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VISUAL ART

Churches – Building Dominances of the Duchy of Courland and Semigallia Urban Centres in the 17th Century

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Abstract

The dominance of building spatial composition in the Courland Bishopric and the Livonian Order cities such as *Golding* (modern Kuldīga), *Hasenpot* (modern Aizpute), *Windaw* (modern Ventspils) and *Pilten* (modern Piltene) was a fortress with a chapel or Bishops' Association building. Reformation promoted the appearance of new building types. Lutheranism was manifested as the official religion in the Duchy of Courland and Semigallia. Understanding of the city architectonic spatial planning changed – construction of centres was formed around the church.

Key words: Building Composition, Dominance, Church, City Planning.

Introduction

Each city is unique: its planning and architecture includes information about numerous significant processes in the past. The architectonic spatial environment of Courland and Semigallia cities has been formed during the time of many generations, and therefore the regional architecture has obtained new characteristic features of each historic period. The landscape of Courland and Semigallia urban centres since the end of the 16th century cannot be imagined without the architectonic dominance – the church which organizes the urban space.

The 17th century planning and construction of Courland and Semigallia cities have been analysed by architects Rita Zandberga, Irēna Bākule, Jurijs Vasiļjevs, Gunārs Jansons, Ziedonis Bēts, Vita Rinkeviča, Inga Dimbira, Ilmārs Dirveiks, as well as historians Agris Dzenis, Agrita Ozola, Andrejs Dābols, art historians Elita Grosmane and Ojārs Spārītis, artist Imants Lancmanis.

Research topicality: in the market economic conditions due to the development proposals there takes place the architectonic spatial environmental transformation of Courland and

Semigallia cities, created during many centuries. Therefore the study of the historic planning and construction becomes topical in order to preserve the architectural and cultural values.

Research goal: to analyse the development of the Duchy of Courland and Semigallia city planning in the 17th century and to determine the significance of the church as the architectural dominance in urban centres.

Research assignment: to study the spatial composition, formation and development of functional and artistic solutions of the Duchy of Courland and Semigallia urban centres building.

Research methods: photo fixations, cartographic and graphic materials have been used for the analysis of urban centres building and design composition; also the layouts of the Baltic Sea coastal cities in the corresponding epoch have been compared.

Trade Cities in Europe during the 12th and 13th Century

Craft boom and processing of agricultural products in the middle of the 12th century promoted the appearance of sales outlets in the countries on the coast of the Baltic Sea. Trade cities were founded and building sites were divided into parcels of land. A “stretched” market place was left in the central part on pieces of the land, creating the layout that had already been made in Jerusalem.



Figure 1. *Lübeck* reconstruction plan at the end of the 12th century (Heinrici Chronicon 1993: 407).

German merchants conquered the Western-Slavonic land by the *Trave* River. In 1143 the first port for an active trade was used. Crusaders later on set off on their journeys to lands ruled by the Baltic Tribes. Between *Trave* and *Wakenit* Rivers on strategically significant peninsula Duke of Saxony *Heinrich der Löve* (round 1129–1195) built fortifications and in 1158/1159 founded *Lübeck* (Figure 1), whose northern part of the planning was made by the castle (round 1147) and suburb. The central part between St. Mary’s Cathedral (*St. Marien zu Lübeck, Marienkirche*, 1250–1350) and St. Peter’s Church (*Petrikirche*, 1170), where the Market Square and German merchants’ houses were placed, obtained the *Lübisches Stadrecht* and constitution. The southern part of *Lübeck* territory together with the Dome Cathedral (*Dom zu Lübeck*, 1173–1230) belonged to the Bishop and Bishop’s Association.

With the foundation of *Lübeck* German merchants began to expand their interest sphere in the Baltic. Good relations were established between *Lübeck* and Gotland. German merchants settled in Visby,

which became the only trading place on the island with the privilege of trading with German cities, and hence the main centre of the Hanseatic League or Union of the Baltic Seashore Trade Cities. In 1161 Visby obtained the city rights.

In conquered Western-Slavonic countries Magdeburg became a significant trade centre and the Bishop's residence, which in 1188 was awarded the city privilege – *Privileg des Herzbischofs Wichmann für die Stadt Magdeburg mit dem ersten Stadtrecht* by the archbishop *Wichmann von Seeburg-Querfurt* (round 1116–1192). *Magdeburger Recht* included the rules of the land management and expansion, also the order of succession. The city territory was divided into plots which were given to the inhabitants to build houses and make gardens. Plots were fenced.

Trading took place between the Western and Eastern countries in the 12th and 13th centuries. A land highway was made and fortified cities were built near it. In Dresden (1206), surrounded by fortifications, the traffic road became the main street which crossed another highway in a right angle in the city centre. In the cross-shaped junction the Market Square was made and the Town Hall was erected. The city territory, divided into four parts, obtained a regular layout. The Cathedral Square with the largest church in Saxony – the Church of the Holy Cross (*Kreuzkirche*) – joined the Market Square. The city layout was made similar to the old Jerusalem (Figure 2), which symbolized affiliation to the Christian World. The city layout scheme was functionally justified. However, it was not given the determinative significance: local craftsmen and merchants' interests were the priority.

Rottweil by the *Neckar* River building plan was determined by Italian and Northern-German trade crossroad, but the tracks of the ancient transit roads in England influenced the composition of *Brighthstowe* layout (Figure 3). Building plans of medieval urban centres were very diverse. However, architectonic spatial compositions obtained a common feature – dominance. The whole area of the land was given for church building, leaving a little space in front of the building.

In the beginning of the 9th century Hamburg – a free city (*Freie Reichsstadt*) in the Holy Roman Empire – was made on an island near the mouth of the Elba River. In 834 the bishopric was founded and *Saint Ansgar* (801–865) became its first Bishop. In 847 the Hamburg-Bremen Bishopric was formed. Hamburg became a city-state. An irregular building plan on islands in the 13th century created agglomeration (Figure 4). Trade cities Hamburg and *Lübeck* in 1241 made a union, thus creating preconditions for the Hanseatic League formation.



Figure 2. Layout of *Jerusalem*. Round 1200 (National Library of the Netherlands).

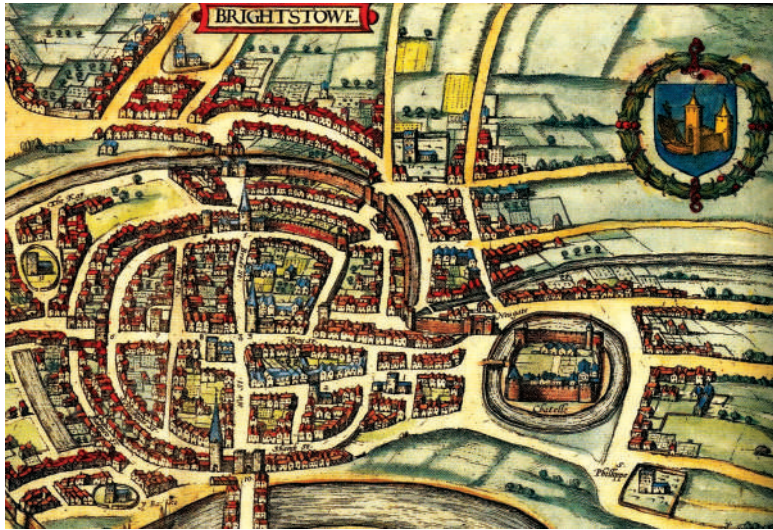


Figure 3. Layout of *Brighthelmston* City centre building in England, 1568 (Braun, Hogenberg 2008: 204).



Figure 4. Hamburg reconstruction plan, 1250 (<http://www.diercke.de/kartenansicht>).

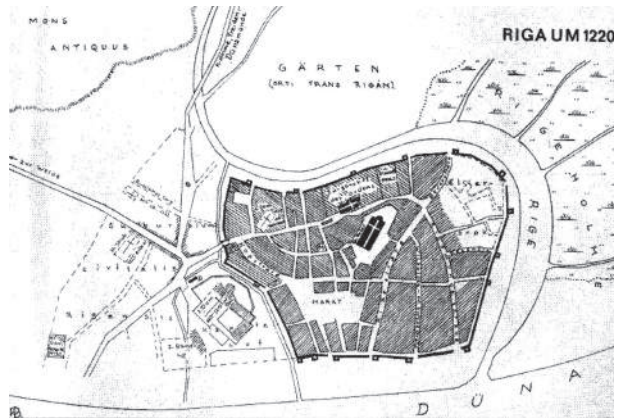


Figure 5. *Rīga* building plan round 1220. Reconstruction author *F. Benninghofens* (Holcmanis 1992: 17).

A Trade Harbour was made in the low reaches of the *Düna* River (Latvian: *Daugava*), but the peninsula became a convenient place for settlements whose planning in an ethnically mixed environment (Liivs, Curonians, Vendi, Semigallians) was made by villages and dense construction. Culture historian Jānis Straubergs (1886–1952) has shown a German settlement in Riga construction with an irregular form aligned the peninsula configuration. Architect, art historian Johann Wilhelm Carl Neumann (1849–1919) thought the territory of fortified German settlements had formed a semicircle whose back clang to the *Rige* River (Latvian: *Rīdzene*). After craftsmen and merchants' arrival populated territory increased. Local population settlement was also included in common fortification system (Figure 5). A defence wall surrounded irregularly shaped city territory (Holcmanis 1992: 16–18).

Riga became the main fortified military economic base for German expansion in the Baltic due to German city building traditions in the beginning of the 13th century. A four-metre wide street was made from the square in the Old City (German: *Altstadt*) to waterfront. The second main street was parallel the *Rige* River and another street branched from it. Densely placed residential buildings with extensions shaped building of blocks, but without a yard, as well as small estates where between residential and household buildings there was a yard. Buildings were placed in a line one next to the other. The wooden paving clang to back walls of houses whose width depended on the distance between rows of buildings placed on the opposite side. If a residential building was placed on a corner of a block, then the entrance was made from the main street, but for an auxiliary building – from a bystreet. Borders of plots were preserved after fires, but building of blocks was restored in compliance with the previous planning.

In 1293 Riga building regulations were made in order to diminish fires and eliminate contradictions in building. In the Baltic Region cities erecting of wooden houses were restricted, and stone buildings started to appear: fachwerk houses, built in the Central Europe in the 12th and 13th century, were considered as fire resistant. Using Visby rights, in the 13th century Riga rights were made, according to the sample of German cities. The charter borrowed from Gotland (*iura Gottlandiae*) was redone. Hamburg rights (1294–1297) were used in addition to the source, in which family inheritance rights and regulations for dealing with the plots were included.

Teutonic Order Cities and Administratively Political Centres

The German or St. Mary's Teutonic Order occupied lands and founded cities: it was planned to make *Kulm/Culm* (modern *Chełmno*) as the capital city, which on December 28th of 1233, obtained the city rights known as "Kulm law" (renewed in 1251) – an adjusted form of *Magdeburger Recht*. However, Marienburg (modern *Malbork*) obtained the status of capital city. *Kulm*, whose planning of construction was made regular (Figure 6), became the first city of the Teutonic Order. In the central part of the Old City a rectangular design Market Square was made and the Town Hall was erected on it (since the 13th c.). Near the Market Square the Assumption of the Church of the Most Holy Virgin Mary (Polish: *kościół Wniebowzięcia Najświętszej Maryi Panny*, 1280–1320), former main parochial church of the town, the Church of Saints Peter and Paul (Polish: *podominikański kościół*

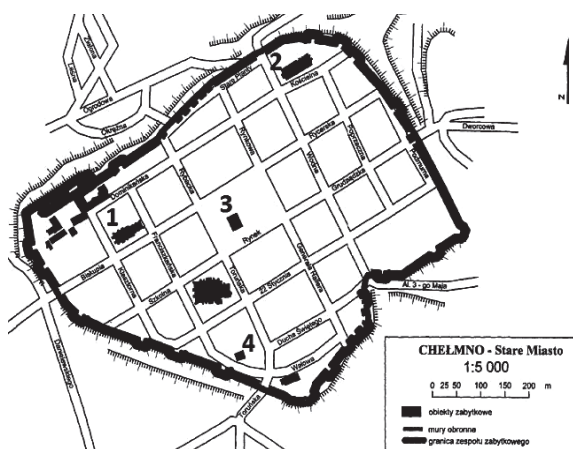


Figure 6. Layout of *Kulm* Old City (1233): 1 – St. Jacob and St. Nicholas’ Church, 2 – St. Peter and Paul’s Dominican Church, 3 – Town Hall, 4 – St. Martin’s Church and in the corner of the Town Square – the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary Church (http://pl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Plik:Chelmn_Stare_Miasto-mapa.jpg).

burg, another trading city that controlled access to salt-trade routes from *Lüneburg*.

In the German Order-State a large *Elbing* (modern *Elbląg*) Port was created. In 1238 the Dominican Order was invited in building a monastery (*Dominikanerkloster*) on a grant of land. Pomesania was not secured, however, from 1240–1242 the order began building a brick castle on the south side of the settlement. St. Mary’s Church (Polish: *kościół Mariacki, Marienkirche*) was built in the 14th century. St. Nicholas Cathedral (Polish: *kościół katedralny św. Mikołaja*, 1240–1260, completed 1247) building was started. The Old City (Polish: *Stare Miasto*, 1237–1246) was granted a constitution (1246) under *Lübeck* rights. Except for the citadel and churches, *Elbing* at the time was more of a small village by modern standards. It featured a wharf, a marketplace and five streets, as well as a number of churches. In 1251 the castle was completed. In 1288 fire destroyed the entire settlement except for churches, which were of brick. A new circuit wall was started immediately. From 1315 to 1340 *Elbing* was rebuilt. The Market Gate Tower (Polish: *Brama Targowa*, 1319) for the entrance into the city was erected.

A separate settlement called the New City (German: *Neustadt*, Polish: *Nowe Miasto Elbing*, 1337–1347) (Figure 7) was founded in 1337 and in 1347 *Lübeck* rights was received. In 1349 the Black Death struck the city, toward the end of the European plague. After population recovered it continued building up the city and in 1364 a crane was erected for the port.

Hereafter it was not allowed to build new settlements in the Order-State, therefore *Lübeck* rights was granted only in *Braunsberg* (1284) and *Frauenburg* (1310) in Warmia or Ermland Bishopric (*Pruss Eylau bishopric*), which were not directly under the German Order control.

św. ap. Piotra i Pawła, 13th c.), former Dominican church, and the Church of St. Jacob and St. Nicholas (Polish: *kościół św. Jakuba i św. Mikołaja*, 1326), former Franciscan church, were built. The Church of Saints John the Baptist and Johns the Evangelist (Polish: *kościół św. Jana Chrzciciela i Ewangelisty*), former Benedictine and Cistercian nuns’ church, with monastery, built in 1290–1330, was situated at the beginning of *Dominińska* Street next to fortifications (13th–15th c.). Further down towards the west the Church of Saint Martin was erected.

In 1241, *Lübeck*, which had access to the Baltic and North Sea fishing grounds, formed alliance – a precursor of the League – with Ham-

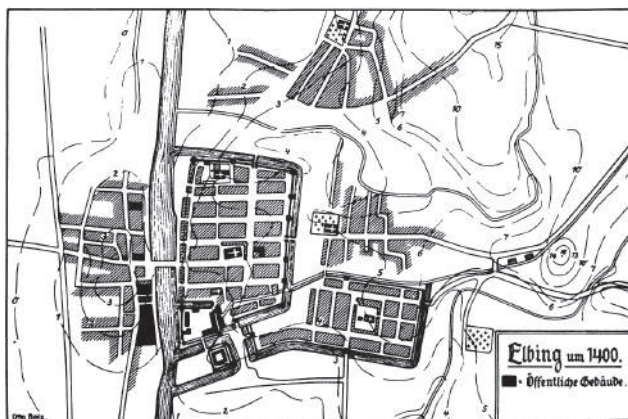


Figure 7. Planning of *Elbing* (1246) round 1400 (Kranz-Domasłowska 2013).

On the right bank of the *Pregel* River on a fifteen-metre high hill instead of the burnt Old Prussian wooden castle *Twangste* (Prussian word *twinksta* – a pond made by a dam) the German Order started to build a wooden fortification on September 1st of 1255, and named it “King’s Castle” (*Kunigisberc*). On the north-west side of the *Königsberg* Castle merchants from *Lübeck* made a regularly planned settlement (Strakauskaitė 2005: 151), which was mentioned in documents for the first time on June 29th of 1256. On the south side of the *Königsberg* Castle a wooden Catholic chapel of Saint Nicholas (*Niclas*) was built (first documented in 1256). The Old City was made. In 1260 the great Prussian rebellion started in Prussia and the construction of new fortifications became topical.

In 1261 the construction of *Königsberg* wooden fortress for the waterway surveillance was completed. However, a year ago the construction of the freestanding square plan stone tower was started (1260). The north part of the *Königsberg* Castle (Figure 8) was made in stone (1278–1292) and it obtained the *Haber* Tower (demolished in 1941–1945 during the war). Next to the fortress the Lower Pond was made. In 1270 twenty metres above the *Pregel* River level the Upper Pond (*Schlossteich*) was made for fish farming. The ditch around the fortifications was deepened and filled up with water. On January, 1286 the Old City obtained *Kulm* rights. In 1297 construction of the cathedral was started, but in 1302 it was interrupted. The second watermill (1299) was built near the fortress. In 1339 the Old City was admitted in the Hanseatic League.

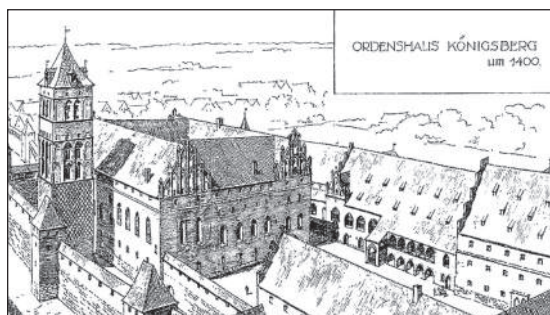


Figure 8. Overview of *Königsberg* Fortress round 1400 (<http://www.historycy.org/index.php?showtopic=58771&mode=threaded&pid=604725>).

Beside the Old City, but towards the east of the fortress on the opposite bank of the *Lebe* Spring, where linden trees were growing, the New City (*Nowe Miasto Królewiec*) was formed, and craftsmen, merchants and knights lived in it. The place by the *Lebe* Spring later was named *Löbenicht* (the name comes from the Prussian word *Lypenikai*, also *Lypnik*). In 1300 the fortress management *Berthold Brühaven* awarded the new settlement *Kulm* rights. In the eastern part of *Löbenicht* a Roman Catholic Church known as “*St. Barbara auf dem Berge*” was built from 1334 to 1352 and then expanded in 1474. In 1349 Grand Master of the German Order (1345–1351) *Heinrich Dusemer von Arfberg* founded the Mary’s Convent (destroyed during World War II). A wooden bridge was built over the river (Strakauskaitė 2005: 153).

Two branches of the *Pregel* River not far from the fortress made an island – the word *knypava* – meeting from the Prussian language was used for its name. Merchants and craftsmen on the island made the third city – *Kneiphof* (*Knipawe*, *Kneiphof*) and in 1327 it was granted *Kulm* rights. On September 13th of 1333, the construction of the Dome Cathedral (*der Thum*) was started (the building was destroyed on April, 1945). On the island six main streets and several smaller ones were formed, and the Old City by the fortress was linked with six bridges: *Schmit Pruck* (1397), *Holtz Pruck* (1404), *Thurm Pruck*, *Ruttel Pruck*, *Langgasten Pruck*, *Kruner Pruck*. Each bridge had a gate with a tower. Each city had its municipality, Town Hall, court institution, round stamp, church and marketplace. *Kneiphof* (destroyed on August, 1944) and *Löbenicht* became members of the Hanseatic League. Wooden fortification walls were built around cities (1355–1370).



Figure 9. Layout of Königsberg: Altstadt (1286), Löbenicht (1300) and Kneiphof (1327) (Wünsch 1960: 100).

Free citizens, living outside *Löbenicht* and *Kneiphof* fortifications of the Old City, founded associations of people’s communities based on their territorial, religious and crafts affiliations. Suburbs appeared. In 1300 instead of Old Prussian village northwards from the fortress, German colonists formed the *Traghaim* Association, north-eastwards the *Roßgarten* Association, but southwards and south-eastwards – *Sacheim* Society. Officials and craftsmen made the *Burg* Association northwards from the fortress, from which the *Neusorge* Association was made westwards. *Königsberg* (also *Friedrichshof*) construction planning developed as the Medieval Ages agglomeration (Figure 9).

In 1312 in the *Königsberg* Castle a reception room, seven-metre high and one-and-a-half-metre thick fortification walls and towers were built. On the west side of the Old City one of

the six defence wall towers was the Yellow Tower (middle of the 14th c.). *Königsberg* fortress reconstruction was started (1511). Grand Master (1510–1527) *Albrecht Hohenzollern* (1490–1568) confirmed the Maritime Trade Law (1518) for *Königsberg*. A fortified construction complex was created: functionally different buildings covered a wide rectangular yard (Figure 10), in which there was a regular planning Convent building with atrium and freestanding tower – the architectonic dominance of the complex. The atrium of Convent building was not mutually connected with the wide yard of the complex. The Convent building was pulled down and the wide yard territory was surrounded by functionally different buildings. Around 1560 the fortified construction complex reminded of a castellum type building.

The Teutonic Order by the *Nogata* River built Convent building – regular planning Meeting or the Upper Castle (1286). The power centre *Marienburg* was created, which obtained the City Charter (1286). *Marienburg* was declared the capital (1309) in the Teutonic Order-State. The Upper Castle (*Vorschloss*), the Middle Castle (*Mittel-Schloss*, after 1310) with a yard – the administrative centre (Figure 11) – and the Lower Castle formed a fortified complex. The Convent building's atrium was connected with the Middle Castle trapezoidal yard surrounded by blocks and reminded of a wide Order Castellum building. The front of the fortified complex became the economic base. Grand Master of the Order *Siegfried von Feuchtwangen* (?–1311) moved the residence from *Venice* to the *Marienburg* Castle.

Erecting of the main tower was started under control of Grand Master of the Teutonic Knights (1335–1341) *Dietrich von Altenburg* (?–1341). The Church of St. Mary (*Sankt Marien-Kirche*, 1344) was reconstructed and the Chapel of St. Anne (*Sankt Annenkapelle*, 1331–1344) came under its umbrella. During the Teutonic Order Great Master's *Conrad Zöllner von Rothenstein* reign (1382–

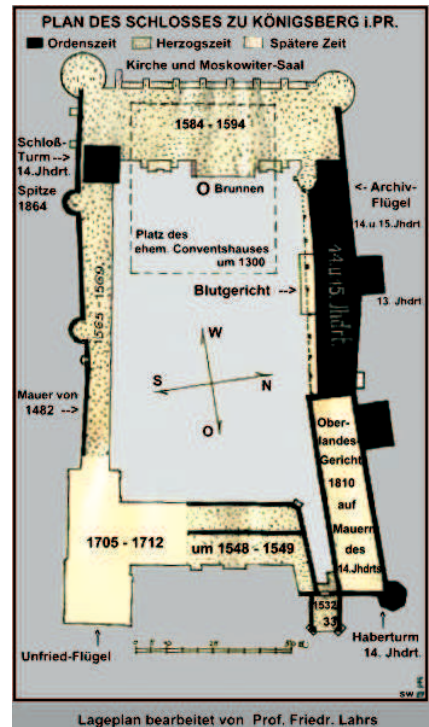


Figure 10. Plan of *Königsberg* fortified building complex (http://www.stefanwinkler.de/hm/koenigsberg_shloss.php).

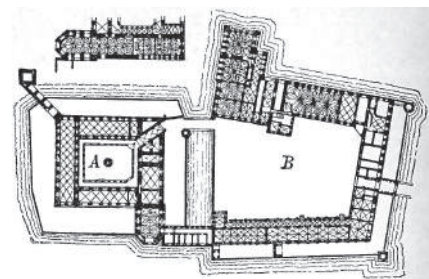


Figure 11. *Marienburg* fortified construction complex: A – the Upper Castle (convent, 1286), B – Middle Castle (administrative centre, 1310). 13th and 14th c. (http://pl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Zamek_w_Malborku).

1390) the construction of four-storey castle (1382–1399) was started. Marienburg fortified complex was embraced by the *Juranda* Canal, which was linked with the *Nogat* River. The Bridge Gate and a bridge over the *Nogat* River were built opposite the Upper Castle (round 1450). Poland obtained the Marienburg Castle (Figure 12) in 1457.



Figure 12. Marienburg Castle (1286): the Upper Castle (convent, 1286), the Middle Castle (administrative centre, 1310) and the front castle with housing construction, 15th c. Reconstruction author *M. Kotorski* (<http://www.suederluegumwetter.de/wb/pages/duet-un-dat/urkaub/ostpreussen-urlaub-2010/marienburg.php>).

In the 10th century Christianity was introduced in the Eastern Pomerania. In 997 *Danzig* (*Dantzick*, modern *Gdańsk*, round 1235 *Lübeck* rights) was first mentioned in records by the *Mottlav* (*Motława*) River not far from the *Vistula* (*Weichsel*, *Weixel*) River estuary into the Baltic Sea, where the local inhabitants had made their settlement *Altstädter Graben* and harbour. In the 12th century the Duchy of Pomerania was founded. German merchants came to *Danzig* and formed a settlement near St. Nicholas' Church (Polish: *kościół św. Mikołaja i klasztor dominikanów*, 1185). *Danzig* became the centre of Cistercian Monasteries (1215). In the Old City St. Catherine's Church was built. The territory of *Spihlerche* developed as the trading hub (13th century).

Knights of the Teutonic Order conquered *Danzig* and made the settlement *Osiek Hakelwerk* (1308) nearby, where initially Slavic fishermen lived. The *Raduna* Canal was dug (round 1338) and a water stream started to operate the mill, water wheels of plants and sawmills. A fortress for Commander's residence (1340) was built and the Bridgettine Convent was founded. *Rechtstadt* (1343) was made, and *Kulm* rights were awarded. In 1343 the building of St. Mary's Church (Polish: *bazylika Mariacka*) was started. Eastwards from the church *Mariacka* Street was made up to Mary's Gate on waterfront. The meeting place for rich people Artuss Court was created (1348–1350). The most important buildings were built westwards from the *Mottlav* River nearby the Market Place *Długi Targ*. Building of St. Bridget's Church (Polish: *kościół św. Brygidy*, 1350) was started next to St. Catherine's Church (Polish: *kościół św. Katarzyny*). In *Danzig* the Big Mill (1350) was built –

twelve water wheels turned the millstones and grinded grain. *Danzig* joined the Hanseatic League (1358). The city development continued: a wooden harbour crane *Żuraw* (1363) was built between two semicircular brick towers, which also served as the city gate. The trade city *Danzig* increased (1377) and in 1380 it obtained the fourth independent populated territory – the New City (Figure 13). *Danzig* became the capital of Pomerania Slavic Principality. *Świętopelk II Wielki* (1190/1200–1266) made to build a Town Hall and later the Hanseatic League office also worked there.



Figure 13. Layout of *Danzig*, 1520 (<http://gdansk.fotopolska.eu/369882,foto.html?o=b25605>).

Livonian Order Teutonic Order Cities and Administratively Political Centres

In Balga (Prussia) Papal legate *Wilhelm von Modena* (round 1184–1251) on April 19th of 1242 allowed the Livonian Order to build a castle or the city near *Winda* River (nowadays *Venta*), to maximize the impact of Prussia in Courland. Three kilometres to the south of the *Veckuldiga* Hillfort – the centre of Cours managed *Bandava* lands – the military road crossed *Winda* waterway. In a strategic place Master of the Livonian Order *Dietrich von Groningen/Grüningen* built the *Golding* fortress (1242–1244). *Golding* became the administrative and military centre, however, the settlement did not develop in fortress vicinity. In 1245 Courland was the component of Prussia. In exposed regions Cours churches were started to be build: in front of the *Golding* fortress a wooden Church of Saint George was built, but later it changed the Church of Saint Catherine.

By the beginning of the 13th century wooden residential buildings consisted of one-room houses. Later two-room houses were used, in which there was an oven heated living-room. A furnace was built in houses with lighter constructions. A two-room building with an oven and furnace heating was made if rooms of different purpose were placed under one roof: the summer kitchen with a furnace was combined with an oven heated living-room or adding an unheated extension to a one-room residential building, or separating the furnace room with a proper wall, thus creating a new room in which the furnace opening was made. During the course of house development the number of rooms increased and heating improved. At the second half of the 13th century compact residential building developed in the guise of *Golding* Castle, but in 1263 fortified settlement (*oppidum*) had developed.

In the Livonian Order-State to the traffic road from *Königsberg* to *Rīga* monumental four-blocks fortified stone castles were built. Towers highlighted four corners of a quadratic *Golding* Castle building with atrium (Caune 2004: 278). Servants' dwellings, outbuildings, forge, mill and other buildings were located in suburb.

Golding developed as the Medieval Ages agglomeration: local residents and traders settlements were not structurally and functionally related. Three inhabited parts – Pilsmiests (Cours' city Kalnamiests, nowadays the district of Hill (Kalna) Street) with building around a single street and settlement by the Order Castle – made the planning of the Livonian Order political power centre *Golding* by the *Winda* River, in whose jurisdiction was also the outskirt or “the city behind the hill” (*Stadt up dem Berge*). In the place where inhabited territories met not far from the Castle Gate there were customs and the Market Square with St. Catherine's wooden Church (Fromholds-Treijs 2005: 231).

In 1368 the name “Golding” was first read in the Hanseatic League documents (Caune 2004: 275). In 1378 Golding was granted the City Charter which was based on Riga rights (*ius Rigense*) (Bākule 2001: 128). In the Medieval Ages it was considered that a fortification system could protect a city from war damages. Therefore in 1413 they started to fortify Golding with walls (Skujeniēks 1927: 151). In 1414 Flemish traveller *Guillebert de Lannoy* (1386–1462) went to Riga through *Grubyn* (modern Grobiņa). He said about Golding: “[...] puis par Guldinghe qui est ville fermée... ([..] then there was Golding which was a fortified city...)” (Lannoy 1740: 17). In 1439 Golding was granted the rights to organize weekly markets. The city development was promoted. In documents of the 15th century two chapels outside Golding fortifications were mentioned: Petersfield Chapel for poor men of the city and Annenfield Chapel for poor women of the city (Dimbira 1984: 43). In 1466 the foraying Lithuanians destroyed Golding and it never again regained its prosperity.

In Courland construction origins of a fortified building complex can be related with the *Dondangen* (*Donedange*, modern Dundaga) Castle: it was built next to Cours' fortified settlement Hill Garden (*Kalnadārzs*) on a narrow, but long peninsula, which had a flat terrain. The peninsula from its three sides was surrounded by the Pāce River dammed waters, but the access to it was hindered due to the two-storey stone building south-westwards in front of the defence ditch. Later two shorter two-storey stone residential buildings were placed parallel to the peninsula coasts and the fortification wall was connected to them, thus making a spacious regular layout of the courtyard. The entrance into the castle was made in the north-west wall behind the residential housing (Caune 2004: 165).

At the second half of the 14th century in capital *Trakai* on an island of the *Galvė* Lake two parallel placed residential blocks of Lithuanian Grand Knyaz's Castle (Lithuanian: *Trakų salos pilis*) were joined by the fortification wall. A square-plan gate tower was included in fortification system (Erdmanis 1989: 20).

In the 13th century estuaries were used as sea ports. Regular planning fortified buildings were built on peninsulas for waterway surveillance. In Prussia, on an island of the *Danė* River the *Memel* Castle in stone was built (1253).

Master of the Order (1263–1266) *Konrad von Mandern* (Latin: *Conradus von Mandern*, *Conradus à Wundern*) and Bishop of Courland (1251–1263) *Heinrich von Lützelburg* (?–1274) signed an agreement (1263) about affiliation of Courland and Semigallian Sea

Ports: Bishop obtained the *Lyva* Port, but the Livonia Order – the *Winda* Port and the *Semegallera* Port.

At the beginning of the 13th century the *Lielupe* River estuary was used as a port – *portus*, called *Semegallera*. In 1265 the construction of *Mytowe* wooden fortress, which became the Commander's residence (1272), was started in a place that was quite inaccessible for the land and waterway defence – on an island of the *Lielupe* River, which was made by the *Drixe* (*Driksa*) branch. Four-block *Mytowe* Castle in stone (Figure 14) with a tower in each corner and a chapel for Protestants' services was started under Master of the Order (1328–1340) *Eberhard von Monheim's* (*Eberhardus a Monheim*) guidance (1328–1340). On the south side of the Castellum there was a gate through which one could get into the courtyard. About 600 people lived in densely placed lodgings of the castle settlement.



Figure 14. A fragment of *Mitau* City rural district's boundary plan. Author Duke's sworn land surveyor *Tobiass von Krauss*, 1652 (National History Museum of Latvia).

In the *Winda* River estuary a trading place near the land road, which took to the *Winda* Harbour and the Commandery Centre, was made. The residential tower was built and next to it (among modern *Jāņa*, *Pils* and *Peldu* Streets) a territory of dwellings, surrounded by wooden fortifications, was made (Dirveiks 2004: 142). The oldest buildings were placed in the district of current *Užavas*, *Skroderu*, *Lielā* and *Peldu* Streets. *Windau* wooden church given to Courland mayors by Master of the Order (1298–1307) *Gotfried von Rogge* (in Latin: *Gottfridus*) on August 16th of 1298, indirectly indicated to inhabitants, church members (Štrumfa 2001: 340). In order, to promote the development Master of the Order (1340–1345) *Burchard von Dreileben* (*Dreilöven*) invited his compatriots and offered them land for free. *Windau* became the member of the Hanseatic League. Shipping and trade thrived. In 1378 *Windau* obtained *Rigisches Stadtrecht*, political independence and management. Till the second half of the 15th century the *Winda* River bank between the fortress and the new wall was neither populated nor used intensively for economic needs. Defence wall started on the *Winda* River bank was the last part of the fortification system built during the Order-State (Lūsēns 2002: 180–181). In 1480 Master of the Order (1472–1483) *Bernd von der Borch* issued a document where he mentioned the St. George and St. Catherine's Chapels of *Windau* (Štrumfa 2001: 340). On March 31st of 1495, Master of the Order (1494–1535) *Wolter von Plettenberg* (round 1450–1535) instead of the older and destroyed charter confirmed

Windau privileges and description of city borders: city land was separated from the land belonging to the Order. During the last period of the Livonia Order existence the suburb lost its military role and it was gradually eliminated.

In the 14th century lands ruled by Cours and Semigallians were conquered. At the second half of the 14th century in the Livonian Order-State economic situation stabilized and the system of administratively political centres was made. Subdued territories were divided into commanderies, which included vogties with castle – regional administration and economic centres.

In the 14th century land was tenured to Livonian Order knights. Feudal lords did not want to live any more in particularly uncomfortable fortresses. They started to build fortified manors and freestanding residential towers in rural areas.

Round 1400, the Livonian Order-State territory, divided into relatively independent parts, was not compact, thus hard to defend. A narrow lane on the Baltic Sea coast was used for traffic from Amsterdam through *Königsberg* to Rīga and *Moscovie* (modern Moscow). On July 15th of 1410, the united Polish and Lithuanian forces under King *Jogail's* leadership (round 1348–1434) defeated the German Order forces led by *Ulrich von Jungingen* (1360–1410) in the battle by *Tannenberg* and *Grunwald* villages in Prussia. On September 27th of 1422, the Lithuanian and Polish rulers *Vytautas Didysis Kunigaikštis* (Latin: *Alexander Vitoldus*; round 1350–1430) and *Jogaila* signed the peace treaty by the Black Lake and determined Prussia and Lithuania borders, which in 1426 were demarcated in nature.

In order to defend the south borders of the Livonian Order-State and important Lithuanian trade route, Master of the Order (1438–1450) *Heinrich Vinke von Overberg* (Latin: *Henricus Finke ab Haverberge*) on the *Ķīrbaka* Peninsula, where *Musa* and *Memel* Rivers flow together and make the *Lielupe* River (*flumen Semgallorum, die Semgaller Aa*), started to build a trapezoidal design Castellum with five towers (1443–1456) – *Bausenborch* (modern Bauska) Vogtei Centre (Radovics 2007: 289).

People started to populate surroundings of the *Bausenborch* Castle. At the middle of the 15th century inhabitants were settled in dilapidated regions, but surrounding lands were tenured to Order vassals (Caune, 2002: 60). The Church of St. Gertrude was first mentioned in written sources in 1469. Craftsmen and fishermen's settlement, fortified with palisades, was made on the hard accessible triangular peninsula "in front of the Shield Castle", which in German chronicles was called as Shield (*Schild*) Village, that was first mentioned in documents in 1508, but the City Charter obtained in 1511. Most of the buildings had straw or shingle roofs (Grēviņa 1936: 9–10). If several walls were made around the city, then one gate was not any more sufficient. One could get to the gate along the drop-down bridge. The bridge was raised and dropped with chains or ropes (Grēviņa 1936: 6). In 1555 the description of the *Bausenborch* Castle was included in the list of Livonian Castles: "*Bauske* is an outstanding castle with a city (*cum oppido*), which is situated on a hill between *Musa* and *Memel* Rivers." They started to lack space after the *Bauske* Village increased. Poland took over the *Bausenborch* Castle and city in 1559.

Four Commandry Centres were made in the lands populated by Cours and Semigallians' included in the Livonian Order-State – *Moitaw* (modern Jelgava), *Dobelein* (modern Dobele), *Goldingen* and *Windaw*, but *Grubyn*), *Tucken* (modern Tukums), *Candaw* (modern Kandava) and *Bausenborch* became the Vogt Centres.

Cities of the Duchy of Prussia from the 16th till the 17th Century

The Order-State ceased to exist in 1525, but on April 10th of 1525, Grand Master of Teutonic Knights *Albrecht Hohenzollern* (1490–1568) resigned his position, became a Protestant, and in the Prussian Homage was granted the title “Duke of Prussia”. The Duchy of Prussia became the first Protestant state, and Lutheranism became official religion of the state. In country lots of attention was paid to education: gymnasium and schools were established. In *Königsberg* the first duke of the Duchy of Prussia *Albrecht* founded university *Collegium Albertinum* (1544), which became the principal educational establishment for Lutheran pastors and theologians. Many Ordensburgs have been converted into residences and building complexes.

In the Duchy of Prussia urban planning developed – important buildings and dwellings were arranged near the Market Square where the Town Hall and the Lutheran Church were built. Square-plan tower was raised from the stone church construction, but tower, crowned by spike, became the architectural dominance.

Königsberg became the capital of the Duchy of Prussia, where the Royal library was founded and seven churches had been built: *Königsberg* Cathedral, the Church of Old Town, St. Nicholas Church, the Church of the Castle, the Church of St. Barbara, the Large Hospital Church, the Church of St. Elizabeth. *Königsberg* became the Reformation center. Duke *Albrecht* implemented progressive policy, made Prussia attractive and secure for people from many European countries.

Tilsit (1288) on the Memel River was one of the oldest cities of Prussia where a regular planning Convent building was situated on an island. Across the river the Town Hall and Lutheran parish church at the Market Square were built. Block houses building were underlying to the architectural dominant and formed the centric planning composition.

In *Ragnit* (modern *Неман*, Kaliningrad Region, 1289) a regular planning Convent building was located on an island by the Memel River. In the Ragnit Castle vicinity the Mill Pond was located and by its both sides two groups of housing – the Old Town and the New Town were arranged. Each building group had different distribution of plots for housing construction – on one side there was located pond of the Old Town and its block housing that depended on the Lutheran parish church, but on the other side – the New Town with fenced dwellings and gardens.

The crusaders built a wooden fort (1283–1290) between *Deime* and *Pregel* Rivers. This was replaced by the *Tapiaw* Castle (Figure 15), a stone Ordensburg, in 1351. On other side of Deime near the Market Square the Lutheran parish church was built. Dense housing construction subordinated church and formed the centric planning composition.



Figure 15. Overview of *Tapiau* (today *Iwardejūck*), 1684 (Königsberg und Ostpreußen in historischen Ansichten und Plänen 2007: 154).

In fortifications included *Preussisch-Holland* (modern *Pastłęk*, Poland) Town near Elbing the Evangelical Lutheran parish Church was built near the fortress. In the vicinity of church regular planning residential building was formed.

Fortification included Friedland Town (1335) that had a regular planning housing construction which was not related to the location of the fortress. The urban center composition was formed around the square to the Lutheran parish church and the Town Hall.

Fortification included *Weblau* Town (1336) formed near *Pregel* and *Alle* Rivers. In the centre there was situated the square with the Town Hall. The church was built next to fortifications.

Fortification included *Heiligenbeil* Town building design composition consisted of symmetrically arranged residential building block groups.

Cities of the Duchy of Courland and Semigallia in the 17th Century

In 1525 after secularization of the Teutonic Order the Prussian-Livonian warpath and the power centres near it lost their military significance. Usage of traffic artery decreased and lots of fortresses were abandoned. The Livonian War (1558–1582) destroyed the confederation of the Livonian States, and on March 5th of 1562, the Duchy of Courland and Semigallia (*Ducatus Curlandiae et Semigalliae*) was founded. The last Master of the Livonian Order *Godthartt Kettler* (1517–1587) was a passionate Lutheran and he became the first duke of a new country. He had to establish a new administration system, guarantee integrity of the Duchy territory and take care of dynasty continuation. In *Königsberg* on March 21st of 1566, *Godthartt Kettler* married Princess Ann (1533–1602), the daughter of Meklenburg Duke *Albrecht VII* (1486–1547), and chose the Duchy of Prussia as a model for development of the Duchy of Courland and Semigallia. Lutheranism in newly established state was announced as legal religion. Therefore construction of churches became topical. Lots of priests did not have an appropriate education and they did not know Latvian, thus sermons were preached with the help of an interpreter. Inhabitants of the country represented four classes: landlords, citizens, freemen and bondage farmers. On February 28th of 1567, the Courland Landtag made a decision about churches, schools, hospitals and “other useful things” (LVVA-1). It was decided to build Lutheran churches and in eight of them establish a school, but for the poor people it was planned to make hospitals – poorhouses.

On June 1570, the Landtag took place in *Mitau* where the topical issues for the church were discussed. On June 25th of 1570, Gotthard's Privilege (*Privilegium Gotthardinum*) (LVVA-2) was made and it was confirmed later. Duke and landlords, who obtained cities and villages in their administration (*Hackelwerk*) (Juškevičs 1931: 330), were allowed to transport their goods, trade without paying tax and establish taverns. Fiefs became an inheritable property. The document "Church Reformation of the Duchy of Courland and Semigallia" (LVVA-3) included the most important tasks for reform implementation. People, who were prepared for priest's work, obtained rectories for better life conditions. Hospitals-poorhouses were made for German disabled ones, but farmers were invited to take care themselves of their disabled family. Duke *Godthartt Kettler* took care of the school foundation. In 1586 and 1587 necessary spiritual songs and texts of religious context in Latvian were issued for priests and worship in order that Latvians could get acquainted with Christianity.

In German and Livonian Order fortified complexes buildings were placed round the courtyard, but the gate tower became the architectonic dominance. In cities and villages of the Duchy of Courland and Semigallia multifunctional castles were converted into residences. Economic activities and trading took place outside the fortress. Buildings for public needs were located in places where traffic arteries came together. In dukedom cities and villages near a market place the Lutheran Church – a monolith building in stone with a polygonal altar apse – was erected. The main entrance was formed in the square-plan designed tower erected from the building volume and covered with a pyramidal roof or spike. The tower became the architectonic space dominance of a populated place. The Town Hall, school, asylum, pharmacy, and other public buildings, as well as houses were located round the Market Square and its vicinity. The construction formed a centric planning composition. The road net developed and residential buildings were placed on both sides of highways which took to the centre and the centrifugal or radial planning was formed. In cities two-part and tree-part residential buildings were built: a smokestack made the central part "the house", from which one could get in the street through one of the doors, but into an elegant garden through the other door. One could enter the room only through "the house" or hallway. The entrance into "the house" was always also the entrance into the building.

Defence walls of *Goldingen* fortified complex surrounded a vast yard with a Convent building in the centre. A high gate tower with a guard's residence was built at the front of castle. The bascule bridge was used for crossing dammed pond in the *Alekšupite* River. In the northern block of the Convent building a catholic chapel was made and one could enter it through suburb, where the barracks for soldiers, horse stables, barns for cows and a big well were placed (Caune 2004: 278). Duke *Godthartt Kettler* lived in *Goldingen* fortified complex from 1561 till 1570 (Caune 2004: 275). Outside the fortified complex not far from the Market Place (*Marktplatz*), where roads of *Windau*, *Talsen* and *Hasenpot* met, St. Catherine's Church after it's patroness St. Catherin was built. The secular school was founded in the city (1563). During Duke's *Wilhelm Kettler's* (1574–1640) reign (1587–1617) the castle became Duke's residence (1596–1616) and the capital thrived.



Figure 16. The plan of *Goldingen*, 1680. Author Breiling A., 1844 (https://vacabiblio.kuldiga.lv/faili/File/KNM/ENG/index_files/page0002.htm).

Round 1560 *Goldingen* Latvian Parish had established St. Catherine’s Church – it was in an emergency situation. A new church with two towers was built (1567). The road (nowadays Church (Baznīcas) Street) next to the Aleksupīte River and took to *Hasenpot* and *Mitau*, but a road branch – to *Schrunden* (modern Skrunđa Street) (Figure 16). Extension place, where all roads met, was used for trading. The modern Post (*Pasta*) Street provided the New Market Place with a link to *Mitau*. Merchants and craftsmen’s activities promoted growth of *Goldingen*: net of streets developed and radial planning appeared. In 1615 during the Polish-Swedish War (1600–1629) lots of wooden buildings were destroyed in big fire.

After the Polish-Swedish War Polish government worked out the Constitution of the Duchy of Courland and Semigallia or the Governmental Formula (LVVA-4), and on March 18th of 1617, it was proclaimed. In the Duchy of Courland and Semigallia government or the Higher Council, whose members were mostly landlords, was made. Catholicism was

equated to Lutheranism, and hereafter building of catholic churches was planned.

In 1622 a pharmacy was founded in *Goldingen*, and a new urban centre was created: on one side of the New Market Square the pharmacy building, Holy Trinity Roman Catholic Church, but on other side Town Hall (17th c.), as well as a wooden residential building with a basement (1642) on modern 7 Church Street and Burgomaster Steffenhagen’s house (17th–18th c.) on modern 17 Church Street were built. In 1665 a big fire again destroyed lots of wooden houses in *Goldingen*.

Goldingen castle inventory descriptions of 1699 mention, that a fruit and amusement garden (*Baum und Lustgarten*) was located “at the castle” (Janelis 2010: 21). In German *Lustgarten* was used to design not only a garden with entertainment or amusement facilities but also a place with some shrubs, trees and a flower bed for a meditative relaxation (Janelis 2010: 10). A road that leads from the garden gates through an alley of lime trees was an innovation in the Duchy. A gazebo (*Loewe*) was set up in the garden, and all paths – five of them longways (*Lange gaenge*) and six sideways (*Quer gaenge*) – were for strolls. Plantings were arranged in bosquets. Angular (*Eckigte*) fields for kitchen produce

were located all around the garden (Janelis 2010: 21). On the other side of the amusement garden was a small leisure garden with five ponds.

On February 28th of 1576, Duke *Godthartt Kettler* gave an order to build a church, school and house in merchants and craftsmen's settlement *Jelgab*. At the same year not far from the Market Square (*Marktplatz*) the Latin or Big City School was built on Lord's Street (*Herren Straße*, since the 19th century *Palais Straße* (to 1925), modern *Akadēmijas*) (Grosmane 2010: 42). The Lutheran Parish built a wooden Church of St. Anna with separately standing belfry (till 1573) by the main road (now Great Street). *Jelgab* in 1573 obtained the City Charter and became *Mitau* – capital city of the Duchy of Courland and Semigallia. Construction of the Holy Trinity German Lutheran Church was started (round 1573) on one side of the Market Square next to an old wooden church. Around 1606 Lion's pharmacy was founded and the building for it was erected. Formation of the Duchy of Courland and Semigallia capital centre was started.

In 1573 Duke's family arrived in *Mitau* to take part in the stone fortress conversion (1573–1586) into Dukes' main residence (1578). In the seventies the construction of a long building was started on the eastern side of the fortress parallel to the Lielupe River. An angled building surrounded the castle from the south-west. The Little Castle with a picturesque pediment, portal and window borders, as well as a building for the court staff was built. In 1582 the Castle Church next to the gate passage was consecrated, above which the Big Hall was placed. In the basement vaults under the church the crypt of Duke's family was made (Caune 2004: 225). A mint was made in Duke's Castle, but the defence system of earth ramparts was made round the fortress and island. Household buildings were built in the fortress in the eighties and nineties, new external stairs to the Big Hall on the second floor (Grosmane 2008).

In the privilege of July 5th of 1615, Duke *Friedrich Kettler* (1569–1642) officially confirmed for the first time city borders of *Mitau* (Grosmane 2010: 34). Several streets appeared in the capital city, but the Market Place obtained a quadrangular form (Kaune 1939: 175). A stone tower was built for St. Anna Church (1619–1621) and a congregation room was made (1638–1641).

Merchants and adventurous Swedish postmaster Jacob Becker arranged a private horse-mail from Rīga through *Palanga* and *Memel* (modern *Klaipėda*) to Prussia (1632). Taverns were used for postmen's stops and horse keeping. Post stations were made in *Dobelein*, *Blieden*, *Frawenborch*, *Schrunden*, *Durben*, *Grubyn*, *Libau* and also in *Mitau*, where trade was connected with water transport in Dukes' times. The capital was called as the port city.

Mitau had a regular planning of construction: one-storey wooden buildings covered with ridged roofs were placed along perimeter of a quadrangular block facing back façade to the street. A barn, tavern, stable, bath house, barn, drive and a cultivated orchard and vegetable garden were situated in the middle of the block surrounded by buildings. On the bank of the *Drīxe* the Market Place clang to the junction of land and water arteries in whose centre there was the Town Hall, but the most important city's buildings were placed



Figure 17. *Mitau* Catholic Church, 1645 (The Baltic Central Library).

around the perimeter – also the pharmacy and brick house in Lake Street (*See Straße*, nowadays *Uzvaras*). One of the oldest brick houses in *Mitau* was covered with a steep ridged roof cubic house built next to gate of the Holy Trinity Church.

The Church of St. George (1645) of *Mitau* Catholic Parish (Figure 17) was built in stone during Duke *Jakob von Kettler's* reign (1642–1682). A common fortification system with defence bastions and deepened ditches were built for the fortress and city in 1648.

In 1652 Duke's Sworn Land Surveyor *Tobiass von Krauss* made *Mitau* plan (Figure 14). In the south of *Mitau* at *Platone* River a large amusement garden was created. In the south-

east of the Holy Trinity Church near the castle a small garden was located which produced goods for the kitchen, as well as herbs, flowers and fruit. Different quarters of this garden were lined up to one another and separated by paths, whose layout was not consistent with the overall design of the garden (Būsa 2010: 109–110). Fortifications surrounded *Mitau* City in 1659, but stalls for trading were placed in the Market Square.

During the Small Northern War (1655–1660) Duke's residence and *Mitau* City were destroyed, but plague epidemic (1657–1661) decreased the number of people in Courland. Duke Jacob returned to Courland to put in order the state and *Mitau*. The Town Hall was in Catholic (*Katholische Straße*, modern *Katoļu*) Street till 1663, but since 1663 in Great Street (*Grosse Straße*, modern *Lielā iela*). Duke set the main task to strengthen fortifications of capital and supply inhabitants of *Mitau* with better drinking water. Along the Great Street was excavated the four-versts long Jacob's Canal (round 1665) which joined the *Svēte* River and *Dixe*. Warehouses were built in adjacent territory of canal up to Writer (*Schreiber Straße*, *Rakstvežu* – modern *Krišjāņa Barona*) Street, also trading places and the Fish Market were made. Merchants took goods from their ships to warehouses and trading places along the canal. Jacob's Canal and highway, which were perpendicular to *Lielupe's* waterway, marked from Dukes' residence and bridge over the *Drixe* towards west the main axis of *Mitau* construction planning composition. Duke's residence complex, Market Square, Jacob's Canal and three churches – vertical dominances – were the key elements of surrounded by fortifications symmetrical layout composition. Streets from urban centre took to the Water or Sea (*Porta aquatica*), the *Dobelein* (*Porta Doblensis*), the Little (*Porta Doblensis*), and the Lithuanian (*Porta Lituonica*) Gates. Round the Market Square and its vicinity buildings for public, administrative, trade, medical, educational and production needs were placed. The city territory obtained a functional division. Gardens and meadows were outside the city fortifications. *Johann Güntzel* opened the first bookshop opposite St. Anna's Church, but not far from it a branch from Great Street was made

which took on the right towards the *Dobelein Gate*, but on the left – to the Little Gate. Catholic Street took along the south edge of the Market Square and guaranteed the link between the Water and the Lithuanian Gates. Plants worked in the city and its vicinity: saltpetre-works, kilns of lime, bricks, steel, copper and others, as well as glaziers' workshops, iron and copper mint. Two locks regulated water level of Jacob's Canal. During the seventies of the 17th century miller *Augustin Richter* made a water mill at the *Drixe* locks, but the other locks were operated by horses. A windmill was built close to urban centre.

Since 1684 the Society of Jesuits existed in *Mitau*. On October 7th of 1684, Bishop *Mikolaj Korvin Poplawski* consecrated the church in honour of St. George (Grosmane 2008). A house (1660) built in the north-east corner of the Market Square was bought for the Town Hall needs in 1686, but a high tower was built to the Holy Trinity Church (1660–1688). The Big City School, which was situated nearby, was reconstructed: a massive building with a high pediment was made (end of the 17th c.).

In 1696 Duke Friedrich Casimir Kettler (1650–1698) laid the foundation for the city residence. In 1697 Russian Tsar Peter the Great (*Пётр I Великий*, 1672–1725) arrived in *Mitau* and in honour of this visit St. Simenon and St. Anna Orthodox Church in wood was built. A two-storey brick residential building with a high pediment (1699) – later Catherina's Asylum for noble virgins – was built by *Hillard Ihnken* on Lord's Street. City's multifunctional centre obtained an architectonic image. *Mitau*, which was surrounded by defence system with fifteen bastions and a canal, created view of a city whose typology can be found in the Renaissance sample.

Duke Godthartt Kettler in a small territory between two rivers – *Musa* and *Memel*, at whose confluence the Lielupe River starts, made a fortified residence such as *Palazzo in fortezza* or “a castle in a fortress” surrounded by ramparts and bastions for peaceful life, work and court presentation. *Bauske* (nowadays Bauska) was one of the first Livonian fortresses which converted into Duke's residence. In suburb three two-storey buildings covered by high sloping tiled roofs were built. The Old Castle and newly built buildings used for household needs made an architectonic complex with two courtyards. Duke Friedrich Kettler fortified the castle with ramparts and bastions, as well as extended it (1590–1599) and erected two round towers. Modernization of the defence system on the *Ķirbaka* Peninsula determined destiny of the village.

In 1573 *Bauske* Christian Community separated into German and Latvian congregations. Building of the Church of Māra at modern Sun (Saules) and Blacksmith (Kalēju) Streets on the left bank of the *Memel* River was started (1573). Duke *Godthartt Kettler* ordered to eliminate construction work round the fortress and in 1584 on low terrace of *Memel* bank a planning of new city *Bauske* was marked: building zones were placed from one river bight to the other one. Parallel to the *Memel* River bank created two main streets – Post (modern Rīgas) and Castle (modern Plūdoņa) Streets, which in the west took to the river bight where along its bank one could get to Duke's residence. The Market Square was made in urban centre of orthogonal planning, from which westwards the Church of

the Holy Spirit (Figure 18) by German Lutheran Parish was built (1591–1594). The part of stone tower building was finished till 1614, but the church spike was erected in 1623. Smaller streets crossed both highways and formed rectangular blocks, providing access to the *Memel* River bank. Eastwards where Post Street took to the crossing over the *Memel* River, the Church of Latvian Lutheran congregation was built. The road southwards took over the *Musa* River. In 1609 *Bauske* obtained the City Charter. In December 1615 Duke *Friedrich* awarded *Bauske* the privilege to build the Town Hall and its erecting was started in 1616. The Town Hall was built in centre of the Market Place where already at the end of the 16th century there was a building made of dolomite stones, and which in the eastern side was extended using big boulders. Free-standing Town Hall had to symbolize the prosperity, independence and majesty of *Bauske* City, whose silhouette was made by three slim towers above the ridged roofs of houses surrounded by greens.

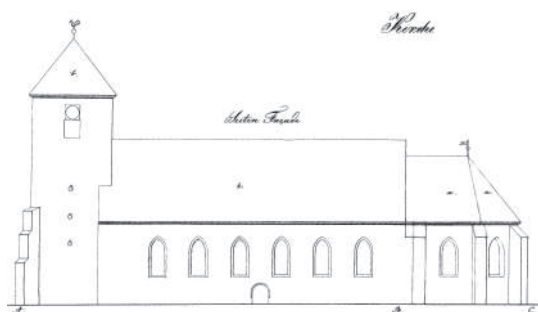


Figure 18. The Church of the Holy Spirit in Bauska (1591–1594). Author of the drawing Courland province architect (1821–1846) *Friedrich August Schultz*, 1839 (State Archives of Latvia, Collection 97, Inventory 1, File 39, Leaf 8).

At the middle of the 16th century the demand for crops sharply increased, it was taken from Poland and Lithuania through *Bauske* to Rīga and then further by ships to the Western Europe. *Bauske* became the customs point by the river crossing. City development was promoted.

Windau became the Duchy of Courland and Semigallia navigation, crafts and trade centre, but the castle – commandant and judge’s residence. Unfinished part of the defence wall of *Windau* fortress by the river (the last quarter of the 16th c.) was pulled down and free territory in front of fortifications was divided into pieces of land which were given to city inhabitants for building houses (Lūsēns 2002: 172–181). Wooden houses – residential buildings and craftsmen’s workshops – started to appear on waterfront. The first wooden houses were built on the eastern side between suburb and small brook. A road from *Goldingen* took to the port and crossing in the lower reaches of the river, and the Market Square on the eastern side of the *Windau* Castle, but its branch Great Street took to economically active waterfront. Craftsmen’s houses were placed on the southern side of the fortress in Weaver’s (*Weber Straße*, modern Audēju), Tailor’s (*Schneider Straße*, modern Skroderu) and Baker’s (*Bäcker Straße*, modern Maiznieku) Streets. A land road from the castle front square at John’s (*Johannes Straße*, modern Jāņa) Street took beside the river to the Market Square, where Raft (*Floss Straße*, modern Plosta) Street started, which took to the crossing in the *Winda* River bight. The road, which created a link between ancient and new urban centre (Figure 19), developed as Castle (*Schloss Straße*, modern

Pils) Street, from which the perpendicularly oriented branches towards waterfront – Boatmen’s (*Schiffer Straße*, modern Kūģnieku), Water (*Wasser Straße*, modern Ūdens) and Ditch (*Graben Straße*, modern Grāvja) Streets – determined the building plan on the river bank. A part of *Goldingen* (*Goldingsche Straße*, modern Kuldīgas) Street from *Great* to *Rothhofsche* Street was surrounded with a densely built single-storey wooden houses. The roads provided a link between the craftsmen and merchants’ settlement and the Red Manor (*Rothhof*), pasture and agricultural land, also marked directions of streets and shape of squares, but economical centres in street extensions and crossroads were joined in a united system. In *Goldingen* Street, where six meeting roads made an extension, hay and firewood were sold. St. Anna Church was built in neighbourhood of the Market Square placed eastwards from the fortress (1610) (Štrumfa 2001: 341) and Catherina’s (*Catharinen Straße*), Sophie’s (*Sophien Straße*), Mary’s (*Marien Straße*), Gertrude’s (*Gertruden Straße*) and Anna’s (*Annen Straße*) Streets were named after the saints’ names. Market (modern Tīrgus) Street provided a link with the Church (Baznīcas) Square, from which Anna’s Street took to *Goldingen* Street densely surrounded with single-story wooden buildings.



Figure 19. *Windau* Town, 1640 (State Archives of Latvia, Collection 1100, Description 1, File 70, Leaf 15).

When the Polish-Swedish War resumed, General Robert Douglas (1611–1662) occupied *Windau* in 1655. City was destroyed during the fire, whose building mostly consisted of wooden houses. The port, docks and warehouses were also destroyed and burnt down. In the eve of the Great Northern War *Windau* was an inessential port city.

In 1560 the last Master of the Livonian Order *Godthartt Kettler* pawned *Libau* Village and *Grubyn* Region to the Duchy of Prussia. In 1581 surveyor Vogeziņ measured the Baltic Sea coast and made descriptions which confirmed that both banks of the River *Lyva* from the lake to the sea were populated. Craftsmen and merchants’ houses surrounded St. Anna Church (*Alte Kirche*), forming the centre (round 1587).

A land road took from Prussia through *Libau* (modern Liepāja) along the bank of the *Lyva* River to the crossing, in whose extension the Hay Market (*Heumarkt*) was made. The traffic flow was divided into two directions – to the public centre Firewood (*Holz Straße*, modern Malkas), Grass (*Kräute Straße*, modern Zāļu), Fromm (*Frommen Straße*, modern Eduarda Veidenbauma), Hay (*Heu Straße*, modern Siena), Rose (*Rose Straße*, modern Rožu), *Latvian* (*Lettische Straße*), Long (*Lange Straße*, *Garā* – modern Peldu) and Fish (*Patern Straße*, modern Zivju) Streets’ confluence, where the Old Market Place

was made by St. Anna Church with a graveyard, but not far from it there was a school and vicarage of German Congregation, and the trade centre at the west end of Unger (*Unger Straße*, modern Avotu) Street between *Long* and *Scharren* (*Scharren Straße*, *Skārņu*, modern Ludviķa) Streets. Barns, taverns, stables and drives for carts were built in neighbourhood of the Old Market (*Alter Markt*). At the end of Fish Street on the left in the Fish Market fish was sold straight from barrels, but the Chicken Market was not far from it. Road passage from the Hay Market to the trade centre became Salt (*Salz*, *Sāls*, modern Krišjāņa Valdemāra) Street, but Peter (modern Kuršu), Catholic (modern Katoļu) and *Juliana's* (*Juliannen*, modern Friča Brīvzemnieka) Streets took to the salt storage in confluence of Catholic, Unger, *Scharren*, Lord's (modern Kungu) and Merchants' (modern Tirgoņu) Streets, where since 1625 one of buildings was used for the Town Hall needs and the Town Square was made. Buildings in the city had ridged roofs and planes in the ridge made an acute angle, creating a spacious attic for storage.

In 1609 the Duchy of Courland and Semigallia regained pawned territories. *Libau*, which was situated on the left bank of the navigable *Perkune* (modern Pērkone) River, obtained the City Charter on March 18th of 1625. The post station *Libau* was made (1632), but craftsmen and merchants promoted development of the economic centre in vicinity of Old Pond (*Alte Teich Straße*, modern Diķa) Street, where residential buildings with black-tarred wooden walls and warehouses were built. People of *Libau* were given forests in *Grubyn* neighbourhood. In 1634 the Sworn Duke's surveyor *Tobiass von Krauss* made a plan where *Libau* City and *Grubyn* were mentioned. In the 1636 *Libau* plan buildings were located around the Old Market and neighbourhood of Old Pond Street, where the customs garden with a watchtower, Duke's and private warehouses were situated. Trees were cut on the seashore, which fortified shifting dunes. The *Lyva* River clogged, making two small water reservoirs. In 1637 Sworn surveyor *von Krauss* made a plan of *Libau* and its neighbourhood in order to work out the project for riverbed recovery, in which the *Perkune* River and the Liepāja Lake (*Libausche frische See*) were shown, also villages and houses up to the *Pape* Lake (Papen See).

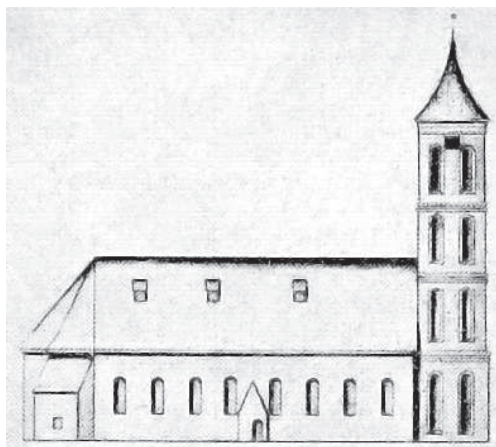


Figure 20. The Church of St. Anna (1671–1675) in *Libau* (Liepājas 300 gadu jubilejas piemiņai. 1625–1925 1925: 114).

During the Northern War (1655–1660) *Libau* was destroyed by fires, but city thrived after signing the Altmark Peace Treaty. Wooden walls of St. Anna Church (Lutheran) were covered with bricks (1671–1675) and a tower was built (1688–1693) (Figure 20). The private ship navigation was developed (round 1682). Orders were taken from merchants and foreigners. Trade relations were established with German lands, Holland, Poland and Sweden, bringing new trends

also in building. In Fish Street a warehouse was built (round 1690) (Lancmanis 1983: 35), but on Great Street building of the first brick dwelling house was started (1693). On October 1st of 1697, digging of the port canal was started. In 1697 city panorama was refined by churches and warehouses with steep pediments placed in two rows on the south-west waterfront of the canal.

Conclusions

The architectonic space of cities of the Duchy of Prussia obtained the dominances in the 17th century – the Town Hall and Lutheran Church in whose neighbourhood brick dwelling houses with the back wall facing towards the square or road were usually densely placed, making a spatial composition of centric construction. The fortress construction complex was left aside and was not included in the urban centre construction composition. In Prussia cities were surrounded by fortresses.

In the 17th century the spatial composition of the Duchy of Courland and Semigallia urban centres was made by buildings of public character – a church, Town Hall, pharmacy, as well as school, hospice and other buildings. The buildings meant for different functional purposes were grouped around the Market Square, forming a building complex similar to *Castellum*. Churches were placed near the Market Square or by the traffic highways and they became the architectonic dominances. In the rural areas built three-part planning residential buildings were adjusted to urban conditions and their side walls were placed parallel to the road or street carriageway. When the street net developed, cities obtained a radial planning.

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The Architecture of Preiļi Chapel

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Abstract

Preiļi chapel was built in 1817. It is a remarkable example of the late classical period manor building in Latgale of the 19th century. The chapel characterizes oeuvre of the architect Vincenzo Macotti, which is an important personality in the history of art and architecture in Latgale. The tombs of Borh family who were the owners of Preiļi Manor are typologically rare monuments, and, among others, highlight the rich cultural and stratigraphic information (here is an ancient crypt beneath the present crypt).

Key words: Preiļi Chapel, Tomb, Gable, Portico, Vault, Cladding, Cupola.

Introduction

The basement (tomb) part of Preiļi Manor Chapel was surveyed in the summer of 2013 (Dirveiks 2013). The building is located at the northern entrance gate of Preiļi Castle Park (municipal address: Preiļi, Kārsavas Street 4). In order to develop a theoretical framework before preparing the optimal reconstruction project, a visual technical and architectural inspection of the building was carried out. Primarily, the acquired information is for the chapel managers and planners to facilitate the planning of the building work in good time.

Preiļi chapel: history, architecture, nowadays

Although there is no documented evidence, it is likely that Preiļi chapel was designed by the Italian architect Vincenzo Macotti, who was a friend of the Borh family and built the manor and castle chapel in Varakļāni (1814).

Preiļi chapel is a plain analogue of Varakļāni chapel building. Both buildings are nearly identical, only compositional arrangement of parts is different. There are signs of a later 19th century rebuilding in Varakļāni chapel – apparently a clumsy addition, extending the porch to create a larger underground space. In fact, the project of Varakļāni chapel was used three years later in Preiļi without any specific modifications.

Local dean Skibņevskis consecrated Preiļi chapel on September 20, 1817. Construction of the building was funded by the estate owner Joseph Heinrich Borh (1751–1835). The

ground floor was used as part of a memorial room and a chapel for worship. The Borhs' family tomb was installed underground. The Preiļi Manor visiting log of 1829 is very important for the architectural research of the building. It gives an overall picture of the situation shortly after the building was built.

It is mentioned in the description of the visiting log that the main entrance of the chapel had seven stone stairs. This could probably be understood as stone or brick steps. The first half of the 20th century photographs featured remains of bricked steps (Figure 1). In the fronton above the columns, there was polychrome painted representation of the care of god – a triangle with God's eye in the middle (not preserved). The chapel roof was covered with painted green tin, but on the top of the roof was a wooden sphere with a cross. The chapel had a balcony for singers. It is noted that under the chapel there is a tomb for the family members of the count. Unfortunately, in 1829 the chapel cellar was not described in more detail.



Figure 1. View to the chapel in the 1930's (MDC Nr. 2334-2-KM).

In the 1860's Michael Borh began to arrange the sale of his property and moved to Vitebsk. In 1866 Borh sold Preiļi village to an English trader from Manchester Johan Fredrik Heinrik. Only the chapel was left unsold (Anspaks 1996: 44).

In 1919 the chapel was demolished and in its place an atheist club called "Closer to the Light" was installed. During the period between wars, the chapel became the property of the Roman Catholic Church. After the World War II, the chapel was taken over by the state and gradually completely vandalized. There was a broken out hole on the top of the central vault of the tombs.

The historic windows and doors, wooden balconies and stone entrance stairs disappeared during 1991. The basement entrance has been bricked up since 1978. The restoration project of the chapel was developed in 1992 (architect A. Lubgans). Starting renovations in the 90's, the building was saved from sudden collapse, because it was unused for a long time. Looking objectively from today's perspective the accomplished work has allowed the building to survive into the 21st century. After 1995, when the Roman Catholic Church regained its ownership of the chapel, it has been gradually restored. In 2005, while carrying out the new reconstruction and improvement project, the chapel was given a new tin roof with cupola and a cross on top, along with facade and interior repairs. In 2007 the stairs to basement were renewed and drainage around the building was installed.

As early as in the year 2000 archaeological excavations revealed that the chapel building was located in the former grave site from the 17th/18th century. Hypothetically, this could be the place where a church was built in 1676. However, there is no evidence found so far (Vilcāne 2010: 206). The archaeological excavation lead by Antonija Vilcāne was carried out in the cellar in 2008. The archaeological research discovered very important and interesting information (including a rare find – front part of the uniform dress). Burials were found and it is clear that the present chapel was built on an older one. It is expected that older structures have survived from the 18th century tomb – a circular room covered with brick cupola. It is likely that the outside of the cupola was covered by a roof.

The tomb room is covered with brick vaults. Space is divided by four square-shaped posts, making a total of nine bays. Central aisle and four neighbouring aisles are covered with cross vaults. The other aisles are relatively triangular according to the plan. There are arch formwork boards preserved in the two small triangular shape aisles. Originally they were boards from a wooden roof of another building. Currently, the tomb has two ventilation openings, but the description in 1829 mentioned only one. The space of the old tomb was excavated in the central aisle (among four posts). The planning scheme of the oldest tombs actually is analogous to the new one for the chapel construction period. The spatial composition of the 18th century tomb has been simple – irregularly shaped circular building with one entrance and one ventilation hatch. The old tomb walls are built of stone, using bricks for the openings and the cupola, where some brick coating still remains (Figure 2).



Figure 2. Central vault and remaining constructions of the old barrow in the centre (Photo by I. Dirveiks).

Most likely, in 1817 the cupola of the old tomb was demolished leaving some of the lower level brick layers which are now visible. The new entrance was aligned with the old one. From outside the entrance opening is lower than the surrounding ground level. There are eight steps down from the brink of the old entrance until approximate floor level of the tomb. The old tomb floor was made from bricks with dimensions of 6 x 13 to 13.5 x 30 cm and the surface has the characteristic finger streaks left by craftsmen. Analogue features

are found on the cupola bricks. Circular bypass, of course, was not meant to be functional, but it has a constructive role (Figure 3).

Nowadays, however, the bypass is one of the original key elements of Preiļi tomb, which is used to attract visitors.

The new chapel and the crypt of 1817 was not built exactly on top of the old “circle” type walls. Two of the four poles which supported vaults were laid on the old walls of the building so that the support pole edge coincides with the edge of the wall. The other two poles are set away from the old walls. It must be noted that the discrepancy could be explained by the fact, that the old tomb wall did not have a perfect circle configuration. Given the asymmetric positioning of the support poles, namely, the two poles being directly on the walls of the old tombs, one must pay attention to the condition of the covering of the room. However, neither the stakes nor the vaults have any horizontal cracks observed in them, which could point to the support compaction and deformation of the vaults. In addition, under these posts additional masonry to the old tomb wall was created in 2008. At the bottom of the old tomb exit there is a small place paved with bricks.

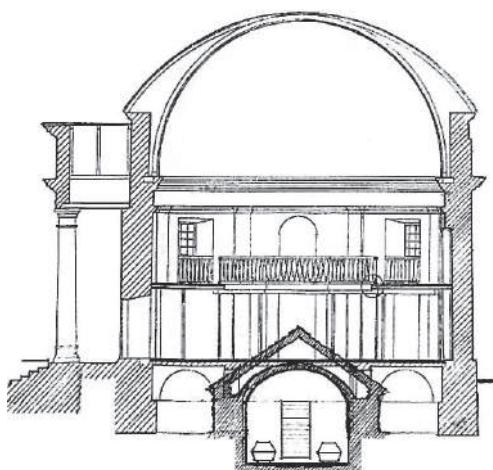


Figure 3. Location of the old 18th century barrow below the new building (I. Dirveiks' sketch).

Preiļi manor chapel with the tomb is a remarkable example of the late classical period Latgale manor buildings. The chapel characterizes Vincenzo Macotti, who was a significant personality in the art and architectural history of Latgale. The tombs of the manor owners are typologically rarer monuments, which, among others, are highlighted by the rich cultural and stratigraphic information (tomb beneath the tomb).

The current value of the tomb is its spatial resolution (composition of vault bays), as well as the old structure of the revealed tomb burials.

Conclusions

Currently the general aim of the tombs' renovation is connected with the development perspective of the entire Preiļi palace complex. This is a unified manor ensemble: the castle, garden (site of the old castle), chapel (the crypt) and stable. The tomb's full use for memorials and tourism function may be successfully carried out only in the context of using the entire complex. At present, the actual sequence of events is contrary to the scheme outlined above: the chapel (the tomb), garden (site of the old castle), stable and castle.

Primary task of a practical restoration of the tomb is to prevent damage to the basement constructions, and to provide the conditions for further survival of the building alongside the complex reconstruction measures without compromising the heritage value of the building.

Preiļi estate tomb is no longer used. Nowadays it has cultural and historical significance. In such case, it would be possible to give the public access to the tomb attributing to it an educational function. Therefore, the further restoration task of the tomb as a unique cultural, historical and architectural monument is to display the parts of the manor complex and to include them in the active tourism routes, thus granting public access.

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Mārciena Church Created by Jānis Frīdrihs Baumanis over the Years

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Abstract

The first professional academically educated Latvian architect Jānis Frīdrihs Baumanis (1834–1891) has created projects for around 150 private and public buildings in Rīga. During the time when he was the Vidzeme municipality board architect (1870–1880), ten orthodox churches were built in Estonia and seven in Latvia, in Vidzeme region.

Mārciena church in Madona municipality was one of them. It was built in 1872 and the church community started using it in 1873. It was not destroyed during the First or the Second World War however it was not used as a church during the Soviet times and it was beginning to decay. In 1998 Mārciena Orthodox community was registered, and the reconstruction of the church has begun since then. Government and local municipality support, as well as donations have been received to support the reconstruction of the church.

***Key words:** Architect Jānis Frīdrihs Baumanis, Church, Renovation, Reconstruction, Cultural Historical Monument.*

Introduction

After graduating with an Architect Diploma from Petersburg Art Academy in 1865, the first professional academically educated Latvian architect Jānis Frīdrihs Baumanis (1834–1891) returned to Rīga and began working as an architect. He has created projects for about 150 private and public buildings in Rīga, for example, Vidzeme House of the Knight-hood building (nowadays the Parliament Building – with architect Roberts Pflūgs), Aleksandra Gymnasium (nowadays Latvian Music Academy in K. Barona Street 1), the circus in Merķeļa Street 4, and about 100 other multi-storey building. 54 of them are located in the central Rīga, making about the third of all the buildings in the area (Kraštinš 1995).

When J. F. Baumanis was the Vidzeme municipality board architect (1870–1880), ten orthodox churches that he projected were built in Estonia and seven in Latvia in Vidzeme region (Srābāns 1936). Three of them are in Madona area – Bučauska (Dzelzava municipality), Kailenes (Bērzaune municipality) and Mārciena (Mārciena municipality) (Figure 1).



Figure 1. Mārciena Orthodox Church. Beginning of the 20th century (MNM 21843).

Since 1721 Vidzeme region was part of the Russian Empire, and since 1840 due to the bad economic situation for the farmers after a few bad harvest years the farmers began to join the Orthodox religion that was the religion of the ruling government. Orthodox religion got more widely spread in Vidzeme because of this trend. In the end of the 1840s about 17% of the local farmers in Vidzeme had joined this religion (Гаврилин 1999). In the Madona region there were ten church communities founded in the end of the 19th century in Bērzaune, Bučauska, Kalsnava, Lazdona, Līdere, Ļaudona, Mārciena, Raksala, Saikava and Vestiena (Ivanova 1994).

In the beginning the economic situation of these church communities was rather bad, there were not many churches, the church services were held in hired locations. In 1863 Synod stated the fact that 60 churches should be built in the Vidzeme region and decided to allocate a certain amount of money to this matter every year. On 6th February 1871, Golouševs that was the Baltic orthodox building manager reported to the Rīga consistory that architects Šēls, Baumanis and Pflūgs had created projects and plans for the building of new churches, school buildings and household buildings for 34 church communities (Srābāns 1936).

By the decision made by the Synod Mārciena church community was founded on 14th May 1851, and the church services were first held in Viļumi near the Mārciena manor, space used by the army. In the 1830s there was a group of soldiers staying there in Viļumi. From 1852 to 1966 the Orthodox Church was located in the wooden buildings built by the soldiers. Later on these buildings burned down in a fire. From April 1866 until 18th September 1872 Mārciena church community was joined with Bērzaune church community (MNM, 14439).

Already in 1846 the local community began to discuss the need of a church and cemetery. In the end of 1846 an official correspondence began about this issue among Vidzeme, Estonia and Kurzeme regional government secret division and the Vidzeme region building

and road commission. A location for Mārciena church, school and cemetery was selected in 1851. However in the end of the year a conclusion was made that the location had not been inspected and measured. On 21st September 1852 it was noted that the owner of Mārciena manor fon Tranzē does not agree to allow for his land to be used for the church purposes as he did not expect to receive any monetary gain from the church. However, both sides reached an agreement on 21st February 1853, with fon Tranzē, orthodox priest Vasilijš Kudrjavcevs and fon Berenss being present. Later that year on 21st September the chosen locations were handed over to the church. The Orthodox Church cemetery plan and project was signed and accepted by Povitcs, Kudrjavcevs and A. Borsovs on behalf of fon Tranzē. A location on a hill near Mārciena castle was selected for the cemetery. In the end of September it was discovered that there was not enough land for all the buildings and the case was dismissed for a while (VVA 4566).

During the time when J. F. Baumanis was the local municipality board architect, he was involved in the church building projects between 1871–1873 and 1875–1878. The huge amount of completed churches and the rush to build them are significant characteristics of these periods. However, they were not all built exactly the same. In 1863 Synod decided that churches should be built according to the local circumstances and an architect has to find the most convenient method of construction for each case (Srābāna 1936).

A contract with architects Šēls, Pflūgs and Baumanis was signed with a condition that all the planned church projects were supposed to be finished by 1874. During the first phase 35 churches were built, 17 of which were designed by Šēls, five by Pflūgs, and ten by Baumanis. In Madona region based on the designs by Pflūgs there was a church built in Jāņukalns (Kalsnava municipality) in the first project phase, and a church in Līdere (Arona municipality) and one in Tolka (Vestiena municipality) during the second phase. Anita Bistere, who has researched into the church architecture in Latvia designed by Roberts Augusts Pflūgs, has compared the churches designed in the same time period by Pflūgs and Baumanis. She believes that Pflūgs has used more variety of different architectural forms. His designs involved small, laconic shaped buildings, variety of the use of different stones and bricks (Bistere 2010). However, churches in the Madona region created by J. F. Baumanis are highly valued historical monuments that have to be preserved.

Mārciena Church project

In the Latvian State History Archive there are signed copies of documents by J. F. Baumanis – the construction descriptions and project expenses plans for the Mārciena church, school, and church community buildings. In the Mārciena church project, it was planned to build a square shaped church with rounded corners and with a bell tower for about 300 to 350 people. In total, it was planned to spend 9640 rubles on the project, divided into ten sections: ground work (155 rubles), stone work (6331), construction (702 rubles), carpenter work (246), iron windows (278), painting (152), glass (124), roof (894), metal work (176) and others (578). All the woodwork was planned to be made of pine tree, the floor – stone, altar – wood (VVA 208).

On 7th August 1873, the general governor Bagratians reported to Rīga and Jelgava priest Benjamins that the church, school and parish buildings were completed in the following church communities: Vecnigēna, Ilmjēva, Kastolatsa and Vrangelmuiža (Tērbata district), Hanmuiža (Veru district), Eži, Sausnēja, Mārciena, Bērzaune, Bučauska (Cēsu district). According to the report by the project architect Baumanis, the buildings in questions were completely finished, the governor Bagratians allowed Golusevs to do the final inspection of the buildings and officially hand them over to the church in September of the same year (Srābāns 1936). The church building was built in 1872 and in the same year the cemetery was finished as well. The church was allocated to the Orthodox community on 31st October 1873 and on 23rd August 1874, a local priest Andrejs Gobins gave his blessings to the church (MNM 14439).

Mārciena Orthodox Church. The 20th century

A photo from the beginning of the 20th century gives an insight to the church atmosphere during the celebration. There are many people from the church community dressed in Sunday clothes gathered around the church, the priest, church flags, and they are all listening to small symphonic band playing (Figure 2).



Figure 2. At the Mārciena Orthodox Church. Beginning of the 20th century (MNM 5142).

According to the monument documentation sheet about Mārciena Orthodox Church registered on 9th July 1928, it describes the church as follows: “Made of stone. Window and door frames made from bricks, as well as the church portal. There are no basements. The ceiling is plastered and painted light blue with darker blue star shaped spots. Other details are painted brown with yellow flowers. The church dome is painted dark blue. The floor is made of wood. The altar room floor is made of cement; it is light grey and dark checker-board parquet. The doors are made of wood, simple brown colour. Two black tin fireplaces.

The entrance is 7 cm lower than the church. There are 3 stones steps outside. Equipment: 2 simple benches, 3 boxes of christening equipment (silver, metal, wood), 1 water jug, 1 cross, three-part candlestick, a newer seven-part candlestick, a bowl for holy water, Bible (covered with silver decorations). Jesus in the Getzeme Garden, Jesus on a Cross (unknown author, around 25 years old). Many blankets, flags, church dishes. There are no bells in the church” (MDC).

The church has survived the First World War. In the 1920s–1930s Mārciena church is one of the objects that symbolises Mārciena in the photos of that era. It is also included as one of the images on a “Greetings from Mārciena!” postcard (Figure 3).



Figure 3. View of Mārciena region in the 1930s (MNM 32043).

The church was not significantly destroyed also during the Second World War. On 8th January 1945, a report by Aleksands Apinis and Pēteris Tropulins, two members of the War damage assessment commission, was made that stated how much damages had been caused by the German army. It stated that 33%, 1/3 of church building itself was damaged, the rest of the buildings – about 10% damaged. They also stated how much of the church inventory was stolen (clothing, various objects from the altar, furniture, icons, books, etc.) (MNM 27481).

However the photo taken in the 1950s does not show any significant church exterior damage (Figure 4).

Figure 4. Mārciena church in the 1950s (MNM Plg. 3825).



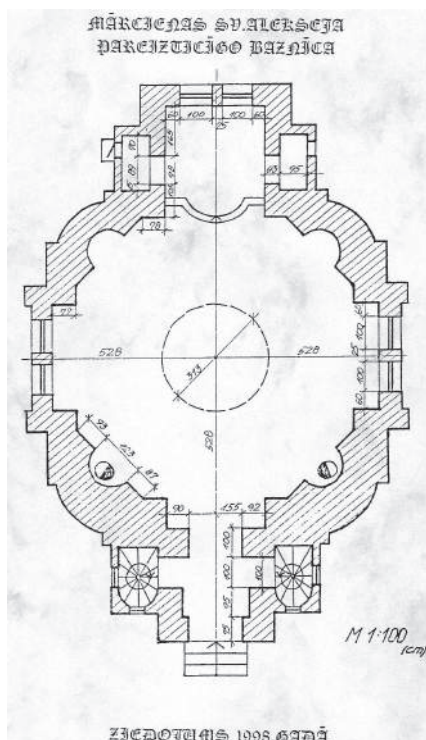


Figure 5. Appreciation card for donations to the church (according to resources by MDC).

that the local newspaper wrote numerous times about Mārciena church, that was now just stone ruins, and about the first educated Latvian architect that created it (Ivanova 1996). The new Mārciena Orthodox Church community was officially registered in 1998 and since then church reconstruction work has begun. According to the Monument documentation centre of the State Inspection for Heritage Protection data, information sheets about the church were made and also an appreciation card was created for all the people that donated to the church (Figure 5).

Mārciena Orthodox Church. The 21th century

The first church service in the church was held in the church garden on 6th June 1998. The renovation of the church was completed by 2010. There were no windows or doors in the church, the walls were covered in mould, and there was a brick floor. In 2006 there were no church benches, no altar painting, no glass in windows (Alberte 2006). In the beginning of 2009 windows were still covered with plastic and there was a tiny fireplace in the church. Later that year on 18th March crosses and domes were added and a proper fireplace was built in (Figures 6, 7).

In 1928 the church did not have any bell. In 1929 a church bell was made in Liepāja at “Becker and Co”. Nowadays priest Mihails Aršvila told a tale that the original bell had disappeared during the Soviet times, allegedly it was put in a truck, a lot of grains were poured over it and it was taken to Ukraine (Elsiņa 2010).

During the later years the church was used as a storage space and since 1970 the building itself was open and left to decay. There was an USSR army military base in Mārciena, with drones’ dislocation base in Mārciena. It remains unknown when the crosses were torn out and when other damage was done to the church.

In 1994 a report by State Inspection for Heritage Protection states that the rooftop cover of the church has been crashed and there is little of the roof left. The interior has remained the same, the floor is made of stone, the walls are light blue. In the community building there is wooden floor. The walls outside are made of large pieces of stone, windows and door frames are made of red bricks (MDC).

Madona History and Art Museum did a research field trip to the Mārciena region in 1996. After



Figures 6, 7. Adding the church domes, 18th March 2009 (Photo by L. Ivanova).



In the beginning of 2010 the interior was already renovated as well, there was a new floor and new window glass was added. The iconostasis was still in the making process at that time. Neither the artist painting the icons, nor the person who donated money for it wanted to expose their names (Elsīņa 2010). Church interior in 2009 and Reconstructed Mārciena church in 2013 (Figures 8, 9). Reconstructed Mārciena church in 2013 (Figure 10).



Figure 8. Church interior in 2009 (Photo by L. Ivanova).



Figure 9. Church interior in 2013 (Photo by I. Zvirgzdiņš).



Figure 10. Reconstructed Mārciena church in 2013 (Photo by I. Zvirgzdiņš).

Two out of the three churches in the Madona region that were created by J. F. Baumanis are now reconstructed and utilised by church – Bučauska (used by orthodox and catholic communities) and Mārciena. In order to reconstruct these historical monuments, donations have been received from the government and the local community.

Conclusions

One of the churches planned and projected by Jānis Frīdrihs Baumanis – the Mārciena Orthodox Church that was created in the 1870s – began to decay and collapse quite rapidly a century later. After a new orthodox community was founded in 1998, this historical monument was reconstructed with the help of financial support from the government, local authority and donations.

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Environmental Landscape Aesthetics as a Healing Factor

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Abstract

In the world there is a growing interest of the researches about the positive influence of landscaping environment on human health. The aesthetically high-valued landscaping environment of health care institutions provides faster physical and mental recovery to a patient. With the help of various landscape components the environment is enriched aesthetically and there are created comfortable and secure conditions for a patient. For to giving rise to the aesthetics there is the cogitation of feelings, which is characteristic of the nature and other spaces of environment. Over the time the understanding of the beautiful and aesthetical has become substantial and more multi-ridged. Nowadays it is not accepted to look at some beauty object, or beauty landscape and environment one-sidedly and relatively. The landscape should ensure the communication expressions of two kinds – both on the physically and emotionally sensory dimensions, which could have a deep effect on a person, its attitude to the reality and to itself. The aesthetically high-valued landscaping environment improves not only the health of a patient but also gives a person satisfaction and improves their welfare for comparatively low costs.

Key words: Visual Communication Environment, Landscape, Aesthetics, Therapeutic Environment, Rehabilitation of Outdoor Space, Harmony.

Introduction

Landscape art is the art of creating gardens, parks and other scenic environment objects using composition, perspective, and the theory of light and colour, using natural and artificial materials (Ожергов 2003). Landscape planning requires complying with building and scenic environment of harmony and common harmony on the basis of which the opportunities to meet people's spiritual, cultural, educational, economic and other activities are created.

Objective: to analyse and summarize therapeutics of landscapes and gardens research studies, taking into account the human and nature relations and physical/mental health, influencing factors that promote interdisciplinary approaches to evaluation, planning and sustainability of rehabilitation gardens in Latvia.

With the help of different landscape elements in the environment it is aesthetically rich, providing the same favourable sanitary hygiene conditions and increasing the comfort of

people in the environment (Теодоронский 1994; Теодоронский 2003). The term “aesthetics” from Greek language means sensations, feelings (Zeile 1989; Baldunchiks 1999). The beginnings of aesthetics is associated with German philosopher, rationalist A. Baumgarten, who for the first time in the year of 1735 represents science, whose origins are found in the distant past, but understanding the subject substantively and its structure is changed by mankind and time (Zeile 1989). Aesthetics is based on the sense of a statement, which is characterized by natural disasters and other environmental areas. Aesthetic environment research is based on the entire system as a whole, as the aesthetic view of diverse types of transformations is:

- Theoretical laws of aesthetics;
- Practical – the environment and human relationship between behavioural manifestations;
- Aesthetic cultural and artistic interaction.

Human and environmental study of the relationship between behaviour is often used in philosophical aesthetics of sociological analysis. Basically, aesthetic environmental value is determined by the local culture, and during the folk years inherited views and assumptions made in space and time may somewhat vary.

The word “aesthetic” in literature is often used to refer to the beautiful and noble (Kundziņš 2004). A differentiated approach to the issue of nature and beauty is described by De Botton: “We are each naturally settled on the idea of beauty, netting it seems that our visual and emotional needs, in fact constant external guidance to help them decide what they should take note of and appreciate” (De Botton 2006). This “external guidance” should be based on certain rules and guidelines that determine the appropriate relations between nature and the material that is introduced by it. Only then it will help them to achieve harmony between people and the environment (De Botton 2006).

Landscape is a visual phenomenon, as defined in the 1970s by the Countryside Commission “the spectacle is presented by the countryside” (Countryside Commission 1970: 2) or as described in 1929 by *Granö* (translated in 1997). *Granö* divides the perceived environment into “*the proximity*, which we perceive with all our senses, and *farther away landscape*, which extends to the horizon and which we perceive by eyesight alone” (*Granö* 1929: 19).

The perception of beauty and aesthetic, as the time passes, has become increasingly sophisticated in content. Nowadays, beautiful things – the landscape or the environment are adopted to be regarded one-sidedly and relatively. Improved environment for aesthetic appeal to us must involve not just the beautiful and noble, but also reflect the landscape elements: comic, tragic and even weird harmonic characters.

The Communicative Aspect of the Sense

Spatial planning, particularly in the area of visual programming should be based on knowledge of the behavioural and psychological needs (Osikowska, Przetacznik 2007). Accord-

ding to people's basic needs there are created specific landscape elements, structures and areas (Lanninger, Langarova 2010). Gardens can encourage social interaction. Social support enhances immune functions, promotes better moods, and produces better treatment compliance. Gardens can encourage this interaction if they are easily accessible to patients, families, staff and offer groupings of lightweight, moveable chairs. Healing occurs because the rehabilitation gardens promote: relief from symptoms, stress reduction and improvement in overall sense of wellbeing and hopefulness in a green space. Any environment can promote healing, but rehabilitation gardens are particularly able to do so because humans are hard-wired to find nature engrossing and soothing (Cooper-Marcus, Barnes 1995; Cooper-Marcus, Barnes 1999).

Landscape elements must be functional, focusing on communications – stimulating, developing and improving people's individual needs, and satisfy the desires (Relph 1976; Zube 1987; Lanninger 2010). Aesthetic value of the landscape itself includes recreational and communicative expressions. Aesthetically communicative landscape provides two types of environmental perception. One of the types when people perceived the environment's *physical environmental communication*, characterized as direct contact with the surrounding environment. But the second, characterized by emotional feelings, is called *sensor communications*. Sensory sensations developed by the environment, present in textures, sounds, colours, and other elements that make up the aesthetic environment. They are mainly characterized through individual human feelings and senses – smell, taste, touch, sight, hearing and also imagination (Яргина 1991; Ziemeļniece 1998; Ode 2003; Zigmunde 2010). While the presence of recreational functions with a wide range of landscape ads to the range of activities that are divided into active and passive activities. Every activity can both enrich the landscape and lower the aesthetic quality of the landscape, in addition to the functions and environment, creating the perception of diversity.

The landscape can be filled with pointless things, but it can be filled, and filled with meaning, functionally and aesthetically significant things. With all the things a man is experiencing as meaningful as that makes sense, there is also happiness and development. Sense estimation and not disappearance leads to meaningless elements in the landscape, which calls into question all the common aesthetic quality of the landscape. At the soul level there is a link between man and nature, the meaning that is able to awaken emotions and fulfil the life for a long time (Šmids 2011). If you can address a human landscape emotionally, engaging activities, then one can say that the environment is fully landscaped and is capable of mentally, through positive emotions, heal the human soul physically. Today's technically advanced era, fast and clever material – minded humanity lacks elementary humanity, characterized by the lack of emotion. Feelings must be awakened, they should be developed and enriched. Versatile environmental perception is important. It enriches people emotionally and allows to see not only material, but also aesthetic value of the environment. The more versatile man's feelings are, because they are more nuanced, the sharper man reacts to the surrounding landscape of environmental phenomena. Consequently, the human and nature relationship is deeper and wider.

Also, it should be observed that the different professional groups within the same landscape you see quite different elements because there is perception that fastidious down the experience, professional interests, vision specialization and the criteria of *accessibility* and *visibility* are used (Nikodemus, Rasa 2005). Each person has his own thoughts about landscape, according to the individual, subjective perception, and requirements (Melluma, Leinerte 1992; Hägerhäll 1999; Ode 2003). Environmental communication based on environmental consciousness of communication model, which was created in Latvia from 1997–1998. This model formed the basis of Latvian German psychology professor Dietmar Bolz – environmental awareness of the base concept. Environmental awareness communication model consists of four interacting elements that affect people's environmental awareness:

1. Knowledge.
2. Emotional experience and interest.
3. Values and attitudes (an aesthetic element of the system).
4. Behaviour.

The model is applied to Environmental Education and Environmental Management Master study programmes, University of Latvia, Institute of Environmental Science Management (Lagzdiņa, Bendere, Ozola, Brizga, Kauliņš 2010).

Citizens who are aware of the environmental impact on their quality of life, safety and health are the most interested in the environment and landscapes. Wildlife watching and beliefs inheritance has a long tradition in the field of environment. Most of the young people and those living in urban landscapes and environment are not paying so much attention. Most of the information from the environmental media, which is superficial and incomplete information on natural values – not only material, but also emotional and spiritual values of nature. Environmental value is determined not only material, but also measurable aesthetic value and esteem.

Aesthetics concern not only the value of the landscape beauty and the appreciation of natural processes but also the recognition of the aesthetics' value embodied in the built environment, the city landscape and countryside are shaped by human action. Admitting the human hand leads us to acknowledge that what people have done to the landscape is not always good and not always beautiful.

Nowadays the aesthetics include fairly complicated structure and patterns based on a person's emotional and physical manifestations of attitude. A variety of different landscapes can affect a person's physical and emotional health (Величковский, Кирпичев, Суравергина 1997). With increasing research and findings of the role of aesthetic value in human environmental perception, there has been created a separate brand of aesthetics, which takes the form of technical aesthetics. *Technical aesthetics* are paying more attention to landscape design (design – art, project and their interrelations) values. It is based on the aesthetic and ethical principle of mutual interaction and various *environmental features practical functions with their aesthetic appeal*. The green area of rehabilitation institutions'

design planning play a big role in the art of sociology, in direct contact with people as a specific aesthetic form requirements, universal design, different levels of perception and preferences by individual social groups. Comprehensive and rich aesthetic application of the principle of the rehabilitation centre outdoor space concept creation, promote harmonious development of the personality, among patients. The activity of different ages should be engaging people with mobility impairments, hearing impairments, small children, and sensory stimulation. Rehabilitation of the garden's mission is to improve human health and well-being, to promote healing, thanks to the contact with nature. Often these patients revealed the negotiations longing for natural beauty, after the bird of peace – voices, the Earth and bright flower perfume. Many of them are just as trapped in a rehabilitation centre in the wall, without being able to enjoy things that for healthy people seem self-evident. Professional and well established gardens at rehabilitation centres and health care institutions enable people with disabilities to take scenic environment when viewing, touching, hearing, smelling, tasting and inhaling while being outdoors. Only in silence, enjoying the natural God-given wealth and grandeur, a sense of the season changing, it is possible to relax from the urban environment, obtaining peace and spiritual balance (Balode 2014).

Landscape must be accessible and safe – *keeping the principles of universal design*. Landscape communication improves quality of walking paths, handrails, safety wheelchair ramps and borders, car parking, braille and other scriptures, also the design elements that make a person feel free and comfortable to the widest possible range of visitors. Playful accents environment brings in decorative sculpture and architecture of small form. Many have known the source of the sulphur water design with a lizard figure in Kēmeri sanatorium park in Latvia, wooden sculptures, Tērvete nature park at the nearby existing rehabilitation centre in Tērvete, Brukna Manor rehabilitation garden wooden sculptures and two lions at the entrance to the estate, as well as imploringly angels, pleading Grotto (Figures 1, 2, 3), and other emotions to interesting environmental accents, tea houses, gazebos.

Choosing sculptural works for medical institutions, the attention should be paid to patients' emotional state. The world's scientists figured out that abstract art in the landscape of health care can cause hazard for anxiety, fear and anxiety. A classic case of the "wrong" kind of art occurred in a US hospital where abstract figures of birds in a courtyard were also viewed with fear and dislike by cancer patients in an adjacent ward, and eventually had to be removed (Ulrich 1999).

Visual – Sight Aspect

Beauty sensation of natural aspiration is to maintain harmony between man and the environment. In relation to the landscape, the understanding of aesthetic and non-aesthetic factors is important. Each man possesses the intuitive notions of what is beautiful and what is ugly, considering the proportions, rhythms, colours, textures, and other signs that you have everything that we see around us. Rehabilitation of the Latvian landscape cultivates and maintains *open, distant view of the line*, at the height of standing and



Figure 1



Figure 2



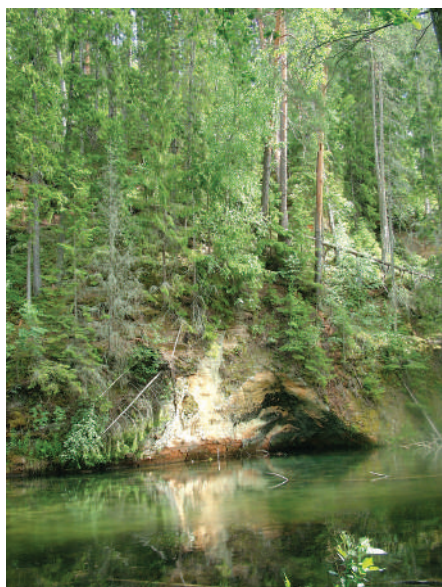
Figure 3

seated human, and the view through the window into the surrounding water, forest, rural landscapes. Of course, that each culture has its own understanding of the beautiful, noble. Godchild's works featuring landscapes as visual background, associated with everything that is visible to eyes, mind and imagination (Goodchild 2007). These various elements of the landscape are analysed in relation to objects, components and features. The most significant effect on the perception is three-dimensional shapes, shadows, light and colour interaction. As such, J. P. Lenclos and D. Lenclos research on colour geography shows that colour is an important component of visual harmony of landscape development, supported by other researchers in the world (Tarajko-Kowalska, Kowalski 2007).

“[...] For the human eye there is no space without its colour and from the colour that does not create its own space. When you open your eyes the texture of the entire visual field will consist of one thing: and that is colour ...” (Lancaster 1996: 60). Landscape colour, each creating their own 3D. Architects and colourists around the world, as, for example, Michael Lancaster, France Cler, Jean-Philippe Lenclos, Shingo Yoshida, Fabio Rieti, Begona Munoz, Leonhard Oberascher, Giovanni Brino, Bernard Lassus and Eva Fay noted increased attention to the role of colour in the environment, building architecture and urban environment, and the rural landscape, which is characterized as an environmental architecture (Caivano 2006). People are exposed to the environment in which they live and stay. Russian esthetician Chernyshevsky said: “The sense of beauty cannot be separated with hearing and vision.” And “the sense of colour is the most popular form in the sense of beauty” (Heinrich Marx, Engels, 1963: 145, Dong, Kong 2009).

Figures 1, 2, 3. The rehabilitation of Brukna Manor garden's angels imploring sculptures, wood sculptures and grottoes, 2013 (Photo by L. Balode).

Environment colours affecting not only the human sense of beauty, but also effectively acting on emotion and imagination. Studies throughout the world have described cases, in which people are in *a green environment*, and their body temperature and pulse, respiration decrease and are much slower, people become quieter, the blood pressure lowers and it is much easier to deal with the unrest. The world's most widely used surgical halls are in green colour. Fragmented structure of the city with many buildings, information, colour tones, give people strain to relax in the green nature. This is why all rehabilitation centres are located outside of cities. They are closer to the sea, nature parks, reserves and other natural landscapes (Figures 4, 5). Not only the rehabilitation centre's visual landscape is important, but also the surrounding or nearby available landscapes with viewpoints, trails, sights, and other landscape-forming elements.



Figures 4, 5. Cēsis. Gauja National Park. 140 m long and 10 m high sandstone mirrors cliffs of “*Cīruliši*” – that for years has been close to the sanatorium, now “*Cīruliši*” nursing home and rehabilitation centre the purpose of Līgatne walks, 2007 (Photo by L. Balode).

In public education and cultural education of the environment, it is of a great importance to explore so unique and endangered plant species, geological outcrops and operating non-modified landscape in Latvian National parks, reserves and sanctuaries (Kļaviņš, Zaļoksnis 2011).

Working landscapes with colour tones have followed the regional cultures, traditions, climate, land use and vegetation richness. Creating aesthetic landscapes attention is drawn to the *seasonal changes in plant colours* – leaves, shoots, flowers and fruits (Jaszczak 2008). Basically, through geography, history, culture, religion and politics colour have shaped the nation's spiritual body in time and space. Gardens and parks are at the forefront of architectural manors often encompass a broad range of representative rooms, decorated with sculptures, fountains, pools, children's playground, separate rest rooms and sitting places outside for the festivities. The building of harmonious architecture, facades and

mature plantings tonal landscape formed between the visual image of the garden, emotional changes throughout the year (Figures 6, 7).



Figures 6, 7. Krimulda Manor rehabilitation centre: fall and spring, 2013 (Photo by L. Balode).

Aesthetically appealing landscapes retain their properties all year round and seasonal changes in the scenery never reduce the level of attractiveness (Кириллова 2009). Through the environment we are able to perceive the aesthetic through natural stimuli that dynamically changes over the seasons. This environmental stimulus affect people living emotionally behind the cold, snowy winter anticipating bird twitter of spring and after spring – a green summer, but after summer – the glorious autumn leaves. Rehabilitation of the landscape of Latvia in creating seasonal changes is not heeded, which significantly reduces the attractiveness of the landscape aesthetic values. The rest of the world is increasingly focused on seasonal changes in the scenery. Reflective colour game, plant rehabilitation in environment causes extra emotions in other seasons. As an example, let me mention the Sir Harold Hillier gardens – Hillier Arboretum. The Arboretum is 72 hectares accommodating over 42,000 trees and shrubs in about 12,000 taxa, notable collections of oaks, camellia, magnolia and rhododendron (Figures 8, 9).



Figures 8, 9. The Sir Harold Hillier Gardens – Hillier Arboretum in autumn (<http://www.woollygreen.com/useful-info/gardens-to-visit/autumn/sir-harold-hillier-gardens-hants/>; <http://thegallopimgardener.blogspot.com/2012/10/gardens-for-all-seasons-sir-harold.html>).



Figure 10. The Sir Harold Hillier Gardens – Hillier Arboretum in winter (<http://artizanhorticulture.blogspot.com/2013/01/gardening-for-winter-interest.html>).

Just a brief ray of sunshine is enough to bring this wonderful garden alive, with all the multi-coloured cornus stems ranging from green to yellow, orange and red, and silvery evergreens in between. This garden is always a joy to visit, whatever the season, having fine winter features. They add structure and colour when other plants have shed their leaves and abandoned us to their winter slumber. It is a backbone of evergreens, perhaps, some shrubs or trees with colourful fruits, dangling like precious jewels from arching branches.

The garden of surprises with an interesting game of plant colour, both pages and sprouts, textures and shapes. Planning the rehabilitation of the landscape also requires attention to the diversity of landscape, *in the perspective* of landscape *composition* and composition of these individual *elements of contrasts* – morning, evening and even season averages. Just observing seasonal and diurnal changes of rehabilitation, in the garden it is possible to play with people's feelings, positive experiences and moods that work on rehabilitation of people. Interesting winter landscape of emotions has been seen in the northern coast of Estonia in the Baltic, the highest waterfall at Ontika (30.5 m) – Valaste. The waterfall itself is surrounded by winter fairy landscape of ice and magnificent organ of the iced lace with a tree, lamppost, stairs, benches and anything else that happens to be on the road. One has to catch his breath for a moment, as the landscape view is fabulous and worth the admiration even in the severe winter season (Figures 10, 11, 12, 13).

These variable mood landscapes are known as *the natural dynamics in time and space*. In the development of natural dynamics it is important to follow the measured sense of harmony and continuously variable development of landscape, without losing the ecological landscape values (Kļaviņš 1975). The time spent in nature, or the “*Green time*”, the ability to soothe, helps to improve the success, achievement in school, reduce mental stress and illnesses. So-called “Savannah hypothesis” argues that people calm in an open landscape with rare growing trees (Heerwagen, Orians 1993), but according to modern scientists, a research has shown that people are exposed to the rehabilitative location *biologically diverse parks and landscapes* (Williams, Cary 2002; Fuller, Irvine, Devine-Wright, Warren, Gaston 2007). It is important to maintain and increase biodiversity of plant, animal and bird diversity (Figures 14, 15).



Figures 11, 12, 13.
Waterfall Valaste in the winter season, 2006
(Photo by L. Balode).



Figures 14, 15. Biologically diverse landscape with Latvian waters, wetlands, meadows and scrub at the rehabilitation centre “Dūjas”, Jēkabpils district, 2013 (Photo by I. Rancāns and L. Balode).

Some of the natural habitat rehabilitation gardens and parks, with limited human intervention, provide valuable living space to many wild plants and animals. In addition, rehabilitation of existing gardens and parks along rivers, lakes, bays, canals or ponds consist of different degrees of wet places and landscapes which are of a particular value to wildlife and wetland plants. The broader is biodiversity, the more diverse and visually interesting is the landscape.

Example of how the aesthetic quality of the landscape is evaluated in terms of the material is found in real estate taxation practice, where the price of land is determined by the specific criteria scale. With the lowest number of points for monotonous landscape without aesthetic artistic elements of nature: desert, monotonous green meadow, salt lake, step and in turn, landscape with the aesthetic elements of nature: trees, river, mountains, lakes, rocks – the taxation price is materially better. But, biologically diverse landscape, relief of a landscape market price will be even higher than the landscape without the components which are encouraging emotions. Seasonal dynamic of temporary aesthetic landscape could evoke essences of feelings to time, signalling that the all varies. And also the people of inner feelings seem to change with the changing nature and time. Viewing plants, flowers, water, and other nature elements reduce patient's anxiety, even if the patient has an axiom.

Conclusions

Developed high-quality rehabilitation and other medical institutions with gardens and parks concentrated around them with extensive opportunities for human exposure to deeply emotional world with which a person can create harmonious development of personality and attitude towards the environment.

The social role of all times is highly valued in the development of arts in general. Soviet psychologist L. Vygotsky (*Л. Выготский*) had classified: “public art is a weapon”, “through which it includes social life in our own essence, truer and more intimate party” (Выготский 1960: 421–422). So – the concepts of aesthetics, art and environment, created in the landscape, must produce an artistic effect by preserving the natural landscape values that could deeply affect people, their attitude towards reality and towards themselves.

Landscape is revealing and reflecting the decision taken earlier, the positive and negative effects. Awaken in people, the perception that society will disappear in the natural environment, indifference to the ongoing problems with present interest in waking up excitement, emotions, frustration about the current situation and problems in scenic surroundings. How much we would appreciate nature, so we would appreciate one another's existence in nature! High quality scenery, especially scenery with natural-appearing landscapes, enhances people's lives and benefits society.

Nature is the space in which we can connect spiritually, both by ourselves and outside ourselves. Nature scenes of mental harmony reduce the fatigue and refresh mind. Gardens provide psychological, physical, emotional, social and spiritual benefits to humans. A large part of this is because of the positive reaction in humans having their nature, so it is important for healing gardens to have lots of green vegetation, flowers and water.

The greatest attention must be paid to rehabilitation research areas, key elements and scenic views to identify attractive. Assess existing vegetation seasonal averages, and where necessary, to improve the landscape of visual rehabilitation.

Ecosystem function analysis and application of the principles of ecological planning in rehabilitation gardens and in parks to ensure conservation of biodiversity in the future, which is one of the preconditions for sustainable landscape development, and one with a safe, accessible environment – rehabilitation patients provided authorities valuable learning, cognition and recreational landscape.

Striving to adapt each scene a visitor needs, safety and comfort – with universal design principles. With the visual quality of the landscape image it is possible to improve patient health and rehabilitation and possible to get people to be in communication with nature and with each other – outside of the rehabilitation centre.

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Less Known Stone Signs in Latvia

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Abstract

All kinds of human-made signs are commonly found on stones in Latvia. Most of them are made relatively recently. In the recognition of ancient signs, it is necessary to take account of nature-made shapes and fragmentariness of the preserved signs. In this situation, proper classification of signs and their characteristic features is in order. The results obtained can serve as clues for the detection and recognition of ancient signs, as well as for more detailed studies in the future.

Key words: Source of Stone Material, Criteria for Recognition, Petroglyphs, Stone Carvings, Symbols.

Introduction

Although there are significant disagreements regarding stones found in the natural environment of Latvia – their origins and forms – we can be quite sure that glaciers have carried more than 78% of our stones a long way from Scandinavia. The remaining 22% of stones (mainly limestone and dolomite) have been in approximately equal proportions either carried here by a glacier from the current areas of Estonia and the Baltic Sea or gouged and quarried by the glacier out of local rocks here.

Stones are pieces of rock with a diameter of more than 10 cm, and, in the course of time, they have been not only moved by ice and water but also affected by frost, sun, wind, salts dissolved in water, and other factors. Since the resistance of rocks to weathering, spalling and similar processes varies by dozens of times, stones found in nature display a high variety of shapes. However, notwithstanding this multiformity of stones in nature, most of their shapes are impermanent and rapidly disappear, and the stones gradually gain rounded, smoothed surfaces or else split into smaller pieces. The natural forms of stones are assessed using W. C. Krumbein's (1941) roundness scale and Th. Zingg's (1935) shape classification indices.

The use of these and other indices and parameters in assessing the natural shapes of stones is important, as it prompts paying special attention to uncharacteristic parameters and values, which in many cases reflect human-made changes that are not always directly measurable, particularly if they have been made in ancient times.

Furthermore, we also need to take into account that stones retain only part of the human-made changes, because most of these changes decay as a result of weathering. Wind and water enhance the process of decay, carrying the weathered material away and thus leaving their marks. Moreover, humans themselves can repeatedly bring about such changes, using one and the same stone for various purposes at different periods of history (Encyclopedia of World Religions 2000). Yet, only in a small number of cases it is possible to determine the relative time when one or another change was made.

The earliest identified pieces of evidence of human-made signs in Latvian stones are simple: just some lines and scratchings (streaks, stripes, curved lines, circles and ellipses, broken and wavy lines and their different combinations), small in size, vague, shallow and poorly preserved. Simple stone hewing traces are more noticeable, such as defects, cuttings, broken forms, outlines of existing or imaginary figures, with regular shapes and dimensions; however, the most important and most valuable stone marks are signs, their fragments and groups.

Recognition of Hewed Stones and Their Aggregations

If signs were easily recognisable, found in generally accessible places and clearly noticeable to passers-by, they would have long since disappeared, would not have lasted until now. Recognition in nature is not simple and straightforward – until the shape and surface of a particular stone is subject to rigorous scrutiny. While it is relatively easy to take one's bearings on roadsides, edges of fields, by homesteads, in river valleys, ravines, etc. and to start doing a specific evaluation work, it is much more difficult to recognise ancient stone piles and cairns in forests, where they are covered with debris, overgrown with lichen and moss, thus becoming indiscernible. In pine forests a definite indication is a sharp and localised thickening of the podzol layer not associated with the tree root system development. It is worth noting that only in rare cases the evaluation object is a separate stone; most often one can find all kinds of stone clusters, areas of dispersed stones, cairns, piles, etc. Many such piles have been restocked for several times, economically useful stones have been taken from there, and in effect today it will be difficult to distinguish even an old collapsed wall of a country seat granary from a simple oblong-shaped stone pile on the edge of a field. Therefore, most of the characteristic features should be attributed to stone clusters in general and only a part of them – to individual stones (Seglins 2012).

Even if most of the stones that have been hewed in ancient times display their own (individual) distinguishing features, it is possible to single out some common characteristics. They are several, and I will briefly describe them, from the most general evidence to specific, diagnostic characteristics.

The initial selection and sorting. The simplest way of preparation of stones to some desired objective is selection according to some specific principles and criteria. The next stage is stone sorting, also chopping to an appropriate size. A telling example of such sorting and chopping is the so-called Devil's boats, widely known in Kurzeme, also with recognisable

fragments in Vidzeme (e.g., by Tuja). In human-made stone piles and layings, the lack of light carbonate rocks (such as dolomite, limestone and marl) and the sheer presence of stones from igneous and metamorphic rocks, is always indicative of the selection made according to shape and size. Usually they are pieces of rock of approximately the same size (differences in dimensions rarely exceed 15%). Typically, the required size is obtained by chopping, and traces of this activity should be recognisable in different directions on a particular stone surface. Notably, there are no chopping rejects, small stone fragments or chips found in the immediate surroundings, which may be an insinuation that the material has been delivered to the site already pre-prepared. If so, a possibility is open for interpreting this fact as an early manifestation of craft.



Figure 1. A typical composition (Photo by V. Segliņš).

A characteristic *composition* – oval-shaped stone piles with a single larger stone at the head, bearing some traces of signs, and then, a few metres away, a smaller circle (ring) made of 5–6 small stones. Such stone piles are well known in many parts of Vidzeme and Kurzeme, where the sizes of these compositions vary over a wide range (Figure 1). However, in Latgale much larger stones are typically used in stone structures, although this may also indicate that these stones were moved in later times.

At the same time, the exclusionary indications in determining earliest hewing evidence are traces of the use of cohesive substances on stone surfaces, smooth surfaces and grooves made for connecting stone blocks, and chiselling marks. The presence of carbonate rock shivers and stones clearly indicate that the studied object has at least been stocked up with stones removed from fields, taken from old stone fencings and enclosures, or that a country road is not far.

Stone Hewing Techniques and Their Variety

The simplest signs common and easily recognisable in most stones in Latvia are separate streaks, scratches, linear marks, and the absolutely dominant part of them have formed as a result of natural processes. Human-made marks differ by their heterogeneity; one can see uneven application of force, use of unfitting tools in making a given carving.

In any case, the first indication is a *deliberately imparted shape*, which deviates from the natural shape of stones. Such a stone has chopped sides and carvings in the surface. It is worth noting that pre-treatment, i.e. chopping the stone for the desired external shape is always done from several points, applying the force in different directions.

The subsequent hewing is almost always carried out in keeping with the following sequence: rough chopping in several rounds; then cutting the sides to obtain retouched side surfaces, similarly to flint tools; after that comes the stone surface levelling with cuttings in different directions (Figure 2); next is surface finish after the levelling – smoothing with circular motions; finally, although in rare cases only, additional shapes or individual external contour elements are created after the smoothing.



Figure 2. Cuttings in different directions, allowing the assessment of tool sizes and properties (Photo by V. Segliņš).

The aforementioned procedures can be not only evaluated in terms of tools

and different hewing techniques used in shaping particular stones; they also provide general information on working tools used in the aforementioned stages. Thus, we can assess the working tool's blade width and material quality and also the craftsmanship of the ancient sculptors. Speaking of the craftsmanship, it is also important to notice the stonemasons' mistakes and failures, including abandoned, partially chopped, split stones. In general, such indications point to the ancient people's participation in creating the outer shapes and surface textures of stones, and they are suggestive of the likelihood of finding additional signs on the surfaces of such stones.

The Most Characteristic Types of Recognised Signs

The studies conducted so far indicate that the most common marks on stones are all kinds of *streaks, scratches and individual lines*. They are present on approximately 10–20% of all stones, the shape of which has been changed. These lines may be straight, curved, broken, zigzag, branching and dividing, and they have been made in all prehistoric and historic eras. Moreover, oftentimes one and the same stone has marks made at different time periods. Therefore, the recognised lines and marks can be provisionally classified only by their character, shape and blade durability, width of the tools used, and mistakes in the process of hewing.

Slightly less common are simple *carvings and engravings*. However, in many cases the original marks have been chiselled off, destroyed. For this reason, most often they have to be classified under the group tentatively titled *engravings n.e.c. (not elsewhere classified)*.

Line cluster is a characteristic type of recognised signs that deserves separate consideration. The biggest problem in the recognition and identification of the signs of this type lies in distinguishing human-made lines from those formed in the natural weathering process. The most difficult cases are where the ancient people have corrected, widened or deepened the nature-made lines, or where they have disintegrated beyond recognition due to weathe-



Figure 3. Areas prepared in the stone for subsequent making of signs (Photo by V. Segliņš).



Figure 4. A standalone romboedic sign (Photo by V. Segliņš).

These signs are carved relatively deeply, using stone tools, and sometimes earlier signs are deepened or new ones are made with bronze tools. Most often these are standalone signs, connected with the stone edge by an engraved line (Figure 4). Less often there are several interconnected diamond signs, or they come together with the fragments of other unrecognisable signs.

To be sure, stone-carved *sun signs*, known in many ancient cultures, attract special attention. In Latvia, especially in Vidzeme, their representation is highly diversiform. All of them are cut using very simple stone tools and formed as one or two rings with a rise (in larger-sized signs) or depression (in small-sized signs) in the central part. In some cases, there are rays radiating from the outer ring (Figure 5). Compared to the diameter of the outer ring of the sun sign, the rays are rarely more than three times longer. The number, density and line widths of the rays are not uniform and can vary considerably even in one sign. All these details point to the oldness of these signs, the insufficient experience of their makers, and the inadequateness of the tools that have been used in making them.

ring during the subsequent centuries. Some of these lines and their clusters can have a symbolic meaning.

Prepared areas for signs is an important group, because in many cases the signs themselves are not preserved, and only the areas where they were supposed to be put onto have remained intact. It is important to recognise these areas, because there is a possibility that some preserved signs could still be found there (Figure 3). Their sizes are quite different and can range from a few square centimetres to approximately half a square metre, but what is most remarkable is that these areas have undergone multiple transformations that can be discerned. The new area is created by reducing the previous one or setting it differently, deepening it in the stone surface. It is possible that the signs that had been previously engraved there were chiselled off, preparing the area for the subsequent ones.

The most frequently occurring signs are those that have *diamond* and similar shapes. They are relatively small, usually 10–15 cm along the longitudinal axis, although for some of them this size is less than 5 cm, whereas for others it may reach 22–25 cm.

Occasionally there are several sun signs arranged on the stone surface, making a cluster. Mostly they are only a few centimetres in diameter and are scratched into the stone surface using a sharp stone tool. These signs are shallow, not always discernable beneath the moss and lichen overgrowth (Figure 6). Some of these signs were additionally accentuated already in the ancient times, by increasing them in size, widening the lines from approximately 1 mm to 3–4 mm and also extending the rays.

Quite often we can find fragments and broken lines of various signs, whose elements, original appearance and composition are not recognisable. Although there are many groups of such sign fragments, as they occur rather often, they are not easily distinguishable from fissures of a natural origin and formations of selective weathering. In this case, only careful scrutiny of the lines can give some hints regarding the properties of the tool used and the treatment of the stone surface prior to carving the signs.

In addition it should be taken into account that in ancient times extraordinary natural phenomena and objects, such as large stones, their natural shapes, patterns of fissures and shades of colour, etc. always stimulated abstract thinking and making of generalisations. In this sense, a symbol or a part of it fortuitously discerned in a network of natural fissuring should also be taken into consideration as an inspiring factor. In ancient times, such natural stone texture heterogeneities and fissure patterns were selectively accentuated, using tools to tailor the stone to some ritual purposes. This is evidenced by numerous engravings in almost all widely known cult stones in Latvia (e.g., the Devil's Horn in Alsviki, the Ruler of Vadakste, the Borderstone of Stukmani, et al.). This approach can also be recognised in the Parade Stone of Ezerciems, in which, even after the removal of a few centimetres thick weathered stone layer, having virtually transformed this stone into a sculpture, one can still notice sun signs as well as a number of diamond signs on those sides of the stone that have been relatively less worked on in later times. All we need to do is to turn the stone and fit it up in the original position, allowing recognition of symbols in the stone's natural fissure pattern.



Figure 5. A simple sun sign carved into the stone (Photo by V. Segliņš).



Figure 6. A cluster of sun signs in a stone (Photo by V. Segliņš).



Figure 7. Likely figure of a bear's head (Photo by V. Segliņš).

In this context, a number of ancient stone figure fragments preserved until today are interpretable rather ambivalently. A telling example is a stone resembling bear's head (Figure 7). This stone has been cut with simple tools, surely indicating that the figure is age-old, while the completeness and proportionateness of the form suggest that the beginnings of plastic art may be dated back to a considerably distant past.

For all that it should be emphasised that the recognition of signs is an extremely perilous venture, as it always involves subjective presuppositions and interpretations. Verification is possible only in

a small number of cases, and even then there no definitive proofs. Unfortunately, there are lots of false assumptions, deceit and also cases of abuse, creating pseudo-historical objects and testimonies. In this, we should not underestimate the role of today's information sources, especially the Internet, which is full of absurdities and conjectures and only in rare cases presents data and evidence that can facilitate research.

Conclusions

Stone as a material has been hewed and used since the Early Stone Age, and it has a wide variety of applications for different purposes today. Oftentimes one and the same stone has entered into economic circulation repeatedly at different time periods, and each such event has left its imprints. These imprints from different time periods are not always distinguishable, and their dating is an important challenge.

Whereas it is possible to describe and classify the stone hewing methods and characteristic shapes bestowed on stones, their arrangement in exact chronological order is practically impossible. Every sign must be studied and analysed individually, and even then the time of its creation can be estimated only rather generally.

Evaluation of stone surfaces is extremely time-consuming and not always successful. Therefore, the study of these ancient testimonies should not be made even more difficult or even impossible by moving the stones needlessly, making new marks on them or supplementing or modifying the old ones. Unfortunately, this happens rather frequently.

Our distant ancestors created stone signs neither for amusement, nor out of boredom, nor in seeking acclaim. These signs are for the most part associated with burial grounds and sacred or memorial sites that were of great importance to their creators. Today this aspect is not always respected, and the existing manner in which prehistoric values and information

are communicated is not facilitating the protection and preservation of this cultural heritage. This communication leaves much to be desired and there is a need of substantial improvements.

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Reflection of the Ancient Life Rhythm in the Decorations of Distaffs

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Abstract

Distaffs morphology reflects the technological properties of the used fibre and obtainable thread quality. Distaffs decorations are outstanding examples of ancient folk art and in many cases contain references to the life rhythm, important events in people's lives, and general views about structure of the world.

Key words: Distaff, Signs, Beliefs, Cosmogony.

Introduction

The world described in Latvian folksongs is a subject for multilateral research already for more than a century, and the richness of them clearly indicates that the studies are still in the initial phase. So far studies have dealt less with the expressions of rhythm, sometimes even the monotone of folksongs. Indirectly the rhythm points to the type of work, during which the songs were chanted and recited. Such accordingly uniform, monotonous and prolonged works in rural domestic life were not few, including spinning. Traditionally it is one of the major homework over the year between November and March.

Obtaining thread for the future use in weaving, embroidery or various other household purposes require not only certain knowledge and skills, but also is very time consuming and implies difficult work. In particular, it refers to the period up to the 13th century, when the thread was obtained from fibres by forming and spinning it using the spinning stick (with or without vertebrae). It is a physically demanding work and in a number of ancient cultures it was generally performed only by men.

The circumstances change at the end of 13th century when spinning wheels begin to be used in Europe, but in the second half of the 18th century they are increasingly replaced by various mechanical devices, and the spinning wheel becomes a characteristic household item. Since the last century the spinning wheel is less and less used until its usage becomes a rare activity after the Second World War in Europe and North America, but still it is outspread in many development countries in Africa and Asia.

Spinning wheels are usually complemented by additional tools and in the Northern part of the Europe one of them is a distaff (Latvian – *sprēslika, cērve, vārpsta, ērkulis*; Lithuanian – *verpstė*; Russian – *прялка, дюнце*). In general form the distaff is a wooden tool on which to put wool, linen or other raw material during spinning (Liparte 1997; Liparte 1993). One of distaffs types is a wooden board with various sized holes, and placing the thread through certain hole during spinning, it gets smoother and even. Although the method for obtaining high-quality thread with the distaff is well known in many parts of the world, typically it is outspread only in Northern Europe. Therefore in a number of languages such board distaff is called “Russian distaff”, although it is used not only in Russia, but also in Belarus, Baltic states, South and East Finland as well as a little in the Eastern Sweden. As separate objects, mainly from second half of the 19th century, distaffs are known practically all over Europe, including the British Islands.

Distaffs are small, usually their size is around 15x30 cm, but can be also 30x60 cm or even larger. Furthermore, in the second half of the last century distaffs got noteworthy as ethnographically decorative elements and especially in Lithuania decorative distaffs are made in size of a human body or even larger as peculiar environmental landscape objects for display in public space, in parks and squares. Across the wide area of use their shape can be quite varied from rounded and oval to rectangular or square type. Distaffs can be fixed directly on the spinning wheel or can stand separately aside on a foot – distaffs with foot. They are made from wood which means that their lifetime is not very long, and rarely it is possible to find distaffs which are earlier than the last two centuries. Most often they are made from aspen or linden, in other cases from birch, maple or apple trees and typically they are richly decorated with carvings or decorative paintings, seldom these two techniques are combined.

Distaffs in Latvia have been identified and studied, and the wider known is E. Liparte’s research about the diversity and distribution of names given to the distaffs segregating by morphological characteristics of the three main types of distaffs. The use and variations of distaffs’ names in the Latvian language are quite diverse, including term ascription to other parts of a spinning wheel. In Lithuania distaffs have been studied in different aspects and many of them have been comprehensive reflected in monograph by A. Čepaitienė (*Čepaitienė* 2001).

Research

Additionally to practical importance distaffs mostly are also decorative elements and they are historical testimonies about time when they were made, which applies both to carvers – crafts masters, as well as spinners – the demanding users. Therefore, it is not surprising that in many Nordic countries in folk, folk art and ethnographic museums, especially in Russia and Lithuania there are collected relatively wide and significant collections that provide a comprehensive overview of the diversity of these spinning tools. Also in the Ethnographic Open-Air Museum of Latvia there is a collection of glamorous painted and decoratively carved distaffs with foot, which were used in the 19th century and

in the beginning of 20th century in the southwest Latgale region of Latvia. Rich collection of distaffs is stored in National History Museum of Latvia. The collections in museums are attractive to visitors and are also exposed. As well the distaffs have their place in museum publications and catalogues and they are often highlighted. In the research the scientific literature, especially the ethnographic observations in the Nordic countries were studied, as well as the available museum exhibits.

Results and Discussion

Comparisons made in the study indicate that until the beginning of the last century the production and use of board distaffs mainly covered only the north-east Europe. There developed certain traditions and emerged different areal regarding the variety of manufacturing and decorating. As a result of population migration, the areal changed significantly by expanding towards east and cover the Siberian part of Russia, but in other direction because of the same reasons there came in only separate objects. However, because of many political changes, spinning at home did not take root. The technical progress played its role as well as the availability of yarn. Also the rhythm of life changed and the necessary time, needed for spinning with the wheel, could find smaller number of users. Therefore, the studies about the ancient and modern vanishing traditions and skills, as well as the identification of created material cultural heritage are more important.

Distaffs decoration types and traditions are with a geographical reference and it allows to separate several areals. In terms of scale, the wider area is north of Russian Europe part and here clearly can be separated two quite different regions according to the traditions. Distaffs made in Vologda and Arkhangelsk regions distinguish by rich carvings and paintings. In the decorations dominate ancient signs and symbols of the Sun, stars, the Earth and water – circles, squares, rhombus, broken zigzag and straight lines. They have been known in this region in the past and are widely used in local traditional costumes and other textile applications (Gilchrist 2009; Hilton 2011). It is not certain if in oral folklore there would be given any special or additional importance for these signs and their various combinations, although some researchers mention such possibility (Василенко 1973; Рыбаков 1987). Often these are typical solutions and combinations which are repeated, and craftsmen have varied more by size and shapes of distaffs.

However since the beginning of the 19th century in Mezena and by the coasts of Northern Dvina there started to develop peculiar painting traditions which by Russian ethnographic and folk art scholars (Krestovskaya 1995) are divided into several different art schools (such as, *Permogorskas*, *Rakulas*, *Boreckas* etc.). Among the mentioned schools in particular unusual one is Mezenskas School, because its development can be traced also in decorations of many other household items (goblets, boxes, sledges etc.). All of these items are unique – they are made only in one copy and each of them has an individual painting. It is especially evident in relation to the distaffs with foot which were widespread here. In decorations dominate symbolism of flora and stylized or geometric depictions, more seldom – images with magic birds or red horses with expressed thin legs. Accents are put on lines, external outlines and silhouette, but colours just complement images.

Farther towards the west, in the modern Russian Leningrad Oblast, Kola Peninsula, also in Finland and Estonia the decorations of distaffs are much simpler – these are patterns with traditional sun signs, broken and curved lines, less squares, symbols of Christianity. Not always there are used colours and they are simple – dark red, black, less yellow. Distaffs were similarly decorated in Poland and Pomerania – simple and rare sun signs and dominant plant representations, different colour flower paintings.

Decorations of the oldest known distaffs in Latvia include rosettes, crosses and triangles, but more widely there are known diverse stylized representations of the Sun.

Many folk beliefs are linked with the spinning, for example, in Northern Dvina hurling and tangling thread or contrary – obtaining even thread with a distaff, are attributed to the upcoming events in the spinner's life. In Christianity the spinning tools symbolize women's role in family, the virtue of work.

The spinning process has its symbolic meaning and it has played a significant role in the religions of ancient cultures. The three goddesses of fate in Greek as well as in Roman mythology spin, measure and cut the thread of life. Among other cultures such as Egyptian or Incas, also in Scandinavian, Celtic, Slavic and Baltic mythology the goddesses – spinning guardians are honoured. Spinning tools were also the attributes of magicians and witches, as well casually there were used protection spells enforceable with spinning and thread. There are known traditions to state a desire before starting spinning, as well as spinning with certain wishes to person who would wear clothes made from the textile of the according thread. Bequests were not always positive and here is similarity with the application of incantations (usually by tying knots in the thread), and that is also known from Russian folk tales.

Decorations of distaffs are a kind of miniatures and their compositions are of high artistic value. They depict certain themes, which include world view, symbolism, signs both from Christianity as well as from ancient beliefs, display of nature and domestic activities, symbolism of mirror, decors. The themes change over time and old signs become replaced with symbols which are timely. With the changes of lifestyle and traditions on distaffs there are reflected new motives which describe life rhythm, understanding about beauty and are important according to the time. Ancient symbols are still used but their meaning changes and the grounds are lost, they are used as decors.

Quite a considerable part of the extant distaff decorations is directly associated with the representation of Christianity symbols, often in groups with different signs and images which just fill the space. Such distaffs are highlighted with bright colours and those, exhibited in the museums, indicate that they have not been intensively used in everyday life – rather they have had a decorative or representative function.

Many researchers (*Василенко 1967; Тарановская, Мальцев 1970; Рыбаков 1975*) recognise additional symbolic meaning of widely known sign of the Sun. Thus, a wheel may mark infinity, the beginning and the end. From the original chaos (fibre) the thread by contiguity

with the Sun sign in the central part of the distaff or multiple sun symbols depicts life as an endless thread – it flows as the Sun pass over the sky.

In this sense some of the distaffs should be a little more characterized to sketch out the reflection of the ancient life rhythm and to restrict the free interpretations of many researchers (*Рыбаков* 1975; *Čerpaitienė* 2001; *Vaiškūnas* 2005) regarding the recognised images. More common motives of the distaff decorations (Figure 1) reflect (Figure 1.a) the Sun and its division in separate sectors, while filling with simplified ornaments are not a sufficient argument for its wider interpretation. Similarly the tree with branches, located above the Sun sign, with birds and horses at the base are rather the reflection of German Christianity symbols and signs, than the unique testimony of ancient views on the structure of the world and general cosmogony.

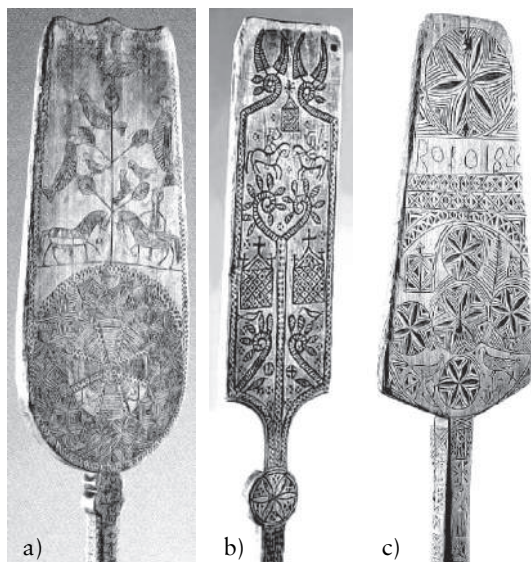


Figure 1. Reflection of the life rhythm in carvings of the old distaffs:

- a) old distaff, which possibly reflects certain ideas about the structure of the world (Lithuania, 19th century),
- b) distaff with conceptual framework, which indirectly implies that over the church there is something higher (Lithuania, 19th century),
- c) old distaff, which possibly reflects designation of four seasons (Lithuania, indicated year 1850) (<http://www.muziejai.lt/emuziejai/Parodos.asp>).

Similarly, there should be critically evaluated the scene of distaff in Figure 1b, whose connection to the historical period of Christianity is emphasized with a heart symbol that take shape by contiguity of foliage. This symbol is not present in any ethnographic and archaeological idolatry material of Northern Europe till then. The age of this distaff motive also does not exceed 17th–18th century.

In turn, Figure 1c shows a relatively rare motive with four, so-called additional, Suns, which in the ancient times could indeed relate to different seasons, however in this depiction the characteristics of the seasons, their elements and symbols of the difference have been lost.

Even if the Sun signs and the seasons, the interaction between the Sun and life on Earth, many life symbols are clearly recognizable in the motives of Lithuanian original distaffs from the middle of the 19th century, then broader interpretations are less known. There

could be ambiguously assessed explanations of the given examples in favour of the ancient cosmogonic conceptions (Vaiškūnas 2005). At the same time it is recognizable that old images contain a quite significant information layer and the explanations are still expected in the future.

In our opinion, these are all new stratifications of younger cultures on ancient foundations, which have long been forgotten, and only because of traditions some of the fragments sometimes were included in distaffs craftsmen works. Indirectly shape of the distaffs points to that initially it is drop-shaped, oblong, and only later it becomes ever more pronounced square shaped, which is additionally decorated with various tracteries. The direct interpretations are not possible concerning the explanations of signs. It can be seen that in layers of time there are a lot of simplifications, decorative fills; however it is characteristic that in in earliest ornaments there dominate the Sun symbol. At the same time groups of the signs, found on oldest distaffs, are not just artistic compositions and in carvings can be recognisable conditional distributions of the signs in segments, levels and groups.

The study is based on a hypothesis that it is possible to find some older alleged prototype regarding the form and content of the distaff, which have served as a foundation for further transformations and diversifications of images.

As the distaffs are not older than a few hundred years, the traces must be searched in earlier ethnographic testimonies even though they also already have sub layers of cultures. The prototype was searched by identifying and noting similarities in regard to the form, composition of the image and the key indicator – present Sun symbol, as it is the dominant symbol on the distaffs therefore it had been the leitmotiv.

For testing the hypothesis over several years there were identified and studied in detail the ethnographic testimonies, scientific publications, permanent expositions in museums as well as in the archaeological excavations found household items concerning the Northern European nations. Initially, the signs on everyday objects were studied, but in recent years also on cult objects, which may have had connection with the religious traditions of ancient people.

Drums Used in Shamanism Rituals

Searching for such prototype the attention was paid to cult drums which still a century ago were used in shamanism rituals in northern European nations. They are not round, but most of them are deliberately designed and elliptically shaped, seldom they are “pear” or “drop” shaped (Figure 2).

Figure 2. Elliptically shaped shaman drum with the Sun sign in the centre. Leem, Knud (1767). *Beskrivelse over Finnmarkens Lapperne* (according to O. H. von Rode's drawing).



It is characteristic that in the central part of such shaped shaman drums is an expanded Sun sign, a division in four seasons and many symbols around the perimeter. The images are related to the most important events of the ancient people life and sequentially form a notional pattern. Calendar processes, observations of the celestial bodies and the attraction of deities to the events in nature played a significant role in rituals.

The connection of drums images to certain seasons is described (Ahlback, Bergman 1988) as a use of different parts of the drums in anticipation of certain seasonal events. There have been different types of shaman drums and accordingly various uses for invoking these or another nature forces, guardians and gods in different events. Thus, the reflected images on the drums are diverse, but the Sun symbol and the symbols around the perimeter are almost always present. These are signs of different characters or important events which were used in shamanism rituals for prediction (Friis 1871).

The study demonstrates that similar to the themes of the distaffs decorations, also on the shaman drums there are displayed the rhythm of the life and the world view, signs and symbols. There is characteristic distribution in segments, levels and groups (e.g. seasons, sun, moon, underworld, earth, heaven, people, gods, elements of nature). The symbols do not appear to be unfamiliar, they are relatively understandable and drums are significantly older than distaffs. Overall the shape of shaman's drums, the graphic design and the signs layout also regarding the content (displaying important events for the rituals) allow to link them with the initial purpose of the distaffs – the possibility for spinners to make the accounting of time and to follow up the calendar events, which in quite monotonous and repetitive daily life in winter are not easily feasible.

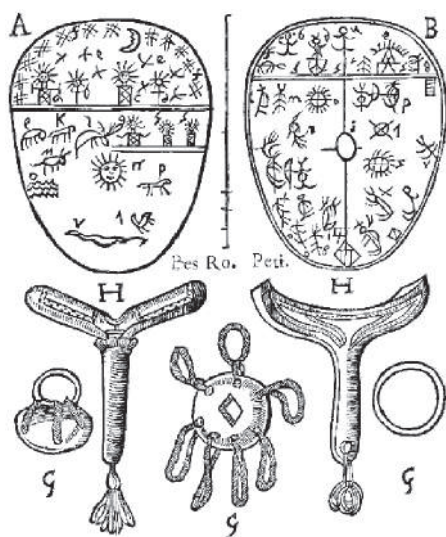


Figure 3. Saami shaman drums by J. Schef-ferus, 1673. Lapponia, Frankfurt am Main (Joy 2011).

This point to the need for more in depth studies about shaman drums. There are known several hundreds of rather typical drums' images (Ahlback 1988; Fagg 1970) and a significant part of them contain at least general seasonal events and significant events in people's lives. They are typical in all northern nations, and images of shaman drums from northern Siberia differ in comparison with northern Europe only by the more often used depicted representations of reindeers. However, only a few images that are documented as an ethnographical material contain strong indications to the heavenly bodies and their mutual relations. It was found that there are some images where there are separated two worlds with their dominants – the Moon and the Sun.

In the picture A of the Figure 3 there is an expressive horizontal line which separates two

worlds – one with the Moon and the other with the Sun. Each of these worlds has its own characters and events as well as its determined spatial location on the drum's surface. It seems unusual that the location of the Moon's world in the upper part of the drum and a considerable part what it takes from the total picture. Throughout the year the time when the Moon can be seen in the sky is clearly dominant in the north, where these nations live. This indicates that the research should include not only the search for the Sun signs, but also the various representations and symbols of the Moon.

The oval drop-shaped external appearance of shaman drums and the world of the Moon with starry sky, as well as the symbolic characters are quite extraordinary. They partly repeat also on other known drums' surface images (Manker 1938, Rae 1881). Often these signs are arranged symmetrically, what do not correspond to the natural environmental conditions (duration of the seasons, events of the nature changes attraction to solar cycle reflected on the drum's surface). This indirectly implies that this tradition is inherited from other earlier cultures, at least concerning the design of the drum's surface. It is possible that such images should be related to the most important events in the life of ancient people – it is the beginning of the spring or autumn, and of course, the natural migrations of reindeers. Collection of such systematic forecasting events in modern times is called the calendar, some elements of which are reflected in the images of shaman drums (Pentikäinen 1984).

The study indicates that the images of shaman drums contain references to the calendar events and communication with the world of gods, expressed through various signs and symbols. On different drums along with other signs there are present images that characterise a notional Moon's world. Analysing the symbols related to the world of the Moon the signs around the perimeter in truncated Moon segment that are repeated and abstract symbolic attracted attention. They are reflected as unexplained, incomprehensible or modified without the knowledge of the conceptual meaning. At the same time it should be noted that these are not typical shaman drums drawings from the last century and today they are not generally known in northern nations. That indirectly points to the ancient age of these images since at least the 20th century the use of them is very conditional or unknown (e.g. Ahlback 1988). This indicates that the fundament of the images lie not with the latest ethnographical notes and descriptions, which deals only with the last 2–3 centuries, but in significantly older testimonies. In order to find a prototype for these extrinsic signs further in the study the following criteria were used – shape, composition and the symbols – both searching for the Sun sign as well as signs related to the Moon.

Ancient Lunar Calendars in Northern Europe

In ethnographic studies in Nordic countries the ancient calendars are not common finds, but some of them are known and among those particular emphatic is the discovery of ancient Saami runic calendar (Figure 4). That is runic calendar fashioned on the harbour porpoise jaw bone. The pattern made on the bone is mixed, and part of it is written in runes which are prevalent in today's Norwegian territory, but the other part is from the east of Scotland. It is dated from the 11th century and first was described in 1643 (Worm

1643). It has been studied in detail, which made it possible to find out that it is an ancient lunar calendar and it is determining the events of certain seasons and the natural phenomena in the order (Bugge 1891–1903).

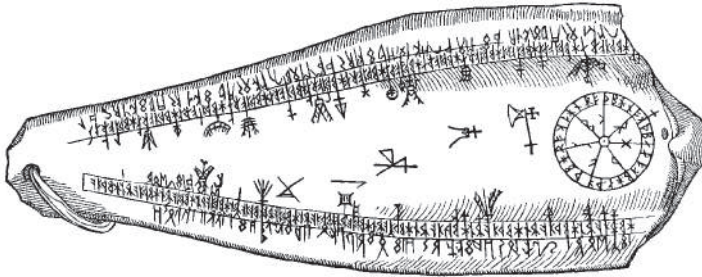


Figure 4. Runic lunar calendar fashioned on the harbour porpoise jaw bone (Bugge 1891–1903).

The linking of the Moon phases with the solar year rhythm in one calendar is quite remarkable achievement concerning nature observations. In our geographical latitudes the possibilities to use it for predictions (including the accurate detection of years' shortest and longest days) certainly had a wide range of applications. There is no reason to think that it was completely forgotten at a time when the calendar was gradually replaced by a variety of mechanical clocks and astronomical tables.

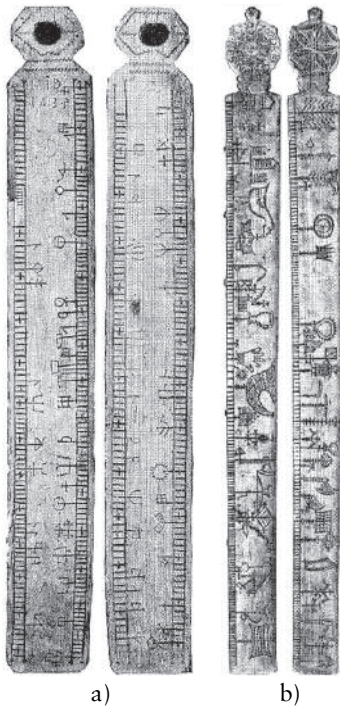


Figure 5. Ancient primstavs: a) 1634, b) 1750 (Hauge 2002).

This calendar is corresponding to the searched prototype according to the shape, symbols and their composition, including both the Sun and the Moon. Likewise in the calendar together with the runes appear certain signs, divinities and symbols according to the yearly events, which can be also observed in drawings of the shaman drums. The visual similarity of ancient runic calendar (external shape, sun symbol and its location, signs layout along the perimeter and many additional signs into the empty central area) allows to draw certain parallels with the older distaffs and signs on them. It can be assumed that from the original calendar there have evolved forms, which over time changed as a result of the culture's sub layers.

It is possible to make additional checks about the other so far preserved lunar calendars in northern Europe. In this meaning the external appearance of the primstavs is also consistent with the appearance of many distaffs, also regarding the symbolism of the signs and the presence of the Sun sign (Figure 5). Perhaps that a similar lunar calendar was the basis for the development of distaffs, because

during the winter, which is the main period for making textiles and their raw material, the Sun in the sky appears rarely and only for a few hours a day. This is the time of the Moon and detailed observations during this period can be justified.

For a very prolonged period of the history the Moon was used to determine and to mark the calendar events and to forecast them. Therefore it is justified to search for this necessary time accounting instrument further also in our region and cultures. Especially in these geographic latitudes, where the dark time of day, when just the Moon can be seen in the sky, creates emotional and also pragmatic basis for waiting for the Sun, causing the esteem towards the both heavenly bodies.

Conclusions

The study suggests that the prevalence of distaffs is limited in historical time and geographical space. Distaffs are rather widespread only in the northern Europe, although there have been separate historical periods, when they have been used in almost all Europe.

Different decorations and producing types of distaffs have their own local traditions, which in some regions often have become an important element of the folk art over time. According to the type, shape and characteristic decorations it allows to identify several characteristic prevalence areas. Typically, distaffs are richly decorated with symbols, they are different allowing various interpretations.

The study indicate that after the separation of oldest part of the testimonies, many external features and graphic images, their layout and composition in many ways approximate and allow to recognise the similarities concerning shape, signs composition and presence of solar symbol, comparing the distaffs and the surface designs of drums, which were used in shamanism rituals of Nordic nations. In both cases the original meanings of images have been lost and they have been modified, replaced and become more decorative while the old signs were gradually used more rarely. They are still recognizable in the ethnographic materials collected in the last centuries and exhibited in museums.

Between the earliest signs of shaman drums along with the Sun symbol there is also recognizable the Moon that indicate to a link to the Moon observations and their significance. A composition and a set of signs point to the earlier source of origin and link to the considerably much older lunar calendar observations. They are recognised in runic lunar calendar, where there are visible symbols which denote the important events, the Sun symbol, an extended lunar calendar and a description with runic text.

The visual image and composition make it easy to recognise a certain similarity and draw parallels between patterns of the distaffs and ancient runic lunar calendar. As well there can be recognised the similarities between the distaffs and so far preserved form of the lunar runic calendar in northern Europe – the primstavs. With this meaning the distaffs are like a gleam from the ancient lunar calendar. Its role in everyday life has disappeared centuries ago, but has made a progress as wares of the folk art with already different evaluable cultural and historical significance.

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Floral Motifs in the Design of Latgalian Old-Believers' Towels

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Abstract

The specificity and richness of Latgale are the traditions of multiculturalism, which had emerged from Latvian (Latgalian) and many ethnic groups' cultures and their religious peculiarities over the centuries.

Russian old-believers (in Latgalian: *staraveri, maskali, prusaki, raskoli, krīvi, sipaki*, etc.) in Latgale is an ethno-denominational group which at that time arrived in Polish Infantry (from 1562 till 1772 Latgale was a part of Poland-Lithuania) in the second half of the 17th century, fleeing from the religious persecutions and repression in their homeland.

Organically integrating in the environment of Latgale, old-believers vividly marked their accent with both denominational peculiarities, traditions of festivities and social life, mentality and ethnic cultural canons.

Aim of the research is to analyse and popularize the phenomenon of Latgalian Russian old-believers' traditional material culture – adorned towels, emphasizing the floral motifs in textile design, their archaic forms and contemporary trends in the context of the 20th century chronology.

Key words: *Latgale, Old Believers, Traditional Towel, Ornament, Floral Ornament.*

Introduction

Latgalian old-believers is a peculiar ethno-denominational group of Russian immigrants which according to old-believers themselves (V. Zolotovs, A. Volovičs, M. Siņicins, I. Zavo-loko and others) and M. Skujenieks (1927), B. Brežgo (1943), A. Šilde (1976), A. Zavarina (*Заварина* 1986a; *Заварина* 1986b; *Заварина* 1990; *Zavarina* 1994), H. Strods (1989a; 1989b), M. Pašinins (1990), A. Podmazovs (*Подмазов* 1993; Podmazovs 2001; 2009; 2010a; 2010b), I. Apine, V. Volkovs (1998; 2007), V. Volkovs (1998; 2007), I. Apine (2005), N. Pazuhina (2006), P. Zeile (2006; 2010), V. Ņikonovs (*Никонов* 2008) and other authors' researches, arrived in the territory of Latgale (then Polish Infantry) in the middle of the 17th century – the 90's fleeing from the religious persecutions and repressions in their ethnic homeland.

In the beginning of the 18th century there can be observed the next mass old-believers' immigration wave to Latgale that was particularly furthered by the bondage of intensified serfdom in Russia, double taxation and other factors during the reign of Tsar Peter I (1682–1725), later Elizabeth I (1741–1762) and Catherine II (1762–1796) (Brežgo 1943; Apine, Volkovs 1998; Podmazovs 2001; Podmazovs 2009).

In the cultural landscape of Latgale, old-believers' lifestyle was notable for its closed microenvironment, archaic culture and original visual types of people (Заварина 1986).

Local inhabitants called them differently: “*maskali*” (part of the old-believers arrived in Latgale from Moscow Province), “*prusaki*” (from Russian – *пруссак*; ethnic nickname originated from the fact that old-believers also fled to East Prussia, from where later many of them returned to Latgale), “*raskoli*”, old-believing “*krīvi*”, “*sīpaki*”, etc. (Latgales lingvoteritoriālā vārdnīca. I 2012: 679).

Organically integrating in the environment of Latgale, old-believers vividly marked their accent with the ethnic cultural canons. Aim of this research is to analyse and popularize the phenomenon of Latgalian Russian old-believers' traditional material culture – adorned towels, emphasizing the floral motifs in textile design, their archaic forms and contemporary trends in the context of the 20th century chronology.

Towels in the Russian culture

Towels in Russian traditional culture have not only utilitarian and aesthetic functions, but also symbolic and semantic meaning. The above mentioned textile-making, adornment and usage traditions in the context of the cultural history was researched by **I. Zavoloko** (1937), **G. Maslova** (*Маслова* 1978), **A. Ļebedeva** (*Лебедева* 1989), **Т. Мошнина** (*Мошнина* 2004; 2005), **V. Ivanova** (*Иванова* 2005) and other authors.

Taking into consideration the functionality of these textiles, towels in Russian traditional culture can be classified in groups:

Group 1. Unornamented or little ornamented ordinary towels.

Group 2. Ornamented towels:

- to decorate room interior,
- to give as presents (to preaching-houses, relatives, etc.),
- wedding towels (Маслова 1978; Barševska 2011b; Barševska 2013),

Group 3. Funeral towels (Ivanova 2005).

Ordinary towels (in Russian *полотенце, рукобитное, рукотер, рукотерник, рукотерт, утирка, утиральник*) are made of simple home-woven hemp or linen fabric and are used in household for wiping one's face, hands, dishes, etc. Sometimes there are lines of colourful threads (often red, blue) woven in the ends of such towels.

Ornamented towels are made of home-woven, bleached linen or half-linen (linen and cotton thread) fabric, adorning their ends with embroidered or interwoven (inserted)

ornaments, sewn in or sewn on red fabric bands (in Russian: *кумач*), fringe, crocheted, braided or bobbin laces, etc. The length of these towels as noted by textiles' researchers usually is 2–4 m (icon towels could be up to 7 m long), but the width – 36–38 cm (sometimes they were narrower 19–35 cm or wider – 40–41 cm). As in the end of the 19th c. – beginning of the 20th c. the manufactured fabrics began to prevail over the home-woven ones, towels were also made of bought cotton (Лебедева 1989; Русская изба 1999; Barševska 2011b; Barševska 2013).

Ornamented towels (in the Russian language: *наспишник, наспичник, накрючник, спичное, спишник, стеновое, постинник, постинник, рукобитное, зеркальное, маховик, утренник, ширинка*, etc.) were used to decorate the room's "red corner" icons, walls, windows, mirrors, portraits of the family members and later also photographs, which become popular as interior elements in the end of the 19th century – beginning of the 20th century. It was especially richly done during weddings, transforming the living room into an original handicraft exhibition, thus demonstrating the new wife's skill, talent and wealth. Up to the present day there remains an ancient tradition – after a marriage ceremony the young couple or special guests are awaited at home with "salt and bread", which is usually served on a luxurious and ornamented towel (Русские. Историко-этнографический атлас 1970; Маслова 1978).

In Russian folk traditions ornamented towels are symbolically used at christenings and funerals, but during severe illness or death of a close relative it is donated to a local house of worship (Маслова 1978).

Contemporary trends can be observed in the 20th century old-believers' towel design. Samples of new stylistic ornaments and compositions appeared in Latvia from western European countries (Germany, England, France, and other countries) with the specialised literature (albums, magazines, handicraft books, pattern samplers, etc.), thus the traditional textile ornaments became more modern and of brighter colours (Barševska 2013).

V. Ivanova (Иванова 2005), Т. Мошнина (Мошнина 2004; 2005), G. Maslova (Маслова 1978) thematically divide the ornaments of decorated towels into four big but very conditionally formed groups:

- Group 1. Geometrical ornaments.
- Group 2. Animalistic motifs or zoomorphic ornaments.
- Group 3. Plant motifs or floral ornaments.
- Group 4. Subject (archaic, household or genre) ornaments.

Latgalian old-believers' towels: research material base and its characterization

The research material base is drawn up from 94 Latgalian Russian old-believers' traditional decorated towels made in the 20th century (beginning of the century – 50's), identified in the region of Latgale during eight individual ethnographic expeditions from 2007 to 2013.

Material sources of the research material base are compiled of:

- exhibits of “Latgalian Old-Believers’ Patterned Textile” organized in June 2010 in Krāslava History and Art Museum (Krāslava, Pils Street 8),
- collection materials of Russian Antiquity Museum of Līvāni Secondary School No. 2 (Līvāni, Rīgas Street 113/117) and Daugavpils Regional Studies and Art Museum (Daugavpils, Rīgas Street 8),
- materials of the collection of Russian Culture Centre in Daugavpils (Daugavpils, Varšavas Street 14),
- towels presented by believers that are kept at Latgale old-believers’ churches (in Slostovka, Aglona municipality Šķeltova civil parish and Tiša, Riebiņu municipality Rušona civil parish),
- old-believers’ towels from the private collection of Zinovija Zimova, Southern Latvia Old-Believers’ Cultural-Educational Society “*Belovodije*” (Jēkabpils, Andreja Pormaļa Street 28) activist, local history researcher (Table 1).

Table 1. Description of the Material Sources of Research Materials Base (Z. Barševska)

Inhabited locality	Name, surname of towel author	Time of making towel	Number of towels	Towel keeper
1	2	3	4	5
AGLONA MUNICIPALITY				
Slostovka (Šķeltova civil parish)	<i>Unknown author</i>	beginning of the 20 th century	6	Slostovka Old-Believer Church
DAUGAVPILS	<i>Unknown author</i>	1920’s	5	Russian Culture Centre in Daugavpils
	<i>Unknown author</i>	1930’s	4	Daugavpils Regional Studies and Art Museum
JĒKABPILS	Tatjana Novikova	1920’s	1	belong to Kira Lobazina (in the collection of Zinovija Zimova)
	<i>Unknown author</i>	beginning of the 20 th century	2	belong to Kilineja Buklagina (in the collection of Zinovija Zimova)
	<i>Unknown author</i>	1920’s	2	belong to Ksenija Demčenko (in the collection of Zinovija Zimova)
	<i>Unknown author</i>	beginning of the 20 th century	3	belong to Daņilova (in the collection of Zinovija Zimova)
LĪVĀNI	<i>Unknown author</i>	beginning of the 20 th century	9	in the collection of Zinovija Zimova
	<i>Unknown author</i>	20 th century		collection of Russian Antiquity Museum (Līvāni Secondary School No. 2)

1	2	3	4	5
PREIĻI	<i>Unknown author</i>	beginning of the 20 th century	2	belong to Fetinija Kudrjašova (in the collection of Zinovija Zimova)
	<i>Unknown author</i>	beginning of the 20 th century	4	Pelageja Hrapunova
RIEBIŅI MUNICIPALITY				
Tiša (Rušona civil parish)	Fetinija Kudrjašova	beginning of the 20 th century	2	Tiša Old-Believer Church
Silajāņi civil parish	<i>Unknown author</i>	1950's	5	belong to Viktorija Kabare
	Jekaterina Ustinova	1950's	3	belong to Viktorija Kabare
VIĻĀNI MUNICIPALITY				
Viļāni	Anna Koržina	1920's	1	Zinaīda Deine
TOTAL: 7 inhabited localities	3 known authors	beginning of the 20th c. – 50's	94 towels	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 2 churches • 2 cultural institutions • 4 private persons' private collections

Oral testimonies of the research material base through conversations and interviews with respondents were fixed in the questionnaire forms “Latgalian Old-Believers’ Ornamented Towels in the 20th Century” drawn up by the author. Studied research sources are supplemented with visual photographic materials – original colour photographs of 94 ornamented old-believers’ traditional towels.

Generalizing and analysing the research materials, ornamentics used in the design of the 20th century, Latgalian old-believers’ towel design can be divided in **five groups**:

Group 1. Geometrical ornaments.

Group 2. Plant or floral ornaments.

Group 3. Animalistic or zoomorphic ornaments.

Group 4. Epigraphic or calligraphic (letters, monograms, texts) ornaments.

Group 5. Subject (archaic) ornaments.

It should be noted that the above mentioned classification is conditional as in reality in the decorative compositions of this textiles most often the synthesis of more than one group is observed.

Towel ornaments are hand embroidered (satin stitch, stripe stitch, cross-stitch, double cross-stitch, chain-stitch, two-direction open work) or interwoven (inserted) on white (bleached) fabric background. Latgalian old-believers usually preserve the traditional monochrome in their coloristic (red or white colour) or the contrasting harmony of two colours – red and blue or red and black. Bright polychrome was seen as a contemporary trend in towel design already in the beginning of the century, which can be explained by the availability

of synthetic textile dye in Latgale or by the offers to buy industrially coloured embroidery threads and materials (Barševska 2011a; Barševska 2011b; Barševska 2013).

The main group of the material sources of the research materials base (52 towels or 53.3% of the material) consist of textiles decorated with stylized **plant or floral motifs**. Popular ornaments on the ends of old-believers' towels of the 20th century are flowers and flower bouquets, flower baskets and vases, leaves, fruits, berries, twigs of trees and shrubs (oak branch with acorns, viburnum twig, vines). Depending on the specifics of handicraft techniques and the type of ornamentation composition, their shapes are geometrized or plastically bent, but the choice of colours – both traditional (red or black and red combination) and contemporary bright (four and more chromatic colours) (Figures 1–4).



Figure 1. Floral motifs on a towel. Author unknown. Belongs to Livāni Secondary School No. 2, Russian Antiquity Museum. 20th c. (Photo by Z. Barševska).



Figure 2. Floral motifs on a towel. Author unknown. Belongs to Daņilova. From Zinovija Zimova's (Jēkabpils) private collection. First half of the 20th c. (Photo by Z. Barševska).



Figure 3. Floral motifs on a towel. Author Jekaterina Ustinova. Riebiņi municipality, Silajāņi civil parish. 1950's (Photo by V. Kabare).



Figure 4. Floral motifs on a towel. Author unknown. Belongs to Viktorija Kabare. Riebiņi municipality, Silajāņi civil parish. 1950's (Photo by V. Kabare).



In the design of old-believers' decorated towels floral motifs are often a synthesis of animal or zoomorphic motifs, the most popular of which is **orthomorphic ornament** or a stylized image of a bird (Figure 5). More realistically in compositions are depicted: cock (the symbol of fire disasters, protection against evil forces), peacock (the symbol of solar energy, love and family happiness) and swan (fidelity).

In the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century in textile ornaments **epigraphic or calligraphic** motifs – letters, initials, monograms, text (bequest, belief, saying) became popular in all Latvia. Their spread in the 20th century was advanced both by the availability of foreign literature about fonts, samples of motifs' embroidery and technology descriptions, as well as by the development of common people education level. Due to the contemporary trends epigraphic or calligraphic elements were included also in the ornaments of traditional old-believers' towels, creatively combining them with geometric or floral ornaments (Figure 6).

Example of ornament group synthesis in the design of old-believers' traditional towel is seen in **wedding towels**. In the decorative compositions of these textiles combining:

- ornitomorphic motifs – two swans with their heads turned to one another or the symbol of a new couple,
- epigraphic (calligraphic) elements – the initials of the bride and groom's names,
- floral elements – viburnum twig with berries, which symbolises fertility and procreation in the family,
- Subject or archaic ornament – a stylized life / world / cosmic tree (in Russian: *Древо жизни*) as a metaphorical model of the world perception and a symbol of the life circle (Figure 7).

Figure 5. Floral and ornitomorphic motifs. Author unknown. Belongs to Daņilova. From Zinovija Zimova's (Jēkabpils) private collection. First half of the 20th c. (Photo by Z. Barševska).



Figure 6. Floral and epigraphic (calligraphic) motifs. Author – Anna Koržina. Belongs to Zinaida Deine. Viļāni. 1920's (Photo by Z. Barševska).



Figure 7. Synthesis of ornaments in a towel. Author unknown. Belongs to Fetinija Kudrjašova. Preiļi (from the private collection of Zinovija Zimova). Beginning of the 20th century (Photo by Z. Barševska).

Author's research was approbated, participating in the second commemorative Ivan Zovoloko's Prize contest (12.10.2012–01.06. 2013), where the author's scientific work "Ornamented Towels of Latgalian Old-Believers (beginning of the 20th century)" was awarded with the second Ivan Zovoloko's prize and diploma (http://www.rezekne.lv/rezeknes-zinas/zina/browse/13/_/sabiedriba/-/balvas-vecicibas-petniekiem; www.du.lv/lv/du_zinas_pazinjojumi_apsveikumi/articles/3300) (Figure 8).



Figure 8. Diploma of the second Ivan Zovoloko's award for the authors' research "Ornamented Towels of Latgalian Old-Believers (beginning of the 20th century)" (Photo by Z. Barševska).

Conclusions

In the design (material, colours, ornamentation, composition) and usage of the 20th century Latgalian old-believers' ornamented towels there can be observed both preservation and inheritance of the authentic traditions and current trends, indicating economic, trade and cultural relations development of the Eastern region of Latvia both locally and internationally.

In Latgalian old-believers' traditional decorated towel ornamentation the dominant function is aesthetic, decorative function and convincing stylized floral or plant motifs' (flowers, bouquets, vases of flowers, leaves, viburnum twig, vines) visualization.

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Authors of the Artistic Decorations in Old Believer Manuscripts – between the Known and the Unknown

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Abstract

Authors of artistic decorations in the manuscripts of Latvian Old Believer collections often remain anonymous, however to this date more than eighty surnames linked to these manuscripts have been identified. In this article detailed attention is being paid to the aspects in the works of Ivan Karasev (*Иван Карасев*) and Ivan Gushchenko (*Иван Гущенко*) by searching for and finding parallels with the decorations of anonymous authors.

Key words: Old Believers, Latgale (Region in Latvia), Manuscript Decoration, Karasev, Gushchenko.

Introduction

Latvian Old Believer collections preserve a large number of manuscripts, the decoration authors of which are anonymous, yet there are some exceptions. In the process of identifying collections, a list of known scribes has been created. To this day we can name over eighty Old Believer scribes, which in one or another way are linked to the Latvian environment of Old Believers. It is impossible to speak exclusively about the artists from the region of Latgale, and we should rather speak of the general heritage of manuscripts in the territory, which includes a part of Estonia (Prichudye region), the Eastern part of Latvia and Rīga, Lithuanian North-eastern areas, Western Belarus and border regions in the West of Russia – the former Pskov and Vitebsk provinces. These are areas, the inhabitants of which along with their manuscripts had at one point arrived in Latvia, this way painting a heterogeneous picture in terms of the territorial origins of manuscript heritage.

Surnames of known scribes have been collected by gathering information about Latvian Old Believer manuscript collections¹ and by filing the names from scattered publications of manuscript descriptions dedicated to the Old Believer manuscript heritage in the Baltic States. In this sense invaluable information is provided by the scientific publications of the Pushkin House, in which over a long period of time descriptions of archaeological expeditions and Latgale collection units have been published. Gleb Markelov (*Глеб Маркелов*) who has been the senior scientific co-worker in the Pushkin House since the year 2000, has published a nearly complete Latgale collection fund description in the collected

articles of the Pushkin House (*Маркелов, Фролов 1976; Маркелов 1976; Маркелов 1979а; Маркелов 1981; Маркелов 1983; Маркелов 1985; Маркелов 1985b; Маркелов 1989; Маркелов 1990; Маркелов 1992*), complemented with short reports on archaeographic expeditions, in which the researcher himself has taken part. Expedition reports play an important role in the question of gathering information about the book scribes, for it is in these reports that broader and more personal information on particular spiritual educators, autodidacts and poets can be found, whose hands have produced the manuscripts that are part of the Latgale collection. Manuscript identification of several authors is based on narratives of memories by people met during the expeditions, which allows us to learn something more about the scribes mentioned in the description of collections.

The second collection of manuscripts that is found in the Pushkin House archive that stores Latvian Old Believer manuscripts is Ivan Zavoloko's (*Иван Зоволоко*) collection. It features a wide range of materials from the Zavoloko private collection that refers to the life and history of Old Believers in Latvia and Estonia, as well as manuscripts brought in by Zavoloko or received as gifts. Unlike the Latgale collection, no detailed description of the Zavoloko fund has been published, however the Pushkin House article collection features a general description of the fund, also listing the surnames of scribes (*Маркелов 1979; Маркелов 1979а; Маркелов 1980*). Information about the scribes mentioned in the Zavoloko fund manuscripts was gathered largely based on the unpublished Pushkin House archive fund description No. 4. Information about the scribes of manuscripts found in this fund is relatively scant, and unlike the Latgale collection fund description, significant additional information on the conditions, place and time of acquiring the manuscripts has been left out. Both funds feature manuscripts, the authors of which came from the Old Believer environments of Estonia and Lithuania. Book migration was a widespread phenomenon in the Old Believer environment, therefore manuscripts of the scribes from Latgale can be found in the Estonian territorial Prichudye collection² at the Pushkin House, while the Estonian and Lithuanian Old Believer manuscripts have complemented the Latgale collection.

Information about the manuscript scribes featured in the Rīga Grebenshikov's Old Believer preaching house book collection has been obtained through conversations with church members and by gathering information from several publications that reviews the range of books that this preaching households.

Surnames of several scribes have been recorded in the University of Latvia Academic Library Manuscript and Unique Book Collection, the description of which was published in 1961 in the Archaeographic Yearbook by Yuri Begunov³ (*Юрий Бегунов 1962*) following a visit to Latvia initiated in 1958 by the USSR Academy of Science Russian Literature Institute Section for Ancient Russian Literature.

By continuing the tradition started by the first volume “Art Tempus” (2013) to explore the artistic work of Old Believer book scribes, this time attention will be devoted to two book artists, whose manuscripts are preserved in various Latvian Old Believer manuscript collections. These are different in their decoration, yet their origins and activities are

linked both to Latvia and Lithuania, which repeatedly affirms the direction and spread of Old Believer manuscript exchanges.

In August of 1981 the spiritual educator of the Voitiski⁴ Old Believer Congregation Ivan Karasev (*Иван Иванович Карасев*) gave the Pushkin House archaeographs⁵ a Compilation (Figure 1), the third page of which is decorated with an original headpiece. He informed researchers that the manuscript is the work of his father, Kasarev I. I., although texts from three different scribes are bound into the compilation (Маркелов 1985: 431).

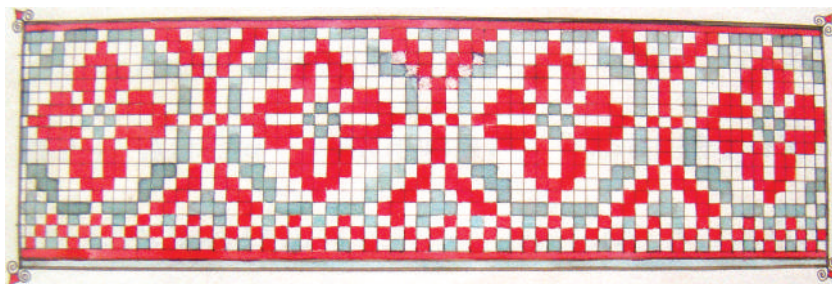


Figure 1. Compilation, the third quarter of the 19th century (Pushkin House, Latg. No. 227).

Information about Karasev Senior is scarce, yet some knowledge can be gained from publications that are linked to his son – the spiritual educator of the Voitiski congregation. In the historical overview of the congregation Vassiliy Baranovski (*Василий Барановский*) mentioned the fact that in 1970 Ivan Karasev was ordained as a spiritual educator. He received initial preparatory training from his father who was a painter of icons (Барановский 2010: 71). In the 1970 report on the ordaining of a spiritual educator it was mentioned that Ivan Karasev was a local inhabitant living one km away from Voitiski and he came from a religious family of farmers, which indirectly points to Karasev Senior's life. Similarly it is said about I. Karasev's father that he was an expert in solo singing, church texts and order of church services ([б.а.] 1971: 77). It can be concluded that Ivan Karasev Senior was a farmer from Latgale and an Old Believer, who practiced icon painting, could easily find one's bearings in religious texts and the church order, and he passed his spiritual principles on to his son, who treated the Old Believer cultural heritage with equal care and preserved rare books. With the help of Karasev Junior in the 1980s the Latgale collection of Pushkin House was complemented with ten manuscripts (Барановский 2010: 71). Unfortunately no more precise information could be obtained about the Old Believer icon painter Ivan Karasev from Voitiski.

The manuscript headpiece (Figure 1) demonstrates a unique approach to book decoration – it is a direct transfer of a handicraft scheme to pages of a book, creating an autonomous decoration. The headpiece has a rectangular frame, the top and bottom of which is constituted by a double line, corners complemented with detailed adornment that is in tune with ancient-print style headpiece decorations – corner acroteria. The headpiece is filled with a plaster ornament with a square sun or a star motif. Although the author at times

made mistakes in colouring the ornament fields, these have been corrected by scraping out the excess paint. An equally careful attitude characterises the two finger and three finger cross sign on page 16 of the manuscript, which combines clear lines and a shadow of palms. Going back to the opening headpiece as the most original adornment of this manuscript, it needs to be noted that such interpretation of the book decoration is the only one found in the archive and library collections to this date.

A recently detected manuscript decoration from a private collection came as a surprise, as it uses an identical method – schematic checked pencil pattern, in which the painted over fields form folk ornament handicraft schemes. In addition, unlike the Latgale collection manuscript with its sole headpiece, this Song Book has three opening headpieces, complemented with two side decoration “flowers”, as well as a small-checked border. Judging from the signature and performance quality, the manuscripts have different authors, however the extent to which the used techniques are related urges to dwell on the performance of the anonymous author. Two Song Book headpieces consist each of two separate ornament belts – a wider one at the top and a narrower one at the bottom. The first headpiece of such kind was placed in the manuscript before the Easter Canon. It consists of a relatively symmetric composition with a larger central flower/tree of life and less magnificent flowers on the edges (Figure 2).



Figure 2. Song Book, vignette No.1, the beginning of the 20th cent. (Private collection).

The composition is complemented by two birds, which is characteristic to a Pomorian style ornament. The checked background lightly drawn in pencil becomes less regular from left to right, with squares gradually becoming horizontally stretched rectangles, therefore the centre and the right hand side of the headpiece ornament has adopted a slightly stretched look. The symmetry is also slightly dismantled by wrongly counted coloured in and empty squares, as a result of which the central flower is directed to the right, leaving less space for the bird. Of all three headpieces, this decoration is most in line with the Pomorian style ornament due to its symmetry and the chosen motifs – birds, flower motifs, complemented with round elements at the leaf ends and at the top of the flower head, which reminds of the berry motifs favoured in Pomorian compositions. There



Figure 3. Song Book, vignette No. 2, the beginning of the 20th century (Private collection).

are also similarities in the headpiece composition with an emphasized central element and pots with flowers placed on the edges.

The remaining two headpieces created in similar style consist of a double-belted adornment complemented with line drawings. In the widest part of the headpiece placed before the Epiphany troparion⁶ there is a zigzag wreath with berries. Unfortunately

the colouring in some places is blurred, and it can be seen that the author lost count of the coloured squares, as a result of which the wreath motifs cannot be clearly read and create a fragmented impression (Figure 3).

Such wreaths often decorated the towel ends sewn by female Old Believers in Latgale (Barševska 2012: 75). The similarity to towel end decorations puts even more emphasis on the chosen colours. Researcher of Latgale towels Zeltīte Barševska notes that the local Old Believer towels traditionally had two colours – red and black (Barševska 2012: 53). All of the headpieces of the song book created in a handicraft style consist of alternating red and black colours. In this case it cannot be unequivocally stated that the manuscript in the chosen colouring has had a direct impact on the towel ornaments, for the red cinnamon colour was traditionally used in the Old Russian manuscript headpieces and titles, while the black colour was used for writing the main body text. Therefore the combination of these two colours in a headpiece is a common practice and it can be found in numerous other Old Believer manuscript decorations (e.g. Latg. 99, 118, 162, 226, etc.). Unlike the Ural Old Believer manuscripts, where no parallels can be found in terms of styles and applied art decor, local artists of Northern Russia simultaneously were engaged in transcribing books and painting icons, as well as decorating various objects in the house (Ануфриева 2012: 77), this way promoting migration of motifs and styles between adornments of various materials and subjects. In the mentioned Song Book and the Latgale collection manuscript a direct example of handicraft can be seen, most likely a carried over embroidery scheme, which testifies of the author's freedom in the choice of decoration, seeking inspiration for motifs in the surrounding objects or sample books, which initially were meant for textile decoration. The upper part of the headpiece is complemented with a simple drawing that reminds of a brick wall, at the centre of which there is a double gate with an octagonal cross with the word *Богоявлению* (Epiphany). Possibly the gate motif here is of symbolic value in connection to the contents of the song that follows it – as a transition from one state to another, which in terms of contents is in line with the baptising of Christ in the Jordan River.

Such coherence between the meaning of contents and decoration is not a very commonly observed phenomenon in the manuscripts of local Old Believers. Decorations largely have a more functional and decorative meaning.

One of the few Old Believer book artists in the Baltic States region, the works of which have a pronounced content link between text and decoration, is the Lithuanian author Ivan Gushchenko (*Иван Федотович Гущенко*) (1863 – 5. VI 1957) (Figure 4), whose works outside of Lithuania can be found in the Pushkin House Latgale collection (No. 107, 441) and in the Zavoloko fund (No. 195, 252, 278, 254), as well as in private collections in Latvia.

Gushchenko was known as a calligrapher, book scribe and binder from Vilnius. Early on he started to transcribe and illustrate books, and to create thematic article compilations on themes relevant for Old Believers, complementing these with commentaries (Морозова 2011: 72–73). Gushchenko has developed an easily recognizable book ornamentation style, in his headpieces synthesizing Pomorian floral and Balkan ornament braided motifs, and creating the initials from knotty stems plaits. Guschenko often would illustrate his books with miniatures and historicizing initials – always in line with the chapter contents (Морозова 2011: 73).

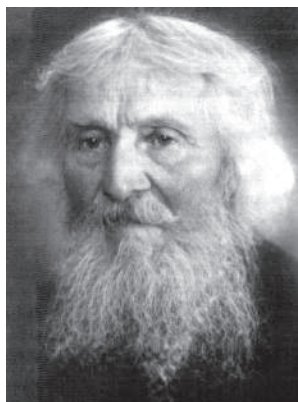


Figure 4. Ivan Gushchenko (Морозова 2010: 82).



Figure 5. Wedding Arrangements, Ivan Gushchenko, 1898 (Private collection).

In the context of the content link between text and decoration, looking at Gushchenko's manuscripts that exist in Latvia, the “Wedding Arrangements” from the private collection must be pointed out, in the last page of which the author himself has written down the year 1898, when the book was transcribed. The headpiece (Figure 5), which is placed before the account on the wedding arrangements, depicts two birds facing each other, holding a certain object in their beaks, which remotely resembles an upside down shape of a heart.

In the corners and the top of the headpiece there are berry bunches characteristic to the Pomorian style, which often come up in other decoration work done by Gushchenko.

Birds as agents between heaven and earth, as a symbol of love and hope are often depicted in decorations linked to marriage. In addition the chosen positioning of birds facing each other is a traditional kind of composition. Attention is drawn by the bird species chosen by Gushchenko, which does not remind of the usual dove, but rather a cock or an eagle, which is a symbol of the king of birds, the fire from the skies and the solar ambassador (Chevalier 1996: 323). The source of inspiration for this depiction can be found in the late 17th century graphic. The chosen ornithomorphic motif is in line with the favoured depiction of birds in the headpiece edges (Винокурова 1988: 271) engraved by Leontiy Bunin⁷ (*Леонтий Бунин*), which are regarded as one of the most significant sources of the beginning of Pomorian style.

Pushkin House Latgale collection has acquired⁸ the Fest Song Book (Latg. 210), which features eleven Moscow Baroque style headpiece-edges engraved by Bunin, the meaning of which, as Gleb Markelov notes (Маркелов 1985: 427), in the context of Vyg book ornament genesis, is difficult to overestimate. The prototypes for Bunin's engravings, however, can be found in the second half of the 17th century Moscow ancient print graphic, the end pieces of which feature symmetrically positioned eagle heads with twines in their beaks (Винокурова 1988: 275) (Figure 6).



Figure 6. The Fest Song Book, 1680s (Pushkin House, Latg. No. 210) (Винокурова 1988: 275).

It is unknown whether Gushchenko has taken inspiration from Bunin's engravings or from ancient print end pieces, yet the adapted motifs indicate the Lithuanian Old Believer artist's broad spectrum of inspiration sources. The second direction of the "Wedding Arrangement" headpiece is the headpiece⁹ on page 76 of the Worship Book found at the Lithuanian National Library (LNB) (Cyr. Ms. ВЛ / R 2314) (Figure 7), separate motifs of which are very similar to the explored Gushchenko's headpiece – particularly the leafage and the red berry bunches.

The decoration does not have clear eagle motifs – such as there are no beaks or heads, but there are eyes which lead to think of the presence of zoomorphism. The headpiece composition, which consists of symmetrically arcuated twine of straps, makes one repeatedly look at the bottom part of Bunin's engraving. It creates an impression that the LNB manuscript artist has creatively transformed elements of the engraving, by melting into the frame of the pleated ornament motifs that have been designed beyond recognition and by leaving in only a few references to the possible prototype. The LNB Worship Collection

dates back to the second half of the 19th century (Морозова, Темчин 2002: 118), but unfortunately the author remains anonymous and there is no precise information about the conditions under which the piece was acquired by the library. Although several parallels can be spotted between Gushchenko’s “Wedding Arrangements” and the LNB Worship Collection headpieces, yet the latter shows higher qualities of an artistic style. It has also been much more carefully designed, creating a more nuanced modelling of black-and-whites both through striking and shading, and the yellow background gives the headpiece a collared and finished look.



Figure 7. The Worship Book, the 2nd half of the 19th century (Lithuanian National Library, Cyr. Ms. B. 1, L. 75v-76a).

Comparison of author’s styles in the text shows the diversity of the work of different authors, although one cannot exclude the possibility that the text may have been written by one person, but illustrated by another. In both cases the used red berry bunches, as well as the twines and the yellow background leads us to another set of manuscript headpieces. These are the Trezvoni (Latg. 180) (Figure 8) from the Latgale collection at Pushkin House, which dates back to the 1880s.



Figure 8. Trezvoni, 1880s (Pushkin House, Latg. No. 180).

The manuscript is decorated with several large initials in an authored style and headpieces, one of which in terms of the used motifs and style is related to the previously explored decorations. Zoomorphic or ornithomorphic motifs are absent here, but several other elements are present, such as headpiece configuration, a yellow background as in the Lithuanian manuscript, red berry styled modelling of volume, tints of black-and-white in the leaf/feather twines, as well as twine motifs in the central part of the headpiece.

Although all three explored late 19th century headpieces most likely are the work of different authors, they constitute a separate group in the range of other Old Believer manuscripts. They stand out with their originality and craftsmanship.

Conclusions

In total out of the eighty fixed manuscript author's works, an artistic decoration can be found in forty or about half of the manuscripts. However, looking at the accomplishments of the known masters, it must be noted that parallels in the choice of motifs and similarities in decorations to some extent unify them with the works of unknown authors, marking separate touch points within the diverse picture.

In Karasev's and the anonymous author's Song Book headpieces created in handicraft style complement the range of manuscript decorations, which are rooted in the works of applied art. Although in Latvian Old Believer manuscripts this link can be found in several other decorations, it is generally not very widespread, and in addition these are nearly the only cases where this link is reflected in such a direct way.

Whereas the manuscript of Gushchenko found in the Latvian private collection, while demonstrating only one style of the author's creative activities, through the use of related elements has managed to link together several manuscripts created nearly at the same time, yet by different authors and at different locations.

It is fascinating to see how separate elements and fragments of what is known intertwine with the unknown and not fully explored, which then forms a picture of separate illuminated connection points. In the art history of Old Believer books there is still a lot of unknown, however each recorded surname, and each line that derives from it allows painting a bigger picture of the Old Believer book art.

Attachment

A slight departure from the topic to add to the most recently published "Art Tempus" (Vol. 1) article on Latvian Old Believer book scribes (Klestrova 2013: 42–49). In the course of this research additional information was obtained that refers to previously listed scribes – Larion Bucev (*Ларион Буцев*), Daniel Mihailov (*Даниел Михайлов*) and Nil Dobrinski (*Нил Добринский*).

About Larion Bucev – as mentioned before, there are significant differences in the decoration of initials in the first (Latg. 57) most ancient manuscript that can be attributed to Bucev and the initials and headpiece in the last (Latg. 124) manuscript created in 1888, irrespective of the use of violet ink characteristic to Bucev's work.

By inviting the Old Slavonic manuscript expert Dr. philol. Nadezhda Morozova (*Надежда Морозова*) (LT) to compare and test the manuscript handwritings attributed to Bucev, the suspicion was confirmed that neither the first (Latg. No. 57), nor the last (Latg. 124) manuscript is the work of Bucev himself. Given that four mid manuscripts are distinguished by a strong unified decorative style, it was possible to reveal an unknown Bucev's manuscript "The Suffering of Christ and the Life of Plakida" from a private collection in Latgale. This manuscript is decorated with slightly recognisable Bucev's headpieces (Figure 9) and initials, and positive results were achieved by comparing the styles as well.



Figure 9. Passion of the Christ and the Life of Placidus, the second half of the 19th cent., Larion Bucev (Private collection).

About Nil Dobrinski – by collecting the newest information about the Latgale collection manuscripts, it was found that he has authored another manuscript in the fund – the Christmas Chants (Latg. No. 320). Unfortunately the manuscript has only 14 pages without a specific decor, which could give us additional information about the artistic style of Dobrinski. The beginning of a few chapters is marked only by small initials in red ink with a small floral decor, which is in tune with the small initials in the author’s Song ABC (Latg. 140). On the other hand the end of the small song book is indicative of Dobrinski’s habit of recording his name and place of residence in the transcribed books.

About Daniel Mihailov – it has already been mentioned that Mihailov was one of the most productive scribes, whose manuscripts were stored at the Latgale collection at the Pushkin House. Specifying the total number of manuscripts in the collections, the already known 15 manuscripts from the Latgale collection need to be complemented with the eight manuscripts authored by Mihailov from the Zavoloko Fund and six from the Rīga Grebenshikov’s Old Believer preaching house collection. Therefore a total of 29 books or their fragments written or transcribed by Mihailov can be found in these three collections.

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¹ Surnames of scribes are recorded based on information from five collections: 1) Riga Grebenshikov's Old Believer preaching house book collection, 2) University of Latvia Academic Library Manuscript and Unique Book Collection, 3) Latgale collection at the Pushkin House in Saint Petersburg, 4) Ivan Zavoloko fund at the Pushkin House in Saint Petersburg, 5) Dvinsk collection at the Russian Academy of Sciences Library in Saint Petersburg.

² The Prichudye collection certainly features information about known scribes of books, most likely from Latgale as well, but to this point the author has not gathered information about this collection.

³ Yuriy Begunov (*Юрий Константинович Бегунов*) (1932–2014) – Russian philologist, Slavic scholar, doctor of philological sciences, researcher of Ancient Russian art, culture and literature. In 1960 he took part in an archaeographic expedition to places inhabited by Prichudye Old Believers (*Бегунов 1964; Бегунов, Панченко 1960*).

⁴ Voitiski Old Believer Congregation (Daugavpils region Skrudaliena parish) was established in the first half of the 18th century and it is one of the most ancient Old Believer congregations in Lavia.

⁵ Gift record on the first page of the collection (Latg. No. 227).

⁶ A troparion (*тропарь*) – a short hymn of one stanza, or one of a series of stanzas.

⁷ Leontiy Bunin (late 17th – early 18th century) – one of the first Russian copper engravers in the 17th century Moscow, master of the Silver Chamber (*Русский Биографический Словарь*. <http://www.rulex.ru/01021128.htm> [21.03.2014.]).

⁸ A gift from M. T. Petrova, village Moskovskaya, 1982.

⁹ Author expresses her gratitude to Nadezhda Morozova for pointing out the Lithuanian National Library manuscript.

MUSICOLOGY

Instrumental Music of the First Latvian Composers in the View of German Critics: the Crossroads of National and Musical Values

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Abstract

At the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century, the Latvian state was not yet founded, however, national ideas were being strongly expressed in Latvian culture; that is why patriotic or folklore motifs were vital also in Latvian instrumental music of the period. It was often reflected both in the titles of programmatic compositions and in the musical material itself. The attitude of German critics (not only in the Baltic German environment of Rīga, but also in Germany) towards it showed various tendencies.

It is concluded that a certain paradox appears: though the majority of German critics urged Latvian composers to be more reserved in the usage of national motifs, it was the very compositions with folkloristic musical material that most often attracted the interest of German reviewers. On the contrary, comparatively little interest was shown in pieces where other values take central stage – not the national peculiarity but melodic generosity, lyrical expression, etc.

Every era and every national community's representatives have their own scale for values in art. Still, it is worthwhile to occasionally compare these scales, identifying the differences and the similarities. This allows a vivid revelation of the values which have remained important even until modern times, or the opposite – undeservedly forgotten and worth bringing into the light. It is because of this particular aspect that becoming familiar with the German press' view on the origins of Latvian professional instrumental music offers much to consider and research further.

***Key words:** Instrumental Music of Latvian Composers in the Period until the World War I, German Music Criticism, Programmatic and Absolute Music, National Peculiarity and Composer's Individuality.*

Introduction

The expression of Latvian national identity in music mainly revolves around the vocal genre – it is not a surprise that the Latvian cultural canon, developed by modern experts, contains seven *canonized* treasures of vocal music, but only four instrumental works¹. A similar disproportion can be seen in the view of the developers of the canon on the origins of our professional music. The period up until the World War I is represented by four vocal works or collections (Andrejs Jurjāns' "*Pūt, vējiņi*" ("Blow, Winds"), Jāzeps Vītols' "*Gaismas pils*" ("Castle of Light"), Emīlis Melngailis' "*Jāņuvakars*" ("Saint John's Eve"), and Alfrēds Kalniņš' solo songs), but only one instrumental work – Emīls Dārziņš' "*Melanholiskais valsis*" ("Valse Mélancolique").

Of course, this disproportion in the genre was not formed accidentally. In many ways, it reflects the dominating trends in the era of the origins of Latvian professional music (the second half of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century), as well as ideas about the genre hierarchy: the success of a work was determined not only by the music itself, but also by the reflection of external (patriotic) ideas of national awakening, which were most vividly revealed in the genre of vocal music, particularly choir music. Still, the earliest Latvian composers attempted to demonstrate their abilities in the instrumental music, too – even though the road to popularity for such works was more difficult and thankless.

In the previous discussion of the cultural canon, all the mentioned vocal work composers also created a variety of instrumental works, which, in the period until World War I, were held in high regard by music critics. In the multi-ethnic environment of Rīga, they were discussed by representatives of not only Latvian, but also Baltic German periodicals ("*Rigasche Rundschau*", "*Rigaer Tageblatt*" and others), and, at times, these compositions gained notice even outside of Latvia, including Germany – where they were reviewed in, for example, the influential magazine "*Signale für die musikalische Welt*", as well as other periodicals. Reading the opinions of the German press is certainly useful – it allows one to understand better that Latvian music heritage is interesting and vivid not only locally, but also viewed in a broader context, besides, the opinions on national culture, as expressed by its own representatives, as compared to the opinions of those on the outside, will never be identical. From that arises the objective of this article – to research the critical response of German music critics about the first instrumental works by Latvian composers².

Discussion

As a reminder, as of the 13th century (the time of the Crusades), the Baltic Germans for a very long time had the highest societal status (noblemen, traders, etc.) among the inhabitants of Latvia, while the ethnic Latvians were mainly peasants up until even the middle of the 19th century, and, only afterwards, in the era of national awakening, did a Latvian intelligentsia emerge. In that way, from even the 18th century, Baltic Germans dominated the symphonic and chamber music life in Rīga as well.

The first compositional attempts by ethnic Latvians (an effort by a *small* nation to fit into a *large* nation's cultural environment) were regarded with interest in the Baltic German milieu, but with conflicting feelings. This is confirmed by the earliest review of Latvian instrumental music that can be found in the Rīga German press – that is music critic Moritz Rudolph's³ article about the concert in Majorenhoff (today Majori), on July 19, 1889, where, directed by conductor Fritz Scheel from Moscow, Jāzeps Vītols' "*Līgo svētki*" ("Midsummer Celebration") was performed. Characterizing the composition, the reviewer is benevolently reserved: "The arrangement of the theme is rich and diverse – in this way the composer shows a notable mastery. He also ably manages the possibilities of the orchestra" (Rudolph 1889). Still, the intention of the symphonic work to reflect the course of the national celebration seemed to Rudolph to have earned more criticism than praise: "*Midsummer Celebration* is rooted in Latvian folksongs, and belongs among those sound paintings that have unrealistic expectations of the music, since, even when following special commentaries, some specific content nuances often were difficult to understand – at least to those, who are unable to remember the initial corresponding poetic images of the composition. From a purely musical perspective, it must be noted that the familiar midsummer song – its contrapuntal arrangement is the basis for the entire second half of the composition – the instrumental version sounds dramatically different, and, additionally, no better than when it is sung with words. The repetition of the initial sounds for five times gives this melody a very stiff character [...]" (Rudolph 1889).⁴

Before I comment on Rudolph's critique of "*Līgo svētki*", it is interesting to note that this review by a Baltic German critic also gained the attention of the Latvian press. On July 21, 1889, an anonymous correspondent for the "*Dienas Lapa*" newspaper proudly referred to the review's positive aspects. Additionally, when writing about Rudolph's criticisms, he notes: "Latvian folk songs, as well as other musical arrangements based on them, can only be fully understood and felt by Latvian eyes and ears" (Anonymous 1889).

This conclusion is not unfounded. One more knowledgeable could consider the frequent repetition of the initial sounds in the symphonic version of a midsummer song less as "stiffness", but more as a sign of a ritual that is initially monotonous, and appreciate the corresponding unique nuance. Of course, much depends on the performance: the musicians of the orchestra conducted by Scheel may not have had an opinion of the original version of the song, which would have assisted with creating an appropriate tone for the instrumental version. Beyond that, the attire of an *academic* symphony orchestra might not allow one to fully enjoy the roughness of the archaic melody – though that is a feature of many romantic compositions inspired by folklore, and is also fully appropriate to the aesthetic of the era (a folklore melody was created not in a direct, uncoloured manner, but with the richness of all professional music tools – with both timbral and harmonic refinement).

The music critic Rudolph was, clearly, a believer in 'pure' or 'absolute' music, and that is why the usage of a midsummer folk song in an instrumental work was not to his liking. This assumption is based on the final sentence in the review of the work: "Still, initially we would have liked to have received an offering from J. Vītols in the field of absolute, or, in other words, non-programmatic music" (Rudolph 1889) (Figure 1).

Locales.

Concert in Majorenhof. Das vorgestrige Symphonie-Concert brachte wieder eine Reihe interessanter Programm-Nummern, die sich hauptsächlich auf den im Saale ausgeführten zweiten Concerttheil vereinigten. Da war zunächst ein neues symphonisches Gemälde, „Lihgo“ betitelt, componirt von Josef W i h t o l. Der Componist ist uns nicht mehr neu, indem vor Jahresfrist, gelegentlich des dritten lettischen Sängereftes, eine Symphonie von ihm aufgeführt wurde. Da aber damals die artistischen Verhältnisse so ungünstig lagen, daß wir in Bezug auf die Symphonie von „Gehörthaben“ kaum reden können, so machten wir einigermaßen nähere Bekanntschaft mit ihm trotzdem erst jetzt. „Lihgo“, auf lettischen Volksliedern basirend, ist eins von denjenigen Tongemälden, in denen der Musik manches Unmögliche zugemuthet wird, und die darum selbst beim Verfolgen der speciellen Inhaltsangabe, in ihren Einzelzügen vielfach unverständlich bleiben, wenigstens für denjenigen, der sich die zu den musikalischen Themen ursprünglich gehörenden Gedichte-Gebanken nicht zu vergegenwärtigen versteht. Rein musikalisch genommen, machten wir die Bemerkung, daß das bekannte Lihgo-Lied, dessen contrapunktische Verarbeitung die ganze zweite Hälfte des Stückes einnimmt, gespielt wesentlich anders, und zwar weniger günstig wirkt, als wenn es mit Worten gesungen wird. Die fünfmalige Wiederholung des Anfangstones verleiht ihm den Charakter einer gewissen Starre, der uns bei früheren Vocal-Aufführungen nicht aufgefallen ist. In der Verarbeitung des Themas, die reich und von großer Mannichfaltigkeit ist, verräth der Componist eine bedeutende Gewandtheit. Auch in der Handhabung der orchestralen Mittel besteht er Geschick. Wir möchten aber von ihm vor Allem erst einmal eine Probe absoluter, also nicht programmatischer Musik hören. — Das dem W i h t o l'schen Tongemälde folgende Es-dur-Clavierconcert von Beethoven wurde von Fr. v. R ü t h e l gespielt und von der Scheel'schen Capelle recht wacker begleitet. Mit Lösung der Aufgabe, die zu den schwierigen pianistischen Problemen gehört, legte die Solistin Ehre ein. Nicht nur an Technik und Anschlag wurde sie dem Werke gerecht, sondern auch der Stil ihres Vortrags führte aus einem anziehenden Momente in das andere, so daß das Behagen an der Vorführung bis zum Ende anhielt. — Die Ausführung einer großen Symphonie wäre nach dem Vorhergegangenen schon aus Rücksichten der Zeit nicht thunlich gewesen. Herr Scheel hatte deshalb recht gethan, ein kürzeres Werk zu wählen und uns die von leistungsfähigen Orchestern nicht gerade bevorzugte Erste von Beethoven wieder einmal zu hören zu geben. Im ersten Satze gehorchte das Orchester der Intention des Dirigenten, der den Sellenatz etwas breiter zu nehmen trachtete, nicht hinlänglich, im Uebrigen wurde die Symphonie ausgezeichnet gespielt. In besonderer Höhe erhob sich die Ausführung in dem mit bezaubernder Accuratessie und mit großem Schwung wiedergegebenen Finale. — Außer dem zweiten Concerttheile, der ein genügend langes Concert für sich abgegeben haben könnte, fanden noch die Sakuntala- und die Jubelouverture von Goldmark und Weber, die Serenade von Haydn (bei der die Begleitung allzu discret gehalten war), zwei Rhapsodien von Liszt und Ralo und die Chopin'sche As-dur-Polonnaise auf dem Programm. M. R.

Figure 1. Moritz Rudolph's article about Jāzeps Vītols' "Ligo svētki" and other symphonic work performances, conducted by Fritz Scheel from Moscow ("Rigaer Tageblatt", July 21 / August 2, 1889).

Rudolph's review in 1889 marks one of the three most significant trends which are expressed in the German press' writings on Latvian music in the time period up until World War I. The representatives of these trends are clearly not amused by the triumph of National Romanticism in Europe at the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century. That is why they cannot support the expressions of national colour, at least in instrumental works. It is interesting to note that, among those who expressed this opinion, was also the notable future Polish musicologist, *Adolf Chybiński* (Adolf *Chybinski*)⁴ – who, at the beginning of the 20th century, was still a student at the University of Munich and Royal Academy of Music Art in Munich. He is the author of one of the first reviews of Latvian piano music to be published by the press in Germany. It can be read in the respectable magazine "Signale für die musikalische Welt" (1907) and is dedicated to one of the most popular classical Latvian piano works today – Ballad by Alfrēds Kalniņš: "It seems that this young Latvian composer is talented, however, he is on the wrong path, and not simply because he speaks Latvian with us (which often is overly chauvinistic) – A. Kalniņš most likely wished to compose works only for his nation and, using the unique characteristic of his native music, he often creates very expressive moods – but because of that, he completely ignores the logics of music form. Along with that, we will not find any kind of thought development or expansion in the Ballad – the author, in a helter-skelter style, throws in a theme, then a motif or small piece of a

motif, without fully developing it thematically. This is how the Finns work, as well as followers of certain separate music trends in Russia. In that way, all his talented imagination turns out to be simply meaningless and unable to hold the long term interest of anyone. Additionally, Kalniņš' composition is also ruled by monotony, which cannot be undone even by the author's gifts in the field of harmony. The same can be said about the arrangement of his orchestral works for four hands ("*Mon pays natal*" [*"Mana dzimtene"*] / "My Homeland" – B. J.] and "*Auprès du Stabourags*" [*"Pie Staburaga"*] / "By Staburags" – B. J.])" (Chybinski 1907) (Figure 2).

— Alfred Kalniņš: Ballade pour piano (P. Neldner in Riga und Breitkopf & Härtel in Leipzig). Der junge lettische Komponist scheint Talent zu haben, aber er befindet sich auf falschem Wege — nicht deswegen, weil er in lettischer Mundart (oft zu chauvinistisch) zu uns spricht, denn er will wahrscheinlich nur für seine Landsleute tonreichen und verwendet einheimische musikalische Absonderlichkeiten, was oft stimmungsvoll wirkt —, sondern, weil er die Logik des musikalischen Satzes vollständig ignoriert. Darum finden wir bei ihm keine Gedankenentwicklung, keine Gedankenfortspinnung; er wirft ein Thema, ein Motiv und ein motivisches Bröckelchen durcheinander und verwendet sie zu keiner thematischen Verarbeitung. So tun auch die Finnländer und gewisse musikalische Sekten Rußlands. Ihre ganze Erfindungsgabe geht so ganz zu nichte und kann nicht auf die Dauer interessieren. In den Stücken von Kalniņš herrscht dazu leider noch die Monotonie, welcher auch die wirkliche harmonische Begabung des Komponisten nicht helfen kann. Dasselbe läßt sich von den vierhändigen Arrangements seiner Orchestersachen („*Mon pays natal*" und „*Auprès du Stabourags*“) sagen. — O. von Riesemann: Compositions pour Piano (op. 6. Präludium, op. 7. Drei lyrische Stücke; Verlag P. Jurgenson, Moskau-Leipzig). Etwas ungelente Stücke; von Grieg, Scriabine und anderen Russen beeinflusst. Der Klaviersatz ist nicht schlecht. — N. Schischkin: Compositions pour Piano (No. 4. 2^{me} Étude, No. 5. 2^{me} Méditation, No. 6. Fantaisie romantique; Verlag P. Jurgenson, Moskau-Leipzig). Diese unreifen, unausgereiften Kompositionen sind interessant, weil sie beweisen, daß der Einfluß Wagners und R. Straußens auf das jüngste Rußland sehr groß ist. — Kurt Zöllner: Klavierkompositionen (op. 7, 8, 9; Verlag Lauterbach & Kuhn, Leipzig). Es sind niedliche; reizende, kleine Stücke in sogenanntem „Kinderstil“, also — (nicht unselbständige) Nachahmungen Schumanns. Sie sind leicht, ziemlich frisch empfunden, manchmal gestreichelt. Man darf sie der Klavierjugend warm empfehlen. — Kompositionen von Max Jentsch: op. 18. Fantasie und op. 42. Sylphentanz für Klavier (Otto Junne, Leipzig). Der Komponist gibt uns in seinen beiden Stücken eine von Liszt beeinflusste bessere Salonmusik; besonders ist der „Sylphentanz“ flott und effektiv. Weniger gelang ihm die ein bisschen zerfahrene Fantasie. Aber auch sie ist hier und da interessant. Es wäre jedenfalls zum Vorteil dieser Werke gewesen, wenn der Komponist sich kürzer gefaßt hätte. Man darf ihm unter keinen Umständen die Erfindungsgabe absprechen. Der Klaviersatz ist gediegen.

Figure 2. *Adolf Chybinski's* article about the newest piano music publications, including Alfrēds Kalniņš' Ballad (Signale für die musikalische Welt, 1907: 67).

Of course, it is not possible to evaluate a work of art with exact, faultless methods, unconditionally stating its level of quality. *Chybinski* is certainly entitled to his opinion: commenting on it, I will only note that, in the article by the Polish musicologist, there are parallels with the previously analysed review by Rudolph, and there can be also a different view on the criticized composition. *Chybinski's* noted "monotony" (Chybinski 1907), similarly to the "stiffness" of repeating of a sound five times (Rudolph 1889), can be considered not only as incompleteness, but also as an organic ingredient in an archaic

colouring. The “monotony” of Kalniņš’ Ballad (the initial, ascetically unison form of texture, repetitions of the musical material in closely related versions) determines the composition’s epically rhythmic, secretive tone – though not in all of the Ballad, but mostly in the introduction and the first subject of the sonata form: furthermore, the condensing of the textures and the development becoming more dynamic, the *development* overshadows the *message* itself. This is particularly applicable in the central episode that earned surprisingly unanimous imaginative characterizations among the Latvian contemporaries of the composer: “like the song of a ferocious warrior” (Emīls Dārziņš), “like the clash of lances, and a savage song, and a rustle passes over all” (Gustavs Šķilters) (quoted after Arnolds Klotiņš 1979: 125). This unanimity confirms that the *Chybiński*’ view of the Ballad, particularly accenting the monotonous flow, was completely subjective, and, overall, the work contain diverse contrasts in imagery.

In every way, the critic’s rebukes directed towards Kalniņš’ Ballad, an attempt to turn them into a broader critique of specific trends in the creative work of European composers (in this case, specifically Finnish and Russian), is altogether significant. It once again confirms that music, at the beginning of the 20th century, was at a crossroads, since not only did a completely new harmonic thinking manifest itself, but also searches for an overall aesthetic ideal. National Romanticism, in the opinion of many, was of a previous era, its own *retro-style*. Still, history shows that energetic attempts to deny this were premature: in the following decades, in this *retro-style* setting, many compositions were created, which have stood the test of time. The best known example is the work of Jean Sibelius, which is, most probably, what *Chybiński* had in mind in his negative remarks on the Finns (“This is how the Finns work...”).

A different opinion that is more rarely encountered among the German music critics is the support of, even enthusiasm about, **the development of a national colouring in the instrumental works of Latvian composers**. At the beginning of the 20th century (1913), this attitude was most vividly expressed by Richard von Wistinghausen, a young author who, a few years later, died in World War I⁵. The critic’s work at the periodical “*Rigasche Rundschau*” and his attendance of Latvian concerts allowed him to develop a very interesting opinion on Latvian music and the differences with German traditions: “It was quite impressive that Latvian composition is able to say so much in the setting of diatonic sounds. This is confirmed by the folk song, in which one often hears minor sevenths from the first degree, which to our ears, corrupted by harmonic minors, sound somewhat harsh. One also often hears Dorian and Phrygian intonations. [...] Beyond those, Latvian composition conclusions often use half and plagal cadences, which we are not really used to, that is why those do not always give us a sense of conclusion: that is understandable, since the ancient, inimitably peculiar German folk song has almost totally disappeared as a result of the horrible Thirty Year War and due to the influence of the golden age of Italian opera, with the exception of minimal remains, which have survived in the shape of Protestant chorales. Many things sound unfamiliar to us, which also used to be dear to the German ear. It also explains why Latvian folk music seems so original to us [...]. Professional music, rooted in such a fertile soil, offers basis for great expectations” (Wistinghausen 1913).

This comparison of German and Latvian music was made by Wistinghausen after a concert organized by the Latvian Education Society on July 7, 1913 in Majorenhoff. At the concert, the field of new instrumental works was represented by Jāzeps Vītols' "Dramatiskā uvertūra" ("Dramatic Overture"), the overture to "Spridītis" ("results in powerful, deep impressions"), "Līgo svētki" ("Midsummer Celebration") ("a very poetic work") and Rhapsody for violin and piano ("an expressive composition"), Andrejs Jurjāns' "Latvju tautas brīvlaišana" ("The Freeing of the Latvian People") ("we are aware that he has better, more mature works"), Alfrēds Kalniņš "Pie Staburaga" ("By Staburags") ("a ferociously fantastic, exceptionally impressive composition") and Elegy for violin and piano (at this concert, a version for cello and piano, performed with "a noble tone", "an unusual conclusion – a half cadence") (Wistinghausen 1913).

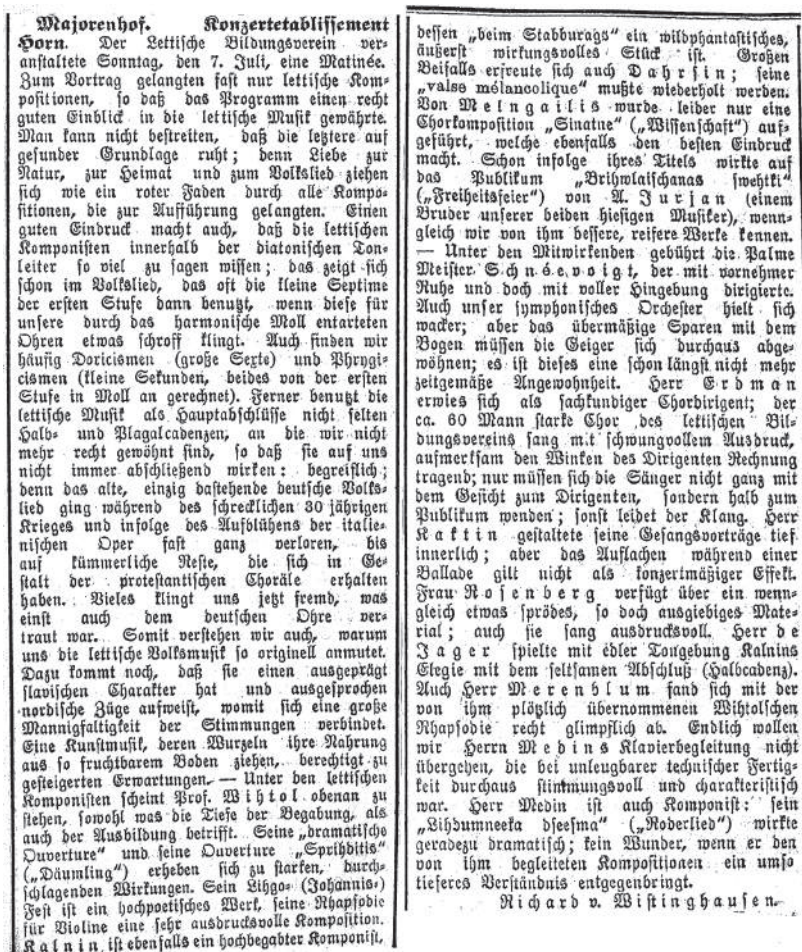


Figure 3. Wistinghausen's article on the concert in Majori organized by the Latvian Education Society (Rigasche Rundschau, July 8/21, 1913).

It must be admitted that, in the quoted review, Wistinghausen confirmed his own refined internal ear and had an attention to detail that is rarely encountered in music criticism. For example, the epically sorrowful first theme of Vītols' "*Līgo svētki*" is truly distinctive with the reviewer's observed Dorian mode, additionally, Kalniņš' "Elegy" – both with its great balance on the plagal progressions, as well as the critic's noted significant melancholic *question* – the half cadence – for the entire conclusion of the composition⁶.

The image displays a musical score for the piece "Elegy" by Alfrēds Kalniņš. The score is written for a single melodic line and piano accompaniment. It begins with the instruction "con sordino" and "Tempo I." in a key signature of three flats (B-flat major/D minor) and a 3/4 time signature. The dynamics range from *pp* (piano) to *ppp* (pianissimo). The score includes various musical notations such as slurs, ties, and fermatas. The piece concludes with a half cadence, marked with "rit. e staccato".

Figure 4. "Elegy" by Alfrēds Kalniņš: fragment of the conclusion (copy of the author's publication) (Rīga: P. Neldner, no date).

We find a unique view of the national colouring of Latvian instrumental music in the publications of Hans Schmidt⁷ – music critic, composer and poet, and, in his time, a notable pianist. His opinion, compared with the previously analysed Rudolphs' / *Chybiņskis*' and Wistinghausens' opinions, could be considered a *golden mean*. Schmidt also highly rates the national colouring expression in many specific compositions, though, at the same time, he believes that the Latvian composers were perhaps overly concerned with folklore-like motifs. In this sense, his review of one of the first Latvian symphonic

music concerts is notable. The concert, conducted by Pāvuls Jurjāns, was on September 4, 1906. As some of the more memorable moments of the event, Schmidt mentions Vītols' "*Līgo svētki*" ("Midsummer Celebration": "outlines an unusually poetic Nordic Midsummer Night scene with its secretive voices of nature"¹⁵), a version for orchestra of two movements of the String Quartet (of those "the original was, it seems, of higher quality, the gracefully formed Intermezzo"), Kalniņš' idyll "*Mana dzimtene*" ("My Homeland") and the symphonic poem "*Pie Staburaga*" ("By Staburags": "reveals an unquestionably original talent"), Emīls Dārziņš' "*Vientuļā priede*" ("Lonely Fir Tree": "an effortlessly flowing, naturally warm melody") and Andrejs Jurjāns' "effective" "*Latvju vispārīgo dziesmu svētku mars*" ("March of the All Latvian Song Festival"). The reviewer made some critical notes about the piano work included in the programme, Vītols' Variations on the folk melody "*Ej, saulīte, drīz pie Dieva*" ("Go, Sun, Soon to God": "slightly reminds one of Grieg's variation-like Norwegian Ballad, and the relationship between both works, next to the positive qualities – a brilliant piano style – is also a common deficiency – in essence, a notable one-sidedness"). Still, the most significant criticism was not for specific compositions, but the trend, which is described by Schmidt as: "The source of the creative work for all of them is common – rooted in motifs of Latvian folk music, yielding to its urge and influence. Though this feature undoubtedly seems attractive and interesting, it still contains a certain threat. It is obvious that excessively cultivating the national only harms the individual development. Modern music history provides many disturbing examples in this respect" (Schmidt 1906).

Schmidt continues this very thought, reviewing certain of Kalniņš' newly published compositions – the Piano Suite and notebook of vocal duets: "[...] restricting oneself to mainly Latvian national motifs and a particular love for the quintuple time, based on his own long term usage of it, can potentially leave an unwanted impression. In that way, there is an involuntary curbing of fantasy and imagination, which can be very well seen in some works by Norwegian and Finnish composers. It is true, however, that, at the same time, for this kind of intimate miniature painting, it has its own unique fascination" (Schmidt 1913).

Schmidt's suggestion to not overly emphasize the Latvian colouring in one's music is most certainly not influenced by greater German chauvinism. In fact, it is quite the opposite – this author, based on the recollections of Jāzeps Vītols, was the most positive about Latvians of all the Riga German music critics, regularly (as of 1889) attending the *autumn concerts*, organised by the Riga Latvian Society (*Rīgas Latviešu biedrība*) and rich with premieres. It is clear that the critics' expressed warnings reflect a wish for a composer to raise himself above national particularities – regardless if it is rooted in German or Latvian culture. Schmidt's credo could very well be the words that were written in the previously quoted review from 1906: "In any art, especially sound art, only the sense of musical and human spiritual and sound beauty can be considered the fatherland; *ubi pulchre ibi patria*" (Schmidt 1906).

Conclusions

The studies of reviews of Latvian music leads to the conclusion that a certain paradox appears: though the majority of German critics urged Latvian composers to be more reserved in usage of national motifs, it was the very compositions with folkloristic musical material that most often attracted the interest of German reviewers. On the contrary, comparatively little interest was shown in pieces where other values take the central stage – not national peculiarity but melodic generosity, lyrical expression etc. It is significant that there are fewer reviews in the German press about Dārziņš' symphonic miniature “*Melanholiskais valsis*” (“*Valse Mélancolique*”), a very popular work in Latvian society, and a work that confirmed the author's distinguished melodic talents, even though it is a composition that is not at all based on folklore (as opposed to, for example, Vītols' “*Līgo svētki*”). This allows one to conclude that the field of Latvian music that most vividly expresses the national identity, rather than only the composer's individual style, gained the liveliest response in the international audience in the turn of the 20th century.

Of course, every era and every national community's representatives have their own scale for values in art. Still, it is worthwhile to occasionally compare these scales, identifying the differences and the similarities. This allows to vividly reveal the values which have remained important even until modern times, or, the opposite – undeservedly forgotten and worth bringing into the light. It is because of this particular aspect, that becoming familiar with the German press' view on the origins of Latvian professional instrumental music offers much to consider and research further.

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¹ Besides these, one of the treasures of the Latvian cultural canon – the creative work of *Johann Gottfried Mützel* – includes both instrumental and vocal compositions.

² Another separate research theme could also be the view of the origins of Latvian professional music in the Russian press.

³ From 1871 until the end of his life, Moritz Rudolph (1843 Leipzig – 1892 Rīga) was an influential music critic in Rīga – first in the newspaper “*Zeitung für Stadt und Land*”, and later (beginning in August 1876) “*Rigaer Tageblatt*” (until 1882 titled “*Neue Zeitung für Stadt und Land*”). He also published a number of works which were dedicated to the history of music and theatre in Rīga, the most significant of those being the encyclopaedic publication “*Rigaer Theater-und Tonkünstler-Lexikon*” (Rudolph 1890).

⁴ *Adolf* (full name *Adolf Eustache*) *Chybiński* (1880 Krakau – 1952 Poznan) – Polish musicologist. As of 1901, he studied musicology and philosophy at the Universities of Krakow and Munich. From 1905 to 1907, he studied composition at the Royal Academy of the Art of Music in Munich. In 1908, he earned a PhD in philosophy. He was a lecturer (from 1912), the director of the Musicology Faculty (1913–1941) and professor (1921–1939) at the University of Lviv, professor at the Lviv Conservatory (1916–1928, 1939–1941) and the University of Poznan (1945–1952). Considered to be the founder of the Polish school of musicology, and was widely known as a specialist on ancient Polish music: he also researched the compositions of the creative group “New Poland” (*Karol Szymanowski* and others), as well as folk music. In his youth, during his studies in Germany, he wrote extensively in the contemporary European music publications “*Neue Musik-Zeitung*” and “*Signale für die musikalische Welt*”. In this period, he became of the first critics outside of Latvia who became aware of the works of Kalniņš.

⁵ Richard (full name Richard Magnus Karl) von Wistinghausen, (1872 Revel, now Tallinn, went missing in 1915 after a battle in Tarnova of the Galicia front) worked as a music critic in many newspapers, including *Rigasche Rundschau*, in whose pages he wrote much about Latvian music life. He regularly turned to composition, particularly the vocal music field. From 1912 to 1914, until the beginning of World War I, he was an inspector at the Russian Music Society Rīga School of Music (see also Scheunchen 2002: 308–309).

⁶ It is worth noting, that this simple miniature, formed in a Latvian mood, in its time gained the attention of not just international critics, but also performers. It is the first composition by a Latvian author that an international musician recorded: a version for viola (with piano accompaniment) was regarded in 1921 by the world famous violist Lionel Tertis. For those interested, this recording is available in his album (“*Lionel Tertis: The Complete Vocalion Recordings*” (1919–1924), AMG All Music Guide to Classical Music, 2006). Arnolds Klotiņš also mentions another notable international musician, who enjoyed playing the “Elegy” – the Polish violin virtuoso *Paul Kochanski* (Klotiņš 1979: 121).

⁷ Hans Schmidt (1854 Viljandi – 1923 Rīga) – Baltic German composer, music critic, pianist, teacher, poet, was baptized as Johann Valentin Schmidt. From 1875 – 1878, he studied composition at the Leipzig Conservatory. After that, he supplemented his studies with theory at the Berlin Academy of Music and, for two years, consulted in Vienna with Johannes Brahms in composition. Schmidt was a personal friend of Brahms, and his poems became the foundation for four Brahms solo songs (the most well-known of which is “*Sapphische Ode*” op. 94 no. 4). As of 1885, Schmidt lived in Rīga: he was a music critic for many periodicals, mainly “*Rigasche Rundschau*”. As a pianist / accompanist, he performed together with many well famous singers. In 1919, he became a piano teacher at the newly founded Latvian conservatory, and held this position until 1922.

Jāzeps Vītols and Harmony in Latvia

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Abstract

Jāzeps Vītols (1863–1948) was an outstanding and brilliant personality: composer, pedagogue, critic and public figure. If, after the regaining of Latvia's independence, J. Vītols' music has become widely popular, then his as a theoretician's contribution has been undeservedly forgotten. Celebrating J. Vītols' 150th anniversary, we might ask, what from his as a theoretician's contribution is suggestive particularly for us, the present generations of music theoreticians?

Professor Jāzeps Vītols and Latvian Conservatory. Harmony books and studies in Latvia before J. Vītols' experience, content of musical theory courses and the fundamentals of methodology. Tradition and novelty. J. Vītols' theory of harmony today. The only question is how much?

Key words: Jāzeps Vītols, Harmony, Tradition.

Introduction

Jāzeps Vītols (1863–1948) – was an outstanding and brilliant personality; he has been the most influential figure of Latvian music for more than fifty years: composer, pedagogue, critic, public figure, the pioneer and symbol of Latvian music.

To a certain extent, the content and the basics of methodology used in the study courses of J. Vītols' music theory are still alive and practiced today. However, if, after the regaining of Latvia's independence, Vītols' music has become widely popular, then his as a theoretician's contribution has been undeservedly forgotten. Although, celebrating Vītols' 150th anniversary we can ask ourselves: what from his as a theoretician's contribution is suggestive particularly for us, the present generations of music theoreticians?

First, it is the fact that J. Vītols has provided that-time solutions for such challenges of musical life that are still topical nowadays. One of the challenges was and still is musical education, its content and form, which, by the way, under the conditions of financial recession is on the cross – roads today as well. J. Vītols is one of those great Latvians, who, by working internationally, have significantly supplemented the theory of harmony presented in the Latvian language, thus essentially facilitating the development of Latvian music

theory. The only question is – to what extent? To clarify this question, let us at first take an insight into J. Vītols' activity in Petersburg.

Jāzeps Vītols in Petersburg Conservatory

In order to bring about new findings, it is necessary to get the respective experience. Vītols himself acquired harmony under the guidance of Nikolai Rimski-Korsakov¹ (1844–1908) while studying at Petersburg Conservatory (1880–1886).

During the Petersburg period (1880–1918), by working at the conservatory, J. Vītols gradually accumulated pedagogical experience in teaching study courses of music theory: harmony, polyphony, theory of musical form. He based his teaching on the pedagogical tradition established by Nikolai Rimski-Korsakov. He was a strict and rather conservative teacher. Nowadays, there are no precise statistical data on the hundreds of new musicians, who have received the substantial knowledge for the rest of their professional lives exactly at the special theoretical classes delivered by J. Vītols within the composition class of Petersburg Conservatory. We can mention the famous musicians in Russia (Aleksandr Gauk², Nikolai Myaskovsky³, Sergei Prokofiev⁴, Yuri Shaporin⁵), Estonia (Juhan Aavik⁶, Cyrillus Kreek⁷), Lithuania (Juozas Tallat-Kelpsha⁸, Stasys Shimkus⁹), Poland (Witold Maliszewski¹⁰), the USA (Josef Schillinger¹¹), and many others. Professor Jāzeps Vītols' harmony classes in Petersburg – Petrograd Conservatory were attended also by a number of celebrities of Latvian music (Jānis Zālītis (1884–1943), Ādolfs Ābele (1889–1967), Teodors Reiters (1884–1956), Harijs Ore (1885–1972) a. o.). The majority of Vītols' students have scattered all over the globe.

J. Vītols as a theoretician's competence is testified by the unique fact. To get better acquainted with Arnold Schoenberg's¹² "Book of Harmony" ("*Harmonielehre*") published in 1911, the colleagues in Petersburg Conservatory trusted J. Vītols to review the book. Probably, he was trusted to do that because J. Vītols had the command of the German language (his family language). Natalia Braginska (*Наталья Брагинска*), a senior lecturer of Faculty of Musicology, St. Petersburg Conservatory, states in her paper "Joseph Wihtol in Petersburg Conservatory" presented at the international scientific conference "*Jāzeps Vītols: personība, daiļrade, konteksti*" ("Joseph Wihtol: Personality, Creative Work, Contexts")¹³ the outstanding review by J. Vītols is to be found in the Department of Manuscripts of St. Petersburg Conservatory Scientific Music Library (*НИОР НМБ СПбГК*)¹⁴. J. Vītols studied the voluminous 475 pages – great A. Schoenberg's "Book of Harmony". I quote an extract from Vītols' review read by N. Braginska: "In comparison with the method proposed by A. Schoenberg, Alexander Scriabin's (*Александр Скрябин*) harmony is just a small matter. Our Scriabin still has a lot to do [...]. There is still more freedom [...]. This book will make a future theory". J. Vītols figuratively compared Schoenberg's theory with a coconut, which has a thick and bitter peel, but inside – sweet milk.

Have the content and the teaching methodology of J. Vītols harmony proposed any new findings for the education of future Latvian professional musicians? Let us try and find the answer to this question.

Latvian Conservatory

A certain system in teaching harmony in Latvia was introduced only after 1919, when Latvian Conservatory was established. Its first rector – professor J. Vītols delivered classes of harmony and composition. He introduced the traditions of the Russian school also in Latvia – the fundamental principles of the course programmes and teaching methodology. The principles of the Russian school were manifested also in the thematic planning of the subjects on music theory. That concerned teaching harmony in the newly – established conservatory.

However, similarly to Petersburg period, also in Rīga period, J. Vītols pedagogical activity continued and expanded. Within his special class of composition there developed outstanding Latvian musicians – composers Pēteris Barisons (1904–1947), Volfgangs Dārziņš (1906–1962), Alfrēds Feils (1902–1942), Jēkabs Graubiņš (1886–1961), Jānis Ivanovs (1906–1983), Alberts Jērumis (1919–1978), Jānis Keņģis (1908–1989), Paula Līcīte (1889–1966), Jānis Līcītis (1913–1978), Jēkabs Poruks (1895–1963), Bruno Skulte (1905–1976), Mārgeris Zariņš (1910–1993), Arvīds Žilinskis (1905–1993) and other famous personalities. “Vītols’ School” in Latvian Conservatory encouraged the development of many musicians of non – Latvian origin (Russian, Jewish, Lithuanian, German). Among J. Vītols’ students living outside Latvia, in the 1920s–1930s there were Victor Babin (*Viktors Babins*, 1908–1982), Lithuanians Juozas Karosas (*Juozas Karosas*, 1890–1981), Vladas Jakubenas (*Vladas Jonas Jakubėnas*, 1904–1976), Stasys Vainiūnas (*Stasys Vainiūnas*, 1909–1982), a. o.

Harmony in Latvia after 1919

Let us at first consider the study aids of the harmony course that were functioning in Latvia before J. Vītols’ arrival to Latvia in 1918. At the beginning of the century, various study aids of the harmony course were used in the study practice. The prevalent ones were the books by German theoreticians, including the book “Harmony Study Book” (*Lehrbuch der Harmonie*, 1853) by Ernst Friedrich Eduard Richter (*Ernst Fridrich Eduard Richter*, 1808–1879), which was translated also in Russian, published in Petersburg in 1868 and adapted to the peculiarities of the harmony of Russian music. The book “Book of Harmony” (*Руководство к изучению гармонии*, 1871) by Pyotr Tchaikovsky (*Пётр Чайковский*) which was based on E. F. Richter’s findings and N. Rimski-Korsakov’s “Practical Textbook of Harmony” (*Практический учебник гармонии*, 1886) were popular as well. Which of the books was available, that was used for studies.

The first study book on harmony in the Latvian language was published in Latvia in 1921. That was N. Rimski-Korsakov’s “Practical Textbook of Harmony” translated by Bernhard Valle¹⁵ (1888–1924). B. Valle translated the third edition of N. Rimski-Korsakov’s “Practical Textbook of Harmony” (1893). In the translation, B. Valle preserved the author’s foreword, in which, as stated by B. Valle, N. Rimski-Korsakov had set three main objectives: 1) to amass the study material; 2) to adapt it to the course of harmony as it was taught in Petersburg Conservatory and other music schools in Russia; 3) to adapt it, as much as possible, to self-education.

In spite of the rather poor literary language, B. Valle's translation is of great significance. First, it is the first textbook on harmony in the Latvian language (even though translated). Second, that textbook was used to study harmony in Latvia's Folk conservatories (*Latvijas Tautas konservatorija*) in the middle of the 1930s, as well as in Latgale Folk Conservatory (*Latgales Tautas konservatorija*) in Daugavpils. In Latvian Conservatory, professor J. Vītols taught harmony according to his notes (the notes were collected when he worked in Petersburg Conservatory), which were mainly based on the regularities discussed in N. Rimski-Korsakov's "Practical Textbook of Harmony".

In 1926, in Rīga the study book by Jēkabs Kārklīš-Kārkle (1867–1960) "*Mācība par akordiem (daudzskañiem) kā ievads harmonijas mācībā*" ("Theory on Chords as an Introduction to the Study of Harmony") was published. It was the first original book on music theory and harmony in the Latvian language in the pre-war period. Although, the book consisting of 80 pages resembles a more profound course of elementary music theory, though some chapters are appropriate for the introduction of the four – part composition. B. Valle's translation was still functioning and was used in practice until 1944.

By force of various circumstances, the publishing of the translation of N. Rimski-Korsakov's book "Practical Textbook of Harmony" (1944) translated by Vilis Reimers (1910–2002) was delayed; this translation is different from the one done by B. Valle in many ways. Firstly, the literary language in this translation is much better. Secondly, it contains a lot of additions and corrections. Probably, it is the professor's contribution. The textbook was published in J. Vītols' redaction and was devoted to J. Vītols' former colleague at Petersburg Conservatory, composer and professor Anatoly Lyadov (*Анатоль Лядов*, 1855–1914). It is recommended to Latvian Conservatory as a teaching aid in the classes of general harmony and is to be considered J. Vītols present to the 25th anniversary of Latvian musicians' *alma mater*. V. Reimers, J. Vītols' student, a free-lancer, translated the 9th edition of N. Rimski-Korsakov's "Practical Textbook of Harmony" that was supplemented and edited by J. Vītols and Maximilian Steinberg¹⁶ (1912); the edition was developed at the time when J. Vītols worked at Petersburg Conservatory. Shortly before his death, N. Rimski-Korsakov had shared his views with the colleagues about some additions and explanations necessary to be introduced into the new edition.

Being fully engaged in composing and compiling of the great textbook on instrumentation, N. Rimski-Korsakov did not manage to edit the new publication. Therefore J. Vītols and M. Steinberg, having received N. Rimski-Korsakov's permission, decided to edit several chapters of the book with the aim, first, to some extent eliminate the obvious drawbacks of the previous editions, secondly, to make some sections easier for students' understanding, especially for self – education. Without doubts, even now this book hardly considers all the cases of harmonization, but a more detailed review might also be harmful as it would obscure more important issues. Besides, something should be left also for a teacher to interpret in his own way.

Followers of the tradition of Jāzeps Vītols school

The influence of J. Vītols' harmony school is felt also in the students of his composition class. In the after-war period, the first most valuable publication was the 17th edition (1951) of N. Rimski-Korsakov's book "Practical Textbook of Harmony" edited by Vītols' student, composer Ādolfs Skulte (1909–2000). This edition almost completely repeats the previous one – the 16th edition, which was published in 1936, in Leningrad (*Ленинград*). Some minor changes and additions were introduced by the editor – J. Vītols' former colleague, professor M. Steinberg. The book is a highly valuable addition to the teaching of harmony.

But the first original Latvian textbook of harmony is Part I (1975) of the book "*Harmonija*" ("Harmony") by the composer, pianist, organ player, pedagogue and theoretician Lūcija Garūta (1902–1977). The author devoted the book to her teacher J. Vītols. L. Garūta's book contains the chapters that go beyond the limits of the usual first course of harmony – Altered chords, Modulations and movements, Bipartite and tripartite forms, Melodic figuration. The chapter "Diatonic in Arrangements of Latvian Folksongs" ("*Diatonika latviešu tautasdziesmu apdarēs*") is of particular significance. In this chapter L. Garūta reveals the particularities characteristic of arrangements of folk melodies in which the diatonic principles have been established. The analysis is mainly based on the compositions by the classics of Latvian music. L. Garūta notes the too belated addressing of melodic figuration as one of the drawbacks of the previously published textbooks on harmony.

Part 2 of L. Garūta's "Harmony" was not finished and thus also not published. In 1990, the arranged manuscript of the book under the redaction of Austra Kārklīņa (born in 1939) was submitted to the library of Jāzeps Vītols Music Academy of Latvia.

All in all, the account of the material in Part 1 of L. Garūta's "Harmony" manifests a systematic principle of acquisition. It refers to the logic of material acquisition, the connections between the already-presented and the new material, thus achieving gradual increase in the complexity of tasks. Everything above-said facilitates the comprehension of the material and the development of appropriate skills. The acquisition of some themes (melodic, chords of the seventh) are related to the concentric principle of acquisition of the material. The textbook was envisaged for the use in secondary music schools. Unfortunately, the book did not acquire wider usage, since already for 20 years for the acquisition of harmony in Latvia, the harmony theory of Moscow Conservatory (*Московская консерватория*) was being used as the main and almost only teaching aid. Such a situation was determined also by the historical conditions – the centralized study programmes developed in Moscow.

Unfortunately, the extraordinarily detailed explanation of the study material in Part I of "Harmony" by L. Garūta turned out to be a certain hindrance. Because of that, the volume of the book grew to 430 pages and for conservatory students it was difficult to orient themselves in its content. Wherewithal, in the 1960s, mainly the "Textbook of Harmony" of Moscow Conservatory was used in the acquisition of harmony.

Terminology

Summing up the above – said, it should be stated that in the 1st part of the 20th century, in Latvia the teaching of harmony was mainly based on the translations of N. Rimski-Korsakov’s book “Practical Textbook of Harmony”. Having compared three versions of this book in Latvian, we should acknowledge that the principle of presentation of the study material is one and the same. What differ are the additions, as well as redactions of some terms which to a certain extent are related to the development of the literary language in the respective period. For the comparison we present the table of some most important terms and expressions (Table 1).

Table 1. Table of terms in harmony (Ē. Daugulis)

Translation by B. Valle (1921)	Translation by V. Reimers J. Vitols’ redaction (1944)	Translation by V. Reimers Ā. Skulte’s redaction (1951)	The term in English
1	2	3	4
<i>toņkārtā</i>	<i>toņkārtā</i>	<i>skaņkārtā</i>	scale
<i>balsu virzīšanās</i>	<i>balsvirze</i>	<i>balsvirze</i>	motion
<i>dubultoņumi</i>	<i>divkāņšojumi</i>	<i>divkāņšojumi</i>	doubling
<i>plašais un šaurais salikums</i>	<i>platais un šaurais salikums</i>	<i>plašais un šaurais salikums</i>	wide and narrow range
<i>trijskaņu savienošana</i>	<i>trijskaņu saiste</i>	<i>trijskaņu saiste</i>	connection of triads
<i>aizliegti savienojumi</i>	<i>aizliegtās secības</i>	<i>aizliegtās secības</i>	forbidden successions
<i>harmonizācija akordiem</i>	<i>harmonizācija ar akordiem</i>	<i>harmonizācija akordos</i>	chord harmonization
<i>pakāpes saistīšana</i>	<i>kopskaņas saiste</i>	<i>kopskaņas saiste</i>	connection of tones
<i>pilnīgas kadences</i>	<i>kadencas jeb nobeigumi</i>	<i>pilnās kadencas</i>	complete cadences
<i>caurgāju kvartsekstakordi</i>	<i>pārgāju kvartsekstakordi</i>	<i>pārgāju kvartsekstakordi</i>	transit chords of the fourth and sixth
<i>puskadence</i>	<i>puskadenca</i>	<i>puskadenca</i>	imperfect cadence
<i>frīģiešu kadence</i>	<i>frīģiskā kadenca</i>	<i>frīģiskā kadenca</i>	phrygian cadence
<i>toniskais trijskanis</i>	<i>tonikas trijskanis</i>	<i>tonikas trijskanis</i>	basic triad
<i>dominantais trijskanis</i>	<i>dominantas trijskanis</i>	<i>dominantas trijskanis</i>	dominant triad
<i>subdominantais minora trijskanis</i>	<i>subdominantais minora trijskanis</i>	<i>harmoniskā mažora IV pakāpe</i>	subdominant of harmonic major
<i>septimas vešana</i>	<i>septimas virzīšana</i>	<i>septimas virzīšana</i>	motion of seventh
<i>septima pievedama</i>	<i>septima ievedama</i>	<i>septima ievedama</i>	seventh is to be introduced
<i>caurgāju septima</i>	<i>pārgāju septima</i>	<i>pārgāju septima</i>	transit seventh
<i>septakordu piemērošana</i>	<i>septakordu lietošana</i>	<i>septakordu lietošana</i>	the use of chords of the seventh
<i>pakāpju svabada lietošana</i>	<i>brīva pakāpju lietošana</i>	<i>brīva pakāpju lietošana</i>	free use of tones

1	2	3	4
<i>dabīgais mažors</i>	<i>naturālais mažors</i>	<i>naturalais mažors</i>	natural major scale
<i>caurgāju notis</i>	<i>pārgāju notis</i>	<i>pārgāju notis</i>	transit notes
<i>krietošas aizturas</i>	<i>krietošas aizturas</i>	<i>lejupejošas aizturas</i>	suspensions
<i>kāpjošas aizturas</i>	<i>kāpjošas aizturas</i>	<i>augšupejošas aizturas</i>	retardations
<i>neīsti savienojumi</i>	<i>maldu secības</i>	<i>maldu secības</i>	false sequences
<i>balsvešanas noteikumi</i>	<i>balsvirzes noteikumi</i>	<i>balsvirzes noteikumi</i>	rules of motion
<i>krietoša toņkārtā</i>	<i>krietoša toņkārtā</i>	<i>lejupejošā gamma</i>	descending scale
<i>prima, terce, kvinta</i>	<i>prīma, terca, kvinta</i>	<i>prīma, terca, kvinta</i>	prime, mediant, quint
<i>mažora toņkārtā</i>	<i>mažors</i>	<i>mažors</i>	major scale
<i>meldija</i>	<i>melodija</i>	<i>melodija</i>	melody
<i>ievada tonis</i>	<i>ievadtonis</i>	<i>ievadtonis</i>	introductory tone
<i>iepriekšējās zināšanas</i>	<i>priekšzināšanas</i>	<i>priekšzināšanas</i>	preliminary knowledge
<i>krustu virzienā</i>	<i>diezu virzienā</i>	<i>diezu virzienā</i>	in the direction of sharps
<i>akordu enharmonisms</i>	<i>enharmonisms akordos</i>	<i>akordu enharmonisms</i>	enharmonic chords
<i>krietoša mažora toņkārtā</i>	<i>krietoša mažora toņkārtā</i>	<i>lejupejošā mažora gamma</i>	descending major scale

The examples presented testify to the fact that the language of the translation edited by Ā. Skulte is simpler and the definitions are closer to the language of the original; therefore the regulations discussed in the book are easier to understand and remember. But a lot of terms were precise and appropriately translated into Latvian already in J. Vītols' redaction of the book. Much was taken over, but equally much was introduced anew (for instance, *pirmās radniecības pakāpe*, etc.).

At large, the fundamentals of methodology of teaching harmony in Latvia in the 1st part of the 20th century were strongly based on the traditions of Russian (Petersburg) school. Though, in this situation J. Vītols insistence on and love for the traditions of the Russian, namely, Petersburg Conservatory's school, and taking them over and their introduction into Latvian Conservatory played a great role. Nowadays, this J. Vītols' deed is evaluated differently. On the one hand, the German music theoreticians' (*Ernst Friedrich Richter, a. o.*) conceptions that were the ruling ones in Latvia since the middle of the 19th century were refreshed by means of the peculiarities and teaching methods of Slavic theory of music. On the other hand, an over – anxious interest in the content and the form of musical education of Russian school made the pedagogue and theoretician J. Vītols to develop a conservative attitude towards the modern European music in the 1930s, determined his unwillingness to accept and readiness to deny everything new. In essence, J. Vītols was holding the position of realism of Russian classical art. The musicologist Jēkabs Vītoliņš (1898–1977) writes in his essay “Joseph Wihtol in Latvian Music” (“*Jāzeps Vītols latviešu mūzikā*”): “Undoubtedly, J. Vītols school helped to restrict the introduction of the formalistic trends of Western musical modernism into Latvian music” (Vītoliņš 1963: 13). The researcher Ingrīda Zemzare in her book “Tālvāldis Kēniņš. Between Two Worlds” (“*Tāli-*

valdis Kēniņš. Starp divām pasaulēm”) quotes J. Vītols’ student, composer T. Kēniņš: “Jāzeps Vītols was extraordinarily good pedagogue, but his views gained in the times of Petersburg Conservatory were very academic, to a certain extent – even out-of-date. [..] J. Vītols with his best friend Alexander Glazunov took a stand against everything modern” (Zemzare 1994: 164–165).

Obviously, in reality it was like that, but J. Vītols’ student Joseph Schillinger proves the opposite. Living in America, Schillinger invented and developed a special method – system of musical composition and analysis¹⁷, which became very popular. As to his students, a mention should be made about the outstanding jazz composers and arrangers – George Gershwin (1898–1937), Benny Goodman (1909–1986), *Glenn Miller (1904–1944)* and others. Thus we can assume that profound knowledge of classical music theory does not hinder one to deal with modern music, jazz, etc. In this respect I would like to mention the composer A. Schoenberg’s winged words, which he addressed to his students – “I am not able to teach freedom. It is to be achieved by yourself” (Schönberg 1911: 12). Schoenberg also was a strict pedagogue and he did not teach the harmony of contemporary music, but history proved that his students were ready to create original music corresponding to their epoch. It was particularly manifested by the creative work of Austrian composer *Alban Berg (1885–1935)*.

Conclusions

For his time, Jāzeps Vītols was a progressive, colourful and brilliant personality. The account of J. Vītols’ theory of harmony contains both systematic and concentric principles; the terminology is improved, methodological gradualness is characteristic to the account of every regularity. But there are some drawbacks as well – the book lacks the explanation of the musical language of any epoch. Such a drawback significantly influences the perception of musical styles, genres, etc. The book does not provide examples of music literature either. It does not envisage harmony analysis, etc. Such uniformity makes the acquisition of harmony one – sided.

The acquisition of harmony in Latvia in 1919–1944 was based on the traditions of the Russian school. In general, the study programme for the acquisition of harmony developed in Petersburg and used in Latvia could be evaluated as positive. The method proposed in the book by N. Rimski-Korsakov was valuable, thus the best was taken over, supplemented and developed further.

J. Vītols’ tradition in teaching harmony was continued by his students – Ādolfs Skulte and Lūcija Garūta.

The account of the study material in Ā. Skulte’s book on harmony is similar to the one proposed in N. Rimski-Korsakov’s “Textbook of Harmony”. What differ are the additions and the designations of some terms.

But the book “Harmony” by L. Garūta, the first original book on harmony in the Latvian language, in its essence continues the traditions established by J. Vītols, though in a new quality, and in many aspects it is close to the conception of “Textbook of Harmony” (1935) of Moscow Conservatory.

By integrating the findings of German music theoreticians and professors of the Russian school, reconsidering them through the prism of one’s own creative prism, J. Vītols actually developed his own school of harmony. J. Vītols’ school continues its existence also in his grandchildren.

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¹ Nikolai Rimski-Korsakov (*Николай Андреевич Римский-Корсаков*, 1844–1908) was an outstanding Russian opera composer, romanticist, theoretician and pedagogue, member of the group of composers “The Five”.

² Aleksandr Gauk (*Александр Васильевич Гаук*, 1893–1963). Russian conductor and composer.

³ Nikolai Myaskovsky (*Николай Яковлевич Мясковский*, 1881–1950). Soviet Russian composer, the founder of the genre of Soviet symphonic music.

⁴ Sergei Prokofiev (*Сергей Сергеевич Прокофьев*, 1891–1953) is an outstanding Russian composer, pianist and conductor.

⁵ Composer Yuri Shaporin (*Юрий Александрович Шапорин*, 1987–1966).

⁶ Juhan Aavik (1884–1982). Estonian composer, conductor, music pedagogue.

⁷ Estonian composer Cyrillus Kreek (1889–1962).

⁸ Juozas Tallat-Kelpša (*Juozas Tallat-Kelpša*, 1889–1949). The conductor of Lithuanian Opera, composer, pedagogue, public figure.

⁹ Stasys Shimkus (*Stasys Šimkus*, 1887–1943). Lithuanian composer, choir conductor, music journalist, folklorist, pedagogue and public figure.

¹⁰ Witold Maliszewski (1873–1939). Polish composer and music pedagogue.

¹¹ American composer and outstanding music theoretician Josef Schillinger (1885–1943).

¹² Arnold Schoenberg, (*Arnold Schönberg*, 1874–1951). Austrian composer and theoretician, he introduced the composition system of 12 tones and the atonal music.

¹³ International scientific conference “*Jāzeps Vītols – personība, daiļrade, konteksti*” (“Jāzeps Vītols: Personality, Creative Work, Contexts”) in Jāzeps Vītols Music Academy of Latvia, 11 October, 2013.

¹⁴ Valuable information about J.Vītols is available also at Central State History Archives (*ЦГИА*), Russian State Literature and Art Archives (*РГАЛИ*), Russian National Library, Department of manuscripts (*ОР РНБ*).

¹⁵ Bernhard Valle acquired his education in the Former Riga Emperor Music School and Berlin Conservatory. In the 1920s he was a conductor in National Opera, he worked as a dramatist, editor, music critic, published the book “*Mūzikas svešvārdi*” (“Foreign Words of Music”).

¹⁶ Maximilian Steinberg (1883–1946). Composer, conductor, pedagogue, professor. J. Vītols’ colleagues at Petersburg Conservatory. N. Rimski-Korsakov’s son-in-law.

¹⁷ Joseph Schillinger was the professor of New York (USA) music school, the establisher of a peculiar musical system – mathematical method. The system includes the aspects of rhythm, harmony, melody, counterpoint and form. This method was appropriate in explaining the contemporary music, similarly to the set theory.

Jāzeps Vītols and Latvian Song Festival

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Abstract

Jāzeps Vītols – Latvian music patriarch and a legend, bright personality, who more than half of the century has been the central figure of Latvian sound art: composer, educator, critic, public figure. J.Vītols' 150th Anniversary is celebrated with symphonic, choral and chamber music concerts, international and national competitions for young musicians, scientific conferences and special accents at XXV Latvian Song Festival. This person is also attested as particular by the fact that J.Vītols birthday is registered in the UNESCO calendar of this year along with the anniversaries of the writer, dramatist Rūdolfs Blaumanis and chemist Pauls Valdens.

Latvian Song Festival – a unique tradition of Latvian culture and component of the Latvian National Awakening, which along with the traditions of Estonian Song Festival and Lithuanian Song Festival since 2003 has been included into the list of UNESCO Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity. In 2013 – XXV Latvian Song Festival points to a lasting cultural component, that reflect not only the fact that Latvian people are a singing nation but also the highest achievements of Latvian choral music.

The relations that unite these two phenomena are discussed in the present article.

Key words: Jāzeps Vītols, Latvian Song Festival, Choral Ballade.

Introduction

150 years ago, on 26 July 1863, Jāzeps Vītols, Latvian professional music and music higher education founder, was born in Valmiera, Tērbata in the family of an educated Latvian peasant. In 1880, he was admitted to the St. Petersburg Conservatory (*Санкт Петербургская государственная Консерватория имени Н. А. Римского Корсакова*), which he graduated from in 1886 with a small gold medal and became a teacher of the Conservatory. After the death of his teacher Nikolai Rimsky-Korsakov (*Николай Андреевич Римский-Корсаков*) in 1908, Jāzeps Vītols became the head of form and practical composition class and in 1911 – the professor of the St. Petersburg Conservatory. In 1919, he returns to Latvia, establishes the Latvian State Conservatory and runs it from 1919 to 1944. In the end of World War II, together with a big part of Latvian intelligentsia, he is exiled and dies in *Lübeck* (Germany). His remains were returned to Rīga in 1993 during XXI Song Festival (*Vēriņa* 1991).

Jāzeps Vītols is a remarkable Latvian composer, educator, conductor, publicist and large-scale public figure, who has a significant role in the development of music education and in the life of Latvian professional music of the end of the 19th – beginning of the 20th century. In the age of our classic music making, he was present in all major musical events, starting with the first chamber music concerts of Latvian artists, and ending with the grandiose Song Festival. As a conductor and pianist he enriched Latvian concert life, as a composer – he was the founder of a number of Latvian professional music genres, including the choral ballade (Vītoliņš, Krasinska 1972).

The integral part of the Song Festival is the choral song of J.Vītols – it has been heard in almost all festivals, the ballade “*Gaismas pils*” (“The Castle of Light”) has become the symbol of our Song Festival and the spirit of freedom.

First connections of J. Vītols and Latvian Song Festival

The first Latvian Song Festival was in 1873, when J.Vītols was already 10 years old, and at this time it was his first contact: “Father and mother at that time brought to Riga to the Second Song Festival a shy singer of popular German songs. The intention was nice, the effect – sad. As my assertive companion in similar cases, unbearable headache, was also present at this time – and instead of the awaited joy there was sleeping on a bench.... and in my memory are only a couple of men’s choir songs in the evening twilight of Caesar’s garden when the head had calmed down ...” (Vītols 1988: 99).

The most important common denominators are found exactly during the third visitation at the Song Festival in 1888. At this time J.Vītols had already graduated from the St. Petersburg Conservatory and started working there as a teacher, he was known in St. Petersburg, but was less recognizable in Riga. In the closing program of the Song Festival there was included J.Vītols’ song for mixed chorus “*Bērzs tīrelī*” (“Birch Tree on the Moor”), which sounded perfectly with the conductor Indriķis Zile, and first three parts of the symphony were conducted by Andrejs Jurjāns. Although this choral song performance was not received with ovation, the first sounding of particularly this song of J.Vītols became the changing point in Latvian music history, in terms of creating a new modern choral song. It was the first major recognition of the composer’s work in his native country. Press noted that “the previously unknown Latvian composer, who just started to appear with his own compositions, demonstrated rich musical gifts that promise much to us” (Vēriņa 1991: 63).

The tremendous attention from the festival organizers, press and the interest of general public, friendship renewal with Andrejs Jurjāns, meeting Jānis Bētiņš, Indriķis Zile, Ernests Vigners, Bernhards Dirīķis, Aleksandrs Vēbers, Fridrihs Grosvalds, and other notable musicians and leading workers of the Rīga Latvian Society (RLS) made J. Vītols irreversibly become a part of Latvian national movement: “This attention and elated national festive mood then finally led to Vītols return to the Latvian world which was foreign and unknown due to his Germanic upbringing, and it carried the young artists on the road, from which he did not turn away afterwards (Bērzkalns 1965: 124).

Poor knowledge of the Latvian language was a great discomfort for young Vītols in Latvian society: “As in St. Petersburg my entire encounter with Latvian elements was narrowed to “ensemble” at the preference table, it was politically impeccable and I spoke German!” (Vītols 1988: 99).

New acquaintances became the stimulus for learning the Latvian language. Returning to St. Petersburg J. Vītols studied the Latvian language in depth with tutor Kārlis Pētersons (Vēriņa 1991).

According to J. Vītols he did not turn to choral song before this festival. So far he had only written “*Bērzs tīrelī*” as he admits – his class work and the second “*Lūgšana*” (“Prayer”) as an exam task, though, he was highly evaluated by the Commission. Turning to the choral song marked change in the composer’s work – turning to Latvian poetry. Vītols, searching texts for his songs, got acquainted with the poetry of Auseklis, it seemed suitable to him, which led to genius works such as the choral ballade “*Beverīnas dziedonis*” (“The Bard of Beverīna”) which won the award at the Competition announced by Music Commission in 1891 (Vītols 1988).

Encouraged by his friend A. Jurjāns, J. Vītols started focusing more on the national folklore peculiarities. As a confirmation to this – musical painting for the orchestra “*Līgosvētki*” (“*Līgo*”), in which for the first time folk songs were used as the composition material: “This work was initiated by III Latvian Song Festival, it left a deep impression on me, then perhaps for the first time I felt our folk song enchanting power and beauty” (Vēriņa 1991: 63).

There should be particularly mentioned the cooperation of J. Vītols and A. Jurjāns both working in RLS Music Commission and organizing Autumn Concerts where he participated as concert master or conductor, and preparing and publishing choral song catalogues.

J. Vītols – composer, conductor and organizer of the Latvian Song Festival

The following period of time, starting with 1895 – IV Latvian Song Festival is connected with the huge amount of J. Vītols’ work both in the preparation and realization of the Festival. J. Vītols had orchestras and their artistic performance at his sight. Although J. Vītols was not nominated the chief conductor of the Festival, he conducted “*Ačkups*” by A. Jurjāns and his own (“Valse Grotesyue”) for symphony orchestra at the closing concert (Grauzdiņa, Poruks 1990).

Now J. Vītols is known for the Latvian public, and “*Beverīnas dziedonis*” included in choir program sounds much more responsive than “*Bērzs tīrelī*” sung at the previous Festival. And yet Vītols with his choral songs precedes his century, they are greatly appreciated by music critics, but most part of average choirs cannot appropriately perceive, learn and appreciate them. Thus, J. Vītols choral song “*Karaļmeita*” (“The King’s Daughter”) won the first prize at the contest announced by Music Commission, although later it is crossed out from the choir’s repertoire. Second work of Vītols included in the closing

program – Latvian folk song “*Sniedzīņš, sniga, putināja*” (“The Snow was Falling, Making Blizzard”) harmonization for men’s choir was also left without the public notice. J. Vītols’ works were the most difficult ones at choir competitions, where both “*Beverīnas dziedonis*” and “*Sniedzīņš, sniga, putināja*” were among the obligatory works to be performed. J. Vītols together with A. Ārgalis, A. Jurjāns, J. Jurjāns, O. Šepskis and J. Neilands was also a member of choir competition jury commission (Bērzkalns 1965).

J. Vītols strongly looked for professionalism in music and continued to work actively in the preparation of V Latvian Song Festival. For the preparation of the Song Festival J. Vītols’ book “*Pamācība, kā V latviešu vispārīgo dziesmu svētku dziesmas jāmācās*” (“Instruction, How to Learn Songs for V Latvian Song Festival”) gets published (Bērzkalns 1965).

Although previously – before III Song Festival several musicians’ articles were issued, for example, A. Jurjāns’ article “*Piezīmējumi III vispārīgiem latviešu dziesmu svētkiem*” (“Notations to III Latvian Song Festival”), followed by E. Vigners’ “*Padomi, kā III vispārīgo dziedāšanas svētku dziesmas jādzied*” (“Advice How to Sing Songs of III Latvian Song Festival”), and also E. Vigners’ brochure “*Sagatavošanas kurss koru dziedāšanā*” (“Preparation Course in Choral Singing”), where the instructive material of choir technical education is summarized in ten lectures, Vītols’ edition is highly demand and is reissued in 1904 and 1910.

As an example for working with the Song Festival repertoire was St. Petersburg Latvian Society men’s choir, conducted by J. Vītols, which won the first prize in choir competition and received an artistic vase as the prize. As a confirmation of his mastery as a conductor is his rising to chief conductor status. On June 16, 1909 at the general meeting of choir conductors the chief conductors group got approved: A. Jurjāns, P. Jurjāns, P. Jozuus and J. Vītols by the secret voting. At the festival J. Vītols was conducting a lot and at the all concerts, including his choral songs: “*Tu, kas mīti debesīs*” (“You Living in the Heaven”) and “*Dieva lūgums*” (“God’s Praise”) at the spiritual music concert and “*Ceļinieks*” (“Traveller”), “*Gaismas pils*” (“The Castle of Light”), “*Mana tēvija*” (“My Homeland”), “*Beverīnas dziedonis*” (“The Bard of Beverīna”), cantata “*Dziesma*” (“The Song”) at the closing concert. Unfortunately, this became the only festival where J. Vītols was the official chief conductor as due to excessive busyness with other matters, later J. Vītols resign from conducting (Bērzkalns 1965).

Although for the program of this festival J. Vītols produced the biggest amount of new works – eight more works (without the previously sounded “*Beverīnas dziedonis*”) public recognition was not unequivocal, and moreover the assessment of music critics included more sarcastic comments. As an exception to this, “*Gaismas pils*” although it was not simple to sing, but already from the premiere at the concert of Rīga Latvian Society in 1900, conducted by J. Ozols it gained greatest sympathy of the singers and became one of the more often sounded songs in the history of the Song Festival. J. Vītols could sense the fact that the choir conductors unwillingly include his compositions in the repertoire. In his letter to K. Kalējs, Vītols wrote: “Maybe with the time when my choral songs will be

sung more, the circumstances will change – so far almost all choir conductors except perhaps the biggest cities try to avoid my compositions, because partially they cannot understand them, and partially the performance asks for a lot of effort and patience” (Vēriņa 1991: 71).

J. Vītols and Song Festival in Independent Latvia

September 30, 1923 is considered to be the beginning of VI Song Festival organization, where at some composers, conductors and other interests’ meeting was elected temporary Steering Committee of the Song Festival, whose president was elected the rector of Latvian Conservatory – professor J. Vītols. The president of the future VII (1931), VIII (1933) and IX (1938) Song Festivals’ Steering Committees was also J. Vītols. The leading role was still in his hands, though in the practical organization E. Melngailis, J. Zālītis, A. Ārgals and others worked more and more. Although the Committee made both the selection of Song Festival repertoire, announced competitions for new compositions and decided the amount of prize, special attention was paid to the development of the Festival program – including artistically vibrant and technically difficult songs. Probably positioning only on technically complex compositions created a deep breach between the Composers Union (*Skaņražu kopa*) and Latvian Conductors Society (*Latvju diriģentu biedrība*) creating crisis in society. On the other hand, it was a counterforce to the thriving dilettantism, simplicity and primitivism of choir movement in the cultural space (Bērzkalns 1965).

J. Vītols’ authoritative judgment was decisive in all battles and polemics around this Festival. Always and in every situation the main standard of the professor was high artistry. In front of Vītols all intrigues, bias, subjective likes and dislikes lost their power (Vēriņa 1991).

At this stage of Song Festival the creative work of J. Vītols is also largely represented at the Festival Concerts. For example the program of VI Song Festival included nine of his choral works, but later three men’s choir and one mixed choir songs were crossed out, among them “*Rūķīši un mežavēcis*” (“Dwarfs and Woodsman”) and “*Uguns milna*” (“Fire Bludgeon”) that won awards in competitions. VII Latvian Song Festival programme included five choral songs, among them the previously sung “*Gaismas pils*” (“The Castle of Light”) and “*Gājēja dziesma naktī*” (“The Pilgrim’s Song at Night”), previously composed “*Karaļmeita*” (“The King’s Daughter”) and “*Upe un cilvēka dzīve*” (“The River and the Life of Man”), from new compositions – “*Saules svētki*” (“Sun Festival”). J. Vītols’ recent works were technically more complex that neither the author nor the chief conductors dared to stage them for such large public (Grauzdiņa, Grāvītis 1990).

Also in VIII and IX Song Festivals the choral song of Vītols was not widely represented. Similarly his newest, complicated works were rarely found in the repertoires of choirs, for that reason J. Vītols already in 1933 summing up the paths of his choral songs wrote with bitterness: “Because of the texts I had to get out of the earlier technique, set new unusual requirements for the singers, and almost all songs – “*Dūķņu sils*” (“The Haunted Thicket” – E. Z.), “*Rūķīši un Mežavēcis*” (“Dwarfs and Woodsman” – E. Z.), “*Karalis un bērzlapīte*”

(“The King and the Mushroom” – E. Z.), “*Pavasaris*” (“Spring” – E. Z.), “*Līgai*” (“For Līga” – E. Z.), “*Karogs*” (“The Flag” – E. Z.), etc. which our average choirs turned to be no longer technically capable to sing, they were not represented in wider public circles and probably will never be. In recent years in our choral literature there are new works that are much more convenient to stage, wherewith I have taken myself out of the list of performed authors...” (Bērzkalns 1965: 514).

J. Vītols and Song Festival during the Soviet Occupation

In 1944 J. Vītols emigrated to Germany and after four years he died in *Lübeck*. Soon after the World War II the most active conductors gathered together previous singers who were still alive and remained in the native country, attracting new friends of songs. Latvian Song Festival was preserved as tradition and in July 1948 (a few months after the death of J. Vītols) X Latvian Song Festival was organized. At the festival L. Vīgners conducted J. Vītols’ “*Gaismas pils*” (“The Castle of Light”) and “*Atmaksas diena*” (“The Day of Reckoning”) for men’s choir. Also at the subsequent Soviet time festivals the name of J. Vītols is heard in Song Festivals, although traditionally with only one choral work – “*Gaismas pils*” (“The Castle of Light”), “*Beverīnas dziedonis*” (“The Bard of Beverīna”), “*Karaļmeita*” (“The King’s Daughter”) or “*Upe un cilvēka dzīve*” (“The River and the Life of Man”) (Grauzdiņa, Grāvītis 1990).

More attention is being paid to J. Vītols personality in 1963 when there is organized folk choir show dedicated to the centenary of J. Vītols. With interesting concert programs there participate all the 12 National Choirs of that time. The grand prize winners V. Vikmanis national choir “*Līva*” from Liepāja become the owners of J. Vītols’ bust (Grauzdiņa, Grāvītis 1990).

Another case is related with 1980, when the composer’s widow Annija Vītola was sitting in the Grand Stage of Mežaparks and the song “*Gaismas pils*” (“The Castle of Light”) sounded three times conducted by Haralds Mednis. In 1985 shortly before the festival both “*Gaismas pils*” (“The Castle of Light”) and the chief conductor Haralds Mednis, unwanted to the authorities, were removed from the program. However, the choir called out the maestro who was sitting in the public and “*Gaismas pils*” (“The Castle of Light”) was sounded conducted by H. Mednis repeatedly (Zandere 2008).

J. Vītols and Song Festival after the Restoration of Independence in Latvia

20th All-Latvian Song Festival takes place in July, 1990. The repertoire planned for the festival is extensive – 73 songs, among them also four choral songs of J. Vītols “*Beverīnas dziedonis*” (“The Bard of Beverīna”) and “*Gaismas pils*” (“The Castle of Light”) for mixed choirs, and “*Atmaksas diena*” (“The Day of Reckoning”) and “*Mana tēvija*” (“My Homeland”) for men’s choir (Grauzdiņa, Poruks 1990).

XXI All-Latvian Song Festival was emotional and full of excitement. Vītols was reburied in Forest Cemetery (Rīga) on June 27, 1993. Reburial took place during the 21st Latvian

Song Festival with the farewell at the Latvia Music Academy in the presence of thousands of people and memorial concerts throughout the day. All remains were transferred from Lübeck in a zinc coffin instead of the ashes urn as it was usually done (Štoļde 2008).

XXV All-Latvian Song Festival takes place in 2013, when there is J. Vītols' 150th anniversary. Celebrating his 150th Birthday in the closing concert "*Līgo – lai top!*" ("*Līgo – let it be*") are included several choral music compositions of the prominent Latvian composer, together with the always sounded "*Gaismas pils*" ("The Castle of Light") there are also included lately forgotten "*Upe un cilvēka dzīve*" ("The River and the Life of Man") and the cantata "*Ziemeļblāzma*" ("Northern Lights") (<http://riga2014.org/lat/news/1680-xxv-visparejo-latviesu-dziesmu-un-xv-deju-svetku-programma>).

It is significant that in the choir competition of this festival it was obligatory to sing one of J. Vītols' choral songs. Fifty-two best Latvian choirs sang their favourite J. Vītols' choral songs in the big hall of the University of Latvia.

As a special accent there should be noted a special individual concert in the big hall of the University of Latvia devoted to the creative work of Vītols, where the best Latvian choirs performed technically more difficult and less frequently sung Vītols' choral songs like "*Dzejnieci*" ("To the Poetess", 1921), "*Daugava*" ("The Daugava River", 1921), "*Trīs čigānu dziesmas*" ("Three Gypsy Songs", 1914), "*Bērzs rudenī*" ("Birch Tree in Autumn", 1919), "*Diena beidzas*" ("The Day Ends", 1914), etc. As a special choir conductors' tribute to J. Vītols there was the especially for this occasion created Latvian choir conductors' combined choir singing in the second part of the concert. Both popular and less known choral songs sounded in a new different way conducted by the Song Festival chief conductors – "*Ar kristāļspodriem stariem*" ("With the Crystal Bright Rays", 1927), "*Dievozolu trijotne*" ("The Trinity of The Oak Gods", 1891), "*Gājēja dziesma naktī*" ("The Pilgrim's Song at Night", 1899), "*Dūkņu sils*" ("The Hounded Thicket", 1916), "*Mežezers*" ("The Forest Lake", 1900), "*Dāvids Zaula priekšā*" ("In front of David Saul", 1928), "*Saules svētki*" ("Sun Festival", 1925), "*Gaismas pils*" ("The Castle of Light", 1899), etc. (XXV Vispārējo latviešu Dziesmu un XV Deju svētki. Gaisma ligo Latvijā 2013).

The name of J. Vītols has not been so widely used in the context of Song Festival since the 40's of the 20th century. We shall hope that this anniversary of J. Vītols and all the related events will be the stimulus for the rebirth, continuation and popularization of the classic values.

Conclusions

J. Vītols significantly contributed to the development of Latvian Song and Dance Festival tradition. Up to this day, J. Vītols influences recognition, development and appreciation of Latvian music in the world.

The tremendous attention from the festival organizers, press and the public in general, connection with the leading musicians and culture workers during the III All-Latvian

Song Festival motivated to turn to the Latvian language, choral music and the organization of musical life in Latvia.

J. Vītols is one of the most important personalities in the Song Festival movement. He had participated in the Song Festival movement for all his life, becoming the president of the Song Festival Association founded in 1930.

Choral songs of J. Vītols are the integral part of the Song Festival repertoire. The author achieved great thematic and musical diversity, masterly interpretation of poetic symbols, variety of forms and features in his compositions. 23 songs have been performed at the Festival. His choral ballade for mixed choir "*Gaismas pils*" ("The Castle of Light", 1899) has become the symbol of Latvian classic choral music and the beginning of the Song Festival tradition; it is also included in the list of Latvian Culture Canon.

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Manifestation of Polystylistics in the Composition “Warsaw Triptych” by Imants Zemzaris

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Abstract

Imants Zemzaris (born in 1951) is one of the major figures representing postmodernism in the contemporary Latvian music. Throughout four decades Imants Zemzaris' creativity has been reflecting the topical and undying European and Latvian national traditions and innovations.

The research focuses on the earlier period (the 70-ies) of his creative work, when in his search for spirituality and creativity the striking and individual features of Imants Zemzaris' style are emerging. This period is also characterized by the composer's growing interest in new devices of composition, and he is developing into an original artistic personality. The creative experiments of this period impart to the composer's music associations which seem to replace verbal explanations. I. Zemzaris develops his own distinctive and original style on the basis of poly-stylistic effects. The peculiar use of poly-stylistic devices in Latvian music is manifested in his composition – lyrical fantasy for the piano – “Warsaw Triptych” (*“Varšavas triptihs”*).

Key words: *I. Zemzaris, Programmatically, Polystylistics, Allusion, Composition “Warsaw Triptych”.*

Introduction

Imants Zemzaris (born in 1951) is a well-known figure representing postmodernism in the contemporary Latvian music (Ašme, Dombrovska 2013). Throughout four decades Imants Zemzaris' creativity has been reflecting the topical and undying European and Latvian national traditions and innovations.

The 70-ies are the early period of his creative work, when in his search for spirituality and creativity the striking and individual features of Imants Zemzaris' style are emerging. Naturally, the development of Imants Zemzaris into a creative individuality could not occur without the influence of the outstanding Latvian symphonist Ādolfs Skulte whose composition class he graduated in 1974. At this period, Imants Zemzaris leaves the years of apprenticeship behind and starts actively experimenting. He becomes keenly interested in new compositional devices and reveals his original artist's personality to a greater and

greater extent. The creative experiments of this period impart to his music associations which appear to replace verbal explanations. The majority of instrumental compositions of the 70-ies by Imants Zemzaris are highly imaginative, spectacular and theatrical: scherzo for two pianos “Antiquarian” (“*Antikvārs*”) (1973), “Warsaw Triptych” (“*Varšavas triptihs*”) (1973), diptych “Play Time” (1974), “Textures” (1975), fantasy for two pianos “Three Sisters” (1975, after Chekhov’s play).

The composer has repeatedly emphasized his links with different kinds of art. “If I were not a composer, I would become a film director,” he said once. And also: “Perhaps cinema is just what unites all other genres” (Zemzare, Pupa 2000: 139).

I. Zemzaris is known also to be writing poetry, prose and to be drawing. Perhaps, along with composition, all these components together form an integral process of creative inspiration, fantasy and “birth” of a composition. At one time, I. Zemzaris accompanied silent films at the cinema (in 1984, he provided accompaniment for a lecture course “History of World Cinema Art”), thus skilfully and essentially adding to the visual information.

His music is programmatic. Therefore visual associations open up possibilities to go deeper into the content, help to feel time, environment, surroundings that have inspired the composer to create a composition.

In his musical language and stylistics, I. Zemzaris seems to have deliberately avoided cultivating one type of language. His manner of writing music is undeniably original and recognizable. And such is also the style developed by him. His music can be recognized by the contradictory coexistence of refinement and roughness in it (Zemzare, Pupa 2000).

Imants Zemzaris’ early debut was the brightest declaration of postmodernism in Latvian music. Postmodernism is an art trend that has developed on the basis of modernism by bringing back *the originally forgotten*. The notion *post* implies *something that is after or beyond*. Postmodernism thrives in art, literature, philosophy (and music as well) at the end of the 70-ies and the beginning of the 80-ies. Postmodernism manifests itself when faith in a system, unity, integrity has been lost. Postmodernism expands and specifies what has come from the epoch of modernism, and brings back and develops “the originally forgotten”.

A lot of researchers interpret postmodernism as a philosophical attempt to comprehend the whole cultural heritage of the second millennium, but, simultaneously, it also reveals how a human of the contemporary epoch perceives himself (Albright 2004; Miķelsone 2008; Ribena 2013; Рафи́кова 2013). This was manifested in the richness of postmodernists’ language, and their music allows listeners to experience a state of this beauty, enjoyment and fabulousness. In this, another feature of postmodernism – irony – becomes apparent. Everything is represented in a form of a game. Music of the 20th century is first of all sophisticated intellectual games (Рафи́кова 2013).

Inguna Ribena, Latvian architect, holds interesting ideas about postmodernism: “Phrases and fragments, somewhere heard, not experienced and not lived through, are being quoted

in architecture, music, literature and in cinema art. This is very nice, we can afford to simultaneously live in various centuries, various cultures, various countries, and why should we confine ourselves to only the existent and present locality?” (Ribena 2013).

The Belarussian musicologist N. Matzaberidze (*Н. Мацаберидзе*) considers the idea about intertext (a text within a text) another characteristic feature of postmodernism, and, viewed from the artistic logic of postmodernism, “intertextuality” implies that any art work (directly or indirectly) comments on a multitude of other art texts or artifacts, refers to them or makes allusions to them” (Мацаберидзе 2010: 97).

A. Klotiņš notes that I. Zemzaris has re-established the prestige of free music making of poetic associations and their montage into the chamber music. He reduces the selection of the material to the collage and poly-stylistics, and simultaneously he demonstratively revives the tonal, euphonic, harmonic language and the plastic, picturesque texture: in the lyrical fantasy for the piano “Warsaw Triptych” (1973) and in the scherzo for two pianos “Antiquarian” (КЛОТЫНЬ 1988).

The composer himself has said: “Theatre was a great stimulus for me. I have written quite a lot of theatre music, and the collaboration with theatre has given me insight into a good drama, good literature” (Auguste 2011). In music, the terms “theatricality”, “theatrical character” are often applied to music of any genre, including even music which is not overtly genre-related to theatre. Therefore, we can, perhaps, say that such use of the term “theatricality” is most probably figurative. In music figurative theatricality is emphasized by the moment of indirectness, aloofness, relativity. In her book “Theatricality and Music” (“*Театральность и музыка*”) T. Kurisheva (*Т. Курышева*) maintains that the aspiration of the 20th century art for what is spectacular and theatrical relates to the birth of new kinds of art (cinema, television). The emergence of “instrumental theatre”, in her opinion, should be attributed to the aspirations of the 20th century composers towards a “visual interpretation of sounding”, as well as to their search for new forms and interactions (Курышева 1984: 12).

An innovative quest and experiments or a return to traditions? This is one of the main tendencies in the 20th century musical culture. On the one hand, the 20th century culture displays a tendency towards “breaking with” traditions, towards creation of a new style – expressionism – in painting and music which is followed by avant-garde, on the other hand, there is neo-classicism, neo-romanticism which are tradition-based and tend to order, stability and lyricism.

Such combination of multiple style features manifests itself in the stylistics of Imants Zemzaris’ creative work as well. Elements of a play, theatricality, stylization and sometimes a quick sounding of collage in his music come from post-modernism. While the profound emotionality, lyricism, richness of harmonies – from neo-romanticism. Speaking about the stylistic tendencies of I. Zemzaris’ creative work, we have to mention elements of minimalism whose manifestations relate to “the use of elementary expression means” (Kārkliņš 1990: 164), frequent repetition of a music material and minimal variation during a lasting period.

On the basis of poly-stylistic effects Imants Zemzaris creates his distinctive “instrumental theatre”. An original example of his instrumental “theatre of miniatures” is his lyrical fantasy for the piano “Warsaw Triptych”.

“Warsaw Triptych” by Imants Zemzaris

From Greek, fantasy is interpreted as imagination. This instrumental genre is characterized by a free structure and deviation from the conventional compositional schemes. The origins of fantasy go back to the traditions of improvisation in performing art. Those were just composers-romanticists who included a definite programme in the genre of fantasy. By giving the sub-title “programmatic fantasy” to his composition, I. Zemzaris, first of all, underlines his link with romantic music. When asked what music style he would assign himself to, the composer answered – to the romantic, the most spontaneous (Composer’s author concert 1994).

The notion “lyrical fantasy” appeals to revealing humans’ inner world, their emotional experience gained under different life conditions. Lyrical compositions are just those works where an isolated life moment or a definite human condition is reflected most frequently, which accounts for the specific importance of the composition’s form, for the emotionality and dramatic nature of lyrical means of expression.

The composition under the programmatic sub-title “Warsaw Triptych” offers listeners the opportunity to get into the sound world of the composer’s musical impressions he received in 1973 while visiting Warsaw. “Warsaw Triptych” is a cyclic composition for one performer – piano. It belongs to the genre of suite. If translated from French, a suite means “sequence” (Kārklīņš 1990: 284). This is a specific “series” of musical sketches where each number of a suite is a mono-performance, an author’s story about his trip and the deep impressions it had made on him.

The term “triptych” refers to “works of art which consist of three paintings, drawings united by the same idea, theme” (Словарь иностранных слов 1984: 656). Thus, by giving such title the composer emphasizes its relatedness to visual art notions and appeals to performing practice where you cannot perform one part out of the context of the whole composition. However, triptych does not imply only the number of parts included in the composition. Three-part structure as a basic form is employed in all parts of the fantasy. The images of the composition are also built in three planes, in three narrative “time zones”:

- Poland – its present;
- Baroque in its architecture;
- Musical culture in the image of F. Chopin.

At discussing music by I. Zemzaris, the issue of quotations used by the author in “Warsaw Triptych” has to be brought into focus. D. Albright notes that the use of a borrowed musical material has become characteristic of postmodernist academic music (Albright 2004). The material selected by the composer (allusion to *fis moll* theme in the fugue by

J. S. Bach from “*Wohltemperierte Klavier*”, Part I; theme from *es moll* “Etude” by F. Chopin; rock music patterns), “closely intertwining with his personal music, transforms into small but voluminous “culture signs”” (Zemzare, Pupa 2000: 140). In his musical language and stylistics I. Zemzaris seems to have deliberately avoided cultivating one type of language. His manner of writing music is undeniably original and recognizable. Consequently, his own stylistics is also undeniable. He can be recognized by the contradictory coexistence of refinement and roughness in his music (Zemzare, Pupa 2000).

The initial – leading theme of Part I, due to its *ostinato* movements (quaver *perpetuum mobile*), evokes associations with images of movement, driving. We know that the composer had visited Poland’s historical places on bicycle, and the impressions he got there became the basis for the images in “Warsaw Triptych” (Example 1).



Example 1. Imants Zemzaris. “Warsaw Triptych”, Part I (<http://www.letonika.lv/groups/default.aspx?r=248&q=V%C4%81cietis+Oj%C4%81rs&cid=2676380&g=1>).

The image of a rotating bicycle wheel becomes an original *moto* of a composition, appearing in the final episode of Part III of the triptych; and based on this theme, as its natural continuation, the theme of *es moll* “Etude” by F. Chopin emerges – an interesting cultural reminiscence.

The images in Part II are imbued with rhythms of today’s Warsaw. Probably, the rhythmic and melodic elements of rock music have been incorporated into the content of the composition to reflect the present life of Warsaw and its youth.

In Part III – culmination part, two diverse cultures of Poland – the baroque culture, symbolized by *D dur* quint chord organ music, and the contemporary one – the complicated punctuated middle voice layers – originally merge into one. A “small bridge” links the Polish baroque architecture with the European baroque music whose symbol is music created by Johann Sebastian Bach.

The monumental and majestic architecture of the Polish baroque relates to the refined architectonics of fugues by J. S. Bach. I. Zemzaris employs a poly-stylistic element – allusion to J. S. Bach’s fugue *fis moll* theme from “*Wohltemperierte Klavier*”, Part I. The

principle of allusion can be discerned in subtle and refined hints and “unkept promises that hover at the brink of citation but do not cross it” (Холопова, Чигарева 1990: 323). This brings about an effect that creates cluster-like soundings, from which a melody from F. Chopin’s *es moll* “Etude” (op. 10, Nr. 6), like an ideal of a permanent beauty, drifts. S. Lavrova (С. Лаврова) maintains that citation has become one of the most important components of a compositional technique in the music of the latter half of the 20th century. This creates a specific art culture stratum based on the principle of esthetic-stylistic dialogue (Лаврова 2012).

The sad, nostalgic theme from *es moll* “Etude” by F. Chopin evokes associations with his music, without which the perception of Polish musical culture is unimaginable. Here, parallels between I. Zemzaris’ and F. Chopin’s creative work can be drawn. Associations unrelated to the field of music acted as a stimulus and creative impulse for F. Chopin himself. In 1930, in his letter, sent from Saxony to Poland after his visit of “Grunen Gewolbe” (Dresden Gallery), he wrote to his relatives: “When I look at some pictures, it seems to me I hear music” (Шопен 1982: 178).

The Russian musicologist, researcher of F. Chopin’s creative work, I. Belza (И. Бэлза) mentions how important the studies of architectural monuments of Warsaw, Krakow and Poznan have been for the composer (Бэлза 1968).

The Latvian composer I. Kalniņš is of the same opinion: “Zemzaris is a fantasist. Impulses for composing he gets from the environment, from other kinds of art rather than from himself” (Zemzare, Pupa 2000: 139).

The composition ends with intonations in major (*Dis dur*), which are perceived as the enlightenment of spirit, whose highest ideal of beauty – the eternal image of F. Chopin – is a musical symbol of Warsaw. In relation to this, I. Zemzare’s words said about the composer can be quoted here: “Imants is an idealist” (Zemzare, Pupa 2000: 150). Genuine, as the highest spiritual value of culture, as the ideal of a genuine beauty.

Conclusion

The piano cycle “Warsaw Triptych” by Imants Zemzaris is one of the most striking examples of postmodernism in Latvian music. This is manifested in its simplicity, rational use of minimal means of expression, in quoting the musical material by other composers, in the montage principle of the composition, which becomes an important condition for a cyclic form.

The composition is programmatic. Therefore visual associations allow deeper insight into the content of “Warsaw Triptych”, help to better feel time, environment, surroundings which have inspired the composer to create this composition.

In his musical language and stylistics, I. Zemzaris has deliberately avoided cultivating one type of a language. The composer himself emphasizes the close links he has with romantic music (lyricism, emotionality, dramatic qualities), therefore along with features of post-

modernism and minimalism, we can speak about the stylistic tendencies of neo-romanticism in his music. I. Zemzaris has developed his own original style on the basis of poly-stylistic effects.

Poetic associations evoked by I. Zemzaris' music help the listeners perceive the sensual, emotional and spiritual experience captured in musical images.

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Latvian Radio Symphony Orchestra during 1920–1930ies – Organization, Communication and Artistic Activities

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Abstract

The Rīga Radiophone (since 1938 – the Latvian Radiophone) and its development between the two wars has earned comparatively little attention, especially in the context of music history. The radiophone's importance in the majority of European countries increased progressively during the 1920ies – the new electronic mass media provided a communication opportunity unique to its time. Radiophone also left a significant impact on the performance of symphonic music and on the creative work of composers; it also introduced several essential innovations in the availability of music for the general population. The radiophone music, unlike common recordings, was subject to a different set of social relations that blended music performance with economic and political factors, amongst others. The Rīga Radiophone Symphony Orchestra was a significant phenomenon in the context of the Latvian symphonic music performance tradition – since its founding year of 1926, it experienced a level of growth beyond that of any other Latvian symphonic collectives.

Key words: Music Institution, Rīga Radiophone, Symphonic Music, Commercial Activities.

Introduction

The Rīga Radiophone (since 1938 – the Latvian Radiophone) has merited comparatively little research attention from the Latvian musicologists, and, in my opinion, the significance and influence of this institution has been underestimated. The communications scientist Sergei Kruk in his work has addressed the radiophone activities and analysed its establishment as well as development during the authoritarian regime of K. Ulmanis and the German occupation; he has also briefly addressed the content of concert programmes after the Second World War.

The development of radiophone between the two wars, especially in the context of music history, has not yet been properly analysed. The only existing academic research paper on the Latvian Radiophone until this day is the diploma thesis of the economics student of the University of Latvia Ervins Gorkšs, written in 1939 and consisting mostly of quantitative (economic, financial and technical) information on the activities of the radiophone.

It is conceivable that this lack of proper research during the period of new independence is due to problems with the availability of sources – the archives of radiophone have not survived. During the Soviet rule the topic was undoubtedly *taboo* for ideological reasons: the radio and television became heralds of the new political power and ceased to be the medium of discourse – the authoritarian state media position was *a priori* sharp and critical socially. After the re-establishing of independence in 1991 researchers were mostly held back by the unavailability of sources: the radiophone archives were destroyed during the war alongside the comprehensive library of musical scores at the House of Blackheads. However, the programmes of the Rīga Radiophone broadcasts have survived in the magazines “Hallo, Latvia” alongside other useful data on the life at the radiophone. Some other documents on the radiophone activities have survived in the archives of several related organizations (Ministry of Transportation, Ministry of Social Affairs, State Control, et al.) – these documents can be found at Latvian State Historical Archives. However, the most valuable primary sources, including the phonograms of radio broadcasts, have perished. Several interesting insights can be found in the album honouring the 75th anniversary of the Latvian Radio (Juškevica 2000) and containing recollections of radiophone employees, some of which address the pre-war period. Significant information about the radiophone activities can also be found in periodicals, i.e. memoirs and music reviews – especially in the autobiography of its distinguished music director Jānis Mediņš’ (1890–1966) “Tones and Semitones”.

Radio Orchestras as Agents of Symphonic Music Development

The significance of radiophone in the majority of European countries increased progressively during the 1920ies – the new electronic mass media provided a communications opportunity unique to its time. The radiophone also significantly affected the tradition of symphonic music performance and the creative work of composers; it also considerably influenced the process of music distribution to general population. Firstly, the radiophone provided a communications opportunity that was not fixed in time and space: the nature of radio waves ensured reception of one broadcast by many receivers and enabled reproduction of recorded material at any desired time. Secondly, the radiophone in its way *democratized* the experience of art: it became available to an unlimited number of listeners and, compared to attendance of concerts or opera productions, the costs of this experience per person were very low. Although the radio receivers were initially quite expensive and hence not easily affordable (when the Riga Radiophone was founded, it had only 331 registered subscribers) (Gorkšs 1939), the progress of technology facilitated the growth of radio’s popularity and the increase of its audience. Thirdly, it would be erroneous to assume that the emergence of radiophone influenced only the *form* of music perception, making the new experience available to wider social circles. On the contrary – it significantly influenced the *content* of the musical experience. The distance between the performer and the listener of radio broadcasts, regardless of the physical location of either, created a new type of musical experience. The music, including symphonic music, invaded people’s personal space more and more; the progressive technologies *depersonalized* the experience

of music and at the same time made it available to the masses. These processes significantly influenced the habits of audiences and the forms of music perception (Lazarsfeld 1994).

The unique genre of radiophone programmes should also be mentioned. Despite the seemingly democratic nature of the media, the content of radio's musical programmes is subject to commercial and political pressures – more former than the latter. The radiophone, just like its successors – television, World Wide Web, and other media types – has a difficult relationship with the idea of *the autonomy of art*, coined during the epoch of Romanticism. The radiophone music unlike common concert performance is subject to a different set of social rules that depend on economic, political and other factors.

The radio symphony orchestras emerged like equals alongside the leading symphony orchestras of the world after the Second World War. During this period such high-class symphonic units were established as the four BBC (British Broadcasting Corporation) orchestras in the United Kingdom, Bavarian, South German and other radio symphonic orchestras in the Federative Republic of Germany, the USSR State Radio and Television Symphony Orchestra (now P. Tchaikovsky Television and Radio Symphony Orchestra) and others. However, the foundation for this development was laid earlier in the 1930ies by the activities of the BBC collectives and the most popular USA radio orchestra – the NBC (National Broadcasting Corporation) Orchestra and its chief conductor Arturo Toscanini. The radio symphony orchestras of smaller countries like Latvia, Denmark and Estonia emerged at a slower pace, following the growth of the popularity of the new media (Potts 1955). These orchestras mostly developed from smaller collectives during the 1920–1930ies and combined recording activities with live performances.

The characteristically European tradition of radio symphony orchestras has also left its mark on the entire development of symphony music. The influence of the new media was rather progressive, facilitating creative diversity and innovative approaches to symphonic music. Since the majority of European radio symphony orchestras (with individual exceptions, i.e. the Netherlands) were state-funded, their existence was less dependent on the popular tastes of their respective nations. This circumstance enabled the radio symphony orchestras to perform innovative and experimental compositions: a good example of this tendency is the premieres of Arnold Schoenberg's compositions by the BBC Orchestra on its first concert tour at the composer's native town of Vienna in 1936 under the leadership of Sir Adrian Boult. These opuses completely astonished the audience that was used to Mozart's and Schubert's music (Kenyon 1987).

The Riga Radiophone Orchestra: Contexts of History and Culture

The beginnings of the Radiophone Symphony Orchestra can be traced to the year 1926. Initially the collective was small, but it gradually expanded to a more respectable size and in 1940 consisted of 63 musicians¹. The modest ensemble² that used to fill the silences between other items of radio programme grew into a full-scale orchestra. Arvids Pārups, the founder and conductor of the Radiophone Symphonic Orchestra, saw the future neces-

sity to develop and diversify the radiophone programme – he decided to attract a permanent conductor for the symphonic music concerts and invited Jānis Mediņš to join him.

On September 1, 1928 Jānis Mediņš assumed the conductor's position and the Rīga Radiophone Symphony Orchestra flourished. Mediņš also became the director of the Radiophone Music Department and often refreshed the concert repertoire with seldom performed, modern compositions like Alexander Glazunov's (*Александр Глазунов*) Symphony No. 8 (1905–1906), Kurt Atterberg's Symphony No. 4 (1918) and Nikolai Medtner's (*Николай Метнер*) Piano Concerto No. 1 (1914–1918). With the increase of repertoire's difficulty, the number of orchestra members also increased and the collective gradually outgrew the Latvian National Opera Orchestra. During the second half of the 1930ies the popularity of symphonic concerts at the Latvian National Opera increased, too – the Radiophone Orchestra and the National Opera Orchestra joined forces, improving the quality of sound, increasing the available repertoire, and attracting foreign guest conductors. In 1930ies the orchestra began performing summer concerts in Jūrmala – until then Jūrmala had been served by a collective formed from scratch each consecutive season, however, the radiophone management granted the request of Mediņš and found additional funding for the Radiophone Symphony Orchestra summer concerts at Dzintari Concert Hall and other concert venues of Jūrmala. This decision very positively affected the performing skills of the orchestra, since normally the collective spent most of its working hours in a closed studio without a direct contact with its audience.

The artistic director Jānis Mediņš frequently included opuses of young Latvian composers and their premieres in his concert programmes – Symphony No. 1 by Jānis Ivanovs (*“Poema Sinfonia”*) (1933), both piano concertos by Volfgangs Dārziņš (I – 1934, II – 1939) with the composer at the piano, Violin Concerto by Helmers *“Pavasars”* (1939), as well as compositions by Paula Līcīte, Lūcija Garūta and other young composers of the epoch. This clearly indicates that the Radiophone Orchestra, under the leadership of Jānis Mediņš, played a significant role in the symphonic music development of the independent Latvia.

Mediņš also introduced the commendable tradition of informative lectures, presented before the broadcasts of symphonic music concerts by the music historian and enthusiastic music journalist Jēkabs Vītoliņš³. J. Vītoliņš used to selected themes and excerpts from the pieces to be performed – those were recorded during rehearsals and later used to illustrate his lectures; Vītoliņš used to prepare most diligently for the radio premieres of all new compositions (Mediņš 1992).

The Rīga Radiophone Symphony Orchestra was a significant phenomenon in the context of Latvian symphonic music performance tradition – since its founding in 1926 it experienced a rate of growth beyond any other Latvian symphonic collectives. The increase of orchestra's size and its growing importance in the Latvian music culture were facilitated by several circumstances. Firstly, the successful financial management ensured the financial independence of the radiophone at a comparatively early stage of its development. On the whole the Rīga Radiophone was a profitable institution, therefore its music collectives

did not depend upon external financial sources (Culture Fund, private donors, etc.), unlike other symphony orchestras of the country. Naturally, such dependence on institutional profits influenced the music politics and editorial decisions; nevertheless, taking into account the overall funding situation in the Latvian symphonic music field, the radiophone and its financial security was a remarkable positive exception.

Secondly, the development of the Radiophone Symphony Orchestra was ensured by influential personalities: the founding of the orchestra was supervised by Arvids Pārups who later worked as its deputy conductor. But an even greater contribution to the development of radiophone and its orchestra was made by the distinguished Latvian composer Jānis Mediņš. In his person the radiophone gained not only a recognized musical authority but also a state conservatory professor whose activities at the radiophone helped to establish the legitimacy of the new media in the eyes of the conservative musical society. Mediņš was an academically educated composer who understood the musical needs and tastes of all levels of society; therefore he was ideally suited for his work at the new mass-media. J. Mediņš also developed extremely successful working relationships with the radiophone's management and political officers, which proved especially useful during the reign of the authoritarian government when the radiophone was supervised by the Ministry of Social Affairs and the music politics of the institution had to be adapted for new ideological purposes.

The Radiophone during the Dictatorship of Kārlis Ulmanis: Censorship and “Latvianizing” of Programme

After the coup of May 15, 1934 the music politics of the radiophone underwent extensive reforms. Kārlis Ulmanis was well aware of the opportunity this media created for the support of the legitimacy of his new regime – excellent examples of propaganda were present in Germany (and reached Latvia via the radio waves), where Paul Joseph Goebbels⁴ used the radio extremely successfully to distribute his speeches. However, the music politics were not badly affected and, according to the testimonies of Jānis Mediņš, remained largely the same (Mediņš 1992). News services and political broadcasts of other types were subject to strict control whilst music broadcasts were less diligently supervised. Much greater emphasis than before, however, was put on making programmes more Latvian, and a list was simultaneously devised with works by Latvian composers suitable for the Latvian Radiophone (its copy is kept at Latvian State Historical Archives)⁵. The “Latvianizing” campaign of the music programme was not entirely successful since duration-wise the opuses of Latvian composers could barely fill one-tenth of the time allocated for music programmes – the situation was especially dire in the so called easy listening genre. Thus the “Latvianizing” process took a relatively mild form. It is also conceivable that the comparatively liberal attitude towards the “Latvianizing” was a result of the leadership's realization of the importance of media's popularity, decrease of which would also decrease the efficiency of their propaganda.

In July 1934, January of 1935 and February of 1937 competitions for the best new Latvian compositions took place. The motto of the latter was “More *Joy-de-vivre* and affirmation of life in our music!” and it was followed in 1938 by a composition competition of marches. During the authoritarian period the radiophone stimulated the creation of new Latvian compositions – several competitions of original Latvian symphonic music compositions were organized. A substantial quantity of anonymous composers participated in the symphonic music compositions competition in 1937, mostly submitting opuses with pastoral and national/folk titles. The jury consisted of Andrejs Smilga, Jāzevs Vītols, Jānis Mediņš and Ādolfs Ābele – the first prize (500Ls) for the symphony “At Heyday” was awarded to Jāzevs Mediņš, the second prize (300Ls) and the third prize (200Ls) were divided between the symphony “Devote Your Life to Nation and Fatherland” by Ēberhards Lammass and the suite “Flower Festoon” by Pēteris Barisons. Special attention was paid to the field of light music: in 1937 the radiophone also organized a composition competition for the light music genres.

If the radiophone programs of the period are viewed from a comparative perspective, the substantial role of music is obvious: in 1938 56% of the program time consisted of music (Gorkšs 1939). According to the data of Union Internationale Radiodiffusion, the percentage of music broadcasts in the same year was divided in the following way: “serious” music – 24.6%, “light” music – 55.2% and “fun” music – 20.2%. The term “serious” music signified symphonic, vocal-symphonic and chamber music, while the “light” and “fun” music implied dance and easy listening genres. Although the presenter of this data – the economics student Ervīns Gorkšs of the University of Latvia in 1939 – believes the proportion of serious music to be consistent with the average level in Europe, it should, in fact, be regarded as small: in Sweden the proportions were 38.9% – 45.4% – 15.7%; in Finland: 49.4% – 50.2% – 0.4% and in Italy: 41.2% – 43.3% – 15.5%. Amongst the countries with only one radio station, the Latvian Radiophone levels were matched only by the radiophones of Estonia, Ireland and Spain. In other words, the proportion of serious music broadcasted by the Latvian Radiophone was not very substantial (although 5.9% of these broadcasts were symphonic). Conceivably, the proportions were dictated by the model of financing and its inherent total dependence of the radiophone’s budget on the number of subscribers and their wishes. The predominance of music broadcasts and the emphasis on the so called light music was also the undisputable official position of the radiophone management. At a management meeting in 1938 the director Andrejs Smilga asserted: “Percentage-wise – the main part of our program consists of music, and rightly so, since spoken word alone will not capture the listener. But what music should be on the radiophone’s programme? – Most of our listeners are not musically educated but the desire for music to permeate all classes and, perhaps, the class of average citizens most of all. A musically educated radio subscriber will be content with a specific, half-hour- or hour-long programme. The common listener, though, requires much more music and finds more pleasure in light music genres”⁶.

Radiophone Orchestra's Finances, Musicians, Recruiting and Daily Work

The Latvian Radiophone was a commercially successful institution. In 1939 its revenue was around 3 million lats, most of which (around 2 800 000 Ls) came from the fees paid by approximately 135 000 subscribers⁷. The growing number of listeners during the 1930ies resulted in a natural income increase: the radio had become fashionable and the radio receivers were more affordable. The annual subscription fee was 20 Ls and special discounts were given to various social institutions, schools, disabled persons, foreign embassies, et cetera⁸. The institutional budget included broadcasting expenses, equipment costs, postage and telegraph fees, and various other elements. The largest item of the overall radiophone budget was the program cost: in 1937/1938 it was 756 705 Ls or 39.26% of the total expenses (Gorkšs 1939). This included not only the honorariums to musicians, actors, lecturers and other employees, but also the authoring rights (in 1936 Latvia joined the Berne Convention) and the publishing costs of the radiophone weekly magazine "Hallo, Rīga" that, in turn, was the largest item of the programing budget. The second largest item was the Radiophone Symphony Orchestra: in 1932 the collective required 114 000 lats; in 1939 the expenses increased to 241 000 lats (Gorkšs 1939).

The Radiophone Symphony Orchestra was not large but it was expensive. The musicians received comparatively good salaries – in 1932 the average salary at the Radiophone Orchestra was 306 Ls (at the National Opera – 297 Ls)⁹; in 1939 the principal violin of the orchestra Eduards Vīnerts earned 460 Ls per month, the principals of other sections earned 360 Ls, whilst the lowest salaries of the *tutti* violins were 250 Ls¹⁰. With additional premiums the total average annual income of musicians was approximately 4000 Ls, which, when compared to the general level of salaries in the country, was substantial¹¹. Interestingly, the orchestra conductor at that time received only twice more than an average musician – the salary of Jānis Mediņš at the radiophone in 1939 was 750 Ls per month.

For the sake of clarity it must be mentioned that alongside the permanent orchestra members the radiophone employed a number of other performers, attracting more musicians when a larger orchestra setup was required. Soloists were also engaged and received honorariums for their performances. The honorarium amount depended on the qualification of musician. For example, the violinist Kārlis Brikners for one solo performance with the orchestra (Violin Concerto in G minor by Max Bruch) in July 1938 received 150 Ls, whilst the violinist Sāra Rašina for one solo performance received 60 Ls¹². The radiophone kept a register of performers (no information has survived on the principles of its creation or on the distribution of honorariums) where fees of each artist were indicated and the information whether the artist was able to perform without a rehearsal was recorded. S. Rašina, for example, according to this register was able to perform without a prior rehearsal. The average honorarium per performance was around 30–40 Ls (such honorariums, for example, were received by the violinists Jūlijs Sproģis, Alberts Bērziņš, Jānis Kalējs, Volde-mārs Stūresteps)¹³.

Probably due to the comparatively generous honorariums the radiophone was able to increase the quality of broadcasted performances, especially with the aid of invited soloists.

It is conceivable that during the initial period of radiophone activities the requirements for soloists, taking into account the novelty of media, were significantly lower. At one point the performance quality problems seem to have been difficult to overcome. For example, in September 1938 the radiophone's music director Sergejs Duks¹⁴ complained that some musicians still entertained the view that “the radiophone was a place where *sub-par* performances were acceptable”¹⁵. This phrase, probably, was not aimed at the orchestra but rather at the solo singers, whose performance quality problems required special attention from the radiophone management, on October 1, 1928 resulting in the introduction of obligatory repertoire hearings for soloists (especially vocalists), which substantially improved the quality of performances¹⁶.

The Radiophone Symphony Orchestra had an extensive field of artistic expertise: alongside symphonic concerts it provided light music as well as the accompaniment for the formerly very popular operetta genre. However, by no means the musicians of the Radiophone Symphony Orchestra were less qualified than those performing at, for example, the Latvian National Opera. In 1932 the orchestra consisted of 37 musicians; more musicians were attracted for the larger programmes. The orchestra worked six days per week, assembling twice a day. Its setup changed according to repertoire – there were larger and smaller setups; non-academic music was often performed by strings and several wind instruments. The working hours of the orchestra increased in parallel with the radiophone's working hours: in 1932 the orchestra worked on average 22 hours per week¹⁷, whereas in 1938 the average workload per week increased to 28 hours¹⁸ – the morning rehearsals were usually three hours long; afternoons and evenings were reserved for performances.

A complete and dependable list of the Radiophone Symphony Orchestra staff musicians is available from 1937 onwards. From various historical documents one might attempt to describe the social profile of the orchestra. Firstly, the orchestra members were predominantly male: amongst approximately 50–60 male musicians there were only two female members – violinist Skaidrīte Lepmanis and harpist Ženija Brūgāne (Brūgans). According to their surnames and birth places, almost all members were of Latvian descent (Table 1). Most of the orchestra musicians were comparatively young or middle aged, born in the beginning of the 20th century; the double bass player Vilhelms Kumbergs was the oldest member, born in 1884. The analysis of education reveals that most musicians were graduates of the Latvian Conservatoire: in 1940 from the 64 members of the collective 35 were either graduates or former or current students of the Latvian Conservatory. Several musicians received education at the Rīga I Music Institute. The musicians of the older generation studied at the Rīga Kaiser Music School. Five musicians were educated abroad: violinist Jēkabs Baltgailis and pianist Jānis Suhovs were the graduates of the Saint Petersburg Conservatory, Voldemārs Stūresteps studied at the Prague Conservatory, cellist Kārlis Munters – at the Leipzig Conservatory, whereas the harpist Ženija Brūgāne graduated the Moscow Conservatory¹⁹.

Table 1. Orchestra members (Data from the Latvian State Historical Archives, 6202 f. (Latvian Music Society), 1. apr., 44th case)

Violins	Eduards Vīnerts (principal), Voldemārs Rušēvics, Verners Taube, Alfreds Zīvers, Arturs Madrevičs, Jēkabs Baltgailis, Kārlis Lepmanis, Skaidrīte Lepmanis, Haralds Celms, Ēvalds Ozols, Eduards Eihe, Eduards Šulcs, Roberts Zommers, Kārlis Vītols, Voldemārs Stūresteps, Reinholds Fridolins, Jēkabs Grīnbergs, Bernhards Tiltiņš, Voldemārs Lasmanis, Žanis Dumpis, Rūdolfs Mētriņš, Juda Germanis
Violas	Roberts Mihelsons, Jānis Smiltiņš, Arveds Stāde, Jānis Hunhens
Cellos	Atis Teihmanis, Francis Vlašeks, Kārlis Munters, Valfrīds Alberings, Arvīds Ciemiņš
Double basses	Vilhelms Kumbergs, Eduards Jakobsons, Nikolajs Kreicbergs
Flutes	Kārlis Štrāls, Arvīds Reinvalds, Vladimirs Grigorjevs
Oboe	Helmūts Stāmurs
French horn	Kārlis Zariņš
Trumpet	Jānis Skrastiņš
Trombones	Kārlis Izarts, Arturs Krastiņš, Rūdolfs Kripe
Tuba	Brutus Kalējs
Harp	Ženija Brūgāne
Percussions	Jānis Zaļums, Jānis Lācis

Before joining the Radiophone Symphony Orchestra, many musicians had acquired experience in other orchestras: ten musicians had worked at the Latvian National Opera, some others – at the Liepāja Opera, at Saint Petersburg Mariinsky Theatre and other institutions. A conclusion can be made that the Radiophone Symphony Orchestra succeeded in attraction of qualified and respected musicians from Rīga: for example, the oboe player Helmūts Stāmurs was also a docent of the Latvian Conservatory. However, that did not mean that the Radiophone Symphony Orchestra enjoyed good relations with other music institutions and collectives. On the contrary, the Radiophone Symphonic Orchestra was often disliked for personal, political and administrative reasons. Amongst one of the main reasons was the issue of the salaries of the radiophone and opera orchestras. When, for example, the radiophone musicians in the beginning of the 1930ies earned on average around 335 lats per month, the average salary at the LNO Orchestra was 280 Ls. That resulted in the migration of musicians from the LNO Orchestra to the Radiophone Symphony Orchestra, which provoked conflicts between these institutions.

Radiophone Symphony Orchestra and Latvia National Opera

The issue of the relationship of the new media – the radiophone – with other, more traditional musical institutions forms a broad field of interest within the context of media history. The main question here is – whether the new, electronic media is perceived as a competitor that “steals” audiences from concert halls and operas or, on the contrary, as

a potential candidate for symbiosis with the traditional institutions. The experience of the Latvian Radiophone demonstrates that the former case was initially the dominant one.

During its first years of existence the radiophone lacked funds to properly remunerate artists and lecturers. The Ministry of Transportation that supervised the radiophone requested a permission from the Ministry of Education to broadcast the performances taking place at the Latvian Conservatory and Latvian National Opera without fees. This request was motivated by the fact that several education institutions were receiving free radio subscriptions. The Minister of Education supported the request but the opera did not consent, continuing to charge 150 lats from the Latvian Radiophone for each performance. The further development of this relationship was accidentally influenced by several musicians of the opera orchestra migrating to the radiophone orchestra in 1926. The reaction of the Latvian National Opera was harsh – its director Ansis Gulbis²⁰ accused the Latvian Radiophone for unfair acquisition of its employees and in September issued a statement that “due to problems of economic nature the operas of the 1926/1927 season will not be broadcasted” (Kruks 2001). The radiophone damaged its relationship with the directors of this elite institution and its artists were henceforth forbidden to perform on radio, although, it is clear that a listener that enjoyed a radiophone broadcast of a famous opera will be interested to hear it live and see it on stage in a dramatic production without the radiophone mediation, hence producing a beneficial result for both institutions. Furthermore, the attendance studies revealed that more people attended opera houses following the radiophone broadcasts of the new productions (Gorkšs 1939).

The conflict was also aggravated by the average salaries of the opera musicians which were considerably lower than at the Latvian Radiophone Symphony Orchestra. The average salaries of the radiophone musicians in the beginning of the 1930ies were 4000 Ls (i.e. 335 lats per month), however, the LNO Orchestra did not pay such amounts even to its most qualified musicians. Moreover, the average level of salaries requested by the orchestra musicians (280 Ls) in 1924 was not reached even thirteen years later, in 1937. This, evidently, resulted in the migration of musicians from the LNO to the radiophone, provoking conflicts between the two institutions.

This problematic relationship also manifested in the attitude of the LNO towards the collaboration of its musicians with other collectives. The employment contract of the LNO musicians prohibited participation in the activities of other collectives without an explicit permission from the opera management and threatened with cessation of employment relations if such permission was not obtained. Also, interestingly, the contract contained a paragraph prohibiting musicians from leaving Riga without permissions from the opera management: “Contractual Obligations – No member of the Latvian National Opera staff is allowed to undertake unrelated projects. Participation in such unrelated projects without permission from management can result in the penalty of either withheld salary of up to one month or cessation of employment relations altogether through the fault of the employee; in this case the employee cannot raise any claims against the LNO. No employee of the opera can leave the city without express permission from the directorate”²¹.

The relationship with the Latvian National Opera began to normalize in the end of the 1920ies when opera artists visited radiophone more frequently and the radiophone paid for permissions to broadcast the opera productions. At the same time no cooperation developed on the institutional level. An interesting example of this was the unsuccessful attempt to combine the radiophone and opera orchestras in 1932. The attempt was motivated by the effects of the global economic crisis that substantially affected the state budget. The rumours about the possible consolidation circulated already in 1931. A quote from a letter of the radiophone subscriber no. 20, written in Mālpils on December 13, 1931 reveals: “Many, [comma as in original] discuss and many radiophone subscribers express great worries about the consolidation of radio and opera, for opera is unable to survive on its own and hence will also bankrupt the radio. [...] Although I have inquired a lot, I have not discovered any people in the countryside that would enjoy the frequent broadcasts of opera performances. Please, explain in detail, who initiated such project, what is its meaning and what could the radiophone loose through consolidation with opera”²².

On January 8, 1932 the Cabinet of Ministers made a decision to downsize the orchestras and to consolidate their functions, making the opera musicians perform at the radiophone without additional fees. However, when the working group, devised for the implementation of this decision and comprised of the Minister of Education Atis Ķeniņš, the director of LNO Teodors Reiters, the radiophone manager and poet Jānis Akuraters, as well as Jānis Mediņš, met on February 1, it turned out that several issues made this cooperation problematic²³. Firstly – the opera orchestra could be downsized but the radiophone orchestra simply could not be, since it consisted of only 37 musicians. Collaboration could only be achieved in the form of joint symphonic music programmes. Additionally, no compromise could be reached on the form of the joint artistic management of such concerts – neither opera, nor radio wished to concede the management (the opera management considered themselves more qualified for such task), lend orchestra musicians (the opera orchestra was considerably larger) or share losses and radio broadcast fees. Finally, a compromise was reached, according to which the opera received payment for four broadcasted concerts out of eight. In discussions about the use of opera soloists in the radiophone broadcasts the opera management dismissed the offered fees as too small; the use of choir and smaller ensembles was not even considered²⁴.

The air of these protocolled debates indicates rather poor integration of the radiophone into the environment of the elite art institutions: the opera management viewed the radiophone as musically incompetent, overly democratic, staff-stealing institution²⁵. The radiophone, on the other hand, was commercially independent and did not wish to support the opera from its profits. The director of the Ministry of Transportation Post and Telegraph Department Bernhards Einbers²⁶ who supervised the radiophone even pointed out at the meeting of the opera and radiophone representatives that the radiophone’s financial standing would actually allow the expansion of the orchestra, if the institution so wished²⁷. Such consolidation could have been even less desirable due to the social status of the opera and the objections from the radio listeners. It would also have been technically

complex: the working hours of the opera and radiophone orchestras mostly coincided. In other words – the leaders of both institutions were openly negative about mutual integration. The relationship changed in 1937 when the supervision of the radiophone was transferred to the Ministry of Social Affairs²⁸. Evidently, the authoritarian regime facilitated unanimity between various culture institutions: radiophone and opera agreed upon clear-cut principles of collaboration and in 1937 signed underneath the following: “The Latvian Radiophone and the Latvian National Opera agree on the opera broadcasts by the radiophone and on the organization of joint (radiophone and opera) symphonic concerts during the 1937/1938 concert season as follows:

- Until the closing of the Latvian National Opera 1937 season the Latvian Radiophone broadcasts approx. 7–8 opera productions. For each broadcast the Latvian Radiophone pays to the Latvian National Opera Ls 400 [..]. For the joint symphonic music concerts to be organized during the 1937/1938 concert season and for the necessary rehearsals (normal rehearsal number – approx.3) the main orchestra setup and the additional musicians are provided in turn – once the opera orchestra provides the main setup and radiophone orchestra the additional musicians, and once the radiophone orchestra provides main setup and opera the additional musicians. If a musician of one institution gets ill, the institution of that musician provides a substitute at its expense. [..]
- The programme and date of each joint orchestra concert is agreed upon by the Latvian National Opera and the Latvian Radiophone no less than 21 days before the concert. The Latvian Radiophone retains the right to refuse musicians for symphonic concerts planned within a shorter period of time.
- For the joint concerts the Latvian National Opera retains the rights to keep the income but the Latvian Radiophone – the rights to broadcast the concerts free of charge. In individual cases (when the organizing of concerts requires greater funding) and upon a request from the opera, both institutions can agree on organizing a joint concert with additional funding from the Latvian Radiophone. The amount of funding is also agreed upon individually.
- This agreement does not preclude organization of additional joint concerts on other grounds, not mentioned in this contract. The contract comes into force on the day of signing and is valid for one year; its validity automatically extends another year if none of the parties have applied for its cancellation [Signed: A. Smilga, Director of the Latvian Radiophone, J. Poruks, Director of the Latvian National Opera]²⁹.

Conclusions

During the first democracy in Latvia the symphonic music was closely related to the Rīga Radiophone that gradually emerged as its significant benefactor – both in the form of the Radiophone Symphony Orchestra and a frequent and fruitful producer of symphonic music recordings. Also in this context the issue of Latvian symphonic music development during the time of the authoritarian rule of K. Ulmanis and its influence on the repertoire politics in the radiophone is important, including, amongst other issues, the relevance of the efforts to “Latvianize” the symphonic music programmes, to organize composition

competitions, et cetera. The development of any musical genre is closely related to performance opportunities; also, the work of composers depends on the context of music institutions of any given epoch. In the field of instrumental music the most important institutions are symphony orchestras – both in terms of the required amount of resources and the social prestige. The availability of symphonic orchestras, their range of activities and quality of performances are the values that define the attitude of composers towards the symphonic music, preference of genres, as well as the development of distinct symphonic composition traditions. The symphonic music institutions are a significant factor in the development of symphonic musicianship of any given epoch and state.

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¹ L 17.LSHA, 6202 f. (Latvian Music Society), 1 descr., 44 case.

² The initial setup of the Latvian Radiophone Symphonic Orchestra in 1926 was as follows: Arvīds Norītis (violin), Aleksandrs Arnītis (violin), Eduards Vīnerts (viola), Ēvalds Berzinskis (cello), Artūrs Ozoliņš (cello), Vilhelms Kumbergs (double bass), Arvīds Reinvalds (flute), Georgs Varneke (oboe), B. Treijs (trumpet), Jānis Peders (trumpet), P. Ievenieks (trombone), Jānis Zaļums (timpani), Liliņa Kalniņa-Ozoliņa (piano), Ādolfs Ābele (composer, harmonium performer).

³ Jēkabs Vītoliņš (1898-1977), music historian, enthusiastic music journalist.

⁴ Paul Joseph Goebbels (1897-1945), German politician and government member.

⁵ 15.LSHA, 5397 f. (Latvian Radiophone. Literature and General Department officers meeting protocols on programme approval, approval of actors for radio plays, etc.), 1 descr., 8 case.

⁶ LSHA, 5397 f. (Latvian Radiophone. Literature and General Department officers meeting protocols on programme approval, approval of actors for radio plays, etc.), 1 descr., 8 case (original).

⁷ LSHA, 5397. f. (Latvian Radiophone Budget Proposal 1939/40), 1 descr., 5 case.

⁸ There is no official information on the “freeloaders” of radio, but the radiophone did address this problem. There was a monetary prize for giving information on the “illegal listeners”, see previous footnote.

⁹ LSHA, 1532 f. (Ministry of Transportation, Post and Telegraph Department), 2 descr., 1006 case.

¹⁰ LSHA, 5397 f. (Latvian Radiophone. Literature and General Department officers meeting protocols on approval of programme, approval of actors for broadcasted plays, etc.), 1 descr., 8 case.

¹¹ LSHA, 1317 f. (Rīga 2nd District Tax Inspector. Ministry of Social Affairs, Latvian Radiophone List of Tax Information on Year 1939 Submitted to Tax Inspector), 1 descr., 132 case.

¹² LSHA, 5397 f. (Latvian Radiophone. Literature and General Department officers meeting protocols on approval of programme, approval of actors for broadcasted plays, etc.), 1 descr., 8 case.

¹³ LSHA, 5397 f. (Ministry of Social Affairs, Literature Department officers – meeting protocols on honorariums of writers, poets; honorarium lists of soloists and choir singers of radiophone), 1 descr., 7 case.

¹⁴ Sergejs Duks (1892-1973), teacher and conductor, before the II World War led several choirs, including the Riga Radiophone Choir, participated in preparation of Nationwide Song Festival, arranged folk songs.

¹⁵ LSHA, 5397 f. (Latvian Radiophone. Literature and General Department officers meeting protocols on approval of programme, approval of actors for broadcasted plays, etc.), 1 descr., 8 case.

¹⁶ LSHA, 5397 f. (Latvian Radiophone. Literature and General Department officers meeting protocols on approval of programme, approval of actors for broadcasted plays, etc.), 1 descr., 8 case.

¹⁷ LSHA, 1532 f. (Ministry of Transportation, Department of Post and Telegraph, Opera and Radiophone representatives council protocols on coordination of Opera and Radiophone activities), 2 descr., 1006 case.

- ¹⁸ LSHA, 5397 f. (Latvian Radiophone. Literature and General Department officers meeting protocols on approval of programme, approval of actors for broadcasted plays, etc.), 1 descr., 8 case.
- ¹⁹ LSHA, 6202 f. (Latvian Music Society), 1 descr., 44 case.
- ²⁰ Ansis Gulbis (1873-1936), director of the Latvian National Opera from 1926 to 1927.
- ²¹ LSHA, 1632 f. (LNO Employment Contract. Summaries of LNO activities during 1934/1935 season), 2 descr., 814 case.
- ²² LSHA, 1532 f. (Ministry of Transportation, Department of Post and Telegraph, Opera and Radiophone representatives council protocols on coordination of Opera and Radiophone activities), 2 descr., 1006 case.
- ²³ LSHA, 1532 f. (Ministry of Transportation, Department of Post and Telegraph, Opera and Radiophone representatives council protocols on coordination of Opera and Radiophone activities), 2 descr., 1006 case.
- ²⁴ LSHA, 1532 f. (Ministry of Transportation, Department of Post and Telegraph, Opera and Radiophone representatives council protocols on coordination of Opera and Radiophone activities), 2 descr., 1006 case.
- ²⁵ LSHA, 5689 f. (National Opera Orchestra meeting protocol), 1 descr., 35 case.
- ²⁶ Bernhards Einbergs (1893-1945), Latvian soldier, engineer and politician.
- ²⁷ LSHA, 5689 f. (National Opera Orchestra meeting protocol), 1 descr., 35 case.
- ²⁸ LSHA, 5397 f. (Latvian Radiophone. Literature and General Department officers meeting protocols on approval of programme, approval of actors for broadcasted plays, etc.), 1 descr., 8 case.
- ²⁹ LSHA, 5397 f. (Latvian Radiophone. Literature and General Department officers meeting protocols on approval of programme, approval of actors for broadcasted plays, etc.), 1 descr., 8 case.

Jazz Periodization in Latvia Before 1940

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Abstract

Jazz is an important part of Latvian culture, research of which, including its history and development in Latvia, has been undeservedly neglected. Important tasks of this research are periodization of the development phases of the genre, studying of the most important musicians, orchestras and their activities, as well as studying and processing of the available sources about jazz in Latvia. In the course of this research press publications, photo materials, archive materials as well as music records were studied, summary and analysis of which allowed drawing conclusions about the arrival of Jazz in Latvia and its further development in the country until 1940, as well as to analyse the society's attitude towards it. The article is dedicated to the periodization of Latvian jazz history until 1940 describing each phase in more detail and making conclusions about the development of Latvian jazz in the period until 1940.

Key words: Latvian Jazz History, Periodization of Latvian Jazz, European Jazz History, History of Jazz Until 1940.

Introduction

Up until now the history of jazz in Latvia has not been studied. However, the history of jazz for a long time has been the subject of academic research in other countries, especially in the context of the quest for European cultural identity, as well as in connection with identity of jazz and new paths for its creativity, jazz being an original and specific kind of art (e.g. Cooke 2004, Goldbold 2005, etc.). Taking this aspect into account, Latvian jazz history plays an important role in the research of the European jazz history and in the context of its development. This in turn raises interest of foreign researchers, as this is a field of European jazz that has not been studied yet.

The Latvian jazz history can be divided into four periods. The first one begins with the arrival of jazz in Latvia and continues until June 1940 when the Soviet occupation of Latvia begins.

The next period in Latvian jazz history – from 1940 through 1953 – which includes the Soviet occupation of Latvia in 1940–1941, the following Nazi occupation until 1944 and the following second Soviet occupation from 1944 – is characterised by disarray, fragmen-

tation and violent disruption of the previous development (Klotiņš 2011). The political changes disrupted the previous development, and seriously affected both, the performed repertoire and the musicians: their lives and creative work. It especially affected Latvian Jews, who comprised a large number of Latvian jazz musicians, thus destroying an important part of Latvian jazz history. The second USSR occupation brought about crucial changes, which shifted the cultural environment and attitude towards jazz, declaring it an undesirable music genre and extending this attitude also to the representatives of this genre – the musicians.¹

The third period in the history of Latvian jazz is from 1954 through 1991. After the death of Stalin the development of jazz resumed and was characterised by activities of the new generation of musicians, professional jazz orchestras, Rīga Jazz Club and the festival “*Vasaras ritmi*” (“Summer Rhythms”).

The fourth period of Latvian jazz history begun in 1991 with Latvia regaining its independence. It is characterised by ceasing of the activities of the previous structures, e.g., liquidation of Latvian Radio big band and closing of the festival “*Vasaras ritmi*”. New structures were created in place of these, jazz education system was developed, jazz clubs were founded and new jazz festivals were started.

This paper is dedicated to research and periodization of the first period of the Latvian jazz history from 1922 through 1940, looking at it from historical, socially political and musicological aspects. This period is to be considered as the first period of Latvian jazz development, during which jazz was introduced in the country and continued developing until the soviet occupation in June 1940. Unfortunately the other periods of Latvian jazz development have not been studied; therefore there is a lack of more detailed information about the musicians and their work, periods of development and the main events.

The written sources that are used in this study are mainly from the unpublished materials of the archive funds (Latvian State Historical Archives, Latvia State Archive of Audiovisual Documents (LSAAD), press publications, such as advertisements and articles, as well as from books, memoirs, record catalogues and lists of orchestras’ repertoires. The visual sources – photographs and pictures (drawings and cartoons) – are found in press publications as well as museums’ collections and materials from private collections. Material sources – audio materials – are records and CDs, partially from the author’s and other private individuals’ collections as well as from archive funds (LSAAD). The author also used oral sources by conducting 19 structured interviews with jazz musicians, their offsprings and contemporaries.

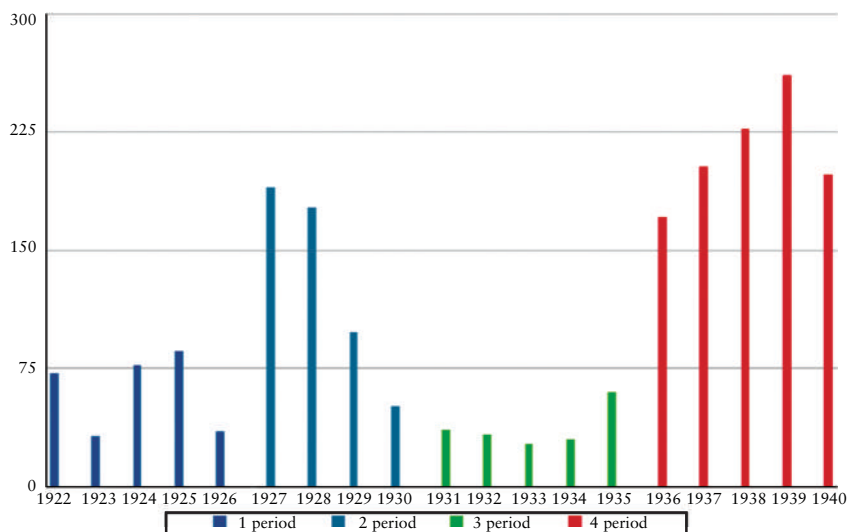
During the research the author listed and analysed jazz publications in the press, studied and described materials of archives and museum collections, analysed music records, carried out interviews and studied theoretical literature. The author has listed and analysed the publications dedicated to jazz in newspapers “*Jaunākās Ziņas*” (“Latest News”), “*Сегодня*” (“Today”), “*Сегодня Вечером*” (“This Evening”), “*Rigasche Rundschau*”, magazines “*Mūzika*” (“Music”), “*Daugava*”, “*Burtnieks*” and other periodical publications

(see bibliography at the end of the paper). Analysis and comparison of four articles about jazz published in different periods of time, within the context of the perception of jazz during these periods in other countries, allowed making conclusions about understanding of jazz, attitude toward it as an art phenomenon and its changes in Latvia in the aforementioned period of time in Latvia.

The author has also recorded all advertisements and publications pertaining to jazz – in total 2065 publications – in the newspaper “*Jaunākās Ziņas*” from 1922 through 1940, and created a table of records. Analysis of the data of this table allowed reconstructing development of Latvian jazz from 1922 through 1940, adding other sources of information to it – music records, other publications, photographs and archive information.

Based on the analysis and comparison of the materials gathered, the author concludes that there are four phases of development in Latvian jazz until 1940. The division of the phases is mainly based on the results of the analysis of the information gathered in the table of records of “*Jaunākās Ziņas*” advertisements (Veitners 2013: 80–87), combining these results with other materials available – photographs, pictures, publications (articles), recordings and their analysis, proving and supporting this periodization by data from content analysis and discourse analysis of the publications (Table 1).

Table 1. Number of “*Jaunākās Ziņas*” issues with jazz publications by year % (1922–1940) (I. Veitners)



The author has named the development phases on the accounts of the most characteristic phenomena of each particular phase of jazz development. The author shortly characterises each of the phases, reconstructing the chronology of Latvian jazz, summarising all materials available to the author – the results of the analysis of advertisements and publications from “*Jaunākās Ziņas*” and other newspapers, photographs and music records, as well as

listings of musicians, ensembles and orchestras, time of their activities and analysis of the performed repertoire.²

Latvian jazz periodization before 1940

At the beginning of the 1920s jazz³ was still a relatively new genre, but it quickly gained popularity in Europe and Latvia – in the beginning as an exotic composition of the orchestra, then as a new style of dance, competing successfully with salon music orchestras and brass (horn) bands which had been fulfilling this function up till then. Besides, “jazz bands” also performed music from popular operettas, film “hits” and tango, which was extremely popular then, thus becoming the dominating entertainment music at the end of the 1930s.

First phase – the arrival

Chronologically this phase encompasses the period from 1922 (jazz mentioned for the first time in Latvia on 28 January 1922) through 1926 (Veitners 2013: 75). During this time jazz is introduced in Latvia and starts developing (Figure 1).



Figure 1. The first jazz advertisement in cinema “Marine” (“Jaunākās Ziņas”, 22, 28.01.1922.).

There are almost no photo materials from this period, which would allow recognising musicians and composition of orchestras. The only sources that are available are advertisements and publications in the press. The first lengthy article about jazz appeared at the end of this period in 1925 in the newspaper “Сегодня Вечером” – “Джазъ” (“Jazz”) by V. Janovs.

Supposedly, first information in Latvia about jazz arrived from a European country – the United Kingdom or Germany, possibly in the form of newspaper news. The first jazz advertisements are cinema advertisements – thus jazz was introduced in Latvia through cinema (silent films). However, during couple of years the cinema advertisements disappear and they are replaced by advertisements of cafés, restaurants, and dance halls. These, in turn, are at the beginning dominated by advertisements from cafés, but at the end of the period – dance halls, which indicates initial prevalence of jazz at cafés and restaurants but later – growth of the dance style popularity (Lipša 2012). The dynamics of jazz advertisements in the newspaper “Jaunākās Ziņas” during this period are irregular (decrease in 1923 and 1926).

A trio consisting of a violin, a piano and a double bass is the most often mentioned composition of an ensemble. The orchestras most often are simply called a “jazz band” and usually this name is used together with “salon orchestra” or simply “orchestra”. Supposedly, the name “jazz band” meant a particular composition of an ensemble. Few names of the musicians can be found.

Understanding about jazz is vague which can be seen in the first wider publication about jazz – article “Джазъ” by V. Janovs in the newspaper “Сегодня Вечером” in 1925 (Janovs 1925). The article describes jazz as an exotic, loud, syncopated dance music performed by a specific orchestra. Jazz is identified as composition of the orchestra – jazz orchestra – a specific mix of symphonic and salon/dance orchestras with exotic percussions, and is considered to be a new “fashion” rather than serious art phenomena. However, the article emphasises the importance of rhythm in jazz.

The author believes that the jazz played during this period was in essence closer to salon music and was only called jazz. It was often associated with noise, chaos and improper behaviour. Jazz arrives in Latvia and starts developing during this period, therefore the author has named it the arrival phase.

Second – the dance orchestra phase

This phase encompasses the period from the end of 1926 through 1929. During this period many jazz orchestras with exotic titles in English are established. Their activities are connected to the increase of the popularity of modern dances (foxtrot, Charleston) in the society (Lipša 2002: 143). The orchestras mainly perform at various events, balls and also in restaurants. The beginning of this phase coincides with the rise of Dixieland style in the U.S.

The main research sources for this phase are a big number of jazz advertisements as well as the first photographs of orchestras. In 1926, at the beginning of the phase, the first analytical article about jazz in Latvia was published in the magazine “Mūzika” – “*Kas ir džezbends?*” (“What is a jazz band?”) by K. Paucītis.

From 1927 through 1929 dynamic development of jazz can be established with a great increase in the number of advertisements in the newspaper “*Jaunākās Ziņas*” (especially in 1927 and 1928). The advertisements show new jazz orchestras with exotic titles in English, very often having words like “banjo”, “dancing band” and “jazz band” in different variations, thus emphasising their “American” origin and the music they perform. In a relatively short period a great number of jazz orchestras can be established (more than 60 titles) (Table 2), as well as a great number of events where they perform.

Consumption of jazz in various events and balls show jazz’s connection to the mainstream dance style of that time (2/3 of advertisements) as well as its explicitly seasonal character (the orchestras perform most often in December and February). However, names of particular musicians do not appear in the advertisements very often. Other press publications, for example, the newspaper “Сегодня Вечером” publish several short articles about jazz, including ones with pictures (Толстый 1928).

Table 2. Latvian Jazz orchestras and their activity (1922–1940) (I. Veitners).

	1922	1923	1924	1925	1926	1927	1928	1929	1930	1931	1932	1933	1934	1935	1936	1937	1938	1939	1940
Bremer-Kueneman	■					■	■	■		■	■	■		■					
M. Aljansks Orchestra	■											■		■	■				■
The Savoy Band		■	■	■	■	■	■	■						■					
Bubi Jazzband					■	■	■	■											
The Banjo Dancing Band						■	■	■	■	■	■	■							
The American Banjo Fifi Dancing Band						■	■												
The Dancing Palace Band						■	■	■											
Jazz band Figaro						■	■	■	■	■	■	■							
The Havain Band						■	■	■											
The New Yorker and Philadelphia Dancing band							■	■	■										
The Taddy Carhart's banjo Band, Columbia band							■	■	■	■	■	■	■						
Mai-Bli-Band							■	■		■		■							
The Favorite Band							■	■											
The Saxophone Dancing Band							■	■											
The Happy Days Jacc Companys							■	■	■	■	■	■							
The Saksofon Band							■						■	■					■
The Honolulu Band							■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■		
The Canadian Banjo Band							■		■										
The Metropolitan Band								■	■	■	■	■							
Stella Orchestra Rīga (directed by B. Šmidts)								■	■	■									
Brothers Vlaški Orchestras								■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■			
The Marcella Band								■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■		
J. Levinsons Orchestra								■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■
G. Temko Orchestra									■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■
The Jacc of Riga									■	■	■	■	■						
J. Melnalksnis Jazz Orchestra									■										■
T. Kaizers Orchestra										■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■
Bellaccord Jazz Orchestra										■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■
G. Fomins Ochestra											■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■
S. Ostrovskis Orchestra											■	■	■	■					
Sympho Jazz Orchestra "LaSiDo"											■								
F. Laiviņš											■			■					
Ē. Eks Chapel												■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■

Jazz Periodization in Latvia before 1940

	1922	1923	1924	1925	1926	1927	1928	1929	1930	1931	1932	1933	1934	1935	1936	1937	1938	1939	1940
M. Stranskis Orchestra												■		■	■		■	■	■
Šmidt–Kremer Jazz Band												■		■					
Y.M.C.A. Jazz Orchestra													■	■					
Veinbergs Chapel												■	■	■	■				
H. Šmits Orchestra													■	■	■	■	■	■	■
A. Štroms Jazz Orchestra													■	■	■	■	■	■	■
R. Reichelts Chapel													■	■	■	■	■	■	
L. Gulevičs Jazz Orchestra													■	■	■	■			
L. Štukass Chapel “Swing”															■	■	■	■	■
R. Rubenis “Cheerful Chapel” (“ <i>Jautrā kapela</i> ”)															■	■	■	■	■
F. Zubkins Chapel															■	■	■	■	■
V. Kaņeps “Cheerful mos- quitoes” (“ <i>Jautrie odi</i> ”)															■	■	■	■	■
V. Jansons Orchestra																■	■	■	■
H. Polis Dance Orchestra																■	■	■	■
R. Piebalgs Jazz Chapel																■	■	■	■
J. Benstreins “Cheerful Dzintari People” (“ <i>Jautrie Dzintarieši</i> ”)																■	■	■	■
A. Masiļūns “Horner’s” Chapel																■	■	■	■
J. Oinass Dance Chapel “Apollo”																■	■	■	
T. Vējš Orchestra																■	■		
Ladies Jazz Quartet T4																■			■
A. Kunigs Chapel “Minora”																	■	■	
A. Lācis “Cheerful X” (“ <i>Jautrie X</i> ”)																	■	■	■
A. Rumba Jazz Orchestra																	■	■	■
O. Vichmans Jazz																	■	■	■
A. Zagants Dance Chapel																		■	■
A. Kremerts Dance Orchestra																		■	■
Ed. Svarre with Orchestra																		■	
E. Kirilovs Dance Orchestra																			■
Bar Trio																			■

A number of photo materials remain from this period. These allow establishing the composition of orchestras and identifying the musicians. The photographs most often depict mixed bands, frequently with exotic instruments and accessories. The orchestras usually consist of 6 to 7 people and have instruments characteristic both to orchestras and salon-bands (saxophone, trumpet, banjo, drums, violin, piano, double-bass). The compositions

of the photographs are dominated by banjos and saxophones thus emphasising the exoticism and “Americanism” of the music (Figure 2). The remaining programs of the orchestras’ concerts allow establishing the jazz pieces of the repertoire.



Figure 2. “The Banjo Dancing Band”, 1928 (Private collection of Elmārs Zemovičs).

jazz during this phase is also influenced by the introduction of the sound cinema – the first sound films broadcast in Latvia were linked to jazz, thus, popularising it and serving as a source of information (Pērkone 2008: 51). Nevertheless, one can also establish the negative attitude towards jazz from several representatives of the academic music, who described jazz as a phenomenon, which is detrimental and demoralising to the youth. Composer Paula Līcīte expressed this attitude particularly strongly (Līcīte 1926; Līcīte 1928). Similar attitudes can be found in German press publications (Wolfurt 1926).

During this phase the first performances of foreign jazz musicians in Latvia can be established. It was the “Happy Broadway” jazz band from Paris, who played in Jūrmala, in the Edinburgh pavilion in the summer of 1927 (Latviešu Monmartra 1927).

Orchestras’ performances in dance halls, the link between the performed repertoire and the popular dances (Charleston, foxtrot, etc.), the instruments depicted in the photographs of orchestras as well as the dominating “American” fashion which is displayed in the titles of the orchestras and their exotic accessories, allow to name this phase of Latvian jazz development as the dance orchestra phase.

The development of jazz in Latvia is changed by the onset of the world economic crisis in 1929, as a result of which the consumption of jazz decreases dramatically.

The society’s understanding about jazz increases, as it can be seen from the first analytical article about jazz in Latvia – “What is a jazz band?” by K. Paucītis published in the magazine “Mūzika” in 1926 (Paucītis 1926). The article describes the arrangement or orchestration as one of the main elements of jazz, and names P. Whiteman’s orchestra⁴ as the best example of jazz orchestra. The influence of Whiteman’s orchestra on the development of Latvian jazz is confirmed by further publications. The development of

Third – the crisis phase

It encompasses the period between 1930 and 1935. This phase is characterised by a remarkable decrease in the number of advertisements, which started already in 1929, reaching its lowest point in 1933 and lasts until 1935 when growth resumes. Also the total number of advertisements is comparatively lower than during other periods. This is linked to the impact of the world economic crisis, which had badly affected Latvia and its jazz musicians as well.⁵ During this period a peculiar trend in jazz develops in Latvia – symphonic jazz, which was created by the composer Jānis Vītoliņš with his orchestra “La-Si-Do” after returning from the U.S.

Comparatively more information about the Latvian entertainment music and its representatives in this period can be found – a large number of photographs of orchestras remain which help identifying the musicians and the composition of orchestras. Concert reviews appear among advertisements in the newspapers as well as other publications (Grebzde 1933; Grebzde 1934). In 1932 the magazine “*Daugava*” publishes the second analytical article about jazz – “*Kas ir džess*” (“What is Jazz”) by Jēkabs Vītoliņš (Vītoliņš 1932). Latvian Encyclopaedia introduces entries about jazz, prepared by Jēkabs Graubiņš (Graubiņš 1931). At the beginning of this phase, in 1931, the recording company “Bellacord Electro” is established, among recordings of which the Latvian Jazz Orchestra can be heard (Rudzītis 1997: 123).

New titles of jazz orchestras appear in the publications of this phase. Now they are named after their leaders and these gradually replace the previous orchestras. This aspect shows development of new, different attitude towards jazz. In comparison to the previous perception of jazz as entertainment there is more serious interest about it, with quality – particular musicians and their orchestras – being more important. Jazz consumption also changes. Jazz concerts take place in academic halls, for example, at the Latvian Conservatory, etc. This development can be largely attributed to the activities of the composer and arranger Jānis Vītoliņš, who, after returning from the U.S., in 1932 established the symphonic jazz orchestra “La-Si-Do”. The orchestra gives several concerts and for the first time in Latvia performs G. Gershwin’s “Blues Rhapsody” (Figure 3).

Although the orchestra exists only for two years, symphonic jazz becomes one of the elements of the Latvian jazz tradition, which can be traced till nowadays. Emergence of symphonic jazz is a crucial turning point in the development of Latvian jazz. Although it only existed as an art phenomenon for several years, the press reviews (Zālītis 1932) and its wide resonance considerably changed the society’s attitude towards jazz in general; to some extent jazz acquires a qualitatively new status in the society, partially due to its professionalization.

The photographs of orchestras depict a wide range of instruments, which shows that the musicians were very universal. The photographs depict various compositions of orchestras. There is the symphonic jazz orchestra, which in fact is the symphonic orchestra with saxophones and rhythm section added; as well as a mixed type jazz orchestra – a band of 6 to 10 people with a wide range of instruments, who were able to perform varied repertoire.

This is confirmed by the lists of orchestras' repertoires, and concert programs, which show a large proportion of academic music besides modern jazz pieces.



Figure 3. Concert of simfo-jazz orchestra “La-Si-Do” in Conservatory of Latvia, 9th November 1932 (Private collection of Elmārs Zemovičs).

There are two important publications about jazz in this period – J. Vitoliņš’ article “*Kas ir džess*” (“What is Jazz”) in the magazine “*Daugava*” in 1932 and Latvian Encyclopaedia entries about jazz, prepared by J. Graubiņš. Both publications generally correctly describe the basic elements of jazz, its origins from African folk music and the dominating role of percussions; they also stress the role of the rhythm. Overall, these publications depict qualitatively different level of understanding about jazz than before. This all is complemented by fairly correct listing of the facts of jazz development history in the U.S., which shows that the authors were well informed. The symphonic jazz concerts evoke reaction in the press, with several concert reviews by the well-known music critics Jānis Zālītis and Ernests Brusubārda (Zālītis 1932; Brusubārda 1932). These publications show growing dislike towards jazz from the academic critics’ side, which contrasts the growing public demand for entertainment.

Starting with 1930 Latvian musicians and orchestras make recordings in several Latvian and foreign recording companies (“Kristall”, “His Master’s Voice”, “Bellaccord Electro”, “Homocord”, etc.). Jazz elements can be established in these recordings. In 1933 the recording company “Bellaccord Electro” publishes the music record of the first jazz solo by Latvian musicians – a piece by jazz band Y.M.C.A. “*Šņāc(i) Mimna*” (Figure 4).



Figure 4. Y.M.C.A. dance band. Around 1932 (Private collection of Elmārs Zemovičs).

In general, the period between 1930 and 1935 in Latvian jazz can be viewed as a phase of changes, strongly influenced by the global economic crisis. Although several important events can be established during this period, i.e., emergence of symphonic jazz, first jazz record, as well as gradual qualitative changes in the understanding about jazz, the main factor that influenced jazz development in this phase was the world economic crisis and its consequences, therefore the author has named this phase – the crisis phase.

Fourth – the swing phase

It encompasses the period from 1936 until the occupation of Latvia in June 1940. The beginning of this period coincides with the beginning of the swing era in the U.S. New orchestras and musicians emerge and jazz develops intensely.

The main sources of information are still advertisements, which can be established in large numbers, but other materials are also available: publications (articles), where jazz is mentioned, books, brochures (for example, “Musician’s Calendar”), lists of orchestras’ repertoires⁶, collections of sheet music etc., as well as quite many photo materials. All these materials allow identifying the musicians, and the orchestras’ compositions. The recordings of these orchestras published by the recording company “*Bellacord Electro*” allow analysing the music performed in the context of jazz (Bellacord Electro 1935). A lot of information can be gained from the catalogues of records with photographs of the musicians and orchestras published by the recording company.

Starting with 1936, large increase in the number of advertisements can be established (the same amount as in all previous years together), which continues until summer 1940 indicating strong development of jazz. Starting with 1937 new titles of orchestras and names of musicians appear in the advertisements indicating onset of a new generation of musicians. In 1938 the newspapers’ advertisements also include pictures of orchestras

and musicians, which means even more intense advertising and promotion of their activities. In comparison to the previous phase, jazz is mainly consumed in balls and different social events, as well as restaurants, cafés and dance halls, thus indicating the entertaining character of jazz. The growing popularity of jazz at the end of 1930's is reflected in the repertoire of cinemas, as films with jazz music were screened.

Orchestras' photographs of this period are of more representational nature in their composition and content, which can be explained by their use for advertisements in newspapers and magazines. The clothes of the musicians in the photographs, the dress code, as well as other accessories indirectly indicate the status of the musicians and their high income. The photographs depict various compositions of orchestras – most often mixed jazz/dance music orchestras with wide variation options for repertoire; however, the instruments of several orchestras (for example, V. Jansons' and G. Vlašeks' orchestras) clearly correspond to that of a jazz orchestra – a big band. These orchestras obviously performed jazz (Figure 5).



Figure 5. Jazz orchestra of Valentins Jansons. Around 1937 (Private collection of Elmārs Zemovičs).

The instruments used in orchestras also change – use of banjo and violin is rarer, accordion is introduced. The childish exoticism of previous phases is gone; instead there are high-level dance orchestras in luxurious rooms with jazz instruments and musicians dressed in tailored white tailcoats expressing sophistication and elegance. In general it shows full acceptance of jazz in the society and positions it as the main object of entertainment.

The publications of this period show more positive attitude towards jazz, depicting wider public's demand for entertainment and dances. More detailed, analytical articles about jazz have not been identified in this phase, which suggests certain ignorance from the representatives of the academic music. Several other publications meant for the general public clearly show favourable attitude towards jazz (Plaudis 1939; Plaudis 1940: 80, 83)

telling of authentic experiences in the U.S. and of encounters with jazz masters (Cab Calloway⁷). Jazz publications and advertisements are dominated by the word “fun”, describing it more as an entertainment unlike the academic concerts of the previous period.

The lists of orchestras’ repertoires that are available show a wide spectre of music performed, with quite a big share of salon and academic music besides the popular fashion repertoire. The lists of orchestras’ composition confirm the universality and versatility of the musicians as practically all participants play two or more instruments thus being able to perform stylistically varied repertoire. The advertisements show that the orchestras would also employ singers who would perform popular hits with orchestral accompaniment. The record company “*Bellacord Electro*” and its orchestra were very active during this period by producing approximately 600 recordings of entertaining or popular music. Large part of these recordings was done by the leading Latvian jazz musicians as evidenced by the jazz elements in these recordings (improvisation, swing pulsation in the accompaniment, arrangement characteristic to jazz etc.). At the end of the period one of the most professional jazz bands in Latvia the trio “Bar” under the lead of pianist Džeks Mihaļickis also made a recording (Figure 6).



Figure 6. Jazz orchestra of Jack Michalicky in restaurant “LIDO” in Jūrmala, Majori. 1939 (Private collection of Elmārs Zemovičs).

The exact correlation between the start of this phase with the same period in the history of jazz in the U.S., the public context and the leading dance fashion, the performed repertoire, as well as the instruments depicted in the photographs, which in many cases correspond to that of a jazz orchestra – big band – allows to link this phase of Latvian jazz history to swing, therefore the author has named it – the swing phase.

Unfortunately this development is disrupted by the occupation of Latvia in June 1940, which introduces the next period in the development of Latvian jazz.

Conclusions

Summing up the above, it is possible to draw the following conclusions about jazz in Latvia before 1940. Jazz in Latvia can be established starting with 1922, it was an important and prominent part of the public social culture as evidenced by the large number of publications devoted to jazz, especially advertisements. It is characterised by similar development trends as in other European countries, encouraged by concerts of foreign musicians in Latvia, as well as regular and long term activities of Latvian musicians abroad, especially in Germany. One can establish that Latvian musicians had good knowledge of jazz development in the world and European countries as evidenced by lists of repertoires, vinyl records and other materials.

Four phases in the development of Latvian jazz before 1940 can be established:

- Arrival of jazz from 1922 through 1926 when jazz is introduced in Latvia and starts developing.
- Dance orchestra phase from the end of 1926 through 1930 – a large number of jazz orchestras with exotic titles in English, which mainly perform at dance halls.
- Crisis phase from 1930 through 1935, during which a peculiar trend in jazz, the symphonic jazz, develops. It is created by the composer Jānis Vitolīņš with his orchestra “La-Si-Do” after returning from the U.S.
- Swing phase from 1935 until the occupation of Latvia in June 1940. New orchestras – big bands and ensembles – start performing, strong development of jazz is evident. This development is discontinued by the occupation of Latvia in June 1940, which introduces the next period in the history of Latvian jazz.

It is possible to establish the development of jazz stylistics in Latvia: during the 1st and the 2nd phase it is salon music, popular dance music and Dixieland, during the 3rd period – symphonic jazz, and during the 4th – swing. All periods are characterised by the universality and versatility of the musicians, which is manifested through play of several instruments and stylistically varied repertoire, including academic music.

A peculiar phenomenon of Latvian jazz is symphonic jazz, which emerges in 1932 and changes the public's attitude dramatically towards jazz as a serious phenomenon of art. It also becomes an important tradition of Latvian jazz. Development of symphonic jazz continues in further periods and can be established in Latvian jazz also nowadays.

Latvian jazz musicians are stylistically versatile and highly professional, as well as professionally active internationally. A large proportion of foreigners and multinational environment is inherent to jazz unlike academic music ensembles where this tendency is not so pronounced.

Publications about jazz – articles in newspapers and magazines – show gradual increase of understanding about jazz as a phenomenon, initially describing it as a specific composition of an orchestra and exotic arrangement, later identifying the important elements of jazz, such as improvisation, beat and jazz phrasing. The attitude of the representatives of

the academic music towards jazz is negative in opposition to the increasing demand for entertainment in the rest of the public, which leads jazz to lean towards dance and entertainment at the end of the 1930s. Jazz consumption confirms this – it is mainly played at social events and balls as well as in restaurants and music halls.

Development of Latvian jazz is violently disrupted in June 1940 when the country is occupied by the Soviet Russia. It interrupts the previous development and introduces the next period of development in the history of Latvian jazz.

Up until now the history of Latvian jazz unfortunately has not been scientifically studied therefore there are many uncertainties and unexplored issues. The aim of this study was to outline the problem, to subdivide the periods and reconstruct their development. Further tasks would be to continue identification of orchestras' compositions, biographies of the musicians, activities of the orchestras and their participants in Latvia and abroad, the time of the recordings, their sequence and individuals behind them. It would also be important to study the other periods of Latvian jazz history where there are only fragmentary materials available.

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¹ 1948 could be considered as culmination of this attitude, when the USSR began its campaign against formalism in art, which had direct implications to jazz (Kruks 2008: 21).

² Information about Latvian jazz musicians and orchestras is scarce. The main sources are the Latvian State Historical Archives (LSHA) and Literature and Music Museum (LMM) collections' materials – documents, photographs and publications in newspapers and magazines, materials from the Academic Library of the Latvian University and Latvian National Library, as well as interviews and published memoirs. For many years, the materials about musicians were gathered by Elmārs Zemovičs from the Literature and Music Museum and the Latvian National Library worker and researcher Marina Mihaļeca. An essential source for the reconstruction of the activities of the musicians and orchestras is the results of the analysis of the information gathered in the table of records of “*Jaunākās Ziņas*” advertisements developed by the author.

³ Jazz developed in New Orleans, U.S. at the beginning of the 20th century as a specific fusion of black and European musical cultures. The first jazz recording was made by the jazz band “Original Dixieland Jazz Band” on 30 January 1917 (Cooke 1997: 36). Jazz arrives in Europe in 1919 with the concerts of this band in London, United Kingdom (Godbolt 2005: 7).

⁴ Paul Whiteman (1890–1967) – a violinist, one of the most famous and commercially successful orchestral leaders/band leaders during the 1920s in the United States. Whiteman was referred to as the “King of Jazz”; however, the music he performed cannot be defined as jazz. In fact it is popular dance music with jazz elements. Paul Whiteman's best known contribution to the history of jazz was the debut of George Gershwin's “Rhapsody in Blue” on 24 February 1924 in New York with the author at the piano. Many of the best jazz musicians of that time played in Whiteman's orchestra – trumpeter Bix Beiderbecke (1903–1931), violinist Joe Venuti (1903–1978), future swing orchestras' directors Red Nichols (1905–1965) and Tommy Dorsey (1905–1956), trombone player Jack

Teagarden (1905–1964) and the future American pop star singer Bing Crosby (1903–1977) (Carr, Fairweather, Priestley 2004: 858). Thanks to these jazz musicians, the Whiteman's orchestra has a particular, slightly swinging sound which in Europe was identified as jazz. Whiteman had many recordings, played in movies, and visited Europe twice – in 1923 and 1926 becoming the model jazz orchestra in Europe (Cooke 1997:77).

⁵ The world economic crisis or the “Big Depression” begun in the U.S. on 29 October 1929 (black Tuesday) with shares plummeting at the New York stock exchange which caused panic in the stock exchange and sent banks in bankruptcy. This resulted in massive unemployment, bankruptcy of many firms and households. The crisis quickly spread to other countries, which were financially and economically connected with the U.S., including Latvia. Gradual recovery started in 1933 but it was disrupted again by the Second World War. One of the results of the crisis was rise of political extremists (communist and right wing) in many countries.

⁶ For example, “Repertoire of the “*Piena restorāns*” (“Milk Restaurant”) orchestra” (1938); list of B. Čunčiņš' band repertoire, etc. These materials can be found at LSHA and LMM.

⁷ Cab Calloway (1907–1994) – one of the most important jazz singers and bandleaders during the swing era; regularly performed at the “Cotton Club” in New York. Calloway's most popular song and show feature was “Minnie the Moocher”, which he scatted together with the audience (Carr, Fairweather, Priestley 2004: 124).

The Cryptographic Trend in Latvian Music during the Early 21st Century and Its International Context

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Abstract

This article focuses on the cryptographic traits in Western avant-garde music, as well as in contemporary music in Latvia and its neighbouring countries. The contemporary cryptic trend in music differs from ancient cryptography as follows: unlike ancient cryptography, contemporary music has a double function, its code locks and unlocks the secret signs, and unlike creators of ancient crypts, contemporary composers are highly creative when inventing new code systems while avoiding, as much as possible, the traditional ones. This paper also analyses contemporary musical cryptography in relation to modernism in art in general. It points out that the cryptic tendency in music has its roots in the modernistic conception that perceives art as a veiled zone that requires an intellectual initiation in the form of knowledge and contemplation in order to be entered.

Key words: Musical Cryptography, Modernism, Avant-Garde Music, Code.

Introduction

This paper continues and extends the article that was published in “Writings of the Academy of Music” No. 9 (Gintere 2012: 42–52). The content of the previous article outlined the conclusions of a musicological dissertation developed between 2009 and 2014 on the subject of Latvian newest music and its conceptual, cryptographic and time-spatial traits (dissertation titled: “Concept Music by Latvian composers of the Youngest Generation”). The period of Latvian contemporary music researched in the framework of this dissertation is approximately ten years; the first decade of the 21st century, and considers the roots of this paradigm already apparent in the 1990’s (Gintere 2011). This paper focuses in particular on the cryptographic features¹ of Latvian new music.

Latvian contemporary music has a strong relationship to historical musical cryptography. Cryptography in music is an ancient tradition of secret writing (Gr. *kriptos* – secret, *grafein* – writing). It was used earlier in Mesopotamian, Egyptian, Indian and other ancient cultures to encode secret signs. There are historical musical crypts related to holy orders such as the Rosicrucians. Crypts can also embody names of persons or places important to the composer, and even more extensive texts such as political or personal letters. Sometimes a crypt is just a musical joke translated into sounds (Sams 2001: 755). The

most popular way to encode a sign is to identify letters with certain pitches, and thus to embody words in sounds. But, if the encoded musical message embodied secrets related to the Rosicrucian Order or the Cabala, the principles of encoding were highly confidential.

Discussion

Among the cryptographic meanings that can be found in Latvian contemporary music are concealed mathematical formulas, architectonic structures, rules of a tennis match, linguistic games, etc., encoded in the musical structures. The Latvian composers working in this field were born in the 70's and 80's of the 20th century: Armands Strazds (b. 1970), Mārtiņš Viļums (b. 1974), Ruta Paidere (b. 1977), Santa Ratniece (b. 1977), Jānis Petraškevičs (b. 1978), Kristaps Pētersons (b. 1982), Santa Bušs (b. 1981), among others. The aim of these composers was not to produce crypts as such, but to conceal important messages and signs in their music. Their work can be compared to a **depository**: the author places his idea in a deep layer of musical structure so that it demands careful, attentive listening and analysis to be perceived. This style of Latvian music creates a kind of **deep investment of ideas that cannot be perceived from the music alone**, and therefore cannot be understood from the first impression because of the cryptographic substance.

There is much research indicating that “secret writing” has been a current trend in Eastern and Western European music since the 1960's. The Lithuanian musicologist *Rima Povilionienė* has comprehensively examined the cryptographic manifestations in an interdisciplinary context: she has analysed music from the second half of the 20th century in relation to mathematics, architecture and other disciplines. Analysis of the work of **Lithuanian composers** – *Šarūnas Nakas* (b. 1962) and *Vytautas Jurgutis* (b. 1976) indicates that this tendency is also current in Lithuania, Latvia's neighbour (Povilionienė 2006: 285–289; Povilionienė 2008: 77; Povilionienė 2011)².

Latvian concept music also has connections to **Russian cryptophony**, according to Russian musicologists Galina Grigoryeva and Irina Snitkova (*Григорьева* 2007: 29–32; *Сниткова* 1999: 98–99). Russian cryptophony appeared slightly earlier (the 1980's) in comparison to Latvian concept music and has continued into the 21st century.

One of the key terms used in this research of cryptography in Latvian music, is **code**, a term used to describe the inner architecture of enciphered sign. Code is a semiotic term signifying a type of sign that works under certain circumstances only, namely, it works if its reader/listener is familiar with the semiotic convention that determines its particular meaning (*Francès* 1988: 318; *Monelle* 2000: 17). In a musical context, code can be written, for instance, as a melodic line that embodies the visual form the author intended to represent, but it is unlikely that the listener would be able to recognize this form if she is not cognizant of the code. The entire structure of a work can also be coded, for example, if it is related to a realm quite distant to music, such as a game. This kind of music is often **related to other semiotic systems** – mathematics, architectural principles, linguistics, games, religious symbols, even to modern physics, i.e., theories of chaos, probability or fractals (see *Fractals* 1999) by *Vytautas Jurgutis*.

One of the interesting examples of mathematical encoding in music is *Ziqquratu* (1998) by the Lithuanian composer *Šarūnas Nakas* which is based on the idea of the so-called magic square of numbers. It has numbers written in lines where the sum of the numbers in all directions is the same. *Nakas* has built the musical structure of his piece following this principle (Povilionienė 2006: 285–289).

Probably the most famous code in music is the **sign of a cross** that is made figuratively as two lines crossing each other. The lines can be embodied as melodic movements going upwards and downwards and crossing at some point – like the well-known B-A-C-H motive (Boyd 2001). The cross can also be enciphered in registers like Karlheinz Stockhausen did in his *Kreuzspiel* (Crossplay 1951). In the beginning of the piece the upper register moves downwards and the lowest – upwards, so that they cross in the middle. Stockhausen enciphered the sign of the cross in rhythmical figures, as well. It is a calculated, complex system of sound duration made on the principle of crossing (Morgan 1992: 381–385).

Code is never left on the surface of a musical message. It lies in the deep structure of the material and therefore is mostly unrecognizable without analysis. That is the reason it is related to cryptography and is not merely a musical representation. Code can be mentioned in the title of the musical work; however, the title will be semantically obscure, it gives no instructions for decoding (directions can be found in the annotation or analysis). This trait of concept music is called by musicologists a “hidden coil”³ and an “inaudible phenomenon” (Сниткова 1999: 107; Караев 2007: 236; Кюрегян 2007: 605).

Russian cryptophonists have made some very interesting musical innovations in explaining these metaphors of code. The cryptophonists who should be mentioned are Sergei Nevrayev (*Сергей Невраев* 1958), Iraida Yusupova (*Ираида Юсупова* 1962), Ivan Sokolov (*Иван Соколов* 1960), Sergei Zagniy (*Сергей Загний* 1960). There are also some composers belonging to the older generation, as well, including Sofia Gubaidulina (*София Губайдулина* 1931), Aleksandr Knaifel (*Александр Кнайфель* 1943) among others. These authors have experimented with realms distant to music, as in “Six etudes after Steinitz” (“*Шесть этюдов по Стэйницу*”, 1990) by Yusupova where some chess riddles are concealed, referring to a famous chess player Wilhelm Steinitz.

A complicated metaphysical concept is used in Gubaidulina’s “Music for Flute, Strings and Percussion” (“*Музыка для флейты, струнных и ударных*”, 1994) which is based on a religious metaphor of a contiguity of light and darkness. The string orchestra is divided in two parts, one of them, representing darkness, is tuned a quarter tone lower. The idea is realized in a harmonic plane, as well: light and darkness are represented by certain chords, and the third chord mediates between those two. The harmonic structure of the third chord is composed of the pitches of light and darkness. As Gubaidulina puts it, the work represents the original meaning of religion in Latin “to link anew”, “to reconnect” (Холопова 2008: 313).

The cryptographic approach to concepts in music is also characteristic of **Western European avant-garde music since the 1950’s**. As well as the aforementioned *Crossplay* by Stockhausen there are many other examples of discrete signs concealed in musical structures.

Iannis Xenakis (1922–2001), G. Grisy (b. 1946) and their contemporaries have often placed crypts in their works. To be sure, their strategy was not purposely cryptographic. Their music belongs to a tradition of **modernism** that is difficult in regard to the content of art. It has an obvious tendency to put ideas in a way that is only accessible to an intellectually trained and well informed audience (Lippard 1973; *Mèredieu* 1994, etc.).

One of the first representatives of this tradition in general was “The Black Square” (“*Чёрный квадрат на белом фоне*”, 1915) by Kasimir Malevich. It takes a very demanding attitude towards the art viewer: the painting says that the black square is actually not what you see, but a divine image that one cannot see. In other words, it invites us to regard this painting as an icon that has no visual image. The painting denies its very appearance and asks us to think about it in an awkward way (Малевиц 1998: 36–37).

“The Black Square” shows the kind of approach that is typical of the aforementioned composers. They create, one might say, uncomfortable ideas. Avant-garde music is no longer romantic, that is, emotionally charged, or freely associative, but instead it is cognitive to a great extent. The listener needs to think rationally to understand the works. Pieces that belong to this paradigm have rigorous ideas like those found in “Rebounds” (Rebonds 1988) for percussion by Xenakis.

“Rebounds” is modelled after the **Fibonacci sequence** or the “golden section” principle. Xenakis has subjected the number of sounds used in this piece to mathematical calculations of the “golden section”. This idea determines the structure of the piece. The Fibonacci sequence is cryptographically hidden in the music – it is secretly written because one cannot hear it without using an analytic approach. The Fibonacci sequence is likewise often used in many works by Gubaidulina, for instance, “In the Beginning there was Rhythm” (“*В начале был ритм*”, 1984) for 7 percussionists.

Grisey’s “Parts” (Partiels 1975), from the cycle “*Les espaces acoustiques*” (“Acoustic Spaces”) for 18 musicians, is one of the first examples of spectralism. Grisey chose a basic sound and composed the whole cycle of “Acoustic Spaces” on a **spectral sequence** of sounds at this basic pitch. “Parts” signify the 21 “parts” (fr. *partiels*) of the spectral sequence, that is to say, the 21 sounds belonging to the set of sounds considered as basis of the cycle (Соколов 2007: 555). So the word “parts”, signifying the composition technique, is at the same time a type of secret musical semiosis inaccessible to a listener without a score or specific knowledge and trained ear. One might say therefore that it embodies a cryptographic sign system because the listener cannot perceive the “parts” unless he breaks the code of spectralism.

These kind of rational ideas, incorporated in musical structures, are typical of modernism, and, as mentioned before, they were not made as crypts on purpose. Yet they function very much like traditional music cryptography by offering a sign or a sign system accessible to an ear only under certain semiotic conditions. This type of crypt is also found in **Latvian music** in recent years. It is likewise serious and complicated, and demanding of the listener, following the spirit of modernism. As well it has cryptographic traits because the ideas

are hidden in the scores so that a listener would not comprehend them unless he knows the code that governs the piece.

Latvian composer Mārtiņš Viļums has created a wonderful cryptographic concept based on an ancient Persian legend. His “**Simurg**” (2005) tells about birds travelling to a sacred hill to search for their god, Simurg. When they finally reach the hill, there are only 30 birds left, and they realize that the god is in themselves, or that 30 birds are equal to Simurg. M. Viļums created his work as a musical metaphor of this equality: each of the phases in his “**Simurg**” has one chord, consisting of around 30 pitches. For example, the first phase of the work is created as a symmetric chord⁴ from the central sound, c sharp. The chord extends upwards and downwards from c sharp like the wings of a bird spread out (Example 1) (Viļums 2009i; Viļums 2010i⁵).

The image displays a page of a musical score for the piece "Simurg" by Mārtiņš Viļums. The score is arranged in a system of ten staves, each representing a different instrument: Flute (Fl.), Oboe (Ob.), Bass Clarinet (B. Cl.), Harp (Hrp.), Clarinet (Clar.), Mandolin (Mand.), Violin (Vin.), Viola (Vla.), Violoncello (Vc.), and Contrabass (Cb.). The notation includes various musical symbols such as notes, rests, and dynamic markings (e.g., *p*, *mf*, *mp-ppp - (dim.)*). There are several handwritten annotations in blue ink: "16-20t" in the Harp staff, "si self" in the Clarinet staff, and "124" in the Bass Clarinet staff. A diagrammatic notation is present in the lower right, showing a horizontal line with "SP" and "ST" labels and arrows indicating a transition or relationship between them. The score is set in a key signature of one sharp (F#) and a 3/4 time signature.

Example 1. Mārtiņš Viļums “**Simurg**” (excerpt) (Viļums 2009s⁶: 11).

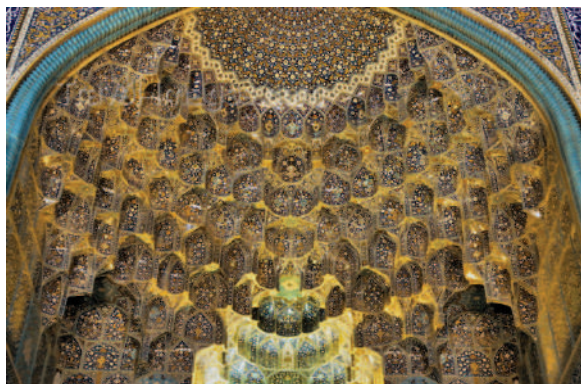
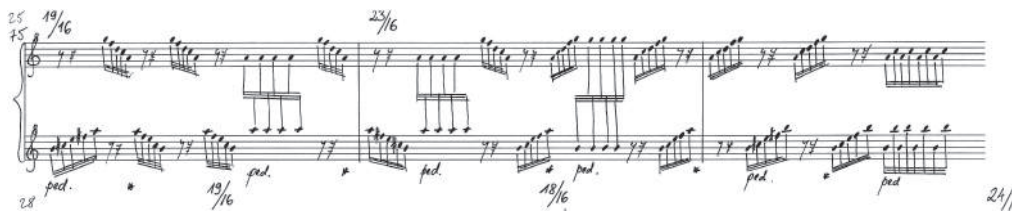


Figure 1. Muqarna Construction (Ratniece 2005).

“Muqarnas” (1999) for piano by the Latvian composer Santa Ratniece is another example of a cryptic composition. Its structure is dictated by a complex sign that is concealed in the deep layers of texture. The main inspiration of the work is an image of muqarna, the Islamic architectural element that is used as an ornament on arches, domes and other places in sacred buildings. Muqarna has a three-dimensional construction: alongside the two symmetric sides of the ornament there is a partition in the middle that is located deeper than the other two (Figure 1).

Musically the two opposite sides of muqarna are represented by rapid figures in opposite directions (Example 2). The third dimension or depth of muqarna is represented by a repetitive motive (a^1 , a^2 in the first bar, etc., marked with *ped.*). This semiotic complex functions as a musical cryptogram that cannot be recognized without analysis. Muqarna is translated into a specific musical image that cannot be “read” openly, but only if its’ meaning is revealed by an author and becomes familiar to the listener (Ratniece 2011i).



Example 2. Santa Ratniece. “Muqarnas” (excerpt) (Ratniece 2005).

The tendency to use contemporary cryptography in composition is also embodied in many other Latvian composers’ works that do not fit into the traditional programmatic trend (Краужлис 1999; Scruton 2005) because their musical concepts cannot be directly recognized. Others works deserving of mention as part of the cryptic trend are “*Mezzogiorno*” (Noon 2005) by Jānis Petraškevičs which describes the play of light and shadows around noontime, and is arranged as a complex coordination of the musical signs of light and dark, worked into the deep texture of this piece, representing the sun’s effects at midday (Petraškevičs 2005). “*Ad(vanta)GE oN ClaY*” (2009) by Santa Bušs is a representation of a tennis game and its specific rules, transferred into musical form (Bušs 2010i). The very title of this piece speaks about an enciphered meaning. In “Black nightshade” (2009) by Ruta Paidere there is an herb named black nightshade encoded in the musical material. The musical signs are made to reflect its qualities and use in medieval sorcery (Paidere

2010s: 3). “*Alvéoles*” (Combs 2005) by Santa Ratniece has a code of honeycombs in its technical construction (Ratniece 2005).

Conclusions

Cryptographic traits are characteristic of **Eastern, Western European and Russian music** written during the second half of the 20th century and the first decade of the 21st century. Latvians, as well as the rest of the composers mentioned in this article, use **figurative images worked technically** into the material of music, and some **sign systems that are very distinct from music**, like chess and mathematics. These authors transfer signs into music in a **concealed way without an intention to provoke direct associations** as programmatic music did. The parallelism and kinship of those musical streams lead to the conclusion that the new Latvian paradigm is one of the **current trends of contemporary music**, and the above mentioned composition principles are actively used in the music of the recent past.

This tendency affirms the spirit of **modernism** still alive in Latvian music that invites us to become a part of a complex, dynamic musical genre. Each time when listening to a musical work the listener has to become anointed or baptized under the specific conditions of the piece. This music does not let one indoors unless he is familiar with its semiotic code, as if the piece had a door locked to uninitiated persons, and as if modern music – and modern art in general – was a space, veiled and dissociated making it a special zone of intellectual and spiritual thought. This perception of art has been in existence from about 1915, at first in visual art in works like that of Malevich as well as Kandinsky, Picasso, Magritte and Duchamp among other modernists.

The contemporary cryptic tendency in music can be compared to creating a locked room, but at the same time it contains a code that opens up for the listener, if he knows how to use it. Cryptic composers **avoid the use of musical signs openly** (unlike in programmatic music), but at the same time they **pass the keys to the listener willingly**. In other words, the musical signs demand a careful decoding, but their keys are accessible to everyone who is interested. The codes, one might say, have a **double function**: to lock and to open. This **polar aspect** of modern musical cryptography **marks its contemporary identity by differentiating its cryptic systems from traditional cryptography** which was never meant to be accessible to everyone.

The tendency to conceal the idea in contemporary music is related to cryptography, but it differs from the latter as well because modern composers are extremely **creative regarding the invention of new codes**. They usually avoid well-known code systems. Even if they use a universal one by equating letters and sounds, they do not hold on to the traditional principle where pitch *a* is equal to the letter *a*, but invent a new system. For instance, when Stockhausen encoded the sign of a cross in his “Crossplay”, he invented an original semiotic system based on the idea of a cross instead of using the traditional motive B-A-C-H that has represented the cross in music history for centuries. Each crypt claims to be **an original thought using an original way of encoding**. Decoding here is always a new

experience that has no precedent. That is why this music is highly difficult and sometimes even impossible to comprehend in concert, but is better suited for research. Because of its concealed character, the contemporary cryptic tendency in music needs to be followed by a theoretical explanation. It is therefore a fruitful subject for contemporary research.

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² Unlike Lithuania, there are unfortunately no positive research results at present that would suggest this kind of musical trend in Estonia, the third member of the Baltic States.

³ Hidden coil – Rus. *скрытая пружина*.

⁴ A symmetric chord is made by placing a chain of intervals symmetrically on both sides – upwards and downwards – of the central sound, c sharp.

⁵ The sources marked with “i” are interviews. They are indicated at the end of the bibliography.

⁶ The sources marked with “s” are scores, see bibliography.

CHOREOGRAPHY

Trends of Modernism in the Repertoire of the LNO Ballet Company in the 20s–30s of the 20th Century

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Abstract

The research study is dedicated to the productions of the Latvian National Opera (LNO) ballet company in the 20s–30s of the 20th century where modern art trends of the time were most pronounced. Stage productions of Mikhail Fokin (*Михаил Фокин*) and Leonid Massin (*Леонид Массин*), the most innovative choreographers of the period, appeared already in the 20s alongside with the major classical ballet productions. In the 20s–30s the *new* or *modern* dance and innovations of dance influenced the choice of the ballet repertoire as well. The study focuses on two modernistic ballet productions – Richard Strauss’s “The Legend of Joseph” (*“Josephslegende”*) staged by director Max Zemler (1929) and Sergei Prokofiev’s (*Сергей Прокофьев*) ballet “Rebus” (*“Le Pas d’acier”*) in the interpretation of Anatole Vilzak (*Анатолий Вильзак*) (1933).

Key words: *Ballet, Modernism, The Latvian National Opera, 20s–30s of the 20th Century.*

Introduction

The aim of the article is to reflect the novelty of the ballet repertoire of the 20s–30s of the 20th century, which, despite the explicit direction followed by the new ballet companies in preserving the heritage of the classical ballet, revealed leanings towards modernism.

December 1, 1922 is considered to be the birthday of the Latvian ballet when the first ballet production was staged at the LNO – the ballet of Peter Ludwig Hertel “*La fille mal gardée*” staged by the Russian ballet master Nikolai Sergeyev (*Николай Сергеев*). Although the professional ballet company led by Voldemārs Komisārs had already existed since 1919, the first ballet production appeared only after three years of activity, until then ballet dancers appeared only in opera performances. The Latvian ballet was formed and developed under the influence of the Russian classic ballet school, the future artistic director and principal ballet master Aleksandra Fyodorova (*Александра Федорова*) who worked in the Latvian National Opera from 1925 till 1932, also represented the Russian classical

ballet school, the St. Petersburg (*Санкт-Петербург*) school, characterized by strong adherence to academic ballet traditions and a well-established methodology for teaching the classical ballet.

The ballet historian Ija Bite writes that A. Fyodorova becomes a “ballet choreographer, teacher, tutor, prima ballerina, authority, example and idol” for the Rīga ballet (Bite 2002: 45). Her knowledge, skills and artistic views influence the subsequent professional and artistic development of the Latvian ballet. The period of great classical ballet productions at the LNO begins with Alexandra Fyodorova. The artistic director of the ballet company consistently chooses the classical repertoire, productions that constitute the classical ballet legacy (Bite 2002: 45–46), as well as the well-known choreographies by Mikhail Fokin.

Collaboration of the Latvian ballet with Mikhail Fokin

Already during the first years the Latvian ballet developed close cooperation with Mikhail Fokin. Fokin is recognized to be the reformer of the ballet of the early 20th century¹. Although he is and stays loyal to the basic principles of the classical ballet, his creative work reveals a search for new forms and aesthetics, and Fokin’s productions brought the first trends of modernism in the Latvian ballet. During the 20s–30s nine ballets with Mikhail Fokin’s choreography were staged by the Latvian ballet:

- “*Les Sylphides*” (“*Chopeniana*”) / F. Chopin / M. Fokin / A. Fyodorova (1925, 1929);
- “*Polovetsian Dances*” from the opera “*Prince Igor*” / A. Borodin / M. Fokin (1929);
- “*Aragon Hota*” (“*Jota Aragonese*”) / M. Glinka / M. Fokin / A. Fyodorova (1930);
- “*Firebird*” / I. Stravinsky / M. Fokin / A. Fyodorova (1930);
- “*Le Pavillon d’Armide*” / N. Tcherepnin / M. Fokin / A. Fyodorova (1930);
- “*Carnaval*” / R. Schumann / M. Fokin / A. Fyodorova (1931);
- “*Carnaval*” / R. Schumann / M. Fokin / A. Vilzak (1932);
- “*Eros*” / P. Tchaikovsky / M. Fokin / A. Vilzak (1932);
- “*Petrushka*” / I. Stravinsky / M. Fokin / A. Vilzak (1933);
- “*Le Spectre de la Rose*” / K. M. Weber / M. Fokin / A. Ozoliņš (1939).

The Russian ballet historian Vera Krasovskaya (*Вера Красовская*) has analysed productions by Fokin and she points out that Isadora Duncan’s free plastic elements can be perceived in his productions (Красовская 1978: 212–213); this trend has been described also by other dance historians (Grosbergs 1927; Bite 2002: 50). Mikhail Fokin had seen Duncan’s performance in St. Petersburg in 1904 and at the time the expressivity of Duncan’s solo dances unleashed his own creativity.

The great Russian choreographer visited Latvia several times, for the first time in 1915; in 1925 he performed in his ballet “*Les Sylphides*” (“*Chopeniana*”) partnering with Aleksandra Fyodorova, but in 1929 Fokin arrived to Rīga to stage “*Polovetsian Dances*” from Aleksandr Borodin’s (*Александр Бородин*) opera “*Prince Igor*” and “*Les Sylphides*”

(the premiere on February 7, 1929). Mikhail Fokine's reviews on the Latvian ballet are very complementary, they also characterize the main creative trends of the ballet company and show orientation of the development of dance in the global context – a move away from the classical ballet in favour of the modern dance, which at the time (the 20s of the 20th century) had already begun to acquire a stable place in the cultural processes: “Having visited almost all the European and American countries, I noticed the decline of the classical ballet everywhere. Riga is an exception. [...] I got to know the Latvian National Opera Ballet as a spectator and as a choreographer in my ballet rehearsals and became convinced that it was a first-class, well-trained company. In particular, I was struck by the unusual love with which the dancers perform their parts” (Bite 2002: 49).

At the beginning of the 20th century, due to cooperation of Mikhail Fokin and Sergei Diaghilev (*Сергей Дягилев*) the ballet genre experienced significant reforms and was ready for further development and creative quest. The ballet historian Ija Bite writes: “Fokine gives spirit to the dance and seeks the highest categories of human expression in it. Already at the beginning of the century, it is clear that the ballet is able to survive only through development and that it has unlimited potential for a variety of genres and forms. However, there is an important acknowledgement that only the classical ballet provides a complete school of technique and is able to absorb any new dance expression, protecting choreographic art from dilettantism” (Bite 2002: 50).

This quote also shows the belief which prevails among dance professionals – the classical ballet training and skills make it possible to work in any dance genre, and at the end of the 20s Latvian ballet artists get an opportunity to prove their abilities in the modern dance production. It should be noted that in the 20s, various forms of *new* or *modern* dance (*plastic, rhythmoplastic, art dance*)² experience immense popularity in Latvia and new dance schools emerge one after another offering training in modern dance³. Numerous famous and distinguished representatives of European modern dance visit Rīga with guest performances⁴, thus there are grounds to conclude that at the end of the 20s the audience in Latvia is already well-acquainted with the basic guidelines of the new dance genre.

“The Legend of Joseph”

In 1929 the ballet company of the Latvian National Opera revealed itself for the first time as an interpreter of the modern dance. On September 10 Richard Strauss's ballet “The Legend of Joseph”⁵ was shown as the first premiere of the season; the show was staged by the Swiss director Max Zemler in two weeks. The management of the LNO decided to stage the production without the consent of the artistic director of the ballet Alexandra Fyodorova, and although the choreographer objected, her objections were ignored. The decision on the production was taken in a hurry as the planned production of Gioachino Rossini's opera “*Il Barbiere di Siviglia*” had to be cancelled (Pirmā novitāte Nacionālā operā 1929: 17).

The interest of the audience was high, the premiere was well-attended, and it was attended also by the President of the country Gustavs Zemgals and other government officials:

“After the show guests and principal performers were given a standing ovation” (Pirmā novitāte Nacionālā operā 1929: 17).

The genre of the Rīga production is defined as a *symphonic pantomime* (in the LNO playbill) or a *symphonic dance pantomime* (in the theatre weekly playbill); apparently anticipating that it would be wrong to call it a *ballet*. The dance critic Elza Siliņa tries to find an explanation for the term used to define the genre, perceiving pantomimic gestures and expression also in the modern dance and indicating that the new production is close to the style of the modern dance: “This year the National Opera presented a pantomime as the first new production. New initiatives to this ancient form of art are brought by the modern plastic dance, beginning already with Duncan’s performances. In almost all directions of the plastic dance we perceive some moments of pantomime” (Siliņa 1929: 71).

As one might expect, the production of Richard Strauss’s ballet had awakened a lively interest in the general public, heated discussions and arguments: “the most ardent protectors and adorers of the Classical ballet traditions, who see only dance surrogate in the plastic ballet, undoubtedly, sneered the day before about all the stretching and jumping barefoot, staged by Max Zemler for the audience of Rīga. However, those who love plastic dance felt proud and honoured, but the neutral spectator, as the author of the present review should also be, still watched “The Legend of Joseph” with certain interest” (Cīrulis 1929a: 8).

Many reviewers have written about the commitment of the show to the principles of modern dance, and R. Strauss’s musical language and form are of considerable significance in the choice of the artistic form of the production: “the content is very lively and cleverly illustrated by the music of R. Strauss, while charming with bright vivid orchestration and dramatic expression. This music, where we do not meet conventional dance form and which seems to suit quite well the choreographic expression based upon M. Wigman’s and Laban’s plastic dance principles, created by Max Zemler”. The author of the review states that it is nothing new for the Rīga audience, as the same paths have been taken by our own Beatrise Vignere and Anna Ašmane in their own productions (Cīrulis 1929a: 8).

However, Zemler’s work shows the director’s lively fantasy; a lot of interestingly built plastic situations can be noted in the movement score. It is an unusual task but not impossible for the Latvian ballet, as the experience of the classical ballet gives dancers freedom of technical abilities and it is quite easy for them to adapt to another, lower-quality dance genre, as it did happen this time (Cīrulis 1929a).

It is clear that advocates of the classical ballet considered the modern dance to be art of a lower category that does not require excellent technical education, and thus it is believed that dilettantism largely prevails there. However, the author of the review recommends attending the show to be up to date on the latest trends in dance that have already gained popularity in Europe, in particular Germany, although he adds at the end: “although we do not see good art there” (Cīrulis 1929a: 8).

For Jēkabs Poruks “The Legend of Joseph” seems to be “musical cinema of doubtful quality, without prospects, without relief” (Poruks 1929: 5). A comparison of the modern dance performance (which “The Legend of Joseph” definitely is) with the cinema seems interesting, as in its infancy the cinema was not perceived as an artistic genre or was perceived as a lower level art (Pērkone 2008: 21–24). Probably the mood of expression of the performance reminds the author of stylistics found in silent films, where dramatic and expressive gestures, impressive attitudes dominate and where feelings and emotions are transformed into bodily manifestations the same way as in dance performances. Jēkabs Poruks adds that “it is unfair to search for only what we would like to see in a piece, and then blame it for the shortcomings” (Poruks 1929: 5). It is wrong to look for classical ballet *pas* and *pirouettes*, *pas de deux* dance forms in a show which is designed with the means of expression characteristic for modern dance (Poruks 1929).

After the premiere of “The Legend of Joseph” the audience and critics split into two camps: advocates and deniers of the new plastic dance, and the debate was no longer about the production, but about the confrontation between the two dance genres: “For the first time in our Opera modern plastic dance officially appears with residual infusion of Diaghilev’s ballet style (portraying of Joseph’s role). I do not feel competent enough to enter the fight for or against the trend that has as great numbers of adherents and opponents. Those who judge the dance style with classical ballet moderation are not quite right. Mass movement has a wide expression in it, if it is based on a technical discipline, as it was allowed by an unprepared ensemble and the short timeframe; Zemler has shown a certain willingness and skill” (Poruks 1929: 5).

At the premiere of “The Legend of Joseph” main parts were performed by guest artists – Ami Schvaninger as Potiphar’s wife (the soloist of the Berlin State Opera) and Iril Gadeskov as Joseph (the soloist of the New York Metropolitan Opera). Both artists had already performed their parts in the earlier production by Max Zemler in Germany (Berlin, 1929). The basis of the success of Ami Schvaninger is the part of Potiphar’s wife role in the Richard Strauss’s ballet, which the composer himself considered to be the best interpretation of the part (Ko šīnī sezonā sniegs Nacionālā opera 1929: 20). Some reviewers object Ami Schvaninger’s excessive, exaggerated expressiveness (Poruks 1929), however, the dance critic Elza Siliņa finds both – strengths and weaknesses – in the artist’s interpretation: “The school of Mary Wigman and Laban is felt throughout Ami Schvaninger’s rhythmic design of movement. At times the dancer’s means of expres-



Figure 1. Erna Garūte-Reinvalde as Potiphar’s wife in R. Strauss’s ballet “The Legend of Joseph” (1929). The RMM materials, inv. No. 228 089 (08) (The author unknown).

sion are too monotonous, broken gestures often disharmonize with the rest of the group formations. Yet considerable temperament is felt in Ami Schvaninger's portrayal" (Siliņa 1929: 71) (Figure 1).

The dance of the other guest artist, the performer of Joseph role Iril Gadeskov is noted as light, noble, consistent with his character. Although it does not portray anything particularly new, nothing too modern, neither does it offend anywhere the sense of beauty (J 1929: 3). Elza Siliņa is more critical, she has been left with the impression that "the artist has not understood his part profoundly enough" (Siliņa 1929: 71).

Words of appreciation are devoted to Latvian ballet dancers – Helēna Tangijeva-Birzniece, Melānija Lence and the rest of the ballet company. An interesting fact that was mentioned was that Potiphar's role was performed by the singer Jānis Kārklīšs, and the boxers' parts were performed by real boxers of the Latvian Sports Association (Poruks 1929).

After the visiting artists had left, the main parts were entrusted to the local soloists – Sira Jirgense, Osvalds Lēmanis, Eižens Leščevskis and Erna Garūte-Reinvalde, a student from the school of Anna Ašmane, who were equally impressive in their parts (Cīrulis 1929b). Later (October, November) another guest joined the list of performers of the show, it was the colourful and extravagant dancer Elizabeth Nikolsky (the ballet soloist of the Prague State Opera).

Latvian ballet artists duly proved that the classical ballet tradition at the basis of their education had not suppressed their ability to be modern, to move plastically and "ad libitum". On the contrary, features embezzled from the classical ballet also bring its flying grace, clarity and richness of motion to the bodily plastic of the Legend" (Cīrulis 1929b: 88).

The views of the audience and critics are drastically different concerning the need for modern dance or contemporary ballet productions on the LNO stage. Is this pantomime the sturdiest introduction to the plastic dance? The question is asked by Jēkabs Poruks "as there will be persons who would judge the interpretation of "The Legend of Joseph" (but not the plastic dance as such) to be obscene, unworthy of the National Opera" (Poruks 1929: 5). There are reviewers who note that "this unseen experiment with expressive, modern plastic on the musical background [...] has been a success" (Gruzna 1929: 68), while some viewers believe that "our ballet is on a slippery slope [...] two dance trends have collided: the well-kept garden of our strict classical ballet was sought by rough wind of the expressionistic, plastic dance. [...] Maybe the short preparation time is to blame for failures of the show?" (J.V. 1929: 5).

Musician and composer Lūcija Garūta acts as a modern dance advocate and publishes an article "Defence for the Rythmoplastic dance" ("*Ritmo-plastiskās dejas aizstāvēšanai*"), in which she describes her observations on the latest trends in West European scenic art and the ability and willingness of the Latvian ballet to follow the modern artistic trends: "To liberate the human body, to let every feeling emerge in expressive movements – the call has resounded long ago in Western Europe. It has been proclaimed by the rythmoplastic schools, finding lively support among composers. Thus, a new art form has emerged

aiming to create a perfect combination of sound and movement. However, in the beginning this new art did not find response everywhere, and even now it has many opponents. Yet this art as a powerful new wave, has already stormed all the major scenes” (Garūta 1929: 5). The diverse dance art genres complement each other and each has its own word to say and the author is certain that there is not hatred, but friendly association that now links the otherwise graded ballet and rhythmoplastic, and concludes with a wish to the Latvian ballet: “This first attempt has been a success. The audience welcomed the performance very warmly. Now continue boldly! Let the classical ballet, character dance and rhythmoplastic dance merge and complement one another here, too. Let a perfect harmony between the movements and sounds create the dance of the future” (Garūta 1929: 5).

The wish expressed by Lūcija Garūta did not come true, the Latvian ballet has stayed loyal to the classical ballet repertoire; however, there is a production at the beginning of the 30s that should be highlighted among others. It is the production of Sergei Prokofiev’s ballet “Rebus” in 1933.

“Rebus”

During the season of 1932/1933 Anatole Vilzak became the artistic director of the LNO ballet company, he was a former member of Diaghilev’s Ballets Russes and in the recent years he had worked in Western Europe and was familiar with the novelties of dance art. The previous head of the ballet company Aleksandra Fyodorova was accused of excessive adherence to the classical ballet tradition, thus there was an expectation that with the arrival of Anatole Vilzak there would be more modern productions at the LNO (Zālis 1932).

Anatole Vilzak’s debut as a choreographer at the LNO was the premiere of three one-act ballets on November 21, 1932. It generated considerable interest, performances were sold out, yet it still lacked the expected innovations. The next ballet evening, premiered on April 27, 1933 was much more significant. The programme included Igor Stravinsky’s (*Игорь Стравинский*) ballet “*Petrushka*” Giovanni Battista Pergolesi – Igor Stravinsky’s ballet “*Pulcinella*” and Sergei Prokofiev’s ballet “Rebus”⁶ (known as “*Стальной скок*” or “*Le Pas d’acier*”). Vilzak’s choreographic experience is not so extensive to astonish the audience with some crucial innovations, however, his willingness to create modern productions is worth noting, he “tries to use the classic technique for creating new forms and contemporary plots in his productions. He is not a radical revolutionary, not even a brave reformer, but neither is he stuck in the routine” (Graubiņš 1933: 93).

The reviewer Voldemārs Puķe draws attention to the fact that the interest of audience is caused, firstly, by musical scores of the productions – two ballets of the modern Russian composer Igor Stravinsky and Sergei Prokofiev’s contemporary music for the ballet “Rebus”. The choreographer’s choice “has provoked a lively exchange of views among Riga ballet lovers, firstly, because of composers’ very specific and strictly contemporary rhythm-based music scores. Of course, those who love melody and romance will not be charmed by this kind of music with lots of pure metallic sharpness (Rebus)” (Puķe 1933a: 3).

Kārlis Martinovskis also notes that Anatole Vilzak is “not afraid of modern authors and search of new paths” in his choice of ballets and appreciates the quality of music for the new productions (Martinovskis 1933: 4).

The production of Sergei Prokofiev’s ballet “Rebus” should be highlighted among the above new productions as particularly significant for the repertoire of the LNO ballet, the performance in which all the components making up the show – music, choreography, script, stage design, costumes – are innovative and modern.

According to the reviewer Martinovskis, “as for the choreographic productions, it is incomprehensible, why Vilzak did not keep to the earlier versions staged in Paris, because as we know, there they gained great success” (Martinovskis 1933: 4), thus clearly suggesting that the choreography of Anatole Vilzak was presented to the Latvian audience. There is a reasonable doubt concerning choreography copyright of the Rīga production. Did Anatole Vilzak create an entirely new choreographic composition, or did he use the choreography by Leonid Massin (*Леонид Мясин*) which he had danced and knew well? Perhaps it is no longer possible to find the true answer; however, a more probable answer is that at least part of Massin’s choreography was retained in the production. The ballet historian Ija Bite in her book “Latvian Ballet” (*“Latvijas balets”*) mentions new ballet productions and lists choreographers/directors of these productions; L. Massin/A. Vilzak for the ballets “*Pulcinella*” and “*Rebus*”, M. Fokin/A. Vilzak for the ballet “*Petrushka*” (Bite 2002: 591).



Figure 2. Edīte Pfeifere and Osvalds Lēmanis in S. Prokofiev’s ballet “*Rebus*” (1933). The Latvian National Opera archive (The author unknown).

Thus, according to Ija Bite, Anatole Vilzak is only the director of the ballet. When writing about the new productions in 1933, the ballet historian concludes that viewers have been introduced to choreography of Mikhail Fokin and Leonid Massin: “The Rīga audience has grown already quite accustomed to choreography by M. Fokin, while L. Massin’s modernism is surprising. New musical rhythms and influence of jazz, modern movements and step combinations, especially constructivism of *Rebus*, did not delight the viewers. However, dancers work with great enthusiasm and have invested a lot of effort during the staging process” (Bite 2002: 85–86) (Figure 2).

Reviews of contemporaries on the ballet vary, however, in many publications of the time there is a genuine interest, words of appreciation and sincere joy that contemporary productions appear in the ballet repertoire. Voldemārs Puķe notes that ““*Rebus*” is, on the whole, an interesting, contemporary ballet performance based on new art findings” (Puķe 1933a: 3). The choreographic interpretation of the ballet is very well characterized by the description provided by

Ija Bite: ““Rebus” is a single steely resilient rhythm of a giant machine, where dancers are screws and pallets. Each has its own function – rollers, drums, chains, cranks are running by pre-programmed arrangement, on someone’s will or by some law” (Bite 2002: 87).

V. Puķe writes that the “overly trendy Rebus sings an anthem to the steel construction of the modern world, the omnipotence of machinery and continuous movement” (Puķe 1933a: 3). Graubiņš sees how: “bodies move like chains, curl in balls, and spin in vortices – in a fantastic stage design. There are lots of beautiful situations and diversity in group movement. The fantastic production is well supported by the original stage design by Liberts” (Graubiņš 1933: 93). Volkangs Dārziņš states that the last ballet productions “have shown a new direction for our choreographic art”, and that those are the best recent productions of Latvian ballet (Dārziņš 1933: 21).

The ballet has no clear plot line, however, the choreographic interpretation and the movement vocabulary of the production make the viewers follow, think and develop their own concept: “Choreographer Vilzak provides fantastic probabilities of free flying choreographic ideas in the production; the viewer has to guess their meaning like in a rebus. Dynamics of mechanical work movements are wittily impersonated here where man as a machine is subjected to a general rule of rhythm. However, in such a steely intense and ascetic insensitivity any expression of the individual sour is lost; man himself is lost” (Siliņa 1933: 102–103).

Reviews of dance critics and their descriptions of the show draw a futuristic scene in imagination, ruled by machinery and equipment, incessant movement, where shapes and actions are calculated in mind, where is no place for emotion and individuality, the dancer becomes a dehumanized object and performs precisely set movement phrases and forms group structures. Choreographic language of the performance corresponds to the nature and rhythms of Prokofiev’s music. As it is known, the ballet “*Le Pas d’acier*” was composed by the composer in 1924 responding to Sergei Diaghilev’s initiative, and it expresses his enthusiasm for the industrialization of Soviet Russia (Dambis 2003: 33).

Not all critics and reviewers have found the new ballet productions of high artistic quality and sustainable, particularly negative critical reviews can be found in the press columns about Prokofiev’s ballet “Rebus”. Somebody is of the opinion that “several ballet parts resemble a plain exercise and muscular workout rather than a dance” (Martinovskis 1933: 4). Quite intolerant comments can also be found in the press columns: “Angry people are held up on the stairs and stage, stretch and show their muscles holding fists clenched in hostility, sometimes show gestures like shooting arrows from a primeval bow” (Brēms 1933: 4).

Fine details, powerful descriptions as well as emotional experiences (or lack of experiences) can be found also among the negative comments, which helps to better understand the nature of the production, its overall visual image, because we can judge about the ballet, which we cannot longer see only from the comments of contemporaries’ views and some scarce photos that still remain, but we cannot see and appreciate the movement and choreographic composition.

Note should be made of the set design and costumes for all three ballet productions that were designed by outstanding Latvian artists: Ludolfs Liberts (“Rebus”), Romāns Suta (“*Pulcinella*”) and Niklāvs Strunke (“*Petrushka*”). Voldemārs Puķe has devoted a separate article to visual presentation of the shows noting its high artistic level. The stage design and costumes created by Ludolfs Liberts for “Rebus” have been especially emphasized among other new productions: “This time, however, the most complete artistic impression was gained from the decorative trendy outfit of Ludolfs Liberts “Rebus”. [...] He is very frugal in the decorative means of “Rebus”, even stingy, but this time it largely contributed to arise the basic structure of scenery, and that is – a giant machine against the black background even leaves a mystically scary impression. The metallic glow emitted from decorations and bizarrely styled costumes, stay in close contact with the musical illustration of “Rebus”. [...] A monumental work, which confirms the undeniable Liberts’ ability to feel the world of music and the richness of his imagination” (Puķe 1933b: 6). Costumes designed by Liberts are made of tin, celluloid, cellophane, gelatine, cardboard and oilcloth (Bite 2002: 87).

Information found in press publications show that all the components of a production – music, choreography and artistic design – are stylistically unified, complementary, modern, and reflect the latest artistic trends of the time.

Conclusions

The first modernist trends in the LNO ballet repertoire appear with the productions by Mikhail Fokin in the 20s. Although these shows have passed a certain test of time and are not original productions of the Latvian ballet, they carry a pioneering spirit of the ballet genre and a desire for seeking new means of expression in ballet in the beginning of the 20th century.

The production of Richard Strauss’s ballet “The Legend of Joseph” in 1929 was the first modern dance performance staged at the Latvian National Opera. Although it was called a pantomime, statements by contemporaries confirm that artistic principles of modern dance or *plastic dance* (as the new genre was usually called in Latvia in the 20s) can be clearly perceived in this performance. In the reviews the choreographic design has been repeatedly compared with dance forms and artistic expression of Mary Wigman and Rudolf Laban. Both these artists were already recognized representatives of the German expressionistic dance and we can conclude that “The Legend of Joseph” staged in Rīga had an expressionistic mode of expression.

The production of Sergei Prokofiev’s ballet “Rebus” in 1933 is a bright example of modernism with its futuristic idea, stage design in the manner of constructivism, contemporary music and **original** choreographic interpretation.

The ballet company of the Latvian National Opera remains faithful in its basic principles to traditions of the classical ballet, maintains heritage of the classical ballet, while the two above productions confirm the desire of the ballet company to keep up with the latest trends in art and culture and the ability to follow them.

Since 1934, when Osvalds Lēmanis became the chief ballet choreographer of the Latvian ballet, such bright modernistic productions were no longer staged, however, a new trend emerged – the first original productions of the Latvian ballet and the first ballets dedicated to national themes.

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¹ In a letter he wrote to the London *Times*, published on July 6, 1914, M. Fokin explained his widely quoted Five Principles of ballet:

1. Not to form combinations of ready-made and established dance-steps, but create in each case a new form corresponding to the subject.
2. Dancing and mimetic gesture have no meaning in a ballet unless they serve as an expression of its dramatic action.
3. New ballet admits the use of conventional gesture only where it is required by the style of ballet, dancers must be ready to use their entire bodies.
4. The expressiveness of groups and ensemble dancing is important; ballet is not a vehicle for a virtuoso soloist but an integrated conception involving everyone on stage.
5. Dance, music and décor must work together in the service of the story (Fokin 1983).

² Terms used in Latvia in the 20s–30s of the 20th century (V. V.).

³ The most popular of these schools were Beatrise Vignere's Physical and Aesthetic Education School, Anna Ašmane's Music and Rhythmic School, Anna Kere's Dance school, Felicita Ertner's Rhythmic classes at Dailes Theatre. The Mary Wigman's branch school existed in Rīga in 1924–1925 (Vidzemniece 2013: 133–142).

⁴ Clotilde von Derp (1912), Gertrud Leistikow (1912), Saint M'ahesa (1912, 1913), sisters Elsa and Berta Wiesenthal (1913), Mary Wigman (1926), Rudolf Laban (1928), Sam Hior (from 1927 worked in Rīga) (Vidzemniece 2013: 133- 142).

⁵ The world premiere of the R. Strauss's ballet "The Legend of Joseph" took place on May 14, 1914 in Paris. Mikhail Fokin staged the performance for Diaghilev's Ballets Russes. The principal part of Joseph was performed by a 17 years old Leonid Massin. Hugo von Hofmannsthal and Count Harry Kessler were co-authors of the libretto, Léon Bakst and Alexandre Benois made costumes design and José-María Sert – scenic design, based on Bakst's initial conception (Годзина 1981: 302).

⁶ The world premiere of the ballet took place on June 7, 1927 in Paris, staged by Sergei Diaghilev's Ballets Russes, choreography by Leonid Massin, stage design by Gennady Jakulov (Филонов 1981: 489).

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