offering a dirge for the fallen, however heartfelt. These works are attempting to get past these responses into a more transcendent realm that pleads for peace without shirking responsibility for war in the first place.

There are few works that have achieved this transcendence in my mind: while certain works seem to fulfill this role, even though they are not technically “war pieces” (Beethoven's *Symphony No. 9* is a good example), among works that were written in response to World War I specifically, John Foulds' (1880–1939) remarkable, if somewhat eccentric, *A World Requiem* (1918–1921) was certainly a noble attempt in this direction. For a brief time after the première on 11 November 1923, *A World Requiem* almost stood as the “official” musical response to the war. It received performances through 1926, at which point it fell from favour and lay neglected until a performance given on 11 November 2007 brought it out of obscurity.

A World Requiem is a curious work: it mixes elements of the heroic and the elegiac, but it is ultimately a powerful attempt at a broader and more inclusive

response to the war. Foulds avoids specifics as Bliss did with his use of war poetry; nor does he opt for a conventional religious response as might be expected in the years immediately following the war. The libretto, assembled by Foulds's wife Maud MacCarthy, is an elaborate mixture of lines from the *Missa pro defunctis*, the Old and New Testaments, Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*, and fifteenth century Hindumystic Kabir. It attempts to mix religious traditions still within a largely Christian context, in an attempt to create a more global awareness (there are calls to all quarters of the earth in the movement "Audite," and in the "In Pace" movement the word "Om" [spelled "Aum" in the score] – the mystical Sanskrit sound sacred to Hinduism, Buddhism and Jainism – is used). In the end, the strange mixture of texts and philosophies, along with a fairly conventional musical language, which at times is at odds with Bliss's conception of the piece, prevented it from becoming the "world requiem" the composer had hoped for.

Certainly the most successful reconciliatory work of the 20th century has been the *War Requiem* of Benjamin Britten (1913–1976). Written for the reconsecration of Coventry Cathedral in 1962, Britten's vast canvas brings widely disparate elements together for a work of unparalleled power and emotional impact. As indicated earlier, the *War Requiem* is not a World War I piece, for all that it has been popularly connected with that war. That being said, the *War Requiem* has become inextricably and perhaps unavoidably connected with the First World War both in the literature on the piece and even in one notable filmic interpretation (Derek Jarman's *Requiem* [1988], which superimposes a series of filmed silent vignettes over Britten's own recording of the piece from 1963).

Britten's *War Requiem* is unique among requiems in that it gives the dead the opportunity to have their say. When one remembers that a requiem is really intended for the living, this is an important distinction. The performing forces also reflect these disparate elements: it uses a full symphony orchestra with chorus, representing the massed voices of all people; a chamber orchestra with tenor and baritone soloists, representing the voices of the dead; and a boy's choir accompanied by a small organ that is used to project a kind of angelic liturgy that points beyond death. The texts also reflect this tension in Britten's combination of the *Missa pro defunctis* in Latin with Owen's poems in English.

The groups are in conflict throughout most of the piece. In the first movement, the "Requiem æternam," after the massed voices of humanity ask that the dead be granted "eternal rest" –intoned over chimes articulating a C – F-sharp tritone that dominates the work and which musically represent a dramatic tension inherent in the piece –the tenor soloist responds with the opening line of Owen's "Anthem for Doomed Youth": "What passing bells for these who die as cattle?" From the very beginning of the piece we are made aware that there will be no "comfortable words" in this requiem.

In the “Agnus Dei” Britten combines the two orchestras for the first time. The sacrificial message of both the Latin and English texts are important here. In the requiem Mass, the communicant asks to “*dona eis requiem, dona eis requiem sempiternam*/grant them rest, grant them rest everlasting.” However Britten departs from this by having his tenor soloist, who has so far been singing Owen’s “At a Calvary Near the Ancre,” add the Latin words from the daily Mass, “*dona nobis pacem*/grant us peace” in response, the only words in Latin sung by the soloists. This allows the dead to, in effect, cross over from their place to address a greater humanity. The entire movement is superimposed over an ostinato built off of the same C – F-sharp tritone. This is the moment of reconciliation for the *War Requiem*, between the living and the dead. It is a powerful and extraordinary moment.

Conclusion

Of the pieces discussed here, only a small number have successfully entered the popular imagination as an appropriate response to war. The challenges of memorialization being what they are, it is interesting to note that in two very recent works, Steve Reich’s Holocaust-themed *Different Trains* (1988) and John Adams’ 9/11 tribute *On the Transmigration of Souls* (2002) the composers depend on pre-recorded voices to make their point. Perhaps, in so doing, they avoid the pitfall of attempting to memorialize survivors in a voice different than that of the survivors themselves: in a sense it is left for the survivor alone to speak, a variation on Britten’s use of Owen’s poetry to represent the voices of the dead. These recorded voices bring a form of legitimacy to these composers’ memorializations.

And while this is certainly a graceful solution to the problems I have articulated here, it is by no means clear that it fully addresses the difficulties of memorialization. The voices, however authentic, are frozen in time: we cannot engage with these voices, we cannot talk to them or ask questions of them; the voices cannot be interpreted. In time, I fear that the voices would become predictable, their every nuance memorized and thus they will exist without spontaneity, without a necessary degree of immediacy. We already know what they are going to say and how they will say it: the reality, however horrific, becomes muted because the voices never change.

Nevertheless, however fraught with problems war memorialization continues to be, there is a vital role for the creative artist to play in our collective remembrance. There is a need for the kind of nuanced, carefully thought out response as seen in these works – a non-commercial response if you will – as this music has the power to bring us closer to understanding our feelings about

these events than any sentimental Hollywood blockbuster, however good the latter may make us feel.

One of the greatest fears of survivors is that they will be forgotten, that their experiences will no longer be remembered, or, worse, that their experiences will cease to be believed because later generations find the memory “inconvenient.” But when their voices are finally stilled with the passage of time, I would have to say that even the recordings of their memories won’t be enough. It will have to be interpreted: by historians, certainly, but also by artists. With all deference to Elie Wiesel, I can’t entirely agree with his statement that “any survivor has more to say than all the historians combined about what happened.” Their testimony is vital, of course, but it will become inevitably frozen: the living voice will be silenced, and only the memory will remain.

Creative artists can help. However, they must continually explore their motives and biases. They must consider the paradox of war and memory and attempt to treat the subject matter with the seriousness it deserves, that it is, in fact, entitled to. To forego this responsibility would dishonor the memory of these events.

The pieces mentioned here are only a very small sampling of works that deserve to be part of our collective consciousness relative to our memories of these events. The best of them are not designed to make us feel better about ourselves, nor are they designed to lay blame. They avoid the pitfalls of excessive patriotic display, overbearing self-righteous condemnation or of elegiac sentimentalization. They achieve a balance of the expressive modes I have presented here, with a recognition of mutual responsibility that allows for a reconciliation of them all. That is what they have to offer, and in so doing, they honor the memory. And this is what we are obliged to do.

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MUSIC OF THE GREAT WAR. OBSERVATIONS ON A NEGLECTED REPERTOIRE

Abstract: Little is generally known today about the music of the First World War. On the assumption that music has to be considered as extraordinary among all the media ‘distributing’ it (i.e. shaping its perception in various ways), my paper concerns three categories of music written under the influence of the Great War and in response to it: with music representing sovereigns and nations (based on the example of the musical glorification of the Habsburgs in WWI), in relation to the vanguard style and its employment as a signifier of the war and finally, the Great War’s ambiguous legacy in music.

Key words: First World War, Music History, Representation studies, Historical aestheticization

It is striking how little the music of the First World War is generally known today, not to mention its absence, mostly, from concert halls. Although this year’s anniversary was an occasion for some work to be published on the impact of the “seminal catastrophe of this century” on artists and composers, the actual music of the Great War, however, was hardly dealt with, at all. Apart from a few essays on individual, mostly biographical aspects, up to the present day there has been only one monograph that has actually been published in an endeavour to provide an in-depth analysis of music from the years 1914–1918.¹

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¹ Glenn Watkins, *Proof Through the Night. Music and the Great War*, Berkely, Los Angeles, London, University of California Press, 2003.

There seems to be no explanation for this neglect. Firstly, because of the sheer wealth of material that has survived. Secondly, because of the historical significance of this material. Recalling the renowned German researchers, Sven Oliver Müller and Jürgen Osterhammel's recent reference to the importance of music as a source for the historical sciences,² such disregard for WWI's compositional artifacts appears all the more inexplicable. To deal with the music of the Great War is also of tremendous relevance because on this basis, it is possible to demonstrate how this particular art form shapes the common perception and re-presents it.

As the war was a phenomenon that soon defied previous worldviews and therefore urgently raised demands for interpretation, even the role of music has to be considered as outstanding among all the media. On these assumptions, three aspects of music written under the influence of the Great War and in response to it shall be examined further. They consist of the categories of representation, sensation/trauma and legacy.

I. The Return of Representation: Propagandizing the Habsburgs in the Great War

Bearing in mind that for its 'distribution' all the media available at that time were used, it can be said that World War One was the first mass-media-led global conflict. Significant parts of these galvanizing practices, at that time called 'mental mobilization', were carried out by means of music³ and comprised the representations of nations and of ruling dynasties. The latter's emergence was not free of the paradoxical representation of monarchy which had largely lost importance due to the French Revolution and several crises of royalty in the 19th and early 20th century.⁴ Now, with the outbreak of the war, it underwent a fervid reactivation and even merged with the bourgeois ideology of nationalism. Ex-

² Sven Oliver Müller, Jürgen Osterhammel, "Geschichtswissenschaft und Musik", *Geschichte und Gesellschaft. Zeitschrift für Historische Sozialwissenschaft*, 38/2012, 1, 5–20.

³ Cf. Thomas Leibnitz, "Die Musen schiegen nicht. Zur Rolle der Musik in Österreich während des Ersten Weltkrieges", in: Manfred Rauchensteiner (ed.), *An meine Völker. Der Erste Weltkrieg 1914–1918*, Wien, Amalthea, 2014, 62–67; Frank Böhme, "Die auditive Mobilisierung. Musik und Propaganda", in: Sabine Schulz, Leonie Beiersdorf, Dennis Conrad (eds.), *Krieg und Propaganda 14/18*, München, Hirmer 2014, 32–39.

⁴ Christina Schröer, "Spektakel des Umbruchs. Politische Inszenierungen in der Französischen Revolution zwischen Tradition und Moderne", in: Barbara Stollberg-Rilinger, Matthias Puhle, Jutta Götzmann, Gerd Althoff (eds.), *Spektakel der Macht. Rituale im alten Europa 800–1800*, Darmstadt, WBG, 2009, 217.

amples of the musical representations of the Habsburg dynasty may illustrate this approach.

At the core of aural Habsburg representation was Joseph Haydn's *Volkshymne* (The Peoples' Anthem). For obvious reasons it was used numerous times in the Great War. The most spectacular adaptation may be found in the orchestral overture *Aus Ernster Zeit* (From Serious Times, 1914)⁵ by Felix von Weingartner, the famous conductor and one-time successor of Gustav Mahler. Not only did Weingartner in his piece let the *Volkshymne* crow over both the *Marseillaise* and the Tsarist anthem, but he also entrusted it to the organ, suggesting the Habsburgs' 'divinely legitimized sovereignty'. As if that wasn't enough, he combined it with the *Heil Dir im Siegerkranz* (Hail to Thee in A Victor's Crown), the old Prussian hymn, to produce a final apotheosis according to the emperor Franz-Joseph's motto *Viribusunitis* (With United Forces), which had been applied originally to the Habsburgs' multiethnic state, but referred in wartime to Austria's 'brother-in-arms', the German Reich – a strategy that was also realized in visual forms.⁶ Another combinative symbolization for representative purposes was created by Franz Lehár in 1915. In *Fieber* (Fieber),⁷ a 'poem for tenor and orchestra', he musically envisioned a doomed soldier in a military hospital, lying in agony, which reaches its point of culmination in a flashback of the assault he was wounded in. What makes *Fieber* remarkable is Lehár's interpolation of two favorite military marches, the *Radetzky-Marsch* and the Hungarian *Rákóczi induló* (Rákóczi march) during the episode of the troops' euphoric departure to war, clearly intended to function as an aural signifier of the Dual Monarchy.

But there was another musical symbol that was more suggestive than the aforementioned in representing the Habsburgs and Austria-Hungary, respectively: the *Prinz Eugen Lied* (Song of Prince Eugene of Savoy). Passed into history as the Habsburgs' most successful commander, the Prince was remembered first and foremost for his siege and conquest of Belgrade – the very event that gave the popular song its subject. Notwithstanding the historical fact that Prince Eugene had crusaded against the Ottomans, the song was extensively utilized in the Austrian publicity campaign against Serbia from the first days of the war onwards. A stage example can be found in Leo Fall's operetta *Die Kaiserin* (The

⁵ Simon Obert, "Komponieren im Krieg. Felix Weingartners Ouvertüre «Aus ernster Zeit»", in: Simon Obert, Matthias Schmidt (eds.), *Im Mass der Moderne. Felix Weingartner – Dirigent, Komponist, Autor, Reisender*, Basel, Schwabe, 2009, 187–216.

⁶ Werner Telesko, *Geschichtsraum Österreich. Die Habsburger und ihre Geschichte in der bildenden Kunst des 19. Jahrhunderts*, Wien, Köln, Weimar, Böhlau, 2007, 50–252.

⁷ Stefan Frey, "Was sagt ihr zu diesem Erfolg." *Franz Lehár und die Unterhaltungsmusik im 20. Jahrhundert*, Frankfurt/M., Insel, 1999, 180–181.

Empress, 1915), where it is sung by Franz Stephan of Lorraine, explaining his military victory by the ‘spiritual prefiguration of the Prince’. In so doing, *Die Kaiserin* linked the Eugene-myth not only with that of Franz Stephan, but also with that of his much more famous wife, Maria Theresa, whose cult grew to outright mythicization in the First World War.⁸ In Fall’s operetta she was presented as a charmingly maternal sovereign with a remarkable compositorial far-sightedness, for here, she was shown as the original inventor of the waltz, making dynasty and dance synonymous. Hugo von Hofmannsthal would come back to this idea in his essay on Maria Theresa (1917) where, in the penultimate year of the war, he gave the conjunction of the Habsburgs and the myth of the ‘Musikland Österreich’ (Austria – country of music) an enduring form: “The character of Maria Theresa’s world was mundane and naïve, and pious. It was filled with the will for order and nature and to be elevated to God. It was close to nature and when it was proud, it was genuinely proud without any stiffness and rigidity. Haydn, Gluck and Mozart are its essence which became the eternal spirit.”⁹ This enduring notion of Austria will not be described here, however, it should be noted that it also took on a radical form, not only in World War One, but even after the catastrophe of the Second World War as well, when, for instance, the Austrian composer Joseph Marx expressed these words in 1951: “He who does not enjoy those teachers (= W. A. Mozart, author’s note), does not deserve to be a man, and certainly not an Austrian.”¹⁰

As intended suggestions of continuity depend on the similarity of forms, the audio-textual representations of the Habsburgs in the Great War, whether in operettas, or in symphonic pieces, or in ideological, music-related statements, can be described as **normed**. It was only with the emperor Charles and his wife Zita’s accession to the throne in 1916 that some attempts were made to find new modes of representation, for which the new imperial couple’s young age became the starting point and was coined correspondingly in the phrase of ‘Jung-Österreich’ (Young Austria). For this, see the address of Crown Prince Otto as ‘Jung

⁸ Werner Telesko, *Maria Theresia. Ein europäischer Mythos*, Wien, Köln, Weimar, Böhlau, 2012, 177–186.

⁹ “Das theresianische Weltwesen war irdisch und naiv und voller Frömmigkeit. Es war voll Mut zur Ordnung und Natur und voll Erhebung zu Gott. Es war naturnahe und, wo es stolz war, voll echtem Stolz ohne Steifheit und Härte. Haydn, Gluck und Mozart sind sein unvergänglicher Geist gewordener Gehalt”, Hugo von Hofmannsthal, “Maria Theresia. Zur zweihundersten Wiederkehr ihres Geburtstages”(1917), in: Hugo von Hofmannsthal, *Der Brief des Lord Chandos. Schriften zur Literatur, Kultur und Geschichte*. Stuttgart, Reclam, 2000, 176.

¹⁰ Joseph Marx, March, 25 1951, quoted from: Erik Werba, “Joseph Marx. Zum 70. Geburtstag”, Beilage zur *Wiener Zeitung* [1952], 12 [Austrian National Library Sep. 672–c. S].

Österreichs Morgenrot'¹¹ (Young Austria's Dawn) in the song *Kaiserprinzchen* (Little Prince Imperial) by Robert Stolz and Arthur Rebner (1917) or Erich Wolfgang Korngold's *Hymn of Empress Zita* (1917), with the lyrics by Baroness Hedda Skoda, which features the image of Austria's youth paying homage to the new empress ("Young Austria steps forward and piously chants"¹²). Particularly worth mentioning is the operetta *Der Favorit* (The Favorite) by Robert Stolz (music) and Fritz Grünbaum and Wilhelm Sterk (lyrics), premiered in November 1916, in the very days the aged Franz-Joseph died. Supported by the passionate cantilena of a solo violin, the operetta's main hit "Du sollst der Kaiser meiner Seele sein" (You should be the emperor of my heart) interestingly uses an imperial vocabulary, but applies it to the intimate, thus oscillating between newly-sparked monarchism and subversion: "I know a state that is of no boundaries, I know an empire where a thousand tender thoughts are entwining my love's lane of roses. This is the state where I do live; this is the state that I give to you, on whose throne you are seated, in my heart's free state."¹³

2. Sensation and trauma

When Viennese musicologist Guido Adler predicted in 1915 in his lengthy essay *Tonkunst und Weltkrieg* (Musical Art and World War) that the "current art of war (...) is not expected to have a profound influence on the music of our time,"¹⁴ he significantly misjudged how the Great War would actually affect musical expression soon after its reality became clear. On the other hand, it is instructive to remember that the stylistic devices that were soon to be used for compositorial 'comments' on the war had already been developed before 1914: by Igor Stravinsky in Paris, Aleksandar Scriabin and Arthur Lourié in tsarist Russia, by Rued Langgaard in Denmark, by Luís de Freitas Branco in Portugal, by Arnold Schoenberg in Austria-Hungary, and by Francesco Balilla Pratella and Luigi Russolo in Italy. All these provocative experiments, mostly born out of the spirit of decadence, now appeared to be 'suitable' for representing the hither to unthinkable. Therefore, it was less of an "intrusion of the war *into* artistic

¹¹ *Das Kaiserprinzchen*. Verse von Arthur Rebner, Musik von Robert Stolz, Wien, 1917.

¹² "Jung Österreich tritt vor/ Und sing im frommen Chor", *Kaiserin Zita Hymne*. Verse von Baronin Hedda von Skoda, Musik von Erich Wolfgang Korngold, Wien, 1917.

¹³ "Ich weiß ein Land, das ohne Schranken,/ ich weiß ein Reich, worin sich ranken/ wohl tausend zärtliche Gedanken/um meiner Liebe Rosenpfad./ Das ist das Land, worin ich lebe,/ das ist das Reich, das ich dir gebe./ auf dessen Thron ich dich nun hebe, / ist meines Herzens freier Staat", *Du sollst der Kaiser meiner Seele sein*. Lied aus der Operette *Der Favorit* von Fritz Grünbaum und Wilhelm Sterk. Musik von Robert Stolz, München, Berlin, 1916.

¹⁴ Guido Adler, *Tonkunst und Weltkrieg*, Wien, 1915, 5.

forms¹⁵ (as Alexander Honold put it; emphasis St.S.) and rather a process of the semantization of styles, incited by the war.

This can be traced in the case of Alfredo Casella's *Paginedi Guerra* (War Pictures) for piano fourhands, later to be orchestrated and supplemented. Written in the year when Italy entered the war on the side of the Allies, apparently Casella was especially impressed by the war machinery that was put to use so devastatingly for the first time on the western front. In the opening movement of his cycle, *Nel Belgio: sfilata di artiglieria pesante tedesca* (In Belgium: a parade of heavy German artillery), he tried to "translate the seemingly unstoppable roll and roar of German munitions into an equally uninterrupted, dissonant ostinato", which had its model in Stravinsky's *Petrushka*. The paradigms of Stravinsky are also noticeable in Casella's *Elegia eroica* (Heroic Elegy) of 1916, dedicated "alla memoria di un soldato morto in guerra" (to the memory of a soldier killed in war). Here, he ends his piece with the interpolation of a song that had once served as a protest against the Habsburgs and would later become Italy's national anthem, the *Cantodegli Italiani* ('Fratelli d'Italia/Brothers of Italy), but alienated it through Stravinsky-like polyharmonics and rhythm (2/4 against 6/8). By this means, the anthem's statement could be listened to both as a signifier of the last post, as a musical epitaph, and as a vision of the national power of resistance. It is this ambiguity of venturesome musical conceptualizing and reactionist ideology that also characterizes Heitor Villa-Lobos' Third Symphony (1919),¹⁶ entitled *A Guerra* (The War), a work he conceived as the first part of a symphonic trilogy which was supposed to glorify Brazil's (minor) role in the Great War. In the symphony's final movement (*A Batalha/The Battle*), kettledrums, bass drums and cymbals imitate the sound of gunfire with irregular rhythms and immense sound. Only after a while, two musical quotes become recognizable and finally 'overpower' the martial wall of sound: it is the Brazilian national anthem and (as a symbol of victory and freedom) the *Marseillaise* which restore musical 'order'.

The Great War's sonic reality was actually an interplay between intensive acoustic pressure throughout (often, several days of) constant fire and literally dead silence, agony. Though the alternation of inescapable noise and disturbing aural emptiness was hardly ever taken up by composers, there is a composition that reflects this irritating effect, young Gian Francesco Malipiero's *Pause del silenzio I* (1917). His 'breaks' of the silence consist of a series of rapidly changing,

¹⁵ Alexander Honold, "Der Einbruch des Krieges in die künstlerische Form", in: Niels Werber, Stefan Kaufmann, Lars Koch (eds.), *Erster Weltkrieg. Kulturwissenschaftliches Handbuch*, Stuttgart, Weimar, Metzler, 2014, 448–494.

¹⁶ Manuel Negwer, *Villa-Lobos. Der Aufbruch der brasilianischen Musik*, Mainz, Schott, 2008, S. 87–88.

Ex. 1 – Gian Francesco Malipiero: *Pause del silenzio I* (1917): stylized war cries

Allegro assai

Ob.
ff

Corni in Fa
ff

Trombe in Si b
ff

Viol.
f

+ Fl.

contrary ‘moods that wander (according to Malipiero’s own description) from the pastoral to the elegia cover to outbreaks of ‘violent rhythms’:¹⁷ stylized war cries (ex. 1) and iridescent cascades of sound (ex. 2), echoing the acoustic crashing down effect of the battlefields.

Apart from the exceptional cases of Malipiero and Villa-Lobos, composers for the most part refrained from imitating the war’s acoustics, which simply defied a ‘naturalistic’ representation.¹⁸ Ultimately it is not surprising, then, that they relied more on established paradigms symbolizing war. Given the fact that most of the well-established composers of the ‘fin de siècle’ belonged to a generation which was not involved physically in the Great War, added to such ‘romantic’ interpretations of the war. Of course, from today’s viewpoint such approaches like that of Hans Pfitzner in his *Zwei deutsche Gesänge* (Two German Songs, 1916¹⁹), where the death of a trumpeter is displayed all too ‘illustratively’, or the one by Richard Strauss in his *Lied der Frauen* (Women’s Song, 1918), in which the male protagonist’s death and the female readiness to make sacrifices is glorified excessively, appears to be inappropriate, even cynical in the light of what real-

¹⁷ John C. G. Waterhouse, *Gian Francesco Malipiero. The Life, Time and Music of a Wayward Genius 1882–1973*, Amsterdam, Routledge, 1999, 119.

¹⁸ This would also apply to cinematic representations of the Great War as well. Cf. Corinna Müller, “Akustik des Krieges. Der Erste Weltkrieg als akustisches Ereignis im frühen Tonfilm”, in: Rainer Rother, Karin Herbst-Meßlinger (eds.), *Der Erste Weltkrieg im Film*, München, text+kritik, 2009, 103.

¹⁹ Johann Peter Vogel, *Pfitzner: Leben, Werke, Dokumente*. Zürich, Mainz, Atlantis, 1999, 121.

Ex. 2 – Gian Francesco Malipiero: *Pause del silenzio I* (1917): iridescent sound figures

The image displays a musical score for the piece "Pause del silenzio I" by Gian Francesco Malipiero. The score is written for a full orchestra and is set in 3/4 time. The key signature consists of three sharps (F#, C#, G#). The score is divided into several systems, each containing staves for different instruments. The instruments and their parts are: Flute (Fl.), Oboe (Ob.), Horn in G (Corno ingl.), Clarinet in B-flat (Clar. Si b), Bassoon (Fag.), Horn in F (Corni Fa), Trombones (Tromboni), Violin I (Viol. I div.), Violin II (Viol. II div.), Viola (Vla. div.), and Violoncello (Vlc. div.). The dynamic marking *ff* (fortissimo) is prominently featured throughout the score, indicating a very loud volume. The notation includes various rhythmic values, such as eighth and sixteenth notes, and rests. The score is presented in a clean, black-and-white format, typical of a printed musical score.

ly occurred in the war. But hardly less problematic is a work like the *Sinfonia Brevis de Bello Gallico* (Short Symphony on the War in Gaul, 1916–1918) by Vincent D'Indy, for whom the battles of the Marne were the starting point for a 'gay',²⁰ neo-classical symphony.

An exceptional case of misconceiving/substituting the realities of the Great War in music can be found in the completely forgotten symphonic poem *Isonzo*, written by Croatian Major Lujo Šafranek (1882–1940). Composed in March 1918, during his deployment in occupied Belgrade, this larger-than-life work was also premiered there and met an enthusiastic response from an audience mostly made up of the occupying forces. It was so successful that even Felix Weingartner asked to play it with the Vienna Philharmonic in the Vienna Musikverein, one month later. Hailed by the Viennese press as 'fuming with up-to-dateness',²¹ the piece indeed referred to the immediate past, namely to the finale of the battles at the Isonzo which had ended in October 1917 with the unexpected victory of Austria-Hungary over Italy – a Pyrrhic victory as it turned out to be. Irrespective of whether Šafranek, who had participated in the battle, could foresee this or not, he designed his symphonic poem as a cross between Richard Strauss' *A Hero's Life* and Bedřich Smetana's ever-popular *Vltava* (The Moldau), following a programmatic scenario with episodes provided by the poetry of Franz Xaver Kappus: "tranquillity – springs – the young Insonzo – the broad Isonzo – the Adriatic Sea – storm – peace idyll – war and victory".²² While Šafranek came up with a menacing motif suggesting the 'enemy' Italy,²³ it was his music portraying nature and the 'homeland' that stood out: for example the beginning of the piece, reminiscent of Wagner's *The Rhine Gold*, but extended significantly through the use of the whole tone scale. He did the same with the motifs of 'prayer' (flown around by descending strings) and the 'war cry' (ex.3), which are not without effect and are surpassed only by the end of the work where all the patriotic motifs are mounted up on each other at once, certainly, following the example of Anton Bruckner's symphonies. But, as insistently as Šafranek's apotheosis appealed to audiences, it turned out to be purely wishful thinking, all too soon.

²⁰ Watkins, *Proof Through the Night* (see footnote 1), 168–169.

²¹ "(...) eine von Aktualität dampfende Kriegskomposition", *Neue Freie Presse*, April 22, 1918, 1.

²² *Isonzo*. Symphonische Dichtung von Ludwig Šafranek. Klavierauszug. K.u.k. Gouvernement-Druckerei in Belgrad 1918. Wien Bibliothek Ms 34613.

²³ Called in the piano score 'motive of greed'.

Ex. 3 – Lujo Šafranek: *Isonzo* (1918) – Motifs of ‘prayer’ and ‘war cry’

The first system of the musical score consists of two staves. The upper staff is in treble clef, showing a melodic line with sixteenth-note runs, each marked with a '6' for a sextuplet. The lower staff is in bass clef, providing harmonic support with chords. The dynamic marking *ff* is placed below the first measure of the lower staff.

The second system continues the musical piece. The upper staff features a melodic line with an *8va* instruction above it. The lower staff includes dynamic markings: *rit.* (ritardando) and *a tempo*. The sextuplet markings '6' are also present in the upper staff.

The third system concludes the excerpt. The upper staff has an *8va* instruction. The lower staff features dynamic markings: *rit.* and *fff* (fortississimo). A *Trp.* (trumpet) part is introduced in the lower staff towards the end of the system. The sextuplet markings '6' are also present in the upper staff.

3. The Great War's legacy in music

Aside from the rather reality-denying works, such as *Isonzo*, the aspect of memorializing increasingly shifted to the centre of the composers' concern, as the war progressed. In this sense, it can be said that in the initial years of the war, works dedicated to personal losses formed the majority of commemorative compositions. The most famous of these would be Maurice Ravel's *Le Tombeau de Couperin* which acquired its final form in 1917 and was intended by Ravel as a memento for seven friends who had fallen in combat. More examples are Frederick Septimus Kelly's *Elegy* (1915), for his friend, the poet Rupert Brooke, who died at the Battle of Gallipoli, Arnold Bax's *In memoriam* (1916) for Patrick Pearse, one of the executed leaders of the Irish Easter Uprising, and Frank Bridge's *Lament* for string orchestra (1915), a piece in which he effectively mourned the death of nine-year old Catherine, drowned in the sinking of the *Lusitania* by a German submarine (the very same act of war that would become so important as a justification for the United States' entry into the war).

With the commemoration of the dead becoming increasingly ritualized after 1915, at the same time gaining further importance as the bearers of collective memory, many composers responded accordingly. Key examples of this include Max Reger's last composition, a *Requiem* ('To the memory of the German heroes who fell in the Great War', 1916), but also Frederick Delius' *Requiem* ('To the memory of all young artists fallen in the War', 1916) and Edward Elgar's expressive setting of Laurence Binyon's poem *For the fallen*, within his choral work *The spirit of England* (1917). After the end of the war, commemorative music was monumentalized and mythologized. Above all others, John Foulds did so in his gigantic *World Requiem* (1923) and Arthur Bliss in *Morning Heroes* (1930), an oratorio-like composition that uses (among other sources) Homer's *Iliad*, the poetry of the Tang Dynasty and the war poetry of Wilfred Owen, with the purpose of giving the traumatic experiences of the war a universal dimension.

But just as all these examples indicated an ultimately 'pacifistic will' it is often overlooked that the end of the war gave birth to plenty of nationalist works: *Cypres et lauriers* (cypress and laurel) by the aged Camille Saint-Saëns, pompously celebrating the victory of France, *Omamaa* (Our Country, 1918) by Jean Sibelius, acclaiming the newly independent Finland or Manolis Kalomiris' monumental first Symphony (1920), testimony to Greece's fatal super-power fantasies after the war, to mention only a few. Compositions with such an approach were countered by those of the defeated states, where, addressing the Great War's legacy 'directly' was avoided almost without exception. So, mostly composers chose to 'retreat' into sometimes sullen, sometimes low-brow chauvinism. In this

context, Hans Pfitzner's infamous *Von deutscher Seele* (Of the German Soul, 1921) has to be mentioned, as well as *Ruralia Hungarica* (1923) by Ernst von Dohnányi or Pancho, Vladigerov's *Vardar* (1928). Particularly notable is the absence, in the music of interwar Austria, of the memory of the war that was lost. But after all, according to the Freudian notion of the return of the repressed, here the war found its way at least into popular culture, when, in Robert Stolz's operetta *Das Lied ist aus* (The song has ended, 1930) a soldier's farewell is envisioned, emotionally culminating in the lines 'Und vergiss mich nicht' (Forget Me Not).

Closing remarks

The First World War was an elementary event caused by man. Its immense effects on people, whether material, physical or mental, demanded interpretation that was granted in very particular way by music. As different these approaches may be, they all represent a historical perception. They vividly illustrate how an attempt was made to aestheticize the hardship of an unbearable reality. Perhaps, the most impressive of these artifacts of the Great War was Carl Nielsen's Fourth Symphony. The composer, living in neutral Denmark, but nevertheless war-torn, called this work 'The Inextinguishable'. Imbued with ideas of vitalism,²⁴ he remarked about his symphony "We can say: if the whole world were destroyed and dead, even then Nature would resume growing new life, begin thriving and pushing with those strong and fine forces which are found in matter itself. Soon, plants would start breathing, the mating and screaming of birds would be heard and seen, the aspirations and wishes of man would be felt. These forces, which are 'inextinguishable', I have tried to show".²⁵ But, Nielsen's concept of the 'Inextinguishable' did not result in a work either of naïve optimism or of fatalism. And, it was this ambivalence that made Nielsen one of the Great War's most 'modern' composers and his symphony an off-the-norm musical testimony of those years.

²⁴ Michael Fjeldsøe, "Carl Nielsen and the Current of Vitalism in Art", in: *Carl Nielsen Studies*, Volume IV, Copenhagen, 2009, 26–42.

²⁵ Carl Nielsen an Julius Röntgen, Februar 1920, zit. nach: Fjeldsøe, "Carl Nielsen and the Current of Vitalism in Art" (see Footnote 24), 31.

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THE WRITTEN-ORAL PARADIGM IN THE TRANSCRIPTIONS OF CHURCH MUSIC BY STEVAN STOJANOVIĆ MOKRANJAC¹

Abstract: The question of the relation between the written and oral media of communication finds its application not only in linguistics, but also in philosophy, sociology, ethnology and other areas. Other possibilities for applying this theory in musicology were noted some fifty years ago, but when it comes to church music, such issues have not yet been subject to wider examination. This text considers the musicological implications of orality, literacy and “secondary literacy” in the collection of Serbian church chant transcribed and published by Stevan Stojanović Mokranjac. Psychodynamic elements of the oral-written/literal paradigm, with a special emphasis on the latter, are analyzed, with the aim of defining a different context for the understanding of Mokranjac’s specific approach to chanting tradition.

Key words: Stevan Stojanović Mokranjac, Serbian chant, oral-written paradigm, Walter Ong, musical cognition, musical memorization, Octoechos, formulae, musicology

In 1911, probably before the convocation of the Holy Synod Stevan Stojanović Mokranjac (1856–1914) wrote a letter to one of the bishops, saying, among other things:

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I beg of you and your hallowed companions to see to it that this work be printed not later than this summer, so that in the autumn, serious and reliable work can begin in the St. Sava Seminary. Should the Holy Synod decide that the work not be printed, then I beseech you to inform me urgently of the matter, and I shall with pain and sorrow commit the entire work to infernal flames.²

Such a prediction of the fate of the collection, known as *Alien Chant*, should it remain unpublished, is truly disheartening, particularly if we have in mind that it took Mokranjac more than twenty years to notate the chants. Leaving aside the (realistic) assumption that Mokranjac's intention was to put certain pressure on the Synod, and the fact that until that time a large number of church melodies remained unpublished, and that his students at the Seminary were already familiar with the then available means of copying,³ we should bear in mind that the delay in the publishing of the collection would not by any means have imperilled the subject Mokranjac taught at the St. Sava Seminary. We should not overlook the impatience of the author, either, but taking into account certain steps undertaken by the composer in relation to the previous collection from 1908 – *Octoechos* – the direction of scientific interests takes a different turn. By carefully reading this letter between the lines, we become aware of other reasons why the issue of the printing of this second collection was raised in such a determined, uncompromising, and at times even dramatic way.

Mokranjac's approach to Serbian musical heritage was tinged with positivism, and he, like his contemporaries – painters, architects, artists of various types – incorporated the results of his research into his artistic creation, in an effort to draw it closer to modern expression.⁴ Precisely this scholarly side to his involvement with ecclesiastic musical heritage is fundamentally linked with the phenomenon of orality and literacy, a highly important development pervading linguistic studies for several decades now. The questions of the origin, organization and institutional definition of Serbian chant make this body of music extremely suitable for observation from the vantage point of the dialogue between oral and written transmission. Although the chant has been studied from various

² The facsimile of the letter was cited by Kosta Manojlović in the preface to the collection. Stevan St. Mokranjac, *Srpsko narodno crkveno pojanje. Opšte pojanje* [Serbian Demotic Ecclesiastic Chant. General Chant], ed. and expanded by Kosta P. Manojlović, Beograd, Državna štamparija Kraljevine Jugoslavije, 1935, 2–3.

³ See: Kosta Manojlović, *Spomenica Stevanu St. Mokranjcu* [Homage to Stevan St. Mokranjac], Beograd, Državna štamparija Kraljevine Srba, Hrvata i Slovenaca, 1923, 92–93.

⁴ Ivana Perković, *Od anđeoskog pojanja do horske umetnosti: srpska horska crkvena muzika u periodu romantizma (do 1914. godine)* [From the Angelic Chant to the Art of Choral Music: Serbian Church Choral Music in Romanticism (to 1914)], Beograd, Fakultet muzičke umetnosti, 2008, 49–51.

aspects, this perspective has not earned a significant place within such studies. Almost twenty years ago, Danica Petrović published a text in which the above mentioned issues were considered primarily from a historiographic perspective, rather than engaging with the theory of communication.⁵ Only recently a study was published in which the possibilities of applying the said linguistic theory were considered.⁶

Where indeed is the meeting place between the linguistic theory of orality and literacy and interdisciplinary amplifications of the current musicological discourse? In what ways can the communication theory serve as the starting point for novel and/or different interpretations of musical phenomena, particularly Serbian chant? Finally, to what extent is it possible, from today's perspective, to observe and interpret certain concepts from precisely this angle?

The question of the relations between the written and the oral medium of communication found its application not only in linguistics, but also in philosophy, sociology, anthropology, culturology, psychology, and other areas.⁷ Basically, as defined by one of the founders of this theory Walter Ong, these two modes of transmission imply a conceptualization of knowledge in coordinate systems which differ substantially; this means that the presence of either oral or written discourse correlates with differences not only in mental, but also social structures. Thus, "oral cultures" are characterized by their proximity to the real world, orientation towards the "here and now", the non-existence of text (not only in a concrete form, but in a conceptual one as well), an economical relation to resources, fragmentariness, the existence of patterns, repetitiveness, presence of mnemonic models and the like. On the other hand, in the communities that have mastered written expression, language becomes an "autonomous" discourse, and having in mind that writing, to borrow Yuri Lotman's formulation, is a "secondary modeling system", it depends entirely upon the primary context, namely, the spoken word. Here, the cognitive approach is marked by abstraction, objective distance, as well as spatial and temporal distance, self-consciousness, the possibility of textual "touch-up" and so on (see Table 1). Similarly, oral noetics as

⁵ Danica Petrović, "Srpsko pojanje u pisanom i usmenom predanju" [Serbian Chant in Written and Oral Tradition], *Naučni sastanak slavista u Vukove dane* [Conference on Slavic Studies, Days of Vuk Karadžić], 1985, 14, 257–264.

⁶ Ivana Perković, "Serbian Chant on the Threshold: the Dialogue between Orality and Literacy", in: Laura Vasiliu et al. (eds.), *Musical Romania and the Neighbouring Cultures. Traditions – Influences – Identities*, Frankfurt am Mein, Peter Lang, 2014, 81–87.

⁷ Cf. Jadranka Božić, „Transformacije konceptata usmenosti i pismenosti u informatičkoj kulturi“ [Transformations of the Concept of Orality and Literacy in Information Culture], *Kultura, časopis za teoriju i sociologiju kulture i kulturnu politiku*, 2012, 133, 162.

“ways of acquiring, formulating, storing and retrieving knowledge” influences the content, structure and style of the creative act.⁸ From the perspective of Serbian chant, of particular importance is Ong’s contribution to the understanding of “secondary orality”: since “primary orality” in the sense of a culture “totally untouched by any knowledge of writing or print” does not exist today,⁹ it has been replaced with secondary orality, which therefore depends on the culture of literacy and the existence of writing. Accordingly, “residual orality” is a phenomenon in which the effects of writing, literacy and printed media do not eradicate the traces of oral markers. Such a dialogue, in which orality and literacy enter into diverse, often extremely complex and dynamic relationships, results in texts that possess a prominent oral component, but also a series of implications stemming from literacy, including the possibility of memorizing, analyzing, studying, reworking and observing various relations.

Table 1: Binary opposition of oral and written/literate discourse

Some properties of oral discourse	Some properties of written/literate discourse
Subjectivity	Distance and self-consciousness
Transience	Permanency (particularly visual)
Closeness to real world	Objectivity, isolation
Orientation towards “here and now”	Atemporality, atopicality
Aggregation of information	Autonomy and authority of written sources
Shared knowledge	Individual “guarding” of knowledge
Situational character	Abstract and analytic character
Fragmentariness	Cohesion based on linguistic markers

The musicological implications of the above represented elements of linguistic theory were noted some fifty years ago, beginning with the influential study by Leo Treitler titled “Homer and Gregory” devoted to Gregorian chant.¹⁰ Treitler combined Milman Perry’s and Albert Lord’s theory of oral transmission of epic poetry with Noam Chomsky’s generative grammar, and his writings

⁸ Walter J. Ong, “African Talking Drums and Oral Noetics“, *New Literary History*, 1977, 8/3, 412.

⁹ Walter J. Ong, *Orality and Literacy: The Technologizing of the Word*, London and New York, Methuen, 1982, 11.

¹⁰ Leo Treitler, “Homer and Gregory: The Transmission of Epic Poetry and Plainchant“, *The Musical Quarterly*, 1974, 60/3, 333–372.

inspired debates that are still ongoing. Beside mediaevalists, among whom Susan Boynton and Anna Maria Busse Berger¹¹ attracted special attention lately, it was quite natural that ethnomusicologists should also become interested in these questions. Their research included observation of the oral-written paradigm from an ideological angle,¹² the possibilities of the study of Gregorian chant from an ethnomusicological vantage point,¹³ as well as the issues of musical transmission within a single culture (Japan, for instance).¹⁴ As far as Orthodox musical traditions are concerned, Thomas Apostopoulos has recently published a study on the levels of orality in Byzantine music, discussing both historical and practical questions.¹⁵ Particularly inspiring for the present research are contributions of Regina Randhofer, owing to the way in which she applied Walter Ong's original theory. One of her studies, devoted to the binary opposition of the oral and written/literate modes of transmission is based on the research of Jewish and oriental Christian traditions. Of special importance is the defining of the various types of relations between oral and written discourses, located between melography and the written composition; these relations are positioned at the opposite poles of the same axis, and crystallized through three paradigmatic levels:

1. oral material is transcribed out of ethnographic, historical or archival motives; transcription is, therefore, a change in medium, since the oral material is "translated" into text;

2. material is transcribed so as to facilitate memorizing; in other words, only the framework remains in written form; its purpose is to "guide" the performer through the development of a musical line during (oral) improvisation;

3. the transcription approaches the oral source, but at the same time develops it, uses and elaborates on it; i.e. the material is "literated".¹⁶

¹¹ Susan Boynton, "Orality, Literacy, and the Early Notation of Office Hymns", *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 2003, 56, 99–168. Anna Maria Busse Berger, *Medieval Music and the Art of Memory*, Berkeley, University of California Press, 2005.

¹² Francesca R. Sborgi Lawson, "Rethinking the Orality-Literacy Paradigm in Musicology", *Oral Tradition*, 2010, 25/2, 429–446.

¹³ Peter Jeffery, *Re-Envisioning Past Musical Cultures. Ethnomusicology in the Study of Gregorian Chant*, Chicago and London, The University of Chicago Press, 1995.

¹⁴ Kwok-Wai Ng, "Orality and Literacy in the Transmission of Japanese Togaku: Its Past and Present", *Ethnomusicology Forum*, 2011, 20/1, 33–56.

¹⁵ Thomas Apostopoulos, "Levels of Orality in Byzantine Music", in: Ivan Moody, Maria Takala-Roszczenko (eds.), *Unity and Variety in Orthodox Music: Theory and Practice*. (Proceedings of the Fourth International Conference on Orthodox Church Music), Joensuu, International Society for Orthodox Church Music, 2013, 73–81.

¹⁶ Regina Randhofer, "Oral versus written: Structural differences in Jewish and Christian psalms", in: Laszlo Dobszay (ed.), *Cantus Planus*, Kongressbericht Lillafüred, Budapest, 2006, 44.

When we talk about Serbian chant, and more broadly, music in the Orthodox Church, the word, the questions of memorizing, played an important role not only in the educational process, but also in the formation of repertoire and its principal characteristics. Up to now, orientation towards transcription directed our attention to musical text/texts and comparative surveys of various problems, whereas the role of cultural practice in the origin and formation of these texts received only modest attention.¹⁷ As Christian Troelsgård points out, even Byzantine neumatic manuscripts were neither descriptive nor prescriptive in view of specific manners of performance; they lacked directions as to what a particular rendering should be like. Their function was paradigmatic: they provided examples and models how to perform a certain text in accordance with tradition.¹⁸ When Serbian tradition is in question, secondary literacy – in which musical discourse is variously determined by liturgical text – modeled the relation between music and text along two channels: liturgical books without notation that have been in existence since the earliest periods of Serbian liturgical chant, and notated sources. Concerning the latter, we have taken into account those written in linear notation; they represent more recent chant known as the “Karlovci chant”, or “Serbian demotic church chant”. Liturgical texts are, therefore, a constant that plays a role in fixating the musical layer; on a certain level, they stabilize the flow of music. At the same time, as recent developments in cognitive psychology have shown (although such investigations in Serbian chant have so far only been planned), within the prevailing oral paradigm, melodies can serve as reminders of the texts.¹⁹ This “double dependence” on text, which makes Serbian chant especially interesting for study from the perspective of the orality-literacy model, was not created at a single historical moment, but evolved gradually, with all the characteristics that such processuality implies.

Can collections of Serbian church melodies be classified into any of the categories defined by Regina Randhofer? Do they belong to “translations”, mnemonic aids or “literated” sources, or perhaps occupy some different positions along this axis? The transcribers themselves admitted that they introduced certain adaptations, revisions or modifications; thus, the question about the degree of difference is not irrelevant. Finally, who is the real “author” of church melodies?

¹⁷ For a similar position regarding early polyphonic forms cf. Anna Maria Busse Berger, op. cit., 1–3.

¹⁸ Christian Troelsgård, *Byzantine Neumes. A New Introduction to the Middle Byzantine Musical Notation*, Copenhagen, Museum Tusulanum Press, 2011, 14.

¹⁹ Cf. Susan Boynton, “Orality, Literacy, and the Early Notation of Office Hymns”, op. cit., 108–109.

Table 2: Some psychodynamic elements of the oral/written statement according to Ong²⁰

Oral statement	Written statement
Additivity	Subordination
Aggregation	Analysis
Redundancy	Free flow
Conservative, traditional set of mind	Innovativeness, instability
Participation	Objective distance
Homeostasis	Instability, disequilibrium
Concrete thought	Abstract thought

Interaction between oral and written discourse is clearly seen in Mokranjac's collections of Serbian chant, *Octoechos* from 1908, and *Alien Chant*, first lithographic edition in 1911, subsequently printed in 1914 and 1920.²¹ The collections of which he was the author possess numerous specific traits; many of their elements unequivocally testify to a more significant influence of the written discourse, which distinguishes them from the works of both his predecessors and followers. On the one hand, the most important psychodynamic elements of the oral style discussed by Ong (aggregation, redundancy, additive structure, conservativeness, see Table 2) are evident in his writings, as well as in collections transcribed by other authors. In a musical context, we are talking about musical formulae (aggregation of musical statement), standardized formal principles (redundancy), the hierarchical primacy of endings, particularly of the closing sections of hymns as opposed to other segments of church songs (additive structure) and the tendency to preserve melodic identity (conservativeness).²²

²⁰ Cf. Walter Ong, *Orality and Literacy: The Technologizing of the Word*, op. cit., 36–57.

²¹ For more information on the transcribers and transcriptions of *Octoechos* and other collections of church chants see: Kosta Manojlović, *Spomenica Stevanu St. Mokranjcu*, op. cit., 165–173; Danica Petrović, Srpsko narodno crkveno pojanje i njegovi zapisivači [Serbian Demotic Church Chant and its Transcribers], *Srpska muzika kroz vekove* [Serbian Music through the Centuries], Beograd, Galerija SANU, 1973, 251–274, Ivana Perković Radak, *Muzika srpskog Osmoglasnika* [Music of the Serbian Octoechos], Beograd, Fakultet muzičke umetnosti, 2004, 12–21 i dr.

²² The aggregative character of oral thinking is “closely related to the formulae that are supposed to activate memory... Oral expression thus carries a load of epithets and other formulaary baggage which high literacy rejects as cumbersome and tiresomely redundant because of its aggregative weight” (Walter Ong, *Orality and Literacy: The Technologizing of the Word*, op. cit., 38). Furthermore, redundancy of oral statement “keeps both speaker and hearer surely on the track” (Ibid., 39), whereas the additive style, unlike the subordinative one, secures a “flow of narration”, it is characterized by the accumulation and connection of ideas (Ibid.,

On this occasion, we would like to draw attention to those aspects of the written discourse that offer various possibilities. As noted by Ong, “without writing, the literate mind would not and could not think as it does, not only when engaged in writing, but normally even when it is composing its thoughts in oral form. More than any other single invention, writing has transformed human consciousness.”²³ When Serbian chant is in question, writing has brought along the possibility of literal repetition. Once the chanter has learned the notated melody, he can visualize and analyze it, single out characteristic elements, observe the relationship between textual and melodic phrases, and finally compare different versions of the same church hymn. For this very reason Mokranjac underlined in the preface to *Octoechos* that the transcription of melodies in all modes *in F* was an aid to “students and all those interested in using this book, so that they might see in which part of the scale a voice moves, whether high or low, and according to this learn how to adjust the beginning of various melodies with various tones, according to the nature of their throats”.²⁴ It is plain to see that the composer – whether intentionally or not – chose to rely on notation (although to this day, his endeavors have not suppressed the oral mode of learning), so that his starting point in determining the absolute pitch was the possibility of the visualization and analysis of the notated melody. In the same context, we could regard the composer’s procedure of omitting regular metric division in favor of bar lines at the ends of melodic sections.

A no less important characteristic of the written statement is the possibility of comparison between various sources and determining which one is the most adequate. Stevan Stojanović Mokranjac has not only done that with respect to trills, but also to characteristic melodic formulae. The primer mover in the selection of trills was the tendency to transcribe songs in as pure a form as possible, “without tasteless obsolete adornments”, and at the same time without endangering the melodic identity of church songs. As is well known, the author took great pains to enter the purest melodies into the basic transcription; variants that he considered important were written at the bottom of the page, as a kind of musical footnote. In such a manner, the chanters who wished a more elaborate melody were able to choose between two, and sometimes several different versions. Be-

37–38). Finally, the conservative mindset is accompanied by an inhibition of intellectual experimenting, and it is a consequence of “investing great energy in saying over and over again what has been learned arduously over the ages” (Ibid., 41). More on the psychodynamic elements of the oral style in relation to Serbian chant see in: Ivana Perković, “Serbian Chant on the Threshold: the Dialogue between Orality and Literacy”, op. cit., 83–84.

²³ Ibid., 78.

²⁴ Stevan Stojanović Mokranjac, Predgovor, *Osmoglasnik*, Beograd, Sveti arhijerejski sinod Srpske pravoslavne crkve, 1908, 4.

sides embellishments, the composer, owing to the notation, followed other kinds of impulses, which were productive and creative in nature. The existence of written versions enabled him to observe specific “grammatical rules” of singing, cataloguing and “archival memorizing.”²⁵ Let us take as an example the seventh mode from *Octoechos*, in which, according to Mokranjac’s decision, the closing section in the “principal notation” is always the rarer (and older) variant. The more usual version is given in the footnote with the following remark: “This is how the song is usually sung, and above is another (older) form different from the closing form from the third mode.”²⁶ In other words, it was more important for the author to emphasize the individual melodic features of the seventh mode than to favor the more common manner of singing. In this way, he demonstrated that he approached chanting primarily as a composer, preoccupied with the musical side of Serbian chant, rather than as a chanter who would probably blindly follow traditional and broadly accepted solutions (see Example 1).²⁷ This could be related to Ong’s observation that “print culture gave birth to the romantic notions of ‘originality’ and ‘creativity’ which set apart an individual work from other works...”²⁸

According to Ong’s observation, there is yet another side to the written/literate discourse: the possibility of distinguishing between dialects. The case in point is dialects such as Tuscan or High German, which were included in printed publications more frequently than other dialects.²⁹ It is precisely in relation to Mokranjac’s transcriptions of Serbian chant that we come across the designation “Belgrade chant” pointing to a distinction between this and the so-called Karlovci type of church chant. However, whereas the expression “Karlovci chant” is acceptable in the topological sense, as it specifies the place in (or around) which recent Serbian chant was formed, the term “Belgrade chant” in the sense of something specific, different from and opposed to Karlovci is unjustified and without foundation in musical material. The confrontation of these two variants gives a false impression that there are (only) two different forms of singing; in

²⁵ Concerning “grammatical” rules and the oral/written paradigm see also: Anna Maria Busse Berger, *Medieval Music and the Art of Memory*, op. cit., 3–4.

²⁶ Stevan Stojanović Mokranjac, *Srpsko narodno crkveno pojanje I. Osmoglasnik*, op. cit., 218.

²⁷ See also Ivana Perković Radak, “Crkvena muzika Stevana Stojanovića Mokranjca” [Church Music of Stevan Stojanović Mokranjac], in: Ivana Perković Radak i Tijana Popović-Mladenović (eds.), *Mokranjcu na dar* [An Offering to Mokranjac], Beograd – Negotin, Fakultet muzičke umetnosti – Dom kulture Stevan Mokranjac, 2006, 157–196.

²⁸ Cf. Walter Ong, *Orality and Literacy: The Technologizing of the Word*, op. cit., 131.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 104.

other words, only two types are singled out, ignoring the fact that Serbian chant, owing to its oral transmission, “lived” through many variants, causing greater or lesser differences between transcriptions that pinned down these variants.³⁰

Finally, we reach a conclusion that the rich and multi-layered residue of oral thinking, formed over time in Serbian chant after the adoption of musical literacy in this genre, entered into an interesting and provocative dialogue with the principles characteristic of written/literate style. Although musical notation, from the perspective of Serbian chant, was not a novelty at the time Stevan Stojanović Mokranjac began with his transcription of church melodies, this dialogue, owing precisely to his work and his contributions, opened numerous new possibilities, not only regarding the “technology” of notation and the importance of printing, but also in defining the position of the transcriber, the completeness of the collection and many other elements. Finally, this composer has demonstrated that the relation between oral and written discourse cannot be examined at the level of a simple binary opposition, but only within the framework of their coexistence which has not been interrupted to the present day.

Example 1³¹

1) *ЗРА - ТИ МИ* или *ЗРА - ТИ МИ*

2) *ШН - СЫ - ШН МА ГО - СПО - ДИ.* Овако се обично пева, - а горе је задржан други (старији) облик за разлику од завршног облика из трећег гласа.

3) *ШН* или *ШН* или *ШН* или *МА*

4) *ГО - СПО - ДИ.* или *ГО - СПО - ДИ.*

5) *МО - МИ - ТЕА*

³⁰ Cf. Ivana Perković Radak, “Crkvena muzika Stevana Stojanovića Mokranjca“, op. cit.

³¹ Stevan Stojanović Mokranjac, *Sabrana dela, sv. 7. Duhovna muzika 4. Osmoglasnik* [Collected Works, Vol. 7, Sacred Music 4, Octoechos], Beograd, Zavod za udžbenike i nastavna sredstva, 1996, 238.

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AN ATTEMPT TO EVALUATE SERBIAN MUSIC BETWEEN THE WORLD WARS (1919–1941)

Abstract: When evaluating Serbian music between the two world wars, we take as our starting point compositions that are valuable in their own right, whether their creators were oriented towards tradition and moderate stylistic trends, or were adherents of the latest tendencies in music. Only compositions that defined their creators' stylistic profiles are considered. We are aware that the value judgments pronounced by older generations of musicologists may differ from the attitude that their younger colleagues have towards the same works. We also understand that the attitude towards the past changes to a degree, so that certain compositions once well received fade over time, but the most powerful and original ones lose nothing of their impact. We draw attention to the Romantic foundations and the inspiration that renowned European composers found in folk music in order that we may confirm the existence of the same phenomena in the music life of Belgrade. We also observe how Serbian composers mastered novel tendencies and how these tendencies endured, noting that they generally trailed behind analogous phenomena in literature and the fine arts (as was generally the case in Serbian cultural history).

Key words: national stylistic orientation; romantic-impressionist style; European musical standard; extreme musical tendencies; evaluation of musical creative work based on the selection of most important works.

Musicologists and musicians interested in the Serbian musical past have studied Serbian mediaeval music, Serbian music at the time of the Baroque, and

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Serbian music of the 19th century, devoting the greatest attention to Kornelije Stanković, Stevan Mokranjac and Josif Marinković. Serbian music between the two world wars attracted even greater interest not only in the contributions of individual composers, but also in historical surveys, analyses of performing practices, and music critics and other authors of texts on music.

We will try to present a complete picture of the way Serbian musical output was evaluated during that period, with standard European values in mind when dealing with the composers who tried to emulate the best representatives of certain stylistic periods, in order that we may rank Serbian composers.

As our point of departure, we take compositions that are valuable in their own right, whether their composers were oriented towards tradition and moderate styles or were adherents of the latest tendencies in music, taking into account only those works that helped shape the individual profiles of their creators. We are aware that the value judgments pronounced by older generations of musicologists may differ from the attitude that their younger colleagues have towards the same works. We are also aware that attitudes towards the past change, that certain widely recognized compositions begin to fade in their appeal, but the most powerful and original ones lose nothing of their impact.

We will examine how composers came to embrace and master new tendencies in Serbian music and how these tendencies endured, noting that they generally trailed behind their counterparts in literature and the fine arts (as was generally the case in Serbian cultural history). We will draw attention to the Romantic foundations and the inspiration that renowned European composers found in folk music in order that we may confirm the existence of the same phenomena in the music life of Belgrade and also in the works of other Serbian composers who were not associated with the former Yugoslav capital. We will examine diverse models that Serbian composers followed and their interests in contemporary trends, from Impressionism, to mildly modern and neoclassical music, to expressionist stylistic elements. Occasionally, we come across composers who temporarily abandoned their romantic and impressionist inclinations and embraced more contemporary styles. The tension of their works may have thus been heightened, but their fundamental stylistic characteristics remained unaffected.¹

¹ Basic literature: S. Đurić-Klajn, *Razvoj muzičke umetnosti u Srbiji* [Development of Music in Serbia], Zagreb, Školska knjiga, 1962; V. Peričić, *Muzički stvaraoči u Srbiji* [Music Creators in Serbia], Beograd, Prosveta, 1969; M. Bergamo, *Elementi ekspresionističke orijentacije u srpskoj muzici do 1945. godine* [Elements of Expressionist Orientation in Serbian Music until 1945], Beograd, SANU, 1980; M. Veselinović, *Stvaralačka prisutnost evropske avangarde u nas* [Creative Presence of European Avant-Garde in our Midst], Beograd,

The romantic-national stylistic basis of the inter-war period provided for the essential characteristics of Serbian music between the late 19th century and the year 1941; the romantic-impressionist basis did the same for the music from the first years of the 20th century onward. The moderately modern form of musical thinking was more strongly manifested after 1927 and that of the avant-garde orientation after 1932.

We will discuss composers of the older generation, born in the 19th or at the turn of the 20th century, such as Petar Konjović (1883–1970), Miloje Milojević (1884–1946), Stevan Hristić (1885–1958), Kosta Manojlović (1890–1949), and Marko Tajčević (1900–1984), who lived in Zagreb, and also the somewhat younger composers Milenko Živković (1901–1963) and Svetomir Nastasijević (1902–1980). Parallel to these, we will consider the contributions of the Croatian composer Josip Slavenski (1896–1955), a citizen of Belgrade from 1924. We will take note of the inspiration they drew from national music and the traditions of Romanticism and Neo-Romanticism, sometimes from later tendencies, and observe modal sonorities in their works. They followed similar stylistic preoccupations of the major European representatives of the national orientation, some of whom were active in the first half of the 20th century and whose powerful musical statements introduced new ideas into tradition. These included Igor Stravinsky (until 1923), Leoš Janáček (until 1982), Sergei Rachmaninoff (until 1943), Béla Bartók (until 1945), Manuel de Falla (until 1946), and Jean Sibelius (until 1957).

It is evident that those Serbian composers who were inspired by national music did not join the ranks of European composers with kindred interests at the moment the national orientation of music emerged, but only later, at the time of the last great representatives of this style. Some Serbian composers shaped their musical profiles under the direct influence of the greats: Konjović took Janáček as his model, whereas Slavenski and Tajčević were no strangers to Bartók's music. Nationally oriented Serbian works of music were not necessarily based on the Romantic style: Marko Tajčević started from the moderately contemporary style, while Milenko Živković blended folk melodies with an objective, anti-Romantic musical language closer to the musical reality of his time.

We observe romantic and impressionist traits in early Konjović, Milojević and Hristić, formed during the lifetime of the originator of Impressionism, Claude Debussy. Contemporaneous with Serbian achievements were Debussy's *Images*

Fakultet muzičke umetnosti, 1983; R. Pejović, *Opera i balet Narodnog pozorišta u Beogradu (1882–1941)* [Opera and Ballet of the National Theater in Belgrade (1882–1941)], Beograd, FMU, 1996; R. Pejović, *Muzička kritika i esejistika u Beogradu (1919–1941)* [Music Critique and Essays in Belgrade (1919–1941)], Beograd, FMU, 1999; R. Pejović, *Koncertni život u Beogradu (1919–1941)* [Concert Life in Belgrade (1919–1941)], Beograd, FMU, 2004.

(1905), *Préludes* Book One (1910), and the orchestral *La mer* (1903–1905). Later works by Serbian composers include some of Konjović's *Lyrical Songs*; elements of Impressionism have been noted in Milojević's Sonata for Violin and Piano (1924), Hristić's *Twilight* (1925), the first act of *The Legend of Ohrid* (1933), and in some of his songs and choral music. All these creative activities coincided with those of Debussy's followers Maurice Ravel and Albert Roussel.

Another great composer whose influence must not be overlooked was Richard Strauss. To Miloje Milojević, he became a model soon after the former had written his masterpieces *Salome* (1905), *Electra* (1909), and *Ariadne auf Naxos* (1912). Milojević endeavored to imbue his songs with Straussian drama and to recreate Strauss's dazzling orchestration in his symphonic poem *The Death of the Jugović Mother* (1921), whereas his respect for Strauss's personality was expressed in his excellent study published in the journal *Zvuk* in 1934.²

Romantic inspiration and neo-romanticism without any emphasis on national traits are characteristic of several composers who created their works in Belgrade from 1928 on: Petar Stojanović (1877–1957), Milenko Paunović (1889–1924), Sava Selesković (1893–1941), and Jovan Bandur (1899–1956).

Richard Wagner's melodics influenced Stojanović's and Paunović's operas, whereas impressionist elements are prominent in the oeuvres of Selesković and Bandur.

A further step towards modernity was taken by Mihailo Vukdragović (1900–1986), the Slovenian Mihovil Logar (1902–1998), who became a Serbian citizen, and Predrag Milošević (1904–1988). While studying at Paris, they were not close to avant-garde aspirations, but they abandoned Romanticism that still persisted at that time, mostly in the works of older generation composers. After 1927, their works adopted a more modern expression. Whereas Vukdragović inclined towards moderately contemporary tendencies and even made use of stylized folk idioms, Logar took a step further, reaching atonality; Milošević composed neo-classical works that were divested of subjectivity and sentimentality, but did not totally renounce national music.

Expressionist elements that did not result in abandoning the primary stylistic orientations can be noted in the works of Konjović, Milojević and Slavenski composed in Belgrade after 1918, before the youngest generation of Serbian composers returned from their studies in Prague. Milojević also had some affinities with Surrealism.

Having been exposed to Expressionism and quarter-tone music in Prague, the young Serbian composers – called “avant-garde” in musicological literature

² “Richard Štraus”, *Zvuk*, 1934, 8/9, 285–322.

– manifested such inclinations in their early works, created on their return to Belgrade after 1932. This took place thirty three years after the emergence of Expressionism in 1899 and lasted until 1939. Other interests followed, directed towards other styles.

The influence of dodecaphony and Schoenberg are noticeable in the works of Dragutin Čolić (1907–1987), Milan Ristić (1908–1982), and Vojislav Vučković (1910–1942). Čolić and Vučković also embraced athenaticism and atonality, and so did Ljubica Marić (1909–2003) and Stanojlo Rajičić (1910–2000). Čolić, Ristić, Vučković and Marić also showed some interest in composing using Alois Hába's quarter-tone scale.

Along with literature and the fine arts, music also occupied a prominent place in inter-war Belgrade, as evidenced by renowned foreign musicians and ensembles that performed in the city, as well as by the Belgrade Opera, the Belgrade Philharmonic Orchestra and other musical and cultural institutions, which intensified musical life. Works by Serbian composers were also part of that life.³ In addition to the repeated performances of some operas and ballets, a number of concert pieces were also performed more than once. At the same time, certain composers became well-established by having several of their works performed. This was partly due to the resourcefulness of these composers in promoting their works among Belgrade music lovers and also to the positions in musical life held by prominent composers, conductors and music critics that enabled them to implement musical policies with authority. Intended for the Belgrade musical public, such compositions were of sufficiently high quality to arouse the interest of Belgrade intellectuals with an affinity for music. However, there were also pieces that did not adequately reflect the composer's profile and have faded into oblivion. On the other hand, works of considerable value did not always have the opportunity to be performed, while the number of performances of certain compositions was negligible, and such works could not contribute to the popularity of the composer.

A survey of the most frequently performed compositions will remind us of the attitude of our predecessors towards the music of their past and their present. Whereas audiences were only occasionally reminded of the composers of the late 19th and early 20th centuries (with the exception of Stevan Mokranjac and Josif Marinković), and even of some of the contemporary ones,⁴ the most frequently performed composers were those that are still held in high esteem, such as Petar Konjović, Miloje Milojević, Josip Slavenski and Stevan Hristić.

³ R. Pejović, *Opera i balet ...*; Ibid..... *Koncertni život u Beogradu...*

⁴ This refers to Andelić, Bandur, Bošnjaković, Vijatović, Đorđević, Ilić, Jenko, Joksimović, Ljubica Marić, Pašćan, Selesković, Stanković, Tkalčić, Urban, Crvčanin, Čolić, Švarc, Šijački, and Štirski.

Composers Stanislav Binički, Petar Krstić, Kosta Manojlović and Svetomir Nastasijević made sure that, owing to public performances, their works would not be forgotten. Neither did Milenko Paunović, Mihailo Vukdragović, Milenko Živković, Mihovil Logar or Predrag Milošević remain unknown. Among the youngest generation, only Vojislav Vučković and Stanojlo Rajičić had the privilege of being performed frequently.

The presence of compositions by Konjović, Milojević, Hristić and Slavenski in the inter-war period resulted in their popularity. Although the number of performances was not high, it greatly exceeded that of the compositions by their contemporaries. Konjović and Slavenski chiefly promoted the national orientation: Konjović with his operas *The Prince of Zeta* (premiered in 1929), *Koštana* (with its two premieres in 1931 and 1940), along with frequent performances of various instrumental and vocal excerpts from the latter, as well as with his solo songs and church music, and Slavenski particularly with his *Balkanophony*, *Religiophony*, and choral and chamber music.

Between 1919 and 1941, Milojević and Hristić remained faithful both to romantic-impressionist music and music of national orientation. Milojević endeavored to capture his audiences with solo songs, especially *The Nymph*, *Japan*, *Autumn Elegy*, *The Song of the Wind from the Sea*, and *The Eagle's Song*; also with several pieces of choral music, particularly the compelling *The Fly and the Gnat* and *Foreboding*; with his church and orchestral music (the symphonic poem *Death of the Jugović Mother* and the suite *Intimacy*), and Hristić with excerpts from *The Legend of Ohrid* and *Resurrection*.⁵

Among the oldest generation of composers, works by Petar Stojanović and Milenko Živković enjoyed a certain degree of popularity. Stojanović's chamber music became available to the public in 1919, the symphonic poem *Death of the Hero* in 1926 and the symphonic suite *The Sava* in 1935. Živković's pieces, more often performed between 1933 and 1940 – more precisely, over thirty-five times during that interval – included his choral work *A Fly on the Motor Car*, excerpts from the ballet *The Green Year*, *Symphonic Prologue*, the prelude to the cantata *The Birth of Spring*, a classical suite for flute and orchestra, and a number of other works.

By 1927, works by other nationally or neo-romantically oriented composers, such as Paunović, Bandur, Tajčević, Selesković, Tkalčić, Urban and others,⁶

⁵ See Appendix *Pregled izvođenja kompozicija značajnih srpskih muzičkih stvaralaca* (izbor) [A Survey of Performances of Compositions by Major Serbian Composers (Selection)].

⁶ P. Konjović, songs *Pod pendžeri* [Under the Windows] (performed in 1921) and *Sevdah* (1927); M. Tajčević, *Balkanske igre* (performed in 1922, 1930, 1932); M. Milojević, songs

had also been performed, whereas in the short period 1927–1931, before the advent of the youngest generation of Serbian composers, the public could also hear works by neo-romanticists, such as Logar and Milošević...⁷

Paunović gained popularity with his *Yugoslav Symphony*, performed six times between 1924 and 1940, a kind of precedent in the inter-war period. Bandur was more modest, restricting himself to solo songs with piano or orchestral accompaniment. As early as 1930, Tajčević's *Balkan Dances* earned the acclaim of performers and listeners alike and has become part of the standard pianistic repertoire throughout the former Yugoslavia. Created in 1928, his *Four Spiritual Verses* was performed in Zagreb in 1929 and in Belgrade in 1930. The symphony *Impressions of the Soul* and the symphonic suite *The Homeless* by Sava Selesković are the most representative works of their creator. Logar was among the more frequently performed composers owing to his symphonic movement *Vesna (The Spring Goddess)*, string quartets (including a lullaby and a funeral march), *Toccata seria* and *Toccata giocosa*, *The Legend of Mark* for bass and piano... After its Prague premiere, Milošević's *Sinfonietta* was repeatedly performed in Belgrade. Other pieces presented to the Belgrade audience included his *Small Piano Suite* and *Piano Sonatina*.

Milojević, a member of the oldest generation of Serbian inter-war composers, showed his interest in the most modern tendencies both before and after the return of young Serbian composers from Prague: in 1923, 1924 and 1935 in his opera-ballet *The Valet's Broom* (1923), after a surrealist scenario by Marko Ristić; in his *Three Songs on German Verses* (1924–1942), containing elements of Expressionism; in his expressionist oriented choral cycle *A Feast of Illusions* (1924), and his piano piece *Rhythmic Grimaces* (1935).

An inclination towards the most modern trends in composition is strongly felt in the works of the youngest Serbian composers. The existence of Serbian

Jesenja elegija (1922) and *Japan* (1923), *Melanholično veče* [A Melancholic Evening], for piano (1923), *U vrtu* [In the Garden] and *Stara priča* [An Ancient Tale] from the collection *Četiri komada za klavir* [Four Pieces for Piano] (1926), symphonic poem *Smrt majke Jugovića* [Death of the Jugović Mother] (1923), *Pesme iz Južne Srbije* [Songs of Southern Serbia] (1928), song *Buba-Mara* [Ladybug] (1932); S. Paunović, *Fuga i preludijum* [Fugue and Prelude] (1927); J. Slavenski, *Balkanski noćurno* [Balkan Nocturno] (1927); J. Bandur, Selesković, Tkalčić, Urban *Himna čoveku* (A Hymn to Man) for choir, narrator, flute, two clarinets, bassoon, trumpet and piano (1928) and *Svatovska pesma* [Wedding Song] (1932).

⁷ M. Logar, *Tango* and *Džez-groteska* [Jazz Grotesque], *Serenada* [Serenade], *Romansa o mirisu smrekine smole* [Romance on the Fragrance of Juniper Resin] (1927), *Sonata for Violin and Piano* (1928), *Antička igra* [Antique Dance] for flute and piano (1928), *Capriccio pastorale* for flute and piano (1928), *Second String Quartet* (1928 and 1929); P. Milošević, *Mala klavirska svita* [Small Piano Suite] (1928), etc.

avant-gardists in Prague was confirmed when their early works appeared, such as the Wind Quintet by Ljubica Marić (1909–2003), composed in 1931 and first performed in Amsterdam in 1933. Its ideas were similar to those of the anti-romantically and objectively conceived Concertino for Quarter-tone Piano and String Sextet by Dragutin Čolić (1932), first performed in Prague in 1937. Young composers conducted their own works in Belgrade: Ljubica Marić conducted *Music for Orchestra* (1933), performed by the Stanković Orchestra in 1934, and Milan Ristić his *Sinfonietta*, performed by the Radio Orchestra in 1940.

“The purest example of Serbian musical Expressionism”⁸ in all its compositional elements could only be heard in *Two Songs for Soprano and Wind Trio* by Vojislav Vučković, composed in 1938 and performed twice that year, in Belgrade and at the London Festival organized by the International Society for Contemporary Music. His Quarter-tone Duo was performed in December of 1935 in Belgrade, and his First Symphony (1933) was broadcast by Prague Radio in 1933. The Belgrade Philharmonic Orchestra performed it several times. These were not the only publicly performed works by Vučković: several pieces in his later oeuvre were also included.⁹ In addition to an evening concert he organized before departing to Prague for his studies, Stanojlo Rajičić offered to Belgrade audiences a significant number of first and repeated performances of his compositions: *First Symphony* in 1938 and 1939, *Concert Overture* in 1938, *Second String Quartet* in 1940, and music for the ballet *Under the Earth* in 1940 and 1941.

The musical and ideological foundation of the Serbian inter-war period was diverse.¹⁰ It was formed under the auspices of two musicologists, the composers and music educators Milojević and Vučković, who were adept at words as much as music. The authors who wrote about music produced a vast number of reviews and articles on music. Some of them published collections of articles or special editions dedicated to outstanding personalities. They strived to be objective but sharp, judging Serbian contributions by European standards. Being musicians with degrees from conservatories and universities, they were able to provide an analytical evaluation of the compositions they discussed. Milojević was the greatest authority, while a considerable reputation was also enjoyed by Branko Dragutinović (1903–1971), Vojislav Vučković, Milenko Živković, Mi-

⁸ M. Koren, op. cit, p.154.

⁹ Such as *Small Piano Suite* performed in 1932, *Symphony*, performed in 1933, 1934 (I movement), 1937 and 1939, introductory music to the play *Ali Binak* performed in 1939, symphonic image *Luminous Way* (1940), choral song *Marika moma ubava* [Marika, the Beautiful Maiden] (1940), and finally *First Song Garland*, performed in 1944.

¹⁰ R. Pejović, *Muzička kritika i esejistika...* [Music Critique and Essays...]

hailo Vukdragović, and Dragutin Čolić. They held diverging views concerning the path Serbian music ought to take in order to assume its proper place in the international musical world. Milojević was an advocate of musical nationalism and was the most vocal among his contemporaries; Vučković and Živković had their own visions of musical realism. There were composers who did not believe in going back to national music, that is, in composing in the spirit of folk melodies (Vučković); for them, the national style was but “a stage in the evolution of music, not its goal” (Živković), and thus “the national style has become obsolete” (Čolić). Whereas Milojević opposed “the frantic modern music” (though his reviews were sometimes more moderate), Vučković stated that Impressionism was “degenerate”. To this, Živković appended the attribute “decadent”, and he called contemporary Czech music “nondescript cosmopolitanism”. Čolić, however, permanently championed contemporary musical creation, indicating that we are two decades behind the actual trends in the contemporary music world.

The contributions of Mokranjac and Marinković were considered exemplary, whereas the works of Joksimović, Đorđević, Binički, Krstić, and Bajić, as emphasized by Mihailo Vukdragović, put an end to the aspirations of 19th century music. The place of honor was allotted primarily to the adherents of the late romantic-national and romantic-impressionist musical languages. A certain degree of reserve was shown regarding the followers of the moderately contemporary stream, while, as a rule, there was little understanding for the most modern, avant-garde music.

Hristić, Milojević, Konjović and Slavenski were judged as the most prominent composers of their time, even if the work of the last mentioned was not so well understood. Certain authors included Manojlović, Paunović and Nastasijević in the list. The importance of Živković, Vukdragović, Logar and Milošević was often stressed; and the value of Ljubica Marić, Čolić, Vučković, Rajičić and Ristić was also recognized.

It is not difficult to conclude that a significant number of present-day musicians, composers and musicologists, with some exceptions, uncritically accepted the inter-war evaluation of Serbian compositional achievements. The chief discrepancy was with regard to the expressionist orientation of the youngest generation of composers. We point out general or individual appraisals concerning smaller or greater contributions by our esteemed composers, whereby Konjović was preferred to Hristić and Milojević; not enough notice was taken of Kosta Manojlović’s choral music, Živković’s results, Milošević’s contributions (generally labeled as impressionist), also of Logar’s, who had by that time already composed unique, recognizable sharp-sounding pieces with freely conceived vertical sonorities.

Our aim is to single out works that marked their time and to point out valuable compositions that were nonetheless deprived of their rightful places in the musical life of Belgrade between the two world wars. Our present-day understanding of compositions from that period is considerable, particularly as contemporary musicologists have taken part in symposia devoted to the inter-war composers and approached their works analytically. Anyhow, had there been no other publication but the book *Muzički stvaraoci u Srbiji* [*Music Creators in Serbia*] by Vlastimir Peričić,¹¹ there would be sufficient insight into inter-war musical creations. Hardly any writers on music, except Branko Dragutinović, mentioned European standards when evaluating the compositions that were created and performed, which does not mean that they did not apply these criteria. In our selection of the most important compositions (which is subject to change), we were guided by their possible originality and their immediate impact on listeners, in the sense of the latter's ability to experience their content. We believe that, owing to their high artistic level, these compositions are worthy of being included in a group of achievements that meet European standards established by eminent music creators of worldwide reputation. We did not strictly adhere to the years that frame Serbian music between the two world wars, because even youthful works by the oldest generation, created towards the end of the 19th century, belong to the period that blossomed between 1918 and 1941.

In the first two decades of the 20th century, our selection focuses on nationally oriented compositions and those composed in the romantic tradition imbued with impressionist elements. These include early solo songs by Konjović, Milojević, and Hristić; Hristić's oratorio *Ressurrection*, Konjović's female choral music with piano accompaniment, and a selection of Milojević's collection of piano pieces from 1917.

The third and fourth decades saw the most mature achievements of the already existing or new styles: Hristić's verist-impressionist opera *Twilight*, the first act of the ballet *The Legend of Ohrid*; Petar Konjović's *The Prince of Zeta* and *Koštana*, the two operas inspired by national music and characterized by the melodies of the demotic idiom; also Milojević's Sonata for Violin and Piano; and several other works. At that time – from 1924 onward, to be precise – Josip Slavenski composed his best works in Belgrade, *Balkanophony* and *Religiophony*, which possess an archaic sonority and distinctive rhythm and harmony. Belonging to the same period are the moderately contemporary, nationally oriented oeuvre of Marko Tajčević (*Seven Balkan Dances* and *Four Spiritual Verses*), the neo-classical compositions of Predrag Milošević, and expressionistically oriented works composed by Ljubica Marić and Vojislav Vučković.

¹¹ Beograd, Prosveta, 1969.

Observing the scenic works from the past centuries from a present-day perspective and aware of the current European attitude towards operas and ballets from the past, we assume that Konjović's operas and Hristić's *Twilight* and *The Legend of Ohrid* should undergo certain adaptations in order that modern audiences might accept them.

Milojević's *Melodies and Rhythm from the Balkans* and some other unpublished piano compositions extended the romantic-impressionist level of creation as far as the fifth decade of the 20th century.¹²

Although thwarted by endless struggles for the liberation of the country, Serbian culture – including music – saw intensive development from the mid-19th century onward, culminating in the internationally renowned works of Stevan Mokranjac. This predilection for folk music continued between the world wars. We have discussed composers of that period and their stylistic affinities, we have followed performances of their compositions and studied critical opinions expressed about their work by their contemporaries. Bearing in mind the present views on that period, we were forced to make such a selection that would include works by the most important composers, and to subject to assessment the performing practices of that time, since not everything that was performed at the time provided a realistic picture of the value of everything that was being composed and performed. We have expressed our disagreement with our predecessors with respect to the stylistic classification of certain compositional achievements, and we have not agreed, either, with some assessments made by a number of our contemporaries. Based on the examination of the musical events and a historical survey of the period between the world wars, we have been able to conclude that Serbian music, with its prominent compositions, ennobled by concurrent tendencies in European music, did reach European standards.

Selected Works by Inter-war Music Creators

Petar Konjović (1883–1970)

Lirika [Lyric Songs], collection of solo songs (1903–1922: *Nimfa* [Nymph] from 1908, *Japan* from 1909, *Jesenja elegija* [Autumn Elegy] from 1911)

Three female choral music pieces with piano (1906–1916; 1917 first performance – Choir of the Zagreb Conservatory, conductor Ć. Junek; in Belgrade, 1921 – *Lisinski* choir from Zagreb, conductor V. Benković; and 1937: Women's Music Society from Novi Sad, conductor S. Pašćan)

Knez od Zete [The Prince of Zeta], opera (premiere 1929, Belgrade opera)

Koštana (premiere 1931; reprised 1940, Belgrade Opera)

¹² See Appendix *Selected Works by Inter-war Music Creators*.

Miloje Milojević (1884–1946)

Pred veličanstvom prirode [In Awe of the Magnificence of Nature], collection of solo songs (1908–1920; after 1919 individual songs performed by I. Milojević, M. Agatonović-Bošković, M. Paranos, M. Jovanović, et al.)

Four Pieces for Piano (1917) – selection;

Sonata for Violin and Piano op. 36 (1924) – performed in 1924. in Prague (J. Penelski and J. Heržman), 1927 in Belgrade (M. and O. Mihailović; also Z. Baloković, M. Dimitrijević, et al.)

Muha i komarac [The Fly and the Gnat], choral music (1930) – performed in 1930 (Choir Stanković, conductor M. Vukdragović; also Women's Music Society from Novi Sad, conductor S. Pašćan, et al.)

Melodije i ritmovi sa Balkana [Melodies and Rhythms from the Balkans], collection of piano pieces (1942) – selection

Stevan Hristić (1885–1958)

Vaskrsenje [Ressurrection], oratorio (1912; performed in 1912, Choir *Stanković*, Orchestra of the Royal Guard, conductor S. Binički)

Solo songs (from 1919) – selection; performed by J. Hristić, L. Diniko-Kalmić, J. Stefanović, I. Černa-Mijović, B. Kezer, Z. Đundenac, A. Rostovceva, L. Popova, O. Oljdekop, J. Stamatović-Nikolić, Ž. Tomić, M. Bošković-Agatonović, N. Stajić. M. Paranos, et al.)

Suton [Twilight], opera (premieres in 1925 and 1930, Belgrade Opera)

Ohridska legenda [The Legend of Ohrid], ballet (premiere of Act I in 1933, ballet ensemble of Belgrade Opera)

Josip Slavenski (1896–1955)

Balkanofonija (1927; in 1928 performed by Belgrade Philharmonic, conductor L. Matačić; in 1929 performed by E. Kleiber in Berlin; later by Belgrade Philharmonic, conductor S. Hristić; Belgrade Philharmonic, conductor M. Vukdragović; Radio Orchestra, conductor M. Vukdragović)

Religiofonija (1934; performed in 1934, soloists, choir *Obilić* and Belgrade Philharmonic, conductor J. Bandur

Marko Tajčević (1900–1984)

Sedam balkanskih igara [Seven Balkan Dances], piano collection (1926; in 1927, first performed in Zagreb by S. Stančić; in Belgrade performed after 1930 by I. Noč, B. Jelača, N. Vlašić, LJ. Maržinec, M. Čop, et al.)

Četiri duhovna stiha [Four Spiritual Verses], choral music (1928; choir *Lisinski*, conductor M. Saks, first performed in Zagreb in 1929, then by the same choir in Belgrade in 1930)

Predrag Milošević (1904–1988)

Sinfonietta (1930; in 1931, performed in Prague, Czech Philharmonic, conductor K. B. Jirak, then, in 1932, in Belgrade, Belgrade Philharmonic, conductor S. Hristić)

Ljubica Marić (1909–2003)

Wind Quintet (1931; performed by Prague Wind Quintet in Belgrade in 1931 and Prague in 1932, and in 1933 by The Hague Wind Quintet in Amsterdam, at the Festival of the International Society for New Music)

Vojislav Vučković (1910–1932)

Two songs for soprano, oboe, clarinet and bassoon (1938; performed in 1938 by Z. Đundenac, R. Langer, V. Živojinović and G. Linger in Belgrade; the same year in London, performance organized by the International Society for New Music, and in Belgrade)

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HUMAN, ALL TO HUMAN: BARE REPETITION AND ORGANISM IN MINIMAL MUSIC

Abstract: The main thesis in this work is that minimalism produces neutral sensory perception and is thereby complicit not only in the production of the body *qua* organism, but also in the wider socio-politico-economic environment that such a conception of the body entails. Minimalism produces neutral sensory perception by insisting on “bare repetition”, the literal, direct, and immediate materiality of the work of art; in other words, it insists on a specific ontological relation between difference and the same, whereby the same, singular, and identical, predicated on representational thought, replace the different, which is expressed in becoming. Minimalism, neutral perception, the relative immanence of capitalism, and the body *qua* organism constitute a sort of chain, which should be subjected to critical analysis and a critique based on the concepts of difference, event, and encounter.

Keywords: minimalism, repetition, organism, ontology, the body, sensory perception

In this work, I explore the relationship between Deleuze and Guattari’s ontology and minimal music. More precisely, I will show that, by insisting on the literality of the work of art and “bare repetition”, minimalism produces neutral sensory perception, whereby it collaborates in maintaining a certain image of the human and the body *qua* organism. “Literality” here denotes those “works of art that are produced neither as images nor statues, but as literally and *directly present objects that affirm their material, spatial, and temporal presence*”.¹

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¹ Miško Šuvaković, *Pojmovnik suvremene umjetnosti*, Zagreb, Horetzsky, 2005, 149, emphasis mine.

Artists who insist on the literality of their works by affirming their material, spatial, and temporal presence deny the potential symbolic, metaphoric, and aesthetic functions that might be ascribed to a work of art. The focus is thus on the here and now of the work of art, on its direct and immediate materiality. “Bare repetition” is a concept in Deleuze and Guattari’s philosophy and ontology that signifies not mere repetition as it is understood in everyday life, but an ontological relation between the same and difference. “Bare repetition” is the same, the one, and the identical that rests on representational thought and “suppresses” all difference. Linked with representational thought, “bare repetition” is also connected with the lived as well as the entire field of the reactive in the Nietzschean sense, that is, with the domain of life and the living. By contrast, there needs to be a violent encounter between the body and sound, which may potentially disorganize the hierarchical ordering of the organs and thus open lines of flight. There needs to be an encounter to produce difference.

In 1970, curator Marcia Tucker wrote her “PheNAUMANology”, an essay on Bruce Nauman published by *Artforum*, where she made the following points:

This concern with physical self is not simple artistic egocentrism, but use of the body to transform intimate subjectivity into objective demonstration. Man is the perceiver and the perceived; he acts and is acted upon; he is the sensor and the sensed. *His behaviour constitutes a dialectical interchange with the world he occupies.*²

Several decades later, she remarked in another conversation:

Something unusual was in the air, an eccentric view of what art might be. It’s important to remember that there was a huge amount of interest in phenomenology in the art world at that time ... and people were very excited by the idea that *art didn’t have to be about what you perceived but about the very act of perception*. This interest largely manifested itself in sculpture, like Bruce Nauman’s early work, for example – *thinking about art not in terms of objects but as a catalyst for experience on the part of the viewer.*³

At that time, new strategies in art, roughly speaking, involved attempts to dismantle the boundaries between high and low art and overcome the limitations of high modernism. Minimalism sought to achieve that by presenting the object of art literally (“meaning is realized by the phenomenality, appearance, and literal presence of a specific object and installation”), eliminating the presence of the artist from the artwork, privileging instead the viewer’s active perception (“meaning is realized by theatricalizing the perception of the work of art, which

² Cf. Marcia Tucker, “PheNEUMANology”, *Artforum*, 1970, 9/4, 1970, 38–44, emphasis mine.

³ Michael Lobel, “Sign Language”, *Artforum*, 2003, 42/1, 126–132, emphasis mine.

means that the viewer is forced actively to perceive the object or installation, moving around and inside it”), and, finally, by exploring the conceptual as well as structural conditions of the emergence of the work of art.⁴ Searching for ways of problematizing the conventions of high art, artists sought to liken art to life by including found objects, using non-artistic materials that were often perishable or were industrial in origin, or by integrating the artwork with the space occupied by the viewer and by actively engaging the latter.⁵ The resulting problematization of the boundaries of art and the artistic by using everyday objects and actively involving the viewer’s perception have “resulted in a shift of emphasis: away from a basic concern for form reduction and formal relationships and toward the varieties of experience which surround the perception of form”.⁶

The quest for alternative artistic practices led toward various strategies and, according to Jonathan Bernard, one might single out three of those practices that are common to both music and the visual arts: the reduction of chance, the emphasis on surfaces, and the focus on the whole, which also accomplishes a reduction in the number of elements.⁷ The reduction of chance, if not its total elimination, from the process of making a work of art was, among other things, a response to abstract expressionism and action painting. Donald Judd once said that it made more sense to “use a simple form that doesn’t look like either order or disorder”, such as a box, which “does have an order, but it’s not so ordered that that’s the dominant quality”.⁸

Emphasizing the surface of the artwork was aimed at accomplishing a sort of depersonalization, that is, erasure of the trace of the artist in the work of art. In that regard, painter Kenneth Noland said: “The thing is to get that color down on the thinnest conceivable surface, a surface sliced into the air as if by a razor. It’s all color and surface, that’s all”.⁹ By extension, sculptors use steel and its polished surface, discussed by one critic as follows:

The smoothness and general uninflectedness of surface in a good many of the pieces might stand as a metaphor for the general smoothing over of details of execution – a

⁴ Cf. Miško Šuvaković, *Pojmovnik suvremene umjetnosti*, op. cit., 374.

⁵ Cf. Nicole de Armendi, *Phenomenological Labyrinths in 1960s and 1970s American Art*, Virginia Commonwealth University, 2009, 49 (unpublished manuscript).

⁶ Jack Burnham, *Beyond Modern Sculpture*, Braziller, New York, 1968, 173.

⁷ Cf. Jonathan W. Bernard, “The Minimalist Aesthetic in the Plastic Arts and in Music”, *Perspectives of New Music*, 1993, 31/1, 95.

⁸ Bruce Glaser, “Questions to Stella and Judd: Interview”, in: Gregory Battcock (ed.), *Minimal Art: A Critical Anthology*, New York, E. P. Dutton, 1968, 156.

⁹ E. A. Carmean, “Modernist Art 1960 to 1970”, quoted in: Jonathan W. Bernard, “The Minimalist Aesthetic in the Plastic Arts and in Music”, 97.

metaphor that becomes richer in light of the fact that some of the new work is produced according to specifications at a factory.¹⁰

The simplification of musical material is analogous to the “smoothness” and the “non-pictorial” in the visual arts. This is reflected in the limited repertoire of sound sources and the use of repetition. The aim of repetition is precisely to evoke the feeling of “flatness”, the smoothness of flat surfaces, behind which there is nothing to attract the listener’s attention, which, however, does not imply a simplification in the perception of such music – “Simplicity of shape does not necessarily equate with simplicity of experience”, according to Robert Morris.¹¹

Focusing on the body as a whole rather than on its constituent parts was meant to enable easier and clearer communication with the viewers and listeners. Carl Andre solved the problem of relating the artwork as a whole to its constituent parts by using identical bricks, which thus “did not lend themselves to relational structures”, since “any part could replace any other part”.¹² When it comes to music, an illustration of this “principle” may be found in Alvin Lucier’s *I Am Sitting in a Room*, whose sole material for this piece was his own voice, which he recorded and then re-recorded the recorded material thus obtained. During the course of the piece, one pays less and less attention to its constituent parts, in favour of the totality of the recorded voice. The reduction of constituent elements and materials suggests that “the work of art is not primarily determined by material, spatial, or visual aspects, but by a conceptual plan and structural project imposed on an object or installation”.¹³ The relationship between structural elements led toward a Gestalt conception, that is, the laws of visual wholeness and good forms.¹⁴ This in turn means that the given elements are connected so as to form a certain whole that permits perceiving precisely the elements that constitute it. The Gestalt conception generated a serial understanding of structure:

A series is an array of consecutive elements that correspond to a numerical series or progression, as well as to a linguistic syntagm. Transformations of a Gestalt into a series suggest transformations of the two-dimensional configuration of the Gestalt of an image or the three-dimensional configuration of an object into a one-dimensional

¹⁰ Michael Benedikt, “Sculpture as Architecture: New York Letter, 1966–67”, in: Gregory Battcock (ed.), *Minimal Art: A Critical Anthology*, op. cit., 88.

¹¹ Robert Morris, “Statement”, quoted in: Jonathan W. Bernard, “The Minimalist Aesthetic in the Plastic Arts and in Music”, 101.

¹² David Bourdon, “The Razed Sites of Carl Andre”, in: Gregory Battcock (ed.), *Minimal Art: A Critical Anthology*, op. cit., 104.

¹³ Miško Šuvaković, *Pojmovnik suvremene umjetnosti*, op. cit., 374.

¹⁴ Cf. *ibid.*, 375.

(linear) order of an array of elements. In minimal art, the series or array is conceived as a simple series, i.e., the point is not about the complex logic of the law of a series, but the literality and self-reflexive simplicity of arranging elements. By being placed in a series, an object (element) acquires its value by virtue of opposing the element that precedes or follows it, or both. The concept of series maintains the concept of unity, but, unlike that of a Gestalt, this unity is conceptual, not optical.¹⁵

These three strategies or “principles” were meant to present the literal objectivity of the artwork, whether a painting, statue, or composition in sound, whereby “an earmark of minimalist art is the tendency to locate content outside the art object, in its physical setting or in the viewer’s responses, rather than ‘inside’ it”.¹⁶ The work of art becomes factual, concrete, and self-evident.¹⁷ Thus La Monte Young in “#4” of his *Compositions 1960* series alters the relationship between the performer and the audience. At the beginning of the piece, the lights go off for a period of time announced beforehand, and at the end of the piece the audience is informed that their activities during that time may have been part of the performance of the piece. In another piece, “#6”, the performers on stage imitate the usual activities of the audience sitting in their seats in the hall or at the bar of a restaurant.¹⁸ By means of activating perception, La Monte Young focused on the relationship of the viewer/listener and the artwork also by combining installations in light with drones, in his so-called *Dream Houses*, which went on for several months, even years. Zazeela and La Monte Young’s installations in light and sound, comprising objects made of aluminum and suspended on transparent strips, with intense light shining on them, left the following impression:

The effect is a unique and extraordinary transvaluation of perception: the mobiles seem to hover unanchored, while the shadows they cast in various hues attain an apparent solidity against the light-dissolved walls equal to their literally palpable but apparently disembodied sources. Like Young’s music, to which it serves as an almost uncanny complement, Zazeela’s work is predicated upon the extended duration necessary to experience the nuances which are its essence.¹⁹

In this way, Zazeela and Young generated an effect of a dematerialization of reality, as well as, consequently, a feeling of shifting consciousness and mode of

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ Kenneth Baker, *Minimalism: Art of Circumstance*, New York, Abbeville Press, 1988, 21.

¹⁷ Cf. Barbara Rose, “ABC Art”, in: Gregory Battcock (ed.), *Minimal Art: A Critical Anthology*, op. cit., 290–291.

¹⁸ Cf. Edward Strickland, *Minimalism: Origins*, Bloomington and Indianapolis, Indiana University Press, 2000, 139.

¹⁹ Ibid., 155.

perception.²⁰ Likewise, immersion was the aim of other pieces by Young where he used drones, such as *The Tortoise, His Dreams and Journeys*, a piece to which Young still refers as unfinished, performed over the years in various ways and under different titles, but always featuring greatly extended notes and an almost deafening volume:

One musician plays a viola that has been modified to allow the production of sound from three strings with equal intensity, another plays double-stops on a violin reinforced by a resonating string, while Young and his wife vocally produce other tones, in equally strict just intonation, so accurately that the resulting accumulation of tones sounds almost orchestral. Nothing else happens, except when Young from time to time enters vocally with the lowest tone of the ensemble. [...] My two hours of listening paid tribute to a unique musical experience. The ritualistic self-sufficiency ... must be heard to be believed. In sound at least. Young has got very close to the psychological nerve of ritual.²¹

Young intended – with some success, too – the relentless repetitiveness of his drones to trigger certain emotional states in his listeners, that is, to induce them to link certain tones and drones with certain feelings: “There is evidence, he claims, that specific frequencies always travel through specific pathways of the auditory system, and are thus capable of inducing specific psychological states. By exposure to extreme forms of sound durations it is possible to become conscious of the relationship between specific frequencies and the psychological and emotional states they create”.²² But the problem lies precisely in that repetitive and reductionist approach. Why is it a problem? Briefly, minimalist reductionism introduces transcendence into immanence: “when immanence becomes immanent ‘to’ a transcendental subjectivity, it is at the heart of its own field that the hallmark or figure of a transcendence must appear as action now referring to another self, to another consciousness (communication)”.²³

Minimalism does this by setting out from what is “given” and by giving it the way it appears to the subject, or, as Miško Šuvaković put it: “An array of four or six steel boxes has nothing in common with the universal metaphysical order, but only with a *direct and literal perception of a local array appearing to the viewer*”.²⁴ This giving of a literal object reveals that the main way of relating to and cognizing phenomena is the subject’s orientation toward the phenomena. The lived, as multiplicities or perceptive-affective assemblages, serve minimal-

²⁰ Cf. *ibid.*, 164–165.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 159.

²² *Ibid.*, 287.

²³ Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari, *What Is Philosophy?*, London, Verso, 2009, 46.

²⁴ Miško Šuvaković, *Pojmovnik suvremene umjetnosti*, op. cit., 375, emphasis mine.

ism only to ground the actions of subjectivity, with which such a subject first establishes a “sensory world filled with objects, then an intersubjective world occupied by the other, and finally a common ideal world that will be occupied by scientific, mathematical, and logical formations”.²⁵ Deleuze and Guattari refer to the lived as proto-beliefs or *Ur-doxa*, original opinions as utterances, whereby actions of transcendence cut through multiplicity and determine the meanings of the potential totality of the lived. It thereby emerges that immanence is only that of the lived that belongs to a subject whose actions will be concepts connected to that lived.

Opinion or *doxa* is a thought that emerges in line with recognition, that is, “recognition of a quality in perception (contemplation), recognition of a group in affection (reflection), and recognition of a rival in the possibility of other groups and other qualities (communication)”.²⁶ As communication, opinion is the universal liberal opinion, that is, consensus comprising only “the cynical perceptions and affections of the capitalist himself”.²⁷ The production process of capitalist perceptions consists of the codification of fluxes on the body of society, that is, *socius*. What does capitalism do and how precisely does it do it and what is the relationship between the state and capitalism? Between the state and all social formations and the axiomatic of capitalism there is an *isomorphic* relation.²⁸ That means that states, as well as various other social formations, as *models of the realization* of the capitalist axiomatic may exist in various forms – democratic, totalitarian, socialist – and that regardless of their socio-political ordering may partake in the immanent axiomatic of the capitalist machine. The heterogeneity of forms of government is one of the things that the capitalist axiomatic readily accepts and, in fact, entails.²⁹ A model of realization means that in the capitalist axiomatic, states are not abolished, even though there is only one capitalist global market, but, rather, assume the function of mediators in the realization of an abstract and general axiomatic that exceeds them. “States are [...] immanent models of realization for an axiomatic of decoded flows”.³⁰ As a model of realizing the capitalist axiomatic, the state mediates and performs two functions: machinic enslavement and social subjection. “Machinic enslavement” denotes the process whereby humans, along with other living beings and

²⁵ Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari, *What Is Philosophy?*, op. cit., 142.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 145–146.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 146.

²⁸ Cf. Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia*, Minneapolis and London, University of Minnesota Press, 1987, 445.

²⁹ Cf. *ibid.*

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 455.

inanimate objects, are subjected to the control of a higher unity, as constitutive elements of the social machine, which thus also attains the purpose of social subjection. Social subjection is a correlate of the subjection that capitalism enforces as an axiomatic of decoded flows. Namely, as a model of realizing the abstract axiomatic of capitalism, the state mediates between capital and people by inventing ever new ways of machinic enslavement and subjection as the production process of subjects, assigning identity in terms of sex, gender, body, ethnicity, profession, and so on. Hence, for example, the emergence of nations and nation states.³¹ On the one hand, therefore, social subjection produces individual subjects with their consciousnesses, ideas, and behaviors, while on the other hand, machinic subjection acts on pre-individual and supra-individual levels.³² Both processes are simultaneously at work.

Minimalism turns opinion into proto-opinion (*Ur-doxa*), which comprises culture and art as expressions of a subject who forms a community and communication within that community. However, by referring to the lived, by turning immanence into something that is immanent to the subject, minimalism forms “opinions that already extracted clichés from new perceptions and promised affections”.³³ Minimalism does nothing but form the opinions of the capitalist, the majority, whose perceptions are mere clichés and their affections labels of communication (which is marketing)³⁴ and whom no art can escape unless it gets out of the cycle of lived perceptions and affections. Perception and affection turn into the reversibility of the subject and object, which generates original opinion:

[...] flesh of the world and flesh of the body as correlates that inter-change, an ideal coincidence. A curious Fleshism inspires this final avatar of phenomenology and plunges it into the mystery of the incarnation. It is both a pious and a sensual notion, a mixture of sensuality and religion, without which, perhaps, flesh could not stand up by itself (it would slide down the bones, as in Bacon’s figures). The question of whether flesh is adequate to art can be put in this way: can it support percept and affect, can it constitute the being of sensation, or must it not itself be supported and pass into other powers of life?³⁵

Put briefly, art should not link the subject and the world. A work of art is no more than a block of sensations, a being of sensory impressions, made of

³¹ Cf. *ibid.*, 503–504.

³² Cf. Maurizio Lazzarato, *Signs and Machines: Capitalism and the Production of Subjectivity*, Los Angeles, Semiotext(e), 2014, 12.

³³ Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari, *What Is Philosophy?*, op. cit., 150.

³⁴ Cf. *ibid.*

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 178.

percepts and affects: “the being of sensation is not the flesh but the compound of nonhuman forces of the cosmos, of man’s nonhuman becomings, and of the ambiguous house that exchanges and adjusts them, makes them whirl around like winds”.³⁶ Lived perceptions must lead to percept, lived affections to affect, because the cycle of established clichés must be broken and the already lived must be rejected, transected, as it is, with majority opinion, which is in turn predicated on a specific structure of the subject and organization of the body. This structure is the subject *qua* subject of judgment, and organic concept and the body as an organism. The doctrine of judgment presupposes that the human being is shaped according to a certain form and certain aim.³⁷ A multitude of affects is separated and distributed according to a higher form – whether that higher form be God, or, in contemporary circumstances, neoliberal capitalism, which has assumed a transcendental function. In both cases, privatized organs are formed (in terms of separation and ownership) on a body without organs: “judgment implies a veritable organization of the bodies through which it acts: organs are both judges and judged, and the judgment of God is nothing other than the power to organize to infinity. Whence the relationship between judgment and the sense organs”.³⁸ In other words, this is an instance of a reactive shaping of organs and the organism.

Nietzsche’s concepts of reactive and active refer to forces. According to Deleuze’s Nietzsche, there is nothing but forces in mutual relations and every relation of forces constitutes a body, whether political, social, biological, or inorganic. Since the body constitutes a relation of multiple forces, “the body is a multiple phenomenon, its unity is that of a multiple phenomenon, a ‘unity of domination’”.³⁹ From this follows the distinction between active and reactive forces – active forces are the superior and dominant forces in a singular body, whereas reactive forces are inferior forces, that is, those that are dominated. The distinction of forces (whether they are active or reactive) originates from their quantity (the degree of their presence). The problem is how to assess that difference precisely and accurately. As a category, quantity is inseparable from a difference in quantity, which means that the difference between forces must be assessed in terms of intensity, because the difference between forces is neither a quantitative nor a qualitative category, but a matter of intensity. Although inferior forces are established as reactive, they still perform a significant role in “secur-

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 183.

³⁷ Cf. Gilles Deleuze, “To Have Done with Judgement”, in: Gilles Deleuze: *Essays Clinical and Critical*, London, Verso, 1998, 128.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 130.

³⁹ Gilles Deleuze, *Nietzsche and Philosophy*, New York, Columbia University Press, 2006, 40.

ing mechanical means and final ends, by fulfilling the conditions of life and the functions and tasks of conservation, adaptation and utility”.⁴⁰ Herein lies one of Nietzsche’s more significant insights, namely, that reactive forces determine the horizon of life and the living, because they are the ones that form the final purposes and ends and supply the means for attaining them. They are the ones that define the purposes of an organism and keep it alive by means of reactive formations such as consciousness, memory, habits, as well as eating, reproducing, preservation, and adaptation. By contrast, active forces are determined by means of appropriation, subjection, possession, and domination, that is, the abilities of metamorphosis and transformation.⁴¹

Reactive forces, those that form the living, rest on equating quantities, but Nietzsche “invokes the rights of difference in quality against quantity; he invokes the rights of difference in quantity against equality, of inequality against equalisation of quantities” for the sake of establishing the concept of eternal return, which Deleuze reinterprets as “not the ‘same’ or the ‘one’ which comes back in the eternal return but return is itself the one which ought to belong to diversity and to that which differs”,⁴² thus as difference itself, which constitutes the plane of immanence and is reflected in becoming. Nietzsche’s eternal return must be understood as a principle of difference and its reproduction or, in other words, difference and repetition. Nietzsche calls this principle the will to power. The will to power is at once complementary and inherent to force. The will to power is not ascribed to forces as a predicate, but a differential element in their relationship: “*The will to power is the element from which derive both the quantitative difference of related forces and the quality that devolves into each force in this relation.*”⁴³ Therefore, the will to power is a differential and genetic element of forces, whereby it is added as the internal principle of determining the quality of the relationship of forces and of determining the relationship itself. Briefly, the will to power is a principle of the intensity of forces. Further, the terms “active” and “reactive” determine the qualities of forces, whereas the terms “affirmation” and “negation” determine the qualities of the will to power, wherein lies the ethical aspect of Deleuze’s Nietzsche.

Namely, affirmation and negation precisely define becoming: “Affirmation is not action but the power of becoming active, *becoming active* personified. Negation is not simple reaction but a *becoming reactive*. It is as if affirmation and negation were both immanent and transcendent in relation to action and reaction;

⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁴¹ Cf. *ibid.*, 42.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 45–46.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 50, emphasis in the original.

out of the web of forces they make up the chain of becoming.”⁴⁴ And the will to power is that which assesses and determines the quality of forces that constitute becoming as its active and reactive, affirmative or negative elements. In that sense, the will to power is genealogic, because it assesses the origins and quality of forces that constitute things and values. Negation *qua* becoming reactive rests on the forces of adaptation. Also, it puts limits on active forces regarding what they can do. On the other hand, affirmation *qua* becoming active is a dominant force that goes to the very limits of what it can do, a force that affirms the difference “which makes its difference an object of enjoyment and affirmation”.⁴⁵ Therein lies the ethical aspect of Deleuze’s Nietzsche – finding ways of becoming, a becoming comprising forces and only forces, so as to affirm difference *qua* difference, to affirm immanence, through acting, at the expense of every possible transcendence, even that of capital under the conditions of the relative immanence of capitalism:

However, immanence in capitalism is restricted. Why? [...] Capital harnesses its power from dialectics, but it is also a regent-guardian-bodyguard of dialectical operations, it is, finally, an endless cycle that keeps reverting to itself, only to start from itself anew. It seems that capital, nevertheless, may not be separated from the effects of transcendence: the “capital-god”, from whom springs everything, transcends his own immanent domains, floats above immanence, creates a sky over and above the void of immanence, and reigns from above. Capital is the transcendent God the Father, a paternalistic structure in the framework of relative immanence; in this context, one may only speak of immanence toward something, not of absolute immanence...⁴⁶

In lieu of the inorganic vitality of absolute immanence, which, among other things, constitutes the body as a physical system, the reactive working of forces supplies the body as a well-ordered organism; every part of that organism has a predetermined function under the conditions of the relative immanence of the capitalist axiomatic, which, as discussed above, comprises a certain number of axioms and two aspects – machinic enslavement and social subjection – which give rise to the formation of the body according to the demands of the axiomatic. Organs presuppose a hierarchical model of the body and reproduce the prob-

⁴⁴ Ibid., 54, emphasis in the original.

⁴⁵ Ibid., 61.

⁴⁶ Alpar Lošonc, “Politizacija imanencije; politizacija posredstvom imanencije” (The Politicization of Immanence; Politicization through Immanence), in: Kristina Bojanović (ed.), *Slike mišljenja Žila Deleza* (Images of Gilles Deleuze’s Thought), Nikšić, Montenegro, Društvo filozofa Crne Gore, 2011, 58–59.

lems of its unity, individuality, and organization.⁴⁷ In other words, organs, like the subject, presuppose unity as an *a priori* principle and the One as the ontological foundation of the present, while the body is formed on the basis of the pre-individual and supra-individual field of singularity and intensive difference. As a subject of organic representation, the subject rests on recognition as a transcendental model (the subjection of difference to the identity of concept, the opposition of predicates, the analogy of judgment, and similarity of perception), which constitutes a complex system of the image of thought, along with common sense and the senses. This establishes a model of harmonizing faculties that are rooted in the thinking subject as the universal subject,⁴⁸ whereby difference in itself, as the de-founding basis of event, is subjected to identity and the possibility of a sensory encounter with that which forces one to think is lost.⁴⁹ In *Difference and Repetition*, Deleuze distinguishes between “bare” and “disguised” repetition.⁵⁰ In “bare” repetition, “the difference is taken to be only external to the concept; it is a difference between objects represented by the same concept, falling into the indifference of space and time”,⁵¹ the repetition of the Same, that “explained by the identity of the concept or representation”,⁵² it is negative in the absence of concept, hypothetical, revolutionary, it belongs to equality, commensurability, and symmetry, it is material, lifeless.⁵³ Unlike, or, rather, inside and behind “bare” repetition, lies repetition *qua* difference itself, unmediated difference that gives rise to repetition.

So where does this mutual determination of minimal music and “the opinion of an average capitalist” come from? How does minimal music merely repeat the clichés of the already lived and thereby merely confirms perceptions of the body *qua* organism? The answer lies in the interrelating of minimal music and neutral sensation, that is, in the “natural” body and works that minimalism produces. On the one hand, by insisting on a merely corporeal perception of sound (“art is the very act of perceiving”), minimal music does not break with the lived, but only confirms it. In turn, by confirming it, minimal music also confirms all that such a perception brings along, which comprises the entire content that a well-

⁴⁷ Cf. Anne Sauvagnargues, *Deleuze and Art*, London and New York, Bloomsbury Academic, 2013, 58.

⁴⁸ Cf. Gilles Deleuze, *Difference and Repetition*, London and New York, Continuum, 2001, 134.

⁴⁹ Cf. *ibid.*, 139.

⁵⁰ Cf. *ibid.*, 24.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 23–24.

⁵² *Ibid.*, 24.

⁵³ Cf. *ibid.*

ordered body-organism and subject of an organic idea receive due to the relative immanence of capitalism. In other words, minimal music merely reproduces, or produces perception identical to that which the capitalist mode of production has already produced. Minimalism does not bring a break with the “natural” flow of perceptions, but only follows already established and coded fluxes, whereby it remains in the image of thinking that supplants difference with identity. The neutrality of the sort of subject that minimalism holds dear generates “democratic sensations structuring a common flesh”,⁵⁴ but precisely for that same reason, minimalism is unable to generate resistance to contemporary social conditions and forms of life. By focusing on perception itself, minimalism emphasizes the viewer and listener’s bodily engagement, their ability to notice a change in their experience, and thus also the artwork’s bodily and visual-aural effect. In fact, it thereby introduces a division between an empirical-psychological and transcendental plane, whereby minimalist works of art become representations with explicit elements of their own constitution; those elements are syntheses of a multitude of perceptions, the contingency of embodiment, and relations between the object and the environment. Minimalism, therefore, leads from a “naïve” empirical *I* to a neutral subject. Thus, it is bare repetition, one that makes no difference.

⁵⁴ Stephen Zepke, “Deleuze, Guattari, and Contemporary Art”, in: Eugene W. Holland, Daniel W. Smith, and Charles J. Stivale (eds.), *Gilles Deleuze: Image and Text*, London and New York: Continuum, 2009, 180.

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BEYOND ZERO: 1914–1918 – A CENTURY AFTER

(String quartet by Aleksandra Vrebalov, composer, and film by Bill Morrison – director)

My friend, you would not tell with such high zest
To children ardent for some desperate glory,
The old Lie; Dulce et Decorum est
Pro patria mori.

Wilfred Owen, *Dulce et Decorum Est*

Abstract: To mark the centennial of WWI, Aleksandra Vrebalov wrote a new string quartet *Beyond Zero: 1914–1918* which accompanied a film by Bill Morrison. The paper presents the means with which the musical structure was created to resonate with the subject, especially the technique of using quotations (musical and non-musical) in order to make the music more “pictorial”. The film, made from archive material preserved from WWI, with all its elements of devastation, uses moving pictures to the accompaniment of the “sounding pictures” of music.

Keywords: Aleksandra Vrebalov, quotation, Great War, WWI, text, zero, Dadaism, Bartók, Owen, Huelsenbeck, Gerard, film.

In the year 2014, the entire world, constantly “afflicted” by a contagion of conflicts between countries, ethnic groups and different ideologies, is marking

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the centennial of World War One. This significant reminiscence of the Great War has initiated new studies in the science of history¹, as well as in the other humanities, but also new works of art that reflect contemporary views on what was, in every way, the first enormous global catastrophe of the 20th century.

Among the artists who contributed to the global mourning, pointing to their anti-war position as a credo, is Aleksandra Vrebalov,² a Serbian composer based in New York, USA. Her piece *Beyond Zero: 1914–1918*, commissioned by the University of California, Berkeley³ is, however, an audio-visual work sui generis. Namely, this composition, written for a string quartet, is performed along with a film, that was created *after* the music. This unusual artistic collaboration, in which the music is not subordinate to the moving pictures, gives an additional quality to the work of Vrebalov and opens a possibility for discussion about how musical an image can be, as Karin von Maur pointed out, along with the well-known thesis of how music can be pictorial. But to begin with a Barthian question: what kind of plurality configures the “text” of this music? What was the goal of the composer starting from the title of the piece, and what are the applied means with which the title was “justified”?⁴

¹ The following books, among others, give a new perspective on the First World War: Ernst Piper *Nachtüber Europa* (Propyläen, 2014), Herfried Munkler *Der Grosse Krieg* (Rowohlt, 2013), Christopher Clark *The Sleepwalkers: How Europe Went to War in 1914* (Harper, 2013), Olaf Jessen, *Verdun – Die Urschlacht des Jahrhunderts* (C. H. Beck, 2014), Jörn Leonhard *Der grosse Krieg. Eine globale Geschichte* (C. H. Beck, 2014), Bruno Cabanes, Anne Duménil *Der erste Weltkrieg* (Theiss, 2013), Оливер Јанц, *14. Велики рат* (Прометеј, Радио Телевизија Београд, 2014).

² Aleksandra Vrebalov (1970) wrote more than 60 works, ranging from concert music, to opera and modern dance, to music for films. Her works have been commissioned and/or performed by the Kronos Quartet, the Serbian National Theater, Carnegie Hall, the Moravian Philharmonic, the Belgrade Philharmonic and the Providence Festival Ballet. Vrebalov is a fellow of the MacDowell Colony, the Rockefeller Bellagio Center, New York’s New Dramatists, American Opera Projects, Other Minds Festival, and Tanglewood. Her awards include The American Academy of Arts and Letters Charles Ives Fellowship, Barlow Endowment Commission, MAP Fund, Vienna Modern Masters, Meet the Composer, and Douglas Moore Fellowship. Her works have been recorded for Nonesuch, Innova, Centaur, Records, and Vienna Modern Masters. Vrebalov’s most recent collaboration, with director Bill Morrison, *Beyond Zero (1914 – 1918)*, was commissioned and premiered by the Kronos Quartet at Berkeley’s Cal Performances in April 2014 and had its European premiere at the Edinburgh International Festival this summer. Vrebalov is currently setting Charles Simic’s poetry for a song cycle commissioned by the ASCAP/Kingsford Fund and is collaborating with the architect Ronit Eisenbach on a site-specific sound installation at the Washington College in Maryland. For more details see www.aleksandravrebalov.com.

³ The work was commissioned by the Kronos Quartet, as well.

⁴ Karin Von Maur: *Vom Klang der Bilder*, Prestel, 1999.

The author Aleksandra Vrebalov explains the idea of composition: “Zero form in art refers to Malevitch’s zero form and 1915, and the legacy of abstraction. In physics, the concept of zero-point energy was developed in Germany by Einstein and Otto Stern in 1913.⁵ Therefore, the title of the piece refers to that very ground state, a “zero” of civilization destroyed by war, about starting over, about the world that had transformed itself, brought itself to the zero-form through the destruction of war, through the total annihilation of life and love. That lowest point of the system – a zero point of the world in the aftermath of war – with millions killed and impoverished, is not a static place without energy. On the contrary, that point of unimaginable suffering fluctuates with energy in which lies its highest future potential – rising from the ashes, a catharsis, a new beginning, a possibility for a paradigm shift, a point in which death and suffering can be transcended and consciousness raised, of oneself and others – for war to be avoided for generations to come”.⁶

According to the composer, the inspiration came from the work of authors who maintained the anti-war position, such as the poets Wilfred Owen and Siegfried Sassoon, the composers Satie and Debussy, and the followers of the Dada movement. Especially significant and powerful, as Aleksandra Vrebalov emphasizes, is Owen’s line from *Dulce et Decorum*, that “sweet and noble death for one’s country is an old lie”.⁷

“Wild”, “distorted”, “dark”, “rough”, “violent”, “expansive”, “squeaky” are the score markings in *Beyond Zero*, which stand in contrast to “tenderly”, “espressivo”, “still”, “aware” instructions to the performers. These two “sides”, the brutal and the tender, both represented in the quartet, build a structure that in its clashing contrasts resembles a “battlefield”. Its brutality has much in common with Bartókian folklore, like blocks of persistently repeated music ideas brought to a collapse. However, in the militarily organized ostinato of cello in 4/4 meter, as a motive of the inevitable fate, the appearance of triplets sways this musical “discipline” and appears to sound like an “army” of faltering notes (b. 105-) (Ex. 1).

In contrast to this section, the slow part at the end grows in density, and obtaining a certain Mahlerian orchestral sound, represents an “adagietto” of the new age (b. 565-) (Ex. 2).

⁵ The idea of zero-point energy is that there is a finite, minimum amount of motion (more accurately, kinetic energy) in all matter, even at absolute zero, explains Paul A. Deck, Assistant Professor of Chemistry at the Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University. Cf. <http://www.scientificamerican.com/article/follow-up-what-is-the-zero/>

⁶ From the correspondence with the Kronos Quartet, 2011.

⁷ Vrebalov, From a conversation with the composer, October 2014. See also: <http://kronosquartet.org/projects/detail/beyond-zero-1914-1918>.

Ex. 1: A. Vrebalov: *Beyond Zero*, b. 105 – 108

Musical score for Ex. 1, measures 105-108. The score is for four staves: Violin I, Violin II, Viola, and Violoncello. The music is characterized by a 'rough' texture, indicated by the word 'rough' above the first staff. The notation includes numerous triplets and a 'crescendo' marking at the end of the passage.

Ex. 2: A. Vrebalov: *Beyond Zero*, b. 565 – 580

Musical score for Ex. 2, measures 565-580. The score is for four staves: Violin I, Violin II, Viola, and Violoncello. The music is characterized by a 'piano' texture, indicated by the word 'piano' above the first staff. The notation includes dynamic markings (ppp, p) and a 'follow individual dynamic' instruction.

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The shifting of these contrasting parts, contrasting atmospheres, directly resembles the fluctuating extremes of life in times of war: months of battles in trenches, in dirt, disease and death, and the short breaks of a cease-fire, or times of leave. To make the music more eloquent, the composer imports quotations, both musical and non-musical. This technique, well-known from her other oeuvres, gives the music a strong aura of authenticity even without the film as a component of the musical flow.

An excerpt from the old recording of Béla Bartók's own performance of his Piano Suite op. 14 marks the start of the "zero moment".⁸ It is understandable why this specific opus is used: according to Vrebalov, the intention was to take the audience back to *illo tempore*, to the period of WWI. Also, the number of the opus is more than enough to warn us of the reason. Bartók's piece dating from 1916 with its scattered tonality is also a prediction of the dark times to come. Vrebalov starts the piece with one single note "pronounced and glassy" in the first violin, G3 harmonic, with a crescendo that transforms this sound into a quasi-human

⁸ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1R-g7a9vVAU>

voice that moans. The quotation from Bartók’s music as an introduction, is not the only musical quotation of the quartet. The citation from the field of music was used once again at the very end: the solemn Byzantine hymn *Eternal Memory to the Virtuous*, chanted by the monks from the Kovilj monastery in Serbia. The rest of the quotations are intermediate),⁹ from the literature or recorded sounds of actual moments in a war. Aleksandra Vrebalov uses documentary recordings from different wars of the last century – excerpts from the military commands of the Serbian and Bosnian troops during the conflicts in Yugoslavia in 1990s, the extremely brutal “Loyalty Speech” of James Watson Gerard¹⁰ who served as a U.S. Ambassador to Germany until 1917, the disturbing sound of air-raid sirens during the bombing of London in World War II, the excerpts from Huelsenbeck’s reading of his Dadaistic prayer from *Chorus Sanctus*.¹¹ This intermediate “dialog” with a content that resembles war and suffering, was used in order to underline the author’s opinion not just about the Great War, but war in general. The segments of acoustic music that can be heard simultaneously with the documentary sound on the backing track sometimes reflect an atmosphere that is opposite to them, in order to portray the possible supreme alternative. At other times, they directly describe the non-musical “text” (and vice versa). So the *molto espressivo* marking in music clashes with the sound of military commands (b. 232–) underlining the fact that “while some make war planes, others are creating art...” (Ex. 3)¹².

Ex. 3. A. Vrebalov: *Beyond Zero*, b. 232–242

The image shows a musical score for a string quartet, specifically measures 232 to 242. The score is written for four parts: Violin I (Vln. I), Violin II (Vln. II), Viola (Via.), and Violoncello (Vc.). The key signature has one flat (B-flat major or D minor), and the time signature is 4/4. The score includes various dynamic markings such as *mf*, *f*, *p*, and *ppp*. There are also performance instructions like *esp.* and *tenderly*. The piece begins at measure 232 with a 'V' marking above the first violin staff. The music features complex rhythmic patterns and melodic lines, with some parts being more active than others.

The threat of Gerard’s speech is juxtaposed with Dadaistic poetry in which the words disappear and only the vowels A, E, O, U and syllables without any concrete sense sound as the only reasonable meaning compared to the horrifying

⁹ Dubravka Oraić Tolić, *Teorija citatnosti*, Zagreb, Grafički zavod Hrvatske, 1990.

¹⁰ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vcaMJ2h42go>

¹¹ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5r3X5yH2w14>

¹² Vrebalov, op. cit.

words of the politician. The non-human speech resonates with the atonal squeaky “speech” of the string quartet (b. 363-) (Ex. 4).

Ex. 4: A. Vrebalov: *Beyond Zero*, b. 363 – 377¹³

The musical score for Ex. 4 consists of two systems of staves for Violin I, Violin II, Viola, and Cello. The first system starts at measure 363 and ends at measure 371. It features a 'T' time signature. The Violin I part begins with a *p* dynamic and includes the instruction 'very high register, move up and down in small intervals, legato'. The Violin II, Viola, and Cello parts also include the instruction 'pp gradually increase dynamic towards m. 403'. The Cello part has the instruction 'gliss. on open G/D strings, up and down, slowly'. The second system starts at measure 371 and ends at measure 377. It includes the instruction 'behind the bridge' for the Violin I part and 'mp, every pattern louder' for the Cello part. The score is characterized by dense, repetitive patterns of notes and stems, often represented by arrow-like notations.

Additionally, Aleksandra Vrebalov utilizes the auto quotation from her opera *Mileva*. At the time when “old men were burying their children”,¹⁴ the voice of a girl calling her cats at the ending of the piece is a “symbolic reminder of the suffering of women and children, and of a longing for lost safety and domesticity”¹⁵.

There are numerous theories that explain the meaning of the music written for the film. The basic division into diegetic and non-diegetic music (Ćirić

¹³ The arrow-like notation of this segment of the piece supports the program of the composition in the sphere of the visual. It resembles actually a medieval “army” of spears. We can be sure that this was not the direct intention of the composer, but we can talk here about of voco-visual art in which, in this case, the score surpasses the media of sound, but cannot be seen by the audience. Cf. Mirjana Veselinović Hofman, *Musical Notation: The More or Less than Sound*, New Sound No. 35, I, 2010, 49.

¹⁴ Жан Палмије, *Експресионизам као побуна*, Нови Сад, Магица Српска, 1995.

¹⁵ Vrebalov, op. cit.

2014)¹⁶ is supported by analyses of how music can impact the drama in the film. The opposite situation is rarely observed. In the case of *Beyond Zero* the “gesamtkunstwerk” of Aleksandra Vrebalov includes a film made by Bill Morrison,¹⁷ a director who is known for his experimental work in which the documentary material is the main source of the artistic construction. However, the “presence” of Morrison’s film *in Beyond Zero* is depicted by the recorded sound of an old film projector that rotates the tape. This audio effect, which is not present during the entire performance, has two meanings. The first refers to the historical data of the documentary material used in the film, from authentic moments in WWI. The second resonates with the need of the composer to transform the sound into “fireworks” of possible associations. Namely, the realistic “humming” of the old mechanism gives the music of the quartet a very quiet, yet very cramping background that reminds the listener of the “flickering” of the wings of a butterfly captured in a jar. This somewhat simple explanation of the first stratum of the impact of the film on the music is not at all naïve. Even without the screen, this persistent sound surpasses its objective source and creates an association of one being trapped, without hope.

¹⁶ Marija Ćirić, *Vidljivi prostori muzike*, Kragujevac, Tempus-Filum, 2014. This basic division indicates the difference between music that accompanies the motion picture but it is not present on the screen as the sound that is played by an ensemble, and the music that is played in the film, before the eyes of the audience.

¹⁷ Bill Morrison (1965) is a New York-based filmmaker and artist, best known for his experimental collage film *Decasia* (2002). He is a member of the Ridge Theater and the founder of Hypnotic Pictures. He attended Reed College 1983–85, and graduated from the Cooper Union School of Art in 1989. Bill Morrison’s films have been screened at festivals, museums and concert halls worldwide, including the Sundance Film Festival, the Orphan Film Symposium, The Tate Modern, London, and the Walt Disney Concert Hall, Los Angeles. Eight of his titles have been acquired by the Museum of Modern Art. He has been commissioned to create films for some of the most important composers of his time, including John Adams, Gavin Bryars, Dave Douglas, Bill Frisell, Michael Gordon, Henryk Gorecki, Michael Harrison, Vijay Iyer, David Lang, Harry Partch, Steve Reich and Julia Wolfe. Morrison is a Guggenheim fellow and has received the Herb Alpert Award in the Arts. He has received grants from the Foundation for Contemporary Arts, Creative Capital and The National Endowment for the Arts. His work with the Ridge Theater has been recognized with two Dance Theater Workshop Bessie Awards and an Obie Award. *Decasia*, his feature-length collaboration with composer Michael Gordon, was selected by the U.S. Library of Congress for its National Film Registry in 2013, becoming the most modern film selected to the list. It has been noted by J. Hoberman of the *Village Voice* as “the most widely acclaimed American avant-garde film of the fin-de-siècle”. The director Errol Morris commented while viewing *Decasia* that “This may be the greatest movie ever made”. The film was commissioned by the Basel Sinfonietta to be shown on three screens surrounding the musicians. The film was released on Blu-ray as “Decasia” by Icarus Films in 2012. Morrison’s complete collected works were released as a 5-disc box set, in September 2014.



Photo courtesy of Bill Morrison

The film itself visually supports the music, as the director points out: “The film portion of *Beyond Zero: 1914–1918* is comprised of films never before seen by modern audiences. I searched archives for rare 35mm nitrate films shot during the Great War, and made brand new HD scans from the originals. In many cases this is the last expression of these films – some original copies were determined not to be worth preserving beyond this transfer to digital media. What we are left with is a glimpse of a war fought in fields, in trenches, and in the air. Most of the footage shows some emulsion deterioration – the by-product of a history stored on an unstable base for 100 years. Through a veil of physical degradation and original film dyes, we can see training exercises, parades, and troop movement. Some of the battle footage was re-enacted for the camera, and some depicts actual live rounds. All of it was shot on film at the time of the conflict. We see a record of a war as a series of documents passed along to us like a message in a bottle. Nothing is more powerful than the record of the film itself, made visible by its own deterioration. We are constantly reminded of its materiality: this film was out on these same fields with these soldiers 100 years ago, a collaborator, and a survivor...”¹⁸

¹⁸ Morrison, <http://kronosquartet.org/projects/detail/beyond-zero-1914-1918>.



Photo courtesy of Bill Morrison

If we bear in mind that “being somewhere means taking part” and that “one who was present knows exactly how it was” then it could be said that the intention of the artists¹⁹, both composer and director, was to turn the audience into an active witness of the catastrophe in which it takes part silently. Giving the audience this role is close to calling out for the responsibility of each person present during the performance, not for the past, full of cardinal mistakes, but for possible future decisions. This is what Morrison thinks when he comments: “If these are images that we, as viewers, were once intended to see, to convince us of the necessity and valor of war, they now read as images that have fought to remain on the screen. They are threatened on all sides by the unstable nitrate base they were recorded on, and the prism of nearly one hundred uninterrupted years of war, through which we now view them.”²⁰

¹⁹ Hans Georg Gadamer, *Istina i metoda, osnovi filozofske hermeneutike*, Sarajevo, Veselin Masleša, 1978.

²⁰ Morrison, op. cit.

It is not strange that the chanting of monks, at first hardly recognized as Orthodox, concludes the performance with the sound of gongs vanishing into the silence. The intention of the author was clearly not to point out the source of religion, but to show that all prayers are alike. The “echo” of gongs²¹ gives the ending a solemn atmosphere of rest “beyond” war, of a cathartic potential for starting from zero. This peaceful conclusion suggests a reconciliation as the only possible way forward – the only way that “dulce et decorum est”.

²¹ Aleksandra Vrebalov explains that for the “premiere of the piece we had real, huge, very resonant Vietnamese artillery shells hanging on the stage, and two violinists from the quartet had to stand up and tap on them... In most of the other performances, we don’t have the real shells so we use gongs...”. From a conversation with the composer, October 2014.

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THE COLLAGE-SHAPED WORLDS OF GUSTAV MAHLER'S *RÜCKERT* SYMPHONIES¹

Abstract: The main goal of this paper was to reveal the very beginnings of collage technique in Western art. Musical materials taking place in the scherzo movements of Gustav Mahler's Fifth, Sixth and Seventh Symphony are arranged astonishingly similar to arrangement of different materials (i.e. fabric, wallpaper, newspaper fragments etc.) in first collage paintings by Picasso and Braque. Considering the fact that composing of the symphonies occurred significantly earlier than the first collage paintings, we come to a conclusion that collage technique pioneered not in the art of painting but in that of music.

Keywords: collage, Gustav Mahler, *Rückert* symphonies, scherzos, Pablo Picasso, Georges Braque.

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In the Domain of a “Second Maturity”

According to Stephen Hefling, by the time he began work on his Fifth Symphony, in 1901, Gustav Mahler had recognized his Fourth Symphony as the apex of his so-called *Wunderhorn* tetralogy and was ready to embark on new paths of creativity.² Hefling also adds that at this time, Mahler found himself at the beginning of his “second maturity” and that his entire development as a composer up to that point was crucial for his subsequent work.³ Around this time, right at the beginning of the 20th century, he also wrote several works that centered around the issue of life and death: the final song of *Des Knaben Wunderhorn*, three settings of poems from Friedrich Rückert’s collection of 400 poems, titled *Kindertotenlieder*, and settings of four independent poems by the same poet.⁴ This helps explain why Mahler’s three middle symphonies (the Fifth, Sixth, and Seventh) were dubbed “Rückert symphonies”. Denominating this period as Mahler’s “second maturity” points, among other things, to issues regarding the development (or accomplishments) of his compositional technique in these symphonies.

Not long after Mahler’s death, the fine arts saw the emergence of a new technique. They were the first collage paintings of Pablo Picasso and Georges Braque, from 1912. The significance of the new technique rests on its rejection of the concept of painting as a window into a world of illusions, dating back to the Renaissance; the painting was thereby transformed into a “tray on which to ‘serve’ art”.⁵ Due to its abstract nature, the art of music became a favorite topic with the Cubists, who sought parallels between music and their own, similarly abstract art.⁶ In this regard, the following question arises: could it be that the collage technique in the fine arts stemmed from the art of music?

According to Miško Šuvaković’s definition in his *Pojmovnik teorije umetnosti* [Lexicon of Art Theory], the defining characteristics of collage are: 1) the excision of elements (materials, meanings) from their original contexts, 2) their

² Cf. Stephen E. Hefling, “Song and Symphony (II). From *Wunderhorn* to Rückert and the Middle-Period Symphonies: Vocal and Instrumental Works for a New Century”, in: Jeremy Barham (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Mahler*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2007, 109.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Horst Voldemar Janson (Horst Woldemar Janson), *Jansonova istorija umetnosti: zapadna tradicija* (Janson’s History of Art: The Western Tradition), Belgrade, Mono i Manjana, 2008, 953.

⁶ Ibid.

insertion into a new context, 3) the montage or generation of a structure in which the transplanted elements acquire new meanings, blending with background elements and changing their visual appearance and meaning as a whole.⁷ Therefore, the issue of the collage technique's rooting in music might above all refer to the presence of the characteristics of collage listed above in music. In concrete terms, in the case of Mahler's Scherzos mentioned above, this would entail examining the compositional techniques applied in these pieces against the characteristics of collage discussed above. Another question that one might ask is whether the term "collage technique" is at all applicable to music.

A World without Gravity (*Strongly, not too fast*)

It is generally assumed that Mahler began sketching his Fifth Symphony with the Scherzo in 1901. However, it is also known that his plans for his Fourth Symphony feature a movement titled *Die Welt ohne Schwere, D-major (Scherzo)*;⁸ this preliminary plan dates back to as early as 1895-6, although Mahler's Fourth Symphony contains no such Scherzo.⁹ Mahler's correspondence (from the summer of 1901) indicates that the subheading was meant to signify "the expression of incredible energy [*unerhörte Kraft*]. It is a human being in the full light of the day, in the prime of his life..."¹⁰ On the other hand, if one accepts Vernon Wicker's translation – *The World without Gravity* – as Donald Mitchell argues, the title could bear a double meaning: the weightless state of one's spirit and, supposing that Mahler was interested in physics, the weightless condition of material objects in zero gravity, taking into account the scientific meaning of the word "gravity".¹¹

In terms of form, the Scherzo is in a compound ternary (or trio) form, with two trios. It is interesting that here, after two minor-mode movements (in F-sharp and A minor), Mahler turns to a dazzling D major (followed by another two movements, in F and D major). One could perhaps draw an analogy here with Mahler's "human being in full daylight". Nonetheless, the Scherzo fea-

⁷ Cf. Miško Šuvaković, *Pojmovnik teorije umetnosti*, Belgrade, Orion Art, 2011, 366.

⁸ Cf. Donald Mitchell, "Mahler's Fifth Symphony", in: Donald Mitchell and Andrew Nicholson (eds.), *The Mahler Companion*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1999, 300–301. Mitchell here offers two English renderings of Mahler's heading, his own, which reads *The World without Cares* and Vernon Wicker's, which reads *The World without Gravity*, preferring the latter.

⁹ Cf. Stephen E. Hefling, op. cit., 114.

¹⁰ Donald Mitchell, op. cit., 301.

¹¹ Ibid.

tures a wealth of dark and almost frantic moments, which in this case effectively dissemble the fact that D major is the target tonality of the symphony as a whole.¹²

Mahler's Fifth Symphony features a new type of scherzo, which one might call the development-scherzo.¹³ Two themes, the scherzo theme and the first trio theme, are initially presented clearly, one after the other, in juxtaposition, to facilitate their various combinations later on. One may observe here the origin of Mahler's counterpoint. As much as all materials are clearly characterized (one might even say isolated), at the same time, they must penetrate each other. Mahler combines them, presenting them simultaneously, which gives rise to contrapuntal combinations of different themes.¹⁴ This principle is at its most prominent in the Coda (bb. 863–918), which features four of the materials presented up to that point.

The Scherzo's structure is entirely governed by counterpoint. The themes are successively singled out one after another, like "good counterpoints to a *cantus firmus*", as Adorno put it.¹⁵ On the whole, the Fifth Symphony Scherzo strives to build symphonic unity on the basis of a series of dances, resembling a suite.¹⁶ Thus this Scherzo, the longest Mahler ever wrote, might be likened to an Austrian waltz, albeit a stylized waltz, while the two Trios might be said to evoke the character of the more stately French waltz.¹⁷ Adorno probably based his comparison of Mahler's Scherzo with a suite on his insight that the Scherzo and Trio themes are not polarized, as they would be, for instance, in a Classical sonata form, as well as on their relative thematic similarity, in addition to the fact that they are indeed presented in a series. That, however, does not mean that there are no differences between them. Their differences are much more prominent in the instrumentation and therefore also in the total sound impression they make. At the beginning of the movement, the Scherzo theme is assigned mostly to the winds. Its sound is much more massive and texture denser than those of the Trio (b. 136), assigned to the strings, slightly slower, and set in a light, transparent texture.

¹² *Ibid.*, 302. Mitchell is referring here primarily to multiple sections in minor-mode keys, featuring "nervous, shadowy, skeptical, even desperate music".

¹³ Cf. Theodor W. Adorno, *Mahler: A Musical Physiognomy*, trans. Edmund Jephcott, Chicago and London, The University of Chicago Press, 1992, 102.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 103.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁷ Cf. Stephen E. Hefling, *op. cit.*, 116.

At the very beginning of the movement, one notices the domination of contrapuntal thinking (bb. 1–39), discussed above. The theme is presented by the French horn *obbligato*, which is then joined by the clarinets and bassoons, which present a counter-melody, whereupon a fuller orchestral sound emerges, layer by layer, on top of the counterpoint between the French horn *obbligato* and the first violins.¹⁸

Here, the French horn timbre is one of the core elements that inform the character of this Scherzo. In the central episode of the Trio, there are passages that make prominent use of this timbre, which, logically enough, singles out the French horn *obbligato*, which then presents the Trio theme in a dialogue with other instrumental groups.¹⁹ This gesture points to a *concertante* treatment of the instrument. This rather innovative compositional procedure comes up right before the dialogue mentioned above. On a single note (F4), four French horns form a rather condensed canon, unfolding against a sonic backdrop provided by the rest of the orchestra. The theme is stated in each of the four horn parts, clearly marked by a *fortissimo* and a sudden *diminuendo* to a *piano*, followed by equal dynamics in all four horn parts after the entrance of the fourth horn. After that, only the fourth horn remains, whose timbre gives rise to that of a solo French horn *obbligato*, which then engages in a dialogue with the rest of the orchestra (see Example 1). The significance of this passage (especially for Mahler's successors) lay in the emergence of the concept of rhythmical canon, where dynamics is posited as the main parameter of the theme as a whole.²⁰

The collage elements may be at their most obvious in the combinations of the Scherzo and Trio themes, that is, of the Austrian and French waltz. It is only natural to assume (following my brief discussion of the movement's form and structure) that an "Austrian sound" predominates, that is, that elements of a "French sound" are gradually worked into the "Austrian sound".

One might argue that the "Austrian" first thrusts into the "French" already at the initial statement of the Trio theme, judging from Mahler's composition-technique procedures applied at that point. Namely, a statement of the transparent Trio theme (b. 136) is accompanied by a counter-melody that, although essentially not interfering with the character of the theme, alludes to the procedure used at the statement of the Scherzo theme.

¹⁸ Cf. Theodor W. Adorno, op. cit., p. 103.

¹⁹ Cf. Donald Mitchell, op. cit., 305–306.

²⁰ Ibid., 307.

At the final reprise of the Scherzo, soon after the restatement of the opening theme, there is a moment (see Example 2) that one may no longer interpret as a penetration of the French waltz by the Austrian waltz, but precisely as an integration of the “French” into the “Austrian”, discussed above. A full orchestral sound, up to that point clearly featuring the Scherzo theme, is now followed by the Trio theme, accompanied by the Scherzo theme counter-melody from the opening. In this case, one may indeed argue that there is an element here that is, in line with Šuvaković’s definition of collage, taken from a certain context and placed into a new context, changing its meaning and building a whole with the elements of this new context. It is important to note that the French waltz, that is, Trio material itself, is not transformed (with the exception of a change in register) and thus remains recognizable.

However, this principle of integration does not always apply. Soon afterwards (b. 799), the “Austrian” and the “French” are separated again and placed in a dialogue between the solo French horn *obbligato* and the rest of the orchestra, until the beginning of the Coda.

An Eerie Admixture of a *Ländler*, March, and Old-fashioned Trio (*Strongly*)

Mahler began work on his Sixth Symphony in 1903 and completed it in 1904, when he premièred his Fifth Symphony. Unlike the latter’s five movements and free tonal plan, the Sixth Symphony comprises the traditional four movements, with the sonata form in the opening and final movements. All four movements are in A minor, except the *Andante*, which is in E-flat major.

The composer himself nicknamed the Symphony *The Tragic*. In a way, it is as if he had used the condensed classicism of his Fourth Symphony, inverted and expanded it into a tragic vision ending in a nihilistic void.²¹ In his Sixth Symphony, Mahler is undoubtedly an impeccable symphonic dramatist and the Symphony’s tragic dénouement is never certain, until the onset of the reprise in the final movement.²²

This Symphony’s Scherzo is framed as a Dance of Death, an ancient cultural topos equally prominent in the visual arts, literature, and music, and precisely featuring an eerie admixture of a *Ländler*, march, and an old-fashioned trio.²³ Formally, this Scherzo, too, is a compound ternary form with two trios. The movement’s regular quaver beat with intervening semiquavers in 3/8 time (3/4 in diminution) is a *Ländler* element. The heavy melodic moves in A minor, with

²¹ Cf. Stephen E. Hefling, *op. cit.*, 119.

²² *Ibid.*

²³ *Ibid.*

pedal notes in the bass and dotted rhythms are precisely a reference to the march from the opening movement. The Scherzo material might be described as reduced and rather repetitive and as such, it persists all the way to the Trio, which “absorbs yet alters the scherzo’s pulse”.²⁴ It is worth noting that the keys of the Trio, F major and D major, were previously the tonal centers of the opening movement’s second theme (so-called Alma’s theme). The Trio also features sudden changes in meter (from 3/8 to 4/8, 2/4, and 3/4). According to Alma Mahler, those changes imitate the arrhythmic frolicking of their children, stumbling in sand, and, somewhat eerily, their children’s voices turn increasingly tragic and finally die out in a groan.²⁵

One may argue that the respective materials of the Scherzo and Trio overlap. The material of the Trio appears in full view, not at all concealed, already at the first statement of the Scherzo (b. 50). Later on, the Trio, marked *Altväterisch* (old-fashioned) acquires an almost inherited dignified character and turns uncomfortably close to the Scherzo, as though in a nightmare.²⁶ The Trio and Scherzo form a unity intended, with painful insistence, to express the singularity of the movement, almost constantly smuggling in the Scherzo’s rigid theme.²⁷ Incidentally, a rigid character is a common occurrence when it comes to the themes of the Sixth Symphony as a whole, so one may hardly ascribe it to a tiring melodic invention on Mahler’s part. This rigidity has the same unstable quality that a rigid sonata form has.²⁸ As a result, the Scherzo acquires a character that evokes danger, even suffocation.²⁹

Despite the Scherzo and Trio’s thematic overlapping, they are rather clearly contrasted. The Scherzo’s almost threatening character, presented by the entire orchestra (albeit with different parts entering at different times, at the beginning), is “confronted” by a gentle and fragile trio (like children playing in sand), whose theme is presented by the woodwinds (b. 98). Nonetheless, these materials are related. Although the Trio theme is already presented in the first statement of the Scherzo – which may suggest viewing the Trio as a sort of “thematic transformation” – the statement of that theme at the second appearance of the

²⁴ Ibid., 121.

²⁵ Ibid. Alma Mahler’s testimony is almost a premonition of their family tragedy and supports interpretations of Gustav Mahler’s music as a “music that foresees life”. See Mirjana Veselinović, “Smisao mimesisa u poetici Gustava Mahlera” (The Meaning of Mimesis in the Poetics of Gustav Mahler), *Muzikološki zbornik* 23 (1987), 86.

²⁶ Cf. Theodor W. Adorno, op. cit., 103.

²⁷ Ibid.

²⁸ Ibid.

²⁹ Ibid.

Scherzo (see Example 3) may still be viewed as an element of collage. Though much less noticeable at this point, here it emerges in a fragmented state and is thus all the more integrated into the tissue of the Scherzo. Since its physiognomy is changed here, its character changes as well; here, it almost entirely assumes the Scherzo's tragic character.

Certainly the most prominent moment in the entire movement is the Coda (see Example 4). Although at first glance it seems that all of the materials heard up to that point are combined in it, the focus is actually on the material of the Trio. In addition to its fragmented state, dispersed, even canonic (solo violin, clarinet, oboe, and so on) exposition in a reduced orchestra, it is heard clearly for the first time in the minor mode, over a tonic pedal with clearly pronounced chromatic alternations between major and minor chords in the accompaniment (which corresponds with Alma Mahler's description – children's voices fading into groans).

It is worth noting that in this movement, the Scherzo never significantly changes in appearance, whereas the Trio "tends" to change in character, which may be related to the extra-musical contents of the Symphony as a whole.

A Vignette of Hell and Demonic Glee (*Shaded*)

In the summer of 1904, whilst still working on his Sixth Symphony, Mahler had already completed two movements of his Seventh Symphony. These are two character pieces, that is, two pieces of *Nachtmusik*, which eventually found their way into the Symphony as its second and fourth movements, respectively, divided by the Scherzo.³⁰ By the end of summer the next year, the remaining movements were finished as well.³¹

The Symphony's tonal plan is worth noting. Mahler here returns to an open tonal plan, like that of his Fifth Symphony, although here it is not as easy to find the "target" key as it was in the Fifth (D major). One may conclude that the Seventh Symphony's tonal plan is diffuse, given that all five movements are in different keys, with the exception of the second movement and the finale, which share the same tonal center (B minor, C minor, D minor, F major, and C major).

Stephen Hefling notes that the movement's character marking – "Shaded" (*Schattenhaft*) partly sums up this Scherzo as a "vignette of hell and demonic

³⁰ Cf. Stephen E. Hefling, "'Ihm in die Lieder zu blicken': Mahler's Seventh Symphony Sketchbook", in Stephen E. Hefling (ed.), *Mahler Studies*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1997, 185.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 171.

glee”, squeezed in between two pieces of *Nachtmusik*.³² Also, Hefling calls this movement an “impotent *Doppelgänger*” of the Fifth Symphony’s development-scherzo, given that in the Fifth the stylized waltz transforms the course of the entire Symphony, whereas the waltz in the Scherzo of the Seventh simply grows ever more unpleasant, without offering anything beyond the sensuous.³³ Similarly, Adorno likewise labels this Scherzo a “development-scherzo”, limited by the need to constitute a third character piece in between two pieces of *Nachtmusik*.³⁴

The Scherzo begins with a gradual assembling of musical fragments and ends by allowing those fragments to disintegrate again. The movement’s construction is contrapuntal; the web of narratives it spins thwarts the crystallization of any sort of clear narrative.³⁵ The Scherzo’s sound is characterized by quick alternations of blurry and fragmented orchestral colors, most prominently involving the tuba, double bass, and viola solo parts. This seemingly loose network of musical fragments and different narratives is at odds with the dance form that at a first glimpse appears to generate them.³⁶ The entire course of the Scherzo rests on the principle of so-called infinite negation: the waltz model serving as the basis of the Scherzo’s construction is negated by constant violations of the meter; the musical narrative is negated by a diffuse orchestration and fragmentation of motives, approximating a blurry sound and quick, hardly noticeable dance figures; the periodic structure implied by the movement’s form (a dance-like compound ternary form) is negated by moments of violent eruptions and breakdowns.³⁷ Mahler evokes the character of the Viennese waltz only to negate it; his characteristic ascending sixths (b. 54) are almost painfully deformed, repeated four times in a row; the interval expands and its deformation is additionally stressed with glissandi (bb. 68–72).³⁸ This extremely grotesque effect goes on in the remainder of the movement, as the foreground for Mahler’s, as Johnson calls it, dispossessed voice: the solo double bass, its timbre shaded by the bas-

³² Cf. Stephen E. Hefling, “Song and Symphony (II)”, op. cit., 125.

³³ Ibid.

³⁴ Cf. Theodor W. Adorno, op. cit., 104.

³⁵ Cf. Julian Johnson, *Mahler's Voices: Expression and Irony in the Songs and Symphonies*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2009, 141. Interpreting various meanings in the narrative character of Mahler’s music, Johnson analyzes different kinds of narratives or voices in it and classifies Mahler’s Seventh Symphony among a group of works that combine different types of voices.

³⁶ Ibid., 141–142. According to Johnson, elements of this “dance form” include “strong metrical schemes, repetitive rhythmic figures, and clear, sectional orchestration”.

³⁷ Ibid., 142.

³⁸ Ibid.

soon, contrabassoon, tuba, and timpani, states a figure deformed by a dynamic “protrusion”, resembling a stumbling drunkard (b. 78), only to become, later on, the counter-melody to the Viennese waltz theme (see Example 5).³⁹

The Scherzo is replete with fragments of a lengthy and deformed lyrical narrative, exceeding the framework of a collective dance and anticipating the music of Alban Berg. The lyrical expression itself leads only to a breakdown.⁴⁰ Thus, the Trio’s rather expressive theme, first stated by the horns and then the violoncellos (b. 246), is subjected to parody in its restatement alongside the main material toward the end of the movement (there, it is restated by the trombones and the tube, see Example 6) and from that moment on, all the way to the end, it is shaped by a rather radical fragmentation of the material as well as the structure.⁴¹

When it comes to the breakdown (that is, a number of breakdowns), it almost becomes the foundation of Mahler’s forms, especially in his late symphonies.⁴² In this case, elements of a breakdown might be found in the “deformed” orchestral colors, for instance in two passages marked “screaming” (*kreischend*, bb. 154 and 398), which accumulate violent and sharp divisions from the dominant dance motion.⁴³ Such a breakdown leads to a “manifesto of violence” (bb. 398–407), at once paving the way for a new beginning (the passage is brought to an end by the *pizzicato* in the double-bass part, marked *fffff*, with the following direction: “*So stark anreißen, daß die Saiten an das Holz anschlagen*” – “Strike the string so hard that it hits the wood”).⁴⁴ One may conclude that moments like these stress the movement’s fragmentary nature.

The foregoing discussion makes it clear that one may seek elements of collage in the intertwining of different narratives. In that regard, one may interpret the statement of the Trio theme, discussed above, alongside the Viennese waltz theme (b. 417) as a collage. Here, there is an originally stated material – a lyrical theme in the horns and violoncellos – that is isolated from its original context, placed into a new context, and constitutes a whole with that new context – a parody of the lyrical theme stated by the trombones and the tube. Perhaps an even better example of the collage technique is the simultaneous statement of the Viennese waltz theme with the counter-melody stemming from the stumbling-

³⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁰ Ibid., 144.

⁴¹ Ibid.

⁴² Cf. Peter Revers, “The Seventh Symphony”, in: Donald Mitchell and Andrew Nicholson (eds.), *The Mahler Companion*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1999, 389.

⁴³ Ibid.

⁴⁴ Ibid.

drunkard figure (b. 116). This figure is deftly integrated into the new context and even quite similar to the original bass line, featured at the initial statement of the Viennese waltz theme.

The fragmentariness of the Symphony's thematic materials might have also alluded to a type of collage different from what we have seen so far. Instead of two different materials, one of which is found in a new context in a specific section, one might almost view the entire movement as a large-scale collage, within which different fragments, following their initial appearances, emerge in different contexts, which might involve different instruments or groups of instruments, a higher or lower degree of thematic transformation, or some other kinds of change.

Could This Be a New Compositional Technique?

Is it possible to discern from these heterogeneously applied procedures a "pattern" that might be called a technique of composition and, if yes, was it actually an anticipation of a new technique that soon emerged in other arts?

Mahler's contrapuntal textures, posited as pursuing an extended presentation of a material whose un-relatedness is secured by variational and coloristic dissociations of, by and large, essentially related entities, or as the positing of a sudden change in succession of such a material and its orchestral colours, which is perceived, due to its fast pace, as simultaneity, clearly anticipate the artistic technique of collage.⁴⁵ Accordingly, the Fifth Symphony Scherzo is characterized by intertwining and then combining two perhaps not essentially but certainly different genres – the Austrian and the French waltz (that is, the Scherzo and the Trio). Their differences are most prominent in their orchestration (a full orchestra with much emphasis on the winds against a reduced orchestra with emphasis on the strings). However, already at their initial successive expositions, they are linked by a rather contrapuntal conception, which, as discussed above, governs the structure of the entire movement. In other words, it is counterpoint that enables the combining of two different waltzes, but then they are not merely juxtaposed, but one sound (in this case the French waltz) is integrated into and becomes another, although its material remains recognizable, that is, emerges in the listener's mind as "the same but a little bit (or entirely?) different".

The second case, my analysis of the Sixth Symphony Scherzo, exhibits a different set of solutions. Whereas the Scherzo retains its character, the Trio's character changes, that is, at each statement, its material grows in character closer to that of the Scherzo (that is, the Trio is gradually integrated into the Scherzo).

⁴⁵ Cf. Mirjana Veselinović, *op. cit.*, 82.

This is made possible mostly by a pronounced thematic similarity between them. However, in line with this Symphony's extra-musical content, discussed above, the Coda leaves the impression of the opposite process. Because the Trio material is first presented in the minor mode, while the remaining parameters remain more or less the same, the impression is that the Scherzo element is integrated into the Trio.

The different voices (or narratives) that intertwine and mix in the Seventh Symphony Scherzo are somewhat related to the procedures noted in the Fifth Symphony Scherzo. In addition, the fragmentariness of its thematic materials, which to an extent shapes the movement's form itself, might suggest a mixture of the collage technique and the kaleidoscope principle. Accordingly, here the principle of "the same but a little bit different" from the Fifth Symphony Scherzo is much more pronounced, due to the almost continuous "excising" of thematic material from its current context and its "insertion" into a different, new context that dominates the movement's sound at that moment. This could give rise to some other considerations, in relation to what was then a new art, linked to music by virtue of their shared "temporal" character.

Silent cinema, which at that time, at the beginning of the 20th century, began developing in France, bears similarities with the compositional techniques noted in the Seventh Symphony Scherzo. This "new, popular narrative medium", which modified the narrative construction of traditional narrative media, owed its revolutionary character to cinematic techniques and film-editing practices (the "fade", "dissolve", "cut-in", the juxtaposition of different camera angles, etc.).⁴⁶ The link between these collage-editing techniques of early silent cinema and the compositional techniques applied in the Seventh Symphony Scherzo is in the breakdown discussed above and the movement's large-scale collage, as well as their similarities with film editing. Breakdowns interrupting a given musical flow and at once paving the way for a new musical flow to emerge may be likened to direct cuts, that is, sudden switches from one shot to another. The fragmentariness that generates the movement's large-scale collage points to a similarity with the film-editing procedure known as "matting". This technique was developed by Georges Méliès in his *A Trip to the Moon* (*La Voyage dans la lune*) of 1902, which features explorers sleeping in the bottom part of the frame, while the empty black space above them (the upper portion of the frame) features a procession of stars, other heavenly bodies, and various mythical beings.⁴⁷ Of course, it is debatable whether there was any influence between Mahler and

⁴⁶ Cf. Rebecca Leydon, "Debussy's Late Style and the Devices of the Early Silent Cinema", *Music Theory Spectrum* 23/2 (2001), 218.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 221.

the pioneers of early cinema, or vice versa, because there is no reliable data as to whether Mahler ever saw any of the early silent films, or whether the pioneers of early cinema were ever exposed to Mahler's music.

There is no specific compositional technique that one might use to produce a musical collage. This might be accomplished through contrapuntal working, motivic working, various orchestral procedures, to an extent also by thematic transformations, and may also result from an extra-musical element more or less shaping the musical flow. However, it is a fact that elements of collage are present in the symphonies discussed above. The three examples analyzed above show precisely the poly-generic qualities of collage: on the one hand, one may draw a link with the earliest collages in painting and, on the other, with various types of representation by means of visual communication in contemporary society.⁴⁸ What remains certain is that here, precisely in the work of Gustav Mahler, one may locate the roots of a technique that, soon after his death, gave rise to collage.

* * *

APPENDICES

Ex 1. Gustav Mahler, Fifth Symphony, Scherzo, *Etwas zurückhaltend*, bb. 369–380, the horns.

The image shows a musical score for the horns of Gustav Mahler's Fifth Symphony, Scherzo, measures 369-380. The score is for four horns (1-4) and includes dynamics like *ff*, *sf*, and markings such as "Schalltrichter in die Höhe" and "rit." The score is written in G major and 3/4 time. The first horn part (F. Corni obl.) has a melodic line with a crescendo leading to a fortissimo (*ff*) dynamic. The second horn part (F. Hörner) has a similar melodic line with a crescendo leading to a fortissimo (*ff*) dynamic. The third and fourth horn parts (F. Hörner) have a similar melodic line with a crescendo leading to a fortissimo (*ff*) dynamic. The score is marked "rit." (ritardando) and "molto portamento" (molto portamento).

⁴⁸ Cf. Miško Šuvaković, op. cit., 367.

Ex. 2. Gustav Mahler, Fifth Symphony, Scherzo, *Nicht schleppen*, bb. 661–673.

156

21

Filto & alant Piccolo-Filto ^{a2}

Filten. $\frac{3}{4}$

Hoboen. $\frac{3}{4}$

A-Klar. 1 $\frac{3}{4}$

D-Klar. 3 $\frac{3}{4}$

Fag. 1 $\frac{3}{4}$

Contraf. 2 $\frac{3}{4}$

P-Oboen obl. 1 $\frac{3}{4}$

F-Hörn. 1 $\frac{3}{4}$

F-Tromp. 2 $\frac{3}{4}$

E-Tromp. 3 $\frac{3}{4}$

Posaunen 1 $\frac{3}{4}$

Posaunen u. Tuba. 3 $\frac{3}{4}$

Pauken. $\frac{3}{4}$

Triangel. $\frac{3}{4}$

Erste Viol. $\frac{3}{4}$

Zweite Viol. $\frac{3}{4}$

Violen. $\frac{3}{4}$

Violen. $\frac{3}{4}$

Bässe. $\frac{3}{4}$

21

Edljan Peters. 0015

(continued)

Flöten 1 2

Hoboen 1 2
Schaltr. auf.

A-Klar. 1 2
Schaltr. auf.

D-Klar. 1 2
Schaltr. auf.

Fag. 1 2

Contraf.

F-Corno obl. I. III. II. IV.

F-Hörner I. II. III. IV.

F-Tromp. 1 2
in B.

B-Tromp. 1 2
in B.

Posaunen 1 2

Tuba

Fagoten

Erste Viol. *sempre ff*

Zweite Viol. *sempre ff*

Violen. *got.* *sempre ff*

Viola. *sempre ff*

Bassen. *sempre ff*

Ex. 3. Gustav Mahler, Sixth Symphony, Scherzo, *Tempo I subito* (*Wuchtig*), bb. 211–218.

This image shows a page of a musical score for Gustav Mahler's Sixth Symphony, Scherzo, measures 211-218. The score is arranged in a standard orchestral format with multiple staves for different instruments. The instruments listed on the left are: Flöten (Flutes), Kl. Fl. (Clarinet), Hoboen (Oboes), Es-Klar. (E-flat Clarinet), B-Klar. (B-flat Clarinet), D-Saxsh. (D Saxophone), Fagotte (Bassoon), Contraf. (Contrabass), F-Hörner (French Horns), F-Trump. (Trumpets), Basstuba (Tuba), Pausen (Cymbals), Xylophon (Xylophone), Erste Viol. (First Violin), Zweite Viol. (Second Violin), Violen. (Violas), Viola. (Viola), and Bass. (Bass). The score includes various musical notations such as notes, rests, and dynamic markings like *grat.*, *grat. fosa.*, *offen*, *dim*, *mit Schw.*, *sf*, and *cresc.*. A specific instruction "(nehmen gr. Fl.)" is written above the Flute staff. The page number "194" is visible at the bottom left.

This page contains two systems of a musical score for New Sound 44, II/2014. The first system covers measures 102 to 109, and the second system covers measures 110 to 117. The score is for a full orchestra and includes the following parts:

- Flöten:** Flute 1 and 2. Measure 102 has a *pp* dynamic. Measure 109 has a *pp* dynamic.
- Hoboen:** Oboe 1. Measure 102 has a *pp* dynamic. Measure 109 has a *pp* dynamic.
- B-Klar:** Bass Clarinet 1. Measure 102 has a *pp* dynamic. Measure 109 has a *pp* dynamic.
- Contraf.:** Contrabass. Measure 102 has a *pp* dynamic. Measure 109 has a *pp* dynamic.
- B-Tromp.:** Trombone 1 and 2. Measure 102 has a *pp* dynamic. Measure 109 has a *pp* dynamic.
- Pauken:** Drums. Measure 102 has a *pp* dynamic. Measure 109 has a *pp* dynamic.
- Gr.Tr.:** Cymbals. Measure 102 has a *pp* dynamic. Measure 109 has a *pp* dynamic.
- Erste Viol.:** First Violin. Measure 102 has a *pp* dynamic. Measure 109 has a *pp* dynamic.
- Vielle:** Viola. Measure 102 has a *pp* dynamic. Measure 109 has a *pp* dynamic.
- Bässe:** Basses. Measure 102 has a *pp* dynamic. Measure 109 has a *pp* dynamic.

Key performance instructions and dynamics include:

- Solo-Viol. mit dem Anden.* (Solo Violin with the Anden)
- Schalltr. auf* (Cymbals on)
- In B. mit Dämpfer.* (In B with Mute)
- arco* (arco)
- pp* (pianissimo)
- mf* (mezzo-forte)
- f* (forte)
- sf* (sforzando)
- sfz* (sforzissimo)
- acc. pre* (accelerando)
- piu.* (piu)

Ex. 5. Gustav Mahler, Seventh Symphony, Scherzo, *Klagend*, bb. 114-122.

The image displays a page of a musical score for Gustav Mahler's Seventh Symphony, Scherzo, *Klagend*, measures 114-122. The score is written for a full orchestra and includes the following parts: E. H. (English Horn), Bcl. B. (Bass Clarinet in B-flat), Hr. (Horn), 3. Pos. (Third Position Trumpet), Tuba, Fl. (Flute), I. (Violin I), VI. (Violin II), II. (Viola), Va. (Violoncello), Cello, and B. (Bass). The score is in 3/4 time and features a key signature of two flats (B-flat major or D-flat minor). The tempo is marked *Andante*. The score includes various dynamic markings such as *pp*, *f*, *pp marcato*, *arco*, and *spring Bog*. The score is divided into two systems, with measures 114-122. The first system starts at measure 114 and ends at measure 122. The second system starts at measure 123 and ends at measure 130. The score is written in a standard musical notation with a grand staff for each instrument.

Ex. 6. Gustav Mahler, Seventh Symphony, Scherzo, *Wild*, bb. 417–426.

149

417 **Wild** **164** **Più mosso** **a tempo**

Picc. *ff* *sempre ff* *ff* *ff* *p* *ff* *p*

Fl. *a 4* *ff* *sf* *sempre ff* *ff* *ff* *p*

Ob. *a 3* *ff* *sf* *p* *ff* *ff* *p*

E. H. *p*

Cl. B. *ff* *sf* *p* *ff* *ff* *ff* *p*

Bcl. B. *ff* *sf* *p* *ff* *ff* *ff* *p*

Fag. *ff* *sf* *p* *ff* *ff* *ff* *p*

C. Fag. *ff* *sf* *p* *ff* *ff* *ff* *p*

Hr. *ff* *sf* *p* *ff* *ff* *ff* *p*

Trp. F. *ff* *sf* *p* *ff* *ff* *ff* *p*

Pos. *sf* *sf* *p* *ff* *ff* *ff* *p*

Tuba *sf* *sf* *p* *ff* *ff* *ff* *p*

Viol. *ff* *sf* *p* *ff* *ff* *ff* *p*

Vi. *ff* *sf* *p* *ff* *ff* *ff* *p*

Va. *ff* *sf* *p* *ff* *ff* *ff* *p*

Celli *ff martellato* *ff* *sf* *p* *ff* *ff* *p*

B. *ff martellato* *ff* *sf* *p* *ff* *ff* *p*

Wild **Più mosso** **a tempo**

FESTIVALS AND SYMPOSIA

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The 22nd *Obzorja na Tisi – Dani Josifa Marinkovića* [The Tisa Horizons: Days of Josif Marinković]:

A Call for New Solo Songs by
Invitation, Novi Bečej, 29 May 2014

The music festival *Obzorja na Tisi – Dani Josifa Marinkovića* was established in 1993 in Novi Bečej, the birthplace of the composer Josif Marinković (1851–1931). Conceived as a sort of homage to the great Serbian composer and pioneer of the Serbian solo song, *Obzorja na Tisi – Dani Josifa Marinkovića* has been our country's only event that is primarily devoted to this musical genre, which is somewhat neglected in contemporary Serbian music.

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Over two decades of the consistent implementation of the festival's concept, predicated on a twofold programming modality – the biennial Call for New Solo Songs by Invitation, alternating with the festival's biennial Open Competition for Solo Singers – has resulted in the creation and premières of 80 solo songs in total, written by forty Serbian composers, as well as an opera,¹ and establishing careers for numerous young singers, many of whom have made a name for themselves not only in Serbia, but abroad as well.²

This year's 22nd *Obzorja* was marked by the Call for New Solo Songs. The pre-

¹ This was Dimitrije O. Golemović's *Dečak koji se ničega nije bojao* [The Boy Who Feared Nothing], première on 25 May 2007 at the 15th *Obzorja na Tisi – Dani Josifa Marinkovića*.

² The fact that some works written in answer to the Call for New Solo Songs, although unpublished, have become part of many singers' standard repertoires inspired the conception of a sort of collection of solo songs titled *Obzorja na Tisi – Dani Josifa Marinkovića. Solo pesme sa Pozivnog kompozitorskog konkursa* [The Tisa Horizons – Days of Josif Marinković. Solo Songs from the Calls for New Solo Songs by Invitation]. Due to an ever increasing number of works, that publication may be considered only the first volume in a series. Cf. Dimitrije O. Golemović, "Predgovor" [Foreword], in: Dimitrije O. Golemović (ed.), *Obzorja na Tisi – Dani Josifa Marinkovića. Solo pesme sa Pozivnog kompozitorskog konkursa*, Novi Bečej, Dom kulture Opštine Novi Bečej, 2005, 3.

mière performances of the thirteen pieces that entered the competition were preceded by the traditional speech on Josif Marinković, this year dedicated to his work in the field of church music.³ The speech stressed the manifold efforts Marinković made in this field, to which he was dedicated throughout his career as a composer. These involved not only creating works reflecting his individualism and strongly Romanticist orientation, but also his dynamic teaching career and his many activities as the conductor of a choir whose primary purpose was to take part in church rites. On this occasion, the audience was also told about some of the distinctive features of Marinković's church music, including, among others, the fact that his works, unlike those of Mokranjac, often follow the formal patterns of Western European music, as well as that in many aspects his musical language, despite his deep respect for tradition, assimilated a number of new choral elements, most particularly from Russian church music, especially in liturgical units treated like recitatives, such as *Oče naš* [Our Father] and *Vjeruju* [Credo].

The Call for New Solo Songs by Invitation included works by composers born between 1940 and 1990: from works by Minta Aleksinački (1947) and Vladimir Tošić (1949), to those of Dragoljub Perić (1952), Jugoslav Bošnjak (1954), Miloš Raičković (1956), Miroljub Arandelović Rasinski (1957), Miloš Zatkalik (1959), Milana Stojadinović Milić (1962), to those by Tatjana Milošević (1970), Svetlana Savić (1971), and Branka Popović (1977), to works by composers at the beginning of

³ The speech was given by musicologist Marina Marković.

their careers: Dalibor Đukić (1985) and Sofija Milutinović (1988). The presence of works by composers from the middle and younger generations provided a broader view of current creative trends in the genre of the solo song on the domestic scene.

The featured pieces were settings of the best poetic achievements, both domestic and foreign. However, there were also individual authorial "breakthroughs" in the process of shaping the lyrics⁴ and also a totally unique use of verses that are primarily interesting in terms of both the social context in which they were created and their creator.⁵ The pieces are characterized by a musical language steeped in the usual artistic conceptions of their authors, that is, those established and recognizable ones within the broader perimeter of their authors' creative work.

Thus, Miroljub Arandelović Rasinski's highly communicative song "Dositejeva staza" [Dositej's Path], a setting of verses by Dragoljub Brajković, Sofija Milutinović's "Da ti slikam" [Let Me Paint for You], the setting of a folk poem of the same title, and Jugoslav Bošnjak's "Noćna ptica" [The Night Bird] achieved a sort of simulation of the Romanticist stylistic model, whereas Minta Aleksinački's "Nepogoda" [The Storm], the setting of a poetic text by Milan Buca Petrović, and Dragoljub Perić's "Bez naslova"[Untitled], a setting

⁴ The lyrics in Jugoslav Bošnjak's "Noćna ptica" and the literary basis of *Kibukati* by Vladimir Tošić were both written by the composers themselves.

⁵ The work in question is "Pesma Gavrila Principa" [A Poem by Gavrilo Princip] by Miloš Raičković, a setting of the verses that Gavrilo Princip scribbled into the walls of his cell at Terezín.

of verses by Ivo Andrić, are a blend of late Romanticist rhetoric and elements of Impressionism.

By contrast, Miloš Zatkalik's "Historia de un balcón" is characterized by a pithy kind of Expressionist musical expression combined with a refined realization of the hidden dramatic potential of Antonio Machado's verses,⁶ whereas the depth of Milana Stojadinović Milić's interpretation of the psychological side of the poem she chose and her masterfully chiseled vocal melody, as the main characteristics of her "Plava pesma" [Blue Song], a setting of verses by Desanka Maksimović, are realized in a heterogeneous stylistic context, dominated by elements of Romanticist musical "speech". Likewise, a vocal melody colored by Romanticist lyricism characterizes Miloš Raičković's "Pesma Gavriła Principa" [A Poem by Gavriilo Princip], which, overall, corresponds with the key features of his concept of *new classicism*. By contrast, Vladimir Tošić's compositional procedure in his "Kibukati" rests on the consistently implemented reductionist principle, which also governs the shape of the work's textual basis, involving the constant permutation of syllables in the song's one and only word (*kibukati*), repeated many times.

The main feature of Svetlana Savić's creative procedure applied in her song "Avaj" [Alas] plays with repetitiveness, but this time within a postmodern kind of musical expression imbued with various intertextual references, all for the sake of a musical interpretation of the distinctive contents of Borislav B. Milić's verses that

⁶ Zatkalik used the original, Spanish text of Machado's poem.

belong to the poetic genre of the so-called autistic sonnet. By contrast, a sort of "bareness" of musical tissue, i.e. its reduction to just two contrapuntal lines, one sung and the other assigned to the piano part, is the main characteristic of "Memento" by Tatjana Milošević and may be viewed as a musical equivalent of the tight bond that verses "establish between musicality and representation, striving to position the purest words at the most resounding point in the verse, that is, the most intense or suggestive word at the place where the rhythm achieves the greatest intensity" in the eponymous poem by Željko Mijanović, which served as the textual basis of this solo song.⁷ By contrast, Branka Popović's "Na kutu belog oblaka" [On the Edge of a White Cloud] focuses on the vocal part, using the human voice, that is, the virtuosically treated melody assigned to it, not only in order to reach the semantic layer in Milena Pavlović Barilli's verses, but also to explore their autonomous sonic potential. To a degree, the same tendency pervades Dalibor Đukić's *Semena* [Seeds], a setting of Vasko Popa verses.

The impression of a rather successful presentation of the competing pieces was achieved owing to the interpretative skills of their performers: the soprano Aneta Ilić, mezzo-soprano Dragana Popović, tenor Ljubomir Popović, bass Goran Krneta, and pianist Milivoje Veljić.

The jury, comprising Vesna Šouc Tričković, conductor, Marina Trajković Bidžovski, professor of solo singing, and Marina Marković, musicologist, awarded

⁷ From a conversation with the author, on the occasion of the première performance of "Memento".

the first prize to Milana Stojadinović Milić, the second prize to Miloš Zatkalik, and the third prize to Minta Aleksinački, whereas the audience award went to Miroljub Arandelović Rasinski.

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The festival *Obzorja na Tisi – Dani Josifa Marinkovića*, which every year assembles an ever wider circle of musical artists whose creative or interpretative affinities rest upon the genre of the solo song,

has once again justified its existence. Moreover, this year's première performances of the new pieces, which brought the tally of these variously stylistically oriented works to eighty, all written in answer to the Call for New Solo Songs by Invitation, once again confirmed the festival's status as an event of major importance for our country. It is one of those events that always provide one with an opportunity to stay up to date with current trends on Serbia's contemporary art music scene.

REVIEWS

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Dragana Stojanović Novičić, PhD

(2013). *Vinko Globokar: muzička*

odiseja jednog emigranta

[*Vinko Globokar: The Musical*

Odyssey of an Émigré].

Belgrade: Faculty of Music,

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Vinko Globokar: muzička odiseja jednog emigranta by Dr Dragana Stojanović Novičić is the result of her continuous, years-long interest in this extraordinary composer and performer, a major representative of the European post-war avant-garde. In the author's words, the freeness, breadth and multifaceted character of Globokar's creativity dictated the structure of her study, which comprises five large chapters complemented by extensive and exhaustive appendices, totaling 231 pages.

Stojanović Novičić conducted most of her research at the Paul Sacher Stiftung in

Basel, Switzerland, where, as part of *Sammlung Vinko Globokar*, a large number of the composer's printed and autograph scores, letters, sketches, and other documents are kept, as well as a substantial audio and video archive. The work on original materials gave the author an exclusive insight into Globokar's "thought matrices", which she deftly analyzed and interpreted, penetrating the composer's world and recreating it for her readers, albeit from a refined critical distance. To a large extent, her discourse is impartial and, even when her views of certain occurrences in society that inspired some of Globokar's pieces significantly diverge from his own (for instance, in the case of his *Élégie balkanique* from 1992, pp. 58–59, footnote No. 83), Stojanović Novičić does not allow such disagreements to affect her position regarding her object of study. A similarly objective (as much as that is possible) approach also guides her assessments of Globokar's oeuvre, which she bases on contextualizing and comparing his accomplishments with those of the most prominent representatives of European and American avant-garde music, such as Luciano Berio and John Cage, who also valued Globokar's work. However, in order to let the composer's voice "be heard", Stojanović Novičić based some of her research on several interviews she conducted with Globokar himself in 2008. An excerpt from that "serial interview", transmitted in Chapter 5, is a valuable testimony of the composer's personal

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view of his own life and creative journey, marked to a high degree by constant changes of environment and a dominantly émigré sentiment. One may therefore conclude that the book's title superbly sums up its subject matter.

Already in her introduction, Stojanović Novičić stresses the chief characteristics of the composer's creative personality, above all his stepping out of "pure" music in the direction of performative practices. She also points out that to understand Globokar's creative approach, one must bear in mind that society, rather than solving some purely musical problems, is the main catalyst for his creativity. Like so many avant-garde composers, Globokar has written extensively about his creative preoccupations, attempting to "dictate and present a specific discourse about himself as an author, as well as an entity and personality" (p. 14), thus a part of the book is dedicated to interpreting his self-reflexive writings.

The title of Chapter 1, "Trombon, džez...; Lajbovic, Berio i Kejdž (utiranje snova)" [The Trombone, Jazz...; Leibowitz, Berio, and Cage (Paving the Way for Dreams)], singles out major influences that formed Globokar's idiosyncratic creative profile. Interestingly, Globokar received his initial training in the instrument that shaped his entire creative oeuvre – the trombone – only after moving from France to Slovenia as a teenager. Also, his beginnings in professional music happened in jazz, not in "classical" music, since he got a place in Radio Ljubljana's Big Band as an 18-year-old. This early impact of jazz music proved decisive, since it "freed" Globokar's approach to the instrument and paved the way for his experiments in com-

position as a mature author. In 1955, he began studying the trombone at the Paris Conservatory and in 1959 went on to study composition and conducting with René Leibowitz. This well-known theorist, composer, and conductor was also interested in jazz and during his "Paris years", Globokar remained active as a jazz performer. Later on, in his own work in composition, Globokar avoided all divisions between "art" and "popular" music, viewing all musical materials as equal. On the other hand, studying with Leibowitz encouraged Globokar to take a more serious interest in composition, as well as to start moving in the circles of France's leading intellectuals, with whom Leibowitz maintained close relations. Jean-Paul Sartre's philosophical reflections made a special impact on some of Globokar's own thinking and positioning regarding art, as Stojanović Novičić shows in her book.

Another important influence or, perhaps, combination of multiple influences that Stojanović Novičić discusses in her book concerns Globokar's relationship with Luciano Berio. For a year, Globokar studied composition with Berio in Berlin (1964–1965) and, according to Stojanović Novičić: "What was an important area in Luciano Berio's explorations during the 1950s and the following decade, as well, became the starting point of Globokar's quests in the mid-1960s: measuring and trying out various degrees and ways of relating the human voice, instruments, and poetic texts, as well as vocal sound groups and electronic sounds" (p. 26). Still, Stojanović Novičić also points to certain elements where the two composers essentially differed, such as improvisation, to which Berio "attached no special impor-

tance” (p. 30), whereas for Globokar it constituted one of the most important formal devices, a fact emphasized throughout the book. His experience in jazz, mentioned above, as well as his later work with the New Phonic Art ensemble for free improvisation conditioned Globokar to leave much freedom to his performers, trusting and treating them, in a way, as co-authors of his works.

Another specific characteristic of Globokar’s work, pointed out by Stojanović Novičić, concerns his equal treatment of different components of a piece, whereby music is by no means the dominant segment of the piece as a multimedia entity. Nevertheless, she is entirely right when she argues that Globokar’s projects should be viewed as musical, because “for Globokar, even when ultimately marginalized, music always constitutes a suitable ground for conceptualizing an enterprise as a whole...” (p. 31). In that regard, Stojanović Novičić draws parallels with Berio’s poetics and explains what might have attracted someone like John Cage to Globokar’s work, who included Globokar, a relatively unknown composer at the time, in his great archive of 20th-century musical notation and his book *Notations*.

The title of Chapter 2 is “Lična staza (studije o hrabrosti)” [The Personal Path (Studies in Courage)] and the chapter comprises two subheadings. In the first of these, which may be considered central, “Vinko Globokar... medij – profil autora” [Vinko Globokar... The Medium – The Author’s Profile], Stojanović Novičić analyzes Globokar’s approach to composition, which radically departs from “‘worrying’ about compositional technique or strictly musical problems” (p. 42). In other words, his “pri-

mary impulses for work cease to be musical and social motivations replace ‘compositional’ ones” (p. 43). Globokar regards conceiving works according to an immanently musical logic, that is, focusing on the musical substance, as inexpedient – which is why, according to Stojanović Novičić, Globokar broke with IRCAM and composers affiliated with the Darmstadt International Summer Courses for New Music. Namely, for years, composers of this avant-garde orientation focused exclusively on searching for a new sonic substance, a new “material”, neglecting the functionality of music, which Globokar considered essential. In Stojanović Novičić’s words, Globokar’s objective is to humanize music/art, whereby the piece/work becomes “a means for improving the human condition” (p. 47).

In this segment of the book, among other things, Stojanović Novičić also discusses the activities of Globokar’s ensemble, New Phonic Art, which formed the ground of his ideal of group improvisation as a means of communicating among musicians. At the same time, the ensemble was “a true laboratory for Globokar’s (and also other members’) experiments with sound and shifts in the domain of the theatricalization of sound, as well as for an intensive expansion of the ‘self’ as a specific ‘musical field’, a medium” (p. 53).

The author also analyzes Globokar’s approach to musical folklore (which he treated like any other sonic substance) and points to the principle of improvisation as an important characteristic that links folk and jazz as well as art, that is, avant-garde music, forming the basis of Globokar’s unique expressivity. The composer reflects on moral aspects of group music-making/

improvising, which he views as a sort of “social communication”. Finally, Globokar is preoccupied by the performer’s body, which, in performance, “behaves” in various ways and constitutes the main means of expanding music into theater – whether “instrumental” or “musical” (p. 66). Globokar perceives the instrument – specifically speaking, the trombone – as “an amplifier of his own body” (p. 67), which expands the range of its technical abilities to unforeseen limits.

Under the subheading “Improvizujmo, razmišljajmo, komunicirajmo! Globokarove zvučne koprene...” [Let’s Improvise, Think, Communicate! Globokar’s Sonic Veils], Stojanović Novičić examines the composer’s self-poetic statements, pointing to two important themes that permeate them, which are precisely the instrument and improvisation. One may conclude that Globokar, in theory and practice alike, addressed the same issues, solving them in his own ways.

Chapter 3, “Proširivanja... (studije o konceptima)” [Expansions... (Studies on Concepts)] is likewise divided into two sections. “Misaone matrice Vinka Globokara” [The Thought Matrices of Vinko Globokar] links up with the foregoing and expands the author’s analysis of the general concepts that Globokar developed, which include: equality between performers and the composer, composing or creating with a view of an extra-musical objective, the introduction of text into the discourse of works (because the semantics of music, by itself, is not explicit), music’s engagement, willingness to take risks, the intertwining of multiple “interpreting subjects” in a single actor on the musical scene, and, finally, moving away from the traditional concept of the work. The second subheading, “Krik

iz trombona” [A Trombone Scream] posits performativity as the dominant characteristic of Globokar’s work. His “disinterest” in musical material was not universally appreciated – but Stojanović Novičić mounts a defense of Globokar against his critics such as Dubravko Detoni, pointing out that the musical substance of Globokar’s works, although of “relative” quality if viewed in isolation, is actually part of his music-theater, multi-disciplinary experiment. In her opinion, key to understanding Globokar’s approach to music, as well as to life, is improvisation, because it brings together “the main factors of his concept of the sound sphere: acting morally on the part of its agents and their free exchange of musical information” (p. 113).

Although the book as a whole abounds with numerous examples from Globokar’s pieces to illustrate the author’s points, its fourth chapter, “Malo više ludosti! (studije slučaja)” [A Little More Madness! (Case Studies)], the author takes a further step and provides detailed analyses of two of his characteristic pieces. She views his *Cri des Alpes* for solo alphorn as a paradigm of “Globokar’s instrumental aesthetic, on the one hand, and his poetic and even political position, which respects the interference of music, theatre, life situations, their blending and co-existence, on the other. The instrument is entirely subservient to the performative whole and the connection with life, as the carrier of the creative point, is compelling and suggestive. The instrumental theater of Vinko Globokar is at the same time a reflection and metaphor of our lives” (p. 128). By contrast, his *Kolo* (Round Dance) for mixed choir, trombone, and electronics, a piece belonging in the domain of musical (as opposed to instrumen-

tal) theater, illustrates the composer's feeling of nostalgia and offers an example of the "instrumentalization" of musical folklore. The quotations from two Bosnian *sevdalinke*¹ appear as a symbol of the past, of memories, and also testify to Globokar's equal treatment of all kinds of music in his approach to composing. He confirms his peculiar approach to folklore in a conversation with Stojanović Novičić, which she quotes in the final chapter of her book, stressing that in folk music he is more interested in the "behavior of musicians" than the melody itself, which shows that he views folklore, too, as a performative practice and not as a source of musical substance.

The main quality of this book is reflected in its contemporary methodological approach, shaped so as to encompass Vinko Globokar's work in all of its complexity and wealth of meaning. Stojanović Novičić brilliantly supports her insights not only with examples from Globokar's pieces, but also with a critical view of existing discourse concerning the composer. Her studious approach and meticulously cited sources, exhaustive footnotes, and appendices testify to the seriousness of her research procedures. The high concentration of her narrative style means that the tangle that is Globokar's creativity will come apart only upon repeated close readings of the book. Therefore, this is a monograph that entirely satisfies all scholarly and literary criteria and may be a model for similar explorations in our music scholarship.

¹ Highly expressive love songs, typical of Bosnian, Serbian, and Croatian folk music – Translator's note.

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Dragana Jeremić-Molnar, Aleksandar Molnar:

*Adorno's Schubert. A Path towards the
Theory of Mimesis.*

Belgrade: Faculty of Music, 2014.

(Monographic Series. Tempus Project
InMusWB, IV, book 1)

ISBN 978-86-88619-44-8. 191 pages

Dragana Jeremić-Molnar, Associate Professor of Music History at the Department of Musicology, Faculty of Music in Belgrade, and Aleksandar Molnar, Professor at the Faculty of Philosophy, demonstrated their outstanding expertise on Theodor Adorno. The study *Adorno's Schubert. A Path towards the Theory of Mimesis* is a sequel to their previous research presented in the book *The Disappearance of the Sublime and the Mastering of the Avant-garde in the Music of the Modern Epoch. Book One: Musical Avant-gardism in Schoenberg's Dodecaphonic Poetics and Adorno's Critical Aesthetics*, published in 2009.²

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² Dragana Jeremić-Molnar, Aleksandar Molnar, *Nestajanje uzvišenog i ovladavanje avangardnog u muzici moderne epohe. Knjiga 1: Muzički*

The principal subject of the present book is the connection between Adorno's early aesthetics and the evolution of the theory of mimesis, and, in that sense, the complex relationship between avant-gardism and romanticism, constituted within often Adorno's confused and paradoxical aesthetics. Namely, Adorno's departure from idealistic philosophical proceedings was never fully accomplished. According to the authors, this philosopher tried to "preserve what he thought to be the valid nucleus of idealism."³ Thus, for instance, he was in some way a follower of the early romanticist Friedrich Schlegel. This could be connected with Adorno's specific Platonism, which in the present book is found in the paradigm of the *immanent mind of things*, established in his *Aesthetic Theory*. The authors illuminate these relations with the noetic tradition of the German philosopher, and in that context point out certain connections with Novalis, concluding that "paradoxical as it may appear from the point of view of Adorno's explicit devotion to Marxist exclusivity and artistic avant-gardism, throughout his life the romantic roots of his theory were not curtailed: on the contrary, they ramified ever more deeply."⁴ Reexamining the relations between the rational and irrational, man and

avangardizam u Šenbergovoj dodekafonskoj poetici i Adornovoj kritičkoj estetici [The Disappearance of the Sublime and the Mastering of the Avant-garde in the Music of the Modern Epoch. Book One: Musical Avant-gardism in Schoenberg's Dodecaphonic Poetics and Adorno's Critical Aesthetics,], Beograd, Institut za filozofiju i društvenu teoriju, Filip Višnjić, 2009.

³ Dragana Jeremić-Molnar, Aleksandar Molnar, *Adornov Šubert*, 22.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 24.

nature, i.e. society, subject and object, while preserving his latent connection with romanticism, Adorno founded his theory of mimesis, expounded in his *Aesthetic Theory*, but discernable in his earlier works. His romanticism is reflected in his obsession with the mythological image of *unity in diversity*, which emerges mediated by his negative dialectic and which functions with the aid of mimetic rationality. This obsession is manifested in the field of the arts, i.e. music. Owing to his personal affinities – and frustrations – Adorno found the most forceful expression of his views, and most appropriate examples to elucidate them, in the oeuvre of Arnold Schoenberg. In the attempts to defend his constructions, Adorno resorted to all available means to secure them with theoretical justification. Thus, in order to explain the appearance of Schoenberg on the European musical scene he needed a new construction, this time based on the idea of continuity and the evolutionist creative line that preceded him. This link with the past Adorno found in Franz Schubert. The authors of this book conduct a detailed analysis of Adorno's statements and interpretations, as well as those of other theorists who addressed the issues of this philosopher's relations with the German Romantic composer. They base their conclusions primarily on the analysis of the text Schubert, published in 1928, as well as the text Franz Schubert, Grand Rondeau in A Major for Piano Four Hands, Op. 107 from 1934. It is interesting that these texts passed unnoticed by Adorno's contemporaries, and likewise they receive little attention today. The unique quality of the book Adorno's Schubert. A Path towards the Theory of Mimesis reflects also in the fact that the authors raised these questions in the

first place. They did so by discussing various theoretical views and elaborating Adorno's thoughts on the relationships between Schubert, Wagner and Beethoven: thoughts forged in the mental workshop of this theoretician of an inconsistent philosophy.

The authors of this exceptionally interesting study that shows the genealogy of

the German philosopher's thinking and its social framework, reveal and discuss the gaps in Adorno's thought, with various possible solutions in mind, but always presenting their own judgments and articulating authentic theoretical ideas.

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Dragana Jeremić-Molnar,

*The Winter Journey of Wilhelm Müller
and Franz Schubert.*

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Romanticism assumed a symbiotic attitude towards wandering as a striking musical symbol and practical activity; in other words, artists not only fantasized about a possible wandering experience that would awaken certain thoughts, enabling *natural* freedom without constraints imposed by the society and its norms: they actually undertook long walks or journeys in order to accomplish these aims. According to Dragana Jeremić-Molnar, during Romanticism, wandering was elevated to the *wandering*

ethos. This ethos was firmly rooted in the mind of Wilhelm Müller who, unlike the unadventurous Franz Schubert, actually lived what he wrote, and as the author underlines, he was constantly pervaded by a feeling of being homeless and unable to settle down.¹ Nonetheless, Schubert was also fascinated by wandering. According to the author, Schubert's text subsequently titled *My Dream* is a description of three types of wandering: expiatory; wandering instigated by the ambivalent feelings of resignation and contemplation, and regenerative, which is the most frequent in his oeuvre and which rests upon faith in the fundamental change not only of an individual, but also of humanity as a whole. The book begins with this interpretation, and it ends also with an elaboration of Schubert's view on this issue. Between these outer chapters, Dragana Jeremić-Molnar deliberates on the problem of wan-

¹ Dragana Jeremić-Molnar, *Zimsko putovanje Vilhelma Milera i Franca Šuberta, Književna, muzička i estetička obrada motiva lutanja u duhu romantike* [The Winter Journey of Wilhelm Müller and Franz Schubert: Literary, Musical and Aesthetic Elaboration of the Motive of Wandering in the Spirit of Romanticism], Beograd, Fakultet muzičke umetnosti, 2014, 30.

dering in both the theoretical and social contexts, and examines it through the history of European literature, from the Oedipus myth to Nietzsche's Zarathustra, drawing us afterwards into the poetic world of Wilhelm Müller's *Winterreise*. The author's understanding of Schubert's dream and her identifying of the types of wandering constitute the platform and methodology by which she discovers typological connections between various literary works. She offers minute analyses of the texts, and uses persuasive argumentation to interconnect divergent creative principles and traditions. Thus, *expiatory* wandering incorporates heroes of classical myths such as Oedipus and Odysseus, and the Wandering Jew as part of the Judeo-Christian tradition; Faust and Frankenstein also belong here, but their relations with all three types of wandering provide a link between them. Namely, redemption is no longer promised, it is replaced by a dubious point of origin. The end of wandering, based on constant friction between diametrically opposed feelings is incited by disenchantment, and it is elevated through a pessimistic Christian attitude towards life in this world. The author finds this philosophical reorientation in Faust; in a somewhat different, non-Christian form, it exists in Jean-Jacques Rousseau, as well as in William Blake's Urizen. She also addresses the visual arts, with a special interest in the paintings of Caspar David Friedrich who emancipates from the dogmatic Christian world-view and introduces a novel quality of enigmatic reflectivity, which dwells in mundane spheres overlapping with elements of disjointed reality. This will be the chief stimulus for the evolution of the paradigm of *regenerative* wandering, peculiar only to 19th-century

German art. In this book, the problem of the unbreakable link between the unreal, spectral and the *purely mundane* is observed through the lens of the relations between these categories established in works by Hölderlin, Schlegel and Nietzsche, and concluded in the dispute with Richard Wagner. *Wagner was actually yearning for complete regeneration, albeit his artistic world developed in Der Ring des Nibelungen* experienced total collapse. According to the author, this collapse was considerably more prophetic than *Parsifal*, since it doomed all the protagonists to failure. However, both Müller and Schubert still cherish some hopes, which the author discovers in the last image of *Winterreise*, when at the end of his wandering the protagonist encounters organ grinder on the street: a symbol of the regenerative "we". For the author, it is this symbol which is the key point in the poetic cycle; she weaves a well-supported statement about the semantic dimension of this image in Schubert's oeuvre.

The book *The Winter Journey of Wilhelm Müller and Franz Schubert* offers, therefore, a different perspective on *Winterreise* as a work based on a certain paradigm, but also on the dynamic evolution of that paradigm, which was determined, on the one hand, by the domination of various aesthetic, and more broadly philosophic criteria engendered by the current social conditions, and on the other, personal convictions and artistic aspirations. As a supplement to the principal text, the author presents an overview of various productions of *Winterreise*, with a critical review of divergent productions. This overview rounds off this unique and inspiring study, which offers the reader an opportunity to *wander* through it, yet retain a clear goal.

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Ivana Petković, Olga Otašević,
*Stevan Stojanović Mokranjac u
napisima „drugih“ [Stevan Stojanović
Mokranjac in the Writings of
“Others”]*

Stevan Stojanović Mokranjac u napisima „drugih“ by Ivana Petković and Olga Otašević, both editors and authors of critical studies, constitutes an original and interestingly conceived, heterogeneous whole, whose principal aim is to bring together, present, and “network” all available musicological sources in which “others” wrote down their reflections on Stevan Stojanović Mokranjac.

The task that these two young authors and musicologists took upon themselves was by no means easy. They had to face a generically heterogeneous musicological material – from scholarly articles by musicologists and ethnomusicologists from across the former Yugoslavia (both the first and the second), via bibliographic units in various foreign encyclopaedias, to the monograph *Stevan Mokranjac and Serbian Music* by Soviet musicologist Ivan Marti-

nov – “the first and only monograph by a foreign author about one of our composers, published abroad”.¹

Most of these musicological studies had to be translated first and then adequately presented. Hence this “basically postmodernist” volume, according to its young authors, featuring textually and generically heterogeneous elements.

The book comprises four chapters. In the condensed and synthetic introductory chapter, titled “Recepcija/percepcija Stevana Stojanovića Mokranjca: ‘ovde’ i ‘tamo’” [The Reception/Perception of Stevan Stojanović Mokranjac: “Here” and “There”], the authors carefully map the problems discussed in the book, inform the reader about the contents and conceptions of its chapters, and point to the cultural, historical, and ideological context of Mokranjac’s overall work in culture, creativity, conducting, music transcription, and pedagogy, as well as systematize the problems addressed in writings about this composer.

Clearly and effortlessly, the authors position the focus of their study in the field of the reception of Mokranjac’s versatile musical activities in writings by foreign authors, emphasizing that the only shared characteristic of these writings is precisely the fact that they were written by “others”, or, so to speak, by those to whom both Mokranjac and his music were in various

¹ Olga Otašević, “Stevan Mokranjac, srpska muzika i Ivan Martinov: ka sveslovenskom modelu” [Stevan Mokranjac, Serbian Music, and Ivan Martinov: Toward an All-Slavic Model], in: Ivana Petković and Olga Otašević, *Stevan Stojanović Mokranjac u napisima „drugih“*, Belgrade, Muzikološko društvo Srbije and Muzička omladina Beograda, 2014, 123.

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ways culturally and musically “other”. Elaborating on this rather interesting problem layer in their book, the authors rightly point out that in the writings of “others” about Mokranjac, their assessments of the composer’s work and cultural activities are imbued with their views of Serbian music in general; in particular, the authors draw their readers’ attention to the fact that the reception of Mokranjac’s oeuvre changed in line with socio-political and ideological changes in this part of Europe.

Also, in their introductory chapter, the authors draw their readers’ attention to the task they undertook: to present the disparity between the selected writings, as well as to arrive at a synthesis between them, which – it is my pleasure to conclude – they accomplished, taking the volume as a whole, in an indirect way, leaving the reader to finally interpret and inscribe multi-layered meanings into this extraordinary, postmodernist collage of texts.

Chapter Two, “Stevan Mokranjac u napisima autora iz Hrvatske, Slovenije, Bosne i Hercegovine, Makedonije i Crne Gore” [Stevan Mokranjac in Writings by Authors from Croatia, Slovenia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Macedonia, and Montenegro], was conceived by its author, Ivana Petković, as an inter-textual dialogue between the writings of a number of ex-Yugoslav authors and her own critical reflections on their texts. In this “play” of different “cultural languages”, which informs the collage makeup of this chapter and thereby, as the author asserts, refers to the forms of Mokranjac’s *Rukoveti* [Garlands] themselves, one truly “hears” overlapping, different, spatially and temporally remote “voices” (as the author put it herself). The chapter is divided into segments

conceived around particular problems – (inter)textual views, in which the author confronts quotations from selected texts and her own positions regarding important issues in key themes related to Mokranjac’s work, his political stances, the “originality” of his *Rukoveti*, his work in transcribing sacred music, contacts with Yugoslav and Pan-Slavic-oriented colleagues, etc. Especially interesting is the third (inter)textual view, where the author confronts different opinions (her own with those of Kučukalić), in an “imaginary dialogue”, about the forms and significance of Mokranjac’s vocal works with piano accompaniment.

The book’s third and central chapter contains a complete translation of the monograph by the Soviet musicologist Ivan Martinov, *Stevan Mokranjac and Serbian Music* (1958), as well as a short study, “Stevan Mokranjac, srpska muzika i Martinov: ka sveslovenskom modelu” [Stevan Mokranjac, Serbian Music, and Martinov: Toward an All-Slavic Model], by the translator and author Olga Otašević. By virtue of its manifold significance, Martinov’s monograph merits an independent, broader critical study, so its scholarly qualities will not be discussed here (since that would constitute a book review within another book review!).

The translation of this monograph from Russian was more than a serious and onerous task, undertaken by Otašević. Her translation is extremely good, precise, and entirely reflective of the ideological, cultural, and musicological coordinates of the “time and place” in Martinov’s writing. The translation contains all the necessary explanations and additional references for some of Martinov’s data. Also – and this is a special quality of this, so to speak, “criti-

cal translation” – musicologist-translator Olga Otašević corrected some erroneous data in Martinov and brought them into line with data taken from relevant Serbian musicological sources, which brings this book into the “circle” of relevant contemporary literature on Stevan Mokranjac, available in Serbian.

Otašević’s excellent translation of Martinov’s book is complemented in this volume with a short musicological critical study, which is not merely “supporting”, as Otašević modestly calls it. In its first part, this compact critical study observes the cultural, historical, and ideological context of Martinov’s writing, subtly explaining Martinov’s reasons for taking an interest in Mokranjac, his compositional approach to the folklore of all Yugoslav peoples, and his cultural activities in line with the ideas of Pan-Slavism.

The second part of the study discusses the organization and contents of Martinov’s book and offers a glimpse of the ideological code and model of Soviet post-WWII musicology, the “Soviet voice”, as the author puts it. Interestingly, in some of Martinov’s analyses of Mokranjac’s *Rukoveti*, which rely solely on the scores (with no reference to secondary literature!), Otašević recognizes Asafyev’s “intonation analysis”. The final segment of this valuable short study is devoted to Otašević’s consideration and assessment of the third chapter in Martinov’s book, which discusses Mokranjac’s *Rukoveti*. She compares Martinov’s insights, analyses, and critical assessments with those of Serbian musicologists who have discussed the same topics (Konjović, Živković), concluding, among other things, that Martinov, although his views and assessments of individual *Rukoveti* differ

from those of his Serbian colleagues, “successfully avoided taking up a strong critical position, but still correctly identified the characteristics of the genre of *rukovet* in Mokranjac’s oeuvre”.

The title of the fourth and final chapter, co-authored by Ivana Petković and Olga Otašević, reads “Stevan Mokranjac u napisima na ruskom, engleskom, francuskom, italijanskom (enciklopedijske jedinice), bugarskom i nemačkom jeziku (naučne studije)” [Stevan Mokranjac in Writings in Russian, English, French, Italian (Encyclopedic Entries), Bulgarian, and German (Scholarly Studies)]. Alongside the short sideline comments about these texts that are available in foreign languages inserted by the two authors, who are “featured” in this chapter as translators as well, the chapter contains the translations of three encyclopedic entries on Mokranjac, published in three different languages, and a full copy of Egon Wellesz’s article “Studies on Serbian Octoechos Music”. At the very beginning of this chapter, the authors ask their readers as well as themselves the following key question: “What do these encyclopedic entries tell us and what do they conceal about Mokranjac?”, but offer no explicit answers. Implicitly, the second and third chapters of this book, each in its own way, offer fragmentary answers to the question of how “others”, whose writings are available to us, view Mokranjac.

In her eighth (inter)textual view (Chapter 2), discussing Emil Cossetto’s article “Jubilej koji obavezuje” [An Obliging Jubilee], Ivana Petković, today, on the occasion of the centenary of Mokranjac’s death, almost re-actualizes, in her own “voice”, Cossetto’s call to the composers and, more generally, musicians of the (now

former) “Yugoslav art space” to revive, in a new way, “the age of Mokranjac”, which is “seemingly calling for a new dialogue”, as the author put it. Olga Otašević, too, although very briefly, discusses Martinov’s approach to Mokranjac in her short study, asserting that for Martinov, Mokranjac is “a representative of another, Serbian culture, which is nonetheless close to him, being essentially Slavic”.

Still, the “other” topic of this book – the positioning of “others” regarding Mokranjac – which appears in various ways and various lights in each chapter, is ultimately not quite developed; exactly as the authors put it in the final chapter, it remains in the form of a question inviting new reflections, scholarly dialogues, and vantage points.

Overall, Ivana Petković and Olga Otašević’s *Stevan Stojanović Mokranjac u napisima „drugih“* is a major contribution to the jubilee – the centenary of Mokranjac’s death – its *raison d’être*. It brings together all available writings on Mokranjac by “others”, interprets them, interweaves its own “voice” with their texts, presenting them to its readers in their original languages and in translations, with plenty of photographs, bibliographic data, and important references. The main conception of this heterogeneous book stems from its authors’ open and free, postmodernist approach to every musicological text. The book’s chapters thus bear no imposing ideological inscriptions. Therefore, I believe this book will be broadly embraced, read, and widely used for new explorations in musicology and cultural studies.

Above all, the book is meant for professional musicians, but I believe its openness will attract readers of “other” profiles as well.

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Marko Nikodijević: *dark/rooms* col legno, 2013

The publication of any CD containing music by a contemporary Serbian author is considered a rarity and a welcome anomaly. However, when this CD is published by one of the labels dedicated to “releasing top-class recordings of ground-breaking contemporary music” it is nothing short of a miracle. Or maybe not? The music of Serbian-born, now Stuttgart-based composer Marko Nikodijević has been steadily finding its way to prestigious concert halls and the repertoires of leading European orchestras in the past few years. Since his success at the Gaudeamus Music Week in 2010, his work has been receiving broader international recognition, and is becoming even more available to the wider audience, thanks to the renowned label *col legno*, which in 2013 published a CD titled *dark/rooms* exclusively containing compositions by Marko Nikodijević. The publication of this CD was supported by the Ernst von Siemens Music Foundation, which awarded Nikodijević (together with two other young composers – David Philip Hefti and Samy Moussa), with the Composers’ Prize for 2013.

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The five works presented on this CD were created during a relatively long period of time (bearing in mind that the composer was only 33 years old in the time of the release) – between 2000 and 2012, and present a selection of his best known and most successful endeavors. The album opens with *cvetić, kućica.../la lugubre gondola: Trauermusik für Orchester nach Franz Liszt* from 2009, here performed by the ORF Radio-Symphonieorchester Wien and conductor Jonathan Stockhamer. The title, as well as the music, makes reference to Liszt's famous piano elegy, *La lugubre gondola* – depicting a funerary procession along Venice's canals – while the inspiration, drawn from the stillness of the water, takes a more gruesome turn in the first part of the title, which is a quotation from the scribblings in a notebook by a little Albanian girl, killed in 1999, and dumped along with other victims inside a lorry which was submerged in a lake.

In the composition, Nikodijević uses his much favored algorithmic and fractal computations to transform Liszt's mournful theme, creating an equally opaque and somber atmosphere with some exceptionally skillful instrumentation. More than just a literal illustration of the scene, the inner pulsation of this slow-paced music development creates an emotional curve which comes in waves, like the submerged rage that occasionally breaks the surface, only to be inundated by the stillness and weight of the cold, enveloping water.

The references to the past contained in the title of the compositions, do not end with this piece – *music box/selbstportrait mit ligeti und stravinsky (und messiaen ist auch dabei)*(2000-2001/2003/2006), as a

nod to Ligeti's piano piece from 1976, followed by *chambres de ténèbres/tombeau de claud vivier* (2005/2007-2009/2012), as an echo of the long-standing tradition of the 17th century's 'tombeaux', as well as *gesualdo dub/raum mit gelöschter figur* (2012) equally show how this young composer is (sometimes less literally but more) spiritually and methodologically indebted to the masters of the previous eras.

In *Concerto for piano and ensemble gesualdo dub/raum mit gelöschter figur*, performed by Ensemble musikFabrik, pianist Benjamin Kobler and conductor Clement Power, one might recognize the chromatic semitone progression as a reference to a late renaissance composer's famous madrigal *Morro lasso*. However, more than a direct quotation, there is the sense of the late master's legacy in the complexity of the writing, the gradual development of rich sonorities and above all, a feeling of spatial vastness that opens up through the five attacca movements of this composition.

The similar progression as in *cvetić, kućica.../la lugubre gondola* and *gesualdo dub* – from a minimal sonic embryo into unforeseen and opulent music textures – occurs in three movements of the composition *chambres de ténèbres/tombeau de claud vivier*, performed by Ensemble musikFabrik and Clement Power. The piece is inspired by the tragic life and death of the Canadian composer Claude Vivier, which is a recurring theme in Nikodijević's work – after *chambres de ténèbres*, he wrote his first opera *Vivier: A Night Report* which was commissioned by the Biennale in Munich in 2014, for the opening of its 14th edition.

And just like in his other works, these references are always multiple and rarely, only music-related. The way Vivier developed his themes – from the single nucleus, often in unison – bears a strong resemblance to the procedures Nikodijević uses in all of the mentioned pieces. But it seems that apart from the compositional techniques, Nikodijević is also intrigued by the late composer's unique figure and status in the music establishment of the second half of the 20th century – one that he could easily relate to: openly gay, excessive, judged and (often) overlooked.

In the context of this CD, it seems that three movements of *chambres de ténèbres* demonstrate all the main characteristics of Nikodijević's poetics. On the one hand, there is the spatial component, so evidently present in works like *gesualdo dub* or *music box*, and achieved through the careful positioning of various music events, whether original or borrowed as quotations from the works of other authors (Nikodijević stated himself, that he “filled the three chambers with bits of Vivier's music, like objects suspended in space.”) He also filled these ‘rooms’ with something else, which blatantly present in all of his works – a uniquely refined and inherent sense of groove and pulsation. In the composition *chambres de ténèbres*, the (possible) programmatic explanation of its presence could be found in the life story of Vivier, and his regular excursions to disco-clubs of the 70's, but this omnipresent, beating pulse also lurks in more elusive compositions like *cvetić, kućica.../la lugubre gondola* or *music box*.

This penetrating beat reaches its apotheosis in the composition *GHB/tanzaggre-*

gat, which concludes the CD. In this highly energized piece (whose title refers to gamma-Hydroxybutyric acid, a drug popular with party-goers), Nikodijević stresses the rhythmical component, giving it a distinctively modern, techno-sounding beat. Like a snippet from his own life-experience, a sonic recollection of some imaginary late night return home, with fragments of the song *Vranjanka* (and all the possible hidden meanings of this quotation – “you have taken my youth away” etc.) and distant brass-band sounding segments, this dance-machine ends in joyful and exuberant sonic fireworks.

Even more surprising than the fact that this type of sonic pandemonium is written for a symphonic orchestra, is the interpretation of the ORF Radio-Symphonieorchester Wien led by conductor Jonathan Stockhamer. This excellent interpretation, equal to the opening *cvetić, kućica.../la lugubre gondola*, displays the stunning versatility of this world-class ensemble, strongly dedicated to promoting contemporary music in all its varieties and eccentricities. An equally high level of interpretation and dedication were exhibited by the Nieuw Ensemble and Micha Hamel and the Ensemble muzik Fabrik with Clement Power, renowned chamber orchestras who performed *music box/selbstportrait mit ligeti und stravinsky (und messiaen ist auch dabei)*, and *chambres de ténèbres/tombeau de claude vivier and gesualdo dub*, respectively. All relevant information regarding the recordings of the compositions on this CD, detailed biographies of the author and performers, photographs and score facsimiles, as well as a highly informative and insightful text by Bern

Künzig, feature in a luxurious, 70 page booklet which complements this release.

The CD *dark/rooms* excels at all levels – intense compositions, captivating performances, the pristine quality of recording, the intelligent choice of works and the

enviable physical presentation of the product make it an extremely welcome contribution that shows what contemporary music and inspired publishing can achieve.

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