The question of 20th century modernism in the history of Latvian academic genres music is still topical. The prevailing opinion in musicological research (literature) is that representation of modernism in the history of Latvian music has been fragmentary. In various decades of the 20th century (the first and second half of the century), Latvian composers have rarely turned to the most radical expression of modernism, the avant-garde. Much more often possible identified stylistically moderate manifestations of modernism. However, these issues have still been little researched. This article offers a focused (panoramic) characterisation, looking at local peculiarities of adaptation and representation of modernism in Latvian music history in the 20th century.

**Keywords**: Latvian music history, 20th century, modernism, avant-garde, experience of adaptation, local peculiarities.

**Introduction**
This paper aims at characterizing the 20th century modernism adaptation and manifestation process in Latvian academic music history in the first and second half of the 20th century. The question of modernism in the history of Latvian academic music is still topical. In addition, this theme is related to the understanding of modernism in common European music history.

In academic music genres sphere, as well as in other kinds of art, modernism in Europe is characterised as a period in the first half of the 20th century, with an accented opposition to the stylistics of classical-romantic music. The characteristic innovations of the period of modernism reflect the co-existence of varied stylistic tendencies. For instance, impressionism, expressionism, the cultivation of dissonance and
new rhythmic principles, that actualized archaic folklore music of certain regions (European and Non-European nations) with modernist musical language (the so-called *primitivism*, *neobarbarism*) and, finally, avant-garde, as the most radical, uncompromising approach to the artistic manifestation of the characteristic ideas of the period of modernism [Albright 2004; Botstein 2001; Danuser 1992; Metzer 2009; Salzman 2002].

To a great degree, it is the avant-garde that became the characteristic symbol of the period of modernism, bringing forth the new, different and progressive. In academic music, it reflected a complete rupture with the tonal music foundation formed in the previous centuries in European music history. Modernism reflected an alternative to tonal (classical) musical language and expression, and brought to the fore such novelties of *New Music* (avant-garde), as dodecaphony, serial music and serialism [Griffiths 1981; Morgan 1991; Samson 2001].

Overall, 20th century modernism, particularly the aesthetic and stylistic approaches of avant-garde and their socio-political resonance, has confirmed a characteristic methodological approach. Accordingly, when writing of musical history, the most significance is given to those musical works, which are convincingly able to manifest the key innovations in the artistic ideas (aesthetics) and music stylistic (lexical) level [Dahlhaus 1983]. In that way, avant-garde has become a kind of *nucleus* of the 20th century modernism. Through research literature, over time, around this *nucleus* rotate the developed system of concepts and postulates, characterized by varied music phenomena and trend characterization with references to varied social, political and cultural context processes in the time between the two world wars and in the 1950s. At the same time, with avant-garde coming into the foreground, or, into the centre of the idea of the 20th century modernism, this created many problematic situations in the research of academic music history, in its global and local aspects [Bürger 1984; Williams 1993].

From one part, modernism as a period and the set of aesthetic ideas cannot be imagined without the presence of avant-garde and its manifestations in the creative process of music. From another, this kind of approach results in a disunity with the varied, not just central, but also peripheral (local) manifestations of the music creation process.

For instance, in the 20th century Latvian academic music history, the representation of modernism has always encountered a few problematic research questions. Up until now, in literature, it has regularly been expressed that modernism (in the representation of its various stylistic tendencies in Latvian music history both in the first half of the 20th century, as well as in the first decades after the World War II), due to the influence of varied circumstances, has been fragmentarily represented [Jonâne 2015; Zandberga 2015; Klotiņš 2018a: 526; Kudiņš 2015b; Šarkovska-
FRAGMENTARY AND MODERATE MODERNISM IN LATVIAN MUSIC HISTORY

Liepiņa 2014a; Torgāns 2010: 257–261]. There are very few cases where avant-garde manifestations, in stylistically pure (serial techniques, serialism) methods, can be confirmed in Latvian academic genres music. The creative process in academic music sphere in Latvia in the 20th century forms a clear retreat from the theoretical concept of the modernism period in Europe. Should Latvian 20th century academic music history be explained outside the theoretical concepts of modernism?

In recent decades in musicology there has been a broad representation of the concept of moderate modernism. It explains the later confluence (diffusion) of the stylistic of late romantic music with characteristic elements of varied trends of the musical language of modernism [Hakobian 1998; Medić 2007; Taruskin 2005; Whittall 2004]. The results of the creative work of a broad number of composers from almost all European states reflect, in certain individualised stylistic versions, a realised concept of moderate modernism. It has also become its own kind of saviour, to research and characterize the various local manifestations and peculiarities of modernism.

Has the musical heritage of Latvian academic music in the 20th century developed a sufficiently broadly represented moderate modernism layer? Does the local representation of moderate modernism compensate for the regular absence of avant-garde? Attempting to answer these questions is the focus of this article. It should be noted that detailed and exhaustive answers to all aspects of these questions are not possible. An extended study on the adaptation of modernism in Latvian academic music history has not been prepared yet. However, some studies already done allow outlining several points, which form a panoramic view and provide possible directions for further research on the adaptation of modernism in the Latvian music culture and its historical experience.

The first half of the 20th century – nearly without modernism in the shadow of the aesthetic of national romanticism

At the beginning of the 20th century many new aesthetic concepts and style tendencies flourished in certain Western European states. It indicated the start of the modernist period. At the same time, in Latvia, the first professional composers of Latvian origin continued stylistically cultivated 19th century romanticism. For example, the outstanding Latvian composer Jāzeps Vītols (1863–1948) represented academic romanticism. The first national opera composers Alfrēds Kalniņš (1879–1951) and Jānis Medicš (1890–1966) manifested individualized versions of late romanticism. Later, in the time between the world wars, during the first period of Latvia’s independence (1918–1940), academic music was dominated by the co-existence of varied stylistic trends of romanticism. New turn towards a clear romantic lyric and epic manifestation and idealization in the creative work of
Latvian composers had particularly notable growth and cultivated in the 1930s [Klotiņš 2018a; Kudiņš 2011, Šarkovska-Liepiņa 2014a: 36; Torgāns 2010: 260–261]. In that way, the overall panorama view of the leading aesthetic and stylistic trends in Latvian academic music in the first half of the 20th century reflected, in a local context, varied specific feature developments, which can be concisely outlined in such way.

1) In the last third of the 19th century and the first half of the 20th century, similar to literature and visual art, the attempts by Latvian composers were rooted in the stylistic concept of romanticism. Such approach offered the opportunity for democratic musical communication, which, objectively, most successfully was realized in choir music. That genre was the most significant promulgator of the spirit of the national cultural awakening. It also manifested the birth of the Latvian Song Festival tradition (the First festival in Riga took place in 1873) and its long-term development. Additionally, there is a basis to consider that this situation was facilitated by certain particular socio-political circumstances that existed in Latvia during the initial period of the formation of national culture and an independent nation [Grauzdiņa, Šarkovska-Liepiņa 2018].

Overall, in the second half of the 19th century and at the beginning of the 20th century the first classical Latvian original composers and their followers created music with a mainly national romantic and lyric psychological expression channelled in choir music, is truly broad in its scope and of a very high artistic quality. Still, at the same time, it must be noted that involvement in the choir and overall vocal music genre objectively stole their opportunity to express themselves more often and in stylistically more diverse ways in the field of instrumental music. In addition, for a long time, the growth of this field lacked an elementary, stable professional base, which could have been validated by a symphonic orchestra and opera with a long history, having earned the attention of varied levels of Latvian society.

2) For a long time, this process, which reflected the topicality of the 19th century romanticism in Latvian music, also was affected by St. Petersburg Conservatory, directed by outstanding Russian composer and music theoretician Nikolai Rimsky-Korsakov (1844–1908). He represented the New Russian Compositional School, which cultivated academic romanticism and paid special attention to the themes of folklore and the native land. Many Latvian composers and musicians studied at St. Petersburg Conservatory, among them, for instance, Jāzeps Vitols. After graduating, for many years Vitols worked at St. Petersburg Conservatory. In 1918 Vitols returned to Latvia and founded Latvian Conservatory. As rector, Vitols managed the Conservatory for many years (1919–1944). He was also head of the Latvian Song Festival Committee and other organizations. Undoubtedly, this aspect also had
FRAGMENTARY AND MODERATE MODERNISM IN LATVIAN MUSIC HISTORY

a great impact on several new generations of Latvian composers at that time [Klotiņš 2013, Kudiņš 2018a; Šarkovska-Liepiņa 2014a: 36].

Of course, different echoes of the aesthetics of modernism and its varied stylistic characteristics fragmentarily expressed themselves in separate works of diverse genres of composers of this period. For example, adaptation of impressionistic stylistic features in the choir songs *a capella* and expressionistic aspects in vocal chamber music (solo songs) of Jānis Zālītis (1884–1943) [Jonāne 2015], some elements of modernistic (in harmony, rhythmical and textural layers) in the piano music of Lūcija Garūta (1902–1977) and Volfgangs Dārziņš (1906–1962) and Arvīds Žilinskis (1905–1993) [Zandberga 2015], and in the symphonic music of Jānis Ivanovs (1906–1983) [Kudiņš 2015a]. Still, these echoes contain only separate elements of musical expression (for example, harmonies, textures, compositional form), as opposed to the confirmation of a conceptual turn towards those style tendencies of modernism, flourished in the other European states at that time (for instance, in Germany, France, Italy, Russia).

It must be pointed out that, in Latvian literature and visual art, as has been confirmed by research, the situation was principally different. In the first half of the 20th century, in literature and visual art, the aesthetics and stylistics of both romanticism and modernism was equally intensively represented. It has been thoroughly investigated, for example, in the research of Latvian literature [Tabūns 2003] and visual arts [Pelše 2007].

In turn, such significant work of local music culture like Jānis Kalniņš’ (1904–2000) opera *Hamlet*, completed in 1936, can be considered as one of the rare exceptions in Latvian music history. The music of the opera *Hamlet* reflects stylistic lines of the modernism period of the 1930s, which synthesizes classical-romantic musical language with elements of rhythmic freedom, the highlighting of expressionistic dissonance and the aesthetic of popular dance music of that era. It is notable that the first performance of the opera *Hamlet*, generated great public interest and promoted a public discourse on modernism in local cultural space [Kudiņš 2015b].

The opera *Hamlet* was created shortly before the Soviet occupation and the dramatic events of the World War II in Latvia. However, this opera along with a few other Latvian composers’ musical works in varied academic music genres that represented the aesthetic and stylistic characteristics of the modernism of the first half of the 20th century formed fragmentary adaptation and manifestation of the new trends and aesthetics (see references to studies on this above). In turn, longtime rector and head of the Latvian Conservatory’s composition class, Jāzeps Vītols, expressed reserved opinion of modernism, and, in his way, promoted that no Latvian composers’ organization of that time enrolled in the newly founded International
Society for Contemporary Music (ISCM) [Klotiņš 2018a: 528]. In fact, during Latvia’s first period of independence, no local Latvian composer studied in any Western European music academy, where they could have encountered the stylistic innovations of modernism. However, in public discussion (in Riga press) there was active exchange of ideas by the composers themselves regarding the varied topical problematic questions of the aesthetics and stylistics of European modernism. However, this aspect has not yet gained wide coverage in the research of Latvian music history.

Altogether, in the time up to the World War II, the academic music creative process in Latvia could not create a powerful and stable local alternative to the dominance of romanticism. And there were long-ranging consequences. The absence of an intensive and stable experience of an introduction of modernism left a significant impression on the creative process in music in the second half of the 20th century.

**The second half of the 20th century – fragmentary modernism, its moderate and radical stylistic manifestations in the local space**

A generally new period in the development of professional music culture in Latvia started in 1940 and lasted until the end of the 1980s. For a long time (1940–1941, 1944–1991), Latvian territory was under occupation by the Soviet Union (in turn, during World War II (1941–1944), Latvia was occupied by Germany) [Bleiere 2006]. In the environment of Soviet totalitarianism, free-thinking and diversity were no longer possible. Stressing that the field of culture is one of the most important tools in the upbringing of an obedient Soviet person, relentless attempts to include the political ideology and control were realised in all spheres of culture, including music, widely using methods of political censorship to prevent the further process of adaptation of modernism [Klotiņš 2018b; Kudiņš 2018b].

Political censorship in the field of art (music included) under the Soviet regime in Latvia after the World War II resulted in extremely limited possibilities to gain the similar experience that was acquired by avant-garde and post-avant-garde composers living in Western Europe. In the 1940s and 1950s, almost all composers living in Latvia had to engage in self-censorship of aesthetics and stylistics, artificially limiting their creative attempts, so as not to receive new sanctions. That was also the main reason why so many stylistically colourless or contradictorily perceptible works were produced. In the 1940s and 1950s, in terms of stylistic tendencies, the creative work of Latvian composers is, in fact, difficult to generalise. The main orientation proved to be the classical-romantic music language, which, in terms of expression, is very distant from the emotionally elevated and sharpened expression characteristic of
the 19th century romanticism. This situation endured in the musical creative process until the end of the 1950s, when the socio-political background in the Soviet Union changed slightly [Kudiņš 2018b].

A slight weakening of ideological control took place in the time when Nikita Khrushchev (1894–1971) led the Soviet Union (1956–1964). From this period (until the collapse of the Soviet Union at the end of the 1980s) the Soviet authorities allowed artists to become familiar with the experience of modernism, which had already spread all over Western Europe. However, this small aesthetic and stylistic pluralism in the Soviet Union was only officially allowed in the two cultural centres of the superpower – Moscow and St. Petersburg (Leningrad at that time). Attempts to let the ideas of modernism into other nations of the Soviet Union, including Latvia, were strictly controlled. However, this also depended on the composers, musicians and the subjective opinions of the local authorities [Šarkovska-Liepiņa 2014a: 36–37, Kudiņš 2018b].

In this situation, the 1960s were the time when, in varied individual stylistic versions, certain Latvian composers developed the moderate modernism aesthetic. Among these composers is Jānis Ivanovs – a musician who, in the field of symphonic music (Ivanovs is the author of twenty-one symphonies, composed between 1933 and 1983), has represented a synthesis of classical traditions and modernism and whose own artistic brightness is comparable to the music of such composers as, for example, Arthur Honegger (1892–1955) and Dmitry Shostakovich (1906–1975).

After the Communist party decision “On Vano Muradeli opera “The Great Friendship”” (Moscow, 1948), Jānis Ivanovs, after the impressionistic and, at the same time, expressionistic 4th symphony (1941) and the 5th symphony (1945) that represented a dramatic exacerbation of expression, consciously extinguished his interest in the varied stylistic innovations of modernism. Ivanovs spent the 1950s influenced by Stalin’s battles with formalism (modernism), and mainly cultivated romanticism and 20th century neoclassical tonal music stylistics. Only at the end of the 1950s and in the 1960s did the distinguished Latvian symphonic music composer return to more intensive modernism adaptations in his creative process. Ivanovs’ symphonic music became more dissonant and expressionistic. The composer confidently included dodecaphony and serial composition principles in his scores [Kudiņš 2015a]. Still, it is interesting that, while continuing to observe the taboo placed on the word “modernism” by the totalitarian regime, music criticism and research found other synonyms to clarify and analyse this new stylistic turn. It was denominated as “the harsh style” (in Latvian skarbais stils), borrowing this terminology from analogous trends in Latvian visual art [Torgāns 2010: 262; Šarkovska-Liepiņa 2014a: 37].
Still, though the differences in Jānis Ivanovs’ symphonies between the pre-war late romanticism and the new harsh style of the 1960s were significant, it cannot be denied that the composer’s own individual version of moderate modernism was still based on the classical-romantic music language. Overall, though this music was more modernistic, Ivanovs preserved the characteristic fundamentals of the romanticism style. His contemporaries acted in a similar way. For example, Ādolfs Skulte (1909–2000), supported by romanticism and impressionism stylistic, also displayed certain varied trends of modernism in his music in the 1960s and 1970s [Šuriņš 2009]. Marģeris Zariņš (1910–1993) developed his own unique approach in the 1960s, becoming the first polystylist in Latvian academic music history [Jaunslaviete 2018; Kudiņš 2018b: 107–132]. More composers could be mentioned who began their work in the field of academic music and who, in various individual ways, synthesized the stylistics of classical romanticism and 20th century modernistic music in their creative work. To a certain degree, the totalitarian regime accepted this, and this indicated the arrival of a progressive modernity in musical life, but, at the same time, the regime attempted to control this in various ways. However, when the musical creative process exceeded certain borders, the totalitarian regime acted consistently.

A typical example of this situation in Latvia is the creative biography of another generation’s composer – Arturs Grīnups (1931–1989). As opposed to the majority of other Latvian composers, Grīnups rarely ever composed for the principal genres of vocal music – choir and solo voice. The dominating genre in his work in all his creative periods has been the symphony (altogether nine symphonies, as well as a symphony for string orchestra and the work Quasi una sinfonia), along with other symphonic and instrumental chamber music works. The secret of the uniqueness of the composer’s musical handwriting is found in the gradually developed ability to combine the brilliant late romanticism musical expression of the composers of the last third of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century, as well as its characteristic range of expression and magnificent impressionistic orchestra sound potential with the varied topicality of musical recording of the era, which was inclined to transform all the previous experiences to a new, previously non-existing model. In those searches Grīnups always gave preference to not just intonatively satisfactory concrete, easily understood and decipherable composition of music, but also an expression that metaphorically at many angles was able to reflect the secretive process of psychological understanding of personal experiences. Grīnups was well known to his contemporaries with his sharp tongue and difficult disposition. The consequence was that none of the symphonic works of Grīnups were released until recently; the scores were kept in the Latvian National Library in the music division material fund archive [Kudiņš 2018b: 105–106].
Another example that demonstrates a modernist aesthetic representation and the peculiarities of the local socio-cultural context is Latvian composer Romualds Grīnblats’ (1930–1995) creative activities during this period. Born in Russia (in Tver), after the World War II Grīnblats came to live in Latvia, Riga. The composer’s activities in the 1960s were characterized by interest in the avant-garde musical language and aesthetics. In 1970, Soviet censorship banned Grīnblats’ Concerto for flute and orchestra. The reason for this was the fact that, in his Concerto, the composer used serial composition principles. This case was one of the reasons why, in the first half of the 1970s, Grīnblats left Latvia and moved to St. Petersburg (Leningrad at that time) [Kudiņš 2018b: 106].

The noted case with Grīnblats confirms that, during the Soviet occupation, there were still certain boundaries in academic music, which could not be crossed. That is why, though there was a fragmentary, but still visible representation of moderate modernism, the most radical stylistic manifestations of avant-garde in the creative work of Latvian composers were, in fact, banned. Along with moderate modernism, also in the following decades, in the 1970s and 80s, there are very few avant-garde compositional techniques (serial technique, serialism) to be found in the music of Latvian composers. And throughout this time, these stylistic trends were in a kind of marginal grey zone in music – they were factually known, however, publicly, they achieved minimal or no resonance. Additionally, beginning in the 1970s, after the modernistic harsh style of the previous decade, Latvian composers more often began to turn to a cultivation of a postmodern neoromanticism stylistic and the fragmentary manifestations of modernism in the last decades of the 20th century became even more marginal [Kudiņš 2018b; Šarkovska-Liepiņa 2014a].

**Fragmentary modernism – a unique local peculiarity?**

**Some concluding remarks**

What is the situation in the academic music field in Latvia after the fragmentary and stylistically moderate previous experience of modernism? From the late 1980s up to nowadays, such a situation can be stated (in an overall panoramic view).

in their music present classical tonal language, organically synthesising it, not too radically, with features of the modernism of the first half of the 20th century in diverse individual versions. Postmodern neoromanticism is one of the most broadly represented tendencies in the music of the above-mentioned Latvian composers in various classical genres [Kudiņš 2018b; Kudiņš 2020; Šarkovska-Liepiņa 2014b; Torgāns 2010].

The music of these composers substantially differs from the one part of Latvian middle and younger generation composers (for example, Rolands Kronlaks (1973), Mārtiņš Viļums (1974), Gundega Šmite (1977), Santa Ratniece (1977), Andris Dzenītis (1977), Jānis Petroškevičs (1978), Kristaps Pētersons (1982), Platons Buravickis (1989), and others). Their creative searches from the end of the nineties of 20th century are regularly notable for a more radical approach to the manifestations of avant-garde musical stylistics [Petraškevičs 2004, Šarkovska-Liepiņa 2014a: 38–39]. Thus, it is only at the end of the 20th century and the beginning of the 21st that can identify the almost three decades long representation of radical modernism (avant-garde) in Latvian academic music. Does that make the situation in Latvian music history unique? Is the heritage of 20th century Latvian music, therefore, an exception in the context of European music history? Here it is interesting to mention one episode in the newest period of the Latvian academic genres in music history.

Near the end of the Soviet occupation era, in 1986, there was an unprecedented event in Latvian academic music. The Soviet Latvia Music Festival was organized in Riga, and attendees (representatives of music publishing houses) were both from the former Socialist bloc Eastern European countries and Western European states. This event symbolically marked the beginning of the end of the Soviet occupation in Latvian music culture. Just a few years later, the historic change process began, the Third Awakening, and, as a result, in 1991, Latvian independence was renewed [Blūzma 2008]. It marked the continuation of the postmodern period in the Latvian academic music field at the end of the 20th century and the beginning of the 21st century. It is interesting that 1986 music festival, guests from different European states, after becoming familiar with contemporary Latvian composers’ musical works spoke of detecting a unique local tradition. Examples:


*We encounter more neoromantic and minimalism trends, but not postmodernism. Postmodernism is, of course, typical in those nations where a significant period of avant-garde music was experienced, but I do not think in Latvia it is particularly pronounced. That is not necessarily a criticism, since nowhere are there any such clear North Stars that would indicate exactly how music should develop. There are many possible paths.*
Armando Gentilucci (1939–1989, Italy, Ricordi) [Vanka, Jakubone, Puķudruva, Lūsiņa 1986]:

*Characterising Latvian music, many Western musicology terms were used: minimalism, postmodernism, neoromanticism. I doubt that those can be applied to the music heard here. (..) Your composers do not blindly follow modern music trends, but are supported by your own, traditional, national music, and that is great. It could be said that a completely independent modern Latvian music exists (on its own).*

Of course, such opinions more than thirty years ago were expressed not by music researchers, but by representatives of the music industry. Still, it is worth listening to their comments when searching for answers to the question of how the Latvian academic music historical experience fits into the paradigm of the 20th century European modernism.

It is possible that the absence of a public manifestation of stable modernism stylistic trends in the first and second halves of the 20th century can result in a notion of a unique local situation in Latvian academic music. However, this situation – little radical modernism (avant-garde) and more moderate modernism stylistic manifestation – was a typical feature also in the musical culture of other European small nations (such as Estonia, Lithuania, North Macedonia, Serbia, Slovenia, and others). In addition, in each of these countries, in musical culture, the adaptation and flourish of modernism took place with different local peculiarities [Bruveris 2016; Humal 2015; Kolarovska-Gmirja 2018; Medić 2007; Pompe 2016; Stefanija 2006].

Previous research allows to conclude that there are potentially many interesting examples (musical works) in the history of Latvian music, which reflect artistically interesting and vivid manifestations of the aesthetics and stylistics of modernism. These examples also highlight the fragmentary and mostly stylistically moderate adaptation process of modernism in Latvian music history. In turn, the more detailed analysis of modernism adaptation in the research of Latvian music history is still a task to be realised further.

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**Sources**


