RES MUSICA

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Eesti Muusikateaduse Seltsi ja Eesti Muusika- ja Teatriakadeemia muusikateaduse osakonna aastaraamat

Res Musicale avaldamiseks esitatud artiklid retsenseeritakse anonüümselt
kahe vastava valdkonna asjatundja poolt.

All articles submitted are reviewed anonymously by two experts in the field.

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Saateks

Eesti Muusikateaduse Seltsi ja Eesti Muusika- ja Teatriakadeemia (EMTA) muusikateaduse osakonna aastaraamatu Res Musica esimene number ilmus 2009. aastal. Selle eessõnas rõhutas tollane peatoimetaja Urve Lippus (1950–2015) ühe eesmärgina väljaande rolli „olla eesti muusikateadlaste jaoks kõige laiemaks foorumiks". Seda funktsiooni on Res Musica tõepoolest täitnud. Seni ilmunud üheksa numbrit sisaldavad 35 artiklit eesti autoritelt. Samas on peetud tähtsaks tänapäevaste angloameerika suundade, aga ka saksa ja vene muusikateaduse traditsioonide sünteesimist nii eesti kui ka välisautorite uurimustes. Välismaistelt teadlastelt on ilmunud 36 kirjutist. Kõik kokku niisiis 71 artiklit, millele on eelnevalt oma hinnangu andnud retsensendid, ning siis on jätkunud hoolas ja täpne toimetamistöö Anu Schaperilt. Alates kolmandast numbrist on kujundustööd teinud Maite-Margit Kotta. Kaetud on muusikateaduse põhivaldkonnad: muusikateooria, muusikalugu, etnomusikoloogia, samuti kognitiivne muusikateadus. Üks aastaraamat käsitles muusikateatri eri aspekte ja üks oli pühendatud Urve Lippuse mälestusele. Igas numbris avaldatakse tähtsamate muusikateaduslike trükiste arvustusi ning väljaande lõpetab Eesti Muusikateaduse Seltsi tegevuse kroonika. Seitsmendast numbrist peale on Res Musica peatoimetaja Toomas Siitan.

Juba mainitud eessõnas peeti oluliseks ka eestikeelse muusikateadusliku diskursuse arendamist. Seetõttu on eriti tähtis, et eesti muusikateadus on avatud mitmesugustele valdkondadele ning uued uurimisväljad leiavad toetust. Res Musica kümnendas numbris, mida käes hoiate, on peateemaks popmuusika ja loomepõhine uurimistöö. Mitmed autorid analüüsivad muusika ja muusikute kaudu ka sooaspekti. Aastaraamatu kaante vahel käsitletakse neid valdkondi esmakordselt.

Algtõuke selliseks valikuks andis Kultuuriteaduste ja Kunstide Doktorikooli raames EMTAs 19.–20. aprillil 2017 toimunud rahvusvaheline seminar „Sugu ja seksuaalsus (post)sovetlikus/(post)sotsialistlikus muusikas, kujutavas kunstis ja teatris" („Gender and sexualities in the (post)Soviet and (post)Socialist music, theatre and visual arts"). Seda kureerisid soo- ja muusikasotsioloog Hannaliisa Uusma ja muusikaloolane Kristel Pappel. Seminar koondas ühisele arutelule nii tudengid kui teadlased, kelle teadustöö fookuses on kirjeldada ja seletada soolisuse ning kunsti kaudu laiemaid ühiskondlikke väärtushinnanguid, norme ja nähtusi (pärast)nõukogudeaegsetes ühiskondades. Seminaril astusid üles vene popmuusika uurimisele pühendunud Stephen Amico (Bergen), pungiuurija Yngvar B. Steinholt (Tromsø), performatiivsuse ning soouuringute professor Tiina Pursiainen Rosenberg (Stockholm ja Lund), kunstiajaloolane Harry Liivrand (Tallinna Ülikooli Akadeemiline Raamatukogu), kuraator Rebeka Põldsam (Kaasaegse Kunsti Eesti Keskus) ning antropoloog ning filmirežissöör Terje Toomistu (Tartu Ülikool). Lisaks toimusid välkettekanded doktorantidelt.

On suur rõõm, et seminar inspireeris postsovetliku pop- ja folkmuusika teemadel ka kirjutama. Muusikablogides arutatakse, et läänemaailma *underground*-popist on peavoolu trendide osaks tõusnud norme nihestav ja irooniline (ka soonormide kontekstis), postsovetliku plokkmaja esteetikaga poisi/tüdruku artistikuvand. Hea näide on ka meie oma Tommy Cash, kellest kirjutab Res Musicas intrigeerivalt Berliini muusikateadlane Matthias Pasdzierny. Eesti hiphopi teemadel kirjutab ka USAs resideeriv eesti muusikateadlane Triin Vallaste, kes keskendub subkultuuri ajaloole ja selle glokaliseerunud olemusele Eestis. Folkloristid Andreas Kalkun ja Jaanika Oras avavad seto laulikute poolt nõukogude ajal poliitilistel teemadel loodud laulude tagamaid. Nende unikaalne teemakäsitlus võtab luubi alla seto laulikute poliitilised, ühiskondlikust positsioonist lähtuvad, sealhulgas ka soolistatud valikud loomingulises eneseväljenduses. Käesolevas numbris kirjutab ka antropoloog ja filmitegija Terje Toomistu, kelle dokumentaalfilm „Nõukogude hipid" (2017) pälvis kriitikutelt ja publikult palju kiitust. Res Musicale kirjutatud artiklis jätkab Toomistu Nõukogude Liidu hipide, tollaste psühhedeelsete lillelaste teemal, täpsemalt „kummalisest vibratsioonist" ja rokkmuusika mõjust raudse eesriide tagusele hipiliikumisele, nende meie-identiteedi kujunemisele.

Loomepõhise uurimuse kaasamine väljaandesse aga johtus rahvusvaheliselt järjest kasva-

vast tähelepanust sellele valdkonnale. Loomepõhine uurimus (*Artistic Research*) ühendab endas kunstipraktika ja refleksiooni oma tegevuse üle, mis on sõnastatud, lahti mõtestatud ja kirja pandud ning seeläbi ühiskonnale vahendatud. Ka siin läheb vaja teoreetilist konteksti ning sobiva uurimismeetodi väljatöötamist. Samuti on vajalik uurijale iseloomulik distants uuritava suhtes. Loomepõhise uurimuse eripära on aines, st. uuritakse loomeprotsessi, kuhu uurija ise on kaasatud; eelöeldust tulenev subjektiivsus, mis aga on teadvustatud mina-positsioon; uurimistulemus võib olla nii individuaalne kui ka üldkehtiv, olulisel kohal on kogemused ja eriala põhjalik tundmine; uurimine on tihedalt seotud loominguliste projektidega. EMTAs valmis esimene loomepõhine doktoritöö 2004. aastal, sealt peale on kaitsnud oma uurimistööd 34 muusika- ja kaks teatridoktoranti. Valisime nende seast kolm tööd, mille autorid kirjutasid nüüd oma uurimuse põhjal aastaraamatusse artiklid. Helilooja ja arvutimuusik Christian M. Fischer käsitleb *live*-elektroonika üht otsustavamat küsimust – kuidas edastada adekvaatselt nii muusikuile kui ka publikule oma muusikalisi ideid teose esitamisel animeeritud muusikagraafika (AMG) näol. Mihhail Gerts analüüsib dirigendi tegevust ansambliprobleemide ennetamisel, tuginedes oma teatritöö kogemustele, ja toob esile abistavad mõtlemismudelid. Oma kogemusi reflekteerib ka pianist Kristi Kapten, analüüsides valmistumist György Ligeti rütmi poolest äärmiselt nõudlike klaverietüüdide esitamiseks.

Käesolev Res Musica on ajalooline, sest sisaldab esimest korda Eestis teadusartikleid popmuusikaidentiteetidest, milles käsitletakse vähemal või rohkemal määral ka soolisuse aspekti. Artiklid ilmuvad inglise keeles, et uurimustes peegelduv tõeliselt unikaalne, postsovetlikku kultuuriruumi peegeldav ja loomeuurimuse aspekte avav teadmine ka rahvusvahelise lugejani jõuaks.

Oleme väga tänulikud Res Musica toimetusele, kes nägi seni marginaalsete valdkondade avalikkusele esitamise vajadust ja perspektiivi. Suur aitäh väga asjatundliku ja sujuva koostöö eest tegevtoimetajale Anu Schaperile, kujundaja Maite-Margit Kottale, illustraator Kärt Hammerile ja teravapilgulistele retsensentidele. Ingliskeelne kogumik poleks valminud ilma Richard Carri toimetamis- ja tõlkimistööta, ka talle tänulik kummardus.

Kristel Pappel
Hannaliisa Uusma

Editors' Preface

The first issue of *Res Musica*, the yearbook of both the Estonian Musicological Society and the musicology department of the Estonian Academy of Music and Theatre (EAMT), was published in 2009. In its foreword Urve Lippus (1950–2015), the then editor-in-chief, claimed that one of the goals of the journal is "to become the widest forum of Estonian musicology". This function has been admirably fulfilled by *Res Musica*. The nine issues of the journal contain altogether 35 articles by Estonian authors. At the same time, it has been considered important also to combine these with current Anglo-American, German and Russian musicology traditions. Non-Estonian researchers have contributed 36 articles. The total, therefore, is 71 peer-reviewed articles, edited diligently and with care by Anu Schaper. Since the third issue the layout of the journal has been designed by Maite-Margit Kotta. The major areas of musicology that have been covered include music theory, music history, ethnomusicology and cognitive musicology. One issue dealt with different aspects of musical theatre, and one was dedicated to the memory of Urve Lippus. In each issue reviews of major musicology publications are published, and the issue ends with the chronicles of the activities of the Estonian Musicological Society. Since the seventh issue the editor-in-chief of *Res Musica* has been Toomas Siitan.

In the above-mentioned foreword to the first issue, developing Estonian language musicology discourse was deemed essential. Therefore it is vital that Estonian musicology is open to various disciplines and that new research fields are supported. In this, the tenth issue of *Res Musica*, the main themes are popular music and artistic research – all of which are topics that are discussed for the first time in the yearbook. Some authors also analyse aspects of gender through music and musicians.

The impetus for this choice came from the international graduate seminar *Gender and sexualities in the (post)Soviet/(post)Socialist music, theatre and visual arts*, held at EAMT within the framework of the Graduate School of Culture Studies and Arts on 19th-20th April 2017. This was curated by gender and music sociologist Hannaliisa Uusma and music historian Kristel Pappel. The seminar brought together both students and researchers who in their academic work focus on describing and explaining via gender and arts wider social values, norms and phenomena in (post-)Soviet societies. The seminar witnessed presentations by Stephen Amico (Bergen) researching Russian popular music, Yngvar B. Steinholt (Tromsø) researching punk, Tiina Pursiainen Rosenberg, Professor of performativity and gender studies (Stockholm and Lund), art historian Harry Liivrand (Academic Library of Tallinn University), curator Rebeka Põldsam (Center for Contemporary Arts Estonia), and anthropologist and film director Terje Toomistu (University of Tartu). There were also presentations by the doctoral students.

We are grateful that the seminar inspired scholars to write on post-Soviet pop and folk music. Music blogs discuss how an ironic and norm-defying artistic (and gender) image of a boy/girl with a post-Soviet apartment house aesthetic, which arose out of the Western *underground*-pop, has become a part of the mainstream. A good example of this trend is the Estonian Tommy Cash, whose art is intriguingly described by Berlin musicologist Matthias Pasdzierny. Triin Vallaste, an Estonian musicologist residing in the US, writes about Estonian hip-hop, focusing on the history of the subculture and its glocalised nature in Estonia. Folklorists Andreas Kalkun and Jaanika Oras open up the hinterland of songs on political themes by Seto singers during the Soviet period. Their unique approach concentrates on the political and gendered creative choices of Seto singers emerging from their social status. One of the contributors to the present issue is anthropologist and film maker Terje Toomistu, whose documentary *Soviet hippies* (2017) was highly acclaimed by critics and ordinary viewers alike. In her article in *Res Musica* Toomistu continues the theme of Soviet hippies, those psychedelic flower children, focusing on "strange vibrations" and the impact of rock music on the hippie movement and the creation of their sense of togetherness behind the iron curtain.

The decision to include artistic research in this issue emerged from the ever-increasing international interest in the field. Artistic research combines artistic practice with reflection on one's

artistic activities, which are articulated, analysed and recorded, and thus mediated to society. Here, too, it is necessary to elaborate on the theoretical context and a suitable research method, as well as on the distance between the scholar and the research subject. The specificity of artistic research is its subject – namely the creative process with which the researcher is engaged in person. This brings in subjectivity, but this is acknowledged as an I-position, and the research may bring forth both individual and general results. Artistic research is closely connected with creative projects, so that experience and a thorough knowledge of the field are required. In EAMT the first artistic research PhD dissertation dates from 2004, and since then 34 PhDs in music and 2 PhDs in theatre have been defended. From those we have selected three theses whose authors have written articles based on their research for this issue of *Res Musica*. Composer and computer musician Christian M. Fischer discusses the crucial issue of live electronic music – how to adequately convey one's musical ideas, both to musicians and to the audience, when performing them in the form of musical motion graphics (MMG). Mihhail Gerts analyses a conductor's activities in preventing ensemble problems based on his work in opera, and presents supporting mental models for this. Pianist Kristi Kapten too reflects upon her experience by analysing her preparation for performing György Ligeti's piano études, which are rhythmically extremely demanding.

The present issue of *Res Musica* is historic because for the first time in Estonia it contains academic articles on pop music identity in which gender aspects are touched upon. All the articles are in English, so that the truly unique knowledge of post-Soviet cultural space as well as the wider perspectives of artistic research might reach an international audience.

We are deeply grateful to the *Res Musica* editorial board, who recognized the need to present such hitherto marginal areas to a wider audience in order to promote a broader discussion of such important topics. Our sincere thanks go also to managing editor Anu Schaper, designer Maite-Margit Kotta, illustrator Kärt Hammer, and the diligent reviewers for their professional and smooth co-operation. The English language journal would not have been possible without Richard Carr's translations and editing, for which we are very grateful.

Kristel Pappel
Hannaliisa Uusma

Such a Strange Vibration: Rock Music as the Affective Site of Divergence among the Soviet Estonian Nonconformist Youth

Terje Toomistu

Abstract

While Timothy Leary was preaching "Turn on, tune in, drop out" in the late 1960s in the United States, young people in the Soviet Union were practising another kind of tuning in. Radio Luxembourg and other foreign radio signals leaked through the Iron Curtain, bringing with them "the strange vibration" that sparked new social arenas and affective engagements. Iconic hippie-era albums were illicitly distributed, copied on reel-to-reel tapes, and exchanged within the networks of music lovers. In Soviet Estonia a distinctive rock music scene evolved.

Rock music was the key source and the means of divergence for the nonconformist youth of Soviet Estonia, many of whom identified as or were connected to the hippies. The radically different sound of psychedelic rock prompted ecstatic states of mind and triggered new imaginaries. The affective engagements with music created a sense of connection with the global pop culture and youth movements and, ultimately, fostered the sense of an imaginary elsewhere. Since these engagements diverged from the predominant discourses, and the Soviet authorities often regarded them as dangerous for societal well-being, the affectively loaded practices and experiences of music guided the youth to redefine their relationship to the daily reality and ideology of Soviet life. Hence, the rock music milieu became the site in which certain affects (interest in rock music), affective states of mind (*kaif*) and expressions (practices of style, artistic languages) fostered the agency of the nonconformist youth by creating a space of sensory divergence.

> *I was listening to the Beatles singing from the sky – really nice voices! It was like the voices of the Beatles, but not their song. Something much more beautiful. It was unbelievable.*
>
> Vladimir Wiedemann

Introduction

The hippie movement, which culminated in the U.S. with the legendary Summer of Love in 1967 San Francisco and the Woodstock Festival in 1969, had a lasting effect on the youth in the Soviet Union. Influenced by the limited knowledge about global youth movements and western rock music that leaked through the Iron Curtain, as well as being inspired by various spiritual traditions, a counterculture of flower children developed in the Soviet Union (see for example Risch 2005; Zhuk 2008; Mikailienė 2013; Wiedemann 2013; Fürst 2014; Toomistu 2017; *Soviet Hippies*, 2017). Asking a Soviet hippie how they had become a hippie would most often receive the simple response: "Through music." With its power to create new social arenas and stimulate affective imaginaries and enactments that significantly deviated from mainstream society, rock music was the key source and the means of divergence.

In this paper I focus on the role of music among nonconformist youth in the late-Soviet period in Estonia. While I draw on sources of oral history and materials up until the early 1980s, the argument I propose considers specifically the narrow period between the late 1960s and mid-1970s. This coincides with the emergence of the Soviet hippie movement and precedes the era when rock music carved out its intermittently tolerated – if not actually promoted – position in the Soviet cultural milieu, as evinced by phenomena such as touring rock groups and the vinyl releases of locally produced as well as Western rock by the official Soviet record label Melodiya (see e.g. Cushman 1995). I regard the formation of the youth counterculture in Soviet Estonia as the simultaneous effect of external influences and the local socio-political context. While the hippie movement in Soviet Estonia manifested a global cultural flow of transnational origin, the particular socio-political context conditioned its distinctive enactments. These enactments produced a common ground for commu-

nication with kindred spirits locally and across the urban Soviet Union which expanded through the 1970s into a subcultural network often referred to as *sistema*, which translates from Russian as "the system." On the one hand, the hippie movement in the Soviet Union illustrates the global cultural flows in which different media have enabled the formation of rhizomatic (Deleuze, Guattari 1987) communities with "no sense of place." However, the engagement with rock music and the occasional representations in the official Soviet media, not to mention the bootlegged media depicting the youth countercultural movements in the West, led towards a collective envisioning that surpassed the mere acknowledgement that their contemporaries in the "free world" were rocking in the spirit of "Make love not war," enabling the formation of distinctive subjectivities in their own right. The available materials and scattered information, the emerging social networks among music lovers, occasional concerts and festivals, as well as the sense of the eternity of state socialism (Yurchak 2005), provoked certain imaginaries and sensitivities that were in direct contrast with the outside world and which ultimately formed a constitutive part of Soviet Estonian nonconformist youth subjectivities from the late 1960s onward.

Inspired by insights from affect theory, I refer to the affective engagements that rock music and the social life around such music stimulated as the "strange vibration", with reference to Scott McKenzie's iconic song from the American hippie era, "If you're going to San Francisco." For many of those who participated in my research, this song was one of the most memorable sources of reference to the hippie movement in the West. I use "the strange vibration" to mark the shared affects among the nonconformist youth that formed their site of divergence, ultimately becoming their "politics of the unpolitical."[1] The influence of Western music on Eastern rebellion during the late-Soviet era has been explored in several earlier studies (e.g. Cushman 1995; Yurchak 2005; Troitskii 2007; Woodhead 2013). However, the role of affect in practices of music consumption among Soviet youth have not been explicitly addressed before. By providing a specific analysis through the lens of affect and demonstrating how affect may relate to human agency, this paper offers a contribution that helps to reconsider the nature of the resistance of the late-Soviet youth.

In poststructuralist feminist thinking, agency is not understood as arising only in the negative paradigm of subjectivation, but societal norms can be performed and experienced in various ways. Following Saba Mahmood (2011: 18), agency should not be conceptualized "simply as a synonym for resistance to relations of domination, but as a capacity for action that specific relations of *subordination* create and enable" (emphasis original). Thus the specific forms of agency are always embedded in the context of their appearance. While the Soviet hippies escaped the normative assumptions about *Homo Sovieticus* they were simultaneously inscribed to different sets of norms, e.g. what they imagined a hippie to be like in the West or what had become normative within their own community. But they also used the forms of resistance that the specific relations of subordination to the Soviet state allowed them.

To make sense of the subjectivities of the late-Soviet nonconformist youth, who in retrospect often frame their activities as passive protest or ignoring resistance, I have turned to the insights from affect theory. Affect places emotion and dynamism in bodily matter in the foreground when discussing body, culture and subjectivity (Clough 2010). Affect arises in the midst of in-betweenness (Seigworth, Gregg 2010: 1) and marks the intensities or stickiness (Ahmed 2010) in relationships between bodies, discourses, or even historical-cultural formations. Emerging between two bodies, or between bodies and the world, affect is also crucial in the production of collective identities and affinities. The hippie era youth in Soviet Estonia, who were inspired by the knowledge of the global hippie movement and enjoyed good tunes, had a radically different intensity of sensitivity compared to the generation that preceded them and the rest of Soviet society. They believed more, they loved more, and their life was in the hands of a loose concept of *kaif,* which roughly translates as ecstatic pleasure. It was certainly a highly heterogenous group of people, but if there was something they shared, it was the sense of simply *feeling* more. Hence, I regard the Soviet

[1] I have borrowed this term from the historian Gordon Craig (1995), who used it in his study of 19th century German writers.

nonconformist youth as a community most profoundly bounded by shared affect: the bodily intensity in their experiences, activities and mindset. Music, of course, played a central role in the affective milieu of the Soviet hippies. In the following pages I will demonstrate how the affective engagements with rock music that involved specific sensorial experiences, social activities and artistic self-expression provided the youth with their site of agency and fostered divergence.

As already mentioned, the nonconformist youth in Soviet Estonia was a highly heterogeneous and amorphous group of people. There were those who identified as hippies, who more or less actively participated in the *sistema* network, engaged in certain lifestyles and style practices, and disengaged from the conventional social norms of the Soviet Union. On the other hand, there were substantially more people who passionately related to the rock music scene but simultaneously accomplished their studies, professional commitments and participation in Komsomol (the Young Communist League); or who engaged with the hippie circuits temporarily; or who balanced their life skilfully between the officially approved and the underground milieus, as, for example, did many artists, musicians and composers. In the context of this article, I refer to the subjects of my study as both the hippies and the nonconformist youth and sometimes use these terms interchangeably. While I acknowledge the differences between their respective subject positions, these differences nevertheless do not significantly affect the main argument in this paper regarding the role of music as the source and the site of divergence.

The article is based on an independent anthropological research project with which I have been involved since 2011. As part of a wider transmedia documentary project,[2] I have conducted lengthy interviews with eighteen individuals from the generation born between 1939 and 1963 in Estonia and seventeen others from Russia, Latvia, and Ukraine; this paper, however, relies mostly on the material collected in Estonia. Approximately half of the research participants in Estonia and all the participants in the other countries considered themselves as hippies, participated actively in Soviet hippie social networks for a large part of their adult life, and often still do. The other half of the Estonian research participants were musicians, artists and writers who were influenced by the late 1960s "hippie era" and who, in turn, influenced others with their creative work and spirit. Most of the interviews were filmed; for those which were not, audio recordings were made. In addition, I worked extensively with visual archives (mostly from private sources, but also film archives), engaged in many shorter conversations and online communication with people associated with the Soviet hippie culture, and relied on digital oral history as well as on material from the state archives. In the pages that follow, in the first section I elaborate on the theoretical framing of the argument, describing the nonconformist youth in Soviet Estonia as a community of shared affect that was based on their engagements with the imaginary elsewhere and which drew them into mimetic communication with their imagined counterparts in the West as well as with each other. This is followed by four shorter ethnographically driven sections on the rock music milieu. First, I elaborate on the individual affective experiences of engaging with rock music, giving attention to the notions of empowerment, connectivity, love, and *kaif*. Next, I continue to describe the social arenas that developed around the rock music phenomena, specifically the networks of record exchange and live music events. Then, I provide a brief overview of some examples of the ways in which "the strange vibration" was meaningfully expressed in artistic languages. This is followed by discussion of the material in relation to the reactions of the Soviet authorities and mainstream society, which often regarded the affective engagements with the rock music scene as dangerous for societal well-being, while at the same time also posing the question of whether and how these activities can be seen as a form of resistance. I conclude with the suggestion that the affective engagements

[2] The research has also resulted in a feature-length documentary film *Soviet Hippies* (Estonia, Germany, Finland 2017), which I directed, as well as the multimedia exhibition *Soviet Hippies: The Psychedelic Underground of the 1970s Estonia* that I co-curated and exhibited in the Estonian National Museum in 2013, in Moderna Museet in Malmö, Sweden in 2014, in Uppsala Konstmuseum in Sweden in 2014, in Presentation House Gallery in Vancouver, Canada in 2014, in Red Gallery in London, U.K. in 2016, and in GalerieKUB in Leipzig, Germany in 2018.

with rock music provided the youth their site of agency, mainly by serving as the statement of disengagement from the Soviet discourses and reality and by stimulating the sense of internalized elsewhere.

The shared affect of the nonconformist youth

Compared to the rest of the Soviet Union, Estonia was known for its relatively relaxed atmosphere and higher exposure to Western influences, especially through its contacts with Finland and and its access to Finnish television (Miil 2013). Due to these impressions, Estonia was often dubbed as the Soviet West (Risch 2015). During the Khrushchev Thaw (1956–1964) a substantial number of beat bands emerged in Estonia (Salumets 1998). However, the stagnation that accompanied Brezhnev's rule (1964–1982) and the cultural repressions that soon followed the emerging hippie aesthetic among the late 1960s youth, further marked by the events of 1968 in Prague, fostered the burgeoning of a youth culture which deliberately distanced itself from the Soviet ideology, prevailing societal norms, and the approved practices of youth culture.

In Soviet Estonia, the first individuals to associate themselves with hippies appeared in the late 1960s, but the movement lasted throughout the late Soviet period and involved several generations. By the mid-to-late 1970s, the growing network of alternative youth across the urban Soviet Union had developed characteristics of a subculture,[3] with phenomena such as communal activities, extensive face-to-face communication, elements of style, a distinct slang language, and its own social spaces. In larger cities, certain places emerged where the hippies could find others who shared their views and who could be recognized by their attire and manners. Information about gathering places and music festivals was shared between them, as well as the addresses and phone numbers of other people who were associated with *sistema*. The emerging social network made it possible to travel to another city and immediately find social support and a place to stay. From the mid-1970s it became a tradition to gather in Tallinn on the first of May, which marked the beginning of the hitch-hiking season. One of the first hippie summer camps in 1977 was also held in Estonia, in Viitna. Yet among the wider circuits of nonconformist Soviet youth, Estonia was prevalently known for its distinctive rock music scene, which drew visitors from near and far.

Hippies, both in the West and in the Soviet bloc, positioned themselves against the established order. In the U.S. the established power structures were intertwined with rigid ideas about race, gender, class hierarchy, family model, morals, and colonial power and institutionalized order; in the Soviet Union they were more likely to be associated with authoritative discourse, morals, militarism, censorship, cultural repressions, and proclaimed atheism. These were the dominant power structures that the hippies were keen to resist. Most commonly, the starting point of divergence for these young people was the influence of western rock music, as, for example, in the following experience of Vladimir Wiedemann:

> At the age of twelve or thirteen I already started doubting the school propaganda and the superiority of the Soviet reality and power. That was the starting point for me. Being a little bit different. The rock music: Woodstock sessions, rock 'n' roll, The Beatles, The Rolling Stones, etc. The hippie movement started. I knew about it from early on. First from the radio, then there were publications in the Soviet media. They criticized hippies a lot, described them as completely crazy – strange clothes and protest against the capitalist society. Basically it was a protest against the well-established system. That was also the case in the Soviet Union. We couldn't protest against capitalism, because we didn't have it here. But we had the same bureaucrats, red-necks and just very box-headed people. (Vladimir Wiedemann, born 1955, Tallinn).[4]

Wiedemann's recollection underlines the core of their struggle, seeing these subjectivities as a protest against the established system and acknowledging that this struggle differed from their western counterparts inasmuch as there was a difference between their respective dominant ideo-

[3] In the sense of e.g. Stuart Hall and Tony Jefferson (1990) and Dick Hebdige (1979).

[4] Interview with Vladimir Wiedemann, September 2, 2012, Tallinn. Most interviews were conducted between 2012 and 2015, various informal communications and a few more interviews followed until 2018.

logies. This, however, would not necessarily lead to a conceptualization of the hippies as a group bounded by political protest. The nonconformist youth in Soviet Estonia opposed the Soviet norms through various means of self-expression, but they did not share a clear oppositional stance, and nor were they actively – let alone strategically – protesting against the state. They differed considerably in their involvement in artistic or social activities, spiritual practices and critical thinking about politics. Yet there is still something that united these people and marked their difference from the rest of the society. Juliane Fürst (2014) has emphasized the distinctive emotional style of the Soviet hippies, how they "wanted to feel differently by looking different from the 'grey masses'" (ibid.: 585). Their activities could be described as an emotional practice rather than a "political movement." Elaborating on Fürst's stance, I regard the Soviet hippies and the wider circuit of nonconformist youth as a group driven first and foremost by certain affective engagements. Nevertheless, as I will show, this emotional practice was the site of their agency as a form of sensorial divergence from the societal norms.

Drawing on the insights from the affect theory on the dynamics of embodiment and subjectivity, I consider the Soviet hippie subjectivity as deeply ingrained with the affective craving for an imaginary elsewhere. The imaginary elsewhere encompasses not only its associations with the *zagranitza*, the Imaginary West that is well described by Yurchak (2005) as the archetypal manifestation of the unattainable west, yet at the same time a constitutive element of late Soviet reality. The imaginary elsewhere also contains the realms of altered and ecstatic states of consciousness, dreams, fantasies and spiritual quests – all of which formed a substantial part of the Soviet hippie lifestyle. The imaginary elsewhere as an elsewhere within holds the transcendent experiences that the hippies pursued through spiritual practices, the use of psychedelics and, most likely, through the sensory experiences generated by the fuzzy and distorted sounds of psychedelic rock music.

Affect plays a central part of the lived experience of the imaginary elsewhere, as it encloses the sensory intensity, the intersubjective relation between the idealized, exciting and ecstatic other and the material here and now. In the framework of affect theory, a body is webbed in its relations, pulled beyond its surface-boundedness through affective encounters, which eventually compose a body (Seigworth, Gregg 2010: 3). In a Spinozan-Deleuzian sense, subjectivity can be perceived as an "envelope of possibilities" rather than a fixed individual organism (Gibbs 2010: 187). The engagements with the imaginary elsewhere provide the means to open up one's body for perpetual becoming and consequently distance oneself from the material reality, their "fixed" subject position, allowing the subject to emerge in a perpetual space of becoming. The Soviet hippies wanted to lift their bodies from their daily environment, to deterritorialize (Yurchak 2005: 114–116) their subjectivity from the space and time of the Soviet reality. They wanted to be in constant movement towards the promises and the potential of the imaginary elsewhere. Seigworth and Gregg (2010: 3) have noted that affect is driven precisely by its promise, its "not yet". Since the elsewhere to strive for is imaginary, it is always a promise rather than the actual and material here-and-now. Yet this promise was precisely the key that captivated the nonconformist youth in Soviet Estonia, and while engaging with this promise, this "strange vibration" from elsewhere, the internal deterritorialization from the Soviet reality which surrounded them already took shape. Subsequently I argue that the affective experience of rock music fostered the drive for the imaginary elsewhere. The shared affect as "the strange vibration" in turn resulted in distinctive social and also artistic practices. While Soviet authorities often considered these affects as dangerous for societal well-being, the affective promise in rock music ultimately guided the youth to redefine their relationship to the Soviet daily reality and ideology. In the next section I describe the processes of affective divergence in the rock music milieu in the cases of subjective sensorial experiences, social networks and live events, and in artistic languages.

Turn on, tune in… the radio, and then, drop out

While in the late 1960s in the United States, the former professor of Harvard University, Timothy Leary, was preaching "Turn on, tune in, drop out," which was meant to encourage the young to counter the existing social conventions through the use of psychedelic drugs, the youth in Soviet Estonia saw another kind of "tuning in." Radio

Luxembourg and other foreign radio broadcasts kept people updated not only with events, but also with the new trends in music elsewhere in the world. For Estonia especially, the access to Finnish television was a key source of divergence. Young minds were captivated by the iconic hippie-era albums mostly from the U.K. and the U.S., which were illicitly distributed, copied on reel-to-reel tapes, and exchanged within networks of friends. Generally, information about rock music reached the young through foreign radio channels that were accessible in the medium or short wave radio spectrum and which, despite their low sound quality, were greatly appreciated. Apart from the Voice of America and some Swedish and Finnish radio channels, Radio Luxembourg was possibly the most popular of these. Estonian rock musician Gunnar Graps even dedicated a song to it, calling the channel "the spiritual kitchen of pop life" (Ornament "Radio Luxembourg", recorded ca. 1973–1974).

Classic hippie albums were listened to countless times at private or collective listening sessions. A young man laying on his bed in a student dormitory with headsets on and a vinyl player at his side would have been a familiar picture for many who witnessed student life in the 1970s. The Tallinn home of Aare Loit (born 1953) was often the site for collective listening sessions:

> We played music on a tape or record player, settled in a comfortable position and just let go. Only some basic indispensable phrases interrupted it. The rest was just music. You could close your eyes. Some just stared at one point. You could, but it was certainly not compulsory to use something in order to get in the right mindset. The music alone was enough.[5]

Loit's recollection illustrates the powerful affective quality of this music – something that made the group of friends sit still, close their eyes and go with the flow of the music. Despite the often rather low sound quality of the re-recorded tapes of western rock and the fact that they usually did not understand the lyrics in English, the previously unheard sound of psychedelic rock with its distorted fuzzy guitar sound and extended solos affected the minds and triggered the imagination in remarkable ways. "Such a strange vibration" is how Aksel Lampmann[6] (born 1955) described his first experience with the western sound, shaking his body to illustrate his point.

Not less significant was the fact that this sound was coming from a world unknown to them, from the often idealized West. Together with the snippets of information that leaked through the Iron Curtain – bootlegged band photographs, magazine articles, foreign radio broadcasts that depicted the hippie movement, the Woodstock festival and the rock music scene in the West – as well as the few articles published in the Soviet media often condemning the decadent western youth, the radically new sound shook their collective consciousness, made them vibrate, and came to signify a promise. "The strange vibration" stimulated the imagination of a different world, a sense of individual freedom, and a more natural, peaceful and love-driven state of mind. The music provoked sentiments of wildness, sacredness or otherworldliness that seemed to be absent from the proclaimed Soviet ideology and morals. Ultimately, it gave the youth some sense of empowerment:

> You don't need to know the lyrics to reach the feeling of security. The joy of exploration that you put into music. It somehow reaches you. And you start spreading that sense of security. It gives you confidence in your own choices. (Riho Baumann, born 1952, Tallinn).[7]

> I've been wondering what fascinated us [in music]. It's not easy to put it into words. It's the feeling that transcended logic, and simultaneously carried some kind of uniting power. (Aare Loit).[8]

An important part of the excitement about rock music was the sense of connectedness to the global pop culture and the subsequent experience of an imagined community (Anderson [1983] 2006) with the global youth movements. The "uniting power" that Aare Loit refers to signifies this sense of participating in the global pop

5 Interview with Aare Loit, January 4, 2013, Tallinn.

6 Interview with Aksel Lampmann, May 30, 2015, Tallinn; interview conducted during a visit to St. Petersburg.

7 Interview with Riho Baumann, January 4, 2013, Tallinn.

8 Interview with Aare Loit, June 29, 2015, Tallinn.

culture and being tuned in with "the strange vibration."

The vast affective influence of western rock music over Soviet youth cannot be considered without considering the significance of the Beatles. It was the The Beatles' *Sgt. Pepper* album (released in 1967) that Loit was listening to non-stop for days until his mother became severely concerned and decided to check the mental health of her 15-year-old son at the psychiatric hospital. The circulation of the Beatles albums from the late 1960s sparked Beatlemania in the USSR, and this lasted for decades (Safonov 2003; Woodhead 2013; Valme 2014; Anton 2015). The Beatles came to signify the life and pop culture of the free world in the West (Valme 2014), and thus gave the youth a sense of participation in the global pop culture. The Beatles were singing about non-violence and love, which were already radically potent ideas against the backdrop of the militaristic and authoritarian Soviet context. Hence, a different sense of connection to reality was triggered – the kind based on the notion of love:

> Then came the purity of being. You can use different labels, but it arrived. It is here and ongoing. But you won't find some big book on it. There is no exam you can take. You can't read up on it. It's just some essential quality. You can't fake it. My grandmother somehow managed to teach it to me. "All You Need is Love" by the Beatles – regard everything with love. It doesn't mean hitting someone on the head if they don't love you. By relating to the whole existence with love, you'll reach a genuine connection with it. (Riho Baumann).[9]

In these profound affective experiences, a shifting stance towards Soviet ideology was embedded. In Aare Loit's opinion, the Beatles' albums *Sgt. Pepper's Lonely Hearts Club Band* and *Magical Mystery Tour* stimulated his imagination in quite the same way as LSD, unavailable in the USSR, would have done. The fuzzy and distorted sound of the Beatles, the Rolling Stones and other significant bands triggered the minds to travel to unknown dimensions. One of the key slang words among the hippies and others was *kaif* – this is a loose concept that signifies things that feel good, whether in music, ambience, sex or drugs. In other words – things that hold an ecstatic, fun, enjoyable quality. It is the ultimate pleasure; *kaif* is "the high." Emphasizing the importance of sensorial pleasure, *kaif* became one of the central notions that shaped the practices and lifestyles among the hippies. The rock music that made your body vibrate and your mind wander to unknown regions was certainly perceived as *kaif*. Yet the fuss surrounding the American rock musical *Hair* (premiered in 1967), which marked the start of the new *Age of Aquarius*, triggered the discourse of New Age in Soviet Estonia. This led to a growing interests in Eastern religions, mysticism, meditation, and yoga.

Hence, by triggering imagination and signifying a promise, western rock music, with its mesmerizing fuzzy guitar drive, had a profound affective influence over the young. Their affective engagements with music, which were tied to the notions of empowerment, love, and *kaif*, as well as to a sense of unitedness with the western youth movements and participation in the global pop culture, provided a means of breaking away from the daily reality imbued with Soviet ideology, authoritarian discourses and morals. However, it is important to note that while rock music was the most prominent site for these experiences, they were not strictly limited to rock music, but could also be induced by early electronic music and blues, as well as Indian classical music.

Social networks of record exchange

The passion for western music and the desire to experience more of this "strange vibration" generated active social networks of record exchange and re-recording. In the early days, Western vinyl records travelled into Soviet states through relatives who lived abroad or through those who held powerful positions in the state apparatus and had a chance to travel outside the USSR; but as time went on more and more black market connections developed through sailors and through contacts with Finns, especially after the hotel Viru was opened in 1972 in Tallinn (see also the documentary film *Viru. Vabaduse saatkond*, 2013). Harju hill became a location known for illicit record exchange. Already by the late 1960s there was an active social scene around the circulation of Western vinyl records. Since the price of

9 Interview with Riho Baumann, January 4, 2013, Tallinn.

an original record was relatively high compared to average salaries, they were often bought and shared among groups of friends, and usually re-recorded countless times on reel tapes. A tailor based in Tallinn, Aleksandr Dormidontov (born 1950), attracted not only those who fancied a pair of bellbottoms, but also who desired to delve into his collection of western records:

> Russian melodies and records from the socialist states – I didn't even consider them to be records. It had to be Apple, original records. I had over a hundred of them. I could afford it. A couple of days of sewing and I could already buy a record. I had quite a big collection. And a tape recorder as well. When people came to borrow a record, they would bring one in return. I recorded it, the other person recorded the one he received and then brought it back. That sort of fiddling. There were people who went door to door to get records in order to copy them and collect music, because it was hard to come by.[10]

In these social circuits, a specific knowledge developed – not only about the rock music scene in the West, but also about the technologies for copying vinyl on to reel-to-reel tape and about the people who also collected foreign records. An active member of the experimental and progressive rock bands Psycho and Radar, Paap Kõlar (born 1954) describes it thus:

> The records travelled from hand to hand. "What have you got?" "I'll get *Led Zeppelin IV* next week. What can you offer in return?" That's how it went. We developed thematic underground social networks. Musicians and instrumentalists interacted. "He has a great tape collection. He's got everything." Others wanted it too. "Make me a copy. Hendrix Experience! Make me a recording. On wide tape, 19.5 cm/s, you'll get better quality."
>
> Tapes were hard to get. Everything was hard to get. We'd get things under the counter. Someone's aunt worked at a record store, we used to check every week whether something had come in. "I got some tape! Some new Russian variety, gives higher frequencies, 12 000 cycles. OK, let's record at 19 cm/s, not 19.5. We'll use more tape, but the quality will be decent."[11]

Benson (1987) has suggested that by the mid-1980s around 80% of Soviet youth were participating in the networks that served for the exchange of foreign and locally produced rock music. While probably exaggerated, this bears witness to the claim that the rock music milieu, affected by western music, had gained wide popularity in the late Soviet period. However, it should be noted that besides the affective qualities of the music, which was the main reason for the flourishing social networks and knowledge surrounding the music and record exchange, these practices were also used as a statement of status and differentiation among the youth. The as yet not readily available features of western rock music made it significantly more desirable for the young, and the opportunity to participate in the global pop culture gave a sense of satisfaction that boosted the social status of the participant.

Live music events

Music also functioned as an important social scaffold beyond the circuits of record exchange: bands had their regular rehearsals, and concerts and open-air music festivals drew audiences from near and far. Estonia soon became known for its innovative rock music scene[12] among the networks of hippies and music lovers across the Soviet Union. On April 28, 1968, a "guitar ensemble recital" took place at the Kosmos cinema in Tallinn featuring five bands. This has been regarded as the first rock music festival in the Soviet

10 Interview with Aleksandr Dormidontov, June 30, 2013, Tallinn.

11 Interview with Paap Kõlar, June 18, 2012, Hiiumaa.

12 Other emerging influential collectives which used experimental, psychedelic and prog rock elements in their repertoire were Kooma (with the charismatic singer Joel Steinfeldt), Meie (experimental band with vocalist Tajo Kadajas and guitarist Kalle Vikat), Psycho (improvisational collective with Paap Kõlar on drums and Andres Põldroo on guitar), Mess (often claimed to be the Soviet Union's first progressive rock band formed by then 17-year-old Sven Grünberg), Ornament (with lead singer and drummer Gunnar Graps), and Suuk (psychedelic rock band from Tartu which stood out for its collaboration with Aleksander Müller).

Union for which the authorities issued a permit (Kiwa 2013; see also *Kosmos '68*). In 1972, a music festival was organized in the small town of Elva in southern Estonia, which has been seen as a "hippie festival". The rare Super8 film footage by Heino Maripuu[13] from the Elva festival shows the crowds of young people dancing and rocking in ecstasy by the open-air stage. There was also a series of rock concerts in Pärnu in 1970–1971. The most memorable of these was the so-called Pärnu Flower Party, when the entire stage was covered with flowers that the organizers had picked from the neighbourhood gardens the previous night.[14] In Tallinn, concerts were regularly held in the hall of the Tallinn Polytechnic Institute. Throughout the 1970s, festivals took place in Viljandi. Later on, from 1979 through 1991, a rock festival, Tartu Music Days, was held annually in Tartu. At the end of the 1970s and in the early 1980s, a series of semi-clandestine rock festivals took place on Saaremaa island, located in the Soviet Union's strictly guarded border-zone. These concerts and festivals were significant sites that affectively engaged with "the strange vibration."

For example, one of the very first psychedelic rock bands in the Soviet Union, Keldriline Heli (which translates as "the cellar-like sound" – a name inspired from Brian Epstein's book *A Cellarful of Noise* (Jõela 2014)) was established in 1970 in the basement of the Tallinn Polytechnic Institute (currently the Tallinn University of Technology). As noted by Margus Kiis (2013), the band modelled itself on the classic hippie band from San Francisco, Jefferson Airplane. Their songs relied on psychedelic structures and metaphorical lyrics. They also emphasized the spectacular nature of their shows. For example, at their concert on March 26, 1971, the stage was covered with candles and the hall filled with balloons (Jõela 2014). One of my research participants describes the concert in highly emotional terms, as if "the whole crowd was breathing together that night." Recalled in such specificity several decades later, it underlines the affective promise of something *more* that the band succeeded to deliver and which impacted the audience in meaningful ways. The influence of the show did not remain unnoticed by the authorities, since the group was banned from performing in public after that gig, but for a while they continued under a different name,[15] Vänt-orel. At other times these events led someone to join the hippie milieu. Pille, from Tartu, recalls her first impression with the hippies as a child witnessing Tartu Music Days, which some years later drew her into the movement:

> The long hair – I saw this hit during the Tartu Music Days, when the whole Town Hall Square was multi-coloured with the long-haired guys. I was 12 and just on my way home from children's art school. The system always seemed dull, so I was trying to find ways how to be the least useful for this system and eventually I chose art school.[16]

Within the network of *sistema*, the image of the Estonian rock music scene was also cultivated, which in turn often made these festivals the sites for hippie socialization. Youth from all over the Soviet Union travelled to Estonia to experience its rock music scene; visitors from as far afield as Vladivostok have been recalled. A few days before the beginning of Tartu Music Days, for example, the locals made phone calls to Riga, Moscow and Saint Petersburg, and apparently that was enough to get the crowds moving towards Estonia.[17]

As in various other fields of cultural production in the Soviet state, there was no total ideological control over the music scene. Rather it depended extensively on the particular personal preferences or methods of those in ruling positions (Remmel 2014). The freedom to play cover songs of the western bands depended on the particular circumstances of how much the venue's manager was personally invested in rock music or on the extent to which they were willing to risk. Many influential bands, most prominently Ruja, had a see-saw relationship with the authorities, sometimes being banned from performing, at

13 A copy of Heino Maripuu's footage is with the author.

14 Interview with Herbert Murd, January 30, 2013, Tallinn.

15 Changing the name of the band used to be a common strategy by musicians who were banned from performing in public.

16 Interview with Pille, February 2013, Tartu.

17 Interview with Peti, February 2013, Tartu.

other times having an album released by Melodiya (Garrie 2013).[18] The authorities also kept a keen eye on the bigger live music events. For example, for the Elva festival in 1972, it has been recalled that the bands from Tallinn were not allowed to perform in order to keep the event smaller. A few years later a concert connected with the students' summer work camp in Võru was supposed to take place, but rumours about another rock music festival quickly spread around various Soviet cities. When groups of hippies appeared, the authorities declared a sanitary day[19] in the whole town of Võru, cancelled the event, and arrested all the long-haired youths.[20] Thus, while the festivals and concerts were mostly happening within a legal framework and under the observance of the officials, they were nevertheless important sites of socialization and self-expression and a source of divergence, as they held within themselves the capacity to spread "the strange vibration." In the next section, I shall provide a brief outline of how some musicians drew on "the strange vibration" in their artistic expression and experienced it as their site of divergence.

Affective drive in artistic languages

The affective states of mind that youth had been exploring, often enough under the influence of western rock music, were also reflected in various forms of locally produced artistic expression, which in turn simultaneously regenerated these affective sentiments for the musicians and the audiences alike. After 1967 (Anton 2015: 23), all groups had to pass an annual qualification in order to acquire a permit to perform in public. For these reasons, as well as others, the political stance of the musicians was usually masked into poetic lyrics, expressive gestures or the elements of style on stage. Yet "the strange vibration" exposed on the stage at these occasions held the power of stimulating a kind of divergence.

In Viljandi in 1976, Urmas Alender, with his band Teravik, was singing expressively "The spike is pointed downwards" ("Teravik on suunatud alla"), while the guitarist Andres Põldroo, standing next to him, wore a T-shirt with the imagery of the British flag. At the same festival, Aleksander Müller, with in his band Suuk, was citing lyrics by the Estonian cult poet Jüri Üdi (a pseudonym for Juhan Viiding) "I'm a junky!" ("Olen narkomaan!"), suggesting the stereotype of a hippie, as a result of which he was banned from performing for the next three months. Keldriline Heli (later Väntorel), in their song "Väsimus", with lyrics by Viljar Rähn, sang "You may think of anything that makes your head go round, but tell the things that please everyone" ("Võid mõelda kõigest, millest pea ringi käib ja öelda hoopis muud, mis kõigil meeldiv näib"), reflecting the intact freedom and ecstatic potential of the mind. For Paap Kõlar, his radical compositions with his band Psycho (a name inspired by Hitchcock's film *Psycho*, which he saw on a Finnish television transmission) were his site of affective divergence:

> We were very protest-minded. So we ignored everything. To begin with, we ignored the minor/major system. Our music was cacophonous or at least modal. And we used modal music all the time, up to the end, even during the Radar period [the band Radar was active in 1978–1987 – T.T.]. But it started with Psycho. Then we tried ignoring the form. Why does a piece of music have to have a form? Let's try making music without form! We experimented with names as well. Tried doing songs without melody or harmony. We made fearless experiments. The more hopeless the surroundings, the more you needed to cocoon yourself in order to do what you wanted. As it turned out, it was possible to remain independent of that crap. Even though everyone around you was in it neck deep, it was possible to be in it and still be actually free.[21]

From the above, it is clear that the forms of his compositions were the means to challenge the

[18] Taking jazz as an example, Yurchak (2015: 165–170) explains vividly the fluctuating relationship of the Soviet state to some forms of cultural production originating from the West, which could be simultaneously criticised, tolerated and promoted.

[19] Sanitary day was a Soviet era concept to take a day off from the normal work flow in an institution, organisation or, in this case, in the whole town, and declare it a day for deep cleaning, inventory or organizational tasks.

[20] Interview with Aleksandr Dormidontov, July 20, 2018, Tallinn.

[21] Interview with Paap Kõlar, June 18, 2012, Hiiumaa.

normative assumptions with regard to the practice of art in the USSR, which in turn made him feel independent and gave him a sense of freedom in this alternate creative space of his own. To take another example, that of the composer Sven Grünberg (born 1956) who, at the age of 17, established the innovative progressive rock band Mess (active 1974–1976): in retrospect, Grünberg considers his work with Mess as a creative laboratory, in terms of both his electronic innovations with the synthesizers developed by Härmo Härm and his incorporation of visual art by Kaarel Kurismaa.[22] The artist sketched his art works inspired by the music while sitting at the band's extensive rehearsals. Kurismaa's psychedelic pop art objects appeared on the stage at Mess concerts, creating a multimedia experience that was unique at the time in the Estonian artistic landscape (Kiwa 2013). The inclusion of electronic music in Grünberg's view, however, also created possibilities for altered experiences of perception:

> The electronic world enables dreamlike states of mind and evokes it in others, a perception of some totally different kind of dimensions. This kind of perception is not awakened by academic music. The academic instruments just don't have this impact on human perception. For example, with electronic music you could begin the sound from almost zero, so that you won't perceive the beginning of it. This creates the opportunity for different perceptions or states of mind to emerge.[23]

Grünberg's revelation underlines the potential of music to trigger affective engagements with the imaginary elsewhere, which gave musicians and audiences alike a kind of feeling of the vast potential of and, essentially, the sense of freedom existing within the dreamlike worlds. The Soviet state apparatus did not perceive this as a serious threat, due to the difficulties in pinpointing the ways in which the abstract forms of artistic expressions may oppose the state ideology. Hence, what many artists as well as audiences could have interpreted as something in line with the notion of psychedelia rooted in the western hippie era was vague and abstract enough for the authorities not to see any sense of threat to Soviet discourses.[24] The main sources of potential trouble for musicians were the lyrics and certain modes of aesthetic/ethic self-presentation.

"Western poison" and the struggle for agency

I have now demonstrated the immense influence of western rock music over the Soviet youth from the late 1960s onwards, which inspired the different sensitivities, imaginaries, emotional and artistic practices that stimulated self-expression and the sense of imaginary elsewhere within. The affective power of these engagements fostered the emerging social networks around record exchange as well as private sessions and public events such as concerts and festivals dedicated to music. While these practices and experiences opened up spaces of deterritorialization (Yurchak 2005: 114-116) with respect to the proclaimed reality of the Soviet system, it is pertinent to ask to what extent these can be regarded as a form of resistance.

In general, the hippies and other nonconformist youth did not intend to strategically subvert the system. Rather they wanted to steer away from society and its politics, which they perceived as stagnating, rigid, and imbued with Soviet state ideology. In the Baltics, the youth usually despised the Soviet state in more or less explicit ways. They also identified politics in narrow terms, equating it with the Soviet political structures such as Komsomol (Young Communist League), the Estonian Communist Party, and communist ideology. Hence, 'politics' *per se* was the last thing they wanted to deal with. Furthermore, as the regime was perceived as so rigid and unalterable, the young did not even envision any possibilities of conversion and change, with or without their political engagement. 'Politics' was merely perceived as boring. Thus, instead of active participation, let alone any protest against the Soviet state, the hippies and other nonconformist youth tried rather to ignore the state and remain invisible –

22 Interview with Sven Grünberg, August 28, 2017, Tallinn.

23 Ibid.

24 Following a similar trend, examples of the creative use of psychedelic sensitivity can be found in several examples of Estonian animation (e.g. the work of Rein Raamat, Avo Paistik, Ando Kesküla) and graphic illustrations (e.g. Aili Vint, Vello Vinn).

"so that they wouldn't touch us, and we wouldn't touch them." (Aleksandr Dormidontov).[25]

Despite the prevailing passivity among those who, in the late 1960s, were most profoundly driven by the desire for self-expression and fun than rather political resistance, the authorities nevertheless regarded the long-haired youth as a threat to societal well-being. This led to the politicization of the hippies and their activities soon after their initial emergence.[26] The public discourse addressing the hippies was often focused on their attire and their lack of participative action. Based on the few available official reports from 1970, the hippies at the time were not seen so much as an ideological problem as an aesthetic or moral problem. An outstanding example of the official discourse on hippies in Soviet Estonia emerges from the report written by Aare Purga, then the Secretary of the Central Committee of the Leninist Young Communist League in Estonia. The letter was addressed to the Central Komsomol League in Moscow and describes the situation of the youth in Estonia:

> In the summertime, young people gather on the streets and other places, and there are lots of so-called "longhairs" among them. Their appearance – long hair, outlandish clothing – and a sloppy manner popularizes degenerate Western "fashions."
>
> During the last two years, but especially in 1969, the habit of imitating Western "hippie" fashions in a vulgar way has increased. Some of the young people have started wearing long hair, which in some cases even reaches the shoulders. The first to adopt these fashions have been the poorly educated[27] constant club goers, including a steadily increasing number of working class young people.[28]

The distinct emphasis on appearances in the letter can be read in relation to the wider practices of regulating bodies. In the context of Cold War propaganda, the authorities framed long-haired young people who engaged with rock music as people who had become infected by Western influences. This use of infectiousness as a powerful metaphor represents certain population groups or certain kinds of affects as infectious agents, and thus as dangerous for societal well-being. Here, the metaphor of infectiousness projected onto some people (such as hippies) or certain "toxic" affects (such as interest in western rock music) functions as an instrument to differentiate between socially approved and disapproved behaviour. The passion for rock music or bell-bottom pants as representative elements of style emanating from the capitalist societies was framed as "Western poison" – that is, stimulated by an affect that was considered toxic. In other words, the authorities perceived the locally emerged hippies as being "different" and thus "deviant," as individuals who could pose a danger for Soviet society because of their "toxicity" – that is their ability to popularize degenerate Western fashions. This discourse resulted in several measures designed to rein in the youth, such as strategic surveillance by the KGB, limits on cultural activities, expulsions from schools, universities and other educational institutions, arrests on the basis of public performances or appearances, and forced treatment in psychiatric hospitals. Hence, from quite early on, but especially from the year 1970 onwards, the hippie movement was essentially politicized as a result of the action and the discourses produced by the Soviet authorities.

This politicization, in turn, made a significant proportion of the nonconformist youth perceive their activities as being indeed in opposition to the Soviet regime, giving them a sense of a mission and strengthening their sense of self as different and divergent. In tandem with the process of a kind of politicization just described, my research participants often frame their subjectivities as being driven by "passive protest" or "ignorant resistance."[29] The regime was considered so all-encompassing and rigid that their active participation or

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25 Interview with Aleksandr Dormidontov, June 30, 2013, Tallinn.

26 Mikailienė (2013) notes the same about the hippies in Soviet Lithuania.

27 In fact, the first hippies were actually the children of the powerful and well-educated families.

28 Document No. ERAF.31.112.52, dated 29th June 1970, National Archives of Estonia.

29 The complex relation between the apolitical intentions of the hippies and external politicization is also discussed by Živilė Mikailienė (2013) in relation to the hippies in Soviet Lithuania, and by Madigan Fichter (2011) with regard to the youth counterculture in Romania.

resistance would either have changed nothing or would have resulted in severe repressions. A popular saying circulating in the hippie crowds was: "It's better to step into shit than into politics!" By the late 1970s, as a result of these various forms of suppression by both the authorities and the wider society alike, the attitude among the hippies became even more escapist. "We don't disturb society and we don't want society to disturb us!"[30] was one of their mottos.

However, these ignorant positions, symbolic practices and even the intense ecstatic sentiments of the Soviet nonconformist youth nevertheless bore a political stance. Essentially, the Soviet hippie identity was linked to the struggle for agency in the Soviet context; they were most vocally craving for "freedom". As Saba Mahmood (2011: 18) noted, agency is not necessarily about opposing the norms, but it can be performed and experienced in various ways depending on what the specific relations of the particular subordination allow. Given the socio-political context of the late-Soviet era, the youth experienced agency in ways in which their subordinate position to the Soviet state and society enabled them to. It would have been unthinkable to organize a protest march on the streets, since the rumours of what had happened in Moscow on June 1, 1971, when well over one thousand nonconformist youth were arrested by the KGB (see *Soviet Hippies*, 2017), or in Kaunas in 1972, after the self-immolation of Romas Kalanta, had reached the notice of the youth in Soviet Estonia. Besides the fundamental principle of the Stalin regime of instilling into the population an implanted fear of being constantly spied upon, the risk of prosecution was real and feared. Hence, the Soviet nonconformist youth used instead the means that were available for them. With regard to subcultures, Dick Hebdige (1979: 18) has stated that their opposition to the hegemonic norms is often not expressed directly, but rather through meaningful practices of style. Even if the hippies did not get involved with politics directly, their symbolic expressions signifying their embeddedness in "the strange vibration" bore their performative agency (Butler 1993), their opposition to the Soviet society, its bleak promise and prevailing norms. Their elements of style were indicative of their embeddedness in "the strange vibration." It was used as their weapon to fight for the freedom of their minds, by spreading it among themselves with their practices of style, face-to-face communication and other social activities, and, of course, with their artistic expression – all of which was perceived by the participants, at least to some degree, as their means of resistance.

Meanwhile, the Soviet authorities' attitude toward rock music went through considerable changes within a rather short period of time during the 1970s, when suddenly some forms of rock and some groups of music were promoted and sponsored by the state. Also, as noted by Cushman (1995: xii), previously "subversive" cultural products from the West were "repackaged" and released by Melodiya for general consumption. The "strange vibration" of the late 1960s and early 1970s that sparked the Soviet hippie movement and created the sensorial space of divergence had already become a much more widely shared sentiment among the youth by the late 1970s. Eventually it was not so "strange" any more at all, but along with the accelerating rock music scene and emerging café culture in Soviet cities, as Yurchak (2005: 126–157) demonstrates, these alternative milieus rather became a constitutive element of late-Soviet reality.

Conclusions

In this paper I have outlined how the air in late 1960s Soviet Estonia vibrated with the exciting wave of the rock music that had leaked through the Iron Curtain, and how young people soon became enchanted by this "strange vibration." The sound of the rock music, whether experienced at a concert, a festival, or at the often ritualized listening sessions, prompted an experience of the freedom of the mind. Soundscapes of guitar effects created the feeling of ecstasy, while the messages of the Beatles stimulated an approach to life based on love. Hence, young people who were inspired by the knowledge of the global hippie movement and enjoyed good tunes developed radically different sensitivities compared to those of mainstream society. Despite the differ-

[30] Interview with Pille, February 2013, Tartu.

ences among themselves, these young people were united by the characteristic that they *felt* more, they shared a kind of affect.

The affectively engaging experiences of the nonconformist youth held the promise and the potential of an imaginary elsewhere, not only in response to the radically new sound of psychedelic rock music, but also because this music was usually produced in the West. The latter created a sense of participation in the global pop culture and the feeling of involvement with the global youth movements of the era. Subsequently, these affective engagements generated distinctive social relations among the youth such as the record exchange networks, as well as the activities tied to the networks of *sistema*. In this light, rock music can be regarded as the key source and the means, and hence, the affective site of divergence for the nonconformist youth of the late 1960s and early 1970s in Soviet Estonia. The paper therefore elaborates on the idea of Fürst (2013) with regard to the emotional practice of the Soviet hippies as well as on Yurchak's (2005) notion of the internal deterritorialization of Soviet reality. Through the affective engagements with rock music, the young people cultivated their internal imaginary elsewhere, the sensorial space of "freedom", the other-side within the Soviet reality.

The Soviet authorities, however, at first treated the affects and enactments tied to rock music as a sign of wildness and as an undesirable influence from the decadent West that might lead to moral decay. As a result, the affective engagements of the nonconformist youth were politicized, which in turn led to various forms of persecutions. In this tense context, the affective engagements along the practices and experiences of rock music became the politics of the unpolitical, in which certain affects (like an interest in rock music), affective states of mind (*kaif*), and expressions (practices of style and artistic languages) were the site of agency for the nonconformist youth in fostering their sensorial divergence. As such, this may be treated as a kind of resistance to the prevailing societal norms. Since these affective engagements represented something much more promising than the dominant Soviet discourses, imbued as they were with authoritarian rhetoric and the ideal of atheism, they held the capacity to create a sense of empowerment in the vast playground of elsewhere within.

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„Selline kummaline vibratsioon": Rokkmuusika kui afektiivne eristumise paik Nõukogude Eesti mittekonformsete noorte hulgas

Terje Toomistu

1960. aastate lõpu Ameerika Ühendriikides ärgitas Timothy Leary noori oma teadvust äratama ja omapäi tegutsema loosungiga „Tune in, turn on, drop out". Samal ajal olid Nõukogude Liidu noored haaratud omamoodi teadvuse äratamisest. Radio Luxembourg ja teised välismaised raadiokanalid imbusid läbi raudse eesriide, tuues endaga kaasa „kummalist vibratsiooni" (*strange vibration*), mis tekitas uusi sotsiaalseid keskkondi ja afektiivseid sidemeid. Põrandaalustes kanalites levisid märgilised hipiajastu albumid, mida salvestati magnetlintidele ning vahetati melomaanidest sõpradega. Nõukogude Eestis kujunes välja iseloomulik rokkmuusika skeene.

Nõukogude Eesti noorte hulgas, kellest paljud identifitseerisid ennast või olid seotud hipidega, oli rokkmuusika põhiliseks eristumise allikaks ja vahendiks. Radikaalselt teistsugune psühhedeelse roki heli tekitas ekstaatilisi meeleseisundeid ja uusi kujutlusi. Olles inspireeritud afektiteooria lähenemistest (Seighworth, Gregg 2010), kirjeldan rokkmuusika stimuleeritud afektiivseid suhteid kui „kummalist vibratsiooni", viidates siinkohal Scott McKenzie märgilisele Ameerika hipiajastu loole „If you're going to San Francisco". Sellest „kummalisest vibratsioonist" sai noorte tunnetusliku erisuse paik ning kokkuvõttes oli see nende mittepoliitilisuse poliitika.

Afektiivne suhe muusikaga lõi ühendatuse tunde globaalse popkultuuri ja noorteliikumistega ning stimuleeris kujuteldava mujaloleku kogemust. Kuna afektiivselt laetud muusika tegemise ja kuulamise kogemused erinesid valdavatest nõukogude diskursustest ning võimukandjad nägid neis sageli ohtu ühiskondlikule heaolule, aitasid need noortel ka suhet nõukogude igapäevareaalsuse ja ideoloogiaga ümber mõtestada. Seega sai rokkmuusika miljööst paik, kus teatud afektid (huvi rokkmuusika vastu), afektiivsed meeleseisundid (kaif) ja väljendusviisid (riietusstiil, kunstiline keelekasutus) toetasid mittekonformsete noorte tegutsemisvabadust (*agency*), luues tunnetusliku erisuse ruumi.

Niisiis käsitlen käesolevas artiklis muusika rolli mittekonformsete noorte hulgas hilisnõukogudeaegses Eestis. Kuigi tuginen suulisele ajaloole ja teistele allikatele, mis puudutavad perioodi kuni 1980ndate alguseni, keskendun kitsale perioodile 1960. aastate lõpust 1970ndate keskpaigani, mis kattub nõukogude hipiliikumise tekkega, ent eelneb ajale, mil rokkmuusika leidis oma – küll sageli vastuolulise – koha nõukogude kultuuriruumis. Nõukogude Eesti noorte kontrakultuuri kujunemist mõjutasid samaaegselt kohalik sotsiopoliitiline keskkond ja globaalsele kultuurilisele voolavusele osutavad välismõjud. Tekkinud ilmingud lõid ühise suhtluspinna sarnaselt mõtlevate inimestega teistest nõukogude linnadest, arenedes 1970ndate jooksul subkultuuriliseks võrgustikuks, millele sageli viidati kui *sistema*'le (vene k. süsteem). Nõukogude hipid olid küll heterogeenne grupp, kuid kui püüda neis midagi ühist leida, oleks see jagatud afekt: teatud kehaliselt tunnetatav intensiivsus kogemustes, tegevustes ja meelelaadis. Mõistagi mängis muusika nõukogude hipide afektiivses miljöös keskset rolli.

Artikkel põhineb iseseisval antropoloogilisel uurimistööl, millega olen olnud seotud alatest 2011. aastast. Laiema transmeedia projekti osana, mis hõlmas dokumentaalfilmi[1] ja rändnäitust,[2] viisin läbi kaheksateist intervjuud inimestega Eestist, kes on sündinud vahemikus 1939–1963, ning seitseteist intervjuud inimestega Venemaalt, Lätist ja Ukrainast. Sellele vaatamata põhineb artikkel peamiselt Eestist kogutud materjalil. Artikli keskse teesi teoreetilist raamistust laiendan, kirjeldades Nõukogude Eesti mittekonformseid noori kui jagatud afektil põhinevat kogukonda, kes püüdles kujuteldava mujaloleku tunde poole. See tekitas mimeetilist kommunikatsiooni (Gibbs 2010) nii nende endi vahel kui noorteliikumistega Läänes. Järgnevas neljas lühemas etnograafilises peatükis analüüsin rokkmuusika miljööd,

[1] *Nõukogude hipid*. Dokumentaalfilm. Režissöör Terje Toomistu, Kultusfilm, Kinematon, Moukka Filmi, 2017.

[2] *Nõukogude lillelapsed: 1970ndate psühhedeelne underground*. Kuraatorid Kiwa ja Terje Toomistu, Eesti Rahva Muuseum 2013, Moderna Museet (Malmö) 2014, Uppsala Konstmuseum 2014, Presentation House Gallery (Vancouver) 2014, Red Gallery (London) 2016, GalerieKUB (Leipzig) 2018.

alustades individuaalsetest afektiivsetest kogemustest psühhedeelse rokkmuusikaga, mida kirjeldati selliste mõistete abil nagu väestumine, ühendumine, armastus ja kaif. Rokkmuusika ümber tekkinud sotsiaalset elu kirjeldades keskendun plaadivahetusringkondadele ja elava muusika üritustele. Samuti annan põgusa sissevaate viisidest, kuidas „kummalist vibratsiooni" rakendati kunstilistes väljendusviisides. Lahates materjali seoses nõukogude võimukandjate ja peavooluühiskonna reaktsioonidega, püstitan küsimuse, kas ja kuivõrd saab artiklis kirjeldatud tegevusi käsitada vastupanuna. Võtan artikli kokku teesiga, et afektiivne side rokkmuusikaga lõi noortele tegutsemisvabaduse ruumi, väljendades nõukogude diskursustest eemaldumist ja stimuleerides seejuures tunnetuslikku mujalolekut.

"Produced by some chemical waste and cum": TOMM¥ €A$H and His Concept of Signifying "post-Sovietness"

Matthias Pasdzierny

Abstract

Artists like Tommy Cash transfer certain aesthetic practices of hip hop such as Eminem's "signifying whiteness" to the context of post Socialist countries and regions. By doing so they create "bastardised" forms of pop culture, inverting the role of the "Eastern European" underdog and cheap imitator of "Western" pop culture into an advantage. Comparable to bands from other transforming societies like the South African Die Antwoord, Cash draws significantly upon aspects of white trash culture, in his case the Russian gopnik style. On the other hand he offers a very hybrid star persona, situated on the borders of "west" and "east", gaining the attention of international as well as Estonian and Russian audiences especially with his meme videos. By doing so he is less a mouthpiece, for example, for the Russophone minority in Estonia, and more a representative of the so-called generation of the Children of the New East, their own collective memories and often liminal identities.

"I'll be post-Soviet 'til I die because those things are really my home." Asked by an interviewer just recently, Estonian rapper and artist Tommy Cash[1] once again had to explain that his own genre invention, "post-Soviet rap", was more than a clever marketing tool. The question had been "Do you feel that [post-Soviet] tag's still relevant to what you're doing, or are you starting to move away from it?", with Tommy Cash replying "I'm one of the guys who's *really* from this place, not just robbing somebody's subculture." (Bulut 2018; highlighting original).

At first sight it seems quite remarkable to read and understand (and also to emphasise) something like "post-Sovietism" as "home", as a subculture, similar to the hip hop (sub)cultures that emerged from urban African American communities in the 1970s and 1980s (which have since been exploited by a mostly white music industry establishment). What would the sub-part of such a construction be, what kind of culture could that be at all, who would belong to such a "scene", and, as regionality is a powerful resource for almost all contemporary hip hop scenes, where would it be located? This paper tries to shed some light on these questions, talking about and scrutinizing Tommy Cash and his work, following the traces of his aesthetics not only in his music and lyrics, but also – perhaps more importantly and specifically – in his visual style as manifested in the vocabulary of fashion, body language and the imagery of his music videos.

"I call it the Detroit side of town" – The Tallinn-Ghetto and Tommy Cash's Hybrid post-Soviet Identities

It would be an act of oversimplification to label Tommy Cash as an Estonian artist (despite the fact that this is exactly what is done everywhere). Born in 1991 as Tomas Tammemets, Cash grew up in Kopli, which was back then a rather neglected, poor district of Tallinn, known mostly as an area of crime and drug abuse.[2] In telling the story of his becoming a hip hop artist, it is particularly this biographical background that delivers the necessary dose of street credibility: "I call it the Detroit side of town, because it's dead. […] It was all tiny, rotting wooden houses and there was always a bad smell on the street. I swear I could spot a junkie from a kilometer and tell you exactly what drug he was on." (Zadeh 2017) Cash's statement recalls the stereotypes of the urban ghetto

[1] The correct spelling of the artist's name would be TOMM¥ €A$H (for an explanation of the name see below). Because it is more easily readable, the simplification Tommy Cash is used throughout the text.

[2] For an insightful view on today's Kopli, including a series of impressive photos, see: http://hiddentallinn.com/kopli-lines/, last access June 30, 2018.

or "hood", particularly in the roughness and "authenticity" of his romanticized birthplace as the creative breeding ground for the entire hip hop culture since its beginnings in the 1970s (Freeman 2006: 188–189). Back then it was the Afro-American communities, where hip hop as "street art" evolved in the ghettos of the big US cities on the east and west coast, that led to another commonplace: that of understanding hip hop as mouthpiece for a (black) ghetto youth, "giving voice to the voiceless, empowering marginalized communities" (Williams 2015a: 6). It would seem obvious to draw parallels here with Tommy Cash's career as a hip hop artist, for he grew up among the Russophone community in Estonia, though not really as part of it (Ubaleht 2016: 38). Historian Meike Wulf recently described how the Russian speaking population in Estonia during the processes of transformation and nation building after independence was driven into the status of a minority:

> Estonian nationalists refused to conceive of their country as a bi-national or bi-cultural one, and instead labelled the Russophone population as a minority, immigrants, settlers, 'aliens' or non-citizens, disregarding the demographic changes since 1940 – namely the hard fact that the Russian-speaking community constituted up to 32 per cent of the total population. (Wulf 2016: 54).

For Wulf, these strategies are directly connected to the rewriting of Estonian history after 1991, which brought the Russophone community into the position as a "negative internal Other" (ibid.: 37), a painful reminder of the "Soviet legacy" (ibid.: 2). Perhaps Wulf's perspective is a little too narrow, as one must surely assume a broad range of perceptions of "otherness" and "selfness" among Estonian people during the post-communism transformation years, be they Russian- or Estonian-speaking (or, like Tommy Cash, both). Nevertheless, most current research outlines Estonian society as characterised "by divisions on ethnic lines and historic memory" (Brüggemann, Kasekamp 2008: 427). In the years after independence relationships between "Estonians" and "Russian Estonians" definitely had some problematic moments, some of which were directly connected to the question of how to deal with the Socialist and Soviet past, with the Bronze Night in 2007 being only the best known example (see Lehti, Jutila and Jokisipilä 2008 and Martínez 2018: 42–45). For the situation of today's Estonia and the generation of the so-called Children of the New East (of which Tommy Cash, by virtue of his age, would be part), historians and ethnologists such as Francisco Martínez describe that "the constitution of Estonian identity and the hegemonic interpretation of the Soviet past is increasingly shaped by late-modern processes and generational change" which "is turning old categories such as postsocialism or Eastern Europe obsolete in Estonia" (ibid.: 201). This includes also different generational memories, for example concerning the 1990s, remembered by this generation not so much as a time of political upheaval but mainly as one of (pop)cultural transformation (ibid.: 203–205; Preiman 2017).

Tommy Cash has never been asked by journalists how he, as a 16-year-old, for example, experienced the Bronze Night, and how this and other incidents of more recent Estonian history and history politics perhaps influenced his work and his self understanding as a post-Soviet artist. As I shall demonstrate below, he does not understand his art as a plain rebellion, as a mouthpiece – in this case of a suppressed Russophone community – nor as a manifestation of a new Estonian or Baltic Russian national or ethnic identity, for example by using exclusively Estonian or Russian language for his lyrics.[3] Instead, in interviews he tries to emphasise the hybridity of his origins, especially when answering English-speaking or Estonian journalists, where he normally calls himself a mix of Estonian, Russian, Ukrainian, and Kazakh origins (Zadeh 2017), describing himself as "hingelt idaeurooplane, CV järgi skandinaavlane, ennekõike eestlane" ("inwardly Eastern European, Scandinavian according to my CV, Estonian first of all"; Ubaleht 2016). In interviews in the Russian language, Cash describes his origins in a more one dimensional way, saying for example that "my parents are Russians – that's where it all came from".[4] However, the "truth" about his family roots

[3] For nationalist pop music in earlier Estonia and hip hop acts of the 1990s who used the Estonian language, see Vallaste 2017: 130, 139.

[4] See his interview for the Russian music website https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=gVMo61_hz84, last accessed October 16, 2018. Thanks to Olá Hoffmann for the translation.

seems still to be rather unclear, a situation intentionally created by Tommy Cash himself. For him, if I may put forward a hypothesis, it seems more relevant to mark the experience of growing up during a post-Soviet era with its idiosyncratic mixture of cultures and styles as a defining moment of his multilayered output as an artist.

"Estonian Eminem" or "Kanye East"? Tommy Cash's development as artist and star persona

In his earliest productions Cash had started to search for his own style in quite familiar ways. After devoting himself to graffiti and hip hop dancing in his teenage years, in 2013 he started to release his first rap tracks and videos via YouTube and other internet channels. At the beginning he played with a rather plain image as an "Eastern" rapper, for example in "Guez Whoz Bak", a track which comes with quite traditional beats (by Estonian producer Robert Niko) and rap techniques and also, compared to the later videos, with a rather plain trash aesthetic (using an East European trailer park as a setting). As explained in the lyrics – and already in a typically rap inversion in the title – "Guez Whoz Bak" is to be understood as the birth hour and introduction of the pop persona Tommy Cash, describing in the punch line not only his significant, pseudo Dalí-like facial appearance ("Guess who's back? Up in the mix with my long brown hair and my big white lips"), but also providing a considerable birth myth rooted in the chaos of post-Sovietness: "The year was grey, 1991, when Tommy got produced by some chemical waste and cum. Scientific project, escaped from Kazakhstan."[5] Besides the trashy setting of the video it is mainly Cash's heavy and cliché-like "Slavic" accent (already implied in the wrong spelling of the title) which delivers the post-Sovietness of the song. It seems as if Tommy Cash here, and also in his later self concept as a rap star, has learned some lessons from former artists of this genre, with Kanye West and Eminem as the most significant influences. Kanye West – for the self-appointed "Kanye East"[6] Tommy Cash – functioned, especially at the beginning of his career, as a role model for a modern, multi-faceted rap musician and "concept artist" of the 21st century who works together, for example, with electronic dance music producers and also crosses into other forms of art and design such as fashion (with Kanye West collaborating very successfully with brands like Adidas). From Eminem Cash took the main approach of "signifying whiteness" and transformed it into something that I would call signifying post-Sovietness. By using this term I make references to Loren Kajikawa's analysis and interpretation of Eminem's breakthrough single release *My name is* from 1999, where he pictures Eminem's successful approach to hip hop as to a great extent designed by strategies of "signifying whiteness" (Kajikawa 2009). Since the end of the 1980s, the term signifying (often also written signifyin') has been used as a description for certain rhetoric and aesthetic elements of indirect communication in-between Afro-American communities and their popular culture,

> whereby [a] speaker builds meaning intended for a restricted audience using signals that only the intended audience will be able to recognize and decode. Signifying may be accomplished through rhyming, mimicry, call and response, repetition, teasing, shouting out (one's name or another phrase), or a variety of other tactics (Jeffries 2011: 18–19).

From the beginning hip hop was used as a key example of a musical culture more or less completely based on signifying, not only in terms of its lyrics but also because "it was founded on the manipulation of pre-existing [musical] material" (Williams 2015b: 206). In the case of Eminem, Kajikawa characterizes how this particular rap artist, after first failing with his attempt merely to imitate Afro-American role models, with his second release – and especially with the corresponding music videos – found ways to invert most successfully the signifying practice of African-American hip hop:

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5 https://genius.com/Tomm-a-h-guez-whoz-bak-lyrics, last access October 16, 2018. Until now, Cash releases his songs only via mp3-streaming formats, therefore no physical recordings such as CDs or LPs of his music exist. As he also does not publish the lyrics of his songs elsewhere (such as on his website or social media accounts), here the lyrics are taken from genius.com, a commercial, crowd sourced media platform for editing and annotating song and hip hop lyrics.

6 See the article "Meet Tommy Cash, the Estonian Rapper Turning Eastern Europe Upside Down" in *Noisey* (Meet … 2015), last access October 16, 2018.

> Parodying common understandings of whiteness, Eminem advanced a white identity both at ease with black culture and humble before it. He also emphasized the contradictions in whiteness, particularly with respect to class, allowing him to recast himself as the ultimate underdog. (Kajikawa 2009: 347).

To reach his goal, Kajikawa notes, Eminem made use of "lyrics, images, and sound" (ibid.: 348). Altogether, the result of Eminem's inverting and modifying hip hop's signifying practices was highly successful and heavily influenced the following generations of hip hop artists.

In the case of Tommy Cash, it seems that the conflicting relationship between "Westerness" and "Easterness", here to be understood as a residuum of the Cold War blocs, functioned as a breeding ground for his creativity. For a long time (and perhaps accompanied by a certain inferiority complex) artists from the former East had mostly tried to imitate the role models of Western popular culture, often merely substituting, for example, their own language (see for examples within Estonian hip hop Vallaste 2017, and for a general history and introduction Miszczynski, Helbig 2017). But since a couple of years ago this paradigm of "self-colonisation" (Mazierska 2016: 2–6) has obviously been shifting. Now artists with great self awareness adhere to their Easterness and post-Sovietness, using and emphasising this particular aspect, in an analogous manner to Eminem in his act of inversion, as a positive element or even as the kernel of their creativity and self-conception.

A telling example of the increasing self-confidence of Russian pop music is the rave band Little Big, which, like Eminem with "white" and "black" stereotypes, works with stereotypes of Russian (popular) culture in a very explicit and ironic way. Since the release of their 2014 debut album *From Russia with love* and, again, especially through their music videos, the band has gained huge attention (some of their videos have reached almost 30 million views on YouTube) and international acclaim. In 2015, for the track "Give me your money" the band collaborated with Tommy Cash, again with music and a video that can be understood as striking examples for signifying post-Sovietness or Easterness, here with a clear Russian connotation. The video begins with Tommy Cash in Tallinn, getting a call in the middle of the night from Little Bigs' Ilya "Ilich" Prusikin inviting Cash "to Russia".[7] After Cash's arrival several clichés of "Russianness" are worked through, with the so-called gopnik (life)style as the real centre of the Russian identity. The hook-line of the song itself ("Give me your money") is already making references to the etymology of this slang word for certain Russian lower class and "white trash" phenomena (one reading of the word "gopnik" is derived from gopstop/street robbery), which already in the 1980s had become a part of Russian, but more recently also of international popular and nowadays mostly meme culture.[8] Tommy Cash's sections of the song's lyrics continue these references: "Three stripes every day, Russian carpets all the way, I squat like Sergey, kayf life, it's a party".[9] As is commonplace, elements of fashion and style (Adidas, Russian carpets), vocabulary (kayf) and behaviour including body language (the so-called Slav squat as at one and the same time an iconic and ironic gesture)[10] are used as symbols for a certain youth and pop subculture; but here it is more about playing with precisely the stereotypes of Western and Eastern popular culture, showing in the end that the post-Soviet people are currently the driving forces behind the further development of former Western pop subcultures like hip hop, punk or rave, as they are, globally, the real outsiders, the people that are more crazy, more excessive, more radical and aggressive, more authentic, and simply have more energy compared to the saturated West. Accordingly, the video of "Give me your money" ends again with Ilya Prusikin on the phone, now dressed very elegantly and situated in a sophisticated apartment in a Russian metropolis (in this way showing the costume and fake character of the former gopnik performance). He speaks in Russian (language seems to play a very

7 https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2uTMTyqQxl4, last accessed October 16, 2018.

8 See Raspopina 2016 for the context and a controversial debate of possibly racist cliché readings of "gopnik style".

9 https://genius.com/14638355, last accessed October 16, 2018.

10 See for example the "Life of Boris" tutorial video "How to squat like a Slav" with more than 6 million clicks: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2-8gsWZqDBM, last accessed October 16, 2018.

important role when it comes to the distinction of between or in- and the exclusion of Eastern or Western listeners) to some mysterious spin doctor about the coming world dominance of Russian (pop) culture: "We showed him [Tommy Cash] everything that was to be shown. Estonia will be afraid of us".[11] Finally, Prusikin calls the next person that has to be convinced of the dominance of the Russian style and popular culture: Eminem.

Besides this adaption of what have been – since Eminem's breakthrough – more or less approved hip hop strategies, in later songs Tommy Cash refers to rather more contemporary influences. For example, in Russia a so-called third generation of hip hop and rap artists, most of them very young, have emerged during the last five years and, by avoiding the old music industry structures and formats like labels or CD and Vinyl releases, gained immense success by communicating and distributing their music only through internet channels and social media such as YouTube, Instagram or VK. By doing so, and also by certain aspects of their aesthetics – for example by playing with more androgynous or queer forms and images of maleness (at least compared to the stereotypes of "the Russian man") or by focusing more on a particular sound and visual appearance than on narrative lyrics or skilful rap techniques – young male Russian rappers like Face or Pharao are in several ways strikingly similar to Tommy Cash and his music, videos and physical appearance (the most significant difference being that their lyrics are in the Russian language).[12] One example of a mixture of these influences with the above-mentioned practices of signifying post-Sovietness is "Leave me alone", a song and video Cash released in 2014 and 2015 respectively as part of the album *Euroz Dollaz Yeniz*. The gritty music of the song, which could be described as goth rap,[13] is mainly based on the slow beat witch house track "Quartz" from the 2014 album *Substances* by the Moscow electronic duo IC3PEAK. The lyrics of the song, including lines like "Stuck in this dump when I should be in Miami",[14] deal with the cliché of the unhappy, outsiderish adolescent, consuming weed and other drugs to escape from boredom and a lack of prospects and dreaming of a better life somewhere else (for example "in Miami", the proto(stereo)type US capital of the hedonistic party, sex and drug lifestyle). On the other hand, the video for the song can be understood as an ironic homage to a youth in post-Soviet Kopli, driven not only by mockery or sarcasm, but rather with its own surrealistic and also, in its morbidity, bizarre and threatening charm.[15] It shows a desperate Tommy Cash as the main character of the video trying to enact for himself a rapper bon-vivant morning, which reaches its climax in a luxury breakfast in a bath tub served by two women. The only problem is that the whole scenery unfolds in the open air among the rotten huts of Kopli, which results in a grotesque visual mashup between stereotypes of rap videos and post-Soviet imagery. The cliché of the ripped rapper meets a rather skinny Tommy Cash doing a workout with dumbbells made out of rims,[16] the cliché open flames of the burning ghetto bins are here the result of the pitiful attempt to get the water in the bath tub warm, the regular bunch of barely dressed young girls is reduced to a young female version of a (maybe

11 Thanks to Olá Hoffmann for the English translation.

12 A short overview of the latest developments in Russian hip hop is given in Johann Voigt's two part series "Rap aus Russland", in *Noisey* (Voigt 2018), last accessed October 16, 2018.

13 Genre names in popular music are always problematic, as they are most often invented by artists, labels and record companies, usually with the help of associated journalists, to create and construct a certain distinction from earlier music, which does not only intend a teleological idea of progress in popular music, but which is used mainly as a marketing and branding tool. See for example, for the EDM (Electronic Dance Music) context, McLeod 2001. Therefore genre names here are only used as simple tools for orientation, and would need to be scrutinized in a broader analysis of Cash's work.

14 https://genius.com/Tomm-a-h-leave-me-alone-lyrics, last accessed October 16, 2018.

15 For a similar interpretation of the video as partly made out of a collective visual memory of a post-Soviet youth in the 1990s, see Motz 2016.

16 An improvised open air gym on the roof of a typical Soviet apartment building in Tallinn is also one of the main locations for the video of Cash's song "Euroz Dollaz Yeniz" from the album of the same name.

Images 1–3. Tommy Cash / Anna-Lisa Himma (executive producer): "Leave me alone", Official Music Video, Estonia 2014, film stills.

drug induced) village idiot and a crazy Russian granny, the rap status symbol Adidas flip flops – maybe fake anyway – are literally stomped into the mud and dirt (Images 1–3).

Cash's most recent releases are more obviously leaving behind the sector of a rather clear post-Soviet aesthetic. In its lyrics the song "Pussy Money Weed" from early 2018 makes a small reference to Soviet popular culture (the children's literature and film character Cheburashka), but the video deals with totally different topics (for example the beauty of handicapped or maimed people) and, in his own words, takes a more "cinematic approach", including for example a dystopian "science fiction" film set (Lyons 2018). On the other hand, Cash's own fashion line was again designed as a very ironical commentary on the current hype of post-Soviet chic trend within the recent collections of some brands, for example by offering Roosiaia Kuninganna hoodies or fake Adidas socks with several variations of incorrect spellings such as adimas, adidag or adidsa.[17]

Tommy Cash: Authentic post-Sovietness or just another international Instagram identity? – Conclusions

If one compares Tommy Cash's – but also, for example, Little Big's – music and, especially, their videos, fashion style and star personae on an international level, one can currently find similar examples of hybridisation or "bastardisation" (Marx, Milton 2011), which here means blending white trash culture into genres and aesthetics like hip hop connoted as black in order to get a "cool" and fashionable form of inverted hipness. The most famous and internationally successful act using this strategy at the moment is the South African rap-rave band Die Antwoord, which has already toured together with Little Big as a support act. Here it is the trash style of the so-called zef – the white trash identity of South Africa similar to the Russian gopnik – that inspires the language, fashion (including the tattoos) and behaviour of the band in the same way as the style of particular "coloured" street gangs in South Africa and African American hip hop does (ibid.: 739–740). "In this case", Marx and Milton recently concluded, "we would argue that, while the artists are not necessarily overtly critiquing whiteness, South Africanness or the government of the day, their personae do construct a valuable commentary on contemporary South African reality" (ibid.: 742). Obviously, questions of "whiteness" and "blackness" do not regularly have the same importance for artists coming from and working in Eastern European countries (for important exceptions, for example in the Ukraine, see Helbig 2014). However, in my opinion, marking and signifying post-Sovietness works in quite a similar manner. This is significant in an international context of pop music and pop culture, where artists from what were for a long time "self colonized" Eastern European countries have, since a couple of years ago, with increasing self confidence offered "bastardised" versions of certain pop genres and aesthetics by inverting their role of international underdogs into an advantage. But the same can also be said of Tommy Cash, within a regional or national, i.e. Estonian, context, where at least parts of the above-mentioned generation of the "Children of the New East" are dealing with new collective narratives about their memories and, at the same time, trying to formulate identities of a new post-post Socialist and post-post Soviet Estonia (Martínez 2018: 225–226). So perhaps the question of the subtitle for an "authentic" post-Sovietness is wrong in itself, if one understands Cash as a representative of this generation. In this context another question should be discussed. Talking about post-Sovietness, Tommy Cash's artistic output is – leaving aside the "Slavic" accent – not particularly characteristic when it comes to the music. It could be a question of the need for more extensive research into whether there are more subtle ways in which the underlying beats and samples make allusions in these directions (for example the outstanding usage of Enya's "Only Time" in Cash's track "ProRapSuperstar"). The playing field, in which Cash is moving with the greatest mastery, is definitely to create iconic and meme-like images and viral videos, which means to be a significant part of the "Instagram era", as he himself put it (Myers 2018). One famous and telling example is a picture of him on a horse getting some junk food at a McDonalds drive through in Tallinn (image 4), which, on the one hand, was commented by

[17] See https://tommycashshop.com/ and Nedelcheva 2018, last accessed October 16, 2018.

Images 4. Tommy Cash as photographed by Estonian photographer Sohvi Viik for *Vice* magazine/*Noisey*, http://www.sohviviik.com/new-page-4/.

himself as a – in his everyday life – totally normal course of action. On the other hand Cash posted it on several social media channels and provoked a lot of commentary about the picture, which was interpreted as a perfect example not only of his own weird style but also of the "craziness" of Eastern people and their behaviour in general. It is probably this particular mixture of post-Soviet imagery and the usage of Western attributes and elements of pop and trash culture that – at least at the present time – give Tommy Cash's art its attraction. In the end it seems that his music, videos and style, in an original (and perhaps not even intended) way, tell a story about post-Soviet lifestyle as being, in many central ways, very similar (or even prototypical) to today's "post-digital" cultural phenomena of mashups and remixes, cultural hacking and forms of plagiarism as an art form. Cultural historians such as Felix Stalder claim that referentiality is the dominant aesthetic strategy of the culture of the digital ("Kultur der Digitalität"), which means taking already existing cultural material (images, texts, fashions, sounds) and recombining it (respectively, its mediatised and digitalised forms) and its supposed meanings in an original way, to produce new meanings and content (Stalder 2016: 96–101). During the 1990s, the post-Soviet countries, with their every day circulating, pirate economy and their DIY aptitude for producing Western media products like pop music and films or computer games on pirate tapes or burned CDs, fake fashion brands etc., and the white trash bazaar-like atmosphere (in Germany xenophobically labelled as "Polenmarkt") for example, could be understood as an early, "analogue" form of recombination, hybridisation and bastardisation. Cash himself recently argued in an interview that "You go to a poor area [in Eastern Europe], there's still a lot of people who are not on Instagram or Facebook, but they look like they're dressed in the latest Balenciaga and Adidas" (Lyons 2018). A hybridity and syncretism of concepts that is also quite similar to those of Tommy Cash was recently delineated by Stephen Amico for contemporary Russian rap and its "porosity of borders" between East and West, already visible in the mixed usage of Latin and Cyrillic letters in the artists names (Amico 2014: 37). Cash, with an

artist's name built by the three main world currencies (TOMM¥ €A$H), rapping in English, and currently even more obviously leaving the realm of a pure music and hip hop artist and reaching out in the direction of concept and visual art and international fashion, is broadening this concept for a totally international Instagram and YouTube audience. He uses post-Sovietness as, at the same time, an authentic as well as a pre-Instragram and therefore original spice in his portfolio of images and styles, but also as an underlying aesthetic concept (of syncretism, cultural clashes, mashups, etc.). Perhaps it is no coincidence that an artist like Tommy Cash, gaining international attention by moving along the ever fluid and constructed borders of "Easterness" and "Westerness", of "post-Sovietness" and "Post-Westerness" (as there is, interestingly, no "Western" equivalent for "post-Sovietness"), comes from and still wants to live in "borderland" Estonia (Martínez 2018: 155–157, 177). At the same time it seems that artists like him make it possible for a country like Estonia and its intermingled population to come to terms with its own political past and history in a playful and popcultural way. At least, a picture of Cash together with American businessman and investor Ben Horoworitz, former Estonian president Toomas Hendrik Ilves and his daughter, nurtures this hope: it shows the four of them squatting on a "Russian" carpet.[18]

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[18] https://www.reddit.com/r/slavs_squatting/comments/4xdzlc/the_president_of_estonia_squatting/, last accessed October 16, 2018.

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„Produced by some chemical waste and cum":[1] TOMM¥ €A$H ja „postsovetlikkuse" tähendustamise idee

Matthias Pasdzierny

Eestist pärit räppar Tommy Cash on juba mõnda aega olnud festivalidel ja sotsiaalmeedia platvormidel, nagu Instagram või VK, ka rahvusvaheliselt väga menukas. Ta ise nimetab oma stiili „postsovetlikuks räpiks". Kuid mida peab ta sellise žanrimääratlusega silmas? Ja kas sellele on võimalik leida laiemaid kontekste, näiteks Eesti ja Ida-Euroopa ajalooline taust alates 1989. aastast, või ka popmuusika ja eelkõige hiphopi üldised ajaloolised ja hetkesuundumused? Et nendele küsimustele vastata, tuleb kõigepealt analüüsida Tommy Cashi enda lansseeritud narratiivi omaenda biograafia, multietnilise päritolu ja sotsialisatsiooni kohta Kopli agulis Tallinnas. Sellest selgub, et Cash peab oluliseks toonitada oma identiteedi „hübriidsust", mis koosneb „eesti", „vene" ja „rahvusvahelisest" osast, juba ainuüksi mis puudutab erinevate keelte kasutamist. Uurides järgnevalt mõningaid tema avaldatud laule ja muusikavideoid ning enesestilisatsiooni staarisiku Tommy Cashina, võib leida paralleele Eminemi „valgenahalisuse tähendustamise" (*signifying whiteness*; Kajikawa 2009) artististrateegiaga. Eminem karikeeris oma nõrka positsiooni valge räpparina 1990ndate USA mustanahaliste hiphopi kogukonnas parodistliku liialduse abil (sealjuures olid ta „käsitööoskused" muusikuna kõrgelt tunnustatud) ja muutis subkultuuri kontekstis nõrga tunnuse sel viisil eeliseks. Seda praktikat jätkavad praegu ühtaegu polariseerivad ja samas mõjukad kooslused, nagu Lõuna-Aafrika *rap-rave-act* Die Antwoord. Ka nemad karikeerivad keskkonnas, mida kujundavad endiselt tugevasti segregatsioon või selle järelmõjud, kunstiliste vahenditega selgelt „valge inimrämpsuga" (*white trash*) seonduvaid tunnuseid (mood, tätoveeringud, keel) ja tõlgivad need erakordselt provokatiivsesse ja ka rahvusvaheliselt arusaadavasse esteetikasse. Sellal aga kui Eminem küll markeerib „musta-" või „valgenahalist" kuuluvust äärmuslikul viisil, seda liialdatult kujutades, kuid põhimõtteliselt õõnestamata, on praeguste artistide, nt. Die Antwoordi eesmärk pigem identiteedikontseptide hübriidsuse ja voolavuse väljatoomine. Kasutatud „rämpsu"-elemendid toimivad sealjuures ennekõike sisu generaatoritena, sisu, mis on lavastatud radikaalselt maitsepiire ja ühiskondlikke tabusid riivavana ja on üldjuhul eelkõige visuaalselt markantne, esitlemaks seda tänapäevaste staarisikute konstrueerimise jaoks kesksetes sotsiaalmeedia kanalites. Sellesse konteksti paigutub ka Tommy Cash. Tema puhul pole siiski keskne mitte rassikategooriate käsitamise küsimus. Hoopis „postsovetlikkuse" aspekti ümber keerleb tema mäng identiteetide, klišeede ja omistustega, nagu ta ise on intervjuudes korduvalt maininud. Nii kannab ta „valge rämpsu" kontseptsiooni üle idaeuroopa või postsovetliku gopniku mehelikkusestereotüübile ja teeb koostööd vene artistidega nagu reivibänd Little Big. Analoogselt Eminemiga esitletakse sealjuures enda popkultuurilist identiteeti – antud juhul idaeuroopa või postsovetlike artistide oma, kes väidetavalt järgivad üksnes lääne eeskujusid – selle klišeelikus karikatuursuses vastupidi eriti produktiivse, originaalse ja autentsena. Samas aga jätab Cash nii nagu Die Antwoordki küsimuse oma kuuluvuse kohta õhku ja orienteerub eelkõige rahvusvahelisele publikule. Nii nimetab ta selgelt lääne ja eelkõige USA eeskujusid (Cash ise mainib sealjuures mh. Kanye Westi) ja teeb ikka jälle koostööd näiteks Suurbritannia artistidega või (ühes aktuaalsemaist projektidest) Saksa kooslusega Modeselektor (kellel on idasakslastena [*Ossi*] samas endal postsovetlik taust). Tugevalt slaavi mõjutustega ingliskeelset räppi kõrvale jättes küünib ka tema muusika postsovetlikkuse aspektist vähe esile. Parimal juhul võib siin leida teatavaid stilistilisi mõjutusi ja paralleele vene räpi noorema põlvkonnaga ja nende *witch house*'i kalduvusega. Nii on ka tema puhul peamiselt lavastus visuaalsel tasandil see, mis näiteks absurdsete fotolavastustega (Cash hobusel McDonald's Drive By's Tallinnas jne., vt. foto 4) või postsovetliku kulissiga vaatemänguliste videote kaudu toob esile selles suhtes märgilise stiili. Kas Cashi

[1] „Valmis tehtud keemiajäätmetest ja spermast" (ingl. k.). Rida Tommy Cashi laulutekstist.

tuleks sealjuures mõista kui Eestis pärast 1989. aastat toimunud rahvuste uue kujundamise protsessi (*nation building*) suhtes kriitilist häält (näiteks venekeelse vähemuse hääletoruna), näib pigem küsitav. Pigem tundub tema kaudu kõnelevat postsoveti-inimeste noorem põlvkond, kes on küll üles kasvanud üleminekuajal, kuid tahavad oma postsovetlikkuse küsimusi lahendada pigem stiili ja popkultuuri territooriumil, kui et lasta endale selles vallas omistada ühetähenduslikke ja kindlaksmääratud identiteete.

Tõlkinud Anu Schaper

"Stalin is a wise man, Lenin was a little bird." On Creating Soviet Folklore in the Seto Region during the Stalin Era[1]

Andreas Kalkun, Janika Oras

Abstract

The article focuses on the creation of songs about Soviet leaders and topical political issues by traditional singers of Setomaa (which is situated on either side of the border between south-eastern Estonia and Russia) during the Stalinist period. The first half of the article deals with the establishing of the concept and practices of creating folklore in the Soviet Union and the adaptation of these in occupied Estonia in the 1940s and 1950s. The cooperation of the singers and folklorists is analysed from the perspective of the "topography of the possible" in the context of a Soviet colonial matrix of power and the modernisation of Seto traditional culture, also including the oral singing tradition and gender roles. In addition to these general processes, details of particular singers' individual experiences are also considered. The analysis of the song texts using the method of close reading focuses on religious and lament motifs, hyperbole, and the "incorrect" interpretations, the latter being based on the traditional religious worldview of the Seto as well as on formulaic language, which diverges from "normative" ideological discourse. The publishing history of the political songs is interpreted from the perspective of cultural appropriation.

The collections of the Estonian Folklore Archives and other memory institutions hold an astounding number of songs, recorded in the 1940s and 1950s, which were composed by Seto women to praise the Soviet regime, Stalin and Lenin, sing about topical everyday political issues, the radical changes that had taken place in rural areas (forced collectivisation, elimination of private ownership, etc.), rejoice over the end of the war and the arrival of peace and the reportedly improved standard of living, or express sadness about Stalin's death.[2] A closer analysis of the origins of such songs reveals that they emerged mostly as a result of commissioning or in cooperation with folklorists or local ideology workers. The existence of these songs has been known, but the closer study of these songs and the context of their emergence has so far been neglected by folklorists.

Soviet journalism and academic literature attempted to give the impression that the political improvisations of Seto women were the natural and free self-expression of the people. For example, folklorists talked about "the ancient Seto *leelo* which has sprung to new life" and adopted Socialist content. On the other hand, the free Estonian diaspora journalists approached the political improvisations of Seto women in the Soviet Union from the clear and straightforward perspective of exploitation. The newspaper articles mention exploitation, putting words in their mouth, and coercion (Fakt 1960: 5; Lte. 1967: 1).

> It is worth noting that the communists have particularly exploited the old *leelo*-singers, among whom Anne Vabarna is the best example; they are told what to say and dragged around the country, all the way to Moscow. Anne Vabarna was already old when Estonia was independent. Now a decrepit person is commissioned to sing *leelo*s to please the authorities (Kihnu 1951).

[1] The research has been supported by the Centre of Excellence in Estonian Studies (CEES, European Regional Development Fund) and is related to research project IUT 22-4 (Estonian Ministry of Education and Research, Estonian Research Council). This study was also supported by the Kone foundation's research project "Omistajuus, kieli ja kulttuuriperintö – Kansanrunousideologiat Suomen, Karjalan tasavallan ja Viron alueilla". The authors are grateful to their colleague Liina Saarlo, and to Ene Kuljus and Mihkel Roolaid from the Estonian Theatre and Music Museum.

[2] The article focuses mainly on the songs created by women because by this period Seto men's singing had become a marginal phenomenon which could be found only in certain areas. Whereas women's songs were performed by both spontaneous and organised choirs, and women's repertoire included a wide variety of songs (laments, archaic ritual songs, lyroepic songs, work songs, etc.), the most dominant songs in men's singing tradition were non-ritual feast songs, which were much less frequently sung. There were, indeed, some Seto men who improvised on political topics, but the focus of this article is the analysis of the rich corpus of Seto women's political songs.

Later the songs were regarded as unambiguously ridiculous or perverse examples of the authorities exploiting less-educated rural women or even as shameful instances of collaborationism. At the same time, a close listening to the recordings and delving deeper into the song texts reveal that the majority of these political "improvisations"[3] are more than simply political ideas converted to songs. Regardless of the fact that the singers had to follow highly specific discursive requirements, this did not mean that they lacked agency. In the cooperation project of political songs, the Seto women undoubtedly occupied the position of author, and despite the attempts of local ideology workers and folklorists to impose on the singers' ideological education, the very specific Seto women's voice still resonates in the majority of the songs. Even though selected formulas from the new ideological discourse (Stalin – Lenin, war – peace, kulaks – the oppressed, former poverty vs. current wealth, collective farms, cultivating virgin soil, innovative technology, electrification, equality, etc.) are used in the songs, most of the formulas derive from traditional Seto singing and they reflect the (religious) world view of these women.

In the following pages we shall explore the political songs created by Seto women in Soviet times, now archived in the Estonian Folklore Archives, focusing particularly on the period of Stalin's rule. Our aim is to delve into the songs in the form in which they have come to us (audio recordings, hand-written notes), studying closely the context of their emergence and of developments in the folklore studies of Soviet Estonia. In our article we will refer to the improvised political songs of the Seto using the term "political songs", or more specifically "political praise songs".

In addition to the songs and the immediate fieldwork notes, the context is created through the use of unique documents, focusing on public and private texts including, in particular, fieldwork diaries and overviews in newspapers as well as correspondence. The article first provides a brief overview of Seto political praise songs before the Soviet period, followed by outlining the developments in central Soviet folklore studies in the pre- and post-war period, and then analyses the influence of Soviet ideas and ideological instruction on Estonian folkloristics.[4] The focus is on the cooperation of Estonian folklorists and Seto singers and the related context. The second part of the article discusses the content of the songs and attempts to explore how the world of Seto women is reflected in the texts using the method of close reading. A more in-depth analysis focuses on religious and lament motifs, hyperboles and the "incorrect" interpretations and errors in the political songs of Seto women. The article concludes with an overview of the publishing history of the political improvisations collected from Seto women that the authors have approached as a form of cultural appropriation.

Predecessors of and prequels to the political songs of the Soviet period

In the Seto region the singing of praise songs, which formed an important part of the political song tradition of the Soviet era, had already developed into a fairly common practice in the first half of the 20th century, before the Soviet period. The Seto used their improvisation skills to communicate outside their community, to make their voice heard and acquire benefits, whereas folklore collectors and other representatives of the urban elite exploited the skill of the Seto singers and forced them to create texts that would coincide with their (and, in more general terms, the modern society's) preconceived notions and serve ideological purposes in various cases of col-

[3] The terms "improvisation" or "improvisational song" have been used by Estonian folklorists to designate the songs that have eluded categorisation under any song "type" (the concept of type is derived from the historical-geographical method, according to which it was the researcher's responsibility to identify the migration route of the songs by comparing texts of the same "type" collected from different places at different times) and are therefore clearly "new" and "authored" and thus effectively not part of the old tradition. The improvisations have usually been characterised as topical or autobiographical and the researchers who have been searching only for archaic songs of stable type have not perceived these as being as valuable as the songs in which the aspect of "creation" is overshadowed by "recollection" or "mediation" (see Kalkun 2015).

[4] The current analysis is inspired by postcolonial Soviet area studies, which help to understand the folklore processes in the context of the colonial matrix of power in societies on the Soviet borderlands, the complex relationships between the centre and the colonised territory, and point out the diversity of subject positions, social experiences and cultural identities inside seemingly uniform social categories (Annus 2017, 2018).

laboration – not only in Estonia, but in Finland as well (e.g., Kuutma 2006).

One model of political praise songs is the register of prayer and gratitude, characteristic of the mythic-magical thinking that was used to communicate with the forces of the otherworld. The more or less improvisational texts targeted at the members of one's own community are associated, for example, with traditional rituals – like death and bridal laments – but also with more mundane communication through singing (Arukask 2003: 151–157). When a prominent outsider came to the village, and was furthermore interested in the songs, it was natural to reflect and interpret this unusual event in a song. For example, in 1887, Estonian folklore collector Hendrik Prants described his surprise when, after saying goodbye to the Seto singers, they started to sing "about my person and activities" (Prants 1937: 238).

At the beginning of the 20th century, the Finnish collector and researcher of folk music Armas Otto Väisänen (1890–1969) played an important role in asserting the value of Seto improvisational songs from the perspective of researchers, the general public and the Seto community; researchers before him had preferred to study traditional texts (Väisänen 1923, 1924; Kalkun 2015).[5] Väisänen's focus was probably supported by his personal experiences from situations where singers addressed him in singing – individual communication through singing is emotionally highly impressive and, as such, is not present in modern Western singing culture. Madis Arukask, in his study of the Seto singing tradition, emphasised that improvisational praise songs are a genre that impacts the audience outside the community much more strongly than the traditional repertoire related to the community's identity (Arukask 2003: 152).

Väisänen actively used the singers' improvisational skills for contemporary political purposes – to shape a Finnish national and common Finno-Ugric identity. For example, in 1916 he had met the brilliant Karelian improviser Matjoi Plattonen from Suistamo, with whom he developed not only a manager-singer relationship but also a close mother-and-son relationship. One of the highlights of political improvisation – but also of Väisänen's role as the manager – was Matjoi Plattonen's song to greet the King of Norway's in Helsinki and the following trip to the 1928 Congress of Finno-Ugric Culture in Hungary, where among other things she performed the song "In Gratitude to Hungary", co-created with Väisänen (Tenhunen 2006: 131–141, 147). Väisänen also initiated the visits of the prominent Seto singers Hilana Taarka, and later Anne Vabarna, to major events in Finland. Taarka, whom Väisänen had already met during his 1913 trip to the Seto region, improvised at the 1921 song festival in Helsinki, addressing the President of Finland (Leisiö 1992: 163–164).

In pre-war Estonia, Anne Vabarna (1877–1964) became a semi-professional performer with a state stipend, and praise songs (including political ones) occupied an important place in her repertoire (Kuutma 2006: 209ff.; Kalkun 2015: 86). As a general community practice, the composing of political praise songs is reflected in a newspaper report of Estonian President Päts' visit to the Seto region in 1935: "you'll stop to listen to a *leelo* choir who, during the 'state father's' visit, quickly gathered at the side of the road to improvise songs of praise and greeting in honour of the rare visitor" (Vana ja uus ... 1935).

Political songs and Soviet folkloristics

Folklore, and especially new folk creation, was assigned special significance during the period of Stalin's rule. Along with this, folklore practices – like other creative activity – were subjected to extremely strict guidance and censorship. The political songs of the Soviet period are distinguished from those of the previous period in that they were created as a result of systematic commissions by the state, the aim of which was to produce creations that would support the ruling regime.

As early as in the 1920s, there emerged political folklore on topical themes in the Soviet Union. The first wave was the emergence of folklore about Lenin after his death, which was created (fabricated), at least partly, in cooperation with experts in tradition and folklore researchers (Panchenko 2005). Such new creation showed

[5] Since Väisänen's interests diverged from the ideas of previous folklore researchers (see footnote 3), he felt that he needed to justify these. He emphasised that a singer's individuality is revealed in the improvisation and this allows observation of the creative process of traditional poetry (Kalkun 2015: 82).

the support of "the broad folk masses", including the politically "immature" peasantry, for the country's politics. Since the position of folklorists in the early days of the Soviet Union was rather unstable (Miller 1990: 6; Olson 2004: 35–37), this new folklore had the potential to justify the work of folklorists. In his study *Folklore for Stalin: Russian Folklore and Pseudofolklore of the Stalin Era*, Frank J. Miller has quoted a remarkable sentence from a 1931 article by Russia's leading folklorist Yurii Sokolov, which formulates the idea of imposing control over folklore and giving political direction to its creators: "In putting into practice the systematic class direction of literature ... it is necessary that, in the oral creations also, proletarian consciousness should subordinate to itself the elemental process" (Miller 1990: 7).

In 1932–1934, folklore was elevated to a special status in the Soviet Union.[6] It is argued that among the reasons for this was the need to strengthen patriotism among Russians in relation to the developing political situation (during this period, Russians became the "leading" nation of the Soviet Union), as well as the need to enhance agricultural productivity (Olson 2004: 38; Slezkine 2012: 89–92). At the All-Union Congress of Soviet Writers in 1934, Maksim Gorky, head of the Writers' Union of the USSR, introduced the principles of socialist realism and emphasised that folklore is the paragon of literature in its simplicity, its accessibility for the masses, and its optimism (Oinas 1973: 46–48 et al.).[7]

The creator of folklore, defined as such, was equated with that of a non-professional author – for example, singers and storytellers were accepted as members of the Writers' Union.[8] Folklore and the creators of "new folklore" received much attention in society: they were written about, their creation was published in country-wide newspapers and books, and they were awarded medals and personal pensions. The state supported large-scale folklore collecting, as researchers and specialists in rapidly developing centres ("houses") of folk creation (*dom narodnogo tvorchestva*) began practical work with non-professional creators and performers, and the activity of folk choirs and folklore groups performing specific staged folklore flourished (e.g. Olson 2004: 41–49).

Estonian folklore studies in the early years of the Soviet occupation

After the annexation of Estonia by the Soviet Union in 1940, Estonian folklorists had to adopt the centralised approach and practices of folklore. Estonian folklore studies of the Stalin era could be tentatively divided into two phases – the relatively superficial adaptation to the folkloristics of the centre up to 1949, and the active attempts to follow the prescribed regulations and direct folklore in the years 1950–1953 (cf. Saarlo 2017b: 29). These phases coincide with the general socio-cultural processes in the Soviet Union and Estonia. The centralised cultural policy was characterised by the tightening of ideological control associated with the Cold War and East-European politics, the beginning of the so-called *zhdanovshchina*, or Zhdanovism, in 1946. In Estonia, the post-war purification was followed by years of relatively lenient regime, which gradually turned into a period of extreme repressions in the years 1949–1951 (e.g. Karjahärm 2006; Kulbok-Lattik 2016; Olesk 2003; Tannberg 2007, 2015).

The post-war years have been referred to as a "post-Estonian" period, when the changes in culture were still relatively superficial. Folklorists adjusted their collecting and research topics to the Soviet ideology, referring to "acceptable" authors, but they relied on the folklore conceptions and research paradigms that had been in use before the occupation (Saarlo 2017a, b, 2018; Kulasalu 2017). Depending on the prescribed rules of action, folklorists tried to collect ideologically ac-

6 In 1932, the Russian Association of Proletarian Writers was dissolved and the Writers' Union was founded; 1933 marked the start of the second five-year plan; and according to F. J. Miller, articles about folklore began to appear regularly in newspapers. Early in 1934 the 17th Party Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union was held and the 1st All-Union Congress of Soviet Writers was organised in August the same year.

7 Quotations from this highly influential speech later became the compulsory element of the works of folklore researchers in occupied Estonia (e.g. Laugaste 1973: 5–6, 1977: 87–89; Tampere 1956: 3–4; Viidalepp et al. 1959: 15–17 etc.).

8 Folklore was directly associated with literature. According to the conception of folklore, introduced in 1934 by Yurii Sokolov, "the oral poetic creations of the broad folk masses" and folkloristics was a "branch of literary scholarship" (Miller 1990: 7).

ceptable contemporary folklore in addition to the traditional repertoire, which implicitly remained the main focus of collecting. The important keywords were proletarian folklore, descriptions of the class struggle and revolutionary events of the recent past, and "the Great Patriotic War" folklore. Fieldwork was carried out in industrial areas and in the organisations of war veterans, and appeals were published in newspapers, but the results were relatively modest (Oras 2008: 62–63).

A separate research stream was the "discovery" and recording of new poetry that glorified Soviet leaders and the regime.[9] Collecting the new political songs proved to be easiest in those areas where the corresponding tradition had already been established – namely, in the Seto region. Anne Vabarna performed a political greeting song in Tallinn as early as in 1940, when Estonia was occupied by the Soviet Union:

> Even though Anna Vabarna was already over 60 when the Soviet regime was established, she was very eagerly and actively involved in anything new right from the very beginning. In 1940, she performed at the "Estonia" Concert Hall in Tallinn with a topical greeting *leelo*, attracting wide attention (Viidalepp 1957; see also Goldschmidt 1948).

Owing to her improvisation skills, Anne Vabarna was invited to participate in the 800th anniversary of the city of Moscow in 1947, and the same year performed at the folklore event of the first Soviet song festival held in Tallinn. As well as Vabarna, many other Seto singers with corresponding skills and the position of a lead singer in the community created political improvisations. For example, a *leelo* in honour of Stalin's birthday by Aleksandra Leivo attracted public attention, and groups of Seto singers performing political improvisations were recognised at the local and country-wide amateur arts review contests (*kunstilise isetegevuse ülevaatus*, Rus. *smotr hudozhestvennoj samodejatel'nosti*) (Seltsimees ... 1949).

Conscious directing of folklore: the years 1950–1953

In the 1950s and the following years, the pressure of the centralised government and the wave of repressions related to the "Estonian case-file" (Zubkova 2001) left no room to sit on the fence with regard to the new extreme views towards folklore and folklore studies and those held before the occupation and during the Soviet period.[10] At the end of 1949 and the beginning of 1950, the folklorist Eduard Päss from the Institute of Language and Literature (who was dismissed from his position in 1950) and Richard Viidalepp (who was deprived of his academic degree in 1950 and whose salary was considerably lowered) returned from conferences in Moscow with a clear message: collecting folklore needs a change in the course of direction, the focus should be on contemporary material – "we must decisively abandon chasing after old archaic memories" (Ahven 2007: 99). The collected material constantly needs to be popularised and "folklore has to be applied in the communist instruction of the masses". Under the influence of the 1951 Moscow conference, it was decided to "highlight the conscious direction of folklore", and folklorists from different institu-

[9] In the Soviet Union, the main form of glorifying poetic folklore was the Soviet or new *byliny – noviny* (epic songs). In addition to epics, lament was widely used (Miller 1990; Panchenko 2005). As well as by Russians, this type of poetics was also created by representatives of many other singing traditions of the Soviet peoples. In Estonia, the new folklore and its creators were actively introduced in newspapers in the early years of Soviet rule. For example, on 21 September 1940, an article on the song creators of the Caucasus and Central Asia was published: "The folk singers of the Soviet Union. The fine artistic creation of the Ashugs and Aqyns. The old minstrels sing praise to the new life" (Nõukogude Liidu ... 1940; see also Feldbach 1946; Kõik nõukogude ... 1946; Vaarandi 1947). The newspapers also lauded the "creative achievements" of Soviet Karelian singers, who composed new songs in the Balto-Finnic runosong style (which also includes the Estonian and Seto oral song tradition) (Klimenko 1946; Laan 1948; Tedre 1953).

Generally, the most successful direction of collecting activities in Estonia seems to have been the collecting of new songs. In his article "On the development of folklore in the Soviet era", published in 1959, Richard Viidalepp argues that the new folkloric creation of the Soviet era is manifested mostly in songs in the Estonian SSR (Viidalepp et al. 1959: 473).

[10] The degree of determination in going along with the concept of Soviet folklore is revealed in the response of the prominent Estonian folklorist Eduard Laugaste to a question, asked at a meeting held early in 1951, as to whether everything published in wall newspapers is folklore: "Poetry that appears in the wall newspaper is folklore if its author remains one of the people and has not taken on the professional responsibilities of a writer." (Ahven 2007: 98–99).

tions came together to discuss how to direct and supervise amateur artistic creation (ibid.). Active work in all these directions followed.

The House of Folk Creation in Tallinn operated in the field of folklore in parallel with folklorists. In 1951, a position of folklorist[11] was established there and filled by Aino Strutzkin, who had graduated the Tallinn State Conservatoire in musicology, and who had studied folk music and participated in folkloric fieldwork. In addition to collecting and popularising folklore and regularly assisting non-professional (amateur) authors, Aino Strutzkin set out to organise a workshop of folk singers that would correspond to the Soviet model. The aim of the workshop was to educate the creators of new folklore – among them Seto singers – in politics and art because of the singers' poor orientation in politics. As the workshop for 18 participants was organised in a rush and at an inconvenient time on 17–21 December 1951 in Tallinn, the performers of the oral singing tradition were unable to participate, even though prior agreements had been made with Seto singers. Among the participants mentioned, however, was the Seto poet Paul Haavaoks (Raadik 1951). Five singers from the Seto choir of Haudjasaare, with their lead singer Agrepina Pihlaste, took part in the second workshop, held on 1–4 December 1952.[12]

The turn after Stalin's death

Stalin's death brought about a major turn in Soviet folklore studies, in which a constant hidden, or not so hidden, struggle between different schools of thought and researchers and different views on the concept of Soviet folklore scholarship had persisted (Miller 1990: 95–101). Articles published in the journals *Sovetskaia etnografiia* and *Novyi Mir* by Vladimir Bakhtin and Nikolaj Leontev triggered a series of critical public discussions (Bakhtin 1953; Leontev 1953a). The lengthy summary of Leontev's essay "Sorcery and Shamanism" (Rus. "Volkhovanie i shamanstvo") was also published in Estonia (Leontjev [Leontev] 1953b).

In 1953, debates on the subject of what is and is not folklore also started among Estonian folklorists, and the first publicly critical approach was the article "Reflections on Contemporary Folklore" ("Mõtteid kaasaegsest rahvaluulest") published in 1954 by Ülo Tedre. Tedre mentions the criticism towards Estonian folklorists, who collected too little new folklore, and points out the "rather energetic steps taken to collect contemporary folklore" as a response to this. He describes as one of these steps the situation in the Seto region: "As a last resort, they travelled to the Seto region and had the 'mothers of song' improvise on various modern topics, only to present these later

[11] Already at the Moscow conference at the end of 1949, the lack of folklore workers and departments of folklore in the houses of folk creation of the Baltic countries was indicated as a shortcoming (Estonian Folklore Archives of Estonian Literary Museum, materials on the history of Estonian folkloristics, ERA, EFAM). In January 1951 the House of Folk Creation of Estonia sent to the local Ministry of Culture a longer instruction to invite the general public and especially cultural workers to create, collect and write down contemporary folklore, because "Despite the success achieved, we are still behind other Socialist Republics, especially in the area of creating and collecting Soviet folklore and folk songs" (National Archives of Estonia, Archives of the Committee of the Arts of the Council of Ministers of the Estonian SSR, ERA.R-1205.2.727.27). In a Russian-language document of assignment to a post, issued on 15 June 1951 by the State Committee of the Arts of the Council of Ministers of the Soviet Union, Aino Strutzkin's position is named *muzykoved (fol'klor)* (Estonian Theatre and Music Museum (ETMM), Collection of Albin and Aino Strutzkin, M 293:1/1:32). Strutzkin closely cooperated with folklorists, especially with Selma Lätt from the Literary Museum and the supervisor of her studies Herbert Tampere, who had worked at the Estonian Folklore Archives before WWII and became head of the archives in 1952 after being dismissed from the Tallinn Conservatoire the year before for political reasons.

[12] Composer Anatoli Garšnek has written in connection with the workshop held in 1952: "For example, a song about the Volga-Don Canal was created in a fishing village [Haudjasaare in Setomaa], but the theme's resolution is constricted, narrow. In order to avoid such mistakes, lectures on the international situation, major construction projects of the Stalinist period, the artistic creation of kinsfolk, etc. were held for the workshop's participants" (Garšnek 1952). These topics are similar to the working plan devised before the 1951 workshop. Alongside more general lectures the plan of the first workshop also includes classes for representatives of different types of participants (ERA, EFAM). According to the plan, Herbert Tampere was to work with the Seto group (which did not participate) on two days and, in addition, the singers were given two voice placement lessons from Aleksander Arder, professor of singing at the conservatoire. The idea of giving instruction in vocal placement may have been inspired by similar workshops elsewhere in the Soviet Union – the form of a Soviet folk choir required a unified and controlled sound, modelled after 19th-century Russian professional ethnic music.

as contemporary folk songs." Tedre arrives almost at Leontev's view in his arguments: "we cannot view amateur artistic creation and the so-called original creation as folklore, as it is still individual creation" (Tedre 1954; cf. Viidalepp 1954). He also categorises among the latter the improvisations of Seto singers, even though he acknowledges that the Seto new "creation exploits the form, style, stylistic devices and even melodies of the old Seto folk songs" (Tedre 1955).

The main point in Ülo Tedre's articles – that only the legacy of the past can be considered as truly valuable non-professional creation, and thus worth studying – conformed well to the devoted dedication to historical folklore in Estonian folklore studies after the Stalin era (Oras 2008; Saarlo 2018). The collection and study of historical folklore, which had its roots in the folkloristics of independent Estonia, had not been interrupted during Stalin's years – even during the peak time of focusing on the Soviet (kolkhoz) folklore, half of the collected material still represented older tradition. The continuous study of historical folklore can be interpreted as merely a routine, but also as an instance of resistance or of decolonial strategies on the part of local scholars (Annus 2018).

The fact that answering the question about whether the creation of performers of oral tradition was folkloric or not was not an easy task for folklorists is indicated by Selma Lätt's comment in her letter to Aino Strutzkin in October 1953. The comment is about the discussion of the articles by Bakhtin and Leontev:

> [We'll be discussing] on the basis of our existing material. This is the reason why Tampere speaks about the issue of contemporary Seto folk song. True, a whole series of folkloric phenomena has emerged these days that cannot be denied. There really is no need to make another 180 degree turn in our views, whereas serious revision and editing is definitely required.[13]

The issue of the folkloricity or otherwise of this part of Soviet folklore which had been created by representatives of the oral tradition remained unambiguously unresolved even in the central discourse of folklore (Miller 1990: 100, 105–106).

The turn in folklore studies decisively ended the intentional co-production of Soviet folklore on the part of folklorists and the corresponding demand from the "top down". In the another letter from October 1953 to Aino Strutzkin, Selma Lätt apologises for not having sent her the songs on contemporary topics collected from the Seto region that summer, while noting that "it's hard to believe that you'd have anyone interested in these at this point".[14] The correspondence reveals that a workshop for folk singers was also planned for the year 1953, but the plan was cancelled. In 1954, Strutzkin was forced to leave the Central House of Folk Creation.[15]

The genre of political song continued after the Stalinist period, both in Estonia and in the wider Soviet Union (Miller 1990: 107). The authorities and cultural workers commissioned political songs for amateur arts review contests and official events. In 1956 Hemmo Mast, the lead singer of the Obinitsa Seto choir, described to Veera Pino, then a student of folklore, the complexity of being requested to create a song, as the commissioning would be a better option for younger singers who read newspapers:

> Finally, Hemmo also complains about the local authorities from the district centre, who reportedly have gone too far in "commissioning" improvisations on topical subjects. The Seto singers are given all kinds of topical political news to create a song about, but these are foreign and incomprehensible for the

13 ETMM, M 293:1/8:52.

14 ETMM, M 293:1/8:15. Demand from the "top down" meant that the political songs had to be sent to the centre; for example, the archives of the Institute of Language and Literature reveal that three songs dedicated to Stalin were sent to the All-Union Central House of Folk Creation in 1949. In 1951, Richard Viidalepp visited the community house of the Vastseliina district to find the texts of new Seto songs, but discovered that "a representative of the central institutions of Tallinn" had been there and taken these away (Ahven 2007: 158; Estonian Folklore Archives of Estonian Literary Museum, manuscript collection of the Folklore Sector of the Institute of Language and Literature, KKI 17, 300).

15 According to the documents studied so far, the Central House of Folk Creation had planned a workshop for amateur authors in 1955 – "the more prominent amateur composers and poets" – but evidently this no longer included representatives of the oral tradition (ETMM, Collection of the House of Folk Creation, MO 128:1/6:5).

> singers. Hemmo herself had created several improvisations on modern topics. She claims she can sing about the collective farm as long as needed. – The commissioned folklore is crafted here by some younger girls [Anne Linnupuu, Akulina Lumi]. They read newspapers and create all kinds of new songs.[16]

Besides events happening in the wider world, however, the Seto singers continued to sing about their daily lives. This draws us to the question about where the boundaries of a political song lie – for example, when people in a state farm sang about "slackers who idle at work", "admonishing idlers and laggers", though this related to an important Soviet propaganda topic, it also spoke about the singers' daily life without embellishing it.[17]

The performance of political songs – official or spontaneous?

Was the performance stage of political songs limited to contests, song festivals, political events, singing to folklore collectors and other official performances, or were they also sung in spontaneous situations – at community gatherings or in everyday situations? Information available in the folklorists' texts is by no means clear or straightforward on this issue. The image of the importance of new creation and the use of the new songs as presented in fieldwork diaries and newspaper articles are not compatible. Even though fieldwork diaries were publicly available at the archives, they were nevertheless a much less public genre compared to newspapers and therefore seem to be closer to reality.

An illustrative example of this is the article by Richard Viidalepp, published in 1951, where he paints a poetic image of singing during harvest:

> Particularly uplifting were the songs of *leelo*-singers in the M. Gorky collective farm on the evening of August 13, when altogether 12 hectares of golden rye had been harvested, encouraged by the Socialist competition. After the strenuous work day, the joyful songs of kolkhoz women echoed far in the quiet evening. And these were no longer the traditional "harvest songs", but new, Soviet ones, where Comrade Stalin was thanked, the width of the fields and the happy life of collective farmers was praised. (Viidalepp 1951).

The fieldwork diary, however, reveals that people did not work on the fields that day because of heavy rain, and Viidalepp himself had left the Seto region by the evening of August 13. At the same time, on the day before (12 August), when he was searching for songs, the singers had told him to come back the next day to listen to people sing together. According to the diary, Viidalepp did not even hear singing at work during this fieldwork. Intriguingly, on the evening of August 12, he wrote down in his diary his dream about the expected singing of the collective farmers, which is very similar to the texts published in the newspaper:

> It was somehow uplifting to imagine: the wide fields of the collective farm, active harvesting of rye (as part of the competition of the brigades) with many people working; it is a sunny day and at moments of rest, *leelo* singing is heard from here and there, new *leelo* songs, created right here, on the field.[18]

Folklorist Selma Lätt's article gives the impression that she had happened to overhear a song sung at the end of communal spreading of manure, praising the foreman of the collective farm for giving good horses and workmen (Lätt 1953). Her personal letter to Aino Strutzkin, however, shows that the creation of the song had been inspired by the folklorist's arrival: "The women saw me wandering there, at once grouped together and the song about manure spreading was improvised on the spot. I went to them and wrote down the song".[19]

It sounds plausible that working together in the field helped the practice of singing on the fields to live on or even to revive. It was an old practice to embed improvisational motifs about current situations in the traditional texts. The motifs of gratitude characteristic of harvesting songs

[16] Estonian Folklore Archives of Estonian Literary Museum, manuscript collection of the State Literary Museum, RKM II 51, 324/5.

[17] RKM II 51, 355, Lätt 1953.

[18] KKI 17, 304/5.

[19] ETMM, M 293:1/8:9

(let's praise the Lord) could easily be adapted to show gratitude to the collective farm or state leaders. Whether or not the motifs were also used when folklorists were not around is difficult to say. Despite the atmosphere of the time of repressions in 1951, Viidalepp has put down quite a credible note in his fieldwork diary: "I am told that no one is interested in these new songs – these are needed only for the contests. But at local parties or official festive meetings – [these are] not performed."[20]

Singing as an activity to empower women

Although the creating of Soviet folklore could be regarded as a kind of collaboration with the regime, we would rather draw attention to the way in which this practice empowered Seto women. In the context of the changing local singing culture after WW II, quite remarkable changes in the role and position of Seto singers took place. These changes were supported by the fundamental social processes of the Soviet period.

Perhaps one of the most radical changes in the Seto singing tradition was the gradual transformation of the previous practice of singing within the community and at home into performing for audiences outside the community, and, as a consequence, singing and the song tradition acquired new political dimensions that had not been seen before. An important aspect was also that Seto women, whose opportunities for self-expression or for escaping from domestic life had so far been limited in the patriarchal village, were given the chance to have their voice heard outside the Seto community. An increasing number of active women could communicate with the elite that was not part of their community and demonstrate their singing tradition outside the domestic circle. The active women who sung folk songs won recognition outside their village to an extent that had not occurred before. At the same time the Soviet regime turned Seto women into the same collective farm workers as men, and this brought about the disintegration of the former family structure, in which the man owned and inherited land and female members of the family depended on him. Yet it must be considered that the old family models and the traditions regulating the behaviour of the women did not disappear overnight. The opportunity for many women to perform outside the domestic circle depended on whether their husbands gave them permission to do so or not. Some of the women still chose to follow the conservative family model and gender roles and remain silent in the presence of visitors.

Relying on the interview with Veera Hirsik (born in 1927), the long-term leader of the Seto choir from 1976,[21] one could argue that the system of Soviet amateur arts, for its part, supported the emancipation of Seto women. It was advisable for all the citizens of the Soviet Union to participate in amateur artistic activity, as this was regarded as ideologically important and supposedly enhanced the workers' morale (see Olson 2004: 46; Kalkun 2004). The experience of Veera Hirsik suggests that participating in the ensemble performing traditional Seto singing was a perfect opportunity for less educated women in Soviet Estonia. Since all workers of collective or state farms had the obligation to participate, at least fictitiously, in some "amateur artistic activity" – and this activity had to be reported by leaders of cultural houses and ideology workers –, the folk ensembles were practically the only choice for the less educated women working in agriculture or cattle farming and for the older members of the community, and one that would also suit their skills and interests. The working women who sang in choirs performing traditional songs were probably motivated by free days or occasional rewards but also by opportunities for travel and access to television shows or major festivals.

Some singers among the Seto women who participated in choirs and sung the political improvisations were given special recognition. For example, Anne Vabarna, who had already been given a stipend for being a transmitter of the song culture during the first period of independence in Estonia, was granted a personal pension during

[20] KKI 17, 310.

[21] The Seto women's choir Leiko came together in the mid-1960s through the merger of different village choirs that had formerly been active in the territory of the Värska state farm. The choir operated under the state farm's cultural house and besides traditional songs they often had to perform songs commissioned from them on different topical political themes.

the period of Stalin's rule.[22] In 1947 Vabarna was awarded a certificate of honour by the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the ESSR for successful activity in folklore (Eesti … 1975: 428).

The cooperation between folklorists and folk singers was, in a sense, a co-dependent relationship. In the Stalinist period folklorists needed the Seto singers, who could create contemporary political songs. The attention that folklorists, who were part of the town elite, paid to the Seto women working in collective farms changed the way the latter behaved. Some women were bold enough to demand that the cooperation be continued even later when there was no actual need for the commissioned songs of praise, so as to get glamorous new opportunities for performing (such as at song festivals and on television). For example Anne Vabarna, who was illiterate herself, sent letters by mediation of local literate villagers to Richard Viidalepp, who had worked with her in the Stalinist period well into the late 1950s and early 1960s.[23] In the existing seven letters, Anne Vabarna repeats her wish that he would organise performances for her and her choir in nearby towns, as well as in more distant cities. Evidently, Vabarna was trying to capture Viidalepp's attention mostly with her political improvisations (as she had done in the Stalinist period), because in several letters (some of these in verse form), Vabarna promises to sing praise to the local and more distant authorities, if only Viidalepp would organise the performance.

Kuulõ' õks veerüs Viidalepp,
suurtõ kirju kirotaja.
Jätku-i õks minno kutsmalda,
Tallinna tahtmalda!
Kui jätät õks ti minno kutsmalda,
leina lüümä leelotaja,
sis om õks mul häpe rahvast,
ilõdu inemisist.
Sis ma koolõ kurva kätte,
süämehaigus hauda viis.
Kui saasi' õks viil laulma Tallinnahe,
kuukma kunstiõdagul!
Illos om õks sis laulda' Estoniah,
kulladsõh kontsertsaalih.
Sääl õks ma laula Hruštšovit,
perüs riigi peremiist.
Hruštšov käve õks ka partsi Prantsusmaal,
ausa miis Ameerika.
Kõik õks tä käve ilosahe,
armas Hruštšov ausahe.
Sääl laula ma kärmäst Käbinit,
laula mitond ministret.

[Listen, kind Viidalepp, / writer of great books. / Don't forget to invite me, / call me to Tallinn! / If you won't invite me, / you'll be leaving a *leelo* singer in grief, / I will feel shame among the villagers, / ugly among the people, / then I will die of sorrow, / heartache will take me to grave. / If [only] I could get to sing in Tallinn again, / sing at the [song festival's] folklore event! / It is nice to sing in "Estonia", / the gilded concert hall. / There I would sing to Khrushchev, / the true master of the country. / Khrushchev went to France, / an honest man in America. / He went nicely everywhere, / dear Khrushchev, honestly. / There I would sing to Käbin,[24] / I would sing to many ministers.][25]

The fieldwork diaries of folklorists still reveal that not all singers who could improvise agreed to sing political songs on commission. Whether the singers improvised political songs or not seemed to depend on their social background and economic situation. For example, Marts´o Ujaots, who was well-off during the first period of independence and was also known as a singer, told Viidalepp in 1951 that she – like several other women – has stopped singing, and knows nothing about the new Soviet creation.[26] Several creators of new folklore (among them Aleksandra Leivo, who composed the song to Stalin and whose name appears in school textbooks) were close relatives

[22] National Archives of Estonia, Personal files of grantees of personal pension, ERA.R-16.3k.1265.

[23] Anne Vabarna's letters [7] to Richard Viidalepp, Estonian Culture History Archives (Eesti Kultuurilooline Arhiiv, EKLA) of Estonian Literary Museum, F 317, M 16:2 (1955–1960) & Richard Viidelepp's letter to Anne Vabarna, F 317, M 2:44 (1954).

[24] Johannes Käbin (1905–1999) was a politician of the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Estonian Communist Party in 1950–1978 and Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Estonian SSR in 1978–1983.

[25] Anne Vabarna's letter to Richard Viidalepp (1960), F 317, M 16:2, 7/18.

[26] KKI 17, 355/9.

of members of the local administration – a party organiser, foreman of the village council, head of the local community house. In connection with the songs praising the collective farm, sung by the women of the Haudjasaare village, Selma Lätt described the good economic situation of members of the fishing kolkhoz at Lake Peipsi (compared to agricultural farms), which was the result of more favourable tax policies and the opportunity to market their production in towns.[27]

Optimistic laments and religious motifs in the atheist country

According to Maksim Gorky's influential definition of folklore, it had to be by nature simple, clear, optimistic, accessible and national in content (see Olson 2004: 40). Seto songs would often contain complex imagery, gloomy scenes, ambivalence and mystery; the traditional Seto songs enabled women to express even those feelings and thoughts that were found inappropriate to express in words, such as, for example, despair, anger, disappointment (see Kalkun 2008). Seto singing culture has also been called the lamenting culture (Sarv 2000), indicating the prominent position of bridal and funeral laments for the transmitters of culture. Seto laments and songs shared closely related poetics, and many formulas were used in both genres. Since the women who sang Stalinist songs represented the generation who had sung bridal laments, or had at least heard them, at weddings (a Seto lament was commonly performed by the bride with her four girlfriends), it is no wonder that several addresses are similar to those characteristic of bridal laments. In almost the same manner, the songs about war and death created during the Soviet time were clearly connected with the rhetoric and formulas of death laments, and through that, with the religious world view. The Seto religious world view was an amalgamation of popular Orthodox representations and highly archaic pre-Christian beliefs and traditions, as reflected, for example, in the texts of laments and lamenting rituals. For example, the songs about Stalin's death contain archaic and traditional lament motifs about frustration and despair, which sound somewhat out of place when dedicated to leaders that were not known personally. The use of such formulas referring to close interpersonal relationships possibly indicates the Seto women's good ability to engage in the song and their sincere compassion, but, for example, also reveals that the women had not heard about Stalin's crimes. The recognised singer of the Obinitsa village, Hemmo Mast, sings upon Stalin's death how she would have wanted to fly to the Kremlin in Moscow to cure the suffering Stalin using traditional methods of sauna rituals.

Kui ma saanu' sis kotkasta,
sinimutis saan' moonduda',
linnanu-ks ma Moskvahe,
kõndnu' sinnä ma Krõmlihe,
kütnü' sanna ma künneldega,
viha haudnu' ma vislapuista.
Ku Taalin meil tagasi jäänü',
ello jäänü' meil isakõnõ.

[If only I could turn into an eagle, / transform myself into a bluebird, / I would have flown to Moscow, / I would have walked into the Kremlin, / I would have heated the sauna with candles, / put a cherry whisk to soak. / If only Stalin would live, / our dear father would survive.][28]

After Stalin's death, Hemmo Mast puts together the most dramatic formulas known in Seto singing tradition: mental despair and breaking of the heart "up to the top"; a grief that eating or sleeping would not take away, and mourning that would last until the singer's death.

Äkki tulli meil surmasõna,
linnukõnõ tulĺ leinäsõna,
õt õks Taalin om ar´a surnu,
isakõnõ om lahkunu.
Kagoh meil olĺ sis meeli haigõ,
meeli haigõ olĺ, süä rassõ,
süä lahes meil ladvuni,
meeli haigõ olĺ mitmõst paigast.
Lää-s meelest meil maatõnna,
süvveneni lää-s süämestä.

[27] RKM II 28, 348.

[28] Estonian Folklore Archives of the Estonian Literary Museum, collection of sound recordings of the State Literary Museum, RKM, Mgn. II 2a < Obinitsa village – Herbert Tampere < Hemmo Mast, 54 y/o. (1953).

Ommõ-ks hallõ meil havvani,
ommõ murõh meil mullani,
leinäs tedä mi liivani.

[A message of death suddenly arrived, / The little bird was informed about grief, / that Stalin has died, / our father has departed. / Look, how our mind was distressed, / the mind distressed, the heart sinking. / Our hearts broke up to the top, / the mind was distressed in different places. / It wouldn't leave our minds when sleeping, / it wouldn't leave our hearts when eating. / We are grieving until we are in the grave, / there will be sorrow until we are in the ground, / we will mourn him until we are put under the sand.][29]

The lamenting register is often used also in songs about war. Glorifying those who fought in war on the one hand and cautioning people about the atrocities of war on the other hand was common in Soviet rhetoric. For Seto women, who had specific recollections (and folklore) about the various wars that had passed over their land, the memories of war were painful and personal. It is possible that the anti-war rhetoric had such an impact on the women who had experienced war themselves that lamenting was a natural choice. For her anti-war improvisation, Anne Vabarna had chosen a rare melody of collective lament that had been used to sing at a young girl's funeral.[30] The lament makes use of highly poetic imagery borrowed from laments for young war recruits: "The heels won't be seeing these places, the soles will not be seeing these village streets."[31] The entire song text is actually Anne Vabarna's own emotional creation from the pre-war period, with no ideological clichés embedded in it, but which in the anti-war rhetoric was nevertheless found by the folklorists as representative of "the Soviet folklore".

Elderly Seto women were able to continue observing their religious rituals also during the Soviet period, as they did not have to fear the repressions that threatened Orthodox women at their workplace. The prominent role of Orthodoxy in the Seto culture is reflected also in the political songs of the Soviet period. Even though the Soviet regime was emphatically atheistic and persecuted religious organisations (see Froese 2008), the Seto women in their political songs sometimes use images clearly referring to religious practices. It is likely that Seto women associated the cult of personality during the Soviet times with Orthodox practices in the vernacular style – for example, all the bowing to Stalin's and Lenin's monuments and kissing their photos, described in the songs, are suspiciously reminiscent of the veneration of Orthodox icons.

Taalin ommõ tarka meesi,
kullanõ kuningas,
illos om esepoiga.
Lääme' kui sinnä seldsimajja,
lääme' kui kokko kulʃakõsõ',
ütte majja maŕakõsõ',
sais Taalin saina päällä,
ommõ Taalin ussõ päällä.
Naase' jo läävä' kumardasõ',
mehe' mütsä kergütäse'.
Mia meil ommõ vika veerätellä,
kua meil om vika kuʃatõlla,
om õks Taalin tarka meesi,
Leenin olli linnukõnõ.

[Stalin is a wise man, / the golden king, / a handsome son to his father. / When we visit the community house, / when we come together, dear ones, / to the same house, dear berries, / Stalin stands there on the wall, / Stalin is there on the door. / Women go and bow, / men raise their hats. / Why wouldn't we be happy, / why wouldn't we rejoice, / Stalin is a wise man, / Lenin was a little bird.][32]

The song commissioned for the 10th anniversary of the ESSR, performed by Irina Pino in 1950, recounts how collective farmers go to town to celebrate, but rather unexpectedly in the Stalinist context uses church as a parallel name to the kolkhoz centre. The imagery continues to combine the old religious and new Soviet discourses

[29] RKM, Mgn. II 2 a < Obinitsa village – Herbert Tampere < Hemmo Mast, 54 y/o (1953).

[30] Estonian Folklore Archives of Estonian Literary Museum, collection of sound recordings of the Folklore Sector of the Institute of Language and Literature, KKI, RLH 49:13, 17; cf. AETM no. 54.

[31] *Kundsa, kundsa nä-i imp näidä kotussida, / jala-, jalatalla imp näidä tanomita.*

[32] KKI 4, 157/62 (22) < Audjasaarõ village – Veera Pino < Agrepina Pihlaste, 55 y/o & choir (1948).

and the singer describes how people bow deep in front of the state leader's pictures.

Pia tulõ-ks tuu aokõnõ,
pääśo tuu pääväkene,
kütse-ks tulõ kümnes aastapäiv,
jouhus julgõ riigi juubõl.
Aŕa-ks sis keerä mi keŕkohe,
aŕa astu alõvahe.
Sääl õks mi, kulla', kumardõllõ,
pardsi', maalõ paintõllõ.
Sääl mi-ks tehnä Taalinat
umma armast avustammõ.
Pääle-ks mi taha pikka ikä,
pallõ pall´o aaśtakko.

[Soon the time will come, / the day of the lark, / the mature tenth birthday, / the country's jubilee. / Then we will go to church, / step into the town, / there we, the dear ones, will bow, / bend down, dear ducklings. / There we will thank Stalin, / pay respect to our dear one. / We also wish him a long life, / pray for many years.][33]

Similar integration of the old religious world into the new Soviet discourse can also be found in other political songs by Irina Pino. "The War Song" performed in 1948, which merges traditional lyroepics and political improvisation, concludes with a celebration of peace and an expression of gratitude to the Soviet leadership that defeated Hitler. The final verses of the song are in memory of the widely honoured dead Lenin. The Seto woman sings about how Lenin has left us, on earth, a beautiful and peaceful life. Irina Pino's choice of words indicates her belief, which is quite inappropriate for an atheist ideology, that Lenin leads his afterlife somewhere in the higher spheres.

Edo-ks, edo meillä tarka küll viil Stali- Stalinata,
maŕa, mar´a hüvvä meil küll Malatovva!
Sedä-ks, sedä suurta taad viil Šuukoveta!
Aiva-ks nä siist śaksa poisi',
Hitleri-ks aŕ hirmutevva'.
Tulli-ks, tulli rahu meil küll maa, maa pääle,
aŕa meil küll tulli illos elo.
Liiga, liiga hüvvä meil sedä Leeninetä,
õga-ks timä elä-i imp ilma pääl,
elä-i, elä-i maŕa-ks inäp maa, maa pääl.
Meele-ks jätnö maalõ ommõ ilosa elo,
Maa pääle om jätnö kalli kasumise.

[Look, our wise Stalin, / our fine berry, Molotov, / the great Zhukov! / They drove the German boys out, / they frightened Hitler away. / Peace came upon us on this earth / good life came upon us. / Our Lenin, too good, / he no longer lives on the earth, / the dear berry no longer lives on the earth. / He has left us a fine life, / for us to grow well on the earth.][34]

Incorrect interpretations and errors

The improvisations created by Seto women on given topics proved in their rhetoric and tone far too different from the imagined folklore of collective farmers or the Soviet period, so that folklorists criticised them as being politically inadequate.[35] The songs contain very politically incorrect lines of thought and – in view of the harsh political environment of the 1940s and 1950s – even dangerous verses which, in a worst case scenario, could have resulted in punishment or even in the arrest of the singers. The opening of the song by Aino Lillemets dedicated to Stalin reflects the moments before the recording of the songs: the singer refers to her impoverished status as a widow and how she had been fearful when the

33 RKM II 33, 323/8 < Usenitsa village – E. Normann, S. Lõhmus < Irina Pino (1950).

34 KKI 5 187/201 (7) < Usenitsa village – Veera Pino < Irina Pino (1948).

35 For example, in 1951 Richard Viidalepp expressed his views, which were typical of the time: "The folk singers have had some guidance and direction, especially in terms of competitions. Still, assistance of this kind has been very scant and random up to now. There should be much more of it. Modesty in this area is partly rooted in the out-dated view that folklore should be born out of itself, without any "interruptions" or assistance. It is high time to publicly discard this misconception and organise the assistance of talented folklore creators on a much larger scale than before" (Viidalepp 1951). In the fieldwork diary from 1952, Selma Lätt argues for the need to educate Seto singers in order to improve their ability to create improvisations that would be better suited in the modern day: "At the same time, they need to be instructed and their perspective broadened, which is especially important for creating songs on contemporary topics." (RKM II 28, 349; see also Oras 2008: 63, 2009: 709, and footnote 14 here). In addition to political "mistakes", it is worth mentioning the impossibility of matching two established registers: the Soviet "(hyper)normalized" ideological discourse (Yurchak 2005) with its strictly controlled formulas, and the historical formulaic language of traditional song which rendered even politically correct ideas into a "wrong" verbal form.

sinister-looking men who had come from Tartu to record folklore had driven to her yard in a car. Since cars were quite a rare sight in Seto villages, and the villagers associated (black) cars with terrifying institutions of punishment and control (see Kalmre 2013), these verses reflect the atmosphere of collecting the songs, where even folklorists coming from the city could elicit fear and misconceptions in the country people.

Sinnä ti tullit targa' Tartu mehe',
tullit hüä' seldsimehe'.
Ait massina morolõ,
ait auto akna ala.
Oh, minno, vaesta läskä naista,
ilma meheldä elänü.
Oh, õks targa' Tartu mehe',
küll läts kurvast mino süä,
küll jäi haigõst mino miil.
Mis õks siiä auto aias,
kulla, olõ-i midä kurja tennü,
hani, midä halva tennü.

[There you came, wise men from Tartu, / you came, good comrades. / You drove the car to my yard, / parked the car under my window. / Oh, poor me, the widow, / living without a husband. / Oh, wise men from Tartu, / my heart became so sad, / my mind so distressed: / Why is the car coming here, / darling, I have done nobody harm, / goose, I have done nothing bad.][36]

In the songs, Lenin and Stalin are often called by "incorrect" names of endearment. When the singers called Lenin or Stalin the master, lord or king (of the state), it was probably simply part of the rhetoric of praise songs, but it did not consider the conflict between such images and the "remnants" of feudalism and ideology fighting against the class struggle. In addition to the names of endearment, the songs also contain more ambivalent or clearly incorrect names for the heads of state. In a wedding song, recorded from Lukerja Linamaa, where the groom describes his travels, Stalin and Lenin are called "the Jews", probably reflecting the anti-Semitic belief widely spread in the Soviet Union that both Stalin and Lenin were Jews (Gerrits 2009).

Lindsi ma velĺo Leningradi,
veeri velĺo Vinnemaalõ,
tahtsõ ma nätä' Leeniniid,
tahtsõ ma kaia Taaliniid,
Leniniga teretädä',
Taalinaga trastutõlla,
om õks seto siiä joudnu,
velĺo siiä viirdünü.
Jäti ma juudi jumalaga,
jäti maalõ Mariaga.

[I took a flight, young man, to Leningrad, / I took a train, dear brother, to Russia, / I wanted to see Lenin, / I wanted to look at Stalin. / I wanted to greet Lenin, / I wanted to say hello to Stalin: / The Seto has arrived, / brother has rolled in. / I said farewell to the Jew, / I left them, with St Mary.][37]

Honest ways of expression or a game and irony?

Listening to or reading the political songs of Seto women often elicits the question of the extent to which they included sincere self-expression, and how much it was a conscious game of creating a song that would suit the needs of those who had commissioned it, but in a manner that was at odds with reality and not based on the singer's personal emotions. There are definitely songs that represent sincere self-expression, in which the head of state is addressed in (naïve) faith as a deity to whom personal problems are confessed or who is praised to get help.

Kuulõ' õks sa tark Stalin
kuulõ' hüä riigiese,
usu' sa minno osalist,
kae' minno kaiholist.
Olõ õks ma vaenõ läskä naane,
ilma meheldä elänü.
Kulĺa om mul kuustõist aaśtat
pardsi om palĺo aigo.
Kui õks ma ilma meheldä jäi,
kallis ilma kasalda jäi.
Oh Teid õks tarka Stalinit,
armas ka esi arvu saat,
tuvi ka eis toimu võtat,
annat õigut õgalõ,
kannat kõrda kõigile.

[36] RKM II 33, 305/7 < Mikitamäe village – Aino Lillemets, 45 y/o (1949).
[37] RKM II 14, 476/8 (37) < Tsältsüvä village – Liis Pedajas < Lukerja Linamaa, 57 y/o (1947).

Sinno taha õks kittä' ma viie võrra,
armas palĺo avvustõlla.
Tulõ-i mul sõnno puuduvat,
õga lõpõ-i lõigahusõ'.
Midä õks tahat, sedä laula,
esi olõ ma sõnasõsar,
sõnasõsar, laululatsi.

[Listen, wise Stalin, / hear me, good state father, / believe me, poor one, / look at me, wretched one. / I'm a poor widow, / living without a husband. / Dear me, sixteen years have passed [from husband's death], / much time has passed for the little duck, / when I lost my man, / dear me, when I lost my husband. / Oh, you wise Stalin! / Dear one, as you know, / dove, as you understand, / you pass justice for all, / you keep everyone in check. / I wish to praise you fivefold, / dear, I wish to respect you. / I will not run out of words, / my verses will not end. / I will sing what you like, / I myself am the sister of words, / the sister of words, the child of songs.][38]

At the same time, quite a few songs that are dedicated to Stalin or praise life in the collective farm are clearly built upon hyperbole. Instead of singing about the newly founded, poor post-war collective farms, the norm days, the ridiculously low salary paid in kind, the high taxes, confiscated private property and poverty, the songs tell of abundant riches. Since the descriptions are so hyperbolic and stand in such stark contrast with reality, it is evident that the singers and collectors of these songs were aware that these were poetic exaggerations and fiction. Some of these political improvisations full of hyperbole seem to resemble the traditional song type "Wonders", which lists absurd things that the singer has witnessed in the neighbouring village (pigs sleeping on perches, hens grunting in the straw, hens laying eggs from the neck, dogs barking from their backsides, women fighting over butter and eggs, etc.). This association makes some songs describing the flourishing life at the collective farm sound clearly humorous or ironic. On the other hand, the listing of abundant riches could be related to a subcategory of productive magic, which has been used to summon prosperity and happiness recited in the songs into real life. In the following example describing kolkhoz life, Hemmo Mast lists all the expensive meals (wheat pastry, semolina porridge) that collective farmers could often not afford. This is preceded by an interesting stylistic device – the so-called negating parallelism (see Hagu 1980) – in which the song first speaks about unfavourable weather conditions but then assures us that regardless of these, the crops were not left in the rain, nor were the potatoes left unharvested (things which actually happened rather frequently on collective farms).

Lätsi suurõ kui nurmõ pääle,
lasi laja mi välä pääle,
olli-ks suvi taa vihmanõ,
olĺ õks suvi udujanõ –
jätä-s vilja mi vihma kätte,
kartohkit õks mi kaibõmalda,
viĺa vei kodo mi kuivaga,
tarõ mano mi tahega.
Saiõ rehe kui pessetüssä,
vili aita sai viidüssä,
saiõ normi' meil massõtussa,
palĺo viidüs sai üle plaani,
vilja saie viil liina viiä',
leibä liina sai rahvallõ,
kulĺa palĺo jäi kolõhoosi,
tuhat tonni jäi tüülisil,
sada sai puuta mi saiaterri,
mitu kotti sai kulatskiterri –
saia süü õga mi sannapäävä,
puulkat õga mi puulpühäl,
kuukõ õga mi kolmapäävä,
maidsa riidi mi mannaputru.

[I went as if to a wide field, / I went to a broad farmland. / The summer was rainy, / the summer was misty. / We wouldn't leave the crops in the rain, / we wouldn't leave the potatoes unharvested. / We took the harvest home in dry weather, / we brought them inside with solid soil. / We finished threshing grain, / took the crops to the barn. / We were paid for meeting the norms, / much of it exceeded the plan. / There were crops left to take to town, / bread to give to the townsfolk. / Dearest, much was left to the collective farm, / a thousand tons were given to the workers. / We made a hundred *pood*s of pastry grain, / several

[38] RKM II 33, 265/71 < Mikitamäe village – Aino Lillemets (1950).

bags of grain for bagels. / We eat pastry on every sauna day, / white bread on every Sunday, / cakes on every Wednesday, / semolina porridge on Fridays.][39]

Cultural appropriation?

Historically, the Seto singing tradition has been studied as part of Estonian folklore. Folklorists have approached the Seto as the kinsfolk of Estonians, who are a hundred or even several hundred years behind in their "development" and whose folklore represents the more archaic layer of Estonian folklore. Until the mid-20th century, the Seto took part neither in discussions concerning the representations of their own culture nor in the study of their culture; rather they had the role of bearers of the old tradition in the Estonian cultural scene as language and folklore informants or folk singers (see Kalkun 2015, 2017).

The first academic publisher of Seto songs, Jakob Hurt, translated four lyroepic Seto runosongs into the Estonian language and published two of these, "Ilulaul" ("The Song of Joy") and "Kalmuneid" ("Maiden of the Grave") in Estonia and Finland. Through the mediation of various folk song anthologies and textbooks, these two translations of Seto songs became widely popular, especially in Jakob Hurt's redaction (see Mirov 2002: 69). The Seto ballads translated by Hurt were adopted as "Estonian", and the songs dedicated to Stalin or the Soviet regime as collected from the Seto women and categorised as "Soviet folklore" also became part of the Estonian tradition. Since Soviet folklore had to be present among all the peoples of the Soviet Union (see Slezkine 2012), it had to be present also in Soviet Estonia. The improvisations of the Seto women on contemporary themes, collected by folklorists at the end of the 1940s, were clearly commissioned, and made their way into school textbooks surprisingly quickly. In the textbooks, however, the songs underwent changes suggesting cultural appropriation. Whereas in the early 1950s the songs of Anne Vabarna, Aleksandra Leivo, and Irina Pino[40] were published with translations (Vihalem 1950, 1951, 1952), after 1954 all the songs were published only in the Estonian language, without any reference to the fact that they were translations. After Stalin's death, the 1954 edition of the anthology of Estonian literature (ed. by Linda Vihalem) was republished without Aleksandra Leivo's "Greeting *leelo* for Comrade Stalin's 70th birthday". In the 1957 edition of the same anthology, the entire section of "Soviet folklore" was discarded, together with the political praise songs of the Seto women, but the collection still includes Estonian translations of Seto laments, no longer accompanied by their authors' names and without any indication that they were translations from the Seto language (to represent the lament tradition that had not survived on Estonian territory).

The Seto political songs that were translated into Estonian and published in the school textbooks compiled by Linda Vihalem were certainly not the only ones of this kind,[41] but they are an illustrative example of the process of how songs commissioned from Seto women were transformed into Estonian folk songs and at the same time incorporated into Soviet Estonian folklore.

Conclusion

The radical changes in Soviet folklore studies during the 1930s–1950s had a direct impact on folklore studies in occupied Estonia. The need to pay attention to modern phenomena proved a challenge for Estonian folklorists, who had been used to focusing on the study and collecting of classical folklore. In addition, they had to quickly redefine the nature of the folklorist-informant relationship and adopt several practices (instructing folk singers and commissioning songs about everyday politics) that had been previously considered in-

[39] RKM, Mgn. II 4 a < Obinitsa village – Herbert Tampere < Hemmo Mast, 54 y/o & choir (1953).

[40] In the 1950 version of the anthology, compiled by Linda Vihalem, Aleksandra Leivo's "Greeting *leelo* for Comrade Stalin's 70th birthday" was categorised under ritual songs, but after 1951 the editions contained a new section of folk songs entitled "Soviet Folk Songs", which, in addition to Aleksandra Leivo's song, included (in slightly different combinations in different editions) "The Return of the Red Army" and "*Leelo* to the Stockholm Peacekeepers' Appeal" by Anne Vabarna, and "Before and Now" by Irina Pino. In addition to the Seto songs, after the 1952 edition the section of "Soviet Folk Songs" also included an improvisation by Kihnu singers, who represented another living oral song tradition in Estonia (initially in local dialect and with notations, in later edition as a translated text).

[41] The materials of August Annist, for example, include Anne Vabarna's song to the Red Army, translated into the Estonian language (EKLA F 218, M 65:27), and political Seto songs were also published in other textbooks (see Saarlo 2017b).

correct, or had taken place only marginally. Collecting and commissioning political songs may have served as a kind of camouflage which justified the recording and study of the old tradition in areas where the singing tradition was still alive and improvising new texts was part of the skillset of many singers anyway. On the other hand, the folklorists needed to find Soviet folklore to secure their personal position and ensure the successful continuation of their discipline, and the improvisation skills of Seto women offered a lifeline that could save careers and institutions.

The attention that folklorists paid to the Seto women and to commissioning special political songs from them created a new situation in the Seto community. The singers who could improvise had been officially recognised before, but now they attracted large-scale attention and public recognition. Owing to the controlled Soviet system of amateur activity, the singing tradition became institutional – spontaneously formed family and village choirs turned into the choirs of collective farms and community houses. The more spontaneous singing situations relating to family and calendar rituals were gradually replaced by organised performances at amateur arts contests and official events. Improvisations on contemporary issues constituted an important part of the carefully detailed repertoire of these events. The singers who were able to adapt to the changes may have been encouraged by the kind of attention they had never experienced before and by the redefinition the (gender) roles and opportunities offered to them in a Seto village. The fact of Seto women spending time outside their community and their communication with the elite may also have altered their family dynamics. The attention devoted to the great Seto singers in the Stalinist period was in a way a continuation of the early twentieth-century cult of the "mothers of song" (Kuutma 2006: 136). In the Seto culture of the post-Stalinist era, placing the "mothers of song" on a pedestal on the initiative of folklorists led to new forms of worship, which require further study.

Nevertheless, upon closer inspection, the majority of the political songs commissioned from Seto women would fail to meet the requirements of either folklorists or ideology workers. At first, manipulating the statistics of folklore categorised as Soviet folklore and publishing selected and adapted pieces as translations did not prove problematic. There were probably several reasons why none of the folklorists studied the corpus of political Seto songs in detail, even though there was clearly a need for this. Firstly, even the severest period of Stalin's rule never lasted long enough to implement all the instructions that arrived, with the usual delays, from Moscow. The second reason was probably the implicit ambivalence and incorrectness in these songs. The voice and image creation of Seto women did not fit easily into a predetermined scheme without these being accompanied by their religious world view or the archaic formulas and imagery. In conclusion, although the cooperation project of folklorists and Seto women relating to political songs remained short-lived, it had a profound impact on the Seto singing tradition.

From the viewpoint of Soviet colonial studies we can interpret the activity of folklorists as a continuous balancing act on the boundary of the sphere of the possible, trying to stay focused on the traditional and internally acceptable topics and "adding" as much Soviet folklore as they felt was necessary. It should be remembered that for the Seto as well, in the prevailing atmosphere of coercion and fear, collaboration was not only a means to acquire benefits, but also a survival strategy. Since the relations of the Seto people with the independent Republic of Estonia exhibit certain colonialist features, and as the older generation, especially, was not familiar with the discourse of nationalism, there is no point in searching for deliberate anti-colonial counterdiscourse in their activity and creation. Yet in terms of Seto female singers, the most important boundary of the sphere of the possible seems to lie somewhere else. In the period of occupation, their "internal" modernisation, which had started during the first period of independence, continued – by expanding the personal sphere of the possible towards travelling, scenes of modern life, and communication outside the community, and, through this, by elevating their status within the local community and in their family. This compensated for the possible inconveniences encountered in playing by the ideological rules, even more so because these had certain points of convergence with the discourse of traditional singing.

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KKI, RLH collection of sound recordings of the Folklore Sector of the Institute of Language and Literature

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„Om õks Taalin tarka meesi, Leenin olli linnukõnõ." Nõukogude folkloori loomine Setomaal stalinistlikul perioodil

Andreas Kalkun, Janika Oras

Vaatleme artiklis seto laulikute poolt nõukogude ajal poliitilistel teemadel loodud laule, mis pidid kajastama riiklikku nõukogude ideoloogiat ja olid enamasti tehtud folkloristide või kultuuriametnike tellimusel. Nimetame käsitletavaid improvisatsioonilisi laule „poliitilisteks lauludeks" või täpsemalt, „poliitilisteks pühenduslauludeks", juhul kui tegemist on mõnele isikule või institutsioonile pühendatud tekstiga. Artikli esimene pool annab ülevaate nõukogude folkloori kontseptsiooni ja sellega seotud praktikate väljakujunemisest Teise maailmasõja eelses Nõukogude Liidus ning nende jõudmisest okupeeritud Eestisse. Eelkõige Stalini-aegseid (1940–1953), aga ka järgnenud aastate protsesse Eesti folkloristikas ja seto laulutraditsioonis on vaadeldud Eesti Kirjandusmuuseumi Eesti Rahvaluule Arhiivis ja muudes arhiivides ning ajakirjanduses leiduvate allikmaterjalide põhjal. Postkolonialistlikule uurimusele tuginedes küsime võimalikkuste piiride kohta folkloristide ja laulikute tegevuses ja loomingus. Laulikute poliitilisi, soolisi, loojanatuurist ja ühiskondlikust positsioonist lähtuvaid valikuid ja paigutumisi analüüsides näitame laulikute, aga ka folkloristide individuaalsete kogemuste ja tegutsemismotiivide mitmekesisust.

Nõukogude folkloori kontseptsioon kujundati Nõukogude Liidus välja 1930. aastatel, mil folkloor üldisemalt tõsteti ühiskonnas erilisele positsioonile – selles kui töötava rahva eneseväljenduses nähti kirjanduse ja muu kunstiloomingu peamist eeskuju, välja kujundati rahvakunstiansamblite ja folkloori lavaesituste üleriigiline süsteem. Nõukogude folkloori oluliseks osaks olid poliitilised laulutekstid, mida lõid suulist traditsiooni esindavad laulikud koostöös folkloristidega.

Nõukogude Liidu ideoloogilisest keskusest lähtuv folkloorikäsitlus koos vastavate praktikatega tuli üle võtta ka okupeeritud Eestis. Esialgsetele pealispindsematele muutustele järgnes kõige karmimal repressioonide perioodil aktiivne nõukogude folkloori kogumine ja populariseerimine, koos kaasaegse folkloori loojate praktilise juhendamisega. Sellega tegelesid olemasolevad folkloristlikud institutsioonid, neile lisaks loodi 1951. aastal Rahvaloomingu Keskmajja vastav ametikoht, kuhu asus tööle Tallinna Riikliku Konservatooriumi lõpetaja, hilisem rahvamuusika-ajakirjanik Aino Strutzkin. Teadlased lõpetasid nõukogude folkloori alase tegevuse seoses Stalini surma järgse pöördega folkloristikas, kohalikul tasandil aga jätkus poliitilise laulu tellimine isetegevusülevaatusteks ja ametlikeks üritusteks.

Seto laulikud, kes valdasid improviseerimiskunsti ja kellel oli juba Teise maailmasõja eel välja kujunenud (poliitiliste) pühenduslaulude traditsioon, kujunesid Eestis peamisteks nõukogude folkloori loojateks. Neilt tellitud kiidulaulud suurendasid aruannetes „poliitilisi sündmusi ja tööliste elu kajastava uuema folkloori", „Suure Isamaasõja folkloori" või lihtsalt „kolhoosi rahvaluule" osatähtsust. Peamisteks poliitiliste laulude loojateks olid naised, vanema laulutraditsiooni peamised kandjad 20. sajandil. Naistel oli ka keskne roll juhuimprovisatsioonides ja rituaalses laulus, mille registritega sai nõutud ideoloogilisi teemasid sobitada. Näib, et poliitilisi laule ei olnud valmis looma kõik seto lauljad. Koostöövalmidus sõltus osalt laulikute (või nende lähedaste) sotsiaalsest positsioonist ja poliitilistest vaadetest. Veel olulisemaks motiveerijaks võiks pidada naiste isiklikke loojaambitsioone ja seto kogukonna ning ühtlasi ka laulutraditsiooni moderniseerumisega seotud vajadust väljuda traditsiooniliste soorollide raamest, avardada oma suhtlemis- ja esinemisareaali ja kasutada uusi esinemisformaate.

Folkloristide välitöömaterjalide põhjal võiks arvata, et poliitiline looming kõlas ainult spetsiifilistel üritustel ega kuulunud kogukonna spontaansesse laulurepertuaari – ehkki ajakirjanduses avaldatud tekstides püütakse jätta ideoloogiliselt õiget muljet nõukogude folkloori rahvalikkusest. Ideoloogilise tellimuse täitmine seto laulikute abiga aitas folkloristidel hoida varasemaid rahvuslikke uurimis- ja kogumistraditsioone, sest ka kõige karmimal repressioonide ajal koguti Setomaal poliitiliste laulude kõrval mitmesugust vanemat pärimust.

Ent ehkki poliitiliste laulude loojad olid allutatud väga konkreetsetele diskursiivsetele nõuetele, ei tähenda see, et neil oleks puudunud agentsus. Seto naised on poliitiliste laulude koostööprojektis olnud vääramatult autoripositsioonil ning vaatamata kohalike ideoloogiatöötajate ja folkloristide püüdele anda laulikutele ideoloogilist koolitust kostab suuremast osast lauludest väga spetsiifiline seto naiste

hääl. Kuigi lauludes on kasutatud valitud vormeleid uuest ideoloogilisest diskursusest, pärineb suurem osa vormeleist seto traditsioonilisest laulukeelest ning peegeldab ka nende naiste (usundilist) maailmapilti. 1940. aastate lõpus folkloristide poolt kogutud seto naiste improvisatsioonid moodsatel teemadel jõudsid kiiresti ka kooliõpikutesse. Kooliõpikutes toimusid nende lauludega aga kultuurilisele omastamisele viitavad muutused, laulud tõlgiti ja neid esitleti eesti nõukogude folkloorina.

The Emergence of Estonian Hip-Hop in the 1990s

Triin Vallaste

Abstract

In this article I trace the ways in which hip-hop as a global form of expression has become indigenized in post-Soviet Estonia. Hip-hop's indigenization coincides with the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991. After the dissolution of the USSR, dominant Estonian social discourses eagerly celebrated re-entering the European-American world and embracing its values. The uncensored global media outlets accessible after 1991 and rapid developments in information technology shortly thereafter were crucial to the history of Estonian-language rap. Hip-hop artists' extensive involvement with new media and technologies reflects an extremely swift transition from ill-equipped to fluent manipulation of technology, which affected cultural production and structures of participation in various sociocultural spheres. While hip-hop culture emerged in the South Bronx during the early 1970s as a radical voice against increasing economic hardship and social marginalization, Estonian hip-hop was established in the early 1990s and developed in the context of a rapidly growing economy, rising living standards, and strong national feeling within a re-independent Estonian state. Hip-hop artists' production vividly reveals both the legacies of Soviet rule and the particular political economy of post-Soviet Estonia.

Hip-hop, with its roots in expressive Caribbean, African-American, and Latino cultures, has become fundamental to millions of peoples' identities worldwide, a fact which necessitates making sense of the specific ways hip-hop functions in diverse communities and cultures. As Tony Mitchell states, "[rap] has become a vehicle for global youth affiliations and a tool for reworking local identity all over the world" (2001: 1–2). Strong local currents of hip-hop indigenization have taken root across the world, including in Europe (e.g. Bennett 2000: 133–165; Krims 2000: 152–197; Mitchell 2003; Brown 2006; Helenon 2006; Barrer 2009; Helbig 2011). As proposed by James Lull, the process of the indigenization or reterritorialization of a musical genre from a globally available popular culture is a helpful framework for examining the appropriation of rap in Europe as the emergence of a new cultural territory. As Androutsopoulos and Scholz interpret Lull's concept, "an indigenized cultural pattern is integrated into the artistic repertoire of the host society, and, as a consequence, […] the pattern is now appropriated as a native form of expression" (2003: 468). To invoke Tom Boellstorff's notion of "dubbing culture" (Boellstorff 2003), indigenized rap "is more than just a quotation: it adds a step, first alienating something but then reworking it in a new context" (2003: 237, cited in Keeler 2009: 6). In this article, I trace the process of hip-hop indigenization in Estonia since the late 1980s by providing hip-hop community members' own insights about developments in hip-hop and society in general.[1]

One significant reason behind the broad and rapid indigenization of the rap genre might lie in its readily available "fantasies of masculine power" (Keeler 2009: 9). Ward Keeler's captivating, if controversial, analysis of Burmese and U.S. rap stresses the importance of a certain "'social' vision in which the MC,[2] and those who take pleasure in identifying with the MC, project a fantasy of absolute power over others, with no hint of accompanying obligation or responsibility" (Keeler 2009: 10). As bell hooks reminds us, the "notion that a real man proves his manhood by remaining rigidly attached to one's position, refusing to change […] reveals the emotional immaturity that

[1] I am deliberately ambiguous about the identity of my interlocutors in order to protect their privacy. A selected list of formal interviews and a selected list of correspondence with my interlocutors are to be found at the end of this article.

[2] MC (sometimes spelled emcee), short for Master of Ceremony, is an alternative title for a rapper. MCing forms one of the five pillars of hip-hop culture (other four being graffiti, Bboying, DJing, and knowledge).

underlies much hip-hop sentiment" (2004: 152). Another reason that attracts large numbers of young men could be, as Simon Warner notes,

> perhaps the very fact that [rap's] musical components were, technically, relatively simple to replicate and that its core was a lyric-based message made it an adaptable, user-friendly structure onto which far-flung performers could graft their own local subjects, their own narratives, their own concerns (Warner 2004: 164).

Therefore, while combining models and idioms from hip-hop in the US with local musical and linguistic idioms, rapping in local languages has become "an innovative form of musical and linguistic expression" across Europe (Larkey 2003: 140). The usage of local language is not the only relevant feature of indigenized rap in Europe. The extensive use and mixing of samples, a central practice in hip-hop, from local popular music, films and other media, but also from local traditional music and even classic poetry, enables rappers to express their viewpoints on local issues not only in a local language but also through sonic citations that are often comprehensible and relevant exclusively to cultural insiders.

Even though glocalized, rappers in Europe seem to base the topics of their lyrics on the American models. According to Androutsopoulos's and Scholz's content analysis of rap lyrics (2003), the two most common categories in European rap are self-presentation and, most importantly, social criticism. Therefore hip-hop, turned into a vehicle for "espousing the causes of ethnic minorities" and making "political statements about local racial, sexual, employment, and class issues" (Mitchell 2001: 10), is produced both by local rappers from majority populations as well as by members of minority/immigrant groups. Additional lyrical topics are the local or national hip-hop scene, parties and fun, love and romance, and scenes from everyday life (Androutsopoulos and Scholz 2003: 471–472). While hip-hop artists in Estonia affirm their cosmopolitan identities through producing and performing a globally prominent form of expression, they simultaneously articulate their national identity through these same processes.

In 2009, when I first contacted Estonian hip-hop artists in order to learn more about the politics and poetics of hip-hop in Estonia, DJ Paul Oja, one of the most prominent Estonian-language rap producers and DJs, started his reply to my email by saying: "Hey, you cannot take rap as a homogeneous thing. There are so many different approaches. Every music differs depending on who makes it" (email communication with DJ Paul Oja, September 2009). Therefore, in order to put Oja's recommendation into action, it is necessary to pay attention to "so many different approaches", and not only to relate to a local rap scene through the templates of U.S. hip-hop scholarship. As scholars continue to document and theorize the effects of global hip-hops, considering the historical and sociopolitical processes that shape them, it is first and foremost a sensitive ethnography that can account for these effects, which in turn leads scholars necessarily beyond the conventional models applied in the field of traditional hip-hop studies. In other words, it would be unfruitful in the Estonian case to follow the disciplinary models of U.S. hip-hop scholarship, including, for instance, analysing rhymes or linking the ethnic backgrounds of the artists to positions of social and cultural resistance (cf. Bynoe 2002). In the Estonian case, in fact, it proves more insightful to track the political and sociocultural events and processes that contributed to the adoption, localization, and, most significantly, diversification of hip-hop practices among a small and homogeneous group of artists in Estonia during the 1990s.

On the other hand, however, this diversification of Estonian-language hip-hop has occurred through the production and circulation of "cultural elements [that] communicate a sense of shared participation in a single space" (Urban 2001: 25). While affirming their cosmopolitan, urbane identities through participation in a global form of expression, Estonian hip-hop artists devotedly articulate their national identity through their production. Therefore, the local and global, increasingly intertwined, simultaneously continue to compete with and claim their independence from one another (cf. Appadurai 1990). Furthermore, it is precisely this kind of friction emerging from the on-the-ground synergy of the local and global that deserves the closest study (cf. Tsing 2004). Even as popular music scholars have underplayed the influence of national identities on popular music (e.g. Frith 1993; Harley 1993), ethnicity/nationality/race and, in certain cases, the

nation-state, have maintained and increased their central role in popular music production (Cloonan 1999).

In an attempt to sum up Estonian-language rap, which emerged in the early 1990s, it seems difficult to come up with any unifying themes in terms of the content of rhymes or the aesthetics of beat-making: there are stories about competitive binge drinking as well as making pancakes with grandmother, and beats range from reggae to heavy metal and drum'n'bass. There is also an immense variety in rappers' rhyme schemes as well as in beatmakers' (*biidimeistrid*)[3] and producers' use of production software and know-how. Additionally, there is no homogeneity in terms of the hip-hop artists' public image and style of dress: You can encounter bohemian rappers in self-knitted sweaters, plaid shirts, and corduroy pants, as well as swaggering producers with baggy pants, way-too-big hoodies, baseball hats, and flashy jewellery. At the same time, the emphasis on being an Estonian and being involved in the "Estonian business" (*ajame eesti asja*)[4] binds together this diverse group of exclusively male, middle-class ethnic Estonians who have, in most cases, a good education and, where applicable, well-respected public personas. Using modes of speech from the social world in order to publicly think about, enact, or perform national identities proves the characteristic and unifying feature of hip-hop artists in Estonia (cf. Berger 2003: xv).

One of the main reasons for this abundance in making hip-hop in Estonia lies in the local music industry, or, more precisely, in the lack thereof. Due to the minuscule size of the market, major record labels have not taken any interest in Estonian-language popular musics. Some Estonian-language rap circulates on compilation albums put out by local independent labels, usually owned by an active member of the hip-hop scene, while the majority finds its public outlet through social media channels such as Facebook, Twitter, YouTube, SoundCloud, MySpace, and various Estonian hip-hop community websites. Therefore, since there is no industry-driven pressure and convention to produce rap in certain ways, local artists have the freedom and the urge to experiment with and modify their styles from one track to another. Simultaneously, the ever-present need to express one's national belonging and loyalty in a globally omnipresent musical genre tints virtually every aspect of hip-hop production in Estonia.

Fieldwork experience and methodology

I have been working with hip-hop artists from the Estonian-language hip-hop scene since early 2009. My research is based on correspondence, open-ended interviews (23), and participant observations. I have communicated with various artists via email, GoogleChat, Facebook, and Twitter, as well as face-to-face while interviewing them and attending their live shows during my trips to Estonia. I also kept a fieldwork diary in order to keep notes about the observations. Additionally, I was allowed to take a large amount of photographs and videos of hip-hop performances. The data was gathered between 2009 and 2014. My years of fieldwork – both face-to-face and virtual – have yielded a substantial body of fieldnotes, photographs, and recorded interviews with hip-hop artists. I also have live show recordings from a range of performances.

As Laudan Nooshin (2011: 93) states in her article about hip-hop in Iran,

> Hip-hop might be regarded as the migrant music par excellence in that its migration has been almost entirely effected through mediation and rarely through the movement of "tradition bearers". As such, it is interesting to explore the new meanings that music acquires in contexts that are culturally distant from its origins.

Following Nooshin's observation, I focus here on the new meanings that hip-hop artists in Estonia have created while modelling their production on hip-hops from all over the world. How exactly do they incorporate media, technology, and me-

[3] A local term explained to me as used for the individuals who come up with a catchy loop or a set of loops but have no knowledge or aspiration to develop it into a full-length track. This will be done by producers.

[4] Briefly, the widely used expression of "minding Estonian business" refers to the vernacular interpretation of the first paragraph of the Constitution that states that everyone's involvement is necessary to "guarantee the preservation of the Estonian people, the Estonian language and the Estonian culture through the ages" (English translation available at: https://www.riigiteataja.ee/en/eli/530102013003/consolide (last access 20.08.2018).

diated global musics into their production? How do they negotiate simultaneously participating in a small Estonian-language hip-hop community and a vast transnational, multi-lingual scene that constantly exchanges and transforms sounds, trends, and ideas?

A Brief History of Popular Music in Estonia

Hip-hop is by no means the first non-Estonian popular music genre that local musicians have indigenized and used to fashion a simultaneously local and global sense of self. Although the first independent Estonian nation-state only emerged in 1918, ethnic Estonian musicians were active during the first two decades of the twentieth century in the world of popular music in the Governorate of Estonia, the westernmost region of the Russian Empire. At that time, audiences would gather at a popular music event expecting to hear a potpourri of fashionable German and French opera and operetta tunes, arranged for piano, chamber ensembles, or wind ensembles. During the 1910s, local elites gradually adopted new dances such as the cakewalk, Boston, one-step, two-step, and tango in order to follow Western European trends. The social dance scene significantly enlivened popular musical life and created new groups of musicians who supported themselves by playing at dance parties (Lauk 2010: 51–52). Additionally, the song industry slowly picked up and, heavily influenced by German Schlager, resulted in hit songs using German tunes but with Estonian-language lyrics (Ojakäär 2000: 18).

At the beginning of the twentieth century, American popular music and dance genres such as ragtime and early jazz reached enthusiastic European audiences, resulting in the foundation of dance bands across Europe. In 1918, the first Estonian jazz band (The Murphy Band) was established, and a gradually increasing number of Estonian musicians learned to play ragtime and organized themselves into groups following Duke Ellington's big band model (Ojakäär 2000: 122; Lauk 2010: 56). Jazz enjoyed the status of the most sought-after popular music in Estonia throughout the 1920s and 1930s. During this period, increasingly accelerated transnational exchanges in many areas of life, including music, took place largely through technology. Publishing and rapidly developing communication technologies such as radio broadcasting, which started in 1926, made possible the spread of musical sounds and cultural practices.

Popular music and culture in the Soviet Union – which encompassed Estonia in 1940–1941 and 1944–1991 – incorporated several trends. On the one hand, popular culture was largely co-opted by official culture, made widely available through a state system of distribution, and was often perceived as kitsch by mass publics (Beumers 2005; Reiman 2010; Reiman 2011). On the other hand, the popular musics craved by the masses were of "Western" origin, and their consumption was ideologically prohibited. Anxiety in the Soviet Union over jazz as "the symbol of bourgeois decadence" and the need to provide "good but accessible music in opposition to [the 'light genre' of jazz]" invigorated lively debates about the nature of "mass music or song" that would influence the masses' "musical tastes and psychology" (Frolova-Walker and Walker 2012: 275–283).

Therefore, jazz in the 1920s, 1930s, and 1940s, rock and roll in the 1950s, British beat in the 1960s, and punk rock in the 1970s were all obtained and circulated via underground markets and unofficial channels. The underground functioning of a "second economy", usually sustained by sailors and their collaborators, gave people access to all sorts of Western goods, including records and sheet music. In the Estonian case, since Estonia was the westernmost region of the USSR and had close geographical proximity to Finland, Finnish TV and radio channels were illegally received using home-made antennas.

In order to consume the novel sounds and artistic inspirations acquired via illegal mass media channels and black markets more freely, Estonian popular musicians worked extensively on making Estonian-language covers of "Western" pop hits. Striking examples from the perspective of indigenization and the contemporary intellectual property discourse include Sven Himma and Mahavok's cover of the 1981 hit "Who Can It Be Now?" by Men At Work; and Marju Länik, Jaak Joala and Kontakt's 1983 cover of "Tonight, I Celebrate My Love" by Peabo Bryson and Roberta Flack. Mahavok's reinterpretation of Men At Work's "Who Can It Be Now?" illustrates how accurately all the sonic features were reproduced in Estonian covers and how Estonian-language lyrics did not necessarily follow the message and sentiment of the original text. To fast-forward to the 1990s, when Estonian

hip-hop artists started making music, specific parallels between Soviet-era cover songs and emergent Estonian hip-hop appear: it was crucial to sound similar with but differ lyrically from other global hip-hops. Hence, Estonia-specific cultural references, slang, and themes were introduced into hip-hop.

New Developments in Mass Media and Popular Culture in the early 1990s

After re-independence in 1991, the state faced the complicated task of re-establishing democratic political institutions and implementing neoliberal economic structures while providing the necessary economic support for its citizens during the challenging transitional years (Raun 2001: 253–255). Open public debate about the country's past, present, and future as well as all kinds of artistic production bloomed once rigid Soviet-era censorship mechanisms had disappeared. Radio and television broadcasting had begun in Estonia in 1926 and 1955, respectively, and were the two main mass media that served as propaganda tools for the Soviet regime (Miljan 2004: 397–398). Needless to say, censorship of radio and TV programmes as well as print media was rigorous (cf. Zetterberg 2009: 557).

The uncensored nature of public expression starting in 1991 was somewhat challenging for the older generations, who had grown up and been educated in Soviet Estonia and who were acculturated to rigid censorship and to never expressing one's true opinion. The younger generations, in contrast, eagerly embraced the sense of freedom and liberal outlets for self-expression that had become widely available. However, complete adjustment to a liberal public sphere was not effortless even for young Estonians born around 1990 with no first-hand experience of the Soviet way of living. It required a conscious effort to overcome cautiousness in expressing one's opinion in private contexts – a habit acquired during Soviet occupation and deeply rooted in communal self-preservation.

In addition to a restructuring of public culture, the collapse of the Soviet Union required the complete restructuring of Estonia's economy. By embracing neoliberal principles,[5] an extremely fertile ground for all kinds of small businesses was created. Among these was a rapidly growing number of new communications companies importing global TV channels. As graffiti artist Marx explained in his interview for this study, he and other Estonians welcomed the previously inaccessible Western European and American TV channels with open arms. It should be noted, however, that Finnish TV had been accessible, although illegally, since the 1950s in some regions in northern Estonia, including Tallinn. These benefited greatly from their geographical proximity to Finland, which was just 50 miles north across the Baltic Sea. By manipulating TV sets, antennas, and radios, it was possible to receive Finnish media. In this way, northern Estonia was the only place in the Soviet Union where one could see Western TV (Tarm 2002). Needless to say, this practice, though illegal, was nevertheless widespread. For Estonians' aspirations toward economic and eventually political independence, the "Finnish link" proved crucial, as described by several members of the Estonian intelligentsia (Mikecz 2011: 180, 181):

> We watched Finnish TV [already in the 1950s]. It was, in some way, a window to the western world… we could compare all the time our life and Finnish life in detail and of course our dream was as soon as possible to be as, how to say, as rich and happy and nice as Finland… In all that Soviet time Finnish TV was observable in half of Estonia. It was like a window to the West all the time. All that time a normal person in Tallinn knew the Finnish language, at least passively because his major TV was Finnish TV. And it was impossible that something happened in the world and they don't know in Tallinn. Of course we knew it immediately. We heard about Chernobyl from Finnish TV, not Soviet TV.

Following Finnish TV and radio became a national pastime and created an underground industry within the official TV and radio repair stations, since radios and TVs needed to be readjusted (the Soviet Union used different broadcasting standards from Finland).

[5] I use the term here to indicate a system of economic policies such as privatization, austerity, deregulation, and free trade.

For Estonian hip-hop artists, TV, radio and print media from Finland served as their primary source of information. Kozy, a rap pioneer born in 1975, first learned about rap in the late 1980s via Finnish media, particularly radio. His experience vividly portrays the extent to which Estonians fashioned themselves according to the information and knowledge acquired from Finnish media. Here is how Kozy described this process to me in 2009:

> For me, in order to learn more about hip-hop, it was definitely a Finnish radio station that was called Radiomafia at that time, now it is Yle X. I listened to that and recorded with an old reel-to-reel machine in order to get an overview of new musics. Somehow, already around 1988 or so I was certain that rap was the coolest music ever. I also listened to heavy metal but I thought "Walk This Way" was super as was Beastie Boys' "Fight For Your Right", but when I asked to play rap at my school dance, the cold reaction and the demand for Chris De Burgh by others made me a little doubtful at the same time. Later, MTV became freely available and I also need to admit that I was following Vanilla Ice and MC Hammer, not to mention Raptor, MC Nikke T, Hausmylly, and Murkulat [rappers or rap groups from Finland]. Whenever I got to go to Finland, a Finnish youth magazine Suosikki was the best source for information [about local and global rap].
>
> I made the final decision to quit listening to heavy metal and become exclusively a rap fan in 1991 when LL Cool J's "Mama Said Knock You Out" was released. I really liked Public Enemy even earlier because it sounded wild, especially "Bring The Noise" featuring Anthrax, since I was a devoted thrash fan at the time. And so it all started: At first it felt all wild and alternative: Public Enemy, N.W.A., Ice T, Run D.M.C., KRS One, Gang Starr, etc., then later I got additionally interested in Afrocentric and jazz-influenced stuff like A Tribe Called Quest, Jungle Brothers, Arrested Development, etc.

Kozy's encyclopedic knowledge of the US and Western European hip-hop gained him a central position in the local hip-hop community. Although mostly known outside hop-hop circles as one of the MCs from the Estonian rap "super group" A-Rühm (A-Team), Kozy has been interested in DJing since he was a teenager and has been the heart and soul of a weekly radio show "Linnadžungel" (Urban Jungle) since it first aired on one of the state-funded national broadcasting stations in 1995. In "Linnadžungel", Kozy promoted both foreign and local hip-hop artists and educated his listeners about the histories and aesthetics of hip-hop. As several younger hip-hop artists told me, listening to "Linnadžungel" on Monday nights was like a religious ritual for them when they first took an interest in hip-hop. One MC described his experience with the show:

> I think I was 14 or 15 or so. Completely accidentally I was listening to the radio in my mother's apartment in Lasnamäe just before falling asleep and for the first time I heard Kozy playing a hip-hop track in "Linnadžungel". I had never heard anything like that. I was completely mesmerized. This foggy evening, this slightly broken radio, this channel-surfing session and then finding "Linnadžungel" with this hip-hop track – I will never forget that evening and that moment and I am sure I secretly decided to start rhyming exactly then. And I started to listen to this show every week, religiously.

For a younger generation of hip-hop artists who have just started to make music, catching Kozy's attention, or better yet his approval, and being played on Kozy's show is considered the most important initiation into the local hip-hop scene. Connections with people working in radio stations are eagerly sought, as they have been since Estonian hip-hop first started to take off. People working in radio stations were not only able to negotiate airplay through personal connections but also to help hip-hop artists use studio space in the radio station, usually quite secretively and after-hours, for mixing and recording. In times of societal restructuring, it is the close cooperation between mediators, such as radio hosts, and musicians that results in new modes and aesthetics of acceptable popular music (Tucker 2010: 557). Having close connections with radio people is exactly how Cool D, an MC, producer, and the first Estonian hip-hop artist to release an album, managed to start making music in the first place.

Technological Literacy and e-Estonia

Another process underway at the end of the 1990s was a technological one. The uncensored global media outlets that opened up after 1991 and the rapid developments in information technology shortly thereafter are crucial to understanding the history of Estonian-language rap. Hip-hop artists' extensive involvement with new media and technologies requires an examination of the ways an extremely swift transition from ill-equipped to fluent manipulation of technology has affected their cultural production and structured their participation in various sociocultural communities.

The rapid economic growth that brought with it a higher standard of living and the "e-Estonia" project granted a broad part of the population easy access to computers and high-speed Internet connections. The "e-Estonia"[6] project, which was launched in the mid-1990s, was a large-scale, state-funded initiative that supplied every educational institution with computers and a high-speed internet connection.

The Estonian national information technology programme was launched in February 1996 by President Lennart Meri with the goals of modernizing the Estonian educational system, creating conditions for the formation of an open learning environment, and adapting the nation to the demands of an information society (Miljan 2004: 471). The immediate objective was to put a computer in every classroom in every school in Estonia, and to rapidly introduce information and communications technology (ICT) in the public and private sectors. By 2000, four years later, ICT access had moved Estonia into the front ranks of Internet use in Europe.

The Tiger Leap Foundation, founded to develop and expand the reach of computer and network infrastructure, was established in February 1997 as a non-profit body consisting of the Ministry of Education and 37 computer companies and private individuals to organize the execution and financing of the programme. Initially, to the general public, Tiger Leap became associated with the slogan "one computer for every twenty pupils". The Foundation rapidly evolved a three-level strategy, with the national level developing the target programme, the national level coordinating the supply of computers and skills, and, at the local level, each school implementing the ICT programme for the learning and utilization of IT resources (ibid.: 471).

The educational part of the programme provided training for teachers, computers and software, assisted in setting up Estonian language educational databases for schools, and encouraged pupils to set up chat rooms and online newspapers. The Tiger Leap programme caught the imagination of the Estonian population and became the motor of the virtualisation of the Estonian economy and the public sector. To encourage Estonians to use IT outside work and education, the foundation provided a large number of public-access Internet sites around the country. As early as 1999 almost all government forms were accessible to the public on the Internet, and the administrative reform of 2000 began by making all internal documents available online to eliminate paper jams. All ministries, including the prime minister's office, sent Christmas cards in 1999 online only (Miljan 2004: 471). By 2000, Cabinet meetings used only documentation read on computer screens, and travelling ministers participated in cabinet meetings by laptop Internet connection. In 2002, the Tallinn City Council inaugurated its own advanced Tiger Leap to increase the number of computers in the schools from one per 42 pupils to one for every 10 by 2005; and that June, a programme funded by banks and telecom firms was inaugurated to teach computer and Internet access skills to 100,000 computer-illiterate adults in Estonia (Miljan 2004: 471–472).

Additionally, government funds subsidised Estonian families who invested in these technologies. As a result, it has been possible ever since to manage the virtual paperwork related to banking, schooling, and even national-level voting without leaving one's home. One producer told me about his grandmother living in the countryside with an outhouse and no running water but enjoying the benefits of high-speed internet thanks to "e-Estonianization". One of the most visible symbols of Estonian e-society is NATO's Cyber Defence Centre with its global e-military based in Tallinn.[7]

6 Read more at http://e-estonia.com/ (20.08.2018).

7 Additionally, although founded by Scandinavian businessmen, Skype software was developed by a team of Estonian IT specialists in 2003.

Similarly, access to global TV channels via satellite dishes, which proliferated after the collapse of the Soviet Union, was welcomed with open arms by Estonian viewers.

As a result of "e-Estonia", Estonians acquired computer fluency and wider media literacy very quickly. This enabled previously ill-equipped hip-hop musicians to acquire computer fluency and wider media literacy in addition to being able to purchase media and manipulate the technologies necessary for independent music production. In other words, as noted by Peter Manuel in his work on "cassette culture", "the spread of various forms of inexpensive, grassroots-based micro-media […] provide[s] [previously] dominated social groups with an unprecedented degree of access to, representation in, and control of mass media" (1993: 3). DJ Paul Oja, Toe Tag's beatmaker and producer and a close friend of and collaborator with all the A-Rühm members, describes his decision to start making beats in the mid-1990s thus:

> I got very encouraged by the whole new digital direction in early 1990s music which proved that one didn't have to have [traditional] musical instruments, band members [to play them], and a separate room for band rehearsals. One could make music in one's own bedroom and not have to worry about what other guys might think about this music (email communication with DJ Paul Oja, December 2009).

Oja's description hints at new kinds of artistic, communal, and masculine subjectivities (see Biehl, Good and Kleinman 2007) that became available as a result of the political and cultural transitions underway in Estonian society after the end of the Soviet regime. His decision to make digital music, using "technologies of wired sound", became part of the process that announced "new logics of music creation and [empowered] local cultural and expressive values" (Greene 2005: 3).

At the same time, as MCs took advantage of democratized ways to make, record, and distribute (electronic) music and embraced "all-in-one" artistry, the need for effective beats, which meant the need for a highly-skilled producer, claimed a central place. Kozy and Genka, two MCs denigrating "a guy somewhere [who is] dictating what can or can't be done" and promoting their autonomy and a "we make our own rules" attitude, would most certainly not have been able to enjoy the popularity of their single "Popmuusik" ("Pop Musician") without their beatmaker – the DJ and producer DJ Critikal. It is a fact that "Pop Musician" is not a newspaper article or a poem but a piece of music that gained A-Rühm "access to channels of mass distribution and underpins their power and credibility" (Walser 1995: 194).

"Everything started with music"

In 2009, three Estonian street-art enthusiasts – Tõnis Palkov, Uku Sepsivart, and Andres Siplane – published an in-depth overview of street-art history in Estonia *Haiguste ravi. Kontrollitud* (*The Cure for Illnesses. Checked*). Palkov, Sepsivart, and Siplane note in the foreword of their publication that although street art in Estonia goes back at least to the early 1980s, it is mostly associated with post-1991 hip-hop. In an interview for the same publication, Bach, one of the first Estonian graffiti artists, reveals that even though street art undoubtedly existed before 1991, it was not the visual art tradition that inspired a new generation of artists. Rather, it was the hip-hop music that they heard then for the first time: "In terms of getting into street art, everything started with the [hip-hop] music that was new in our society and sounded radical to us" (Bach in Palkov, Sepsivart and Siplane 2009).

In the same interview, another graffiti artist and Bach's close friend Marx describes the circumstances in which rap was first received, and pinpoints the media outlets, new and old, that eventually led to the emergence of Estonian rap (Marx in Palkov, Sepsivart and Siplane 2009):

> At one point it became clear that punk was not quite enough any more. Since 1990 or 1991, we got to know more and more black music, mostly rap. Rap sounded new and fresh. Cable TV helped a lot, but also the good old radio. Besides being able to receive Filmnet via cable TV with its 1970s German soft-core porn, we also received until-then unreachable MTV, German Viva, and French MCM. New favourite artists emerged: "softies" such as Snap, MC Hammer, Technotronic, Vanilla Ice, C&C Music Factory, A Tribe Called Quest and "hardcore" rappers such as Ice-T, Public Enemy, and all sorts of other old-school stuff. Public Enemy impacted me so much that I started wearing

> a large yellow clock around my neck and did it for years.

As Marx points out, and this holds true for many other young people living in the Soviet Union, punk was the preferred music during the 1980s. Punk provided the Estonian youth not only with a music that irritated their parents and grandparents but also a medium through which to express anti-establishment sentiments – which in late-1980s Estonia meant being anti-Soviet and pro-independence (Blackplait and Bloomfield 2009). When in late 1988 the Estonian Sovereignty Declaration that led to the formal declaration of independence on August 20 1991 was issued, radical anti-governmental artistic expressions lost some of their immediacy – epic nationalist rock ballads devoted to the liberated Estonian nation and state performed by contemporary pop stars won over several previous fans of punk. Others, such as Bach and Marx, started looking for a music that would sound "new" and "radical". Bach's and Marx's musical quest relied heavily on radio, historically the most influential mass medium in Estonia, and on what was a novel source of sounds and information at the time – cable TV.

In later parts of the same interview, Marx returns to the crucial role of radio in the accumulation of hip-hop knowledge. In connection with radio, he mentions the first Estonian-language rap artist Cool D (Marx in Palkov, Sepsivart and Siplane 2009):

> Very quickly I also managed to collect a lot of rap tracks on audiocassettes – it is funny how we all wanted so badly to own music in a physical form. Of course, at that time one recorded everything onto audiocassettes from the radio. I was really proud since I managed to record a whole cassette full of Cool D's music since his brothers worked in a radio station [in Tartu] and played his tracks. Pretty cool – tons of "cunts" and "cocks" in Cool D's lyrics were freely aired on the radio and I along with other guys eagerly recorded them and then duplicated the cassettes to circulate them among friends. I remember that I had all Cool D's song titles written all over my backpack.

The use of radio in the early 1990s and the rapid impact of the Internet in the mid-1990s were crucial to the emergence and development of hip-hop in Estonia. Radio, user-friendly and accessible to a variety of populations, has "regularly allowed new or silenced voices to enter the public sphere, especially in times of social or technological change" (Tucker 2013: 150; see also Taylor 2005). Certain radio hosts, promoting Estonian hip-hop artists' works, may be regarded as cultural gatekeepers who "foster the feeling of belonging to a community" (Simonett 2001: 45). Meanwhile, rapidly increasing access to inexpensive, high-quality sound recording equipment facilitated the democratization of music production and distribution, which also helped mature the hip-hop scene in Estonia (cf. Théberge 1997; Peterson and Bennett 2004: 6).

Cool D, an idol of Marx and many other young Estonians since 1991, along with Genka, DJ Paul Oja, Revo, Kozy, and DJ Critikal – the five other "founding fathers" of Estonian-language rap – will be the protagonists of the next chapters. Starting in the early 1990s, these six musicians, by indigenizing hip-hop, played central roles in the liberalisation and commercialisation of Estonian popular culture that was brought about by the fundamental shift from Soviet state-controlled to post-Soviet capitalist-driven artistic practices.

Significantly, the Estonian hip-hop pioneers' first productions coincide with the state's re-independence process during the early 1990s and with the large-scale privatization process that accompanied the transition from a Soviet command economy to a free market economy (Gillies, Leimann, Peterson 2002). The adoption of neoliberal economic principles by the political elite influenced citizens' attitudes beyond economic realms. I would contend that early Estonian rap can be viewed as one of the outlets through which young Estonians adapted to the spread of "neoliberal [attitudes] and practices in everyday life" (Stenning et al. 2010: 37–38). In their production, Estonian rap pioneers made sure they manifested their belief in individual and artistic freedom – expected from a group of musicians experiencing a transition to post-Soviet freedom of speech, or as many artists put it, "total freedom". They also positioned themselves within the commercial realm of Estonian popular music, which implicitly manifested their belief in economic freedom and free markets as well. Hence, the story of Estonian rap is also a story of privatization and of the re-constitution of Estonian citizens as consumers.

Cool D: The First Hip-Hop Artist in Estonia?

The story of Estonian rap, as told by various hip-hop artists, most often starts with Cool D, the first hip-hop artist, who started making music in the early 1990s and has rhymed exclusively in Estonian ever since his first productions. I first met with Cool D in the summer of 2013. Although I knew that throughout his successful music career – still going strong in 2013 after 18 years and nine albums – he has continued working in radio, I was somewhat surprised when he proposed that we meet at his workplace. Since I was used to hip-hop artists preferring to meet at a coffee shop or take a walk during our conversations, an invitation to meet at a radio station caught me somewhat off guard. This helped me, however, to realize something characteristic about Estonian hip-hop artists: all of them need to have day jobs to support their music-making, and the more stable and profitable a job one has, the higher the quality of one's hip-hop production. Consequently, the artists whom I talked with at coffee shops or in parks were the ones working flexible hours or part-time, or who were completely unemployed, and they kept telling me stories about their struggles as hip-hop artists. Cool D, however, had always worked full-time – in the summer of 2013 he was working as a full-time sound designer and editor for one of the most successful commercial radio stations in Estonia – and thanks to his day job he had successfully managed to maintain his national visibility as a hip-hop musician since his debut album came out in 1995.

Waiting in the reception area at the radio station, I was somewhat nervous about meeting the first Estonian hip-hop artist, an artist whom several younger rappers had mentioned during our conversations as their most important role model. My anxious feeling disappeared as soon as I noticed Cool D approaching me – barefoot and with a friendly smile on his face. He asked in an extremely easygoing manner whether his humble office was enough for our conversation or whether he should investigate the availability of a conference room. Another generalization about the Estonian hip-hop community crystallized during that moment: despite their presumptuous, hypermasculine, glamorous stage personas, all the hip-hop artists I have met are regular, down-to-earth people who answer their own phones and emails, do their own grocery shopping, and drive their own cars – and in some cases ride their own bikes or use public transport. In other words, the idea of a hip-hop artist as an unreachable and wealthy superstar does not exist among Estonian youth due to the DIY production model and the absolute lack of a music industry structured around major labels and images of stardom.

We walked toward Cool D's office, and after settling in he shared many stories about his teenage years and early music-making. He took pride in the fact that he comes from a musical family and had been musical since childhood:

> My parents decided to send me to a state school [in Tartu] that had a strong performing arts focus, especially music. Later I joined a boys' choir and a mixed choir. Also, as an after-school activity I learned how to play percussion at a community music school. Playing percussion rooted the sense of beat and rhythm in me – a song is only good when it has a good beat.

Cool D is the youngest of three brothers, and while growing up desired to do exactly what his older brothers were doing. When his brothers got into DJing at the end of the 1980s, Cool D followed their lead and started listening to lots of different musics. This is how he discovered hip-hop and decided to start making his own hip-hop in Estonian. Since his brothers both worked at the radio station – Cool D wished to work there as well but he was still at high school at the time – he had access to radio recording equipment and was able to ask his brothers to help him with his music production. Throughout the early 1990s, Cool D and his brothers were working on his first tracks, which culminated in 1995 with the release of his debut album.

Cool D's *O'Culo* is considered the first Estonian hip-hop album (cf. Karell 2004; Vaher 2008). Although released in 1995, Cool D had produced many of the sixteen tracks, including the album's title track "O'Culo", in 1994. The production techniques for "O'Culo", which features densely layered short samples, exemplify the kind of beat-making and rhyming that is a hallmark of Cool D's early work, as well as of much subsequent Estonian rap. First, Cool D produced his instrumental tracks by gluing together samples from foreign

hip-hop. Sometimes, the gluing was quite literal, since Cool D started out producing and recording using reel-to-reel technology. He described his early bootleg beat-making in July 2013:

> I made everything myself. Since I didn't have access to any beat-making equipment, I started combining layers and layers of excerpts of foreign hip-hop beats that I had recorded from MTV, first with my reel-to-reel recorder and then with my double cassette player. It is really mind-blowing to think back to the technological scarcity in which I started making hip-hop in the early 1990s – there were no computers, so absolutely no beat-making software available, let alone samplers or anything like that.

Secondly, Cool D's Estonian-language rhymes boasted exclusively about his superior qualities as a rapper and as an übermasculine young man. The sentiment in the rhymes of "O'Culo" is an excellent example of this kind of excessive braggadocio (see Figure 1).

The individual, artistic, and economic freedom that Cool D promotes in his "O'Culo" by bragging about his womanising as well as his savvy business skills to "steal beats and make [his] own songs out of them" coincided with the rapid privatization process in Estonia. In the early 1990s, state-owned assets were distributed free of charge to the general public through vouchers, which instilled a sense of "everything is up for grabs" and "staying poor is one's own fault" in Estonian national culture (cf. Gillies, Leimann, Peterson 2002). The transition from a Soviet command economy to a neoliberal economy was a complex process during which Estonian people started to think of themselves either as "winners" (for instance, the budding strata of nouveau riche, who made their fortunes through privatization transactions) or "losers". In other words, social and economic inequality was rapidly growing during the early 1990s. Significantly, the acquisition of cultural capital was almost as highly valued as the growth of one's economic capital, and the best way to display one's cultural capital was to associate oneself with anything "Western".

Besides choosing to make hip-hop, Cool D had accumulated cultural capital through his impressive technological expertise, both in terms of having access to high-quality sound-editing and recording equipment as well as being able to manipulate the equipment fluently. Releasing a sixteen-track debut album in 1995 was something only a musician with close connections to high-tech institutions such as a radio station or a recording studio could do – no performing artist was independently able to afford equipment during the depressed economy of the early 1990s. As mentioned above, Cool D's two older brothers worked at a radio station in Tartu and helped him, sometimes without their employer's permission, to mix and record his music. They also played his tracks on the radio, mostly without having per-

Figure 1. The first twelve lines of Cool D's "O'Culo" (1994).

Kas on veel sellist nagu CLD	Could you ever find anybody like CLD
Ma olen Cool D ja ma ei aja jama	I am Cool D and I don't bullshit
O'culo – elu näitab, mis ma teen	O'culo – you will learn about what I do
Hull litapoeg, kes läheb mööda teed	I am an awesome son of a bitch who is walking here
Ma varastan rütmi ja teen sellest loo	I steal beats and make my own songs out of them
Sina ennast kasvõi üles poo	You can even hang yourself
Kui sulle ei meeldi, mida ma teen	If you don't like what I do
Siis Cool D ütleb – käi perse	And Cool D says to you – go fuck yourself
Kui sinu kallis mees tuleb minu juurde ja küsib	When your dear man comes to me and asks
Cool D, mida nüüd sa teed	Cool D, what are you doing now
Siis ma ütlen, et ma kepin sinu naist	Then I reply that I am fucking your woman,
Sinu ema ja su õde, kui sa teada tahad tõde	your mother, and your sister, if you wish to know the whole truth

mission to do so. Cool D remembers the reaction of listeners after his songs were played on the radio:

> When I started to get serious about my music, being inspired by Tone LOC, Beastie Boys, NWA, Ice Cube, Public Enemy, etc., my brothers who worked at a radio station helped me with equipment in order to mix and record my first tracks. They even played some of my tracks on the radio, which got them hugely in trouble since people thought it was outrageous to hear songs with such a vulgar message on the radio. Once, even the mayor [of Tartu] allegedly called to the radio station's director and complained about my music.

In 1995, Cool D released not only the very first Estonian hip-hop album but also the first Estonian hip-hop video. The video for "O'Culo" is shot in black and white at two locations: a construction site and a radio station. Employing both an outdoor and a restricted indoor space within the same video demonstrates the relentless desire to achieve "total freedom" and, more importantly, to display it. Cool D's decision to shoot his first video in the radio station filled with what was, at the time, an impressive amount and variety of high-quality technology is a clear sign of feeling the need to exhibit his acquired cultural and technological capital, a kind of social performance rapidly spreading among Estonian youth. Additionally, by using a construction space as the second location in the video – where he traverses scaffolding while rapping – Cool D symbolically positions himself as the builder of the Estonian hip-hop tradition. This taps into what Tricia Rose calls "the contestation over public space", which, as she argues, represents a significant way in which power relations within a hip-hop culture and rap are negotiated:

> The politics of rap music involves the contestation over public space, the meanings, interpretations, and value of the lyrics and the music, and the investment of cultural capital. In short, it is not just what you say, it is where you can say it, how others react to it, and whether you have the power to command access to public space. (Rose 1994: 124).

To sum up, it is impossible to overestimate the importance of radio in the emergence of Estonian rap. The relatively low cost of making radio widely accessible to economically disadvantaged populations, as well as the Soviet propaganda machine's strategies in representing radio "as something useful, something everyday, something everybody must have and listen [to]" (Taylor 2005: 250), prefigured radio's status for the first Estonian hip-hop enthusiasts. For early artists such as Cool D, radio was the medium through which one got to know the sounds and stories of American hip-hop. Furthermore, it was radio that provided avid music listeners and neophyte musicians with new tracks and, as I shall discuss later, with raw musical material. In the midst of the grave post-independence economic depression of the early 1990s, with skyrocketing unemployment and no record stores to even dream about, it was most common to record music from the radio with one's tape recorder. With its unique combination of affordances, radio not only allowed hip-hop artists to get to know and physically acquire new sounds but also fuelled hip-hop aspirations based primarily on musical sound, not visual images. In Cool D's case, radio also offered a physical studio space in which a financially disadvantaged young musician could gain access to sound manipulation technology such as high-end microphones and reel-to-reel recorders.

"Rhyming in Estonian is really lame"

Only a couple of hip-hop artists, while telling stories about the early days of Estonian rap, would concede that the celebrated "first Estonian rapper" Cool D was in fact perceived as a complete outsider during the early and mid-1990s. His outsider status was not so much about Cool D's geographical distance from Tallinn, where the hip-hop scene's core members lived – Cool D was born and raised in Tartu, about 180 kilometres away, and lived there until the end of the 1990s – but about his choice to rhyme in Estonian. His contemporaries all rhymed in English, and thought Cool D sounded "lame" with his Estonian rhymes. MC'Oll, Ove, and Droopy from Daraba Bastadz, a rap group from Pärnu, without explicitly naming Cool D, but clearly targeting his production, declared in an interview in 1997 that "rapping in a

foreign language sounds cool but as soon as one starts rhyming in Estonian, it gets really lame" (Valme 1997: 22).

Significantly, even when everything connected to "Russianness" was publicly condemned after 1991 – for Estonians everything "Soviet" had always been associated with "Russianness" – Russian-speaking rappers and their rhyming in Russian were considered cooler than Cool D. DJ Paul Oja, a leading hip-hop producer and DJ, is not alone in his opinion that Russophone hip-hop artists played a central role in the early history of hip-hop in Estonia (Oja 2007: 44–45):

> During the early and mid-1990s, the majority of hip-hop artists in Tallinn were Russian-speakers. That makes sense, doesn't it, since Russian-speakers also comprise a large percentage of the population in Tallinn. Russian was also the most-used language in rapping, followed by English, while Cool D, the only artist rhyming in Estonian at that time, was considered an outsider and was mocked a lot because of his Estonian rhymes. Somehow, Russian really did sound damn good on a hip-hop beat and we, Estonians, admired the tough-looking and fast-rapping local Russians a lot during those early days.

Although Russian rappers were admired, Estonian-speaking hip-hop artists never rapped in Russian but chose to rhyme in English. All the tracks on the third Estonian hip-hop album – the first two were both by Cool D – were entirely in English. Released by Toe Tag, a rap group from Tallinn, *The Real Kuhnja*[8] *Homophobes* (1997) stood in stark contrast to Cool D's *O'Culo* (1995) and *Sõnumid pimedusest* (*Messages From Darkness*; 1996). In addition to the English-language lyrics, the instrumental tracks on the album were not based on layered samples from foreign hip-hop but were digitally produced using music sequencing software.

It should be noted that, in comparison to the time when Cool D started making beats in the early 1990s, access to computers had significantly increased by 1997 when Toe Tag released their album. But as Genka, one of the members of Toe Tag, explained, he and his friends were never into cutting and pasting foreign hip-hop sounds in the first place. Genka recorded his first track by recording his acoustic music-making:

> I recorded my first track at home with two reel-to-reel players. First, I recorded myself playing "the drum part" on our couch cushions. When it was finished, I played it back while recording my rapping and my playing some kind of riff on the guitar with the other reel-to-reel player.

Genka also shared with me precise details about the foundation of Toe Tag and how beat-making rose to a new level:

> Toe Tag was founded [in 1996] when I met Paul Oja, who owned a computer – a very rare thing at the time. It was an Amiga 500 and he also had Octamed on it. This was a very big deal and helped us start making beats of a much higher quality than my reel-to-reel attempts had ever been able to.

In describing how Toe Tag's first track was recorded, the role of radio in Estonian hip-hop history becomes even more prominent. DJ Paul Oja and Genka were the two founding members of Toe Tag and had divided up their responsibilities as band members. DJ Paul Oja's task was to work on the beats, or "backgrounds" (*taustad*) as DJ Paul Oja and other Estonian hip-hop producers referred to beats, and Genka came up with the rhymes after hearing Oja's beats. In late 1996, Revo, an MC, joined Toe Tag as its third member. Revo had access to a radio station in a suburb of Tallinn, which is how Toe Tag members created their first recorded track titled "Depend Upon". Genka shared the story with me in 2011:

When Revo joined us, we got to go give an interview on TOP radio in Pirita – Revo had connections in that radio station. After the interview, we had a chance to perform one of our tracks "Depend Upon" live and they recorded it. So, Paul had taken an audiocassette with the beats along, the radio people played his beats and we rapped live in the studio. That is how we recorded our first track.

"Rhyming in Estonian is the only right way"

Soon after Toe Tag released *The Real Kuhnja Homophobes* in 1997, Kozy, one of the most prominent figures in the hip-hop scene thanks to his

[8] In Russian, "kuhnja" (кухня) means "kitchen".

weekly radio show, got an offer that gave him the idea to form an "Estonian rap superband". In early 1998, Kozy was approached by an Estonian Red Cross representative with a request to create a song that would promote drug-free partying among Estonian youth. The song was supposed to premiere in April 1998 at a college fair for high school students in Tallinn.

Kozy only had a couple of months to come up with the finished track. He had previous experience as an MC but thought that a larger group of well-known MCs would have more influence on listeners. Therefore, Kozy summoned the three most respected MCs at the time and an up-and-coming producer to form the collective A-Rühm (A-Team). Kozy chose Cool D and Toe Tag's Genka and Revo to work together, but their perspectives on Estonian-language hip-hop were diametrically opposed. The language issue was the first hurdle for the team to overcome.

As I described above, Cool D had rhymed in Estonian since his very first tracks. Instead of hoping to gain access to wider markets by singing in English, Cool D was determined to rhyme in Estonian and include in his rhymes a significant number of expressions from the social world around him in order to "publicly think about, enact, or perform [his Estonian] identity" (Berger 2003: xv). Scholars have noted that some languages present inherent challenges for hip-hop-style rhyming; for instance, Noriko Manabe discusses the "lack of a rhyming tradition and lack of accents" in Japanese (Manabe 2006: 29). In comparison with Japanese, Estonian-language rappers had relatively compatible linguistic resources to work with; Cool D could draw on a poetry tradition that focuses especially on end rhymes and dates back to the mid-nineteenth century (see Merilai 2003).

As Cool D explained to me in 2013, his immediate devotion to Estonian was as much about him being self-critical about his English as it was about making a full connection with audiences:

> I dropped the idea of rhyming in English before I had even really tried it out. I realized immediately that I will never be even decently good rapping in English, even if I practised it 24/7. Most importantly, I was making my music for Estonian audiences, so it felt right to rhyme only in Estonian. I was confused, perhaps even annoyed, when some guys who even several years later [in the mid- and late 1990s] still rapped in English – I really thought it was just plain imitation and there was nothing original in it. Sure, I remember that all sorts of musicians, rock bands most often, felt the need to sing in English – I guess the influence from foreign artists was so great and making music in Estonian was seen as too unsophisticated or something.

To reconcile Cool D with Toe Tag's Genka and Revo as "imitators" with "nothing original" to say was the most urgent matter for Kozy. As a member of A-Rühm, but also the initiator of the project, Kozy laid down the law, insisting that A-Rühm should rhyme in Estonian only. After all, as he put it, the anti-drug track was commissioned by an Estonian organization and was meant to target partying teenagers in Estonia and to explain local things in a local language. Kozy explained the situation:

> My own first rhyming attempts were actually also in Estonian like Cool D's – the difference is that I never recorded them. And I had always been into Estonian rhymes. Even when I respected my friends' decision to rhyme in English, I always thought people should express their ideas and opinions in their native language. Anyway, the very next day after A-Rühm decided to rhyme in Estonian, Genka showed me his first Estonian-language rhymes and these were so awesome as if he had been rhyming in Estonian forever and I couldn't understand why he had ever wasted any time with English.

Genka, without being explicit about the "one point" when he realized it was necessary to switch from English into Estonian in his rhyming, described the pivotal moment in Estonian hip-hop history as follows:

> Since in the early 1990s there was no Estonian-language hip-hop available, it felt logical to rhyme in English since we listened to huge amounts of English-language hip-hop. At one point I realized, however, that when we want to mediate our thoughts and stories the most believable way possible, we have to rhyme in our mother tongue. As soon as I switched [in 1998], I have never gone back and rhymed in English any more – rhyming in Estonian is the only right way. It is also so cool to observe

how some of your expressions that you create in your lyrical production are adopted by the listeners and become a natural part of young people's vernacular.

Language conflict resolved, the result of working together for two months in February and March of 1998 was A-Rühm's first track "Viimane lumi" (Last Snow). The track featured alternating MCs in each verse, DJ Critikal's fast-paced, bass-heavy beats, and frequent police siren samples; it became an instant hit. An unprecedented amount of radio airplay for "Last Snow" marked a tipping point for Estonian hip-hop, bringing it into the sphere of mainstream pop.

Kozy's rhymes are an invitation to contemplate how rap operates in the Estonian public sphere and functions in youth cultures. At one point, Kozy declares:

Figure 2. Four lines delivered by Kozy from A-Rühm's "Viimane lumi" (Last Snow).

See pole siin mõni vanemlik lektsioon
Konkreetsed on räpid, riimid ja poos
Ma pole mingi maailmaparandaja
Kuid rokin mikrit, sest näib miskit öelda on vaja

[This is not trying to be a parental lecture
It is just that my flow, rhymes, and pose are straightforward
I am definitely not some kind of idealist
but I rock the mic since there are some things I need to say]

Within these two couplets, Kozy determined for the wider audience what Estonian rap stands for and sounds like – from this track onward, Estonian youth associated Estonian rap with profane language, aggressive-sounding vocals, and a boomy, low-frequency bass drum section. Additionally, starting with "Last Snow", A-Rühm members asserted the legitimacy and authenticity of their artistry as "straightforward" and mature, though at the same time trying not to be "parental".

"Popmuusik" versus "Pop Muzik"

Pleasantly surprised by their success, Kozy, Cool D, Genka, Revo, and DJ Critikal decided to start working on another co-production. After only two months, in the summer of 1998, another track by A-Rühm was being played multiple times a day on radio stations all over Estonia. The new single "Popmuusik" (Pop Musician) was even more explicit than the previous hit "Last Snow" had been. Once again, A-Rühm stirred up debates about freedom of speech and, more specifically, about hip-hop as a vulgar genre. "Pop Musician's" explicit rhymes were seen as playing on the border of wittiness and inappropriateness and were constantly at the centre of public discourse. Young Estonians enjoyed the track immensely with its derogatory rhymes and effectively produced beats, and voted it into second place on the annual Estonian national radio programme "Aastahitt" (Hit of the Year) in January 1999. The catchy sing-along chorus, which asked a mainstream pop musician not to "yell into my ear" and revealed a plan to "murder you, pop musician", quickly became an integral part of youth vernacular in 1998 (see Figure 3). Although foreign hip-hop had appeared in the top five in earlier years, including Coolio's "Gangsta's Paradise" in 1995, A-Rühm's "Pop Musician" was the first Estonian-language hip-hop that made it to the most prominent chart, which ranks the forty most popular local and foreign songs from the previous year based on listeners' votes.

Figure 3. Chorus of A-Rühm's "Popmuusik" (Pop Musician).

Ära karju mulle kõrva, popmuusik
plaanitsen su mõrva, popmuusik
lase endal tasku, popmuusik
päkapikudisko, popmuusik

[Don't yell into my ear, pop musician
I am planning to murder you, pop musician
Piss into your pocket, pop musician
Brainless disco, pop musician]

The huge popularity of "Pop Musician", which on the charts was beaten only by a rock ballad, demonstrated how the hip-hop artists from A-Rühm had savvily carved out a previously uninhabited marketing niche in Estonian mainstream pop and promoted themselves as musicians who "express their own opinions and ideas", even when the expression is disrespectful and rude. As

Kozy put it in an interview given around the time "Pop Musicians" was released (Jänese 1999):

> We don't claim that pop music is bad in and of itself and that we are not part of it. The issue [that made them release the song] here is about the quality of this fucking Estonian pop music. It is made by a bunch of brainless guys and there is even no hope in sight that they will start to come up with anything original that would express their own opinions and ideas.

Genka continued Kozy's criticism and declared in the same interview: "Listen, it can't be a good band if it has a guy somewhere dictating what can or can't be done" (ibid.). One could not imagine a more value-laden declaration of the individual, artistic, and economic "total freedom" that was becoming the norm in the re-independent and neoliberally inclined Estonia.

Paul Théberge reminds us how "an understanding of the various issues relating music and technical innovation cannot be separated from a broader analysis of contemporary social and economic relations" (1997: 5). Therefore, what is additionally significant about "Pop Musician", besides Kozy's and Genka's statements, is how well they exemplify two simultaneously evolving processes in the Estonian popular culture and socio-economic realms in the 1990s. First, "Pop Musician" represented the localization of globally circulating modes of artistic freedom, which A-Rühm based on the genre of Estonian-language hip-hop, with its explicit use of foreign samples and anti-authoritarian, subversive rhymes, and on the adoption of independent, artistically "all-in-one" public personas to Estonian pop culture.

Secondly, in addition to shifting Estonian-language hip-hop from underground to mainstream status, A-Rühm introduced new (digital) techniques for producing and talking about the creation of popular musics in the Estonian context. These new techniques, made possible by "truly amazing technological developments coupled with a major price drop in digital recording and signal-processing equipment" (Moorefield 2005: xvii), eroded the traditional separation between performer, engineer, and producer, making the artist(s) the embodiment of all three.

DJ Critikal and His Beats

DJ Critikal's[9] beats for "Last Snow" and "Pop Musician", produced in 1998, illustrate the technological processes transforming Estonian popular culture and the public sphere in general. When DJ Critikal became interested in digital music-making[10] around 1994, he did not even own a computer. In late 1999, the first A-Rühm album *Laulmata jäänud laulud* (*Unsung Songs*), which included "Last Snow" and "Pop Musician", was released. The five years between making his first beats and completing a full album that he himself produced, recorded, and mastered, while holding a day-job during all of those years, demonstrates both a rapid increase in the availability of technological and financial tools and the committed, hard-working nature of the producer. In an interview, DJ Critikal has described the conditions and equipment at the beginning of his career as a producer:

> First I didn't even own a computer – I visited homies at night to learn stuff on their computer, it was a great time. I think it was around 1994 and 1995. I actually tried to produce some sort of primitive drum and bass stuff first. It was very difficult to make hip-hop stuff at that time: We couldn't afford any decent sound cards, not to mention any mics or studio time. Somehow, I did make lots of beats but they remained without vocals for the most part. The program I was using was SoundClub, very old-school stuff. We didn't have a sound card, we just connected a 286 computer directly into the amp with the Covox plug. [After] a few years with SoundClub I learned how to use a tracker called FT2 [FastTracker 2]. This is what I worked with to make beats for A-Rühm's [album] *Unsung Songs*.[11]

9 DJ Critikal currently performs mostly under the stage name Bert On Beats and is signed under this name with the Berlin-based label Man Recordings.

10 DJ Critikal grew up studying piano at a community music school.

11 Interview available at the Estonian hip-hop community ehh.ee website: http://www.ehh.ee/?main_id=13&text_id=123&highlight=DJ,Critikal (last access 21.08.2018).

Working with FastTracker 2, DJ Critikal opens "Pop Musician" with a signature riff that reappears in the chorus as well as in the bridge, sampling (or imitating) a synth guitar riff from the 1979 international megahit "Pop Muzik" by the British artist M. Considering that "Pop Musician" aimed at drawing attention to the low level of Estonian pop music, it was a conscious choice to use a riff from "Pop Muzik" that critiques the mindless consumption of pop music. Here, by sampling from "Pop Muzik", DJ Critikal bolsters the local meaning of resistance by drawing on a global artefact, acquiring prestige and credibility among Estonian youth who valued everything "Western". At the same time, it is noteworthy that DJ Critikal's engagement with "Pop Muzik" preceded a boom in sampling from and covering this song by many internationally prominent artists.[12] This shows how, by taking advantage of the technological resources becoming available in Estonia in the mid-1990s, DJ Critikal with his choice of riff for "Pop Musician" employs his deep knowledge of previous popular music styles as well as a refined sense for a catchy hook, to which his broad listening experience definitely contributes. He is also extremely up to date with global trends in production techniques in terms of putting together beats and mastering them within a short period of time:

> You know, I am used to going through different stages during the production process as a whole – beat making and post-production are very connected. Of course, I do listen to the finished product later on and sometimes do a new mixdown, but usually I like to work from the start to the end within a single breath, as they say.[13]

This kind of working style became more and more common among (electronic) musicians during the 1990s. As Virgil Moorefield has observed:

> [A] standard procedure is to […] disappear into the studio for two weeks or so, "work twenty-hour days, sleep four or five hours, then get back to work". […] This method of working is reminiscent of how Giorgio Moroder and other disco producers went about making music in the late seventies; at the time it was unusual, but now it's the way most pop music is created (Moorefield 2005: 96).

The four-beat-long riff appearing in "Pop Muzik" at 0:07 appears in "Pop Musician" unaltered – DJ Critikal uses the riff consisting of an ascending minor seventh and a descending major third (G♯-F♯-D♯; two beats, one beat, one beat, respectively) in the same key and in the same timbre of electric guitar blended with synthesized sounds. It is another conscious move to keep the riff as close to the original sound as possible, since it is possible in FastTracker to lower or raise a pitch. However, DJ Critikal has slowed down the tempo in comparison with "Pop Muzik" from 120 bpm to 100 bpm. It is possible that the change in tempo was necessary to give MCs a more relaxed framework in which to rap comprehensibly as well as to allow Estonian audiences to perceive the layers of kick drum, snare, sleigh bells, and a bass line closer to 90 bpm, which, as one Estonian producer explained, is believed to be most typical and "authentic" for a hip-hop track among Estonian hip-hop practitioners and followers.

DJ Critikal, being one of the two main hip-hop producers – alongside DJ Paul Oja – in the mid- and late 1990s was certainly a role model for every aspiring beatmaker and producer. As he expressed in an interview that appeared on the Estonian hip-hop community ehh.ee website, "To create and record a hip-hop track, you don't need to be some sort of rocket scientist at all. A computer and a mic will do very well! It is even feasible to use your cell phone to make beats."[14] In another online interview for the ehh.ee website, he encouraged young musicians to search for their original sound:

> In terms of inventing the ways to make the technology work for you and your ideas for sound, it is important to dig real deep on the internet to find all the necessary instructions, since almost every trick for any kind of sound has been invented already, let's face it. All you need to do is find the instructions, which can sometimes take forever. And during this quest

12 Tricky, 3rd Party, Powerman 5000. Additionally, the song has been covered in the musical *Priscilla Queen of the Desert* (2006).

13 Interview available at: http://ehh.ee/?main_id=13&text_id=163&highlight=DJ,Critikal.

14 Interview available at: http://ehh.ee/?main_id=13&text_id=163&highlight=DJ,Critikal.

> for instructions and playing around with your software, you might end up finding your "own" sound and wouldn't need these instructions any more after all.[15]

DJ Critikal's statements about the accessibility of making beats while stressing the need to be methodical and creative inspired a whole generation of young men who started to play around with various types of music sequencer software and make music. His beats paved the way for Estonian youth – mostly attuned to and idealizing Euro-American forms of popular music, including United States hip-hop – to become receptive to Estonian-language hip-hop, which they could identify with as their own. DJ Critikal's beats certainly boosted a positive reception for his music since they sounded very similar to any other hip-hop artist's work from the United Kingdom or United States. The all-encompassing need prevalent in Estonian society, especially during the 1990s, to become an accepted part of "the West" expressed itself in the popular music scene through the conscious and diligent work of producing and consuming high-quality "Western-sounding" hip-hop beats.

By the time A-Rühm released the DJ Critikal-produced *Unsung Songs* in 1999, the Estonian-language hip-hop pioneer Cool D had already released four albums,[16] and Toe Tag with their producer DJ Paul Oja one.[17] Nevertheless, *Unsung Songs* can be regarded as the watershed in Estonian-language hip-hop that paved the way for MCs and producers such as Tommyboy and Chalice in the early 2000s. The later "all-in-one" hip-hop musicians were the leading figures in the "nationalization" of hip-hop in Estonia, as well as in providing the sounds of Estonian-language hip-hop with new and diverse qualities.

Conclusions

Estonian hip-hop offers an illuminating case study for investigating participation in hip-hop as a simultaneously global and local cultural form. As a by-product of the re-independence of the Estonian state in 1991, uncensored mediascapes reached Estonians more freely than ever before and resulted in the rapid restructuring of local cultural and popular spheres. As I discuss in this article, the large-scale privatization process that accompanied the transition from a Soviet command economy to a free market economy and the adoption of neoliberal economic principles by the political elite heavily influenced early Estonian hip-hop artists, who aimed to express in their production and performances their belief in individual and artistic freedom, or "total freedom", as the artists themselves labelled these aspirations. Starting in 1991, early hip-hop artists modelled their appearance, sounds, and profane lyrical messages on globally successful West Coast gangsta rap as a sign of their cool "Westernness". Hip-hop artists in Estonia, as elsewhere around the world, aspire to connect with trends and ideas from global hip-hops, but they do so using local materials: local language, lyrical themes and culture-specific samples combine to create unique sounds and statements. As many scholars have shown, the meaning of hip-hop differs radically among various host cultures, each with its own sonic and cultural voice. In Japan, for instance, hip-hop is embraced as a means of distinguishing oneself from the homogeneous mainstream and as a way to rebel against parents (Condry 2006). In Tanzania, young hip-hop artists try to reject the perception that everyone who makes or listens to hip-hop is a hooligan and use rhymes to educate their listeners about HIV/AIDS (Perullo 2005). Second-generation Turkish youths in Germany use hip-hop to address their lack of civil rights and a prevailing xenophobia (Cheeseman 1998). Hip-hop artists in Estonia make their mark by participating simultaneously in a globalized hip-hop culture and a local artistic project, expressing their recently acquired "total freedom".

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15 Interview available at: http://www.ehh.ee/?main_id=13&text_id=123&highlight=DJ,Critikal.

16 *O'Culo* (1995), *Sõnumid pimedusest* (*Messages from Darkness*, 1996), *Saaga läheb edasi* (*The Saga Continues*, 1998), *Pahade planeet* (*Planet of the Bads*, 1999).

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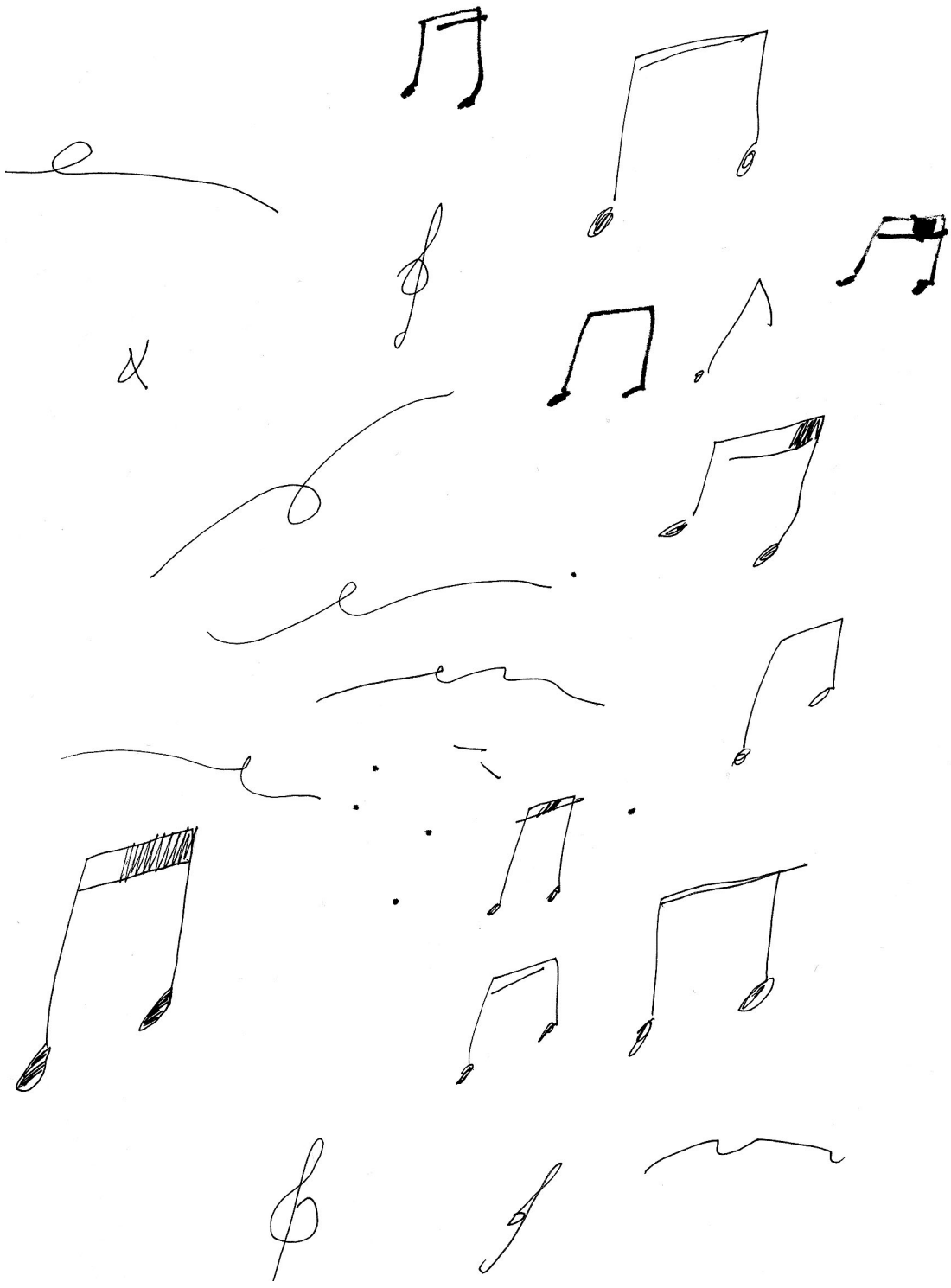
Eesti hiphopi kujunemine 1990ndatel

Triin Vallaste

Käesolevas artiklis on vaatluse all hiphopi kui globaalse eneseväljendusvormi algusaastad ja praktika Eestis. Hiphopi ja selle osana ka räppmuusika indigeniseerimine Eestis algas 1980. aastate keskel ja langeb kokku Nõukogude Liidu kokkuvarisemise protsessiga. Enne 1991. aastat toetasid räppmuusika arengut Eestis eelkõige ülemaailmsed tsenseerimata meediaväljaanded, mida levitati ja jälgiti Eestis mitteametlikke kanaleid pidi. Pärast Nõukogude Liidu lagunemist domineerisid Eestis sotsiaalsed diskursused, mis soosisid Euro-Ameerika maailma ja selle väärtuste kiiret ülevõtmist. Räppmuusika leviku ja viljelemise nurgakiviks alates 1991. aastast olid ametliku tsensuuri kaotamine ja infotehnoloogia kiire areng. Hiphopi ja räppmuusika algusaastad ja praktikate mitmekesisus annavadki olulise sissevaate mitmetesse üleminekuprotsessidesse 1980. aastate lõpu ja 1990. aastate Eestis, millest olulisim on üleminek kodukootud tehnoloogilistelt praktikatelt ametlikele ja järjest vabamalt kättesaadavatele.

Räppmuusika kujunemist ja mitmekesistumist Eestis on oluline analüüsida ka 1990. aastate alguse muutliku majandusklima kontekstis. Üleminek Nõukogude Liidu plaanimajanduselt kapitalistlikule vabaturule põhjustas majanduslikke raskusi ja sotsiaalset kihistumist. Samas tagasid mitmed riiklikud infotehnoloogia initsiatiivid vaba ligipääsu internetile ja avasid tee arvutipõhistele muusikategemise protsessidele. Räppmuusika esimeste tegijate (Cool D, Toe Tag, A-Rühm) loomingus kajastuvad mitmed 1990. aastate majanduslikud ja sotsiaal-kultuurilised diskursused, näiteks majanduskasvu ebavõrdne jaotus, tarbimiskultuuri võimendumine ja Euroopa Liiduga liitumise ettevalmistamise protsess. Eestikeelse räpi esimeste tegijate jaoks oli oluline järgida USA ja Lääne-Euroopa hiphopi eeskujusid ja trende. Näiteks räpiti algusaastatel tihti inglise keeles. Räpiskeene laienemise ja mitmekesistumise tagajärjel hakati aga üha enam tähelepanu pöörama kohalike olude ja eripärade kaasamisele: räpiti eesti keeles ja kohalikest sündmustest, biidimeistrid kasutasid oma biitides kohaliku päritoluga sämpleid (näiteks varasemast popmuusikast, filmidest, raadio- ja telesaadetest). Lühikese ajaga sai räppmuusikast Eestis iseseisva helilise ja kultuurilise tähendusega eneseväljendusvorm.



Loomeuurimus / Artistic Research

Musical Motion Graphics – Communicating Live Electronic Music[1]

Christian M. Fischer

Abstract:

Live electronic music, including acoustic instruments and electronic sound generation and manipulation, faces specific challenges regarding its composition and performance. There is no music notation available which could equally represent the acoustic and the computer instrument. Due to the often complex musical structure and the possible lack of expressiveness during the performance, live electronic music is not easily accessible for the audience. These challenges are based on a lack of communication.

This article discusses the use of Musical Motion Graphics (MMG) linked to visual communication theory to tackle the above-mentioned challenges. MMG cannot be considered as music notation in the sense of western music notation since the eighteenth century since its aim is not a normative canon or universal validity. Nevertheless, it has a music notational purpose, which manifests in video scores. It offers an open framework of so-called determined ambiguity, allowing the mapping of visual and acoustic parameters. MMG communicates time structure and indicates musical objects and their relations. The exact synchronisation of actions and events of all the instruments involved is possible. An MMG score supports audience understanding of the music by visualising the composition through an intuitively understandable score.

Introduction

The starting point leading to the artistic research project that I would like to introduce in this paper lies almost 15 years back. As a composer and a computer musician, I found myself unable to notate my musical ideas for a live electronic music piece adequately. Live electronic music in this case featured the interaction of acoustic instruments and electronic sound generation and manipulation. Staff notation would meet the requirements of the acoustic instrument only when extended by additional symbols. The electronic instrument, with its almost infinite possibilities of sound generation, could not be depicted in all its fullness. Furthermore, live electronic music faces challenges not only regarding its composition but also regarding its performance practice, especially with regard to its perception. Live electronic music, like other types of contemporary music, often features complex musical structures lacking familiar rhythm and harmony, and is not easily accessible. Compared to the intrinsic and familiar connections between player, sound and sound source with regard to acoustic instrument performance, in electronic music the live generation and manipulation of sound remains hidden in electronic and digital devices. Plucking a string on a guitar results in a predictable sound; but what does turning a knob or waving a midi glove mean musically? The whole musical idea, the concept of a work, might be hidden behind technical devices. And in the end the enjoyment can evaporate quickly. My artistic and compositional practice revealed that such difficulties arose from a mere communication deficit between myself as a composer, the performer and the audience. Due to my background as a media designer, I found the basis for a solution to the problem in visual communication theory.

This article introduces the outcome of this artistic and scientific journey to tackle the problems of communication in live electronic music: Musi-

1 The article is based on my doctoral thesis (in Music) *Musical Motion Graphics – a tool to improve live electronic music practice*, defended at the Estonian Academy of Music and Theatre in 2016 (supervisor Professor Kerri Kotta), https://www.ema.edu.ee/vaitekirjad/doktor/Christian_Fischer.pdf.

cal Motion Graphics (MMG). It was developed as a communication platform between composer, performers and audience. MMG has a music notational purpose and is based on visual communication theory. It manifests in video scores and offers an open framework of determined ambiguity, allowing the mapping of visual and acoustic parameters to communicate music intuitively. It cannot be considered music notation in the sense of western music notation since the eighteenth century, as it does not propose a normative sign system. MMG communicates time structure and indicates the musical objects and their relations to be interpreted by the performer. MMG scores are a tool to compose live electronic music visually, and are intended to be presented to performers and audience alike.

The purpose of this article is to describe how MMG came to life, to put it into a historical context, and to explain the theoretical background behind it, how I applied it in artistic practice, and how it solved my artistic problem. A description of the historical context and the theoretical background forms the biggest part of this paper. This is necessary as there is still a lot of misunderstanding and misconception in the world of musicology and artistic practice regarding alternative music notation approaches, their purpose, their advantages and disadvantages, as well as their application. Furthermore, it is essential to understand that the MMG described here is just one tool among others which have been developed recently. As a tool, it was shaped by my individual artistic needs. Nevertheless, the outcomes of my research, especially the proposed typology and the visual communication levels adopted in the context of music notation, will support other composers and performers as well as further research in the field of alternative music notation.

1. Historical Background

The need for an alternative music notation to display new musical ideas or an unusual playing technique is not new. Furthermore, the use of moving images in connection to music and music notation can be traced back to the beginning of the 20th century. Looking into music and art history, I will introduce some important terms and the basic concepts of alternative music notation approaches that make use of graphics. This is necessary to reveal and understand the ideas behind MMG.

First of all, Table 1 introduces frequently used terms, which will be also described in more detail later in the text.

Like many of our contemporary music practices, MMG is primarily rooted in the ideas and works of the musical avant-garde between 1950 and 1970 (Schröder 2010: 151). Back then, many important composers were exploring alternative music notation. Publications of that time show that these approaches generated a lot of controversy. John Cage in the USA (Cage 1969) – and before him Erhard Karkoschka (Karkoschka 1966) in Europe – published widely recognised books, which collected various works of the time and tried to describe these new approaches in music notation. It is important to differentiate two terms, which are unfortunately often used equivalently: graphic notation and musical graphic. As early as 1959, Roman Haubenstock-Ramati coined the term *musikalische Grafik* (in English: musical graphic) when he initiated an exhibition of unusual music notations using graphics in Donaueschingen, Germany (Schröder 2010: 153). György Ligeti describes musical graphics as graphics which have no inherent musical meaning, as they do not use a sign system. Nevertheless, they can convey musical factors and coherences, or work at least as a source of inspiration (Ligeti 1965: 36). Earle Brown's piece "December 1952" (see Fig. 1) is one of the first musical graphics. It is also one of the most cited ones (Schröder 2010: 152).

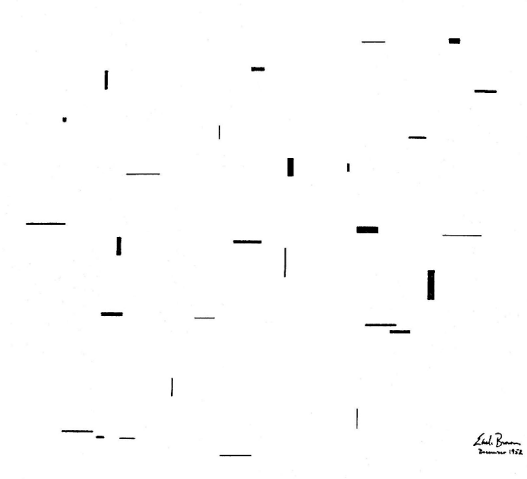
Brown was interested in jazz music and improvisation and was inspired by the abstract art works of the artists Jackson Pollock and Alexander Calder. While looking for new ways to express his musical ideas, he considered the renewal of music notation as imperative. In this context, he discovered graphics as a possibility to incorporate mobility and variability (Brown 1965: 76). "December 1952" is a musical graphic which has a musical purpose only because Earle Brown composed the work and considered it to be a musical work. It can be regarded as a sheer trigger for improvisation. The communication from composer to performer is very vague. There is no indication of how to read the graphics nor what they represent. The graphics are not clearly connected to a specific sound or playing technique. It is by no means

Table 1. Important terms to understand this text.

Term	Explanation
Staff Notation	Western musical notation using staves.
Extended Notation	Staff notation using additional signs and symbols. Often to display extended playing techniques or to include electronic means.
Graphic Notation	Normative music notation using graphics.
Animated Notation	Various kinds of scores communicating music which incorporate animation.
Musical Graphic	Interpretative graphics with a musical purpose.
Visual Music	The use of musical structures in visual images. Visuals are often generated according to a musical piece, not as a means of music notation.
Musical Motion Graphics (MMG)	Animated musical graphics using the so-called artistic visual communication model.

defined whether a black line depicts one note or a cluster of notes. How to interpret the graphic is not defined. The mobility and variability Brown referred to are a paraphrase for what Severin Behnen calls the flexibility of Motion Graphic Scores (a term used by Behnen to describe music notation using video) (Behnen 2008: 1). Composer Mauricio Kagel worked extensively with various alternative notation approaches and used a different terminology, though this aimed at the same context, namely *determinierte Mehrdeutigkeit* (in English: determined ambiguity) (Kagel 1965: 55). Despite the periods in which they originated, their different design and appearance, the longing for variability, flexibility and ambiguity is common to all graphic approaches for notational purposes.

Figure 1. Musical graphic "December 1952" by Earle Brown (O'Connor 2017).

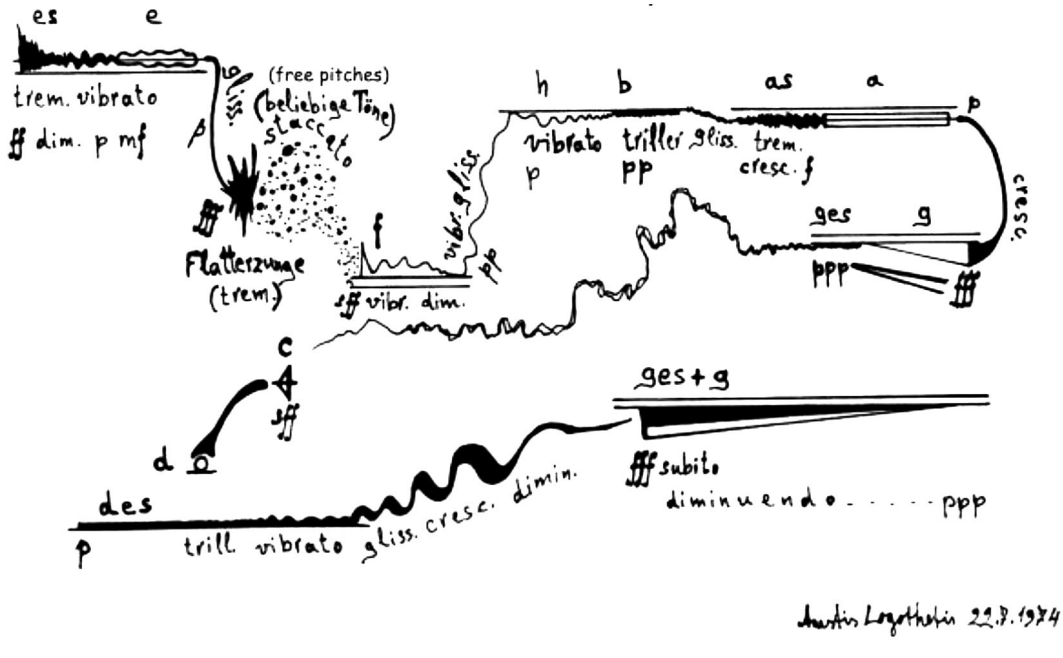


From the 1970s onwards, composers seemed increasingly to lose interest in graphic notation. According to Julia H. Schröder, visual artists developed ideas further as "… their interest in the individual handwriting manifesting itself in musical graphics is greater than that of composers, who were concerned with the establishment of a new, normative graphic canon" (Schröder 2010: 153). Although composers were experimenting with different approaches (using musical graphics, graphic notation and hybrid forms of music notation including staff notation), no new syntax, or broadly recognised sign system, was developed. This meant that no agreed set of rules, like western staff notation, where graphics have a defined meaning, was established. Every composer or artist was working with graphics in a musical context

in his or her own artistic way. The ambiguity of graphic notation and a misconception of the visual communication processes underlying graphic notation approaches, which I will describe more in detail later, made many composers lose interest as time went on. The composer Anestis Logothetis is an exception because he succeeded in establishing a normative graphic canon, at least for his own work, and used his system of pitch symbols, association factors and action signals from 1958 continuously until his death in 1994. His works are a supreme example of graphic notation, in which graphics have a defined meaning (see Fig. 2). The communication process between composer and performer is clearly set. For instance, the reading direction is defined. A performer is required to learn and understand the graphics and their meaning in order to be able to perform a piece accurately. Logothetis understood his graphical music notation of symbols and signs as an "aggregate state" of music (Logothetis 1999). To understand graphic notation as an "aggregate state" of music, like the aggregate states of water for example, is a striking image which also refers to communication. Music exists in several transition states. For example, in the mind of the composer while working, or as a visual manifestation (a musical score), or in the mind of the performer, or, of course, as physical sound waves (changing air pressure and frequencies), or ultimately in the bodily experience of perceiving a music performance. This sequence could also be regarded as an artistic communication process. Compared to classic music notation, the first part of the process – the transition from one aggregate state to the other, between composer and performer – is not strictly defined in musical graphics and only sometimes in graphic notations. It is the same in MMG. Music can be depicted in various ways and can thereby also manifest itself in various states of solidity and accurateness.

Even after many avant-garde composers ceased to work with graphic notation, the desire to apply alternative notation never entirely disappeared. There was some interest, also among visual artists, which is very well documented in Theresa Sauer's 2009 collection of graphic notations called *Notations 21* (Sauer 2009). This book can be regarded as a direct successor to the abovementioned *Notations* by John Cage (1969). Both are collections of the very different approaches to graphic music notation of their time. Furthermore, the Audiovisuology project and book (Föllmer 2010) shares comprehensive insights

Figure 2. A typical graphic notation score by Anestis Logothetis (Logothetis 1974).



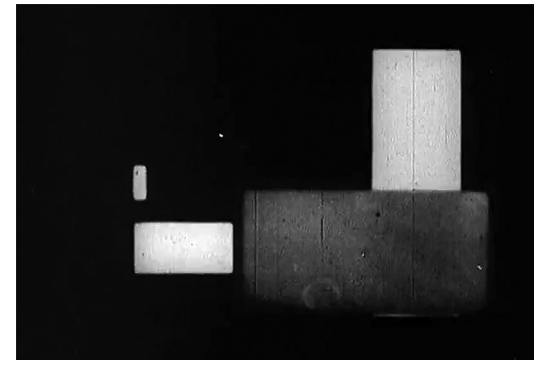
into the history and practice of alternative music notation and the coherences of sound, music and image since the 1950s.

Recently, alternative music notation has undergone a renaissance. Various papers and professional literature have appeared. The December 2014 issue of *Organised Sound* (Wyse; Whalley 2014), books such as Christian Dimpker's *Extended Notation* (Dimpker 2013), the 19.3 issue of *eContact! Online Journal for Electroacoustic Practices* dealing exclusively with the Notation of Sonic Art and Digital Media, and of course contemporary music practice reveals a growing interest in the field. TENOR, the International Conference on Technologies for Music Notation and Representation,[2] has been held annually since 2015. Its name already indicates that this time the focus has been widened to include digital technology. The outcomes of this conference show clearly that new technologies continuously find their way into music performance, especially in relation to music notation together with all its manifestations, such as gesture notation, screen scores, various forms of extended notation, or live generated scores.

With the advent of digital technology, mingling audio and video, music and image, graphics and notation has become easy. MMG is rooted in video art, animation and graphic design. Animation, motion graphics and video art in connection with the rise of the computer facilitated the development of all kinds of animated music notation. When looking back in history, there are many influential artists, researchers, inventions and works to be found that have had an impact on the way we design and perceive motion graphics and animations today. Just a few select examples will help to give an impression of this development. Without those works and the methods and techniques they were using, contemporary visual and video art, as well as music notation using video like MMG, would not have been possible.

At the beginning of the twentieth century, Dadaists and Futurists experimented with film and abstract graphics. Hans Richter was one of most significant figures of that time. His film *Rhythmus 21* (see Fig. 3) from 1921/23 uses black and white squares and deals deliberately with rhythm and musical counterpoint (Betancourt 2013: 61). However, *Rhytmus 21* is by no means any kind of musical graphic or even a graphic music notation. It is a silent movie, where the appearance, motion and modifications of graphic objects were arranged according to musical parameters, especially rhythm.

Figure 3. Screenshot from the film *Rhythmus 21* by Hans Richter (Richter 1921)



Oskar Fischinger, an organ maker, engineer, filmmaker and painter, invented new techniques for abstract films. He can also be considered to be one of the fathers of visual music, as he used musical structures in visual imagery (Sito 2013: 13). Although music and image are strongly connected in visual music, and musical composition techniques are used in its creation, it is important to understand that graphics in visual music are often created according to an already existing musical work. Graphic notation, musical graphics and MMG respectively work inversely: the graphics are composed first, and after that the music is performed according to the parameters given in the score. Therefore, visual music is by no means a kind of music notation and works in visual music are not musical scores. In 1941, John and James Whitney built an optical printer and a machine to create "synthetic sound" for their 8mm films. A novelty was their idea to use the optical track on films to directly record sounds. For example, 12 pendulums with light bulbs, corresponding to the 12-tone scale, swing over a film to expose its optical (sound) track (Betancourt 2013: 107). John Whitney also used analogue and later digital computers to create his films, and can be considered one of the fathers of computer animation. Schröder points out that visual artists since the

[2] http://tenor-conference.org/ (accessed March 4, 2016).

1970s have creatively developed alternative notation (Schröder 2010: 153). Composers, however, tended to continue working specifically with variations of graphic notations. Again, Theresa Sauer's compendium *Notations 21* reveals a detailed overview of what happened in the field of graphic notation from the late 1960s onwards and presents the enormous variety of approaches (Sauer 2009). In the context of this article, and in relation to how MMG works, which will be described later in detail, it is also important to examine the merger of animation, motion graphics and music video. Since the 1970s, very different connections of sound or music and visuals have come into being, widening the scope of how visuals and music can be connected. Interactive art such as David Rokeby's "Very Nervous System" explores human motion and sound creation (Kwastek 2010: 171), while Jens Brand's award winning "Global Player" uses "computer calculated changes in the distance of satellite orbits and the earth's surface as acoustic data" (Föllmer 2010: 305). It almost plays the earth like a vinyl record. VJing (meaning the live generation and manipulation of video material) and music video have shaped our everyday culture, including film, art, advertisements and, of course, music itself (Keazor 2010). In recent decades, music and visuals have become even closer than the Whitneys could probably have imagined. Hervé Vanel claims: "In the age of digital media, music and visual art are truly united, not only by the experiencing subject, the viewer/listener, but by the artist" (Vanel 2009: 59). In this context, the possibility for artists to purchase tools – a computer, software or other electronic means for their work – has been a prerequisite for further development in the field. Vanel also refers to the fact that the strict division between the different art forms has become more and more blurred through the computer and the artist's work in the digital domain. It has lowered the boundaries for composers to practically explore the visual side of music. I would like to go even further by claiming that working artistically with bits and bytes, which offers all the possibilities of programming and inter-changing data, literally encourages blending your working material in one way or another and (re)using software tools in very different contexts.

2. Live Electronic Music

To avoid misunderstandings, I would like to start with a definition of what live electronic music is in the context of this paper. A version of the Wikipedia article on live electronic music from 2016 includes one interesting aspect:

> Live electronic music (also known as live electronics and electroacoustic improvisation) is any kind of music that can include the use of electroacoustic instruments, various electronic sound-generating devices, and computers, but which generally excludes the use of prerecorded or sampled material.[3]

The latest Wikipedia article states:

> Live electronic music (also known as live electronics) is a form of music that can include traditional electronic sound-generating devices, modified electric musical instruments, hacked sound generating technologies, and computers. Initially the practice developed in reaction to sound-based composition for fixed media such as musique concrète, electronic music and early computer music. Musical improvisation often plays a large role in the performance of this music.[4]

According to these two versions, live electronic music is often improvised. When comparing the Wikipedia article with two of the most frequently cited books on electronic music, *The Cambridge Companion to Electronic Music*, edited by Nick Collins and Julio d'Escriván (Collins, d'Escriván 2007), and *Electronic and Computer Music* by Peter Manning (Manning 1985), one can agree that this definition is valid. However, according to the way live electronic music is described by Manning, Collins and d'Escriván, we need to include the possible use of acoustic instruments and the option to add pre-recorded or pre-composed material to the live generation of sound (Manning 1985: 187; Collins, d'Escriván 2007: 38). None of the three sources distinguishes precisely between popular and art music. Collins and d'Escriván, in particular, often use references to developments in popular music. For the sake of clarity, especially regarding my own compositional approach, I prefer live electronic music in the context of MMG to be

[3] Wikipedia, Live Electronic Music, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Live_electronic_music (accessed March 2, 2016).

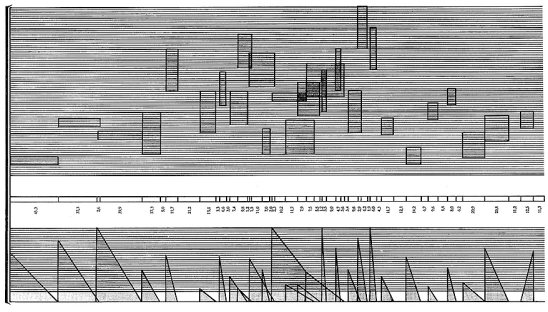
[4] Wikipedia, Live Electronic Music, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Live_electronic_music (accessed February 26, 2018).

defined as follows: live electronic music, as a division of electronic/computer music, is an art music which includes the use of acoustic instruments and the utilisation of any kind of live generated and manipulated sound, as well as the use of pre-produced or recorded sound material.

2.1 Notation of Live Electronic Music

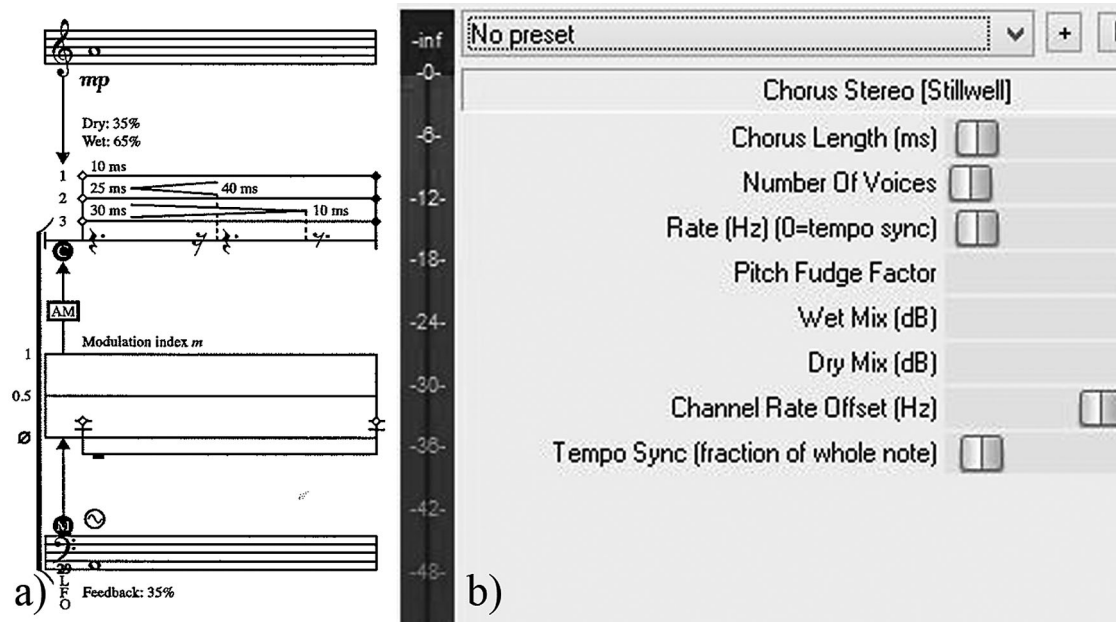
As indicated in the Wikipedia article about live electronic music, as well as from my own experience, live electronic music is sometimes improvised. However, there are pieces where the electronics are notated. Several examples can be found in the second part of Dimpker's *Extended Notation* (Dimpker 2013). As will be described in more detail later, these notations are rather indications and do not encompass the full range of sound source, sound generation and manipulation. From a composer's perspective, not being able to appropriately communicate ideas, especially regarding electronics, to the performer(s) via conventional music notation is a fundamental problem. There are of course approaches to notate electronic sounds. Stockhausen's "Studie II" from 1954 (Stockhausen 1956) is an example of a very exact notation of electronic sounds, which also indicates that the desire to retain electroacoustic music (besides recording it) is as old as electronic music itself. However, the score of "Studie II" is comprehensible and easy to read only because it deals with sine tones (see Fig. 4). It communicates the appearance and length of tones over a timeline. The sheet music gives precise instructions as to how to re-create the work. One can imagine how far more complex the score would look – or even if it would be possible to create such a score – if one were to add various sound sources, different sound synthesis techniques or an additional acoustic instrument.

Figure 4. Stockhausen, "Studie II" – page 15 (from Stockhausen 1956).



A more current example of the notation of electronic means of sound production is to be found in the book *Extended Notation*, in which Christian Dimpker "depicts the unconventional" to establish a coherent and consistent notation system for extended instrument playing techniques and (in the second part of the book) even for electroacoustic music (Dimpker 2013: 210). By analysing common practice, i.e. the use of scores, he handles all the major sound synthesis techniques, audio processing and sound recording. Although his depiction is very detailed and a huge help for composers of contemporary music, it is not adequate in a live electronic music context. In one example, a chorus-effect is added to an unspecified instrument (Dimpker 2013: 286). For such a rather simple effect, the suggestion for a notation (see Fig. 5a) seems to be rather complex and not easy to read at first sight. Even so, it does not cover all the possible chorus-effect parameters. For instance, an indication as to whether the chorus is mono or stereo is missing (see Fig. 5b). In the case of a stereo chorus, the indication of the time offset of each channel would also be necessary, as this would change the sound significantly. Another problem is that there are actually various chorus-effects available with various parameters that could be changed, either as a software plugin or as a physical effect pedal. They vary in terms of sound quality, usability and effect parameters. *Extended Notation* also neglects the possibility of creating sounds in a completely different manner from that depicted in the book. The simplest example would be the use of whole effect racks in a digital audio workstation. A more complex approach would be to program individual effects or even whole software instruments using programming environments such as Max/MSP, Pure Data, SuperCollider, Csound, or similar (Roads 1996: 569). There are coding events where the programming of the music is done live, or concerts using "circuit bending", where circuits within electronic devices are customised to create sounds (Collins, d'Escriván 2007: 51). It is difficult to visualise how such complex methods of sound generation and music making could be depicted, along with the notation of the acoustic instrument, in a clear and comprehensible music notation system with a clear set of rules. There is a need for an equally

Figure 5. Chorus effects, a) in *Extended Notation* (p. 286) and b) in Reaper software.



adequate representation of electronic sounds, comparable to the representation of acoustic instruments in staff notation. In "Studie II", the chorus effect example and – not least – the possibility to create highly individual approaches in sound generation clearly indicate that adding additional signs to staff notation is barely adequate to cover the various possibilities for generating and manipulating sound. Already in the 1960s, composers realised that staff notation was not capable of representing the almost infinite spectrum of electronic sounds (Karkoschka 1966: 83).

The lack of an adequate score to establish a communication stream between composer and performer has implications on the performance as well. The question of how the acoustic instrument and the electronic instrument can synchronise their playing needs to be tackled. A simple approach would be to indicate acoustic cues. For instance, a trill could indicate the start of a certain section of a piece. However, this possibility is rather impractical, as it only works with pieces that contain deliberately composed cues and this constrains the compositional freedom significantly. The use of stopwatches is well known in contemporary music, as for instance in John Cage's famous piece "4.33". Ladislav Kupkovič's graphic indicates in his piece "…" for bass clarinet alone that each of the presented seven systems should last exactly 45 seconds (Karkoschka 1966: 119). Hermann Nitsch's *musik für die 38. malaktion* (Essl 1998) is a more recent example. Practice shows that performers would like to avoid the use of a stopwatch while reading a score, as it restricts their playing and is simply inconvenient. A more elegant way is the use of score following techniques. This technique was perfected at the Institut de Recherche et Coordination Acoustique/Musique (IRCAM) in Paris. They state: "Score following is the real-time synchronisation of a live musician playing a score with the score itself and decoding of expressive parameters of the musician on the fly". Composers connected to IRCAM, including Pierre Boulez, utilised this technique (Cuvillier 2014). Although instrument playing can be synchronised exactly with the computer, there is one major drawback. It requires software to execute accurate score following, and this software needs to be compatible with the software and techniques for sound generation used in the piece. The software has to be able to communicate. When, for instance, an analogue modular synthesiser is used for sound generation, the synchronisation might even be impossible. Without compatibility there can be

no score following. The problem of the synchronisation of instruments is a symptom deriving from the lack of a proper notational communication platform. The techniques just mentioned are no more than work-arounds which tackle the symptom but not the core problem.

2.2 Perception of Live Electronic Music

Generally, abstract art music such as live electronic music is often not easily accessible and understandable. The famous electroacoustic composer Francis Dhomont claimed that there is a "poor attendance at our concerts". In this context he discusses the audience's inability to assimilate and identify with the constantly changing electronic music repertoire (Collins, d'Escriván 2007: 194). Live electronic music often seems awkward and not easy to access, especially for the unfamiliar listener. William Forde Thompson tackles the problem from a psychological perspective and indicates throughout the entire book *Music, Thought and Feeling: Understanding the Psychology of Music* that contemporary music often lacks the potential to be easily identified with, understood and enjoyed, as the familiar musical features of rhythm and harmony are missing (Thompson 2009). The lack of these features is omnipresent in live electronic art music. Another issue – and maybe the most important one – is the performance of electronic music itself. First, the genesis of electronic music usually remains hidden in a device, regardless of whether it is a modular analogue synthesiser, a computer or any other electronic device. For the audience, how and why the music unfolds the way it does is often elusive. Additionally, the physical actions on an electronic device which are required in order for the sounds to be heard do not necessarily correspond to the sonic result. A little turn on a small knob can have a huge impact on the music, as for example when changing the overall amplitude of a sound. On the other hand, pushing several controllers may have a very subtle impact e.g., when they are connected to rather insignificant parameters of one single sound effect. For the audience it may not be clear how much of the music is "made" by the performer and how much by the computer. Furthermore, computer music often lacks the expressiveness of a classic music performance. Performance practice shows several approaches that try to address this, such as, for example, the use of interfaces. There are various controllers with knobs, slides, and switches to control sounds. Also, patch panels for live patching cables on analogue synthesisers have seen a resurgence in recent years. The gesture control for music systems has been used and researched for over 20 years now. Apart from the use of rather out-dated devices like a Wii controller or a MIDI glove, there are more sophisticated possibilities for using motion capturing tools such as cameras to analyse human gestures as well as motion detection to trigger events and change the control parameters of electronic music, as described by Frederic Bevilacqua, the head researcher of the Sound Music Movement Interaction team at IRCAM (Bevilacqua 2015). This might enhance the general expressiveness of the performance, as the audience can see that a performer is doing something. Nevertheless, for the audience, it is almost impossible to figure out the connection between a gesture made while operating a device and the sound. In summary, it can be stated that the issues in composing and performing live electronic music derive from its lack of an adequate musical notation, especially for electronics, and from the challenges in synchronising acoustic and electronic instruments and its characteristic inexpressive performance, in which the genesis of the electronic sounds remains hidden.

From the very beginning fifteen years ago, all my approaches, my composed studies and pieces aimed to establish a common ground for all participants involved in the process of composing, performing and perceiving live electronic music. The major objective was to create a neutral ground, a way to communicate music, where acoustic instruments and computer instrument are represented equally and as intuitively as possible. In the following section, I propose Musical Motion Graphics (MMG) as a compositional method and tool to tackle the challenges of live electronic music described above and to establish a basis for an equal musical communication of all parties involved.

3. Visual Communication Processes

The key to comprehending MMG and to using it in artistic practice lies in communication processes, as described in communication theory. There the main elements of communication, sender, receiver and message, have been defined in the

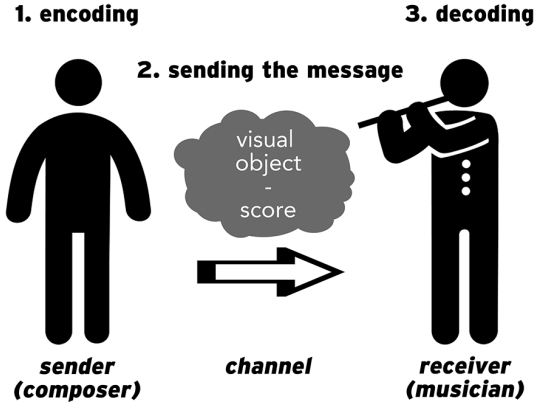
Shannon-Weaver model (Shannon 1948). Schematically a communication process works in the following way: a message is encoded and sent from source to receiver using a communication channel, and then the receiver decodes the message and gives a feedback. In a musical context the source would be the composer, the message is the encoded music, the channel is the visual object (i.e. the score), and the receiver decoding the message is the performing musician (see Fig. 6). Regarding the performance of the music, the communication process is not creating a loop of sending, receiving and feedback as is common in human communication, as for instance in a conversation. In music notation, the feedback is not directly addressed to the sender. It is rather creating a new communication process which manifests in the complex process of performing and perceiving acoustic phenomena (Truax 2001).

Regarding music notation using alternative graphics, the process of coding and decoding information is also called mapping (Fischer 2014). In an ideal process, the receiver decodes the same content as the source encoded before. In this case the mapping process works without loss of information. Similarly Mazzola, in his text "Semiotics of Music" (Mazzola 1997), refers to Jean Molino and Paul Valéry and their description of the tripartite communicative character of music. He describes three niveaus: "poietic", "neutral" and "esthetic".

> This (poietic) niveau describes the sender instance of the message, classically realised by the composer. According to the Greek etymology, "poietic" relates to the one who makes the work of art (Mazzola 1997).
>
> This (neutral niveau) is the medium of information transfer, classically realized by the score. Relating to the poietic niveau, it is the object that has been made by that instance, and which is to be communicated to a receiver. But it is not a pure signal in the sense of mathematical information theory. The neutral niveau is the sum of objective data related to a musical work. Its identification depends upon the contract of sender and receiver on the common object of consideration (Mazzola 1997).
>
> This (esthetic) niveau describes the receiver instance of the message (Mazzola 1997).

The neutral niveau describes the channel, the score itself. The "identification" and the "contract of sender and receiver" encompass the content of the message, as well as the way in which this message is understood. For instance, in western staff notation the understanding of the message ("contract") is ensured by relying on a system of meaningful signs which have been previously learned by sender and receiver. The question of what kind of "contracts" are feasible and how they come to life leads directly to visual communication theory and processes.

Figure 6. General communication process according to communication theory.

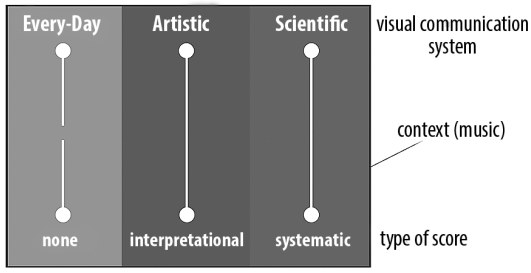


3.1 Visual Communication Theory

In visual communication theory there are three systems which can be the basis of a communication process. Based on the semiotic studies of Charles Sanders Peirce (Peirce 1983), German communication theorist Heinz Kroehl described this very clearly. According to Kroehl, the three major communication systems are Everyday-Life, Scientific, and Artistic (Kroehl 1987). The models are put in the context of music notation in Fig. 7.

The Everyday-Life model refers to real objects that surround us. Kroehl calls it denotative information. Our spoken language defines (often physical) objects which have a name and we can assume that we are understood by others using the same language. The Everyday-Life model is originally of no significance when discussing music notation, because it is not precise enough. To be more precise and to minimise the loss of information during the mapping process, terms would

Figure 7. The three visual communication systems of Heinz Kroehl put in the context of music.



need to be defined accurately. However, these definitions are not used in the Everyday-Life model, but in the so called Scientific model.

In the Scientific model, signs convey meaning according to definitions and rules. Kroehl calls this precise information. Mathematics is such a scientific model. In the Scientific model terms, objects and the coherences between them are clearly defined to create meaning. Regarding music, western staff notation is a system of specific rules, syntax and modes to create meaning. This system needs to be learned and understood to be able to apply it for musical performance. Furthermore, there is a pre-defined connection between sign and sonic result. The Scientific system of western music notation was shaped through the centuries, from neumes in the early Middle Ages to the western staff notation which we know and use today. Someone able to read staff notation knows exactly which key to press on a piano keyboard when reading one specific note (e.g. C4) in a score. Another musician on the other side of the world reading the very same score will therefore press the very same key on the piano keyboard when reading this note. To interpret this C4 as a completely different pitch and therefore pressing any other key apart from C4 would be regarded as wrong. Music scores which use the Scientific model are based on a system. This could be an established system like western staff notation used for an infinite set of works by countless composers over many centuries or the uniquely developed system of a particular composer just for his or her own oeuvre, as in the case of Anestis Logothetis (Logothetis 1999), or just for one single piece, as in the book "Notations" (Cage 1969). The system can be more complex or more simple. In general, for example, the graphic objects used aim at a universal validity, at least within the closed system of the score itself. Within a systematic score which is not based on a common system there are often interacting and reoccurring components which have a predefined meaning. Visually, single components are clearly recognisable. Additionally, the application of these components is also clearly defined by the composer. A music score based on the systematic approach, using the Scientific communication model, tries to reduce interpretation, compared to a musical graphic like "December 1952".

The third communication model is the Artistic. This communication model uses connotative information and works entirely differently from the Scientific (Kroehl 1987). In accordance with the basics of visual communication theory, meaning is generated through interpretation. A photograph, a picture or a drawing cannot be read. They can only be interpreted (Müller 2003). The artistic communication model conveys possibilities. It is not likely that two people, in our case musicians, interpret or understand a message in the same way and play exactly the same sound. The decoding might lead to different results than the sender intended in the coding. Thus, the mapping process is not lossless. The message is rather an invitation for performers to generate meaning by starting their individual mapping process. However, the interpretation is not completely arbitrary as it is contextualised. A red square in an advertising context will be interpreted differently from a red square in a music notation context. In advertising, a red square could be recognised as a brand logo and thereby associated with certain attributes according to the public relations strategy of the company concerned. In a music notation context, a red square could indicate a specific instrument or a special playing technique according to the composer's instructions. Contrary to the Scientific, the Artistic model does not develop a normative canon or any kind of universal validity. Within the context of music notation, it is up to the composer to decide whether and how the mapping process is guided. In the context of graphic notation Mauricio Kagel used the term "determined ambiguity" (Kagel 1965) to describe how composers can set the boundaries for performers. In other words, the composer allows the performers a certain artistic freedom within clear-

ly defined boundaries: within the Artistic model, composers give meaning to graphical attributes within a score while others are left completely open for interpretation. The level of determination is up to the composer. Scores based on the Artistic model are not music notations based on a defined system but interpretational and alternative music representations.

4. Musical Motion Graphics

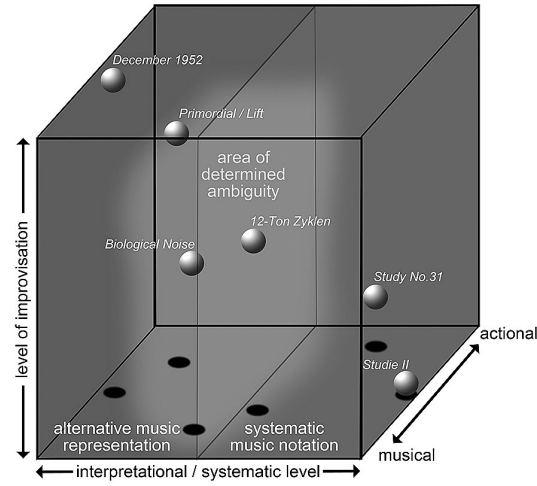
There are several terms describing alternative music notation approaches, including "animated music notation" (Smith 2015), "Plastic Scores" (Behnen 2008: 68) or "screen scores" (Vickery 2012). Additionally, terms and practices are in a constant state of flux, as changes in digital technology have a significant impact on this rather new research area. At the beginning of my research I used the term "motion graphic notation" (Fischer 2013) as I saw my work in the direct succession of graphic notation. Later I adopted "animated notation" (Fischer 2015). However, I needed to revise my terminology and use a modified description according to my findings, especially regarding the visual communication processes, meaning how the message is passed from sender (composer) to receiver (performer) (Fischer 2018). The term "musical motion graphics" (MMG), which is used in this paper, links the terms "music" or "musical" and "motion graphics". MMG is a successor to the musical graphics (graphics with no inherent meaning, rather working as a trigger for improvisation) of the mid-twentieth century, and not of graphic notation (graphics establishing a meaningful sign system). Musical graphics are extended by the term "motion", as animation techniques are applied and MMG always manifests in time-based media. I would like to understand MMG in the following way: "musical motion graphics" is a subdivision of the term "animated notation" (which is understood as an umbrella term to include various ways of communicating music that incorporate animation and movement). MMG uses animated abstract graphics, with no inherent meaning, manifesting in time-based media, mainly video. MMG communicates music, especially the time structure of musical objects and events and their relations, intuitively. MMG bears the potential to act as a trigger for a comprehensive and coherent improvisation process by the performers as well as to give clear instructions of what and when to play to performers and information to the audience.

Contrasting my initial approach at the beginning of this research, the term music notation is deliberately avoided in this characterisation. MMG certainly has a music notational purpose. However, its main task is to communicate structure and the relative relations of musical objects over time and with regard to their characteristics. MMG is not a musical notation as has been understood and used in common practice in western music since the middle of the eighteenth century. MMG does not propose a normative canon or even a language of signs and symbols. It is the other way around: the use of symbols, signs, elements of staff notation or any other graphic with an inherent meaning are rejected in MMG due to the mechanisms of the visual communication process, which were discussed in detail in the third chapter.

4.1 Tackling a Typology / Current Practice

The contemporary practice of animated forms of music notation is as versatile as graphic notation was back in the 1960s. My first approach for a typology was presented at the TENOR 2015 conference in Paris (Fischer 2015), a second one was part of my PhD thesis in 2016 (Fischer 2016a). Figure 8 shows the latest version of a three-dimensional coordinate system of that typology, taken from an article published in eContact! in February 2018

Figure 8. 3D-coordinate system to classify animated notations and MMG (Fischer 2018).



(Fischer 2018), featuring example pieces from various composers.

The 3D-coordinate system consists of the following:

x-axis: interpretational/systematic level. First there is a clear distinction between a systematic music notation using the Scientific communication model (see chapter 3) (right half of the cube) and alternative representations with an interpretational approach using the Artistic communication model (left half of the cube). The further to the right, the stricter is the systematic approach and the less interpretational freedom is left within the communicational model.

y-axis: level of improvisation. Of course, there is no clear mathematical method to measure the level of improvisation in music performance. This level can be regarded as an indication of how much effort and own ideas the performer must invest in the interpretation. The interpretational effort is highly dependent on the composer's intention and willingness to indicate direct connections between graphic and sonic parameters. The clearer the composer's instructions, the less interpretational effort and improvisation are required by the performer.

z-axis: musical – actional. Musical means in this context that the score depicts the sound. Actional scores, on the other hand, depict a certain physical action that needs to be executed by the performer to produce a sound. It is also possible that the time structure is depicted, indicating when to execute an action. In other words, the musical and actional poles refer to whether a score concerns the characteristics of a sound (musical) or its conduct (actional).

Area of determined ambiguity: in the middle of the cube is a yellowish area, which reaches only a little into the right, the systematic side of the cube, and about half way into the left, the interpretational side. This is an area where the composer sets certain rules and boundaries for a score, within which the performers are then free as far as their interpretation is concerned.

A typology like this serves as a visualisation of the characteristic parameters of the notational representations of music. It can only be descriptive, as these parameters cannot be measured or calculated mathematically. Practice shows that the more systematic the Scientific communication model used in the score is, the less improvisational effort is demanded; and that the higher the level of interpretation in the artistic communication model, the higher the level of improvisation is.

Examples used in the typology graphic: The following pieces were chosen either due to their degree of familiarity or due to their characteristics showing the limits of the typology.

"December 1952" by Earle Brown (1954) (see Fig. 1)

The score of "December 1952" is one of the most cited when discussing the alternative notation approaches of the musical avant-garde. As mentioned above, it is not a graphic notation but a musical graphic (Schröder 2010). This score uses clearly the artistic communication model. The composer gave only very few hints as to how to read the score, e.g. it would be possible to treat the 2D objects as 3D, according to Brown's interest in the mobiles of Alexander Calder. Inspired by free jazz, Brown himself saw the score as a trigger for improvisation rather than as concrete playing instructions (Gresser 2007). Even within the Artistic communication model, the expression of this work is very vague. The level of improvisation is therefore very high. The instrumentation, the length of the piece, and clearly the music itself is entirely up to the performer(s). It is also unclear whether the score is musical or actional.

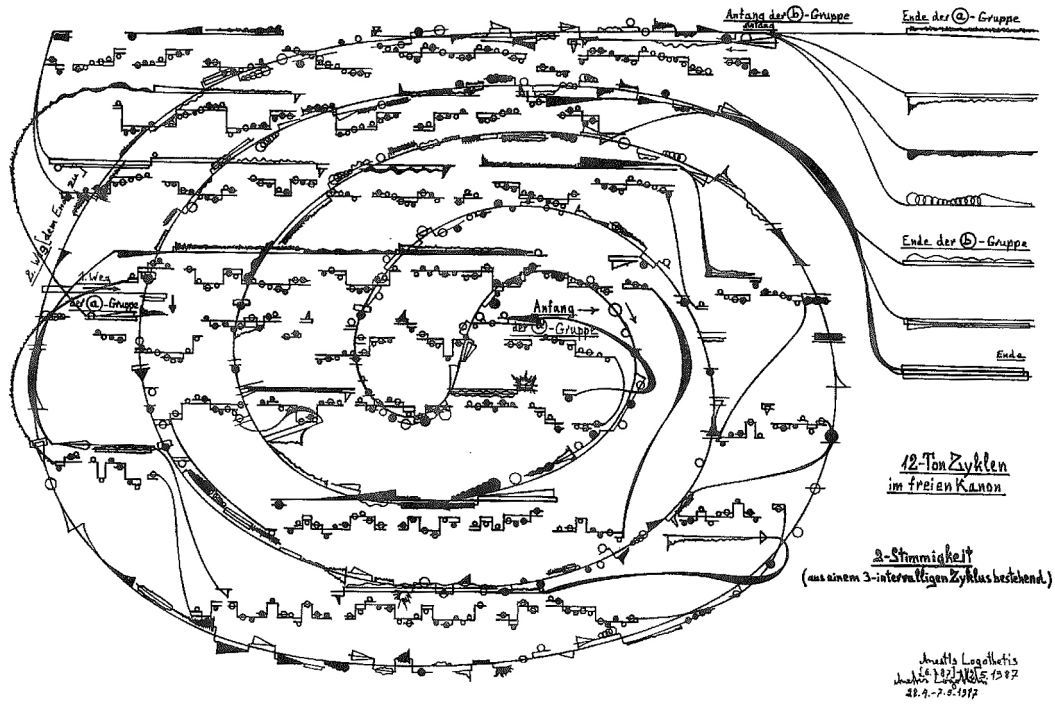
"Studie II" by Karlheinz Stockhausen (1956) (see Fig. 4)

This famous score displays a unique notation system for electronic music. It is a precise manual which explains how to realise the piece, e.g. how and what frequencies to mix to one sound. The score is a visual representation of the sound used. At the same time, it indicates actions, for instance when and how to fade out sounds. The score is musical and actional at the same time. Finally, there is no interpretational freedom for the performer or sound engineer.

***12-Ton Zyklen* by Anestis Logothetis (1987)**

Logothetis developed his own graphic notation system. He differentiates Pitch Symbols, known from western staff notation, which indicate a relative pitch, Association Factors, which indicate loudness, timbre changes and sound character, and finally Action Signals, which display movement graphically to be translated into musical

Figure 9. Anestis Logothetis – *12-Ton-Zyklen* (from Fischer 2018).



movement (Logothetis 1999). He also uses text. His scores usually combine these symbols and thereby become complex, and require a profound examination to be played correctly. Although his approach is systematic, it still allows the performers a certain freedom of interpretation (determined ambiguity).

***Primordial/Lift* by Pauline Oliveros (1998)**

This piece for accordion, cello, electric cello, harmonium, violin, sampler and oscillator contains two approaches. On the one hand the score reflects Oliveros' idea of "deep listening" in music performance. The score indicates the coherencies of listening and instrument playing while leaving the application of their coherencies up to the performer. On the other hand, there is an indication of time structure regarding two different parts of the piece and the usage of the oscillator. The level of improvisation is quite high. Apart from the oscillator, there is no indication of the sounds themselves. The displayed graphics refer to an ideology of how to perceive and work with sounds and music. This means that the score is rather actional and on the very edge of determined ambiguity.

"Study No. 31" by Ryan Ross Smith (2013)

Over the years Ryan Ross Smith developed his own notation system when dealing with animated notation. His scores use what he calls primitives (irreducible static or dynamic symbols – the dots in Figure 11), structures (two or more primitives in some interrelated relationship – the dots and arches in Figure 11), aggregates (a collection of primitives, structures and their respective dynamisms that correspond to a single player – the circles in Figure 11) and actualised indication (the use of a motion play-head to trigger – the thin lines with numbers at the end in Figure 11). The score is systematic and actional. It tells the performers exactly when to play their instruments and how long its sound should last. According to Smith, the score features "... Animated Music Notation as a particular notational methodology"

Figure 10. First page of *Primordial/Lift* by Pauline Oliveros.

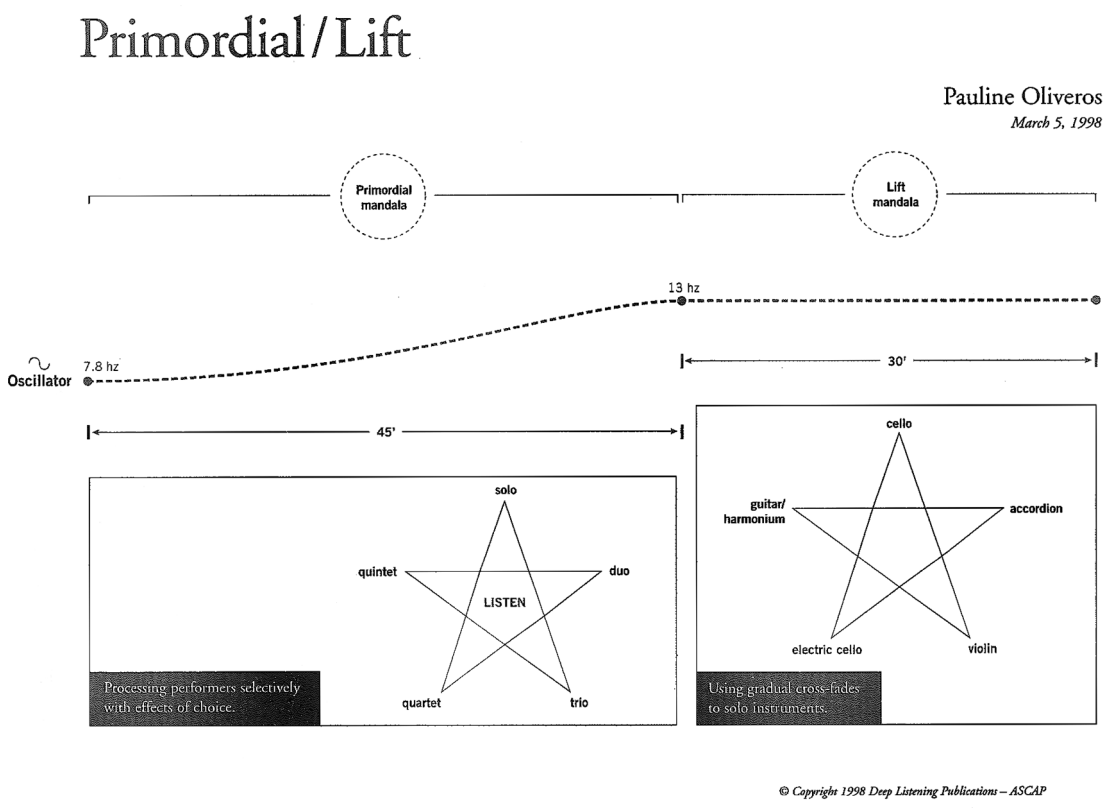
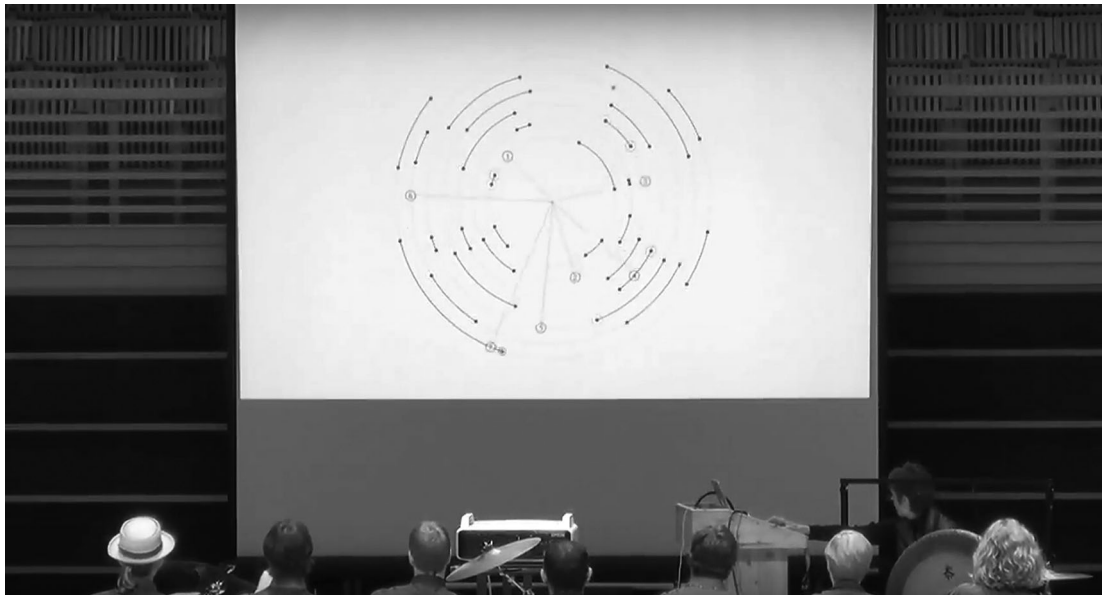
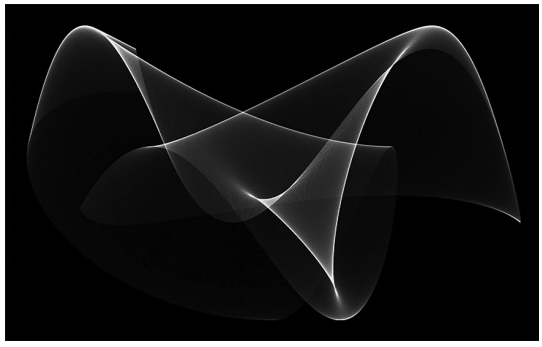


Figure 11. Screenshot of a performance video of "Study No. 31" by Ryan Ross Smith.[5]



5 From Ryan Ross Smith, Complete Studies, http://ryanrosssmith.com/ (accessed March 4, 2016).

Figure 12. Screenshot (0.36 min) of the score "Biological Noise" by Christian M. Fischer.[6]



(Smith 2015). This approach works especially well for pieces focusing on rhythmical structures and their changing over time.

"Biological Noise" by Christian M. Fischer (2016)

This score (see Fig. 12) is an MMG. It was written for electric guitar, effects and live-electronics and uses animated abstract graphics which are interpreted by the performer according to a set of guidelines. As the score manifests as a video, the timing of events and the overall length is determined. There are also guidelines as to how to deal with the score, for instance that the interpretation should be coherent and comprehensible, meaning a visual element should have the same corresponding sound or playing technique throughout the whole piece. On the other hand, the interpretation itself – finding sounds that correspond to the visuals – is left entirely up to the performer. The score creates a space of determined ambiguity for the performer and depicts sounds and music rather than physical actions.

Table 2. Mapping of the three performers of *Brahmavihara* in Pärnu, 9.01.2014.

graphic attribute	sonic / musical attribute	physical action
speed of motion	tempo	
motion in general	phrases, gestures	motion in/on instrument
circular motion	phrases, gestures	circular motion in/on instrument
number of elements	number of sounds	
position on y-axis	pitch	
position on x-axis	panning (electronics)	
motion on y-axis	change in pitch	
motion on x-axis	sounds moving	sound spatialisation, e.g. panning by performer
colour	indicates instrument	
waves/curves	glissando, tremolo, vibrato	
size of elements	dynamics	
lines	long sounds	
dots	short sounds	single events
accent (e.g. by brightness)	accent	
complex graphic	chaotic, random play	
various features at once	chaotic, random play	

6 From c-m-fischer.de (accessed February 20, 2018).

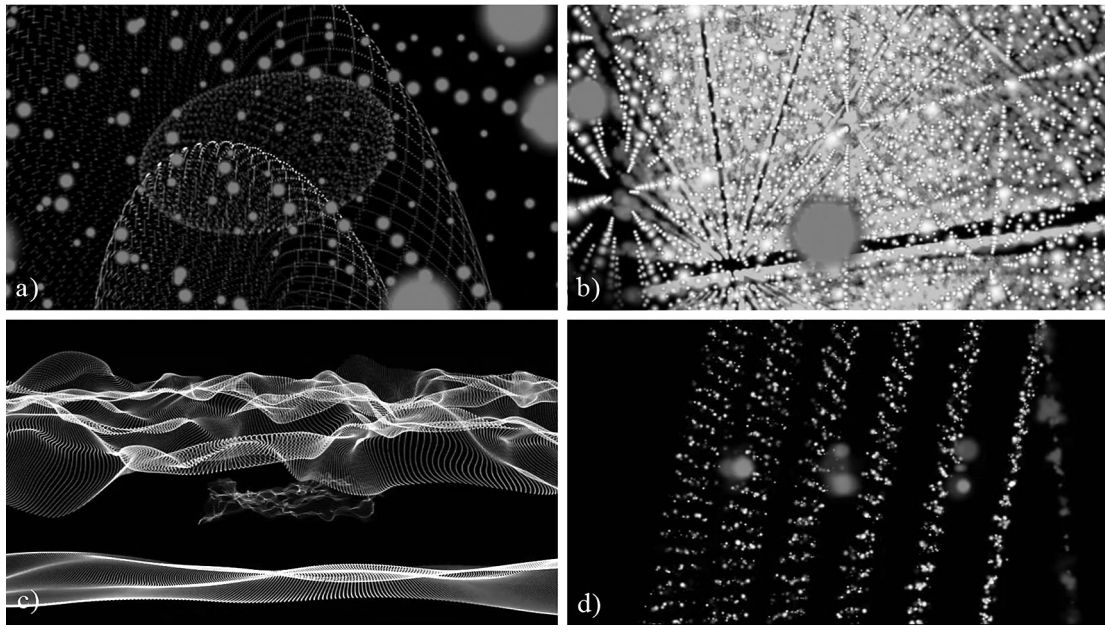
5. Composing using MMG – Example: *Brahmavihara*

Brahmavihara was composed for clarinet, violin and live electronics and premiered on January 9, 2014 at the city library in Pärnu, Estonia, within the Pärnu Contemporary Music Days Festival. Table 2 is a generalised display of the practical mapping processes of the three performers of *Brahmavihara* working with the piece before its premiere. This table should be understood as a generalisation: it is just one possibility of many. There are two mapping processes involved. First is the mapping of the composer when composing the work; second is the mapping process carried out by the performer when interpreting the work. Usually, the desire of the composer is to have both mapping processes as congruent as possible. The table has three columns. The first is the attribute of the graphic. This was translated into sound (second column) or into an action (third column).

The graphics of the piece were generated in Adobe After Effects. The possibility to automate single attributes of a graphical element, to use particle emitters, and to use a timeline and key frames made it a perfect tool for composition, especially with regard to the time structure. My previous experience of other works allowed me to come up with a set of simple principles to be applied during the composition process and rehearsals of *Brahmavihara*: General Validity – the score needs to work for audience, acoustic instruments and live electronics alike; Time-Based Media / Usability – the score uses a video and a regular video player like VLC media player, and performers should be able to navigate as easily as possible through the score; Transparency – the audience should be able to understand the actions of the performers in relation to the video score; Comprehensibility – the score should be composed and performed in a way comprehensible to the receiver (see Fig. 6). Graphics should be designed to support the mapping process. For example, it is comprehensible to make a connection and to map visual noise also known as "snow" or "visual static" with white noise (sound). Once a specific graphical element is mapped with a specific sound, e.g. if a small yellow dot is once mapped with a plucked string on a violin, it should remain this way throughout the whole piece. Whenever a yellow dot reappears on the screen, the receiver knows what to expect and comprehends the actions of the performer.

Brahmavihara consists of four movements. The instruments are indicated clearly by colour: violin – yellow, clarinet – red, and electronics – blue. The score is associative, symbolic, and requires a

Figure 13. Screenshots from the four movements of *Brahmavihara*.



high level of interpretation and improvisation by the performers. There is no play-head, meaning a distinct indication of which graphic to play when (compare Fig. 11). Performers cannot look ahead in the score. The score requires profound involvement to conduct a mapping process. The mapping of visual and sonic attributes and the structure of the piece need to be memorised. As well as being an independent instrument (indicated by the blue graphics), the live electronics need to support the acoustic instruments, especially in passages with a lot of movement and complex visual structures. The key graphical element is moving and changing or morphing objects over time; for example, in the third movement (see Fig. 13c), the mesh changes from a static three-dimensional plane to a rapidly swirling shape. Changes can occur very slowly, or sometimes quite rapidly. The timing and visual design of these changes for all three instruments constitute the main compositional process.

After the performance of *Brahmavihara* the two musicians playing acoustic instruments filled out a questionnaire to gather feedback about the score itself and how they used it. They self-evaluated their performance regarding their individual interpretation of the score. Although they had different ways to work with the score (one musician watched it several times until she memorised her part, while the other worked through it step by step and made some notes for herself), both found the score intuitive and easy to use. Both made their individual mapping. For example, the violinist mapped graphic waves to glissando and vibrato-like sounds, circles indicated the bow circulating on the strings and the distance of objects referred to dynamics. The clarinettist mapped different graphic types to the instrument register and the motion to the tempo. They both stated that their performance corresponded to the score very well and found the third movement (see Fig. 13c) with its wave-like graphics the easiest to play, as it was the slowest and easiest to follow, due to the lack of rapid changes. One performer commented that it was difficult to grasp the range or scale of the graphics. For example, when mapping the size of an object to dynamics, the performer needs to know the minimum and maximum size that this object will have before starting to play. Playing the score at *prima vista* would not be possible. After comparing the audio recording of the work and the scores, I decided that some parts of the piece were too fast and that the graphics were too complex, especially for the acoustic instruments. The violin in the second movement for example (see Fig. 13b) had too many units in too complex a structure. Although we tried to interpret these by looping recorded material several times to generate an equally complex sound structure, the sonic result was not entirely convincing. Regarding the electronics, the graphics were easy to interpret. However, due to the almost infinite possibilities of electronic sound generation, the mapping of visuals and sounds remains vague in comparison to the acoustic instruments. Some aspects could be resolved more clearly. The motion of graphics was mapped with the development of sounds over time, e.g. changes of effect parameters. Size was mapped with dynamics. The visual complexity of a graphic (for instance, when using many elements, as in Figure 13b) was reflected in the sonic complexity of a sound by using granular synthesis to generate sound structures consisting of multiple elements. The overall character of the sounds was clearly depicted within the graphics.

It became clear that the depiction of the electronic sounds might remain vague compared to the acoustic sounds, simply because there are more possibilities to generate sounds electronically. For instance, a single line will very likely be interpreted as one single continuous tone by a violinist. The computer musician will very likely do the same and create one continuous sound. However, the sound creation on the violin will sound like a violin, whereas it is entirely unclear what kind of synthesised or even recorded sound the electronics might use. When there are numerous dots arranged in a turning three-dimensional cube, the violinist needs to find a way to interpret the visual appearance of the graphics as one unit, because the number of dots exceeds the number of tones the violin can play at once. The computer musician could do the same as the violinist and interpret the object as one unit, or (s)he could find a sound for each individual dot and a way to change them according to the turning of the cube. This indicates that the composition and use of graphics means that for the live electronics a profound involvement is required.

After using MMG in several line ups, *Brahmavihara* showed that this kind of score design works best for up to three instruments. MMG is there-

fore ideal as a tool for live electronic music within the setup in which I intend live electronic music to happen. However, with four or more instruments individually indicated on one canvas, the score needs a completely different setup. Therefore MMG, as introduced in my doctoral thesis, is not suitable for bigger ensembles or orchestra. However, this does not indicate that animated notation techniques are for small ensembles only. There are animated notations for larger groups of musicians using a different approach and displaying techniques such as the previously mentioned "Study No. 31" by Ryan Ross Smith or "The Max Maestro", an animated music notation system for non-professional performers, which was developed within an artistic research project by Anders Lind at the Umeå University in Sweden (Lind 2014). Its simplicity allows performers – even large groups of them – to use it right away. This suggests that it is a question of the individual score design and the technique utilised rather than a problem of animated notation itself.

5.1 Composition Process

It is possible to display any sound or any action in a musical context using MMG. However, practice shows that its strength lies rather in the display of structures, meaning the sequence of musical sections and events in relation to one another. MMG is one possible tool to use when composing and performing live electronic music. My composition process changed drastically along with my involvement in animated music notation approaches. Formerly, I started with the sound material itself. I collected sounds and classified, shaped and arranged them. The process could be compared with the work of a sculptor. Adding and subtracting sound material shaped the piece, while the character of the sounds themselves determined their use, starting sometimes only with a first single crackle of a few milliseconds without knowing where the process might end. The possibility to utilise graphics as a representation for the music changed my approach entirely. Now, I compose visually. First, I think about the instrumentation and allocate a shape or colour to a specific instrument. From the very beginning, the piece as a whole (time/length) exists as a two-dimensional canvas. Single passages do not develop sonically but visually, where objects move within a certain time span and become events. The timing of these events, as well as the design of graphics themselves, follow mathematical rules like the golden ratio, symmetry, the rule of thirds, or more complex strings of numbers. Object relations are also bound to those rules. For instance, there are three circles named "a", "b" and "c". Their size follows exactly the golden ratio where "a+b" is to "a" as "a" is to "b". In this case, "a+b" would be the third circle "c". All three circles start to move at the same time across the screen, but at three different speeds. The adjustment of their speed also follows the golden ratio. Colours, contrasts, ratios, visual arts and design rules are applied on the graphic design of objects as well as on the time structure of events. Design rules, ratios which can be called aesthetic, find their sonic counterpart. In very simplified terms it can be stated that what looks good, also sounds good. During the visual composition of the piece, a mapping with sound is inevitable. Visuals and sounds are inextricably connected by their purpose as a communication tool. In this way the aesthetics of the visuals determine the aesthetics of the sound, and not the other way around, as in VJing or in visual music. The motion of a graphic, which is meant to indicate a slowly sliding pitch change of a violin, is initially evaluated by its visual appearance during the composition process. During my own composition process, the graphics and their change certainly have a sonic representation in my mind. Nevertheless, the translation to music, the interpretation of how the graphic in motion would sound and how it could be played comes second. The graphic design and its evaluation comes first.

For a musical composition process that is based on motion graphics, previous knowledge of graphic design and the software tools to create the video score is highly advisable. There is various software available for animation, motion graphic design and video editing. The software used for the generation of the score will definitely have an impact on the design through the possibilities offered by the specific software, its interface, and the algorithms it uses. Graphics made with software based on vectors will undoubtedly look different from those of a pixel-based software. The use of particle emitters will create an entirely different piece from the use of filmed video material. The overall style and design (visual impression), which are influenced by the software of choice, is the first individual decision of the composition

process. The character of the graphics may reflect the essence of the musical work and the compositional approach. The second important aspect is the purpose of the MMG. It can be a piece of art, which is intended to be a source of inspiration for an improviser, or it can be an instructive score indicating exactly when and what to play. The typology presented in Figure 8 indicates the various possibilities. The more actional and instructive the score, the easier it is to execute, as it is based on clear instructions. Another aspect to consider is the readability or, to borrow a more general term from software engineering, the usability of the score, indicated for instance by questions such as whether it offers the possibility to read ahead, enabling the performer to see what graphics to play next; whether the score is a video file that can be played, paused and fast forwarded using a common video player; or whether it is a standalone application with its own interface. In addition, the use of the score on different devices like a PC screen or a small tablet should be considered.

The mapping process is the core of the creation and interpretation of an MMG. There are three separate mapping processes involved in the way the scores were used during my concerts. Foremost among these is the visual design, followed by the composer's mapping, meaning the ideas, sounds and music I had in mind whilst creating the score. It is advisable for composers to make the mapping as reasonable and applicable as possible for the instrument or performer. An animated score, especially an MMG, might be entirely new to the performer. It is advisable for the composer to try to see the score with the performer's eyes. This is mainly a question of human perception and how much visual information the performer can process at the same time. The speed, size, number and complexity of objects are the most important aspects in this context. Secondly, there is the mapping of the performer. The performer's mapping can be supported by additional comments from the composer or discussions during the rehearsal. This support is however not obligatory. For performers, it is advisable to keep the mapping process comprehensible and as consistent as possible throughout the whole piece. On the one hand, this supports their own interpretation of the score as re-occurring elements can be more easily mapped. On the other hand, it promotes the audiences mapping process. This occurs in situ while simultaneously perceiving the music and the score. If the mapping of the performers is not consistent, then the mapping process – or, rather, the expectations of the audience – might be seriously disappointed. The presentation of the score to the performers and the audience is the final aspect to consider. It is part of the composition and the performance and should fit the idea and message of the piece.

6. Conclusion

MMG supports the composer in several ways. It allows the composition of live electronic music, featuring acoustic and computer instruments, by offering an intuitive visual way to communicate with performers. It has the flexibility and the determined ambiguity to be able to represent acoustic and electronic instruments in an equal manner. Designing the score profoundly and elaborately will display the nature and character of the piece. Furthermore, the design of an MMG is an artistic and a very individual decision. The work reflects the composer's intentions sonically and visually for performers and audience alike. Starting a composition by using visual elements for developing structure over time is nothing new for composers and should facilitate the use of MMG in general. The use of time-based media (video) in MMG includes a structure over time *per se*. The termination of a piece is therefore apparently simple. Practice shows that animated notation approaches like MMG can be approached and utilised very intuitively. MMG additionally allows the synchronisation of musical events for all the instruments involved, regardless of whether they are acoustic, electronic or even non-musical sound objects. Stopwatches, acoustic cues, score following or other possible means of synchronising the actions become obsolete, but can still be used if desired. The use of computer-based playback of MMG allows the synchronisation of a video in different locations, e.g. by using tablets and synchronising the replay over a local network. Finally, apart from utilising MMG to support the communication between composer and performer, it can also be presented to the audience during the performance. This has several advantages. MMG can add an aesthetic value to performance. It can enhance the enjoyment of a performance by extending it with a visual component.

While the audience focuses on the MMG, the rather inexpressive performance by the computer musician, which is disconnected from visible and comprehensible sound generation, is no longer of any consequence. Most importantly, MMG communicates music visually. In so doing, the audience can follow the musical structure more easily, and this supports understanding and, finally, the appreciation of the work. The major advantage of MMG is that it encompasses all the described advantages in one single entity.

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Animeeritud muusikagraafika (AMG) – *live*-elektroonilise muusika edastamine[1]

Christian M. Fischer

Töö käesolevas artiklis käsitletava loomingulise uurimisprojekti kallal algas peaaegu 15 aastat tagasi. Helilooja ja arvutimuusikuna seisin silmitsi probleemiga, kuidas edastada adekvaatselt nii muusikutele kui publikule oma muusikalisi ideid *live*-elektroonilise teose esitamisel. *Live*-elektroonilist muusikat defineerin siin kui elektroonilise / arvutiga loodava muusika üht žanrit, millesse on kaasatud akustilised muusikainstrumendid ja milles toimub elektrooniliste helide loomine ning nii tekkivate kui ka eelsalvestatud helidega manipuleerimine reaalajas. Traditsiooniline noodikiri pole arvutimuusika edastamiseks piisav. Lisaks võib selline muusika mõnikord olla kuulamisel raske mõista. Seetõttu töötasin välja helilooja, esitajate ja publiku vahelise suhtlusplatvormina töötava animeeritud muusikagraafika (AMG), mida artiklis tutvustangi.

AMG põhiideed pärinevad muusikalise avangardi 1950ndate ja 1970ndate aastate vahel rakendatud notatsioonipraktikatest. AMG aluseks on graafiline notatsioon (modifitseeritud noodikiri või muusikalistel eesmärkidel loodud alternatiivne graafika) nagu Anestis Logothetise partituurid (vt. nt. joonis 2) ja eriti muusikaline graafika (pigem improvisatsiooni vallandajana töötav abstraktne graafika), nagu Earle Browni teos „December 1952" (vt. joonis 1). Kuid neid ideid on laiendatud animatsiooni ja liikuvate kujutiste abil.

Karlheinz Stockhauseni „Studie II" (1954) näitab, et soov talletada elektroakustilist muusikat on sama vana kui elektrooniline muusika ise. Alates 1950ndatest toimunud arengus, digitaalse revolutsiooni, helide genereerimise ja nende arvutil manipuleerimise kaudu jõudsid arvutimuusika ja selle võimalused täiesti uuele tasemele. Seega muutus notatsioon keerukamaks. *Live*-elektroonilise muusika puhul saab neid probleeme lahendada (traditsioonilist) noodikirja laiendades (lisades noodikirjale uusi graafilisi sümboleid) või kasutades tehnilisi abivahendeid nagu partituuri järgimine (ingl. *score following*), et sünkroniseerida akustiline ja elektrooniline instrument.

Selliste abivahendite kasutamine ei tulnud mu oma loomingulises töös kõne alla. Pärast probleemi analüüsimist jõudsin järeldusele, et tegu on puhtalt suhtlusprobleemiga. Lahenduse pakkus mu disaini ja visuaalse kommunikatsiooniga seotud taust. Charles Sanders Peirce'i semiootilistele uurimustele toetudes kirjeldas saksa kommunikatsiooniteoreetik Heinz Kroehl (1987) kolme kommunikatsioonimudelit: argielu, teadus ja kunst. Traditsiooniline noodijoonestik kuulub teadusliku mudeli alla, kuna selle lugemiseks ja mõistmiseks on vajalik eelnev reeglite tundmaõppimine. Kunstiline mudel kasutab konnotatiivset informatsiooni ja põhineb interpretatsioonil. AMG kasutab kunstilist mudelit ja seda võib defineerida järgnevalt: AMG on animeeritud notatsiooni alaliik (terminit „animeeritud notatsioon" võib mõista kui katusmõistet hõlmamaks muusika edastamise eri liike, mis kasutavad animatsiooni ja liikumist). AMG kasutab abstraktset, ilma konkreetse tähenduseta graafikat ja see realiseeritakse peamiselt video või mõne teise ajapõhise meediumi kaudu. AMG väljendab intuitiivselt muusikat, eriti muusikaliste objektide ja sündmuste ning nende suhete ajalist struktuuri. AMG-l on potentsiaal toimida nii laiahaardelise ja sidusa improvisatsiooniprotsessi sütitajana mängijatel kui ka täpse informatsioonina publikule ja mängijatele selle kohta, mida ja millal mängida.

Kõige tähtsam protsess AMG rakendamisel on seostamine (ingl. *mapping*). Seostamist võib mõista kui visuaalsetele elementidele akustilise tähenduse omistamist, nt. et punane ruut tähendab viiulikeele näppimist. Niisugune seostamine on individuaalne protsess, mis toimub teose loomisel (helilooja), esitamisel (muusik) ja kuulamisel (publik).

AMG-d on kasutatud ja täiustatud mitmetel kontsertidel. Artiklis vaadeldakse seda protsessi teose „Brahmavihara" näitel. Neljaosaline „Brahmavihara" on kirjutatud klarnetile, viiulile ja *live*-elektroonikale ja selle esiettekanne toimus 9. jaanuaril 2014 Pärnu linnaraamatukogus Pärnu nüüdismuusika päevade

[1] Artikkel põhineb autori 2016. aastal Eesti Muusika- ja Teatriakadeemias kaitstud doktoritööl (juhendaja prof. Kerri Kotta), https://www.ema.edu.ee/vaitekirjad/doktor/Christian_Fischer.pdf.

raames. Esitajatega tehtud intervjuude, küsitluse ja teose videosalvestuse kvalitatiivanalüüsi põhjal töötasin välja optimaalsete seostamisvõimaluste tabeli (vt. tabel 2). Näiteks graafika liikumiskiirus seostati peaaegu üksnes muusikalise tempoga, graafiliste elementide arv aga helide hulgaga.

AMG kasutamine osutas *live*-elektroonilise muusika esitusprobleemidele, nagu töö alguses eeldatud. AMG kui komponeerimise abivahendi peamine eelis on võimalus teost täpselt struktureerida, nii tervikuna kui ka väga väikesteks ühikuteks jaotatuna. Struktureerimine on visuaalselt tajutav ja struktuuri on ka kuuldeliselt kergem haarata. Visuaalse suhtlusvahendina on sama AMG rakendatav nii akustiliste kui elektrooniliste instrumentide muusikute kui ka publiku tarbeks.

Tõlkinud Anu Schaper

Possible Mental Models for the Conductor to Support the Ensemble Playing of the Orchestra[1]

Mihhail Gerts

Abstract

The paper attempts to identify tools to enable the conductor to prevent problems in ensemble playing (keeping performers together). The purpose is to derive systematic mental models, the implementation of which would enable the conductor to prevent or reduce musical losses in the typical problematic situations that inevitably arise during performance.

The author analyses passages from some of the musical works he conducted at the Estonian National Opera at the time of his doctoral studies (Estonian Academy of Music and Theatre, 2007–2011). The aim is to identify, from individual cases which led to success or failure, certain more general principles. Through the analysis of typical situations mental models are derived, and their implementation in practical conducting is described. The passages analysed come mainly from orchestrally accompanied recitative. This choice, based primarily on the fact that stage music and especially such passages clearly highlight problems of ensemble, also highlights the desire to connect theoretical research with practical problems experienced while conducting. The methodological model is based on the work of conductor and psychologist Georgy Yerzhemsky, additionally supplemented by the opinions of many other conductors.

While working as a conductor at the Estonian National Opera, I came into close contact with ensemble playing problems that occurred during performance situations (individual players' different feeling of metre, accidental mistakes, acoustic problems inherent to stage music etc.), which often result in appreciable losses in the ensemble of the orchestra as a whole. When thinking about what had happened after the event, I often felt that if I had acted differently in the same situation, I would have been able to prevent or minimise the musical loss. When problems arise during a performance, the conductor must work through a large amount of information in a very short space of time and react by taking action. For example, in the case of a soloist's mistake, the conductor has many choices – to try to follow the soloist with the orchestral accompaniment and bring him or her "back" to it later (for example with the next entrance), or to concentrate on keeping the orchestral part together, presuming that the soloist, realising his or her mistake, will reintegrate with the accompaniment independently. At such critical moments, the orchestra is also waiting for clear instructions from the conductor as to how to proceed, whether this be to "skip" a few beats and follow the soloist, or to continue steadily to perform the accompanying part as written, thus ensuring the consistency of the musical progression. I have repeatedly experienced that in such situations the basis for effective action lies in the conductor's thinking. Though every performance of a work is of course unique, I am often aware of the basic similarity of apparently different situations. Success in various "crisis situations" during which, despite unexpected events (an accidental mistake by a soloist, for example), I managed to avoid greater musical losses led me to search for similarities in the means I used which had proved effective. It was this desire to identify from individual cases certain more general principles for taking more effective action in problematic situ-

[1] The article is based on my doctoral thesis (in Music) *Three possible mental models for the conductor to support the ensemble playing of the orchestra* (in Estonian), defended at the Estonian Academy of Music and Theatre in 2011 (supervisor Professor Toomas Siitan), https://www.ema.edu.ee/vaitekirjad/doktor/Mihhail_Gerts.pdf.

ations – and ideally to prevent them from occurring – that prompted me to embark upon the research on which this paper is based.

1. The subject of the study

The hypothesis behind this study is the belief that it is possible to construct and apply certain mental models in conducting. Viewed individually, in every musically problematic situation it is possible to identify the factors which require effective intervention if the music is to work. Considering these same factors should therefore enable the conductor to prevent the emergence of certain musical problems in similar situations on a wider scale. Analysis of the effective actions and the other factors involved in various common situations should make it possible to create more general principles by which to prevent or minimise musical losses in typically problematic situations during performance.

The purpose of the article is to derive systematic mental models (principles), the implementation of which would enable the conductor to prevent or reduce musical losses during performance. By musical losses, in this work I mean primarily the problems of keeping the performers (orchestral players and soloists) together: in other words, ensemble playing. Ensemble playing is one of the more clearly observable technical components of any performance, the shortcomings of which are perceivable to also the regular listener. Analysing ensemble playing makes it possible to avoid making aesthetic judgements and thus to come to more objective conclusions. The long-time leader of the Austrian Radio Symphony Orchestra Dr. Viktor Redtenbacher states that extraordinary flexibility in dealing with unexpected situations is expected of an opera conductor (Redtenbacher 1984: 34). Since problems of ensemble are often related to the need for the players' greater attention to the conductor at a given moment (after a soloist's mistake, for example), the conductor's ability to recover from a problematic situation gives testimony to his or her reliability and professionalism.

To derive principles I shall analyse musical passages which have proven problematic when performing different works. I describe my actions while resolving these situations and analyse the basic factors behind successful and unsuccessful solutions. I compare the conclusions formed during my analysis with opinions found in different literature in the field of conducting. I also describe the implementation of these conclusions in practical conducting and derive more general mental models based on the information from the whole process. While carrying out this research, such analysis accompanied me during every performance in front of the orchestra, both when conducting performances and when rehearsing. The main analytical material was video recordings of both rehearsals and performances (conclusions drawn at the time of performance may not always prove valid in the light of later consideration, as one's emotional state, the excitement of the moment and other factors may distort perception and one's mental image of the situation). As a theatre conductor I had the chance to put into effect conclusions drawn from theoretical analysis in the next performances of the work in question. Those means which proved effective I was also able to implement when conducting other works. I tried to compare and associate experiences from different situations and to develop more general, broader principles than mere solutions for specific situations. The passages analysed mainly originate from orchestrally accompanied recitative or recitative-like passages from different operas (there are also a few examples from ballet music and instrumental concertos as well). My choice of genre is based primarily on the fact that stage music clearly highlights problems of ensemble.

As far as I am aware, this subject has not been theoretically addressed in this context. Most literature in the field of conducting is focused on addressing the manual elements of the conductor's movements. Without diminishing the importance of these physical skills (the conductor's gestures), it is clear that these are just one of the necessary means of achieving a musical result. Trying practically to apply the gestural formulas found in conducting theory, I have experienced that there is no "universal gesture" which would always work as a solution in analogous problem situations (for example when ensemble partners are late in their entrance) (compare also Kondrashin 1976: 182). Looking at the concert stage it must also be acknowledged that many widely recognised conductors do not fit into the technical frames suggested in some theoretical works (for exam-

ple, Sir Simon Rattle, Christian Thielemann, Valery Gergiev, Gustavo Dudamel and Carlos Kleiber, to name but a few).

Conducting theory generally deals with conducting isolated from the performance situation (for example when describing different beating patterns, etc.). Conversely, while analysing musical works, it is common to stay within the confines of a single work without attempting to draw broader conclusions. Conducting theory, in fact, has not generally dealt with systematic guidelines to forge mental processes by combining musical endeavour, conducting techniques and the experience gained from performance with an orchestra. There are, however, individual exceptions, which I will reference in the current work.

Many well-known conductors emphasise the importance of mental elements to conducting in their theoretical works. Hermann Scherchen, Bruno Walter, Ilya Musin, Hans Swarowsky, Kirill Kondrashin, Frederik Prausnitz, Gennady Rozhdestvensky, Elizabeth A. Green, Kurt Redel and others write about conveying musical notions to the orchestra, inner hearing, inner conducting etc. Some conductors have dealt with constructs similar to mental models in their literature. Kurt Redel (who was also a violinist, a flautist for the Bayerische Staatskapelle, and who played under Richard Strauss) concludes his conducting textbook with the "ten commandments" of conducting ("Unsere zehn Gebote", Redel 2005: 99).[2] By these, Redel mainly means recommendations to make the process of rehearsal more effective. At the same time, Redel's "ninth commandment" ("limited instructions during the musicians' performance are efficient, but they must be used sparingly"), despite its controversial nature, suggests that Redel accepts the implementation of certain mental models at the moment of conducting. At the end of legendary Russian conductor and lecturer Ilya Musin's final monograph (2007), the author gives 69 (!) reminders to a novice conductor, consisting largely of individual recommendation about the movements for beating time. Within these guidelines one can find clues that Musin, too, allows the possibility of implementing mental models while conducting (for instance, "listen to the rhythm of the accompaniment and conduct on that basis", etc., Musin 2007: 226). A similar recommendation can be found in the volume by Broke McElheran, author of one of America's most quoted conducting approaches ("listen carefully and adjust as required", McElheran 1989: 125).

Today, there are a number of individual attempts to deal systematically with a conductor's mental processes that make use of extra-musical disciplines relating to the topic. One such example is the work of conductor and psychologist Georgy Yerzhemsky whose scientific studies provide the methodical role model for my research. In his works, Yerzhemsky uses the term "ustanovka" (*установка*),[3] meaning a psychological technique to achieve a certain objective at the moment of conducting. (Yerzhemsky 2007: 50, 222). As one such technique Yerzhemsky highlights the importance of the constant relaxation principle, the purpose of which is to continuously remind the conductor when conducting while at the same time maintaining control (*расслабление как психологическая установка*, Yerzhemsky 2007: 51).

In the context of the current research, Yerzhemsky's "psychological principles", Redel's "ten commandments", and the recommendations of Musin and Elheran can all be viewed as prototypes of a mental model. The opinions of these authors all testify to the possibility of operating with certain models or attitudes during conducting. Without wishing to sound too pretentious, I see parallels in the above-mentioned constructs with the concept of metacognition from the educational sciences (*thinking about thinking*, Peirce 2003: 1; Livingston 1997: 1). Conducting, too, may be observed as a constant learning process: during performance conductors constantly come into contact with new situations; to deal with them they must use previously acquired knowledge and experience, but also consider the information from the specific situation in the here and now. Making decisions becomes particularly vital in so-called "crisis situations", during which the orchestra is asking the conductor "what do we do now?" Experience shows that even the "answer" that seems simplest and most obvious

[2] Here can be observed the influence of Richard Strauss's "ten golden rules" ("Zehn Goldene Regeln. Einem jungen Kapellmeister ins Stammbuch geschrieben", 1925; Strauss 2014: 46).

[3] Literal translation "setting", "installation".

may not immediately come to mind in such a situation. The purpose of the mental models to be established in this work is to help the conductor categorise incoming information and improve the effectiveness of his/her decision-making.

Conducting is an extremely multifaceted process consisting of many different layers. I believe that the key to solving a musical problem lies hidden in the synergy of all the various facets, of which the primary one is the conductor's thinking (compare Musin 2007: 22). Therefore the conductor must develop an "intellectual technique" (Kondrashin 1976: 182), for which in turn they must first pass through the "school of awareness" (Walter 1961: 94). The mental models to be established in this research do not in any way claim to be final conducting truths. It is clear that the concept of the conducting process is directly connected to the conductor's wealth of experience – the more experienced the conductor and the more they have worked with different orchestras, the more versatile their notion of conducting. At the same time I find that the ability to analyse, make associations and look for systematic patterns is possible, whatever a conductor's experience. The process of creating mental models is important in the context of this article. The validity of any conclusions will emerge in their practice.

2. Basic methodological considerations

The conducting theory which summarises the previous generation of authors' works, in which practical conducting experience is combined with a broad knowledge of psychology and other extra-musical disciplines directly related to conducting, is summarised on the basis of the academic works of Russian conductor and psychologist Georgy Yerzhemsky (1988, 1993, 2007), which also provide the methodical basis for my work.[4] Yerzhemsky is the author of over 60 academic works, many of which have been highly rated by conductors such as Mariss Jansons, Ilya Musin, Juri Temirkanov, and many others. Yerzhemsky's monograph *For a XXI century conductor. The psycholinguistics of the profession* (*Дирижеру XXI века. Психолингвистика профессии*; 2007) is one of the most frequently referenced sources in my work. Any attempt to analyse conducting should start from a definition of conducting: this, viewed from the perspective of my research, will be the subject of the following section.

2.1. Conducting

The German conductor Hermann Scherchen stated in the 1930s that conducting is the intercommunication of people (Scherchen 1953: 246).[5] At a time when conductors were often associated with despotism (Arturo Toscanini, among others, for example), it is extremely surprising to see such a human and essentially shrewd description of the profession. From what follows it would appear that many contemporary authors follow Scherchen's position when defining conducting.

Communication presumes the existence of a certain language. Indeed, many conductors do define the profession through language. While Hermann Dechant uses the literal term language in his work (*Sprache*, Dechant 1985: 13), Hans Zender talks about conducting as sign language (Roelcke 2000: 85),[6] while researcher Clemens Lukas uses the term "non-verbal language" (Lukas 1994: 133). Sir Colin Davis mentions the term "motion vocabulary" when speaking of conducting, which also hints at the connection between conducting and language, but at the same time claims that "conducting is not a universal language" (Roelcke 2000: 105). This last claim is one that can surely be agreed with.

Similarly to Scherchen, conductor Mihhail Jurovski calls conducting the "art of contact", which

[4] Georgy Yerzhemsky (1918–2012) is a conductor and pedagogue from St. Petersburg, honorary member of the International Academy of Psychology. Having graduated from Professor Leonid Nicolayev's piano class at the Leningrad Conservatory in 1941 (Nicolayev's other students included, amongst others, Maria Judina, Nikolai Perlman, Vladimir Sofronitski, Dmitri Shostakovich), after the second world war he worked as a conductor in the Leningrad Small Theatre (Malyi Theatre of Opera and Ballet; both before 1918 and now, the Mikhailovsky Theatre). In 1973 he started working as a lecturer in conducting at the Leningrad State Conservatory, where he defended his first doctorate in 1983. A constant interest in psychology and other disciplines led Yerzhemsky to doctoral studies in the field of psychology at the State University of Leningrad in 1990, where he defended his second doctoral work at the age of 76.

[5] "Dirigieren ist eine Beziehungnahme zwischen Menschen."

[6] It is possible that Zender is proceeding from the term "sign language", which is used by conductor Alfred Szendrei, amongst others. (*Gebärdensprache*, Szendrei 1952: 55–56).

hints at the communication between a conductor and the orchestra (Scholz 2002: 164; see also Musin 2007: 15). Though drawing direct parallels between conducting and verbal language may appear arbitrary, there is much common ground between collaboration with an orchestra and forms of speech and communication as a broader concept (compare Mehta 2006: 253; Barenboim 1994: 126; see also Wöllner 2007: 6).

Yerzhemsky sees the communicative cooperation between the conductor and the orchestra as conforming to forms of communication between people. Unlike regular speech, such communication is non-verbal, yet the process is subject to all the rules of communication (Yerzhemsky 2007: 65). As such, Yerzhemsky has come up with the most complete definition of conducting from the point of view of the context of this article: **conducting is a special form of inner musical speech and performance activities, which flows as constant communication and creative collaboration between the leader and the orchestra. Its essence consists of psychic processes: the feelings, emotions and moods which are evoked by the actively experienced relationship with the associative content of a work of music** (Yerzhemsky 2007: 37). The main purpose of a conductor's communicative activity is the attempt to express his or her artistic conception and subjective emotional attitude to the work being performed as fully as possible (Yerzhemsky 2007: 100).

A conductor's role may be seen as a three-part structure: personal preparation, the rehearsal process, and performance. Describing the purpose of the conductor's personal preparation, Ormandy finds that he "must be prepared to instantaneously make any adjustments, large or small, in the actual performance required for the fullest realization of his inner concept" (Ormandy 1969: vii). I find that during the preparatory work conductors can "arm" themselves to solve and prevent potential problems that lie in wait for them during performance.

2.2. A conductor's mental tools

2.2.1. Creating an image

Scherchen finds that the basis of conducting is the ability to plan the perfect performance of a musical work in one's imagination (Scherchen 1953: 247). Sawallisch calls such a notion the "ideal notion" (*Idealvorstellung*, Sawallisch 1993: 78). Many conductors build their performance upon their desired sound picture or sound ideal. In such a way Walter, Maazel, Furrer and Redel use the terms *sound ideal*, *Klangvision*, *Klangvorstellung* (respectively Walter 1961: 24; Scholz 2002: 197; Furrer 2002: 22; Redel 2005: 88). Without wishing to detract anything from the importance of such a sound ideal, however, the terms just mentioned do not adequately reflect the conductor's vision in terms of many other aspects of a musical work, such as the desired tempo or its formal structure.

Yerzhemsky dissects the process of creating a concept of a work of music in more detail, using the term "image-representation" (*образ–представление*).[7] The integrated conception of the music to be performed is created by transferring the material from the score to the psychic sphere (internalisation),[8] in which a subjective, inner ideal model of a work is created (Yerzhemsky: 2007: 123). In the initial phase of creation, a certain structural-reproductive model emerges from the score;[9] subsequently, a cognitive layer (the creation of personal meaning) is added to this; and in the final phase, this is transformed into a complete, integrated musical concept (Yerzhemsky 1988: 13; Yerzhemsky 2007: 53). In the interest of clarity I will use the term "conception" in the remainder of this article. By this term I mean the comprehensive image of a musical work (both the ideal performance and the different stages of the rehearsal process).

2.2.2. Internal modelling of a performance situation

Creating a conception of a musical work is a complex, multi-layered process; at the same time it is the most important part of the preparation for a

7 Yerzhemsky's term, hard to translate, means literally "image-representation".

8 Internalisation is the psychological name for transferring external phenomenon into the psychic sphere.

9 Here one can observe a substantive similarity to Prausnitz's term *working image* (Prausnitz 1983: 15, 81).

performance. Kondrashin calls the conductor's work on perfecting the conception of a musical work "mental play-through" (Kondrashin 1976: 25); a similar term is also used by Prausnitz (*imaginary practice*, Prausnitz 1983: 79). In Yerzhemsky's approach, many of the peculiarities of a conductor's independent preparation work emerge when developing the conception of a musical work: "The conductor is required to clearly anticipate the many details of a certain musical situation … the inner model [of a musical work] must reflect both the material in the score and the [possible] situation in the orchestra" (Yerzhemsky 1993: 31). Yerzhemsky calls this process of anticipating these sorts of external factors (for example, the possible reactions of the musicians in the orchestra) inner modelling, which is based on a process of identification (Yerzhemsky 1993: 50–51).[10] As a conductor I see Yerzhemsky's inner modelling concept as an important aid when preparing for a performance. Through its use, the conductor is able to relate his/her actions to those of the musicians as they play their parts, and, in doing so, he/she is able to develop more effective plans of action to achieve his/her vision. In other words, conductors have the possibility to see themselves as if they were one of the musicians (or the soloist), and to try to understand what the player of one or another part expects from the conductor in a specific situation.

2.2.3. Anticipatory thinking as the basis for implementing mental models

Sir Simon Rattle believes that during a performance the conductor does everything one or two seconds earlier than the ensemble (Cobbers 2010: 25). Furrer also calls conducting "anticipatory showing" (*Vorauszeigen*, Furrer 2002: 8). It is obvious that anticipatory action is not possible without anticipatory thinking. Both Redel and Furrer often use the term "anticipatory thinking" (*Vorausdenken*, Furrer 2002: 94; Redel 2005: 65; see also Musin 2007: 141) when talking about conducting. Anticipatory thinking is a process that accompanies any musician's performance; however, I find it assumes certain specific characteristics when applied to the work of a conductor.

Yerzhemsky sees anticipation as the main tool with which the conductor's intentions are realised: "Conductors, with their thoughts and actions, must anticipate the orchestra's performance. Based on their 'inner prompter' (conception), they get the chance to actively create the music that is to come" (Yerzhemsky 2007: 131). At the same time, Yerzhemsky finds that the conductor's attention must be focused on the actual audible result, assessing it and analysing what is happening as the performance develops. Such control enables the conductor constantly to bring the orchestra's performance to match his/her own conception of a perfect performance (Yerzhemsky 1993: 237).

By constantly anticipating mentally the actual flow of a performance, it is possible for the conductor to use the systematic information found in his/her own mental model. The model can remind the conductor of likely events in certain situations or the consequences of the conductor's actions. This process is easiest to understand in multiple performances of the same work: in sections where there was a problem in a previous performance, one has heightened attention for the factors that caused the failure. I believe that similar conclusions can be transferred to conducting other works, which is an example of implementing a certain mental model. As a result of this, the conductor is able to some extent to reduce – or even prevent – musical losses during the performance. Mental anticipation is also discussed by Kondrashin and Musin: they consider it especially important while accompanying a soloist and believe that the success of an accompaniment depends on anticipating the tempo modifications of the soloist (*предвосхищение*; Kondrashin 1976: 98–99; Musin 2007: 87; compare also Dechant 1985: 401 and Järvi 1997: 248). Kondrashin, Musin, Dechant and Järvi's opinions all support the above hypothesis regarding the possibility of implementing certain mental models through anticipatory thinking.

2.3. A conductor's manual tools

Having considered the thought processes of a conductor, it is now necessary to describe briefly

[10] The term identification was first highlighted by Sigmund Freud; nowadays the term is widespread, meaning assimilating yourself to someone or something (Yerzhemsky 1993: 51).

the principal manual tools used to realise a conductor's intentions (i.e. the outward and visible side of conducting).

In the literature of the great masters controversies concerning conducting technique abound. Richard Strauss said: "Instead of conducting using your hands, it would be better to conduct by hearing, the rest comes by itself" (Yerzhemsky 2007: 43). Many well-known conductors have expressed similar opinions more recently. Arturo Tamayo argues: "There exists a coordination between thinking, consciousness and movements. Movements always correspond to a conductor's conception, and this is immediately reflected in his/her motions." (Roelcke 2000: 102).

I have repeatedly emphasised the primacy of the mental plane in conducting; at the same time, however, conducting is largely manifested through the motions of the hands – a detailed internal conception does not make up for an inconsistent beat and incomprehensible upbeats.

Dealing with the connection between the mental and physical planes of conducting, Yerzhemsky believes that "external isolated actions which do not have internal psychic reasons do not exist in human nature. A motion is not primal, but the last (ending) phase of any mental act" (Yerzhemsky 2007: 40). This neatly explains the relationship between the mental and physical planes, which is also the basis for Tamayo's "coordination" and Strauss's "conducting by hearing". For Bruno Walter, too, without the purposeful functioning of the hand, "neither that correctness which I have called a prerequisite of spirited music-making, nor the entire gamut of lifelike tempi and expressions, the shaping of which depends on the conductor's gestures, can be attained." (Walter 1961: 86). In reality, the "purposeful functioning" of the hand requires a very detailed approach to the manual elements of conducting (compare also Scherchen 1953: 1). Every instrumentalist has to work to some extent to overcome physical difficulties with their instrument; similarly, in conducting, acquiring the necessary physical capabilities (the basis for directing a performance) can be very problematic.

Approaches to the theory of conducting gestures are many and varied, and have been published in large numbers. Here I shall limit myself to describing a few of the components of manual conducting technique – the tools through which the conductor's mental models are realised in performance – that are relevant in this context. I shall begin with beating time.

2.3.1. Beating time

According to Yerzhemsky, "the purpose of beating time is to indicate, through certain graphic schemes, the metric and rhythmic organisation and development of the musical material" (Yerzhemsky 2007: 74). Beating patterns (2-in-a-bar, 3-in-a-bar, etc.) are well known to every musician, and form the basis for communication between the conductor and the orchestra. Prausnitz claims that beating is the only aspect of conducting that is possible to be systematically analysed (Prausnitz 1983: 17). Despite the fact that beating cannot be compared to the physical complexity of playing an instrument, I find that Hector Berlioz's opinion may still be considered valid today: "The skill of beating time is, despite its ostensible simplicity, hard to acquire… although a conductor's gesture is in itself a simple motion, there are cases, particularly relating to the subdivision of a bar, where these motions are significantly more complicated" (Ginzburg 1975: 71).

2.3.2. The upbeat and its component elements as a means to realise a conductor's intentions

Scherchen defines the preparatory beat (or upbeat, in German, the *Auftakt*) as a beat which matches the length of the metric unit following it and renders its length recognisable (Scherchen 1953: 203). Most authors agree with this definition. Despite the widespread English counterpart to the German *Auftakt*, the *upbeat*, academic works often use the term *preparatory beat* (Rudolf 1950: 7; Prausnitz 1983: 214; Fredman 1999: 28; Meier 2009: 17). The functions of the preparatory beat are: a) to define the beginning moment of a performance (breathing preparation) and to define the beginning of each bar; b) to define the tempo; c) to define the dynamics; d) to define the character of the initial attack (Musin 1967: 69).[11] The structure of the preparatory beat is described

[11] Redel shares this opinion: "In addition to tempo, the A*uftakt* contains information about the desired sound dynamic and character" (Redel 2005: 25).

differently by different authors. Musin and Green treat the upbeat as a three part complex, the elements of it respectively being: a) the preparation or lift (*замах*, *preparation*); b) the fall and the moment of the beat (*падение*, *ictus*); c) the recoil (*отдача*, *reflex*, *recoil*) (Musin 1967: 81; Green 1969: 19). Prausnitz and Meier, on the other hand, see it as a four part structure, separating the fall from the moment of the beat. (Prausnitz 1983: 47; Meier 2009: 9). Since an entire preparatory beat implies close association of all the components, I will use the three-part division, though noting the above differences.

The main condition of a typical preparatory beat is the equal length in time of the upward and downward movements; they must also be executed with equal amplitude (Musin 1967: 81). The speed of the upward motion defines the tempo of the next beat unit (Goldbeck 1951: 158). The upbeat is given both at the beginning of the work and for each following beat; the primary upbeat (*начальный*) indicates the moment the sound emerges, while the remainder of the conducting process works through the progression from one beat to the next (Musin 1967: 81).

Through the components of an upbeat, many musical elements are achievable – *rallentandos*, *accelerandos*, *fermatas*, *caesuras*, etc. With this in mind, many authors mention the connection between the amplitude of the conductor's beats and changes in tempo. A number of authors point to the possibility of speeding up the tempo by reducing the amplitude of the beat and slowing it down by increasing its amplitude (Redel 2005: 75; Furrer 2002: 109, 122; Prausnitz 1983: 288; Scherchen 1989: 186). Musin handles the effect of the components of the upbeat in greater detail, attributing the greatest importance to the bounce. Musin believes that

> when speeding up the *Auftakt* between beats, the bounce motion assimilates the functions of the upward motion. Speeding up the bounce motion shortens the duration between the beats and causes the player to feel a sufficient feeling of speeding up. A smooth slowing of the tempo, on the other hand, is achieved by restraining the bounce [*торможение*], thereby creating a feel of heaviness to the hand motion, which in turn causes the corresponding effect on the tempo. A sudden speeding up of the tempo is achieved by an upbeat given in the new tempo. In contrast, a sudden slowing down can only be accomplished with the bounce – slowing down the motion with an *Auftakt* given in the new tempo for the length of the new beat (Musin 1967: 110–113).

It is interesting to note that Professor Gustav Meier of the Peabody Institute shares an almost identical vision of the components of the preparatory beat to that of Musin, despite an interval of almost 50 years and a diametrically opposed cultural milieu (see Meier 2009: 46–47).

The frequent use of fermatas in operatic music is achieved through a beat without a bounce, where the motion of the hand is suspended at the moment of the fermata (Musin 1967: 198). According to Musin, for a short fermata it is convenient to continue the movement of the hand (going upward) in a slowed fashion and to give an upbeat based on the musical shape following the fermata. Fundamentally similar instructions or suggestions are also offered by Meier and McElheran (respectively *slowly upward motion*, Meier 2009: 325–326; *take your time on the way up*, McElheran 1989: 110). An upbeat with a slow upward motion is one of the most important techniques when beating recitative. By this means it is possible to increase the duration between two beats, which is often necessary to give "extra time" for the singer's breathing, fermatas, and other such things.

3. Problems of interpretation: analysis and guiding principles

In this section I shall analyse different musical problems arising from the score. I shall consider my own experience of successes and failures during performance, analyse the factors that caused them, and seek systematic means for effective action in similar situations.

One of the main musical problems with an orchestrally accompanied recitative is that of individual players out of time with one another and the lack of unity between soloist and orchestra. I believe that one of the root causes of these problems lies in the distinctiveness of recitatives: their lack of a rhythmic stability and the articulation of the orchestral part in the presence of many rests and fermatas of undefined length hinders the emergence of the uniform metre necessary for

orchestral ensemble. Creating this, in this case, is the conductor's main task and challenge. In spite of the apparent simplicity, it is the process of indicating the empty beats (and bars) that leads to a large number of time-beating problems, and many deficiencies in ensemble are a result of the conductor's lack of clarity in indicating the rests and the ensuing upbeats. It is for this reason that I shall begin my analysis by considering the problems caused by such rests.

3.1. Marking

Unlike the terms preparatory beat (or upbeat) and time beating, in conducting literature there is a lack of a unified term for indicating rests. English works use the term *marking* (Del Mar 1993: 68; Meier 2009: 324). In Russian works, however, marking means quite the opposite, a certain emphasis (for example, underscoring – *подчёркивание*, Rozhdestvensky 1974: 55). As a match for indicating rests, the terms *откладывание* and *отсчитывание* are used to differentiate between the indication of entire empty bars and the indication of single rests, or empty beats (Musin 1967: 184–185; Rozhdestvensky 1974: 19). Furrer and Dechant use the almost synonymous verb *abschlagen* (Furrer 2002: 85; Dechant 1985: 258).

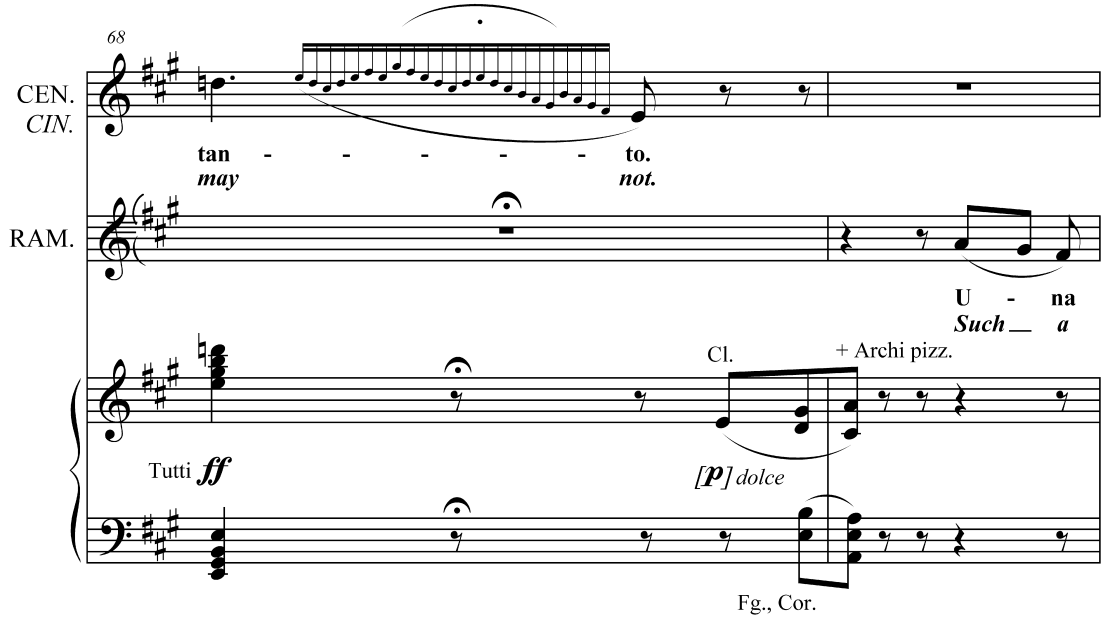
In my work I shall also use two terms to indicate rests. By "marking" I mean the indication of individual rests. When discussing the indication of completely empty bars – i.e. bars which consist entirely of rests, and which are indicated with "a flourish of the baton against the music stand or score" (Meier 2009: 324), I shall use the term to "show" (in Estonian orchestral practice, the term is *maha näitama*, literally to show off; *откладывание*, *abschlagen*).

Musin sees the difference between marking motions and standard time beating in terms of arc-like motions being replaced with straight ones, in which there may not be the preparatory upswing inherent to an upbeat (Musin 1967: 183). Furrer calls the marking gesture a "beat without impulse", while Prausnitz uses the term "passive beat" (respectively *Schlag ohne Impuls*, Furrer 2002: 194; *passive beat*, Prausnitz 1983: 49).

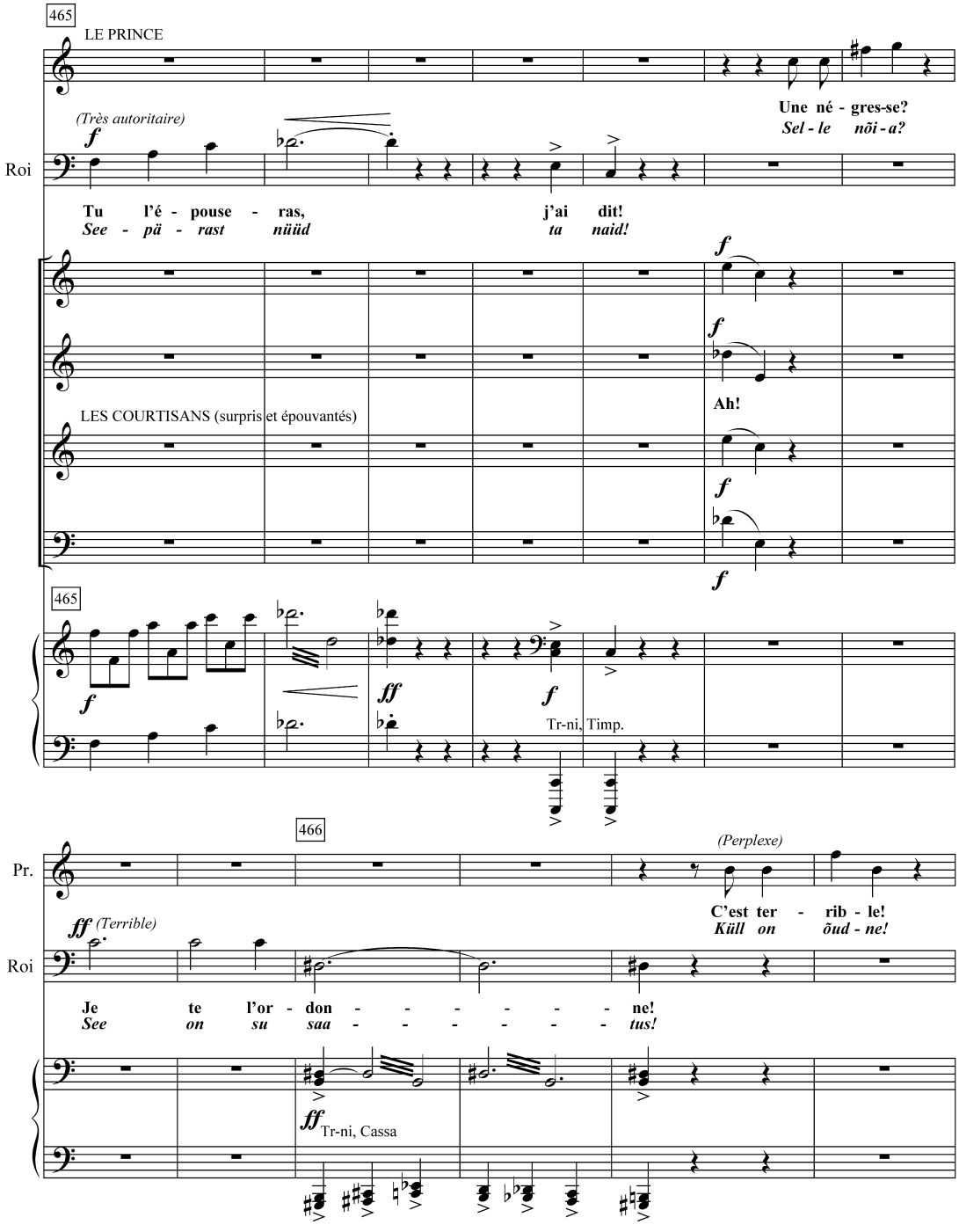
3.2. Indicating all empty beats (bars)

Beginning my analysis with this example is symbolic for me – *La Cenerentola* was the first opera I conducted, and in the given bars I caused confusion in the first rehearsal, resulting in the separation of what should have been simultaneous entries in the orchestra. Beating this 6/8 section in

Example 1. Gioacchino Rossini *La Cenerentola*, No. 3, Duetto Cenerentola – Ramiro, bars 68–69 (time signature: 6/8, *Andantino grazioso*).



Example 2. Sergei Prokofiev *L'amour des trois Oranges*, Act III, scene iii, rehearsal numbers 465–466 (*Moderato*).



six, I gave an upbeat to the clarinet after an empty fermata. The first clarinet came in as I had anticipated, but the second clarinet, bassoons and French horns (assuming that it was the fourth, not the fifth quaver of the bar) came in a beat late, thus causing the tonic and dominant to sound simultaneously.

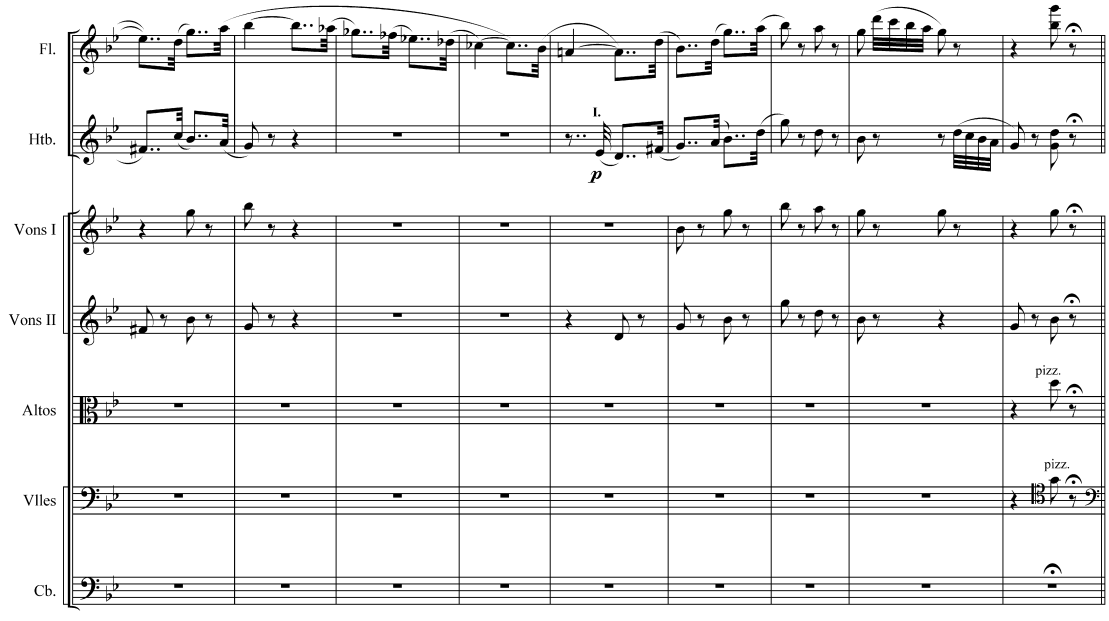
Though the above description could be regarded as the error of a novice conductor against the "basic tenet" of beating time during recitative, I will analyse the situation that arose in greater detail. While the soloist's coloratura is metrically free, in the orchestral part at the same time there are two *tutti fortissimo* chords followed by two quaver rests (respectively the third and fourth beats of the bar, on which the third has a fermata). The players try to read every beat of the bar from the conductor's beating. By failing to mark one beat (in the example in question the fourth beat), the orchestra lost a unified understanding of the metric progression of the music, the result of which was the misplaced entries – and the fault of which lay with the conductor. This is a clear example of a typical situation, with similarities to many moments in other musical works. As a generalisation, it may be said that marking all empty beats is the basic requirement of indicating rests: through this the conductor ensures the consistency of the metric progression, which, in turn, guarantees the ensemble of the orchestral playing.

As mentioned above, one of the forms of marking rests is **to show empty bars as a whole**. Therefore it is essential to show all empty bars. Any experienced conductor may quite reasonably find such a statement obvious, or even unnecessary: so it is, in fact – but only until the moment something "extraordinary" happens.

During one of the performances of *L'amour des trois Oranges* I conducted, the singer performing the Prince failed to sing his line "Une négresse?" (Ex. 2). Apparently realising the mistake of his colleague, the performer singing the King continued with his line "Je te l'ordonne!" Following the part of the King I marked two bars and gave an upbeat to the trombones, but only one of three came in, the other two coming in a bar later. I realised immediately that the discord was caused by the fact I had not shown one bar (the bar where the Prince did not sing). Indicating that bar (the seventh bar after number 465) would have – despite the soloist's mistake – ensured the metric progression in the orchestra, and thus the ensemble of the trombone group.

By the time of the incident just mentioned I had conducted approximately 20 different works of stage music. I was very familiar with the neces-

Example 3. Léo Delibes, ballet *Coppélia*, No. 2. *Scène*, bars 8–16 (*Andante*).



sity of marking every beat and I had always acted accordingly, but in a problematic situation I could not put the principle into practice; in other words I was unable to divide my attention while reacting to the incoming information and fulfil the priority of marking every beat. From this conclusion I constructed a principle (a basic mental model), by which I would first and foremost deal with problematic situations by adhering to the importance of marking every empty beat. I thus recognised that, whatever the problematic situation, my primary objective should be to mark all empty beats, and thus ensure the most important element – the consistency of the metre, which is the basis for orchestral ensemble. Some time later I was able to adhere to that principle in an unexpected performance situation.

During a performance of *Coppélia*, the flautist made a rhythmic error in bar three of the section in the example 3, playing the double dotted note twice the length it should be. Faced with this situation, I this time managed to stick to the principle of marking every empty beat, which was my priority. I marked every beat in the third and fourth bars, making sure that the oboe and violins would come in at the correct time. The flautist realised the mistake in seconds, skipped bar four, and the last bars were performed exactly according to the score. Failure to follow the principle of marking all the beats, and instead trying to link up with the flute part (correcting the soloist), would most probably have caused confusion amongst the orchestral players and a loss of ensemble.

The above description reveals the priority of marking every empty beat when reacting to problems with the ensemble. My successful implementation of my own conclusions encouraged me to continue looking for systematic factors in different forms of marking.

3.3. Two ways of marking

In conducting literature, generally two different ways of marking are dealt with. The first category might provisionally be called **following the soloist**, or **following marking**. Musin believes that "in melodic recitative, which the soloist performs in an even, steady tempo, rests should be marked in the tempo of the soloist's part". Musin sees the need for using such a method of following the soloist in cases where the orchestral part contains melodic fragments which tie in with individual phrases of the soloist and create an integral whole with the vocal part (Musin 1967: 184).

According to Musin, this type of following marking conveys to the orchestra the understanding that the conductor is listening to the soloist and is basing his beating on the soloist's part. Furrer, in turn, finds that "the orchestra can feel when the conductor is following the singer, this inspires the orchestra to give their own contribution to the success of the ensemble" (Furrer 2002: 35). Relying on Furrer's assertion, I have myself noticed that experienced orchestral players always listen to the soloist when performing an accompaniment.

It follows from this that when the motifs in the soloist's part have a rhythmically clear structure, following marking facilitates the creation of a stable feeling of metre in the orchestra, which is what orchestral ensemble is based on.

The second main marking style is known as **rapid marking**. This term is used to indicate single rests or whole empty bars by, amongst others, Meier, Rozhdestvensky and Musin (respectively, *rapidly conducting through the tacet bars*, Meier 2009: 321; *опережение*, Rozhdestvensky 1974: 99; *заблаговременное отсчитывание пауз*, Musin 1967: 186). Meier believes that "by showing rests [empty bars], the conductor is better prepared to ensure the next entrance of the orchestra, since following a freely interpreted soloist's line is confusing for the orchestra due to the inconsistent beats" (Meier 2009: 321). By showing the rests in this manner, the conductor can obviate the need to follow the soloist's part as it sounds and help the orchestra to understand that the shown beats or bars do not have to be related to the solo part. In this way, the attention of the orchestra is free to focus on the conductor's next upbeat.

In the light of the above, the decision as to which of the two forms of marking to use depends on the construction of the solo part: if there is a steady metre in the recitative, it is practical to use following marking; otherwise rapid marking should be used. I have noticed, however, that the boundary between a solo part that supports or does not support a steady metre can often be quite indistinct.

What clearly emerges from the above considerations, whichever form of marking is used, is the need for constant mental anticipation on the part of the conductor in order to ensure readiness for

unexpected situations (including incidental mistakes by members of the ensemble). The descriptions in the above examples highlight the fact that in a problematic situation the conductor has an extremely limited amount of time to make a decision. The more connected and systematic the conductor's tools are, the greater the likelihood that he/she will be able to react effectively in unexpected situations.

4. Mental models

4.1. Mental model 1: The principle of anticipatory marking

My belief in the feasibility of a single, complex mental model is based on the need for constant mental anticipation when implementing the above methods of marking (following marking and rapid marking). Consequently, the distinction between the marking methods relates to the tangible, operational, anticipatory stage; but in essence both methods should be anticipatory.

In terms of time, following marking is the less anticipatory of the two, as in this case the conductor is marking the tempo of the soloist's part as it is performed. At the same time, following marking must be accompanied by constant mental anticipation on the part of the conductor, as this ensures his/her readiness to react to anything unexpected. Showing the rests is the more anticipatory method, as in this case the conductor is in effect beating well ahead of the soloist's part. Between these two extremities, however, there exists the possibility of varying the level of anticipation according to the specific musical situation. Therefore we may talk of a coherent, anticipatory marking method which unites both the above methods – following marking and indicating the rests – to form a framework which carries the principle of anticipatory marking. The basis for such a principle would be that previously discussed of marking all the rests. The anticipatory marking model would therefore be constantly reminding the conductor of the importance of indicating all the beats in musical material with many rests.

I see the above mental model as one of the main tools through which implementing the anticipatory marking principle would enable a reduction in the incidence of musical losses during performance. Based on the idea of marking all the beats in any situation, the conductor would assure the consistency of the metric progression, even in an unexpected situation – for example, if the soloist were to make a mistake (see also the description in Example 3 above). Anticipatory marking would gain for the conductor (and orchestra) time to react and would enable him/her to focus on the following upbeat, thus improving the orchestral ensemble. Amongst other things, anticipatory marking would help reduce possible delays in the orchestra's response.

4.2. Mental model 2: Considering different factors

It is evident that a conductor has to consider a large number of different factors during performance – for example, the acoustics of the room (when balancing the orchestra), production elements (when conducting stage music), the musical conception of the soloist (when leading the accompaniment), and so on. Without attempting to offer a comprehensive analysis, in this section I shall discuss a number of individual factors which may help support the orchestra's ensemble.

In the previous sections, two activities specific to the orchestra have been repeatedly mentioned – the way in which the orchestra listens to the soloist while accompanying him/her, and the slight delay of the orchestra in reacting to gestures by the conductor. Since both of these aspects are of great importance in the communication between the conductor and the orchestra, it is opportune to address them briefly in the following sections.

4.2.1. The players' independent consideration of the soloist

It is generally well-known that experienced orchestral players constantly follow the soloist when accompanying them and link their parts to the soloist's. References to this can be found in Furrer (2002), Kuhn (1993), Redtenbacher (1984) and the works of other authors. Comparing this process with my own personal experience as a pianist, I see an interesting phenomenon: when playing as an accompanist, synchronising fermatas, caesuras and other such expressive tools with the singer is not necessarily problematic. However, as a conductor, I am aware of a potential problem in a similar accompanying situation. The reason for this is that while accompanying a singer at the keyboard I can make judgements based on the soloist's impulses; as a conductor, however, I actually have to anticipate the impulses of the so-

loist in order to ensure good ensemble, otherwise the orchestral accompaniment would be late.

Observing the "behaviour" of the orchestra when, for example, timing fermatas with the soloist, I have noticed that in many cases harmonising the ensemble with the soloist causes no problems for the orchestra – everyone is listening to the soloist and, supported by the conductor's gestures, times their part according to that of the soloist. On the basis of this observation it seems fruitful to consciously use the orchestra's relation with the soloist to support the unity of the ensemble. Conducting is communication – just as the players follow the conductor, the conductor must also proceed from the actual playing of the orchestra (constantly bringing this closer to his/her own image of the desired sound). This does not in any way mean giving up the leadership function of the conductor, but suggests a certain attitude, by which the conductor lets the orchestra know that he is aware of their personal connection with the soloist and is relying on it. Thinking in such a way also allows some of the principles of chamber music to be transferred to the orchestra in order to support the players' ensemble. At the same time, I believe that it is not possible to rely on the activity of the orchestra in this way if this is at the expense of the kind of continuous mental anticipation on the part of the conductor that ensures his/her readiness to react to unexpected incidents.

It is clear that the independent relating of the orchestral players' parts to the soloist requires a certain amount of time. In the next section I will briefly discuss the phenomenon of so-called orchestral delay, an awareness of which – together with the independent relationships of the individual players to the soloist – provides an important resource to ensure the synchronicity of the ensemble.

4.2.2. The phenomenon of orchestral delay as the orchestra's own tool to ensure ensemble

The delay in the audible response from the orchestra in relation to a conductor's gestures is mentioned by many conductors. Both Edwards and Solti claim that "German orchestras play with a certain delay" (Roelcke 2000: 97; Solti 1993: 208). While Edwards adds that "delay can also be encountered in other countries", Musin generalises: "responding to a conductor's gesture with a delay is inherent to a high level orchestra". Musin states that "every orchestra is late to a different degree" and sees a proportional relationship between the level of the orchestra and degree of the delay: "the more important the orchestra is, the more delay there will be" (Musin 2007: 54, 79, 87). A "slightly delayed orchestral response" is also recognised by Redtenbacher, distinguishing between lower and upper instruments, the cello and double bass having a larger delay than the violins and violas (Redtenbacher 1984: 45, 47). The phenomenon of orchestral delay is also discussed by Yerzhemsky (2007: 78) and Luck (2000).

A certain means of self regulation can be seen in the orchestra's delay. Since all instruments produce sound in a different way, the players need a certain amount of time to synchronise their ensemble in, say, a *tutti* entrance. Because of this delay in relation to the conductor's gesture, it could be provisionally known as "conscious delay". The problems which are important in the context of this paper – the delay of the orchestra when trying to unite the soloist's and orchestral parts – has been summarised very pertinently by Dechant: "When accompanying a soloist, the conductor must conduct slightly 'ahead' [of the actual sound] (*vorausdirigieren*) to achieve harmony, to compensate for the reaction time of the ensemble partners and the delay caused by spatial distance" (Dechant 1985: 400).

A certain inertia can be seen in the phenomenon of orchestral delay – every change in tempo requires preparation from the orchestra and takes time to carry out. Sudden changes of tempo (for example, reacting to a mistake by the soloist) may cause a degree of disunity if the conductor ignores the factors mentioned above. The players may be able to notice some sort of action on the part of the conductor, but they may not have time to coordinate their response amongst themselves. When disunity occurs, a certain amount of time is required to recapture the lost unity, during which the players and conductor must work together to regain a solid sense of metre.

I find that taking account of the phenomena described above (the independent connection of the orchestral players' parts, and conscious delay) provides a tool for the conductor to support the ensemble playing of the orchestra and soloist. In the following sections, in which the focus will be on the analysis of problems arising directly from the score, I will explain this in greater detail.

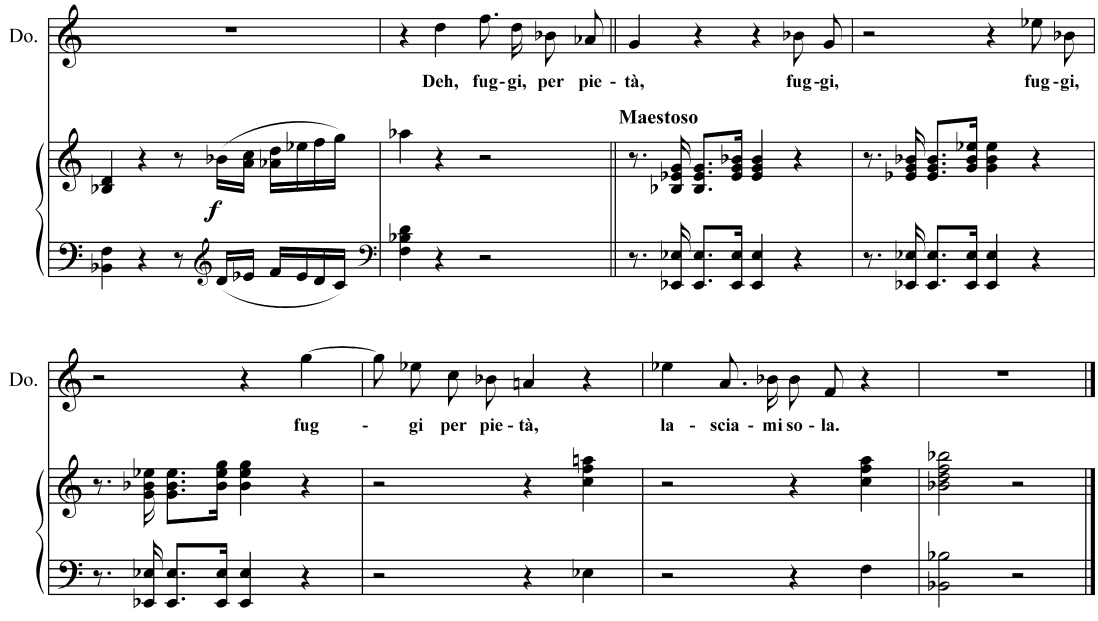
4.2.3. Unexpectedness as a tendency – shortening rests

From the standpoint of the unity of the ensemble, every unexpected situation is problematic. Doubtless every musician has experienced the difference between a rehearsal and a performance situation. During performance, factors such as excitement and feeling the presence of the audience, to mention but two, create an atmosphere the like of which it is not possible to experience beforehand. I have felt that in operatic music this matter expresses itself mainly in the use of *agogica* on the part of the soloists – often during performance there will be large agogic fluctuations in the soloist's phrasing when compared to the rehearsals. The largest concentration of agogic freedom emerges especially during recitative or recitative-like passages. It is understandable that during performance the soloists try to make the most of a work's dramatic tensions, and so they "compress" time. On the other hand, the density of text in the recitatives may also create the need for a fuller articulation of the phrases. In some cases, however, agogic freedom may endanger the metric progression of the music.

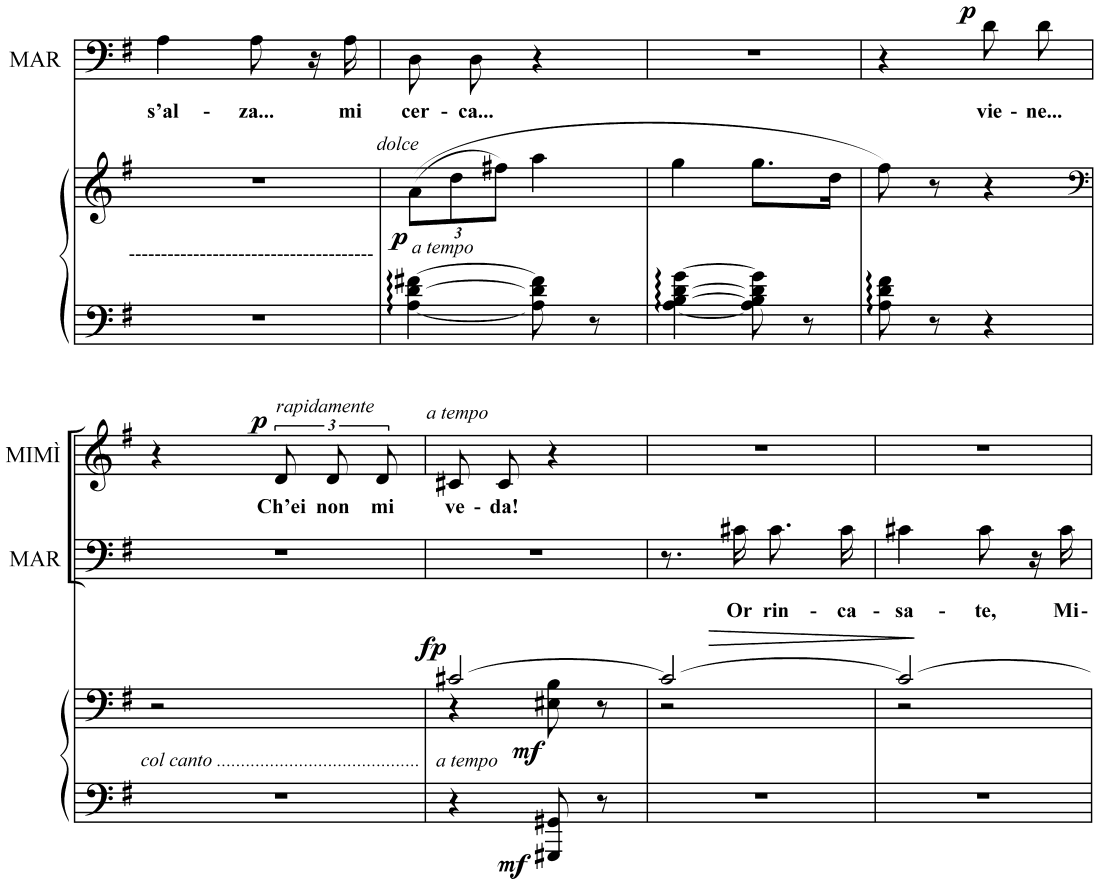
In bars 18, 19 and 20 (*Maestoso*), Ex. 4, the orchestral chords have a very clearly defined metric structure. During one of the performances I conducted, Dorabella entered with her cue "fuggi" (bar 18) half a beat early. Sensing that in this situation it was not possible for me to change my marking method, I marked the rests based on the metre of the chords and at the same time gave the next upbeat in the same tempo, ensuring the synchronicity of the orchestral chords. As a result of this, there was an excessive gap between the end of the soloist's phrase and the orchestral chord that followed. In the second act of the same performance, a similar situation occurred – again the soloist entered earlier than expected. I could give more such examples, but these will suffice here: my conclusion is that soloists seem to have an inclination to shorten rests or feel empty beats faster than the actual metre. This inclination mainly emerges in intensive, "dramatic" sections. What has been said must not be necessarily taken as a negative comment: the desire to compress time may stem from the desire to enhance the dramatic tension. Acknowledging the likelihood of shortening rests I was able to react more effectively in the situation described in the next example.

With the possibility of compressing rests in mind, I had a premonition when analysing the score (Ex. 5) that in this section the singer per-

Example 4. Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, *Così fan tutte*, Dorabella's recitative, Act I, bars 16–23 (*Maestoso*).



Example 5. Giacomo Puccini, *La Bohème*, Mimi and Marcello's duet, Act II, bars 6–13 (*Allegretto*).



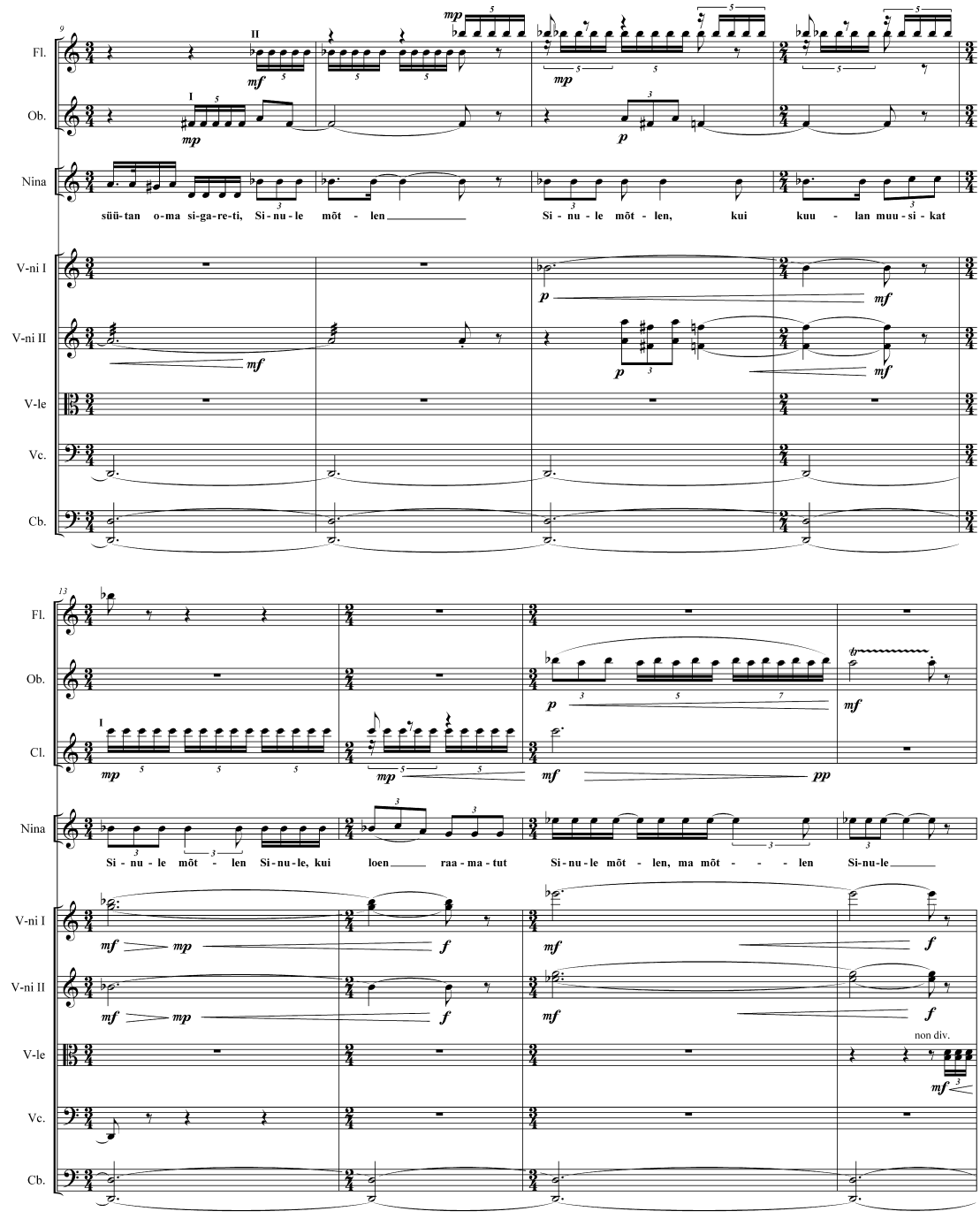
forming Mimi might respond immediately to Marcello's command "viene" with her line "ch'ei non mi veda" (bar 10, marked *rapidamente*), thus shortening the prior rest beat. At the same time, the French horn's accent (*fp*) must coincide with Mimi's word "veda". The following string accent (*mf*) must in turn follow *a tempo*. Delay in the orchestral accompaniment would doubtless serve to break up the continuity of the section. Being aware of the possibility of the soloist compressing the rests, I marked in advance the rests in the ninth bar and showed the tenth (implementing the principle of anticipatory marking). During performance, my premonition of a shorter rest was confirmed. Thanks to implementing the anticipatory marking principle, I was able to gain time to react and link the orchestral accompaniment to the soloist's *agogica*.

As with shortening rests, the conductor must take into account many factors during performance. Meier believes that an operatic conductor must be aware of the singer's weaknesses and strengths, anticipating situations where the singer needs special treatment (for instance, extra time for breathing) and adapting to such situations (including slowing down, speeding up, fermatas, etc. Meier 2009: 309). Although considering the singer's breathing is a well known norm, I will discuss this factor briefly below as a methodical point of reference for the more general principle of "consideration".

4.2.4. A well known principle – the consideration of breathing

Meier's quote expresses a common point of view, according to which the conductor must consider

Example 6. Mari Vihmand, *Armastuse valem* [*The Formula of Love*], No. 6, bars 9–16.



the soloist. From the quote, it becomes evident that this principle is realised by adapting to many different factors (tempo changes, etc.), the most important of which is the singer's breathing. When discussing the issue of taking into account the time required for a singer's breathing, Furrer finds that breathing may cause a delay in tempo (Furrer 2002: 212). The validity of Furrer's opinion can primarily be observed in passages with a rhythmic accompaniment, where the shift in metre due to the time consumed by the singer's breathing can be one of the causes of separation between soloist and orchestra. According to the generally accepted norm, the conductor's task is to articulate the accompaniment and ensure the soloist has enough time to breath. I will discuss implementing this principle on the basis of the example 6.

In this section, playing the quintuplets in the wind instruments' parts evenly requires a steady sense of a regular metre. At the same time it is likely that the singer must breathe between the two-bar phrases. In this section it is safe to assume that the measure of time required to breathe might not coincide with the pulsing metre of the quintuplets. Being conscious of the singer's need to breathe and relying on the orchestra's independent consideration of the soloist, the conductor, by lengthening a beat (for example by slowing the upward motion of an upbeat), can demonstrate to the orchestra that they must "wait" for the singer between her phrases (motifs). The orchestral players in turn understand that the conductor is taking the singer's breathing into account and can take this into consideration when linking their parts with the singer's material and the conductor's gestures.

4.2.5. The soloist's portamento as a means to support the ensemble[12]

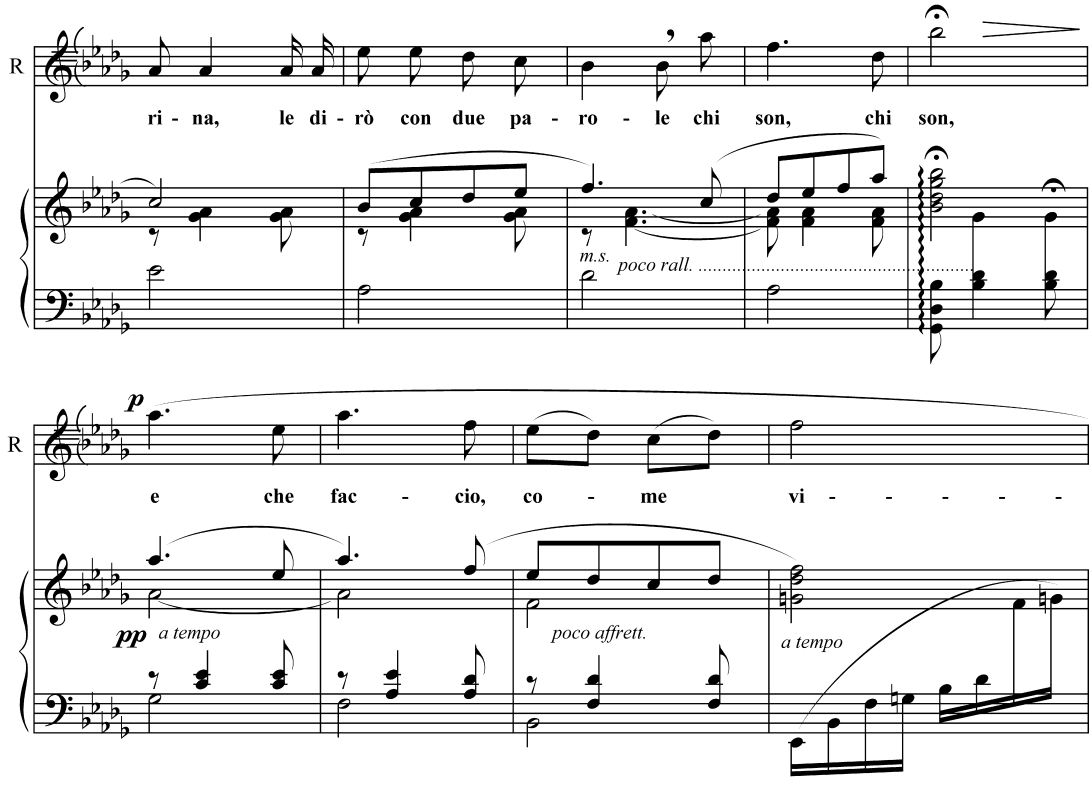
The abundance of fermatas and the looser approach to *agogica* in romantic music can occasionally cause great difficulties in ensuring good ensemble. How long will the soloist hold a fermata, and how can the conductor time correctly the entry of the orchestral accompaniment that follows it? These are the questions that have often created the greatest stress for me as a conductor. In performance, during which all attention is focused on the development of the work, awaiting a soloist's fermata is a very tense moment. I must admit that I have often entered with the orchestra before the end of the soloist's fermata, which is rightly considered as something unwarranted. A soloist's fermata (on a high note), in addition to being a musical means of expression, is also an indicator of the vocalist's ability. It is really splendid to hear an "endless" high note: but how can one ensure the timing of the orchestra at the same time?

Analysing my own "impatience", I reached the conclusion that I had often ignored the soloist's *portamento*. In the context of this paper, the soloist's *portamento* can be seen – similarly to their breathing – as a component of the upbeat: being a binding element, *portamento* carries within itself information about the moment of arrival of the next note, as if it were introducing the next note. The main problem with fermatas is the fact that they may often exceed some sort of expected duration. I have heard many conductors express a similar opinion. While a fermata of "normal" length might not cause problems, in some cases the duration of the soloist's fermata demands nerves of steel from the conductor. This is where I see *portamento* as a means to synchronise with the orchestra.

The section in Ex. 7 is one of the places where the soloist's fermata may significantly exceed the expected length. In accordance with well-established traditions, the soloist may not breathe during the change from bar five to bar six. Every singer wishes to show off their abilities, and during performance the conductor's only chance is to observe the soloist's fermata. At the same time, soloists also want the orchestra to remain in time with them. For this reason, it is likely that in connecting to the note after the fermata the soloist would use *portamento*, which gives a signal to both conductor and orchestra. Similarly to breathing, instrumentalists (string and wind instruments) also use *portamento*. Because of this, though orchestral players execute it differently to singers, they are also able to interpret the soloist's *portamento*. Finding support from the orchestra's independent consideration of the soloist, the

[12] In the context of this work I mean mainly a *portamento* which ends a long note, or resolution note.

Example 7. Giacomo Puccini, *La Bohème*, Rodolfo's aria, Act I, bars 25–33 (*Andantino affetuoso*).



conductor, in turn, is able to use consideration of *portamento* as a tool to support the ensemble.

4.2.6. The consideration principle as a complex mental model

The consideration principle is based on two of the orchestra's self regulation tools – the independent consideration of their parts and awareness of the delay phenomenon. It is as if the orchestra is constantly reminding the conductor that while, on the one hand, it is possible to rely on the orchestra's independent consideration of the soloist to help unify different components of the performance, on the other hand the conductor must allow a certain amount of time for their actions, this being necessary to coordinate the ensemble of the orchestra. Independent consideration does not spontaneously ensure good ensemble, but the conductor is able to foster it, and this no doubt helps. An awareness of the orchestra's need for time to achieve good ensemble constantly reminds the conductor of the need for anticipatory thinking to help avoid delay in the orchestra's response.

The consideration principle consists of taking into account three points. First, being aware of the tendency to reduce the length of rests, when supported by the marking principle, enables the conductor to anticipate losses in ensemble stemming from faster than expected phrasing by the soloist. Secondly, taking the soloist's breathing into account helps the conductor to structure the accompaniment and compensate for the amount of time it takes the singer to breathe, thus also ensuring that orchestra and soloist keep together. Thirdly, considering a singer's *portamento* is helpful when dealing with agogic elements (fermatas, *tenuto*, etc.) to synchronise the resolution note.

The fact that common elements may be found in the consideration principle and in the previously discussed principle of anticipatory marking (taking account of the tendency to shorten rests) indicates that the two principles are not unrelated. I see this as a positive point, because the more

systematic a conductor's thinking is, the greater the probability he/she will be able to react effectively in a crisis situation.

4.3. Mental model 3: The principle of leading when conducting an ensemble consisting of solo part plus accompaniment

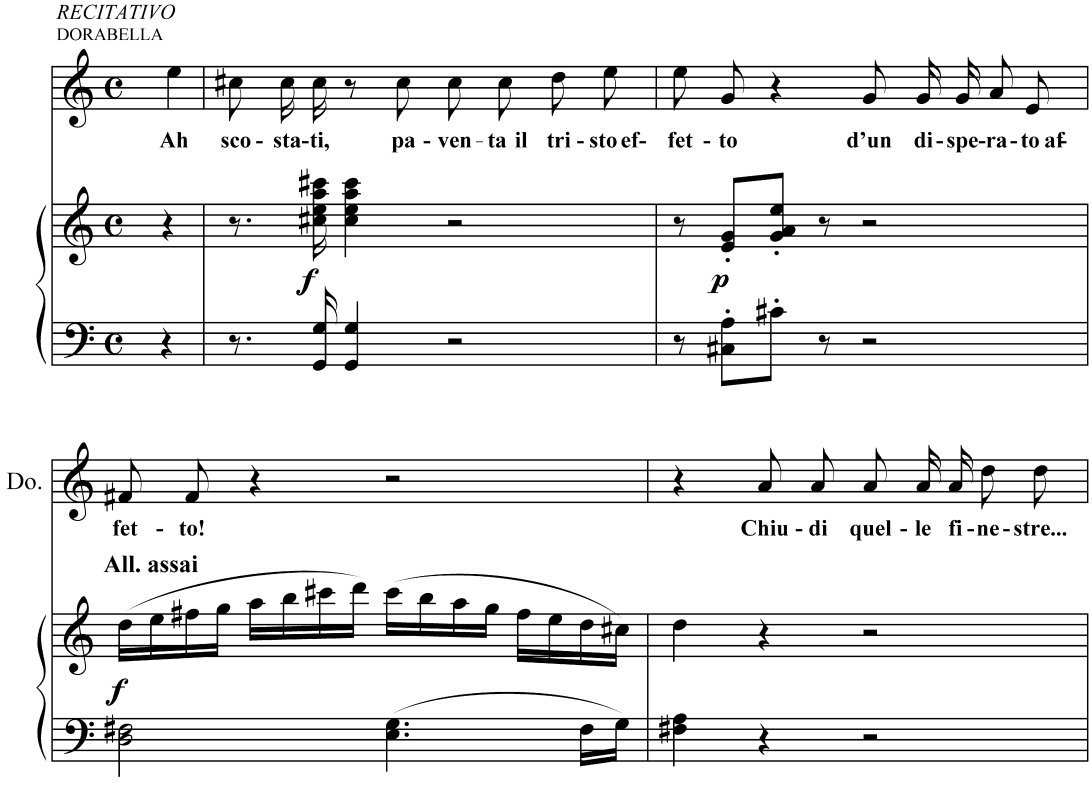
As has been stated above, the problems of combining the solo and accompaniment parts are directly related to the principles of marking and consideration. The need to combine the two parts is obvious and understood by all concerned – it is on this that the whole construction, integrity and tension of the performance depends. Just as I previously stressed the need to take into account the tendencies of *agogica*, breathing and *portamento*, I believe that the singer's part itself contains clues that facilitate its successful combination with the accompaniment. An important tool for connecting the orchestral and solo parts may be called timing the upbeat. Since timing the upbeat is a well-known principle, I will limit my description of this technique to its essential elements.

4.3.1. Timing the upbeat

Meier and Green consider timing the upbeat to the corresponding beat or syllables in the soloist's part a tool for uniting the solo and orchestral parts (*timing*, Meier 2009: 322; Green 1969: 109). Such an upbeat may be called a syllable-based or beat-based upbeat, or we may speak of the beat-based timing of an upbeat. A similar definition is used by Dechant (*Vortakt für den Auftakt*, Dechant 1985: 255). I will describe this on the basis of the following example 8 taken from *Così fan tutte*.

In the first two full bars of the example, the singer's last two quavers (respectively *tristo, disperato*) create a clear sense of metric movement. In cases where the soloist's part supports a regular metre, it is useful for the conductor to try to time the upbeats according to the soloist's part, basing them on the singer's beat or syllable (this includes orchestral motifs starting with an anacrusis, accentuated chords, etc.). The timing of the upbeat will help the orchestra understand that the conductor wishes to ensure that the orchestra's next entry will link up with the solo part. This

Example 8. Mozart, *Così fan tutte*, Dorabella's recitative, Act I, bars 1–4.



in turn favours the orchestra players' own individual consideration of the soloist (important motifs in the solo part are often marked in the orchestral sheet music), which reduces the chance of the orchestra coming in late.

Timing the upbeat is a well-known tool to ensure the unity of the orchestra and soloist, and it is on this that I shall base the following analysis of problems of ensemble between the orchestra and the soloist.

4.3.2. The conductor's leading impulse when accompanying soloists

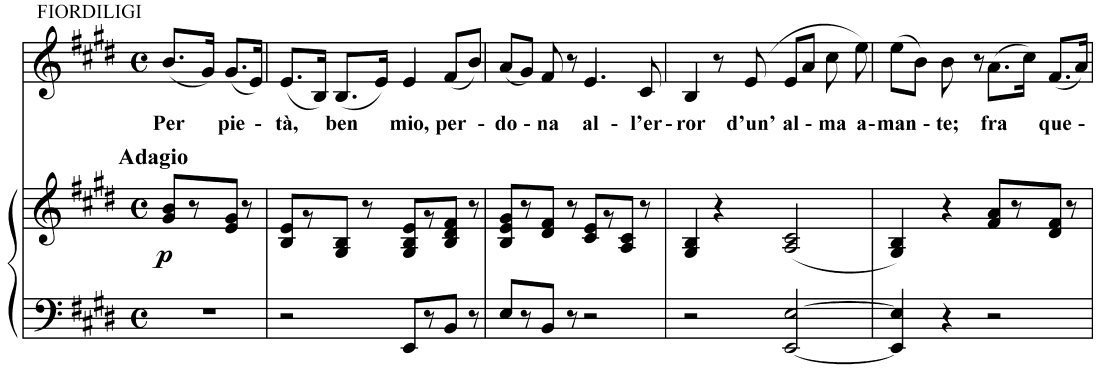
In recitatives (and also instrumental concertos) the orchestral part often plays an accompanying role. There are many commonplaces regarding the conductor's function when accompanying a soloist – for example "listen to the soloist and accompany flexibly". At the same time, in practice I have felt that accompaniment actually requires very active leading from the conductor. Thinking about the many situations in which I have encountered problems accompanying a soloist, it seems that common to all of them was the lack of any active input from the conductor. Barenboim believes that "accompanying" (more exactly "following", *folgen*), is in itself the wrong term, because it means being behind (*hinterher sein*; Barenboim 1994: 136). Musin and Kondrashin's views about the success of anticipating a soloist's modifications of tempo emphasise the priority of the conductor's proactive input when leading the accompaniment. I shall consider this argument using my next example (Ex. 9) as a basis.

Beating time following the soloist I could react to the soloist's line with a gesture; however, since the time required for the orchestra to coordinate their response among themselves would have to be added to my own reaction time, the accompaniment would immediately be behind the soloist (due to which an already slow tempo would get slower). The reason the orchestra falls behind can be seen as the lack of a leading impulse from the conductor. Thanks to the personal connection between the orchestral players and the soloist, the ensemble can be expected to recover in the following beats, but this does not make up for the uncertainty of the first beats.

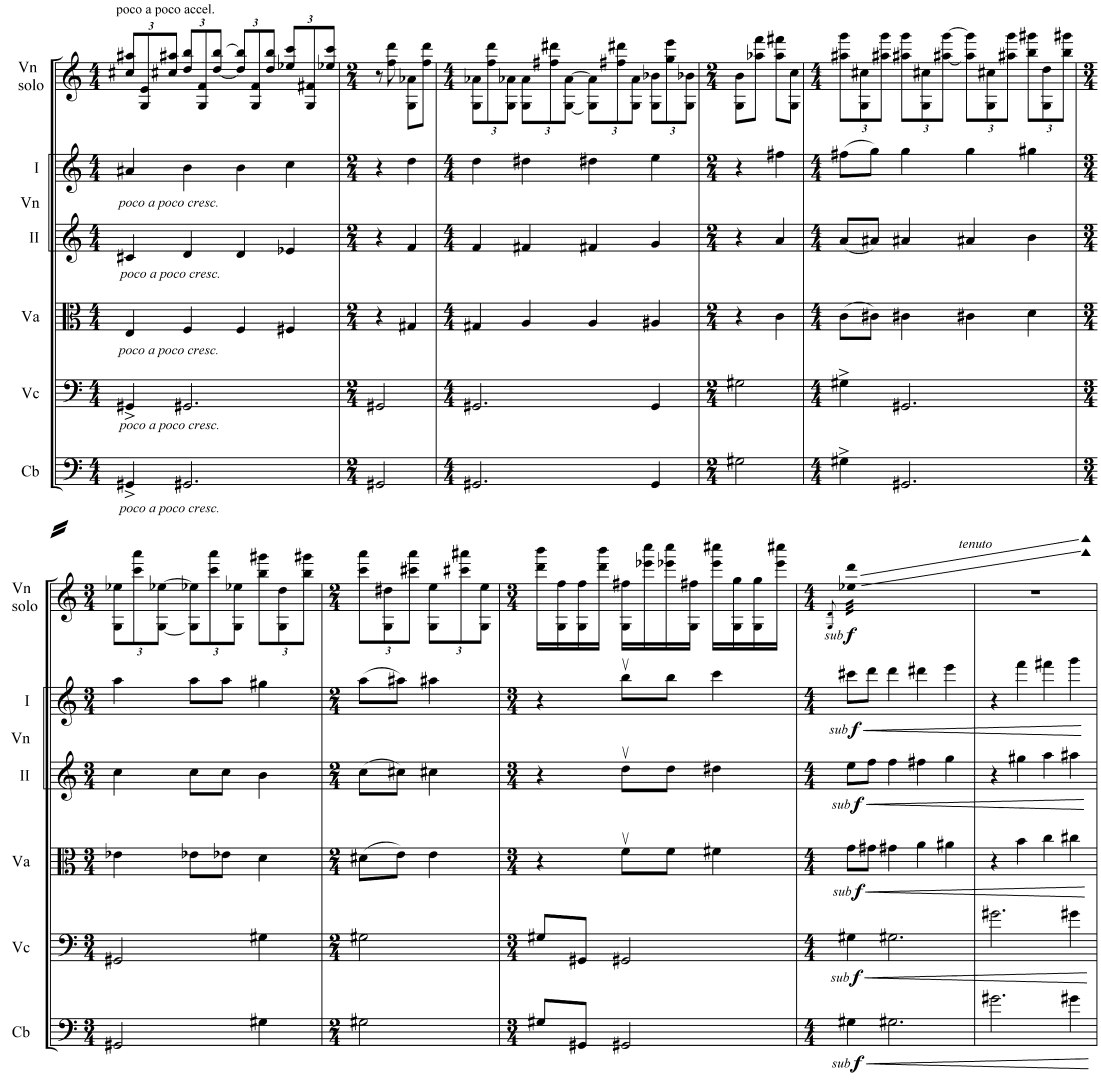
When there is a lack of any leading impulse, the orchestra tries to compensate independently, for example speeding up to catch up to the soloist. If this sort of acceleration is not led by the conductor it is likely that the ensemble will fall apart as the speed of every player's acceleration will differ, and trying to follow the leader of each instrumental group might not ensure synchronicity. To support the above argument, I will describe a particular incident I once encountered (Ex. 10).

Being aware of the orchestra's personal connection with the soloist, I ventured to experiment during one rehearsal and stopped beating time during the section in question, trusting the orchestra to keep their ensemble. In the two previous rehearsals I had actively led the ensemble in this section (including the soloist), and since both times the passage had gone off without a hitch, I thought it would be worth trying. The result, however, was a lack of unity between the or-

Example 9. Mozart, *Così fan tutte*, Fiordiligi's aria, Act II, bars 1–4.



Example 10. Pēteris Vasks, Violin concerto *Tālā gaisma* [*Distant Light*], bars 2–10 after rehearsal number 37.



chestra and the soloist and eventually the playing came to a halt. My instinct that the problem was lack of any leading impulse from the conductor was confirmed by a question from the orchestra: "are we ahead or behind?". The players had started compensating for the lack of any leadership from the conductor by following the soloist themselves. Since, however, reaction times and musical sense differ from player to player, the ensemble lost unity. On the basis of the above description, I would argue that clear direction from the conductor ensures a uniform speed of *accelerando* from both orchestra and soloist, and guarantees the necessary unity.

Clear direction from the conductor becomes even more important in sections with many soloists, because then the basis on which the orchestra can consider the soloist independently is blurred. The above reasoning leads me to one further belief, namely that in certain situations it

is not only the accompaniment that requires active direction from the conductor, but the soloist as well.

Furthermore, on the basis of the above argument I would go as far as to claim that in certain circumstances the active direction of the conductor should lead the orchestral accompaniment ahead of the soloist.

4.3.3. Conscious outpacing

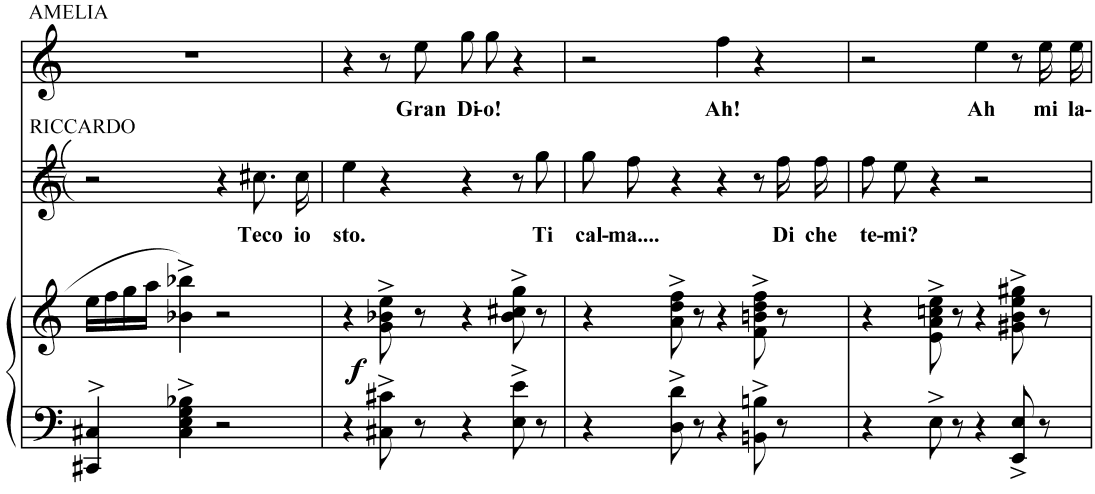
Combining the orchestral accompaniment and the soloist's part may, at times, require preference to be given to one component rather than the other. In practice, I have experienced that although the orchestral part is the accompaniment, it is not always possible to base the beat on the soloist – for example when there is a certain degree of agogic freedom in the vocal part, but where the orchestral part requires a steady sense of metre. In this case the conductor may abandon synchronising each beat with the singer. This means that the conductor consciously outpaces the soloist, while at the same time continuing to beat time. The principle goal of outpacing is to support the development and tension of the music. It is obvious that overdoing this can cause the ensemble to break down, just as the lack of a leading impulse can. An (excessive) acceleration on the part of the conductor destroys the development of the performance in the same way that a lack of impulse does.

In considering the problems of accompanying a soloist, I have based my analysis on the need to ensure a good ensemble between the orchestra and the soloist. I have discussed anticipatory marking, the timing of the upbeat, and a consideration of breathing and *portamento* as tools which allow the conductor to follow the *agogica* of the solo part. Unfortunately, in practice I have found several situations in which it is not fully possible to synchronise the orchestra with the soloist. During such situations, the fate of the whole performance depends on the actions of the conductor. I will now analyse some situations that I have experienced personally.

4.3.4. Conscious abandonment

Unlike the thinking of a pianist, where the whole accompaniment is in the hands of one instrument and the options for action are very wide, an orchestral accompaniment is divided between many different instruments. Such an ensemble demands (also between the players) much greater coordination and involves many rules that must be followed if unity is to be ensured. One of these concerns the inertia mentioned above (the phenomenon of delay) – modifications in tempo require the preparation of the orchestra and take a certain amount of time to execute. In the case of metric fluctuations, recovering the feeling of metre (which is the basis for a stable ensemble) also requires time.

Example 11. Giuseppe Verdi, *Un ballo in maschera*, Riccardo and Amelia's duet, Act II (*Allegro, alla breve*).



In Ex. 11, the string chords on the weak beats of the bar demand a steady sense of metre. During one performance of *Un ballo in maschera* I conducted, the performer singing Riccardo entered a beat early with the line "Teco io sto". Sensing that trying to link up with the singer's missed beat might cause disunity in the orchestral chords, I continued beating solidly, ensuring the ensemble of the orchestra. The actor playing Amelia realised her stage partner's mistake and followed with her line "Gran Dio" in time with the orchestral chords, after which Riccardo got back in time. Even though the description can be seen as a random mistake, in practice such incidents are very frequent.

From the description of the previous incident it is clear that trying to link up with the soloist at any cost may, in certain situations, cause even greater losses of ensemble. Because of this, one should sometimes abandon the attempt to follow the soloist. It may be easier for the soloist to adapt their part to a sure and steady orchestral accompaniment (played by dozens of musicians) and compensate for their mistake. This may even go unnoticed by the listener, while lack of unity in the orchestra irritates everybody in the hall. I regard this thinking as the principle of conscious abandonment. When implementing it, at certain times the conductor gives up following fluctuations in tempo in favour of steadily beating the orchestral part, preventing the breakdown of orchestral ensemble.

4.3.5. The principle of leading

Based on the need for constant anticipatory mental and physical actions during performance and considering the delay of the orchestra as a means of self-regulation, the leading principle is based on the leading impulse and on the timing of the upbeats on the part of the conductor. By means of this principle, it is possible to maintain the constant unfolding of a work (which is the basis of holding the audience's attention) and directly ensure the synergy of multiple musical elements. The significance of the leading impulse is further amplified during modifications of tempo and in works with multiple soloists, because during these situations the orchestral players' consideration of the solo parts is blurred. A leading impulse also supports conscious outpacing in order to achieve the coherence of the whole performance. The leading impulse can also express itself in the conscious abandonment of the attempt to follow the soloist's fluctuations in tempo. The purpose of conscious abandonment is used to maintain the continuity of the performance and the ensemble of the orchestra.

Implementing all three principles relies on constant mental anticipation; this then allows the conductor to implement the principles during performance. Implementing them does not in any way mean executing each mental model in a specific way. In a real performance (especially stage music) nothing ever goes quite to plan. The given principles are dynamic mental models which allow the conductor to constantly modify his/her actions depending on the actual situation.

5. Conclusions

At the dawn of contemporary conducting, Nikolai Rimsky-Korsakov admitted, after a concert conducted by Hector Berlioz, that "conducting is an obscure field" (Fredman 1999: 7). Thinking about the field of conducting, analysing it, and comparing the theoretical approach of many different authors, one must admit that Rimsky-Korsakov's conclusion still holds true in the 21st century. A complicated relationship with the underlying activity of every musician, creating sound, makes conducting an "obscure field", a subjective activity, one in which it is hard to reach uniform conclusions.

Thinking back over the successes and failures of my career, a common factor is involved – the conductor's thinking. An inability to act fast and effectively enough at certain moments (including when a musically problematic situation has occurred) causes losses in ensemble. On the other hand, a conviction (and awareness) of what is primarily important in a particular circumstance has enabled me to prevent losses in ensemble in many different situations. My intention in this paper has been to find certain underlying truths which may help the conductor's mental preparedness – truths which are more widely applicable than the individual situations from which they spring. Implementing the derived mental models could simplify the conductor's course of action

in musically problematic situations (for example, the random mistakes of ensemble partners) and eradicate – or at least limit – losses in ensemble.

When observed separately there is nothing new about the tools I have discussed – they are well known to any conductor. What could be novel, however, is my attempt to place them in the context of actual problems experienced in practice and to systematize individual tools into broader categories which can help the conductor to act in crisis situations – in other words, to avoid the worst when something starts to go wrong. In addition I have experienced, and described in this article, that the basic techniques of conducting are not at all easy to put into practice in a problematic situation. This implies not only the necessity of coherence among the basic principles but also the need to acknowledge their overriding importance. The larger the flood of information during performance, the shorter the time for the conductor to react becomes. It is my belief that the categorisation of the information in the mental models described above may go some way towards simplifying the conductor's actions in real performance situations.

Translated by Christopher Carr and Richard Carr

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Dirigendi mõtlemismudelid ansamblimängu toetamiseks orkestris

Mihhail Gerts

Artiklis püütakse leida vahendeid ansamblimängu probleemide (orkestri lahusmäng, solisti ja orkestri lahus olemine jne.) dirigendipoolseks ennetamiseks. Eesmärgiks on tuletada süsteemseid mõtlemismudeleid, mis võimaldaksid dirigendil toetada orkestri koosmängu ning võimaluse korral hoida ettekandel ära ansamblimängu kaotuste teket. Koosmängu probleemide tekkimisel aitaks mõtlemismudelite rakendamine minimeerida muusikaliste kaotuste ulatust.

Mõtlemismudelite tuletamiseks analüüsib autor lõike oma doktoriõpingute ajal (Eesti Muusika- ja Teatriakadeemia, 2007–2011) dirigeeritud teostest. (Artikli autor oli sel perioodil Rahvusooperi Estonia dirigent.) Tüüpsituatsioonide analüüsist tuletatakse mõtlemismudelid. Kirjeldatakse ka järelduste rakendamist praktilises töös. Peamiselt pärinevad analüüsitavad lõigud ooperite orkestrisaatega retsitatiividest, kuna neis on koosmängu probleemide kontsentratsioon suur. Lavamuusikale keskendub autor ka soovist seostada teoreetiline uurimus praktikas kogetud probleemidega. Metodoloogiliseks eeskujuks on dirigendi ja psühholoogi Georgi Jeržemski [Georgy Yerzhemsky] teadustööd, lisaks tuginetakse paljude dirigentide seisukohtadele. Artikkel põhineb autori 2011. aastal kaitstud doktoritööl (juhendaja prof. Toomas Siitan).[1]

Probleemsete lõikude analüüsi tulemusena kujunes välja kolm printsiipi, mille eesmärgiks on abistada dirigenti muusikaliste kaotuste võimalikul ennetamisel, probleemi ilmnemise korral aga võimalikult efektiivsel tegutsemisel.

1. Ennetava markeerimise printsiip. Pideva orkestrisaate puudumine (või selle hõredus) võimaldab solistil retsitatiivides eksponeerida sõna rütmi, kasutada *rubato*'t jne. Sellest tulenevad markeerimise põhiprobleemid, mis seisnevad solisti agoogilistele vabadustele reageerimises ja nendega haakumises.

Printsiibi tuumaks on ennetav markeerimine, millele vastavalt markeerib dirigent orkestrisaate pauseeritud löögid juba ette. Ennetav markeerimine võimaldab dirigendil võita aega reageerimiseks solisti retsiteerimisest tulenevatele meetrilistele kõikumistele. Printsiibi rakendamisel on otsese tegevusliku ennetamise määra võimalik varieerida, kasutades vajaduse korral printsiibi kahte pöördkuju: järgivat markeerimist ning pauside mahanäitamist. Säilitades pideva mõttelise ennetamise impulssi (mis tagab valmisoleku ootamatustele reageerida), on järgiv markeerimine muusika otsest kulgu kõige vähemal määral ennetav markeerimisviis. Selle rakendamisel markeerib dirigent pause solisti tempot järgides, kasutades solistipartii materjali meetrumitunnetuse toetamiseks orkestris. Pauside (tühjade taktide) mahanäitamine ennetab aga muusika reaalset kulgemist kõige suuremal määral. Mahanäitamine vabastab teatud hetkeks osa orkestri (ja dirigendi) tähelepanust solisti jälgimisel, koondades selle vahetult järgnevale dirigendi auftaktile.

2. Arvestamise printsiip. On ilmne, et saatefaktuuri mängimisel tuleb arvestada solistiga. Sealjuures on ka orkestri saatefaktuuri mängul teatud seaduspärasused, millega arvestamine võimaldab dirigendil toetada ansambli koosmängu. Arvestamise printsiibi rakendamine baseerub orkestrantide iseseisva partiide suhestamise, s.t. solisti jälgimise ja temaga sünkroniseerimise teadvustamisel. Toetumine orkestri eneseregulatsiooni vahenditele ei kahanda dirigendipoolse juhtimise vajadust ega aktiivsust, vaid stimuleerib orkestri omapoolset partiide suhestamist, mille toel võib saavutada ansambli parema koosmängu. Samuti võtab printsiip arvesse ka orkestri hilinemist, püüdes tagada orkestrile koosmängu sünkroniseerimiseks nõutavat ajaühikut, kuid tuletades samas dirigendile pidevalt meelde mõttelise ennetamise vajadust.

Arvestamise printsiip ehitub üldtuntud hingamisega arvestamise põhimõttele. Hingamisega arvestamisel püüab dirigent ette aimata laulja hingamiskohti ning arvestab nende lõikude takteerimisel laulja hingamiseks vajaliku (lisa)ajaga. Valmistades ette laulja hingamiseks kuluva ajaühiku vastava auftaktiga, nivelleerib dirigent võimaliku meetrilise nihke tekkimist orkestripartii ja laulja vahel.

[1] „Dirigendi kolm võimalikku mõtlemismudelit ansamblimängu toetamiseks orkestris", https://www.ema.edu.ee/vaitekirjad/doktor/Mihhail_Gerts.pdf.

Lähtudes orkestrantide iseseisvast partiide suhestamisest solistiga oleks dirigendil võimalik käsitleda solisti hingamist ning *portamento*'t ansamblimängu toetamise vahendina. Mõlemas eelnimetatud vahendis on auftakti elemente, mis aitavad ühendada orkestripartiid solistiga. Haakudes ennetava markeerimise printsiibiga on arvestamise printsiibi kolmandaks komponendiks võtta arvesse solistidel sageli esinevat pauside lühendamise tendentsi. Nii saab (ennetava markeerimise printsiibi toel) ära hoida solistide oodatust kiiremast fraseerimisest tingitud ansamblimängu kaotusi.

3. Juhtimise printsiip. Juhtimise printsiibi rakendamise eesmärk on tagada solisti partii ning saatefaktuuri ühtsus ettekande vältel. Mõtlemismudel baseerub auftakti ajastamisel – solisti retsiteerimises on võimalik leida teatud pidepunkte, mis lihtsustavad auftaktide andmist ning toetavad ansamblipartnerites ühtse meetrumitunnetuse teket. Selleks ajastab dirigent võimalusel oma auftaktid solistipartiiga löögi- või silbipõhiselt. See hõlbustab orkestrantide iseseisvat partiide suhestamist solistiga, mis omakorda toetab ühtse meetrumitunnetuse teket, kindlustades orkestripartii õigeaegse sisseastumise. Printsiibi kandva telje moodustab dirigendi juhtiv impulss, mille kohaselt suunab dirigent ettekandel aktiivselt saatefaktuuri ning solisti. Seeläbi on võimalik hoida teose pidevat arengujoont (millest omakorda sõltub kuulaja tähelepanu kõitmine) ning tagada otseselt paljude muusikaliste elementide koostoime. Juhtimise impulss tähtsustub veelgi tempomuutuste ning mitme solistiga ansamblite puhul, kuna siis hägustub orkestri jaoks partiide suhestamise alus. Juhtimisimpulsi toel on võimalik ka teadlik orkestrisaatega solistist etteminemine ettekande vormilise terviklikkuse eesmärgil.

Samuti võib juhtimisimpulss väljenduda teadlikus loobumises järgida solisti meetrilisi kõikumisi. Teatud olukordades (solisti eksimused, äärmuslikud agoogilised kõikumised, aga ka saatefaktuuri eripärad) võib püüdlus haakuda solistiga pigem suurendada muusikalisi kaotusi orkestris. Teadliku loobumise põhimõtet rakendades loobub dirigent lähtuvalt orkestripartii koordineerimise vajadusest teatud hetkel solisti järgimisest, tagades erinevate vahenditega (ühtlane takteerimine jm.) orkestri koosmängu.

Eeltoodud kolme printsiibi rakendamine ei tähenda mingil juhul ettevalmistatud mõtteliste või liigutuslike stampide kasutamist. Olles dirigendipoolse ettekande tervikliku juhtimise teenistuses, on printsiipide rakendamine üks dirigeerimiskompleksi vahendeid, millel on ka üksikuid võtteid siduv funktsioon. Nii saab dirigent näiteks ennetava markeerimise printsiibi abil (võites aega solisti agoogilistele vabadustele reageerimiseks) õigeaegselt ajastada järgneva *tutti* sisseastumise auftakt. Juhtimise printsiibi rakendamine võimaldab arvestada laulja hingamisega jne.

Printsiipide osa dirigeerimiskompleksis varieerub vastavalt konkreetsele olukorrale, olles kantud vajadusest tagada ansamblipartnerite ühtse meetrumitunnetuse järjepidevus ning ettekande terviklik juhtimine. Samuti on toodud mõtlemismudelid omamoodi „planeerimise relvaks" (Jeržemski [Yerzhemsky] 1993: 53, 232), mis aitavad dirigendil ettekandeprobleemideks valmistuda. Eraldi võetuna pole nendes vahendites midagi uudset – need on hästi teada igale dirigendile. Uudne võib olla nende asetamine praktikas kogetud probleemide konteksti ning püüd süstematiseerida üksikud vahendid laiematesse kategooriatesse, mis toetaksid dirigendi tegutsemist kriisisituatsioonis. Nagu on öelnud Daniel Barenboim, on „oma tegevuse mõtestamine igasuguse loomingulisuse alus" (Barenboim 1994: 21). Dirigendi eriala komplitseeritus muudab enda tegevuse mõtestamise vajaduse erakordselt teravaks. Eeltoodud mõtlemismudelites sisalduv kategoriseeritud teave lihtsustab teatud määral dirigendi tegutsemist esinemisolukorras.

A Pianist's Approach to Complex Musical Material in Ligeti's Études

Kristi Kapten

Abstract

This article deals with performer's experiences in handling the pianistic challenges in the demanding études of György Ligeti (1923–2006). The article analyses possible approaches to the complicated musical material and describes how to master the études as effectively as possible through specific practice methods.

Ligeti's études are among the most complex pieces of piano music, demanding exceptional virtuosity and concentration from the pianist. An important structural component of the études is complicated polyrhythm, which makes learning and performing them particularly intense mentally. There are many polymetric passages where the pianist must choose which metre to proceed from in cognitive terms in order to achieve both technical confidence and the desired musical effect. The author gives examples of experiments with different metrical feelings in the work process and describes different technical and mental practice methods which prove useful for learning Ligeti's études.

The research is based on the author's experiences while practising and performing Ligeti's études, analysing notes taken during the preparatory phase. The main method is self reflection. In addition, other pianists' thoughts have been gathered from conversations, master classes and literature.

The études of György Ligeti (1923–2006) are among the greatest achievements in the solo piano repertoire of the second half of the 20th century. Performing them demands exceptional virtuosity and concentration from the pianist. The main characteristic feature throughout these works is Ligeti's use of polyrhythms and polymetricism, and this places considerable demands on the pianist. In addition to the rhythms, the études are also polyphonic in other aspects: the lines are intertwined and there is an abundance of polydynamics. Often there appears an illusion of many independent layers moving at different speeds. At the same time the études are extremely demanding technically, and learning and memorising them requires great patience from the pianist.

In my doctoral thesis *A Pianist's Approach to Learning Ligeti's Études*[1] I dealt with pianists' experiences while practising and performing Ligeti's études. The aim was to analyse a pianist's approach to complex musical material and highlight methods which have proven to be fruitful through experience. I relied mainly on my experience using the self reflection method. Reflection is often defined as a cognitive process through which one learns from experience, either individually or in association with others (Benammar 2004). The method is often claimed to be conducive to deeper learning as it allows one to create and systematize conscious knowledge of one's self-perception (Moon 2004). In the process of practising a musical instrument, reflection helps one to gain an awareness of one's weaknesses and find solutions for making improvements (Parncutt 2007). Reflections on my own experiences are derived from notes and score markings taken during practice sessions and master classes. In many cases I was able to draw parallels between my own thoughts and the experiences of other pianists. Interesting discussions about playing Ligeti's études occurred during conversations in which other pianists explained the notes they had added to their own musical texts and recalled useful practice techniques. Numerous examples of the notes made during the practice process may be found in my research.

[1] The doctoral thesis (in Estonian) was defended at the Estonian Academy of Music and Theatre in 2017 (supervisor Professor Kerri Kotta), http://www.ema.edu.ee/vaitekirjad/doktor/Kristi_Kapten.pdf.

The current article is based on several sections of my doctoral thesis in which I analysed how to find a suitable rhythmic feeling in a polymetric texture, described different types of useful practice techniques and discussed the memorisation process.

1. Internal rhythmical organisation

For a pianist, capturing the rhythmical feeling of a work of music is one of the most important foundations for creating a convincing performance. Well-judged rhythmical understanding supports technical fluidity, imparts a clear character to the music and, consequently, gives consistency to the work's dramatic structure. Rhythmic cognition is also related to breathing and has a direct influence on phrasing.

By internal rhythmical organisation I mean the rhythmical thinking which is only in the pianist's mind, concealed from the listener's ear. This might, for example, be the abstract division of rhythmic groups, which is not detectable in terms of audible accents. Also hidden from the listener is the way a performer may feel the music in "invisible" periods, which are not noted in the musical text. For example, if the musical text contains a passage which moves in minims, from which there is a transition to semiquaver movement, then the final minims before the new period might be mentally divided into semiquavers so as to achieve a smoother transition. Such a mental division is particularly useful when the tempo slows (*ritenuto*). Finding a suitable rhythmic mindset always depends on the specific musical situation. I believe that many pianists think in rhythmic periods different from those in the printed music instinctively and without being aware of doing so; there are situations however, where such a choice should be made consciously.

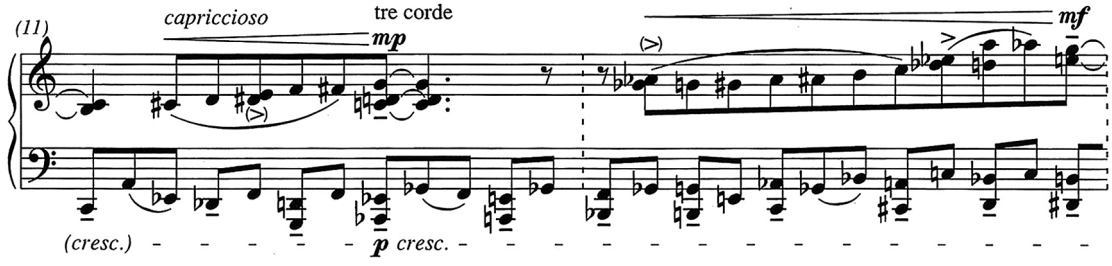
In Ligeti's études, where the pianist must manage long and intensive polyrhythmic passages, the question of inner rhythmic organisation is particularly important. It is necessary to create an audible impression of many equal and independent rhythmic patterns; but as these are all performed by one artist, the organised execution of the material requires that the performer must have some internal metre on which to rely. In the polymetric sections where the two hands are playing completely different rhythmic patterns the pianist cannot devote full attention to leading with both, and must therefore decide which part is leading at any given moment. Such choices occur frequently in the études.

In the étude "L'escalier du diable" the polymetric element first emerges clearly in bar 11 (Example 1). Here the pianist can proceed from the rhythm of either the left or the right hand. When choosing a pace, two main questions should be taken into account: 1) the pianist's technical confidence and mastery of the material; 2) the musical idea that the interpreter wishes to create in sound and convey to the audience.

In more traditional music this question is generally easier to resolve, because the same choice generally serves both purposes: the one which creates a more confident feeling when playing the piece is generally also better-suited to the character of the work and sounds more convincing. In the case of Ligeti's études, however, the issue is more complex: presenting the material requires a strong sense of certainty and control, whereas the effect that the composer is seeking is often one of irregularity or chaos. Some sort of balance must thus be found through the choices made by the performer.

The pianist's choices for sensing a rhythmic base in Ligeti's études have been admirably de-

Example 1. "L'escalier du diable", bar 11.



scribed by pianist Ian Pace (Pace 2012). Pace attributes the fundamental character of the études to the effect of irregularity and chaos, the game between (perceived) regularity and irregularity, which ensues from lines, harmony, rhythm and texture (Pace 2012: 180). He examines the extent to which the interpreter's choices in performance can affect the overall impression of the musical character.

> Much depends on the degree of stability or instability [the performers] wish to project; this is made apparent via the extent to which the more adventurous rhythmic elements are played either as localised deviations ultimately leading to resolution (which would produce a greater sense of stability), or elements which continually threaten to upset precarious elements of regularity and regular metre (Pace 2012: 186).

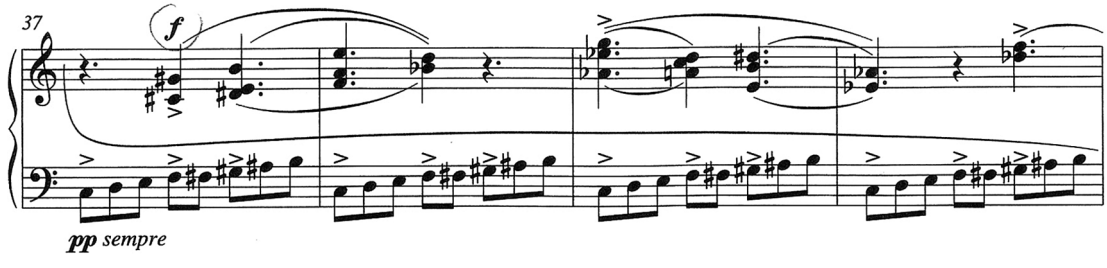
In the case of Example 1 (bar 11 of "L'escalier du diable"), the more stable approach would be to select the left hand part as the basis for performance, because it consists of familiar groups of two and three quavers, which are shorter and easier to follow. It is the right hand's five and seven note figures that disturb the stability of the whole. The right hand figures are marked *capriccioso* and are also louder in terms of their dynamic markings than the left hand part: consequently, the decision to highlight the more outwardly attractive right hand part would be musically justified.

In his article Pace examines several études where the performer can choose between different rhythmic patterns when establishing which one to use as their foundation. For example, in Étude No. 1, "Désordre", it is up to the pianist from the start to decide whether the left or right hand leads – i.e. which hand's basic metre shall be the base which the other varies. From a pianist's point of view it would be most natural to rely on the left, since the bass register is more resonant and ensures a more steady foundation. The left also remains in a stable 4/4 time signature, while the right hand's rhythm groups start gradually to shorten a quaver at a time. However, such an approach would create the impression that the étude is in 4/4 time, and that the right hand accents only play the role of syncopations. When led by the right hand part, on the other hand, an impression of instability would already emerge from the fourth bar. In this case, neither line would be foregrounded at the expense of the other (Pace 2012: 186). In Étude No. 4, "Fanfares", there is also the danger of creating the impression of a piece with a 4/4 time signature and syncopated rhythms if the pianist relies too heavily on the steady *ostinato* motif which runs through the étude (Pace 2012: 188) (Example 2).

For almost the whole duration of the étude "Fanfares" the *ostinato* must be played in a much quieter dynamic than the irregular rhythmic groups of the other part. It is especially important to maintain the correct balance of sound, with the right hand melody always at the forefront, and the accents must be clearly highlighted. This is the only way the rhythmic groups consisting of 11 quavers in the upper part can attain the leading position and help avoid the emergence of the feeling of a regular metre (Pace 2012: 188).

Pace clearly favours a rhythmic orientation based on the elements which create an irregular soundscape. I find, however, that while performing technically and mentally demanding polymetric passages the pianist should still rely

Example 2. "Fanfares", bars 37–40. The left hand has a quiet *ostinato*.

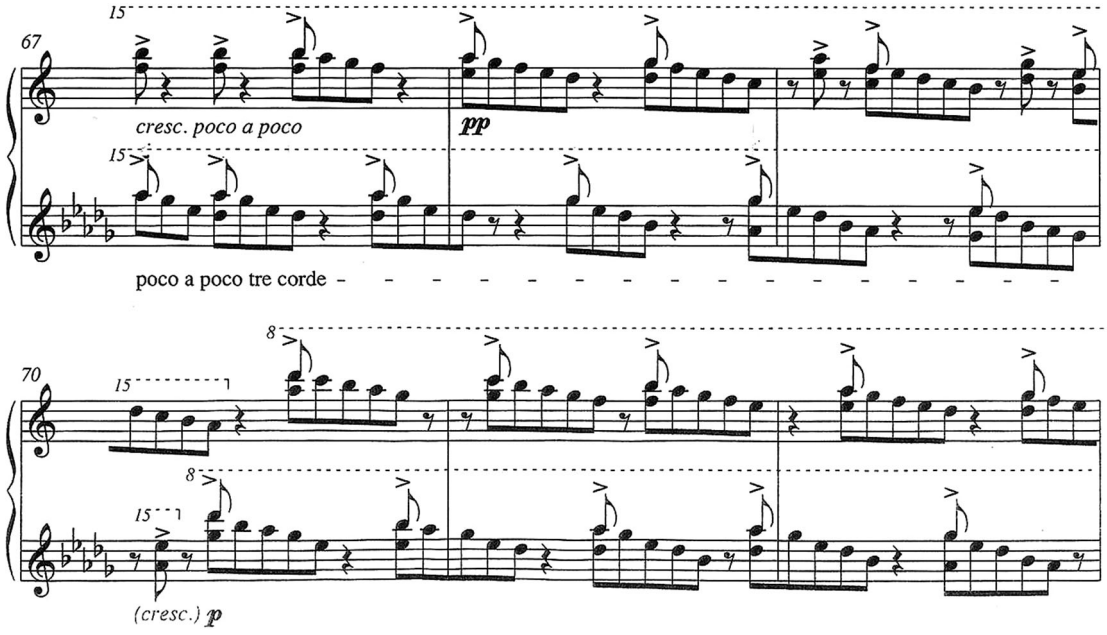


primarily on choices which ensure confidence and technical security, even if his/her artistic endeavour is to create the feeling of irregularity. If one loses control of the material, then the chaotic effect will not have any impact. Moreover, the audible impression may not necessarily reflect the choice that the pianist has made at a particular moment. By being aware of the risks just mentioned, the pianist can develop each voice independently so that each part can achieve the sound effect that the performer is striving towards. Considering again the choice pertaining to bar 11 of the étude "L'escalier du diable" (Example 1), the listener should not be able to identify which part the pianist is relying on during the performance. The aim is to achieve a soundscape consisting of two independently running lines, whether these are in the foreground or in the background in the pianist's thinking. To accomplish this the pianist must constantly alternate his or her focus during the practising process, basing his/her attention first on one pattern and then on the other, so as to master the ability to rely on either one at any given moment. If, however, focusing on one pattern rather than the other establishes a firmer support for maintaining control of the whole, then this is the one on which the pianist should rely during performance. In the case of Example 1 this would be the left hand.

In the previous example, finding an internal rhythm depended on the choice between two rhythmic patterns. In some études, however, there are situations where it seems more fitting to be led by the combined rhythm of the multiple voices or, instead, to select a regular 4/4 metre (or other regular metre) as a basis. For example, I came across such solutions in the process of learning Étude No. 10 "Der Zauberlehrling". Polymetricity enters this étude in bar 67 (Example 3).

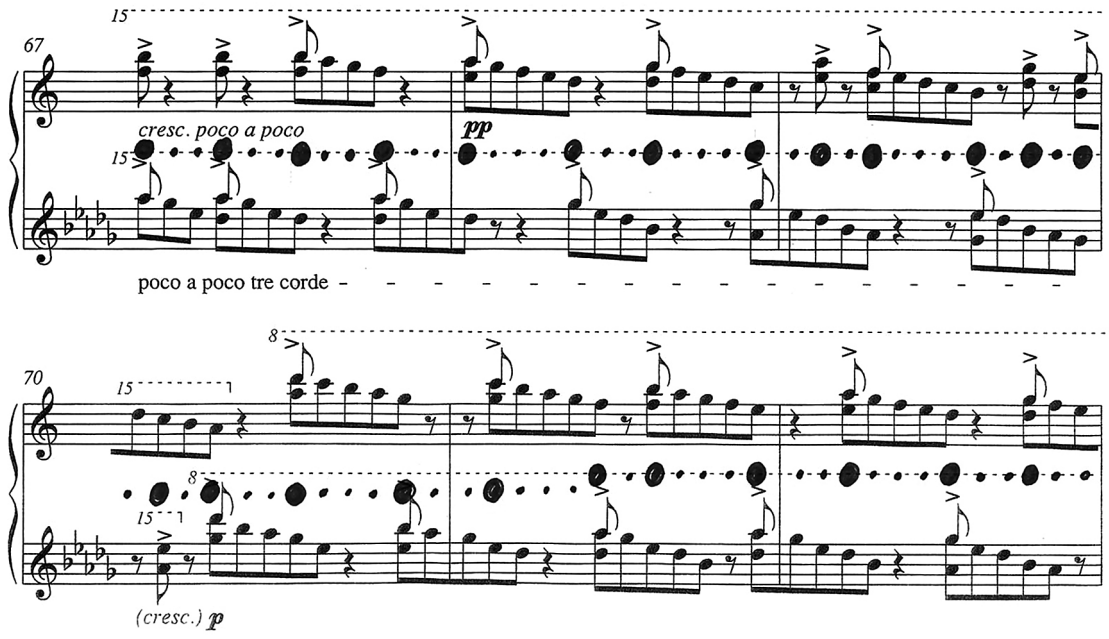
Initially the question of picking up the rhythmical patterns seemed easier here than, for example, in the étude "L'escalier du diable". The accents in both hands are always positioned at the beginning of rhythmical groups, and the groups themselves are technically quite convenient and comfortable to play. I first learnt the rhythmic patterns of both hands in what could be called a conjoined fashion. The dots marked in Example 4 indicate the internal metre (in the current case the sum of the so-called conjoined metres): the larger dots indicate accented and the smaller dots weak beats.

Example 3. "Der Zauberlehrling", bars 67–72.

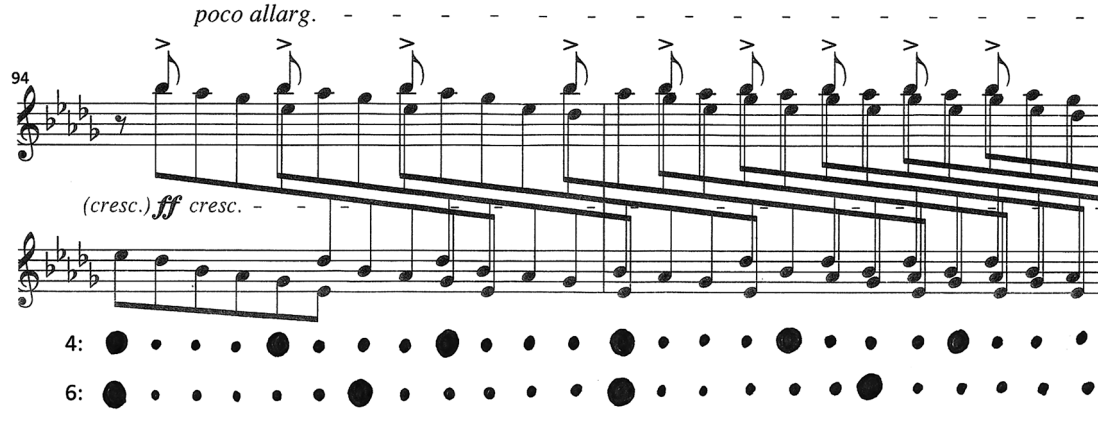


The lengths of the rhythmic groups are irregular, and initially it was quite laborious to assimilate such a pattern; at the time, however, this seemed to be the only possible solution. On reaching bar 94 (Example 5), however, trying to follow an internal metre stemming from accents turned out to be a hindrance. The accents at this point are only in the right hand (at the top of a repeated descending passage consisting of nine notes), while the material in the left hand is technically very uncomfortable – without balancing metric reference points it felt unnatural to play it in a fast tempo and with an *ff* dynamic. To achieve a better balance between the two hands I tried to approach it with a different metre. At first I tried to think in groups of four, through which I achieved a notably more technically confident feeling than before. Increasing the tempo, the four-based me-

Example 4. "Der Zauberlehrling", bars 67–72. The dots indicate the accented and weak beats of the internal metre.



Example 5. "Der Zauberlehrling", bars 94–95. The dots represent the internal metres of four and six.



tre started to become a little clumsy and I then tried to think in groups of six, which made the movement more rapid.

Most of the audible accents now occurred as counter-beats to the feeling of the metre, but a regular internal metre put both hands into a more equal position and gave better control of the material. After that I experimented with the previous passage (bars 67–93) with a metre based on groups of six.

A regular mental metre helped simplify the learning of the musical text. Instead of learning rhythmic groups of irregular lengths (3+3+3+3+4+3+3+2+2+4 quavers etc.), all the groups were now equal for me, and the rhythm inside each group became clear. However, when speeding up the tempo a metre based on groups of six began to seem clumsy, because very many of the accents function as counter-rhythms (particularly often, for example, in bars 69 and 70), so I turned back to the metric feeling originally obtained (based on the overall metre obtained from adding the two metres). Now the musical text was much more familiar, because I had practised it in other cognitive contexts as well. In bars 94–96 I prefer to stick with the regular metric feeling (of six). In these bars, which mark the culmination of the whole section (*ff-crescendo-ffff*) occurs, Ligeti has written *poco allargando* (slightly broadening), after which the material from the beginning of the étude returns *subito pp* (bar 97). With regard to the regular metre, most of the accents do actually form a counter-rhythm to the internal metre, but I think that in these bars a little "entanglement" is musically justified.

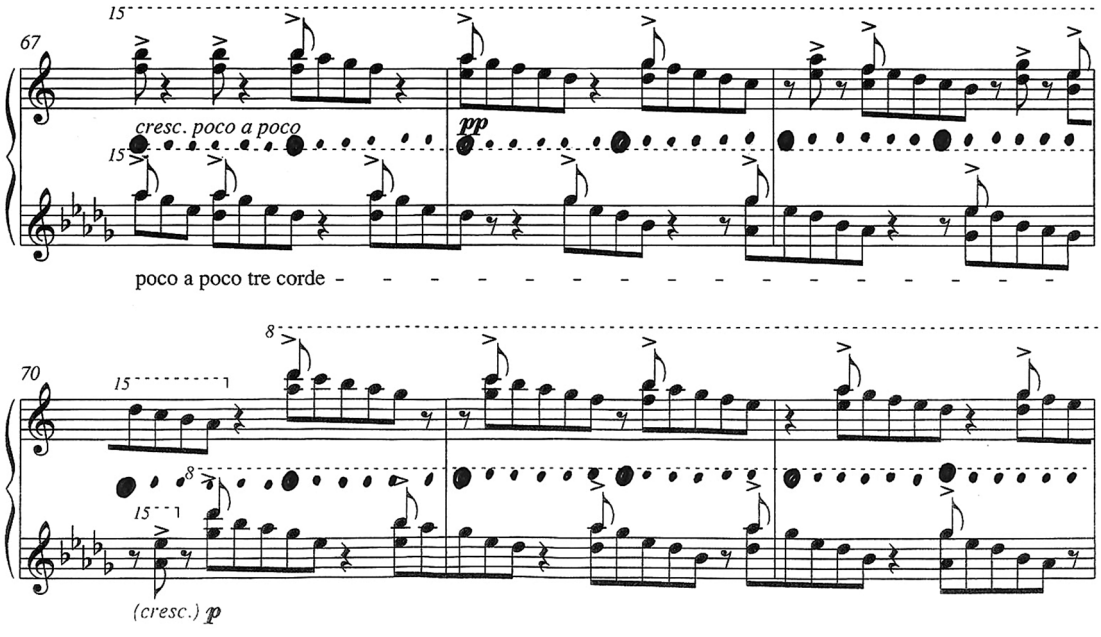
I also approached the middle section of the étude "L'escalier du diable" with a regular internal metre. There it is sensible to mentally divide one subsection of a bar into eighths, and I divided the 12 quavers into groups of four (Example 7).

One possibility with this étude would be to start from the upper part. In a way, it would even be easier to learn the material in this way, because then the base becomes a regularly repeating motif (2+3 quavers) (Example 8).

For the sake of variety, and to test myself, I tried that for a while. However, I still think that the first option (a regular internal metre of four) works better, because the voices are in a more equal position than when leading from the upper voice, and the audible result is more layered, meaning that the voices receive equal attention.

This kind of experimentation with its back and forth movement in the search for different metri-

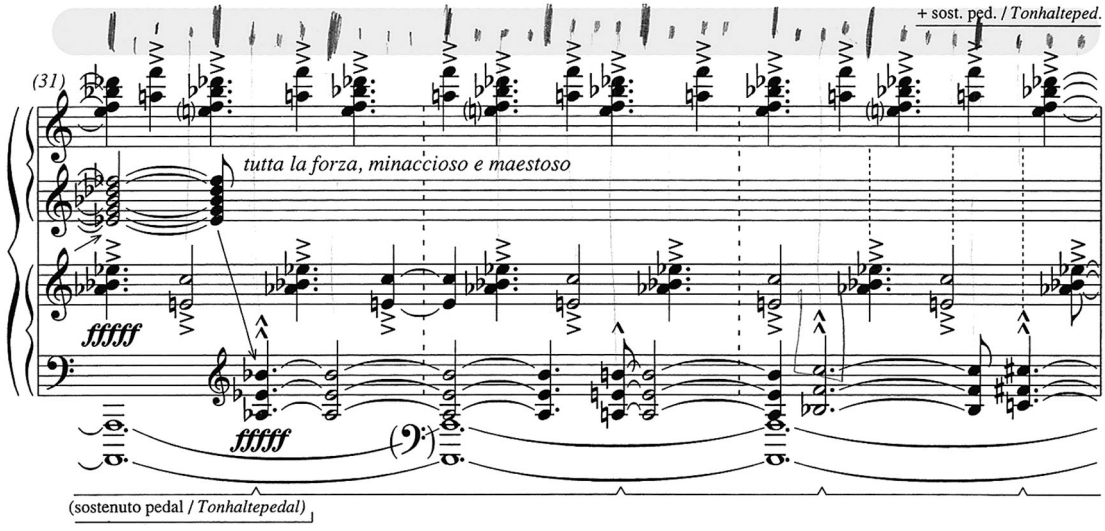
Example 6. "Der Zauberlehrling", bars 67–72 with a metre of six.



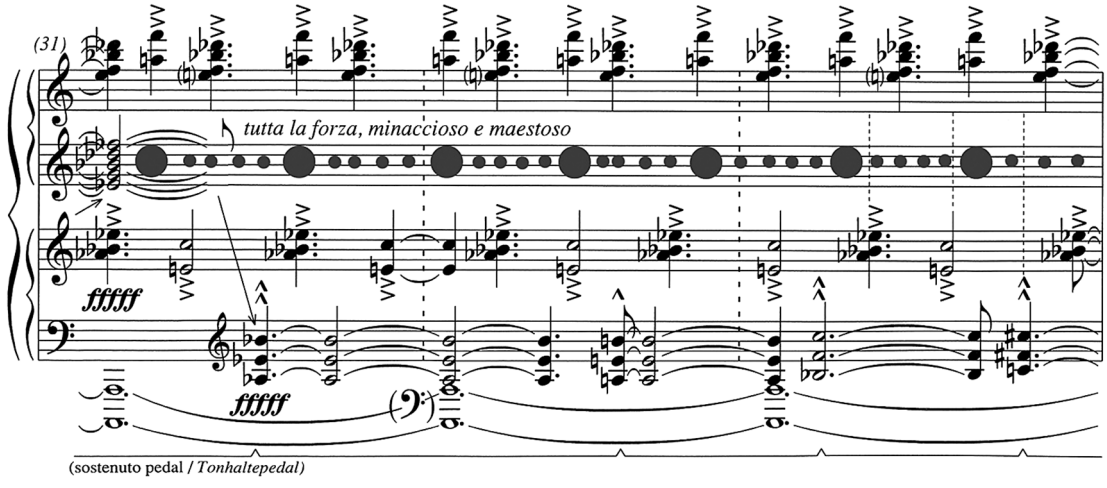
cal feeling is time consuming, but I find that it is a necessary part of the process of learning Ligeti's études. Pianists Simon Smith and Fredrik Ullén, with whom I discussed the process of studying the études at length, agreed that practising from a new metric angle gives the feeling of learning another work entirely, but that it is the best way to develop layered rhythms (Smith, conversation 26.10.2016; Ullén, conversation 11.02.2017). Discussing, in her doctoral thesis, the different ways of feeling the polyrhythmic facets in the étude "Fém", Elisa Järvi aptly uses the word "kaleidoscope" in the title of her work (Järvi 2011). Approaching the same material from a slightly different rhythmic angle, the audio picture is completely different. A similar feeling arises when rehearsing polymetric material and this makes the practice process difficult, though very interesting.

The choice of metre is not something that should be final; but such choices should be made continuously during the process of working with the étude, and should be based on questions of

Example 7. "L'escalier du diable", bar 31.



Example 8. "L'escalier du diable", bar 31, rhythmic base derived from the upper part.



technical confidence and on the desired sound effects. These choices should also be changed from time to time, according to the ways of feeling different metres. If it seems that relying on one rhythmic pattern is taken for granted so that it becomes dangerously habitual, the passage should be practised from another angle for a while (mainly on occasions where there is a choice between rhythmic patterns in two hands). This method not only ensures alertness, but also allows the performer to take account of the multilayer construction. To maintain the balance between stability and irregularity, one must preserve the freedom to choose. Methods of practice should not focus on one perception, but should encourage flexibility.

2. Fruitful methods for practising the musical material

In this section I draw conclusions about the methods of practice tried and tested in my work process, pointing out fruitful practice principles and demonstrating specific practice methods which, in my experience, have proven the most effective. I draw parallels and comparisons with other pianists' thoughts and demonstrate specific ways of practising both on the keyboard and away from the keyboard, as well as ways in which the two approaches can be combined.

Importance of Creativity

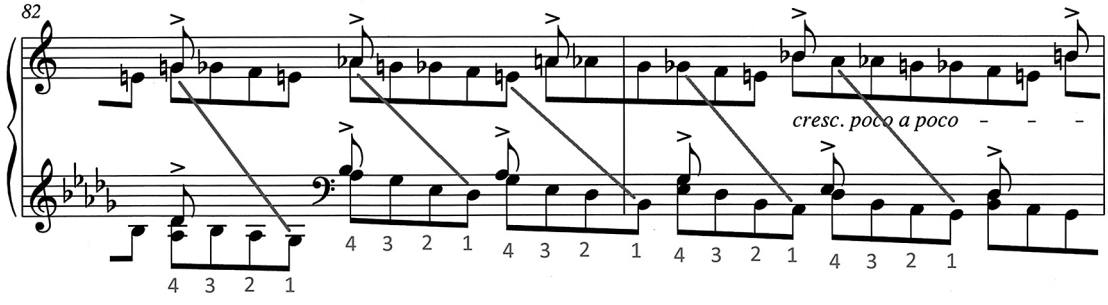
I find that in the process of learning and practising new complex musical material, creativity is a very important factor. Pianists often treat the musical text rather inventively, practising in ways that do not exactly resemble what is written in the musical text. With a creative (even playful) approach to the musical material, one learns to perceive it from as many different angles and aspects as possible. Such an approach also encourages effective learning, because it keeps the mind alert. As Fredrik Ullén also acknowledged, the mind works best when it is motivated (Ullén, conversation 11.02.2017). Motivation and alertness are vital for learning Ligeti's extremely demanding music, and therefore pianists' practice techniques can be quite original when tackling the études.

Creative ways of practising usually evolve spontaneously during the practice process. I remember, for example, the process of learning a section of the étude "Der Zauberlehrling": here I practised passages as chords, wherever possible (so as to grasp the whole group at a time), and also tried to play the part of one hand, group by group, with the notes in the opposite order (Example 9).

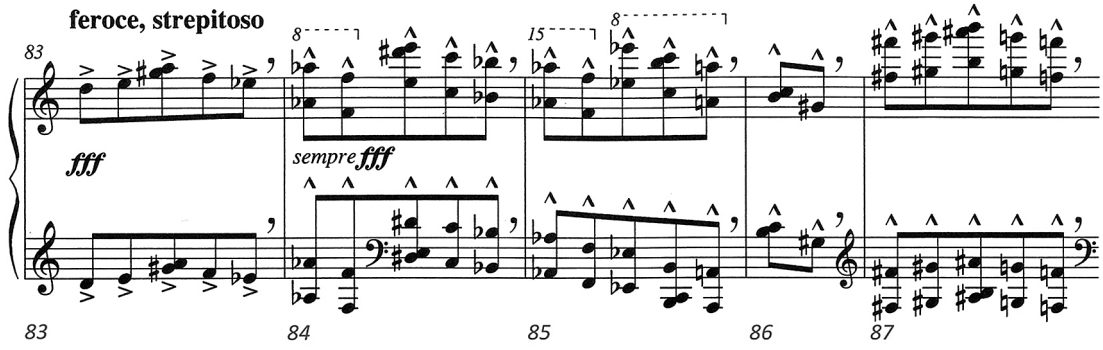
I played the right hand as written, while playing the left hand groups from the last note to the first. (After the bars in the example the groups become even longer than 4 notes). Practising in this manner I learnt to think of the length of the groups in advance and to be aware of where they were going.

When learning to understand the material, pianist Fredrik Ullén considers it useful to remove one component or another (for example one voice). In the études "Désordre" and "Fanfares" he only practised the accents, to get used to the melodic lines (Ullén, conversation 11.02.2017). In the étude "Touches bloquées" he considered bars

Example 9. "Der Zauberlehrling", bars 82–83. The numbers denote the order of playing the left hand notes, the diagonal lines connect the notes I played together.



Example 10. "Touches Bloquées", bars 83–87.



76–88, in which the pianist must play octaves at a very fast tempo, to be the most demanding. He approached the material one bar at a time, adding more bars one after the other only when the single bars seemed totally assured. When combining the bars he liked working from back to front. With respect to the next musical example, for instance, his system was as follows: having acquired the content of the five bars separately, he first played bar 87, then bars 86–87, then tried to play 85–86–87 and so on, until he could play the whole section without interruption (Example 10). The reason for practising the section backwards, highlighted by Ullén himself, is that in this way the laborious process was simply more interesting and kept him more alert.

Technical Efficiency

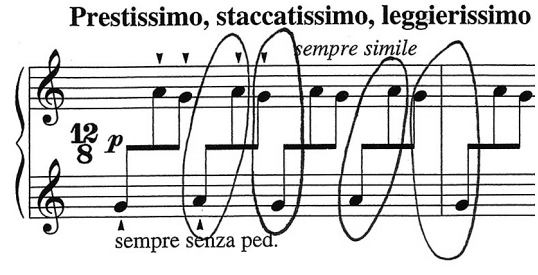
It is important to ensure that one's technique is always as efficient as possible and that there are no superfluous movements. To achieve speed it is necessary to develop reactions in which the hand moves to the next key in the most direct possible route. It is useful to practice in a very slow tempo, observing that when a finger is playing one key, the next finger is already in susceptible contact with the next key to be played. Training this sort of reaction in the finger muscles, where two sequential fingers are ready to play simultaneously, is the premise to achieving an extremely fast tempo. A good example of the importance of slow practice and economic movements can be drawn from my experience of practising the étude "Der Zauberlehrling". The opening part requires extremely fast repetition, where different hands must play the same key one after the other. Practising slowly and meticulously I ensured that whenever the repeated key is pressed down for the second time, it is pressed down as soon as the key allows, not waiting for it to rise the whole way up from the first of the repeated notes. (Example 11).

Practising on the Keyboard

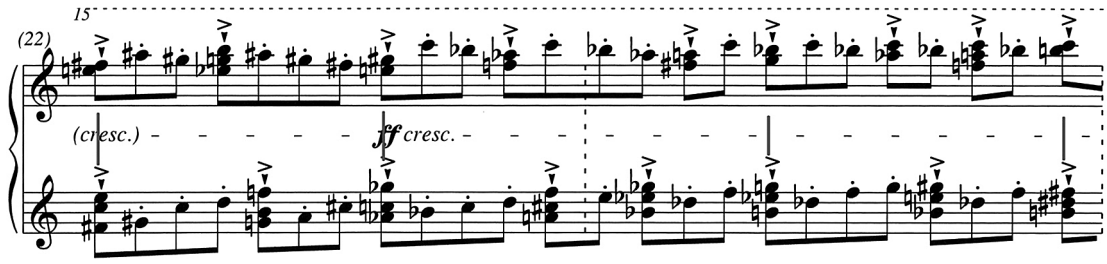
To acquire the accent patterns in rhythmically irregular sections it is useful to practise by playing only the accented notes in each hand, or by playing the part of one hand in full while only playing accented notes of the other.

This helps to learn to know and audibly distinguish the lines formed by the accents. A useful technique is to play the accented notes with sound and all others without sound (without depressing the keys). When practising in this way, it is important to feel contact with the keys in all the fingers, not only the ones which create a sound. The purpose of this is to strengthen muscular reaction, to control the relation of the sound be-

Example 11. "Der Zauberlehrling", beginning. The notes repeated between the two hands are indicated.



Example 12. "L'escalier du diable", bar 22. The added vertical lines indicate coinciding accents in the right and left hand parts.



tween accented and non-accented notes. In order to be fully aware and to feel the work of the finger muscles, this must be done in an extremely slow tempo. Practising in such a way can be intensely laborious, as initially the fingers which should be playing inaudibly tend to mirror the action of the fingers that play with sound, but training the finger reactions in this way greatly improves rhythmic precision and clarity.

Another practising technique that I find very beneficial when it comes to differentiating the feeling of the fingers between the accented and non-accented notes is to duplicate the accented notes (i.e. playing them twice) while playing all the other notes only once (Example 13). When notes are in quavers, then the accents sound like two semiquavers.

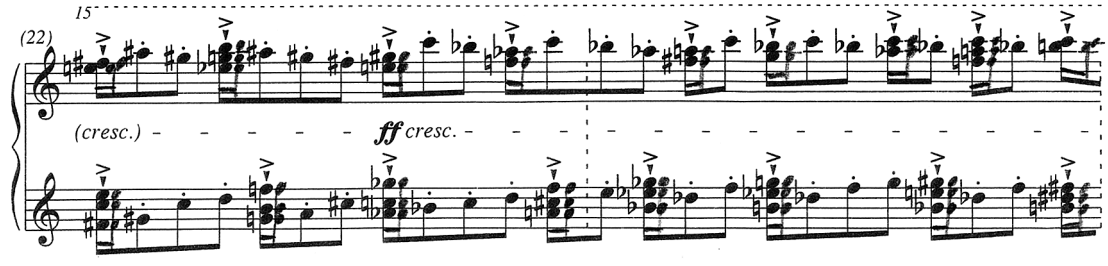
This also requires effort to ensure that the hand which is playing non-accented (singular) notes does not mirror the accented duplication of the other hand's note. As long as the hand or finger playing non-accented notes has a reflex to mirror the reaction of the accented note being played at the same time, it is likely that when playing the original version the hand in question will create a louder sound than is required. Therefore, these two practice techniques are particularly useful to achieve the clearest possible audible differentiation in the rhythmic patterns.

In addition to focusing on the accentual and polyrhythmic feeling, it also pays to play the material *legato* from time to time, without accents.

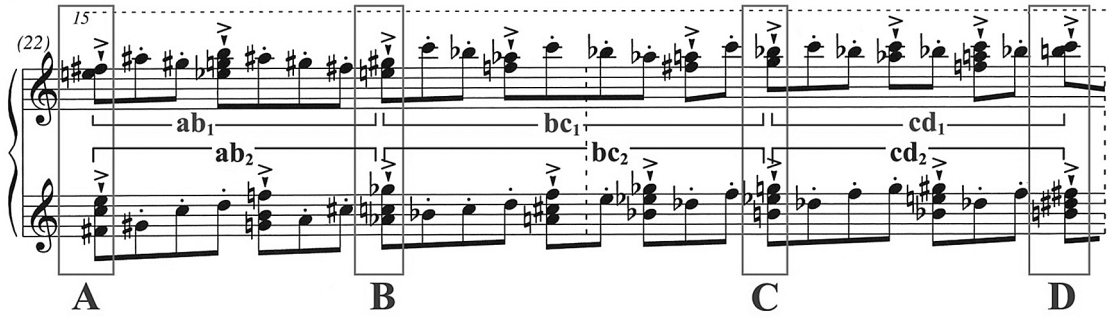
To achieve the independence of the rhythmic patterns, while practising it is worth changing what might be called the leading hand (in the pianist's mind). In Example 14 the points of reference stemming from the accents in line with each other are marked with the capital letters A, B, C, and D, the sections connecting them are indicated ab_1 (right hand), ab_2 (left hand), bc_1, bc_2 etc. Based on this, the pianist concentrates for example on the patterns ab_1–bc_2–cd_1, simultaneously playing the whole material in its original form with both hands together.

In her doctoral thesis, Mihyun Lee points out specific methods of practice which are useful to

Example 13. The places in the original music where accented notes are duplicated have been changed by hand to semiquavers.



Example 14. The points of reference and the sections between them in the left and right hand are denoted separately.



apply while studying the complex material of the études "Désordre" and "L'escalier du diable" (Lee 2015: 47, 48). Similarly to what has been described so far, her recommendations to practice with separate hands, to play the accented notes with separate and with both hands, and to play the part of one hand in its completeness while only playing the accents of the other hand. She also considers it important to practice the fast and rhythmically disordered sections slowly in an even legato from time to time. In addition, Lee suggests using a metronome and playing only the accented notes to its rhythm.

Practising Away from the Keyboard

I find it extremely useful to practise mentally, without using the piano. This type of approach to practice includes imagining a piece or its sections and playing it in the imagination, both while looking at the music and from memory, conducting, humming, articulating rhythms and drumming the piece on a table or other surface.

Mental practice requires especially strong concentration and it is very effective for this very reason. Playing an étude or a passage in the imagination is the fastest way to reveal where the weak points in one's grasp of the work lie. Playing on the piano helps with audible resonance and often masks the mental uncertainties by means of automation and muscle memory. When playing in the imagination the whole responsibility lies with mental concentration. If some place does not work when playing, then practising mentally is the fastest way to identify the problem. If everything is successful and feels natural when playing in the mind, the issue is most likely a technical one – it is necessary to change the fingering, make sure movements are as efficient as possible, practice reaction times, and so on. If, however, the mind falters when imagining the music or the structure of the work seems illogical, then technical practice will be of no use – something must be changed in the thinking (the arrangement of the material, the organisation of internal rhythm, or something of the kind).

When choosing an internal metre this is a very useful method. For example, in the search for a metre for the étude "Der Zauberlehrling" described above I found a more suitable metre through such a mental approach. Having practised the polymetric passage with a regular internal metre (in six), I learned the notes faster than if I had practised using a "combined" metre, but technically it remained clumsy. Trying to practise the section in my mind – first slowly, then gradually faster – I realised that thinking in six I was unlikely to achieve adequate fluency at a fast tempo with even the most efficient motions, and I decided to turn back to the earlier feeling because it also worked mentally.

When learning musical material it is extremely useful to articulate it verbally. Rhythms can be articulated with any syllables that feel natural. For example, during practice I have used the syllables "ti" for accented and "ta" for non-accented notes.

It is useful to practice drumming on a table or other similar surface, as in this way it is possible to bring together the feeling of the finger muscles and the imagination. I discovered this to be a good method when practising the complex pedal part of "L'escalier du diable". Without sound it was possible to work slowly and rationally, clarifying the coordination between the rhythms of the hands and pedals.

Mihyun Lee also recommends drumming on a table or other flat surface as a mental practice technique. She finds it a necessary approach while in the first stages of learning the étude "L'escalier du diable". She suggests that before practising on the keyboard, the pianist should drum the rhythms on a flat surface so as to understand them both physically and mentally (Lee 2015: 66–67). Personally I have never tried acquiring a new work mentally before playing it on the keyboard, but I believe it could be another fruitful approach.

Combining the two approaches

Naturally it is possible to practice "away from the keyboard" while sitting at the keyboard. This offers many possibilities to integrate mental and keyboard playing.

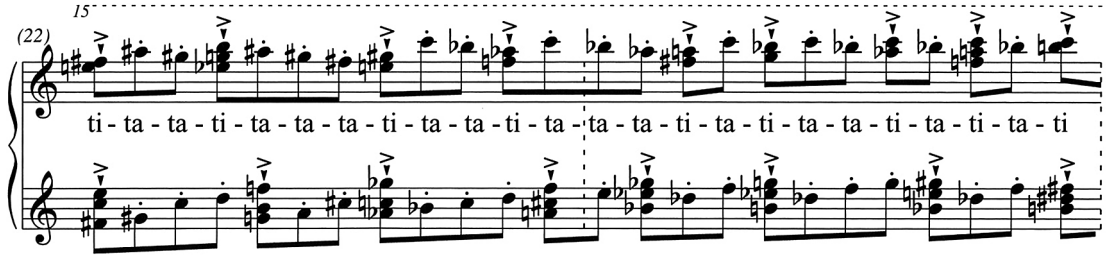
While learning a rhythmically demanding texture it is useful to play one part with one hand while drumming a pulsating bass or the rhythm of the other hand, for example on the body of the piano. Simon Smith used this technique in the places where there are longer note values but where the feeling should originate from pulsing quavers. Smith also recalled that in the initial stage of learning many of the études he mentally practised on a digital piano, because its sound was considerably drier and more homogenous than an acoustic instrument (if desired the instrument could be made completely silent), and this enabled him to focus on the work of the finger muscles and particularly on accurate rhythmic timing (Smith, conversation 26.10.2016). In a way this is also a combined technique, because while the playing happens on a keyboard, the advantage is similar to mental practice – the focus is not distracted by the sound.

A technique which requires considerable effort and which, in my opinion, is a lot of help in terms of achieving independence of the rhythmic patterns, is to play only one hand's part while simultaneously articulating vocally that of the other. In Example 15 the voiced syllables are given for the right hand part: while articulating that, the left hand part should be played as normal.

It is difficult here to separate the mental and the physical. While articulating the musical material in a metrically accented part, the playing hand has a tendency to play louder (even when there is no accent in its part), and vice-versa, when there is no accent in the playing hand, it is also difficult to convincingly articulate the accents with the voice. Separating the functions of the two hands and achieving independence requires a notable degree of concentration and is quite laborious. However, after specifically investing effort into this technique, the grasp of the complex material when later playing both hands together on the piano is enjoyably natural. This way I have, in a sense, come closest to the feeling that my attention is divided exactly in half and that both rhythmic patterns are led completely equally.

When playing the études by heart I have often implemented a technique where at the piano I play the whole étude mentally, but at some points I decide to "play along" on the keyboard. It is of benefit to join in with the mental performance in this way at certain salient points of change or at some particular point of reference. With reference to Example14, it might work in this way: ab mentally, bc on the keyboard, cd mentally again (the notation ab, bc and cd refer to specific sections in both hands at a time, which means ab = ab1+ab2). There are many possible variations and the mo-

Example 15. "L'escalier du diable", voiced articulation of the right hand part.



ments of alternation should always be selected so as to be as new and unexpected as possible.

3. Memorisation

When performing Ligeti's études, the question of whether they should be played from memory arises. Memorising études with such dense musical material and sophisticated sound language requires immense commitment and concentration on the part of the pianist. Preparing to perform the études from memory demands extremely thorough concentration and much additional work. Though in concert programmes individual études are often performed from memory, when performing them in a larger number pianists usually use the music as a support.

Speaking to other pianists, I asked them about their preferences. Simon Smith said that he has not performed them from memory, because he sees no need or direct advantage in the exercise (Smith, conversation 26.10.2016). Fredrik Ullén also plays from music. He said he had played a few études from memory in the past, but admitted that it had not been the best idea (Ullén, conversation 11.02.2017). However, both these pianists generally prefer to play from music, also when performing more traditional repertoire. I discussed this also with Lauri Väinmaa, who generally prefers to perform solo works from memory for greater inspiration and technical and expressional freedom. With Ligeti's études, however, he finds that the situation is the opposite. Due to the dense information in the music and the very precise guidelines, for example for dynamics and pedal work, playing them by heart and reproducing the material in memory requires a great deal of effort and leaves less energy for the performance. For this reason it is more useful to keep the music in view (Väinmaa, conversation 11.03.2016).

Having the music in view during performance can also be helpful, since many pianists mark the music with useful guidelines, using, for example, different colours or other individually developed forms of notation to differentiate the various musical parameters. For material with such a multilayered texture and such precise nuances as Ligeti's études, it can be very helpful to draw up a clear plan for performance. For the polyrhythmic layers the pianist can note, for example, which line he/she will use as the basis for his/her interpretative choices.

Jeffrey Burns, a pianist devoted to playing new music, takes the opinion in the article "Neue Klaviermusik auswendig gespielt" that to ensure appreciation of new works it is especially important to play them from memory. With traditional music, playing without music is normal, because it allows the performer to embrace the music.

> The work becomes part of the performer, who is constantly thinking of the piece and getting new ideas for performing it. The same should be true for modern music – in this case a high quality performance of the work is even more vital, because its reception and critical reaction to it depend on this. (Burns 1997: 179).

Burns's article suggests an attitude that performing from the music on the concert stage points to inadequate preparation. While this might often be the case, I would not directly associate the issue of playing from music or from memory with the quality of the performance, a factor which certainly differs according to both the performer and the work involved. For example, both Smith and Ullén, and also one of the most famous performers of Ligeti's piano music, Pierre-Laurent Aimard (whose impressive concert performance of Ligeti's études I heard on 23rd August 2013 in Edinburgh) all play from music, but the profundity and quality of their performances cannot be questioned.

Personally I feel, like Burns, that to find a deeper contact with the material I must memorise it. Moreover, while preparing Ligeti's études I have become aware that it is only after I have held the work in my memory for a while that my performance becomes convincing, allowing the details and the qualities that have developed over time to become effective. Once the études have been memorised, however, it is another question entirely whether they should be performed with the music or without it. When performing them during a concert, it depends on many factors: how many études are in the programme, how intense the rest of the programme is, whether it is possible to delve into the material as deeply as is necessary in order to play them from memory before the specific performance, and so on.

Since memorising is, in my experience, an important stage in learning the études thoroughly, in the next section I will consider the memorisation process itself.

The Memorisation Process

The pianist relies on different types of memory when performing a piece by heart. Muscle memory, eye or visual memory, ear or aural memory, and analytical or intellectual memory are all actively involved (Smith 2016: 19). I believe that the proportional use of different types of memory varies according to the repertoire and the nature of the specific work. While playing Ligeti from memory I feel that I rely more for support on muscle and visual memory. Since complex techniques and combinations require great intensity in the reactions of the finger muscles when practising, the proportion of muscle memory in the process is very large. For the visual mental image in Ligeti's études I concentrate rather on the musical text than the keys. The motion on the keyboard is mostly fluid, so there isn't any need to look constantly at the keyboard. Aural memory here is not so precise, because the soundscape is very dense, covers many registers and is atonal. Often there is an illusion of a continuous stream of sound, and in a fast tempo it is hard to follow with the ear. In the slower and more lyrical études (for example "Arc-en-ciel"), on the other hand, the aural memory is more actively involved.

In comparison to a more traditional kind of repertoire, playing Ligeti's études from memory involves analytical memory rather less. While the structures and other details discovered through analysis are essential, they should become as automatic as possible. Thinking about structures and compositional techniques during performance is not possible in the case of the fast-paced Ligeti études since the structures on which their composition is based are too complex.

A handbook on the methodology of teaching piano (*Klaverimängu õpetamise metoodika*) refers to the pianist's attitude as one of the most important prerequisites for memorising: "Interest is an extremely important element, interest and inclination." (Tamberg, Kõlar 1977: 80). The same factor is emphasised by Jeffrey Burns. With regard to memorising music he writes that often people approach him after concerts and express astonishment that such unmelodic music can be memorised and inquire what his method is. Burns assures them that there is no method, there is only determination (Burns 1997: 178). Though there might not be a direct method, it is definitely worth creating some sort of system for oneself, and this should again be based on organising and dividing up the material. Burns describes his approach to memorising the étude "Désordre": "I divided the étude into very small sections and practised them until I could play them confidently. Then I combined the sections to form larger blocks. Like with a pyramid, the peak depends on how solidly its foundations sit." (Burns 1997: 181).

I believe it also helps to be aware of different types of memory and to be able to pay separate attention to them while practising the études. Muscle memory, which is a great help in Ligeti's études, can be strengthened by many technical practice methods on the keyboard, especially, for example, by practising extremely slowly, feeling the connections between the notes. Playing slowly also strengthens the aural memory, because the ear can better register the sequences. I have noticed that hearing is particularly actively involved when playing with closed eyes, which also makes the muscle reactions more responsive. Tamberg and Kõlar also recommend practising in the dark and with your eyes closed to develop tactile memory (Tamberg, Kõlar 1977: 79). Visual memory becomes secure through mental practice, and studying the sheet music away from the keyboard is also of use to intellectual memory.

Thinking of the practice techniques which have been of use when memorising the études, these are linked to consolidating the points of reference. For example, one could play only these points in order, based on the notation in Example 14: A-B-C-D. While practising from memory I also implemented the combinations A-B-ab-C-bc-D-cd, after playing one reference point I played the next one immediately and only then played the section that connects them. Reaching the end of the section (point B), I "jumped" straight to point C, then played bc, and so on. As I described above in relation to combined practice approaches, it is beneficial to play the sections from memory, alternately in the imagination and on the keyboard – this is a good way to ensure that the mental image and the physical playing are connected with each other. Using a similar principle one can play the points A, B, C and D on the keyboard and the sections ab, bc and cd that connect them in the imagination.

Conclusion

In Ligeti's études the handling of the piano is in itself quite traditional. Most of the pianistic challenges are met in many other piano works, but rarely are these difficulties so many and so densely combined. For this reason, learning the musical material of Ligeti's études requires a great deal of patience and resourcefulness from the pianist. The work with the études develops both pianistic abilities and practice skills. Pianists are forced to practice especially attentively and to create original techniques. For this reason, discussing the process of practising Ligeti's études is particularly exciting, highlighting as it does the differences and similarities in the thinking of different pianists.

Table. The usefulness of practice techniques to achieve the desired qualities.

Types of practice techniques	**Practice techniques**	Achievable qualities and skills									
		learning musical text	efficiency	speed	grasp of different voices	grasp of rhythm patterns and polymetricity	memorising	muscle memory	hearing memory	visual memory	intellectual memory
On the Keyboard	separate hands	✓			✓	✓	✓				
	by hand positions	✓	✓	✓				✓	✓	✓	✓
	feeling the next key under the finger		✓	✓				✓			
	eyes closed		✓					✓	✓		
	only accentuated notes	✓			✓	✓			✓		
	accentuated notes doubled				✓	✓					
	one part in its entirety, the other only accents	✓			✓	✓					
	accentuated notes with sound, intermediate notes without				✓	✓		✓	✓		
	mentally changing the "leading" rhythmic pattern				✓	✓					
Away from the Keyboard	in the imagination from sheet music	✓				✓	✓			✓	✓
	in the imagination from memory					✓	✓				✓
	articulation					✓	✓				
	drumming	✓				✓		✓			
Combined	one part played, the other articulated				✓	✓					
	one part played, the other drummed	✓			✓	✓					
	sections alternating on the keyboard and in the imagination	✓					✓		✓	✓	✓

The table summarises the most important of the practice techniques described in the article, linking them to the qualities and skills for which they are most useful when working with Ligeti's études.

As can be seen in the table, practising with separate hands and by hand positions are among the most beneficial methods for practising on the keyboard. Many useful practice techniques are related to contrasting the accented and non-accentuated notes. Of the methods that can be practised without using the piano, we may highlight the effectiveness of practising in the imagination both from the music and from memory. The combined practice technique in which sections are played alternately on the piano and in the mind is remarkably beneficial during the memorisation process.

As mentioned above, a creative approach is important to productive practice. This promotes learning the material with versatility and speed. The possibilities for the resourceful handling and learning of the musical material are unlimited. While doing this it is important that the techniques serve a specific objective. Clearly, the whole practice process cannot be carried out with such intense concentration as some of the methods suggested require. A lot of practice takes place instinctively, enjoying the process rather than aiming for a specific purpose at the moment of practice. This is also a very valuable part of the work, as it is often at this time that inspirational ideas and interesting practice methods emerge. But in this case, too, the practice must be in accordance with the technical and musical aims. Sometimes, if one does not know how to identify or resolve a problem, the practice process might come to a halt. At such times the conscious use of a mental practice or another practice technique learnt from an earlier experience can prove beneficial.

Based on the described practice methods one can conclude that to productively learn Ligeti's études, from the point of view of the pianist's work process it is very important to:

- mark on the sheet music notes to organise and structure the musical material;
- approach practising the musical material resourcefully;
- preserve flexibility when playing the polymetric sections, alternating the leading rhythmic patterns during practice;
- pay attention to efficiency and precision during technical practice;
- apply mental practice techniques such as verbal articulation of the rhythms and playing the piece in the imagination;
- combine mental practice techniques with practising on the keyboard;
- pay special attention to different types of memory during the process of memorising the work.

Translated by Christopher Carr and Richard Carr

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Pianisti lähenemine keerulisele muusikalisele materjalile Ligeti etüüdides

Kristi Kapten

Artikkel käsitleb interpreedi kogemusi pianistlike väljakutsetega tegelemisel György Ligeti (1923–2006) äärmiselt nõudlikes klaverietüüdides. Arutletakse võimalike meetrilise tunnetuse viiside leidmise üle polümeetrilises faktuuris, kirjeldatakse etüüdide tulemuslikku omandamist soodustavaid harjutamisvõtteid ja analüüsitakse etüüdide päheõppimise protsessi.

Autor lähtub peamiselt oma kogemustest Ligeti etüüdide harjutamisel ja esitamisel, analüüsides ettevalmistusprotsessi käigus tehtud üleskirjutusi. Peamiseks uurimismeetodiks on enesereflesioon. Lisaks on kogutud teiste pianistide mõtteid vestlustest, meistriklassidest ja ka kirjandusest. Olulisemad teemakohased kirjutised on Jeffrey Burnsi „Neue Klaviermusik auswendig gespielt" (1997) ning Ian Pace'i „Maintaining Disorder: Some Technical and Aesthetic Issues Involved in the Performance of Ligeti's Études for Piano" (2012).

Ligeti etüüdid kuuluvad kõige keerulisemate klaveriteoste hulka, nõudes pianistilt erakordset virtuoossust ning head keskendumisvõimet. Etüüdide oluliseks strukturaalseks komponendiks on keeruline polürütmika, mis muudab nende õppimise ja esitamise eriti pingeliseks just mentaalselt. Artiklis räägitakse sisemise rütmilise organiseerituse tähtsusest etüüdide mängimisel. Kuna pianist ei saa võrdse tähelepanuga juhtida mitut rütmimustrit korraga, on rütmiliselt mitmetahulises faktuuris pianisti ees pidevalt valikud, millistest rütmimustritest juhinduda ning kuidas tunnetada meetrumit. Tunnetuslikult võib vastavalt materjalile juhinduda ühe liini rütmimustrist, mitme liini koondrütmist või hoopis regulaarsest meetrumist. Valikute tegemisel peaks arvestama, milline toimimine tekitab mängides (tehniliselt) kõige kindlama tunde ja milline soodustab soovitud kõlalise ja sisulise mulje tekkimist. Ühest küljest vajab pianist rütmiliselt ebastabiilsete lõikude teostamisel kindlat kontrolli, teisest küljest on ebastabiilsed elemendid etüüdides just sisuliseks väärtuseks. Valikute tegemisel tuleb seega leida tasakaal. Tasakaalu säilitamiseks stabiilsuse ja korrapäratuse vahel on oluline olla harjutamisprotsessis paindlik. Pidevalt tuleb katsetada erinevate rütmiliste tunnetustega ning olla võimeline meetrumite vahel ümber lülituma.

Konkreetsete harjutamisvõtete leidmisel ja tulemusliku harjutamise saavutamisel on oluline loomingulisus – leidlik ümberkäimine noodimaterjaliga hoiab tähelepanu erksa ning soodustab teose igakülgset tundmaõppimist. Eraldi kirjeldatakse harjutamisvõtteid, mida saab teostada nii klaveril mängides kui ka klaverist eemal (mentaalselt), ning tuuakse näiteid võimalustest neid kahte lähenemist kombineerida. Klaveril harjutamise juures on kõige olulisem jälgida liigutuste ökonoomsust ja reaktsioonide täpsust. Mentaalne harjutamine on teose omandamisel eriliselt efektiivne, sest see nõuab väga intensiivset keskendumist ja interpretatsiooniliste eesmärkide selgust. Kombineeritud harjutamisvõtetest üheks tulemuslikumaks on mängida ühe käe partiid klaveril ning samal ajal verbaalselt artikuleerida teist – erinevate rütmimustrite samaaegse tunnetamise saavutamiseks on see äärmiselt arendav.

Arutletakse ka pianistide erinevate tõekspidamiste üle etüüdide peast mängimise otstarbekuse suhtes. Päheõppimise protsessi analüüsides kirjeldatakse erinevaid mäluliike, mis muusikateose peast esitamisel on olulised, ning arutletakse, millistest neist just Ligeti etüüdide puhul rohkem abi on. Kui olla teadlik erinevatest mäluliikidest ning osates neile etüüde harjutades eraldi tähelepanu osutada, on päheõppimise protsess tulemuslikum.

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Christoph Siems

"They talk about it even in Germany!"[1] That is how the nobility talks about Barbara's dress in the first scene of Eduard Tubin's opera *Barbara von Tisenhusen*. Hopefully it will not be long before the opera itself attracts similar attention beyond Estonia's borders. At least the way is now paved: nearly fifty years after its premiere, the *Eduard Tubin Complete Works* (ETCW) series has published the work for the first time.

Although it is Tubin's first opera, *Barbara von Tisenhusen* is a late work. His earlier attempts in the genre remained incomplete as a result of World War II and the composer's escape to Sweden. In 1967, when Tubin began working on the opera, he was already well known as a composer of symphonies. Following the principles of his symphonic concept, the musical structure of the opera is more symphonic than dramatic, emphasizing thematic transformation in the orchestra rather than the vocal lines. This may be one reason why the work is still overshadowed by the well-known symphonies, despite the great success of its premiere. One can only hope that the current edition will promote the international dissemination of one of Estonia's most important operas from the past, and one considered worthy of global recognition. If nothing else, everything is now in place to enable conductors and scholars to get to know this major work of art. Thanks to this publication, it can be studied and can thus exist at least virtually in the minds of its readers.

After the 100th anniversary of the Estonian National Opera in 2006 and the third staging of *Barbara von Tisenhusen* (premiered in 2004),[2] the International Eduard Tubin Society began to edit the ETCW, which will one day encompass all of Tubin's compositions. Since then, eighteen of the planned thirty-plus volumes have been published. First to be published was the piano music, followed by the symphonies, solo concertos, other orchestral works, and some chamber music. Even though the first version of *Barbara von Tisenhusen* had already been prepared in 2008, its release was put on hold until 2016, by which time a large part of the instrumental music had already been issued. This suggests that ECTW's aim was to begin with the publication of those compositions which were already present in the international repertoire. As in all the previous volumes, the XXIXth and XXXth include a general preface to ETCW, an introductory essay on the opera by Mart Humal, and a critical commentary on the score. The musical notation was edited by Reet Marttila, while Mart Humal established and implemented the editorial principles. Well aware of the importance of the initial issue of this work, ETCW attempts, according to the general preface, to fulfil various tasks in presenting an edition that works in both a practical sense and in terms of critical discourse. The aim of this edition is to reach a large international audience and draw worldwide attention to the opera, and ETCW uses a technically enhanced style of publication to meet all of these requirements, using the Internet as a storage location.[3] In doing so, space is created for an extensive scholarly attachment and to separate parts of the text from the printed volumes so as to make them easier to handle. Further information

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1 This is how a noble lady actually talks about Barbara's dress in the first scene of the opera. Quoted in: Eduard Tubin / Jaan Kross. *Barbara von Tisenhusen. Libretto*. Translated by Eino Tubin, ed. Mart Humal and Avo Sõmer, International Eduard Tubin Society, http://www.tubinsociety.com/WP/wp-content/uploads/2016/04/Tubin_Barbara_libretto_web_ENGL_9.06.2017_valmis.pdf (13.08.2018).

2 Stage director Endrik Kerge, conductor Arvo Volmer (before that, the opera was staged in 1969 and 1990).

3 http://www.tubinsociety.com/?page_id=759&lang=en (30.07.2018).

on the genesis and historical background of the libretto, as well as longer debates on ambiguous passages in the score, can be read online, as well as an English translation of the libretto by Eino Tubin, the composer's son.

While maintaining the classic layout of such a series of publications, this type of edition has a number of disadvantages. This is the result of modifying an internationally accepted idea with small enhancements. While using the Internet as additional storage location for the attachments allows more space for extra information, it also makes it necessary to separate some of this information from the score, hence the difficulty is an appropriate distribution of the attachments between the different media. By using two types of media for one edition, ETCW puts itself, paradoxically enough, in the situation of having to deal with limited space, as the aim is to reduce the size of the printed volumes. The same struggle arises as with dictionary articles: the problem of emphasizing information by its positioning (or by how it is included). The allocation of parts of the introduction between the media not only facilitates the use of the volumes – which is without doubt the greatest advantage of this sort of edition – but also creates a hierarchy of information. However, there is the risk that an unfavourable allocation of the text between the two media can serve to make using the score more complicated, owing to the constant switching between the printed book and the Internet.

In addition to taking the professions of potential users into account, it is important also to acknowledge the background of the potential audience, as well as any possible associations they may have with Eduard Tubin as a composer or with *Barbara von Tisenhusen* as a topic. Although Tubin is seen as one of Estonia's most important composers, it is very likely that the majority of the people whom this edition might reach may have no prior knowledge of Tubin or of the historical context of his music. The essay provided online, with its extensive information regarding the historical background, helps one understand the national dimensions of the plot. However, no information is provided about the composer Eduard Tubin, his music, or its importance for Estonia. This applies as much to general information as to more specific aspects such as the post-war years, the Swedish situation, and the politics of the 1950s and 1960s. The introductory material allows for a proper familiarization with the work, but does not help to contextualize it, either with regard to other operas of the same region and time period, or in terms of Tubin's biography. This problem may be a result of the broader context of a series of publications. However, by failing to highlight individual works, ETCW perpetuates the current reception of Tubin as a symphonist, since it implies that in order to be able to contextualize *Barbara von Tisenhusen*, it is necessary to be familiar with the symphonies beforehand. Thus, there is the risk that the work contained in these new volumes will remain overshadowed by the better-known works. It may be a basic challenge of any series of complete works not to push individual compositions into the background while aiming at a comprehensive presentation of the whole oeuvre, but it is one that is even more evident when some of the collected works are appearing for the very first time. It is perhaps wise for a series of editions that includes never-before-published works to offer a similarly purposeful and broad introduction to both the compositions and to their composer by the specialists responsible for the scores. The lack of such a general essay on Tubin may prove to be a weak-point in this edition. The most widely known music encyclopedias usually focus on Tubin as a symphonic composer (*Grove*,[4] *MGG*[5]), sometimes merely mentioning the single opera *Barbara von Tisenhusen* (*Pipers*[6]). An introduction that covers both the composer and his oeuvre would be helpful to set and get to know the work in its context.

However, special mention should be made of the fact of bringing together the Swedish and Estonian libretti. Even before the premiere of the

4 Arved Ashby 2001. Tubin, Eduard. – *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*. Vol. 25, ed. by Stanley Sadie, London: Macmillan Publishers, pp. 865–866.

5 Hans-Gunter Lock 2006. Tubin, Eduard. – *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*. Personenteil, Vol. 16, ed. by Ludwig Finscher, Kassel/Stuttgart: Bärenreiter/Metzler, col. 1094–1097.

6 Kristel Pappel 1997. Eduard Tubin. Barbara von Tisenhusen. – *Pipers Enzyklopädie des Musiktheaters*. Vol. 6, ed. by Carl Dahlhaus and Sieghart Döhring, München: Piper, pp. 352–354.

opera, Ilmar Laaban created a Swedish version of the text to allow performances in Northern Europe. However, since all the performances so far have been given by the Estonian National Opera (with special guest performances outside Estonia, but always given in the Estonian language), the Swedish version has remained superfluous until today. Hence the translation still exists merely as an adjunct by Laaban in the second version of the piano score, subsequently adjusted by Tubin in the third version of the same. Tubin, in fact, never rearranged the full score to take account of the small changes he made in the musical structure to fit the Swedish libretto. The current edition consequently adopts Tubin's changes and combines both versions in the score, thus paving the way for stagings of the work in Scandinavia. However, as laudable as the management of the Swedish and Estonian libretti may be, the integration of the English text leaves much to be desired. Admittedly, the English introduction guarantees a proper acquaintance with the opera, but a further examination of the score is impossible without using the additional material on the Internet. Why, one wonders, is the English translation of the libretto provided only online? Since neither Swedish nor Estonian are internationally prevalent languages, it would certainly be helpful for the wider market and music libraries beyond the North-East of the Baltic region if the English libretto were enclosed in the printed volumes. The volumes' manageability would certainly benefit more from including the English translation than from eliminating its 17 pages out of a desire to make it less bulky. Captioning the scenes with short English summaries of the plot would be an easy way to facilitate understanding, and one that would aid practical usage as well as scholarly work.

That said, the volumes' practical usage for performance is definitely eased by reducing the amount of extra material in the printed volumes. In this way they are indeed less bulky (and less expensive to produce), even with the solid but short introduction to the work that they contain. Furthermore, the conductor's work is eased by the decision to dispense with irritating remarks within the musical text. All the comments are collected in the critical commentary, either at the end of the volumes or in its online extension. The splitting of the critical commentary is not necessarily to the detriment of scholarly work: the printed score and the online resources may be used simultaneously, allowing for quite convenient research. The online feature is especially beneficial for an examination of the ambiguous passages, since one does not have to deal with annoying page turning between the score and the relevant comment.

From a scholarly point of view, a more extensive presentation of the manuscript and the other sources used would have been desirable. Theoretically, there are almost no limits to the extent of the online attachments, or, at least, none that are production-related such as those caused by printing costs. The critical commentary, which at first glance seems rather short, is in fact very well prepared. Tubin's clear handwriting allows very little room for speculation. Hence there are only a few inconsistencies between the four sources of the score, which results in a relatively short critical commentary. Many comments are the result of adjustments made to fit the Swedish libretto into the full score. Since the opera has not been edited before, the critical commentary obviously contains no remarks relating to other editions, typically a reason for complex commentaries in the critical editions of more famous works.

The engraving is precise and beautiful. Performers as well as scholars may benefit from the online additions as these facilitate both practical handling and critical research. In any case, a more specific introduction to Tubin's biography and the inclusion of the English libretto in the printed volumes would have been desirable from the point of view of a worldwide audience. Essays and critical commentary would, as always, have profited from additional and more thorough proofreading. All in all, however, the current edition of Eduard Tubin's opera *Barbara von Tisenhusen* is a substantial contribution to Tubin research, one which impresses with its effortless handling of the digital diversification of the classic type of series publication, but which also misses the chance to optimize the conditions for even wider international dissemination. In their ambition to create an edition of a previously unpublished score that would work well for both scholarly and practical use, the editors have succeeded in providing a result that meets their objectives, even if in its realization there is still much room for improvement.

Kevin C. Karnes. *Arvo Pärt's* Tabula Rasa. New York: Oxford University Press, 2017, xii, 135 lk.

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Toomas Siitan

Ühele heliteosele pühendatud raamat pole akadeemiliste väljaannete hulgas päris tavapärane žanr, kui pole just tegemist lääne muusikaloo kanooniliste suurteostega. Mullu novembris alustas Oxford University Press aga sarjaga „Oxford keynotes", mis ongi pühendatud üksikteoste kultuuriliste kontekstide avamisele. Sarja kureerib Atlanta Emory ülikooli muusikaloo professor Kevin C. Karnes, meilegi tuntud teadlane, kelle üks uurimissuund on Baltikumi muusika. Sarjas on seni ilmunud seitse raamatut suuresti varieeruvatel teemadel Beethoveni 9. sümfooniast Harold Arleni 1939. aastal loodud filmilauluni „Over the Rainbow" ja järjekorras ootab Brian Eno „Music for Airports". Sari ei piirdu niisiis muusikateaduse kanoonilise repertuaariga ning suudab küllap ka viimasele laiendada uudsemat, kultuurianalüütilist pilku. Raamatud pole kuigi mahukad, hinnalt soodsad – pehmes köites maksavad nad 10–11 euro ringis ja e-raamatuna veelgi vähem – ning pole adresseeritud mitte muusikateadlaste siseringile, vaid pigem laiemale, analüütiliste humanitaariatekstidega harjunud lugejale.

1977. aastal Arvo Pärdi *tintinnabuli*-stiili esimese suurvormis teosena loodud „Tabula rasa" võimaldab avada paljusid tahke helilooja loomingus, kuid koondab peamise tähelepanu üleminekuajale – stiili kujunemisele ning esimeste uudses tehnikas loodud teoste retseptsioonile nii Brežnevi-aegse partokraatliku stagnatsiooni kui ka lääne vaba muusikaturu keskkonnas. Õigupoolest ei keskendu Karnes sugugi ainult ühele teosele, vaid laiemalt sellele fenomenaalsele pöördele, mille Pärdi stiiliuuendus kaasa tõi ja mida tema kontsert kahele viiulile, ettevalmistatud klaverile ja kammerorkestrile kõige kujukamalt esindab. Pealegi on „Tabula rasa" eriline positsioon seotud ka ECMi firmamärgi all 1984. aastal ilmunud heliplaadiga, millest sai alguse Pärdi muusika tohutu populaarsus kogu maailmas.

Kuigi raamatu 4. peatükil „Tabula rasa" on alajaotused „Process" ja „Technologies", on teose tekstianalüüs seal antud vaid põhijoontes ega püüa mingil moel võistelda Leopold Brauneissi analüüside detailsusega. Tekstitasandist hoopis põhjalikumalt on käsitletud kuulaja ning ka interpreedi tasandit ning see annab kogu raamatule värske vaatenurga. Eriti väärtuslikuks teeb Karnesi teksti 1970. aastate Nõukogude Liidu kultuurisituatsiooni silmapaistvalt hea mõistmine lääne autori kohta – selle puudumine on olnud suureks probleemiks paljudele varasematele Pärdi-tõlgendustele. Autori isiklikud sidemed Lätis ja eriti Riias on tal lasknud avada ka senitundmatuid fakte, näiteks *tintinnabuli*-stiili varaste esituste kohta Riia poolametlikel kontsertidel 1976. ja 1977. aastal.

Väga olulise eelise lääne teiste Pärdi-uurijate ees annab autorile tema valmisolek suhelda venekeelsete dokumentide ja tõlgendustega. Vältides targalt Pärdi-kirjanduse üht levinumat kari – kanooniliseks muutunud tsitaatide pidevat korrutamist –, toob ta oma käsitlusse uudseid vaatenurki mitmelt vene muusikateadlaselt, nagu Svetlana Savenko ja Jelena Tokun. Kevin Karnes tunneb ka venekeelse muusikateooria tausta, millele projitseerida omaaegseid Pärdi-tõlgendusi, näiteks nõukogude muusikateaduse suurmehe Boriss Assafjevi (1884–1949) intonatsiooniteooriat. See kõik annab tema pilgule suuna ja sügavuse, mis on seni olnud lääne Pärdi-tõlgendustes puudu. Nagu ka Peter Schmelz ja Christopher J. May, väldib Karnes avangardistliku ja *tintinnabuli*-stiili skemaatilist vastandamist Pärdi loomingus ning püüab nende vahel luua pigem seoseid.

Raamatu 2. peatükk „Unofficial Music: A History for Pärt" annab kergesti loetava eelloo *tintinnabuli*-stiilile heade aktsentidega etapilistel teostel, kuid pisut lihtsustava käsitlusega „ametlikust" ja „mitteametlikust" muusikast. Stiili ja adressaadi erinevus on teostes nagu „Meie aed" ning 1. sümfoonia või „Perpetuum mobile" muidugi ilmselged, kuid viimaste puhul tunnistab ka autor ise, et Pärdi avangardistlikud teosed murdsid omaaegseid barjääre ja muutusid aegamisi „ametlikeks" (lk. 27). 3. peatükk „Tintinnabuli" annab huvitava sissejuhatuse Pärdi uude stiili, keskendudes tehniliste detailide asemel pigem esteetikale ja filosoofilisele aluspõhjale. Nii nagu Christopher J. May oma 2016. aastal Oxfordis kaitstud suure-

pärases väitekirjas „System, Gesture, Rhetoric: Contexts for Rethinking Tintinnabuli in the Music of Arvo Pärt, 1960–1990", käsitleb ka Karnes märgilise üleminekuteosena mitte Pärdi laialt tuntud palu 1976. aastast, vaid nendest palju keerukama struktuuriga teost „Kui Bach oleks mesilasi pidanud".

Raamat ühest heliteosest ei pea aga olema tingimata ühest heliloojast. Kevin Karnes väldib romantilise elulookirjutuse tava kujutada meistrit isolatsioonis, vastandumas vaenulikele oludele ning heroilise figuurina otsimas üksinda oma loomingulist häält – selline pilt on 1970. aastate Pärdist kerge tekkima. Raamat võtab eesmärgiks pigem oma kangelase demüstifitseerimise, kujutades avarapilguliselt omaaegset poliitilist situatsiooni ning sellest johtunud vaimseid ja kultuurilisi otsinguid, milles Pärdil oli palju kaasamõtlejaid. Hästi positsioneerib Karnes Pärdi stiili ka 1970. aastate lääne muusikamaailma uute suundade suhtes, mida Pärt küll ei pruukinud põhjalikumalt tunda, kuid millega tema otsingud vägagi seostuvad. Karnes ei pääse muidugi mööda ei John Cage'ist ega Steve Reichist, ent väldib targalt liiga otseseid paralleele ning distantseerib end (sakraalse) minimalismi mõistest.

Raamatu keskses, 4. peatükis on muu hulgas loomulikult käsitletud ka „Tabula rasa" legendaarset esiettekannet 30. septembril 1977 Tallinna Polütehnilise Instituudi[1] aulas. See polnud mitte ainult erakordne muusikasündmus, vaid ka väga tervikliku kontseptsiooniga kava, kus peateoseks oli plaanitud pigem Alfred Schnittke „Concerto grosso" (1977, hiljem nr. 1) kahele viiulile, ettevalmistatud klaverile, klavessiinile ja keelpillidele, mille ettekandel Tallinnas mängis klahvpille helilooja ise. Viiulisolistid Gidon Kremer ja Tatjana Grindenko esitasid kavas veel Bachi kontserdi d-moll (BWV 1043) ning Kremer koos orkestriga Schuberti võluva „Polonaise'i" B-duur (D. 580): niisiis oli kavas kaks puhast ilu ja harmooniat esindavat klassikalist meistriteost vaheldumisi kahe kaasaegsega, mis olid kriitilises dialoogis omaaegse muusikaesteetikaga. See kavakontseptsioon loob „Tabula rasale" otsese sisulise konteksti: teos oli sellesse kooslusse spetsiaalselt tellitud ja vastavalt ka etteantud esituskoosseisuga. Kevin Karnes püüab seetõttu tõmmata ka julgeid paralleele Pärdi ja Schnittke kontserdižanris teoste vahele, ent läheb sellega minu meelest liiale. Neid kahte mõneti sarnase saatusega heliloojat seovad küll sarnased otsingud, mitte aga sarnased lahendused. Schnittke teose polüstilistikas võib kuulda pigem seoseid Pärdi varasemate kollaažilike teostega kui *tintinnabuli*-stiiliga, tema barokilikud stilisatsioonid ja grotesk erinevad tuntavalt aga nii Pärdi vanast kui ka uuest stiilist. Stiliseeriv element toob Schnittke kontserdisse tõepoolest barokilikke vormiprotseduure, kui aga Karnes püüab neid ja koguni Vivaldi kontsertide dramaturgiamudelit (lk. 90–91) üle kanda „Tabula rasa" partituuri, siis ei mõju see veenvalt.

Väga huvitav on raamatut kokku võttev 5. peatükk „Export and Emigration", mis avab Pärdi muusika retseptsiooni vastuolusid Nõukogude Liidus 1970ndate lõpul ning samuti 1980. aastate läänes. Ühelt poolt muutis helilooja ümberasumine tema muusika kodumaal mõneks ajaks olematuks, teisalt ei leitud läänes sellele muusikale pikka aega kohast konteksti ning üritati seda projitseerida nii keskaja kui Kaug-Ida muusika taustale või otsiti temas ühisjooni progerokiga. Palju objektiivsemalt kui mitmed varasemad autorid (näiteks Oliver Kautny) kirjeldab Karnes protsessi, kuidas Pärdist sai kodumaal *persona non grata*, samas ei idealiseeri ta ka helilooja „pääsemist" vabasse maailma.

Autori usin töö Eesti Teatri- ja Muusikamuuseumis on toonud raamatusse huvitavat pildimaterjali, ja nagu Oxford University Pressi uuemates muusikaraamatutes juba normiks, pääseb lugeja interneti vahendusel ligi ka teksti lisatud audionäidetele. Raamatu meedialisas on ka paar huvitavat videolõiku BBC teleprojektist „Sacred Music with Simon Russell Beale: Górecki and Pärt" (2010) ja Dorian Supini portreefilmist „Arvo Pärt: 24 prelüüdi ühele fuugale" (2002). Raamat on varustatud korraliku isiku- ja aineregistriga, ent kahjuks mitte kirjanduse nimestikuga, mis olnuks Karnesi kasutatud paljude Pärdi-kirjanduse kaanonivälise tekstide tõttu vägagi oluline. Lugejavaenulikult peatükkide kaupa eraldi nummerdatud viiteaparaat raamatu lõpus on aga väga põhjalik ja informatiivne ning korvab ka puuduva bibliograafia. Arvo Pärdi muusika retseptsiooni lisab Kevin Karnesi raamat igatahes palju suurema panuse, kui tema väikesest formaadist võiks oodata.

[1] Praegune Tallinna Tehnikaülikool, mitte Tallinna Ülikool, nagu on ekslikult kirjas lk. 92.

KROONIKA

Muusikateadusliku elu kroonikat 2017/2018

Koostanud Äli-Ann Klooren, Eesti Muusikateaduse Seltsi sekretär

Eesti Muusikateaduse Selts

Hooaeg 2017/2018 oli EMTSile 26. tegevusaasta. Seisuga 30. september 2018, mil lõpeb seltsi majandusaasta, kuulub EMTSi 91 liiget.

Kuna seltsi juhatuse volitused lõppesid 2017. aastaga, siis toimus uue juhatuse valimiseks üldkoosolek 29. jaanuaril 2018. Seltsi esimehena jätkab Kerri Kotta ning juhatuse liikmetena Saale Konsap, Kristina Kõrver ja Anu Schaper, uueks liikmeks valiti Allan Vurma asemel Anu Kõlar; revisjonikomisjoni esimehena jätkab Eerik Jõks, uued liikmed on Raili Sule ja Heidi Heinmaa.

Toimus kaks traditsioonilist Eesti-sisesest muusikateaduslikku üritust. Neist esimene, **Leichteri päev** leidis aset 20. novembril Eesti Muusika- ja Teatriakadeemia kooriklassis. Kavas oli üks ettekanne, mille pidas Pauline Larrouy-Maestri Frankfurdi (a.M.) Max Plancki Instituudist teemal „Singing in the (b)rain", samuti tutvustati EMTSi aastaraamatu Res Musica üheksandat numbrit ning Res Musica uut kodulehekülge (www.resmusica.ee), kus on võimalik tutvuda ka aastaraamatu kõigi varasemate numbritega.

2018. aasta **Tartu päev** peeti 14. aprillil Rahvusarhiivis, kus toimus ka ekskursioon. Seekordne konverents oli pühendatud professor Toomas Siitanile tema 60. sünnipäeva puhul. Tema tegevusest andis ülevaate Heidi Heinmaa oma ettekandes „Muusikast ratsionaalselt, ja enamgi veel. Toomas Siitani muusikateaduslikust tegevusest". Juubilari enda ettekande teemaks oli „Eestist pärit keskaegse liturgilise laulu pärgamendifragmentidest". Lisaks esinesid Andreas Waczkat („Perilous Listening: Early Music, Historically Informed Listening, and the Sacrosphere of Spaces"), Anu Schaper („Milliseid teoseid kirjutas J. V. Meder Tallinnas? Mederi kirikumuusikateoste dateerimisest"), Katre Kaju („17. sajandi esimese poole pulmaluules leiduvad osutused lauludele"), Mart Humal („René Descartes'i heksahordid"), Friedhelm Brusniak („19. ja 20. sajandi reisikirjad ajaloolise kooriuurimuse allikana"), Kristel Pappel („Mõtteid 19. sajandi muusikaelust Eestis ja selle uurimisest"), Kevin C. Karnes („Discotheques, Underground Festivals, and the Debut of Sacred Tintinnabuli: Riga, October 1977") ning Christopher J. May („The Train to Brest-Litovsk: Mapping the Borders of Pärt Reception"). Konverentsi ettekanded on seltsi liikmetele järelkuulatavad seltsi kodulehe intranetis.

Traditsiooniline EMTSi kultuurilooline sügismatk toimus tänavu taas ühepäevasena 22. septembril ning viis osalejad Harjumaa idaossa. Külastati Kuusalu kirikut ja Ilumäe kabelit, Vanapere külamuuseumi ja Palmse mõisat, loodust sai nautida Viru rabas ning Nõmmeveski kanjonis.

Uued väljaanded

Leichteri päeval esitletud aastaraamatu Res Musica 9. number (ilmus 2017) on pühendatud muusikateadlasele professor Urve Lippusele, kes ootamatult ja traagiliselt lahkus meie hulgast 2015. aastal. Koostaja Jaan Ross on kogunud aastaraamatusse peamiselt 2016. aasta Tartu päeva ettekanded, mis olid pühendatud Urve Lippusele, kes oli ühtlasi eelmine Res Musica peatoimetaja. Kaante vahele said artiklid järgmistelt autoritelt: Brigitta Davidjants, Mart Humal, Janika Oras, Helena Tyrväinen, Mimi S. Daitz, Anu Kõlar, Mark Lawrence, Andreas Waczkat ja Jaan Ross. Arvustamisel on 9. numbris viis raamatut, sh. 2016. aasta väitekirjad: Aare Tooli „Piiratud transponeeritavusega heliread ja vorm Eduard Oja muusikas", Brigitta Davidjantsi „Armenian national identity construction: from diaspora to music" („Armeenia rahvusliku identiteedi konstrueerimine: diasporaast muusikani") ja Heidi Heinmaa „Muusikaelu Tallinnas 18. sajandil".

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Muusikateaduslikud väljaanded on müügil EMTA välissuhete osakonnas. Res Musica numbreid saab tellida veel nii Res Musica kodulehelt kui ka saates meili aadressil resmusica@ema.edu.com.

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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 aastaaruannetest.

AUTORID / AUTHORS

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ANDREAS KALKUN (PhD) defended his doctoral thesis *The Seto singing tradition in Estonian folklore studies: supplements to the representation history* in 2011 at the University of Tartu and has been working as a researcher at the Department of Ethnomusicology (2005–2006) of the Estonian Literary Museum and at the Estonian Folklore Archives (1999–2004; 2008 onwards). Andreas Kalkun has explored issues in the field of the history of Estonian folklore studies, focusing on the problems of representations of the Seto and their folklore.
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