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For this brief consideration of the present state of Baltic musicology, I have chosen to focus upon two problems, both of which are equally loaded and, in fact, interrelated. The first: how has Baltic musicology reflected upon the history of the dramatic events of the twentieth century – namely, World War II and the ensuing occupations? And second: has Baltic musicology found ways and means of disclosing the semantics of the music created during the critical periods of region's two great catastrophes, the fascist and communist dictatorships? In other words, how has musicological scholarship examined the responses of music and musicians to the totalitarian systems of the twentieth century?

For this investigation, I determined to begin by looking at the obvious *carte de visite* for Baltic musicology: the relevant entries in our three best and most recent encyclopedias, *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart* (*MGG*, Finscher 1994–96); the *Garland Encyclopedia of World Music* (Rice *et al.* 2000); and the second edition of the *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (*NG*, Sadie 2001). All of these encyclopedias were published since the Baltic states regained their independence in 1991. (The relevant articles and their authors are listed in Table 1.)

My first question can be partially answered on the basis of a simple quantitative analysis – by observing the length of the text related to the relevant period of Soviet and fascist occupation in each encyclopedia entry. The result will undoubtedly show

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the extent of the importance that the editor (or the author) has attached to this subject. The results, shown in Table 2, illustrate the situation quite powerfully.

As we can see, coverage of the period of fascist German occupation is completely absent from four entries out of nine, and it is scarcely mentioned in the remaining five. From the Estonian entry in *MGG*, we learn that 'during World War Two and the German occupation (1941–44) there was a reduction in the number of choirs, though symphony concerts and opera performances continued' (*MGG*, ii, p. 215). Some additional information is provided in *NG* on the Estonian Radio Orchestra, which reportedly achieved 'particularly high standards during World War II under Olav Roots . . .' (*NG*, viii, p. 341). In Latvia, the negative impact of World War II is reduced simply to the 'Zerspaltung der Gesellschaft – Flucht nach Westen, Deportation nach Osten' 'splintering of society-flight to the West, deportation to the East' (*MGG*, viii, p. 1108). As for Lithuania, the only clearly reported result of the German occupation was the closure of the Kaunas Conservatory (*MGG*, v, p. 1379).

Is this really all there is to say about the tragic events of fascist German occupation during the Second World War? The physical and mental suffering of musicians,

TABLE 1 Coverage of the Baltic states in *MGG*, *Garland*, and *NG*: entries and authors

Reference literature
Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart (MGG), ed. L. Finscher (Kassel, Bärenreiter, 1994–96).
The Garland Encyclopedia of World Music, Vol. 8, *Europe (Garland)*, ed. T. Rice *et al.* (New York and London, Garland, 2000).
The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians, 2d ed. *(NG)*, ed. S. Sadie (London, Macmillan, 2001).

Coverage of Lithuania
MGG: J. Antanavičius, 'Litauen', v, cols 1374–81.
Garland: C. Goertyen, 'Lithuania', pp. 509–15.
NG: J. Antanavičius and J. Čiurlionyte, 'Lithuania', xiv, pp. 887–92.
NG: J. Antanavičius, 'Vilnius', xxvi, pp. 641–2.

Coverage of Latvia
MGG: J. Torgāns and M. Boiko, 'Lettland', v, cols 1101–10.
MGG: J. Torgāns, 'Riga', viii, cols 331–3.
GE: V. Muktupāvels, 'Latvia', pp. 499–508.
NG: J. Braun*, A. Klotiņš and M. Boiko, 'Latvia', xiv, pp. 358–64.
NG: J. Braun* and A. Klotiņš, 'Riga', xxi, pp. 376–7.

Coverage of Estonia
MGG: I. Rüütel, E. Völker and L. Normet, 'Estland', iii, cols 172–83.
MGG: M. Pärtlas and K. Leichter, 'Tallinn', ix, cols 213–17.
Garland: J. Tall, 'Estonia', pp. 491–8.
NG: U. Lippus and I. Rüütel, 'Estonia', viii, pp. 340–7.
NG: U. Lippus, 'Tallinn', xxv, pp. 34–6.

*My name appeared under the entries 'Latvia' and 'Riga' without my knowledge or consent, apparently because those entries partly reproduce the text originally published in the first (1980) edition of *NG*, which was authored in part by myself. The fact that an encyclopedia as prestigious as *NG* reprinted material over 20 years old in this instance – especially pertaining to a geographical region dramatically transformed during those same 20 years – is, to say the least, remarkable. This, however, must remain a topic for future discussion.

deportations to concentration camps, the expropriation of musical instruments and the domiciles of musical institutions – none of it is mentioned. Indeed, entire fields of musical activity were annihilated during the war years; for example, the violin classes created at the Latvian Conservatory by Professor Adolph Metz, a pupil of Auer, who was invited to the Conservatory by Jāzeps Vītols in 1922, were abruptly terminated with the killing of Metz in 1943 (Gaunt *et al.* 2004, pp. 425–6). There was rude and vulgar censorship imposed upon music reviewers; as Vizbulīte Bērziņa reports in her monograph on the ethnomusicologist and composer Jekabs Graubiņš, music reviewers were 'not even allowed to call this country Latvia; forbidden was any reminder of the independence period' (Bērziņa 2006, p. 185; a study probably on par with the *chef-d'oeuvre* of Reinhard Kaiser 2004). And a great deal of music was banned by authorities; for example, the famous song *Lauztās priedes* by Emīls Dārziņš and many other songs by both Dārziņš and Vītols (Bērziņa 2006, pp. 180–97). But unfortunately, Baltic musicology has, by and large, not found it worthwhile to deal with the musical culture of this tragic period. This lack of attention to musical life during the years of fascist German occupation is, in my opinion, a striking lacuna in Baltic historical musicology of the 1990s and 2000s.

On the first Soviet year (1940–41) there is likewise hardly any information at all, except for an acknowledgement of the bare fact of Soviet occupation and the deportations that followed. Only a few words are dedicated to music *per se*. This was, however, a most tragic year, which rendered Baltic music lifeless for many years to come, and which shocked the local musical community through the sophisticated and brutal involvement of Soviet authorities in all aspects of musical life. The beginnings of inside conflicts between professional musicians (only now being reported in Bērziņa 2006) occurred during this time and ultimately led to the division of the

TABLE 2 Coverage of the Baltic states in *MGG*, *Garland*, and *NG*: amount of text devoted to Soviet and fascist German occupations

			Length of text concerning relevant period (in lines and %)	
			Fascist German occupation (1941–1944)	Soviet occupation (1940–1941, 1945–1991)
Entry	Source	Length of entry (in lines)	Lines (%)	Lines (%)
Lithuania	*MGG*	504	1 (0.2)	82 (16.1)
	Garland	486	0 (0.0)	40 (8.2)
	NG	614	1 (0.2)	66 (10.7)
Latvia	*MGG*	630	4 (0.6)	106 (17.8)
	Garland	601	0 (0.0)	28 (4.6)
	NG	810	0 (0.0)	49 (6.0)
Estonia	*MGG*	735	4 (0.5)	108 (14.6)
	Garland	702	0 (0.0)	22 (3.1)
	NG	936	2 (0.2)	27 (2.8)

musical community into groups of active collaborators, inert professionals, and more or less latent oppositionists. This was the beginning of later developments of the type described, for example, by Kevin C. Karnes in his work on Soviet Latvian music historiography (Karnes 2007). Moreover, during the years of Soviet occupation, some musical and musicological activities took place amidst the Baltic musical communities living in exile in the West. There is, however, no mention of this fact in our three encyclopedias.

We may now turn to our second question: namely, how have Baltic musicologists of the post-Soviet period dealt with the interpretation of music created under conditions of totalitarian censorship, and how have they sought to disclose the semantics of this music? Surprisingly enough, in those discussions of the period of Soviet occupation, which lasted nearly half a century, this subject is barely touched upon in our three encyclopedias. Here we would expect to find a relevant critical music historiography and a more or less analytical account of the ways in which intellectuals, in this case musicians and musicologists, responded creatively to the totalitarian ideological pressures and censorship under which they worked. Instead, what we have in our core reference works is an enumeration of composers active and institutions established during this period. This is quite clearly a reflection of the present state of Baltic musicology, where in fact we can hardly find – with only handful of exceptions – examples of the tragic predicament into which musicologists and musicians were placed during the years of Soviet rule. (Three of the rare exceptions are Bērziņa's work on Graubiņš [Bērziņš 2006], Urve's Lippus' splendid essay on Gustav Ernesaks [Lippus 2005], and Rūta Stanevičiūtė-Goštautienė's work on the musicologists V. Landsbergis and J. Ambrazas [Stanevičiūtė-Goštatienė 2007]). This is an extensive field of research, demanding an individual approach in every case, especially considering the various ways in which every musician or scholar was compelled to reckon with his or her conscience.

If some latent or open critical dissent has been noted in the musics of this time, then, in the cases of Latvia and Lithuania, it has been attributed to folk musics only. The Estonian entries in *MGG* and *NG* are the only ones to mention nonconformity in art music, but here too such nonconformity is mentioned only in the most vague and general way. On the whole, this presents, to my mind, a misleading picture of the state of the musical art during this period, and a substantial failure of recent Baltic musicology.

In this respect, considering what *MGG* and *NG* seem to regard as the exclusive domain of 'folk music', I would like to quote from one of my own forthcoming papers on European identity, which I recently delivered at the Malta conference on National Identity (Braun 2006):

> The very concept of dividing 'world music' into vernacular music (recently renamed Traditional Music) and art music (this form of elite audio art, now renamed Western Music), should be abandoned, or at least reconsidered. It is my opinion that European art music has penetrated the European imagination and imbued the people of the Western world to such extent that we have a right

> to define European art music as a traditional music of Europeans, as a music of European identity.

I believe it is this division of the field of music into 'Traditional Music' and 'Western Music' that has resulted in the flawed methodology and consequently wrong evaluation of twentieth-century Baltic musical culture that we find so glaringly exhibited in our core encyclopedic reference works. This division ignores the eruption of professional music during the period of Soviet occupation, the latent non-conformism and dissent in that music, and the language of double meaning that, I would venture to say, saturated Baltic art music from the early 1960s onwards, perhaps more than any other European regional music. Marģeris Zariņš and Pauls Dambis, Arvo Pärt and Veljo Tormis, Osvaldas Balakauskas, Bronius Kutavičius, and many others exploited a kind of Aesopian musical language, be it in Baroque or Far Eastern stylizations, by using Latin titles or ancient folklore materials, or by employing modern compositional techniques.

An example of a latent language in Baltic music appeared as early as 1949. It was *Variations on a Theme by Jāzeps Vītols* for organ by Alfrēds Kalniņš (1979–1951), and I would even venture to argue that this was the first post-World War II attempt at a concealed work of art of protest and despair. The piece was first performed in 1951. It is enough to mention that the theme used by Kalniņš was one of the most beautiful and popular chorales written by Vītols; that the performance of a liturgical chorale in itself in the Soviet Union at that time has to be considered an act of non-conformism; that the variations culminate with a funeral march; and that neither local musicologists nor listeners nor the press took note of these facts. All these things allow us to assert that this composition was an artwork of dissent (Braun 1982). A different and more courageous form of latent protest began in the early 1960s with Marģeris Zariņš (1910–1993), who used generally permitted musical Baroque forms mixed with modern jazz (*Suite in the Baroque Style for 16 Instruments and Mezzo Soprano*, 1964), and who went on, in 1979, to explain his intentions overtly (Zariņš 1979). At the same time (the 1960s), other means of expressing nonconformity are employed in Estonia, when Edgar Arro (1911–1978) and Arvo Pärt (b. 1935) began giving their works Latin titles, which were widely considered strange and even dissident in Soviet culture but were nonetheless tolerated. Musical elements from East Asia also provided a vehicle for Baltic composers to express latent dissident sympathies through their works. The setting of Japanese Zen-Buddhist, polysemantic *haiku* became popular in vocal works of the 1960s (among the first were by Zariņš and the Estonian Kuldar Sink, 1942–1995). This influence derived from Daisetz Teitaro Suzuki's notion of 'remaining silent when feelings reach their highest pitch because no words are adequate' (Normet 1979), and reached its musical peak in Pärt's *Tabula Rasa* (1977) for two violins, chamber orchestra, and prepared piano.

The most important and influential style of this period was the 'New Folklore Wave', first discussed in the late 1960s by Michael Tarakanov (1968). Works associated with this 'wave' made extensive use of folkloric elements – a resource use that was officially accepted and even embraced by Communist Party politics and thus immune from official criticism. To be sure, musical works making use of such

materials did not necessarily embody a character of resistance. But the most influential and significant works along these lines not only took full advantage of the essential ambiguity of folk texts but also turned to the most ancient layers of national mythology and history for its materials. This not only broadened the ideological meaning of works significantly but also allowed for a much broader use of modern, avant-garde means of musical expression that imitated ancient music. The first example of this movement in the post-war Soviet Union may be Dmitri Shostakovich's vocal cycle *From Jewish Folk Poetry* (1948; see Braun 1985). It was, however the great work by Krzysztof Penderecki (b. 1933) entitled *Threnody of the Victims of Hiroshima* (1960) for 52 string instruments that inspired many other composers living under Soviet occupation to voice their own dissent in their music. Penderecki himself was not clear about his intentions in this composition, which was originally titled *8'37"* and only later dedicated to the victims of Hiroshima. In his later comments on this and other works, the composer asserted (as formulated by Regina Chlopicka) that his music was a 'response of the independent artist towards a totalitarian system that was based on deceit and that questioned the system of religious and humanistic values established in Polish national tradition' (Chlopicka 2004). Penderecki described his own music mostly in somewhat ambiguous terms, claiming that art and music can transform the world. On his compositions of the 1980s such as the *St. Luke Passion*, *Paradise Lost*, *Polish Requiem*, *The Seven Gates of Jerusalem* and *Credo*, he wrote: 'This was not really political music that I was writing, but it was music that was appropriate to the time during which we were living in Poland' (Pendercki 1998, p. 85; cited in Chlopicka 2003, p. 288).

Whatever Penderecki meant with his remarks, it was his music and art that inspired many Baltic composers to aesthetic resistance. The first performance in Riga (1964) of Penderecki's *Threnody of the Victims of Hiroshima*, which clearly caused a sensation, was a starting point for a new approach to composition that combined modern means of musical expression with national, historical, and mythological themes. The first to respond to these ideas were the Latvian Pauls Dambis (b. 1936), with his lyrical and nostalgic *Sea Songs* (1971) on folk texts; Veljo Tormis (b. 1930), with the violent *Incantation of Iron* (1972); and Bronius Kutavičius (b. 1932), with his *Druzkian Variations* (1978). The most significant examples of such music, laden with semantic meaning, was probably Tormis' *Incantation of Iron* for chorus, tenor solo, baritone solo, and shaman drum, setting texts from the Estonian epic *Kalevipoeg* as completed by the contemporary Estonian poets August Annis, Paul-Erik Rummo and Jaan Kaplinski. This composition brought into Soviet concert halls the intemperate, untamed, ecstatic elemental force of pagan folk-rites fused with modern Estonian poetry, which projected the entire work into the reality of the present. The constant drone of the shaman drum and the tenor voice restricted to a third, both symbolizing the ancient national folk-ethos, juxtaposed with the hyper-modern clusters and incessant glissandi in the chorus, made clear the ideological nature of the work.

To be sure, it would be wrong to assert that the younger generation of Baltic composers and musicologists has been completely blind to this rich and meaningful voice of their teachers and mentors. Indeed, this subject has been taken up by some in the recent centennial tribute to the Soviet Latvian composer Jānis Ivanovs (1906–1983), a person of great intellect and philosophical thinking who wrote some ten

works with Latin titles. Two leading personalities in Latvia's contemporary musical life, Juris Kalsons and Georgs Pelēcis, both of whom were students of Ivanovs, have recently suggested that Ivanovs' symphonies may be divided into several groups, one of which consists of 'protest' works (Pelēcis, cited in Znotiņš 2006, p. 7). Their teacher is quoted as follows: 'In the world there are great regularities which we can not grasp' (Karlsons, cited in Znotiņš 2006, p. 7).

To disclose the above mentioned methods of composition – to evince or at least to acknowledge the existence of such methods, to reveal the often hidden meanings of Baltic musics with reference to one or two examples – should, I believe, be expected from the defining reference literature of the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries. A study of this phenomenon would surely help us to draw a new and more accurate picture of Baltic musical life from 1940 through the 1990s. The correction of this situation with respect to an area of such turbulent socio-political events as the Baltic is an urgent task of modern musicology.

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