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Music in occupied Latvia

This publication looks at musical life in Latvia during two periods of its occupation in the early 1940s. The first is the period of occupation under Stalin's Soviet Union (June 1940–June 1941), the second under Nazi Germany when Latvia was, moreover, occupied during wartime (June 1941–May 1945). Musical life during the year of the first Soviet occupation has until now been described only in a sketchy and apologetic way, reflecting the general propagandistic nature of Soviet ideology. As for the second period, informative material about Latvia's musical life under Nazi occupation is virtually nonexistent. Information about this period was almost completely suppressed during the long years when Latvia was once again occupied by the Soviet Union (1945–1991), mainly as a result of political censorship, which made life in Nazi occupied Latvia a taboo subject in the USSR until the 1970s. Thus very little earlier research material could be used as a basis for this publication and it is largely a result of original research work.

Latvian music – like that of many small nations in Europe – developed as a 19th century national school of music. With the foundation of an independent Latvian state in 1918, various state supported music institutions were established. The Latvian Conservatory in Rīga was founded in 1919 by Jāzeps Vītols (1863–1948), a St. Petersburg Conservatory graduate, who had gone on to teach there for 30 years, reaching the status of Professor of Composition. Vītols took over the leadership of his newly founded Latvian Conservatory and was its Rector and Professor of Composition for many years. Local authorities supported a network of music schools (the so-called people's conservatories) in towns throughout Latvia. In the 1930s the Latvian National Opera became one of the leading opera and ballet companies in Northern Europe. It was common practice for many artists from Western Europe and Russia to give guest performances in Rīga's concert halls and its Opera House. During the period between the First and Second World Wars, alongside Alfrēds Kalniņš (1879–1951) and Jānis Medīņš (1890–1966), the creators of the first significant Latvian operas and ballets, a new generation of composers and performers appeared. These were musicians educated at the Latvian Conservatory who were often able

to benefit from opportunities made available by the Latvian Arts Foundation to supplement their studies at various Western European music centres. The choral movement in Latvia had grown steadily stronger since the middle of the 19th century; regular local as well as national song festivals were organized, with the number of singers in the combined choir reaching 15,000 at the Ninth Latvian National Song Festival in 1938. Latvia's most outstanding choirs gained recognition during concert tours of Northern Europe.

In the 1920s and 1930s many people who had fled the Soviet Union, as well as Russian and Jewish musicians from the local population, participated in cultural activities in Latvia, particularly in the field of music teaching. The economically and culturally influential Baltic German minority also played an important role in musical life until 1939. In the 18th century it had been the Baltic German community that had initiated and developed professional music in Latvia. After the signing of the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact of August 23, 1939, with its illegal and secret Supplementary Protocol dividing the Baltic States and other large territories into German and Soviet spheres of influence, the German minority in Latvia, urged by the German government, left Latvia as part of a mass repatriation process, depleting to some extent the variety on the local cultural scene. The intelligentsia, including musicians, suffered further losses in the Stalinist deportations during the Soviet occupation and, in no smaller measure, in repressions during the Nazi occupation, including those of the Holocaust, as well as Hitler's illegal mobilization for the German army. And, of course, the ideological pressures exerted on cultural life by both totalitarian regimes also meant further losses. This period of five years laid the foundations for the tense relations that existed between the world of the arts and the occupying regime, relations that were to continue in Latvia for almost another 50 years and yet had to ensure the survival and development of the national arts scene, including its music.

Musical life and creative work 1940–1941

Historical context: The occupation of Latvia on June 17, 1940, followed almost immediately by its annexation and Sovietization, fundamentally changed musical life and music's position and function. Music was now required to fulfil demands characteristic of totalitarian systems – the idea of the arts furthering the autonomous development of a person's inner world had to give way to the demands of propaganda. Singing praises to a com-

munist utopia and developing uniform thinking in line with this system had to become the main function of the arts. These changes were particularly radical and unrefined because in the Soviet Union itself, just before the occupation of the Baltic States, the dogmatic approach to aesthetics had reached its culmination and manifested itself in its most radical, Stalinist form. The Communist Party's Department for Agitation and Propaganda was formed in 1938. Together with the Committee on Arts of the Council of People's Commissars of the USSR, it ruled over every field of the arts, absorbed them into the state administration and in fact nationalized the arts. In this phase of consolidation, the Soviet system of regulating the arts began to exert its demands in Latvia. Fortunately, in the short period of one year of Soviet occupation, these requirements were only partly fulfilled and the professional music traditions and skills accumulated earlier were retained.

The occupation of Latvia and its change of government, described by the occupying regime as a Bolshevik revolution, was planned and prepared in advance. Already in the autumn of 1939, in conformity with the mutual assistance agreement that Latvia had been forced to sign, the Soviet Union had established a number of military bases in Latvia. Under the cover of stationing a large contingent of its armed forces in these bases, the Soviet Union also infiltrated undercover agents in order to prepare an imitation of a revolution and establish a new government. Among them were also the future regulators of cultural life. At the same time, long before occupying Latvia, the USSR strengthened the legal forms of its influence with the help of its embassy, various organizations and propaganda, particularly among the intelligentsia.

The Soviet Union's ultimatum presented to the Latvian government on June 16, 1940, demanding authorization for an unlimited number of Soviet troops to enter Latvia as well as a change of its government, together with the columns of tanks that advanced towards Rīga from east and south the following day, shattered Latvia's cultural life particularly brutally due to a fateful coincidence. Namely, these violent events put an end to a large-scale arts event in Eastern Latvia – a Latgallian festival of culture and regional song festival that had gathered together around 8,000 participants and over 50,000 in the audience.

On the morning of June 17 the Latvian Radio in Rīga was one of the first to be subjected to the dictates of the USSR embassy and threatened with the use of force, and from this moment on, Soviet Russian propaganda

songs formed the basis of its broadcast programme. The activities of other institutions and organizations were also soon paralysed and then altered under the dictate of the Soviet secret police. Latvia's authoritarian president Kārlis Ulmanis had given the order to refrain from armed resistance, yet he himself was held in captivity in the Castle of Rīga. There he was visited by the principal emissary from Moscow Andrey Vyshinsky (USSR Deputy State Prosecutor during the bloody "cleansing" trials of 1937 and 1938, and since 1939 the Deputy Chairman of the Council of the People's Commissars of the USSR) and made to certify Latvia's new transitional or so-called People's Government that had already been accepted in Moscow. Despite the promised communist revolution, there was no representative of the Latvian Communist Party in the new government; for the time being Vyshinsky denied rumours of Latvia joining the Soviet Union and promised not to change the system of government.

The deliberately created uncertainty about Latvia's political future, the promise to renew the parliamentary system of the republic and the hope that democratic changes would eventuate partly explain why some people in the arts, including musicians, believed in the renewal that was to come and undertook public positions in the new circumstances. The same uncertainty and expectations, but also quite tangibly the agitation practised by the Soviet Union's emissaries and harassment by the hurriedly organized militia units of armed supporters, induced many people to participate in street parades, although, according to the estimations of historians, only about 6% of the people of Latvia supported the new regime. But the occupation gave this minority the right to dictate. Some communist utopia adherent or simply political careerist was found or installed in every company, organization or arts institution, and these henchmen of the regime had the privilege of labelling anyone as a saboteur, an enemy of the people or an opponent of the new system, creating the basis for repressions implemented by the Soviet political secret police. Thus, with the power to dictate given to a minute minority and threats imposed by the secret police, it was possible to obtain the community's seemingly silent compliance with the political changes.

The occupying regime's intention of establishing Soviet rule and incorporating Latvia into the Soviet Union was revealed only on July 21 when the newly elected so-called People's Parliament gathered for their first session and voted to do so. This was a violation of Latvia's constitution, which decrees that questions about the system of government and independence

are to be decided in a national referendum. The election of this so-called People's Parliament had taken place in a threatening atmosphere, in the presence of an alien military power and under its supervision, permitting only one list of candidates and falsifying the results. Even before the elections the Soviet secret police had arrested many citizens of what was then still formally an independent republic, among them high officials. On July 22 president Kārlis Ulmanis was also arrested, cunningly misled and extradited to the Soviet Union, where he perished. Over the next few months a total of around 1,500 people were arrested on political grounds, accusations were brought against them and most of them were annihilated according to the laws of the USSR, not Latvia. Barely a year after the occupation, on June 13 and 14, 1941, mass deportations took place: 15,443 people, including almost 4,000 children, were sent to slave camps in Siberia. In an atmosphere of terror and with frequently changing officials, life in Latvia, including its musical life, was forced to succumb to Sovietization.

The administrative regulation of musical life

In order to control the nation's social life and activities, including its music, and re-educate those involved in this field, the infrastructure of social life was radically changed. From the end of June 1940 mass abolition of social organizations occurred. This affected all music and choral societies: they lost their premises, musical instruments, music libraries and valuable museum pieces. The abolition of all the sections of just one organization, the Latvian Home Guard (*Aizsargi*), meant closing down 160 amateur orchestras and around 260 choirs with 7 to 8 thousand singers. Choirs and other music organizations had to find some way of attaching themselves to state departments or the new social structures, and this was often connected with political stipulations. In place of the disbanded Latvian Press Association, hitherto the main organization representing journalists and writers, the government controlled Writers' Union of the Latvian SSR was established. An organization committee for a similar Composers' Union was convened in February 1941; it was not, however, particularly active and failed to organize a founding congress. The abolition of the Latvian Music Society stopped the publication of the journal *Raksti un Māksla* [Literature and Art], so music lost this medium too.

In general, however, the closure of journals and newspapers was centralized and took place at the end of 1940, leaving only about 30 periodicals that had undergone changes or were newly created according to

the requirements of the regime. In the spring of 1941, the distribution of overseas periodicals in Latvia was stopped, and in August 1941, all Latvian reporters working overseas were recalled and the press was ordered to use only information given by the Telegraph Agency of the Soviet Union (TASS). According to a law passed on August 6, 1940, the State Publishing and Printing Companies' Board was given control of 134 nationalized book and music publishers and printers, as well as the publication of textbooks and periodicals. The Board established one institution, the Song and Music Publishing House, and took over the historic music house of Paul Nelder (1852–1929) in Rīga (in 1937 its owner had become Otto Krolls, 1888–1969). As a result of this centralization, music publishing received state finance but – like all forms of information – it was subjected to ideological and political censorship. This was carried out by the Chief Literary Board (established within the Ministry of the Interior), which also controlled radio broadcasts and the distribution of records. The Board ordered the removal of publications not acceptable to the new regime from libraries and circulation. Furthermore, in February 1941 it ordered the destruction of 6,000 such publications (i.e. up to a million copies); secret lists of these had been compiled, and these included sheet music and collections of songs that contained religious or patriotic works.

Arts Board: The function of this structure, formed in September 1940, controlled by the Cabinet and authorized to act as a cultural affairs ministry, was to manage every process in the arts, both amateur and professional. It controlled, influenced ideologically and censored the programme of every public performance – from opera performances to restaurant music and class evenings in schools. In time the Board was also given control of higher education, the Conservatory and music schools. It centralized the organization of concerts in its concert agency in Rīga, concentrated and controlled amateur musical events within the so-called people's arts institutes set up in almost every populated place, and determined musicians' qualifications and fees. Programmes were not only controlled and censored, but also prescribed and demanded. A choral concert programme was only approved on condition that it included at least two obligatory songs – the *Internationale* and Isaak Dunayevsky's (1900–1955) *Song of the Fatherland*. Choirs avoided the obligatory songs in various ways, sometimes singing them ostensibly outside the programme – either before the formal opening of the concert or after the last song in the programme, when the audience was already dispersing. Music institutions had to plan

their activities in detail and submit monthly reports; the plan needed to be approved by the Arts Board and then endorsed by the USSR Committee on Arts in Moscow. If the latter requested some change in the plan, the whole multi-step planning process had to be repeated. Consequently, just like the rest of Latvia's administrative structure, this Arts Board was doubly controlled – both by the Latvian SSR government and by the corresponding USSR government institution, i.e. the USSR Committee on Arts. The Arts Board was dependent on the first for finances, on the second – for content.

From music societies to trade unions: In July 1940, previously existing musicians' societies were amalgamated into one large Latvian Musicians' Union (also known as the Latvian SSR Music Society), whose membership almost doubled during the year, reaching 1,200, its numbers swelled by the addition of hitherto weakly organized private music teachers and musicians working in places providing light entertainment. In spite of all the propagandist commotion accompanying the so-called socialistic changes, the Society managed to accomplish some useful work in its short existence, mostly due to the resourcefulness of the musicians themselves, who tried to outmanoeuvre the regime's manipulations. The Society acted both as a concert agency and also represented musicians in matters of labour law and labour protection. In order to combat unemployment among musicians and obtain funds, it encouraged the formation of new groups of performing musicians. The symphonic jazz concerts organized by the Society and conducted by an immigrant from Austria, Walter Hahn (1911–1941), became a popular innovation. The Society renewed the City of Rīga Symphony Orchestra in amateur form, thus stimulating the formation of a state philharmonic orchestra. The Society's relatively independent activities, however, obstructed the trade union centralization process and a year later it was forced to relinquish its functions to the combined Union of Workers in the Arts. The latter was also the result of centralization – after a short time only some 20 of Latvia's 600 trade unions were left and these were steered by the Central Council of Latvian Trade Unions, which in turn functioned under the bureaucratic, formal and complete control of the USSR trade unions.

Importation of propagandist music and popular music for entertainment: In its aims to re-educate the population, the Soviet regime set high hopes on the so-called Soviet songs for the masses. These were largely marches or parade songs based on Russian urban and revolutionary

folklore, stirring and agitating in tone, simplistic in expression and written in verse form. The songs of the most popular Russian composers were garnished with dance rhythms and jazz sounds taken from American film music, facilitating a smooth transition to so-called *estrādes dziesmas* [popular songs; literally: amphitheatre songs], similar to the popular songs or hits played in the US at the time.

The introduction of this type of song, foreign to Latvians at the time, was carried out in three main ways – by importing such printed and recorded products into Latvia, by visiting ensembles performing for propaganda purposes, and by teaching these songs to the bulk of the population. Music from records produced in the USSR was broadcast on Latvian Radio just a week after June 17 and loudspeakers in the streets relayed it throughout town, radically changing the emotional atmosphere. Red Army garrisons gave open-air shows of appropriately selected films in the meadows on the outskirts of town, to say nothing of shows in film theatres. In the summer and autumn of 1940, Latvia was literally overrun with Red Army song and dance ensembles of varying quality; these not only created unease but also provoked laughter with their exaggerated and excessively dynamic male dancers in army tunics. New trends were brought in by one of the jazz ensembles visiting Rīga – a group of 20 Estonian musicians called up for military service in Tallinn, including the popular trumpet soloist Richard Mölder (1922–1975). They even trained at the Latvian Conservatory for some time and formed the nucleus of a large military brass band that could even tackle symphonic works.

In addition to this invasive promotion of songs for the masses, a list of forbidden songs was compiled, a list that included many Latvian folk songs and, of course, patriotic songs. It was stipulated that workers should be taught the forgotten revolutionary songs, and the Arts Board announced a competition for the artificial creation of new revolutionary songs, though this did not come up with the expected results. Singing agitation brigades, hurriedly formed by the Arts Board, toured throughout Latvia, but their quality and repertoire was so poor that the public in the provinces protested.

Changes in amateur music-making: The new circumstances resulted in a certain amount of dualism in amateur music-making. With their societies abolished, previously functioning choirs were now largely supervised by the unions, yet stoically continued singing according to their traditions as much as possible. There was also another group of vocal and instrumental ensembles, more rarely choirs, newly organized in an-

swer to the propaganda slogan *Art for the People!*, whose abilities were limited to the repertoire and performance level of rather simple agitation concerts. These ensembles generally participated in so-called “mixed” concerts that consisted of a variety of genres – recitations, literary montage items, sketches, songs and musical interludes. People with little artistic training were able to perform in such variety shows, while the public, with just as little knowledge of the arts, could enjoy the motley performance as something special. Such concerts were more suited to propaganda requirements because of the large role played by spoken text. A similar dual situation existed with respect to amateur arts activities in schools; these were stimulated almost by force – so much so that Jāzeps Vītols wrote a special letter to the Minister of Education, requesting that at least the Conservatory’s pupils in the lower grades be relieved of such forced amateurism. In these circumstances the artistic standard of amateur music as a whole was lowered yet traditional choirs retained their quality.

Reactions of the prominent choirs: One of the main concerns for these choirs became the problem of how to avoid poor quality Soviet repertoire. The internationally known Reiters Choir (founded in 1920), after initially recording a few programmes of revolutionary songs, was able to solve this problem to some extent by concentrating on the coming Decade of Latvian Arts in Moscow, for which it had to prepare a programme of Latvian classics. The students’ choir *Dziesmuvara*, also of international repute, quite openly demonstrated its dislike for a mandatory repertoire, unleashing scandals and conflicts with the political administration of the University of Latvia. Haralds Mednis (1906–2000), the conductor of the popular male voice choir *Dziedonis*, was choirmaster at the Opera House and engaged his choir in some of its performances, thus providing it with somewhat exceptional status. Vīgners Male Voice Choir in turn found a way of fulfilling the requirement to sing songs of the Soviet Union republics by preparing programmes of Estonian and Lithuanian music classics, otherwise adhering mainly to a repertoire of Latvian music.

Regional choirs: The fate of choirs in the rural districts was largely in the hands of the local governments and the Agricultural Workers’ Trade Union. In places where the former conductors had been retained and a new, distasteful repertoire was not vehemently demanded, choirs continued to sing, while others went into decline. In this year of Soviet occupation, there were around 100 choirs operating outside Riga, numbering three to four times less than at the end of the 1930s.

Music in churches. Organ music: Religious practice was not forbidden as such, nevertheless, because Soviet Russia's laws were already being applied in Latvia during this year of Soviet occupation and these prohibited religious propaganda, which included giving concerts in churches, musicians playing music in churches suffered bans and repressions. It was a tradition for Latvian Radio to broadcast live organ music performances but during the occupation only the organ in the Great Hall of the University of Latvia could be heard, never any of the great instruments in Latvia's churches.

Music in radio broadcasts: In the 1930s the Latvian Radio's Principal Conductor Jānis Mediņš had used his authority as head of the music section since 1928 to allocate over 50 % of broadcast time to music. In spite of his now restricted authority and the transformation of the Latvian Radio to comply with the Soviet broadcasting system, opera, orchestral and chamber music broadcasts retained their place and standards during the year under Soviet rule. The number of orchestral concerts broadcast did not decrease below four a week, and in the summer months orchestral music was regularly relayed from Rīga's seaside resort Jūrmala. A number of Radio Orchestra conductors (Oļģerts Bištēviņš, 1907–1972, Bruno Skulte, 1905–1976, Arvīds Pārups, 1890–1946) were permanently employed and performances with other conductors were also recorded. The proportion of Russian music in orchestral and chamber music broadcasts increased, of course, yet music of other composers, including Latvian music, continued to be presented.

The situation was different for broadcasts of songs and light entertainment music, where the pressure of Sovietization was expressed openly and vigorously. Broadcasts of Soviet songs and film music became part of daily life. Propaganda publicising the Russian and Soviet ideology and way of life was supervised by Vasily Ardamatsky (1911–1989), a special correspondent attached to the Latvian Radio with special assignments from Moscow; his influence was greater than that of the newly appointed director, writer Indriķis Lēmanis (1904–1960). Records produced in the USSR gradually brought in a new type of light entertainment music. It was American-style music executed in Soviet fashion, particularly as performed by the popular Leonid Utyosov's (1895–1982) jazz orchestra, and it gradually pushed aside the traditional sentimental and operatic salon music of the 1920s and 1930s. The Radio's light entertainment music ensembles also had to include Soviet songs in their repertoire. Nevertheless, the traditions of Latvian Radio

did not disappear suddenly and German, French and Italian light music retained their positions.

During the year of Soviet occupation, the number of soloists invited to give radio performances increased markedly, particularly those from the ranks of the national minorities, who had felt pushed to the sidelines of official musical life in the 1930s. While amateur choir participation in broadcasts decreased, in the autumn of 1940 a professional Radio Choir was established, which was to be of great importance for Latvian music in the following decades. In this first year of its existence the Radio Choir, under the skilled choirmaster Teodors Kalniņš (1890–1962), presented around 100 compositions, mainly folk song arrangements. The proportion of music by Latvian composers in radio programmes was not reduced, but even increased. New royalty rates were fixed for performances of music by Latvian composers and these were several times higher than those for compositions by other authors, just as had been the case during the 1930s. International exchange of broadcasts continued, but now it was no longer organized within the International Broadcasting Union system but through the so-called *Comintern* (i.e. Communist International) broadcaster in Moscow. There were also exchanges of broadcasts with Estonian and Lithuanian Radios.

The professional concert scene

Orchestral concerts: Despite the political changes of 1940, the summer orchestral concert traditions of the previous years were continued. The Radio Orchestra gave around 60 concerts in Jūrmala, and orchestral concerts were also staged in other resorts. The City of Rīga organized some 30 concerts in the city's central park *Vērmanes dārzs* [Vērmane's Garden], while brass band performances, numbering around 50, also took place in eight other venues in the centre of Rīga and its suburbs. When, in line with the traditions of winter concerts in Rīga, the Radio and Opera orchestras were combined for performances, the programmes even in this year of Soviet occupation included several novel additions: the works of Ottorino Respighi, Jean Sibelius and Dmitry Shostakovich. A good deal of attention was given to Latvian orchestral music. With the participation of Marina Kozolupova (1918–1978), Mark Reizen (1895–1992) and other stars from Moscow, as well as artists of the Leningrad Theatre of Opera and Ballet, several concerts demonstrated the musical achievements of the USSR. Lower in standard were the so-called “government concerts” or con-

cert rallies organized to commemorate political events with commentaries by a propagandist and compère. Despite the political upheavals, summer or winter orchestral concerts continued to be held in other towns too: in Jelgava, Daugavpils and Cēsis.

The highlight of the 1940–1941 concert season was the foundation of the Latvian SSR State Philharmonic Society and its orchestra's first performance on May 9, 1941, in the reconstructed Greater Guild Hall in Rīga (architect Aleksandrs Birznieks). Bringing together musicians from various orchestras, the Society presented seven orchestral concerts at the end of the winter season; these featured not only Latvian conductors (Jānis Mediņš, Leonīds Vīgners, 1906–2001, Jānis Kalniņš, 1904–2000, Bruno Skulte) and soloists (Olafs Ilziņš, 1923–2012, Atis Teichmanis, 1907–1987) but also the Soviet Union's most prominent virtuosos, violinist David Oistrakh (1908–1974), and pianists Emil Gilels (1916–1985) and Yakov Flier (1912–1977). The season's last concert took place three days after the mass deportations in June, the orchestra was on the verge of disintegration and conductor Teodors Reiters (1884–1956) refused to participate.

Music performance. Soloists. Ensembles: The Arts Board selected around 100 musicians to be in an official soloist category with appropriately fixed performance fees. Their main performance venue was the Radio. Public concerts in Rīga generally took place in the Conservatory Hall, with the reconstructed Greater Guild Hall only opening for use in the spring of 1941, but concerts in the Opera House were reserved mainly for prominent guest artists. The regime, of course, endeavoured to politicize the work of soloists; in professional chamber music this could not be achieved so soon, but grew quickly in amateurish agitation concerts. Most professional singers continued to work with their customary repertoire, but the public expected the most prominent performers to take a stand and decide, whether to side with the radical political changes and Latvia's destruction, or to protect and perform traditionally valued works that were now in danger of being lost. Outstanding opera and concert soloists Eduards Miķelsons (1896–1969), Arturs Priednieks-Kavara (1901–1979) and Aleksandrs Viļumanis (1910–1980) chose the first option. Others stood out with concerts in which the repertoire was explicitly national: the prominent soloists Milda Brehmane-Štengele (1893–1981), Herta Lūse (1891–1980) and tenor Mariss Vētra (1901–1965), as well as baritone Ādolfs Kaktiņš (1885–1965) performing together with pianist and composer Lūcija Garūta (1902–1977), who fought the greatest battles with the censors for the rights

of the national repertoire. Among the most outstanding opera and concert soloists were also coloratura soprano Elfrīda Pakule (1912–1991) and baritone Edvīns Krūmiņš (1907–1984).

Among the 16 officially certified violin virtuosos, the most well known were Olafs Ilziņš, who performed six different violin concertos during the season of 1940–1941, and Sarah Rashin (1920–1941), who gained an award in 1937 in the International Eugène Ysaÿe competition in Brussels and was ruthlessly massacred in the Holocaust in 1941. Among the cello soloists were the Conservatory's vice-chancellor Alfrēds Ozoliņš (1895–1986) and the talented Atis Teichmanis, later a prominent music teacher in Freiburg, Germany. Pianist Herman Godes (1917–2007), who gave many concert tours in the USA and Canada after the war, was just beginning his distinguished career. Edgars Tāls (1910–1941) was noted for his particularly innovative repertoire. The war forced Igors Kalniņš (1914–1993), a devotee of the French school of pianism, to interrupt his studies in Paris. There were other virtuoso instrumentalists: bassoonist Alexander Fyodorov (1908–1946) and saxophone player Jēkabs Palickis (1908–1944) gained awards in a USSR-wide competition in Moscow. Among the piano accompanists was the outstanding ensemble player Biruta Ducmane-Ozoliņa (1917–1945), as well as Sarah Rashin's accompanist Marija Zalomonovich (1903–1941), who shared her tragic fate, and Herman Braun (1918–1979). Pianist Jānis Ķepītis (1908–1989), performing for the Radio for many years, was also a member of the Jāzeps Vītols Trio. The other most prominent chamber ensemble was the Conservatory String Quartet.

The Opera: The National Opera was renamed the Latvian SSR Opera and Ballet Theatre (henceforth in the text: the Opera) and the new regime paid great attention to this institution, important for representation purposes. The Opera received an increase in its budget and staff numbers rose accordingly, but it was also subjected to strict controls and personnel "cleansing". The number of soloists, orchestra musicians and choristers employed by the Opera saw an increase of approximately a third. Soloist Aleksandrs Viļumanis was appointed Director. Conductors Leo Blech, who had escaped to Latvia from Nazi persecution in Berlin, Teodors Reiters, Jānis Kalniņš and Leonīds Vīgners continued their work. Oto Karls (1886–1944) and Arvīds Norītis (1902–1981) were invited to conduct ballets. Unfortunately the work of the Opera staff was hampered by the countless social activities furthering Sovietization – the obligatory "socialistic competition", preparation of wall-newspapers, political instruction etc.

During the season over 20 different operas from the traditional repertoire were staged; the main attention, however, was focussed on the production of the first so-called Soviet opera – Ivan Dzerzhinsky's (1909–1978) opera *Quiet Flows the Don*, composed in the early 1930s. The opera's finale, with its glorification of the civil war, was presented by the official propaganda almost as a symbol of the victorious Soviet regime. A new production of Tchaikovsky's opera *Eugene Onegin* and the staging of Alexander Krein's (1883–1951) ballet *Laurentia* were also considered innovative events. The Opera theatre was used for important concerts, whose frequency increased in the spring of 1941 when the staging of opera performances was hampered by the preparation of productions for the coming Latvian Arts Decade in Moscow. For this reason the season was suspended on May 7, 1941.

Opera in Liepāja: The new regime's intention to eliminate the opera company of the Liepāja Theatre did not come into effect; it was kept as a branch of the Rīga Opera and then, at the beginning of 1941, it was once again made part of the Latvian SSR Drama, Opera and Ballet Theatre of Liepāja. The organizational changes shortened the season, yet it was an intensive one with new productions of seven classical operas and one ballet. The musical director of all these productions was former Vienna Volksoper conductor Walter Hahn, who had fled from Nazi persecution and found refuge in Latvia in 1938. His enthusiasm as well as the frequent guest performances of soloists from Rīga helped the theatre uphold its good musical standard.

Music in other theatres: There was a noticeable improvement in the quality of music for theatre productions at the Daile Theatre in Rīga, where composer Mārgeris Zariņš (1910–1993) began working as musical director. The orchestra was substantially enlarged in preparation for the theatre's production and guest performances in Moscow of the play *Zelta zirgs* [The Golden Steed] by Rainis (1865–1929), which was envisaged as an impressive production with grandiose folklore-based scenes depicting Latvian traditions. The orchestra of the Drama Theatre was also enlarged for a similar reason. In other theatres of Rīga and its periphery music only had a minor role. The tradition of staging not only plays, but also musical comedies and operettas in Latvian theatres was not continued, one of the reasons being the strictly regimented and centralized authorization of repertoire.

Preparation for the Decade of Latvian Arts (henceforth in the text: Decade): During the second half of the 1930s, arts decades of various

USSR republics were held in Moscow as part of the ritual of Soviet culture. By the summer of 1940, eight such decades had already taken place, serving as an instrument for the centralization of the arts and a demonstration of submission – each decade had to finish with a special composition, dedicated to the glory of Stalin. Such a presentation from Latvia was planned in the spring of 1941 but, after several changes of date, the Decade did not take place due to the onset of war between the USSR and Germany. Preparation for the Decade, however, was a stimulating force for the arts scene and resulted in feverish activity during the year of Soviet occupation. Preparations were coordinated by the Arts Board. There were many meetings of programme committees and extensive debates involving people working in the arts, yet the final word belonged to the Communist Party and the authorities. Moreover, the choice of programme and its preparation took place under the commanding influence of four experts sent to Latvia by the USSR Committee on Arts to deal with questions of ideology, music, theatre and ballet. They remained in Latvia for half a year and actively participated in the production process, the revision of librettos, adjusting them to conform to the political situation, and so on. Their interference in Latvian arts activities was for the most part tolerated, however, Jēkabs Graubiņš (1886–1961) openly expressed his discontent with this uninvited patronage and was therefore excluded from the preparations for the Decade.

The Decade was allotted an enormous budget. The Opera choir and symphony orchestra, as well as the personnel of other theatre companies were enlarged, a large children's choir was organized and a children's ballet production prepared. There was a choir competition for the right to participate, and contracts were signed for the creation of new musical works for the stage. A competition for a cantata glorifying Stalin was also organized but turned out to be unsuccessful. Jānis Mediņš wrote some music to a hurriedly prepared libretto for a new opera about the civil war in Russia and Latvia, but it remained unfinished and the opera was not even given a name. Work on a new production of his earlier opera *Uguns un nakts* [Fire and Night] was begun. Composer Jānis Kalniņš set to work on a new ballet *Laišmes kalējs* [The Blacksmith's Good Fortune] and there were plans to stage his opera *Ugunī* [In the Furnace]. The staging of only one musical production for the Decade was completed, namely the opera *Baņuta* by Alfrēds Kalniņš, an opera that had already seen several productions. However, the storyline was revised to provide a happy ending finale as required

by the aesthetic norm for arts in the totalitarian system of the time. The production's splendour was overdone and was also criticised from within. A six months long process of collecting folklore and identifying folk singers also took place during this year in preparation for the folklore-based concert planned during the Decade.

In spite of the unacceptable ideological context, the burden of propaganda activities and the political terror, preparation for the cancelled Decade also had a positive influence on Latvian musical life. It tested the skill of Latvian musicians and raised their low self-confidence. In spite of the exaggerations, preparations for the Decade broadened the perceptions of what was possible in the staging of musical productions. It also gave some insight regarding the scale on which musical events could be organized. Lastly, Latvian musical life benefited from the substantial attention, even if one-sided in motivation, given to Latvian traditional culture, its highlighting and presentation in fairly authentic forms.

Music for light entertainment – from social life to the concert hall: In the first year of Soviet occupation, a period that flaunted the cultivation of high principles, paradoxically the opposite occurred – light entertainment music intensively entered the concert hall and claimed its place there. During the period between the wars, both types of music were kept separate in Latvia – light entertainment music was played in dance halls, restaurants and cinemas, but only rarely attained artistic status and appeared in the concert hall. In the autumn of 1940, Walter Hahn and his symphonic jazz orchestra put an end to this tradition with five over-crowded concerts in Riga, followed by similar concerts in other towns. Their success was possible because the orchestra enjoyed the prestige of being directly or indirectly associated with Soviet culture. This was secured by the inclusion in the programme of a medley of Soviet songs and Hahn's jazz paraphrase of *Katyusha*, Matvei Blanter's (1903–1990) popular song for the masses. These served as an entry pass, even though the greater part of the programme was music written by American composers and those in their sphere of influence.

The reputation of this music was also raised as a result of Hahn's orchestra no longer representing some place of entertainment or private person but a trade union, and therefore enjoying some social, even state prestige. Both the records of Leonid Utjosov's orchestra and the performances of Hahn's orchestra furnished this type of music with the new regime's seal of approval, and as a result sanctioned the growth of amateur orchestras and

ensembles playing light entertainment music in Latvia. Formerly existing light music orchestras, now under the wing of trade unions, acquired a higher social status, were catered for by the official arts administration system and numbered around 20 in Rīga alone. There were, of course, excesses. Arrangements of Soviet songs as dance music were censured, and efforts to unite Soviet ideological dogmatism with freethinking jazz became an insoluble dilemma. A special type of concert was chosen as the golden mean: the popular music or variety concert (or so-called *estrādes* concert), which at the time presented a programme that mixed folk music with operetta, and jazz with jugglers, leaving the ideological side to sketches and recitations. This approach was clearly displayed in the Second USSR Competition for Variety Artists organized in June 1941. Several Latvian artists, including the prominent singers Elfrīda Pakule and Alexander Dashkov (1914–2004), after successfully completing the first round of the competition in Rīga on June 12, departed at the end of the month to the finals in Moscow and, with the outbreak of war, were unable to return and were stranded in Russia.

Music education and training

The new government's resolution of August 13, 1940, envisaged the nationalization, i.e. the closure of all educational establishments maintained privately or by organizations. Private music schools were not closed immediately, however, but given a transition period, during which they were expected to close down naturally due to a lack of pupils: the state offered education free of charge in music schools taken over by the state and at the Conservatory, and it was expected that pupils would transfer to these institutions. However, a resolution passed by the same government on February 15, 1941, renewed the tuition fees for a sizeable group of the population. For this reason some private music schools and studios continued to operate. The planned conversion of the so-called people's conservatories to state music schools or colleges continued all year and was completed only at the very end of the school year.

It was musical training in comprehensive schools that benefited from the new regime's enthusiastic reform process: from the autumn of 1940, the number of singing and musical training lessons in high schools was increased, at least formally. In practice, however, singing lessons suffered from the introduction of propagandist repertoire and the forced politicization of educational institutions. Various somewhat artificial groups, committees and other structures were established in schools, and persons loyal

to the new regime appointed as their leaders; their task was to ensure political control, to spy on the pupils and staff and make sure they complied with the “new order”.

The Latvian Conservatory in 1940–1941: The new regime began the reform and subordination of this educational institution, now renamed the Latvian SSR State Conservatory, by crudely discrediting its former work. The required reorganization was to follow the example of the conservatories in the USSR (not a bad example on its own, were it not accompanied by political manipulation) and was in fact begun by the teaching staff itself: the teachers initiated the introduction of teaching methodology for speciality subjects as a new discipline, as well as a piano ensemble and accompaniment class. The required restructuring of the Conservatory to approach a university structure had already been started with the constitution of 1934; now it was continued with the introduction of the system of departments. The planned expansion of study programmes failed to be finished in the short time. The announcement of the abolition of tuition fees brought an unprecedented influx of candidates in the autumn of 1940. Student numbers almost doubled and reached five hundred. That required the enlargement of the teaching staff, which was also almost doubled, partly because, as a result of the reorganization, the teaching periods for speciality subjects had been lengthened from 30 to 45 minutes. The Rector Jāzeps Vītols was offended not by the reorganization itself, but by the aggressive way in which it was demanded and implemented. Twice he submitted his resignation request, but each time remained in office, after warnings that his replacement could be a henchman sent in from the USSR.

Sovietization in everyday life: The Conservatory could not evade activities that testified to its “new spirit” – socialistic competition, free concerts for Stakhanovites, performing during election campaigns and for Red Army units etc. All this complicated the educational process. Lecturers showed great ingenuity in order to fill these formal and pretentious activities with content useful for the students, with virtuoso manoeuvring between political and artistic requirements. Unfortunately, due to the beginning of the war, the 1940–1941 academic year was left without graduates.

People’s conservatories: These were primary and secondary level music educational institutions formed in the 1920s and 1930s in Rīga, Daugavpils, Cēsis, Jelgava, Liepāja, Rēzekne, Tukums and Ventspils, which were traditionally maintained by local governments, patrons and pupils’

tuition fees. During Soviet occupation they were gradually taken over by the state to be transformed into secondary level music schools like those in the USSR, envisaging also the adoption of the Soviet Union's standardized curriculum and fixed repertoire. This process was finished only in mid-May 1941, at the end of the school year.

Publications for music tuition: In the space of one year, the small music publishing house formed by the State Publishing and Printing Companies' Board not only managed to publish important selections of Johann Sebastian Bach's, Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart's and Scarlatti's works, which were required for the practical teaching of music, and collections of songs for schools compiled by the prominent teaching methodologist Jēkabs Mediņš (1885–1971), but also coped with the issue of translations of teaching aids for theory of music courses in answer to requests from the Conservatory.

Criticism and the music press: Critiques of musical events continued to be published in newspapers and periodicals with an intensity characteristic of the 1930s, influenced only by a decrease in the number of periodicals published. The most active critics were Jēkabs Graubiņš, Jānis Zālītis (1884–1943), Valerijs Zosts (1901–1960), Jēkabs Poruks (1895–1963), Volfgangs Dārziņš (1906–1962) and Alberts Jērums (1919–1978). They were in a more difficult situation than other musicians, because they were allowed to accomplish their narrowest professional task, but not the broadest – to be critical mediators between music and society. This was because society was allowed to look in one direction only and this was not to be criticised, and there was even less possibility of discussing the imposed ideology. That was a loss for the society and, of course, for the critics themselves. Each of them had to make some compromise with their convictions. Jēkabs Graubiņš, candid and steadfast in his opinions, could be considered an exception; he was therefore censured by the official ideologist and forced to reduce his work as a critic.

Folk music and folklore research: In socialist ideology folklore was endowed with the prestige of being the working people's art, therefore research in this field was encouraged also in Latvia during the first year of Soviet occupation. Of course, the requirement was to examine folklore from the aspect of class struggle and other Marxist principles, however, during the short occupation year that could not be implemented. The research was carried out by the Latvian Folklore Archives, founded in 1924 and directed by Kārlis Straubergs (1890–1962) since 1929. At the beginning of 1941 the

archives had access to over 16,000 folk tunes and their collection was still continuing. Foremost among of the research projects was a monograph by Jūlijs Sproģis (1887–1972) on Latvian summer solstice songs *Jāņu dziesmu melodijas* [Melodies of Summer Solstice Songs] published in 1941; it was created under the influence of the so-called Finnish school and furnished with a summary in German. In May 1941 ethnographic materials about the Baltic nations were being prepared for publication in Moscow by the USSR Academy of Sciences. This collection of research papers did not appear and was evidently not published.

Preparing the folklore-based performance for the Decade: This was a campaign lasting over half a year to obtain materials and prepare participants for the folklore-based concert planned for the Latvian Arts Decade in Moscow. Composer Emilis Melngailis (1874–1954) was given responsibility for this work and he made many expeditions together with paid companions to Latvia's eastern region of Latgale and western region of Kurzeme, accomplishing organizational tasks and above all collecting folklore. His former collection of folklore material, numbering several thousand, was supplemented during this campaign with around 1,000 units from Latgale (including around 120 Russian Old Believer and Belorussian tunes) and around 160 melodies notated in Kurzeme.

Utilization and presentation of folkloric material: The practice of deliberately incorporating, transforming and interpreting folk music elements in professional music was accepted also in the new circumstances, as folklore was deemed to be the ordinary people's art. In Latvian music it was traditionally found most frequently in folk song arrangements for vocal and instrumental ensembles and did not quite die out during the first year of occupation. The most striking example was Artūrs Salaks' (1891–1984) choir *Dziesmotā senatnē* [Song-Filled Ancient Times], although Salaks' mode of harmonizing and performance was criticised for its departure from authentic folklore. Sergei Krasnopyorov (1900–1961) continued to work with Russian folklore, conducting both a choir and an orchestra of folk instruments. Max Goldin (1917–2009) arranged Jewish folklore for voice and piano.

Music publishing: Only two music specialists, composers Valentīns Utkins (1904–1995) and Valdemārs Upenieks (1896–1955), worked as editors in the Music Publishing House formed by the State Publishing and Printing Companies' Board, nevertheless the volume of music published in a year was relatively large. An average of around ten publications were

issued each month and the number of copies printed was also large. Special attention was given to translations of Russian songs for the masses; individual songs were published in 5,000 to 10,000 copies, collections even in 50,000 copies. Songs for choir were issued in 10,000 copies, solo songs or works for solo instruments in 1,000 copies. During the year the Music Publishing House issued a total of around 50 different music publications.

Records: The privately owned record company *Bellacord Electro* had operated in Riga since 1931. It produced records not only for Latvia but also for Estonia and Finland, and on the eve of the occupation its production exceeded 20,000 copies per month. Music recordings were made in the studio of the Latvian Radio. The nationalization of the record company raised hopes that, with the disappearance of dictates based on commercial profitability, the proportion of good Latvian music would increase. These hopes were not fulfilled, however, because the issue of records was subjected to propaganda considerations – songs for the masses and records in the Russian language predominated. Of some 70 records that were issued during the year, less than ten were devoted to Latvian music.

Creation of new works

Symphonic music: Very few new works were created. Jāzeps Medīņš (1877–1947), with many orchestral works to his name, marked his 50th jubilee as a composer by writing his Symphony No.3, a work that summarized his style, was emotionally balanced and interesting, but retrospective. Also among this year's outstanding orchestral works was *Svinīgā prelūdiņa* [The Solemn Prelude], written by Jānis Ivanovs (1906–1983) – the interpretation of a concrete, rather than nebulous emotional subject in laconic form. The composer wrote the prelude in order to avoid using the revolutionary poetry texts offered by the Radio for the anniversary of the Bolshevik revolution in Russia in 1917. Although dedicated to this anniversary, Ivanov's brilliant prelude has become popular as the opening work in many concert programmes. In the genre of vocal-orchestral works, Jānis Medīņš composed two choral cantata type works: *Ziedošā dzimtene* [Our Flowering Homeland] and *Šīs lielās dienas* [These Momentous Days]. Sergei Krasnopjorov's composition *Glazunova piemiņai* [To the Memory of Glazunov] also belongs to this genre.

Other genres of music: Choral music was traditionally a prolific genre of Latvian music but now very few works appeared. This was caused by the unstable circumstances of the choirs, as well as the fact that a large

proportion of Latvian poetry (i.e. song texts and sources of inspiration for choral works) was denounced by Stalinist ideology and censorship. Very little was also created in the field of folk song arrangements. In the genre of lyrical solo songs, *Sešas romances balsij orķestra pavadījumā* [Six Romances for voice and orchestra] by Jānis Medīņš was the most significant work created at the time: it was a masterly composition in the opulent neo-Romantic style, written by a composer with 200 solo songs to his name. Various composers created a number of solo songs in connection with the 75th jubilee of the outstanding Latvian poet and playwright Rainis in 1940, because the Radio devoted a series of broadcasts to the event and engaged composers to write new works. The Radio also initiated the creation of children's songs; unfortunately the majority of these complied with the themes and style of the Soviet Union's Young Pioneer songs. There were also a few attempts to write so-called songs for the masses, modelled on examples of Russian songs.

Music for films and theatre productions: The most extensive work written for the film industry was Bruno Skulte's music for the film *Kaugurieši*, based on the historical novel by Kārlis Zariņš (1889–1978) about the peasant revolts in Latvia in 1802. There is ample music in the film, with frequent episodes for choir with symphonic orchestra, underlining the main idea of a united people and giving the film an operatic feel. In the field of documentary films, the main work was a propaganda film *Pretim saulei* [Towards the Sun] made as a joint Moscow and Rīga project. The film is a blend of newsreel and educational documentary, in which the music by composer Jānis Medīņš does no more than provide a routinely written accompaniment.

The most significant compositions for the theatre were created in the Daile Theatre, where the Musical Director, composer Marģeris Zariņš, had to deal with plays on revolution-based subjects. For their productions he skilfully made use of themes from songs sung during the revolution to create a musical portrayal of concrete and contrasting ideas. The music for the play *Zelta zirgs* by Rainis was different, as this production was also meant to serve as a representative display of folklore. Here there was no lack of bright and scintillating musical colour, nor a shortage of imagination in orchestral writing. The Drama Theatre production of the play *Skroderdienas Silmačos* [Tailors' Days at Silmači] by Rūdolfs Blaumanis (1863–1908) was also intended as a presentation of Latvian traditions prepared for performance in Moscow.

Not all the music composed during the first year of Soviet occupation has survived, as a great deal of sheet music was lost when part of the Radio's library was burnt out at the beginning of the war.

Development of aesthetics and style in creative writing: The neo-Romanticism that had blossomed at the beginning of the 20th century, with its visionary idealism and fervour, on the eve of the 1940s had already become stagnant. For his third symphony Jāzeps Mediņš chose a mature and acquiescent form of neo-Romantic aesthetics, while the radiant, visionary variant appears in his cantatas and also in many of his solo songs. The works created in this period look aesthetically uniform partly because during this year of Soviet occupation several composers, such as Jānis Kalniņš, Volfgangs Dārziņš and Ādolfs Skulte (1909–2000), who had already introduced new features into Latvian music, did not create any new works.

Music and society. Conclusions: Popularity studies of various genres of music indicate that in the year of Soviet occupation lyrical solo songs headed the concert music genres. At this point in Latvia's history, when it was being destroyed as an independent state, its national heritage of poetry and music acquired a particular radiance. Yet that was not the only reason for the large concert attendances. The symphonies of Ludwig van Beethoven and Franz Schubert also filled the Opera House and required repeat performances. In the threatening and unstable conditions, the concert hall and its music increasingly became a psychological refuge from the weight of reality.

People reacted quite differently and with mixed feelings to the imported Soviet songs that rang out intrusively via the radio and loudspeakers on the streets. Similar to the performances of the Red Army ensembles, these songs were a symbol of the alien new regime and reactions to them depended on a person's attitude to this regime. Those who supported the regime responded even more favourably to the imported "Soviet jazz", because it gave them the satisfaction of two identification possibilities: this music allowed them to identify with their imagined Soviet way of life, and also – and this was the most important thing – with what was fashionable in music in the outside world at that moment.

Attitude towards the ideological diktat: This ideological diktat was felt in every aspect of life, particularly in the intellectual and artistic spheres. Attitudes towards it showed various nuances – avoidance, withdrawal into oneself, direct or indirect acceptance, active support or its

simulation, direct rejection and others. All these can, however, be reduced to three main ones: submission, resistance and collaboration.

Submission: This became the most widespread reaction and that is easily understandable, because the state itself had succumbed without resistance. There were, however, various other reasons for this reaction. Jāzeps Vītols (who hated the new regime) and many others remained in their positions in order to preserve as far as possible the infrastructure and traditions of musical life. There was also a certain amount of apolitical feeling among musicians – a readiness to submit to any political system for the sake of music. Another reason for submission was an initial lack of understanding of what was happening, whereas other Latvian musicians, who had seen how the Bolshevik regime operated in Russia, submitted for quite the opposite reason: they understood what was happening in Latvia and that resistance was hopeless. We cannot ignore the most prosaic reason for submission either – fear. USSR laws were applied in Latvia from the first days of its occupation and, according to these, the independent Latvian state that had existed since 1918 was *ex officio* counter-revolutionary. That meant that anyone who had written or popularized a patriotic song, and the majority of Latvian musicians belonged in this category, could be accused of anti-Soviet propaganda. That not only induced composers to ostensibly “rehabilitate” themselves by writing some song for the new regime, but such acts were also attained by intimidation. It is known, for instance, that *Sarkanais maijs* [Red May], the only song for the masses composed by Mārgeris Zariņš at the time, was written after the composer was threatened that, by refusing, he would decide his fate.

Resistance: Even though Edgars Samts (1909–1941), one of the founders and leaders of the illegal resistance movement *Latvijas Tautas savienība* [Latvian National Alliance], was one of the Opera choristers, incidents of direct resistance were in general more provocative and numerous not among artists, musicians and writers, but rather among people in other professions and ordinary workers, as well as young people at school. The sabotage-type acts of resistance at the Radio (a petard under the carpet in the director’s office, scratching a record of a broadcast, damaging the strings of a piano) were actions that could be attributed to the maintenance or technical staff, rather than the musicians. Sabotage-type acts of resistance, however, no matter how risky and selfless, were nowhere near as effective as the concerts involving patriotic musicians that addressed large audiences and balanced on the borderline of what was allowed. But these disguised acts of pas-

sive intellectual resistance were possible only if some concession, even a small one, was paid to the new regime. Here, similar to the case of Jāzeps Vītols, resistance could not be entirely separated from submission. The intelligentsia had taken responsibility for the survival of culture and this, it seems, stifled a more radical approach, if compared with the sporadic acts of resistance shown by young people and those not involved in intellectual activity.

Collaboration: Where the main reason for co-operating with the regime was to promote its aims, either in the interests of the regime or for personal good, it would be classed as collaboration, rather than submission. Musicians collaborated with the regime for a variety of reasons. There were a few, who really believed in the Communist Utopian aim of establishing ideal relations between people by force. Some young people, incited by a desire for changes, acted impetuously and for a short time supported the regime. There were musicians with narrow social and political views, who were attracted by the high standard of professional music in the USSR and the relatively high financial rewards. Among the collaborators were also Latvians, who had formerly lived in Russia and had been infiltrated from the USSR together with the occupying forces, although there were instances when they made use of their high status to defend Latvia's cultural traditions.

Losses: The whole country suffered from the occupation, but there were specific material, population and intellectual losses that affected musical life. Opportunities for choirs were impaired and their traditions undermined. Part of the repertoire was forbidden. Church concerts were suppressed. Musical information was distorted by censorship. International music contacts were stopped. Musicians were dismissed from work and were victims of manipulation. Tens of prominent musicians were arrested, deported or otherwise physically repressed for political reasons.

With the beginning of the war between the USSR and Germany, the terror became even greater. Increased quantities of goods and equipment were taken out of the country or deliberately destroyed. The Radio's technical equipment was purposely ruined. The Blackheads' Hall in Riga and with it part of the Radio's library and its musical instruments, as well as St Peter's Church and its organ were destroyed during war operations. For that too the Soviet occupying force must take responsibility as one of the initiators of the war. In truth, it must share this blame with the next occupation,

that of Nazi Germany, which ended the first occupation in the summer of 1941 but has gone down in history as causing even greater destruction.

Musical Life and creative work during the war June 22, 1941–May 8, 1945

Historical context: Illusions that, after ousting the Soviet occupation, Nazi Germany would renew Latvia's independence, very soon collapsed. Denationalization did not occur, the abolished societies were not renewed, Latvian language rights were curtailed, streets in Rīga were renamed after National Socialist leaders or former German aristocrats, and almost everything that could be associated with Latvia as an independent state was eradicated. The new regime's plans were implemented particularly harshly during the military administration in the first months of occupation, when attempts to renew the work of universities were obstructed, museums and libraries abolished or renamed, and other actions taken to erase the historical records of Latvians. Drastic censorship measures were applied: libraries were ordered to remove not only Soviet and Jewish music literature, but also all English, French and American sheet music published since 1933. Latvian social and economic leaders formed the so-called Latvian Organizational Centre and tried to keep the pre-war state departments functioning. In place of the former Arts Board, they created the Arts and Social Affairs Department but the Nazis did not endorse such self-government in their occupied territory and formed their own administrative apparatus.

General administration and the administration of the arts

Nazi German civil administration: In July 1941, while military administration was still in force in Latvia, the future of the conquered Eastern region was already being decided in Berlin. Heinrich Himmler's secret plan outlined the scenario envisaged for the people of the Baltic States: some were to be Germanized, but the "racially undesirable" part of the population were to be settled in the conquered Russia as lower administrators and replaced by German people brought into the Baltic States. The former Baltic States and part of Belarus was named *Ostland* and it was to become a province of Greater Germany. In time this attitude softened. Already in February 1942 it was acknowledged that amalgamating the Baltic nations into the Reich would take several generations. In November 1942, in the context of unsuccessful war operations, the Nazi leaders were already prepared to discuss the question of autonomy for the Baltic nations in return

for their citizens' participation in the war on the German side. However the question of autonomy kept on being deferred, making it a convenient issue for manipulating with public opinion. In 1943 the use of Latvia's national symbols was liberalized.

Hitler's decree regarding the administration of occupied territory came into force in July 1941. The Reich Ministry for the Occupied Eastern Territories was established; it was located in Berlin and headed by Nazi Party leader Alfred Rosenberg. His subordinate, Reich Commissioner Hinrich Lohse, was the highest civil administration official of the Eastern Territories. This region (the *Reichskommissariat Ostland*) was divided into General Districts roughly corresponding to the territories of the former national states, with a Commissioner General appointed to govern each district. The General District of Latvia was controlled by Otto-Heinrich Drechsler, with Gustav Dressler overseeing the administration of the arts. Latvia was further divided into six regions, each of which was controlled by a Regional Commissioner whose authority also extended to decisions concerning cultural life.

Latvian Self-Administration of the Land: This structure existed only as a supplementary element of the Nazi German civil administration, partly continuing the functions of the pre-war state departments, yet with no real legal basis. The Latvian self-government structures were known as Directorates General as opposed to the German Commissariats General. The Latvian Directors General usually received oral instructions from the German authorities, which they had to convert into orders and publish in their own name, thus ensuring the imitation of self-government. In the arts field, one of the most important self-government structures was the Directorate General of Education and Cultural Affairs, which supervised the entire field of music education, and from 1942 also the performing arts structures. Composer Jēkabs Graubiņš worked in this Directorate for three years as music specialist.

The Department of Arts and Social Affairs (under the Directorate General of the Interior) was another important self-government structure for music. Its various sections covered nearly every aspect of culture, including everything connected with performing arts – concerts, theatres, societies, song festivals etc. Its directors tried as far as possible to sustain the creative potential of Latvians, including those working in the field of music. This was particularly true of Žanis Unāms (1902–1989) who headed the Department from the beginning of 1943, when the shadow of unsuccessful

war campaigns had already instigated suggestions from Berlin to behave more tolerantly towards the national culture of the people of the Eastern Territories. The Arts Foundation was renewed and funds for its use obtained from deductions imposed on the income of entertainment establishments; this allowed around 700,000 Reichsmarks (RM) to be collected in the space of a year. The Arts Foundation allotted grants for creative work and overseas scholarships, additional payments to augment state pensions etc. In 1943 annual Arts Foundation awards were established in science, in research on Latvia's nature and its culture, in music and the fine arts. In March 1944, 47 authors received these awards, including seven composers (Alfrēds Kalniņš, Jāzeps Vītols, Jānis Mediņš, Helmers Pavasars (1903–1998), Pēteris Barisons (1904–1947), Lūcija Garūta and Jānis Ķēpītis), who shared a total sum of 10,000 RM.

The intensity of musical life overseen by the Department was impressive. In 1943 private arts agencies in Rīga alone organized 320 concerts with a total audience of 136,000, the Opera gave 343 performances, the Opera in Liepāja – 338. In Rīga in the two years beginning with the summer of 1941, there were 526 concerts with over 374,000 in the audience. In the summer of 1942, the Department managed to organize 14 regional and local song festivals, in 1943 a few more, and two even in the summer of 1944, when the front line of the war was already in Latvia.

Other forms of arts administration: To support those who had suffered during the Soviet occupation, a welfare organization known as *Tautas palīdzība* [People's Aid], similar to the German *Volkshilfe*, was formed in September 1941, incorporating the Latvian Red Cross and other former social care organizations. Even though part of the money raised by the People's Aid organization in fundraising campaigns went to support the war effort, the organization was able to help the needy and refugees, and cultural activities also received assistance. In 1943 it organized 730 concerts and shows with a total audience of almost 384,000.

In order to maintain amateur arts, sport and other social activities, the Central Alliance of Trade Unions formed an organization *Atpūta un dzīvotprieks* [Recreation and Joy of Living] with 70 branches all over Latvia; for a couple of years it became the main organizer and financer of cultural activities, particularly in the rural regions. Around 80 choirs, a symphony orchestra and a large number of ensembles and brass bands were established under its wing. It maintained several amateur theatres and organized extensive cultural events.

With the official foundation of the Latvian Legion in March 1943, an organization known as *Latviešu karavīru palīdzība* [Relief Organization for Latvian Servicemen] was established, analogous to the People's Aid organization for civilians. It organized concerts and also became the organizational centre for the so-called Latvian Theatre for the Troops, i.e. companies of musicians and actors, who performed for soldiers wherever they were stationed, including the Eastern Front. Several long tours were made by four troupes, each with its own vocal and instrumental ensemble, singers, ballet dancers, comedians etc. The programme items ranged from classical music to cabaret dance numbers, the performance venues from front-line bunkers to field hospitals, concert halls in Rīga and the forests of the legendary "Kurzeme Fortress" where Latvian soldiers held their positions despite great odds. Reduced in size at the end of the war, these troupes continued to perform for a while in Poland and Germany and ceased their activities there.

The effect of National Socialist ideology on musical life: The idea that the interests of the state and the totalitarian community are of far greater importance than those of the individual, affected also the arts. Everything that in some way expressed the feelings of the individual rather than being concerned with the totalitarian community as a whole was persecuted as "sick" or "neurotic" and labelled decadent or degenerate art (*entartete Kunst*), including such styles or trends as expressionism, atonality and many others. The Rīga newspaper of the Reich Ministry for the Eastern Territories *Deutsche Zeitung im Ostland* explained the requirements of innovative contemporary music: "Today's modern music is simply and abrasively communal, cleansed of refined and sentimental romanticism and Impressionism [...], in order to grasp the spirit and meaning of the times – the really new impudent spirit."

In addition to totalitarianism, racism also had a destructive effect on musical life. In occupied Latvia, as in Germany, the persecution and extermination of Jews affected both the creation of new music and also the performing arts, music education, journalism, music publishing and also our heritage of music from the past. Very few musicians managed to escape, but only one received official permission to flee. By Hitler's special order, former conductor of the Berlin State Opera Leo Blech had been pensioned off, prohibited from working in Germany and had worked at the Latvian National Opera as guest conductor since 1937. In the autumn of 1941 he received Reich Marshall Hermann Göring's permission to leave the

General District of Latvia and travelled to Sweden. Theoretically Latvians were also to be subjected to Nazi racist censorship, yet they were viewed more and more favourably as the need for their co-operation in war operations increased. Without changing their secret colonization plans, the Nazis created a façade of goodwill – they tolerated the song festivals, rehabilitated Latvia's national symbols and financed musicians' studies in Greater Germany. Yet at the same time, they also renewed the old idea (once popular in the German Empire and not really in line with National Socialism ideology) that they had colonized the Baltic States in order to further cultural development in these territories. The German newspaper mentioned earlier published a great deal of material about the colonization of the Baltic States in the 13th and 14th centuries. Of course, not all who had come to Latvia wished to destroy its culture. Walter Bloem (1868–1951), a popular German writer at the time, had lived in Rīga since the autumn of 1941; he was writing a historical novel about Walter von Plettenberg and praised Latvian music and musicians in the press, particularly the opera *Baņuta* by Alfrēds Kalniņš. That caused a counter-reaction, he was recalled and had to leave Latvia.

Even though National Socialist ideology did not convert any prominent Latvian musician to National Socialism, its influence on musical life was evident and was manifested in two different ways. Some, hiding under the banner of National Socialism, looked for ways to ensure the development of Latvian culture, others complied out of rashness, misunderstanding or forced by circumstances. The first group included theologian Visvaldis Sanders (1885–1979), active in social affairs and the promotion of music, and Edmunds Puksis (1906–?), the first director of the Department of Arts and Social Affairs, who utilized the tenets and phraseology of National Socialism in his speeches in order to safeguard and justify the existence rights of Latvian arts, but later became involved in the anti-Nazi movement. Those belonging to the second group expressed themselves mainly in the press, yet for the most part just once in some article or interview, indicating that the text had probably been commissioned.

In National Socialist arts, propaganda worked together with light entertainment and merriment, the latter being part of the cult of optimism. Never in Latvia have there been so many venues catering for revues and other musical shows as during the years of Nazi occupation.

Music in everyday life. Amateur music-making – choirs, orchestras: Throughout the whole period of Nazi occupation, Latvian choirs

retained the urge to assemble as nationally orientated groups, a desire kindled by the war and two occupations. As a result their repertoire consisted predominantly of folk songs, patriotic songs and Latvian classics. At the beginning of the new occupation, choral societies were not renewed as independent organizations, but just registered. Finally in April 1943 Otto Drechsler (1895–1945) issued regulations for the process of reinstating societies as independent bodies. The complicated organizational process did not suppress choral activity: in May 1942 there were 214 groups of musicians (choirs, orchestras and ensembles) registered in Latvia, and choral concerts were organized every spring to allow many individual choirs to present their work. There were around 150 choirs operating in the rural districts, choirs that had been closed down in the first year of occupation were renewed and new ones founded. The prominent choirs of former years continued their work.

Song festivals during the war: Both sides – those who wished to come together and sing, and also the authorities – realized the nationally explosive potential of song festivals. Therefore not only was securing permission complicated, but festivals were also required to have extensive political speeches in the first part of the agenda, with the programme of songs relegated to the second part. The closer the front line approached, the higher was the status of the officials giving speeches and the more actively they urged people to support the war effort. The last speech usually concluded on a theme that allowed the sentiments of the song *Dievs, svētī Latviju* [God, Bless Latvia] to be invoked and then to sing it, without indicating that this was Latvia's national anthem. Germany's national anthem was, of course, obligatory, as was also the so-called "Horst-Wessel Song" *Die Fahne hoch* [The Flag on High], but no other repertoire restrictions were imposed. The repertoire was equally divided between Latvian folk songs and Latvian classics. A total of 38 regional or local song festivals were organized during the war.

The largest festivals (in Liepāja, Smiltene, Daugavpils and Jelgava) gathered an audience of around 20,000, but the regional festival in Rīga, with 88 choirs participating in the combined choir, even some 40,000. There were also smaller local festivals with just ten choirs or less. Some of the festival plans did not come into effect and the dream of a Latvian national song festival was not fulfilled.

At a time when so much blood was being shed, such festivals were nonetheless justified: they fostered people's social vigilance, unity and patriotism.

Music in churches. Organ music: Music-making in churches was no longer restricted and was restored; furthermore many memorial services for war and deportation victims were organized in the form of concerts. In February 1943 the Evangelical Lutheran congregation in Kuldīga organized a text and music competition for a cantata *Latvju lūgšana* [A Latvian's Prayer]. This noteworthy event resulted in the creation of the most significant musical documentation of the period: the cantata *Dievs, Tava zeme deg!* [God, Thy Earth is Aflame!] by Lūcija Garūta with lyrics by Andrejs Eglītis (1912–1911). This work saw many performances at the time and is still performed today. Concerts of organ music were popular, particularly with the participation of vocal soloists, and performances were also given by organ virtuosos from abroad, the most prominent among them being Günther Ramin from Leipzig.

Music and songs in social life: This type of music came from a number of sources. Imported German film and operetta music was copied and imitated in places of light entertainment and for radio broadcasts. Marches played by military orchestras could be heard on the streets every day. In the shadow of the war, ancient Latvian patriotic songs were revived and new ones created; people sang these when seeing-off or meeting soldiers and at other solemn and emotional moments. Several competitions for soldiers' songs were announced. Army life also led to songs that in the course of time became folklore, their authors unknown; these include the two most popular soldiers' songs *Zilais lakatiņš* [The Blue Scarf] and *Paliec sveiks, mans mazais draugs* [Farewell, My Dear Friend].

Music in radio broadcasts: During the first months of Nazi occupation, the Radio was taken over by Germany's armed forces and a few technical improvements were made so that it could serve mainly the war effort. The transmitter in Liepāja was similarly affected. Beginning with October 22, 1941, all the transmitters in Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia and part of Belarus were combined to form the Ostland Broadcasting Network (*Sendergruppe Ostland*) with its centre and main transmitter in Rīga, and the whole system was incorporated into the Reich Broadcasting Company (*Reichs-Rundfunk-Gesellschaft*) in Berlin. The management of the whole network was also stationed in Rīga (directed by Hans Krieger). The radio engineers and section managers were also replaced with people from

Germany. From the autumn of 1942 Rīga was joined by cable with transmitters in Germany, Tallinn, Vilnius and Minsk, and for the first time the Latvian Radio Symphony Orchestra presented the so-called Reich programme, which could be transmitted all over Germany and its occupied territories.

The Radio was obliged to fulfil three main requirements: there was to be a large proportion of broadcasts in German, an increase in the amount of light entertainment music and positively stirring journalism as understood by the National Socialists. Particular attention was given to the Radio's light entertainment music ensembles. The authority of the Radio's Director Janis Mediņš was diminished because the Music Section was taken over by pianist Hans Koelzsch from Germany. Nevertheless the Radio tenaciously upheld its traditions, its classical Latvian music broadcasts were retained and folklore ensembles continued to perform. Of course, there was an increase in the proportion of German music in the broadcast repertoire, particularly since many ensembles, soloists and conductors from Germany were permanently employed by the Radio or appeared as guest artists. Salon music conductor Fritz Diederich from Hamburg remained in Rīga for the longest period: he worked at the Radio for three years. In August 1942 a special regular broadcast was begun: a half-hour long programme for Latvian volunteer soldiers engaged in the war. With songs, music and greetings from relatives, it became the most popular wartime broadcast. Another special broadcast was the transmission of weekly 45-minute concerts in factories or offices (intended for the break from work) given by the Radio's musicians, ensembles and even the orchestra.

The Radio's orchestral and chamber music performances: German traditions and self-respect did not allow classical music concerts to cease even during wartime. The Radio's formerly existing chamber music ensembles were retained, the Germans formed their own, and some even together with Latvian solo instrumentalists; during the war years there were over 70 solo instrumentalists and almost as many vocalists giving radio performances. Latvian music continued to be broadcast, increasing in importance as the Nazi politics on national issues became more liberal during the course of the war.

The German directors enlarged the Radio's symphony orchestra, renamed it the Great Orchestra and gave it central position in the orchestral concert seasons. On the eve of 1942, the orchestra renewed its weekly public concerts in the Radio's recording studio. During the 1942–1943 season,

in combination with the Opera orchestra, the Radio's orchestra took part in a cycle of concerts at the Opera, supported by the Reich Commissioner Hinrich Lohse. In cooperation with the German organization *Große Gilde im Ostland*, a total of 32 such concerts took place in the Greater Guild Hall during the following season. The Radio's Great Orchestra gave an average of 120 performances each season. The repertoire consisted predominantly of music by 18th and 19th century German composers; contemporary composers appeared less frequently – foremost among these were the neo-classicists Paul Graener and Max Trapp. The programmes also included other composers from Germany and its allied territories, however very few younger generation composers were represented. Very little Latvian orchestral music was presented in the public concerts and only Jānis Mediņš was represented in all the seasons.

In March 1942 the Estonian Radio Orchestra conducted by Olav Roots (1910–1974) gave a guest performance in Rīga, presenting a programme of Estonian music. In December 1943 Olav Roots also directed the performance in Rīga of Eduard Tubin's (1905–1982) Symphony No.3, an event lauded by the critics. Concerts were mostly presented under the baton of the Radio's conductors, but around 20 German guest conductors (Hermann Abendroth, Fritz Lehmann, Hanns Udo Müller, Hilmar Weber and others) also directed performances in Rīga during the war. Guest soloists included Estonian violinist Carmen Priede-Berendsen (1917–1991), pianist Dagmar Kokker (1910–1990) and baritone Tiit Kuusik (1911–1990). Guests from Germany included pianist and composer Eduard Erdmann (1896–1958), who was born in Cēsis, violinists Georg Kulenkampff and Karl Freund and baritone Arno Schellenberg (soloists with whom Latvian musicians later supplemented their studies in post-war Germany), pianist Hans Priegnitz and many others. Latvian virtuosos were also amply represented in orchestral concerts, equalling the guest soloists in number. The Radio's orchestra broadened the scope of its work by participating in performances of vocal-orchestral works that were lauded by Latvian and German critics. Of course, the Radio received and broadcast noteworthy recordings from many German, Austrian and Italian recording studios, as well as participated in the so-called Reich programme's exchange broadcasts.

The professional concert scene

Orchestral concerts: In addition to the concerts presented in Rīga during the war by the Radio's orchestra, around 40 other orchestral concerts

took place, organized by the Opera, the trade unions, the University of Latvia and even the Latvian theatre company *Tautas teātris* [The People's Theatre]. In 1941 and 1942 summer concerts were organized by the City of Rīga: symphony orchestra concerts mainly in the park *Vērmanes dārzs*, while brass bands and wind orchestras also performed in other parks in the city. There were also performances by military bands, the most prominent of these being the Latvian Security Commander's Orchestra led by Friedrich Tilegant (1910–1968), a band that gave concerts right through the war in Rīga and other towns in Latvia. For the summer concerts of 1942, the authorities stipulated that around 50% of the repertoire be devoted to German music, 25% to Latvian music and 25% to other music. There was a noticeable decline in the standard of summer concert performances in 1942, therefore in the following year orchestral music was played in *Vērmanes dārzs* by the Radio's Great Orchestra. Only wind orchestras and military bands performed there at the beginning of the summer of 1944.

Orchestral music performances in Liepāja were renewed with seven concerts in the summer of 1943 and an equal number in winter; these were organized by the Liepāja Opera and the German conductor Paul Kloß. In Ventspils in 1943 the local State Music School orchestra, in an augmented form and with the participation of many soloists from Rīga, presented 14 concerts under the baton of one of the Radio's conductors Rūdolfs Kripe (1895–1973), while in 1944 there were performances by the trade unions' Little Symphony Orchestra conducted by Jānis Dreimanis (1909–1963) and others. A few concerts each year were presented in Cēsis by its State Music School orchestra directed by Kārlis Veilands (1901–1961).

Other regional concerts: After the year of Soviet occupation and the trauma of war, musical life in the provincial towns recovered more slowly than in Rīga, particularly so in Daugavpils, which was paralysed by an epidemic of typhoid fever until the spring of 1942. Nevertheless, once concerts were begun, they took place quite often. That can be explained by their great diversity: concerts were organized by the local musicians, performances were given by guest soloists from Rīga and Germany, there were concerts for the armed forces, reciprocated with performances for the local audiences given by musicians in the forces, concerts for the wounded, for charities etc. Musicians from Rīga often gave guest performances, particularly visiting places where concert series were organized: Liepāja, Jelgava and Ventspils. It is admirable that German guest artists, even the famous

string quartets of Dresden and Munich, visited also the provincial towns of remote districts.

Concerts given by guest artists from Germany were particularly numerous in Liepāja because the city's musical life was largely determined by its German residents, but activities there were also enhanced by the artists of the Liepāja Opera. In addition to these performances, the Liepāja Philharmonic Society presented chamber music concerts, in which Latvian music predominated; from March 1943 it also organized a series of 32 concerts featuring various instrumentalists and vocalists, mainly soloists from Rīga.

In Ventspils only the music school could provide local musicians, therefore here the proportion of concerts with guest artists was even higher. It was high also in Jelgava but for a different reason: the city was within easy reach of many artists visiting Rīga and also, of course, easily accessible to those living in Rīga. The local musical potential was also great, still largely directed by composer Jēkabs Mediņš.

In Rēzekne the teaching staff at the local music school played a significant role, organizing most of the concerts in the town and its surroundings. The presence of guest musicians was felt more in Daugavpils. In the region of Vidzeme the musicians teaching at the local music schools actively participated in concerts. Many wartime concerts were given a special flavour by dedications and expressions of gratitude to those, in whose name they were organized. Each year more and more wartime concerts were organized for the benefit of soldiers, for the wounded, to support the relatives of the fallen, and with the motto *Tēvzemei un fronteī* [For our homeland and the war effort]. As a result the concerts evoked a specific mood that was dictated by life's harsh reality.

Soloist and chamber ensemble concerts in Rīga: Such concerts were truly enormous in number. Only two venues were available because the rest of the concert halls had been taken over by the armed forces. In the Hall of the Latvian University concerts took place almost every evening, with two or even three on Sundays. The main organizer of these was Otto Kroll's arts agency, which organized 260 of a total of 320 such concerts in the winter of 1942–1943. The most important for creative development were Latvian composer concerts, where the new works they had written could be presented and evaluated. During the war such concerts presented the music of Jānis Norvilis (1906–1994), Lūcija Garūta, Arvids Žilinskis (1905–1993), Leonīds Vīgners and Helmērs Pavasars, and marked the jubilees of Jāzeps Vītols and Emilis Melngailis. In the winter seasons the Con-

servatory organized monthly chamber music concerts, in which members of its teaching staff performed together with artists of the Opera. The top soloists participated also in concerts organized by the Latvian Volunteers Organization and the Relief Organization for Latvian Servicemen. With the approach of the front line of the war, the number of patriotic concerts increased and these were supplemented by performances for refugees.

Solo concerts featuring singers were particularly numerous. In Rīga over a period of three years there were about 320 of these, with the participation of no less than 100 soloists. During the same period there were 30 piano evenings given by 15 Latvian pianists, over 25 solo concerts played by 17 violinists, and over ten solo concerts featuring seven Latvian cello virtuosos.

There were around 20 vocal music stars among the wartime solo singers (and some of these have already been named) and a similar number of singers who could be classed as chamber music soloists. Among the singers appearing in concerts for the first time, some were vocal music students and others (also numbering several tens) were singers from the world of musical plays and operetta, who had not performed in concerts before. Admittedly, giving solo concerts became somewhat fashionable for singers during the war, because their programmes could testify to Latvia's musical heritage and also attract audiences with musical interpretations of topical patriotic poetry. Thus just performing in a solo concert seemed to acquire the radiance of a patriotic act. For this reason such concerts were also presented by singers, whose abilities were more suited to folk song programmes or other genres, and thus the great demand for solo concerts sometimes led to a lower standard of performance.

Olafs Ilziņš was still the leading violinist, but during the war 16-year-old Lida Rubene (born 1926) showed herself as a brilliant debutante. Cellist Atis Teichmanis soon superseded Alfrēds Ozoliņš in terms of popularity. The older and middle generation of pianists was replaced by the younger generation, who had been able to supplement their education during the 1930s in overseas music centres. A set of even younger pianists (Vilma Čirule, born 1923, Guna Kurme, born 1926, Daina Vilipa, born 1930) made successful debuts and went on to become the leading pianists for the next decades. More and more young piano accompanists were drawn in to participate in the numerous solo concert programmes.

Cultural invasion and cultural exchange: The performances of German musicians in Latvia were not, of course, part of a freely chosen cultural exchange programme but dictated by the occupying regime. German

artists had various motives when they arrived in Latvia: it was rarely to dispense undisguised political propaganda, often it was a cultural mission to serve and entertain the German armed forces, often also the routine work of experienced musicians. Although the German artists' view of Latvia's cultural scene continually improved, Latvia did not obtain the right to choose its cultural activities. That does not mean, however, that guest artists working in Latvia directly implemented the National Socialist two-faced arts policies. Many of them acted in accord with their consciences, formed good working relationships with their colleagues in Latvia, and some performed works written by Latvian composers.

As the war dragged on, National Socialist ideologists realized that, in order to receive some allegiance from the occupied nations, it was also necessary to give them some feeling of their equal worth in the realm of culture. The German Music Institute's Salzburg Course for Foreigners was founded as part of the historical research centre *Mozarteum* in Austria, and in the summer of 1943 six Latvian musicians were able to work with prominent teachers there and receive supplementary training. Several instrumental virtuosos, singers and ballet dancers toured abroad. In 1944 institutions in Nazi Germany realized the necessity of allotting particular remuneration for the work of composers from the Baltic States. This took the form of commissions given by Greater Germany's Ministry of People's Education and Propaganda, and the Latvian composers chosen for these were Alfrēds Kalniņš, Pēteris Barisons, Jānis Medīņš and Jānis Ivanovs.

The Opera: The military administration's initial scepticism about the existence of the Opera in Rīga was replaced by great enthusiasm when the high standard of the National Opera's productions was recognized. Renamed *Rigaer Opernhaus*, the Opera became the most popular cultural institution attended by German civilians and the armed forces; it was considered so important that it was placed within the jurisdiction of the Reich Commissioner for all the Eastern Territories Hinrich Lohse, rather than under the General District of Latvia. That led to the Opera being more strictly controlled, with attempts to influence the repertoire and demands for operas written by German composers to be performed in German. At every performance 450 seats had to be reserved for the military commander's office and the army units stationed in Rīga, and only about 20% of the requirements of Latvian civilians could be satisfied. Furthermore, the regime's elite and its retinue had to be allotted complimentary tickets, which meant the Opera was forced to accept a loss of around 160,000 RM

every season. The replacement of one occupying regime with another had resulted in a loss of personnel: several soloists were stranded in the Soviet Union, several had been repressed and sent to Germany as forced labourers (Eduards Miķelsons, Aleksandrs Viļumanis), while others had disappeared in the Holocaust. New soloists were employed: Alīda Vāne (1899–1969), Amanda Liberte-Rebāne (1893–1981), Arnolds Jēkabsons (1902–1969) and Marija Vintere (1911–2001). Composer Jēkabs Poruks returned to the post of Director. In the autumn of 1941, the Opera's personnel stabilized with 25 soloists, 75 musicians in the orchestra, 65 choristers and 70 ballet dancers, led by four conductors (Teodors Reiters, Jānis Kalniņš, Arvīds Norītis and Leonīds Viņners).

The 1941–1942 season began on July 28 with the operetta *Zigeunerbaron* [The Gipsy Baron] by Johann Strauss, and this became the season's most frequently performed production. 16 different operas were staged during the season, three of them new productions: Richard Wagner's *The Flying Dutchman* and *Tannhäuser*, as well as *Baņuta* by Alfrēds Kalniņš. There were five ballets staged, including two new productions. During the course of this first season, the Opera earned its good reputation and was highly praised by Latvian and German critics.

During the 1942–1943 season 17 different operas, two operettas and five ballets were staged. The most popular was the new production of Gioacchino Rossini's *The Barber of Seville*. The other new production, Wagner's *Lohengrin*, was directed by a group of artists from Germany and its low standard aroused discontent among the Opera's personnel. The third new production, the opera *Hamlet* by Jānis Kalniņš, was magnificently staged but, because of its modern musical ideas, balanced on the borderline of what was allowed and forbidden in innovative writing. During the season the Opera catered for an audience of 433,000 and there were always insufficient tickets to fulfil the demand.

The season of 1943–1944 was very intensive and lasted almost 13 months, until September 3. It was clouded by disputes among the leading authorities about who controlled the theatre and who owned the premises. The building became the property of the City of Rīga, but the disputes hampered the preparation of productions. During the season 22 different operas, two operettas and ten ballets were staged. The production and first performance of Beethoven's opera *Fidelio* was directed by Hermann Abendroth, with Leonīds Viņners then taking over as the regular conductor. The second new opera production was Leoš Janáček's *Jenůfa*. The main

event became the first performance of a four-act ballet *Staburags* by Alfrēds Kalniņš, staged as a monumental and richly ornate production based on Latvian folklore. 17 orchestral concerts and over 20 concerts in support of refugees or the People's Aid organization also took place during the season. By the order of Commissioner General Otto-Heinrich Drechsler, all the theatres in Rīga were closed down on September 3, 1944.

Opera in Liepāja during the war: The Liepāja Drama, Opera and Ballet Theatre was renamed the City of Liepāja Theatre and its opera company came under the strict control of the regime, with Specialist Officer Hans-Karl Sichart, Director of *Theater Bremen*, appointed to direct it. Operas written by German composers had to be performed in German, and half of the seats at each performance had to be reserved for the armed forces. The Holocaust left gaps in the personnel and losses among the soloists. The choir was reduced to 29 singers, the orchestra to 33 musicians and the ballet to 29 dancers. The Theatre engaged conductor Paul Kloß from Frankfurt to direct all the important productions, pushing aside the Latvian conductors Arnolds Lapiņš (1905–1982) and Oto Karls. The 1941–1942 season opened with Giuseppe Verdi's opera *Traviata* on September 2, 1941; during the season seven opera and three ballet productions were renewed, and new productions of the operetta *Gypsy Baron* by Strauss and Wagner's opera *The Flying Dutchman* were staged. A total of 110 opera and operetta performances, 12 ballet evenings, 28 concerts and other events took place during the season. The Theatre began the next season with yet another new name: the City of Liepāja Opera and Drama Theatre. Another six opera and two ballet productions were renewed. A number of new productions were staged: Norbert Schultze's opera *Der schwarze Peter*, Wagner's *Lohengrin*, Verdi's *Rigoletto*, Giacomo Puccini's *Tosca*, Mozart's *The Marriage of Figaro*, Pietro Mascagni's *Cavalleria rusticana* and Ruggiero Leoncavallo's *Pagliacci*, as well as Fred Raymond's operetta *Maske in Blau*. During the course of the season, the Theatre's musical productions attracted an audience of 180,000, of which 25% came from the armed forces; a total of 92 opera, 19 operetta and 37 ballet performances, as well as 19 programmes of ballet divertissements were staged. 26 performances were staged specially for soldiers, and 37 ballet performances were given for the navy aboard their warships. With hard work the Theatre had managed to make progress. The 1943–1944 season was notable for its many productions: Carl Maria von Weber's opera *Freischütz*, the opera *Ugunī* by Jānis Kalniņš, the operetta *Der Fledermaus* by Strauss,

Alexander Glazunov's ballet *Raymonda*, Pyotr Tchaikovsky's opera *Queen of Spades* and Mozart's *The Abduction from the Seraglio*. Performances were also directed by another conductor from Germany, Josef Ingebrandt. During the course of the season, 167,245 people attended the Theatre's musical productions, nearly half of them soldiers, and 13 performances were presented specially for the wounded. From the beginning of July, the personnel began to be sent to dig trenches, and on September 13 the Theatre ceased to function.

Musical productions staged by the Latvian theatre company *Tautas teātris*: This theatre company was founded in Rīga in December 1941 under the jurisdiction of the trade unions. The company included a drama ensemble, a children's theatre group and an operetta ensemble that also staged musical comedies and various types of musical shows, also giving performances outside Rīga. The Musical Director was composer Jānis Norvilis, who provided music for drama performances and composed a musical comedy "*Ezermaļu*" *krokodils* [The Crocodile of Ezermaļi]. The company tried to provide entertainment and relief for people working long hours in German enterprises, allocating season tickets and even complimentary tickets. In the 1941–1942 season over 136,000 people attended the theatre company's performances, in the season following there were 456 performances with a total audience of 310,000, while the 387 performances presented during the 1943–1944 season attracted an audience of 285,000.

Music in other theatres: Theatre companies providing light entertainment during the war were in essence musical troupes, whose performances of songs and dances were supplemented with sketches, dialogues and other theatrical acts, and who rarely staged complete musical works written for the theatre. Such troupes included two theatre companies that presented performances for German soldiers (*Soldatentheater*), the Latvian variety show theatre *Frasquita* and the New Variety Show Theatre in Riga, as well as the same type of theatre *Diana* in Liepāja. The theatres in Jelgava, Valmiera, Cēsis and Daugavpils were able to stage complete operettas, while the drama ensembles in Ventspils and Rēzekne could manage productions of musical comedies. The most interesting music for theatre productions appeared in the Daile Theatre in Rīga, where composer Mārgeris Zariņš wrote music for 18 productions, including the musical play *Dzejnieks un roze* [The Poet and the Rose] in 1942.

Music for light entertainment: The National Socialists did not link opportunities for entertainment and pleasure with liberalization but with strict control over the behaviour of people in their free time. Trade unions quite regularly organized impressive, entertaining musical events for the workers, but this orientation towards mass audiences, typical of the organization *Atpūta un dzīvotprieks*, which imitated its “mother organization” *Kraft durch Freude* [Strength Through Joy] in Germany, expressed the tendency of totalitarian regimes to centralize the way people spent their free time, rather than letting them be free to follow their individual dispositions.

Musicians performing at various dances and participating in the many musical evenings or variety shows that took place, staged even in the open air in *Vērmanes dārzs* in Riga, presented a rather mixed and incompatible range of music genres. The most popular of the many ensembles playing music for light entertainment during the war was the trio *Trīs Vintēri* [The Three Vinters] (voice, guitar and accordion) led by Alfrēds Vintēris (1908–1976). There were also ensembles of German musicians serving in Hitler’s armed forces. German *schlager* hits became part of the motley repertoire, but Neapolitan songs and operetta music were also retained, so vocalists included both opera soloists and also variety show singers. The most outstanding and popular among the latter was Marija Žeimīte.

Ensembles playing jazz stood out in the context of this stylistic diversity. The most active of these jazz ensembles leaned towards the swing style that was so popular at the time. Swing elements reached Latvia through the German music popular at the time, and their rapid adaptation was almost the only creative gain in this field of music.

Music education and training

Less than half of the music schools that had been nationalized during the Soviet occupation renewed their status as private institutions and resumed work. In comprehensive schools the syllabus was abridged, including the singing and music programmes. Concerts for school children at the Opera and the Radio were renewed.

Music schools: In the spring of 1941, eight so-called people’s conservatories and also the Valmiera School of Music had been reorganized as state music schools. Under the new regime, all of them continued to be funded by the state, though the new programmes could be realized only in part, and operation during the war was very difficult. The state music schools

in Rīga, Tukums and Ventspils even extended their curriculum with new speciality subjects. In some cities the number of pupils attending these schools diminished, but in Jelgava and Liepāja it increased. In Daugavpils, where the school's building and equipment had been damaged in the war, the renewal of music education was particularly difficult. Despite the war, musicians teaching at music schools continued to give concert performances, particularly in Rēzekne, Cēsis and Valmiera.

The Conservatory: At the beginning of the war, efforts to resume work met with difficulties because the military administration initially objected, and only in November 1941 was the Conservatory able to restart its teaching programme. The previously initiated reforms were discontinued, but the 45-minute teaching periods for speciality subjects, introduced during the previous year, were retained. The restructuring of the Conservatory towards a university structure continued with the introduction of the academic post of Extraordinary Professor in June 1942. The Conservatory lost some of its students and teaching staff in the Holocaust and through political repressions. It also lost its premises, which were converted into an infirmary for the wounded; only a few rooms were left for the Rector's use and for the library. Teaching took place in rented premises in various places in the city, as well as in the flats of the teaching staff. The Conservatory organized monthly chamber music concerts and also supplemented the musical life of Riga with its student evenings and examination concerts, which were open to the public. In the 1942–1943 academic year Rector Jāzeps Vītols had to battle against graduating students being drafted into the army. The teaching process also suffered because many students had to spend long hours working for their living, and the 1943–1944 academic year saw a decrease in the number of new students admitted. Nevertheless, even under these conditions, the Conservatory trained several promising musicians, who later became successful artists, working both in Latvia and elsewhere during the second half of the 20th century. Three students secured places and scholarships for studies in Salzburg offered by Commissioner General Drechsler; however, their prospects were annulled by the imminent defeat of Nazi Germany.

Once the front line reached Latvia, the people of Rīga began to be mobilized for trench digging. In order to protect the staff and students, the Directorate General of Education and Cultural Affairs suggested the Conservatory participate in the care of the wounded by giving concerts for them. A cycle of concerts was organized on behalf of the Relief Organiza-

tion for Latvian Servicemen and the People's Aid organization. At the end of August 1944, the Conservatory was ordered to cease functioning. On receiving the regime's order, Jāzeps Vītols proposed certain conditions for the suspension of the teaching process: that it not be regarded as the liquidation of the Conservatory, and that staff members retain their wages and the right to return to their former positions. In the event of evacuation, 44 tons of equipment were to be taken out of the country. The Conservatory's library and archives were retained in Latvia by packing worthless press cuttings and other material for shipment instead of sheet music and documents.

Musical life during the final stages of the war in Kurzeme: In the summer of 1944 the evacuation plans for Rīga only applied to institutions and companies, but from September onwards evacuation was organized with the idea of not leaving the enemy any possible recruits or labour, therefore everyone was evacuated, even if it meant using force. From the middle of October, the land route between Latvia and Germany was cut and the western part of Latvia became the so-called "Kurzeme Fortress". This enclave of some 230,000 permanent residents saw the influx of around 150,000 refugees and about 200,000 military personnel, including the 19th Division of the Latvian Legion. These defenders of Kurzeme managed to hold the front line for almost half a year, giving many people the chance to escape to Germany or Sweden.

In the difficult conditions under siege, musical life (and cultural activity in general) was relatively intensive and feverish. It was concentrated in Kuldīga, Liepāja, Ventspils and Talsi and the surrounding districts, because the musicians from Rīga were mainly located there. Various choirs were formed (both mixed choirs and Latvian Legion male voice choirs) and concerts took place in city cinemas, churches and military hospitals, and during tours further afield. Special attention was given to performances of the impressive cantata, *Dievs, Tava zeme deg!* by Lūcija Garūta, and also to the presentation of music for light entertainment: even a popular musical comedy was staged. Ensembles organized by the Latvian Theatre for the Troops gave performances in front line positions and in the rear. After the closure of the Opera and Drama Theatre in Liepāja, concerts were still performed there.

In August part of the Radio organisation was evacuated from Rīga to Liepāja. When the Nazi German army began its retreat in November, this part, broadcasting mainly for the forces, was evacuated to Gdansk in

Poland. Later it was transferred to Pomerania and Mecklenburg, where it ceased operating on May 5, 1945. Operating at the same time as the Radio from Rīga, the German armed forces broadcasting unit URSULA transmitted both information in Latvian and also music, first from Valmiera and later from Liepāja. The original Latvian transmitter in Liepāja continued operation in 1945, partly taking over the functions of the Radio organisation evacuated from Riga. In the spring of 1945, with the added technical potential of the transmitting station in Kuldīga, it acquired the name *Raidītājs Kurzeme* [Radio Network Kurzeme] and continued to operate until May 8, 1945. The popular male double quartet *Tēviņa* [Homeland] led by Jānis Ansbergs (1911–1996), as well as the musicians that had congregated in Kurzeme and the leading radio journalist and poet Andrejs Eglītis, all played an important part in these broadcasts serving Kurzeme.

Music critiques in the press: Three or four Latvian newspapers and several journals, as well as the *Deutsche Zeitung im Ostland* in German, regularly published articles about musical events. There were around ten music critics, who wrote regularly for the Latvian press; the most radical among them was Jēkabs Graubiņš, who lost his job with the daily newspaper *Tēviņa* [Homeland] for that reason. The censors paid much more attention to the tone of the article and the viewpoints it expressed, than to the actual information it presented: the narrow interpretation of the requirement for positivism excluded critical appraisals.

Folklore research and the use of folkloric material: Folklore research continued in the Latvian Folklore Archives. The most significant research project was that of Jūlijs Sproģis: a proof copy of his monograph *Senie mūzikas instrumenti un darba un godu dziesmu melodijas Latvijā* [Ancient Music Instruments and Melodies of Work and Celebration Songs in Latvia] was prepared in 1943, but copies were not printed. Jēkabs Graubiņš published research articles in the journal *Latvju Mēnešraksts* [The Latvian Monthly], particularly about issues concerning the metre of folk songs. There were predominantly two alternative approaches to the use and popularization of folklore: the incorporation of folklore material in professional arrangements or its demonstration in seemingly authentic forms. Composers and musicians continued to pursue both directions.

Music publishing: The work of publishers was supervised and coordinated by the Publishing Board (*Amt für Verlagswesen*) and, of course, the censors. In addition to other publications, nine publishing houses also issued sheet music or music books, but in limited quantities, being restricted

also by a shortage of paper and other materials. The largest supplier of sheet music was the Otto Krolls' Publishing House. In the field of music book publishing, the most significant achievement was the issue of the monograph *Jāzeps Vītols: Raksti par viņa dzīvi un darbu 80 gadus* [Jāzeps Vītols: Essays on his Life and Work over 80 Years], edited by Jēkabs Graubiņš and published in Rīga in 1944. The rest were music textbooks or popular books about music, including translations from German. The song festival repertoire, solo songs and collections of soldiers' songs received the greatest attention from the music publishers, while very little instrumental music was issued.

Records: The historical company *Bellacord-Electro* was an exceptional case in that it was denationalized and continued active production, particularly issuing copies of former records and supplying the other occupied Baltic States as well. New records featured mainly German music for light entertainment. Although some Latvian singers and ensembles participated in the recordings, music by Latvian composers was ignored.

Creation of new works during the war

The unstable conditions during wartime did not encourage the creation of extensive works and led to a predominance of small forms, particularly solo songs. Nevertheless, a few extensive compositions were also created and performed.

Orchestral music: The first performance of Symphony No.4 *Atlantīda* [Atlantis] by Jānis Ivanovs took place on September 28, 1943. This work, significant in the development of Latvian music, had essentially been created on the eve of 1940 but the final edition emerged during the war. The universal subject matter and a set of novel expressive elements made this symphony the most innovative of its time. The critiques in the Latvian and German press were full of praise. Jānis Kalniņš finished his Symphony No.1 in 1943 but it was first performed only after the war, on May 20, 1948, in Lübeck, Germany. Valentīns Utkins wrote his Symphony No. 2 on Russian history themes but it was not performed. Smaller orchestral works were written by Ādolfs Ābele (1889–1967), Sergei Krasnopjorov, Jānis Ķepītis, Jānis Norvilis and Helmers Pavašars.

Ballet, operetta and musical plays: The ballet *Staburags* by Alfrēds Kalniņš, which had its first performance in the Opera in the autumn of 1943, was the most important work written in this genre during the war. The extensive score, written in the composer's customary style, has

retained its place in Latvian music as a picturesque work rendered in pastel shades. Mārgēris Zariņš, Jānis Norvilis and Eižens Freimanis (1906–1968) created works in the genres of operetta and the musical play.

Vocal-orchestral works: The main works in this genre were Lūcija Garūta's cantata *Dievs, Tava zeme deg!*, mentioned earlier, and the ballad *Nāves sala* [Island of Death, a name given to a peninsula on the Dau-gava near Rīga, where large numbers of Latvian soldiers died, heroically withstanding German attacks in 1916] by Pēteris Barisons. The extensive monologue for soprano and orchestra *Vēstules Pēram Gintam* [Letters to Peer Gynt] written on the scale of a symphony by Jānis Medīņš in 1943, and the oratorio *Jēzus Nacaretē* [Jesus at Nazareth], composed by Jāzeps Vītols in 1942, were also noteworthy additions to Latvian music.

Songs for choir: Around 130 songs for choir were written during the war, including about 60 folk song arrangements. The political upheavals experienced by the nation renewed the choral ballad, the narrative genre depicting the nation's history. The creation of choral poems was similarly inspired. The profusion and diversity of feeling aroused by nature, so characteristic of Latvian music, found expression in new lyrical choral works, and there was an increase in the proportion of lyrical songs on patriotic themes.

Solo songs: The most popular genre for new works was the solo song with piano accompaniment, and this became the most important vehicle for expressing and maintaining the identity of Latvian music. In three years almost 300 solo songs were created by 37 composers, based on poetry written by 60 authors; poems by Andrejs Eglītis were used more than 40 times, those of Elza Kezbera (1911–2011) – at least 35 times, and works by Kārlis Skalbe (1879–1945) – almost 30 times. Three subjects predominated: there were songs extolling the beauty of the homeland, songs in memory of the victims of repressions, and lyrical songs of love. There were also many reflective songs about nature and many expressing resignation. Jānis Kēpītis (with around 50 songs), Arvīds Žilinskis (over 40) and Lūcija Garūta (around 35) were particularly prolific in this genre. Without denying the stylistic diversity of the solo songs, particularly if the wartime output of Alfrēds Kalniņš, Mārgēris Zariņš and Jānis Kalniņš is also taken into account, nevertheless, it must be said that, taken as a whole, a large proportion of the solo songs written at that time show a tendency towards uniformity, to expressions of fleeting, rather than deeply felt fervour, or portrayals of simple sadness and spontaneous pathos. The great demand

for music featuring the poetry of this period apparently brought about a lowering of the standard.

Music for chamber ensembles and solo instruments: String quartets, a genre that had been somewhat ignored earlier, suddenly flourished: during the war new works were written by Jāzeps Mediņš, Helmers Pavasars, Jēkabs Mediņš and Alberts Jērums. Sonatas for piano were composed by Pēteris Barisons, Jānis Ķepītis and Alberts Jērums. The most striking instrumental miniatures were works for cello and for violin written by Jāzeps Mediņš. Jānis Mediņš continued writing his *Dainas* [Latvian Folk Songs], a series of 23 works for piano. The innovative *Variācijas par oriģināltēmu klavierēm* [Variations on an Original Theme for piano], written by Volfgangs Dārziņš in 1942, marked a turning towards Neo-classicism, but the piano suite *Prelīdes: Grieķu vāzes* [Preludes: Greek Vases] by Marģeris Zariņš added an original example of post-Impressionism to Latvian music. The large output of musical works created during the war has still not been appropriately ascertained and appreciated in performance because for many years these compositions were outlawed by the Soviet censors.

Creative work and style development: The new aesthetic trend was revealed most clearly in the creative works of four composers. In his Symphony No.4 *Atlantīda* Jānis Ivanovs approaches expressionism by heightening the conflicting emotions typical of Romanticism to the very maximum. In his wartime compositions Volfgangs Dārziņš veered away from Romanticism in a different way. The abandonment of melodic themes, the dominance of the diatonic spectrum, and the structuring of music by rhythm – all these testify to the development of his style in the direction of Neo-classicism. The innovative wartime work of Marģeris Zariņš was *Prelīdes: Grieķu vāzes* for piano. Its originality was decisively determined by the aesthetic principles of playful theatricality, formerly somewhat foreign to Latvian music, expressed both as unusual programme music and also in musical language that seems to be full of movement and gestures. Uninhibited playfulness in expression and harmonic language brings this music close to French post-Impressionism. Alberts Jērums was considered stylistically the most radical Latvian composer at the time because his harmonic language approached atonalism; it retained its tonal tension and musical colour, however, and in this way grew closer to the musical language of Alban Berg.

Music and society: Lyrical solo songs continued to be warmly welcomed by the society but, unlike the period under Soviet occupation, choral singing and song festivals also flourished – that is, the type of music and music-making which usually signifies that society has bonded in the name of common interests.

Anxiety about Latvian soldiers in active combat was felt almost equally by every family and this united people's thoughts and emotions. In such conditions the communication function of music played an important role, and the joint emotional experience of a concert audience, uniting in the name of a patriotic or humanitarian idea, often became very intense.

The compensatory function of the arts also became very important: patriotic songs about a free Latvia compensated more than ever for the impossibility of fulfilling this dream in the situation that existed at the time. Furthermore, in circumstances where people were weighed down by elementary problems of survival, psychological compensation was generally sought first of all from the simplest ways of easing their psychological burden. This explains the increased popularity of somewhat primitive, sentimental songs, commonly featured in social life. The vulgarised compensatory function inherent in this type of music was also one of the reasons why music for light entertainment burgeoned.

People's response to the abundance of foreign music sent in by the Nazi regime and presented at concerts changed during the war. In the very beginning the music was received as a welcome change of orientation and liberation from enforced Soviet ideology, however, when it became clear that the intention was to establish the "German world of culture" in the Eastern Territories, the attitude towards guest artists became more reserved, and was often estranged.

All in all, the conditions of life during the war and under occupation deformed the perception of music to some extent, but not enough for music to lose its influence in society. Former generations remember the wartime as a period of intensive musical activity.

Resistance, submission and collaboration: For those defending Latvia's independence, the motives for resisting the Nazi German regime were different from those, which made them oppose the Soviet occupation of 1940–1941. This was because during the war there were now two enemies; both of them ignored Latvia's statehood but they were also fighting each other. In occupying Latvia, the Nazi Germans had routed the first occupying regime and were fighting against it. Therefore, although it seemed

right to oppose Nazi Germans both physically and in spirit because they denied the vitality of the Latvian state and nation, yet this view could be questioned: should such Latvian opposition reduce the capacity of the second occupying regime to fight against threats from the east? Not realizing the scenario the Nazis had planned for the people of the Eastern Territories, the majority of people in Latvia looked upon this second occupation as the lesser evil.

That does not mean that there was no resistance. In addition to the activities of fighters sent in from the USSR, undeniably there were also resistance groups independent of the USSR, made up of young people, intelligentsia etc. with various political aims. The occupying regime soon destroyed them, however, because they were unable to receive help from outside due to the agreement signed between the Western allies and the Soviet Union, allowing only Communist resistance groups controlled by Moscow to be supported in Eastern Europe.

Spiritual resistance was very rarely expressed by Latvian musicians as a direct political action, nevertheless musicians made use of every chance to demonstrate their nationalism and honour the symbols of Latvian statehood. When the war dragged on and the Nazis allowed Latvians to commemorate the 18th of November (to mark the day Latvia became an independent state in 1918) providing certain limits were observed, these limits were almost always over-stepped a little. Choral performances sometimes acquired an ambivalent nature, when the performance could be perceived not only as the expression of loyalty, but also as a demonstration of a national stance. Such ambivalence was sometimes present in wartime song festivals too. And yet there were many occasions, including various rituals and ceremonies, when the regime clearly manipulated the choirs to its own advantage.

There were not many cases of deliberate collaboration in musical activities, and there was continual friction and discord between the musicians, who worked in the Latvian Self-Administration of the Land, and the occupying regime. Of course, sometimes people complied with the regime for the sake of maintaining cultural opportunities and relative freedom. However, that could not completely justify submission, much less collaboration. Therefore one of the objectives for the formation of the illegal Latvian Central Council was to refute the view expressed in other countries that Latvians wished to collaborate with Hitler's Germany and support his political aims. Only with the Council's unconditional stand against both oc-

cupying regimes, this underground organization ideologically resolved the contradictory situation, in which Latvian society found itself during the war when it leaned towards reconciliation with the existing Nazi regime in order to reduce threats from the east. The Council's memorandum to Western governments declared the necessity of renewing the democratic Latvian state based on the Constitution of 1922, opposing the Nazi occupation and defending Latvia's territory from invasion by the USSR armed forces. By signing this memorandum, Jāzeps Vītols symbolically saved the honour of Latvian musicians.

Losses: These were even greater than those of the first year of Soviet occupation. Already in the summer of 1941, around 20,000 people were arrested; those who were oriented towards the left were labelled Communists and murdered, while nationalists were slaughtered on the pretext that they harboured sympathies for the Anglo-Saxons. The Holocaust's death machine swept away many artists of the Opera, theatres, orchestras and choirs, as well as music teachers and students. Individual Latvian musicians and composers were hounded, persecuted and suffered discrimination when seeking work. Music schools and theatres suffered damage both during the invasion by Nazi German forces and also during their retreat. The City of Rīga, including the Radio building, was methodically and systematically ravaged. The loss of musicians in repressions, in the Latvian Legion and the labour service was outstripped by the evacuation of people fleeing to the West in 1944 and 1945. With the imminent re-occupation of Latvia by the Soviet regime, about 50% of those active in Latvia's cultural life fled to the West. At the beginning of 1947, there were 933 people from Latvia in Germany alone (mostly in refugee camps), who were registered as professionally associated with music; they included 71 composers, conductors, répétiteurs and accompanists, 152 solo singers, 197 instrumentalists, 143 actors and directors, 54 dancers and others.

The musical activities of the Latvian communities in the West did not cease to be part of Latvian music, yet for many long years Latvia's musical life was split in two, and the creative writing of Latvian composers remained divided and developed separately.

Translated by Laima Asja Bērziņa

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Liste der im Text genannten lettischen Personen

Abele, Adolfs (1889–1967), Komponist
Barisons, Peteris (1904–1947), Komponist
Bišteviņš, Oļģerts (1907–1972), Dirigent
Blaumanis, Rudolfs (1863–1908), Dichter
Braun, Herman (1918–1979), deutsch-russischer Pianist
Brehmane-Štengele, Milda (1893–1981), Sāngerin
Cirule, Vilma (born 1923), Pianistin
Darziņš, Volfgangs (1906–1962), Komponist, Musikkritiker
Dreimanis, Janis (1909–1963), Dirigent
Ducmane-Ozoliņa, Biruta (1917–1945), Pianistin
Eglītis, Andrejs (1912–1911), Dichter
Freimanis, Eižens (1906–1968), Komponist
Garuta, Lucija (1902–1977), Pianistin und Komponistin
Godes, Herman (1917–2007), Pianist
Goldin, Max (1917–2009), Volksmusikbearbeiter
Graubiņš, Jekabs (1886–1961), Komponist, Musikkritiker
Ilziņš, Olafs (1923–2012), Violinvirtuose
Ivanovs, Janis (1906–1983), Komponist
Jekabsons, Arnolds (1902–1969), Sānger
Jerums, Alberts (1919–1978), Komponist, Musikkritiker
Kaktiņš, Adolfs (1885–1965), Bariton
Kalniņš, Alfreds (1879–1951), Komponist
Kalniņš, Igors (1914–1993), Pianist
Kalniņš, Janis (1904–2000), Dirigent, Komponist
Kalniņš, Teodors (1890–1962), Chordirigent
Karls, Oto (1886–1944), Dirigent
Ķeipītis, Janis (1908–1989), Pianist, Komponist
Ķezbere, Elza (1911–2011), Komponistin

- Kripe, Rudolfs (1895–1973), Dirigent
Krolls, Otto (1888–1969)
Krumiņš, Edvins (1907–1984), Bariton
Kurme, Guna (born 1926), Pianist
Lapiņš, Arnolds (1905–1982), Dirigent
Lemanis, Indriķis (1904–1960), Schriftsteller
Liberte-Rebane, Amanda (1893–1981), Sängerin
Luse, Herta (1891–1980), Sängerin
Mediņš, Janis (1890–1966), Komponist
Mediņš, Jazeps (1877–1947), Komponist
Mediņš, Jekabs (1885–1971), Komponist
Mednis, Haralds (1906–2000), Chordirigent
Melngailis, Emilis (1874–1954), Komponist
Miķelsons, Eduards (1896–1969), Sängers
Norntis, Arvids (1902–1981), Dirigent
Norvilis, Janis (1906–1994), Komponist, Dirigent, Organist
Ozoliņš, Alfreds (1895–1986), Violoncellovirtuose, Vizekanzler des
Konservatoriums
Pakule, Elfrīda (1912–1991), Koloratursopran
Palickis, Jekabs (1908–1944), Saxophonist
Parups, Arvids (1890–1946), Dirigent
Pavasars, Helmers (1903–1998), Komponist
Poruks, Jekabs (1895–1963), Komponist, Musikkritiker
Priednieks-Kavara, Arturs (1901–1979), Tenor
Puksis, Edmunds (1906–?), Kulturpolitiker
Rainis (1865–1929), Dichter
Rashin, Sarah (1920–1941), Violinvirtuosin
Reiters, Teodors (1884–1956), Dirigent
Roots, Olav (1910–1974), Dirigent
Rubene, Lida (born 1926), Violinistin
Salaks, Arturs (1891–1984), Folklorist, Komponist
Samts, Edgars (1909–1941), Sängers
Sanders, Visvaldis (1885–1979), Theologe
Skalbe, Karlis (1879–1945), Komponist
Skulte, Adolfs (1909–2000), Komponist
Skulte, Bruno (1905–1976), Komponist
Sproģis, Julijs (1887–1972), Folklorist
Straubergs, Karlis (1890–1962), Folklorist

Tals, Edgars (1910–1941), Pianist
Teichmanis, Atis (1907–1987), Violoncellovirtuose
Unams, Žanis (1902–1989), Schriftsteller, Kulturpolitiker
Upenieks, Valdemars (1896–1955), Komponist
Utkins, Valentins (1904–1995), Komponist
Vane, Alida (1899–1969), Sāngerin
Veilands, Karlis (1901–1961), Dirigent
Vetra, Mariss (1901–1965), Tenor
Viġners, Leonids (1906–2001), Komponist
Vilipa, Daina (born 1930), Pianist
Viļumanis, Aleksandrs (1910–1980), Bariton
Vintere, Marija (1911–2001), Sāngerin
Vinters, Alfreds (1908–1976), Sānger, Komponist
Vitols, Jazeps (1863–1948), Komponist
Zaltis, Janis (1884–1943), Komponist, Musikkritiker
Zalomonovich, Marija (1903–1941), Pianistin
Zariņš, Karlis (1889–1978), Dichter
Zariņš, Marġeris (1910–1993), Komponist
Žeimite, Marija (Lebensdaten nicht ermittelt), Sāngerin
Žilinskis, Arvids (1905–1993), Komponist
Zosts, Valerijs (1901–1960), Musikkritiker