# 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

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.<sup>2</sup>

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 selfawareness, 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.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> 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).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> 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.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> 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, <a href="http://www.consilium.europa.eu/en/press/press-releases/2017/01/31-tusk-letter-future-europe/">http://www.consilium.europa.eu/en/press/press-releases/2017/01/31-tusk-letter-future-europe/</a>> (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 academic 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. Muusikalookirjutus 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-

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.

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 (halfsecretly 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. 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

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 vet 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 guestion 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 wideranging 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 Velio 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 reailaul 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 guite 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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