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Urve Lippus

5.III 1950–13.V 2015

Saateks numbri toimetajalt

13. mail 2015 lahkus meie seast ootamatult ja traagiliselt Eesti Muusika- ja Teatriakadeemia muusikateaduse osakonna professor, üks Eesti silmapaistvamaid muusikateadlasi Urve Lippus. Tema oli ka aastaraamatu Res Musica peatoimetaja. 23. aprillil 2016 leidis Heino Elleri nimelises muusikakoolis aset Eesti Muusikateaduse Seltsi iga-aastane Tartu päev, mis oli pühendatud Urve Lippuse mälestusele. Käesolev Res Musica number keskendub 2016. aasta Tartu päeval peetud ettekannetele. Ettekandeid peeti kokku üheksa. Nendest nelja alusel on siinsesse aastaraamatusse koondatud nii-öelda täiemõõdulised artiklid, mis on läbinud eelretsenseerimise. Nimetatud artiklite autoriteks on Brigitta Davidjants, Mart Humal, Janika Oras ja Helena Tyrväinen. Ühtlasi avaldatakse aastaraa-

matus veel neli Tartu päeva kaastööde põhjal valminud kirjutist, mis on isiklikumat laadi ning mida retsenseeritud ei ole. Nende kaastööde autoriteks on Mimi Daitz, Anu Kõlar, Mark Lawrence ja Andreas Waczkat. Veel sisaldab aastaraamat ühe Veljo Tormise ainetel peetud ettekande teksti (autoriks Jaan Ross), arvustusi mitmete muusikateaduslike publikatsioonide, sealhulgas kolme doktoriväitekirja arvustust, ning tavapärasest muusikateadusliku tegevuse kroonikat. Raamatu valmimist on toetanud Euroopa Liit Euroopa Regionaalarengu Fondi kaudu (Eesti-uuringute tippkeskus), see on seotud Eesti Haridus- ja Teadusministeeriumi uurimisprojektiga IUT12-1.

Jaan Ross

From editor of the current issue

On 13 May 2015, Urve Lippus, Professor of the Department of Musicology at the Estonian Academy of Music and Theatre and one of Estonia's most prominent musicologists, passed away suddenly and tragically. She was also the editor-in-chief of the yearbook *Res Musica*. On 23 April 2016, the traditional one-day conference of the Estonian Musicological Society took place in Tartu, at the Heino Eller Tartu Music High School. The conference was dedicated to the memory of Urve Lippus. This issue of *Res Musica* contains materials presented during that conference. Altogether there were nine presentations. Four of these were the starting points for the full-scale peer-reviewed research papers that appear in the present yearbook. Their authors are Brigitta Davidjants, Mart Humal, Janika Oras and Helena Tyrväinen. In ad-

dition, four more contributions from the Tartu conference are included in the yearbook. These have a more personal character, and as such were not peer-reviewed. Their authors are Mimi Daitz, Anu Kõlar, Mark Lawrence and Andreas Waczkat. The yearbook also contains a conference paper on Veljo Tormis (by Jaan Ross), reviews of several musicological publications, including three doctoral theses, as well as the traditional chronicle of musicological activities in Estonia. Publication of this volume was supported by the Estonian Ministry of Education and Research (research project IUT12-1) and by the European Union through the European Regional Development Fund (Centre of Excellence in Estonian Studies).

Jaan Ross

National Identity Construction in Music: A Case Study of Aram Khachaturian

Brigitta Davidjants

Abstract

In this paper, the national element in the reception of the Soviet-Armenian composer Aram Khachaturian (1903–1978) is explored. Armenian culture has been profoundly influenced by the cultural politics of the Russian Empire and the Soviet Union, both of which perceived the Caucasus as an exotic object. Armenians have been used to seeing Russia as a window to Europe. Therefore they also conceive themselves as an exotic “other.” Music is an element of such self-representation and can be used for national identity constructions. In this paper, the author illustrates these processes by analysing the reception of Aram Khachaturian, who belongs to the Armenian system of national symbols. He is considered to be a specifically Armenian, European and Oriental composer at one and the same time. The author suggests that descriptions of his music in Armenian musicological discourse serve the wider ideological aims of Armenian cultural identity constructions in its history writing, which are characterised by a cultural ambivalence that wishes to prove that Armenians belong culturally to Europe but also presents them as exotic subjects.

Introduction

In the present paper, national identity constructions in Armenian musicological discourse are observed through the musicological reception of the composer Aram Khachaturian (1903–1978) as well as in his writings.

Ethnicity is often used for constructing borders that preserve cultural identities (Chapman, McDonald, Tonkin 1989: 17). Cultural phenomena can be related to ethnicity, which is also often the case with Khachaturian. He has an unusual position on the borderlands of different, even controversial approaches to musical composition. Khachaturian can be viewed in many ways: focusing on his nationality as an Armenian; as an Oriental¹ composer, who sought inspiration in different Eastern cultures; or in terms of his education in Moscow, where he also lived most of his life, with the result that he can also be seen as a Russian composer. For Armenians, he is a symbol of the Europeanness of the Armenian nation and of their belonging culturally to Europe. In his reception, the self-image of Armenians can be interpreted in two ways: either in terms of the exotic, with an emphasis on their national originality, or as a simplification and adaptation of their individual-

ity to the supposed expectations of the (Western) audience.

As far as the context is concerned, the socio-historical background of Aram Khachaturian is best understood in terms of Armenian cultural relations with Russia during the two political regimes – the Czarist Russian Empire (1828–1917) and the Soviet Union (1918–1991). The central theoretical standpoint comes from postcolonial thought, and more precisely from the hybridisation of the Western, Oriental, and Armenian. Here, Western music means the music culture that is rooted in the Western national romanticism of the 19th century and which belongs to the academic, professional repertoire. Armenian music refers to Armenian traditional music, and Armenianness derives from the use of folk music in art music. Oriental music relates to the music which includes Oriental stereotypes; it also means the repertoire by Armenian composers who absorbed the Oriental approach towards their music that reflects the Western representations of their culture. Such synthesis of local and global in the Soviet music culture of the Oriental composers reveals the hybrid nature of the material analysed and the creation of new transcultural forms within the contact zone produced by colonisation.

¹ Orientalism is here meant as a general Easternness, representations of the Soviet East among Soviet composers as one encounters the term in Russian musicological discourse, and not in terms of Edward Said's concept of Orientalism.

Names of people in Armenian are mostly transliterated according to eastern Armenian pronunciation and orthographic rules, or according to the most common version of the name.

1. Armenia and Russia: ambivalent relations between the centre and the periphery of the empire

The Armenian cultural and political background accounts for the complexity of the case of Khachaturian. Armenia is a Christian country in a predominantly Muslim region that suffered several pogroms during the Ottoman Empire over of many centuries. The sufferings concluded with the genocide of 1915, which has had the greatest influence on the identity constructions of Armenians. Because of the genocide and their Christianity, Armenians resist the representation of their state as a part of the Middle Eastern region. They position themselves insistently in the European cultural sphere, accentuating the Western elements in their culture and music as an important part of this. By shaping the national musical canon in this way, the Armenian cultural elite, too, positions it in Europe, regardless of the many elements of Middle Eastern music in Armenian traditional music.

In discussing identity constructions in music, colonial and dominant relations must be taken into account, irrespective of how the ethnic group prefers to present itself (Chapman, McDonald, Tonkin 1989: 8–9). The musical self-representation of Armenians reflects the outcomes of the cultural and political realms of the Russian Empire and later on the cultural politics of the Soviet Union. In the 19th century, while Western Armenia remained in the Ottoman Empire, where it had belonged since the 15th century, Eastern Armenia became a part of the Russian Empire. For almost a hundred years, from 1828 to 1917, before the Bolshevik coup in 1920, the present Republic of Armenia was a part of the Russian Empire. Furthermore, Eastern Armenian culture was not limited to the territory of the present Republic of Armenia, but developed also in regional urban centres such as today's Tiflis and Baku. The most important among these was the provincial capital Tiflis in Georgia, the population of which was multiethnic and included many Armenians. The city became the centre of Russian colonial power in this region throughout the 19th century, and the

resulting economic, political and cultural changes involved the Russification of some social groups of Armenians and Georgians. (Suny 1994: 41)

With its position on the borderlands of different Western and Eastern empires, Caucasian cultures have always been characterized by hybridity. Ethnic groups with different languages, traditions, and religions have lived together in widely spread settlements. Therefore, the linguistic, cultural and religious groups do not overlap to form the basis of a common ethnic identity (Eriksen 2002: 36; Jenkins 1994: 208). These circumstances have been particularly relevant with regard to Armenians, who have a vast diaspora, and this mixes their musical culture even more.

Relations between the coloniser and the colonised are often characterised by ambivalence, where both fascination and opposition occur. The coloniser is interested in turning the oppressed into a copy of itself, but not to the full extent, since the colonial relationship cannot exist between equals. Moreover, though the colonised are forced to adopt the coloniser as an example, the result can never be an exact copy, as it will always reflect the experience, identity, and expression of the oppressed (Bhabha 1994: 85–92). Such a relationship was also common to Russia and Caucasia in the 19th century. On the one hand, Armenia and Georgia benefited in many respect from being part of the Russian Empire. Tiflis became the centre of the local government, education developed, and greater religious freedom was allowed, as all three ethnic groups involved the Christian culture. On the other hand, the ambivalence expressed itself in different nuances of communication representing a typical attitude of an empire towards its periphery.

In the arts, many stereotypes emerged for representing the East during the 19th century. With regard to the musical culture of the Russian empire, the Oriental material in Russian classical music is usually divided into internal and external references. The first category includes references to Siberia, the Caucasus, and Central Asia; the second refers to the Far and Middle East (Taruskin 1998: 194). In such way, Russian musical Orientalism reflected the military events which took place in the process of expanding its territory by revealing the correlation of colonial relations and Orientalism. Chronologically, the invasion of the Caucasus coincides with the blooming of

Russian romanticism. The composers drew inspiration from the Orient, for example, *Antar* (1868) and *Scheherazade* (1888) by Nikolay Rimsky-Korsakov, *Islamey* (1869) by Mily Balakirev, and *Prince Igor* (1887) by Alexander Borodin. Oriental clichés were embraced, through which many musical stereotypes emerged, such as the modal harmonisation of diatonic folk melodies, scales including different chromatic or non-diatonic intervals, imitations of folk tunes (Frolova-Walker 1998: 338–351). As far as story-lines are concerned, the representations of the East often were militant whereas the Caucasus was perceived as something exotic and romantic.

For Caucasians, Czarist Russia was widely identified with Europe, regardless of its politics. The Armenians and Georgians shared a closer mentality with the Christian Russian Empire than with the Muslim countries around them, although all three represent different branches of Christianity. Such an environment also shaped musical relations between Armenians and Russians. Armenians adopted the Western national ideas through Russia. (Geodakyan 1969: 18) Such Armenian composers and researchers as Komitas (Soghomon Soghomonyan), Tigran Tchoukhajian, Mark Yekmalyan and Romanos Melikian emerged. As composers, they represented the Western composition school, but valued their traditional culture. As researchers, they observed the latter from the 'outside' (Tigranov 1959: 22–23), and synthesized it with Western classical music, i.e., they wrote homophonic music using the European genres and Western notation (Geodakyan 1969: 11). These were typical 19th-century national romantic and Russian Orientalist works with plots seeking inspiration in the glorious past. For example, Tchoukhajian's opera *Arshak Erkrord* from 1868, considered as the first Armenian opera, was inspired by the life of the Armenian king Arshak II from the 4th century (Geodakyan 1969: 18). To portray the East, the composers took over the compositional techniques of Western art music following the models of the Russian composers belonging to the famous *Moguchaya Kuchka* ("mighty handful") (Tigranov 1959: 22–23).

After the period of the short-lived Democratic Republic of Armenia, Eastern Armenia became a part of the Soviet Union in 1920 until its fall in 1991. After colonising countries, Russia submitted the various nations to political pressure in almost

every aspect of life, from reforming the educational system to physical repression of the people. The cultural politics of the USSR continued the processes that had begun in the Russian Empire. The USSR, with its centre in the biggest cities of Russia, represented the West, Caucasian and Central Asian republics the East. The Soviet policy oppressed national minorities based on Stalin's formula from 1934, which demanded cultures to be "national in form and socialist in content" (Stalin 2003 [1934]: 3). The culture of Soviet nations was supposed to develop in agreement with directives from Moscow, and although it remained colonial, it was able, at least to some extent, to preserve and promote the national traditions while at the same time belonging to a homogeneous family of Soviet people. This was particularly pertinent in the years of Stalinism, from the 1930s until the late 1950s (Frolova-Walker 1998: 331–336).

In music, amongst other things, this policy brought with it the requirement for each national Republic to build an opera house and compose a suitable repertory. The insistence on using folk tunes resulted in the need to collect, research and systematise the folk music. The use of folk music had to be formal, and as the authorities were not exactly interested in its peculiarities, distorted approaches to folk music were quite common. It also meant that composers with very different cultural and historical backgrounds had to use folk tunes or other elements of folk culture according to the models and compositional techniques of the Russian classical composers. For Caucasian and Central Asian composers, who wrote in the Western tradition, this entailed imitating certain Eastern aspects. The imported culture was presented as a development of authentic, traditional music (Frolova-Walker 1998: 331–336).

Here the culturally simplified geopolitical world views of the authorities became particularly visible. Before the Soviet Union, the Czarist power had not considered the location of ethnic groups when drawing up the borders of the governorates. Thus the geographical boundaries of the new Soviet republics followed neither ethnic, linguistic, cultural nor religious compatibility, but rather reflected the consecutive territorial conquerors of Russia (Frolova-Walker 1998: 334–339). Examples of the outcomes of such cultural politics are easy to find: for instance, the composer Sergey Balasanyan, of Armenian-origin, was born

in Turkmenistan but became a national composer of Tajikistan.

Under these conditions, Armenian national culture was in a better position than that of the Central Asian countries. The doctrine of Socialist Realism drew primarily on 19th-century national romanticism, and for Armenians this meant that they did not have to start to create the Western Soviet musical culture from scratch, as was the case in the Central Asian countries. There was already a lot of art music in the Western tradition in Armenia which had been composed since the 19th century. In both Armenia and the Central Asian countries the outcome of such cultural politics was a hybrid music culture that included elements of Soviet Oriental music inside a Western art music style, a style widespread throughout the whole of Caucasasia and Central Asia.

During the Soviet years, a well-formed canon was established in Armenian classical music that is valid up to the present day. In this canon, three composers are highlighted: Komitas (born Soghomon Soghomonyan; 1869–1935), Alexander Spendaryan (1871–1928), and Aram Khachaturian. All three belong to the system of national symbols of Armenia that is used for promoting national ideologies – symbols that are also related to the birth of national-romantic sentiments in the 19th century and their development in the 20th century. In addition to these, many cultural figures from this period have a symbolic meaning reflecting the importance of the national movement. Such figures include Khachatur Abovian (1809–1848), who wrote the first modern Armenian novel, and political and spiritual leader Catholicos Mkrtich Khrimian (1820–1907), as well as author Hovhannes Tumanyan (1869–1923), poet and writer Avetik Isahakyan (1875–1957), and the creator of the modern Armenian art school Martiros Saryan (1880–1972).

2. Methodology

In this article, methods of discourse analysis and music reception will be combined. The reception of Khachaturian is analysed through three parallel concepts: observations about his Armenianness, Orientalism, and Europeanness. His opinions concerning these three features are found in his letters to his friends and in his formal letters to journal-

ists and musicologists, but also in public articles written between 1949 and 1973. The articles were published in following newspapers: *Sovetskaya Muzyka*, *Kul'tura i zhizn'*, *Sovetskaya Kul'tura*, *Kommunist*, *Nedel'ya*, *Komsomol'skaya Pravda*, *Pravda*. External observations derive from Soviet musicological texts about Khachaturian from the period 1959–1990 (Shneerson 1958; Tigranov 1978; Arutyunov 1983; Yuzefovich 1990). Finally, reviews of Khachaturian's *Song-Poem (In honour of ashughs)* for violin and piano (1929) by different authors will be compared, and their observations set in the context of the three-dimensional Armenian-Oriental-European cultural space.

3. Case study: Aram Khachaturian in the context of his era

Khachaturian's work and life provide interesting material for studying Soviet cultural politics. He was a Western-style national composer, who used not only Armenian but also Russian, Georgian, and Ukrainian elements, fragments of folk tunes, and non-western rhythmic patterns in his music (Steyn 2009: 11). Khachaturian's compositions are often presented as the best examples of Armenian music in which fragments of Armenian folk tunes can be recognized. At the same time, his music can be perceived as Russian music with exotic, Oriental elements. Today, his compositions based on Armenian themes and melodies may also be seen as examples of Orientalism in music in the Saidian sense, where images of the East by the West are far more important than the East itself with all its variations.

This wide-ranging approach in his music also reflects well the multifaceted life of Khachaturian.

Although by nationality Armenian, Aram Khachaturian was born in Georgia, which had a significant Armenian community. From 1913–1920 he studied at the Tbilisi Commercial College, played in an amateur wind orchestra and started composing piano pieces. At the beginning of the 20th century, Tiflis was an important cultural centre for Armenians, where the different layers of Armenian culture – old folk music, *ashugh*² art, and Western art culture – came together (Yuzefovich 1990: 10–11). Khachaturian recalled listening to the *ashughs* and folk trios with *sazandars*³ on the streets of Tiflis. Notably, he mentioned that he ab-

² *Ashughs* – Middle Eastern minstrels who were narrators, singers, instrumentalists, dancers and actors all in one.

sorbed this music into himself (Yuzefovich 1990: 14, 26). Such stories about Khachaturian are typical – how he listened to his mother’s singing in his childhood, and later, as a composer found inspiration in these musical memories.⁴ Khachaturian himself said that he remembered many songs sung at home by his parents and others, but later mixed up the titles: “I know the first words or even just some motifs. Perhaps, I can remember about 20 songs.”⁵

In 1921 he moved to Moscow, and a year later entered the Gnessin Institute to study cello, where one of his teachers was the composer Reinhold Glière. In 1925, he began his composition studies at the Moscow Conservatory under the composers Mikhail Gnessin and Nikolay Myaskovsky, graduating in 1934. Over the years, he also taught composition at the Gnessin Institute and the Moscow Conservatory. In 1932, he was accepted as a member of the Composers’ Union, but being accused of formalism, along with Sergei Prokofiev and Dmitri Shostakovich, in 1948, his activities were curtailed by officialdom for almost ten years. From 1957 until his death in 1978 Khachaturian served as secretary of the board of the Composers’ Union (Sarkisyan, retrieved 20.03.2015).

In Armenian music, Khachaturian was novel for many reasons. His graduation piece from the Moscow Conservatory, the First Symphony, is considered to be the first Armenian symphony, and his Piano Concerto was the basis of instrumental concertos in Armenian music. Khachaturian was also the first composer who wrote music for Armenian films with sound. From 1950 onwards he worked as a conductor, performing in over 30 countries. Many of his pieces received state prizes, including the Second Symphony, the ballet *Gayane*, and the Violin Concerto. He also received many official recognitions, and was awarded the Order of Lenin in 1939 and the title Hero of Socialist Labour in 1973, to name but two (Sarkisyan, retrieved 20.03.2015).

Among Soviet Armenian and Soviet Eastern composers, Khachaturian was the only one who

became world famous. The Soviet authorities also needed artists to put into practice its national ideologies, the idea of forging a homogeneous Soviet people by merging different nations. In Khachaturian’s music Soviet patriotic elements were mixed with Armenian national traits, so he fitted perfectly this role; his music was composed in accordance with the doctrine of socialist realism. Due to “his proletarian origins, non-Russian ethnic backgrounds, and Soviet training, Khachaturian became a powerful symbol of the Soviet musical establishment of the ideal multinational Soviet cultural identity” (Robinson 2007: 429).

4.1 The self-portrait and musicological discourses

In this chapter, three parallel narratives about Khachaturian as an Oriental, Armenian and Russian composer are discussed. To map his self-representations and discover how they match the texts written about him in Armenian musicological discourse, Khachaturian’s letters and articles are analysed alongside Armenian musicological discourse about him.

The first important aspect in Khachaturian’s writings is that they give the reader the impression of a typical diasporic Armenian, although in the Soviet Union nobody spoke or thought in such terms. His letters are mostly in Russian, sometimes including some words in Armenian. The last seems to carry rather a symbolic value, as in some cases he says that he would like to write in Armenian, but cannot.⁶ Only a few rare letters are written in Armenian. At the same time, his texts for newspapers and journals are clearly patriotic. For example, the article “In Armenia”⁷ fits well into the discourse of diasporic Armenian texts even today. This is an enthusiastic travelogue from different regions of Armenia, full of pride in his nation and finding in each area something special. For example, Kirovakanians are real enthusiasts of their area, in Zangezur there are great mines, Goris has incredibly beautiful views, and so on. (Khachaturian 1980: 344)

³ *Sazandar* – one of the musicians in an instrumental trio performing *mugham* (system of melodic modes used in Middle Eastern music; similar to *maqam*) together with a singer. The trio consists of *tar*, *kamancha* and *daf* players.

⁴ See, for example, Yuzefovich 1990: 273.

⁵ A letter to M[argarit] Arutiunian, dated March 18th, 1966 (Khachaturian 1983: 106).

⁶ A letter to the E[dvard] Mirzoyan, February 1963 (Khachaturian 1983: 93).

⁷ Article published in *Sovetskaya Muzyka*, in 1949, No. 8.

Another typically Armenian, also diasporic, narrative in Khachaturian's writings concerns Armenian genocide, though the topic was taboo in the Soviet Union of those times (Whitehorn 2015: 140). Such narrative can be seen, for example, in a letter to the musicologist Margarit Arutiunian: "[...] Armenians, despite mass destruction and persecution by enemies, have managed to preserve their nation, language, culture, and religion."⁸ Also, in his interview in 1973 to Grigory Shneerson in the journal *Sovetskaya Muzyka*, he refers to the genocide and its mass destruction of the Armenian population in Western Armenia, which he sees as the reason why his parents were forced to leave home and come to Tiflis.⁹

Another important aspect that comes out of Khachaturian's correspondence is that the composer was very concerned to be received as a Caucasian and at the same time, specifically, as an Armenian. He consistently observed whether he was mentioned in an Armenian context, also in texts about Soviet Eastern music in general. He apparently considered himself the creator of Soviet Eastern music and took note of Shostakovich's and Kara Karayev's (Garayev)¹⁰ judgements with regard to this question.¹¹ His typical rhetoric in this matter can be seen, for example, in a letter to the musicologist Georgii Tigranov: "In the East, the first symphony, sonata, and fugue were written by me."¹² When feeling forgotten by official institutions or researchers, he used to draw writers' attention to his role in that field. For example, in his letter to the film maker and politician Gevork Ovanesyan in August 1949, he says:

An honest historian, when starting to write the history of Soviet music, or the history of Soviet Armenian music, an honest historian [...] is obliged to say: "But, by all means, the first symphony in the history of Armenian music was written by Khachaturian [...]." This

should not be forgotten, but unfortunately, somebody wants to dismiss me.¹³

In such cases, he also contrasted the nation and officialdom, claiming that at least the Armenian nation cherished him.¹⁴ He was also very proud that some of his songs were considered to be folk songs and were sung on the streets, such as the main melody from the movie *Pepo*.¹⁵ However, he was afraid of being forgotten not only by the institutions but also by the Armenian people. For example, in his letter to the composer Edvard Mirzoyan on February 16th, 1969, he wrote that people were starting to forget about him. He continued:

Armenia – my fatherland! People – yes! They always raised me and loved me. I never thought so much about myself as an Armenian as I do now. (Khachaturian 1983: 128)

This brings us to another important aspect in Khachaturian's self-image – the importance of being publicly received as an Armenian. This becomes evident in many cases. For example in 1973, he sent an angry letter¹⁶ to the Lebanese-Armenian newspaper *Azdaq* that had published an article in which the author claimed that Khachaturian called himself a Russian composer. The composer also argued that his music was deeply rooted in Armenian folk music and pointed to Komitas and Spendiaryan as his teachers. He listed his visits and longer stays in Armenia, his honorific titles, how exactly he had participated in Armenian music life, and the fact that there is even a street in Yerevan bearing his name. (Khachaturian 1980: 139–141)

Armenian musicological literature resonates with those attitudes of the composer himself. Khachaturian's Armenianness is an important aspect of the discourse and is taken for granted. For example, Tigranov claimed that Khachaturian

⁸ A letter to M[argarit] Arutiunian in July 1970 (Khachaturian 1983: 136).

⁹ Article published in *Sovetskaya Muzyka*, No. 6, in 1973 (Khachaturian 1980: 110).

¹⁰ Kara Karayev (1918–1982) – a prominent Azerbaijani composer.

¹¹ Letter to M[argarit] Arutiunian dated July 4th, 1959 (Khachaturian 1983: 79).

¹² Letter to G[eorgii] Tigranov dated October 23th, 1970 (Khachaturian 2003: 41).

¹³ Letter to G[evork] A. Ovanesyan, August 1949 (Khachaturian 1983: 37–38).

¹⁴ Letter to editorial board of newspaper *Azdaq*, Lebanon, dated August 27th, 1973 (Khachaturian 1983: 37–38).

¹⁵ Article published in *Sovetskaya Muzyka*, No. 11, in 1950 (Khachaturian 1980: 347–348).

¹⁶ Letter to the editorial board of newspaper *Azdaq*, Lebanon, dated August 27th, 1973 (Khachaturian 1980: 139–141).

would remain a son of his people forever, and that he had retained blood bond with Soviet Armenia (Tigranov 1978: 6) despite the fact that Khachaturian never lived in Armenia. Just as in Khachaturian self-representations, approaches to his music in the writings of Armenian musicologists are not limited to specifically Armenian features, but also deal with Soviet Caucasian and Eastern characteristics in general. Often, Armenianness and Easternness are considered under the same subject. All the writers relate Khachaturian's music to the experience of Transcaucasia, which they see as something genetic, inherited together with blood, existent already in his early compositions. Arutyunov, for example, claims that the bright, creative individualism of the composer is vitally connected with the musical culture of the Transcaucasia (Arutyunov 1983: 19). Yuzefovich says that Khachaturian brought into European music the improvisatory nature of Eastern music as well as Eastern rhythmic combinations and patterns (Yuzefovich 1990: 277–279). Broadly speaking, Khachaturian is presented as “the synthesizer of Eastern traditions and European music” (Arutyunov 1983: 9). According to Arutyunov, on a worldwide scale Khachaturian represented not only Armenian music but also Transcaucasian, Central Asian, and Middle Eastern musical cultures as a huge compound cultural area:

With his output, embodying in itself the principles of large-scale symphonism, he had a strong, even determining impact on the formation of the Armenian Soviet school of musical composition, on the directions and speed of its development; his artistic experience generated original interpretations in the works of many composers of the national republics of our country and abroad. The oeuvre of Khachaturian set a model for expressing the most significant patterns and tendencies characterising Eastern music in general. (Arutyunov 1983: 3)

In this way, the versatile nature of Khachaturian's reception becomes apparent. It does not make much sense to discuss whether he is a more generally Oriental or specifically Armenian

composer – the shift of focus in the discourse may change within the same paragraph. Such a multifaceted reception is supported by Khachaturian's self-representations, intrinsically connected to each other, one relying on another and vice versa. The concept of Armenianness is supported by some arguments, at least – in the examples in the following sections we shall see how it is related to *ashugh* art, for example. The concept of Soviet Oriental, however, does not find too much theoretical support. It is likely that it is used as an expression covering an enormous geographical area, from Central Asia to Caucasus. These claims usually rely on essentialist rather than well-developed arguments. It is also interesting to note that whether the book was written in the 1950s or the 1980s, the judgements about Khachaturian have remained the same, regardless of different cultural-political background of the authors.

Although Khachaturian's patriotic sentiments with regard to Armenia are evident from the above, when reading his letters it is sometimes hard to distinguish which national elements in music are important to him – whether Georgian, Armenian, or Azeri. Indeed, he often travelled to Armenia, even lived there occasionally, collected folk tunes, met with people (Shneerson 1958: 29) and wrote about his experiences in many letters. Nonetheless, he repeatedly expresses his wider ambition to research several national musical cultures living side by side: Georgians and Armenians, Armenians and Azerbaijanis, and so on.¹⁷

Khachaturian also said that although he does not reject the method of quoting authentic folk melodies, he prefers “the method of the courageous and free implementation of folk tune elements, through the will of the artist in the development of a composition”,¹⁸ thus presenting himself as a Russian Orientalist, i.e., a Western composer. He also deconstructs the romantic approach concerning the Oriental aspect of his music, which shows that he was acutely aware of creating a myth around himself and of his exploitation of Armenian exoticism from the Western point of view. Many examples of such an attitude may be given here. For example, in his letter to art historian Viktor Vanslov he says:

¹⁷ Article published in *Kul'tura i zhizn'*, No. 6, in 1971 (Khachaturian 1980: 28).

¹⁸ Published in *Kul'tura i zhizn'*, No. 6, in 1971 (Khachaturian 1980: 26).

Here's how they write about me: *ashugh, gussan*,¹⁹ Southern temperament, folk rhythms! I do not deny all of this, but this is all just a smokescreen, an opportunity for my fantasy, opportunity – sorry for not being humble – for my creation.²⁰

In a letter to writer A[lexandr] Y. Gayamov, he also clearly positions himself into the West by declaring himself as European Armenian:

As much as I toss between different musical languages, I still stay Armenian, but European Armenian, Armenian who, together with others, forces Europe and the whole world to listen to our music. (Yuzefovich 1990: 268)

Another example from a letter to film director Armen Gulakyan shows his full awareness of the creation of new trend:

At the moment, the process of development and formation of the Armenian national musical school is taking place. Works in multifaceted volumes will be written about our epoch. I consider myself as an active builder of the new Armenian music culture.²¹

Khachaturian emphasised many times the importance of creating new Armenian music in the Western sense. He continued the Armenian-Russian school that was born in the 19th century during the period of national awakening. We should note that the role models of the composers such as painter Martiros Saryan, writer Avetik Isahakyan and many others also originated from that period.²² Khachaturian, after all, had a strong Moscow identity that can be seen not only in his music but also in his letters.²³ For example, he always encourages Caucasian composers to study in Moscow, and in his letter to musicologist Tigranov he shows concern about the research conducted about him in Leningrad:

Most of all I am worried that the book is written in Leningrad. You ask why? Because it seems that *leningradtsy* are not fully objective towards *moskvichy*, especially concerning me.²⁴

This all reflects his ambivalent position between different cultures and his awareness of the main differences between the cultures he wanted to represent.

4.2 The Song-Poem (In honour of *ashughs*) for violin and piano by Aram Khachaturian as an example of threefold national narrative

Concerning the national (i.e., Oriental) element in Khachaturian's music, the discussion usually focuses on his ballet *Gayane*, in which many quotations from different Eastern nations' folk tunes can be recognised. However, Khachaturian composed many pieces both interesting and intriguing from the standpoint of Armenianness.

As a little considered example, the musicological reception of the composition entitled *The Song-Poem (In honour of ashughs)* (*Pesnya-poema, v chest ashugov*) for piano and violin will be presented here. The piece is from his early period, written in 1929 while studying at the conservatory, and is considered to be one of his best early works (Yuzefovich 1990: 46). *The Song-Poem* was first performed in 1929 by the violinist A[vet] Ter-Gabrielyan, while the pianist's name is not mentioned (Shneerson 1958: 17). The end of the 1920s was the time Khachaturian later counted as his starting point as a composer.²⁵ In his letters, he does not write very much about his compositions, although sometimes he gives instructions for performances. He mentions what is probably this piece in a letter to composer Aro Stepanyan (May 7th 1929), in which he expresses delight that Stepanyan liked the [new] piece (Khachaturian 1983: 9). Shortly before that, on 23rd Novem-

¹⁹ *Gussan* – narrator, singer, instrumentalist, dancer and actor in one. Tradition dates back to sources from the 5th century.

²⁰ Letter to Viktor Vanslov dated July 30, 1977 (Khachaturian 2003: 44).

²¹ Letter to Armen Gulakyan dated March 2th, 1953 (Khachaturian 1980: 63).

²² Article published in *Kommunist* (Yerevan) on October 15th, 1954 (Khachaturian 1980: 357).

²³ For example, in a letter to E[dgar] S. Oganesyanyan of July 21st 1950, where he says that he is a *Gnesinets* and has to be attentive and faithful to them. He also mentions occasionally the importance of the Gnessin Institute to him, for example in *Sovetskaya Kul'tura*, March 17th, 1962 (Khachaturian 1980: 169).

²⁴ Letter to G[eorgii] Tigranov dated October 23rd, 1970 (Khachaturian 2003: 40–41).

²⁵ Article published in *Kul'tura i zhizn'*, No. 6, in 1971 (Khachaturian 1980: 10–11).

ber, 1928, he had mentioned in another letter to Stepanyan that he was writing a small piece for piano and violin, which was probably *The Song-Poem* (Khachaturian 1983: 8).

There are certain common traits in the reception of *The Song-Poem*. The most common tendency is to link it not only with specifically Armenian but also with Transcaucasian experience in a wider sense. The composition is highlighted as one of the best examples of Armenianness and Orientalism among Khachaturian's early works. For example, Tigranov says that instrumental works from this period are characterised by the influences of different branches of Eastern music (songs, dances, *ashugh* art) together with the rich, creative experience of European, primarily Russian composers (Tigranov 1978: 27). He also claims that in this and other pieces from the same period, an Oriental foundation meets not only the traditions of Russian classical music but also elements of the French impressionism of Ravel (Tigranov 1978: 30). Thus, two different, even contradictory narratives – global and local – appear together here. The first, local one emphasises specificity, whereas the second, global one does exactly the opposite, speaking in general terms; this brings together a vast area with very different music cultures from Central Asia and Caucasus to Europe.

Secondly, all the Armenian musicologists referred to draw links between *ashugh* art²⁶ and *The Song-Poem*. For example, musicologist Shneerson explains this connection with such traits as poeticism, lyrical pathos, and developments in the manner of free improvisation. He also draws attention to the piece's subheading, calls it grandiose, rhythmically rich, and improvisational, and quotes musicologist G[eorgii] Hubov who called the piece a "concert transcription of *ashugh* art":

Similarly to the *ashugh*, who reaches emotional culmination with his storytelling while starting to sing, in "Song-poem," from the recitative introduction, the melody is born and widely developed, and accompanied by ex-

pressive subsidiary voices and rhythmical patterns. (Shneerson 1958: 17)

Musicologist Arutyunov also finds that *ashugh* art – which was still vital in those times in the South Caucasus – had the biggest impact on Khachaturian's style. He attributes its influence on Khachaturian's style to its synthetic nature where different national folk elements meet: aesthetic comprehension of a certain spirituality, traditions of Armenian nationality, a certain imagery of emotionality, certain types of themes and methods of musical thinking, principles of using folklore, an elevated and enthusiastic or touching and passionate nature, lyricism in certain emotional and psychological shapes (Arutyunov 1983: 12). *The Song-Poem* is, according to him, one of the most typical examples of Khachaturian's compositional style being influenced by *ashugh* art (Arutyunov 1983: 19–20). He adds that Khachaturian could sing *The Song-Poem*'s theme as an *ashugh* in a moment of inspiration (Arutyunov 1983: 345). Thus, as one can see, the connection with *ashugh* music is not made very analytically.

As far as its music is concerned, authors point to the fact that *The Song-Poem* is freely improvisational, rhythmically diverse, with expressive subsidiary voices, etc. The composition is also praised for its original harmonic language and for its wide-ranging violin part. (Shneerson 1958: 14–17) Thus, although music-related links are made, the terms are all quite obscure; in any case it is not easy to measure whether all these features indicate the influence of *ashugh* art which, in fact, is highly improvisational and enjoys rich rhythmic diversity. However, such features might also be seen merely as the compositional principles of Russian Orientalism or French impressionism, which exhibit similar characteristics. At the same time, in conceptual terms the idea of *ashugh* art fits very well with Khachaturian's personal story – the musician of Armenian origin from Georgia living in Russia links well with the notion of musician travelling throughout Caucasia and the Middle East. *Ashughs* fit in very well with this narrative, as

²⁶ In the 17th and 18th centuries, the art of *ashugh* spread across Caucasia, also Armenia. The name *ashugh* appears in many languages and comes from Arabic, meaning 'in love' (Pahlevanian, 20.03.2015). The tradition included narrators, singers, and instrumentalists. *Ashugh* art was mostly based on the poetic formulas of Middle Eastern literature: it had much in common with Azeri *mughams*, and Persian and Arabian *maqams*, and it was often performed to the same audience (Kushnarev 1958: 240–258; Pahlevanyan 2005: 33–34; Atayan 1965: 26–52).

they were symbols of Armenia and Transcaucasia in one – they existed both among Armenians but also among Azeris, Persians, and others.

It is not only musicologists who exploit the idea of *ashughs*: Khachaturian himself does it, too. In his letters he wrote a lot about Armenianness and *ashugh* art in general, especially about the latter. From year to year he returns to the *ashugh* topic, whether he seeks inspiration for some composition or dreams about creating an opera about the Armenian-origin *ashugh* Sayat Nova, who was the most famous in the whole of the Middle East,²⁷ or envies and praises his friend, composer Alexander Arutiunian, for writing just such an opera (*Sayat Nova*, 1967). Khachaturian also mentions, in his letter to Arutiunian, that “you shall know that the topic Sayat Nova was meant for me.”²⁸

Another common tendency is to compare the harmony of the piece with the original sound of folk instruments. All the authors emphasise that Khachaturian, with Western instruments, imitates Eastern instruments. Shneerson claims that the melody is full of rich embellishments in Eastern style, rhythmic diversity, in a mood of bright meditation. He also finds many harmonic solutions and thematic developments that remind him of the sound of the folk instruments the *tar*²⁹ and *kamancha*³⁰ (Shneerson 1958: 17). Arutyunov, too, compares it with the sounds of the folk instruments the *saz*³¹ and the *tar* (Arutyunov 1983: 144), as does Tigranov (Tigranov 1978: 29–30, 1987: 22–23). In general, here, too, the link is made more in a philosophical sense; statements tend to be made without any detailed theoretical explanation.

The composer himself also supports such link. For example, he writes that he loved very much the sound of the *tar*. He says that his passion for major and minor seconds in terms of harmonic intervals comes from listening to the trios of *sazandars* playing the folk instruments *tar*, *kamancha*, and *buben*,³² during his childhood, where seconds were aesthetically valued.³³ That

seconds and fourths were so dear to the composer is also the reason why *The Song-Poem* is believed to imitate folk ensembles (Arutyunov 1983: 151, 327). Armenian musicologists consider seconds – which became so popular in the 20th century – common to Georgian folk songs, and according to Yuzefovich this was Khachaturian’s contribution to 20th-century music in the context of the Soviet East (Yuzefovich 1990: 276). However, seconds and fourths were common not only to Khachaturian but also to French impressionists from the turn of the 19th and 20th century.

Conclusion

A picture unfolds of a composer who was very aware of his ideological position, actively constructed himself as a symbol of Armenianness and took part in his own myth-creation. At the same time, he contributed to the creation of the Armenian music school in the sense of national romanticism and 19th century Russian Orientalism. For this, he constantly emphasised his Armenianness and constructed discourses about it. He did not limit himself, however, to Armenianness, but also constructed himself more broadly as an exponent of Soviet Oriental composers. For this, he used significant symbols, such as *ashughs*. All these narratives are reflected not only in Khachaturian’s own writings and interviews but also in his reception by Armenian musicologists, who have embraced all the narratives about him. Nowadays, it remains rather unclear how much Khachaturian – in addition to what was contained in his compositions – consciously contributed to constructing the myth about himself as an Armenian and/or Oriental composer, or whether he merely adapted to his reception. One can assume that it was a symbiosis of both, as comments in his letters reveal that he was very aware of the ideological aspects of his music.

Right up until the present, in Armenian history constructions we often see how the antiquity and the originality of the culture are emphasized. At

²⁷ Letter to A. Danielyan dated January 3rd, 1940 (Khachaturian 1983: 23).

²⁸ Letter to A[leksandr] Arutiunian dated December 20th, 1969 (Khachaturian 2003: 38, 146–147).

²⁹ Plucked string folk instrument.

³⁰ Bowed string folk instrument.

³¹ Plucked string folk instrument.

³² Folk instrument similar to tambourine.

³³ Published in *Kul'tura i zhizn'*, No. 6, in 1971 (Khachaturian 1980: 9–30; see also Shneerson 1958: 21).

the same time, a self-image through a Western paradigm, which usually means Russia, is constructed. It is common for Armenians to identify themselves through Russian reflections, as in texts written by Valery Bryusov and Osip Mandelstam, but also through music by composers who helped to position Armenian culture clearly in the West such as Khachaturian. Many of Ar-

menians remain attached to historical narratives that support the Western, i.e. Russian Orientalist self-image, which fitted in very well with Soviet cultural policy. As they also want to preserve their canonic Armenian identity construction, they also emphasise their originality and exoticism, and the threefold narrative of Khachaturian is a good example here.

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Rahvusliku identiteedi konstrueerimine muusikas: juhtumiuuring Aram Hatšaturjanist

Brigitta Davidjants

Käesolevas artiklis vaadeldakse rahvusliku identiteedi konstrueerimist muusikas Aram Hatšaturjani (1903–1978) näitel. Aram Hatšaturjani käsitlustele on omane etnilise aspekti seostamine loominguga, mida peetakse armeenia muusikakunsti iseloomulikumaks näiteks. Ometi on tema teosed hästi tõlgendatavad ka orientalse ja vene klassikalise muusika näidetena. Seetõttu analüüsitakse Hatšaturjani autorina kolmest perspektiivist: rahvusest tulenevalt spetsiifiliselt armeenia heliloojana, Lõuna-Kaukaasia päritolu tõttu üldiselt orientalse heliloojana, kes ammutas inspiratsiooni Lõuna-Kaukaasia kultuuridest, ning oma hariduse ja hilisema elukäigu tõttu Moskvast vene heliloojana.

Artiklis kombineeritakse uurimismeetodina diskursuse- ja muusikaretseptiooni analüüsi. Kesken-
dutakse Hatšaturjani retseptioonile armeenia muusikateaduslikus kirjanduses vahemikus 1959–1990 (Šneerson (Shneerson) 1958; Tigranov 1978; Arutjunov (Arutyunov) 1983). Käsitletakse ka helilooja enda kirjutisi, esmajoones kirju muusikateadlastele ja ajaleheartikleid vahemikust 1959–1990. Lõpuks vaadeldakse lühidalt „Laul-poeemi (ašuugide auks)” (viilule ja klaverile, 1929) retseptiooni.

Hatšaturjani problemaatika konteksti moodustab Armeenia enesekuvand, mille kohaselt paigutub riik Ida-Lääne piirile, sest on ristiusulise maana ümbritsetud valdavalt moslemitest ning kannatanud seetõttu mitmete pogrommide all. Pogrommide, täpsemalt 1915. aasta genotsiidi ja kristliku usutunnistuse tõttu ei soovigi armeenlased näha end osana Lähis-Ida kultuuriruumist, vaid rõhutavad Lääne elemente oma kultuuris ning paigutavad end Euroopa kultuuriruumi.

Retrospektiivis toimis armeenlaste jaoks aknana Läände just Venemaa, nii Vene impeeriumi kui ka hiljem Nõukogude Liidu koosseisus. Koloniseerija ja koloniseeritava suhet iseloomustab ambivalentsus. See on omane ka armeenlaste (kultuuri)suhtele Venemaaga. Vene heliloojate loomingus ilmnes juba 19. sajandil hulgaliselt muusikalisi klišeesisid, millega vihjati Kaukaasiale. Hiljem võtsid armeenia heliloojad ise need klišeed oma loomingus üle, kujutades nende abil Armeeniat ja armeeniapärasust.

Hatšaturjani muusika retseptiooni ja kirjutiste analüüsimise tulemusel kujuneb pilt heliloojast, kes oli igati teadlik oma ideoloogilisest positsioonist, konstrueeris aktiivselt endast Armeenia sümbolit ning lõi aktiivselt kaasa enda müüdi loomes. Samal ajal panustas ta armeenia rahvusliku koolkonna loomisse 19. sajandi vene orientalsismi ja rahvusromantika vaimus. Oma loomingus ja kirjutistes ei piiranud ta end vaid armeenlaslikkusega, vaid esitles end laiemalt nõukogude Ida heliloojana. Ühtlasi ilmneb tema kirjutistes tugev vene helilooja, täpsemalt Moskva identiteet. Kõik need narratiivid kajastuvad peale tema enda kirjutiste ka armeenia muusikateadlaste retseptioonis, kes on need internaliseerinud.

Linearity in Music

Mart Humal

Abstract

The aim of this article is to discuss the relationship between polyphonic music and linearity. This will be regarded in the case of both harmonic and non-harmonic polyphony. To designate a melodic design, the notion of “line” was not used before the early 20th century, when it was introduced by the Austrian musicologist Ernst Kurth. Kurth’s notion of linear counterpoint has been frequently interpreted as the opposite of harmonic counterpoint. Kurth’s contemporary Austrian music theorist Heinrich Schenker, like Kurth himself, developed his theoretical system as a response to previous harmonically oriented interpretations of music. But whereas Kurth usually discusses linearity apart from harmony, Schenker regarded melodic motion as determined by harmony. During the 1920s and 1930s, linearity was one of the most fashionable terms in European, as well as Estonian, musical literature. This term was often used to designate non-harmonic polyphony. In Estonian music, it was used, first of all, to characterize the first two string quartets by Heino Eller (1887–1970). The problems arising from the analysis of such music will be illustrated by discussing Eller’s piano prelude in G minor (1920), which can be regarded as a typical example of “linear counterpoint” or “linear harmony”.

In section 1.2 (“What is Linear Music?”) of Urve Lippus’s dissertation *Linear Musical Thinking*, she wrote as follows:

It is difficult to find a good adjective to denote the principal difference between melodies with harmonic structure and earlier monophonic melodies. [...] It seems to me that the word “linear” is best used to characterize early European monophonic music, as well as other monophonic styles, in which implications of an underlying harmony are absent. In harmonic music all the notes of the melody also have some relations to underlying harmonies, whether or not those harmonies are actually sounded. (Lippus 1995: 10)

It is obvious that she meant by linear music, first of all, linear monophony which can be divided primarily into harmonic and non-harmonic monophony. Whereas the meaning of the latter is quite self-evident, that of the term “linear monophony” is more contextual. In this connection, a question suggests itself: what is the relationship between *polyphonic* music and linearity? The aim of this study is to discuss this question.

1. Harmonic Polyphony

In the *New Grove Dictionary*, the word “linear” is explained as follows:

Linear. Characterized by conjunct motion in a given part; thus one of the chief characteristics of the musical texture commonly called “counterpoint”. The expression “linear counterpoint”, a literal translation of a term introduced by Ernst Kurth in his *Grundlagen des linearen Kontrapunkts* [...], is strictly speaking a tautology; however, it remains useful as a means of emphasizing the melodic or “horizontal” aspect of counterpoint as opposed to the harmonic or “vertical.” (Rushton 2001: 721)

The monograph *Grundlagen des linearen Kontrapunkts* by the Austrian musicologist Ernst Kurth (1886–1946) is a deep and original study of Johann Sebastian Bach’s counterpoint, as well as that of the “free style” in general. To designate a melodic design, the notion of “line” was not used before the early 20th century. According to Lee A. Rothfarb, the psychologist-aesthetician Theodor Lipps (*Ästhetik*, 1903) “called on melody to exemplify continuity in his idea of ‘line’” (Rothfarb 1988:

13). Moreover, Kurth's "idealization of melody is a reaction to previous harmonic oversimplification of music. The very title of his counterpoint book [...] is clearly a polemical response to theories of his predecessors" (*Ibid.*, 31).

According to Rothfarb, Kurth

does not mean melody in the ordinary sense of *tune*, but rather in the primal sense of *tonal stream*. [...] Melodic "line", "linear motion", and above all, "linear counterpoint" are all concepts that would have been better understood and less often misrepresented had they been taken in the sense of primitive tonal stream (*Ibid.*, 13–14).

In his subsequent study *Romantische Harmonik und ihre Krise in Wagners "Tristan"*, Kurth described the melodic line as "the first projection of the will onto 'matter'", as "the boundary where the creative will and its reflection in sonorous expression make contact and conjoin", and where "the mysterious transition of tension into sounds, outwards from within, occurs" (Kurth 1920: 5, partially translated in Rothfarb 1988: 15).

The main principles of Kurth's musical philosophy have been outlined in the essay "On the essence of music as an art" by the Estonian musicologist Karl Leichter. He wrote, in particular:

The main characteristic of rhythm as the most primitive expression of the psychic tension is *motion*. [...] The primary process bearing a sonorous tension finds its indigenous form in the phenomenon of the *melodic line*. The content, as if emanating through each melody and through each of its tones, is thus a certain force of psychic tension, a certain *energy*. This energy consists in the *kinetic impulse* which is the bearer of the most diverse effects of melody. This driving force is the subconscious primary cause of all melodic phenomena. (Leichter 1935: 7)

Kurth's notion of linear counterpoint has been frequently interpreted as the opposite of *harmonic counterpoint*. This notion was used, for instance, when speaking about contrapuntal theory of the Baroque era. In the context of 17th-century French music theory, it is described by Wilhelm Seidel as follows:

The goal of the contrapuntal structure is [...] harmony. [...] As before, two-part structure

plays an important role in the theory of counterpoint. But, rather than being the embodiment (*Inbegriff*) of the art of composition, it is only a framework, in which the harmonic structure will be adjusted. This harmonic structure [...] has at least three voices. (Seidel 1986: 95)

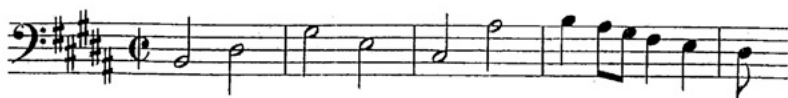
According to Carl Dahlhaus, there is no ground to regard linear and harmonic counterpoint as opposites:

Ernst Kurth's thesis that "chord" in Bach's "linear counterpoint" is a result of voice leading, not a prerequisite to it, still does not exclude the possibility that the degree or function a chord represents is predetermined by a harmonic plan. The individual chord may appear as the pure result of voice leading precisely because the general schema of a degree of functional progression can leave the particular form of a chord undecided [...]. Thus, instead of being mutually exclusive opposites, the concepts of linear and harmonic counterpoint complement each other. (Dahlhaus 1990: 69)

The same idea was expressed by Kurth himself in the preface to the third edition of *Grundlagen*: "[N]ot a weakening of harmonic effects is intended but rather a supplementary infiltration of them with the polyphonic-melodic element." As a result, the linear counterpoint itself becomes harmonic. "They by no means contradict, but rather mutually complement each other" (Kurth 1996: XIV, partially translated in Rothfarb 1988: 32).

Harmonic and linear counterpoint are thus two different aspects of one and the same phenomenon. This phenomenon itself – harmonic polyphony – underlies all classical music in the broadest sense of the word (including also that of the Baroque and Romantic eras). Imagining the structure of classical music in the form of a pyramid, with counterpoint as its foundation, harmony as its middle and form as its top (in which the lower stages are directed by the higher ones and are functionally subordinate to them; see Humal 2008: 93), it becomes clear that counterpoint in the era of functional harmony (including that of Bach) cannot be anything else than harmonic counterpoint.

Kurth's contemporary Austrian music theorist Heinrich Schenker (1868–1935), like Kurth himself, developed his theoretical system as a response to

Example 1. Bach, Fugue in B major (WTK II), bars 1–5.**Example 2.** Schenker's analysis of Example 1.**Example 3.** An alternative contrapuntal analysis of Example 1.

previous harmonically oriented interpretations of music. But whereas Kurth “generally concentrates on linear details apart from harmony” (Rothfarb 1988: 78), Schenker regarded melodic motion as “more than motion pure and simple” – as “motion from somewhere to somewhere else, and these places are defined by the structural harmonies” (Cook 2007: 263).

The difference between Kurth’s and Schenker’s analytical methods can be illustrated by the analysis of the theme of Bach’s Fugue in B major (WTK II; Example 1) by the two theorists. Kurth characterised this theme as follows:

The formal sense of this theme lies in its steep and precipitous, upwardly directed energy of motion, [...] driving upward to the octave above the starting tone, B. The energy [...] which presses forward to this apex note in a twice-enacted impulse, thus acquires [...] such a concentration of melodic intensity [...] that the abrupt discharge into the apex of the theme seems to radiate like a gleaming summit. (Kurth 1996: 45, translated in Snarrenberg 1997: 136)

Example 2 presents Schenker’s three-level graphic analysis of the same theme (Schenker

1925: 97). Whereas Kurth’s analysis is restricted to a description of its melodic design (ascending in the form of two waves), Schenker interprets it as an *Auskomponierung*, in the form of three ascending parallel sixth chords, of the B-major triad making up its background (Example 2a), thus revealing its polyphonic structure (Example 2b, middleground). In the foreground (Example 2c), the slurs connecting three or two notes (B–D sharp–G sharp, G sharp–E–C sharp, and C sharp–A sharp) show the melodic motion. The middleground graph (Example 2b) shows two ascending progressions: the third-progression B–C sharp–D sharp in the lower voice and the fourth-progression F sharp–G sharp–A sharp–B in the upper voice.

Example 3 presents an alternative contrapuntal analysis of this theme, based on the analytic theory of harmonic counterpoint, outlined in Humal 2011 (the harmonic counterpoint being understood as the counterpoint made up by the melodic patterns of individual voices within chord progressions). Whereas neighbour-note figures and third-progressions constitute the lowest, elementary level of harmonic counterpoint, the fourth-progressions (such as that which occurs in the upper voice during the first four bars

of this theme) are not elementary events, but rather melodic lines consisting of two elementary events (here – of the upper-neighbour figure F sharp–G sharp–F sharp and the lower-level third-progression G sharp–A sharp–B, ascending from its second tone).

Although Schenkerian analysis is frequently defined as *Schichtenlehre* (hierarchical, multi-level analysis) or *Stimmführungsanalyse* (voice-leading analysis), the combination of third- and fourth-progressions in Example 2 (similar to that of the three-tone *Baßbrechung* and the five-tone *Urlinie* in the *Ursatz* with a five-line), as a high-level structure, excludes a strict hierarchy of levels. As I noted in Humal 2011, the matter of traditional Schenkerian analysis is the counterpoint of lines, rather than that of voices. Elsewhere, I have defined it as *pan-contrapunctistic analysis* (Humal 2016: 120), because in it non-contrapuntal parameters are absorbed by counterpoint (see, for examples, the aforementioned three slurs in Example 2c).

Despite the profound differences between Kurth and Schenker, in analysing the music of the era of harmonic counterpoint both theorists one-sidedly emphasise its horizontal dimension. Whereas Kurth himself defines the object of his analysis as the linear counterpoint, the counterpoint of lines analysed by Schenker can be labelled as such to a still higher degree. In both cases this results from the analyst's interpretation, rather than from the music itself.

2. Non-Harmonic Polyphony

In the preface to the third edition of *Grundlagen*, Kurth complains: "[T]he expression 'linear counterpoint' was unscrupulously misused to cover a harmony-free, experimental patchwork of tone lines in new harmonic realms, and employed for all kinds of experiments in 'absolute' or ruthless counterpoint, unconcerned with any harmony" (Kurth 1996: XIII, partially translated in Rothfarb 1988: 233, Note 32).

Another of Kurth's famous contemporaries, Arnold Schoenberg (1874–1951), although admitting that he had not read Kurth, twice recorded his opinion about linear counterpoint and linear polyphony. For example, in 1931 he wrote that to be linear, "parts ought to be independent of each other even in their harmonic relationship. [...] So by 'linear' one can imagine a number of parts, each of which has its own development, and none

of which worries in any way about the others" (Arnold Schoenberg, "Linear Counterpoint", 1931, in Schoenberg 1975: 291–292). In the same context, Schoenberg noted that Paul Hindemith's and Ernst Křenek's "unconcern [of harmony] bears witness to a disturbing lack of responsibility" (*Ibid.*, 294). Much more hostile towards linearity were the Soviet critics of "formalism":

"Linearity" in music is an apology for an abstract geometrical motion of tones, this motion being turned into an end in itself. [...] In these two works [Eller's first two string quartets] which have no principles or ideas, each musician, in the proper sense of the word, is playing without any attention paid to others (Milovski 1950).

During the 1920s and 1930s, linearity was indeed one of the fashionable terms in European (as well as Estonian) musical literature. This term was used in very different senses. Whereas Kurth understood it as the dynamic of melodic lines, and Schoenberg as the harmonic independence of parts, this word was also frequently used simply to designate the thematic equivalence and independent development of different instrumental parts, as, for example, by the Estonian composer Heino Eller (1887–1970), in the following statement: "In the chamber music, it is an idea (theme), the ways of its development, various nuances and modifications that I am interested in above all. [...] Besides that, of course, form as such and an absolute independence of parts (linearity) [...]" (Heino Eller to Adolf Vedro, Febr. 11, 1933, published in Humal 1987: 107).

On the other hand, this term was very often used to designate *non-harmonic polyphony*. In Estonian music of the 1920s and 1930s, it was used, first of all, to characterise Eller's first two string quartets. His First Quartet (1925) is described by the critic and composer Riho Päts as follows:

Here Heino Eller demonstrates one of the highest degrees of his mastery, probably using, for the first time in Estonian music, an independently linear manner of composition in such a pure form. Eller's contrapuntal lines, in which ingenious ideas are developed, in spite of being very independent, are nevertheless integrated into an organic whole, making this quartet a surprisingly monolithic work (Päts 1932: 145).

Example 4. Eller, Piano prelude in G minor, bars 1–4.

Grave ($\text{♩} = 42$)

The score consists of two systems. The first system contains bars 1 and 2. The second system contains bars 3 and 4. The right hand (treble clef) starts with a piano (*pp*) dynamic and a 'tetro' (tetrachord) in bar 1. The left hand (bass clef) has a bass line with a crescendo (*cresc.*) in bar 3 and a mezzo-piano (*mp*) section in bar 4. The right hand has a melodic line with a triplet in bar 3.

Example 5.

- a) A hypothetical version of Example 4, bar 1.
- b) Another hypothetical version of Example 4, bar 1.
- c) Example 4, interpreted as a three-part canon.

a)

b)

c)

The three-part canon (c) shows the original material in the right hand, a first canon in the left hand, and a second canon in the right hand. The first canon is a half note later than the original, and the second canon is a full note later. The tempo is marked Grave with a tempo of quarter note = 42.

Other authors used in this connection such expressions as “linearity” (Eduard Oja on Eller’s Second Quartet; Oja 1937), “linearly developed counterpoint” (Olav Roots on Eller’s First Quartet; Roots 1938: 59) or “a striving for a linear polyphony” (Leo Normet on Eller’s First Quartet; Normet 1967).

Example 4 – the first four bars of Eller’s piano prelude in G minor (Book II, 1920, No. 7) – illustrates the problems arising from the analysis of such music. In the first three bars, a varied chord progression is stated three times. In terms of traditional theory, it consists of four seventh chords of different structure in different inversions, each having four tones without doublings. The outer voices, taken separately, seem to belong to different keys. The bass figure can support a Phrygian tetrachord in G minor (Example 5a), and the upper voice is identical to the beginning of the main theme of the finale of Mozart’s “Jupiter” Symphony, transposed down a twelfth (Example 5b). The middle voices are obviously based on an ascending chromatic scale (to avoid doublings, the second tone of the second voice, which ought to be D, is replaced by E). The structure as a whole can be interpreted as a three-part canon in unison, two of its three voices passing through an entire ascending octave during the four bars (Example 5c).

Due to the dissonant verticals and tonal ambiguity of outer voices, the harmony seems to be based on this consistent chromatically ascending motion in the middle voices, which can be labelled as chromatic linearity. In addition, present here are all the characteristics enumerated

by Schoenberg in the last chapter (“Aesthetic Evaluation of Chords with Six or More Tones”) of his *Theory of Harmony* when speaking about dissonant chords:

It seems that the progression of such chords can be justified by the chromatic scale. The chord progression seems to be regulated by the tendency to include in the second chord tones that were missing in the first, generally those a half step higher or lower. [...] Then, I have noticed that tone doublings, octaves, seldom appear. The explanation for that is, perhaps, that the tone doubled would acquire a predominance over the others and would thereby turn into a kind of root, which it should scarcely be. [...] For the same reason, apparently, the simple chords of the earlier harmony do not appear successfully in this environment. (Schoenberg 1978: 420)

Although Kurth claimed that “linearity has nothing to do with atonality” (Kurth 1996: XIII), and Schoenberg characterised the notion of linear counterpoint as “a contradiction in terms” (Schoenberg 1975: 296), it seems nevertheless that it is for the characterisation of music such as this prelude by Heino Eller where the notions “linear counterpoint” or “linear polyphony” can be used most convincingly.

In conclusion, we can say that, on the whole, polyphonic music, similarly to monophonic music, may indeed be divided into harmonic and non-harmonic polyphony, the latter having, at least in certain cases, a character that can be qualified as linear.

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Lineaarsusest muusikas

Mart Humal

Väitekirja „Lineaarne muusikaline mõtlemine” („Linear Musical Thinking”) alapeatükis 1.2 „Mis on lineaarne muusika” kirjutab Urve Lippus: „Mulle näib, et euroopa varast ühehäälsset muusikat, nagu ka teisi ühehäälsed stiile, kus ei teki harmoonilisi assotsiatsioone, on kõige parem iseloomustada sõnaga „lineaarne”” (Lippus 1995: 10). Sellest tsitaadist ilmneb, et lineaarse muusika all mõtles autor eelkõige lineaarset ühehäälsust. Käesoleva artikli eesmärgiks on uurida, milline võiks olla mitmehäälsel muusika suhe lineaarsusega, kusjuures vaatluse all on nii harmooniline kui ka mitteharmooniline mitmehäälsus.

1. Harmooniline mitmehäälsus. Mõiste „liin” meloodiajoonise tähenduses tuli kasutusse alles 20. sajandi algul, eelkõige tänu Austria muusikateadlase Ernst Kurthi (1886–1946) monograafiale „Lineaarse kontrapunkti alused” („Grundlagen des linearen Kontrapunkts”, 1917; vt. Kurth 1996), mis on sügav ja uudne käsitlus Johann Sebastian Bach'i kontrapunktist ja üldse vaba stiili polüfooniast. Ernst Kurthi uurija Lee A. Rothfarbi sõnul ei käsitlenud Kurth meloodiat „mitte tavalises tähenduses kui „viisi”, vaid kui „heli-voolu” selle algses tähenduses” (Rothfarb 1988: 13).

Kurthi käsitlust lineaarsest kontrapunktist on sageli vastandatud varasemas muusikateoorias levinud harmoonilise kontrapunkti mõistele. Carl Dahlhausi arvates ei ole lineaarse ja harmoonilise kontrapunkti vastandamine põhjendatud.

Tegelikult tähendavad harmooniline ja lineaarne kontrapunkt ühe ja sama nähtuse kaht eri aspekti. Nähtus ise – harmooniline mitmehäälsus – on aga aluseks kogu klassikalisele muusikale selle sõna laiemas tähenduses (mis hõlmab ka barokk- ja romantilist muusikat).

Nagu Kurth arendas ka tema kaasaegne Austria muusikateoreetik Heinrich Schenker (1868–1935) oma teoreetilise süsteemi välja vastukaaluks varasemale harmooniakesksele muusikakäsitlusele. Ent kui Kurth vaatles lineaarsust harmooniast eraldi, siis Schenkeri arvates on meloodiline liikumine määratud harmoonia poolt.

2. Mitteharmooniline mitmehäälsus. „Lineaarse kontrapunkti aluste” kolmanda trüki eessõnas kurdab Kurth, et nimetust „lineaarne kontrapunkt” on „jõhkvalt kuritarvitatud, tähistamaks eksperimente heliliinide harmooniavaba kokkulappimisega uutes kõlasfäärides” (Kurth 1996: XIII).

20. sajandi 20. ja 30. aastail oli lineaarsus tõepoolest üks Euroopa, sealhulgas ka Eesti muusikakirjanduse moesõnu. Seejuures tarvitati seda sõna väga erinevas tähenduses. Väga sageli tähistas see sõna just mitteharmoonilist mitmehäälsust. 20. ja 30. aastate eesti muusikas kasutati seda eelkõige Elleri kahe esimese kvarteti iseloomustamiseks.

Sellise muusika analüüsil tekkivaid probleeme illustreerib näide 4 – esimesed neli takti Elleri klaveri-prelöödist *g*-moll (II vihik, nr. 7, 1920). Arvestades dissoneerivat akordikat ja äärmiste häälte tonaalset ambivalentsust, näib siin struktuuri ühtsus tuginevat just keskmiste häälte sihikindlale ühesuunalisele kromaatilisele liikumisele, mida võib põhjendatult nimetada kromaatiliseks lineaarsuseks. Tundub, et kui üldse kasutada mõistet „lineaarne kontrapunkt” või „lineaarne harmoonia”, siis eelkõige just seda laadi muusika iseloomustamiseks, nagu on kõnealune Elleri prelööd.

Favourite Children and Stepchildren: Elite and Vernacular Views of Estonian Folk Song Styles¹

Janika Oras

Abstract

Estonian song tradition could be divided into an older and a newer layer – *regilaul*, which is part of the common Baltic-Finnic oral tradition, and the newer, end-rhymed stanzaic folk song. The newer song style with two main substyles – local situational song and sentimental song – developed on the example of the poetry of the European peoples and became the dominant song style in Estonia in the second half of the 19th century, the period of Europeanisation, rapid modernisation of the agrarian society, and the emergence of the Estonian intelligentsia and the national movement. The views of the Estonian cultural elite with regard to the two song styles are compared with “vernacular” views, using as the source manuscripts that Marie Sepp (1862–1943), a singer from Kolga-Jaani parish in Central Estonia, sent to the archives.

In the discourse of the Estonian elite, *regilaul* acquired the meaning of the more valuable genre. Owing to national, aesthetic, gender-ideological and disciplinary reasons, newer songs, and particularly sentimental songs, occupied a lower position on their value scale. In the material recorded in written form by Marie Sepp, the sentimental repertoire plays a central role as an important part of nineteenth-century youth culture, offering opportunities for versatile creative self-expression, the development of youth’s agency, adaptation to the model of romantic love, and the discussion of other contemporary topics related to modernisation. Nevertheless, the preferences of the elite and “vernacular” groups reveal reciprocal influences and points of convergence, as well as a divergence of the views within the groups.

“On our way back [from the recording session], the women complained that they had been urged to sing only the old dronings [songs of older style], but these have no melody or anything. Beautiful long ballads such as *Bored in the monastery*, etc. were not sung at all. To please Charlotte and Anna, we sang these sorrowful and heart-warming ballads during our car drive to pass time.” (From the 1957 fieldwork diary of folklorist Otilie Kõiva.)²

“While songs of the older style are like the favourite children for Estonian (and Finnish) folklore researchers, the newer style folk songs are seen as stepchildren. Folklore collectors, as a rule, record them only if they have no songs of older style or other interesting folklore available; a manuscript collection of songs of mainly newer style is frowned upon ...” (Anderson 1932: 2).

Two major layers can be distinguished in the Estonian oral song tradition. The earlier oral song culture, *regilaul* or runosong, is characterised by alliteration, parallelism and special meter (the Estonian version of Kalevala meter, see Sarv 2015). Estonian *regilaul* is part of the common oral song tradition of the Baltic-Finnic peoples. In terms of music, the older tradition is characterised by linear, monophonic thinking.³ The repeated narrow-range melody of *regilaul* is comprised of one or two phrases, the rhythm depends directly on the poetic text: each of the 8 rhythmic units in a phrase corresponds to a syllable (Lippus 1995; Ross, Lehist 2001; examples: ERmA). The newer end-rhymed and stanzaic song tradition evolved during the 17th–18th centuries following European examples, and by the second half of the 19th century this had replaced *regilaul* in most parts of

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² RKM (Riiklik Kirjandusmuuseum / State Literary Museum) II 63, 103.

³ A unique multipart singing style is common in the Seto region in south-eastern Estonia.

Estonia. As was characteristic of the folk culture of modernity, the newer folk song was partly a written tradition, as it was disseminated in manuscript and printed form. The newer tradition is based on functional-harmonic thinking; the melody has a broader range and is built on stanzas, and many melodies have been borrowed from other cultures (see, for example, Korb 2014). The transition process from one song tradition to another, which has been compared to the transition of the Germanic peoples to end-rhymed song in the 10th to 14th century (Anderson 1932: 2; Rüütel 1969: 102; Sarv 2009) took place in parallel with the rapid modernisation of peasant society, Europeanisation, and the emergence of the Estonian intelligentsia and national identity.

Ever since the wider dissemination of the newer song tradition, these inherently different song styles, as well as the subcategories of both styles, have been viewed in hierarchical terms. The evaluations, which are by no means uniform across society, depend on the socio-cultural context and ideologies of the period. In the following pages I will give a brief outline of the position and significance of traditional singing styles in modernising/modernised Estonian society and explore the reasons behind the views of different social groups. First I will touch upon some of the ideological and socio-cultural contexts of the academic and authoritative knowledge about folk song produced by the cultural elite during different periods of time, from the nation-building processes in the second half of the 19th century to the present day. In contrast, the non-elitist view “from below” was gleaned from the texts written and sent to the archives between 1930 and 1940 by Marie Sepp (1862–1943), a peasant woman from central Estonia.⁴

The analysis of the texts produced by the cultural elite with regard to the newer song style could be categorised as textualist meta-anthropology, which studies the discursive aspects of cultural representation. The Estonian scholar of cultural studies Kristin Kuutma has defined this approach as reflexive cultural critique.⁵ The definition emphasises the need of a historical academic discipline for self-reflection, the wish to understand the ideas and textualisation practices that have influenced the construction of cultural knowledge – the “politics and poetics” of the era (Kuutma 2006, 2009, 2014; Kalkun 2015; Västriik 2007). In this article I will primarily focus on the “politics”, although due to the limited scope of the article, the approach inevitably remains superficial and selective.

The dialogue with the elite is discussed within the representation of the newer song style by Marie Sepp. The nearly 500-page corpus of texts by Marie Sepp consists of song lyrics and other genres of folklore, notes and recollections on their performance, autobiography, biographical information, etc. Although she wrote down the texts and sent them to the archives in the 1930s, the material represents mainly the period of active singing practices in her life, the late 19th century – the peak of the spread of the newer song style. Relying on the texts written down by Marie Sepp, I attempted to construct a possible ‘vernacular folk song theory’⁶ which would comprise views on different song styles, the meanings and role of the songs in the life of a peasant woman and her community.

Marie Sepp’s texts do not entail lengthier contemplations on the song culture. She mentions song and singing, describing different events in the village community and cultural changes re-

⁴ Marie Sepp lived in Kolga-Jaani parish. In her childhood and during her marriage she was part of the relatively poorer, minimal landowning class of peasantry; she worked as a maid, helped with fieldwork and did handicraft work at home. A recognised singer in her community, from 1906 onwards she was repeatedly asked by folklore collectors to perform folk songs for them. In 1937, her performing of *regilaul* was recorded at the national broadcasting studio in Tallinn. In the 1930s, she started to make a written record of the local folklore. The majority of her material was written down after the *regilaul* recording in Tallinn and was addressed to August Pulst at the Tallinn Theatre and Music Museum, who was one of the organisers of the recording session (see also Oras 2017).

⁵ This term is based on the theory of critical anthropology see, e.g., Clifford, Marcus 1986; Marcus, Fischer 1986; Clifford 1988; Geertz 1988.

⁶ The various aspects of the vernacular theory are studied on the basis of a wide variety of very different texts by people representing non-elite or vernacular (sub)cultures (Baker 1984; McLaughlin 1996; Kikas 2015; Valk 2014). Contemporary cultural research views vernacular theory as a method of interpretation and knowledge construction equal to academic theory. The variety of theoretical perspectives enriches the ways of interpreting cultural practices (e.g. McLaughlin 1996: 6, 165).

lated to modernisation. Some information can be found dispersed in the comments added to the song texts and in her letters to the archives. I have attempted to fuse these metatextual fragments and combine them with an impression gained from the contents, style and recontextualisation principles of the song texts. I prefer to call this subjective construction not so much Marie Sepp's theory but rather a researcher's vision of her 'folk song theory'. Referring to the concept of 'vernacular theory', in my opinion, is justified by its empowering ideological meaning – the aspiration to highlight the epistemological significance of singers' views next to the sophisticated theory of the elite.

The Estonian cultural elite's views on folk song styles

As an introduction to my analysis of the conceptualisation and assessment of the folk song by the educated elite I would like to list the main social processes in nineteenth- and twentieth-century Estonian society. In the process of modernisation throughout the 19th century, when Estonia was part of the Russian Empire, Estonians, who had previously been serfs of the Baltic German nobility, were transformed into a free, land-owning, socially stratified peasantry and a quite considerable clerisy of Estonian background. In the latter half of the century, Estonians adopted the ideas of nationalism and European cultural models, and towards the end of the century Estonian-language high culture began to emerge. All this took place in the context of the economic, political and cultural domination of the minority of Baltic German landowners and clerisy and of the Czarist Russification policy. In the 20th century, political independence was achieved after the First World War in 1918. The period of the national state ended with the Soviet annexation in 1940. The Soviet occupation of Estonia, which lasted from the Second World War until 1991, was followed by the restoration of the independent republic and multi-level integration into Europe.

The attitudes of the cultural elite to the transforming folk song reveal the hierarchical approach

to the song tradition.⁷ A hierarchical approach to the artistic creation of the lower classes, proceeding from the Herderian ideas of folk and folk poetry, is by no means a feature characteristic only of Estonia. In the context of the Estonian singing tradition, two main song styles have been compared. However, the subcategories or substyles of both the older and the newer song style have also been valued differently. The evaluations are associated with the prevailing ideology of the time, and according to the historical conceptualisation of folklore the central binary oppositions are 'old' and 'new', 'own' and 'borrowed'. These adjectival pairs are particularly closely related because of the historical development of the Estonian singing tradition – the newer style spread at such a late time that the element of borrowing both in the style itself and in the repertoire in this style were self-explanatory, common facts. Among the other contrasting features, I will briefly discuss the partly overlapping binary oppositions 'active' versus 'passive', 'masculine' versus 'feminine', 'sentimental' versus 'realistic'.

'Old', 'own' – 'new', 'borrowed'

The general background to the evaluations was first and foremost the ideas of nationalism. These were obviously central in the period of shaping the nation and national culture, but they remained important also throughout the entire 20th century, both in the context of constructing Estonian-language high culture and the nation state, and during the occupation that followed (see, for example, Annus 2016; Jansen 2004; Vunder 2001). The conscious emphasis on contrasting the 'old', 'own' and 'new', 'borrowed' emerged in Estonia in the second half of the 19th century, during the development of national awareness. Until that time, both Baltic German and the first Estonian intellectuals, influenced by the Herderian folk song ideology, had above all viewed *regilaul* as the manifestation of the people's "pure, authentic, wholesome spirit".⁸ At the same time, every song in the Estonian language could also be approached as a valuable Estonian folk song – the label of folk song could be attached to anything

⁷ Ideological views are also a determining factor in what is considered Estonian folk song (e.g., Särg 2002; Sarv 2001).

⁸ Amongst other things, the formation of assessments of Estonian folk singing was influenced by the fact that in his second volume of *Volkslieder*, Johann Gottfried Herder had published Estonian *regilaul* lyrics sent to him by August Wilhelm Hupel, who served as a pastor in Estonia (Lukas 2011; Undusk 1995).

in which the audience recognised their musical identity (Dahlhaus 1974, 1989; Sarv 2001, 2002; Särg 2002). The repertoire of songbooks or sheet music, however, was translated from, adapted from or inspired by German sources. The printed publications were in conflation with the oral tradition, as the texts migrated from printed sources to oral dissemination and vice versa and inspired local song creation. A conflict of ideological and aesthetic values could be seen here: the texts and, more particularly, the music of the *regilaul*, which represented pre-modernity, were aesthetically much more difficult to accept not only for the increasingly modernising peasantry but also for the educated elite.⁹

The increasingly active national movement labelled the repertoire of German origin negatively. According to Carl Robert Jakobson, activist of the national movement, who commissioned “own” songs from the first Estonian composers, these “foreign ornaments”, “witch’s ladders braided in foreign spirit and to foreign melodies”, should be replaced by songs created by Estonians under the guidance of “the old Estonian spiritual power” (Jakobson 1869: 7–8). Composers did, in fact, start to employ the Estonian and Finnish oral tradition, although they preferred melodies that remained within the limits of aesthetically acceptable music from the relatively newer (borrowed) tradition. Although inspiration was found in the neo-romanticist *Liedertafel*, and the compositional principles and the creations of Estonian composers do not differ greatly from the German neo-romanticist repertoire, such music fulfilled the role of national music in the final decades of the 19th century (Lippus 2002a: 62–68; Sarv 2002).

The academic approach to folklore, which emerged in the 19th century, drew a very clear line between *regilaul* and the newer song style (Bendix 1997: 45 ff.; Viidalepp 1959: 157; Tedre 2003 [1955]:

215; Valk 2004, 2014). Jakob Hurt, organiser of country-wide folklore collecting in Estonia, in his appeal and public feedback to folklore collectors steadfastly resisted archiving the newer folk song among the collections of national “old treasure” (*vanavara*). Not only did he argue that the rhymed songs popular among the general public were by no means ‘old’;¹⁰ Pastor Hurt also perceived one substyle of the newer song, the local situational or village song, as essentially distasteful because of its entertaining content and overly bold, sometimes even obscene, style (Laugaste 1963: 376; Roll 1989). The extent to how unpalatable the local village song was to a nineteenth-century educated taste shaped by bourgeois self-restraint¹¹ is shown by the reaction of newspapers to the texts in the style of village songs by Martin Sohberg, which he published at his personal expense: newspapers called the texts “smutty”, “stinking manure slurry”, “filth”, and advised that Sohberg’s books should be burnt (Tedre 1999: 11–12).

Early twentieth-century researchers embraced Jakob Hurt’s determined preference of *regilaul* – all were convinced by the special value of *regilaul* as a foundation of national culture and of the need to give it priority in folklore collecting.¹² Nevertheless, the newer folk song had also been introduced among collectible material already at the beginning of the century by Oskar Kallas, initiator of the large-scale collecting of folk music (Kallas 1921). Head of the Estonian Folklore Archives Oskar Loorits recognised the newer song style as a reflector of Estonians’ way of thinking and living (Loorits 1932: 88–89). The study of newer song was initiated by Walter Anderson, a German-born professor of folklore at the University of Tartu, who valued the ‘new’ and ‘borrowed’ song style as research material of international interest (Anderson 1932, see the opening quotation; Seljamaa 2005; Tedre 1996).

⁹ The main source for the feelings of alienation was the uniqueness of the musical thinking and performativity of *regilaul*. But also the published *regilaul* texts were adapted to the contemporary taste (Jaago 2005a; Laugaste 1963: 178, 363; Leichter 1997: 481; Lukas 2011: 678; Saarlo 2008; Tobias 1913).

¹⁰ For example, as he polemises over assigning the concept of ‘folk poetry’ (*rahvaluule*) to folklore, Hurt writes: “I consider ‘folk poetry’ a far too general name for our old treasure for the reason that the people, the folk, have poetry of more recent times, for example songs that most definitely must be called ‘folk poetry’, but which, however, do not belong among the ‘old treasure’.” (Hurt 1893).

¹¹ The realism, occasional sentimentality, vulgarity or obscenity characteristic of village song did not comply with the norms of bourgeois control, moderation and self-discipline adopted in the course of modernisation (Vunder 2008: 463–464; Frykman, Löfgren 2003).

¹² Oskar Loorits, for example, called *regilaul* “the real Estonian folk song” (“das echte estnische Volkslied”, Loorits 1932: 86).

The younger, early twentieth-century generation of intellectuals aimed to develop a national high culture of international significance, adopting the slogan “Let us be Estonians but let us also become Europeans”.¹³ The Romantic creation of earlier Estonian authors with strong German influences fell under harsh criticism. In his essay “On Literary Style” (“Kirjanduslik stiil”, 1912), novelist Friedebert Tuglas, one of the ideologists of the Young Estonia movement, criticised not only Romantic literature and newer sentimental folk songs but also *regilaul*. He regards the local situational song, on the other hand, in the most positive terms, calling it “a dynamic, rhythmic and colourful chronicle of the modern age” and even compares it against *regilaul* which, with its dated form and “childish contents”, is like “open stagnant water”. Another feature characteristic of the period was that Tuglas expressed his preference for the more archaic Seto *regilaul*, claiming that in Seto songs he sensed “the earthy scent of soil, Nordic poetry, and traditions based on race”, and that “a stylish culture” can only be “based on race” and is not “patriotic”.¹⁴

Drawing such a clear line between the more archaic and less archaic *regilaul* conforms well with the attitudes to folk melodies among the musical circles of the time. In the first decades of the 20th century, the existence of the oldest layer of folk tunes as a highly exotic one compared to Western music came to be acknowledged. It was believed that the use of the oldest melodies – or better still an intuitive reliance on their modes of expression (without direct citations) – would lead Estonian composers to create a nationally unique music, comparable to that created by Nordic composers. This “national” creation, free of citations, and the exclusion of “patriotism” represents the aversion of those aspiring towards high culture to

what was called the “peasant shoe culture”, i.e., the unprofessional and “outdated” use of folklore by late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century authors and contemporary amateur performers (Lippus 2002b; Leichter 1997: 397–404).

In the Soviet period, the most ideologically acceptable and, owing to the political pressure on academic activities, even compulsory research topic was social conflict (see, for example, Saarlo 2017). *Regilaul*, but even more so the local situational song, spoke about the social situation in different eras – the problems of the peasantry and their struggles against German manor owners, the conflicts stemming from the social stratification of the rural population, and the proletarian movement of the early 20th century. In the overview of folklore published in 1959, folklorist Ülo Tedre has established a clear hierarchy between the two main substyles of the newer song: “No doubt, the local situational songs and, among them, especially those reflecting social protest, constitute the more valuable part of rhymed folk song [compared to sentimental songs on exotic topics].” (Tedre 1959b: 310).¹⁵

In the 1950s–1970s, extensive studies of end-rhymed folk song were carried out by the leading researchers in the field Ingrid Rüütel and Ülo Tedre, and these constitute the basic knowledge about the newer song style today.¹⁶ The picture that emerges is comprehensive and balanced, although the evaluations and the selection of topics for study reveal a certain leaning towards giving preference to local situational songs. However, this is not done by contrasting the ‘own’ and the ‘borrowed’, but rather in the folkloristic context of focusing on orality as a characteristic of traditional communication (see, for example, Anttonen 2005: 64). When speaking about songs adopted in the oral tradition from printed

¹³ Suits 1905: 17. Estonian historian Jüri Kivimäe has discussed particularly the period between 1905 and 1917 as the “cultural turn” as a result of which “the mostly oral agrarian society was replaced by the modern written society” (Kivimäe 2015: 65; see also Karjahärm 1994; Raun 2009). Urve Lippus (2002a, b) and Taive Särg (2012; see also Sarv 2001, 2002) have studied the early twentieth-century ideology related to folk and popular music more thoroughly.

¹⁴ Setomaa, or the Seto region, is a Christian Orthodox territory in southeastern Estonia, which differs considerably from the rest of Estonia. According to the evolutionary worldview at the time, the Seto culture, which has retained archaic features, was described as being “a 100–200 years behind the Estonian” (e.g. Kalkun 2017).

¹⁵ In fact, a similar preference for social and political topics rather than purely entertaining ones can be seen in the works of earlier authors. For example, Oskar Loorits referred to songs that spread in oral and manuscript form in the 19th century as a form of social resistance unaffected by the Czarist censorship, and also emphasised the repertoire sung during the War of Independence that was fought for the nation state (Loorits 1932: 88–89).

¹⁶ E.g. Rüütel 1969, 1980, 1983, 2012 [1969]; Rüütel, Kokamägi 1964; Tedre 1959a, b, 1999, 2003 [1955].

sources, the emphasis is on their rich variation in the folklorisation process (Rüütel 1980: 37; Tedre 1999: 125–126).

The stark contrasting of the borrowed with the “old and local” material did not suit the changing research paradigms well. Soviet ideology implicitly favoured the study of international proletarian songs, and any historical contacts with the Russians were seen in positive light (see, for example, Tampere 1970; Saarlo 2017). Moreover, during the second half of the 20th century the new cultural anthropological views of tradition, focusing on folklore as a process and involving “deruralization, denationalization, contemporarization and democratization” (Anttonen 2005: 63), reached Estonia.¹⁷ For example, in 1970, Ingrid Rüütel published a questionnaire entitled “Concerning singing in modern times” (“Laulmisest tänapäeval”), intended for the volunteer folklore collectors of the Estonian Folklore Archives with the aim of collecting information “about the contemporary singing tradition as a whole in its full versatility”, including also international repertoire and that in other languages, by recording any and every kind of singing situation (Rüütel 1970).¹⁸

In the course of twenty-first century globalisation and European integration, the ideas of cultural and political nationalism have become problematised (Kivimäe 2001; Viik 2012). One of the central issues in cultural research is the reciprocal influence of the global and the local. Relying on the theory of cultural transfer, the concept of hybridity in postcolonial theory or the ideas of cultural translation, Estonian literary scholars interpret cultural loans as a positive cultural phenomenon for creating new originality. In addition, the influences of the subordinated culture on the

dominant culture have been analysed (Undusk 2011, 2014; Laanes 2014; Lukas 2011). In this context, literary theorist Jaan Undusk has argued that the sentimental popular literature translated and adapted from the German language, which is closely related to sentimental songs in topics and style, was cognitively novel, had synthesising power, and represented socially advancing texts for Estonians (Undusk 2011: 569).¹⁹ In their more recent overviews, the two main researchers of the newer song style have further highlighted the significance of the sentimental song and ballad in the Estonian song tradition (Rüütel 2015; Tedre 2008). Throughout the 20th century and until the present day, *regilaul* has remained a central genre of traditional song as, according to Ülo Tedre, “undoubtedly the most genuine and admirable part of our folklore” (Tedre 2008: 425).²⁰

‘Active’ – ‘passive’, ‘masculine’ – ‘feminine’, ‘sentimental’ – ‘realistic’

In the above section, the preferences of the elite were interpreted on the basis of the Herderian ideas of ‘old’ and ‘own, local’, promoted by nationalist political ideals. On the emotional level and in terms of period-specific ideologies, one of the intriguing aspects of comparing the different song styles is the use of the binary concepts ‘active’ – ‘passive’, ‘masculine’ – ‘feminine’, and ‘sentimental’ – ‘realistic’.

On the socio-political level, the opposition ‘activity’ – ‘passivity’ is based on historical reality: for the Estonian peasantry, serfdom inevitably meant social passivity.²¹ The economic and political changes of the nineteenth century, including participation in the bourgeois economy, the abolishment of serfdom and the widening of the

¹⁷ Amongst other things, this became possible owing to personal contacts established with Finnish and East-German folklorists.

¹⁸ Independent studies on non-institutional, spontaneous singing in recent history and in contemporary times, however, emerged somewhat later (e.g. Vissel 2002, 2005; Rüütel 2003).

¹⁹ “The so-called Jenoveva stories and their kind, disparagingly called pathos literature, are, at their best, texts of synthesising power which introduce women’s issues, more candid images of sexuality and violence, a perception of life related to the physical body, and dreams as the metatext of reality. These offer us instructional Robinsonades to read, which still vaguely imply the possibility of an acmeist man, free of social restraints.”

²⁰ A good example here are the overviews of Estonian folklore from the 20th–21st century which well demonstrate the proportion given to *regilaul* and to the newer singing style: in the overview of Estonian folklore compiled by Richard Viidalepp (1959), *regilaul* is discussed on 205 pages, whereas newer folk song is discussed on 68 pages; in a university textbook compiled by Eduard Laugaste (1977) *regilaul* is covered on 99 pages (including an introduction of *regilaul* singers) and newer folk song on 7 pages; in the textbook published in 2005, the ratio is 8 pages vs. 1 page (Jaago 2005b).

²¹ Social circumstances have also been considered one of the reasons why *regilaul* as an archaic oral singing culture endured for such a long time in Estonia (Tedre 2003 [1955]: 209, 2008: 432).

communication sphere (trading, seafaring, wars), provided the peasantry with a chance to become more active. The circumstances at the time of serfdom (particularly frustrating for the men) have been considered as the reason why the *regilaul* tradition was so woman-centred and reflected a passive perception of life:

There is a good reason why Estonian folk song is generally viewed as feminine lyricism. Indeed, the dominant features here are the expression of feminine emotions and passive resistance to the hardships of life, introspection around personal experiences rather than looking to external activities or counter-attack (Loorits 1932: 100). The former active perception of life and reflection on the events of the outside world are being pushed back [during the German colonisation which started in the thirteenth century] (Tedre 1959a: 87).²²

Passive femininity and the prevalence of women protagonists in *regilaul* have also been used to explain the lack of heroic epics (see, for example, Saarlo 2008: 145–147). At the same time, the active perception of life, the fast and dynamic course of events and the inherent epic nature of the newer song style, first and foremost of local situational songs, have been persistently associated with men as its creators and main performers or with masculinity in general.

Such association of women's songs with passivity and men's songs with activity could be suggestive of the dichotomy of gender categories which emerged in Europe in the 18th and 19th century in parallel with the bourgeois nuclear family and the individualist model of romantic love, as well as the separation of the public and private spheres in life.²³ According to this, the nature and life sphere of men and women form a

dichotomy – gender categories are understood as “two rigid sets of socio-psychological traits which were in all-pervasive binary opposition to each other”: “‘weak vs. strong’, ‘to escape vs. to struggle’, ‘to be vs. to do’, or ‘exalted love vs. sensuous passion’” (Löfström 1998: 249, 253). This model had an impact on the whole of Estonian society. Researchers have also pointed to the strengthening of patriarchy within nineteenth-century agrarian society, which took place as a result of the changed economic relations and the bourgeois culture (Annuk 2012; Mägi 2009; Metsvahi 2015).²⁴

The twentieth-century approaches to folklore therefore bear the seal of the gender ideology of their time – owing to the patriarchal thinking and the polarisation of gender roles, women were expected to be socially passive and their behaviour to be based on emotions; this conceptualisation of femininity was mediated by the sentimental repertoire, which conveyed the model of romantic love; and the interpreters of cultural processes (the large majority of whom were men) acquired from the culture a predisposition for viewing the song tradition through the lens of the polarity characteristic of the time. Apparently, the same patterns of thought have led theoreticians to associate with femininity several features of *regilaul* which are typical of pre-modern oral culture: additivity (and other formal features), communality and a cyclic perception of time (Tuglas 1912; Tedre 2008: 430; see also Ong 1982: 35–37; Sarv 2009). This kind of transference is quite logical considering that, in the framework of the dualist gender opposition characteristic of European culture, women in particular have been associated with pre-modernity (Ortner 1996; Keller 1985; Adkins 2004).²⁵

Alongside ‘activity’ – ‘passivity’, the influence of the same patterns of thought can be seen in

²² See also Arukask 2003: 36–41; Rüütel 2012 [1969]: 22; Tampere 1935: 10 et al. For an alternative explanation of folklore being woman-centred see Mägi 2009. The views of Oskar Loorits also entailed the opposition of the “oriental perception of life” of Estonians to the western worldview: Estonian folklore is static and noncommittal rather than active or attacking (Loorits 1953: 113–114).

²³ The model of romantic love is characterised by a worshipful and passionate love, the faithfulness of lovers, self sacrifice and ignoring the limits of social status. During the 18th–19th century, recognising love as a marital value and as a way of reaching individual wholeness became part of the model of love that had spread in Europe since the 12th century. (Giddens 1992: 38–47; Frykman, Löfgren 2003: 92–94; Roca, Enguix 2015).

²⁴ Proceeding from this idea, it might be worth tracing the independence and agency of women in *regilaul*, which represented the earlier social order. Recently, for example, Andreas Kalkun and Mari Sarv have drawn attention to the manifestations of women's sexual agency in the obscene *regilaul* lyrics (Kalkun, Sarv 2014).

²⁵ Masculinity/femininity have been associated with culture/(savage) nature, rationality/emotionality, norm/deviance, respectively, and, for example, also with high culture/mass culture (Modleski 1986).

the contrasting of 'realism' against 'emotionality, sentimentality' in twentieth-century approaches to song. However, changing artistic movements, with realism and naturalism coming to the fore, also played an important role. Changes in artistic taste are reflected in the critique of romantic sentimental literature (which was amplified by the unprofessionalism and the borrowed nature of the Romantic Estonian-language culture). The above-mentioned novelist Friedebert Tuglas, praising local situational songs, viewed the repertoire of sentimental folk songs as a decadence of the newer song style:

But under the influence of sentimental tales and robber novels, the spirit of Romanticism has been imbued also into this realistic and conventionally bulky mocking poetry... Folk songs are created, sweet and beautiful like the oil paintings of Mai Roos.²⁶ ... Newer folklore has also made its rounds: from the masculine *Realismus* and form of song back to the feminine mood and formlessness... This is a decadence of newer folklore. (Tuglas 1912: 62–63)

The realism of local situational song has been characterised by words such as 'fierce', 'naturalist', 'robust', 'daring', 'frolicky', 'optimistic', 'straightforward', 'direct', 'unpretentious', 'reserved' – mostly in combination with 'active' or 'masculine'.²⁷ Often these qualities have been used to explain or justify the "artistic imperfection" of situational songs, which is contrasted with the generally acknowledged "perfection" of *regilaul*. A fine example of this is the poetic characterisation of Ingrid Rüütel, researcher of the newer song style, in the introduction of a publication for the general public:

Creators of newer folk songs do not aspire to seem better than they are, smarter than they are, prettier than they are. But despite their rough and unchiseled nature they are not that bad, stupid or ugly. Perhaps this unpreten-

tious, genuine and honest personality helps us find in ourselves something that has been lost over time or that we are about to lose. (Rüütel 1974: 5)

Sentimentality, which is opposed to realism, is described using a rather fixed set of words: 'sweet', 'sorrowful', 'lovely', 'ostentatious', 'excessive expression of emotions'. The titles of nineteenth-century songbooks and chapbooks featured adjectival loans from the German language such as 'sweet', 'sorrowful', and 'lovely' in a positive or neutral sense. However, it seems that in Estonian the semantic field of the adjectives has slightly shifted: one reason for this, perhaps, is that in German the word 'sweet' describing the olfactory property is used more often indirectly and has a far wider semantic field than it has in Estonian (cf. Saareste 1959: 819, 845, 1246). At least in twentieth-century discourse, the word 'sweet', like all the other words used to characterise sentimental song, appears to have acquired a minimising, ironical connotation. Opposition to Romanticism was not only characteristic of the beginning of the century but also occurred in the later Soviet culture, in which romantic love and its related feelings were forced to the background and socialist realism became the normative method of creation (Kalmre 2015; Murašov, Bogdanov, Borisova 2008). At the same time, one must consider the possibility that, as a person with a Soviet upbringing and thus inevitably influenced by Soviet ideology, I am prone to see irony in the words where the authors have intended none.

Marie Sepp's singing world

Like the views of the elite, Marie Sepp's writings also reflect a somewhat hierarchical attitude towards different song styles. Like other young people in the second half of the 19th century, she preferred end-rhymed folk songs to *regilaul*. She expressed this directly only once, however, when she commented on a song learned in childhood

²⁶ A character in a sentimental popular novel *Pious Virgin Mai Roos. Guide for Young Girls. A Very Sorrowful Story Born at the Gauja River in Turaida, Latvia* (published in Estonian in 1865, 2nd edition in 1894), which was an adaptation of Latvian writer Juris Dauge's novella *The Virgin of Turaida* (*Turaidas jumprava*, 1856).

²⁷ 'Reserved' (*karge* – literally, 'harsh', 'crisp', 'cool', 'refreshing') is a word used already in the first half of the 20th century to contrast *regilaul* with Romantic music and imply the Nordic character of the restrained expression of emotions (e.g. Lippus 2002a; Leichter 1997: 399). The use of that word in the case of *regilaul*, which has at the same time been connected with femininity and the feminine expression of sentiments, may seem paradoxical. Nevertheless, *regilaul* did not use the devices of Romantic poetics. In addition to masculinity, several of the listed are sometimes associated with the young age of the creators and performers (Tedre 1959b: 335–336).

that she considered the oldest one in her repertoire of newer folk songs: "I like the fact that already in those days there was an Estonian who knew how to beautifully create a song."²⁸

Marie Sepp's preference for the newer song style may also be reflected in the repertoire that she sent to the archives. However, one must consider the fact that she was aware of what the addressees of her manuscripts expected to receive – the "official" preference is already clearly revealed in the 21:3 proportion of *regilaul* and end-rhymed folk songs collected from the singer by professional folklore collectors (cf. Oras 2008a, b, 2012). This awareness is perhaps the main reason why the ratio of *regilaul* to songs in the newer style is 60:87 in the material that Sepp wrote down herself. At the same time, it cannot be said that Marie Sepp valued and recorded *regilaul* only because of the influence of the views of the national elite. Her positive attitude to *regilaul* also stemmed from her personal emotional experiences. Marie Sepp's accounts are evidence that she enjoyed the older song style during communal work and at weddings in her youth because the style was well-suited to such performance situations and enabled a functional improvised song dialogue (see Oras 2017).

One should not underestimate the role of *regilaul* as a tool for shaping new social relationships and ways of expression. Already during Marie Sepp's youth, the reputation of the older song style was enhanced by the publication of the older folk songs of the Kolga-Jaani parish, collected and issued under the initiative of Jakob Hurt (Hurt 1886). The singer probably learned most of her repertoire when she worked as a maid in the family of the best-known local singer Rõõt Meiel. Later in her life, her skills in singing *regilaul* won Marie Sepp a chance to participate in a major recording of early folk music in Tallinn, the country's capital, and communicate with folklore collectors. Understanding the importance of the recording and of the *regilaul* repertoire performed, she composed "as self-promotion" a poem that takes after the

Exegi monumentum lyrics, a verse of which reads as follows: "The songs by my husband's grandmother [Rõõt Meiel], /That I sang on the radio,/ These are the pillar of my memory, /They will survive for centuries."²⁹

In her texts, Marie Sepp referred to *regilaul* as "the old songs" (*vanad laulud*) and once mentions "the songs of old Estonia" (*vana Eesti laulud*), which could refer to the influence of a national approach to history as well as to associating *regilaul* with the "olden" times of serfdom – for the late nineteenth-century peasantry, *regilaul* and serfdom were directly linked (Tedre 2008: 432).³⁰ Her last selection of *regilaul*, entitled "The older songs that were not sung for the radio" dates from 1940. In these texts Marie Sepp's approach to *regilaul* is more creative than before: by combining traditional verses with her own creation she has developed new (in the sense of modern), logical epic wholes. Like others who make adaptations of *regilaul* and create in this style, she relies on the thought processes of written culture (Mirov 2002; Sarv 2008: 111 ff.; Labi 2011).³¹ The need to re-compose song texts seems to suggest that she was emotionally involved in *regilaul* as she has tried to render the texts that inspired her more familiar and understandable for the modern reader – and perhaps also for herself.

The repertoire of Marie Sepp's newer folk songs centres around circle games – only a quarter of the 115 songs in the newer style are not described as circle games. The structure of circle games, which became hugely popular in the second half of the 19th century, allowed the performance of any newer folk song. The folk song in newer style as a youth culture is characterised by the popularity of the game genre, but also by the fact that the songs focused on the themes of finding love and a partner. Marie Sepp's comments are indicative of the young people's passion for games, their interest towards new repertoire, and her own leading role as someone who knew and instigated the games:

²⁸ ERA (Eesti Rahvaluule Arhiiv / Estonian Folklore Archives) II 84, 493.

²⁹ ETMM (Eesti Teatri- ja Muusikamuuseum / Estonian Theatre and Music Museum), MO 237:1/34:9.

³⁰ The older singing style was referred to by the words derived from the root '*regi*' (derived from the Low Saxon word for 'circle' or 'circle game') only in some parts of Estonia.

³¹ Marie Sepp nevertheless distinguished between adaptations of tradition and original creation. In her writing, this is attested by a couple of remarks "additional poetry" used as titles of texts in *regilaul* style, consisting, almost without exception, of self-written verses inspired by a previous (adapted traditional) song.

Boasting is usually frowned upon but I'm telling you that I was one of the better players – the games were always great when I took part.

Young maidens often visited the Purtsi [farm], where we used to play circle games and sing game songs; if someone knew a new song, we had to learn it so that we could sing it in our social circle.³²

Marie Sepp divided the written circle game texts into two parts: "The [circle] games acted out as plays" and "The circle games where people dance between each verse" ("Mängud mis said mängitud nagu näitemängud"; "Ringmängud kus iga salmi vahel tandsitakse" – which coincides with the later academic systematisation, as, for example, in Rüütel 1980). In the first group, the imitation circle games, the players acted out the subject of the song; and in circle games with intermediary dance parts, players walked in a circle while singing the verses and danced in alternating couples during the intermediary dance song. Marie Sepp's comments suggest that the tradition of imitation circle games goes further back – as is true in North Estonia. It seems that she herself found it important to specify when and where she had learned some song or game. Her careful dating may reflect the influence of professional collecting activities, but then again, the detailed references to time and place indicate that learning a new song game was an important, memorable event; for example: "In 1878, when I received my confirmation, I first saw the game played, and both girls knew their part very well, and any game is nice to see for the first time."³³

Marie Sepp found the circle games with intermediary dance more appealing because they offered participants opportunities to dance,³⁴ but apparently also because they provided more freedom for realising her singing and poetic talent, as in these games text and activity were independent of each other. In the questionnaire that Sepp answered during the recording of the songs she states that she had composed game songs herself. Her rewriting or changing of song lyrics and her use of those found in printed sources are evident in her texts and the added descriptions, explaining that she used to perform the main song solo whereas "the choir always sang during the dance, and the words of the dance song were easily memorised".³⁵ Marie Sepp's talent and creative freedom in adapting new lyrics to melodies can be also seen in her correspondence with August Pulst, who requested from her melodies of circle games so that young folk dancers in towns could perform them. Marie Sepp's reply expressed her astonishment at the little musical creativity of the youth of the time: "You have many girls and grooms,³⁶ let them play the games /.../ they will know how to create the melodies by themselves"; "I have never learned a single melody from sheet music but I've sung along to all of them with my singers, I've always known more than I needed."³⁷

The texts of Marie Sepp also contain emotional descriptions of game performance situations and allusions to how the youth in their interpretations combined the contents of the songs with the surrounding reality, their actual feelings and emotions.³⁸ The sentimental repertoire, among which ballads of international dissemination

³² ETMM, MO 237:1/34:20 and 35:157.

³³ ETMM, MO 237:1/35:85.

³⁴ As a young woman who readily welcomed change, she accepted the transforming of the youth culture into a more dance-centred one: "I must say that it was more fun to play [the games with intermediary dance] than it was to act out these plays. Those who were never able to dance could still come and dance in a circle game." (ETMM, MO 237:1/35:117, cf. Niiranen 2013: 233–234).

³⁵ ETMM, MO 237:1/35:117. With regard to her written sources, she mentions *Eesti laulik* (Estonian song book, Jannsen 1860), *Eestimaa ööbik* (Estonian nightingale, Brandt 1864), and the weekly supplement to the *Valgus* newspaper where the song texts were published.

³⁶ Marie Sepp here applies a common formula in newer folk songs '*neiud–peiud*' ('girls–grooms'). The formula was popular because it has perfect rhyme but at the same time it seems to convey the mentality of the newer song repertoire as well.

³⁷ ETMM, MO 237:1/35:20; 19.

³⁸ In different cultures, performing well-known songs offers a culturally acceptable opportunity to express highly personal experiences and emotions that cannot be openly and directly discussed. The audience of community members may or may not be familiar with these. Also, the performers themselves may not be aware of all the experiential connections (Abu-Lughod 1986; Narayan 1995; Oras 2008b).

were particularly popular, had an important role in shaping personal relationship models and the new culture of feelings. From these songs, young people learned about romantic love and practised the corresponding behavioural models by playing the games. The game songs focused on the themes of departures, encounters, fidelity, betrayal and death, all of which were acted out in the plays.³⁹ Evidently, expressing one's feelings was even more important than the activity. For example, it was quite common for the main male or female character to cry inside the game circle throughout several verses. For example, in a game song, a young maiden expresses her suffering and shames the young man who cheated on her during nine verses: "The groom and the maiden are inside the circle, the maiden is singing in front of the man and makes a shaming gesture. The groom is also very timid, stares down at his feet, does not dare to look up." Finally, the maiden leaves "holding a hand over her heart".⁴⁰

The expression of feelings is also associated with a new kind of eroticism, which in the circle games allowed players to pick up "lovers" from the ground and, frequently "giving hand" or "kisses on the mouth". It is no coincidence that Marie Sepp's repertoire contains altogether three game songs in which "giving a kiss" is discussed in a humorous or didactic vein. The disintegration of a kin-based society and the ambition of the young to choose a life partner based on feelings, both of which are by-products of modernisation, are reflected in a large number of game songs focusing on picking a partner and characterising a potential partner, where the choice is often made by a young woman (cf. Asplund 2002, 2006: 152 ff.; Sarmela 1974).⁴¹ In several games the choice of

the game partner is accompanied by a discussion about whether the chosen one should be rich or not. This could also be a reverberation of social issues topical at the time, as the young people's aspiration to choose a life partner based on feelings could have been hindered by family interests based on the economic stratification of peasantry (Jansen 2007: 315). Choosing a partner is also connected with motifs conveying national ideology – "an Estonian ~ peasant" is valued and preferred over a (rich) member of the "gentry ~ German man".

Through sentimental songs, Marie Sepp has also conceptualised the story of her own love and marriage. When working as a house maid, she formed a romantic relationship with a farm-hand Kristjan Sepp, who worked at the same farm. Partly because of the farm people's opposition to the idea and, most certainly, partly because of the need for individualism and privacy, which is characteristic of the model of romantic love, the young people expressed their feelings only in written letters. Marie Sepp was even proposed to and given an engagement ring in a letter. On the one hand, in her recollections she has found this form of communication problematic: "I do not advise anyone to follow my example, I was bold enough to write but it took me years before I found courage to tell the man about my feelings." On the other hand, however, she implies how romantic her secret relationship was as she quotes a circle game song: "No wood nor fiery embers / will ever burn as brightly / as love so true and tender / that is kindled in secret."⁴² Picturing Marie Sepp and her husband-to-be in their daily life at the farm, it is perhaps even possible that circle games gave them a chance to secretly express their feelings to

³⁹ Marie has described the rehearsing of the circle game *Villem and Juuli* on Epiphany with the young people visiting the Purtsi farm (the text of this ballad tells of a young man's leaving the country, upon which his girl dies of sorrow; after returning and witnessing what has happened, the young man also dies, "holding his loved one in his arms", both are taken to the monastery, are clad in white, and then carried to the graveyard): "We decided to play a singing game and tried how it would play out. At this time, circle games were like plays, following the lyrics of the song. Villem and Juuli were taken to the monastery, had white linen wrapped around them and were taken through the door to the graveyard. In those days you had to rehearse playing games." Marie's explanation added to the recorded text gives additional information about their "staging": "A girl and a boy are in the middle of the circle. The boy leaves. The girl falls on the ground. The boy falls next to her. Other girls take the girl away and other boys take the boy." ETMM, MO 237:1/35:161; ERA II 96, 459/61 (23).

⁴⁰ ETMM, MO 237:1/35:98.

⁴¹ It is possible that the power of young women revealed in these games is a representation of the agency of this gender group in "their" genre (cf. Siikala 2000: 274), a reflection of the historically relatively high social position of women in Estonia (Mägi 2009), or even a parallel or reflection of women's emancipation in the 19th century (cf. Lukas 2004).

⁴² ETMM, MO 237:1/35:203.

each other and allow themselves brief erotic experiences. In the context of this relationship, the topic of wealth in circle games is also assigned a personal meaning, because the opposition of the people around them was based on the hope that one or other of the young people could improve their poor financial situation through a successful marriage.

Marie Sepp has described the situational songs in the most negative light. In her manuscript, situational songs are grouped under the title *Songs of night suitors* (*Ehalkäijate laulud*) and (with a single exception) she believed them to have been created by Jüri Pärtens (1860–1922), the grandson of singer Rõõt Meiel: “He composed songs for all the young men and women and when he had completed a new one, groups of young men spread them from one farm to another until a new song came along.” The actual author of the songs was, in fact, Mart(in) Sohberg (1865, 2nd edition in 1883). These songs are the most popular and most widespread of Sohberg’s texts (Tedre 1999) and they must have reached Marie Sepp through oral transmission or as handwritten copies because there are several differences compared to the printed sources. It seems that Marie Sepp could not restrain herself from emotional comments when writing down *Songs of night suitors*: “It goes without saying that these songs were rather tiring if you had to hear one repeatedly during a single night. Some suitors came, sang the song and left, then others came and sang the same song all over.”⁴³ Her negative attitude coincides with the general opinion of the nineteenth-century public media of Sohberg’s “inappropriate” songs (see above) – the parallel is particularly striking as the rest of Marie Sepp’s song repertoire corresponds well to the literary song style which was found acceptable at the time.⁴⁴ Marie Sepp actually appears to have found the activity of night courting more disturbing than the songs themselves. She even temporarily left her position as a maid because of night suitors, and when she was asked to return, she slept with an older woman to escape the courting young men. She might have had various personal

reasons for that, but Marie Sepp’s reluctance can be viewed also in a more general social context: night courting was criticised in the written press of the second half of the 19th century, although the effect of such criticism on the youth in rural areas was fairly insignificant (Jansen 2007: 316). Even before she started working as a house maid, Marie Sepp had learned a circle game about a maiden who reprimanded a young man for “loving the old ways [of night courting]”. Moreover, Marie Sepp was very critical towards drinking and fights and therefore avoided dance parties for the young people as well as the traditional visits to the tavern on Shrove Tuesday. Martti Sarmela (1974: 106) has written about the youth culture in Finland which emerged in the 18th century, an extreme example of which were village fighting groups. Cultural changes in the second half of the 19th century brought about a divergence in the views of the rural youth, which is well exemplified by their attitudes towards the temperance movement (Jansen 2007: 342–344; Palm 2004). By opposing the aggressive group behaviour of young men, Marie Sepp represented the more “civilised” layer of the village youth which favoured the behavioural norms of the middle class.

Conclusion

Changes in song styles and music brought about by a sufficiently large proportion of the members of a society preferring a newer style are common to all cultures. However, this does not mean that all social groups necessarily share the same views. The change between two historical song styles – from the older *regilaul* to the newer end-rhymed stanzaic folk song – took place in Estonia in the context of the modernisation of the agrarian society and the shaping of the national elite mainly during the second half of the 19th century. The elite employed folklore for the purpose of constructing a national cultural heritage. As the concept of folklore has been tentative ever since it was derived, two contrasting hierarchies of song styles emerged in Estonia (as elsewhere): the older style, which represented the older oral culture and had been abandoned by “the folk”,

⁴³ This and the previous quotation: ETMM, MO 237:1/35:17.

⁴⁴ Of Marie Sepp’s songs in newer style, 35% could be considered sentimental lyrical songs or ballads, 28% humorous and/or didactic, 10% patriotic, discussing social or historical issues, 22% describe game practices, and 5% of the songs were in the local situational style.

was reinvented in terms of its status and distribution as the foundation of the national culture by the elite. For the latter, the popular folk repertoire, which was more connected to literary culture and foreign influences, occupied a lower position. A closer inspection reveals that the reality was quite nuanced and that the differences, reciprocal influence and embedding of the views could be identified both within and between these major social groups.

My analysis of the elite and vernacular approaches to folk song were based on several subjective choices. In view of the scope of the article it was possible to focus on only a few of the more important tendencies of the elite views. The “vernacular” perspective here is limited to a subjective interpretation of fragmentary information found in archival documents connected to Marie Sepp (1862–1943), who practised both song styles. Her observations and experiences inspired me to write this article, but it is important to remember that her views represent only one segment of the Estonian peasantry of her time which was more influenced by the national cultural elite. A comparison of the views of other “vernacular” groups and the changes in their views over time would yield us a more balanced picture. For example, we could imagine that the local singing practices, and particularly the tradition of situational village songs, were viewed differently by Marie Sepp’s contemporary Jüri Pärtens, a creative young man with a brilliant sense of humour, an active member of a group of young men, a night suitor and tavern entertainer, but also a participant in the circle games of the village youth and a future successful farmer, who introduced into his village the *songs of night suitors*.

The second half of the 19th century was a period when the ideas of the Enlightenment were locally adapted and different views on folk song existed side by side within the cultural elite (e.g. Kalkun 2017). The repertoire recognised as folk songs could include all the songs in the Estonian language, the songs created by Estonians (and based on folk tradition), or be limited only to the older style, *regilaul*. At the same time, the standards of the writings that shaped the national “imagined community” were based on the aesthetics and morals of Romanticism and the middle class. Apparently, Marie Sepp shared views similar to

those of the earlier Estonian intellectuals: the romantic-sentimental style was considered “beautiful”, whereas the repertoire which did not conform to the aesthetics and morals of the middle class – situational village songs with their realistic style and occasional vulgarity – was disparaged. Marie Sepp was untouched by the problem of the songs’ loan origin, which became an issue for the elite in the late 19th century. However, her views on *regilaul* were considerably influenced by its being favoured by the cultural elite (cf. Valk 2014), as well as by her own personal emotional singing experiences.

Using Marie Sepp’s corpus offered me an opportunity to juxtapose the different position and significance of the sentimental song repertoire in the musical world of Estonian peasant women with that of the cultural elite – particularly in the 20th century, when the newer song style was recognised, next to the valuable old style, as an individual object for collection and research. Of the two main substyles of the newer song, the sentimental song was reduced to a “weaker” position in consideration of the scales of ‘old-new’, ‘own-borrowed’, ‘realistic-romantic’, ‘oral-written’. The written texts of Marie Sepp indicate the central role of sentimental and other ‘borrowed’ song repertoire not only in the acquisition of literary poetic ways of thinking but also in adapting to social changes and, in particular, to the new models of romantic love and sentimentality (cf. the comment of Jaan Undusk about sentimental chapbooks above). The songs and circle games offered the young generation of the modernisation period a chance to become aware of and express their needs and problems with regard to personal relationships and to act out the possible solutions to these by means of play. For the young people, especially the young women, the circle games functioned as an important place for developing individual (relationship-related) agency and self-awareness. Overlapping with the written culture did not rule out creativity – in addition to the creative interpretation of the songs based on personal life experience, the song lyrics were rewritten and improved, new melodies were created or old ones adapted, and plays with well-devised movement and activities with props were staged.

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ETMM, MO 237 – collection of music organizations, folk musicians and traditional singers (questionnaires and documents).

Collections of Estonian Folklore Archives of Estonian Literary Museum:

ERA – manuscript collection of the Estonian Folklore Archives;

RKM – manuscript collection of the State Literary Museum.

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Lemmiklapsed ja võõraslapsed. Eliidi ja rahvalikud vaated eesti rahvalaulustiilidele

Janika Oras

Eesti laulutraditsioonis võib eristada vanemat ja uuemat kihistust – läänemeresoome ühisesse suulisesse traditsiooni kuuluvat regilaulu ja uuemat, lõppriimilis-stroofilist rahvalaulu, milles põimuvad suulise ja kirjaliku kultuuri tunnused. Uuem rahvalaul kujunes teiste Euroopa rahvaste poeesia eeskujul ja sai Eestis peamiseks laulustiiliks 19. sajandi II poolel, talupojaühiskonna kiire moderniseerumise, eestlastest intelligentsi ja rahvuseluse kujunemise perioodil. Artikkel analüüsib eri sotsiaalsete rühmade vaateid rahvalaulu erinevatele stiilidele ja allstiilidele, seostatuna 19.–20. sajandi sotsiaalkultuuriliste protsesside ja ideoloogiatega. Kultuurilise eliidi arusaamu on kõrvutatud „rahvaliku” vaatega, nii nagu see peegeldub Kolga-Jaani kihelkonna lauliku Marie Sepa (1862–1943) arhiividele saadetud 500-leheküljelises käsikirjakorpuses. Võrreldud diskursustes võib näha vastanduvaid seisukohti, ent ka vastastikuseid mõjutusi ja ühenduspunkte.

Kultuurilise eliidi vaated laulustiilidele on visandatud võrdlemisi pealiskaudselt ja valikuliselt läbi kahe sajandi. Nagu juba varasemad uurijad (nt. Särg 2002, 2012; Sarv 2001, 2002) on välja toonud, anti 19. sajandi Eestis rahvalaulu mõistele erinevaid tähendusi. Selle alla võis mahtuda igasugune eestikeelne repertuaar. Ideoloogiliselt sobivaim oli oma algupärasuse ja vanuse tõttu regilaul. Kuna regilaulu sõnaline, eriti aga muusikaline väljenduskeel ei sobinud läänelikust kultuurist omaks võetud esteetikaga, võib nii 19. sajandi teise poole kirjandus- ja muusikapraktikates kui ka eliidi seisukohtades tajuda vastuolu ja kompromissiotsinguid ideoloogiliste ja esteetiliste eelistuste vahel. Keskklassi maitse ja mõttemaailm sobis kõige vähem olustikuline külalaul – uuema rahvalaulu kohalik, suulisele traditsioonile lähedasem allstiil.

20. sajandil, mil kujundati professionaalset rahvuslikku kõrgkultuuri, sealhulgas folkloristikateadust, jäi regilaul eelistatud laulustiiliks. Olustikuline külalaul tõusis kõrgemale positsioonile sentimentaalsest laulust (mõiste hõlmab siin ka humoristlikku ja didaktilist laadi kirjanduslikele allikatele tuginevat rahvalaulu). Selle taustana võib näha iseseisvuse- ja nõukogudeaegseid poliitilisi ideoloogiaid, aga ka soo-ideoloogilisi, esteetilisi ja folkloristika distsiplinaarseid eelistusi. Need peegelduvad muuhulgas olustikulise ja sentimentaalse stiili iseloomustustest, milles vastandatakse kohalikku-laenuulist, suulist-kirjalikku, aktiivset-passiivset, mehelikku-naiselikku, realistlikku-sentimentaalset.

Rahvalikku vaadet esindava Marie Sepa tegevus rahvalaulude esitaja ja jäädvustajana langeb 19. sajandi viimastesse kümnenditesse ja 20. sajandi algusse, uuema stiili kiire levimise ja regilaulu suulisest traditsioonist taandumise perioodi. Tema individuaalsed vaated võiksid esindada maanoorte, ja eriti neidude „uuendusmeelsemat”, keskklassi vaadetega rohkem kaasa läinud rühma. Marie Sepp koges ja kasutas kõiki sel perioodil võimalikke regilaulupraktikaid: laulmist traditsioonilistes olukordades, esinemist jäädvustajatele, omapoolset tekstide kohandamist kirjaliku kultuuri mõttemaailmaga. Tema suhet regilaulu mõjutas selle väärtustamine eliidi poolt, samas on ta nautinud nii spontaanset laulmist kui võimalust end regilaulukeeles loovalt väljendada.

Kuna mul puudus isiklik lapsepõlvkogemus elavast uuemast rahvalaulust – mu teadmisi oli kujundanud eelkõige folkloristlik kirjandus –, tekitasid just Marie Sepa käsikirjad minus emotsionaalse sideme uuema rahvalaulu sentimentaalse, kirjanduslikuma poolusega. Need visandavad pildi 19. sajandi teise poole maanoorte laulumaaile, kus uut repertuaari otsiti ja praktiseeriti loovalt, kire ja vaimustusega, suuresti ringmänguvormis. Selle kaudu suhestuti muutustega ühiskonnas, võeti omaks romantilise armastuse mudel ja harjutati uut moodi tunde väljendusviise, diskuteeriti võimaluse üle teha seisuse ja suguvõsa kontrollist sõltumatuid, modernsetest ideaalidest lähtuvaid valikuid, loodi noorte rühmade identiteeti. Olustikulise laulustiili positsioon Marie Sepa repertuaaris on tagasihoidlik ja tema hinnangud on üsna sarnased eliidi omadega 19. sajandil. See näitab tollaste külanoorte sisemist kihistumist, mis tundub sõltuvat sellest, kuivõrd mindi kaasa keskklassi eetiliste tõekspidamiste ja käitumiskultuuriga.

Ilmari Krohn and the Early French Contacts of Finnish Musicology: Mobility, Networking and Interaction¹

Helena Tyrväinen

Abstract

Conceived in memory of the late Professor of Musicology of the Estonian Academy of Music and Theatre Urve Lippus (1950–2015) and to honour her contribution to music history research, the article analyses transcultural relations and the role of cultural capitals in the discipline during its early phase in the university context.

The focus is on the early French contacts of the founder of institutional Finnish musicology, the University of Helsinki Professor Ilmari Krohn (1867–1960) and his pupils. The analysis of Krohn's mobility, networking and interaction is based on his correspondence and documentation concerning his early congress journeys to London (1891) and to Paris (1900).

Two French correspondents stand out in this early phase of his career as a musicologist: Julien Tiersot in the area of comparative research on traditional music, and Georges Houdard in the field of Gregorian chant and neume notation. By World War I Krohn was quite well-read in French-language musicology. Paris served him also as a base for international networking more generally.

Accomplished musicians, Krohn and his musicology students Armas Launis, Leevi Madetoja and Toivo Haapanen even had an artistic bond with French repertoires. My results contradict the claim that early Finnish musicology was exclusively the domain of German influences.

In an article dedicated to the memory of Urve Lippus, who was for many years Professor of Musicology and director of the discipline at the Estonian Academy of Music and Theatre, it is appropriate to discuss international cooperation, mobility of scholars, networking, and the changing centres of scholarship. After the re-establishment in 1991 of Estonian national independence in connection with the collapse of the Soviet Union, Urve's international activity became influential in this branch of learning – not only within the national confines but also beyond. At a time when in Finland historical musicology was overshadowed by musical semiotics and ethnomusicology, the international gatherings she and her colleagues organised in Tallinn became important for Finnish music history scholars. When a big research project on Estonian music history was launched by the Estonian

Academy of Music and Theatre, Urve considered that a knowledge of the music history of Finland, as well as of the origins of music history writing in this neighbouring country, would be useful to Estonians. Many Finnish colleagues accepted the invitation to participate in music-history conferences in Tallinn.²

Urve's death is a great loss to musicology, and to me personally. I cooperated with her from around 1995. Our encounters were not exclusively limited to Estonia and Finland: we met and worked in seven different countries and cities. Urve organised a session at three congresses of the International Musicological Society, those of Leuven (2002), Zurich (2007), and Rome (2012).³ I participated in these sessions, starting from the preparatory stages. Urve was interested in my area of specialisation, Finnish-French musi-

¹ I am very grateful to Professor Heikki Laitinen for having read an early version of this article and for giving me some valuable comments. They have enriched my documentation and, hopefully, led me towards a clearer argument with regard to the scholarly aims of this paper.

² Some twenty years ago the visits to the Estonian Academy of Music of Matti Huttunen PhD, who gave seminars based on his thesis *Modernin musiikin historian kirjoituksen synty Suomessa (The Beginnings of Modern Music History Writing in Finland)* (Huttunen 1993) had a special significance for our Estonian colleagues.

³ The titles of these three sessions were: "Musical Crossroads in Northeastern Europe" (2002); "Musical Life and Ideas Concerning Music in the Aftermath of the First World War and the Russian Revolution: Reconstructing the Establishment in the Countries around the Baltic Sea" (2007); "The Scope of a Nordic Composer's Identity: National Cultures and Exoticism" (2012).

cal relations, but even more generally in France, including the historical ties between France and Estonia. She read a paper entitled “French music and the formation of Estonian national style” in the symposium “France in Nordic Music – Franco-Nordic Musical Relations in 1900–1939” which I organised in 1999 at the Finnish Institute in Paris (see Fantapié 2000). Some years later (2003) the Estonian-Finnish tie brought her back to a conference in the same place, the issue being the Finnish composer and musicologist Armas Launis. At the Imperial Alexander University (the present University of Helsinki) Launis defended his doctoral thesis entitled *Über Art, Entstehung und Verbreitung der estnisch-finnischen Runenmelodien. Eine Studie aus dem Gebiet der vergleichenden Volksmelodienforschung* (On the type, origin and spreading of the Estonian-Finnish runic melodies: a study into comparative research on folk tunes; Launis 1910), a work completed under the direction of Ilmari Krohn. Launis lived the last decades of his life in France. Urve knew Launis’s musicological work well due to the topic of her own thesis, *Linear Musical Thinking: A Theory of Musical Thinking and the Runic Tradition of Baltic-Finnish Peoples* (Lippus 1995).

Today there is a lively interest in the early phases of musicology in many directions relating to commemorations and reflections on the starting points of the national and international mu-

sicological societies founded on the ruins of the First World War. These societies largely continued or replaced the activity of the Internationale Musikgesellschaft (International Music Society), a corporation of learned world-citizen-musicologists founded in Berlin in 1899 and dissolved in 1914 after the outbreak of the war (Kirnbauer 2017).⁴ This year the French musicological society celebrates its centenary⁵ and the International Musicological Society the ninetieth anniversary of its foundation (see Baumann and Fabris 2017).⁶ The Finnish celebrations started prematurely in 2011 (Pääkkölä 2012), a consequence of the fact that the Finnish department of the Internationale Musikgesellschaft – founded in 1910 by Docent and later Professor at the Imperial Alexander University Ilmari Krohn – and the Finnish Musicological Society were erroneously identified by the organisers of the 2011 events.⁷

The Finnish celebrations inspired an interest in the national history of learning in the discipline, an orientation pursued in recent years particularly by Docent Markus Mantere with his research plan “Emergence of musicology and beginnings of Finnish music historiography”.⁸ According to Mantere, emergence through interaction with Germany was characteristic of the early Finnish musicology, with Ilmari Krohn as its most notable representative. The research paradigm and literature, as well as the interlocutors, he claims,

⁴ Annegret Fauser (2017) discussed the transition from the IMG to the International Musicological Society in her paper “Toward an International Musicology: War, Peace, and the Founding of the IMS”, read at the 20th Congress of the International Musicological Society, Tokyo, March 20, 2017. I am grateful to Professor Fauser for sending me the manuscript of her conference paper.

⁵ The Société française de musicologie will be organising a centenary conference in Paris this year (23–25 November 2017) with the title “Thinking musicology today: objects, methods, and prospects”; my paper “Georges Houdard et Ilmari Krohn, deux pionniers de la musicologie universitaire: amitié au-delà des frontières symboliques et querelles disciplinaires, 1900–1912” will be given at the conference.

⁶ While finalising this article I learn that an important anthology on the early stages and the institutionalisation of the discipline, with its main focus on Central Europe, has recently been published: *Musikwissenschaft 1900–1930. Zur Institutionalisierung und Legitimierung einer jungen akademischen Disziplin* (Auhagen, Hirschmann, Mäkelä 2017). The volume includes, for example, Tomi Mäkelä’s article “Ilmari Krohn und die finnische Musikforschung zwischen apostolischer Mission, Kolonialisierung, Stichmotiven und Wasserlandschaften.”

⁷ The Internationale Musikgesellschaft had some members in Finland as early as in 1900, the result of an initiative of Martin Wegelius. Ilmari Krohn was one of them. In 1902 Krohn called together the first meeting of the IMG Helsinki members. In 1910 he founded a local group (*Ortsgruppe*) of the association, also in Helsinki, chairing it until the dissolution of the IMG in 1914. In 1916–1939 Krohn was President of the Finnish Musicological Society, which he founded (Martti Laitinen 2014: 76).

⁸ In Finland, the Sibelius Academy of the University of the Arts has invested in research into music history on a new basis for some ten years now. Mantere’s undertaking was part of the research project “Rethinking ‘Finnish’ Music History: the Transnational construction of musical life in Finland from the 1870s until the 1920s”, directed by Vesa Kurkela, Professor of Music history in the Faculty of Music Education, Jazz and Folk Music, and financed in 2012–2015 by the Academy of Finland and the Finnish Cultural Foundation.

were adopted from Germany (Mantere 2012a: 43, 45, 50, 53, Mantere 2012b: 43, Mantere 2014: 198, 208, Mantere 2015: 48). This raises the question as to whether Finnish musicology is an exception to the more general tendency already noted by the Finnish historian Professor Matti Klinge in 1968 in his history of the University of Helsinki Student Union. Here he states that the Finnish elites of both language groups, Finnish and Swedish, started in the 1880s and 1890s to turn away from a German orientation towards a French one (Klinge 1968: 108–109). Moreover, the bibliography of Krohn's *Säveloppi* (Krohn 1916: 545–547), for example, indicates that he was quite well-read in French and French-language musicology.⁹ In view of the above it is not clear on what basis Mantere maintains his claim as to the German emergence and stamp of Finnish musicology.¹⁰ A doubt remains as to whether he might have taken the life's work of a late colleague as a closed entity – indeed, as a kind of self-contained 'work' – and whether he might have considered it good to exclude all those elements which seemed irrelevant to it. While he and his research team have emphasised the urgent need to reject any inherently Finnish-national teleology in their procedures,¹¹ I nevertheless wonder whether he does not give undue importance to the notion of nationality (also at stake here is an inherent emphasis on the national endeavour of German-origin scholars) and to the relevance of borders. My aim here is to consider whether a different methodological approach from Mantere's might reveal something more varied concerning the international position of early Finnish musicology. In this article I shall analyse the French contacts that Finnish musicologists maintained at an early stage of the discipline in the university context. An attempt to cover the whole career of a versatile and long-lived savant such as Ilmari Krohn is beyond the scope of my article. Nor do I attempt to distinguish 'typically' or 'essentially' French traits in the Finns' practices. If the research paradigm was brought to Finland

from elsewhere, it will be important to know through what sort of procedures this happened in practice. What bearing at specific moments of the evolution of the discipline might the creative thinking and the individual quest of Finnish scholars have had? What role was played by the Finns' journeys, and by their encounters with colleagues of other nationalities and their correspondence with them? I believe I am working towards Mantere's own goals in suggesting that focusing on cross-border relations is an effective way of avoiding methodological nationalism.

My approach, it is important to stress, is not intended to replace the analysis of academic texts, but rather to help future scholars to define precise research questions to apply to these texts. In this article more generally I will be touching on the special character of Europe's charismatic cultural capitals, their rivalries, and their specific ways of dealing with the peripheries; Paris and France are my case in point.¹² While focusing on the Finns' mobility towards the cultural capitals, the networking that took place in them, and the cross-border interaction in the early phase of the discipline in general, I shall be casting light on the institutional emergence of musicology as a university discipline. Here, whether we take musicology for an international phenomenon or look at it from a narrow Finnish-national perspective, the question of who should be considered a musicologist, and on what grounds, is a challenge to the present-day scholar. Whereas Mantere did not really approach his topic through an observation of the correspondence between contemporaries, it is my opinion that correspondence and other documents relating to people's interaction may offer the present-day scholar an invaluable insight into the perpetual incompleteness of their thinking and into its perennial becoming. Again, unlike Mantere, I do not intend to exclude from the scholarly perspective the eventual relevance to academic and cultural relations of the evolution of international politics. I find it significant

⁹ The French-language writers indicated in his bibliography are: Bernard Carra de Vaux, Jules Combarieu, Antoine Dechevrens, Maurice Emmanuel, François-Joseph Fétis, Maurice Gandillot, François-Auguste Gevaert & Johann C. Vollgraff, Auguste Guillemin, Vincent d'Indy, Jean Georges Kastner, de Lange, Louis Lootens, van Oost, Poncet, Charles-Émile Ruelle, Abbé Auguste Teppe, Julien Tiersot, and Anselme Vinée.

¹⁰ Mantere (2012a: 52–53) emphasises the relevance of correspondence as his source material. It is therefore surprising that the bibliographies of the four articles of his that I have studied only include four letters.

¹¹ For the aims of the project, see: <http://sites.siba.fi/en/web/remu/research-project>.

¹² The relations of Finnish musicologists with other centres would be worth similar investigation.

that Finnish musicological relations with France started to evolve not just at the moment of a convergence in international cooperation in the musicological community, but also during a period when Finland was a Grand Duchy of the Russian Empire and France an ally of Russia. Documents reveal that the Franco-Prussian war of 1870–1871 remained a bleeding wound in French-German relations until World War I, to say nothing of the tense climate of the period between the two world wars. The formation of the national musicological societies and the international cooperation during and after World War I did not proceed straightforwardly. The dissolution in 1914 of Internationale Musikgesellschaft due to a German initiative caused a long-lasting confrontation within the musicological community, with the result that in the 1920s musicologists of the Allied nations cultivated international cooperation which excluded the Central Powers of World War I, Germany and the Austro-Hungarian Empire.¹³ In such a constellation the question of the international positioning of Krohn and the Finnish Musicological Society, which he founded in 1916, appears in a new light.

While an independent essay, this article is one contribution among others to my long-term research on the evolution of Finnish-French musical relations during the years 1880–1940, a period marked by the rise and fall of the Franco-Russian alliance and the gradual fragmentation of the international scene along with mounting nationalism.

The formative phase of Krohn's academic pursuit: international positioning and professional self-profiling

One might expect that the German family background and education of Ilmari Krohn (Helsinki 1867 – Helsinki 1960), often called the founder of Finnish musicology, would have sealed the scholar's worldview. He was born into a family of North-German origin, whose Saint-Petersburg branch assumed Finnish citizenship in the early

19th century. His father Julius Krohn (Viborg 1835 – Viborg 1888) was Professor of Finnish language and literature at the Imperial Alexander University of Helsinki (Majamaa 1998/2014). A brood of talented children was born in his marriage with Julie Dannenberg, also of German origin. It included the future writer Aino, spouse of Estonian diplomat, folklorist and linguist Oskar Kallas, and two future professors of the University of Helsinki: a proponent of comparative folklore research Kaarle Krohn (Helsinki 1863 – Sammatti 1933), and the music specialist Ilmari (Kai Laitinen 1999/2017; Apo 2001/2008; Autio 2002). In the 1880s Ilmari Krohn studied piano, harmony and counterpoint in his home country under the direction of German-born Richard Faltin, and in 1886–1890 at the Conservatory of Leipzig the theory of music, composition, piano, organ, chamber music, singing, music history and the aesthetics of music. At the Helsinki Imperial Alexander University in 1885–1886 and 1890–1892, his studies included aesthetics and contemporary literature, general history, philosophy, Finnish language and literature, and botany. He graduated in 1894 (Candidate of Philosophy). His first wife was the Saint-Petersburg German Emilie von Dittmann (1870–1905).¹⁴

Another question that is intertwined with this issue of cultural-geographical orientation concerns the distinctness of his professional specialisation. For Finland, the career of Krohn's older contemporary Martin Wegelius (1846–1906) serves as a good example of the close ties connecting academic learning with the art of music. Wegelius studied aesthetics, philosophy, history, and literature at the Imperial Alexander University and graduated in 1868 (Master of Philosophy) before pursuing his musical studies in Vienna, Leipzig and Munich. He then gained his living through many different occupations in the musical domain. In 1882 he became the founder and director of the Helsinki Music Institute (subsequent Helsinki Conservatory and Sibelius Academy), a composer and a composition teacher, whose students included Jean Sibelius. In 1891–1893 he published

¹³ Fauser pointed out that many considered the dissolution of the IMG illegal, which had consequences for the musicological networks that emerged after World War I. According to Fauser, Breitkopf & Härtel, the publisher of the *Zeitschrift der Internationalen Musikgesellschaft*, seems to have been a driving force behind the dissolution, although the newly-elected President of the society Hermann Kretzschmar fronted the deed. Not all German members of the IMG agreed with this procedure (Fauser 2017). See also Kirnbauer 2017.

¹⁴ For a detailed account of Ilmari Krohn's family background and of his education in his home country and Leipzig, see Martti Laitinen 2014.

a learned treatise entitled *Hufvuddragen af den västerländska musikens historia från den kristna tidens början till våra dagar* (Outlines of the history of Western music from the beginning of the Christian time to our days), a work that achieved an important reputation in his home country¹⁵ (Sarjala 1999/2006).

As mentioned above, Ilmari Krohn first had a many-sided practical education in music in Finland and Germany in the 1880s. The German connection did not exclude an interest in other countries and the scholarship they nourished. His excellent language skills¹⁶ helped him become a world-citizen in his own right. When in 1891, at the early age of 24, he participated in the second international folklore congress in London (replacing his elder brother Kaarle, who was unable to use his university's travel grant awarded for this purpose [Krohn 1951: 175–176]), his paper was in French and bore the title “La chanson populaire en Finlande” (Folksong in Finland) (Krohn 1892).¹⁷ Equipped with a knowledge of folklore owing to his family background, inspired by national identity work, and supported financially by the fennoman Savo-Karelian students' union of his university, he had started collecting Finnish traditional tunes five years earlier (cf. Martti Laitinen 2014: 17, 63–65). In his London paper he referred to the views of Julien Tiersot (1857–1936), the author of the imposing *Histoire de la chanson populaire en France* (A history of folk song in France) of 1889. In fact, Tiersot was the only scholar he mentioned by name. This detail has gone unnoticed by previous scholars (Martti Laitinen 2014: 43–44; Mantere 2015; Mäkelä 2014: 170).

Whether or not all of the viewpoints in Tiersot's book and Krohn's paper are strictly musico-logical is another question, at least in our present understanding. Tiersot's erudite history also gave voice to the standpoint of musical creation in its current ideological form. He, like Krohn, was an accomplished musician, and had studied composition at the Paris Conservatoire under Jules Massenet. He construed the changing French relation with folk song from the angle of musical creation in this way: “Our present-day symphonic school has made abundant use of the popular melodies of all countries. Having sought its elements from very far away, it is now starting to utilise those offered by the soil.”¹⁸ (Tiersot 1889a: 535) Clearly, Tiersot held this exploitation of the ‘natural resources’ of his own land desirable.

In Krohn's London paper two years later, the same patriotic-ideological commitment and view of musical creation can be distinguished:

The honourable Mr. J. Tiersot has proved in his *History of popular song in France* that in his home country and, indeed, in the greatest part of Europe the street song is increasingly invalidating the popular song, that is, the true, beautiful popular song, and that only in some isolated provinces have the people conserved the musical heritage of their ancestors, sometimes in a degenerated and corrupted form, but often more or less immaculate and intact in its original beauty.¹⁹ (Krohn 1892: 135)

Krohn analysed the regional forms of the Finnish traditional song before coming to his national-romantic conclusion, which united the traditional

¹⁵ A completed Finnish-language edition of the book was published in 1904, *Länsimaisen musiikin historia pääpiirteissään kristinuskon alkuajoista meidän päiviimme*.

¹⁶ Finnish was his family language. He also knew German, French, Swedish, Russian, Latin, and Spanish. Having reached the age of 60 he even learned Hungarian (Martti Laitinen 2014: 9). Some documents suggest that he also had at least some knowledge of English.

¹⁷ In his travel reports published in the Finnish daily newspaper *Uusi Suometar*, Krohn paid great attention to the question of the evolution of folklore and the transformation it underwent when passing from one culture to another. He regretted the modest role that musical folklore occupied in this congress hosting more than a hundred English and some twenty foreign participants. In one of the four reports (16 October 1891) he published his own conference paper in a Finnish version (Cis [pseudonym of Ilmari Krohn] 1891).

¹⁸ “Notre moderne école symphonique a fait un emploi copieux de mélodies populaires de tous les pays, et commence, après avoir cherché très loin ses éléments, à se servir de ceux que le terroir lui fournit.”

¹⁹ “L'honorable Monsieur J. Tiersot a prouvé dans son *Histoire de la chanson populaire en France* que dans sa patrie et de même dans la plus grande partie de l'Europe la chanson populaire, c'est-à-dire la vraie, la belle chanson populaire, est de plus en plus anéantie par la chanson de rue, et que seulement dans quelques provinces isolées le peuple a conservé l'héritage musicale de ses ancêtres, quelquefois dégénéré, dépravé, souvent cependant plus ou moins immaculé et intact dans son originelle beauté.”

song, the people, and the composer into an organic whole.

Krohn was confident when claiming that, unlike what had happened in many other countries, the street song would not succeed in triumphing over the folk song of his own people. For such an evolution the learned stratum of the Finnish population would bear a great responsibility. The young, learned music of Finland would absorb the spirit of folksong and would give the song in a transformed guise back to the people (see, for example, Tyrväinen 2013: 104–106). Thus would learned music teach the people to appreciate and preserve its property.

Then true art will have a solid foundation for preparing the dangerous and relentless fight against bad taste. By leaning on the living music of the people, and by maintaining a reciprocal contact with it, learned music will gain a victory over its enemy, thereby ceasing to remain a luxury object of the upper classes. It will reach its true goal and attain its calling as a vehicle of a national, human culture.²⁰ (Krohn 1892: 139)

This kind of national-romantic view, which implied a critical stance and an aestheticising view of the traditional tune, and a patronising attitude vis-à-vis the uneducated strata of the population, was widespread in Finland (see e.g., Heikki Laitinen 1986). More generally in Europe, there was considerable concern about the immanent disappearance of “original” folksong. As for Tiersot, his “set of activities was at the same time scientific and political”; he for his part became the “incontestable pope of French folklore studies during the Third Republic” (Campos 2013: 89, 102). Tiersot’s interest in the origin, evolution, and

classification of the traditional tunes (cf. Campos 2013: 96–99), however, might also have particularly inspired Krohn.

Krohn did not submit his German-language doctoral thesis *Über die Art und Entstehung der geistlichen Volksmelodien in Finland* (On the type and origin of the spiritual popular tunes in Finland) until 1899, to be examined in the discipline of Aesthetics of the Imperial Alexander University of Helsinki.²¹ The following year he was given the university’s first title of Docent in Music History and Theory. This position did not bring an end to his activity as a practising musician. His main occupation for several years to come was the post of cantor in Tampere (Mantere 2012a: 44). After giving this up, and after becoming in 1918 Extraordinary Professor at his *alma mater*, renamed the University of Helsinki at the time of Finland’s national independence (*Helsingin* ... 1918–2000), he continued to be active as an organist,²² composer and music critic.

Finally, the question as to whether the above-mentioned statements of Tiersot and Krohn are musicological is anachronistic, for institutionally the discipline was then only emerging. For a long time to come its practitioners also remained composers or musicians (see e.g., Fabris 2017: 2). A chair of the History of Music was established at the Paris Conservatoire in 1871. After music had been present at universities in a practical form and as a part of various disciplines for a long time, university professorships were founded first in Vienna in 1861 (Professor “Ordinarius”, that is, full professor in Music History and Aesthetics, Eduard Hanslick), and then in Prague in 1869 (August Wilhelm Ambros), in the still German Straßburg (now French Strasbourg) in 1897 (Gustav Jacobsthal),²³ and at the Paris Sorbonne in 1903 (Romain Rol-

²⁰ “Alors l’art vrai aura un large fondement pour se préparer à la lutte dangereuse et acharnée contre le mauvais goût; en s’appuyant sur la musique populaire vivante et en se maintenant en rapport réciproque avec elle, la musique savante remportera la victoire sur son ennemi et cessera alors d’être un objet de luxe des classes supérieures, en arrivant à son vrai but, à sa vraie mission, d’être un moyen de culture nationale et humaine.”

²¹ Martti Laitinen (2014: 70) has pointed out the surprising fact that in the title of his thesis Krohn spells the name of his home country in the Swedish (and not the German) way, “Finland”. Krohn uses the Swedish spelling of his country’s name not only in the otherwise German-language title, but throughout his thesis. I thank Professor Heikki Laitinen for this observation.

²² Krohn was organist at the Helsinki Kallio Church from 1911 to 1944. I thank Heikki Laitinen for this information.

²³ Jacobsthal had served as *Privatdozent* at his university since 1872 (Goodman [accessed 2017]). In Germany, the next “Ordinarius” professorships in Musicology were established in Berlin in 1904 (Hermann Kretzschmar) and Munich in 1909 (Adolf Sandberger) (Potter [accessed 2017]).

land)²⁴ (Potter [accessed 2017]; Gribenski [accessed 2017]). By international standards Krohn's appointment as a Docent was thus relatively early.

Krohn and Tiersot: correspondence on comparative musicology

Krohn's first contacts with France coincide with the formative phase of his scholarly career. Julien Tiersot, to whom he referred respectfully in his London paper, became an authority in the field of research on French folk song, a renowned musicologist, and in 1909 director of the library of the Paris Conservatoire. Between 1920 and 1923 and again in 1927 he was President of the French musicological society. He had paid attention to Finnish folk song and the art of music most recently in the year of publication of his folk song history. In that year he reported on the concerts of the 1889 Paris Universal Exposition for the journal *Le ménestrel*, also reviewing the successful performances of the Finnish student choir M.M. (Muntra Musikanter). M.M.'s concert programme included arrangements of Finnish traditional songs, besides a largely Scandinavian and German repertoire. Tiersot pronounced approvingly on the folk songs: "But above all, the popular melodies of Finland, a country in which Swedish and Finnish elements coexist in about equal proportion, are full of flavour and originality."²⁵ (Tiersot 1889b, 1889c: 54–55) The same year, Tiersot's reports on the Universal Exposition were published in the form of a book, *Musiques pittoresques: Promenades musicales à l'Exposition de 1889* (Tiersot 1889c).

On June 25 1898 Tiersot wrote a letter to Krohn²⁶ in reply to questions Krohn had addressed to him by letter, apparently concerning his thesis project.²⁷ Tiersot's answer consisted of French variants of a traditional song in music and text and remarks on them. He wrote:

It is a pleasure for me to answer your question by sending you a copy of several versions of the enumerative song you mention in forms that have remained popular in our French provinces. It is true that you will not find among them the music of the Latin song: *Unus deus* etc. I only know its existence through *Barzaz-Breiz*²⁸ (it is mentioned in my book) which gives only its text. However, I have notated the melodies of the same folk song in Brittany, Flanders, and even in Paris.²⁹

Krohn's questioning had led him to investigate phenomena in territories outside Finland, including those of France. Until then he had collected traditional songs not only in Finland (1886, 1890, 1897–1898), but also in Sweden in 1897 (Salmenhaara [accessed 2017]). Besides this, his thesis project involved archival work in Sweden, Denmark and Germany (Heikki Laitinen 2011). On a separate sheet, Tiersot now wrote to Krohn about his observations on eight variants. The information thus concerned comparative research on traditional tunes. Krohn refers to Tiersot's *Histoire de la chanson populaire en France* in his thesis when he states that the origin of sacred songs could be secular (Krohn 1899: 30).

In his letter the Frenchman also told Krohn that he was planning to make a journey to Russia and Denmark and that he hoped to stop by in Finland on that occasion. We are here reminded that mobility associated with international research contacts did not only consist of journeys from the peripheries towards the centres. Tiersot wrote:

I have often made, not only in France but also in Belgium and Holland, presentations on French folk song accompanied by musical auditions (I sing myself). But I might have the opportunity next winter to come to Rus-

²⁴ On Romain Rolland as a musicologist, see Massip 2015.

²⁵ "[...] mais surtout les mélodies populaires de la Finlande, pays où les éléments suédois et finnois se trouvent en proportions à peu près égales, sont pleines de saveur et d'originalité." Of Finnish composers, only the naturalised Finn Fredrik (Friedrich) Pacius, the German-born composer of the Finnish national anthem, was included in the two M.M. Trocadéro concerts (Tyrväinen 1994: 30–31).

²⁶ The archive of Finnish Literature Society (Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, SKS), Ilmari Krohn archive, SKS 699-33-1.

²⁷ Unfortunately, I have not been able to locate Krohn's letter to Tiersot.

²⁸ Collection of folk tunes of Brittany *Barzaz Breiz* (1839), compiled by Théodore Hersant de la Villemarqué (1805–1895).

²⁹ "Je me fais un plaisir de répondre à vos questions en vous envoyant la copie de plusieurs versions de la chanson énumérative dont vous parlez, telles qu'elles sont restées populaires dans nos provinces françaises. Vous n'y trouverez pas, il est vrai, la musique de la chanson latine: *Unus deus*, etc. dont je ne connais l'existence que par le *Barzaz-Breiz* (cité en note dans mon livre), lequel n'en donne que le texte; mais j'ai noté les mélodies de la même chanson populaire en Bretagne, Flandre, et même à Paris."

sia (to conduct a concert in Saint Petersburg) and to Denmark (Mr. Nierop [Nyrop] has asked me to come to Copenhagen in order to make presentations for the Alliance française); if this happens I should like very much to profit by my presence in your countries by giving as many talks as possible.

Hence, if according to your knowledge I might have a good reception in the Finnish cities, either in the Alliance française or at the Universities, I would be very grateful if you could tell me about this and give me the necessary practical advice.

I would be happy if this granted me the joy of making the acquaintance of a learned colleague whose work I already know [...].³⁰

The mention of Finland, Russia and Denmark in one and the same context suggests that the Franco-Russian alliance was giving wings to Tiersot's plans. This diplomatic and military alliance also invigorated the cultural and musical ties between the two countries.³¹ The Danish origin of Maria (originally Dagmar), wife of Alexander III, strengthened French connections with Denmark. In such a setting Finland would have appeared to France in her imperial Russian context. It is not known whether or not Tiersot's journey actually took place; no proof remains of any stay in Finland in the winter of 1898–1899.³² Moreover, no trace of any further communication between the two remains. The two scholars would have met personally at the latest in July 1900, when an inter-

national congress of Music history was organised in connexion with the Paris Universal Exposition.

Tiersot followed the Finn's work even later. In the last congress of the Internationale Musikgesellschaft, which took place in Paris in 1914 (Congrès International de Musique) thanks to the initiative of Louis Laloy and the President of the ethnographic section G. Lefeuvre, a decision was made to form a committee for research into musical folklore. Tiersot was chosen as President, Lefeuvre as secretary; the other members were Krohn, Johannes Wolf (Germany), "Mrs. Lineff", alias Yevgeniya Edouardovna Linyova, (Russia), and Father Komitas (Soghomon Soghomonian, Armenia).³³ In Tiersot's long article on folk song in the Lavignac encyclopedia (Tiersot 1930), with regard to Finnish research several collections of Krohn are mentioned alongside those of Armas Launis, Selim Palmgren, Ilmari Hannikainen, Toivo Kuula and Erkki Melartin.

Krohn in the international Music history congress of the 1900 Paris Universal Exposition

Krohn's route to the 1900 Paris Music History Congress³⁴ passed through Copenhagen, Berlin, Leipzig, Nuremberg, Straßburg (presently Strasbourg) and Cologne. During this journey he observed different kinds of church services in various cities and became acquainted with the current state of church song, as well as with the efforts to reform it. He met many reputed music researchers and

³⁰ "J'ai fait souvent, non seulement en France, mais aussi en Belgique et en Hollande, des conférences sur la chanson populaire française, accompagnées d'auditions musicales (je chante moi-même). Or, l'hiver prochain, il se pourrait que j'eusse l'occasion de venir en Russie (pour diriger un concert à S^t Pétersbourg) et en Danemark (M. Nierop [Nyrop] m'a demandé de venir faire des conférences à Copenhague pour l'Alliance française); s'il est ainsi, je désirerais beaucoup profiter de ma présence dans vos pays pour y faire le plus de conférences possible.

Si donc il était à votre connaissance que je pusse recevoir bon accueil dans les villes en Finlande, soit à l'Alliance française soit dans les Universités, je vous serais très reconnaissant de vouloir bien m'en faire part, et me donner les indications pratiques nécessaires pour cela.

Je serais heureux si cela me présenterait le plaisir de faire la connaissance d'un savant confrère, dont les travaux me sont bien connus [...]."

(Kristoffer Nyrop was Professor in Roman languages at the University of Copenhagen and Head of the Danish section of Alliance Française. I thank Dr. Claus Røllum-Larsen for this information.)

³¹ On the origins of the musical impact of the Franco-Russian alliance see Tyrväinen 2016.

³² The archive of the Alliance française in Helsinki contains no mention of Tiersot's visit to Finland around the time in question.

³³ *Le ménestrel* 1914a: 199–200; *Le Temps* 1914: 5.

³⁴ I have published previously on Krohn's participation in the 1900 Paris Music History Congress in a non-academic context (Tyrväinen 2011).

theologians, both German and others.³⁵ In Berlin, guided by Oskar Fleischer and Max Seiffert, he got to know the activities of the local group of the Internationale Musikgesellschaft founded a year earlier. Among the talks given at its meetings, that by Oskar Fleischer, Extraordinary Professor at the Berlin Friedrich-Wilhelms-University (now Humboldt University) and founding member and President of the IMG as well as the editor of its publications on the neume notation of Gregorian chant was an important one. Krohn himself spoke about Finnish traditional music (Martti Laitinen 2014: 75–76). There can be no doubt that such gatherings with his German colleagues oriented his musicological thinking.

As Christoph Charle has stated, the cultural capitals are attractive centres of power which maintain an interplay with various forms of culture and structure the symbolic production of one or several cultural areas – in Paris, London and sometimes Rome, indeed, the majority of the cultural areas. By definition, they are cosmopolitan centres in which an authoritative national reasoning is of relatively scarce importance. An age-old rivalry and an urge to act as a display window for their culture, which symbolises their power, is typical of them (Charle 2009: 12–15). On his arrival in Paris, Krohn encountered another kind of a European cultural capital: the home of Revolution and Republic that took pride in being a champion of the rights of oppressed peoples. A capital of a great power, Paris had accumulated a political power which Copenhagen, Leipzig, Nuremberg, Straßburg and Cologne did not possess. The Universal Expositions it hosted reveal its unique determination to profile itself as the patron of the cultures of the globe (see, for example, Smeds 1996: 45–47, 49, 96, 159). In the concert programmes of the Expositions Paris did not only

introduce the pride of French music, its historical and contemporary repertoire, but even invited foreigners to make their music heard before an international audience.³⁶

The first international Congress of Music History that took place between 23 and 28 July 1900 was also part of the programme of the Universal Exposition. It constituted the eighth section of a large-scale Congress on Comparative history that was administrated at French ministerial level. The programme comprised a “historical concert” organised by Tiersot and Charles Bordes (Combarieu 1901: 3, 306–308).³⁷ While Krohn had in Berlin been a guest of the Germans, the interaction he encountered in Paris was of an international nature. “This Congress had an immediate outcome: it permitted musicians who knew one another only by name, or by the virulent criticism they had flung at each other, to enter into cordial relations”,³⁸ stated the adjunct secretary of the Congress (Hellouin 1900).

The organisation committee included several French celebrities. Among the officials were the world-famous composer and member of the Academy of France Camille Saint-Saëns as Honorary President, the music history teacher of the Paris Conservatoire Louis-Albert Bourgault-Ducoudray as President, Tiersot as Vice-President, the *maître de conférences* of the École normale supérieure, future Professor of Musicology at the Sorbonne University and future Nobel Literature Prize winner Romain Rolland as General Secretary, and the archivist of Paris Opéra Charles Malherbe as Treasurer. The other members of the Committee were the writer on music and music critic Camille Bellaïge, the composer and one of the founders of the Paris Schola Cantorum (a rival of the Paris Conservatoire) Charles Bordes, the Bach scholar Jules Combarieu, who had studied

³⁵ Martti Laitinen (2014: 75) names Rochus von Liliencron, Friedrich Chrysander, Johann Stosch, Oskar Fleischer, Max Seiffert, the Swede Tobias Norlind, Hugo Riemann, Georg Rietschel, Max Herold, and Wilhelm Löhe. In Copenhagen Krohn familiarised himself with the music of the Jewish congregation.

³⁶ For an important survey of the musical programmes and ideologies during the Paris 1889 Universal Exposition, see Fauser 2005.

³⁷ Finnish voice teacher Anna Sarlin wrote to Krohn in a postcard dated Paris 23 April 1900: “A French musician who is going to perform *sacred* music from different countries here during the exposition asked me to get some *Finnish* [music]. The older the better, the kind they call in French: *cantique*.” (Ilmari Krohn archive, SKS 698-11-4) Sarlin’s message might concern the historical concert organised on 28 July as part of the Music History Congress (cf. Combarieu 1901: 306–307). No Finnish music was part of the program.

³⁸ “Ce congrès a eu un résultat immédiat: permettre à des musiciens qui ne se connaissaient que de nom, ou par des critiques virulentes qu’ils s’étaient lancées, d’entrer en relations cordiales.”

under Philipp Spitta in Berlin, the composer and musicologist Maurice Emmanuel, the musicologist Henri Expert, and the renowned composer and director of the Paris Schola Cantorum Vincent d'Indy (Combarieu 1901: 5). Even the mere list of participants at the Paris Congress obliges the present-day scholar to give up any romantic assumption that an encounter of two scholars coming from different countries was in fact a meeting of two nation-subjects defined by the borders of nation states. The participants came from fourteen countries: besides the host country, France, and Finland, also from Germany, Austria, Switzerland, Great-Britain, Holland, Belgium, Italy, Spain, Russia, Turkey, Mexico, and Sweden. From the German-speaking area, for example, Guido Adler from Vienna, Gustav Jacobsthal from Straßburg, Adolf Sandberger from Munich, and Hugo Riemann and Hermann Kretzschmar from Leipzig all participated (ibid. p. 5–6). Krohn had arrived in the prestigious cosmopolitan centre of European civilization, which merged and at the same time differentiated scholarly views, thereby emanating its influence widely to the surrounding world. The proceedings of the Congress contain information on six speakers who discussed the music of ancient Greece. Three of those working on the Middle Ages (Georges Houdard, Dom Hugo Gaisser, Grassi Landi) dealt with topics around Gregorian chant, an important theme of current interest,³⁹ and two with secular music. In addition, the Congress included sessions named “Modern music” and “Miscellaneous”; the topics were various (ibid. 317–318).

In 1900 the Finns were particularly aware of the international political weight of Paris. In Finnish cultural history Finland's participation in the 1900 Paris Universal Exposition appears in relation to the dramatic political incident of the previous year, the February manifesto of Russian Emperor Nicholas II, who had proclaimed that the

autonomy of Finland should be limited. Thus a Universal Exposition organised in the capital city of an allied country was seen as an opportunity to put pressure on the Imperial power. This would happen by drawing the attention of France and the civilised world to the original, high-level culture of the Grand Duchy. The Finnish participation in the 1900 Paris Universal Exposition was a great anti-Russian manifestation (Smeds 1996: 277–279, 328–345).⁴⁰

Just as he had done nine years earlier in London and more recently in Berlin, Ilmari Krohn spoke about Finnish traditional music. Thus his paper was in line with the rest of the Finnish representation that emphasised national originality, even though he was not directly motivated by political considerations. The title of his paper was “De la mesure à 5 temps dans la musique populaire finnoise” (About five-beat measure in Finnish folk music) (Krohn 1901),⁴¹ by which notion he referred to Kalevalaic tunes. His own ‘research question’ concerned the aesthetic merit of the pentameter. He leaned on the notion of the metrical foot stemming from Greek antiquity. In his speculative address he in fact evaluated the usefulness of pentameter folk tunes as material for composers. He considered tunes with the stress on the first and the fourth beats of the bar unsatisfactory: they are repeatedly truncated and therefore restless. He approved of those with the stress on the first and third beats, for they are characterised by constant extension, and thus composure. He pointed out that the melodies of the national epic, the *Kalevala*, are typically written in the former way, with the stress on the first and fourth beats. This, he claimed, was wrong and recommended it be amended by moving the bar line (Krohn 1901). The claim of the different effect and aesthetic value of the two kinds of pentameter remains without any epistemological foundation. Here, we see Krohn working on his speculative

³⁹ The proceedings of the Congress announce the following titles (Combarieu 1901: 317–318). Houdard: “La notation neumatique”, Gaisser: “Observations de la communication de M. Houdard”, Houdard: “La notation neumatique considérée dans son sens extérieur matériel”, Grassi Landi: “Observations relatives à l'interprétation des notes neumatiques du chant grégorien”, Gaisser: “L'origine du ‘Tonus peregrinus’”.

⁴⁰ With regard to the musical side of the Finnish participation see Tyrväinen 1994, 1998.

⁴¹ Krohn's paper was placed in the category “IV Musique moderne”. Besides the volume edited by Jules Combarieu (1901), the papers were published in *Sammelbände der Internationalen Musikgesellschaft* 1900/1901 Vol. 2/1.

doctrine of rhythm, which he based on universals and later worked into enormous dimensions.⁴²

Krohn ended his talk with a normative and nationalist remark: “The melodies of the *Kalevala* songs – must always be the natural basis for our national Finnish music.”⁴³ As stated above, a nationalist argument and a focus on traditional songs is by no means indicative of any peripheral self-positioning on the part of Krohn and Finnish musicology. The President of the Congress Louis-Albert Bougault-Ducoudray, a composer, Tiersot’s teacher, and since 1878 music history teacher at the Paris Conservatoire and hence occupant of the first French chair of music history, also dedicated much of his opening address to research on traditional music. He likewise pointed to the potential for identification of the traditional tune when he asserted: “The time has come for artists and scholars to make a complete inventory of the melodic riches that are like divine mineral with which the civilised artist must create a work of art.”⁴⁴ (Bougault-Ducoudray 1901: 11)

Thus Bougault-Ducoudray’s talk, too, highlighted the usefulness of traditional music for learned music. More generally, it included an obliging attitude towards a composer’s work, insisting on his or her renewal and progress. The identity question is here an inseparable part of a composition and a composer’s craft:

Truly, it is an indisputable law that the past contains the seed of the future, and that the most secure way to enrich the musical language by lasting conquests is to implant the new attempts in a profound knowledge of the past⁴⁵ (ibid., p. 9).

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But the history of the past [!] reveals to us the existence of certain neglected galleries, the intelligent exploitation of which would assure new conquests for musical activity. Homophonic music – antique or popular – offers a certain number of modes and rhythms that have not yet been deployed in the language of music. These as yet unused elements of expression are by no means incompatible with the requirements of modern polyphony and orchestration.⁴⁶

The introduction of these new resources of colour into learned music, the use of all melodic scales: *diatonic* or *chromatic*, *antique* or *exotic*, research into the infinite diversity of the rhythmic conceptions and even the art of exteriorising these rhythms in dances whose nature will be more expressive than mechanical – if I am not mistaken, in the 20th century such conquests will be fully accomplished, carefully

⁴² The speculative side of Krohn’s thinking is hereby shown. Matti Huttunen has interpreted the systemising aim of Krohn’s thought in the light of the epistemological trinity of Hegel’s philosophy: reality is of a spiritual character, its character can be speculated upon, and its investigation is holistic and systemising (Huttunen 1999: 16 as quoted by Mantere 2012a: 45). Erkki Salmenhaara writes: “His interest in rhythmic analysis led him to evolve a hierarchy of musical forms from the smallest possible units to works on the scale of the *Ring*.” (Salmenhaara [accessed 2017]) Mäkelä writes (2014: 169): “His work was driven by a theoretical interest in the essence of music, the interpretation of music at all levels of structure and signification.” On Krohn’s own statement (from 1919) regarding his view on rhythm, see Mantere 2012a: 48.

⁴³ It is true that Krohn wrote in his youth some works the subjects of which were drawn from the *Kalevala* (Martti Laitinen 2014: 18, 53). There is not yet enough evidence to state just how much the tunes of the *Kalevala* poetry influenced his musical language. His composer’s production consists mainly of religious music.

⁴⁴ “Il est temps enfin que les artistes & les savants puissent faire l’inventaire complet de ces richesses mélodiques qui sont comme le minerai divin avec lequel l’artiste civilisé doit créer l’œuvre d’art.” – Bougault-Ducoudray did not come forward with any basic distinction concerning the roles of the various countries.

⁴⁵ “C’est en effet une loi incontestable que le passé contient en germe l’avenir, & que le plus sûr moyen d’enrichir la langue musicale de conquêtes durables, c’est de greffer les tentatives nouvelles sur la connaissance approfondi du passé.”

⁴⁶ “Or l’histoire du passé nous révèle l’existence de certaines galeries négligées, dont l’exploitation intelligente assurerait à l’activité musicale des conquêtes nouvelles. La musique homophone, antique ou populaire, dispose d’un certain nombre de modes & de rythmes qui n’ont pas encore été mis en circulation dans la langue musicale. Ces éléments d’expression encore inexploités, ne sont nullement inconciliables avec les exigences de la polyphonie & de l’orchestration modernes.”

prepared as they were in the 19th century by softening the elements and suggesting [new] paths.⁴⁷ (Ibid., p. 9)

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Ascribing to the elements of original expression inherent in folk melodies the value they deserve [and] putting them into circulation in the language of music will not only enrich the composer's palette, furnishing him with new and varied elements of expression; it will establish a closer and closer link between the individual, conscious effort of the civilised artist and the collective, anonymous production that is the indelible mark of a race. It will confirm the collaboration between the humble custodian of the elementary and primordial form of the national spirit and the consummate artist whose brain is armed with all the resources of modern technique.⁴⁸ (Ibid., p. 10)

Interestingly, Bourgault-Ducoudray does not explain to his international audience how his recommended use of "*diatonic or chromatic, antique or exotic*" melodic scales would bring the French composer closer to his people and his "race".⁴⁹ The speaker's suggestion implies the assumption that the French race, as heir to Greco-Roman civilization, had a supremely rich heritage available. Considering that the instructions of Bourgault-Ducoudray and Krohn were aimed at composers, they would logically enrich the "palette" of a French composer more than that of a Finn. Here, we witness a widely-spread French conception called *translatio studii*. According to this mode of thought, cultures evolved following an inescapable path from elementary forms to a flowering which was followed by degeneration. It was commonly considered in France that the home

of the greatest cultural achievements had moved from the East to Greece, from there to Rome and modern Italy, and had reached France in the 16th century (see Tiersot 1889a: I, and e.g., Fauser 2001: 81–83). Bourgault-Ducoudray's idea implies a nationalist assumption of the superiority of the French heritage.

Bourgault-Ducoudray's claim for regeneration was symptomatic of France's concern in the 19th century for the vitality of national music and for the desire to renew it by drawing on the past. The educated class of Finland, on the other hand, was currently at the summit of its national self-esteem (Smeds 1997). Musically speaking it was free from the burden of the past. After all, the Grand Duchy had not produced any prestigious golden age comparable to those of France, and in the 1890s the Finns had witnessed the invigoration of their national art of music. In France, Finland was classified as one the Nordic 'young nations', whose music had come to international fame in the 19th century thanks to the Norwegians and the Russians (see, for example, Tiersot 1889a: 535). The Finns were not expected to contend for the highest place among the nations with their music, but they could count on their French hosts' interest.

In Paris, Krohn, who was a deeply religious protestant inspired by ecumenical ideas (Martti Laitinen 2014: 48), and who had collected and studied traditional religious tunes, was surrounded by several Christian men of music and specialists in sacred repertoires. Possibly, the prime significance of the Paris congress lay, for Krohn, in the area of research into religious musical traditions. His Paris journey in the summer of 1900 opened up to him "the wide world of musicology". He realised the scope of the mission and the labour it required, the "thorough toil". From then onwards

⁴⁷ "L'introduction dans la musique savante de ces nouvelles ressources du coloris, l'emploi de toutes les échelles mélodiques: *diatoniques* ou *chromatiques*, *antiques* ou *exotiques*, la recherche d'une inépuisable diversité dans les conceptions rythmiques & même l'art d'extérioriser ces rythmes par des danses d'un caractère plutôt expressif que mécanique, telles sont, si je ne me trompe, les conquêtes qui seront pleinement réalisées au XX^e siècle, conquêtes que le XIX^e siècle aura savamment préparées, en assouplissant les éléments & en indiquant les voies."

⁴⁸ "La mise en valeur des éléments d'expression originaux contenus dans les mélodies populaires, leur mise en circulation dans la langue musicale n'aura pas seulement pour effet d'enrichir la palette du compositeur, en lui fournissant des moyens d'expression nouveaux & variés, elle aura pour conséquence d'établir un lien de plus en plus étroit entre l'effort individuel & conscient de l'artiste civilisé & la production collective & anonyme qui est la marque indélébile du caractère d'une race. Il cimentera la collaboration entre l'humble dépositaire du génie nationale dans sa forme élémentaire & primordiale & l'artiste consommé dont le cerveau est armé de toutes les ressources de la technique moderne."

⁴⁹ In the period under consideration, the notion of 'race' could be used for referring to communities defined on a cultural rather than on a biological basis (Crépon, Cassin, Moatti 2004: 921–922). Krohn uses this notion, for example, in his travel report from London (Cis 1891).

Figure 1. Piano sonata by Ilmari Krohn, composed in memory of his little son, who had died, was displayed at an international exhibition of music manuscripts organised at the museum of the Opéra during the Universal Exposition (Bibliothèque nationale de France, la Bibliothèque-Musée de l'Opéra).

Finland *Krohn*

EXPOSITION UNIVERSELLE

In Memoriam
Sonate en Sol-majeur
pour le piano.
Deuxième partie. Ilmari Krohn, op. 3.

Moderato.

SABARAND

1900

1900 6 v1 (24)

he regarded himself as a musicologist. Research into the music of Antiquity and the Middle Ages was what now interested him most (Ranta 1945: 277; Krohn 1951: 26–27).

Krohn was recognised at the Universal Exposition forum also as a composer: manuscripts of music he had composed (the piano sonata *In memoriam* and the song cycle *Lieder eines Wanderburschen*) were displayed along with those of three other Finnish composers⁵⁰ at an international exhibition of music manuscripts at the museum of the Opéra, organised by the Treasurer of the Music History Congress, Charles Malherbe (Berggruen 1900).⁵¹ In a postcard to his brother Krohn reported that he had learned much at the congress and made the acquaintance of some foreigners, but regretted that the discussion had been restricted to the official part.⁵² However, his scrapbook begins, most revealingly, with a French-language press item on the paper he gave in Paris (Krohn s.a.). Hence Paris offered to him, as well as to the other participants, an opportunity to form an up-to-date overview of international research in the discipline, to create networks, and to gain international renown.

In the midst of the turn-of-the-century French-German tension

The surviving correspondence of the Secretary General of the 1900 Paris Congress Romain Rolland bears witness to the fierce patriotic tensions

that prevailed between the French and German parties during the preparatory stages, though these were hidden in the published conclusions of the gathering (Campos 2013: 87–88). The President of the Internationale Musikgesellschaft, Oskar Fleischer wrote to Krohn from Berlin in June 1900 in a tone that reveals the tension in question:

Because of the Paris Congress, the plans for the congress have been dropped and it has been postponed until next autumn. We do not want to give the French any cause whatsoever for complaining that we are setting up in competition, though we know quite well that France will not repay us in the same currency.⁵³

The letter was a reply to an enquiry from Krohn presumably referring to a congress planned for Germany.⁵⁴ Fleischer's confidential tone gives grounds for concluding that he took the Finnish scholar, whose German was excellent, for a man of the German camp.

An enquiry instigated by the *Revue d'histoire et de critique musicales* (*Revue ...* 1901), in which Krohn was invited to participate, reveals in another way that in an international context influential people in Finnish cultural life did not necessarily occupy an innocent position vis-à-vis the French-German rivalry. The editor of the French journal discussed Saint-Saëns's reputation in Germany:

When evaluating the recently-published book by Hugo Riemann [*Geschichte der Musik seit*

⁵⁰ According to the proceedings of the Congress (Combarieu 1901: 309), five Finnish composers were included. This confusing marking might be explained by the fact that excerpts from two works by Krohn were displayed. I have not found manuscripts from more than four Finnish composers (Krohn, Richard Faltin, Erkki Melartin, Oskar Merikanto) in the Bibliothèque-Opéra library where the manuscripts are stored under "Autographes des musiciens contemporains".

⁵¹ The organiser of the exhibition, the Opéra's librarian Charles Malherbe, had sent a specially fabricated sheet of manuscript paper supposedly "to all living composers" with a request for a sample that best represented the art of each (Berggruen 1900).

⁵² Ilmari Krohn wrote to his brother Kaarle: "I think I learned a lot at the congress. But otherwise, I was glad to get out from there again. I managed to give well my presentation and it was received with expressions of preference. But I think that there was more of a real interest in London nine years ago. Here, all discussion was limited to the official part, which could be quite lively at times. I got to know some foreigners a bit more. As for the rest, my journey is as a whole quite successful." (In the original Finnish: "Kongressissa luulen oppineeni paljon. Mutta muuten olin iloinen, kun pääsin taas pois sieltä. Esitelmäni sain hyvin pidetyksi ja otettiin vastaan mieltymyksen osoituksilla. Mutta oikeata harrastusta oli mielestäni paljon enemmän Lontoossa 9 vuotta sitten. Tässä jäi kaikki keskustelu siihen wiralliseen, joka kyllä joskus oli hyvin vilkas. Joihinkuihin ulkomaalaisiin pääsin vähän enemmän tutustumaan. Muuten on matkani kauttaltaan hyvin onnistunut." A postcard to Kaarle Krohn dated Berlin 1 August 1900, Krohn family archive, SKS 485-26-19. Martti Laitinen (2014: 77) has paid attention to this postcard.

⁵³ "Der geplante Kongreß ist in Hinsicht auf den Pariser Kongreß fallen gelaßen worden und auf den nächsten Herbst verschoben. Wir wollen den Franzosen keinen Anlaß zu etwaigen Klagen über Konkurrenz geben, obgleich wir recht wohl wissen, daß von Frankreich aus nicht mit gleicher Münz bezahlt wird." (20 June 1900, Berlin, Ilmari Krohn archive, SKS 694-11-2)

⁵⁴ The First Congress of the IMG was organised in Leipzig on 30 September 1904.

Beethoven (1800–1900)], I said that this notable historian has judged Mr. Camille Saint-Saëns too severely and partially and has not placed him in the right rank. I contacted non-French artists in order to ask if Mr. Riemann's opinion corresponded with the prevalent foreign opinion. I added that if this were the case, the explanation was that Mr. Saint-Saëns's works were not sufficiently known outside our borders. In such a case our publishers were to be blamed for not promoting French masterpieces by publishing very inexpensive editions, differently from what has been done in Germany for Beethoven, Schumann etc. (*Revue ...* 1901: 355)

The editor received such a large number of replies from various countries that he was only able to publish a fraction of them. Krohn's answer was one of the thirteen published ones, alongside those of Max Bruch, Siegfried Wagner and Emil Sjögren. When publishing his response, some basic information regarding his academic and artistic activity were included (*ibid.*, p. 363); Krohn had clearly gained a reputation among French connoisseurs of music history.

Krohn did not fall into the trap set in the borderlands of the two great powers of music, but answered diplomatically. He regretted the scarce renown of Saint-Saëns's works in Finland,⁵⁵ and proceeded by alluding to the Greek theory of art. According to Greek philosophers, he recalled, the true essence of the art of music was to moderate the passions. These were tempered by serene modes and purified by lively ones. If either side reigned above the other, music lost its power and

its influence on the spirit. If serene objectivity reigned alone, the passions might be disregarded; the heart was hardly moved, hence dullness and indifference remained. But in the 19th century subjectivity had taken a too strong a grip of objectivity, and by the latter half of the century passion spoke in music as a sovereign; art was incapable of purifying it. Fortunately, such a tendency had found its adversaries in the person of Johannes Brahms in Germany and Saint-Saëns in France.⁵⁶ The latter provided a classical model on which the young generation of French composers could lean and thereby defend the national music against the victorious cyclone of subjectivism. But Saint-Saëns's music, while it reflected the most sublime sides of the French-national genius through its perfection of form, its finesse of expression, the elevation and grace of its thought, and the sincerity of its passion, also brought these qualities within the reach of other peoples. The peoples needed to complement one another, and the value of a composer like Saint-Saëns must be seen absolutely as international and very precious (*ibid.*, p. 362).

Thus in his answer Krohn tactfully held on to his impartiality; in his summary of Krohn's reply, however, the editor of the *Revue d'histoire et de critique musicales* disregarded the mention of Brahms, writing with bias that Krohn "praises Mr. Camille Saint-Saëns for avoiding the kind of expression full of pathos which is currently fashionable, and for representing the qualities of measure and taste which are traditional in France" (*ibid.*, p. 363). But Krohn also outlined an independent place for Finnish music in the European art of music based on a common Greek heritage. He re-

⁵⁵ Saint-Saëns was not exactly a rarity in the concerts of the Helsinki Orchestral Society, subsequently Helsinki Philharmonic Society Orchestra. It performed *La jeunesse d'Hercule* (30 November 1882), *Danse macabre* (25 October 1883), overture to *Le Déluge* (29 November 1883), Cello Concerto in A minor (16 October 1884), Dance of the Priestesses of Dagon from *Samson et Dalila* (12 February 1885), *Phaéton* (1 April 1886), a piano concerto (22 November 1888), Symphony in A minor (10 April 1890), *Suite algérienne* (15 December 1892), Piano Concerto in C minor (13 February 1896), a cello concerto (8 December 1896), Violin Concerto in B minor (9 March 1899), Piano Concerto in G minor (1 March 1900). This list is probably incomplete, since the author has only listed the most important concerts (Ringbom 1932, more particularly, p. 93).

Saint-Saëns was also included in the concerts of the Helsinki Music Institute. The following works were performed: *Variations on a Theme of Beethoven* (9 October 1883, 24 January and 1 April 1885, 9 March 1898), Septet in E-flat major (1 and 6 November 1884, 13 and 17 March 1893), aria from *Étienne Marcel* (24 February 1885), Piano Concerto in G minor, 1st Movement (19 December 1885), Liszt-Saint-Saëns: *Orpheus* (23 January 1896), a violin concerto (9 May 1887), *Caprice sur les airs de ballet d'Alceste de Gluck* (22 March 1887), *Rhapsodie d'Auvergne* (1 April 1887), *Romance* (8 December 1887), Piano Quartet in B-flat major (16 February 1891 and 29 April 1896), Violin Concerto in A major (29 April 1891 and 3 December 1894), Violin Sonata in D minor (3 November 1893 and 23 October 1895), Violin Concerto in B minor (11 May 1894), *Le Cygne (Le Carnaval des animaux)* (10 April 1895), Cello Sonata in C minor (2 March 1896) (Dahlström 1982).

⁵⁶ During Krohn's time in Leipzig Brahms became his new favourite composer (Martti Laitinen 2014: 22).

served for the Finnish a right to be enriched by French as well as by German music, and also by that of other nations. In his Paris congress paper he had united the Finnish national character with the idea of the metrical foot of Greek poetry very concretely. The Greek heritage now manifested itself as part of the artist's interpretative aesthetic experience and imagination.

We see here how Krohn makes generalisations regarding French and German music through his own artistic experience. We may assume that this personal experiential angle remained a part of his creativity along with his artistic activity. Likewise, "in Krohn's tuition, composition and the theory of music were very close to one another. In his view aesthetics was based not only on intuition but also on theory, and on the other hand theory always contained an aesthetic element."⁵⁷

Consequences of the Paris Congress: Krohn's networking

Krohn maintained contact with many of the participants of the Paris Congress through his correspondence. Not all were musicologists in the exclusive sense of the word. From among his Paris acquaintances Hortence Parent, one of the noted French piano pedagogues of the time, sent to him in 1907 an enquiry concerning Sibelius's piano works while compiling her book *Répertoire encyclopédique du pianiste*.⁵⁸ Krohn was clearly becoming a central Finnish contact person in many international matters concerning music. Among the other congress delegates, we know that Oscar

Cilesotti, from Bassano, Italy, Dom Ugo Gaisser, from Montefiescone and Rome, as well as Georges Houdard and W. Delieux, from the Paris region, all wrote to him.⁵⁹ The subjects of the correspondence were, in particular, Greek, sacred and church music, including Gregorian chant, modes, neume notation and the work of the monks of Solesmes. Many of the replies Krohn received apparently concern deliveries of his own publications.

Dom Hugo Gaisser (1853–1919), a German-born Benedictine priest, a noted scholar of Gregorian and Byzantine chant, and a teacher (later director) at the Pontificio Collegio Atanasiano in Rome (Schiødt [accessed 2017]), advises Krohn in a letter from 1901 to become acquainted with Gregorian chant, for the present, through the publications of Solesmes. He comments critically yet gently on Krohn's reflections: "I find that these explanations would gain in academic value if you deepened their justification either historically or philosophically-aesthetically."⁶⁰ Gaisser ends his long German-language letter to Krohn with Christian words: "I now ask God always to keep you under his merciful protection."⁶¹ Krohn's correspondence shows that a shared analysis of the common roots of the musical practices of Christianity could serve as a cross-border bond between persons representing different churches.⁶²

As far as networking is concerned, Krohn's long correspondence with Frenchman Georges Houdard (1860–1913), a controversial scholar of Gregorian chant (Emerson [accessed 2017]),⁶³ appears by its mere quantity to be the most im-

⁵⁷ Krohn's pupil, Tauno Karila PhD, as quoted by Martti Laitinen (2014: 79). Heikki Laitinen (2011) has listed 24 composition pupils of Krohn.

⁵⁸ A postcard to Ilmari Krohn, 20 February 1907, Paris, Ilmari Krohn archive, SKS 69-14-1. Parent told Krohn that she was working on a volume on composers who had died before 1907 – she assumed that Sibelius (1865–1957) was already dead. This fragment is symptomatic of Sibelius's invisibility on the French musical scene.

⁵⁹ Ilmari Krohn archive, SKS 697-14-1.

⁶⁰ "Nur scheint mir würden dieselben [Ihre Ausführungen] an wissenschaftlichen Werth gewinnen, wenn Sie deren Begründung sei es historisch sei es philosophisch aesthetisch vertiefen würden." (12 September 1901, Montefiescone, Ilmari Krohn archive, SKS 692-52-1) Gaisser repeats the same advice in his second letter to Krohn dated Rome 1 January 1902 (Ilmari Krohn archive, SKS 692-52-2). On that occasion he points out the difference between sacred and secular music in the Middle Ages and even before, adding suggestions for reading and contacts. Since unfortunately Krohn's letter to Gaisser is unknown, it is not possible to judge which of Krohn's publications or considerations his distinguished colleague is commenting upon.

⁶¹ "Nun bitte ich Gott, Er möge Sie stets unter seinem gnädigen Schutze erhalten."

⁶² Mantere (2015: 49) has proposed, with different emphasis, that the Christian ethos of Krohn's scholarship embodies the world view of the Finnish educated part of the population. Heikki Laitinen has noted that after his doctoral thesis, devotional phrases disappear from Krohn's scholarship. I thank him for drawing this to my attention.

⁶³ It is true that Houdard also met some understanding in his home country, as an article from the year following his death reveals (*Le ménestrel* 1914b).

portant consequence of the Paris Congress.⁶⁴ Between 1901 and 1912 Houdard wrote sixteen cordial letters to Krohn, apparently based on a common Christian worldview. He often recalled the pleasant moments he had passed with his Finnish colleague during the Paris Congress. At first the letters concerned in particular research into the music of the Middle Ages and Gregorian chant. Academic treatises and sheet music followed the letters in both directions.

Judging by Houdard's letters to Krohn,⁶⁵ the Finn must have sent him a collection of school songs in Latin, *Carminalia Selecta* compiled by Johan A. Inberg (Helsinki 1900) (Houdard to Krohn, 24 April 1901); Krohn's own "score pour le kantele" (probably his arrangements for the *kantele* comprising some twenty traditional tunes and a chorale, *Säveleitä* [1901]) (GH: IK, 23 January 1902);⁶⁶ his "collection of sacred tunes" (probably *Adventti- ja Joulu-Virsiä* [Hymns of Advent and Christmas] from 1902) (GH: IK, 27 December 1902); his "psalm work" (apparently, *Valittuja Psalmeja* [Selected Psalms], notated in his own particular neume notation, from 1903) (GH: IK, 21 January 1904); a collection "Suomen Kansan Sävelmiä" which he had edited (probably *Suomen Kansan Sävelmiä* [Tunes of the People of Finland], Cycle II, First Booklet, from 1904) (GH: IK, 27 October 1904); "music [mistakenly taken by Houdard for that] of Heikki Klemetti" (*Uusia Hengellisiä Sävelmiä* I [New Sacred

Tunes I, with organ accompaniment, obviously from 1905]) (GH: IK, 15 July 1906);⁶⁷ songs composed by Krohn *Jouluvaloa, Tuomenterttuja* and *Koivun [laulu kevätaamuna]* (GH: IK, 31 December 1906);⁶⁸ Krohn's two "Psalms 25 and 33" (GH: IK, 29 January 1908);⁶⁹ and his "songs in unison" (GH: IK, 2 May 1908).⁷⁰ He received from Houdard, as a gift, the *Liber Gradualis* and *Liber Antiphonarius* compiled by the Solesmes Benedictines, which Houdard too considered to be the most perfect and best collection of "these Antique melodies" (GH: IK, 3 January 1902, 23 January 1902); Houdard's own academic publications on Gregorian music (GH: IK, 27 December 1902);⁷¹ and Peter Wagner's study on neume notation (GH: IK, 8 June 1905).

Houdard's letters to Krohn convey the anxiety of a scholar working in desolation in his French surroundings, an anxiety which even his position of Free Professor (*professeur libre*), which he gained at the University of Sorbonne in 1902,⁷² could not soothe once and for all. In these letters he relentlessly attacked the research of the Benedictines (specifying by name Dom Mocquereau), which Pope Pius X had authorised, and Giulio Bas, who had set out to harmonise their collection (GH: IK, 23 January 1902, 8 June 1905, 22 October 1906, 5 January 1911, 11 January 1912). He also criticised French scholars in the field, Jules Combarieu, Louis Laloy, and Antoine Dechevrens (GH: IK, 3 and 23

⁶⁴ My account is based exclusively on Houdard's letters to Krohn, since unfortunately, I have not been able to locate Krohn's letters to him.

⁶⁵ Ilmari Krohn archive, SKS 693-56-1 to 16.

⁶⁶ See Martti Laitinen 2014: 191–192. I am extremely grateful to Dr. Martti Laitinen for helping me identify this and the following works by Ilmari Krohn, mentioned by Houdard in his letters from 1902–1908.

⁶⁷ This collection was in fact compiled by a chorale committee designated by the Church Assembly of Finland. The members of the committee were Ilmari Krohn, Heikki Klemetti, and Mikael Nyberg. The organ accompaniments and the preface were by Klemetti.

⁶⁸ These songs were composed to poems by his second wife, writer Hilja Haahti (1874–1966).

⁶⁹ In fact these works were not sent to Houdard directly by Krohn. Houdard states in his letter to Krohn that he received the delivery via [a publisher of the latter, Finnish Greek-born] Mr. [Alexei] Apostol, who was also a military conductor.

⁷⁰ It is not easy to identify these songs. They might include *Nuorten tervehdys* (1908), and *Juhannuslaulu* (1907). *Ystävälle* (composed in 1904 and printed in 1908), and Psalm 33 (1907/1908) are only partly written in unison.

⁷¹ Houdard promised (GH: IK, 27 December 1902) to send to Krohn an essay, connected with his university teaching, on "Antique music". This essay is "L'évolution de l'art musical et l'art grégorien. Cours libre d'histoire musicale Professé à la Sorbonne, Leçon d'Ouverture donnée le 15 Avril 1902" (Houdard 1902). In another letter (GH: IK, 21 January 1904) Houdard says he will send Krohn his works "on the History of Gregorian music in the I–XI Centuries" to be published soon, that is, *La Cantilène romaine: étude historique* (Houdard 1905); a promise mentioned in a letter from 8 June 1905 probably concerns the same work. A letter from 5 January 1911 contains a promise to send to Krohn a recently finished treatise on neume notation. This text is the article "La notation musicale dite neumatique" (Houdard 1911).

⁷² Houdard wrote to Krohn on 23 January 1902: "J'ai une nouvelle situation à vous faire connaître. Je vais professer à la Sorbonne (Faculté des Lettres de Paris) un cours de théorie et archéologie musicales. Mes travaux sur le chant grégorien en seront la base."

January 1902, 8 June 1905, 23 September 1906). He rejoiced when noting that Oskar Fleischer, too, was critical of the work of the Benedictines (23 January 1902). He likewise appreciated the theories that Gaisser had presented (3 January 1902). In 1906 he wrote: "Father Gaisser is a grand spirit, he must have noticed a long time ago that his Benedictine brothers are wrong." (22 October 1906).⁷³ In a letter to Krohn in 1901 Gaisser states that Houdard might well have been right on many individual points and duly deserved more respect from his adversaries than he received. He nevertheless regarded that Houdard had taken his interpretative theory of the neumes too far.⁷⁴

Krohn might have been especially interested in the attention Houdard gave to the relevance of the ancient metrical feet in his interpretations of Gregorian chant (e.g., Houdard 1901: 18–23) and in the Frenchman's mensuralistic views concerning the rhythm of neume notation⁷⁵ – views that also roused much opposition. According to Houdard, the essence of the musical rhythm was intrinsically contained in the human being (GH: IK, 25 September 1905). When in 1905 Krohn announced to him that he would write about Houdard's treatise (*La Cantilène romaine, étude historique*; Houdard 1905) for the Finnish music journal *Finsk Musikrevy*, the Frenchman expressed his gratitude: "I also admire the fact that you should have understood my work so well, while such a great number of Frenchmen have not even bothered to read it." For his part, he intended to discuss Krohn's editions in his Sorbonne lectures (GH: IK, 25 September 1905). Houdard agreed when Krohn asked for his help in transcribing some Gregorian melodies of the *Liber Gradualis* for students of church song (GH: IK, 15 July 1906). The year before his death he again expressed his joy over Krohn's sympathetic support and confirmed his willingness to help

him translate Gregorian introits (GH: IK, 11 January 1912).

Houdard also took an interest in the Finnish secular and sacred traditional tunes which Krohn sent him. The correspondence between the two European men of learning highlights the relative significance of their national adherence to aesthetic ideals on one hand and to research into traditional as well as sacred music on the other. Houdard's aesthetic evaluation with regard to Krohn's "collection of sacred tunes" (probably *Adventti- ja Joulu-Virsiä*) reveals his background as a composer educated at the Paris Conservatoire by Jules Massenet:

It is apparent that the very simple musical inspiration of these pieces comes from another source which is unknown to the greatest part of our lands. When hearing them, these works very probably produce an experience of religious calm. Almost all of our catholic psalms are ridiculous. They are vulgar airs composed by vulgar persons, and those rare canticles which have been composed by professional musicians do not have the charming simplicity which characterises yours. An effort has been made in France to bring about a reform of our chants, but nothing has resulted, and with the unleashed religious war raging in the country, one can hardly hope for a future success. (GH: IK, 27 December 1902)

In the name of the ideal of a spiritual, nationally unified society, Houdard and Krohn aimed to offer a high class of music not just to the educated part of the population but to entire peoples.⁷⁶ This aim did not exclude Krohn's extensive fieldwork beyond Finland's borders, in central Europe (in 1900, 1902, 1905, 1908, 1914, 1919, 1923 and 1930) (Salmenhaara [accessed 2017]).

⁷³ "Le Père Gaisser est un esprit large, il doit reconnaître depuis longtemps que ses confrères bénédictins ont tort."

⁷⁴ Gaisser, letter to Krohn, 12 September 1901, Ilmari Krohn archive, SKS 692-52-1.

⁷⁵ C.-E. Ruelle (1903: 350) wrote concerning Houdard's *La richesse rythmique musicale de l'antiquité: Leçon d'ouverture du cours d'histoire de la musique professé 1902–1903 à la Sorbonne* (Houdard 1903): "All in all, the main merit of this work consists of a very learned analysis of the metrical elements that the ancient Greek poets had at their disposal and a complete picture of the resources that the science of the metres provided them." ("En résumé, le mérite principal de ce travail consiste dans une analyse fort savante des éléments métriques dont disposaient les anciens poètes grecs et dans un tableau complet des ressources que leur procurait la science des mètres.")

⁷⁶ Markus Mantere (2015: 48) writes: "By taking a walk on the wild side of folk music, Finnish composers of classical music could, in a way, authenticate their music as genuinely Finnish, capable of appealing to audiences at large." It is my view that Krohn, for instance, in his capacity as a representative of the educated part of the Finnish population, really believed in his duty to educate the people and was not primarily thinking about his own success among the masses.

Krohn also wrote to Houdard in his capacity as a composer and was rewarded with minute observations on his works. His colleague distinguished the Gregorian and even Wagnerian⁷⁷ inspiration of his music and expressed his enchantment, but on the other hand did not hesitate to point out minor mistakes. Krohn's admiration of Saint-Saëns is proved authentic through his enquiry, addressed to Houdard in 1908, of whether he might succeed in having instruction in orchestration from the famous French composer. Houdard explains to him that Saint-Saëns is quite well-off and appreciates his freedom too much to take students. He advises Krohn to turn to François Gevaërt (31 July 1828 – 24 December 1908), based in Brussels (GH: IK, 2 May 1908). In 1909 Krohn eventually studied privately under Waldemar von Baußnern in Weimar.

The encounter during the Paris 1900 Congress of Music History seems to have remained the only time Krohn and Houdard ever met in person. In many of his letters the Frenchman mentions further meetings to take place in connection with future congresses of the Internationale Musikgesellschaft: those of Basel in 1906, Vienna in 1909, and London in 1911 (GH: IK, 15 July and 23 September 1906, 2 May 1908, 5 January 1911, 11 January 1912). However, problems of health and personal adversities prevented the Frenchman's participation. He wrote in 1902 (GH: IK, 22 January): "All those who (in France) are at the helm of this congress movement hope that I will not participate in future congresses." Houdard was a tormented soul who suffered, besides from his own contested position, from the lack of interest in music research prevalent in France, and from the decline of sacred music in a country where the state and the church were separated in 1905. The long correspondence that ended with Houdard's death in 1913 was one important thread in Krohn's networking, which had its roots in Paris in 1900 during the historical musicological event. It was his most important direct professional contact with France.⁷⁸ Other threads lead from turn-of-the-century Paris across national borders, ram-

ifying and leading to new points of contact while the international "invisible collegium" of musicology continued its work.

The professional versatility and French connections of some of Krohn's students

None of Ilmari Krohn's students made an international career equal to his. Their versatility, together with the fluidity of the constraints of the various musical fields, make it difficult to evaluate their musicological contacts with France. The first doctoral thesis that Krohn supervised at his university was that of Armas Launis (1884–1959), *Über Art, Entstehung und Verbreitung der estnisch-finnischen Runenmelodien. Eine Studie aus dem Gebiet der vergleichenden Volksmelodienforschung* (On the type, origin and spreading of the Estonian-Finnish runic melodies: a study into comparative research on folk tunes), completed in 1910.⁷⁹ The topic of this work thus belongs to the first strong field of Krohn's academic expertise, the comparative study of traditional melodies. This field was also represented by Leevi Madetoja's (1887–1947) master's thesis *Tutkielmia liettualaisista kansansävelmistä* (Studies on Lithuanian folk melodies). For this work Madetoja had, following Krohn's classification method, arranged the contents of a collection published in Krakow in 1900, annotating it with remarks on its music (Salmenhaara 1987: 70). Toivo Haapanen's (1889–1950) thesis *Die Neumenfragmente der Universitätsbibliothek Helsingfors: eine Studie zur ältesten nordischen Musikgeschichte* (Neume fragments in the Helsinki university library: a study on the oldest Nordic music history) (Haapanen 1924a) has for its topic the church music of the Middle Ages and its neume notation, and thus another field of research in which Krohn had been particularly active after his journey of 1900.

All three of the students mentioned above went on to teach musicology at the university: Launis in 1918–1922 as a Docent,⁸⁰ Madetoja in 1926–1947 as a music teacher, and Haapanen in 1925–1946 as a Docent and in 1946–1950 as Ex-

⁷⁷ Houdard wrote to Krohn (31 December 1906): "Your 'Tuomenterttuja' is very inspired. The phrase is spacious and almost Wagnerian." ("Votre 'Tuomenterttuja' est d'une grande inspiration. La phrase est ample et presque Wagnérienne.")

⁷⁸ This conclusion is based on the correspondence stored in the Ilmari Krohn archive of the archive of the Finnish Literature Society.

⁷⁹ Krohn also supervised the doctoral theses of Otto Andersson (1923), Arvo Sotavalta (1923), Martti Hela (1924), and Wilho Siukonen (1935) (Heikki Laitinen 2011).

⁸⁰ In 1918 Launis had at his university the title of Docent in music analysis and research in folk music, but resigned 1922.

traordinary Professor.⁸¹ While the title of 'Docent in music history and theory' did not guarantee a full living to Krohn,⁸² university musicology provided even less of a living to his students. At that time it is not yet possible to distinguish a musicological body that stands out from the rest of the musical professions. All the people mentioned also taught outside the university, had a practical training in music, worked in artistic fields (Launis⁸³ and Madetoja as composers, Haapanen as an orchestral musician and conductor⁸⁴ [Durchman, Havu, Hendell 1933; Taitto 2007/2016]), and wrote for professional and popular journals. All three travelled in France.

In a *curriculum vitae* submitted to the University of Helsinki in 1928, Armas Launis groups his professional journeys into two categories: those related to studies and those associated with research: "Study trips: Berlin 1907–08, Weimar 1909, Paris 1911, Berlin, Munich and Rome 1912, Moscow and Saint Petersburg 1916, Germany and Italy 1920 and 1923–24, France 1925–26. Musicological research: Berlin 1908, Copenhagen 1909, Estonia 1909, Saint Petersburg 1910, Paris 1914." (Tyrväinen 2014 [2015]: 148) What, then, were Launis's "studies" in Paris in 1911? In a postcard to Heikki Klemetti he relates: "Nowadays my studies consist above all in going to opera and to concerts. However, in what concerns the concerts in particular, things are different here from Berlin. There are

rather few good ones, while the opportunity to get acquainted with operas is excellent."⁸⁵ To Ilmari Krohn he wrote: "I have visited opera performances so diligently that hardly anything new remains for me to hear, even though here performances are given in the three opera houses almost every evening. On the other hand, the concerts are few in number. That is why I'm considering leaving for London as early as the beginning of next month. I assume that more orchestral concerts are given there."⁸⁶

Launis's entry on his study trips to France in 1925–1926 concerns *de facto* his stays in Algeria, then part of France. Here too a confusion concerning the various fields of music prevails. In a postcard to Krohn from Algiers Launis writes on 1 December 1925: "We remain here and are not likely to move southward until the turn of the year."⁸⁷ The mention of moving southward could imply that the traveller was planning to undertake a research project in an oasis of the Sahara desert comparable to that of Béla Bartók, who had recently published an important article on the music of Biskra (Bartók 1920). Rather surprisingly, however, another postcard from Algiers dated a year later (14 December 1926) reveals that Launis was also actively pursuing another musical profession: "I am enjoying – perfect working peace and have accomplished quite a lot during these two months, e.g., a new opera libretto –."⁸⁸

⁸¹ On the musicology staff of the University in 1918–2000, see *Helsingin yliopiston opettaja- ja virkamiesluettelo 1918–2000* (Helsingin ... 1918–2000). On Madetoja, see Salmenhaara 1997/2016.

⁸² The education Krohn offered to his students was many-sided although the courses in musicology were few in number. During the academic year 1900–1901 he lectured on Haydn, the theory of music, and folk song collecting; in 1901–1902 on the music of ancient Greece and Beethoven's sonatas; in 1902–1903 on Schumann as a composer and aesthetician, the evolution of church song in the Middle Ages, and the origins and evolution of folk song; in 1903–1904 on the history of the evangelical chorale and Bach's *Das wohltemperierte Klavier*, and in 1904–1905 on Finnish folk song. He wrote textbooks to support his teaching (Martti Laitinen 2014: 78–79).

⁸³ With his thesis *Über Art, Entstehung und Verbreitung der estnisch-finnischen Runenmelodien. Eine Studie aus dem Gebiet der vergleichenden Volksmelodienforschung* Launis was, in 1910, the first student to defend a doctoral thesis in the discipline of Musicology at the Imperial Alexander University of Helsinki. Besides his university studies he was a student at the Orchestral School of the Helsinki Philharmonic Society 1901–1906 (with, for example, Ilmari Krohn and Jean Sibelius) and at the Berlin Stern Conservatory in 1907 (with Wilhelm Klatte); there he also passed an examination in conducting (with Arno Klettner). In 1908–1909 he studied at the Weimar Conservatory (with Waldemar von Baußnern) (Järvinen 2010).

⁸⁴ Haapanen's practical studies at the Orchestral School of the Helsinki Philharmonic Society first enabled him to become a violinist in the Philharmonic Society Orchestra (subsequently, the Helsinki Philharmonic Orchestra) in 1912–1917 and later (1929–1950) the Chief Conductor of the Finnish Radio Orchestra, during which time he was also the Head of Music at the Finnish radio (Yleisradio).

⁸⁵ 2 March 1911, National Library of Finland (Kansalliskirjasto, KK), Dept. of manuscripts, Heikki Klemetti archive, received letters, coll. 103-2.

⁸⁶ 19 April 1911, Ilmari Krohn archive, SKS 695-37-12.

⁸⁷ 1 December 1925, Ilmari Krohn archive, SKS 695-37-20. Launis stayed in Algeria together with his wife Aino.

⁸⁸ 14 December 1926, Ilmari Krohn archive, SKS 695-37-22.

In 1928 Launis applied again for a post at the University of Helsinki: that of a part-time music teacher (Tyrväinen 2014 [2015]: 162; Salmenhaara 1987: 248–249). Regardless of the fact that he did not classify his Algerian stays as musicological research trips, he chose for the topic of his trial lecture, “Traits from Arabo-Moorish music”. No documents of Launis’s eventual research in Algeria remain, and I have shown elsewhere that the trial lecture is largely based on a well-known article of Frenchman Jules Rouanet, “La musique arabe dans le Maghreb” (Tyrväinen 2014: 166–170; Rouanet 1922). It is important to bear in mind, however, that the post was not destined to academic research and tuition, though the reports of the invited experts show that the conceptions concerning the required skills were far from established.⁸⁹ In the event Master of Philosophy and composer Leevi Madetoja was chosen instead of Doctor and composer Armas Launis. The title of Madetoja’s trial lecture was “Ohjelmallisuudesta säveltaiteessa” (About the programmatic aspect in the art of music).⁹⁰ In 1930 Launis settled in Nice, where he lived for the rest of his life. During his time in France he concentrated on writing operas and on journalism.

Leevi Madetoja is known as one of Finland’s most notable composers, but he is not normally mentioned in the context of Finnish musicologists. However, his professional profile differs in no unambiguous respect from that of the well-known Finnish musicologists of the time. Alongside his conservatory studies, Madetoja acquired a many-sided university education consisting of the theory and history of music, aesthetics and

contemporary literature (e.g., French and German literature), Finnish language and literature, and Latin and Roman literature. In 1910–1911 he continued his composition studies in Paris, then in autumn 1911 in Vienna, and after the turn of the year, in Berlin in the spring of 1912. But Madetoja conserved a fascination for Paris throughout the rest of his life, and returned there several times with his spouse, writer L. Onerva (1882–1972), who had a profound knowledge of French culture.⁹¹

The literary activity of the learned and refined Madetoja was influential, despite the fact that he did not actually write any books. He wrote for many journals and was music critic of the daily newspaper *Helsingin Sanomat* from 1916 to 1932. He had already had his article “Kirje Pariisista” (A letter from Paris) published in the journal *Sävelletär* in the autumn of 1910, during his first journey to Paris (Madetoja 1910). Later on he wrote essays on French music and Parisian musical life covering the most recent phenomena (Madetoja 1987 [1989]). In consequence of Madetoja’s long-standing teaching activity at the University of Helsinki and the Helsinki Music Institute (later called the Helsinki Conservatory and Sibelius Academy), his knowledge spread widely in Finnish musical circles.

Toivo Haapanen, in a biographical notice, refers to his “study and research journeys” to Paris in 1924 and 1927 (Durchman, Havu, Hendell 1933). Interestingly, he only travelled to the French capital after completing his doctoral thesis and defending it in public on 28 May 1924. This, however, should not hide the fact that thanks to family ties France and the music of Paris had already become

⁸⁹ Conductor Robert Kajanus, who was now leaving the post, was invited to be one of the two experts. In his statement he wrote that artistic merits should count above all; academic merits should be considered only if the artistic merits of the candidates were equally good.

Ilmari Krohn, the other expert, was of the opinion that the nomination should be considered from the viewpoint of musicological tuition. In case the merits of the candidates were equal, basically, preference should be given to the candidate who had the higher university degree. However, he made remarks on the formal imperfections in Launis’s trial lecture and stated regretfully that the candidate had devoted himself exclusively to the composition of his operas in recent years (Tyrväinen 2014 [2015]: 162–163, 171).

⁹⁰ As the university’s music teacher Kajanus concentrated on conducting the Academic Orchestra. After his time the main duties of the post became the tuition of theoretical subjects and the assessment of the students’ exercises (Lappalainen 1990: 183).

⁹¹ Madetoja graduated in four years from the University of Helsinki (Candidate of Philosophy) and the Helsinki Music Institute. His composition teachers at the Helsinki Music Institute were Armas Järnefelt, Erik Furuhjelm and Jean Sibelius, but his teachers there also included Ilmari Krohn (general musical knowledge and music analysis) and Armas Launis (history of music) (Salmenhaara 1987: 35). Madetoja stayed in Paris from 11 October 1910 to the end of April 1911 and again in March–April 1912; he was also there from 13 September to 14 December 1920, in May–June 1924, and in March 1925. During his first stay, Vincent d’Indy’s ill health seems to have put paid to Madetoja’s plan to take lessons from the French composer (Salmenhaara 1987: 80; Tyrväinen 1997).

a part of Haapanen's life earlier on. His learned sister Tyyni, who married the future University of Helsinki Professor of South-Romanic languages Oiva Johannes Tuulio, had travelled to France before him.⁹² Toivo Haapanen in his capacity as music critic, manifested an exceptionally insightful understanding of French music, including its most recent currents (Tyrväinen 2013: 140–141).

In his doctoral thesis Haapanen analysed the confluences of the manuscripts conserved in the University of Helsinki Library (the present National Library of Finland), dealing not only with the German manuscripts but with those of "the three big Central-European schools of neume writing: German, that of Metz, and French".⁹³ He does not seem to have had any French contacts while doing this work. Haapanen was inspired by the recent research of the Berlin-based Oskar Fleischer, whom Krohn knew personally.⁹⁴ In the preface of his thesis he expresses his gratitude to another German scholar, the University of Berlin Professor Johannes Wolf, for advice concerning research literature which he received in 1921 during a study trip to Berlin. Furthermore, he thanks the Royal Libraries in Stockholm and Copenhagen, the Uppsala university library, Berlin State library, and Leipzig university library for the literature he has had at his disposal (Haapanen 1924a: 9–16).

Haapanen told Krohn in a postcard and a letter from Paris (9 and 29 August 1924) that he worked in the Bibliothèque nationale and Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal and followed the opera performances. He was now getting acquainted with the medieval manuscripts that were conserved in France.⁹⁵ A booklet in French he had written, *La*

musique finlandaise (12 pages), was printed in Paris that year (Haapanen 1924b). In 1934 he was able to announce that he had become a corresponding member of the Société Française de Musicologie (Durchman, Havu, Hendell 1933).

Heikki Klemetti (1876–1953), unlike the three persons just introduced, was not Krohn's student. Only nine years younger than Krohn, he carried out his domestic studies before musicology became a university discipline; starting from 1894, he studied in the Orchestral School of the Helsinki Philharmonic Society and became Master of Philosophy at the Imperial Alexander University of Helsinki in 1899.⁹⁶ Klemetti completed his musical studies in Germany, from 1902 in Regensburg with the church music scholar Franz Xaver Haberl, and later in Berlin at the Institut für Kirchenmusik and at the Stern Conservatory (1903–1904, 1905–1906). He taught music history at the Helsinki Music Institute in 1910–1920 and church singing in the Theological Faculty of the University of Helsinki in 1916–1944 (Huttunen 2001). He became a distinguished choirmaster, a colourful music critic, and a music historian. He was also a composer.

Considering Klemetti's early German links it may seem surprising that in the 1930s in Finland he carried on a lively interaction with French musicological and music circles. While Klemetti's foreign correspondence is largely in German, his French contacts do not seem to have been based on any specific pursuit of French culture and language.⁹⁷ In 1932 the Société Française de Musicologie invited him to be a corresponding member, for which he thanked the Society's President (Lionel de La Laurencie) by letter.⁹⁸ Klemetti sent

⁹² Translator, writer and literature scholar Tyyni Haapanen (from 1917 Tallgren and later, Tuulio) told her brother in spring 1914 that she had gone to a lot of concerts. She had "heard beautiful music, old and new, in a concert of the Schola de Saint Louis" (12 May 1914, Paris, Toivo Haapanen archive, SKS 1004-4-1). There, dance-songs from Brittany were performed with dancing children wearing traditional costumes.

⁹³ Haapanen 1924a: 72.

⁹⁴ Haapanen tells Krohn in a postcard from summer 1923 that he has read, among others, "'the last word' in the field of neume research, Oskar Fleischer's work, published this year, on Germanic neumes. – Among other things, he touches on Nordic neumes, some fragments stored in the Norwegian national archive." Haapanen expected Fleischer's book to give rise to a heated debate in the world of musicology (21 July 1923, Ilmari Krohn archive, SKS 693-5-3).

⁹⁵ On 29 August 1924 Haapanen explained: "For instance, I need to finish here for my laudatur degree in Art history a little study on the Medieval decoration of books – –. There is much material here for such a work. To be sure, it is good to get acquainted with parchment bindings preserved in their entirety, even considering the analysis of the Helsinki fragments." (Ilmari Krohn archive, SKS 693-5-5)

⁹⁶ At the university, Klemetti majored in Finnish language and literature. His secondary subjects were aesthetics and the history of Finland, Russia and the Nordic countries (Huttunen 2001).

⁹⁷ The few French-language drafts in his archive are translated from Finnish by Swiss-born Dr. Jean-Louis Perret, lecturer at the University of Helsinki.

⁹⁸ Draft letter in French, September 1932, KK, Dept. of manuscripts, collection of Heikki Klemetti, received letters, coll. 103-4.

copies of *Suomen Musiikkilehti*, a journal he edited, to the Bibliothèque nationale,⁹⁹ and President of the Association Française d'Action Artistique Robert Brussel sent him information for inclusion in it.¹⁰⁰ Klemetti also promoted his own compositions. World-famous Frenchman Rhené-Baton, who had appeared as a guest conductor of the Helsinki Philharmonic Orchestra, was the contact person who helped him when violincellist Léon Kartun played his works on Radio Paris in 1939.¹⁰¹ In 1932 Klemetti proposed providing the Société Française de Musicologie with information on early Finnish musical culture,¹⁰² but the archival sources concerning his French contacts do not contain any information about a musicological discourse, properly speaking. He visited Paris in 1939 as the conductor of the Finlandia Male Chorus.¹⁰³

Conclusions

It has of course not been my aim in the present article to assess the life's work of a versatile savant who advanced, gained new scholarly insights, and finally reached the venerable age of ninety-two. Rather, I have attempted to find a methodological approach that would not give excessive relevance, in our area of study, to the idea of national commitment and borderlines. To be sure, the importance of the national mission of Ilmari Krohn should not be overlooked. He entered upon the stage of international musicology empowered by a nationally-based internationalism and equipped with a folkloristic mindset. Later on he created the structures of Finnish university education in musicology, wrote teaching materials, and invented a Finnish-language terminology for these purposes.

In order to create a context for these facts I have sketched a dynamic international community of music scholars whose activity was transnational and decentralised, and involved travel, gatherings, personal contacts, and correspondence. During the latter years of the Grand Duchy and the early period of national independence Finnish culture felt the pull of the various European cultural centres. My claim is that Finnish musicology was not exclusively oriented towards Germany and German thinking. I hope to have established the fact of this decentralised scene by focusing on a centre of musicology which has not until now been properly scrutinised, at least in Finland. It is not a coincidence that in 1900 Paris became the meeting place of this international community. Far from it: the scholarly gathering that took place in the context of the Universal Exposition is quite representative in its demonstration of how one of the most important European cultural capitals rivalled the other centres in its visibility.¹⁰⁴

Krohn's commitment to musicology coincides with the institutionalisation of musicology as well as with the rise of the international confederation movement within the discipline. The cultural nationalism and the perspective of musical creation that marked the beginnings of his musicological career were compatible with French thought with no great problem. In his case they soon gave way to a more musicological standpoint, more particularly, to questions of comparative musicology. After the 1900 Paris Congress it was the congress and publishing activity of the Internationale Musikgesellschaft that offered Krohn the opportunity to keep up with the latest developments in the international movement, to develop, and to

⁹⁹ Julien Lain, letter on behalf of Bibliothèque nationale, Paris, 16 June 1933, *ibid.*

¹⁰⁰ Letter to Klemetti, Paris, 5 November 1933, KK, Dept. of manuscripts, collection of Heikki Klemetti, received letters, coll. 103-1.

¹⁰¹ Draft letter in French to Rhené-Baton, Kuortane, 4 August 1939, KK, Dept. of manuscripts, collection of Heikki Klemetti, draft letters, coll. 103-4.

¹⁰² Draft letter in French to the President of Société Française de Musicologie [Lionel de La Laurencie], September 1932, *ibid.*

¹⁰³ Florent Schmitt, quoted by *Suomen Musiikkilehti* (1939), wrote an enthusiastic review of this concert for *Le Temps*.

¹⁰⁴ Maria Cáceres Piñuel has proposed that the Internationale Musik- und Theaterwesenausstellung organised in Vienna in 1892 was the first fair "to make scenic arts its theme within the series of International Exhibitions held from 1851 onwards, based on new economic relations between countries within the framework of free trade policy." (Cáceres Piñuel s.a. [accessed 2016])

gain international renown.¹⁰⁵ He was successful in a competition organised for the creation of a system of classification of traditional tunes, which the society launched in 1902; his proposal was published in *Sammelbände der internationalen Musikgesellschaft* (Krohn 1903).¹⁰⁶ Later on his students also participated in the IMG congresses.

The Georges Houdard case I have discussed serves as a reminder of the more general point that the national territories of academia concealed many endeavours and contradictions.¹⁰⁷ The various contesting trajectories that led to increasing specialisation within the discipline might explain the surprising fact that in the voluminous Ilmari Krohn archive, no letter remains from the famous French Bach scholar André Pirro, from 1930 Professor of Musicology at the University of Sorbonne, whose wife Agnès (b. Hjorth) was Finnish (Charle 1986: 175).

My article can give no final answer to the question as to how the barriers that continued to mount between France and Germany influenced the international position of Finnish musicologists. It remains to be clarified on another occasion what the situation of Krohn and his Finnish colleagues was in the years 1921–1927, when the musicologists of the allied nations of World War I practised an exclusive international cooperation in the realm of a new association founded

by the Dutchman Daniël François Scheurleer, the Union Musicologique (Fauser 2017).¹⁰⁸ Although no letter from Scheurleer is preserved in the Ilmari Krohn archive, Krohn was member of the editorial board of a festschrift to him from 1925 (*Gedenkboek ... 1925: VIII*). The festschrift contains German-language articles not only by Krohn but also by his Finnish pupils Toivo Haapanen and Otto Andersson.¹⁰⁹

In 1927, the year of the great Beethoven celebrations, the new International Musicological Society was founded to reconstitute the finished activity of both the IMG and the Union Musicologique. Professor of Musicology at the University of Vienna Guido Adler, who assumed a great responsibility for the undertaking, wrote to Krohn in January 1928: “I’m very delighted to learn that the Finnish Musicological Society will participate in [the activity of] the new Société Internationale de Musicologie. You will get the necessary instructions from Switzerland where the new headquarters are based.”¹¹⁰ The International Musicological Society did not actually become a confederation of national societies, but a society of individual members (Fauser 2017). Krohn was a Directorium Member of the IMS in 1933–1952 – no other Finn has occupied this position until the present day (Baumann, Fabris 2017: 152).¹¹¹

¹⁰⁵ Krohn read four papers at the Second Congress of the IMG (Basel 1906), and at the Third Congress (Vienna 1909) two papers in a session which even included those of his students, Armas Launis and Otto Andersson (Heikki Laitinen 2011). In 1926 Andersson became a Professor at the Finnish Swedish-language university in Turku, the Åbo Akademi. Krohn’s Paris congress paper of 1900 was published in the *Sammelbände der Internationalen Musikgesellschaft* in the original French (Krohn 1900/1901). On the other hand, he commented on Frenchman Antoine Dechevrens’s article “Etude sur le Système musical chinois” (Dechevrens 1901, 1901/1902) in German (Krohn 1901/1902a, b). The rest of Krohn’s articles in *Sammelbände* were in German: “Melodien der Berg-Tscheremissen und Wotjaken”, in two parts (Krohn 1902); and “Welche ist die beste Methode, um Volks- und volksmäßige Lieder nach ihren melodischen (nicht textlichen) Beschaffenheit lexikalisch zu ordnen?” (Krohn 1903) The German-language community outweighed the Francophone membership of the IMG. In 1909, 375 of its 836 members were of German-language and 214 English or Americans. Before the re-election of an earlier President, Hermann Kretzschmar (1904–1980), in 1914, the association had a French President, Jules Écorcheville (1911–1914) (Eder s.a. [accessed 2017]).

¹⁰⁶ As Martti Laitinen (2014: 65) notes, Krohn acknowledges in the published version of his proposal having already abandoned his earlier “stab motive method” of analysis. He was now leaning on his new “lexicographical method”.

¹⁰⁷ Chimènes (2015: 42–43) and Segond-Genovesi (2015: 380) among others have reported on the very harsh confrontations among the French musicologists.

¹⁰⁸ Daniël François Scheurleer was a Dutch banker, collector, and patron of the arts. He died in 1927 (Hilscher 2017: 35).

¹⁰⁹ These articles are entitled “Puccini: Butterfly” (Krohn), “Dominikanische Vorbilder im mittelalterlichen nordischen Kirchengesang” (Haapanen), and “Musikliterarische Fäden zwischen Holland und Finnland am Ende des 18. Jahrhunderts” (Andersson). André Pirro too was a member of the board of editors, see *Gedenkboek ... 1925: VIII*.

¹¹⁰ “– Sehr erfreut bin ich, dass die Finnische Musikwissenschaftliche Gesellschaft sich an der neuen Société Internationale de Musicologie beteiligen will. Sie werden von der Schweiz, wo der Hauptsitz ist, die nötigen Instruktionen bekommen. Ihr in aufrichtiger Hochachtung ergebener Guido Adler”. Vienna, 7 January, Ilmari Krohn archive, SKS 691-8-6.

¹¹¹ The Presidents of the IMS during Krohn’s period were Edward Dent (1931–1949) and Knud Jeppesen (1949–1952).

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Ilmari Krohn ja soome muusikateaduse varased Prantsuse-kontaktid: mobiilsus, suhtevõrgustike loomine ja interaktsioon

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Eesti Muusika- ja Teatriakadeemia hiljuti lahkunud professori Urve Lippuse (1950–2015) mälestusele pühendatud artiklis, mis tunnustab tema panust riikliku sõltumatuse saavutanud Eesti muusikaloo uurimisse, analüüsitakse rahvasteüleseid suhteid ja kultuuripealinnade rolli muusikateaduse valdkonna arengu algusfaasis akadeemilises kontekstis.

Artikkel keskendub soome muusikateaduse kui institutsiooni rajaja, Helsingi Ülikooli professori Ilmari Krohni (1867–1960) ja tema õpilaste varajastele kontaktidele Prantsusmaaga. Krohni mobiilsuse, suhtevõrgustike (loomise) ja interaktsiooni analüüs põhineb tema kirjavahetusel ja tema esimeste, Londoni- (1891) ja Pariisi- (1900) konverentsikülastuste dokumentatsioonil. Krohn on öelnud, et alles peale 1900. aasta suvel aset leidnud ametireise hakkas ta end nägema muusikateadlasena. Minu eesmärk on visandada dünaamiline rahvusvaheline muusikateadlaste kogukond, kelle tegevus oli rahvasteülene ja de-tsentraliseeritud ning hõlmas reise, kohtumisi, isiklikke kontakte ja kirjavahetust.

Ilmari Krohn oli sündinud Helsingis Saksa päritolu soome haritlaste perekonnas. Ta oli saanud praktiseeriva muusiku hariduse oma kodumaal ja 1886–1890 Leipzgis. 1899 kaitses ta Helsingi Keiserlikus Aleksandri Ülikoolis muusikateadusliku väitekirja „Über die Art und Entstehung der geistlichen Volksmelodien in Finland“ („Vaimulike rahvaviiside eripärast ja kujunemisest Soomes“). Ta töötas oma kodu-ülikooli esimese muusikaloo ja -teooria dotsendina 1900–1918 ning erakorralise professorina 1918–1935, mil ta *alma mater* oli Soome sõltumatuse saavutamisega ümber nimetatud Helsingi Ülikooliks. Oma pika elu jooksul tegi ta mitmekülgse karjääri, saavutas rahvusvahelise tuntuse ja õpetas välja mitu põlvkonda soome muusikateadlasi. 1933–1952 oli ta Rahvusvahelise Muusikateadusliku Ühingu (International Musicological Society) juhatuse liige; ükski teine soomlane pole tänini sellel positsioonil olnud.

Kui varem vaadeldi Soomet osana saksakeelsest kultuuriruumist isegi muusikateaduse vallas, jäi märkamata tõsiasi, et prantsuse keelel, ametialastel kontaktidel Prantsusmaaga ja Pariisil oli Krohni jaoks tema karjääri kujunemisfaasis märkimisväärne tähtsus. Tema muusikateadlase karjääri selles varases faasis tõusevad esile kaks Prantsuse korrespondenti. Kui Krohn osales 1891. aastal, 24-aastaselt teisel rahvusvahelisel folkloristide konverentsil Londonis, viitas ta oma ettekandes „La chanson populaire en Finlande“ („Rahvalaul Soomes“) Julien Tiersot'le, prantsuse rahvalaulu ajaloo vaieldamatule asjatundjale. Tiersot' 1898. aastal Krohnile kirjutatud kirja valguses võib prantslast pidada tähtsaks Krohni inspireerijaks rahvaviiside võrdleva uurimise alal.

Krohn sõitis 1900. aasta juulis Pariisis toimunud esimesele rahvusvahelisele muusikaloo konverentsile Kopenhaageni, Berliini, Leipzigi, Nürnbergi, Strasbourg ja Kölni kaudu. Sel reisel vaatles ta paljudes linnades mitut laadi jumalateenistusi ja tutvus kirikulaulu hetkeolukorraga ning ühtlasi selle reformimise pingutustega. Ta kohtus paljude tuntud muusikauurijate ja teoloogidega nii saksa kui muudest rahvustest.

1900. aasta muusikaloo konverents oli osa Pariisi maailmanäituse programmist. Kui Berliinis oli Krohn olnud sakslaste külaline, siis Pariisis suheldi rahvusvaheliselt. Korralduskomitee liikmeteks olid prantsuskeelse maailma kuulsused (Camille Saint-Saëns, Louis-Albert Bourgault-Ducoudray, Julien Tiersot, Romain Rolland, Charles Bordes, Maurice Emmanuel, Vincent d'Indy jt.). 14 maalt pärit osavõtjate hulka kuulusid Guido Adler Viinist, Gustav Jacobsthal Strasbourgist, Adolf Sandberger Münchenist, samuti Hugo Riemann ja Hermann Kretzschmar Leipzigit.

Krohni ettekanne kandis pealkirja „De la mesure à 5 temps dans la musique populaire finnoise“ („Viieosalisest meetrumist soome rahvamuusikas“), milles ta käsitles „Kalevala“ viise. Tema küsimusepüstitus puudutas pentameetri esteetilist väärtust ja ta toetus Antiik-Kreeka värsiõpetusele. Oma spekulatiivses kõnes hindas ta tegelikult viieosalises taktimõõdus rahvaviiside kasulikkust materjalina heliloojatele.

Rahvuslik argumentatsioon ja rahvalauludele keskendumine ei tõenda, et Krohn ja soome muusikateadus oleksid ennast pidanud äärealal paiknevaks. Konverentsi president Louis-Albert Bougault-Ducoudray, helilooja, Tiersot' õpetaja ja alates 1878. aastast Pariisi Konservatooriumi muusikaloo õppejõud ning seega Prantsuse esimene muusikaloo professor, pühendas samuti suure osa oma avakõnest muusikaetnoloogiale. Ta osutas ka rahvaviiside enesemääratlusega seotud potentsiaalile.

Kuusteist südamlitku Krohnile adresseeritud kirja aastatest 1901–1912 Georges Houdard'ilt, kes oli 1902. aastast Sorbonne'i Ülikooli *professeur libre*, puudutavad gregooriuse laulu ja neumanotatsiooni, samuti rahvamuusikat ja kompositsiooni.

Krohn astus rahvusvahelise muusikateaduse areenile rahvuslikul alusel rahvusvahelisuse lainel, ühtlasi varustatuna folkloristi meelelaadi ja teamistepagasiga. Esimese maailmasõja ajaks oli ta prantsuskeelses muusikateaduses üsna loetud autor. Kuid Pariis oli talle ka üldisemalt rahvusvahelise suhtlusvõrgustiku loomise aluseks. Nii mõnedki Pariisi konverentsist osavõtjad mitmest rahvusest olid temaga hiljem kirjavahetuses.

Õppinud muusikutena oli Krohnil ja tema muusikateaduse tudengitel Armas Launisel, Leevi Madetojal ja Toivo Haapanenil isegi loominguline side prantsuse repertuaariga. Minu uurimistulemused räägivad vastu väitele, nagu oleks soome muusikateadus oma algusaegadel olnud eranditult Saksa mõjuväljas asuv valdkond.

A Preliminary Look at Two Groups of Refugee Musicians Who Settled in the United States: Those Who Came Primarily From Austria and Germany, 1938 to 1943, and Those Who Came From Estonia, 1944 to ca. 1950¹

Mimi S. Daitz

Abstract

Much has been published about internationally known European composers and performers who fled the Nazis just before and during World War II and settled in the United States. Little is known about the approximately 2,000 musicians, mostly from Austria and Germany, who were assisted by the National Committee for Refugee Musicians 1938–1943. The Committee was created by the American composer Mark Brunswick (1902–1971). The refugees were helped to obtain entry visas and then to gain employment as musicians.

Another group of refugee musicians came to the U.S. somewhat later, from Estonia, fleeing both the Nazi and Soviet regimes. The largest number emigrated in 1944. Few of either groups of refugee musicians came directly to America. The complicated and sometimes discriminatory immigration laws and practices of the U.S. government are discussed in some detail.

Archival research has established where many of the Western European refugee musicians eventually worked in America. Equivalent archival research is needed to establish what assistance Estonian refugee musicians received in the U.S. This may make it possible to understand their contribution to American culture, while they simultaneously maintained the vibrant culture of their small country for other Estonian refugees who settled in the United States.

These days the word “refugee” once more conjures up terrible images of suffering – primarily in the Middle East, with serious repercussions for all of Europe. We know there are groups in other parts of the world who may not be in the current headlines but are nevertheless experiencing the trauma that has afflicted human beings for the millennia about which we have some information. Today I will talk about a relatively small group of refugees who were able to settle in the United States, musicians who came primarily from Austria and Germany just before and at the beginning of World War II, and musicians who came from Estonia towards the end and just after that war.

Please forgive me if I combine personal comments with more scholarly statements in this paper. Given the nature of this conference, dedi-

cated to the memory of our dear friend and colleague, Urve Lippus, and the fact that I was unable to be at her funeral last May, there may be more personal comments than usual.

Why did I choose to compare these two groups of émigrés? Some twenty-five years ago I began a detailed study of an organization, the National Committee for Refugee Musicians, that was then almost unknown among those musicologists who were concerned with refugees from World War II (see Babbitt 1999: 52).² Much had been published about the major European composers, as well as about many important performers, and some scholars, both historians and theorists, who came to America as exiles from their home countries. To name just a few of those composers: Arnold Schönberg, Paul Hindemith, Ernst Krenek, Béla Bartók, Kurt Weill, and Darius Milhaud. Famous

¹ I would like to express my thanks to Aime Martinson Andra for help translating sections of the book by Avo Hirvesoo (Hirvesoo 1996), to Evi Arujärv of Estonian Music Information Centre for providing a copy of that book, and to the Estonian Musicological Society for inviting me to participate in the conference of the society on 23 April 2016 in Tartu, dedicated to the memory of Urve Lippus. The present contribution is based on my paper held in the conference.

² Apart from the citation of Mark Brunswick’s work with the Committee (see below) in small dictionary articles, this was the first public mention of it, more than ten years after I began my research and recorded oral history interviews with some of those refugees.

conductors, pianists, string players and others were also subjects of studies. But there was another stratum of exiles living in America – performers with professional careers in Europe or teachers at European universities and conservatories – whose stories were relatively unknown. It was mostly these persons who were assisted by the National Committee for Refugee Musicians in a special way. Not only was assistance given to get them out of Europe, but, of particular importance, once they arrived in the USA, they were helped to get jobs as musicians – as teachers in schools, universities, and conservatories, and as performers in orchestras, choruses, and opera companies. It was a difficult task because jobs for native born American musicians were hard to get (and still are).

The home of the National Committee for Refugee Musicians was in the musical capital of the United States: New York City. First called the “Musicians’ Committee for Refugees Coming from Germany,” then, from 1938 to 1941, the “Placement Committee for German and Austrian Musicians,” it eventually settled on “The National Committee for Refugee Musicians,” the name by which it is known – when it is known at all. The “Committee” was actually one person, the American-born composer and poet, Mark Brunswick (1902–1971), who in 1946, became the first chairman of the Department of Music at The City College of New York. CCNY, as it was known, was founded in 1847, the first public institution of higher learning in New York and the first in the United States to be tuition free. In 1961 it became one of the many campuses of the City University of New York, or CUNY, as it is now called.

Brunswick had spent 13 years between the 1st and 2nd World Wars in Europe, mostly in Vienna, with some commuting to Paris to study with Nadia Boulanger. In 1938, when the rumbles of war became loud, Brunswick and his wife, Dr. Ruth Mack Brunswick – a psychiatrist who worked with Sigmund Freud – returned to the USA. Shortly thereafter Brunswick created the Committee. Based on the primary source material in the City College Library’s Division of Archives and Special Collections, we know that between June 1938 and January 1941 a total of 1,496 musicians were assisted by the Committee. This consisted of help getting temporary or permanent teaching or performing jobs, but also giving financial assistance to purchase or repair instruments. We do not yet

have exact figures for the remaining time that the Committee was active, that is, until 1943. Initial work with these documents suggests that a total of about 2,000 musicians were helped.

I put aside my research and writing about that Committee in 1990–91, when I became an *estofil* and started my work on the life and music of Veljo Tormis. A few years ago I returned to my earlier project and now I am working with a co-author, Jayme Kurland, who completed a Master’s Thesis in 2015 on the Committee (Kurland 2015). We are writing a book about the National Committee for Refugee Musicians, Mark Brunswick, and Music and Politics at the City College of New York.

When I heard of this conference I wondered what I could talk about that would in any way relate to the work of Professor Lippus. It was true that many years ago she and I wrote a grant proposal to work together on a one-volume history of Estonian music. I saw little that I could bring to that project, but she insisted that I would add to it the point of view of an American and western European trained musicologist. We’ll never know if it would have been a fruitful collaboration because we didn’t get the grant – and each continued working in her own areas of research and writing. Although our contact became less frequent, I knew that Urve was actively pursuing the subject of the history of Estonian music and was encouraging her graduate students to do the same. Indeed, one of her recent publications was *Muutuste kümnend: EV Tallinna Konservatooriumi lõpp ja TRK algus* [Decades of Transition: The End of the Tallinn National Conservatory and the Beginning of the Tallinn State Conservatory] (Lippus 2011). In her footnotes she refers to the single most important published source of information about Estonian refugee musicians, *Kõik ilmalaaneni laiali – Lugu eesti pagulasmuusikutest* [All Dispersed in the World’s Forests: The History of Estonian Refugee Musicians] by Avo Hirvesoo (Hirvesoo 1996), of which fifty-six pages (out of a total of 382) are devoted to those refugees who settled in America. A limitation of this book for us is that a few hundred Estonian musicians’ names are mentioned, but some have little information about them, nor is there extensive material that helps one get a clear picture of Estonian refugee musicians’ contributions to musical life in America. That would probably require a second volume. Another one of the very few reference books on our subject, *The Esto-*

nians in America (Pennar, Parming, Rebane 1975), includes factual material of great interest, but for us it has another limitation: it is about Estonians, not about Estonian musicians.

To compare the situation in which both of these groups of refugee musicians found themselves we must look at American immigration and naturalization law and presidential proclamations. There were some differences in the way the two groups were treated, though the picture is not clear cut. We can see that these laws responded “to the nation’s needs as well as, at times, to the demands of nativists and xenophobic movements, changing periodic bouts of hyper-nationalism, war-time anxieties, and humanitarian concerns about refugees.” (I quote from a documentary history of these laws by Michael LeMay and Elliott Robert Barkan, published in 1999; LeMay, Barkan 1999: xxiii.) The subject is fascinating, but I will just set the stage for our period by noting that the first era of U.S. history provided unrestricted entry for immigrants, up to 1880 – with the exception that from 1790 only white persons could immigrate and become naturalized citizens. From 1880 to 1920 the sole group excluded from these privileges were the Chinese. The next era, from 1920 to 1965, was ruled by an elaborate quota system based on national origins. These were originally “based on 2% of the census of the 1890 foreign-born population” (LeMay, Barkan 1999: xlii), but the government kept tinkering with the basis for the quotas. According to the proclamation of President Hoover in 1929, Estonia’s annual quota was 116. The two other Baltic nations had quotas of approximately one hundred (Latvia) and two hundred (Lithuania). Looking at other European nations, using rounded figures, we see Russia with ca. 2,800, France with 3,000, Italy with almost twice that, Poland, 6 1/2 thousand, Germany with 25,000, the Irish Free State with 18,000 and Great Britain and Northern Ireland at 66,000. Remember: Estonia’s annual quota was 116, but it was not filled every year. It may seem strange that during the Second World War all the European quotas were hardly filled: in 1942 only 10% of the total, the following year one half of that, in 1944 6% and in 1945 7%. Unfortunately a regulation that was in place long before World War II had not been cancelled, namely, that a visa had to be obtained at the American consulate in the country of origin. Once the United States entered the war, diplo-

matic relations, hence consulates, existed only in Portugal, Switzerland, Sweden, the Soviet Union, and Great Britain.

In the years leading up to the war, getting visas for German and Austrian musicians was also very difficult. Most, but not all of them were Jews and anti-Semitism, a fundamental policy of the Nazis, also existed in Washington. There is ample documentation showing that Breckinridge Long (1881–1958), the Assistant Secretary of State in the Roosevelt administration, actively pursued policies so that “during the 10 years of Nazi terror only 16,000 Jews a year were admitted to the United States” (LeMay, Barkan 1999: 215) although the lives of millions were in peril. Secretary Long specifically called for creating bureaucratic delays in granting visas. As the situation grew worse there were various committees in America working to get Jews, Catholics and anti-Fascists out of Germany, Austria, and Italy. Many of these refugees went first to whatever country would take them, though all countries set limits to the number of immigrants they accepted. They went to England, France (until it was invaded), Portugal, Argentina, Cuba, India, and elsewhere. From there they applied for American visas and the lucky ones got them.

A significant modification of the quota law came from Congress in 1948, but prior to that President Truman promulgated a directive, in December of 1945, on “Immigration to the United States of Certain Displaced Persons and Refugees in Europe.” In it he removed the necessity of obtaining a visa in the country of origin (LeMay, Barkan 1999: 205). Although there were still quotas, by 1951 a total of 341,000 immigration visas were granted. Reflecting American foreign policy, the Cold War encouraged officials to admit persons whose home countries were now under Soviet domination, even though the visa applicants were currently in Germany, in displaced person (DP) camps.

Those changes in the law certainly aided some Estonians wishing to eventually emigrate to the United States. First they had to leave Estonia. Some had gotten away to the West during the initial occupation by the Soviets in 1939–1941. The Nazi invasion in July of 1941 led other Estonians to try to leave, mostly across the Baltic to Sweden. The return of the Soviets in 1944 inspired the largest emigration of that period. By late that year “there

may have been up to 100,000 Estonian citizens as refugees in the West.” (Raun 1987: 166) The large number who had gone to Germany were placed in DP camps at the war’s end. Fortunately we have a number of written accounts of life in the camps, including information about the music that was written and performed in Geislingen, one of the thirty-eight large camps in the American zone of Germany in which Estonian schools were established. A great resource for this information is the *DP Chronicle: Estonian Refugees in Germany 1944–1951* by Ferdinand Kool, published in 1999 in Estonian and in 2014 in English (Kool 2014).

As I gathered facts about these two groups of immigrant musicians and tried to compare them I realized that one of the underlying questions for me, as an American musicologist, was: how did each group contribute to American music culture in the second half of the 20th century?

Several related explanations of their differences occurred to me, which, to be verified, probably require the research tools of sociology, along with a background of musicology:

1. The German and Austrian refugees came to a country already steeped in the traditions of their centuries-old classical music and therefore they were more readily recognized in the United States as masters of their art.
2. Estonian classical music had first been cultivated in the late 19th century and was mostly unknown in the United States until the last quarter of the 20th century – although some individual Estonian performers did gain recognition before that.
3. The sheer numbers of Austrian and German refugees yielded a wider influence on American musical culture than could the smaller number of Estonian musicians who were able to work as musicians in the USA.
4. Estonian refugees, whether or not musicians, were understandably concerned with sustaining the culture of their small nation, and therefore gave great attention to their own communities in exile. Thus *Eesti Kultuuripäevad* [Estonian Cultural Days], Estonian language schools, choral societies, and international ESTO gatherings of Estonian cultural activities were maintained in the United States for the remainder of the 20th century and into the 21st, well past the resumption of Estonian independence in 1991.

5. As has been noted in other studies of refugee musicians, both of these groups, especially their respective composers and performers, enjoyed greater professional success in their adopted country than did other exiled members of the intelligentsia because their mode of expression – music – was more independent of language, as compared with those refugees whose work was in the social sciences and literature. Scientists also did better, though I do not now have data to prove this.

At this moment I would like to digress from the central themes of this paper to mention something said to me by a highly educated Estonian during one of my many visits here. Somewhat reticent when he talked about this, he nevertheless made it clear that he was resentful that the world had paid so much attention to the Holocaust, yet so little was said about the deportations, killings, and serious mistreatment of the Estonian people by the Nazis and the Soviets, particularly during the years that Stalin ruled the Soviet Union. What I think he failed to recognize was that in the country that was considered the 20th century’s “leader of the free world,” that is, the United States, most people couldn’t distinguish between the Balkans and the Baltics. It did not really register with them that the loss of 25% of its people, in a nation whose total population had been about 1,134,000 in 1939, constituted another lamentable atrocity.

Fortunately, in 1969, a group of Estonian refugees who lived in the Greater New York City area established the Estonian Archives in the U.S. in Lakewood, New Jersey. By now, well into the 21st century, most of their documents have gone to the huge collection of the University of Minnesota’s Immigration History Research Center in Minneapolis, which I was not able to examine. As I reviewed materials that are still in Lakewood and as I spoke with the volunteer staff that maintains those archives, I learned that many Estonians who arrived in America in the 1930s onward earned a living as farmers or construction workers or, once their English improved, in mid level office jobs. This was not accidental. American policy dictated that preference for immigration would be given to those following “agricultural pursuits,” as well as to those in construction and other types of work needed in the localities in which they were to settle. Probably it was their excellent education

in Estonia, and then their maintenance of schools on all levels in the Displaced Persons Camps in Germany and Sweden immediately after World War II, that made it possible for them to eventually become successful entrepreneurs and professionals in many fields. There were also choruses and instrumental groups in the Estonian DP Camps that sustained that vital part of Estonian culture.

In thinking about the nature of the two groups of refugee musicians under consideration, it seems to me that I have been comparing apples and peaches – both fruit growing on trees, but very different in their taste and texture. Our two groups were musicians who were forced into exile from their respective European homelands and both eventually settled in the USA during and after World War II. In general (there were certainly differences within each group), the groups differed in numbers, in their renown upon arrival, in their attitudes about integrating into American society, and in the assistance they received from American citizens and organizations. In New York City the Estonian Music Center, created in 1956

and maintained by a number of local Estonian musicians and music lovers, organized concerts, looked after composers' rights, assisted young composers, and established music archives. Oddly enough, during the twelve years that I worked on the biography of Tormis and frequented Estonian House (Eesti Maja) in New York, I never once heard about this organization. But I must consider chronology before I jump to conclusions. I began my research into Estonian music and musicians in 1990, many years after the Estonian Music Center was created. On the basis of archival work, we now know the kinds of assistance the mostly German and Austrian refugee musicians received in America between 1938 and 1943. Equivalent archival research is needed before we can say precisely what help was given to Estonian refugee musicians in the United States after World War II. We may then be able to understand how they contributed to American musical culture and also maintained the vibrant culture of their small nation for the Estonian refugees who settled in the United States.

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Pilguheit kahele Ameerika Ühendriikidesse emigreerunud muusikute rühmale: 1938–1943 esmajoones Austriast ja Saksamaalt ning 1944–1950 Eestist tulnud

Mimi Daitz

(tõlkinud Anu Schaper)

Palju on kirjutatud rahvusvaheliselt tuntud heliloojate, interpreetide, teadlaste ja õpetajate kohta, kes emigreerusid Lääne-Euroopast Ameerikasse otse enne Teist maailmasõda ja selle jooksul. Vähe on teada teistest kõrgelt kvalifitseeritud professionaalsetest interpreetidest ja muusikaõpetajatest, kes tulid USAsse 1938. ja 1943. aasta vahel riikliku põgenikest muusikute abistamise komitee toel (National Committee for Refugee Musicians).

Komitee asutas Ameerika helilooja Mark Brunswick (1902–1971), kes oli Esimese ja Teise maailmasõja vahel veetnud 13 aastat Euroopas, peamiselt Viinis. City College of New Yorki (kus Brunswick juhtis muusikaosakonda) arhiivide allikmaterjali põhjal teame, et 1938. aasta juuni ja 1941. aasta jaanuari vahel abistas komitee 1496 muusikut. Esialgsete uuringute andmeil oli 1943. aastaks abi saanud kokku ligi 2000 muusikut, enamasti Saksast ja Austriast, mitte ainult sissesõiduviisa näol, vaid ka Ameerikas muusikaõpetaja või interpreedina töö leidmisel.

Teise maailmasõja lõpu poole, peamiselt 1944, sai võimaluse Ühendriikidesse pääseda teine rühm muusikutest põgenikke. Need olid eestlased, kes põgenesid natsistliku ja nõukogude režiimi õuduste eest. Nagu varasem Lääne-Euroopast tulnute rühmgi ei tulnud nad tavaliselt otse Ameerikasse. Paljud eestlased olid kõigepealt Saksamaa põgenikelaagrites, kus nad rajasid kõigi tasemete haridusasutusi ja jätkasid aktiivset tegevust muusikaorganisatsioonides.

Enamik Ameerika eestlaste kohta käivast arhiivimaterjalist, mida varem hoiti Lakewoodis New Jersey's, on üle viidud Minnesota Ülikooli immigratsiooniajaloo uurimise keskusse (Immigration History Research Center) Minneapolis, mida mul polnud võimalik üle vaadata. Kõige tähtsamad sekundaarallikad, mida ma kasutasin, olid Avo Hirvesoo „Kõik ilmalaaneni laiali: Lugu Eesti pagulasmuusikutest” (1996) ning Jaan Pennari, Tõnu Parmingu ja Peter Rebase „The Estonians in America” (1975).

Hinnates mõlema põgenikest muusikute rühma olukorda Ameerikas, peame kõigepealt heitma pilgu Ameerika immigratsiooni- ja naturalisatsiooniseadustele ning presidendi deklaratsioonidele. See on keerukas ja kõitev teema. Esimese uurimisaluse rühma puhul oli eriliselt huvipakkuv president Roosevelti riigisekretäri Breckinridge Longi antisemitism, samuti Teise maailmasõja eelne määrus, mille järgi tuli viisat taotleja päritolumaal asuvas Ameerika konsulaadis. Selle määruse tunnistas kehtetuks president Truman. Eestlastele tuli eriti kasuks külma sõja poliitika, mis julgustas ametnikke tunnustama isikuid, kelle kodumaad kuulusid nüüd nõukogude võimu alla.

Kaht põgenikerühma võrreldes on selge, et Saksa ja Austria muusikud tulid maale, mis toitus nende kodumaade sajanditevanusest klassikalise muusika traditsioonist – ja neid tuli suurel hulgal. Eesti klassikaline muusika sai alguse 19. sajandi lõpul ja oli Ameerika Ühendriikides kuni hilise 20. sajandini tundmatu. Ja Ameerikasse emigreerus oluliselt väiksem arv Eesti muusikuid. Eestlased tegelesid ka oma väikese rahvuse kultuuri säilitamisega Ühendriikides Eesti Kultuuripäevade, eestikeelsete koolide, kooriühingute ja ESTO päevade kaudu. Nad pöörasid eksilis suurt tähelepanu oma kogukondadele.

On kindel, et põgenikest muusikute abistamise komitee aitas peamiselt Saksa ja Austria muusikutel töötada oma uuel kodumaal muusikuna. Vajame rohkem uuringuid, et näha, millist rolli mängisid New Yorgi Eesti Muusika Keskus (Estonian Music Center) ja teised organisatsioonid Ühendriikides, aidates oma kaasmaalastel töötada nende valitud eluvaldkonnas ja anda seega panuse Ameerika muusikakultuuri.

Prelude, Fughetta and Postlude: A Tripartite Reflection on National Ideas and National Music

Anu Kõlar

Abstract

The article gives an overview of Urve Lippus's (1950–2015) principal field of research: nationalness in music and music history. Lippus analysed runic songs and linear musical thought, the construction of nationalism, and national ideas in the first half of 20th century cultural and musical life in Estonia. A special part of Lippus's professional legacy was concerned with the music of Veljo Tormis (1930–2017). In all likelihood, both Lippus and Tormis reaped considerable creative rewards from their discussions, debates and cooperation. The article will also examine the problematic concept of nationalism and issues of national identity in light of the modern day situation, in which phenomena linked to nationality are considered marginal and obsolete.

A significant share of Urve Lippus's (1950–2015) rich legacy of scholarship is dedicated to the discussion of the nationalness of music, of the notions underpinning national ideas, of the role of national awareness in the history of culture and music, and of the interpretations of such ideas in the aesthetics of art. Although I cannot claim to fully fathom the nuances of her analysis, in what follows I will endeavour to present several of her opinions, which (to me) have appeared refreshing and which have opened up novel and broader perspectives. In conjunction with the focus of Lippus's research on the role and significance of national heritage in musical compositions, in the historiography and aesthetics of music, it is only natural and logical that she also wrote about Veljo Tormis (1930–2017), whose thinking and creative work were deeply rooted in the Estonian folk tradition. In all likelihood, both Lippus and Tormis reaped considerable creative rewards from their discussions, debates and cooperation.

Urve Lippus's views on national ideas will be discussed in the middle part, or 'fughetta', of this somewhat unusually structured article. As a musical composition, the fughetta or short fugue forgoes the complex structure and thematic development of the fugue, yet in most cases retains two statements (*dux* and *comes*) of a single musical theme. The sections below will follow that arrangement.

I will begin the article with an introductory prelude in which I will define the central notions of the complex and constantly changing discourse of national ideas. I will limit myself to those definitions whose elucidation is needed to set the stage for the discussion that follows. I will also touch upon Marek Tamm's views on the characteristics that are particular to the national identity construction of Estonians.

In the postlude, I will set out a few subjective and rather sad observations on the skewed interpretations of national identity that appear to have wide currency in our times.

Prelude: Nationalism, nationalness and national identity

In history and the humanities, 'nationalism' is a problematic concept that has inspired a wide variety of different, sometimes conflicting opinions. A significant part of this complexity and heterogeneity is related to differences in the historical, cultural and linguistic contexts in which 'nation' and various other notions derived from it (nationality, nationalness, national identity, national ideas, national awareness, civic nationalism, ethnic nation) receive their divergent interpretations.¹ In other words, the term 'nation' is defined differently in different historical periods, in different linguistic and cultural environments, and in different research discourses, and in accordance with these

¹ This article was conceived and originally written in Estonian (see the online version of *Res Musica* 9; www.resmusica.ee). In the Estonian cultural space, as in Estonian tradition and history writing, the category 'nation' holds a central place and has, in the 20th century, often been overused. 'Nationalism' as an ideology espoused by groups whose members share the same language or culture provides researchers with a suitable theoretical framework for understanding and elaborating the functions and aims of the nation. It is important to note that, in this article as well as in other Estonian-language academic publications – at least for the last decades – *rahvus* and *rahvuslus* [respectively, 'nation'

is interpreted in different forms and evaluated differently. In the contemporary liberal, globalising West, ethnicity is considered either insignificant or inappropriate as a determinant of social and cultural cohesion.²

Much of nationalism's sinister reputation is based on its historical connection with the interwar period and the ensuing carnage of World War II. The tragic turns in the fates of the countries, peoples and cultures that made up the fabric of Europe at the time resulted in the enduring stigmatisation of nationalism, predominantly in political discourse. During the last decade, this is what has made politicians reason as follows: "In the present day, people do not proclaim to be nationalists. This would be akin to confessing to mass murder or perhaps something even worse..." (Tamm 2005),³ or: "[Europe's greatest internal danger is] nationalist, increasingly xenophobic sentiment in the EU itself. National egoism is also becoming an attractive alternative to integration" (Tusk 2017).⁴

These quotes show that stigmatisation is not limited to nationalism as an ideology and to nationalists as people who espouse nationalist ideas – indeed, any sentiments and attitudes that can be characterised as 'nationalist' are also regarded as dangerous. Nevertheless, although political discourse prefers stark, black-or-white contrasts, academic disciplines operate with more complex and ambiguous distinctions.

In the context of cultural history, nationalism is a phenomenon that springs from a specific his-

torical period (in Europe, in most cases the second half of the 19th century) and is linked to changes in social relationships, education, the economy, and other aspects of the functioning of society. The conversation of the Estonian historian Marek Tamm with the Czech historian Miroslav Hroch and the Hungarian politician György Schöpflin indicates that the approach to nationalism in historiography and the humanities in general has experienced major turns, and that the subject has attracted more or less attention according to the times. Its latest resurgence occurred in the 1990s in connection with the collapse of the Soviet Union and the Eastern Bloc, especially in the context of the breakup of Yugoslavia, when people realized that these federal polities were constructed around different ethnic groups, each of which had a clear sense of its own identity and aspired to independence (Tamm 2005). In the humanities and social sciences, nationalism is indeed primarily linked to identity construction, i.e., to self-awareness, to defining and perceiving oneself as member of a specific group, which forms the basis for communication between people and provides them with a sense of belonging. Thus, the cornerstone of nationalist ideology is national identity. Both national identity and the ideology it engenders are strongly entwined with the category of history/past/roots: the process of nation-building and the sense of national consciousness rely on shared perceptions of history, with mythical narratives rooted in times long past often functioning as important building blocks for nationalism.

and 'nationalism'] have been used as neutral 'tools' necessary for presenting the authors' findings. In English-language discourse, however, 'nationalism' appears to be strongly (and negatively) loaded as a concept. For this reason, in the English translation of the article, I have preferred the terms *nationalness*, *national ideas*, *national awareness*, which convey my meaning without evoking the negative connotations that 'nationalism' does.

Based on the distinction widely used in studies of nations – between ethnic nationalism (which stresses common ethnic ancestry) and civic nationalism (the nation is formed of all of its citizens regardless of their ethnicity) – in this article, 'nation' and 'nationalism' are primarily to be taken to mean the ethnic variety, with all its characteristic features. In any case, the use of the term 'nationalism' in this text is intended without any affective subtext.

² For instance, an authoritative political scientist, Professor of Politics at Princeton University Anna Stilz, uses the following description to characterize the (ideal) liberal-democratic state and its society, i.e. civic nation: "A 'civic nation' [...] need not be unified by commonalities of language or culture (where 'culture' refers to the traditions and customs of a particular national group). It simply requires a disposition on the part of citizens to uphold their political institutions, and to accept the liberal principles on which they are based. Membership is open to anyone who shares these values. In a civic nation, the protection or promotion of one national culture over others is not a goal of the state" (Stilz 2009: 257).

³ Here and below, translations of titles of and quotes from works in languages other than English are the author's own, except where otherwise shown in the References section.

⁴ The quote is taken from the letter of 31 January 2017 of the President of the European Council Donald Tusk to the leaders of the 27 EU member states, <<http://www.consilium.europa.eu/en/press/press-releases/2017/01/31-tusk-letter-future-europe/>> (5.02.2017).

Skipping the numerous theoretical approaches to Western national identities, I shall now proceed from Europe directly to Estonia, where the beginnings of the tradition of reflecting on and writing about national ideas, national traits, the meaning of being an Estonian, the nature of our collective selfhood and the selfhood of the Other, and the line that separates these and the culture that characterises them go back well over a century. Understandably, the descriptions of our identity vary, yet on the whole it appears to be founded mainly on two pillars – the Estonian language, and the culture expressed in that language, including the stories and songs which have been passed down from one generation to another. Marek Tamm has expressed the same idea more eloquently:

The nation can be conventionally viewed as a 'narrative community' whose identity is largely based on 'stories which guide us in our lives' [...]. Or more precisely, on narrative patterns which impart cohesion to the nation's past. Cohesion is one of the cornerstones of collective identity: repetition and continuity are the two most important qualities of the nation's cultural memory (Tamm 2012: 52).

In sum, nation, nationalness and national identity are complicated and strongly loaded both as terms and as cultural phenomena. This *prelude* does not presume to define them exhaustively, but rather to point to the possible directions considered by Urve Lippus in her discussions of nationalism.

Fughetta. Dux: Urve Lippus on nationalness in music and music history

Folk music, national ideas in music and the notions underpinning such ideas were among Urve Lippus's principal research interests. Her first aca-

demic papers – the Russian-language dissertation on the Estonian *regilaul* (runic songs) written for the completion of her Candidate of Sciences degree (1985) and the English-language dissertation on linear musical thought (1995) – were significant contributions to ethnomusicological theory. From analyses of music, she moved on to wider discussions of nationalness and nationalism. This later period of her research career yielded two major works: the extensive article "Omakultuur ja muusika" [Authentic Culture and Music] (Lippus 2002a) and "Sissejuhatus. Muusikaloogkirjutus 21. sajandi algul" [Introduction. Music History Writing at the Beginning of the 21st Century], written in 2013/2014 for inclusion in the new comprehensive history of Estonian music. This introductory chapter, to be published in a slightly extended version as part of the complete edition in 2019,⁵ among other topics also touches upon the role of nationalism in shaping the interpretations of the past. Between and after these two, she also found time for several other papers, including a number whose subject matter was linked to Veljo Tormis and which, of course, frequently considered matters related to nationalness (e.g., Tormis 2000; Lippus 2010 and 2015). In addition to pursuing her personal research interests, Urve Lippus also saw a more general benefit in addressing these issues:

For us [scholars of Estonian music history and readers of their work – AK], however, it is an urgent necessity to free the thinking and writing about national music of the accumulation of rigid attitudes and propagandistic noise – the latter can be found in the Soviet period as well as in earlier and later years (Lippus 2002b: 5).⁶

When looking at how Lippus approached the phenomenon of nationalism in her writings, it seems that one of her main aspirations was indeed to improve and add to the readers' historio-

⁵ This new comprehensive history of Estonian music is a long-term project, a dream and a necessity, preparations and planning for which had already begun at the turn of the century, with Urve Lippus at the helm. Currently, the ambitious project is overseen by Toomas Siitan, and the complete edition is expected to be ready for publication in 2019, to mark the 100th anniversary of the Estonian Academy of Music and Theatre.

Urve Lippus started writing its introductory section in 2013 and was able to complete the core text in 2014. An extended and edited version is to be included in the complete volume of *History of Estonian Music*.

⁶ Although I cannot speak for other students who studied at the Tallinn State Conservatory during the last decade of the Soviet period, I must confess to a lack of discernment in having regarded the views presented in the two volumes of *Eesti Muusika I ja II* [Estonian Music I and II] (Vahter 1968 and 1975) which were then used as textbooks, as well as in the (half-secretly perused) *Eesti muusika arenemislugu* [History of the Development of Estonian Music] by Anton Kasemets (1937), as universally valid and 'correct', and not scrutinising them as to the manner in which they were written or the ideology that informed them.

graphic knowledge by pointing out the historical dimension of nationalist ideas and reasoning: their birth in a particular period in the past – the second half of the 19th century – and the ensuing transformations in our understanding of these matters, brought about by changes in the political and social environment. Considering the reasons why, for a long period and in different cultural contexts in both Western Europe and Estonia, nationalism became an influential ideology, Lippus found, among other things, that the concept of nationalness is so loaded and ambiguous in its meanings and connotations that it lends support and justification to (extremist) governments, proponents of eugenics and mystics, as well as to (moderate) cultural historians and aestheticians, and finally even to (presumptuous) critics of national ideals.

In her 2002 article “*Omakultuur ja muusika: muusika rahvuslikkuse idee Eestis I*” [Authentic Culture and Music: the Notion of the Nationalness of Music in Estonia I], Urve Lippus mainly relies on the ideas of Carl Dahlhaus (1980a, b) and Richard Taruskin (2001) to shed light on the views of the Estonian intelligentsia of the first decades of the 20th century with regard to Estonian culture in general and, more narrowly, to the music scene and to the music composed here. She distils from Dahlhaus’s ideas the observation that, rather than in the music itself, nationalness is to be found in its reception and in its political and socio-psychological function. In Dahlhaus’s words:

It is possible to regard nationality [...] as a quality which rests primarily in the meaning invested in a piece of music or a complex of musical characteristics by a sufficient number of the people who make and hear the music, and only secondarily, if at all, in its melodic and rhythmic substance. To express it summarily: so long as gypsy music in Hungary was regarded as authentically Hungarian, it was authentically Hungarian; the historical error has to be taken at its face value as an aesthetic truth, for it takes a collective agreement to stamp certain traits as national ones (Dahlhaus 1980b: 91–92).

Richard Taruskin, in his exploration of the differences in what nationalism means for small and large cultures/nations, finds that smaller and oppressed nations have promoted nationalism in music so as to demonstrate their equality in front of ‘higher’, ‘universal’ music. The concept of ‘national school’, frequently encountered in the history of music of different cultures, implies an opposition to universality and covertly invokes peripheral connotations (Taruskin 2001: 690–694).

Relying on these, as well as on a number of other authors (such as the Finnish music historians Toivo Haapanen and Helena Tyrväinen), Urve Lippus analyses the writings of nearly twenty Estonian cultural figures and historians of music, giving more thorough consideration to the musical history texts of Peeter Ramul, Leenart Neuman, Anton Kasemets and Karl Leichter, which stem from the first period of Estonian independence (between WW I and WW II). I will only refer here to some of the thoughts and conclusions regarding nationalness that Lippus noted in the work of these authors and as a general reflection of the trends of the time, and which struck me as refreshing and meaningful. At the beginning of the 20th century, when Estonians were preoccupied with the need to prove themselves as a people whose culture was on a par with those of long-established nations (which is clearly evident in Rudolf Tobias’s articles in defence of the arts), the usefulness of folk music was primarily seen in its being “raw material, full of dirt and garbage” (Tobias 1995 [1905]: 20), which yet has authenticity and value because it can be used as the foundation from which to construct, on the example of major Western masterpieces, the nation’s own classical music.⁷ In the interwar period, nationalism was the core principle of artistic thinking and of the reception of art, yet its interpretation was kaleidoscopic and depended on different expectations. Professional composers and the connoisseur audience who looked for novelty and originality in compositional style preferred ‘capturing the national spirit’ to direct incorporation of folk music in musical works. When catering to wider audiences and less discerning tastes, however, it

⁷ Similar thoughts have also been voiced since. In 1911, in a letter to Oskar Kallas, Cyrillus Kreek wrote about the mission of composers to take the best folk melodies, “develop them to the fullest” and then “give them back to the people” in their new refined form. The same appeal has been formulated by Leenart Neuman in even more evocative language, envisioning how future composers “as if by magic, have turned a simple wildflower into a fully blossoming rose. A simple tune has grown into a glorious work of art that visibly bears the seal ‘Estonia’” (Kõlar 2010: 141, 142).

was important to use easily identifiable national symbols – melodies, themes or texts.

The last conclusion that caught my eye in the article Lippus published in 2002 is – when I reflect on it now – a good illustration of how intimately entwined our understanding of nationalism is with its political and social context and how it undergoes constant changes. Namely, during our first period of independence

there was yet no question as to how the limits of Estonian music should be traced – the local music scene was nationally homogeneous [...]. All Estonian music was written here and it was part of the Estonian cultural scene of the time. Composers consciously sought to avoid the local German legacy (Lippus 2002a: 78).

Today, however, the situation is decidedly different both in the actual culture/music scene and in terms of historiography. Political openness, local/European cultural heterogeneity, plurality of thought and the wide scope of the discourse of the humanities encourages (or even demands) a redefinition of Estonian music, Estonian nationalism, and Estonian cultural space.

Urve Lippus's last major work, her introduction to the yet-to-be published history of Estonian music, mostly written in 2014, is an excellent illustration of the redefinition of boundaries. Considering that the 2002 article only examined a relatively brief period (1918–1940) and that the introduction to the new edition sets the stage for a history of local music spanning several hundred years (from the 16th/17th centuries to the beginning of the 21st century), it is natural to have an updated definition of 'us'. I will present below a few short, eloquent quotes from Urve Lippus's manuscript and also supply brief comments.

During the last decade, the topic of nationalism has been the subject of numerous research papers [in Western humanities – AK], with a number of parallel explorations of ethnicity and regionalism [...]. The central question here is what communities perceive as the basis of their identity, where to trace the line beyond which lies the Other.

Next, Lippus briefly discusses our shared understanding of language and culture, which in her view is among the crucial components of the collective Estonian identity. However, since

historically the local understanding and experience of culture in what is now Estonia have been constructed and shaped by several different ethnic groups (primarily Baltic Germans, but also missionaries, merchants, travelling theatre companies and musicians arriving here from Western Europe at various times), our experience and memory of culture have for a long time exhibited a transcultural and hybrid character with cosmopolitan traits. Therefore, the approach to historical processes and events in the new history of Estonian music is multi-layered and attempts to shed light on as extensive a variety of factors and connections as possible: "Everything that has influenced the Estonian music scene is part of the history of Estonian music." And finally, the question of whom Urve Lippus addressed the new history of music to is answered in her own words: "Contemporary readers who share [the authors'] cultural background" (Lippus 2013/2014).

Fughetta. Comes: Urve Lippus on the nationalness of the music of Veljo Tormis

Veljo Tormis was the composer in whom Urve Lippus took the most interest and for whom she had a strong personal liking. Lippus dedicated several research papers to the compositional style, performance and reception of his pieces, as well as to his life, to the factors that had an impact on his thinking, and to his personal beliefs, and seemed able to mention him (or to discuss aspects of nationalness) at least in passing, in almost every one of her writings. One may surmise that their shared appreciation of folk tradition and frequent conversations and debates proved mutually enriching. Their cooperation was closest in the spring and autumn of 1997 when, as Visiting Professor of Liberal Arts at the University of Tartu, Veljo Tormis gave ten lectures at the university. These were recorded and transcribed by Urve Lippus, who also repeatedly revised and edited the resulting texts together with the composer, wherever possible adding photographs, documents and music samples to accompany them, as well as her own extended commentary. *Lauldud sõna* [The Word Was Sung] was finally published in 2000, and is, in my opinion, one of the most exciting and wide-ranging accounts (from the perspective of the artist) of the culture of the last decades, of the development of the Estonian national identity, and of its fields of tension. The authorship is credited

to Tormis, and rightly so, since the composer's thoughts and observations are clearly in the foreground. Yet upon closer examination we notice how, by virtue of the questions and comments inserted by Urve Lippus, Tormis's ideas, metaphors and 'broad-stroke formulations', which are at times presented in slightly loose terms, appear considerably more rational, clear, and academically precise and find their proper historical context. This is exactly how I perceive the contribution of Lippus as an interpreter of Tormis and as a facilitator in communicating his art and ideas to the public. Some topics had to be revisited more than once, sometimes also by means of debating the point with the composer. One of these was the nature of Tormis's relationship with his main source of inspiration. With regard to the latter, in his crucial article published in 1972 "Rahvalaul ja meie" [Folk Song and Us], which leaves readers the impression of having been intended as the artist's manifesto, he writes (probably for the first time in public): "...given my deepening interest in *regilaul*, I am more a mediator than a creator" (Tormis 2004 [1972]: 62–63). Over time, in the composer's talks, the power of the runic songs continued to increase and the composer became increasingly humble, culminating in 2007 in the following statement, which has achieved the status of public knowledge in the local music scene: "...it is not I who uses the *regilaul*, but the *regilaul* that uses me, in order to express itself through me, and my job is to be the tray on which it can be displayed" (Kaljuvee 2007). A similar status has been attained by the phrase 'musical native tongue' which was the title of a lecture given by Tormis in 1997, and by which he intended the specific style of folk music of a particular ethnic group (such as Hungarians or Estonians) that has characterized the group from times immemorial.

Without detracting from the poetic expression of Tormis's ideas, Urve Lippus repeatedly tried to translate them into what we might call 'more academic' formulations. She found that the composer's humble yet romantic self-image, which elevates the source of inspiration and downplays the role of its user, is not consistent with the character of his music, which reflects attention to detail, is composed in a complex and professional manner, and which always sounds contemporary. She briefly summarized this as follows:

Whichever of Tormis's pieces one takes, the melody and its magical repetition is surely not all that counts. Even a very simple choral composition may become a masterful piece when its melody is surrounded by thoughtful detail and all of its constituents form a coherent whole. Tormis may sometimes speak of open form, yet his major works are conspicuous for being fully realized compositional ensembles with powerful dramatic effect. As such, they reflect a thorough mastery of composition techniques, an excellent knowledge of choirs and an intuitive sense for the dramatic in music (Lippus 2010).

Similarly, the notion of 'musical native tongue' does not apply to Tormis's compositions, functioning instead rather as a 'rhetoric of nationalness' and hence forming a subject that might be discussed in cultural history classes at school (Lippus 2010, 2015).

The second idea that Urve Lippus explicated on several occasions concerns Veljo Tormis's public image as a 'national' composer, which, in the traditional view, primarily implies his incorporation of Estonian folk music into his compositions. In fact, however, Tormis had already started to cast his glance beyond Estonia's borders as early as at the beginning of the 1970s, extending his search for inspiration from the Baltic Finns, with whom we share the *regilaul* tradition, and their melodies to *Severo-russkaya Bilina* [North-Russian Bylina] (1976) and the *Bulgaaria triptühhon* [Bulgarian Triptych] (1978). Subsequently, 1981 saw "the arrival of 'Kalevala', which connects the *regilaul* tradition to established Western cultural forms" (Lippus 2010), and in the following decade compositions with English-language lyrics. Lippus concludes that it is unjustified to regard Tormis merely as an Estonian national composer: his approach to music makes no distinction between source material that comes from our heritage and material that is borrowed from other peoples: what matters is the artistic value of the piece.

At the last conference I had the opportunity to attend together with Urve Lippus, she also delivered a paper that expanded the notions of nationalness and national ideals. The title of her paper, presented in January 2015 at the Budapest conference *Nationalism in Music in the Totalitar-*

ian State (1945–1989), was “The Conflict Between ‘Official’ and Ethnographic (Authentic) Folk Music Ensembles in the Soviet Union and Veljo Tormis’ Folklore-Based Compositions in the 1970s”. At a time when the papers of many scholars hailing from the former socialist countries were built around a clear dichotomy between totalitarian oppression and independence-seeking nationalism, Urve Lippus consciously chose a more difficult approach – to demonstrate, on the basis of a Russian-language composition (*Severo-russkaya Bilina*) by an Estonian ‘national’ composer, that historical processes, people and their art are more complex and nuanced than might at the first glance appear.

Postlude: a few personal notes on nationalism

The passing of Veljo Tormis, as well as of Urve Lippus, could be seen as marking the end of a golden period in the history of our nation and nationalness. Both cherished their ethnic origins and identity, common culture and shared roots, and valued the stories, music and texts passed down from generation to generation. And, they both also expanded the paradigm of national thought, being open to fresh winds from the world outside: Tormis by incorporating the music of other peoples in his compositions, and Lippus by taking up contemporary and innovative research directions and by posing novel research questions. Nevertheless, their openness was tempered with moderation, retaining the (national) core of their thinking and abiding by tradition.

Looking back on their history, our traditions and the nationalism of our culture have been, if anything, rather tolerant and amicable: we have ‘recognised’ as belonging to our national culture the *regilaul*, folk hymns, the song festival tradition that we borrowed from the Baltic Germans, the German-language oratorio *Des Jona Sendung* [Jonah’s Mission] (1909) by Rudolf Tobias, and the English-language composition *Kullervo’s Message* (1994) by Veljo Tormis. Should we today, when it is considered embarrassing or objectionable to be called ‘national’, adopt a different approach to these expressions of culture?

In the past, certain phenomena linked to other nations have appeared to us hostile and distant, yet (only?) if these were/are linked to political oppression or subjugation. For a long time, in the history of Estonian culture, Germans were

perceived as the arch-enemy in our works of literature, art and music, being painted as such by our official national cultural history. Later, it was the Russians – actually, Soviet-minded Russians – who, overtly or covertly, became the enemy. Our defensive and combative mindset helped us to preserve and maintain our national identity, especially when we felt that foreign cultural practices, language or music were being forced upon us against our will. The current situation is paradoxical, since, in the public eye, Russia remains our (political) enemy, yet we have no contact with their culture. Towards Western Europe, however, we have complete openness both in terms of politics and culture.

Today, in AD 2017, we live at a time when nationalism is considered a stigma in politics and regarded obsolete as an ideology, when national identities are receding into the past, and when nationalness as a substantive quality becomes more and more marginal. These, it seems, are increasingly matters to be discussed in history books or displayed in the exhibition at the Estonian National Museum. Our contemporary values are different: liberalism, individualism, freedom of speech, equality of all individuals, openness, integration with the Western world, tolerance, the market economy and the mobility of labour. Such values give rise to new identities unrelated to one’s ethnicity or national affiliation. The new identity need not be linked to the few square feet of space that we call Estonia, or to our shared past, or to the Estonian language and to music that is perceived as national/Estonian in character. To be sure, there must be quite a few people in the world who like Tormis – or our song festivals, or Estonian nature; however, with few exceptions, they do not share the same memory, the narratives passed down from generation to generation, our mythical common past and our roots. Without wishing to be branded a nationalist or a xenophobe, it seems we often shy away from sharing and telling these stories.

We live in an age of myriad truths – or an age of post-truth, as it is sometimes known. At times, it is good to recall what Veljo Tormis wrote in 1972:

Knowing and understanding oneself is essential for maintaining one’s balance and vitality. We must know who we are and where our roots lie. Knowing that will make it easier to

set our future goals. [...] Not to mention the ninth wave of almighty fashion swept upon us by an expanding mass media ocean, pulling us along to embrace its superficial truths, without most of us understanding what those

truths are and why we have accepted them. Before this wave crashes above our heads, we need to set a few things straight, so we can find our way. (Tormis 2004 [1972]: 66, 75)

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Prelüüd, fugett ja postlööd: mõtteid rahvuslusest ja rahvuslikust muusikast kolmes osas¹

Anu Kõlar

Rahvamuusika ja muusika rahvuslikkus oli Urve Lippuse üks tähtsamaid huvi- ja uurimisvaldkondi. Tema esimesed teadustööd – venekeelne kandidaadiväitekiri eesti runolauludest (1985) ja ingliskeelne dissertatsioon lineaarsest muusikalisest mõtlemisest (1995) – kuuluvad etnomusikoloogia teooriasuunda. Analüüsist liikus ta edasi avaramasse arutluse rahvusluse rollist kultuuri- ja muusikaloos, kus tema uurijateed jäid piiristama 2002. aastal publitseeritud ulatuslik artikkel „Omakultuur ja muusika” (Lippus 2002a) ning 2013/2014 kirjutatud „Sissejuhatus. Muusikalookirjutus 21. sajandi algul” uuele Eesti muusikaajaloole, kus muude teemade kõrval on juttu rahvusluse mõjust mineviku mõtestamisel. Nende kahe vahele ja järele mahtus mitu uurimust Veljo Tormisest: tema teoste helikeelest, ettekannetest ja retseptsioonist, samuti komponisti elukäigust, mõtlemislaadi mõjutajatest ja tõekspidamistest.

Oma rohkete rahvuslusekäsitluste eesmärgi on Urve Lippus sõnastanud nii: „Meie enda [eesti muusikaloolaste ja lugejate – AK] jaoks on väga vaja puhastada rahvuslikust muusikast mõtlemine ja kirjutamine sellele kuhjunud kivilinenud hoiakutest ja propagandamüra – viimast leiame nii nõukogude ajast kui ka varasematest ja hilisematest aastatest” (Lippus 2002b: 5). Tõepoolest: rahvuslus, mis ideestikuna sündis 19. sajandi teisel poolel, kujunes erinevates poliitilistes ja kultuurikontekstides pikaks ajaks mõjukaks nii Lääne-Euroopas kui ka Eestis. Lippus näitas, et juba rahvusluse mõiste ise on tähendustes ja hinnangutes sedavõrd „laetud” ja ambivalentne, et pakub tuge ja õigustust erinevatele võimudele ja kultuuriloolastele, kuid ka müstikutele, eugeenikutele ning rahvuse naeruvääristajatelegi.

Piiristades rahvusliku muusika, stiili ja ideestiku üldkontseptsiooni, tugines Urve Lippus mitmetele kaasaja uurijatele, näiteks Carl Dahlhausi tõdemusele, et rahvuslikkus on vähem tuvastatav helitöodes endas, pigem nende retseptsioonis ning muusika poliitilises ja sotsiaalsühholoogilises funktsioonis (Dahlhaus 1974: 84, 1980b: 91–92). Richard Taruskin, kes võrdles rahvusluse tähendust suurte ja väikeste kultuuride jaoks, leidis, et just viimased on püüdnud oma rahvuslikku eripära rõhutada, tõestamaks oma täisväärtuslikkust n.-ö. kõrgema, universaalse muusika ees (Taruskin 2001: 690–694). Neist mõtetest lähtudes analüüsis Urve Lippus ligi paarikümne 20. sajandi algupoole kultuuritegelase ja muusikaloolase (sh. Rudolf Tobiase, Peeter Ramuli, Leenart Neumani, Anton Kasemetsa ja Karl Leichter) kirjutisi. Ta tõi välja hinnangute ja arusaamade mitmekesisuse ja muutumise, rõhutades näiteks, et kui kahe maailmasõja vahelisel perioodil otsiti professionaalses muusikaloomingus ja elitaarses kunstimaitses uudsust ning eelistati n.-ö. rahvusliku vaimu tabamist, siis lihtsama publiku jaoks olid olulised hõlpsalt tuvastatavad rahvuslikud märgid – viisid, süžeed või tekstid.

Kui Eesti esimesel iseseisvusajal „ei tekkinud veel küsimust, kuidas eesti muusikat piirata – sinne muusikaelu oli rahvuslikult homogeenne” (Lippus 2002a: 78), siis viimastel kümnenditel on arusaam „oma” muusikast põhjalikult muutunud. Oleme teadvustanud, et minevikus on siinset kultuuri üles ehitatud ja kujundanud mitu erinevat rahvast (eelkõige baltisakslased) ja traditsiooni, mistõttu tänaste arusaamade kohaselt kuulub „Eesti muusikalukku [...] kõik, mis on siinset muusikaelu mõjutanud” (Lippus 2013/2014).

Nagu juba märgitud, oli Veljo Tormis Urve Lippuse jaoks üks südamelähedasemaid loojaid. Võib arvata, et nende ühine kiindumus rahvapärimusse ja sagedased omavahelised arutelud kujunesid mõlemale rikastavaks. Kõige tihedam koostöö oli neil 1997. aastal, kui Tormis pidas vabade kunstide professorina kümme loengut Tartu Ülikoolis ning Lippus need salvestas ja ümber kirjutas, täpsustas, viimistles ja kommenteeris tekste, otsis juurde fotosid, dokumente ja muusikanäiteid. Ühistöös anti välja „Lauldud sõna” (2000), üks põnevamaid ja paljutahulisemaid jutustusi loovisiksusest ja viimaste aastakümnete kultuurist.

Üks Urve Lippuse rollidest oligi Tormist n.-ö. teaduslikumaks tõlkida. Vähendamata komponisti mõttekäikude poeesiat – näiteks tema tuntuimas lausungis „mitte mina ei kasuta regilaulu, vaid regilaul kasutab mind, et minu kaudu ennast väljendada” (Kaljuvee 2007) –, leidis Lippus, et Tormise teoste mõ-

¹ Artikli eestikeelse täisversiooni võib leida Res Musica veebilehelt (<https://resmusica.ee>).

jukus ei tulene mitte rahvaviisi maagilisest kordumisest, vaid meisterliku professionaalsusega läbikomponeeritud kunstilisest tervikust.

Veljo Tormise ja Urve Lippuse lahkumisega sai mööda ilus aeg meie rahvuse ja rahvuslikkuse loos. Nad mõlemad pidasid oluliseks oma rahvuslikku kuuluvust ja identiteeti, väärtustasid põlvest põlve kantud lugusid ja muusikat. Nad mõlemad avardasid rahvuslikku mõtlemist, lubades mujalt värsked tuuli: Tormis teiste rahvaste muusikate näol ja Lippus kaasaegsete ja üha uuenevate uurimissuundade ja küsimusepüstituste kaudu.

Veljo Tormis and Urve Lippus: A Legacy

Mark Lawrence

Abstract

The death, in January 2017, of Veljo Tormis (b. 1930) marked the loss of one of the most significant composers of choral music of the later twentieth century. Tormis's distinct and diverse choral palette is witnessed in his vast output of some 500 choral songs, many of which are built upon traditional Estonian runic song or *regilaul*. Tormis's music continues to exert an influence on younger composers. This article, based on discussions with Tormis in 2010 and 2011, discusses the 'Tormis style' and the way in which it influenced four composers from the Baltic region who were writing in the 1970s and 1980s and with whom Tormis worked.

Urve Lippus (1950–2015) was a foremost authority on *regilaul* and its place within the music of Tormis. In my own research, Urve provided a bridge with Tormis himself, and a means of setting his music within the context of Estonia and its culture. This article is adapted from a paper given in a day conference by the Estonian Musicological Society in April 2016, dedicated to Urve's memory.

Urve Lippus was instrumental to my research into the music of Veljo Tormis (1930–2017) while I worked on my PhD at City University, London, completed in 2013. She was my first contact at the Estonian Academy of Music and Theatre, and, acting as interpreter, arranged many meetings and conversations with Tormis himself. Urve was particularly enlightening on her specialist area of *regilaul*. With her gentle enthusiasm and encouragement, she provided a vivid insight into Estonian music culture, particularly by putting Tormis's work into the context of its time. The following paper is adapted from one I gave, alongside papers by Lippus herself and Prof. Mimi Daitz, at the Baltic Musics and Musicologies Conference at Canterbury Christ Church University, in May 2011.¹ Material for the paper was gathered on a trip to Estonia and Finland in February that year, and in discussion with Urve Lippus and Veljo Tormis at this time.² A revised version of this paper was presented at the Estonian Musicological Society on 23 April 2016, in a day conference at the Heino Eller Music High School in Tartu, dedicated to Lippus's memory.

In this paper I will examine four composers who acknowledged Tormis's influence on their

work. But firstly, it is worth summarising the characteristic traits of the 'Tormis style' to which they were drawn:

1. The use of the choral palette in an almost orchestral manner, covering a wide emotional and dramatic span through subtly changing voices and colourings.
2. The integral use of *regilaul*, the ancient runic song of Estonia, as compositional material. Other composers have used this song, but the manner in which Tormis uses *regilaul*, that is, preserving melodies intact, without traditional development is a hallmark of his style.
3. The extensive use of repetition. Tormis achieves onward movement not by traditional thematic development, but by changes in choral scoring, meaning and alliteration within the texts. This is an aspect which has often led him to be labelled, erroneously, as a minimalist.³
4. The 'syncretic' nature of the mature works. Tormis first applied this term to *Eesti kalendri-laulud* [*Estonian Calendar Songs*] (1966/67), a work which, he felt, defined his mature style.⁴ Tormis uses syncretism to mean 'words + melody + presentation + performance, function',

¹ Mimi S. Daitz, author of the Tormis biography, *Ancient Song Recovered: The Life and Music of Veljo Tormis* (Daitz 2004).

² This research trip was funded by a Gerry Farrell Travelling Scholarship via SEMPRES (The Society for Education, Music and Psychology research Travelling Fellowship); www.sempre.org.uk.

³ Lippus pointed out that it would have been extremely difficult for a composer in Estonia to access scores and recordings of the music of the mainstream American minimalist movement (Steve Reich, Philip Glass, etc.) in the 1970s and 80s (author discussion with Lippus, February 2012).

⁴ Veljo Tormis, postscript to score of *Jaanilaulud* (Helsinki: Edition Fazer, 1996). Also author discussion with Tormis, Pittville Pump Room, Cheltenham International Music Festival, Cheltenham, UK, 11 July 2008 (interpreter: Katri Link).

in other words, a type of *Gesamtkunstwerk* (Tormis 2007 [1972]: 48). However, the term is commonly applied to the phenomenon occurring, for example, in the folk cultures of the Arctic (such as the Sami), where Christian and Pagan animist beliefs are reconciled. These are cultures with which Tormis feels a strong affinity and in which many of his *regilaul* works are rooted, perhaps providing him with a counterbalance to the Estonian Lutheranism in which he was raised.

5. Shamanism. The shaman drum is used in a number of important works, such as the seminal *Raua needmine* [Curse Upon Iron] (1972) (Lippus 2004 [1985]). Tormis had been deeply affected during the years of his Moscow studies by a performance by visiting shaman drummers from Siberia. Although no historical evidence has yet been found to link the drum to Estonia, Tormis is convinced that the drum played a role in Estonia's ancient past.⁵
6. Finally, an inseparable link between Tormis's music and Estonian-Baltic identity.⁶

Can Tormis's music be said to be a unique phenomenon? There has existed no 'Tormis School'; the composer has worked as a lone voice, and has always been reticent to speak about, and promote, his own music. Existing as a freelance composer from 1969, supported by the Soviet state, Tormis was unsuccessful in securing the academic post which would have ensured a line of student composers in his wake. Indeed, in his characteristically self-effacing manner, Tormis told me that he has had "few disciples, thank goodness". Yet closer examination reveals that aspects of his principles and style were assimilated by the next generation of composers. This is true of two Estonians, both of whom had been Tallinn Music High School pupils of Tormis when he was teaching in the 1960s.

Lepo Sumera (1950–2000) was a well-known symphonist, widely performed in Estonian concert programmes. He was prolific in output in the 1990s, a time when the new-found freedom after the fall of Communism caused a creative surge in Estonia.⁷ Sumera's style is eclectic, influenced by the Estonian national idiom earlier in the twentieth century. These include his teacher, Heino Eller, as well as Cyrillus Kreek and Mart Saar. Yet Sumera was also one of the pioneers of electro-acoustic music in Estonia.⁸ Tormis recounted that in one work, *Saare piiga laul merest* [Island Maiden's Song from the Sea] (1988), for double mixed choir, Sumera specifically acknowledged a debt to him.⁹ Perhaps it was the ritual sea-setting, drawn from Estonia's folk epic, the *Kalevipoeg*, that impelled Sumera to use quasi-*regilaul* melodies: characteristic eight-syllabled rhythms with a small vocal compass.¹⁰ Unlike Tormis's approach, these are, however not authentic, but of Sumera's own devising. In the 'Tormis manner', the *regi*-like themes are varied by transposition, without thematic development, although Sumera contrasts these with chromatic passages. At the opening, one choir whispers while the other sings, heightening the sense of ritual (ex. 1a). The sparse choral textures with this small-compassed folk-like melody, against bare fifths in the accompaniment, recall Tormis's treatment of *regilaul* in "Mistes Jaani oodetesse" ["Why St. John is awaited"] from the last set of *Kalendrilaulud* (ex. 1b).

Tarmo Lepik (1946–2001) was, like Sumera, a composition pupil of Tormis in his formative years at the Music High School in Tallinn (fig. 2). Less prolific than Sumera, Lepik was influenced by the *avant-garde* movement of the 1970s.¹¹ Yet he keenly acknowledged Tormis's influence on his choral music, once telling Tormis that he had "taken his ideas and developed them".¹²

⁵ Author discussion with Tormis and Lippus, February 2011.

⁶ This issue was discussed in Lippus's paper at the 2011 Canterbury conference, and was an area of particular interest to her.

⁷ Author discussion with Evi Arujärv, director of EMIC (Estonian Music Information Centre), www.emic.ee, Tallinn, February 2011.

⁸ Sumera biography from EMIC (accessed 31.8.16).

⁹ Author discussion with Tormis and Lippus, February 2011.

¹⁰ The *Kalevipoeg* is in *regivärs*, the metre used in *regilaul*.

¹¹ Lepik biography from EMIC (accessed 31.8.16).

¹² Author discussion with Lippus and Tormis, Estonian Academy of Music and Theatre, February 2010.

Ex. 1. a) Sumera. *Saare piiga laul merest*, entry of choir 2 (score: Sumera 1988).

The score for Ex. 1. a) consists of four staves of wordless vocal entries, each represented by a wavy line. The first staff is labeled 'morando' and the second 'poco'. The third staff is labeled 'morando' and the fourth 'imp.'. Below these is a four-measure vocal entry for choir 2, starting with a treble clef and a key signature of one flat. The lyrics are: 'JUTTEMI KANGELT, JÄRJEST LÄHENALE JA LÄHENNE TULLES (Kant 2.8) →'. The notes are: 'JAARE PIIGA', 'PEENI - LENE', 'KULAS VÕRRA', 'JUTTU KOKKEL,'.

Ex. 1. b) Tormis. *Jaani laulud*, "Mistes Jaani oodetesse", bb. 1–2 (score: Tormis 1996).

The score for Ex. 1. b) is in 3/8 time, marked 'Lento assai' with a tempo of 38 (♩ = 76). The first system has a treble clef and a key signature of one flat. The lyrics are: 'Mis - tes Jaa - ni oo - de - tes - se, jaa - ni - ka, / Why is Jaa - ni long a - wait - ed, jaa - ni - ka,'. The second system has a treble clef and a key signature of one flat. The lyrics are: 'Jaa - - ni, / Jaa - - ni,'.

This influence is evident in *Kolm Betti Alveri luuletust* [Three poems by Betty Alver] for male choir (1974). Looking through the score of the cycle together, Tormis drew my attention to the third song, "Räägi tasa minuga" ["Speak Softly to Me"]. At the opening, a wordless choral accompaniment is built up with upward staggered entries, beginning with a bottom C in the basses, above which a solo baritone sings the small-compassed melody (ex. 2a). The choral texture vividly recalls the layering of wordless voices in the haunting opening of Tormis's "Kutse jaanitulele I" ["Call to

the Midsummer Bonfire I"] from the last set of *Eesti kalendrilaulud* (although it must be said that Tormis is somewhat more sympathetic to his tenors and basses) (ex. 2b).

There is great cultural affinity between Estonia and Finland, its neighbour, eighty kilometres north across the Baltic. The countries share a common folklore and ancient song tradition (*runolaulu* in Finnish), as well as a closeness in their Finno-Ugric languages. Tormis had from early in his composing career built a close relationship with, and written for, many Finnish choirs and their

conductors. Pekka Jalkanen (b. 1945) is a Finnish composer whose first compositions drew on folk music and jazz. While acknowledging a fascination with György Ligeti and Witold Lutosławski in the 1970s, Jalkanen also recognises an influence from the American minimalist movement (Steve Reich, Terry Riley), and from the music of Estonian exile Arvo Pärt, who was becoming established internationally in the 1970s (Korhonen 2007: 135–136).¹³

Tormis described how he met Jalkanen in Helsinki in the late 1970s during a performance over several days of his epic choral cycle, *Unustatud rahvad* [*Forgotten Peoples*] (1970–1989). Jalkanen greatly admired the work and recounts how the composers spent an entire day talking in depth about Estonian and Finnish culture and the Finnish national epic, *Kalevala*.¹⁴ Speaking about the influence of Tormis on his music, Jalkanen specifically drew attention to one work by him: this time, an instrumental piece. *Viron orja* [*The Serf of Estonia*] (1980), for two solo violins and string orchestra, won first prize at the prominent international folk festival in Kaustinen (Kaustinen Folk Music Festival), north Finland, in 1980.¹⁵ Based on the *Kalevala*, this Orphic tale recounts the creation of the *kantele*, the ancient Finnish zither. Jalkanen uses a *pelimanni* melody¹⁶ to depict the secular world, distinguishing it from the “sacral, hypnotic world of *Kalevala* music”,¹⁷ to which he gives the rarified timbre of string harmonics. Although the procedure of ‘phased’ entries is perhaps more reminiscent of American minimalist works such as Reich’s *New York Counterpoint*, in *Viron orja*, Jalkanen attributes to Tormis his use of short, repetitive mo-

tifs derived from *runolaulu*. He also acknowledges Tormis’s influence on the way in which he seeks to create a “meditative atmosphere in the manner of ancient *Kalevala* song”.¹⁸

In 1976 Tormis visited Jyväskylä, a university city in central Finland, to hear a performance of his work *Karjala saatus* [in Estonian] / *Karjalan kohtalo* [in Finnish]; (*Karelian Destiny*, 1986–1989), another part of the *Unustatud rahvad* cycle. The work was conducted by Pekka Kostiainen (b. 1944), now one of the most established and respected Finnish choral conductor-composers (Korhonen 1995: 23–24). Kostiainen writes that he was “completely infatuated” with Tormis’s music after that first encounter, and has gone on to incorporate ancient Finnish *runolaulu*, or rather, its essence, into many of his own works.¹⁹ *Pakkasen luku* [*The Frost’s Incantation*] (1983) is another *Kalevala*-based work, a set of short songs for mixed choir in varying combinations of voices. As with the *Sumera*, the musical material is entirely Kostiainen’s own, but based on *runolaulu* principles. Melodies are of a very limited compass, mostly spanning only a minor third, which the composer points out, is typical of the “oldest *runolaulu* style”.²⁰ Some songs follow the traditional performance pattern: a leader’s part echoed by a chorus, the last notes of each line being doubled by the singers of the next, forming a continuous ‘chain’ of sound.²¹ Kostiainen echoes Tormis in his approach, but is less purist: he will combine themes and mix authentic and composed melodies within the same works. The third song of the cycle, “Kyll’ on sulla kylmämistä” (“Oh, you have so much coldness to sow”)²² follows Tormis’s principles of a repeated,

¹³ In this reference, Korhonen applies the phrase ‘minimalism of the Estonian kind’ to the music of Pärt, Sumera and Tormis. Although the work of these composers may bear traits in common with that of minimalists, the term is used inaccurately. Lippus pointed out that in Soviet Estonia in the 1970s there would have been very little chance for composers to encounter the repertoire of the American minimalist school, either through concerts or recordings. It would seem that the styles evolved in parallel, with a considerable degree of coincidence but with entirely different aesthetic foundations (author discussion with Lippus, EMTA, February 2011). See also Jaan Ross’s text in this issue.

¹⁴ Author discussion with Pekka Jalkanen, Helsinki, February 2011.

¹⁵ *Viro* is the Finnish name for Estonia.

¹⁶ *Pelimanni* is a form of traditional Nordic dance which can be clearly distinguished from the much older *runolaulu* by its more ‘Westernised’ tonal character and by its rhythmic qualities. (Discussion with Dr. Tina Ranmarine, Lecturer in Ethnomusicology, Royal Holloway, University of London, at the conference Baltic Musics and Musicologies at the Canterbury Christ Church University, UK, 26 May 2011.)

¹⁷ Author discussion with Jalkanen, February 2011.

¹⁸ Author discussion with Jalkanen, February 2011.

¹⁹ Kostiainen, emails to author, February 2011, via FIMIC (Finnish Music Information Centre), Helsinki, www.musicfinland.com.

²⁰ Kostiainen, email to author, February 2011.

²¹ Authentic performance of *regilaul* is described in Tormis 2008 [2000]: 130.

Ex. 2. a) Lepik. “Räägi tasa minuga,” bb. 1–7 (score: Lepik 2009).

This musical score for Ex. 2. a) shows the first seven bars of Lepik's "Räägi tasa minuga." It features a choral texture with multiple voices (Soprano, Alto, Tenor, Bass) and piano accompaniment. The score includes dynamic markings such as *2p*, *b.ap.*, and *b.ch.*, and a tempo marking of *Andantino* with a metronome marking of $\text{♩} = 72$. The lyrics "räägi ta sa mi nu ga süs mu kauli mine ei en- gem räägi ta sa mi nu ga" are written below the vocal staves.

unchanged original melody, varied only by choral scoring. A sense of onward movement is created by a thickening of the choral texture; this ‘choral orchestration’ is one of the most recognisable hallmarks of Tormis’s style (ex. 4).

A clear example of Tormis’s ‘cumulative’ choral technique is the final song, “Jaanilaul” from *Jaanilaulud* (1967), the final set of the *Eesti kalendri-laulud* cycle. Here, the *regilaul* melody moves between voices, subtly building in intensity with a

Ex. 2. b) Tormis. *Jaanilaulud*, “Kutse jaanitulele I”, bb. 1–3.

This musical score for Ex. 2. b) shows the first three bars of Tormis's "Kutse jaanitulele I" from *Jaanilaulud*. It features a choral texture with multiple voices (Soprano, Alto, Tenor, Bass) and piano accompaniment. The score includes dynamic markings such as *2p*, *b.ap.*, and *b.ch.*, and a tempo marking of *Andantino* with a metronome marking of $\text{♩} = 72$. The lyrics "räägi ta sa mi nu ga süs mu kauli mine ei en- gem räägi ta sa mi nu ga" are written below the vocal staves.

sense of inevitable onward movement (ex. 5a). The texture builds from a unison line against a pedal note, through simple imitation, to harmonisation in parallel triads, then parallel chords of 7th, 9th, and finally 11th (ex. 5b). The practice of ‘cumulative scoring’ was surely coloured, even if subconsciously, by Tormis’s formative experiences at the church organ as a child.²³

Pekka Kostiainen provides a neat summary of Tormis’s legacy: “I feel the most significant

²² Translation by Tuuli Elo, Finnish Music Information Centre (by email, 1.6.17).

²³ Tormis recalls playing the organ alongside his father, Riho Tormis (1899–1967), the *köster* (Sacristan) of his home village of Vigala in Kullamäe parish. “The [sound of the] loud organ, made by a village master, attracted me; five ranks of pipes lured me into the pleasure of pulling out a stop and changing the sound.” (Daitz 2004: 100) He seems aware, even at this early stage, of the almost shaman-like power of the organist, although he has declined to acknowledge the subsequent influence of the instrument on his choral writing and technique. He is now somewhat disparaging about the organ, considering it to have “a very limited range of colours and sonorities”. This prejudice is perhaps explained by the organ’s associations with historical events of this period. In 1944 Tormis had begun organ lessons at the Tallinn Music High School, followed by studies at the Tallinn Conservatory in 1947. He was forced abruptly to end studies when the organ course was suppressed by the Soviets because of the instrument’s close association with the Lutheran church. This was in 1948, the period of *Zhdanovshchina*, the notorious ‘Zhdanov purges’. One clear legacy of Tormis’s organ studies, however, remains: the repertoire of the time included arrangements of Estonian folk songs by Edgar Arro, the teacher of his own, and his father’s organ tutor, August Topman. These works were widely performed in the 1940s. So this was, effectively, Tormis’s first, and early, encounter with *regilaul*. (Author discussion with Tormis, Cheltenham, 2008 and with Lippus and Tormis, Estonian Academy of Music and Theatre, February 2010.)

Ex. 3. Jalkanen. *Viron orja*, bb. 1–3 (score: Jalkanen 1980).

Violini I

The image shows the first three measures of a musical score for Violini I. The music is in 4/4 time and consists of eighth-note patterns. The first measure starts with a mezzo-piano (mp) dynamic. The second measure also has an mp dynamic. The third measure is marked with a 'simile' instruction, indicating a continuation of the previous texture. The score is written on a single staff.

Ex. 4. Kostianen. “Kyll’ on sulla kylmämistä”, bb. 1–5 (score: Kostianen 1983).

(3.) *Kyll’ on sulla kylmämistä* (nk.)

This image displays a handwritten musical score for the piece 'Kyll’ on sulla kylmämistä'. The score is written on two systems of staves. The first system includes vocal parts (Soprano, Alto, Tenor) and piano accompaniment. The lyrics are in Finnish. The second system continues the vocal and piano parts. The score includes various musical notations such as dynamics (p, p.a.p. crescendo, mf, f), articulation (accents), and performance instructions like '4. kerralle' (4th time). The handwriting is in ink on aged paper.

p p.a.p. crescendo . . . mf (sempre cresc. . .)

KYLL’ ON SUL-LA KYL-MÄ-MISTÄ, KYLL’ ON SUL-LA KYL-MÄ-MIS-TÄ,
PAL-JO-KI PA-LE-LE-MISTÄ, PAL-JO-KI PA-LE-LE-MIS-TÄ,
IL-MAN IH-MI-SEN I-HOTTA, IL-MAN IH-MI-SEN I-HOTTA,
E-MON TUOMAN RUUHI-HIT-TA E-MON TUOMAN RUUHI-HIT-TA

4. kerralle
KYL-MÄ SOI-TA, KYL-MÄ

f (sempre cresc. . .)
KYL-MÄ SOI-TA, KYL-MÄ MAI-TA, KYL-MÄ KYLMI-Ä KI-UI-Ä,
PA-LE-LE-VE-SI-PA-JU-JA, PA-NE HAAVAN PAIKKUROI-TA

poco a poco crescendo
MAI-TA, KYL-MÄ SOI-TA, KYL-MÄ MAI-TA, KYL-MÄ

Ex. 5. Tormis. "Jaanilaul".**a)** bb. 1–8.

Andante
♩ = 66-69

S *pp* Jaa - ni,

A *p* Lää-mi väl - lä Jaa - ni kai - ma, jaa - ni, jaa - ni, kas om Jaa - nil kah - har paa, jaa - ni,

S

A sis om - ma kes - va kee - ru - lid - se, jaa ni, jaa ni, kaa - ra kat - so kan - di - lid - se, jaa - ni

T *p* Lää-mi väl - lä Jaa - ni kai - ma,

B sis om - ma kes - va kee - ru - lid - se, jaa ni, jaa ni, kaa - ra kat - so kan - di - lid - se, jaa - ni

b) bb. 104–107.

104 **Piu largo** (♩ = 56) *poco a poco crescendo e più estatico*

S *p* Lää - mi väl - lä Jaa - ni kai - ma, jaa - ni, jaa - ni - ka,
Come out, come out, look at Jaa - ni, jaa - ni, jaa - ni - ka,

A *p* Lää - mi väl - lä Jaa - ni kai - ma, jaa - ni, jaa - ni - ka,
Come out, come out, look at Jaa - ni, jaa - ni, jaa - ni - ka,

T *p* Lää - mi väl - lä Jaa - ni kai - ma, jaa - ni, jaa - ni - ka,
Come out, come out, look at Jaa - ni, jaa - ni, jaa - ni - ka,

B *p* Lää - mi väl - lä Jaa - ni kai - ma, jaa - ni, jaa - ni - ka,
Come out, come out, look at Jaa - ni, jaa - ni, jaa - ni - ka,

achievement of Tormis's music is how he [...] emphasises the most relevant characteristics of 'real' folk music. The product is clearly archaic, yet clearly music of our time."²⁴

In turn, Urve Lippus leaves her own invaluable legacy. She was instrumental to my own Tormis research, during which I witnessed her fervent conviction in Tormis's music. She was convinced

that Tormis deserved to be known more widely, outside the confines of the specialist choral circles of choirs, performers and their directors. Lippus believed that Tormis's music could stand its own against that of any contemporary twentieth-century choral composer both in, and beyond, Estonia.²⁵

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²⁴ Kostiainen, email to author, February 2011.

²⁵ Author discussion with Lippus, Estonian Academy of Music and Theatre, February 2014.

Veljo Tormise ja Urve Lippuse pärand

Mark Lawrence

(tõlkinud Anu Schaper)

Veljo Tormise (sünd. 1930) surm jaanuaris 2017 tähendas 20. sajandi lõpu ühe kõige olulisema koorimuusikahelilooja kaotust. Tormise eripärane kooristiil avaldub mahukas, ligi 500 koorilauluni ulatuvas loomingus, millest paljud põhinevad traditsioonilisel eesti regivärsilisel rahvalaulul ehk regilaulul. Nõukogude režiimi ajal, mil suur osa ta teostest on loodud, oli Tormise muusika eestlaste jaoks regilaulu alalhoiu kaudu tihedalt seotud oma läänemeresoome identiteedi säilitamisega. Tänapäeval on Tormisel eesti kultuuris unikaalne positsioon. Tormise kooristiilile on omane terviklike, edasiarenduseta regilaulumeloodiate kasutamine. Suure emotsionaalse ja dramaatilise varieeruvuse saavutab Tormis talle iseloomuliku orkestraalse koorikäsitlusega, millele on omased vabalt, üksteisega paindlikult ühinevad hääled ja tämbriline tundlikkus. Paljud laulud hõlmavad olulise elemendina rituaali, mis tuleneb originaallaulude kontekstist.

Tormise muusika on loomulikult nooremaid heliloojaid mõjutanud ja teeb seda ikka veel. Siinne artikkel, mis põhineb Tormisega 2010 ja 2011 peetud vestlustel, arutleb „Tormise stiili” ja viisi üle, kuidas see mõjutas 1970. ja 1980. aastatel nelja Läänemere piirkonna heliloojat, kellega Tormis koostööd tegi. Lepo Sumera (1950–2000) oli tuntud, Eesti kontserdikavades hästi esindatud sümfonist. Uurin tema teost „Saare piiga laul merest” (1988). Selle, rahvuseeposest „Kalevipoeg” pärinevale tekstile loodud segakooriteose rituaalse ülesehituse ja regilaulu matkivate meloodiate tõttu tunnistab Sumera erilist tänuvõlga Tormise ees. Tõmban siin paralleele Tormise tsükliga „Eesti kalendrilaulud”. Tarmo Lepik (1946–2001) oli nagu Sumeragi üks Tormise esimesi kompositsiooniõpilasi, kes on tunnistanud Tormise mõju oma muusikale; kord mainis ta Tormisele, et oli „võtnud tema ideid ja neid edasi arendanud”. Mõju on ilmnud „Kolmes Betti Alveri luuletuses” meeskoorile (1974), millel on samuti paralleele „Eesti kalendrilaulude” tsükliga.

Eestit ja Soomet seob lähedane kultuuriline sugulus, eriti rahvapärимuse ja ühise vanema rahvalaulu traditsiooni kaudu. Tormis sõlmis Soome kooride ja nende dirigentidega palju sidemeid, nende hulgas Pekka Jalkaneniga (sünd. 1945), soome heliloojaga, kellega Tormis tutvus 1970ndatel. Helsingis 2011 toimunud intervjuus juhtis Jalkanen mu tähelepanu oma „Kalevalal” põhinevale instrumentaalteosele „Viron orja” (1980) kahele viiulile ja keelpilliorkestrile, mille „vana „Kalevala” laulu laadis meditatiivset atmosfääri” ta seostab tänumeeles Tormisega. Samal kümnendil kohtus Tormis Pekka Kostiaineniga (sünd. 1944), tuntud Soome dirigendi ja heliloojaga. Kostiainen kirjutab,¹ et Tormise muusika lummas teda jäägitult ja ta hakkas paljudesse oma teostesse lõimima soome runolaulu (regilaulu soome vaste). „Pakkasen luku” (1983) on samuti „Kalevalal” põhinev teos, sari lühikesi laule segakoorile erinevates hääleliikide kombinatsioonides. Osutan selle tugevatele paralleelidele Tormisega, k.a. traditsioonilisele eeslauljaga esitusviisile. Kirjeldan Kostiaineni orkestraalset koorikäsitlust kolmandas laulus „Kyll’ on sulla kylmämistä” ja tõmban paralleele veel ühe lauluga „Eesti kalendrilauludest”.

Urve Lippus (1950–2015) abistas mind Tormise muusika uurimisel mu doktoriõpingute ajal Londoni City University’s. Ta oli mu esimene kontaktisik Eesti Muusika- ja Teatriakadeemias, ning olles ise tõlgiks, organiseeris palju kohtumisi ja vestlusi Tormise endaga. Eriti palju valgustas ta mind oma erivaldkonnas regilaulu alal. Siinne artikkel on kohandus ettekandest konverentsil „Baltic Musics and Musicologies” Canterbury Christ Church University’s mais 2011, kus esinesid ka Lippus ise ja prof. Mimi Daitz. Materjali ettekandeks kogusin reisil Eestisse ja Soome sama aasta veebruaris ning vestlustel Urve Lippuse ja Veljo Tormisega sel ajal. Ümbertöötatud versiooni ettekandest esitasin Eesti Muusikateaduse Seltsi ees 23. aprillil 2016 Tartus Heino Elleri nimelises muusikakoolis, seltsi Tartu päeval, mis oli pühendatud Urve Lippuse mälestusele.

¹ E-mailid autorile veebr. 2011.

Elmar Arro's View of Contemporary Estonian Music

Andreas Waczkat

Abstract

In 1935 Elmar Arro (1899–1985) published an article on “Estonian Contemporary Music”. In his article Arro gives an overview of Estonian composers and their works that is based on his own personal knowledge. Arro's account also clearly reflects his basic aesthetic concepts. Urve Lippus's research into Arro's position in the historiography of Estonian music provides the context for my analysis of Arro's article.

It was in 2006 that I was fortunate to make the acquaintance of Urve Lippus during a conference in Greifswald. This conference had as its theme *Music and University in the Baltic Sea Region*. Urve Lippus's contribution was about the letter of Elmar Arro (1899–1985) to Karl Leichter (1902–1987), written in the 1970s (Lippus 2009). I was especially impressed by the empathetic way in which Urve Lippus talked about Arro, and particularly of how he was torn between his involvement in Estonian music history and his inability to publish his research. There were two reasons for this. On one hand Arro, though born in Riga and having lived in Tartu for more than a decade in the 1930s, did not speak Estonian well enough to feel comfortable in Estonian-speaking academia (Lippus 2009: 266).¹ At the same time, however, publishing his Vienna doctoral thesis of 1928 as a history of Estonian music in the German language did not appear to him appropriate.² On the other hand, after being forced to settle in Germany in 1939 during the Nazi-Soviet population transfers, and having been drafted into the German army in 1941 and subsequently been imprisoned as a prisoner of war in Russia until 1955, Arro later found himself in a situation in post-War-Germany where no one

was interested in Estonian music history at all. Nevertheless, Arro focused his research on topics related to Eastern European music cultures. He was active in founding the Ost-Europa-Institut in Heidelberg, later taking this institute with him to Kiel when he moved there,³ as well as in publishing the first four volumes of the series *Musik des Ostens*. After retiring, in 1966 he moved to Vienna, where he founded the periodical *Musica Slavica*; of this initiative, however, only the first volume appeared, in 1977.⁴

In his letters to Leichter, Arro, by that time Professor emeritus at the University of Vienna, complained about the lack of interest in Estonian music that he faced during those years (Lippus 2009: 269). Arro may not fully have appreciated the practical as well as the political and ideological obstacles that caused restraint on the part of Western European musicologists with regard to Eastern European music – obstacles which Arro was not to see being increasingly overcome from the 1990s onward. Three of Arro's most important research papers have at last been published in Estonian, thus in a way doing justice to Arro's influence on and importance for contemporary Estonian musicology. First, his attempt to reconstruct

¹ Six small contributions by Arro in the Estonian language were published in the *Eesti Muusika Kuukiri* in 1929, when Arro was editor of the journal (Lippus 1999: 1035). Since none of Arro's other writings were published in Estonian, however, I assume that these contributions of 1929 were translated.

² Indeed, Arro published an enlarged version of his doctoral thesis as *Geschichte der estnischen Musik* in 1933, reserving the right to publish it in Estonian (Arro 1933: [6]; Runnel 2003: 9).

³ According to Velimirović 2001: 78, Arro moved to Kiel in 1968, but this is definitely incorrect. The J.-G.-Herder-Forschungsstelle für Musikgeschichte where Arro was active had been founded by Walter Wiora in 1958; however, the edited volumes *Musik des Ostens* appeared as *Sammelbände der J.-G.-Herder-Forschungsstelle für Musikgeschichte* only from the third volume (1965) onwards, whereas the hard-to-find first two volumes (1962 and 1963) are subtitled *Sammelbände für historische und vergleichende Forschung*. It can be assumed, therefore, that Arro moved to Kiel around 1964.

⁴ It seems to be unknown that Arro also published two books of poetry, *Rastloses Wandern*, Kiel: Schmidt & Klaunig, 1970, and *Stahl: ein Zeitpoem*, Kiel: Schmidt & Klaunig, 1970, as well as the autobiographical sketch *Zwölfhundert* (“dawaj! - dawaj!”), Kiel: Schmidt & Klaunig, 1969.

the Baltic German 'Liederschule' of 1965; secondly, his article on Baltic choral books and their authors of 1931; and thirdly, the archive-based study on Tartu's town musicians from 1587 to 1809 of 1932 (Arro 2003: 11–106, 107–130 and 131–220 respectively). Arro's importance for Estonian music history research was one of Urve Lippus's subjects from the 1980s onwards (Lippus 2003: 225), resulting in a number of publications, the most comprehensive of which is an essay, included in the volume just mentioned, written with the aim of making Arro's name known to a public beyond the world of musicology, which concludes with the view that Estonians have long been in Arro's debt (Lippus 2003: 240).

This tribute to Urve Lippus's memorial focuses on one of Arro's contributions that is not included in the book just mentioned but which is referred to in Urve Lippus's essay (Lippus 2003: 229). The article "Das estnische Musikschaffen der Gegenwart" (which I translate here as "Estonian Contemporary Music") is, in fact, not widely known at all, published, as it was, in a magazine that is not known for including articles relating to music: The *Baltische Monatshefte* (*Baltics Monthly Magazine*), issued by the Ernst Plates publishing house in Riga. In 1935 Arro had his article published there (Arro 1935b), together with another article on the Liphart string quartet in Tartu from 1829 to 1835 (Arro 1935a); in the same issue there were 42 other contributions on various matters from past and present, a number of reviews and smaller contributions, Estonia's and Latvia's political chronicles, and monthly reports from the Riga theatre. In terms of the regions covered, the articles in the *Baltische Monatshefte* are not limited only to Baltic subjects, but also extend to those of the Sudeten-Germans and the Transylvanian Saxons – in other words, those regions where there were similar constellations of parallel cultures as in Estonia and Latvia. Therefore, it may not come as a surprise that some of the articles in the *Baltische Monatshefte* have rather nationalistic undertones, even if this is not a predominant feature of the contributions.

Arro's article (1935b) certainly does not rank among his most important ones. Urve Lippus sees Arro's work on this article as being in a way

connected with the planned continuation of Arro's history of Estonian music (Lippus 2003: 229); it does, however, clearly show Arro's aesthetic premises in dealing with Estonian music. In his article, the author gives an overview of the works of some Estonian composers that he was familiar with. The term "contemporary" means, for Arro, the period from Estonia's independence to 1935; some of the composers are mentioned only *en passant*, whereas other composers are treated quite extensively.

Arro's starting point, the first of five chapters in his article (Arro 1935b: 71–7), is the rich tradition of choral music in Estonia, where composers like Miina Hermann (Härma) and Alexander (Aleksander) Läte prepared the ground for younger composers such as, among others, Artur Kapp and Mart Saar. Arro characterizes Saar as a fascinating artist who bases his compositions on ancient runic melodics that no one else has delved into so deeply. Further composers of interest to Arro are Juhan Aavik and Cyrillus Kreek. Kreek, however, is valued primarily as the first composer to use sacred folk songs in his works, whereas his *Estonian Requiem* failed to convince Arro.

Some of the observations to be made with regard to this first chapter are more or less symptomatic of Arro's entire article. First, Arro tends to portray the composers and their works from the perspective of the notion that Estonian music should be dependent on Estonian folk melodies or even on archaic runic melodics. Secondly, Arro translates the title of each work or song into German without citing the original Estonian title. In the case of some examples of vocal music he even translates the Estonian texts into German without noting the fact. Thirdly, Arro evaluates the composers and their music more or less according to personal taste. Apart from the question of whether a work is based on folk melodies or not, Arro does not establish any aesthetic criteria to support his evaluation at this stage.⁵

In the rather short second chapter (Arro 1935b: 77–9), Arro focuses on instrumental music. Again, he goes back to the first generation of composers, namely Rudolf Tobias, Peter (Peeter) Süda – whom Arro regards as over-rated – and finally Artur Kapp. The third chapter (Arro 1935b: 79–80)

⁵ National characteristics were important to the Estonian culture (and politics) of the time in general; see Anu Kõlar's contribution to this issue.

then returns to the subject of folk melodies. Arro proposes four different ways in which composers can deal with these influences: first, by reworking the melodies thematically or contrapuntally; secondly, by merely citing a motif here and there; thirdly, by choosing specific themes without exploiting the folk melodies ("auf [...] melodische Ausbeutung [...] verzichtend"); and fourthly, by establishing an individual style that is dependent on the composer's ties with his homeland. Arro writes of a "naturhafte Verbundenheit mit der heimatlichen Scholle": hard to translate into English, perhaps "being naturally tied to the native clod" comes close to Arro's words. This is a clear ranking, in which this fourth category is set at the top of an ascending order. Of course, Arro knows a composer who works in this style, to whom the fourth chapter that follows (Arro 1935b: 80–3) is exclusively devoted: Heino Eller. Arro characterizes Eller, with whom he had a close personal relationship (Lippus 2003: 232), as an intuitive genius who, remarkably, wrote not a single piece of vocal music, thus standing out as a composer striving against the predominant flow of his Estonian contemporaries. He sees Eller as influenced by Scriabin as well as by Debussy and Grieg, but at the same time as the composer who, among his compatriots, managed to develop the most individual style. Although Eller himself influenced composers such as Olav Roots, Eduard Tubin and Alfred Karafin (Karindi), Arro claims that Eller was appreciated far more by Baltic German music critics than by Estonians.

In the fifth and final chapter (Arro 1935b: 83–6), Arro names four composers whose works come close to Eller's reputation, though without reaching his level: Adolf Vedro, Artur Lemba, Raimund Kull, and Evald Aav. These seem to be in descending order in terms of merit, with Vedro coming closest to Eller while Kull composes more or less to popular taste. Aav is the outlier here, since Arro only refers to his opera *Vikerlased* (*The Vikings*) of 1928, but to no other compositions. There are other compositions by Aav, who died in 1939, notably the symphonic poem *Elu* (*Life*) of 1934, which Arro had obviously not had the opportunity to get to know at the time of writing.

Arro concludes that contemporary Estonian music has been fortunate in its development.

Even though it would take some time for Estonian music to come close to European standards, the aberrations and vain experiments of modern music have been avoided, unlike in the visual arts. He recognizes that there is no composer to represent Estonia's national idiom as Sibelius does for Finland. Finally, in drawing a comparison with Latvian composers, he notes that the strength of Estonian composers lies in choral music, while that of Latvian composers is in instrumental music – and this, in his opinion, is a racial difference ("rassische Verschiedenartigkeit"). Since the preference expressed for Latvian instrumental music is at odds with Arro's almost hymnal praise of Eller, and since Arro otherwise always demonstrates a holistic understanding of Baltic culture (Lippus 2003: 235) – in Arro's sense this means Estonia and Latvia, consequently those parts of the Baltics where there are German communities – it may be assumed that this part of Arro's conclusion has something to do with censorship, though there is no evidence for this. To sum up, Arro's view of contemporary Estonian music clearly supports Urve Lippus's portrait of Arro as being torn between two cultures: the Estonian culture, to which he sees himself committed, and the German or Baltic German culture that is the culture both of his family and of his academic environment (Lippus 2003: 234). The article raises crucial questions that are hard to answer: To whom is it addressed? Why was it written?

I do not have answers to these questions. However, in my research I have come across something interesting. Parts of Arro's article were published earlier in the second volume of Guido Adler's *Handbuch der Musikgeschichte* of 1930 (Arro 1930). Adler is known to have been the supervisor of Arro's doctoral thesis on 19th century Estonian music (Arro 1928). The runic melodies are explained in Adler's book, in which there is also some background information on Estonian music history. Moreover, Eller's music is highly valued, as is Aav's. It thus seems clear to me that the 1935 article in the *Baltische Monatshefte* is merely a reworking of a text that had originally been written for Adler's handbook. This does not answer the questions posed above; however, once more it supports Urve Lippus's portrait of Arro as a person torn between two cultures.

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Elmar Arro nägemus kaasaegsest eesti muusikast

Andreas Waczkat
(tõlkinud Anu Schaper)

Urve Lippus on korduvalt käsitlenud Elmar Arro (1899–1985) uurimusi eesti muusikaloost. Oma muljet-avaldavalt empaatiaküllastes käsitlustes osutab ta ühtlasi rõhukalt Arro lõhestatusele suure eesti muusikaloo huvi ja baltisaksa päritolu vahel, mis mõjutasid ja ka takistasid tema publitseerimistegevust, kuna Arro ei olnud suuteline oma uurimusi eesti keeles avaldama. Eriti mõjuvalt osutas Urve Lippus sellele lõhestatusele Musica Baltica konverentsil „Muusika ja ülikool Läänemere piirkonnas” Greifswaldis 2006 peetud ettekandes (trükitud 2009; Lippus 2009), milles ta käsitles Arro kirjavahetust Karl Leichteriga (1902–1987).

Arro tekstide hulka, mida Urve Lippus mainib vaid möödaminnes, kuulub 1935 ajakirjas Baltische Monatshefte ilmunud artikkel eesti kaasaegsest heliloomingust („Das estnische Musikschaffen der Gegenwart”; Arro 1935b), mille kohta Lippus oletab, et see on kirjutatud seoses kavatsusega jätkata Arro 1933 trükitud eesti muusikaajalugu („Geschichte der estnischen Musik”). Tekst koosneb viiest peatükist, mis käsitlevad igaüks üht eesti muusika valdkonda ajavahemikul iseseisvuse saavutamisest kuni aastani 1935. Esimeses peatükis tegeleb Arro rikka koorimuusikatraditsiooniga, tuues näitena heliloojaid Miina Härmat ja Aleksander Lätet. Väga lühike teine peatükk keskendub instrumentaalmuusikale ja sellistele heliloojatele nagu Rudolf Tobias, Peeter Süda ja Artur Kapp. Kolmandas peatükis on vaatluse all eesti rahvalauluviisidel põhinev muusika, kusjuures Arro mainib nelja erinevat viisi ja laadi, kuidas kompositsioon võib pärimusmuusikaga seotud olla: kasutades rahvaviisi teema – ka kontrapunktiliselt töödeldud teema – alusena, tsiteerides motiive rahvaviisidest, valides teatud teemad, mis jälgendavad rahvaviise, ja lõpuks sellise isikliku stiili väljaarendamisega, mida iseloomustab helilooja seotus tema kodumaaga. Need neli viisi on selgelt mõeldud hierarhiana, mille puhul neljas paikneb Arro jaoks kunstiliselt kõige kõrgemal. Eriti ilmekalt esindab seda neljandat viisi Heino Eller. Eller ja tema looming ongi Arro artikli neljanda peatüki aineks. Viies peatükk esitleb lõpuks mõningaid heliloojaid, kelle teosed küünivad Elleri tööde lähedale, saavutamata siiski nende kunstilist taset: Adolf Vedro, Artur Lemba, Raimund Kull ja Evald Aav.

Kõigis viies peatükis tuleb selgelt välja Arro esteetiline põhipositsioon, mis hõlmab arvamust, et eesti muusika peaks olema kantud eesti rahvamuusikast või isegi arhailistest regilauluviisidest. Kriteeriume kompositsioonide edasiseks hindamiseks ta ei anna, see sõltub tema isiklikust maitsest. Veel on tema kujutusviisile iseloomulik, et ta esitab eesti teosepealkirjad alati saksa keeles, mainimata originaalpealkirju; sama kehtib laulutekstide kohta.

Kas see artikkel, nagu Urve Lippus oletab, pidi saama osaks Arro eesti muusikaloo jätkus, pole võimalik kindlaks teha. Kuid on selge, et see pole kirjutatud alles avaldamiseks ajakirjas Baltische Monatshefte, sest mõned osad sellest tekstist on ära trükitud juba varem Guido Adleri muusikaloo käsiraamatu „Handbuch der Musikgeschichte” 1930 ilmunud teises köites (Arro 1930). Adler, kelle juures Arro omandas 1928 doktorikraadi tööga muusikaelust Eestis 19. sajandil („Über das Musikleben in Estland im XIX. Jahrhundert”), võis seega anda tõuke Arro tekstile, mille ta siis avaldamiseks väljaandes Baltische Monatshefte üksnes ümber töötas.

Veljo Tormis and Minimalism: On the Reception of His New Musical Idiom in the 1960s¹

Jaan Ross

Abstract

This paper examines the reception of Veljo Tormis's (1930–2017) style of composition among a professional audience of composers and musicologists in Estonia in the 1960s. Composers in Soviet Estonia after World War II were caught in their professional work between at least two different ideological currents. One of these exhorted them to develop the national origins of their composition style as a requirement of ensuring cultural continuity, while the other subjected their work to the doctrine of socialist realism – courtesy of the Soviet occupation regime. The style introduced by Tormis in the middle of the 1960s – one that had minimalist leanings and relied on traditional runic songs – was at the time something completely new in Estonian music culture, and for that very reason elicited a wide variety of reactions in society in general and among experts in particular. Tormis belongs among those composers who have not only composed music, but have also actively participated in debates on the role of music in society.

The aim of the present paper is to examine the reception of Veljo Tormis's (1930–2017) style of composition among a professional audience of composers and musicologists in Estonia in the 1960s. Tormis's style is often characterised as based on Estonian traditional music. In the entry for Tormis in a 2008 biographical compendium of Estonian music, Urve Lippus, one of Estonia's foremost experts on Tormis, describes his style as follows:

In most of his compositions, [the composer] draws his inspiration from early traditional songs, especially the old runic songs (Kalevala-songs) of Estonians and other Baltic-Finnic peoples. By monotonous repetition of short traditional melodies, [Tormis] is able to create extensive sequences of rising and ebbing musical tension. He has been compared to minimalists, since many of his compositions feature endless repetitions of minimal musical material. Yet, the strong component of intrinsic drama and the integrity of his songs also link him to the classical tradition of major musical forms. (Lippus 2008: 429)

Before we continue with Tormis, it would profit us to examine briefly the development of the concept of minimalism in 20th century music elsewhere. As is generally known, the term 'minimalism' was used for the first time in relation to music by the English composer and musicologist Michael Nyman in 1968. The American composer Tom Johnson has defined minimalism as follows:

The idea of minimalism is much larger than most people realize. It includes, by definition, any music that works with limited or minimal materials: pieces that use only a few notes, pieces that use only a few words of text, or pieces written for very limited instruments [...]. It includes pieces that sustain one basic electronic rumble for a long time. It includes pieces made exclusively from recordings of rivers and streams. It includes pieces that move in endless circles. [...]. It includes pieces that take a very long time to move gradually from one kind of music to another kind. [...]. It includes pieces that slow the tempo down to two or three notes per minute.²

¹ On 21 January 2017, Veljo Tormis passed away. Besides being a great composer, he was also a member of the Estonian Musicological Society. The following text is published in order to commemorate Tormis's legacy. The text was first read in Estonian at the international conference during the bookbinders' exhibition "Scripta manent IV" in Tallinn on 28 September 2010, and subsequently published in Estonian in the weekly newspaper *Sirp* on 8 October 2010. The paper was given again, this time in English, during a symposium of the Graduate School for Culture Studies and Arts in Tallinn on 2 June 2012. It has not previously been published in English. The text is also a tribute to the late Urve Lippus, whose research had a strong focus on Tormis's oeuvre.

² http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Minimalist_music (accessed 21 September 2010).

The minimalist composers of international repute best known in Estonia are probably John Adams, Louis Andriessen, Philip Glass and Steve Reich. Several internationally recognised publications also include Arvo Pärt among the modern minimalist composers, although it is known that Pärt himself does not see his works as 'minimalist'. And it seems that he is not the only composer who tends to shy away from the term.

As I have already said, traditional music is regarded as the main pillar of Tormis's style. In the history of Estonian music this feature, however, is by no means unique to Tormis. We may even say that since the end of the 19th century it has been almost imperative among Estonian composers to use traditional music as a direct source of inspiration in their professional compositions. Rudolf Tobias (1873–1918), one of our first professional composers, wrote:

We must revive once again those ideals which already captivated and elevated the hearts of our forefathers, we must fan these still smoldering embers into a warming flame. Where but in our own folklore and traditional music could we find those ideals in their most pristine and pure form? Our traditional songs are [...] rays of light which reach to us from beyond centuries. Let us then pass these rays through the prism of art and we will have a clear vision of what moved and elevated the hearts of our forefathers, we will see the extent to which these emotions are the same as our own [...]. Furthermore, although our folklore may never be truly understood by people speaking foreign tongues, melodies can reach the heart of everyone. There are embers in our folk songs which can rise to a magnificent blaze and be seen from afar. (Tobias 1995 [1905]: 25–26)

Naturally, over more than a century Estonian composers have found more ways than one to interpret traditional melodies in their music. In an article published in 1970, the musicologist Helju Tauk distinguishes three different modes of harnessing traditional music in our professional music compositions (Tauk 1970: 156). She defines these as follows: firstly, arrangements of traditional melodies according to the idiom of homorhythmic four-part harmony; secondly, the development of a melody by establishing a coloristic harmony using the melody as a basis, or

by merging it with an independent complex harmony; and finally, the constant transformation of a traditional melody through the use of potential derived from the melody itself. It is probably evident to an avid music listener that composers like Karl August Hermann (1851–1909) and Miina Härma (1864–1941) can be regarded as simple harmonisers of traditional melodies, while Mart Saar (1882–1963) and Cyrillus Kreek (1889–1962) should be credited with merging complex harmonies into their melodies. It is quite clear, too, that the reference to the "transformation of a traditional melody through the use of potential derived from the melody itself" is intended to point to Tormis. Writing this in 1970, Helju Tauk does not yet call Tormis a 'minimalist', since the term, recently coined, had still to establish itself in scholarly musical discourse.

In a paradoxical manner, the Soviet official doctrine of 'socialist realism' to which our music culture was subjected following Estonia's annexation by the Soviet Union after World War II also supported the incorporation of traditional music into professional compositions. It is generally accepted that the resolution of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union of 10 February 1948 concerning Vano Muradeli's opera *Great Friendship* is perhaps the most detailed existing 'manifesto' of socialist realism in the field of music. I would like here to quote a few selected sentences from this resolution to illustrate the role of traditional music in professional composition as envisioned and dictated by the highest leadership of a totalitarian regime.

The Central Committee of the party states its belief that the opera *Great Friendship* (music by Vano Muradeli, libretto by Georgi Mdivani), staged by the Bolshoi Theatre of the USSR during the celebrations of the 30th anniversary of the October Revolution, is an anti-artistic work pernicious with respect both to its music and its subject matter. [...]. The composer has failed to draw upon the riches of folk melody, the songs and dance tunes that are to be found in such abundance among the peoples of the USSR [...]. The Central Committee believes that the failure of the opera results from the false path of formalism that comrade Muradeli has chosen – a path that brings ruin upon the creative work of Soviet composers. [...]. Students

are not being taught to respect the best traditions of Russian and Western classical music, or to love folk music and democratic musical forms. [...] instead [the Committee for Artistic Affairs of the USSR Council of Ministers and the Organisational Committee of the Union of Soviet Composers] should have developed the realist trend in Soviet music – this is based on recognising the extremely progressive role of the classical heritage and especially the traditions of the Russian school. They should have drawn from this heritage and developed it further, combining their music with the characteristics of this heritage: rich content and artistically perfect form, truthfulness and realism, a deep organic connection with the people and their music, and a high degree of professional mastery conjoined with simplicity and accessibility.³

In the light of the above, we can see how composers in Soviet Estonia after World War II were caught in their professional work between at least two different ideological currents. One of these exhorted them to develop the national origins of their composition style as a requirement of ensuring cultural continuity, while the other subjected their work to the doctrine of socialist realism – courtesy of the Soviet occupation regime. Both ideologies actually encouraged the use of traditional music as a source of inspiration for professional composers. How these two in essence very different ideologies either meshed or clashed in shaping the character of musical compositions at the time, however, is not the topic of the present paper. Yet we can say without a doubt that the style introduced by Tormis in the middle of the 1960s – one that had minimalist leanings and relied on traditional runic songs – was at the time something completely new in Estonian music culture, and for that very reason elicited a wide variety of reactions in society in general and among experts in particular.

According to a widespread view (see, e.g., Daitz 2004: 135), Tormis's unique style manifested itself for the first time in the massive choir cycle *Eesti kalendrilaulud* [Estonian Calendar Songs]. The cycle comprises five parts: *Mardilaulud* [Martinmas Songs], *Kadrilaulud* [St. Catherine's Day Songs], *Vastlatalaulud* [Shrovetide Songs], *Kiigelaaulud* [Swing

Songs] and *Jaanelaulud* [St. John's Day Songs], thus representing an annual life cycle that starts with autumn and ends with summer. In 1997, Veljo Tormis, having been invited to take up the position of Guest Professor of Liberal Arts at the University of Tartu, delivered a series of lectures at the university. Overseen by Urve Lippus, these lectures were collected and, three years later, published by the University of Tartu Press under the title *Lauldud sõna* [Sung Word; Tormis 2000, in English 2008]. In his second Tartu lecture, entitled "Rahvalaulu leidmine" ["Finding Traditional Songs"], Tormis also picked a song from this very cycle, which was composed in 1966 and 1967, to illustrate the essence of his style.

In Tormis's words:

Let's look at one of these songs – "Ilus neiu kii-gel" [Pretty Maiden on the Swing] from my cycle of *Kiigelaaulud* [Swinging songs] [...] I would like to draw your attention to the fact that the tune of the Kuusalu swinging song, which was taken as the basis of this piece, always stays right where it is. Later the voices that sing the tune change; the melody moves from soprano to alto and then back, but pitches are always the same, only the dynamics change slightly. That is to say, this time I've left the folk-tune the way it appeared in Tampere's book (Tormis 2008: 118).

By "Tampere's book", of course, the composer refers to the folklorist Herbert Tampere's five-volume anthology of Estonian traditional songs (Tampere 1956–1965). And Tormis continues:

This time, there are no tonal harmonies any more, instead there is a heterophonic or parallel movement in different chords, which just ends or stops without any resolution. The chords are formed symmetrically around one note: the soloist starts from G, then we build a triad downwards, and later upwards. (Ibid.)

In order to better understand the reactions of contemporaries to Tormis's novel style, I went through the minutes of the working meetings of the Estonian Composers' Union (stored in the National Archives of Estonia) from 1963 to 1970. In those days, composers used these meetings as a forum in which to present their newest works

³ <http://www.hist.msu.ru/ER/Text/USSR/music.htm> (accessed 21 September 2010).

to their colleagues and to receive feedback. To an extent, the minutes of the working meetings served as the basis upon which the Ministry of Culture later made its decisions to 'acquire' new compositions, i.e. to pay a fee to composers for their work. One of the anonymous contemporaries reflects on those times as follows:

Although the working meetings appeared a mere formality, the composers whose works were being discussed experienced them as highly intense moments that could potentially wreck their professional lives. The discussion and what was recorded in the minutes had an impact on the ministry's decision whether to buy [the completed composition], [and] probably also on [the amount] which the ministry would pay for the work. There were also cases where the reactions elicited during the working meeting effectively resulted in a performance ban [for the composition].⁴

The above would lead us to assume that the minutes of the working meetings of the Estonian Composers' Union cannot unreservedly be taken at their face value, since what was said during the meetings was to a significant extent influenced by various factors unrelated to music. However, having inspected the minutes, I was left with the impression that the content of these records is surprisingly rich in expressions of genuinely held positions and thus allows a fairly accurate reconstruction of the views and beliefs of the participants.

On average, during the period between 1963 and 1970 Tormis presented one or two new works every year to be dissected at a meeting of the Composers' Union. In general, we can say that during those eight years the assessments of his colleagues were quite friendly, and sometimes even amounted to outright eulogies. Yet, other composers who attempted to create avant-garde music were sometimes subjected to very harsh criticism. To offer a quick comparison, I will provide here an example of the treatment that was meted out to some other composers. The following excerpt is from the minutes of the meeting that took place on 1 June 1965 at which the young Kuldar Sink (1942–1995), who at the time was still

a distance learning student in professor Boris Arapov's composition class at the Leningrad Conservatory, presented to his colleagues two new pieces of music: a composition for two pianos and the cantata *Aastaajad* [Seasons] for mixed choir, solo singer and chamber orchestra. The following dialogue ensued.

Eugen Kapp: "A question for you – who is your supervisor in Leningrad?"

Kuldar Sink: "Professor Arapov."

Kapp: "What did he say?"

Sink: "He said – 'most interesting'."

Aleksei Stepanov: "As far as the piano pieces are concerned, in the West this style is already a thing of the past. Each composer must have his or her own face. Pardon me, that is, everyone goes crazy in a different way. No space age, no age of technology can justify such a style. Maybe professor Arapov's ear has become accustomed to such music (he spent some time in China). Why on earth do people waste their precious time composing pieces like this? I tried to follow the score but could not understand anything. [...] People imitate Polish experiments. Everything sounds unnatural. It sounds like music from a different world."⁵

"Polish experiments" in Stepanov's speech is a reference to the Polish contemporary music festival called the Warsaw Autumn. It had been held since 1956 on an almost annual basis and represented an event that Estonian musicians, amongst others, had many opportunities to attend. The festival was a window for musicians from the Soviet bloc to try and keep abreast of developments in the Western art music scene. As a personal note, let me say that my first trip to a foreign country, which took place in 1977, when I was still a student, was to Poland to attend the very same festival.

Having read the minutes, it seems that avant-garde trends in musical composition which often reached Estonia via the Warsaw festival divided the composers at least in the 1960s into two clear-cut factions whom we may, for the sake of convenience, label as the conservatives and the radicals. We cannot say, however, that conserva-

⁴ Personal communication.

⁵ Rahvusarhiiv / National Archives of Estonia, ERA.R-1958.1.233, I. 74–83.

tive views necessarily dominated each and every discussion in the meetings. Nor can we say that the conservative faction consisted solely of members who performed an 'ideological function' in the meetings – in fact, it often also included several composers of the older generation who were patriots of an independent Estonia. Nonetheless, it is obvious that by the middle of the 1960s music criticism motivated purely by ideology in the composers' professional union had lost the absolute authority it had wielded in Stalin's days. In the 1960s, at the end of a meeting, the chairman would usually peacefully end any arguments by saying: "Let them experiment".

Tormis presented a part of his calendar songs cycle – the six swing songs – at the meeting of the Composers' Union held on 1 November 1966 and the entire cycle at the meeting held on 24 September 1967. The aesthetic or practical merits of the change in the composer's style were not discussed at either of the meetings. The discussion of Tormis's swing songs was relatively short and only a few substantive remarks were made by the participants in addition to general praise.

Ado Velvet: "The author has made an attempt to preserve authentic traditional melodies in their integrity. And so with every song. Thus the songs contain no major development. The entire series is more interesting to listen to than individual songs. Very tastefully composed. Beautiful little miniatures." Alfred Karindi: "I like these arrangements. Especially, returning traditional melodies to the people in this relatively simple form. It is a most welcome development, and very much needed. Of course, it is also possible to arrange traditional melodies as Cyrillus Kreek did. However, here the arrangement has been done in a most skilful and tasteful manner, yet it remains simple and straightforward. It is a most needed thing and it's very nicely done, too."⁶

The presentation of the entire cycle of calendar songs to fellow composers took place the next year and can be regarded as an unconditional triumph for Tormis. The cycle was performed

on the piano by the author himself and by Helju Taak, who had also prepared a written review of the songs which she read out at the meeting. Here is a quote from her review:

This is a unique cycle of songs in Estonian music – in this monumental work the integrity of ancient runic melodies has been preserved (with a few exceptions) and presented in a modern choral arrangement. Moreover, the cycle is characterised by an organic cohesiveness which lends additional weight to each new or skilfully transformed detail. The composition shows how a culture, in its seasonally determined relationship with nature and life, seeks to interact with these. From a simple turn of melody, the cycle grows on the listener, leading him to broad, evocative philosophical generalisations.⁷

Other composers and musicologists present at the meeting concurred.

Artur Vahter: "I would like to express my admiration of this work. It is unbelievable that such a work can be based on runic songs. Mart Saar turned a page in the arrangement of traditional melodies, but Tormis has turned a completely new page. He has found a modern and appropriate, non-controversial harmony to our oldest type of traditional songs, the runic songs. That is indeed the greatest invention in this work."

Eino Tamberg: "Tonight we had a most interesting evening, having been able to enjoy the performance of two contrasting works. One of them was international, the other both international and national. Tormis's work is more to my liking and is more important, since such compositions are few and far between and we need them very much. This work holds considerable importance for our cultural history."

Aleksei Stepanov: "I was moved by how traditional song can give rise to so many things. Traditional song is a living and breathing phenomenon which continues to develop. And that is also what Tormis has done with his simple arrangement of traditional melodies. We should give him every praise for this."

⁶ ERA.R-1958.1.251, I. 113–114.

⁷ ERA.R-1958.1.265, I. 124–126.

Gustav Ernesaks: "This is a giant tapestry where the big picture is revealed in numerous details. Only one thing: In 'Lina loitsimine' ['Spell Upon Flax'], at the end the thirds are very low. Otherwise everything is technically perfect. Indeed a new page has been turned in the arrangement of traditional melodies. Congratulations! Singers will be glad to start performing these songs."⁸

Two observations should be appended to this excerpt from the minutes of the meeting that took place in September 1967. Firstly, the second new piece of music which was presented at the meeting and was also mentioned by Tamberg was Arvo Pärt's cello concerto *Pro et contra*, which Pärt had dedicated to Mstislav Rostropovich, the world-famous Russian cellist and conductor. Second, the issue of low thirds mentioned by Ernesaks in relation to the musical texture of a certain part of the cycle of *Shrovetide Songs* had also been brought up earlier in discussions of Tormis's choir music. At the meeting of the Composers' Union on 10 December 1963, Tormis performed the cantata *Kodumaa sünnipäev* [*Homeland's Birthday*], which he had composed for a forthcoming Estonian national song festival, eliciting the following reaction from Alfred Karindi: "I like the cantata as such. [...] By the way, the thirds for the male choir are too low, they're not going to ring well. Otherwise everything is fine."⁹ The low thirds which move in parallel are placed in the middle of the great octave in both works and indeed seem to cause some dissonance, although it is hard to believe that a composer as experienced as Tormis was in the practical aspects of choral music would have used the thirds in question without a specific aesthetic purpose in mind. These thirds in "Lina loitsimine" sound as follows.

It is not until 1970 that the minutes of the composers' meetings reflect, for the first time, an extended and more substantive discussion of Tormis's 'folklorist minimalism'. True, a few brief interchanges had been recorded before but they did not give rise to a proper discussion. On 29 December 1964, Tormis presented his first series of *Meestelaulud* [*Men's Songs*], consisting of five arrangements of traditional melodies of the later period, whereupon the following conversation was recorded in the minutes of the meeting, in which Tormis humorously pre-empted potential mild criticism of his composition.

Tormis: "I must say that these are the traditional melodies, I have not contributed that much here" (laughter).

Leo Tauts: "'Ehal käimise laul' ['Bundling Song'] repeats itself too much."

Tormis: "I had the same problem, but I could not find a solution."¹⁰

But let us return to the year 1970. On 3 March, Tormis presented to his colleagues six narrative Estonian traditional songs for female voices. As we can see, after a short introduction, Tormis himself provoked an argument over their underlying aesthetic principles. I will quote from the minutes again.

Tormis: "I tried to observe the principle that arrangements of traditional melodies should not be forced into the mould of classical forms. Instead, they should take their cue from the melody itself and from the melody's own form, as well as from the fact that a traditional song is itself an independent work of art. Therefore I tried to keep the accompaniment to a minimum."

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1. Kü - la li - na küünd-re - pi - ku, li - u - gu, la - u - gu,
 Vil - lage flax let grow an ell's worth, li - u - gu, la - u - gu,
 2. Val - la li - na vas - sa - pi - ku, li - u - gu, la - u - gu,
 Pa - rish flax let grow a span's worth, li - u - gu, la - u - gu,

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ ERA.R-1958.1.206, I. 203.

¹⁰ ERA.R-1958.1.217, I. 205.

After that, the songs were performed, and Tormis continued:

"There's something here that I'm curious about – was anybody bothered by the monotonous quality of the songs?"

Avo Hirvesoo: "I liked it very much, since monotony itself in a way became a stylistic device."

Karl Leichter: "It seems that a sparse accompaniment like this brings the archaic into contact with the modern. And that's what impresses me. Our archaic melodies have been preserved, but their original arrangements – the way that they were originally performed – have not. And the loss of the original arrangement is compensated for here by the presence of accompaniment."

Tuudur Vettik: "Where can such music be played? Perhaps in a so-called academic concert? In that case, the audience may feel bored, since our audience no longer cares for lyrics much. So the question remains – where?"

Tormis: "I believe and I will say it once again that each traditional song is in itself an independent work of art which can be used anywhere. This cycle I intend to try out in my personal concert which will be organised by the National Philharmonic Society of the Estonian SSR."

Boris Kõrver: "Congratulations to Veljo Tormis! Perhaps, if and when other similar works are composed, we will be able to elevate our traditional song to the artistic level displayed in traditional songs of our socialist brother nations."¹¹

Kõrver's last remark concerning "socialist brother nations" may require explanation, but I will return to this question later.

On 8 September 1970, Tormis presented to his fellow composers four narrative traditional songs for male voices. On that occasion, too, a substantive debate on the aesthetics of Tormis's works has been recorded for posterity in the minutes of the meeting.

Anatoli Garšnek: "It is difficult to say something exhaustive. It seems like these are very interesting things. The author has tried to retain

the original form of the traditional melodies, to convey them as they are sung by the people."

Artur Vahter: "I very much liked the aspiration to perform the traditional song in its natural form and to colour it with accompaniment. The last song was the best one. Here the folk tradition is manifest in its most authentic form – in variation. This applies to intonation as well. The author should have also used the same variation approach with the first songs. What we see here is a most interesting attempt to perform runic songs as they were once performed by village singers and to modernise them with accompaniment."

Garšnek: "I would like to argue against the variation. Each song has its own compositional technique, which must be understood."¹²

The minutes then inform the reader that a debate ensued concerning variation as a phenomenon. The substance of the debate has not been recorded. The debate itself probably ended with the following remarks.

Johannes Jürisson: "These songs are so good that there is no point in discussing them. The songs are original. The performance concept is very good. Listening to them gives one a good feeling."

Vahter: "I am not saying these are bad songs. No, they are very good."

Eino Tamberg: "I would have preferred the compositional device in the first song to have been realised within a shorter time frame."

Hugo Lepnurm: "I very much like the fact that traditional songs have been developed in such a manner. It could be a good idea to consult with the locals, one could thus spice up the performance with features of the local dialects."

Villem Reiman: "Naturally these songs will have a greater effect if they are sung with more enjoyment. The current degree of enjoyment was insufficient. At the beginning, I felt slightly bored, especially when listening to the first song, maybe a bit of shortening could help with that."

Helju Tauk: "We are getting bogged down in the perspective of art music. When one fol-

¹¹ ERA.R-1958.1.313, l. 14–16.

¹² ERA.R-1958.1.313, l. 59–60.

lows the lyrics, the songs make for an exciting listening. To me it seems that the way that these songs are arranged is the right one. Elsewhere in the world, similar arrangements have also been considered and realised. May be we should pursue this avenue further in our compositions.”¹³

Having read this conversation, it is difficult to overcome the impression that the essence of Tormis’s style and place in music has been best understood and expressed by Helju Tauk. An anonymous contemporary recently put forward a hypothesis that Tauk’s reference to similar aesthetic trends elsewhere could have been made in relation to the Lithuanian composer Bronius Kutavičius, with whom, according to the informant, “they often socialised and with whom Helju Tauk had a cordial relationship”.¹⁴ Indeed, if we read the short article on Kutavičius on the webpage of the Lithuanian Music Information and Publishing Centre, much of the characterisation of his music is also applicable to the works of Tormis. And it is quite possible that it was Kutavičius whom Körver had in mind when he made his remark. I will quote from the webpage.

Bronius Kutavičius (born in 1932) is considered the harbinger of minimalism in Lithuanian music. The way the composer uses many-layered repetitions and reduces the musical material to rather elementary archetypal patterns may resemble American or early European minimalism, but it sounds quite different. Kutavičius’ special kind of minimalism is his own invention, and is rooted deeply in the archaic forms of Lithuanian folk music. On the other hand, he is able to develop such an intense drama out of minimalist repetitions that the audience is sometimes left almost bowled over with sounds.¹⁵

In hindsight, it is difficult to assess why the debate on the aesthetics of Tormis’s style only took place at a meeting of the Composers’ Union several years after Tormis had actually revealed his

new style. Neither will an astute observer miss the fact that the debate was sparked not by Tormis’s choral compositions, but rather by solo songs with piano accompaniment. If one compares the first song “Mere kosilased” [“Suitors from the Sea”] and the last song “Suur härg” [“The Great Ox”] of the *Four Estonian Narrative Folksongs*, which many of the participants at the meeting held on 8 September 1970 contrasted to one other, one cannot fail to note the extreme minimalist arrangement of the first song, in which a sparse chord accompaniment is added to a repeating solo part. In the last song the character of the accompaniment is far more elaborate, more in line with a more traditional composition technique. It is possible that it was this contrast which effectively triggered the substantive debate on Tormis’s aesthetic choices. It is also possible that the solo songs were able to expose Tormis’s ‘folklorist minimalism’ to the listeners in an even more direct fashion than the composer’s choral pieces.

Veljo Tormis belongs to those composers who have not only composed music but have also actively participated in debates on the role of music in society. In his programme notes for the performance of his composition *Eesti ballaadid* [*Estonian Ballads*], which was staged at the Estonian national opera theatre “Estonia” in 1980, Tormis wrote:

For me, traditional music is not a vehicle of ‘self-expression’. On the contrary – I feel the obligation to convey traditional music, its essence, spirit, idea and form. It is my conviction that runic song is the single most remarkable and original phenomenon in Estonian culture. Since in our modern times the runic song has lost its original form of existence as an inseparable part of our way of life, I try to embed it in current forms of art – in order to highlight its uniqueness and its message. (Tormis 1997: 23)

It is hard to envisage anyone but Tormis achieving such a degree of perfection in this endeavour. We should be proud to boast a brilliant composer of such stature.

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ Personal communication.

¹⁵ <http://www.mic.lt/en/classical/persons/info/kutavicius?ref=%2Fen%2Fclassical%2Fpersons%2F41> (accessed 21 September 2010).

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Veljo Tormis ja minimalism. Tema uue helikeele retseptsioonist 1960ndatel aastatel¹

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Jaan Ross

Käesoleva artikli eesmärgiks on vaadelda Veljo Tormise (1930–2017) rahvamuusikale tugineva stiili vastuvõttu Eestis peamiselt 1960. aastatel tema kolleegide – heliloojate ja muusikateadlaste seas. Kodueesti heliloojad paiknesid Teise maailmasõja järgsel ajastul nende kutsetegevust silmas pidades vähemalt kahe erineva ideoloogilise suundumuse mõjuväljas: esiteks, kultuuri järjepidevusest tulenev rahvusliku helikeele arendamise nõue, ning teiseks, Nõukogude okupatsioonivõimude poolt peale sunnitud sotsialistliku realismi doktriin. Tormise poolt 1960. aastate keskel juurutatud minimalistlike sugemetega ja peamiselt regivärsilisele rahvalaulule tuginev stiil oli midagi Eesti muusikakultuuris seninägematut, mis sel põhjusel pidi kutsuma ja kutsuski ühiskonnas ka asjatundjate seas esile küllaltki eriilmelisi reaktsioone. Tormis kuulub nende heliloojate hulka, kes mitte ainult ei ole kirjutanud muusikat, vaid võtnud ka aktiivselt sõna küsimustes, mis puudutavad muusika suhteid meid ümbritseva tegelikkusega.

¹ Veljo Tormis lahkus meie hulgast 21. jaanuaril 2017. Tormis polnud mitte ainult suurepärase helilooja, vaid ka Eesti Muusikateaduse Seltsi liige. Käesolev artikkel ilmub Tormise pärandi mälestamiseks, kuid see on ühtlasi kummardus Urve Lippusele, kelle uurimistöö üks kese oli Veljo Tormise looming. Tekst on varem eesti keeles ilmunud Sirbis 8. okt. 2010.

Aare Tool. *Piiratud transponeeritavusega heliread ja vorm* Eduard Oja muusikas. Doktoritöö, Eesti Muusika- ja Teatriakadeemia Väitekirjad 7, Tallinn: Eesti Muusika- ja Teatriakadeemia, 2016, 125 lk.

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Mart Jaanson

12. detsembril 2016 kaitses Aare Tool Eesti Muusika- ja Teatriakadeemias doktoritöö Eduard Oja muusikast (juhendaja Mart Humal), mis pälvib eksamikomisjonilt kõrgeima hinde. Ehkki Oja loomingut on varem uurinud ka teised muusikateadlased, eelkõige Mart Humal, Vardo Rumesen ja Helju Tauk, on Aare Tooli töö siiski esimene suurem enam-vähem süstemaatiline ülevaade Eduard Oja loomingust. Tooli käsitluse muudab eriliseks just kaasaegsete muusikateoreetiliste meetodite rakendamine.

Aare Tooli doktoritöö pole kuigi mahukas, kõik kokku 125 lk., kuid vormistus on selge, täpne ja loogiline. Töö koosneb neljast peatükist, mis jagunevad kaheks paariks: esimesed kaks peatükki käsitlevad valikut Eduard Oja instrumentaalteostest, kolmas ja neljas peatükk aga valikut Oja sõnalise tekstiga seotud teostest. Peatükke raamivad sisukord, ülevaade ja sissejuhatus töö algul ning kokkuvõte koos ingliskeelse *Summary*'ga, allikate ja kirjanduse loeteluga töö lõpul. Töö alapeatükid on järjestatud nii, et igale muusikateoreetilisele osale järgneb enam jutustavat laadi muusikalooline osa, mis võimaldab tähelepanuvõimel puhata ja valmistuda järgmiseks pingutuseks. Töös on palju näiteid ja skeeme, mis on muusikateoreetilise töö puhul ju paratamatu. Ent kui vahel võivad nad lugejat väsitada, siis antud juhul tundub neid olevat parajal hulgal – nad teenivad vaid parema arusaamise eesmärki. Töö vormilisi voorusi võimaldab asjaolu, et see on kirjutatud muusikateadusliku töö kohta märkimisväärselt nauditavas kirjanduslikus stiilis, mis võiks muusikateadusest huvituma panna ka ilma muusikalise eriharidusega lugejaid.

Aare Tooli doktoritöö eesmärk on „määratleda analüütiliste meetodite abil piiratud transponeeritavusega heliridade kasutusviisi Oja loomingus ja võimalik seos teoste teiste parameetritega (vorm)”

(lk. 23). Selleks on autor valinud Eduard Oja loomingu põhivaldkondadest (instrumentaalkammermuusika, soololaulud, orkestriteosed ja lavamuusika) kümme teost – „Vaikivad meeleolud”, „Ajatrilooogia”, „Aeliita süit”, klaverikvintett, „Valge värav”, „Me olime nagu lapsed”, „Ilupoeem”, „Müsteeriumid”, „Mere laul” ja „Lunastatud vanne” – ning analüüsinud neid nn. teisendusteoorial põhineval meetodil. Lisaks käsitleb Tool lühidalt ka mõningaid muid Oja teoseid.

Töös on saavutatud muusikateaduse kahe suure valdkonna, muusikaajaloo ja -teooria vahel selline tasakaal, mis pole mulle teadaolevates eesti muusikateaduslikes doktoritöödes sugugi tavaline. Teisisõnu on autor osanud muusikaanalüüsi puhul paratamatult ettetulevat detailidesse süvenemist tasakaalustada n.-ö. suure pildi loomisega – arutlustega žanriloost, vormiteooriast, üldisest kultuuriloost jm. See näitab, et autor tunneb ennast ühtviisi hästi nii muusikaajaloos kui ka -teoorias.

Aare Tooli doktoritöö pole mitte ainult esimene põhjalikum sissevaade Eduard Oja loomingusse, vaid ka eesti muusikateaduses esmakordne põhjalikum käsitus – esilekerkimise järjekorras – kolmandast tänapäeva tähtsamast muusikaanalüüsi meetodist, vaid u. 30 aastat vanast teisenusteooriast.¹ (Kahe esimese, Schenkeri analüüsi ja hulgateoreetilise analüüsi puhul on tänu prof. Mart Humala ja ta õpilaste-kolleeegide tööle kujunenud Eestis juba traditsioon.) Selle väite puhul ei arvesta ma muidugi üldtuntud tõsiasja, et teisenusteoreetiline meetod tugineb olulisel määral Tartu ülikooli füüsikaprofessori Arthur von Oettingeni (1836–1920) tööle.

Tooli töö lugemisel äratav meeldivat tähelepanu viis, kuidas autor seob omavahel muusika helikõrgusliku struktuuri, vormi ja sõnalise osa (teose aluseks olev tekst ja juurdemõeldav prog-

¹ Teisendusteooria või uusriemanliku teooria põhiidee on akordide sidumine üksteisega akordihelide liikumise kaudu, pööramata seejuures tingimata tähelepanu akordide seosele toonikaga.

ramm), andes nii lugejale kõnealustest teostest teepoolest mitmekülgse pildi.

Tunnustamist väärib autori kompetentsus muusikalisest hilisromantismist ja sellest välja kasvanud mõõdukast modernismist kõnelemisel, mis reedab ka autori erilise sümpaatia vastava perioodi, 19. sajandi II poole ja 20. sajandi esikümneendite muusika vastu. Asjaolu, et ka Eduard Oja looming tohtub samadest allikatest, kinnitab autori õnnestunud teemavalikut.

Aare Toolil on õnnestunud edukalt täita tavaliselt doktoritöö põhitunnusena nimetatavat nõuet: uue teadmise loomist. Toon mõned näited. Esiteks leidub töös mitmeid huvitavaid järeldusi ja üldistusi. Näiteks saab lugeja teada monotsüklilise vormi varasema „schubertliku“ ja hilisema „lisztiliku“ staadiumi põhimõttelise erinevuse (lk. 56). Teiseks on autor vaeva näinud erilise notatsiooni ja tähistussüsteemi väljatöötamisega, nt. teiseendusteooriaga seostuv „minimaalse häälteliikumise skeem“ (lk. 5 ja edaspidi) või teiseendusteooria tähistussüsteemid: O-H-süsteem; OCT, HEX ja WT koos lisatud arvukombinatsioonidega (lk. 15). Kolmandaks väärib tähelepanu asjaolu, et kui teiseendusteooriat rakendatakse muidu eelkõige 19. sajandi II poole teostele, siis Tool rakendab oma töös seda järjekindlalt ka ka 20. sajandi I poole muusikale, valides selleks just eesti muusika.

Oma uurimistöös jõuab autor järeldusele, et piiratud transponeeritavusega heliread pole oma sed ainult Eduard Oja 1930. aastate esimese poole instrumentaalteostele – nagu kõlab senine valdav seisukoht eesti muusikaloos –, vaid ka tema loomingu muudele valdkondadele (lk. 5–6). Nii seostub Oja looming ühest küljest 19. sajandi II poole hilisromantiliste muusikasuundadega, mille rüpes piiratud transponeeritavusega heliridade kasutamine välja kujunes. Teisest küljest aga seostub Oja muusika kindlalt Teise maailmasõja eelse eesti heliloomingu modernistliku suunaga ja asetub ka laiemalt 20. sajandi esimese poole erinevate modernistlike suundade (modaalsus, neoklassitsism, konstruktivism jt.) konteksti.

Töö lugemisel tekkis mul siiski ka küsimusi, millest siinkohal toon esile vaid mõne. Esiteks pole töös käsitletud esteetikaküsimusi, mis ongi vist tänapäeva muusikateoreetilistes töödes vähem levinud kui 100 aastat ja enam tagasi. Siiski ei pääse piiratud transponeeritavusega heliridadest rääkimisel minu meelest mööda ka esteetikast.

Nimelt on nende kasutamisel muusikas üks oht: just oma piiratud kasutusvõimaluste tõttu muudavad nad muusika liiga ettearvatavaks ja koos sellega igavaks. Tooksin paralleeli keelest. Eesti keele üheks omapäraks on alliteratsiooni kasutamine, kuid sellega liialdamine (mida kahjuks liiga tihti ette tuleb) muudab selle lingvistilise võtte halvamaitselikuks. 19.–20. sajandi heliloojad on nt. oktatoonilist helirida küll väga palju kasutanud, kuid tõsiseltvõetavana mõjub see vaid suurema ande ja meisterlikkusega heliloojate muusikas (nt. Skrjabin, Stravinski, Messiaen jt.). Nt. oktatoonikat kasutatakse tema „helimärgistava“ iseloomu tõttu rohkesti just filmimuusikas, kuid n.-ö. kunstmuusikas kipub selle ülekasutamine viitama halvale maitsele. Autor nendib, et „ulatuslikud ainult piiratud transponeeritavusega heliridadel põhinevad teosed“ olid „20. sajandi alguses (ja hiljemgi) pigem erandlikud“ (lk. 21). Tunnustades täiesti Eduard Oja „Vaikivate meeleolude“ esimese pala erakordsust ja mõju eesti muusikas, küsin siiski: kas ulatuslikud ainult piiratud transponeeritavusega heliridadel põhinevad teosed pole 20. sajandi alguses (ja hiljemgi) erandlikud just eelmainitud ohu tõttu?

Teiseks üks näide spetsiifilistest muusikateoreetilistest küsimustest. Autor mainib töös mõisteid „mažoor/minoorhelirida“ (lk. 5, 7, 18, 24 jm.), „mažoor/minoorkolmkõla“ (lk. 9, 28) ja „mažoor/minoortetrahord“ (lk. 68). Lugejal, kes ei tunne hulgateoreetilist muusikaanalüüsi, võib tekkida küsimus, miks on neis mõistetes koos mažoor ja minoor, mis on ju helikõrguslikult pealtnäha erinevad nähtused. Saan küll aru, et mažoor- ja minoorhelirida on taandatavad ühele ja samale hulgaklassile, samuti mažoor- ja minoorkolmkõla (nad on ekvivalentssed ka harmoonilise dualismi printsiibi alusel, vt. lk. 12). Kuid mažoor- ja minoortetrahordid kuuluvad ju eri hulgaklassidesse – vastavalt [0,1,3,5] ja [0,2,3,5]. Seetõttu vajaks selgitust, miks on autor kasutanud mõistet „mažoor/minoortetrahord“.

Ka tekib lugedes küsimus, miks pole kõigi käsitletavate teoste kohta toodud noodinäidet, ehkki töö maht seda ju võimaldanuks. Näiteks jääb lugeja igatsema noodipilti „Ajatriloogia“ teisest osast „Igavik“, millele viidatakse leheküljel 52.

Töös on ka palju erinevaid sümbboleid, mida on lugemisel raske meelde jätta. Ehkki sissejuhatuses on teiseendusteoreetilisi mõisteid ja nende tähis-

tusi süstemaatiliselt kirjeldatud, hõlbustanuks lugemist veelgi kõiki tähistusi koondav süstemaatiline tabel.

Ja lõpuks üks veidi humoorikas tähelepanek, mis näitab arvatavasti Aare Tooli ja käesoleva ülevaate autori kuulumist eri põlvkondadesse. Nimelt ütleb Aare Tool töö leheküljel 26: „1920. ja 1930. aastatel, kui eestikeelne muusikateoreetiline terminoloogia oli kujunemisjärgus, kasutati „helirea“ kohta mitmesuguste muude mõistete kõrval („heliredel“, „astmik“ vms.) sageli ka sõna „gamma“.” Teadmiseks autorile: Sõna „gamma“ kasutati heliredelite kohta veel 1970.–80. aastatel ja arvatavasti tehakse seda siin-seal praegugi.

Kokkuvõttes on Aare Tooli töös püstitatud eesmärk määratleda analüütiliste meetodite abil piiratud transponeeritavusega heliridade kasutusviis Oja loomingus ja võimalik seos teose teiste parameetritega (vorm) igati täidetud. Väidan koguni, et lugeja ees on üks paremaid näiteid lugejasõbralikust eesti muusikakirjandusest, milles on ühtaegu arvestatud kaasaegse muusikateaduse kõige kõrgemaid nõudeid. Loodetavasti paneb Aare Tooli teoreetiline töö Eduard Oja loomingust aluse ka samaväärsele praktilisele protsessile, nt. Oja kogutud teoste väljaandmisele nii nootide kui helikandjatena.

Brigitta Davidjants. *Armenian National Identity Construction: From Diaspora to Music / Armeenia rahvusliku identiteedi konstrueerimine: diasporaast muusikani*. Estonian Academy of Music and Theatre Dissertations 8 / Eesti Muusika- ja Teatriakadeemia Väitekirjad 8, Tallinn: Eesti Muusika- ja Teatriakadeemia, 2016, 129 pp.

Tessa Hofmann

In her cumulative dissertation, the author, who is partly of Armenian descent, sets herself the challenging and difficult task "to shed light on the various aspects of Armenian national identity with primary focus on Armenian music culture, on Armenian national cultural symbols, on the concept of historical homeland (or country of origin), on the notion of diaspora and on the Armenian genocide" (p. 10). Her dissertation consists of four papers, published recently, in 2015 and 2016, in academic journals in the English language and, in one case, in a collective monograph in Germany. B. Davidjants is also author of an earlier monograph *Orientalism ja muusika (Orientalism and Music; 2007, in Estonian)*, in which she explored the phenomenon of diverging transcriptions of Armenian folk songs, similar to the fourth article of her dissertation. The applied methods are largely qualitative and, in the case of the third article, a reception analysis. Two of the articles deal with Armenian musical history, in particular the cleric, composer, ethnologist and musicologist Komitas (Sogomon Sogomonēan, 1869–1935), whose outstanding significance for modern Armenian music can be compared with that of Komitas' older Romantic colleagues Béla Bartók, Edvard Grieg and Antonín Dvořák (during his 'Slavonic' periods of 1876–1881 and 1886–1891) for modern Hungarian, Norwegian and Czech (Bohemian) 'national' music.

B. Davidjants approaches her task of deconstructing Armenian identity, culture and music from quite different perspectives. Her first dissertational article, *Identity Construction in Narratives: Activists of the Armenian Diaspora in Estonia* is based on semi-structured interviews. However, a cohort of only eight persons, belonging to more or less the same generation (55–75 years of age, at the time of the interviews) and of same social and cultural Soviet background cannot be representative for the entire Armenian Diaspora, as the

title of the dissertation suggests. Nor is the obviously almost monolithic Armenian community of Estonia typical for the worldwide Armenian Diaspora(s) of perhaps seven million. This lack of representativeness is admitted by the author herself, when she mentions "Estonia's peripheral position among the countries hosting Armenian diasporas" (p. 7). Many of these Diasporic communities are characterized by high diversities, because they consist of immigrants and their descendants from various regions and countries of origin. The values, traditions and habits in these communities not only reflect the different, diverging and sometimes incompatible influences of the respective countries of origin, but also testify to multiple, hybrid (hyphenated), symbolic and fluid identities. This relates not only to Armenian communities in the Near East, Western and Central Europe or Northern America, but even to communities in the post-Soviet space. For example, and unlike the result of Davidjants' analysis of the Armenian community in Tallinn, the largest Armenian Diaspora of today – in the Russian Federation – is far more diversified, taking in the traditional 'Russian Armenians' (about half a million of people, usually Russophones, who already resided in the RSFSR before the collapse of the USSR), Armenian refugees from Central Asia, Azerbaijan and Georgia (including Abkhazia), and, increasingly, labour migrants from the Republic of Armenia. Nevertheless, Soviet socialization and the command of Russian as the *lingua franca* in the Soviet and post-Soviet space provide common denominators, whereas Armenian Diasporas in Central and Northern Europe display an even higher degree of diversity. This causes trouble and discord – not so much with the resident majority populations or with Muslim immigrant communities from Turkey or elsewhere, but inside the Armenian communities themselves. In Germany, where most of the Armenian immigrants originate

from Turkey, the conflicts arose between 'Turkish' and other Armenian immigrants from the Near East (usually Iran and Lebanon), until the arrival of 'hayastanc'iner' (Armenians from Armenia) since the 1990s transferred and re-shaped the internal-Armenian divide. Many of the traditional Diasporic Armenians perceive (and reject) the newcomers from Armenia as alien, 'non-Armenian', and their behaviour as 'shameful', 'Soviet'. But not only this internal segregation of Armenian Diasporas complicates any generalizing discourse about identity construction: a closer look at the key elements that are named in this context and also by Davidjants – religion / Armenian Apostolic Church, language, culture, territory and state, genocide awareness – one finds that each element possesses both connective and distinctive capacities, i.e. they simultaneously integrate and exclude. In Turkey, for example, Muslims of Armenian descent ('hidden Armenians' in the perspective of Armenian nationalists) are barred from the average definition of 'Armenianness', as are, for other reasons and in other countries Armenians who have no command of Armenian or represent the 'other' branch of the Armenian language (usually Western Armenian). Secondly, the combination of the above mentioned five key elements of Armenian national identity are represented in Armenia, Turkey and the Diaspora(s) to varying degrees.¹

Consequently, the answer to the question "who is an Armenian?" is far less uniform than the publications of B. Davidjants suggest. Her concept of Diaspora does not take into account the dynamics inside the Armenian Diasporas or between the Diasporas and the Republic of Armenia, which claims to be the homeland of all Armenians despite the fact that the majority of Diasporic Armenians descend from previous subjects of the Ottomans. Although Davidjants claims to possess "extended participatory observations in Armenian communities in both their historical homeland as well as in the diaspora, and in Turkey" (p. 14) her critical analysis limits itself to the situation of the current Republic of Armenia, including its Soviet

predecessor; the analysis of the Armenian Diasporas is limited to Tallinn.

It is the author's research interest to demonstrate how seemingly apolitical phenomena such as folklore can be affected by ethnocentric ideology. In her second dissertational article, together with her co-author Jaan Ross, B. Davidjants analyzed the dispute on the YouTube forum over a contested popular folk song with different textual versions in Armenian (Մարի աղջիկ – "Sari ağçik", "Girl from the Mountains"), Turkish and Azerbaijani languages ("Sarı gelin" – "Bride in Yellow" or "Blonde Bride"), as well as in Persian (Farsi) and Arabic,² of which the authors Davidjants/Ross consider only the Azerbaijani and Armenian versions. The folk song *Sari ağçik / Sarı gelin* represents a telling example for many similar contests between neighbouring peoples over folklore, cuisine, national costumes etc., that all date back to times before modern nation states emerged. The analysis by Davidjants/Ross covers a period of seven years and shows, not surprisingly, only few differences in the positive or negative reactions of commentators on both sides of the Armenian-Azerbaijani divide. In the positive reactions, written in the spirit of Soviet 'družba narodov', the song was perceived as evidence for the 'peoples' friendship' or even brotherhood, whereas all blame for their current alienation was simplistically placed on the 'shameful politicians'. More interesting are the invectives: both sides insult 'the other' as murderers, liars and thieves, but only Azerbaijanis call the Armenians 'traitors' (p. 8 of the article). Sadly, Davidjants/Ross did not comment on this particular invective, which indicates the continuity of Pan-Turkish narratives among Azerbaijanis, nor do the authors explore its historic-political dimension: With the military coup d'état of the so called Young Turks, or *İttihat ve Terakki Cemiyeti* (Committee for Union and Progress, C.U.P.) of 1908, and in particular since the Balkan Wars of 1912/13, the two major Christian church-nations (millet) in the Ottoman Empire were accused of being disloyal and 'traitors'. Sus-

1 Cf. Hofmann, Tessa 2011: *One Nation – Three Sub-Ethnic Groups: The Case of Armenia and Her Diaspora*. Yerevan: Institute of Philosophy, Sociology and Law of the National Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Armenia.

2 The Turkish and Azerbaijani languages are closely related and both belong to the Southwestern subgroup of the extensive Turkic language group. The Turkish and the Azerbaijani versions are cited on this Wiki page: https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sar%C4%B1_Gelin (last accessed on 23 August 2017).

picion of a generalised Armenian treason and of alleged alliances with Turkey's traditional enemy Russia have until today served as justification for the nationwide deportations of Ottoman Armenians during the First World War, and are still mentioned to justify this crime. The fact that Azeris, who had no political or historical reason whatsoever to blame Armenians for treason 'adopted' the C.U.P accusation, confirms indirectly the identification of Azerbaijanis with Turkey, as is more explicitly highlighted in the Pan-Turkish doctrine of President Heydar Aliyev ("one nation in two states").³ Armenians in the Republic of Armenia and in Nagorno Karabakh, as well as Azerbaijanis in and outside the Republic of Azerbaijan, accuse each other of genocide: while Armenians perceive Azerbaijanis as 'Eastern Turks' and successors of the C.U.P. perpetrators, who allegedly intend to continue the extermination of the Armenians beyond Turkey's state borders, Azerbaijan's historiography and politicians constructed a century of Armenian genocide against Azeris, starting with the March 1918 slaughter of 3,000–12,000 Muslim victims and ending with the alleged massacre by Armenian forces in the village of Khojaly in Nagorno Karabakh (25–26 February, 1992).

Against this background of firmly entrenched fears of extermination, of experiences of war, mutual expulsion and ingrained hate it is nearly impossible to imagine how a 'real dialogue' can happen, as the authors seem to believe it can, in spite of everything (p. 11 of the article). It is likewise improbable to assume that it is just the "official policies of the Armenian and Azerbaijani governments" that cause ethnic stereotypes in both countries. Again, the duration and dimension of the conflict and its dialectic dynamics are much more complex than can be fathomed in such a relatively brief paper. To mention just one objection: Elected governments and politicians are driven by their electorate's interests, whether these interests are imagined or real. This dependency causes opportunism and populism, but politicians are not – or at least not the only – authors of the rightly deplored stereotypes. Instead, governments and their actions reflect societal conditions.

When analyzing constructs in collective and individual identities, a differentiation between facts on the one hand and their perception and evaluation on the other is necessary. The geopolitical position of the South Caucasus in the borderlands between the Near East and Europe is a matter of fact – and not a mere construct – resulting in foreign rule, oppression and conflicting zones of interest among the rival regional hegemonies. In this situation, the indigenous people of the area have since ancient times sought for alliances with the regional hegemonies. Being geographically more exposed, Armenians were the least successful in finding co-religionists as protectors, for they belonged to the smallest and least influential group of Christian churches, i.e. the pre-Chalcedonian, or ancient Oriental churches. From the perspective of the Byzantines, and later the Russians, Armenians were schismatics, and consequently under Czarist rule became the targets of a massive Russian Orthodox mission and, after 1882, were exposed to Russian state discrimination in education and church policies. Typically, the notorious slogan of an 'Armenia without Armenians' was coined by the Russian diplomat and Foreign Minister Prince Alexey B. Lobanov-Rostovskiy (1824–1896). B. Davidjants does not mention the – at the very least – ambivalent Russian policies towards Armenia, or the aversion of Armenians inside and outside the Russian Empire to these policies, but depicts the Armenians as a people stubbornly refusing to acknowledge its Asian origin, insisting instead on being 'European', because of their Christian faith. According to Davidjants, Armenians use culture to distinguish themselves from their neighbours and position themselves to the West. For this purpose, Armenians create historical narratives that support the European self-image, and they try to demonstrate that perhaps, somewhere, there may be authentic music which, after being cleansed of borrowed elements, could shine like a jewel in its purity (p. 362 f. of the third article).

This is perhaps a gross generalization, since the author bases her conclusions on only six monographs on the life and work of Komitas to prove

3 Cf. the joint statement of Turkey's then Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan and the President of Azerbaijan, İlham Aliyev of September 15th, 2010: <http://en.president.az/articles/736/print> (accessed 23 August 2017).

her point. She deplores the fact that the trans- and international regional culture which was shared in Asia Minor and the Caucasus in pre-modern times by many peoples, is currently ignored by Armenians, while at the same time reducing the diversity of opinions and cultural or political activities of Armenians under Ottoman and Russian rule. In the face of historic realities, this simplification seems unjust, for in the Ottoman Empire many Armenian intellectuals of the 19th century were far from being ethnocentric, but worked towards reforms in a state that eventually failed to accommodate its Non-Muslim citizens and even denied their right of existence. These numerous Armenian voices for an integrated Ottoman homeland were permanently silenced in the last decade of Ottoman rule. If genocide is the ultimate exclusion, then the C.U.P. regime has to be blamed for ethnocentric exclusivity more than Komitas and those Soviet Armenian musicologists who naively speculated about national purity in Armenian music. Undoubtedly, it is relevant and useful to study the impact of ethnocentric ideologies and nationalism in seemingly remote areas such as musicology. However, especially in the case of a

highly diversified community (or nation), generalizations have to be avoided, and the standards of today must not be applied to the opinions and behaviour of historical persons. This would be an ahistorical approach.

Finally, I would like to point out two major errors that require revision. Mistakenly, the author (referring to an article of Razmik Panossian) states that the Armenian Diaspora goes back to the Ottoman genocide of 1915 (p. 62, or p. 2 of her second paper); in fact, Armenian Diasporic communities had already emerged after the Seljuk invasion in Asia Minor and the Seljuk's victory over the Byzantine Empire in the Battle of Mantikert/Malazgirt (1071). In Romania, Moldova, Poland, Moscow, on Crimea and Crete, in Tbilisi etc., merchant colonies and permanent communities have existed since medieval times. Another grave mistake is her quote of the Soviet doctrine of cultural and ethnicity politics that she describes as "socialist in form and national in content" (p. 355 of the third paper). As we all remember, the opposite was true ("national in form and socialist in content"), for Soviet communists believed in the primacy of 'content'.

Lähme, lähme, köime, köime

Ingrid Rüütel (koost.). *Muhumaa laule ja lugusid*. Mis on jäänud jälgedesse II, Tartu: Eesti Kirjandusmuuseumi Teaduskirjastus, 2016, 544 lk.

Kadri Tüür, Andreas Kalkun

Eesti rahvalaulude, eriti muidugi regilaulude väljaandmise ajalugu on täis tuliseid vaidlusi publitseerimispõhimõtete ja prioriteetide, aga ka väljaannete adreassaate üle. Paljud projektid on osutunud töömahukamaks või kulukamaks, kui osati planeerida, ning on jäänud pooleli või venima. Auahneim kõigist publitseerimisprojektidest – Jakob Hurda 1875 alustatud „Vana kannel” – jätkab vaatamata pausidele ja identiteedikriisidele siiani ilmumist ning enam kui saja kolmekümne aasta jooksul on ilmunud (juba või alles?) 13 kihelkonna regilaulude täielikud publikatsioonid. Ingrid Rüütel on oma senise karjääri jooksul alustanud ja edukalt lõpulegi viinud mitmeid regi- või uuemate laulude publitseerimise projekte (nt. „Eesti uuemad laulumängud I–II” 1980, 1983), koostanud kaheosalise Kihnu „Vana kandle” (Kõiva, Rüütel 1997, 2003) ning olnud paljude regilauluväljaannete muusikalise osa toimetaja. 1990ndate lõpus ja 2000. aastate alguses ilmus seni kaheosaliseks jäänud sari „Ühte käivad meie hääled” (Väike-Maarja, Kadrina ja Rakvere kihelkonnad; Rüütel 1997, 2001), kus avaldati eelkõige kohalike lauluharrastajate vajadusi silmas pidades valik viisidega jäädvustatud vanemaid ja uuemaid laule. Selle seeria eellaseks ja sugulaseks oli arvatavasti sarjas „Ars Musicae Popularis” koos Kristi Salvega koostatud „Põhja-Tartumaa regilaulud I” (1989). Kuigi „Ühte käivad meie hääled” pidas selgelt laiema lugejaskonna vajadusi silmas ning „Põhja-Tartumaa regilaulude” ainsaks jäänud vihik oli mõeldud spetsiifilisemale auditooriumile, olid mõlemad publikatsioonid ajendatud ilmselt teadmatusest, kui palju aastaid võiks minna enne, kui „Vana kandle” sari nende kihelkondade laulude publitseerimiseni jõuab.

Ingrid Rüütli koostatud rahvalaulupublikatsioonides on ikka leidunud ka tema enda kogutud laule. Pole ime – Ingrid Rüütli jaoks on kogumistöö olnud uurimise orgaaniline osa ja loomulik eeldus. 2015. aastal alustas ta uut raamatusarja „Mis on jäänud jälgedesse”, mille eesmärgiks on laiemale avalikkusele kättesaadavaks teha tema

enda (ja kolleegide) kogutud teatud piirkonna lauluvara. Alustuseks ilmusid esimesena Saaremaalt kogutud laulude CD ja DVD (2014, sarjas „Helisalvestusi Eesti Rahvaluule Arhiivist”, mis on täiendmaterjaliks raamatusarjale) ning mahukas antoloogia (2015a), teisena avaldati 2016. aastal raamat „Muhumaa laule ja lugusid”, mis täiendab juba varem ilmunud CD- ja DVD-väljaannet „Muhu rahvamuusikat, laulumänge ja tantse” (2015b). 2017. aastal jõudis juba ilmuda ka Ingrid Rüütli Pärnumaalt kogutud rahvamuusika CD-antoloogia „Pärnumaa rahvalaule ja pillilugusid”.

Kuna need sarjad on ilmunud rõhutatult kohalike silmas pidades, on oluline, et mõlemad osalised oleksid jätkuvas dialoogis. Kui 20. sajandi alguses rahvalaule kogudes olid jäädvustaja ja jäädvustatavate suhted hierarhilised ja ühepoolsed, siis nüüdseks on selge, et iga koguja ja publitseerija peab olema pidevas dialoogis – s.t. valmis ka konsultatsioonideks ja kriitikaks. Selline kogukonnaga suhtlemine võib olla keerukas, aga on kindlasti õpetlik ja mõlemale poolele kasulik. Teadlase ja kogukonna arusaamad jäädvustamis- või avaldamiskõlblikkusest ning eetikast ja esteetikast võivad olla väga erinevad, samas on selge, et representeeritaval on õigus kontrollida oma representatsiooni.

Võrreldes Janika Orase 1991. aastal koostatud „Muhu laulude” vihikuga on muhulaste laulurepertuaari Ingrid Rüütli vaatluseluses raamatus valitud esindama vaid need salvestised Eesti Kirjandusmuuseumi ekspeditsioonidelt, mille tegemise juures koostaja ise kohal on olnud. Kahtlemata on see täiesti aktsepteeritav materjali piiritlemise printsiip, kuid selle valiku võinuks saatesõnas eraldi välja tuua. Praegu on nii lauljate geograafia kui laulude-mängude repertuaar seetõttu ilmselt pisut piiratum, kui ta seda oleks olnud mingite muude koostamisprintsiipide rakendamisel.

Kahe sama sarja raamatu sidumiseks võinuks Muhumaa raamatus olla viide ka Muhust Saaremaale mehele läinud Juuli Kaldile, kelle salvestiste üleskirjutusi koos kommentaaridega leidub Ingrid

Rüütli koostatud Saaremaa laulude ja lugude raamatus (Rüütel 2015a). Temalt on kogutud palju ringmängude vaheralle,¹ mis ei kattu Muhu raamatu näidetega. Ka on ta laulnud sõdurilaule, mis naisterahva esituses ei ole samuti üleliia tavaline.

Lauljaid on Muhu-raamatus kajastatud ekspeditsioonidel salvestatud peamiselt Lõuna-Muhust ning suurele teele lähemal asuvatest küladest, kuid täiesti esindamata on näiteks Koguva ja Iga-küla ning Pallasmaa-Nõmmküla-Kallaste piirkond. Nagu üks tänapäeva Muhu vaimse pärandi parimaid tundjaid, tuntud lauliku Kõue Liina lapselaps Irena Tarvis omaenese perekondliku kogemuse põhjal (ema Tamselt, isa Suuremõisast, abikaasa Kallastelt) on osutanud, erinevad Põhja- ja Lõuna-Muhus nii laulude viisid ja sõnad kui murdekeel, mille ühtlustamine või mingi universaalkuju rekonstrueerimine ei pruugi iga kord õigustatud olla. Selle diskussiooni edasiarendamiseks tuleks võtta vaatluse alla näiteks üks laul või laulutüüp ja uurida seda süvitsi, võttes arvesse kõiki üleskirjutusi ja variatsioone. Küllap jääb see aga edaspidi mõne rahvalauluhuvilise tudengi teha.

Nagu selgus teiste muhulastega raamatu üle arutledes, on raamatust puudu ka mitmeid lindistatud lauljate „tunnusmeloodiaid“, kuid selle üheks põhjuseks võib olla teatav enesetsensuur ja ohutunne. Näiteks läksid mitmed sõjaaegseid meeleolusid kajastanud laule sisaldanud lauluklatted 1940. aastatel küüditamishirmus tuleroaks ja hiljem tuletati nende sisu meelde vaid kitsas usaldusväärses pereringis. Tsensuuri on kogumikus viljelenud ka koostaja ise. Näiteks märgib ta: „Kui-gi laulus peale fallose ühe rahvapärase nimetuse muid obstsõnseid väljendeid polegi, keerleb kogu laul selle ümber, mistõttu ei sõandanud ma laulu selle sisu tõttu siiski käesolevasse kogumiku panna, nagu olen jätnud välja ka muid „vähe kurvaks minevaid“ laule ja lõike.“ (lk. 20). Kuna niisugused väljajätud on markeerimata, siis ei pane tavalugeja nende puudumist tõenäoliselt tähele. Kes aga konkreetse laulutradsiooniga kursis, hakkab väljajäetud kohtadest puudust tundma. Samuti leidub tekstide hulgas selliseid, kus obstsõnsevõitu sisu on peidetud selliste metafooride vahele, et need lipsavad läbi ka tihedamast kombussõelast. Mari Sarv ja Andreas Kalkun (Kalkun, Sarv 2014) on näidanud, et obstsõnsete rahva-

laulude traditsioon on Eestis väga kaugeleulatuv ning hoolimata arhiivitöötajate püüdlustest neid „lori“ alla või lihtsalt mõnda täpsustamata kategooriasse liigitada on see materjal meie rahvalaulekogudes esindatud ning nende laulude uurimine võib pakkuda palju uusi ja huvitavaid andmeid eestlaste ettekujutuste kohta seksuaalsusest, sugupoolte omavahelistest (võimu)suhetest, aga ka arhailistest kehaga seotud praktikatest.

Raamatusesitlusel Muhus saatis trükist suur müügiedu ning võib arvata, et kui seda kogumiku ka päris igast Muhu perest ei leia, siis paar tükki igast külast kindlasti. Muhu-ainelisi raamatuid oma riulis hoida peab auasjaks iga muhulane. Muhulasi iseloomustab lisaks suurele huvile oma kultuuripärandi vastu ka sügavuti kursis olek oma esivanematega, võib-olla isegi mõningane esivanemate kultus – õige muhulane teab enda ja sageli ka naabrite sugulasi vähemalt neljandasse põlve välja. Sestap oleks olnud vajalik raamatus esitatud biograafilisi andmeid täpsustada. Kui koostaja nii saatesõnas kui ka Muhus toimunud esitlusel rõhutas, kui raske oli leida 1994. aastal Kihnu päevadel lindistatud kapelli „Laulusõbrad“ liikmeid, siis vastava kirje ja kapelli juhi Vello Tikerpalu kontakti oleks võinud leida näiteks Rahvakultuuri Keskuse valdkondlikust andmekogust internetis² või siis Muhu vallavalitsuse sekretär-registripidaja abiga. Laulumees Ado Toomsalu (raamatus Toomessalu; see aga on hoopis ühe tuntud Ida-Saaremaa murdekorrespondendi perekonnanimi) Külasema (raamatus Külaaseme) külast esineb Muhu meesansambli koosseisus lauluga „Kaks kuulsat veskit“ tänapäevalgi. Tähelepanelikud lugejad on leidnud, et mitme suguvõsa Jaanid-Jürid on raamatus segamini läinud, nt. Mäksa Jaan ja tema onu Jüri või Kõue Liina pojad Jaan ja Jüri. Villem Saariku naisel, kes ühte õnnitluslaulu kaasa laulab, oli nimi ka: Juula Saarik. Nautse külas lindistatud Viima, Elvi ja Geeni ei ole mitte kõik „õed Väljaotsad“, vaid Serafima (Viima) perekonnanimi oli Meeder ja Eugenia (Geeni) oma Auväärt; Geeni elukoht oli hoopis Linnuse külas ja nende vanaisad olid vennad. Samas – plaadilt Silla Viima tuttavat häält kuulata oli ikka liigutav küll.

Ajaliste määratluste juures on huvitav, et sisesejuhatav tekst on pealkirjastatud kui „Muhulaste lauluvara 20. sajandi alguses“. Salvestused on ju

1 Vahe(t)rall – ringmängulauludes salvide vahele lauldud hoogsam korduv osa, mille järgi tantsiti paarides.

2 <http://rahvakultuur.ee>.

tehtud läinud aastasaja viimase veerandi alguses, viimased lausa 20. sajandi lõpus. See, et paljude lauljate sünniaastad jäävad sajandi algusse ja enamasti laulavad nad oma noorpõlve populaarseid laule, annab ajamääratlusele küll teatava aluse, kuid reaalselt on ju tegu siiski läbilõikega 20. sajandi lõpul muhulaste seas tuntud lauluvarast.

Eriti huvitav on see osa sissejuhatusest, kus otsitakse uuemate rahvalaulude lähtekohti toonasest populaarkultuurist – luulest, noortelaulikutest, orkestriladest, operettidest. Selgub, et mõju on olnud üsnagi ulatuslik. Nii on väga täpne ka Debora Vaarandi tähelepanek, kui ta oma mälestustes märgib, et Juhan Smuuli muusikamaitse olnud „operetlik” – küllap mõjutas seda siis ka kasvamine Muhu uuemate lõppriimiliste laulude mõjuväljas. Ka Smuuli teostes (eriti näiteks näidendis „Atlandi ookean”) arvukalt leiduvate lauluridade „kojo aamine” töötab selle teose kaasabil üpris huvitavaks ja tõhusaks kujuneda. Näiteks laulu „Elu, elu, miks mind vaevad” algupära – seda laulu on Smuul tsiteerinud ankeedivastuses Keele ja Kirjanduse ringküsitlusele kirjanike noorpõlve kirjanduslike elamuste kohta (Smuul 1961: 306) – käsitleb Rüütel mitmes kohas: kord on seda tervenisti omistatud Muhu (ja Saaremaa) 1919. aasta mässu ninahele Ivan Ennole (lk. 81, 258), kord aga ainult selle viimaseid salme (lk. 82), kord esitletud seda kui teadmata autoriga mandrilt pärit laulu (lk. 102, 113). Selge on aga, et selle laulu algusread olid omal ajal Muhus teatavaks „lendsõnaks” või „parooliks”, mida kasutati ja mille tagamaadest kogukonnaliikmetel, sealhulgas Smuulil, kindlasti ka aimu oli. Enn Lillemets on selgitanud (1995: 631), et kõnealune laul on Eesti Rahvaluule Arhiivi kartoteegi andmetel olnud laialt levinud kogu Eestis, kuid kuni 1910. aastani ilmunud laulikes sellest trükiversiooni ei leidu. Sama fraasi on kasutanud ka Mart Raud ühes oma jutustuses (Raud 1957: 498), aga kust tema selle võtab, jääb siinkohal selgitamata.

Mitmete tuntud tantsulaulude sõnad osutuvad Anna Haava luuletuste osavateks viisistusteks, kuid kindlasti tuleks paljude laulude, nii sõnade kui viiside algupära otsinguil vaadata ka vabakoguduste, mandoliiniansamblite jt. Eesti esimesel iseseisvusajal Muhus levinud vaba aja sisustamise vormide poole. Paljud 1970. aastatel salvestatud informandid on samuti olnud usinad kirikukooride liikmed, kuid mõistagi seda toona kogujatele ei kuulutatud. Õigeusu kirikulaulu

(parodeeritavat) mõju on märgitud nii laulude „Nüüd algavad noodilood” (nr. 27, 71) kui „Pukal tuli naljamõte” (nr. 108, 236) juures. Viiside levik ja segunemine on väga huvitav uurimisvaldkond. Kahtlemata on see keeruline, kuid seda saakski väga hästi teha just eri distsipliinide teadlaste koostöös – vaadates vanu fotosid, trükis ilmunud laulikuid, vaimulikku lauluvara, salvestisi naaberpiirkondadest (Muhu puhul tuleksid kõne alla Ida-Saaremaa, Virtsu ja Hanila kant, Riia kui muhulaste tsaarlaegne metropol).

Raamatu kasutatavust raskendab mõnevõrra see, et laulud on grupeeritud salvestusolukordade kaupa ning iga laulu lõpus ei leidu viidet selle esitaja(te)le, vaid selle info leidmiseks tuleb lehti ettepoole lapata, kuni esitajate andmed lehekülje päises näha on. Ka saatetekstis oleks olnud abiks, kui lauludele poleks viidatud mitte ainult pealkirja, vaid ka raamatus talle antud järjekorranumbri-ga. Kuna tegu on tänini elava traditsiooniga, võidakse tänapäeval Muhus samu laule teada erinevate pealkirjade, algusridade või esitajate kaudu ning mingit standardkuju neile ilmselt kehtestada ei anna. Kasuks oleks tulnud ka nimeregister.

Ehkki nii Saaremaa kui Muhumaa laulude ja lugude raamatu on kujundanud Krista Saare, on esimene nii kirjalikult kui küljenduselt palju selgem ja paremini loetav. „Muhumaa” raamatu sissejuhatavas osas on näiteks alaviidete numeratsioon (kogemata?) lahendatud nii, et iga alaviide uuel leheküljel on taas nr. 1.

Samuti seostub raamatu kirja-pildilise lahendusega veel üks väga põhimõtteline ja suure ulatusega probleem teose mahuka ja huvitava sissejuhatuse puhul: kuna tekst on kohati graafiliselt diferentseerimata, siis on väga raske järele pidada, kus lõpeb koostaja tekst ja kus algab kellegi teise sõna. Mõnel juhul on mujalt pärinevale tekstile lisatud küll saatelause või paari lehekülje pikkune tekst pandud kursiivi või jutumärkidesse, kuid seda ei ole tehtud läbivalt ja üleminekud ei ole selgesti äratuntavad. Näiteks Muhu poiste leedutule tegemise kirjeldus (lk. 22) vastab sõna-sõnalt Kristi Salve kogumispäeviku sissekandele 1974. aastast (vt. Remmel 1997: 264), millele saatetekstis on küll üle-eelmisel leheküljel viidatud, kuid tsitaadi vahetus läheduses pole võimalik seda muust tekstist eristada. Sama häda on ka Ingrid Rüütli enda varasema tekstiga: peatükk „Kogumisolukordadest ja -eesmärkidest” algab viitega, et esmalt tuuakse lugejani katkendeid 1974. aastal

ajalehes „Kommunismiehitaja” ilmunud kogumismuljetest, kuid need lähevad sujuvalt üle järgmisel aastal tehtud salvestuste kirjelduseks, tulles paari lõigu järel tagasi „eelmisel talvel” tekkinud huvi juurde Muhu meestelaulu vastu. Lugejana on kerge sattuda segadusse, mis ajast just täpselt räägitakse.

Teine kaheldava väärtusega ja tekstipilti asjalt kirjuks muutev lahendus on internetiotsingutega leitud materjalide viidete andmine otsinguribal leiduva aadressi kujul otse teksti sees. See ei ole otstarbekas, kuna lingid ei ole enamasti inimloetaval kujul ja on vähe tõenäoline, et keegi neid raamatust käsitsi otsinguribale toksima hakkaks. Pigem võinuks alaviites anda põhilehe aadressi ja otsinguteekonna (nt. jyrviste.pri.ee > Tõnu Kann).

Raamatu illustratsioonide puhul torkab silma, et kõik ajaloolised Muhu fotod on saadud Saaremaa Muuseumi fotokogust. Huvitavat oleks kindlasti leidnud ka Muhu Muuseumi fotokogust, samuti kohaliku vanavarakoguja Rein Saksakulmu rikkalikust kollektsioonist, millest suur hulk on digiteerituna samuti veebis kättesaadavad³ ning mille kohta on nende omanikul ka palju täpsustavaid andmeid.

Kuid need on vaid tehnilised üksikasjad, mida võime hea tahtmise juures ka kõrvaliseks pidada.

Saatesõna laulumeistreid puudutava osa lõpetuseks väljendab Rüütel lootust, et Muhu laulupärandi uurimisega tegelevad edasi kohalikud kodu-uurijad. Mõnevõrra on seda juba tehtudki.

Kõige unikaalsem – seda kogu Eesti mastaabis – on kindlasti Muhu haritlase ja seltskonnategelase Vassili Kolga algatatud ja läbiviidud „Muhu lauluvara aktsioon”, mille käigus ta kogus kõigist Muhu küladest 1944. aasta suvel kokku üle 1500 laulu, mida tollased muhulased kogukondliku lauluvarana kasutasid (vt. ülevaadet Mereäär 2010: 13–20; Oras 2002). Laulude järelkorjamist tegi Kolk eraviisiliselt veel 1952. aastal, samuti on tema kollektsioonis eraldi vihikutena mõnede nimeliselt tuntud laululoojate, nagu näiteks Mäksa Jaani laulud. Mäksa Jaani laule ja lugusid on juba 1930. aastatel üles kirjutatud ja kohalikus ajakirjanduses avaldanud kirjanik Raissa Kõvamees (kõige hõlpsamini kättesaadav allikas on tema juttude kogumik „Oli kord ...”; Kõvamees 1988), aga ka Villem Grünthal-Ridala ja Madis Küla-Nurmik.

Viimasel kolmekümnel aastal on Muhu rahvalaulutraditsiooni tõhusalt aidanud elus hoida Tallinna muhulaste folklooriansambel Munuksed, mille juht Maret Lehto on aastakümnetega kogunud Muhu laulude ja esitajate kohta suure andmepagasi. Ka Kirjandusmuuseumi arhiivraamatukogu kauaaegne töötaja ning Muhu koduloo-entusiast Heino Räim on Muhu saart ja muhulasi puudutava info ammendamatuks allikaks.

Muhus kohapeal on alates 2008. aastast korraldatud murdevõistlusi, kuhu on samuti laekunud töid Muhu laulupärandi kohta. 2010. aasta Muhu murdevõistluse „Kanged muhulased” tarbeks kirjutas Inna Sooäär ka „Muhumaa laulude ja lugude” raamatusse jõudnud murdekeelse ülevaate laulumeister Vassili Kase elust (varem trükkis ilmunud kogumikus „Muhu murde lood II”; Sooäär 2016). Esimese Muhu murdevõistluse (2008) tööde hulgas oli Külli Ausmeele ja Helja Lepmetsa kirjutatud laul „Laupa õhta Lalli mettsas” (kogumikus laul nr. 95, „Tulge, kuulge mehepojad”) koos laulu looja Villem Tustiti elulooliste andmetega (Ausmeel, Lepmets 2009). Siin ilmneb ka väike segadus laulu autorsusega – „Muhumaa lauludes ja lugudes” on see (ilmselt Viidalepp 1938 tuginedes) omistatud Villem Tustiti vanemale vennale Mihklile (lk. 111).

Muhu Muuseum on paaril korral korraldanud uuemate külalaulude võistlust „Muhu mõlk”.

Suure töö Muhu asustusloo uurimisel ja muhulaste andmebaasi koostamisel on ära teinud Ülo Rehepapp,⁴⁴ mida „Muhumaa laulude ja lugude” raamatu saatetekstis on küll siin-seal tsiteeritud, kuid tundub, et Rehepapi andmeid on leitud pigem guugeldades kui andmebaasi süstemaatiliselt läbi töötades. Oma algversioonis on Rehepapi külauurimused koostatud tihedas koostöös Ago Rullingo samasisuliste töös kasutatud ülevaadetega, mis paraku ei ole täiel kujul avalikus kasutuses. Rehepapi koostatud andmebaas Muhu külade kohta annab tänuväärseid täpsustavaid andmeid ka Muhu laulumeistrite kohta.

Siin oleks kindlasti kasuks tulnud raamatu koostajate ja toimetajate tihedam kontakt nii mandrimuhulaste kui kohapealsete inimestega juba enne raamatu kokkupanemist. Uuemat aega puudutavaid andmeid on küll saadud kirja teel lauluõpetajalt ja kohalikult muusikategela-

³ <http://muhu.rehepapp.com/pildid/>.

⁴ Vt. <http://muhu.rehepapp.com> (koduloolise materjali kogu Muhu külade ja inimeste kohta, koostanud Ülo Rehepapp).

selt Leena Peeglilt, samuti tema vennalt Meelis Mereäärilt Muhu Muuseumist ning viimase pojalt Martilt, samuti Vassili Kase järeltulijatelt (mille tulemusena on küll väga ilusa, kuid siiski võrdlemisi vähetuntud omaeluloolise laulu „Takuste pükste-ga poisike” tekst raamatus esitatud lausa kolmel korral!). Kindlasti oleks tulemuslik olnud väikese üleskutse avaldamine näiteks kohalikus ajalehes Muhulane, et kunagiste lindistatute perekonna-liikmed saadaksid nende kohta täpsustavaid andmeid. Nii saab kogukonda haarata ja teavitada ning ka lõpptulemus tundub siis pärimuskogukonna liikmetele palju rohkem „omana”.

Siit koorub välja veel üks oluline aspekt Muhu laulupärandi juures: arhiivisalvestuste kõrval on see Muhus kogu aeg edasi elanud; mingit katkestust ei ole selles traditsioonis 20. sajandil kunagi olnud. See on elav pärimus, mistõttu ei tööta selle puhul idee laulude „kogukonnale tagasi andmisest” või „folkloori teisest elust”. Mäletan ka ise (K. T.), kuidas isa tuli kaheksakümnendate aastate mõnel südasuvisel varahommikul kõrgendatud meeleolus omaelaliste meestega (mitmed neist kogumikus esinevate meeste otsesed järeltuli-

jad) koos peetud peolt ja laulis: „... nüüd algavad nuodiluod, jaaaa”. Suuremõisa meeste elavast laulutraditsioonist ei maksa rääkidagi, lihtsalt seda harrastatakse tänapäeval ehk rohkem oma sugulaste-hõimlaste ringis kui avalikkuse ees. Kogukonnal oleks veel praegugi uurijatele üht-teist pakkuda ja loodetavasti aitab ka kõnealune teos elavdada tegelemist lauluvaraga.

Tekib küsimus: kes on raamatu sihtgrupp? Kindlasti on seda ühtviisi huvitav lugeda nii muhulastel kui akadeemilistel folkloristidel ja etnomusikoloogidel. Tegemist ei ole otseselt rahva-väljaandega, ehkki praktilisse kasutusse laulikuna ta Muhus kindlasti võetakse ja nii võime paari aastakümne möödudes taas jälgida, kuidas kirja pandud versioonid elavat traditsiooni on mõjutanud. Arhiivisalvestiste publikatsioonina on ta kopsakaks täienduseks „Muhumaa laulude ja lugude” CD/DVD komplektile. Loodetavasti leiavad sellest inspiratsiooni ka tänased interpreedid eri muusikavaldkondadest – sest elus on ainult see pärimus, mis edasi areneb, ja Muhu pärimus seda kahtlemata on.

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Vana hea *Kompositionslehre*: ääremärkusi Leopold Brauneissi artiklikogumikule „Arvo Pärdi tintinnabuli-stiil: arhetüübid ja geomeetria” Leopold Brauneiss. *Arvo Pärdi tintinnabuli-stiil: arhetüübid ja geomeetria*. Laulasmaa: Arvo Pärdi Keskus, 2017, 212 lk.

Kerri Kotta

Eesti heliloojate teoseid analüüsivate käsitluste arv pole just kuigi suur, mis on peamiselt tingitud võimalike kirjutajate vähesusest. Kuigi viimasel ajal on huvi eesti heliloojate teoste analüüsi vastu mõnevõrra kasvanud – näiteks on neid vaadeldud teisendusteooria (uusriemanliku teooria), Schenkeri analüüsi ja dialoogilise vormiteooria valguses¹ –, on endiselt arvestatav osa meie muusikalisest pärandist analüütilises plaanis läbi uurimata. Seetõttu on ainult tervitatav, kui eesti muusikat võtab uurida välisautor, kelle töö tulemused esitatakse ühtlasi nii mahukas formaadis nagu artiklikogumik.

Kuigi Leopold Brauneissi raamatu „Arvo Pärdi tintinnabuli-stiil: arhetüübid ja geomeetria” näol pole tegemist algupärase monograafiaga, vaid nagu juba öeldud, artiklikogumikuga, on see siiski kõige põhjalikum käsitlus, mis Pärdi muusikast eesti keeles siiaani on ilmunud. Raamatu on koostanud ja tõlkinud Saale Kareda. Hoolimata mõningatest mõttekordustest, mida ühe autori ja kindlal teemal kirjutatud artiklikogumiku puhul pole ilmselt võimalik kuidagi vältida, jätab raamat tervikliku ja läbimõeldud mulje. Kogumik algab esseistlikumat laadi mõtisklustega Pärdi muusikalisest stiilist, keskse osa võtab enda alla *tintinnabuli*-stiili kompositsioonitehnika süstemaatiline esitus ning sellele järgnevad taas üldistatumat laadi käsitlused, mis erinevalt raamatu algusosadest on nüüd tihedamalt seostatud konkreetsete teoste analüüsiga. Seega juhatatakse lugeja siin esmalt *tintinnabuli*-esteetikasse, millele järgneb muusika kõõgipoole tutvustamine, raamatu viimastes osades proovitakse neid aga sünteesida ühtseks tervikuks. Peale artiklite sisaldab raamat ka koostaja ning autori eessõna, autori lühikest elulugu ning intervjuud, milles Brauneiss avab oma arusaamu Pärdi muusika analüüsist.

Hoolimata näilisest lihtsusest või just seepärast ei ole Pärdi muusikat just kõige kergem analüüsida. Sellele viitab ka Brauneiss ise, mainides, et enamik tänapäeva muusikaanalüüsis kasutatavatest meetoditest Pärdi muusika puhul „ei tööta”. Siin tuleks muidugi täpsustada, millist analüüsi Brauneiss täpsemalt silmas peab. Muusika analüüsil võib teatavasti olla mitu erinevat eesmärki. Üheks võimaluseks on näiteks uurida seda, kuidas teos on komponeeritud. Sellise analüüsi peamiseks eesmärgiks on kirjeldada teost moodustavaid elemente ja seda, kuidas nende kombineerimisel moodustub teose struktuur. Sellist lähenemisviisi võib mõista ka kompositsiooniõpetusena (*Kompositionslehre*), sest analüüsis kirjeldatud tehnikat on võimalik omakorda rakendada uute teoste loomiseks.

Koos formalistliku muusikaesthetika esiletõusuga lisandub aga analüüsile veel üks eesmärk – avada teose n.-ö. muusikaline sisu, selgitada seda publikule. Teatavasti nähakse formalistlikus esteetikas muusika „sisuna” eelkõige mitmesuguseid suhteid seda moodustavate elementide vahel, mida kõige üldisemalt mõistetakse muusikalise vormina; sealt ka formaalesteetiline maksim, et muusikateose sisu on ühtlasi selle vorm ja vorm selle sisu. Muusikaanalüüsi kui formalistliku esteetika abidistsipliini ülesandeks saabki kõnealuste suhete uurimine ning tänapäeval muusikaanalüüsis kasutatav aparatuur on ka suuresti kavandatud just eespool kirjeldatud eesmärki silmas pidades.

Raskused Pärdi muusikaga on põhjustatud *tintinnabuli* muusikaliste struktuuride põhimõttelisest erinevusest võrreldes tavapärase klassikalise kontsertmuusikaga, mille mõtestamisel on muusikaanalüüs üldjuhul kõige tulemuslikum. Jättes kõrvale puhttehnilised probleemid, mis traditsioonilise lähenemisega *tintinnabuli*-stiilile juba

¹ Eelkõige tuleks selles kontekstis ära märkida Aare Tooli hiljuti publitseeritud monograafia Eduard Oja muusikast (Tool 2016, mille arvustus ilmub käesolevas Res Musica numbris), samuti Mart Humala erinevaid artikleid, millest oluline osa on avaldatud autori erinevaid kirjutisi koondavas kogumikus „Uuringuid tonaalstruktuuridest” (Humal 2007). Allakirjutanu on eelkõige analüüsinud Tubinat ja Tüüri (Kotta 2015).

niikuinii kaasnevad, väljenduvad raskused eelkõige selles, et tavapärane analüüs ei näi siin täitvat oma peamist ülesannet, milleks on juba mainitud muusikalise sisu avamine. Teisisõnu ei avane *tintinnabuli* kui kuulajale suunatud struktuur teleoloogiliselt suunatud vormimängudena, mille peamisteks kandjateks klassikalises kontsertmuusikas on harmoonia, kontrapunktiline struktuur või muusikaline retoorika. Kõige kujukamalt on seda kimbatust illustreerinud Thomas Robinson (2012), kes on püüdnud hüpoteetiliselt rakendada Pärdi muusika analüüsimiseks enamikku tänapäeval kasutatavatest olulisematest meetoditest, et lõpuks tunnustada nende ebaadekvaatsust.

Seda kõike teades ei üritagi Brauneiss võtta mõnda neist mainitud metodoloogilistest positsioonidest, vaid allutab end *tintinnabuli* esteetikale ja ideoloogiale nõnda, nagu seda edastab maailmale suures osas ka helilooja ise. Sellises lähenemises Pärdi muusikale seisneb nii Brauneissi tugevus kui ka nõrkus. Ühelt poolt välistab see Pärdi muusikale olemuslikult võõra inkrimineerimise, mis helilooja teoste pealiskaudsema käsitlemise korral on kerge juhtuma. Nimelt jätab *tintinnabuli* „hõredus“ piisavalt ruumi, et kuulaja saaks seda endale sobiva sisuga täita (sellest tuleneb omakorda *tintinnabuli* iseloomulik teraapiiline mõju). Teisalt ei toimi aga see, mida helilooja enda muusika kohta räägib, veel paratamatult koherentse ega lõpetatud teooriana. Seetõttu säilib raamatus teatav tühik Pärdi arvukate valgustatud tsitaatide ja n.-ö. konkreetse „käed mullas“ analüüsi vahel – need kaks poolust kipuvad jääma eraldiseisvaks ega moodusta tervikut, milles üks tuleneks otseselt teisest.

Samuti kummitab Brauneissi valitud lähenemisviisi hermeetilisus, mida üksikud seostamised laiema kontekstiga ei suuda lõplikult hajutada. Pärdi teoste analüüse lugedes ei ole siin võimalik üheselt mõista, mis see siis ikka on, mis *tintinnabuli* kui muusikalise struktuuri tänapäeva (kunst-) muusika kontekstis üldse unikaalseks teeb või mis rolli see stiil kompositsioonitehnika ajaloolises arenemises mängib. Kõnealust unikaalsust küll rõhutatakse, samuti mainitakse *tintinnabuli* kui muusikalise mõtteviisi seost nii gregooriuse laulu kui ka dodekafooniaga (kõigele sellele on viidanud mitmed autorid ka enne Brauneissi), kuid taas ei ole mainitud tõdemusi siin võimalik mõista kui otseselt analüüsist tehtud järeldusi. Rangelt analüüsimeetodist rääkides hülgabki Brauneiss si-

suliselt modernse analüüsija-esteetiku positsiooni ja liigub tagasi analüüsi kui *Kompositionslehre* juurde. Alandlikult nagu munk ei võta ta oma uurimis- või meditatsiooniobjekti suhtes (esteetilis-mõttes) kriitilist uurijahoiakut, vaid peab oma ülesandeks eelkõige muusikas peituvate aarete – *tintinnabuli*-stiilis peituvate kompositsioonitehniliste võimaluste – toomist lugeja ette.

Esteetiku positsiooni puudumisest annab märku ka teoste tervikanalüüside puudumine: Brauneissi ei huvita esimeses järjekorras küsimus sellest, milline esteetiline tähendus võiks *tintinnabuli*-stiilis teosel oma totaalsuses, s.t. kunstiobjektina, olla. Võimalik, et selle põhjuseks on Brauneissi arusaam, et esteetiliselt raamistikku, milles Pärdi muusikat käsitleda, polegi veel loodud – teatavas mõttes viitab ta sellele ka raamatu lõpus toodud intervjuus, kuid ka artiklites, milles ta taunib Pärdi muusika käsitamist minimalistlikuna. Kuid samas keeldub ta ka ise võimalikku raamistikku loomast, jäädes turvaliselt käegakatsutava materjali kirjeldamise juurde. Ühelt poolt on see analüüsija isikliku „temperamendi“ küsimus, teiselt poolt aga peegeldab ilmselt ka Saksa kultuuriruumile omast traditsiooni laiemalt, kus muusikakõrgkoolis arendatav analüütiline ning ülikoolis viljeldav esteetiline ja ajalooline lähenemisviis kipuvad jääma pigem eraldiseisvateks (Brauneiss ise esindab selgelt pigem muusikakõrgkooli traditsiooni). Samuti ei kaalu ta väga tõsiselt mingit kolmandat teed, mis *Kompositionslehre* ja esteetilise analüüsi dihhotoomia üldse ületaks ja mis võiks sellisena olla väljapääs eelkirjeldatud analüütilisest kimbatusest, kuigi raamatu koostaja Saale Kareda teda selle võimalusega raamatu lõpus toodud intervjuus provotseerib.

Seega ei lahenda Brauneissi artiklikogumik küll Pärdi „mõistatust“ ehk ei paku sidusat analüütilist teooriat *tintinnabuli* kui fenomeni avamiseks, kuid on sellest hoolimata oluline panus seda laadi lähenemisviisi poole liikumisel. Kuigi stiililt mõnevõrra raskepärane, iseloomustab Brauneissi kirjutamisviisi täpne väljendus, mis põhineb helilooja muusika väga heal tundmisel. Sellise teksti eestindamine pole ilmselt kergete ülesannete killast, mistõttu tuleb ühtlasi tunnustada Saale Kareda tõlkijana ning Toomas Siitanit ja Kai Kutmanit toimetajatena.

Brauneissi artiklikogumik on sobivaks materjaliks helilooja muusikasse esimese sügavama sisesevaate tegemisel, ühelt poolt autori võrdlemisi

neutraalse lähenemisviisi tõttu (selles mõttes on autoripoolse domineeriva esteetilise positsiooni puudumine siin pigem positiivne), teisest küljest aga *tintinnabuli*-stiilis peituvate erinevate kompositsioonivõtete ülevaatliku kirjeldamise tõttu. Lugemist hõlbustavad ka arvukad noodinäited. Puhtvormistusslikult võib ju nende kallal pisut norida: erineval ajal tehtuna on need jäänud stiililiselt ühtlustamata ning alati pole nende kokku-

panekul arvestatud raamatu mõõtmetega (mille tulemusena on nooditekst kohati liiga väike), kuid sisulises plaanis näited arusaamatusi ei põhjusta. Küll aga tuleb tunnustada raamatu kujundust tervikuna, milles mustvalge rangus ja askeetlikkus põimununa punase kirglikkusega annab edasi ühtaegu nii Pärdi muusika struktuuride rangust kui ka neis peituvat muusikalist pinget.

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Žanna Pärtlas

Möeldes eesti rahvamuusikale, tuleb esimesena meelde regilaul, mis on saanud eesti vanema muusikakultuuri sümboliks. See on üheks põhjuseks, miks suurem osa Eesti rahvamuusikauurijaid keskendus just regilaulu mitmekülgsel uurimisele. Herbert Tampere kirjutas 1970. aastatel, et rahvatants ja pillimuusika on eesti rahvamuusikateaduses võrreldes vokaalsete žanritega võrdlemisi kõrvale jäänud, tuues põhjuseks „asja vastu huvi tundvate spetsialistide“ vähesust (Tampere 1975: 5). Nii või teisiti, kuigi hilisemal ajal on Eestis ilmunud mõned olulised pillimuusika uurimused ja noodiväljaanded (nagu Tõnurist 1996; Liimets 1988; Sildoja & Sildoja 1997 ja 1998; Sildoja 2004), on teatud ebavõrdsus regilaulu ja pillimuusika uurimises säilinud tänapäevani. Seetõttu on iga uurimus eesti rahvapillimuusikast eriti teretulnud ja äratav erilist tähelepanu.

Guldžahon Jussufi koostatud väljaanne „Kandle-Jussi ehk Johannes Rosenstrauchi muusikapäränd“ on märkimisväärne panus eesti rahvapillimuusika jäädvustamisse ja uurimisse. See mahukas raamat (366 lk.) sisaldab 270 lk. autori noodistatud muusikat (91 kandle- ja 2 parmu-pillipala), sissejuhatavaid uurimuslikke artikleid Kandle-Jussist ja tema muusikast ning mitmeid lisasid ja registreid, mis annavad täieliku ülevaate olemasolevatest Kandle-Jussiga seotud allikmaterjalidest. Väljaande väärtust suurendab võimalus kuulata kõiki noodistatud palu internetis Eesti folkloristide serveris Haldjas.¹ Raamatu põhiline sihtgrupp on kandlemängu harrastajad ja õpetajad, kes võivad siit leida rikkaliku materjali esitamiseks ja kandleseadete tegemiseks; väljaanne on muusikaliste allikate publikatsioonina kahtlemata väärtuslik ka rahvamuusikauurijate jaoks.

Raamatu häid omadusi on põhjalikkus ja täpsus. Autor on leidnud ja noodistanud oletatavasti kõik eksisteerivad Kandle-Jussi helisalvestised. Suurem osa neist on tehtud Rootsis 1950. aastatel Ilmar Toigre eestvedamisel. Nõukogude Eestis-

se „raudse eesriide“ taha sattusid nad erinevaid kanaleid pidi ja jõudsid enamjaolt lõpuks Eesti Rahvaluule Arhiivi. Pärast lintide võrdlust tuvastas Jussufi 99 erinevat esitust ja nende hulgas 66 erinevat pala (s.t. mõned palad olid salvestatud mitmes variandis). Kogumikus on esitused noodistatud täies pikkuses ja mõned palad on esindatud mitme esitusega, mis võimaldab jälgida suulisele traditsioonile omast varieeruvust. Ka biograafilises artiklis on autor kasutanud oletatavasti kõiki võimalikke Kandle-Jussi elu ja isiksust kajastavaid allikaid – mälestusi, kirju jms. Artikkel sisaldab ulatuslikke allikatsitaate ning lisades leidub käsikirjalisi materjale faksiimile kujul. Samuti on toodud salvestiste nimekirjad ja salvestiste päritolu on detailselt kommenteeritud. Seega võib öelda, et nüüd on kõik allikmaterjalid Kandle-Jussist kogutud ühe raamatu kaante vahele.

Kandle-Juss (Johannes Rosenstrauch, 1891–1958) on üks eesti rahvapillimuusika suurkujusid, kelle elu ja looming väärivad kahtlemata põhjalikku uurimist ja jäädvustamist. Ta oli kuulus oma ulatusliku repertuaari, suurepärase mängutehnika, kaasahaarava mängumaneeri ja lavalise sarmi poolest. Kandle-Juss on huvitav isiksus ka oma aja esindajana. Guldžahon Jussufi väitel oli ta esimesi rahvapillimängijaid, kes üritas teha pillimängust oma elukutset ja elatiseteenimise vahendit. Kandle-Jussi elu ja loomingut uurides võib paremini aru saada rahvapillimuusika traditsiooni seisust Eestis 20. sajandi esimesel poolel ja selle aja rahvapillimängijate elu- ja tegevuse tingimustest, eesmärkidest, esteetilisest väärtustest, repertuaarist. Üldistuste tegemine nendel teemadel seisab veel ees ja kõnealune väljaanne annab selleks olulist materjali.

Peale biograafilise osa sisaldab raamat ka peatükki, mis käsitleb Kandle-Jussi pilli, repertuaari, tema mängustiili ja kandlepalade vormi. Selles peatükis tulevad kahjuks ilmsiks ka mõned uurimuse nõrgemad küljed, mis on seotud muu-

¹ www.folklore.ee/pubte/eraamat/kandlejuss/.

sikaanalüüsi ja selle tulemuste tõlgendamisega. Jussufi analüüsib põhiliselt palade vormi, harmooniat, faktuuri ja mängutehnilisi võtteid (nagu topeltnoodid ja *glissando*) ning püüab neis leida Kandle-Jussi eripärast mängustiili, iseloomustades seda ülimalt kiitvalt. Nii kirjutab ta korduvalt Kandle-Jussi virtuoossusest (lk. 9, 49, 50 jne.), nimetab palade saadet ja harmooniat „peenekoeliseks“ ja „maitsekaks“ (lk. 9, 50), saatekujundamise oskust „meisterlikuks“ (lk. 11), meloodiat „ilmekaks“ ja „kujundlikuks“ (lk. 51), faktuuritüüpide kasutamist „äärmiselt osavaks“ ja „maitsekaks“ (lk. 52), vormitaju „väga isikupäraseks“ (lk. 58) jne. Samas selgub analüüsist, et „peenekoeline harmoonia“ koosneb ikkagi peamiselt „kolmest duurrist“, „isikupärane vorm“ kvadraatsetest lausetest ja perioodidest ning faktuuris näeme üsna tavalist harmoonilist figuratsiooni ja akorde. Kandle-Jussi hea pillimänguoskus on väljaspool kahtlust, kuid ei noodistused ega helisalvestised ei jäta muljet, nagu oleks tema mäng silmapaistvalt „virtuoosne“ selle sõna tänapäevases tähenduses.

Ja ometi oli ta kahtlemata ere, isikupärane muusik, kes oskas kuulajaid paeluda. Tekib kahtlus: kas raamatu autor mitte ei otsi Kandle-Jussi fenomeni põhjusi valedest valdkondadest? Kuigi tema lugude faktuur võis olla keskmisest mõnevõrra mitmekesisem, kuigi ta kasutas peale kolmkõlade mõnikord ka (dominant)septakorde ja valdas kõiki traditsioonilisi mänguvõtteid, tundub ta kokkuvõttes siiski muusikuna, kes tegutses põhiliselt traditsiooni piires, püüdes küll seda natukene laiendada ja kaasajastada. Oletaksin, et Kandle-Jussi omapära ei seisne mitte niivõrd palade seadetes, vaid pigem mängumaneeris – näiteks põnevas artikulatsioonis, kaasahaaravas rütmitunnetuses (mida tänapäeval nimetatakse sageli *groove*’iks) jms. Raamatu autor mainib ka neid aspekte, kirjutades näiteks „*rubato*-kunstist“ (lk. 50), kuid keskendub siiski väga üksikasjalikult vormistruktuuridele ja saatekordidele.

Viimane aspekt tekitab küsimusi samuti raamatu potentsiaalse kasutaja seisukohalt. Mida peaks ta teada saama iga noodistuse järel paiknevatest detailselt väljakirjutatud vormi- ja akordiskeemidest? Skeemides on kasutatud seda tüüpi akordimärke, mille järgi mängitakse saadet laulumeloodiatele kitarril ja klaveril – need on puhtalt kirjeldavad ja isegi ei tõlgenda akorde helistiku seisukohalt. Meloodia kohal asuvana võiksid nad ehk olla mõnevõrra kasulikud, kuid nende otstar-

ve eraldi taktiskeemides ei ole arusaadav. Ka uu-rija ei saaks nendest midagi järeldada, sest peaks enne kordama analüüsi akordide funktsionaalsete tähenduste väljaselgitamiseks.

Muusikateoreetilises mõttes on muusikateadlasest lugejale pisut ärritavad mõnede terminite definitsioonid (nagu „kadents“, „faktuur“, „periood“), mida autor toob ohtralt joonealustes märkustes. Nende eesmärk on oletatavasti kergendada muusikahariduseta lugejate arusaamist tekstist. Kahjuks ei ole definitsioonid kaasaegse muusikateooria tasemel ja sisaldavad ka ilmseid vigu (näiteks lk. 57 mainitud „subdominandiga lõppev poolkadents“). Mittevastavusi leidub ka väiteid illustreerivates viidetes noodistustele. Nii tundub, et rahvakoraal „Kaljud, hauad lahti läksid“ (nr. 62) ei ole kõige õnnestunud näide „üheosalisest lihtvormist“, kus periood koosneb kahest kahetaktilisest lausest, „millele lisandub üks takt kadentsi näol“ (lk. 58). Ebaõnnestunud näiteid leidub minu arvates veelgi.

Teaduslikus mõttes kahtlane on ka Kandle-Jussi pilli häälestuse akustiline analüüs (lk. 48–49), milleks autor häälestas „oma kandle helisalvestuste järgi ümber“ ja siis, „kasutades tavalist tuuneri“, proovis „välja selgitada hälbend tempereeritud helisagedustest“ (lk. 48). Kõrvalekalded on näidatud tabelites hertsides, mis annab lugejale vähe informatsiooni, sest kõrvaga tajutavatest helikõrguste erinevustest arusaamiseks tuleks hertside erinevused ümber arvutada pooltoonideks (sentideks), ning teatavasti tähendab sama erinevus hertsides eri oktavites väga erinevaid muusikalisi intervalle. Peale selle ei ole tulemused ikkagi usaldusväärsed, sest oma kandle ümberhäälestamine toimus oletatavasti kõrva järgi.

Kahtlusi äratavad ka väited, et kõik pisidetailid Kandle-Jussi mängus olid olulised, ettekavatsetud ja mõtestatud. See puudutab nii pilli häälestust (lk. 49) kui ka mänguvõtete kasutamist: „Kõik mängitud rõhud, arpedžod, kaunistushelid, *glissando*’d, *staccato*’d ja *legato*’d on pillimehe jaoks äärmiselt olulised, iga štrihh ja dünaamikaliin on täpselt paigas ning midagi ei esine juhuslikult“ (lk. 49). Siin paistab olevat tegemist üldisema professionaalsest kunstmuusikakultuurist pärit esteetilise hoiakuga, et meisterlik musitseerimine tähendab ülimalt kontrolli kõla kõigi aspektide ja nüansside üle. Mulle tundub, et kuigi kontrolli tase võib olla üsna kõrge ka pärimusmuusikutel, on traditsioonilises suulises kultuuris juhuslikkusel ja spontaan-

susel suurem roll ja muusikute keskendumispinge mängimisel ei ole nii kõrge kui kunstmuusikas. Igal juhul peaks selliseid väiteid kuidagi tõestama.

Eespool mainitud puudused ei muuda tösi- asja, et vaadeldav raamat on muusikaliste allika- te publikatsioonina väga väärtuslik ja on oluline samm eesti rahvapillimuusika jäädvustamisel ja

uurimisel. Kuigi autori teoreetilised järeldused ei ole minu jaoks igal pool veenvad, on ju ka noo- distused ise kuuldelise analüüsi tulemused ja siin on tegemist väga hea ja mahuka professionaalse tööga. Raamat on samuti kaalukas panus harras- tusliku kandlemängu arendamisse.

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Mari Tarvas

Heidi Heinmaa uurimus on pühendatud Eesti muusika ajaloole. Rohke allikmaterjali ja läbitöötatud kirjanduse põhjal kirjeldab ja analüüsib ta 18. sajandi Tallinna muusikakultuuri, sh. muusika ja argielu seoseid. Põnevaid leide on palju. Heinmaa läheneb muusikale ja selle argisusele mitmest suunast, arvestamist leiavad sealjuures nii muusikud ja nende erinevad rollid ja prestiiž linna sotsiaalses võrgustikus (mh. erinevate arhiiviallike toel, lk. 24 jj), muusikute argielu, sh. nende varaline olukord (suuresti varaloendite alusel, lk. 64 jj), aga ka laiemalt näiteks muusikaharrastuse levik, muusika ja tantsu õpetamine linnakodanikele, pillide ja nootidega seonduv (lisaks eelnevalt mainitud allikatele ka ajalehe *Revalsche Wöchentliche Nachrichten* andmeid kasutades, lk. 87 jj). Viimases osas käsitleb Heinmaa Tallinnas sajandi viimastel kümnenditel toimunud kontserte ja muusikaga seotud seltsielutegevust, ürituste korraldust ja repertuaari (kus andmeid on ka nt. kaasaegsete reisikirjadest ja muudest sellistest allikatest, lk. 149 jj). Seega on autor kasutanud väga erinevaid allikmaterjale kõnealusest valdkonnast. Tuleb rõhutada, et kõnealuse töö autor ei piirdu seega varasemate uurimuste läbitöötamisega (seda on ta ka kindlasti teinud!), vaid on võtnud vaevaks pöörduda tõesti algallikate juurde tagasi. Ja seda *ad fontes* lähtekohta tuleb kindlasti kiita ja rõhutada. Nii kinnitab ja laiendab antud uurimus senist pilti 18. sajandi muusikaloost. Tegemist on monograafiaga, mis on jätkuks autori varasematele publikatsioonidele – tema artiklitele nii eesti kui ka saksa keeles. Analüüs on kirjutatud nauditavas eesti keeles, osavalt on välditud eesti teaduskirjanduses sageli vohavat võõrsõnalembust. Pealekauba on töö ka kujunduselt kaunis, millele aitavad kaasa teksti illustreerivad pildid.

Analüütilisele osale on lisatud Tallinna nädalalehes *Revalsche Wöchentliche Nachrichten* ilmunud kuulutuste editsioon. See avab lugejale küllusliku muusikaloolise allikmaterjali. Erinevalt töö põhiosast on lisa algupärandi keeles; edaspidi võiks mõelda selle materjali eesti keelde tõlkimise peale.

Metoodiliselt püstitab töö endale kaks mõneti vastandlikku eesmärki. Ühelt poolt on eesmärgiks „Tallinna muusikaelust esitada ajaloolisest perspektiivist võimalikult mitmekülgset ülevaadet” (lk. 18), uurida sotsiajalooliselt linna muusikaelu kui muusikaliste praktikate kompleksi (lk. 19). Teiselt poolt kasutab Heidi Heinmaa oma töös ka argiajaloolist lähenemisviisi, pöördub nii suurematel seostel ja tendentsidelt pigem mikrotasandi poole (lk. 20 jj) ja suunab seega oma huvi muusikute eluolule. Sellele vastavalt sisaldabki töö väga erineva üldistustasemega lõike: kui näiteks viienda peatüki esimene lõik räägib Euroopa kodanliku kontserdikultuuri kujunemisest üpriski kõrgel üldistustasemel, minnakse kolmandas peatükis muusikute raamatute, nootide ja pillikollektsioonide kujutamisel hoopis üksikasjalisemale, suisa üksikindiviidi tasemele ja vaadatakse konkreetsed mikroajaloo kontekste. Selles mõttes on töö ehk (sihilikult) veidi ebaühtlane, erinevad vaatenurgad täiendavad üksteist. Et allikmaterjali on 18. sajandi Tallinna (muusika)loost kahjuks siiski hõredalt, eriti sajandi esimese poole kohta, on uurija muidugi sunnitud tegema järeldusi piiratud materjali põhjal. Alles sajandi viimastel kümnenditel on ju kirjalikke ülestähendusi rohkem, ilmub ajaleht, leidub reisikirju jms. Kirjalike allikatena on meieni jõudnud võib-olla vaid juhuslikud jäljed sellest, mis on olnud. Me tegelikult ju ei tea, kas näiteks need vähesed varaloendid kajastavad keskmise muusiku varalisi suhteid või kuivõrd usaldusväärne on vokatsiooni tekst. Võib-olla oleks töös saanud selgemalt välja tuua need piirid, mille seavad meie käsutuses olevad materjalid tõlgendamisele.

Monograafia toob esile ka mõningaid vastuolusid. Näiteks ei peegelda mõnede (endiste) muusikute varaloendid ja eriti nendes sisalduv raamatuvara sellisel viisil omaniku ametit (lk. 73), nagu see enamasti toona oli, sellal kui leidub ka neid (nagu Giese, lk. 74 jj), kelle varaloend väga selgelt seostub muusikahuvi ja tööga sellel alal. Võib-olla viitavad just need vastuolud sellele, kui keeruline võis olla 18. sajandil (muusiku) profes-

sionaalne areng, kus ilmselt lai üldharidus võimaldas väga erinevaid karjäärimudeleid. Töö toob esile tollase muusikaelu põimumise eluga üldisemalt ja näitab tollaste inimeste, sh. haritlaste üpriski paindlikku suhtumist (muusiku)ametisse: kui paremat käepärast pole, võib ka soldatist saada kantor (lk. 34), muusikust omakorda vajaduse korral postiametnik (lk. 32), kuna muusikutöö võib olla astmeks teel näiteks gümnaasiumiprofessori ametisse ükskõik millises valdkonnas (lk. 36). 18. sajandi muusikule on raha, majanduslik toimetulek, konkurents teiste muusikutega olulised teemad – ka kolm sajandit hiljem ei ole selles asjas ilmselt midagi muutunud. Järsud muutused muusiku omast hoopis muusse ametisse minekul ja vastupidi ning nende muutuste seos muusiku professionaalsusega on teemad, mis vääriskid edaspidigi tähelepanu, sest piir ametilt muusiku ja nn. huvitatud asjaarmastaja vahel tundub analüüsitud kontekstis vahel olevat õhkõrn.

Peale argieluseoste viitab töö ka tihedatele kultuurilistele sidemetele, mis seovad vaadeldava piirkonna muusikuid, kes peamiselt saksa rahvusest, nende kultuurilise emamaa, Saksamaaga. Ühelt poolt puhtalt isikute migratsioonil põhinev seos hõlmab teiselt poolt ka ainelise ja vaimse

kultuuri liikumist samas suunas, Saksamaalt Balti provintssidesse: sealt tulevad pillid, muusikalised traditsioonid, noodid, kultuurilised praktikad, kontserditegevuse kujunemine ja teatrielu. Torakab silma, et kogu selles arengus on n.-ö. moodsas kõnepruugis integratsiooni või kohaliku elemendi kaasamist ehk vaid teatritraditsiooni juurest leida või siis ka näha mõningates misjoni eesmärgil tehtavate tõlkimiste alusmaterjalides, muus osas võetakse pigem kodune kultuur kaasa. Kahjuks ei tule analüüsitud ainese alusel esile eritunnuseid, mis muudaksid Tallinna 18. sajandi muusikaelu võrreldes emamaaga unikaalseks.

Kokkuvõttes võib öelda, et Heidi Heinmaa doktoritöö 18. sajandi Tallinna muusikaelust on kindlasti oluline panus Eesti 18. sajandi ajalookirjutusse. Autor on põhjalikult läbi töötanud suure hulga saksakeelseid käsikirjalisi arhiivimaterjale, mis paraku paljudele 21. sajandi Eesti ajaloolastele on juba keelelistel põhjustel täiesti kättesaamatud. Ta on analüüsinud ka mitmeid trükitud allikaid ning kirjutanud selle materjali alusel käsitluse Tallinna muusikaloost, mille lähenemisviis on minule teadaolevalt muusikaajaloo valdkonnas uudne.

Muusikateadusliku elu kroonikat 2016/2017

Koostanud Anu Veenre, Eesti Muusikateaduse Seltsi sekretär

Eesti Muusikateaduse Selts

Hooaeg 2016/2017 oli EMTSile 25. tegevusaasta. Majandusaasta aruande lõpul, 30. septembri 2017 seisuga on seltsil 91 liiget.

Seltsi üldkoosolek toimus 28. novembril, mil võeti kokku möödunud tegevusaasta ning arutati edasisi plaane. Seltsi juhatuse jätkas tööd koosseisus Kerri Kotta (seltsi esimees), Allan Vurma (aseesimees), Saale Konsap, Kristina Körver ja Anu Schaper; revisjonikomisjoni moodustavad Eerik Jõks (esimees), Aleksandra Dolgoplova ja Marju Raju.

Toimus kaks traditsioonilist Eesti-sisese muusikateaduslikku üritust. Neist esimene, **Leichteripäev** leidis aset samuti 28. novembril Eesti Muusika- ja Teatriakadeemia kooriklassis. Kavas oli kaks ettekannet, millest esimese pidas Itaalia etnomusikoloog Ignazio Macchiarella Cagliari ülikoolist. Macchiarella ettekanne „Multipart music as a specific mode of musical thinking, expressive behavior and sound” juhatas ühtlasi temaatiliselt sisse Res Musica uue, 2016. aasta numbrit (vt. allpool). Leichteripäeva teiseks esinejaks oli Mart Humal palju elevust tekitanud ettekandega „Võimalikke asitõendeid Mozarti surma asjaolude kohta”.

2017. aasta **Tartu päev** toimus 22. aprillil Eesti Rahva Muuseumis. Konverentsi ettekanded koonduisid teema „Reformatsioon 500” ümber. Peaettekande reformatsiooni kultuurimõjude arengujoontest Eesti ajaloos pidas Andres Andresen, järgnevalt esinesid Toomas Siitan („Kiri ja laul: protestantliku koguduselaulu varaseist kirjalikest allikaist Eestis”), Piret Lotman („Salemann ja Salomon. Sissevaade „Käsi-ja koduraamatu” 1656.–1654. aasta väljaandesse”), Eerik Jõks („Proosast värsini ja tagasi – pühalaul kui protestantlik reformatsioon kirikulaulus tänasel päeval”), Janika Päll – „ΩΔΑ ja ΑΔΩ: luule ja laul 16.–17. sajandi Eesti (juhu)luules: paarist konfessiooni rolliga seletatavast fenomenist” ja Mart Jaanson („Kirikulaul kui teoloogia väljendusvahend”).

Konverentsi ettekanded on seltsi liikmetele järelkuulatavad seltsi kodulehe intranetis.

Igal sügisel korraldab EMTS oma liikmetele ka kultuuriloolise matka, mis tänavu oli ühepäevane ja kulges 16. septembril mööda Harjumaad. Külas-

tati kirikuid (Harju-Risti, Harju-Madise ja Keila), Paidise kloostrit ja Tünnpu parki ning Vääna mõisat, kus pärast ekskursiooni sai näha ka näitemängu „Beethoven ja Josephine” Anu Kõlari perekonna ja EMTSi liikmete osavõtul.

Uued väljaanded

Leichteripäeval esitleti ka kahte uut väljaannet. EMTAs peetud VII rahvusvahelise muusikateooria konverentsi ettekannetel põhineva artiklilogumiku „Composition as a Problem 7” teema on muusikaline vorm ja selle seos tonaalstruktuuriga. Kogumikus käsitletakse sonaadivormi kõrvalteema problemaatikat (Edward Jurkowski ja Margus Pärtlas), sonaadivormi kui vormilise struktuuri ja muusikalise „teekonna” omavahelisi seoseid (Poundie Burnstein ja Lauri Suurpää) ning kontrapunktilise struktuuri, vormi ja dramaturgia vastasmõju (Mart Humal ja Olli Väisälä). Artiklilogumiku lisas on publitseeritud ka kaks VII Euroopa muusikaanalüüsi konverentsil (EUROMAC) peetud ettekannet (Mart Humal ja Kerri Kotta).

Aastaraamatu Res Musica 2016. aasta ehk 8. number on pühendatud etnomusikoloogia uurimisvaldkonnale. Artiklid põhinevad 2014. aastal Eesti Muusika- ja Teatriakadeemias toimunud rahvusvahelise seminari ettekannetel, mille korraldas ICTMi (International Council for Traditional Music) mitmehäälse probleemidele keskendunud uurimisrühm (Study Group on Multipart Music); seminari teemaks oli „Mitmehäälne muusika: teoreetilised lähenemised terminoloogiale” („Multipart Music: theoretical approaches on the terminology”). Aastaraamatu artikleid iseloomustab seepärast tavalisest palju suurem temaatiline ühtsus ja kokku on neid kogumikus seitse, autoriteks Ardian Ahmedaja, Anda Beitāne, Alessandro Bratus, Susanne Fūrnis, Ignazio Macchiarella, Ulrich Morgenstern ja Žanna Pärtlas. Kogumiku koostas Žanna Pärtlas.

Kevadel sai aastaraamat Res Musica endale uue kodulehe (www.resmusica.ee), kus on võimalik tutvuda ka aastaraamatu kõigi varasemate numbritega. Väljaanded on müügil ka EMTA välis-

suhete osakonnas ning samuti saab neid tellida nii Res Musica kodulehelt kui ka saates meili aadressil resmusica@ema.edu.com.

Uued väitekirjad muusikateaduses

Möödunud hooajal kaitsesid muusikaakadeemias edukalt doktoritööd koguni kolm muusikateadlast, kelle väitekirjad esindavad valdkonna eri harusid. Aare Tooli väitekirj „Piiratud transponeeritavusega heliread ja vorm Eduard Oja muusikas”¹ on muusikateoreetiline uurimus, mille analüütilised eesmärgid koonduvad Eduard Oja ümber.

Brigitta Davidjantsi ingliskeelne artikliväitekirj kannab pealkirja „Armenian national identity construction: from diaspora to music” („Armeenia rahvusliku identiteedi konstrueerimine: diasporaast muusikani”)² ning selle eesmärk on seletada armeenlaste rahvusliku identiteedi eri aspekte, keskendudes suuremas osas identiteediloomele

muusikas. Heidi Heinmaa monograafia „Muusikaelu Tallinnas 18. sajandil”³ on põhjalik uurimus muusikaelu eri tahkudest läbi 18. sajandi, milles muu hulgas käsitletakse muusikute institutsiooni ning kodanliku muusikakultuuri kujunemist ja arengut. Kõigi väitekirjade arvustused ilmuvad käesolevas numbris.

Loetelu EMTA muusikateaduse osakonna varasematest publikatsioonidest on koos tutvustustega üleval ka kooli kodulehel (www.ema.edu.ee) rubriigis „Publikatsioonid”. Nende muusikateadlaste publikatsioonid, kes osalevad Eesti ametlikes teadusprojektides ja/või töötavad õppejõududena kõrgkoolides, saab internetist kergesti kätte kas ETISest või vastavate kõrgkoolide aastaaruanne- test.

¹ Eesti Muusika- ja Teatriakadeemia Väitekirjad 7, Tallinn: Eesti Muusika- ja Teatriakadeemia, 2016; www.ema.edu.ee/vaitekirjad/doktor/Aare_Tool.pdf.

² Eesti Muusika- ja Teatriakadeemia Väitekirjad 8, Tallinn: Eesti Muusika- ja Teatriakadeemia, 2016; www.ema.edu.ee/vaitekirjad/doktor/Brigitta_Davidjants.pdf.

³ Eesti Muusika- ja Teatriakadeemia Väitekirjad 9, Tallinn: Eesti Muusika- ja Teatriakadeemia, 2017; www.ema.edu.3/wp-content/uploads/2017/05/Heinmaa_Muusikaelu-Tallinnas-18.-sajandil_Vaitekirj.pdf.

AUTORID/AUTHORS

MIMI DAITZ oli City College'i (City University of New York) muusikaosakonna dotsent. Ta jäi ennetähtaegsele pensionile, et lõpetada raamat Veljo Tormise elust ja teostest ning juhatada Riverdale'i lauluseltsi. Lisaks eesti muusika uurimisele ja sel teemal publitseerimisele uuris ta palju aastaid prantsuse laulu ja oli Gabriel Fauré laulude täieliku, kriitilise väljaande kaaskoostaja. Viimasel ajal on ta jätkanud riikliku põgenikest muusikute abistamise komitee (USA) tegevuse uurimist.

MIMI DAITZ was an Associate Professor at the Music Department of The City College (City University of New York). She took early retirement to complete her book on the life and works of Veljo Tormis and to direct the Riverdale Choral Society. In addition to her research and publications on Estonian music, she worked for many years on French song, and was co-editor of the complete, critical edition of Gabriel Fauré's songs. More recently she resumed work on the National Committee for Refugee Musicians (USA)
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BRIGITTA DAVIDJANTS õppis muusikateadust Eesti Muusika- ja Teatriakadeemias (doktorikraad 2016), kus ta töötab praegu lektorina; ta on õppinud ka Jerevani Komitasi nim. konservatooriumis ning Ankara ja Helsingi ülikoolis. Ta uurib, kuidas luuakse ja hoitakse alal kultuuripoliitikat, kuidas esitletakse „armeenlaslikkust“ ja kuidas võib muusika olla seotud rahvusliku enesemääratlusega, geopolitikaga ja ebavõrdsete võimusuhetega.

BRIGITTA DAVIDJANTS studied musicology at the Estonian Academy of Music and Theatre (PhD 2016), where she is now a lecturer; she has also been on study visits to the Yerevan State Conservatory and to the Universities of Ankara and Helsinki. She examines how cultural policy is created and preserved, how 'Armenianness' is presented, and how music can be related to the self-identification of a nation, geopolitics and unequal power relations.

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ANU KÕLAR kaitses 2010 doktorikraadi ja on Eesti Muusika- ja Teatriakadeemia muusikateaduse dotsent. Tema uurimisvaldkonnad on Eesti muusikalugu, muusikalookirjutuse, k.a. muusika kui kultuuri-praktika ajaloo metodoloogilised küsimused, kultuurimälu problemaatika ja muusikabiograafia.

ANU KÕLAR, PhD (2010) is Associate Professor of Musicology at the Estonian Academy of Music and Theatre. Her areas of research are Estonian music history, and methodological questions of music history writing, including cultural music history, collective memory and musical biography.

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MARK LAWRENCE on Inglismaal Bristolis tegutsev vabakutseline helilooja, dirigent ja teadlane. Ta on õppinud muusikat ja saksa filoloogiat Bristolis ülikoolis ning muusikateadust Rhian Samueli käe all Londonis City University's, kus kaitses 2013 väitekirja Veljo Tormise koorimuusikast. Lawrence on kirjutanud palju kooriteoseid, läbi viinud mitmeid suuremahulisi haridus- ja ühiskondlikke projekte. Ta on laste ooperiprojekti Music Box Children's Opera Group ja lastekoori Cosmos Children's Community Choir asutaja ja juht ning grupi CoMA (Contemporary Music for All) Bristol muusikadirektor.

MARK LAWRENCE is a freelance composer, conductor and independent researcher based in Bristol, UK. He studied Music with German at Bristol University and Composition and Musicology with Rhian Samuel at City University, London, where in 2013 he completed a PhD on the choral music of Veljo Tormis. Lawrence has written many choir works, and has undertaken many large-scale education and community projects. He is founder-director of Music Box Children's Opera Group, Cosmos Children's Community Choir, and music director of CoMA Bristol (Contemporary Music for All).

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JANIKA ORAS on Eesti Kirjandusmuuseumi alla kuuluva Eesti Rahvaluule Arhiivi vanemteadur ja õpetab Eesti Muusika- ja Teatriakadeemias pärimuslaulu. Tema doktoritöö (2008) oli pühendatud eesti vanema laulutraditsiooni esitajatele ja tema uurimisvaldkonnad on eesti rahvalaulu esitus ja esitajad, samuti rahvalaulude kogumislugu. Ta on toimetanud rahvalauluväljaandeid ja juhtinud nende avaldamise projekte, sealhulgas eesti regilaulude andmebaasi.

JANIKA ORAS is senior research fellow at the Estonian Folklore Archives of the Estonian Literary Museum, and teaches traditional singing at the Estonian Academy of Music and Theatre. Her doctoral dissertation (2008) was dedicated to the performers of Estonia's older singing tradition, and her fields of research are the performance and performers of Estonian traditional songs, as well as the history of folklore collection. She has edited Estonian traditional songs and overseen projects for their publication, including the Estonian runic songs' database.

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JAAN ROSS lõpetas Tallinna Riikliku Konservatooriumi 1980. aastal *cum laude* muusikateadlase ja pedagoogina. 1988 kaitses Ross kunstiteaduste kandidaadi väitekirja Leedu Riiklikus Konservatooriumis ning 1992 psühholoogiadoktori väitekirja Turu Åbo Akadeemias. Aastast 1995 on ta Eesti Muusika- ja Teatriakadeemia professor. Rossi peamiseks uurimisvaldkonnaks on muusika taju ja tunnetuse ning muusikahelide objektiivse kirjeldamisega seotud probleemid. Alates 2009 on ta Euroopa Kognitiivsete Muusikateaduste Ühingu (ESCOM) juhatuse liige ning 2009–2015 oli Eesti ülikoolidevahelise kultuuriteaduste ja kunste doktorikooli juht.

JAAN ROSS graduated from the Tallinn State Conservatoire in 1980 *cum laude* as a musicologist and a teacher. In 1988, he defended his candidate of arts degree at the Vilnius State Conservatoire and, in 1992, his PhD in psychology at the Åbo Akademi University in Turku. Since 1995 he has worked at the Estonian Academy of Music and Theatre as a Professor. His research interests include problems of music perception and cognition as well as the objective description of musical sounds. Since 2009 Ross has been a member of the Executive Council of the European Society for the Cognitive Sciences of Music. In 2009–2015 he was the head of the national Graduate School of Culture Studies and Arts.

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HELENA TYRVÄINEN õppis muusikateadust Columbia ülikoolis New Yorgis, École Pratique des Hautes Études'is Pariisis ja Helsingi ülikoolis Soomes (doktorikraad 2013). Helsingi ülikooli õppejõu ja teadurina on ta spetsialiseerunud transkultuurilistele küsimustele, Soome-Prantsuse ning Prantsusmaa ja Põhjamaade muusikalistele suhetele, kultuuripealinnade rollile ja soome helilooja Uuno Klami (1900–1961) muusikale. Ta on välja andnud mitmeid teaduslikke antoloogiad, olnud Soome Muusikateaduse Seltsi juhatuse liige. 1994–1998 osales ta uurimisprojekti „Prantsusmaa Põhjamaade muusikas 1900–1939“. Enne muusikateaduslikku karjääri õppis ta Helsingi Sibeliuse Akadeemias klaverit ja oli enda asutatud Keski-Helsingin Musiikkiopisto direktor ja klaveriõpetaja.

HELENA TYRVÄINEN studied musicology at the Columbia University, New York, the École Pratique des Hautes Études, Paris, and the University of Helsinki, Finland (PhD 2013). A researcher and lecturer in musicology at the University of Helsinki, she specialises in transcultural questions, Finnish-French and Franco-Nordic music relations, the role of cultural capitals, and the music of the Finnish composer Uuno Klami (1900–1961). She has edited academic anthologies, and has been a Board member of the Finnish Musicological Society. In 1994–1998 she participated in the research project “France in Nordic Music 1900–1939”. Before her musicological career she studied piano at the Helsinki Sibelius Academy, and was director and piano teacher at the Keski-Helsingin Musiikkiopisto (Music School of Helsinki-Centre), which she founded.

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ANDREAS WACZKAT õppis muusikateadust ja teoloogiat Berliini Tehnikaülikoolis ning Berliini Vabas Ülikoolis. 1987–1991 õppis ta ka muusikateooriat Berliini Kunstide Ülikoolis. 1992–93 oli ta teaduslik assistent Paderborni ülikooli muusikateaduse osakonnas, 1994–2004 Rostocki ülikooli omas. Seal omandas ta 1997 doktorikraadi ning 2005 habiliterus. 2008 sai ta Göttingeni ülikooli korraliseks professoriks. Ta on läbi viinud mitmeid külalisseminare, sh. mitmeid Eesti Muusika- ja Teatriakadeemias.

ANDREAS WACZKAT studied musicology and theology at the Technical University and the Free University of Berlin. From 1987 to 1991, he also studied music theory at the Berlin University of the Arts. From 1992–93 he was research associate at the Department of Musicology at the University of Paderborn and from 1994 to 2004 at the Department of Musicology at the University of Rostock. There he received his doctorate in 1997 and his post-doctoral qualification (‘habilitation degree’) in 2005. In 2008 he was appointed full Professor at the University of Göttingen. He has held several guest lectureships, including several at the Estonian Academy of Music and Theatre, Tallinn.

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