



Title	モダニズムと中東欧の藝術 ・ 文化
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第Ⅲ部  
たえざる脱領域化  
——アイデンティティの書き換え

# 青い鳥を探して

## 中東欧の現代美術

加須屋明子

ポーランド、チェコ、スロヴァキア、ハンガリーの現代美術を紹介する展覧会「転換期の作法：ポーランド、チェコ、スロヴァキア、ハンガリーの現代美術」が2005年の夏から2006年早春にかけて大阪・広島・東京にて開催された[\*1]。本稿では、この展覧会（以後「転換期」展と記述）を中心としながら、当該地域の現代美術を巡る諸問題について考察してみたい。

### 1. 展覧会成立の背景

「転換期」展は、これまで紹介されることの少なかった旧東欧（現在は中央ヨーロッパ、あるいは中東欧と呼ばれることも多い）地域の国々の現代美術、とりわけ90年代以降の表現を主として取り上げる展覧会であった。もちろん、当該地域出身の作家たちは、個別に何度か紹介されたことはあるものの、90年代以降に焦点を当て、しかも4カ国まとまった形での紹介は日本で初めての試みである[\*2]。

1——「転換期の作法：ポーランド、チェコ、スロヴァキア、ハンガリーの現代美術」“Positioning – In the New Reality of Europe: Art from Poland, the Czech Republic, Slovakia and Hungary”展は、国際交流基金と国立国際美術館、広島市現代美術館、東京都現代美術館の4機関が共同で企画開催。開催場所と時期は、国立国際美術館（大阪）2005年8月2日-10月10日／広島市現代美術館2005年10月29日-2006年1月8日／東京都現代美術館2006年1月21日-3月26日。テキスト編と図版編から成る関連図録を上記4機関で2005年に発行。なお、本稿は同展図録収録の「光は東方より？」（pp.10-15）ならびに、「フォーラム・ポーランド」（2005年10月、ポーランド大使館、東京）における口頭発表「ポーランド現代美術における《ヨーロッパ回帰》？」原稿を元に加筆修正を行ったものである。

2——中東欧地域の美術、特に同時代の美術の動向について注目した、数少ない展覧会の一例としては、1981年2月から3月にかけて、社団法人国際芸術文化振興会と国立国際美術館との共催展「現代の絵画——東欧と日本——」

「中央ヨーロッパ」という概念は非常に複雑かつ多様であり得る。ヨーロッパの東西間（西側先進諸国とロシアとの間）に挟まれた地域は、いわば緩衝帯のような役割を帯びたこともあって、繰り返し行われる権力闘争の結果、国境線も東へ西へと何度も移動を繰り返した。このため、この地域は「中間のヨーロッパ」と呼ばれることもある<sup>[\*3]</sup>。近い過去では、ナチス・ドイツによって用いられた中欧概念からの決別が望まれている。また、旧東ドイツをどう位置づけるのか、ウィーンはどうか（地理的には明らかにヨーロッパの「中央」に位置するウィーンは、オーストリア＝ハンガリー帝国の文化の要でもあり、この都市を抜きに考えることは容易ではない）、といった諸問題は当初より懸案であった。バルカン諸国固有の状況も忘れてはならないだろう。この地域の国々の情勢は当然それぞれに異なっており、「中央ヨーロッパ」と一括りにすることの不自然さが調査を重ねる毎に際だってきた。そうした中、徐々に前述の4カ国（ヴィシエグラード4カ国と呼ばれることもある）、旧東欧地域にあって広い面積を占め、かつ現代美術の層も厚い国々に本展の対象が絞られていった。

1999年には89年の体制変換後10年の節目を迎え、これを機に中東欧の美術、特に第二次世界大戦前後から現代に至る当該地域の美術に注目する展覧会がヨーロッパでいくつか企画開催された<sup>[\*4]</sup>。鉄のカーテンの影に隠れて（西側社会には）見えなかった美術につい

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がある。そこでは、ポーランド、チェコスロヴァキア、ハンガリー、ユーゴスラヴィアと日本の5カ国から作家が選定され、海外から20名、国内から14名、計34名が参加し、120点の平面作品が展示された。また1998年の「芸術と環境——エコロジーの視点から」展（国立国際美術館）では、出品作家5名1グループ中、ポーランドから2名が参加。広島市現代美術館においても、1991年の「アバカノヴィッチ展 記憶／沈黙／いのち」や1997年の「第4回ヒロシマ賞受賞記念 クシュトフ・ウディチコ展」によって、ポーランド出身作家たちの作品が紹介された。また東京都現代美術館では、1999年にロサンゼルス現代美術館と共催で「アクション 行為がアートになるとき 1949-1979」展を開催し、記録写真や映像を含む多くの作品が紹介されたが、そこにはポーランドや旧ユーゴスラヴィアなどの旧東欧圏の作家たちも何名が含まれていた。更に2006年夏から秋にかけて、渋谷区立松濤美術館と新潟市美術館において、「ポーランド国立ウッチ美術館所蔵 ポーランド写真の100年展」が開催されている。写真と映像作品に限ったものとはいえ、ポーランドの近現代美術史の流れの一端を示すものとして重要な展覧会であった。

3——「開欧」概念については、小島亮「転形する中欧」（『転換期の作法』図録pp.138-145）参照。

4——例えばこの頃開催された主な大きな企画展として、筆頭に挙げられるのは1994年の「ヨーロッパ、ヨーロッパ」展（ドイツ国立芸術展覧会ホール、ボン）であろう。展覧会に合わせて発行された図録は資料集としても充実しており、今なお貴重なデータ集として参照されることが多い。ただし、基本姿勢として「西欧中心で記述された美術史に欠落していた東欧美術の穴を埋めていこう」という態度が感じられた点で、西欧の枠組みや文脈に無理矢理別のものを押し込めようとする作為、その暴力的権威的な姿勢には問題が多かったと感



て知りたい、という機運が高まったのである。当初、「転換期」展企画案もまた、そのような流れに沿ったものであった。しかしながら、なかなか実現に至らず、その間継続的に調査を重ねた末に、2004年、中欧主要4カ国を含む10カ国がEUに加盟するという新たな局面を迎えた。1989年以降の大混乱が、やや収まりかけたと思われた状況が再び大きな変化を被る。これをきっかけとして、2005年の展覧会開催が決定、実現した。

展覧会の内容とタイトルについても、当初案から若干の修正を試みた[\*5]。1989年の体制変換を契機とするには、いささか時期を逸した感もあったが、2004年のEUへの新規加盟国という新たな「転換」に着目しつつ、新たなヨーロッパの地形変動(政治的・経済的・文化的な重心の移動)によって、それに対しての現代美術の状況がいかに変化しているの

じた。また1998年には、いわば当事者側からの発信とも呼ぶようなグループ展が開催された。スロヴェニアのリュブリャナ近代美術館で行われた「身体と東 1960年から現代まで」展である。東欧(旧東ドイツ、ロシアも含む)現代美術を身体性をキーワードにまとめたグループ展で、示唆に富む重要な企画であった。続く1999年に開催された「アフター・ザ・ウォール」展と「アспект／ポジション 中央ヨーロッパの50年 1949-1999」展は、それぞれ詳細な調査に基づいた、豊かな展示ではあった反面、あまりにも広範な作品が一同に集められており、それぞれの作家の特質を際立たせるというよりも、逆にお互いに干渉し、効果を減じてしまっているような箇所も目立ち、惜しまれた。作家たちにとっては、このような、いわばサンプル的な(十把一絡げの)扱いを受けるのは不本意なことではなかっただろうか。ベルリンで行われた「アフター・ザ・ウォール」展のオープニングでも、展覧会の提案企画者の重要な一人であるデヴィッド・エリオット氏が冒頭の挨拶で「このような展覧会は、一度は開催する必要があるが、二度と繰り返さなくても良い」と発言されたのが印象的であった。つまり、混乱の後を整理する作業は必要ではあるものの、繰り返しそうした整理作業を行って作品を固定することで、いわば作品の息の根を止めてしまうことになりかねない、という危うさについて彼は警告を発したのではないだろうか。この他、2000年に開催された「ヨーロッパのもう一方」展(ジュ・ド・ボーム国立ギャラリー、パリ)(このタイトルはかなり問題を含むものではなかっただろうか——「もう一方(別の半分 l'autre moitié)」という言葉遣いからは、旧東欧地域を結局の所は自分たちとは異なる他者としてしか見ていない、ということが感じられ、そこには露骨な差別意識さえ反映されているように感じる当該地域の作家や芸員たちも少なくなかったようである)、同じく2000年にドレスデンとフランクフルトで開催された「ボヘミアの鳥たち」展など、中東欧地域の現代美術を紹介するグループ展が続いた。こうした背景を踏まえ、日本で企画開催する中東欧現代美術展は、「アフター・ザ・ウォール」展等の成果を元に、むしろそれ以後の展開について焦点を当てようとし、国ごとの違いを際立たせるような展示や、中央ヨーロッパ全体の特徴を探るような方向に向かうのではなくて、作品本位の選定を心がけ、作家それぞれの表現を最もよく生かすような展示を目指した。

5——— 日本語の「作法」にあたるのが「Positioning」であり、その後の「In the New Reality of Europe」の部分は「転換期」と意識している(英語タイトルが先に決定し、その後日本語タイトルを作成)。全体としては新しいヨーロッパの現実の中での位置取り、政治・経済・文化の重心が東に移動した新地勢において、そのバランスの中での生き延びるための様々な戦略、手法を模索中である状態を指している。

か・しなかったのか、ということを検証するには絶好の機会となる。作家や作品選定の際にも、何らかの変化の兆しの感じられるものを選んだ。30代40代の作家が中心で、若干20代の作家も含まれている。現在40歳前後の作家は、89年当時10代後半から20歳あたりであり、教育は途中まで旧体制の元で受けている。つまり急激な変化を多感な自我形成期の途中で体験した世代だということになる。彼／彼女らがそろそろ現代美術界の中堅を担うようになってきた現在、自らの希有な体験を基盤として、それとのなんらかの関連を持った作品を発表しはじめているところではないかと思われる。

本展は「他者」理解への道程として位置づけられるものでもあった。すなわち、地理的に隔たった地域の文化、「中心」ではなく「周縁」であった地域の文化をいかに理解するのか——理解する側もされる側も、実は「周縁」に位置しているという意味においての共通点が見られるのであるが——という点について、注意深くならざるを得ない。理解するための思考方法は、実は中心である西欧世界からの借り物であることから、西欧というフィルターを通して、西欧の外から西欧を通して西欧の外（周縁、まさに現在「内側」になろうと大きく変化している地域）を見ることになる。

歴史をやや遡ってみると、第二次世界大戦中、中東欧諸国はナチス＝ドイツの支配下におかれ、根強い地下抵抗運動も行われたが、その担い手の主力の一つとなったのは共産党である。中東欧地域は、1944年から1945年にかけて、次々とソ連軍によってナチス＝ドイツから解放された。1945年5月9日、欧州はヒトラーの恐怖から確かに解放されはした。しかし、それと同時に全体主義的な支配者がソヴィエトへと移った日、新たな占領の開始としてこの日が記憶されている国々も少なくない。つまり、旧東欧諸国にとっては、真の意味での自由がもたらされ、全体主義的支配から解放されるまでには、まだ長い歳月を待たなければならなかったのだ。この中東欧地域における解放と民主化への動きは、1980年代、旧ソヴィエト連邦末期に、ゴルバチョフ書記長が推し進めた改革、ペレストロイカ（情報公開、議会の民主化、市場原理の導入、アメリカ合衆国との協力路線など）によって勢いづけられ、遂に1989年には、旧東欧地域で相次いで政権が交代し、冷戦は終結を迎える。1989年11月9日のベルリンの壁崩壊に象徴される一連の、いわゆる「東欧革命」によって、ようやく長く続いた独裁主義が終わりを告げた。

例えばポーランドでは1980年より活動を続ける「連帯」が1989年2月から4月にかけて円卓会議に招かれ、それまで非合法的な地下組織扱いであったものが初めて正式な話し合い

の場を持つことができた。同会議において、戦後初の自由選挙（ただし、国会議席の35％に限定した部分的なものではあった）が合意される。同年6月に行われた議会選挙では、「連帯」が過半数議席を獲得、人々は熱狂に沸いた。そして同9月には民主政権が成立する。

ハンガリーでも、民主化を求める運動が高まり、1989年8月19日にハンガリーとオーストリアの国境地帯に属するショプロンで汎ヨーロッパ・ピクニックが開かれ、約1000人の参加者たちは続々と国境を越えた。これをきっかけとして東ドイツ市民は続々と国境地帯につめかけ、東から西への移動を押しとどめることは事実上困難となった。同年10月にハンガリーは共和国へと体制転換する。チェコスロヴァキアでも同年の暮れに、無血の民主革命（「ビロード革命」）によって社会主義体制に終わりを告げた。また1993年1月にはチェコとスロヴァキアとは、話し合いによって分離独立。このように、20世紀末から21世紀初頭、この地域の社会は熱気と混乱に満ちていた。当時、知識人層も巻き込む激しい選挙活動や学生運動の高まりと弾圧とが繰り返され、熱気に溢れて何かが変わろうとしている雰囲気と緊張が漂い、社会は熱気と混乱に満ちていた。日常生活における豊かな時間の流れと、慢性的な物不足。歴史文化の蓄積と、落ち着いた陰鬱な街並みのコントラストは強烈な印象を残したに違いない。しかしこうした熱狂的な喜びもつかの間、やがてやってきたのはすさまじいインフレと混乱である——もちろん、原則として人々は皆、政権の交代とようやく手に入れた自由、検閲のない自由な社会を喜び、諸手を挙げて享受しようとしていた。ただし一方では、これまで夢に描いていた西側資本主義社会が決してパラダイスではないこと——当然ながら、矛盾も弱点も多く孕んだ、いわば弱肉強食のジャングルのような側面も併せ持っていること——を、短期間の内に身をもって学ばねばならなかった。とりわけ、急激な変化は貧富の差を急速に押し広げ、生き残れた層と、取り残された層との乖離は深刻な社会問題も併発している。

それから15年過ぎた2004年。急激な革命後の混乱も少しずつ収束に向かうかに思われたが、その一方で、1999年3月には、ポーランド、チェコ、ハンガリーの3国がNATO（北大西洋条約機構）に正式加盟。続いて2004年3月には、スロヴァキア、スロヴェニア、ラトヴィア、リトアニア、エストニア、ブルガリア、ルーマニアの7か国が加盟し、これによってNATOは東方に拡大し、ロシア国境に迫る勢いである。また同2004年5月には、旧東欧主要国を含む、ポーランド、チェコ、スロヴァキア、ハンガリー、スロヴェニア、ラトヴィア、リトアニア、エストニア、キプロス、マルタの10カ国がEU（欧州連合）へ加盟。このようにして、次々と政治経済体制上の大きな変動が起こり、また現在もなお、継続的

に変化し続けている。その中で、美術を取り巻く状況もまた急速な変化を遂げ、それぞれの国の作家たちは（現在は活動の主たる中心を旧西側諸国に置いていたり、1年の大半をそのような国々で過ごしたりする作家たちも多いのであるが）いわば自らの位置を模索し確認しながら、表現を探り続けているのではないだろうか。

## 2. 出品作品

ここからは、「転換期」展に出品された作品を中心にしながら、中央ヨーロッパの現代美術について若干の考察を試みたい。

ポーランドの作家、アルトゥール・ジミェフスキ Artur Żmijewski (1966-) は、社会的弱者の立場に置かれた人々を取り上げたり、権力構造を明らかにするような写真や映像作品の制作で知られる。「転換期」展では映像作品を2点出品した。その中の1点は、《歌のレッスン1》2001 [図1] である。ジミェフスキがワルシャワの聾啞学校の生徒たちと共に行ったプロジェクトで、ポーランドの教会で、パイプオルガンの伴奏に合わせてキリエを歌う、というものであった。登場する生徒たちは耳が聞こえず、声も上手く出すことができない。そのために、手話を交えつつ歌っているといっても、なかなかそれは歌声には聞こえず、むしろうめき声とか叫び声のようでもある。この作品は、大阪会場、広島会場共に展覧会の冒頭に展示し、東京会場では展覧会の最後に展示していた<sup>[\*6]</sup>。ジミェフスキの《歌のレッスン1》が展覧会の冒頭もしくは最終という、重要な位置に置かれた一つの理由としては、今回の展覧会のテーマ、すなわち、厳しい状況の中でもへこたれないタフさ、それから立場の弱い者、弱者への確かなまなざし、ユーモアのセンス、つまり厳しい状況下で、ただ闇雲に突進する、というのではなくて、どこかふっと力を抜いて、状況を離れた所から見る、斜めから見て笑ってみる、というようなユーモラスな要素を合わせ持ち、

6——— 周知の通り、展覧会はそれ自体一つの物語として読み解かれ得るものであり、とりわけ今回の展示では、出身国ごとに並べるというよりも、作品の内容を重視しながら構成を考え、全体の配置が決定した。3会場とも出品される作品内容はほぼ同じ——広島と東京では、ラクネル《重力倍増スーツ》2006が新たに加わり、また同じくラクネル《ブンデスベルク・ベルリン2020》2003-2006も若干内容が更新されていた——であるとはいえ、各館で展示面積も異なるため、担当の学芸員が中心となって展示順路を考え、その結果としてそれぞれの会場で別の見え方がもたらされた。



〔図1〕アルトゥール・ジミェフスキ Artur Żmijewski  
《歌のレッスン1》2001年、映像、14分 courtesy Foksal Gallery Foundation

展覧会全体の性格を特徴づけるような象徴的な位置を占めていたからである。実際に、映像の中でも彼／彼女たちは大変楽しそうに歌の練習を行っている。歌声は奇妙に響き、恐らく観客にとっては、最初はそこで何が行われているのかよくわからなくてとまどう場合も多いのではないかと思われた。しかしながら、しばらく見て（聞いて）いるうちに、生徒たちの耳がどうやら聞こえないらしいこと、教会であること、パイプオルガンの荘厳な音、など状況の輪郭が徐々に観察され、把握された時に、作品の持つ意味合いが大きく変化しつつ感動をもたらすのではないかと考えられる。

ジミェフスキのもう1点《我らの歌集》2003では、ジミェフスキ本人がイスラエルのテル・アビブに赴き、そこに暮らすポーランド人に「覚えているポーランド語の歌を歌ってください」と依頼している。60年前、戦争中もしくは戦後まもなくに祖国ポーランドを後に何らかの経路でイスラエルに辿りつき、そのまま、恐らく一度も祖国の地を踏んでいない老人たちは、普段はポーランド語を使う機会もほとんどないのかも知れない。健康を害して病院に入院していたり、身寄りがなくて施設で暮らす人々も登場する。それぞれの登

場人物がどういう事情でどのような過程を経てここにやって来たのか、というような個々の事情は一切語られず、ただ「ポーランド語で歌を歌ってください」というリクエストが繰り返され、それに応じる人々のとまどいやはにかんだ表情とやりとり、途切れ途切れの歌が流れる。最初はなかなか歌詞が出てこなかったり、忘れた、と言っている、だんだんにメロディが浮かんできて、徐々に歌詞も思い出してゆく様子は感動的である。大きな歴史の流れに回収されることのない、それぞれの担う物語が連想される[\*7]。

アゾロ Azorro というポーランドの映像制作グループは、オスカル・ダヴィツキ、イゴール・クレンツ、ヴォイチェフ・ニエジェルコ、ウーカシュ・スコンプスキによって2001年に結成された。メンバーの4人それぞれ、単独での制作活動も続ける傍ら、ポーランドのクラクフおよびワルシャワを拠点に、アゾロ・グループとして制作する際には4人揃って作品中に登場する。《すごく気に入った》2001 [図2] では、4人が画廊や美術館に入る前と後の様子が次々と映り、ただひたすら「どうだった?」「良かった」「すごく良かった」「気に入った」と、判で押したような感想を繰り返し延々と述べ合う。どこに行っても何を見ても、同じ言葉が繰り返される。実は大して気に入っていないものでも、つい「良かった」など

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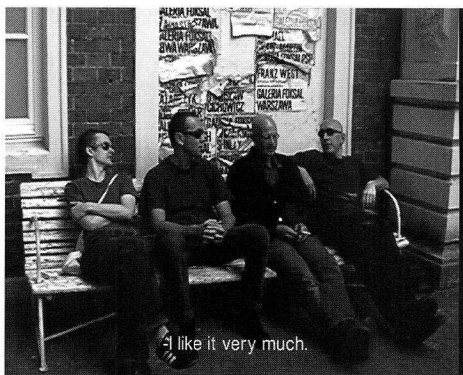
7——— ジミェフスキは第51回ヴェネチア・ビエンナーレ (2005) ポーランド館代表にも選ばれ、そこでは新作《繰り返し》2005を発表した (2006年1月から3月にかけて、東京と大阪でも日本語字幕付きの上映会を開催)。これは1971年にカリフォルニアのスタンフォード大学でフィリップ・ジンバルド教授によって行われ、当時話題となった心理実験を再度ポーランドにて行ったドキュメンタリーである。同実験については、ドイツの映画『es』で取り上げられ、話題を呼んだことがある。また近年、アメリカ軍による捕虜虐待の際にも、再度注目を集めた。自発的な被験者を「囚人」役と「看守」役に分け、模擬監獄の中でそれぞれの役割を演じさせ、人がある役割を与えられた際に、どのような反応を見せるのか、権力を与えられた際に人はどのような行動を取るのかを検証しようとするものであった。恐らく直接的には、アウシュビッツ等の絶滅収容所において、なぜあれほどの悲劇が可能になってしまったのか、という問いが出発点になっていると思われる。当初2週間の予定で始められたこの実験は、開始直後より「看守」役による虐待とも取れる行為が頻発し、コントロールを失って実験を継続するにはあまりにも危険な状態を招いてしまったため、わずか6日で中断を余儀なくされた。この実験については、人道的見地から再現は自粛されており、こうした手法の正当性や研究成果の妥当性をめぐり、未だに評価は分かれているという。ジミェフスキは、ワルシャワの郊外でこの実験を再び繰り返し、4台の人の手によるカメラと監視カメラ5台により経過を記録した。この実験をポーランドで行う意味は大きかったと思われ、それだけに、被験者たちもかなり置かれた立場について当初より内省的、自覚的であったはずである。それでもなお、実験を当初予定の日数だけ継続することは不可能であった——その過程を克明に追い、被験者それぞれへのインタビューを交えることによって、ヒューマンイズムの裏面とも呼べるような負の部分を冷静に見つめるジミェフスキのまなざしが際だっていた。彼自身は決して結論は下さない。そうではなくて、彼は事象を開いたまま、多様な見解の可能性を観る者に伝え、問いかけている。

という感想を無責任に述べてしまうことは、まああるのではないだろうか。言葉では「良かった」と言いながらも、表情は退屈しているようであり、言葉と身振りとのギャップもおかしみを誘う。

同じくアゾロの映像作品《芸術家は何をしてもいいの?》2002では、社会における芸術家の置かれた立場をユーモラスに問う、というよりもむしろ、問いかけるふりを装いながら、そうした問い自体を無化しようとしているようだ。芸術は、とりわけ近代以降「前衛」と呼ばれる活動が盛んになって以後は、制作の一つのきっかけに「常識を覆す」「思いがけない世界を開い

て見せる」という欲望が潜んでいることがままたまあり、そのために多かれ少なかれ、同時代の様々な社会規範に抵触しがちなところが見られる。芸術という名のもとに、何をしてもいいのかどうか、ということについては、長らく議論が続いてきた。様々な社会のタブー、それぞれに特有な宗教や性についてのタブーという問題もある[\*8]。ただ、アゾロはこうした深刻な問題ではなくて、例えば赤信号を渡る、ポスターに落書きをする、路上にゴミを捨てる、道に唾を吐く、など、子どもじみた悪ふざけのようなことを大まじめにやってみせる。議論の枠組みから距離を取り、別の角度から見ることを促すようでもある。

アゾロの《今ここで》2002では、メンバーの一人が、自転車に乗って気持ちよさそうにサイクリングをする光景が流れる。空は青く澄み渡り、時折後ろに街路樹が流れてゆく。バックにボサノバの音楽が流れる。他の3人のメンバーは珍しく、画面の中には登場しない。実は残りのメンバーたちは、木の枝を手を持って、しゃがみながら自転車の向こうを



〔図2〕アゾロ Azorro  
《すごく気に入った》2001年、映像、7分30秒、作家蔵

8——— ポーランドでも、例えばカタジーナ・コズイラやマウリツィオ・カテラン、ロベルト・ルーマスらの作品の評価について大きな議論が巻き起こった。コズイラは動物を殺して剥製にし、作品に使用。また作家自ら男装してハンガリーの公衆浴場に侵入し、撮影した《男性公衆浴場》1997を第48回ヴェネチア・ビエンナーレ（1999）のポーランド館で発表し、金の獅子賞を受賞した。またカテランは、前ローマ法王ヨハネ・パウロ二世（ポーランド出身の教皇。2005年4月逝去）を模った人物像が岩の下敷きになるという作品をワルシャワで発表し、観衆が憤慨のあまりに作品に突進し、手をかけるという事件が起きた。

歩いているのだ。つまり、自転車は動かず、後ろの木が動いているので、まるでサイクリングしているような錯覚を起こす、ということになる。この作品は、以前アゾロが紛争地域での展覧会へ招待された際に、現地の状況が非常に厳しく危険なものであったため、せめて作品だけでもバカンス気分を味わってもらおう、と考え作成されたという。

アゾロ《全てやられてしまったI》《全てやられてしまったII》2003では、これから何をしようか、と、メンバーが集まってアイディアを出し合っている様子が映される。「何か新しいことをしよう」とメンバーそれぞれが色々と提案しても、全て「それはもうやってる」「見たことがある」ということで、何もすることが見つからない。いっそ「何もしないのはどうだろう」と言ったところ「それも、もうやってる」という風に、全てかつて誰かがやってしまっている。出口のない行き止まり感の漂う会話が進む一方で、その内容の深刻さに比べて、風景は長閑で時折小鳥が鳴いたりしており、また会話しているメンバーたちも何となくのんびりリラックスしていて、会話内容と仕草とのギャップがここでも笑いを誘う。

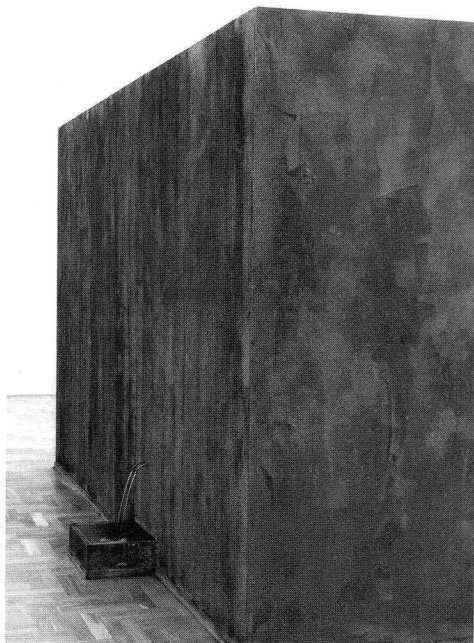
アゾロの《プロポーザル》2002、これは1分45秒の短い作品である。メンバーが揃って留守電に録音されたメッセージを聞いている様子が映る。ある美術館（名前を告げる箇所には上から音が被せられ、特定ができないのだが、文脈から恐らくどこなのか見当はつく）の館長秘書と名乗る人が、展覧会企画について説明している。現在準備を進めているある展覧会について、簡単な趣旨説明を行い、大変意義ある意欲的な試みであると述べた後、実は残念ながらスポンサーが見つからなかったのも、作家招聘費は出ない、作品製作費も謝礼も出ない、カタログも作れないと思う、しかしながら非常に重要な展覧会なので、是非出品していただけるように希望している、と締めくくられたとたんに、メンバー一堂爆笑。こうした事情は、反面大変耳の痛い話でもある。実際にこういう場面は、ここまで悪条件ではなくとも、現代美術の展覧会に関してはあちこちで起こっているのではと思われる。作家に過剰な負担を強いることでしか成り立たないような展覧会開催の在り方は、そもそも改めなければいけないとわかりつつも、予算は常に十分に確保できるわけではなく、何らかの工夫や譲歩、交渉もその都度必要とされる。作家の側にしても、作品発表を続けてゆきたい場合に、たとえ劣悪な条件でも、それに対していちいち怒ってはいは身がもたないので、とりあえずは笑い飛ばす（その上で交渉する）、というようなたくましさ、したたかさもこの作品から感じられた。展覧会の企画側としても、大いに反省を促される。

ポーランドのミロスワフ・パウカ Mirosław Bałka (1958-) は今回の出品作家の中では年齢が高い方で、80年代の後半から既に国際的に活躍を続ける著名な作家の一人である。



常に自らの身体や記憶に基づいた作品を制作し、近年では映像表現なども取り入れつつ、意欲的に発表を続けている[\*9]。「転換期」展で出品されたのは、パウカの生まれた家（現在はアトリエとして使用）を、図面に基づいて再現したものであった[図3]。その表面は灰で覆われている——日本で作成したため、輸送費はほとんど発生しなかったかわり、各館での制作は非常に困難であった。壁の高さは2.5mで、これはパウカが手を伸ばして届く高さである。周囲に三箇所、水の出ているところがあるのだが、これは寝室でベッドが置かれ、窓のあった場所に対応している。作家の両目の幅と同じ幅で取り付けられた二本の鉄のパイプから、水が常に流れ落ちているため、会場にはかすかに水音が響き続けている。この水の流れ落ちる箇所に対応するように、壁に鉄の枠が取り付けられた。このアトリエには入り口がなく、どこからも中に入ることができない。また、表面の灰は大変脆く、少し触っただけでも跡がついてしまう。幼年時代の記憶はプライベートなものなので、誰も（本人さえも）中に入ることができない、ということや、その記憶自体の儚さ、もろさ、といったことが表現されている。

パウカのもう1点の出品作品は、国立国際美術館所蔵の《φ51×4,85×43×50》1998である。天井から古びた椅子がぶら下がり、足下には白



[図3] ミロスワフ・パウカ Mirosław Bałka  
《1750×760×250, 3×(55×15×24)》2001年、  
合板、灰、鉄、水のインスタレーション  
1750×760×250, 3×(55×15×24) cm、作家蔵

9——— パウカは日本では1995年の「水の波紋'95」展（ワタリウム美術館、東京）、1998年の「芸術と環境」展（国立国際美術館）、2003年「食間の光景／食間の廃景」（八戸市美術館、青森）に参加したほか、2000年には国立国際美術館で個展「近作展24〈食間に〉」を開催し、子どもと一般向けのワークショップも実施した。使用済みの石けんを募集したり、新聞の計報欄を切り抜いて輪飾りを作成したりと、日常生活と密接に関わるような作品でありながら、かつ、例えば強制収容所の浴室の床が展示場に再現されていたりと、歴史的なパースペクティブも組み込んだ刺激的なインスタレーションであった。

い塩の入った鉄の輪が置かれる。輪の中に2つの穴が開いており、椅子の背もたれにも鉄の輪が二つ、座面には穴が一つ開いている。これらはそれぞれ、両足、両手、首に対応するという。中世に用いられた拷問・拘束のための器具が思い起こされる。ポーランドでは、塩をこぼすのは不吉とされ、日本で理解される清めの塩というイメージとは異なっている。また、塩は人体から出る汗や涙との関連を持ち、身体の痕跡が示唆される。

ワルシャワ出身、在住のパヴェウ・アルトハメル Paweł Althamer (1967-) は、何か既に作成された作品を展示するのではなく、各種のパフォーマンスやイベントを提案するタイプの参加方法をしばしば取る作家である。彼自身が何かを行うこともあれば、誰かに依頼する場合——例えば館長が一日美術館の入り口に座ってチケットのチェックをする、とか、路上生活者を展覧会のオープニングに招待する、など——もある。「転換期」展においても、両親を日本に派遣して、父親がビデオを撮影し、それを自ら編集する、というプランを提出。できあがったのが出品作品の《母さんと父さん》2006である。両親を日本に招待し、東京と大阪・広島にそれぞれ2泊ずつしながらホームビデオで撮影を依頼した。日本については、前知識はほとんどないまま、はじめて日本にやってきて、何がどのように見えたのか、ということなどがよく伝わる。編集の妙も加わり、興味深い映像であった。

このほか、チェコから参加したクリシュトフ・キンテラ Křištof Kintera (1973-) は、ポストcommunismの社会情勢において、資本主義の急激な流入と共に、みるみる多くのものが機械や人工製品に取ってかわられ、消費が奨励される状況下、その物質至上主義やコマーシャリズムをアイロニカルに表現している。とはいえ、それは決して声高でストレートな批判ではなく、むしろ逆に高度な科学技術と、ローテクな手仕事とを合体させるようなもの、思わず笑いを抑えられないような、90年代ポップ作品である。同じくチェコの写真家ミラ・プレスロヴァー Míla Preslová (1966-) の作品に登場する人物は、いずれも力強くこちらを見据えていることが多い——激動の情勢に対して、翻弄されることを拒むかのように、強い意志の感じられる人物と目を合わせることは、勇気を要することでもあり、また逆に作品の力強いまなざしによって、観者が勇気づけられるということも起こる。

スロヴァキア在住でハンガリー系の作家、イロナ・ネーメト Ilona Németh (1963-) は、人々の多様な在り方に注目し、音を用いたインスタレーションを出品した。様々な人が会話する言語内容と、視覚的なイメージとが交錯してゆく。また彼女の比較的初期の作品《多機能な女性》1996や《個人婦人科診療所》1997においては、女性性についての鋭い分析と考察が行われており、社会における女性の置かれた立場や役割について再考を促す。

スロヴァキア在住で、近年は映像作品の制作に専念しているパウリーナ・フィフタ・チエルナ Pavlína Fichta Čierna (1967-) の作品からは、社会の底辺でたくましく生きる人々への温かく、かつ確かなまなざしが伝わってくる。

ハンガリーで活動続けるセープファルヴィ・アーグネシュ Ágnes Szépfalvi (1965-) とネメシュ・チャバ Csaba Nemes (1966-) は、共同して「ストーリーボード」を制作する。30数枚で構成され、それぞれ水彩やオイルパステルを用いて描いた絵の下部に、単語や文章が書かれており、全体としてある物語が進行する——あたかも目の前で映画が上映されているように。ただし、映画とは違い、物語の進行のペースは観者それぞれの動きに全く委ねられており、また後ろに戻ってみたい、先へ進んだりして、行きつ戻りつ鑑賞し、さらに全体を一望に眺めることもできれば、細部にこだわることも可能である。2人はこうした共同での制作と別に、個々の作家活動も行っており、セープファルヴィは絵画を、ネメシュは写真を発表している。同じくハンガリー出身であるが、各国のレジデンス滞在歴も長いラクネル・アンタル Antal Lakner (1966-) は環境汚染を憂いつつ、《ユーロファーム》シリーズでは新たな(架空の)植物形態と生態系の提案を行い、また《INERS》シリーズでは、「スポーツ」の意味について考えつつ、労働からレジャーへと変化したスポーツの様子(そしてさらに、ジムで黙々と行う筋肉トレーニング)をユーモラスに表現してみせた。《ブンデスベルク・ベルリン2020》では、増え続けるゴミ処理問題を、ベルリン市に世界一の山(ドイツ各地から集めたゴミによって形成)を築くことで解決しよう、という提案を行った[\*10]。

以上のような展覧会出品作品から感じられるのは、「中央ヨーロッパ」とか「ポーランド」「チェコ」というような、地域や国という大きな括りで語られ得るような特質というよりも、各作家それぞれの表現の持つ面白さや相違、といったものではないだろうか。あるいは、各世代ごとに共有されるような性質は、地域的特性よりもむしろ顕著であるように思われる。近年、こうした傾向は一層強まっており、作家たちはしばしば各地で滞在制作を行ったり、各種奨学金に応募したりして、容易に制作拠点も移動できるようになった。その結果、必ずしも出身国と制作発表の場とが一致しない場合も増えている[\*11]。

10——— CGを巧みに使用しつつ、いかにも実現の可能性が大きいように思わせるこの作品は、実際にベルリン市でも展示され、市長はじめ地元住民からも好評であったらしい。

11——— 89年以前の中東欧地域の作家たちにとって、西側に制作や発表の場を移すということは、自国に残るか亡命

### 3. 中東欧圏の戦後現代美術再検討の機運

冒頭でも述べたように、1989年に政権交代が行われ、各種の情報も一気に流通しはじめたことから、それまであまり知られていなかった中東欧圏の戦後現代美術を再検討しようという動きが欧米を中心に活発になった。また、作家達も西側の美術界に受け入れられようと、多種多様なトピックに飛びついたような感もあり、様々な表現が乱立した。

翻って日本では、なかなかまとまって中東欧地域の現代美術が展示される機会は訪れなかった。1970年に開催された東京ビエンナーレには、ポーランドからエドヴァルト・クラシンスキ Edward Krasinski (1925–2004) が招待されかけたものの、残念ながら出国叶わず、FAXによる指示を出しての展示参加となったということである。1996年には東京の資生堂ギャラリーとザ・ギンザアートスペースで中央ヨーロッパ現代美術のグループ展が企画開催され、ポーランドからはピョートル・ヤロス Piotr Jaros (1965–) が加わった。1998年の国立国際美術館における「芸術と環境——エコロジーの視点から——」展では、「転換期」展にも出品したパウカと、アウシュビッツ (オシベンチウム) 強制収容所から生還し、演劇の監督も兼ねているユゼフ・シャイナ Józef Szajna (1920–) の作品が出品された。1999年にはクシシュトフ・ヴォディチコ Krzysztof Wodiczko (1943–) がヒロシマ賞受賞記念の個展を開催し、原爆ドームに向けてのパブリック・プロジェクトを行なった。ただしヴォディチコは現在アメリカ在住、制作中であるため、出身がワルシャワである、という風な文脈で語られることは稀であり、かつ作家本人もそれを表立っては言及していない。こうした事情は、ロマン・オパウカ Roman Opalka (1931–) の場合も同じで、両親はポーランド人で、美術教育もポーランドで受けたとはいえ、現在はフランス在住、活動中であり、フランス人作家とされる場合が多い。移住を選択した彼らに対して、次世代のパウカは国際展にも多数参加し、著名である一方、制作拠点はワルシャワ近郊のオトヴォツクの生家をアトリエとして使用し、自らの生まれ育った環境、歴史、文化、といったものに根ざす作品の制作を続けることで先鞭をつけた。これに続く、中東欧地域の若手中堅世代の

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するか、という二者択一を迫られるような、重い決断を要する事柄であった。このため (特別に恵まれた場合を除いては) 東西を行き来しつつ制作を続けられた例は僅かである。しかし、90年代以降、特にEUへの加盟以降は、もちろん経済格差の問題は依然として大きな要因として残るにせよ、移動はかなり容易になり、既出のように多くの作家たちが頻繁に移動しつつ制作活動が続いている。

活躍も目覚ましく、いわゆる「旧東欧現代美術」から連想されがちな、政治色の強い、もしくは身体性に強く訴えかけるような作風とは全く異なる新たな表現も華々しく登場している。例えば、ポーランドのヴィルヘルム・サスナル Wilhelm Sasnal (1972-) やマルチン・マチェヨフスキ Marcin Maciejowski (1974-) の平面作品は国外でも高く評価され、収集の対象となって国際的なマーケットで流通している。

今後ますます強まってゆくであろう傾向としては、作家個人の表現に重点が置かれるようになることと、ネットワークの形成が挙げられよう。作家たちはいつまでも「中央ヨーロッパの」作家と冠をつけて扱われることについて、いらだちの気持ちも見え隠れする。確かに、彼らはいわば国際的な現代美術様式とも呼べるような共通の特徴を帯びており、多くの特質の一要素として、出身が中東欧である、という地理的な条件はあるものの、それだけが全てではない、それが全てを規定するのではない。一方で、やはり何らかの違いは今のところ見受けられる。文化的な環境、ネットワークの整備、特に美術を取り巻く批評の場、美術マーケット、展示条件などの整備がいわゆる旧西欧諸国に比べて劣っており、そのような環境整備が急務であろう。情報の流通をスムーズにすることで、これまで閉ざされていた機関相互の交流が再開し、また作家同士の交流も進み、それによって、美術界全体が一層活気を帯び、制作活動も勢いづく。一方で国際様式を意識しつつ、他方アイデンティティの確立という困難さを担っているという立場は、実は日本美術の置かれた状況ときわめて近いものがあり、中東欧現代美術の動向を探ることによって日本に住む我々もまた、貴重な示唆を得ることができよう。

第二次世界大戦後、戦後の焼け跡から奇跡的な経済復興を遂げた日本における芸術をめぐる状況と、社会主義政権下で、絶えず政府の検閲を受けながらの表現しか許されなかった中東欧諸国での諸活動とを比較するのは奇妙に思えるかも知れない。しかし、とりわけ89年の東欧革命以後、「ヨーロッパ」という伝統に回帰しようとしている中東欧と、ヨーロッパやアメリカという「標準」に何とか追いつこう（追い抜こう）として、後追いの努力を積み重ねている日本。この両者は、全く異なるようでいて、意外な共通部分も多い。つまり、たとえ歴史的な背景も、地理的な位置関係も全く異なっていようと、それにしては置かれた立場は奇妙な一致を見る。すなわち、両者共に（とりわけ第二次世界大戦以後の冷戦下）西欧の列強諸国が「中心」となって世界情勢を動かしているときに、そこから外れた「周縁」に位置していたが、近年の政治的経済的な大変動によって、その構図は激しく揺り動かされ／揺り動かし、流動的になっている。それ故に不安定であれば、またそれ故に、変化

と再生という可能性も見え隠れする。

80年代から90年代にかけての激変期、そしてまた21世紀初頭のEU加盟に伴う混乱期、中東欧圏の作家たちは眼前に次々と展開する新たな可能性を前にして、あたかも幸福の青い鳥を探し求めるかのように、性急に、かつやや安直な理想を旧西側に投影し、それを追い求める傾向が当初頻繁に見られた[\*12]。資本主義の到来と共に、物も情報もあふれ、人々は消費意欲を闇雲にそそられるようになった反面、本当のところ何を求めているのかは、かえって見えにくくなってしまったのではないだろうか。しかし同時に、旧西側で既に評価の定まった作品の後追いをするのではなく、それぞれの複雑さと多様性を保ちながら、決して華やかではないにせよ、意欲的な制作活動を続けてゆこうとする作家たちも多く育ってきている。それだからこそ、中東欧諸国の作家たちが現在それぞれの立場から模索を続ける姿は、日本にとっても大きな意味を持つのだと言える。現代美術を巡る状況の変化は深刻である中、それでも多くの作品が今なお生まれ続けている。とりわけ、中東欧地域の厳しい状況下で、作家たちはそうした状況をうまく利用して、すぐれた作品を生み続けている。時代の波に翻弄されつつも、その中でたくましく生き延びるための技法として、地に根を張る確かさと、臨機応変の柔軟さ、そしてユーモア精神が、そこからは見て取れるだろう。一見超現実的に見えたとしても、実は確かな観察力と奥深い洞察に満ちた作品も多い。確実に地歩を固め、優れた表現を生み出しつつある、こうした同時代の中東欧の作家たちから、私たちも大いに示唆と希望を得ることができよう。その影響力は決して黙過できるようなものではない。

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12——「青い炎」Blue Fireというタイトルで、第三回ブラハビエンナーレが開催されたのは1999年秋から2000年にかけてのことであった。「中央ヨーロッパの若手作家たち」という副題のつけられた本ビエンナーレは、ワルシャワの現代美術センター、ブダペストのルドウィッヒ美術館、プラチスラヴァ美術センターが開催に協力し、1960年代から70年代生まれの若手作家たち3組24名が参加していた。「青い炎」とは、バゴール・バコス、アンタル・ラクネル、イムレ・ヴェーベルの作品《欲望》1999に用いられたイメージでもある。ハリウッドスターのアレックス・ボールドウィンと美術史家のアッティラ・ネメシュが主役を演じる映画ポスターのタイトルとして使用された。作家たちは、依頼者の欲望をできるだけ忠実に叶えることを目指したのだが、願望は多岐にわたり、ある人は大統領になりたがり、また別の人はおとぎ話のお姫様になりたがった。欲望には限りがなく、炎のように燃え上がり、私たちを焼き尽くす。「青」色の冷静さによって、辛うじて理性は保たれているのか、どうだろうか。

## ハンガリーのターンツハーズモズガロム

彼らはなにをめざしたのか

横井雅子

### 現代におけるターンツハーズの始まり

現在のハンガリーの音楽生活を理解するためには、1970年代初頭にブダペストで始まったフォークリヴァイヴァル運動の一種、「ターンツハーズモズガロム táncházmozgalom (ダンスハウス運動)」を考察することが不可欠であろう。もちろん、この運動以前にも民俗音楽は社会のさまざまな層によって享受されてきたし、またこのターンツハーズモズガロムに間接的に影響を与えたいくつかのさきがけとなるフォークリヴァイヴァル運動もあった<sup>[\*1]</sup>。ハンガリーではまた、いわゆる「コダーイ・メソッド Kodály method」と呼ばれる特徴的な音楽教育体系が幅広く採り上げられてきたため、民俗音楽はよく知られ、人気があるのだと考えられがちである。しかし、ターンツハーズモズガロムは独特のものであり、いま名前を挙げたできごととは別の現象とみなすべき性質のものである。

ターンツハーズモズガロムは何人かの人が関与したことで始まったが、その中でも二人の若い男性、シェバー・フェレンツ Sebő Ferenc とハルモシュ・ベーラ Halmos Béla が決定的な役割を演じた。彼らは当時ブダペストに住んでいた若いインテリで、前衛的な演劇に用いる新しい音楽表現を模索していた。彼らはそのために真の民俗楽器を選んだのだが、それは決して愛国的な意識や回顧的な考えからきたものではなく、むしろ実験的なものであったという。ハルモシュが語ってくれたところによれば、その音はそれまでに聴いたことのないまったく新しく刺激的な響きだったが、それはちょうど古楽運動の中で歴史的なピリオド楽器が新鮮で力強い響きを生み出すのと同じように聴こえたという。彼はまた、そこから学校で教えてもらったはずの民謡を思い出すことはなかったとも言っていたが、そもそも学校で教えられることは退屈なものと決め込んでいたかららしく、「民俗音

1——— 横井 (2002) にこれら先駆けとなったフォークリヴァイヴァル運動についての記述がある。

楽を知っている」ことが前提となってこのような選択をしたのではないことが分かる。驚いたことに、当時のハンガリーの生徒たちは民俗楽器がどんなもので、どのような音を生み出すかほとんど知らなかったという。というのは、ハンガリーの伝統音楽の中では歌の音楽があまりにも強調されていたからである（コダーイがこのことを強調したことで[\*2]、教育においてもこの側面が強められたと見ることもできる）。また、都市に住む一般の人びとが農村の生きた伝統としての器楽の民俗音楽に実際に近づくことも、現在の私たちが想像するほど容易ではなかったようである。ハンガリーは総じて伝統音楽や芸能に対する理解があるというイメージが抱かれている現在から考えると、当時は少し異なった状況にあったと見ることができよう。

いずれにしても、この二人の若者はふと出会ったハンガリーの伝統音楽に興味を示し、それに対する知識を得ることに取り組み始めた。まずは印刷された採譜集にあたり、次に録音を通して実際の音に耳を傾け、やがて現在のルーマニア領であるトランシルヴァニア地方のハンガリー人村を訪れて音楽が生み出される場を目撃することになった。このようなことは当時、音楽学者でもなければたやすいことではなかったというが、幸いなことに、彼らのこうした活動を何人かの音楽学者がサポートし、奨励してくれたので[\*3]、彼らは比較的短い期間に当時まだ耳慣れないものだったハンガリーの器楽の舞踊音楽に親しむことに成功した。

この間に、彼らは民俗舞踊の振付師であるティマル・シャーンドル Timár Sándor と知り合った。ティマルは当時、ソ連や中・東欧の社会主義諸国でスタンダードであった大規模に演出された民俗舞踊の舞台公演に満足していなかった。ティマルと出会う頃までに彼らは農村的な演奏法をかなり習得していたようで、初めて二人の演奏を聞いたティマルは息が止まるほどびっくりしたと語っている[\*4]。ティマルに二人を引き合わせたのは、民俗舞踊研究家であるマルティン・ジェルジュ Martin György であった。これらの専門家とともに民俗舞踊とその音楽を体験しながら、彼らはやがてこの種の音楽を若い

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2——— 音楽教育と歌との関係はコダーイが提唱した音楽教育法、いわゆるコダーイ・メソッドにも典型的に見られるが、そればかりでなく、コダーイが「ハンガリーの民俗音楽は、器楽に対してはとくに愛情をもっていない」（KODÁLY 1937. 日本語版132）と記したように、器楽の伝統音楽が一時期、軽視されていたこととも関係がある。

3——— 民族学や伝統音楽研究を専門的に修めていなかった彼らだけで、録音やフィールド資料にアプローチすることは当時は困難だった。ARADI 2000:21。

4——— HOLLÓKŐI (2000-2001) にこの時の経緯が語られている。4ページ参照。



人々にも提供し、経験してもらうことを思いついた。こうして着想された最初のターンツハーズ táncház は、すでに舞踊に心得のある人びとを対象として、1972年5月6日にブダペストで四つのアマチュア舞踊団のメンバーに限定してまずは開催された。

踊りを楽しむ場であるターンツハーズは実は彼らの発明ではない。農民たちの伝統的な生活の中でもターンツハーズは存在し、機能していた。このターンツハーズという言葉は場所と機会の両方を意味するものであった。人びとはこの伝統的なターンツハーズに踊りにきて、そして踊ることを通してパートナーをさがす。そのパートナーとは踊りのパートナーでもあり、人生を共にする人でもある。農村でのターンツハーズは通常、特定の時期に設けられた。たとえばイースターやクリスマス、あるいは収穫感謝の折などで、要するにいつでも開催されているというものではなかったから、若者たちはこの特別の時期にできるだけ恰好よく見えるように技巧的に踊ろうと努めた。そうでなくてはいいいパートナーを獲得することが難しかったからだ<sup>[\*5]</sup>。この点でブダペストにあるような現代のターンツハーズは異なっている。ブダペストではほとんど毎日のようにどこかでターンツハーズは開催されている。それは「オーセンティックな」農民たちのレパートリを習って踊り、楽しむために設けられた場所である。言い換えれば、アレンジされた民俗芸能やハンガリーのものとして教えられている民謡、そしてとりわけ「退廃的」とされる都市のジプシー楽団とは一線を画した存在である。また、現代のターンツハーズでは異なる地域の数々の踊りや音楽をひと通り習うこともでき、いわば“マルチリンガル”になることもできるが、村の伝統的なターンツハーズでは人びとはその土地の踊りと音楽にのみ親しんでいて、その土地の“方言”しか知らない、という違いがある。

ブダペストで始められたターンツハーズの参加者たちは、ターンツハーズという場の意義と面白さをすぐに理解したが、同時にこれが限定されたメンバーのために存続することに疑問をもった。シェベーやハルモシュ、ティマール、マルティンらはターンツハーズを一般にも公開すると同時に、ここで伝統的なレパートリーを習得した踊り手たちをインストラクターとして機能させることも考え、こうして現在知られる次第にターンツハーズが形作られるようになった。

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5——— HALMOS 2000:30-33.

## ターンツハーズモズガロムの特徴

始まった当初はターンツハーズは限定的な出来事にすぎなかったが、やがて若者たちの間で知られるようになり、「運動」と呼ぶことができるほど幅広く受け容れられるようになった。この運動はいくつかの点でハンガリーの音楽生活に徐々に影響を与えるようになった。それらをまとめてみよう。

- 1) ターンツハーズモズガロムはプロでない演奏家や踊り手が人前で上演することを可能にした。都市のジプシー楽団はもっぱらプロの音楽家によって演奏されていたが、都市で彼らが農民の音楽を演奏することはなかった。それどころか、そのような音楽は都市部でステージ以外のところで演奏されるべきものとは見なされていなかった。主としてアマチュアより構成されるターンツハーズの人びとは、この種の音楽と踊りに、現代生活における意味をも与えた。
- 2) ターンツハーズモズガロムが注目を集め、その影響力を強めるにつれ、プロの民俗舞踊団の上演スタイルにも変化がもたらされた。それらの舞踊団は、ステージ化の過程で付着した西洋の芸術的なバレエやクラシック音楽のオーケストラに由来する要素を舞台から排除しようと試みた。現在ではほとんどの舞踊振付師がターンツハーズ世代（あるいはそれ以降）であるため、たとえ規模の大きな舞台上で上演するときでも、「オーセンティックな」雰囲気を再現しようと心がけ、音響的にもオーセンティシティを感じさせるように、増幅することは避けるか、最小限にとどめようとする。
- 3) 以前は民俗舞踊団は都市のジプシー楽団によって伴奏されていたが、ターンツハーズ出身のバンドに取って代わられるようになった。農民がよく使っていたいくつかの楽器、たとえばテケレー（ハーディ・ガーディ）やドゥダ（バグバイブ）はかつては農民自身によって作られていたが、その伝統は廃れる寸前だった。何人かの若者が楽器を演奏するだけでなく、楽器製作や固有のレパートリーをも彼らから学んだ。このようにして楽器の伝統的な製作法と音楽語法が受け継がれた。
- 4) ターンツハーズモズガロムはオーセンティシティの重要性を強調した。これと関連して、人びとはオリジナルな形での伝統的な農民音楽に触れようと試みた。必ずしも専門家を志す人でなくても、多くが自発的に村々を訪れてはフィールドワークを行い、音楽や舞踊を習うと同時に、それらが育まれてきた環境に触れる機会をもった。現在、舞踊

研究や伝統音楽研究の人材はこの流れから出てきている人が少なくない。

- 5) ターンツハーズモズガロムが幅広く受け容れられたことにともない、ハンガリーのレコード産業にも新しい可能性がもたらされた。それ以前はオーセンティックな民俗音楽は基本的に研究対象のためにあり、主としてフィールド録音から構成されていた。研究対象としてではなく、商業ベースで作られるようになってからも、もっぱら国営のフンガロトン Hungaroton からフィールドノートを付した学術的なスタイルで作られていた。ターンツハーズ出身のバンドが次々に活動を繰り広げるに従い、その多くが商業的な録音を作るようになり、消費者の購買意欲を刺激する形でリリースされるようになった。市場経済の導入にともない、独立系レーベルがいくつも登場したが、中には研究者顔負けのフィールドワークを手がけ、広範なフィールド録音に基づくシリーズをリリースしているフォノー Fonó のようなレーベルもある。
- 6) ターンツハーズ出身のバンドの中にはハイドン Haydn、リスト Liszt、バルトーク Bartók、コダーイ Kodály といった作曲家たちが聴いたであろう音楽を再現しようというものも現れた。そのすべてがうまくいったというわけではないが、これはちょうど古楽運動において、バロック音楽が当時どのように鳴り響いたかというイメージを音楽家に与えたのに似た状況を提供した。この種の演奏はターンツハーズ愛好者ばかりでなく、クラシックの音楽家たちにもインパクトを与えた。彼らはハンガリーの作曲家たちが魅了された音を、実際の響きを通してイメージすることができるようになったからである[\*6]。
- 7) これとは対照的に、ターンツハーズモズガロムは都市のジプシー楽団の衰退を加速させるのに一役買った。第二次世界大戦後、都市のジプシー楽団は貴族的な音楽生活の遺物と見なされ、公の場所から締め出された。50年代半ばにはまた復活を遂げ、再び人気を獲得するようになったが、やがて録音された音楽が普及するにしたがって演奏する場所を徐々に失っていった[\*7]。そして、ターンツハーズモズガロムは若い世代がこの種の音楽をいいと思わないような音楽的価値観を形作るのに決定的な役割を果たした。この最後の点を、以下でもう少し詳しく見てみることにしよう。

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6——— そのよく知られている例として、ムジカーシュ Muzsikás やヤーノシ・アンサンブル Jánosí együttes を挙げることができる。

7——— KÁLLAI (2000) には、「現代において再び漂泊の生活を送るようになった」ロマの音楽家についての考察が含まれている。

## ターンツハーズモズガロムの美学——スローガンと、選択的な嗜好

ターンツハーズモズガロムのもっとも大きな影響は、音楽の感性和価値観を変えたという点にあるだろう。

この運動はちょうど農民の生活が本質的に崩壊しようとしていたときに生まれた。伝統的なターンツハーズの中には実質的に消滅してしまったものもあったので、現代のターンツハーズの人びとは自分たちが習得したレパートリーを広めようとしただけでなく、もっと全体的なこと——かつての共同体で人々はどのように生活し、どんな考えをもち、ものごとはどのように運んでいたのか——、言い換えれば「フォークロア」の部分を知りたがった。また、このような欲求を追及した結果として、近代化と生活水準の向上に対する反動のように、「自然に回帰する」ことを望む人びとの層も出現している。

この傾向は彼らの音楽に対する美感にも影響を与えた。音楽や踊りの「オーセンティシティ」が強調され、時には特定の言葉や言い回しがスローガンのように利用された。たとえば、現代のターンツハーズを紹介している『放浪の世代』[\*8]という本の中には、以下のような文章がある。

S megszületett a táncház is. Az eredeti népzene utánzó, másoló, folytató zene, tánc, ének itt együtt szórakoztat, nevel új közönséget, pontosabban új közösséget, amely közösség megszerette a tiszta forrásból érkező népzene.

ダンスハウスが再発見された。そこでは、オリジナルの民俗音楽を模倣し、コピーし、受け継いでいる音楽が踊りや歌とともに楽しませてくれ、新しい聴衆を育ててくれる。正確に言うならば、彼らは新しいコミュニティーだ。そのコミュニティーは純粋な源からの民俗音楽に重きを置く。  
(下線はいずれも引用者による。p.15)

「純粋な源からの a tiszta forrásból」という言い回しはバルトークの作品《カンタータ・プロファナ Cantata Profana》に由来する。この作品はバルトークの哲学を音楽的に表明したものと見なされている。そのテキストはもともとはルーマニアの民俗的なバラードから取

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8——BODOR 1981.

られており、翻訳は作曲者自身によって現在の形にされた。

Volt egy öreg apó. / Volt néki, volt néki / Kilenc szép szál fia. /  
Nem nevelte őket / Semmi mesterségre, / Csak erdőket járni, / És addig,  
addig / Vadászgattak, addig... / Szarvassá változtak / Ott a nagy erdőben. /  
És az ő szarvuk / Ajtón be nem térhet, / Csak betér az völgyekbe; /  
A karcsú testük / Gunyában nem járhat, / Csak járhat az lombok közt; /  
A lábuk nem lép / Tűzhely hamujába, / Csak a puha avarba; /  
Az ő szájuk többé / Nem iszik pohárból, / Csak tiszta forrásból.

あるところに年老いた父がおりました。彼には9人のすばらしく成長した息子がおりました。彼は息子たちに生きる糧を得る術を教えてやらず、森に入っては獣を狩ることだけを教えたのでした。

彼らはずいぶんと長いこと狩りをしてまわり、雄鹿に変わってしまいました。あの大きな森の中で。

そして、彼らの角は戸口より広くて中へ入ることができず、谷間しか合うところがないのでした。

彼らのほっそりとしたからだは、洋服を着て歩き回ることができず、生い茂った木々の間を歩くことしかできないのでした。

彼らの脚は暖炉の灰の中に踏み込むことはできず、柔らかな落ち葉の上しか歩けないのでした。

彼らの口はもはやグラスから飲むことはできず、純粋な泉からしか飲むことができないのでした。

(最後のコーラスの部分から。下線はいずれも引用者による)

この「純粋な源からの」という言い回しは、熱心なターンツハーズ愛好者によってハンガリー音楽と舞踊の純粋性を強調するために繰り返し用いられた。今や、この言い回しは手工芸品を扱う土産物店のポスターにその“由緒正しさ”を形容する語句として使われることもあれば、ある有名なオペラ歌手の墓碑銘にまでこの言い回しが彫られているのを見ることがもできる。



[写真1] 民芸品を扱う店に貼られたポスター。  
上部に“純粋な源のマーク。民俗工芸品の真正さを  
証明するものです”とある

ハンガリーの音楽学者シャーロシ・バーリント Sárosi Bálintは彼の著書『ハンガリーの音楽 その伝統と語法』(1994)の中で、1970年代初頭に大学生が催した民謡の夕べでの出来事を皮肉を交えて記している。そこに招かれた村の演奏者たちは、実は民謡として舞台上で披露されるべきでないものを歌ったのだった。

彼らは間違いだらけの民謡や、民族的なバラードと称する半分アレンジされたようなセンチメンタルで価値のない歴史物語や、民謡と称する大衆歌曲を、耳障りで、ヴィブラートのたっぷりついた酒場向きの声で歌ったのである。(—中略—)「混じり気のない源」という魔法のような言い回しが説明されないままに、民俗音楽ではあたかもすべての曲が「宝石」であると彼ら(大学生たち—引用者注)の耳には長年にわたってささやかれてきたので、彼らはこれが本物ではないと自分自身に言い聞かせる勇気をもつことさえ出来なかったのである。(p.104)

シャーロシは、ターンツハーズの人びとが実は十分な知識や審美眼をもたないまま、民俗音楽の純粋性を誇張したり、農民的な背景からもたらされたものを過大評価する傾向にあることを指摘しようとしている。

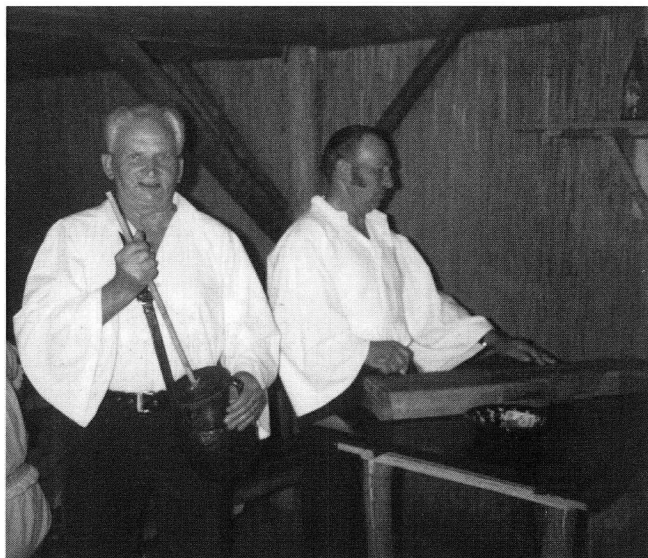
この種の誇張は他にも見ることができる。ガルドン gardon と呼ばれる民俗楽器はターンツハーズモズガロムの最初期から人びとの耳をひきつけてきた。ターンツハーズモズガロムを始めた一人であるシェバー・フェレンツは、まだ何も知らなかった頃にたまたま弦楽器の弦を打つ奏法を試みたが、ある音楽学者がそれはジメシュという地域の人びとのガルドンの演奏法と同じであると彼に教えた。ガルドン奏者は弦の鳴らし方を2種類使うが、一つは打ち、もう一つはピッチカートのようにはじくので、この楽器は打楽器の一種と見なすこともできるものである。

ガルドンはチーク地方で用いられ、現在でもジメシュでヴァイオリンと一緒に演奏されている。この伝統的な楽器の組み合わせはハンガリー語圏のほかの地域では知られていなかったものである。にもかかわらず、今やハンガリーのほとんどどこにおいても、この楽器の弦を打ち、はじいている音楽家の姿を見ることができる。ときにはこれらの地域に由来するのではない曲で使われることさえある。ガルドンはかなり個性的な音を生み出し、その演奏法がインパクトの強いものだから、と見ることができるだろう。

ターンツハーズの人びとはかなり選択的だと言うこともできる。彼らはツイテラ citera と呼ばれる、ハンガリーで農民たちに広く愛好されてきた撥弦楽器をめったに使わない。ツイテラの音はあまりにも田舎臭いからだとしボシュとハマルはインタビューの中で正直に答えてくれたが、こうして農民たちに長く愛好されてきたこのような楽器こそ「純粋な源から」の伝統とすることができるのではないのだろうか？



[写真2] フィドルと演奏するガルドン (左)



〔写真3〕 農民の代表的な楽器ツィテラ（右）とケチェグドゥダ

現在はルーマニアになっているエルデーイ Erdély (現トランシルヴァニア) 地方の音楽は、ハンガリーの民俗的伝統の中でもっとも豊かなものとして知られ、ターンツハーズの主要なレパートリーを構成している。人びとは踊りと音楽の技術を身につけ、レパートリーを広げるために熱心にこの地方を訪れる。一方、かつての北部ハンガリーである、現在スロヴァキアに属するフェルヴィデーク Felvidék 地方は、あまり人気が高くない。フェルヴィデークはバルトークもコダーイも収集のために繰り返し訪れた地域で、現在も多くのハンガリー人が住む地として知られる。実はこの地域は都市のジプシー楽団の伝統のルーツの地であることも忘れてはならない。ツィンカ・パンナ Czinka Panna による最初のジプシー楽団、あるいはひと頃著名だったヴァイオリニストでジプシー楽団のリーダー、ビハリ・ヤーノシュ Bihari János は二人とも18世紀にフェルヴィデークに生まれた。都市のジプシー楽団だけでなく、地域の人びとの音楽作りに従事するフェルヴィデークの田舎のジプシー楽団の音には都市のジプシー楽団を彷彿とさせるものがあるが、それはこの地域がこの種の音楽を育んできた歴史をもっていることと関連している。ターンツハーズでは、そもそも貴族社会に寄り添って発展を遂げてきたジプシー楽団に対する嫌悪感が強



く、この種の音は退廃的と見なされるため、フェルヴィデークの音楽が演奏されることはめったにない。

音楽作りの伝統において、ふつうジプシー楽団が村の踊り手たちの伴奏を長らく手がけてきた。楽器編成は地域によっては都市のジプシー楽団と類似していたり、同じだったりすることもあるが、両者の演奏のしかたはかなり異なっている。都市のジプシー楽団は感情を誇張し、ルバートを多用して演奏し、楽団がすすり泣いているかのような感傷的な音を出したり、かと思えばハンガリー的なものの常套句である熱い感情を爆発的に表現したりもする。このような音楽の作り方に対し、村のジプシー楽団は淡々と演奏し、踊り手の気分や雰囲気注意到注意を払う。ハンガリー語圏の多くでは、器楽の音楽はロマ、つまりジプシーの手にゆだねられてきた。ロマが演奏していても、必ずしも「ジプシー楽団」と呼ばれるわけではなく、その呼称は地域ごとに異なっており、彼らの演奏する音楽もかなり多様性をもっているが、いずれにしても、彼らは都市のジプシー楽団といくらかの関係を持っていると見なされている。にもかかわらず、ターンツハーズの人びとは都市のジプシー楽団を「価値の低いもの」として見下し、その存在意義には否定的である。実はターンツハーズモズガロム以前には一時期、都市のジプシー楽団も都市部の民族舞踊団の伴奏を担っていたという事実があったのにもかかわらず、である。対照的に、エルデーイからの楽団は一樣に高く賞賛され、中にはカリスマ的な人気を誇るジプシー楽団さえある。彼らにとって1989年の体制転換以前はブダペスト、あるいはハンガリー自体に訪れることは難しかったが、今ではハンガリー国内のいくつかのターンツハーズで定期的に演奏している彼らの姿を見ることさえできる。

これらの例から、ターンツハーズの人びとの嗜好と選択を理解することは難しくない。彼らは可能な限り「オーセンティック」であろうとしているようであり、「オーセンティックでない」と見なした要素は排除しようとするが、どのように判断するのかは彼らにまかされており、しかもその判断は必ずしも根拠のあるものではない。ときには彼らが音楽の記憶さえも作り変えようとしているように見えることさえある。

しかし、彼らはこの「オーセンティシティ」を求めて、アマチュアの踊り手や演奏者でありながら、自らフィールドワークを行ったり、地方で開催される舞踊のキャンプに出かけることもいとわない。実はこうした徹底した“こだわり”がターンツハーズを支えていると言っても過言ではないだろう。つまり、一見したところ素朴な音楽や踊りに親しむといった風情のあるターンツハーズではあるが、実のところは知的な興味がなくては長続き

しない側面があり、ある意味ではインテリの運動であるということができるのである[\*9]。出発点においてターンツハーズと関わったのが知的な興味をもった若者であったことも大いに関係しているかもしれないが、いずれにしても、音楽や演奏者の種類ばかりでなく、運動の支持者も実は選択されている、と言うこともできるかもしれない。

## ターンツハーズモズガロム以降のハンガリーの音楽生活

ターンツハーズモズガロムはバルトークやコダーイといった民族音楽学者の活動や、「コダーイ・メソッド」と呼ばれる音楽教育体系に比べると、まだあまり知られていない。しかし、これまでたどってきたように、それは音楽の嗜好、とりわけ20世紀最後の四半世紀のハンガリー人の伝統音楽の嗜好に決定的な役割を果たしたということができらう。実際、この運動が広まり、定着してから30年以上の年月を経た今、ターンツハーズはハンガリーの日常的な音楽・芸能シーンにすっかり定着し、観光案内のトピックの一つとしてふつうに紹介されるまでになっている。また、ハンガリーにあまたあるプロ、アマの舞踊団では今ではターンツハーズモズガロム出身の演奏家、あるいは彼らに指導を受けた演奏家が伴奏を手がけるのがふつうの光景となり、30年以上前にはよくあった都市のジプシー楽団が受け持つことはなくなった。農民たちが手作業で作り、演奏してきた楽器はもはやターンツハーズに連なる楽器製作者が作るのがふつうで、しかるべき場所に出向けばそれらを入手することもそれほど困難ではなくなっている。CDショップで入手できる伝統音楽の音源は、貴重なフィールド録音を除けば、ほとんどがターンツハーズ系の演奏家によるものであり、都市のジプシー楽団のものがこうした伝統音楽のカテゴリーに紛れ込んだりすることはない。ジプシー楽団のディスクはたいていの場合、「ジプシー音楽」とタイトルのつけられた一面に並べられたり、観光客に分かりやすい形でディスプレイされて、はっきりと区別されているからだ。このような状況のひとつひとつをたどてみると、ターンツハーズモズガロムは現代において伝統がいかに創造されるか、ということの

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9——— 舞踊振付師としてこの運動以前から舞踊と関わってきたフォルティンは、インタビューの中で、「ターンツハーズはブルーカラーを取り込むことができなかったという点で、コダーイ・メソッドほどの影響力を持つことができなかったのだと思う」と語っている。

鮮やかな例を私たちに示してくれていることが理解できよう。

一方、この運動以前から徐々に衰退の途をたどっていたジプシー楽団は、これによっていっそう活動の場が限定され、かつてほどその姿を見かけなくなっている。もともと需要に応じて音楽作りをしてきたロマの楽師たちにとって、もはや需要の見込めない音楽に執着する理由はあまりなく、次の世代にはこの種の音楽を専門とさせずに、クラシック音楽やジャズ、ポピュラーを目指すようにさせたり、あるいは音楽自体をライフワークとしないようにアドヴァイスする親も少なくない。実際には、この種の大衆音楽の潜在的な需要はまだそれほど少なくなっていないと考えられるが<sup>[\*10]</sup>、その需要の中心である高年齢層はもはやジプシー楽団が出演する高級レストランに足を運ぶことはほとんどなく、そのため、表向きは需要が落ち込んでいると見なされる。その結果、ジプシー楽団はもはやハンガリー人向けではなく、ハンガリーの観光の目玉と見なされ、“エキゾチック”なアトラクションとして主に外国人の前で演奏することがほとんどとなっている。かつてハンガリー人の心の嚆矢をあますところなく表現すると見なされていたジプシー楽団には、その頃の中心的なレパートリーで

あるマジダル・ノータ magyar nótaを演奏する機会があまりなくなった。刹那的な歌詞と情緒的な音楽を通してかつてのハンガリー人のメンタリティを表現しているマジダル・ノータは観光客の理解しやすいレパートリーではなく、むしろ技巧的な側面を強調する曲や、“ハンガリー風”としてよく知られるクラシック音楽に由来するスタンダードナンバーが彼らに好んで聴かれているからだ。



〔写真4〕 ブダペストのレストランで演奏するジプシー楽団  
(プリマ・ヴァイオリニストはホルヴァート・ジュラ)

ジブシー楽団の衰退は、ターンツハーズモズガロムが起こらなかったとしても、遅かれ早かれ進んだと考えることもできるが、この運動によってその速度が速められたことには疑いの余地はないであろう。ここでも選択的に伝統が創られる裏側の面を見ることが出来る。

ハンガリーでは1989年に体制転換が起こり、2005年にはヨーロッパ連合への加盟も果たした。これらの出来事は音楽生活における新たな変化をすでに少しずつもたらしめている。ターンツハーズモズガロムによって定着したように見える現代ハンガリーの音楽的嗜好にも、これまでとは別種の変化が徐々にもたらされつつある。ヨーロッパの統合によってボーダレス化がはかられる中で、人びとの意識はどのように変化し、それが音楽生活をどのように変えていくのか、今後も注意深い考察をしていく必要がある。

[よこいまさこ・国立音楽大学助教授]

[インタビュー（五十音順）]

コブゾシュ・キシシュ・タマーシュ KOBZOS KISS Tamás (演奏家、オーブダ民俗音楽学校校長) —2001.3.26  
シボシュ・ミハーイ SIPOS Mihály (演奏家) —2000.9.3  
シャーロシ・バーリント SÁROSI Bálint (音楽学者) —2001.4.1  
ナジ・バラージュ NAGY Balázs (楽器製作者) —2001.3.26  
ハマル・ダーニエル HAMAR Dániel (演奏家) —2000.9.3  
ハルモシュ・ベーラ HALMOS Béla (民族学者) —2001.4.2  
バログ・カールマーン BALOGH Kálmán (ツインバロム奏者) —1999.3.24  
フィシェル(フィッシャー)・イヴァーン FISCHER Iván (指揮者) —2000.1.20  
フォルティン・ヨラーン FOLTIN Jolán (舞踊振付師) —2001.4.2  
ホッローシュ・マーテー HOLLÓS Máté (作曲家、フンガロトン主宰) —①2000.12.80 ②2001.4.3  
ラースロー・シャーンドル LÁSZLÓ Sándor (フォノー・プロデューサー＝当時) —2001.3.26

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# The *Zhiva Voda*<sup>[\*1]</sup> of Bulgarian Folk Songs

## Interfaces in the Genesis of a Festival

Stella Zhivkova

*Somewhere, high in the mountains, in a place forgotten  
by God and by the world, there are songs that can bring  
a dying person back to life...  
(Bulgarian Legend)*

### ***I. Introduction: The Zhiva voda of Folk song as an inspiration: Two forms of artistic Expression of the Intuition***

This paper summarizes the results of my fieldwork at a musical festival (Sandanski 2006). Its immediate purpose, however, is to demonstrate the practical effects of the traditional belief that folk music is a life giving principle, which underlay the festival, and to provide examples proving that folk music can really give life to and sustain long-lasting creative human interfaces.

### ***0. The Organizers of the “With the Songs of the Bissarov Sisters” – the Sisters<sup>[\*2]</sup>***

The Bissarov Sisters (Lyubimka, Neda and Mitra), are among the most prominent folk singers of Bulgaria. They hail from the mountain village of Pirin, located high in the Pirin Mountains.<sup>[\*3]</sup> They first appeared on stage in 1978 when they won a national competition. Their official debut was in 1978 at the 11<sup>th</sup> World Festival in Cuba, taking the first prize in the competition. For fifteen long

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1 ——— “Life-giving water” (Bulgarian).

2 ——— More on Bissarov sisters at <http://members.intech.bg/bissarovfolk/> The mirroring site is: <http://www.bobinka.demon.co.uk/index.htm>

3 ——— The village of Pirin is located 126 km south-west of Sophia, in Pirin Mountains, near the border with Macedonia and Greece.

years the trio polished their ensemble singing as members of the Bulgarian National Folk Ensemble “Phillip Koutev”.<sup>[\*4]</sup> They also refined their art of singing during the many years of involvement with the chorus famously known as “Le Mystère des Voix Bulgares.” Since the establishment of the trio they have recorded more than five hundred Bulgarian folk songs and some of them are included in world-famous collections like *Global Divas: Voices from Women of the World* (1995)<sup>[\*5]</sup>. Their popularity is recognized by one of the world’s most prestigious companions to music – World Music the Rough Guide Africa Europe and Middle East (1994) – as being “one of the best vocal trios from Bulgaria.” The repertoire of the sisters includes the most typical features of the musical folklore of the Pirin region: the two-part singing,<sup>[\*6]</sup> the rich and versatile meters and rhythms and the expressive Pirin-style performance.

After starting their group performances, the Sisters gradually enriched their repertoire with folk songs from different geographical regions of Bulgaria. They accompany their singing on instruments traditional to the area. The instruments played by them are *tarambuka* (vase drum), *tamboura* (long-necked lute) and *dayre* (tambourine). Not long ago Lyubimka’s sons Manol and Rossen (*tamboura* and drum respectively) and Mitra’s daughters Vera and Rossitsa (*tamboura* and vocals) joined the trio and it has now expanded to “the Bissarov Family.” A special visual treat they give the audience at their concerts, aside from the music and spirited dancing, is the splendid sight of their hand-made traditional costumes.

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4 — Philip Koutev (1903-1982) founded this group in 1951 to perform authentic Bulgarian folk music. Its members were originally recruited from the smallest villages throughout Bulgaria. The ensemble has been a model for many other ensembles that followed.

5 — A project involving prominent female singers from all over the world (Aretha Franklin, Misora Hibari, Marta Sebestyen et al.). This album, consisting of three CDs is in honor of September’s United Nations Fourth World Conference on Women, in Beijing, China.

6 — The two-part singing is a distinguishing characteristic of the Pirin musical folk dialect. This is a primitive singing technique with its most frequently used harmonic combination of seconds, thirds and quarters; where the chords of seconds prevail. The two-part singing style is performed mostly by three singers. One of them will lead the melody and deliver the ‘whoops’, while the other two add a second voice which is usually on the primary tone of the melody, though sometimes on the second degree, thus forming a second tone centre or even unison with the first voice when it descends to the sub-primary tone.

## 1. *The Idea of the Festival and its Realization*

### 1.1. *Naming the festival. Facts about the Festival.*

Lyubimka came up with the idea of organizing a festival last year (2005). Her original intention was to set up an event that would commemorate a local hero, Yane Sandanski[\*7] — a Macedonian revolutionary movement activist. The controversy over the Macedonian issue led Lyubimka to change her original intentions and to choose her great-grandfather, a church priest from the village of Pirin, pop (“father”) Stamat as a patron of the festival.[\*8] In one of her interviews Lyubimka mentions that the festival needed to be “powered” by someone who had been noted and highly respected for his courage and spirit.[\*9] Thus, the festival of the Bissеров Sisters was initially conceived as an annual celebration of a notable person, as the festival tradition typically requires. Its symbolic meaning was to commemorate the struggle for independence of the Bulgarians and the victory of the national spirit over the age-old Ottoman tyranny; thus, the cultural event (the festival) was planned to become part of a greater historical continuity – the struggle for survival and strengthening the national spirit. The date of the festival was also chosen very carefully, namely June 2, the date when Bulgarian people commemorate the victims of the struggle for national independency from the Turks. In this way, once again, the Bissеров Sisters manifested their will to contribute toward the revival of the traditional Bulgarian values through the metaphysical energy of folk music.

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7——— Yane Sandanski was born on 18 May 1872 in the village of Vlahi. Yane Sandanski was a Macedonian revolutionist, one of the leaders of the Macedonian National Revolutionary Movement. Since the start of his revolutionary activity, he became well-known because he protected the villagers from the tyrants; he also organized the people for self-defense. Yane Sandanski lived and fought in the Pirin region, and that is why the people gave him the name “The Pirin Tsar”. He was also active in the Ilinden Uprising, and in 1908, he supported the young Turkish revolution with a view to the freedom of the Macedonian people. Soon after that, the Bulgarian Tsar Ferdinand labeled Yane Sandanski as “the most dangerous enemy of the great Bulgarian interests” (Macedonia to be under Bulgaria). In the same year, an unsuccessful assassination was attempted on Yane Sandanski by paid killers who were sent by Ferdinand. With the expulsion of the Turks, Macedonia was partitioned between Serbia, Bulgaria and Greece. Sandanski was killed near the Rozhen Monastery on 22 April 1915.

8——— Pop Stamat (?-4 October 1903) (“father Stamat”) was a priest of Pirin village in the late years of the Ottoman yoke. His patriotism and devotedness to the village and the church did not pass unnoticed and he was brutally killed by the Ottoman soldiers.

9——— Interview on Signal Plus radio station, 7 May 2006.



Orienting the festival exclusively toward the past did not seem enough for the sisters and they created a future dimension of the festival's mission – to revive the region by attracting performers and tourists who would contribute not only financially but also culturally to its progress. Thus, the aim of the festival was set twofold: to preserve the historical assets as well as to work for the better future of the region. During Lyubimka's negotiating with the Municipality of Sandanski about the possibilities for receiving financial support, it was suggested to her that the festival should be named after its organizers, the Bisserov Sisters, since they were the heart and soul of the festival. In this way, political implications (related to the personality of Yane Sandanski) would not hinder the welcoming of the Festival by more Bulgarians, as well as by the neighboring Macedonia. Then, naturally, the name of the festival emerged as "With the Songs of the Bisserov Sisters." It is Lyubimka's hope that the festival will become a regional tradition and will work for the establishment of a deeper knowledge of the history of the region.

### **1.2. *The Social Function of the Festival***

Not being an exception to the rule, the festival was an end product of the cooperative efforts of community leaders, organizations, volunteer groups, artists, media, and local and state governmental organizations. Although this joint effort had a relatively short duration, it provided free admission for the general public and attracted a great number of local residents. The sponsors of the event were Sandanski Municipality and the Bisserov Sisters, and it took place in the city of Sandanski first, and later at two other locations in the Sandanski region. The general policy of the festival can be briefly stated as follows: the mission of the festival is to create opportunities for folk artists to share and preserve folk, ethnic and traditional arts for present and future generations. Besides the deep meaning of connecting the historical past with the present by making known the historical roots of the local spirit, Lyubimka's immediate goal was to restart the life stream of the community by creating new energy and to involve the native people in an event that would promote some awareness of cultural and ethnic traditions by providing a showcase for sharing these traditions in community spirit by the residents of Sandanski municipality.

The festival was conceived by the organizers as a fusion between traditional, folk and arranged folk music. The choice to invite musicians highly representative of their native culture as well as the

hope-raising awareness that folk festivals attract tourists with money to spend, that they are family friendly and develop new audiences and communities were the key factors for the success of the Festival. “With the Songs of the Bissarov Sisters” certainly showed potential as a tourist attraction; the careful planning the sisters had done brought together a multi-national set of performers, but also included outstanding local groups. In this way, whatever the audience was, it could find a little something to suit its taste, from the presence of the lively and danceable Benvenuto traditional tunes (Italy) to the serene dance of Wakayagi Kichirei (Japan); in case foreign music was not what the audience had come to listen to, local Bulgarian folk was offered too.

To add some more detail, it is helpful to examine at greater length the Festival program. The first day offered the audience seven local versus ten foreign performances. All Bulgarian performers sang, played and danced pure folk music. The Japanese groups performed various forms of *hogaku* (music for traditional Japanese instruments); the Italians presented local town music; the Scottish bagpiper played folk tunes too; on the part of the English group the audience was presented a *capella* arranged 17<sup>th</sup> century music; the Norwegians enlivened the atmosphere with their folk dance and music. Unfortunately, the rule “something to meet anyone’s taste” made the program too long and at times it was hard for the audience to be attentive to the performance on stage. The Sisters made a mental note of this and are going to offer their solution to the problem at the next festival. In next edition, there will be two stages built and the performances will be divided in two. In this way, the tiresome length of this year’s Opening will be shortened.

The festival most certainly developed new audiences. The second and the third days were subsequently held in the countryside, thus giving a superb chance to the local people to taste music from various parts of the world. Although it would be an exaggeration to claim that foreign music was always well accepted or understood, it was definitely welcomed by the audience. Notwithstanding the alleged “sadness” of Japanese music, the audience enjoyed the unique experience of listening to it and appreciated the visual performance too. Most of the visitors could hardly remember that the long wooden instrument played by Hiroko Doi is called the *koto*, but I think that they will always keep the impression that her playing and singing left in them.

The festival was undoubtedly family friendly; a good proof of that was the number of children who could be seen around while their parents were appreciating the spectacle on the stage or simply waiting for their favorite performance to begin, chatting to each other. The first festival day facilitated the family presence because of the convenient location of the stage for the opening in the city centre of Sandanski. The second day was held on the meadows below the Rozhen monastery which offered a nice chance to sit on the green grass, have a chilled beer and a snack while the kids enjoy their endless game under the azure June sky. Day three provided the faithful festival-goer with the opportunity to go and see one of the most unknown villages in Bulgaria, the village of Pirin. The village square and the stage decorated with hand-woven carpet-like *chergi* were an unforgettable scene. The square offered enough space for the most typical Bulgarian folk dance *horo* which anyone can join; and at the festival kids danced alongside with the adults and the foreign performers.

As a place for developing communities, the festival was an excellent opportunity to make acquaintances not only for the visitors but also for the performers. The initial concept of the festival included its commitment to presenting artists in a way that allows a large cross section of people to experience and share culture. And since the organizers wanted the festival to be free for the public, the performers were not paid for their performances and did not get a refund for their airplane tickets either; participation was absolutely voluntary and free. All performers donated their time and art to the festival; and, in return, the festival offered them a chance to network with other artists and reach new audiences. They were also compensated with hospitality, publicity and honorary diplomas for being part of the first festival of this kind.

### **1.3. Orientation of the Festival toward Traditional Music**

One of the most important features of the festival was its orientation toward traditional music; that is, the participating groups showcased components of their cultures that had been in one way or another preserved for many years. Notwithstanding the fact that the repertoires of the groups varied from local town folklore to classical cases of folk music, all the participants had to present music representative of their culture in a recognizable way. Having said that, it should also be mentioned that long before the festival of the Bissеров Sisters, the town of Sandanski was already known as being representative of the new wave in Bulgarian music, namely the contemporary version of folk

music named pop-folk.<sup>[\*10]</sup> it was known as the home town of the largest pop-folk festival in Bulgaria “Pirin Folk.”<sup>[\*11]</sup> Lyubimka hopes that her festival will soon become the representation and highlight in the calendar of the regional musical activity and says in one of her radio interviews that *chalga* (one of the numerous names under which contemporary so-called “modern folk” or “pop-folk” appears) is a fraud of folk music,<sup>[\*12]</sup> a fake product which could mentally kill the whole nation.<sup>[\*13]</sup> Extreme as it is, such a statement reflects the attitude of a vast number of Bulgarians;<sup>[\*14]</sup> not necessarily nationalistic, this attitude comes as a result of the aggressive *chalga* expansion and its indistinctive style resembling at the same time the traditional folk music of Bulgaria and of the neighboring Turkey, Serbia and Greece. And, juxtaposing “Pirin Folk” and “With the Songs of the Bissеров Sisters,” Neda, the middle sister, mentions that the main difference between them is that their festival goes beyond the limits of the mere show and is rather a display of intelligent folk music; it “gives people more than just short-lived joy for the eyes” and provides a superb opportunity to feel and learn things about cultures.<sup>[\*15]</sup>

The long-established popularity of “Pirin Folk” was the possible reason for what Lyubimka qualified as “neglecting” the advertising of “With the Songs of the Bissеров Sisters” by the Municipality of Sandanski. Since I could not get the comment of the Municipality on the matter, I will try to remain free from bias here. What I have personally witnessed was the devoted work of the Municipality officers in charge of the festival according to their idea of how things should work. I think that the frictions that occurred between them and the sisters were due to the different idea they and the sisters had about how to work effectively for the event. More on this matter is given in the chapter on the Interfaces.

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10 ——— Pop-folk, aka as *chalga*, “modern folk” etc. is a phenomenal mixture of folk elements from all over the Balkans with a strong pinch of Eastern, mainly Turkish, motives. See: Zhivkova, Ito (2005).

11 ——— The official site of the Pirin Folk festival (in Bulgarian): <http://www.pirinfoolk.com/>

12 ——— Lyubimka Bissérova, Guest in *Noshten Horizont* (“Night Horizon”) Program on Bulgarian National Radio, May 28<sup>th</sup> 2006.

13 ——— Ibid.

14 ——— The problem is discussed in great detail in Zhivkova, Ito (2005).

15 ——— Neda Bissérova, Personal communication, 2 June, 2006.

#### *1.4. Nature of the Festival and Festival Participants*

When planning a large scale event, it is essential to develop a mission statement encompassing the goals and keeping everything on track. The mission statement of the festival of the Bisserov Sisters stresses that the festival aims at enriching the historical memory of the regional heroes as well as the cultural memory of the musical heritage of the Pirin region in an attempt to help the once thriving and spiritually elevated region to regain its courage and steady movement toward a brighter future. The patriotic goal of the organizers was communicated to the international participants as well: Lyubimka made every possible effort to introduce to the foreign guests the unfailing faith of the local heroes who gave their lives in the struggle for freedom; she also organized a hiking under the motto "Following the traces of the heroes" which passed mountain spots related to important episodes from the struggle for independency in the region.

The task of choosing the venues for the festival was accomplished according to its mission: it was decided that the first day of the festival should be held in Sandanski, which is a well established concert center. As a venue for the second day were chosen the meadows below the Rozhen Monastery – the oldest and most authentic regional sanctuary. The third day was scheduled to be staged in the Pirin village – a place which takes pride not only in the fact that it is the birthplace of the Bisserov Sisters but also in the great number of victims given in the struggle for independence from the Turkish yoke.

The festival presented a comprehensive range and balance of folk, ethnic and traditional performances. The selection of participants was simple: the sisters were happy to invite performers who, without a single exception, were their personal acquaintances and in one way or another had had some experience of performing together with the sisters. To conform to the title of the festival, the performers (both Bulgarian and foreign) had to represent some strong and thriving local tradition.

## *II. Interfaces Observed at the Festival*

To say that only folkies go to folk festivals would be a much too general statement. In fact, people from all walks of life attend folk festivals, and this was the case of the "With the Songs of the Bis-

serov Sisters.” The festival was planned to become a regional tradition, and to encourage both the audience and the performers to exchange and try out new artistic experiences; the artists were also encouraged to network and search for new possibilities in their art. As a high profile showcase, it inevitably attracted audiences, tempting them into appreciating unfamiliar forms of art; which lead to a great variety of interfaces and interactions at the festival venue. Here I will describe the social interfaces that I observed at the festival; I divide them roughly into three groups: personal-organizational (between Lyubimka Bisserova and the City Hall); local-global (between the local people and the overseas guests); and economic-cultural (the collision of interests between the local *dramatis personae*).

### *1. Personal-Organizational Interface: Lybimka-City Hall*

Observations show that money spent on folk festivals yields a higher return on investment than money spent on most other tourist events. The co-sponsors of the festival – the City Hall and the Bisserov Sisters hoped that “With the Songs of the Bisserov Sisters” would be a cost-effective investment. In an interview taken after the end of the festival, Lyubimka said that the resources the sisters could invest in the festival were completely exhausted paying for transportation, technical support and overhead expenses. The City Hall provided no data about the economic effectiveness of the festival so I assume that it did not bring any direct profit to the institution; however, it certainly attracted funds to the hotels, restaurants and entertainment facilities in Sandanski city as well as in the other two venues. Apparently that the festival did not lead to an instant financial boom. It is my assumption that the Municipality foresaw that the beginning of a new tradition was not going to be easy. This may be an explanation of the fact that instead of advertising “With the Songs of the Bisserov Sisters” the Municipality directed its energy into promoting “Pirin Folk”, which had already proved effective in attracting large audiences. The lack of feedback from the Municipality made me form my opinion about the matter based exclusively on Lyubimka’s statement that the Municipality did not even care about pasting posters of the festival and she had to do it herself.

As a researcher and interpreter for the Japanese group, at the festival I had many chances to interact with the Municipality officers who were in charge of the festival. I noticed their concern about the outcome of the festival as well as their eagerness to click with the Sisters in their common aim to

make the festival a successful venture. The fact that on the official website of the Sandanski Municipality[\*16], in the section “Culture,” sub-section “Art,” “With the Songs of the Bissarov Sisters” is not mentioned among the events that single out the municipality while “Pirin Folk” is, show some negligence for the festival of the sisters in favor of the established pop-folk festival. Thinking positively and trying not to judge on insufficient grounds, I assume that the festival was not mentioned on the homepage because the electronic site of the municipality is not regularly updated, if updated at all, as it is often the case with regional homepages, which are created and abandoned later for lack of finances to keep them up-to date.

Some other frictions at the point of interface between the Sisters and the municipality of Sandanski were noticeable even for the participants, who were not interested in the organizational matters of the festival; for example, misinterpreting each other’s concepts about concert programs, starting times, etc. Nevertheless, in general, the cooperation between the Sisters and the City Hall officers involved in the organization of the festival went on effectively and without noticeably big misunderstandings. Concluding from my observations, I believe that the second and consequent editions of the festival will bring about smoother communication and cooperation between them.

## 2. *Dimensional Interface: Local-Global*

Demonstrating the volume of the festival attendance is not an easy task. No official statistics was kept, but, in my estimation, the number of visitors was about 600 on the first day of the festival, about 1,000 on the second, and about 550 on the third. The diversity of the audience was stunning; there were not only “folkies” but also many people who had come to see something new and unfamiliar, namely the visiting groups from various countries of the world. And yet, I observed two very different ways of appreciating the foreign (alien) and the local (familiar); I would term them “the informed-expectations way” and “the uninformed expectations way,” based on the acceptance of the foreign performers. I provide two examples illustrating each type of acceptance and showing the degree to which the audiences in Bulgaria were open to seeing something new and uncommon.

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16 ——— <http://bulgaria.domino.bg/sandanski/>

### 2.1. Workshop at Sofia University

On May 31 the Japanese musicians held a workshop at Sofia University, attended by students from the Faculty of Japanese Studies.<sup>[\*17]</sup> The workshop was opened with a short lecture delivered by me introducing Japanese music and musical instruments against the backdrop of Japanese culture; the lecture was based mainly on materials from my recently completed PhD thesis.<sup>[\*18]</sup> Later in the workshop I had to introduce the musical piece played by each of the performers and to interpret its message for the students. The students were attentive listeners and asked the musicians many questions. The second part of the workshop, the more active one, began after the students had already acquainted themselves with the sound and timbre of the instruments. Most of the students had never come into contact with Japanese musical instruments and were eager to touch, or even to try to play them. The greatest success was achieved by a student who tried to play *Sakura, sakura* on the *koto* guided by Hiroko Doi, who is not only an excellent performer but also a professional *koto* and *shamisen* instructor. Dango Takezawa had brought a special *shamisen*, besides the one he plays on stage, and used it to teach the students the structure and the fingering of the instrument. The *shakuhachi* players Yasuda and Monguchi encouraged the students in their eager attempts to produce sounds on instruments as hard to play as *shakuhachi*. Kichirei was surrounded by students who were impressed by her dance and were asking her questions about it and about the Japanese dance tradition. All in all, the workshop was a very positive experience for both the students and the musicians, who greatly regretted the time limitations of the workshop.

### 2.2. Acceptance of the foreign performances in the countryside – the Festival itself

In view of the fact that the mission of the Festival was to revive the local spirit, a few words about the participation should be said. While the opening day provided both foreign and local groups with a chance to appear on the stage, the afternoons of the second and the third days were exclusively available for singers and instrumental groups from the region. Such a distribution of the stage time was in conformity with the expectations of the audience. Although the festival was named “international,” the majority of the locals who attended it had actually come to see the folk

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17 ——— The most essential moments from the workshop were video-documented by the author and can be provided on demand.

18 ——— Zhivkova (2005).



musicians from the surrounding villages (Katuntsi, Sklave, Dragichevo, Kavrakirovo etc.), and for many of them the festival was hardly something more than a village fair. Perhaps due to the language barrier, the foreign visitors were seen only as an oddity, as something interesting but still unfamiliar and strange. Lyubimka noticed that and with some bitter note in her voice commented that the festival audiences in Bulgaria had not yet grown mature enough to appreciate the fine specificity of foreign art and to fully appreciate their first chance to see performers from abroad. In my opinion, in the future it would be practical to provide more information about the guests in advance, and to explain in detail the main features of the tradition they represent. I firmly believe that if the audience had had such information in advance, it would have shown more interest in interpreting and understanding the alien culture.

### *3. Economic-Cultural Interface*

To a considerable extent, this type of interface overlaps with the previously mentioned ones. It has something to do with the occasional discords between the organizers as well as with the clashes between local and global values and expectations.

It was mentioned earlier that Lyubimka's original intention was to attract attention to her birthplace, the Pirin village, and to introduce the heritage and beauty of the region to a larger audience. In other words, the festival may be qualified as an effort to revive the flagging economy of the village of Pirin and to bring some financial help to the once thriving Rozhen Monastery. And indeed, many of the participants used the opportunity to visit the Monastery and its unique church, and donated money to its reconstruction. And yet, the proof positive that the effort made by "With the Songs of the Bisserov Sisters" 2006 was not fruitless will be the next edition of the festival, when it should bring the people (or even more people) back to the venues. On a bigger scale, the festival can be seen in the light of the issue of festivals as a key sector in Bulgaria's creative economy. The data collected at the festival provides me with an effective tool that can be used to demonstrate the importance of festivals for developing regional tourism. Below I will reexamine several facts about the festival demonstrating the cultural preparedness of the region to accept the financial blessings brought about by Lyubimka's project.

A part of Lyubimka's original plan was to hold the festival in her native village Pirin in order to stimulate tourist interest in it. Together with the recently produced movie "*Pismo do America*"[\*19] ("*A Letter to Amerika*"), the festival makes the small village and its serene, out-of-the-time atmosphere known to a broader public, both native and foreign. The village of Pirin is located in south-west Bulgaria; its population hardly outnumbers 250 people. The village does not boast high living-standards; it has preserved its archaic architecture, which, seen through the eyes of the average citizen, may well be qualified as rough, unsophisticated and even barbaric. The main means of living is the cultivation of tobacco, which is mainly because the hilly terrain hinders the agricultural activities necessary for growing fruit, vegetables, or crops. As one of the online sources of information on the village[\*20] points out, the only large-scale event that has ever taken place there before the festival of the sisters was the filming of "*Pismo do America*" in 1999. The on-line source also states that the village takes pride in being the birthplace of Bissеров Sisters.

It should be mentioned that with the festival Lyubimka not only wanted to give a helping hand to her birthplace; she also chose the village as a closing point for the festival because its spiritual source and inspiration, the feat of her great-grandfather Pop Stamat, needed and deserved to be noted properly.[\*21] From Pop Stamat's feat and self-sacrifice for the Christian faith and the Bulgarian spirit of the village, Lyubimka derives inspiration for the festival. As it has been long known, festive activities always take place in religiously important times, or in times when something of vital importance for the local people has happened. In old times festivals were often held after the completion of the crops gathering, and also around or on the day on which the Christian church celebrates a saint; it was believed that the saint and through him God Himself, would protect the festival and would be part of it. Thus, the strong spiritual grounding of the festival of the Bissеров Sisters was provided by the heroic deed of their great-grand father.

A more earthly reason for selecting the village of Pirin as a venue for the festival was the im-

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19 ——— Details on the movie: <http://www.imdb.com/title/tt0262690/>

20 ——— Wikipedia, article on Pirin village (in Bulgarian): [http://bg.wikipedia.org/wiki/%D0%9F%D0%B8%D1%80%D0%B8%D0%BD\\_%28%D1%81%D0%B5%D0%BB%D0%BE%29](http://bg.wikipedia.org/wiki/%D0%9F%D0%B8%D1%80%D0%B8%D0%BD_%28%D1%81%D0%B5%D0%BB%D0%BE%29)

21 ——— See endnote 8.

mensely popular eco-tourism in Bulgaria. Even in Japan it is becoming well-known that the rural areas of Bulgaria provide excellent opportunities for what is known as “srow raifu”, the Japanese- English word for relaxed and tranquil life after one’s retirement. “Asahi Weekly”, for example, published an article announcing that many aging couples from Western Europe find tranquility and comfort in depopulated rural areas of Bulgaria, where they purchase houses and live after their retirement.[\*22] The economic profitability of such re-population of deserted areas with foreign residents has not been clearly assessed yet.

It deserves a mention that the folk festival sector in Bulgaria has grown considerably over the past several years, to the point that it is now estimated that about 100 festivals take place in Bulgaria every year.[\*23] This is very different from the years of socialism when only a very limited number of festivals were sponsored, supported and approved by the political party in power. Although some of them still exist, the *Koprivshitsa Festival* for example, most festivals in Bulgaria today are newly emerged smaller-scale events. “With the Songs of the Bisserov Sisters” is one of them and strives to establish itself not only as a musical event but also as a financially profitable regional occasion. The new festival forms have a new aspect as well – they are not only held to be showcases of artistic achievements, but also to be key factors for the local cultural tourism.

Undoubtedly, folk festivals can have a huge and wide-ranging impact on the host town or village by increasing the influx of visitors. They can also have a deep impact on the local community growth by stimulating it to share global values. From financial point of view, investment in folk festivals, unlike other forms of investment, results in almost guaranteed repeat business. Moreover, not infrequently the festival creates new interests, which results in significant levels of attendance at other art events too; for example, 38% of the festival audience attend music from other countries and cultures when not at festivals.[\*24] A study of British scholars shows that 76% of attenders are already repeat visitors, with a huge 70% of those attending most years and 44% attending every year.

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22 ——— Fed – up Britons Finding Dream Homes in Inexpensive Bulgaria, In: *Asahi Weekly*, p.4, vol. 32/No. 40, 2004, 10/3.

23 ——— Estimation performed by the author on the basis of data found on the Internet. (July 2006)

24 ——— A paper into the impact of folk festival on cultural tourism [www.folkarts-england.org/afo/graphics/AFO\\_Impact\\_Report\\_March\\_2004.pdf](http://www.folkarts-england.org/afo/graphics/AFO_Impact_Report_March_2004.pdf)

Of the 24% trying a festival for the first time, three quarters will return.[\*25] Folk music and folk festivals are in reality keys to the socio-economic and cultural life of communities.

The diverse attendance and high profile of the festival gives me grounds to think that it offers profitable business opportunities for those who choose to sponsor or work for the event in the future. Although this year's numbers did not show noticeable profit, a hope for a better financial situation can be raised in view of the forthcoming accession of Bulgaria to the European Union (January 2007).

### *III. Results and Prognosis*

The purpose of this paper was to demonstrate the volume of the folk festival, the diversity of its audiences and their dedication to the genre and the festival circuit; it also pointed out the expectations before the festival as well as its results. And these last paragraphs are my attempt to foresee how the festival will influence the region in aspects other than the economical one.

One of the two main questions that Lyubimka asked herself, a question that will stay until the festival establishes itself as a traditional event in the cultural life of the Sandanski region, was: can it become a key factor in the region's creative tourist economy? The other question, the metaphysical one, was if the festival can be the life-giving water that will bring back to life the traditions and the historical consciousness of the region. The first question will find its answer with time. The second one has already found it: the festival contributed to the quality of life across the region by strengthening communities, providing unique activities and events, building awareness of diverse cultures and identities, and acting as a source of community pride. It has gone well beyond what can be measured in economic terms; the festival achieved the goal which Lyubimka had set before herself, namely to bring people back to the rural areas and to show them that it is worth being back. Also, the festival attracted many visitors; although this time there was no statistical data gathered about the profits made by local hotels and restaurants, it can be said that the hotel-restaurant busi-

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25 ——— Ibid.

ness profited well and will be interested in having the festival held yearly at the time of opening of the summer season, when the facilities are not yet fully used. In the future, it might be expected that the festival will have significant GDP impact on various sections of the local economy, especially the recreation, accommodation and restaurant ones.

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The reason I decided to include the concept of *zhiva voda* (“life-giving water”) in this paper becomes clear if we consider one more event that took place in Pirin village – the shooting of the movie “*Pismo do Amerika*” (“A Letter to America”), (2001). It reflects an artistic fantasy that folk songs with their tremendous power can breathe life and vigor into human beings and their actions. There are several reasons to draw a parallel between the movie and the festival I attended both as a field worker and as a participant. The first reason is the shared belief in the healing and creative energy possessed by Bulgarian folk songs. The second is the steady faith that it brings people together even despite the geographic distances between them. And the third is the devotedness and dedication to find the *zhiva voda* of Bulgarian folk songs which I noticed both in the fictional protagonist in the movie and in the main engine that started the festival – Lyubimka Bisserova.

In this work I gave details about a festival and its genesis, about its organizers, and about the performers who took part in it. Then I paralleled the festival with another form of artistic expression, a movie, which carries the same meaning as the one of the festival, in order to illuminate an intuition shared by both the festival and the movie. I believe this intuition to be the one of folk song as revitalizing factor: the festival “With the Songs of the Bisserov Sisters” was taken as an example of its social dimension, while the movie gives its personal dimension.

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\*The Bisserov sisters' official site: <http://members.intech.bg/bisserovfolk/> (Last accessed 18 November, 2006)

\* The Bisserov Sisters' site <http://www.bobinka.demon.co.uk/index.htm> (Last accessed 18 November, 2006)

\*Official site of "Pirin Folk Festival" <http://www.pirinfoolk.com/> (Last accessed 18 November, 2006)

\*Official site of Sandanski Municipality <http://bulgaria.domino.bg/sandanski/> (Last accessed 18 November, 2006)

\*Report on the official site of Association of Festival Organizers (UK): [www.folkarts-england.org/afo/graphics/AFO\\_Impact\\_Report\\_March\\_2004.pdf](http://www.folkarts-england.org/afo/graphics/AFO_Impact_Report_March_2004.pdf) (Last accessed 18 November, 2006)

\*Internet Movie Database <http://www.imdb.com/title/tt0262690/> (Last accessed 18 November, 2006)

\*Pirin Village: Wikipedia

[http://bg.wikipedia.org/wiki/%D0%9F%D0%B8%D1%80%D0%B8%D0%BD\\_%28%D1%81%D0%B5%D0%BB%D0%BE%29](http://bg.wikipedia.org/wiki/%D0%9F%D0%B8%D1%80%D0%B8%D0%BD_%28%D1%81%D0%B5%D0%BB%D0%BE%29) (Last accessed 18 November, 2006)

# Non-Western Music in Postmodern Condition: A Perspective from Bulgaria

Claire Levy

## Introduction

My intention to explore specific aspects of a local popular music development observed within contemporary Bulgaria is based on the understanding that global perspectives might illuminate cultures, located in different geographical regions. Employing such a critical perspective, I find it useful to posit my reflections on the 1990s ethno-derived genre named *popfolk* in relation to the concept of world music, forged to promote 'non-western' music, which illustrates a tendency, described sometimes as *returning to ethnicity*. This tendency has brought about new manifestations in the process of hybridization and interaction between the notions of 'traditional', 'technological', the 'local' and the 'global', as well as new generalizations about the role of ethnic differences, seen in broader terms as an overall idiosyncratic sounding related to traditional musical vocabularies of a given region. In this sense, main concerns of the following discussion relate, *first*, to exploring the concept of world music; *second*, to observing some paradoxes in relation to issues of cultural identity within and outside Bulgarian context, prompted by the regional Balkan musical vocabulary employed and further developed in the genre of *popfolk*; and *third*, to a textual analysis of the meanings implied in a musical piece created on the terrain of *popfolk*.

My thesis follows the understanding that the concept of world music implies foregoing ideological, sociocultural and aesthetical developments, which have raised specific expectations in music, symptomatic in terms of particular cultural logic, the decline of the 'grand narratives' and the rise of the 'little narratives', based on traditional ethnic musics which are called for a new life in the postmodern condition. In addition, it is argued that stereotyped images of Balkan traces in music, harshly criticized by local cultural elite within Bulgaria and eagerly celebrated by 'ordinary people', may be seen as a consequent product of the influence that Western European essentialism has exercised on new Bulgarian history.

## *The De-centered Model of World Music*

The emergence of world music as a marketing category is usually attributed to one seemingly unimportant event. In June 1987, representatives of eleven record companies with a relatively independent repertory and publishing policy[\*1] met in a London club and held extensive discussions about possible strategies to promote 'non-Western' music which until that time did not feature as a separate type in the "list" of commercial labels. In the presence of a large circle of journalists and DJs, they discussed various possible labels such as *world beat*, *ethnic*, *tropical* or *international music*, and, finally, agreed on the label *world music* as a more inclusive and relatively less inaccurate term for such an amorphous area as the 'music of the world'. The naming had mainly a marketing assignment: to respond to customers' expectations related to the already broadly cultivated interest in diverse, heterogeneous musical facts and phenomena based on characteristic local sounds from different regions. This 'not-of-here' music, as others call it, has gained the status of a particular alternative to the Anglo-American mainstream that dominated Western pop music.

I would point out that such expectations have been observed at least in two directions. The one concerns the interest in local traditions from various regions of the world and the way they operate in their native environment.[\*2] The other direction concerns manifestations of accelerated, intensive interethnic fusions, carried out through the process of hybridization, i.e. through the dislocation of ethno-derived musics and their transfer into a non-native environment. In this way, fragments from diverse musical traditions, which have originated in specific geographical locations and respective sociohistorical situations, have suddenly transcended physical boundaries and entered a new artistic reality. Observed, for instance, in the notorious album "Graceland" (released in 1986 by the

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1 ——— Among the most active representatives of these companies were Ben Mandelson and Roger Armstrong from *Globestyle*, as well as representatives of similar labels such as *Triple Earth*, *Stern's Earthworks*, *Cooking Vinyl*, *Topic*, *World Circuit*, *Oval*, *WOMAD*, *Rogue* and *Hannibal*. However, *Hannibal* (represented by Joe Boyd) was the one that noticed Bulgarian artists such as Ivo Papasov (Ybriama) and his Trakia Orchestra as well as the female Trio Bulgarka, and at the end of the 1980s produced albums with their music.

2 ——— Such an interest is illustrated, for example, by the 1994 encyclopedia "World Music: The Rough Guide", which is an attempt to cover and describe rather traditional forms of music in all regions of the world (see Broughton, S. and M. Ellington, D. Muddyman, R. Trillo, K. Burton, eds. *World Music: The Rough Guide*. The Rough Guides Ltd, 1994).



American rock artist Paul Simon in collaboration with the South African male vocal group “Lady Smith Black Mambazo”), or in projects, carried out about the same time by the British musician Kate Bush in collaboration with the Bulgarian female vocal group “Trio Bulgarka,” it is rather this tendency that signals a more tangible projection of innovative musical thinking in the postmodern situation.

However, as one participant in the London meetings explains, nobody imagined that world music would be a homogeneous genre. It was nothing more than a designation of a market niche; a label one could seek on music shops’ shelves – just like seeking the labels of blues, jazz, classical music or rock.<sup>[\*3]</sup> Yet, if we look at the history of similar situations during the 20<sup>th</sup> century, we’ll realize that it was the music industry itself that generated in many cases music labels (remember how the labels of *jazz*, *rock* or even *classical music* came into existence). Then the question of negotiating the name of a given type of music does not seem so simple. We may reflect on different aspects of the dynamics concerning the link between industry, musicians and audiences. But the idea that the launching of a marketing label is simply the result of an accidental manager-producers’ whim would be groundless if not considered in relation to already raised attitudes that have generated specific aesthetical developments in music. In other words, any music label is usually something more than just a marketing umbrella; it names something which already exists as a tendency and points, if not to any homogeneous genre characteristics, then at least to some more general typological contours. Such contours might define a given musical tendency in aesthetical terms, i.e. in connection with values and meanings, observed in the overall process of music making and its functioning.

Then, what would be the value-meaning connection between musical trends, brought from Zimbabwe, Mexico or India, from Africa, Asia, the Caribbean, Latin America, or the Balkans? What would be the common line between the Balkan vernacular instrumental tradition, the African tradition of male singing *mbube*, the Latin American style *son*, the Bulgarian female folk singing or, say, the multifaceted performances associated with WOMAD fests,<sup>[\*4]</sup> inspired during the 1980s by rock musicians such as Peter Gabriel, who were keen on music rooted in the ‘third world’?

In other words, what kind of phenomenon is world music? Is it a mosaic of intonations of non-

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3 ——— See the minutes of the London meetings [[http://www.frootsmag.com/content/features/world\\_music\\_history/minutes](http://www.frootsmag.com/content/features/world_music_history/minutes)].

4 ——— WOMAD (World Organization of Music and Dance).

western origin, which get inscribed into the zigzagging caprices of a musical fashion, straining its ears for more ancient and not so ancient idiosyncratic sounds deriving from a variety of cultural traditions? Is it a condescending gesture of the modern West, beckoning to its exotic others? Is it a more viable chance for non-western musicians to get inscribed in the global cultural situation by crossing over into the Western world? Or a manifestation of something far more significant – an innovative cultural logic that implies the decline of the ‘grand narratives’ and the upsurge of ‘the little’ ones? A logic that appreciates in a new way the *otherness*, artistic pluralism and cultural relativism, and attacks not only various forms of centric attitudes but also normative ideas about the values in the context of Western culture?.. And, if such a logic can be seen as legitimate, what is then its pre-history?..

Some authors trace the pre-history of world music back to the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. As Johannes Brusila points out, ‘...the first time the term was used to some extent in a similar sense to its later use, was in 1906 when the musicologist Georg Capellen used it to describe his futuristic vision of an emerging new musical style which was to be based on a fusion of Oriental and Occidental influences, much in the same way as the impressionistic art of the turn of the century had drawn upon Japanese art’.[\*5] This fact can be probably seen as a forerunner of some later tendencies in musical thinking, which came to seek non-traditional forms of ethnic fusion. However, far more significant in terms of the pre-history of world music as a concept seem to be those historical accumulations from the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, whose symptoms come to reveal deep ideological and artistic transformations in the context of Western culture. Analysts such as Simon Frith, Steven Feld, and Johannes Brusila, draw attention to such accumulations mainly in two areas. Paradoxically enough, the one refers to the area of scholarship, more precisely, to developments in the field of ethnomusicology (since the 1950s on) and popular music studies (since the 1970s on) which emerged as an innovative interdisciplinary subject in the humanities. The second area goes beyond the merely scholar interest and is related to the much broader impact (in terms of public life and social consciousness) of specific trends in the evolution of music itself, associated to a great extent with the folk revivals from the 1960s as well as the changing value orientations, cultivated by jazz and rock

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5 ——— Brusila, Johannes. *Local Music, Not From Here'. The Discourse of World Music*. Helsinki: Finnish Society for Ethnomusicology, 2003, 47.

music around the same time.

Having explored the ethnomusicological perspective, Steven Feld reminds that the concept of world music has been in circulation among American academia at least from the beginning of the 1960s, when world music was introduced as a subject of ethnomusicology, oriented towards the *perspective of difference* and the sensitivity for the breadth and diversity of the ‘musics of the world’.[\*6] As the author further explains, ‘World music had a mission – to oppose the dominant institutional assumption that ‘music’ was synonymous with Western European art music. And in practical terms, the ‘world music’ idea was meant to have a pluralising effect on Western conservatories, by promoting both the study of non-Western performance practices, and the hire of non-Western performers.’[\*7]

Ethnomusicology created opportunities for further developments of cultural relativism by expanding the horizon of traditional types of music from less known regions as well as by paving the way for a new offset in music scholarship, sometimes qualified as ‘musicology of non-notated music’. As such, the latter deals predominantly with the ‘exoticism’ of ‘primitive cultures’, and the perspective of difference was still approached under the sign of the inherited and somewhat ghettoizing colonial notion, expressed in a cliché like ‘The West versus the Rest’.

Unlike ethnomusicology, popular music studies, which illustrate the next active stage in pluralising musical thinking, have been oriented towards the study of the modern musical culture. In this sense, popular music studies had a much more radical mission: to deepen the understanding of music not only in terms of any romantic pluralistic vision of the world, but also from the current perspective of ‘ordinary people’ who live in industrial societies and are considered as a factor in the creation of musical values. Thus, the study of popular music has introduced a new critical perspective which innovated the opposition towards the Eurocentric idea of the aesthetical superiority of given musical traditions at the expense of others. The push along these lines is usually related to the attempts to conceptualize mass media culture and pop music styles – aspects which were previously excluded from the critical attention of both traditional musicology and ethnomusicology. By looking

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6——— The subject of world music was first introduced at Wesleyan University in 1960.

7——— Feld, Steven. *Anxiety and Celebration. Mapping the Discourses of World Music.* – In: *Changing Sounds: New Directions and Configurations in Popular Music* (eds. T. Mitchell, P. Doyle, B. Johnson), Sydney: UTS, 2000, 10.

out from the tower of diverse disciplines in the humanities and focusing on music as a transmitter of meanings, popular music studies expanded the very idea of musical values. In this case, the understanding of musical values questions not only the validity of dominant Eurocentric aesthetic and ideological canons (developed in traditional musicology during the 19<sup>th</sup> century); it also seeks to validate the parallel variety of values in the context of modernity and their positioning on an equal footing, as well as to attack related ideas concerning such a binary as center and periphery.

The second area of aesthetical accumulations, i.e. given directions in music evolution, is, of course, directly related to the first area. This relation can be explained not simply because such developments seek their reflection in musical scholarship but mainly because of their potential and the magnitude of their impact on mass consciousness (especially youth consciousness). In this respect, I would first outline directions which, to a certain extent, have had common motivation and intersecting points. These are the folk movements from the 1960s and the 'romantic' phase in the development of rock music around the same time.

However, in this particular case 'folk' does not refer to what some authors[\*8] call 'ethnocentric' connotations, nor does it mean what is generally understood by traditional folklorists.[\*9] Instead, it refers to what Mark Slobin[\*10] has defined as 'post-peasant folk movements', motivated by the notion of *roots*, regardless of the ethnic origins behind them. This definition points to the American folk revival from the beginning of the 1960s,[\*11] which reflected all over Europe and became a visible component of the rebel youth hippy culture as well as the Civil Rights Movements at the time. The passion that enveloped such developments was clearly associated with a longing for the *real thing*, as well as the idea for embracing the multiculturalism and the peculiar notion of international solidarity. This unconventional understanding of folk music has brought about a series of folk revivals all over Europe, and served as a catalyst in the accumulation of meanings that predicted the

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8 ——— Yordanova, Tsenka. World Music i etnozentrichnijat model [World Music and the Ethnocentric Model]. – *Bulgarian Folklore* 6/1995, 29-39.

9 ——— I have in mind the preponderant view among traditional European folklorists, who consider folklore as a major factor in the construction of national ideologies.

10 ——— Slobin, Mark. *Subcultural Sounds: Micromusics of the West*. Hanover: Wesleyan University Press, 1993, 68.

11 ——— The push in this direction is associated with the first Newport Folk Festival, held in 1959. Pete Seeger, Bob Dylan, The Kingston Trio, Joan Baez and many other artists are the ones who defined the image and the meaning of the event – obviously, surpassing the original intention of simply holding an annual festival.

emergence of world music as an artistic development. The folk movements, understood as a new and specifically motivated behavior, have had their ramifications in Bulgaria, too. During the early 1970s, the urban youth in Bulgaria was suddenly carried away by a passion for old rural chests, and started appreciating 'authentic' attributes from the 'old good times' – not simply as a sign of memory to be preserved in a museum-like fashion, but as an attempt to integrate the old experience into the new one.

In global terms this process has been intensified through the activities of a number of record companies, festivals, organizations, and magazines. For example, the cultural policy of magazines such as the British "Southern Rag" is often cited as yet another catalyst in the development of world music. In the mid-1980s the magazine was renamed "Folk Roots", as its emphasis shifted from 'folk' to the more inclusive 'roots'. As Johannes Brusila observes, its multicultural cause was reflected rather in the fact that the magazine wrote about British folk music, but it also wrote about the accelerated fusion with non-European music.[\*12]

The industrial man's yearning for the 'authenticity' of traditional culture, additionally seen as an idealized embodiment of the pre-modern (holistic) worldview, has also been typical of the 'romantic' phase in the development of rock music. In this sense, I would remind, for example, the infatuation of hippy culture with Eastern philosophy, with the 'magic knowledge' that cannot be learned but is simply *known*, and especially the interest in the Hindu culture. This yearning, sometimes described as a manifestation of rational modernity's other, exalted into cult the emblems of vibrations, sensitivity, wild nature, harmony, and freedom. It illustrates the understanding of the spiritual dimensions of the unconscious as enemy to the socially determined taboos by relying on those romantic slogans such as *all you need is love* or the more rebellious *make love, not war* that enriched hippy culture with the peculiar halo of 'something different' and was considered a social and cultural form of behavior (i.e. way of life) as well as a provocation towards established canons in artistic thinking.

How can such a phenomenon anticipate world music in terms of its value system?

Indeed, as Brusila points out, the idea about a possible continuity between rock culture and world music seems paradoxical. Especially in view of the fact that the pathos of world music carries alternative connotations towards the global hegemony of Anglo-American rock. Yet, if we trace the

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12 ——— See Brusila, J. op. cit., 53.

manifestations of some of the most passionate figures in the shaping of world music, we will stumble upon a number of artists who developed as such on the terrain of rock music. I would mention, for example, artists such as Peter Gabriel (the founder of WOMAD), George Harrison, one of the Beatles, who was fascinated by the Bulgarian female folk singing, Paul Simon, remembered from the rock duet Simon and Garfunkel, who sought new inspiration in the African male singing. The musicians from Jethro Tull belong here, too – they moved away from the established rock idiom to embrace the traditional sounds of the Celtic folk tradition. And Goran Bregovic, a rock star in the Eastern European world during the 1970s, suddenly became a keen interpreter and innovator of Balkan regional sounds. For many of these figures the rock music from the end of the 1970s and the beginning of the 1980s was no longer inspiring as it used to be during the classical rock years. Now, it seems, it has faded into the zone, defined by Jocelyne Guilbault as the zone of ‘banalized difference’. As some observers stated, ‘During the end of the 1980s, rock and pop have become too predictable and nostalgic, and an appetite has developed for stronger stuff.’<sup>[\*13]</sup> Yet, the old ideals of rock music and the longing for *something different* were still in the air, and they moved for inspiration towards more unexplored zones. In this sense, Simon Frith points out: ‘World music...might have come from elsewhere but it was sold in a familiar package – not as global pop but as roots rock, as music like that made by British and American bands who had remained true to rock and roll’s original spirit.’<sup>[\*14]</sup>

Frith argues that although world music seems an all-encompassing concept, it has, in fact, its restrictive filters which are activated not so much by the opposition ‘western – non-western’ as by the opposition ‘truthful – non-truthful’ music. Such assumption rests on the imagined value system of traditional cultures against the more refined and polished forms in modern pop culture. The paradox here stems from the fact that the reliance on a similar binary opposition (truthful – non-truthful) contradicts the theses of cultural relativism or at least the widely defended understanding in contemporary humanities according to which the value criteria about what is real and what is not, are also flexible, ambiguous and heterogeneous. In other words, here we stumble upon a somewhat

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13 ——— Hanly, F. and T. May (eds). *Rhythms of the World*. London: BBC Books, 1989.

14 ——— Frith, Si. The Discourse of World Music. – In: *Western Music and Its Others*. (eds. G. Born and D. Hesmondhalgh). Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2000, 306.

romantic vision, created in the context of 'rockology', according to which subcultural styles are usually considered to be 'non-commercial' (and therefore, transmitters of something truthful), whereas mainstream music is considered predominantly commercial (i.e. non-truthful).

Such tension has been transferred onto the visions about world music, whose 'authenticity' is certainly not insured neither against the commercial catches of music industry nor against the perspective of the 'banalized difference'. In mapping the discourse of world music, Feld has explored this tension in the context of the opposition between anxiety and celebration.[\*15] In this sense, he implies that such conceptualizations are not free from ideologies, based on bipolar oppositions, and as a whole, they oscillate between the poles of the liberally minded optimists and the extreme pessimists who attack the very formula behind music industry as a way of creating and mediating music.

Apparently inspired by Adorno's nostalgic pathos, the pessimistic viewpoint ignores preceding accumulations in terms of values and meanings, and all it recognizes in world music is an attractive market item, a new product in the hands of music industry, which exploits difference simply as an exotic building material. According to such a view, world music is nothing but a commercial investment, which brings good revenues and exploits the music and the musicians from the "Third World". At best, it is taken as a superficial and fragmentary game, which hardly seeks any real touching with traditional cultures. In this sense, Yordanova talks about the label world music as 'pluralistic enough', yet 'simplistic and egalitarian'.[\*16] In her opinion, 'the political and social pragmatism of the project hidden behind the vague concept world music is pretty obvious. It discourages any claims about "roots" or "stylistic purity" in local music styles, and thus, frees them from the polyphony of all multi-layered meanings related, for instance, to nationalistic visions, identifications, sociocultural, and political projects. In this respect, globalizations such as world music begin to work according to the laws of their own deconstructive logic. Here the endless play of styles, idioms, attitudes, genres, forms, and so on, turns into a play of surfaces and appearances'.[\*17]

The opponents in this debate consider world music as something more than merely a 'play of surfaces'. They interpret the deconstructive logic here as a transformation of values – i.e. a move-

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15—— Feld, St. op. cit., 10.

16—— Yordanova, T. op. cit., 29.

17—— Ibid.

ment towards a world that is free from taboos; it denounces the ethnocentric model and indulges in creative curiosity, succumbing to the interest in the *desired other*.

Indeed, world music does not reproduce traditional music as heard in the museum archives; it grows rather in width (multiculturally) and hardly has any claims to dig out layers from the polyphony of accumulated meanings. World music produces rather new layers of meanings, which are not necessarily light or serious, easy or complicated. What is more, the very ideas of what constitutes a community in the global village have changed, as the ideas about authenticity and difference having acquired new contours under the modern information conditions. These ideas cannot be interpreted unambiguously as they constitute a broad spectrum: '...from a means of self-identification and search of a (lost) identity to a conscious denial of (author's) originality – i.e. as a reaction against the modernist paradigm; from universalism to an extreme regionalism; from an intellectual game of glass pearls and cultural codes to a sinking into the abyss of raw pre-historic dreams'.[\*18]

The proponents of such view see world music rather as a sign of significant changes in cultural attitudes at the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century and a transmitter of a new paradigm. In their interpretation Western man has ceased to see himself as the centre of the world and no longer treats 'his others' condescendingly, like a tourist, equipped with a camera, shooting incidentally, in passing, memorizing his unusual experiences among exotic creatures or charming primitive savages. Having begun to accumulate passionately values from alien traditions, Western man has come to approach difference not so much as a source of exoticism but more as a challenge to his own cultural identity. As a rock musician illustrates this point, '...the concept of exoticism trivializes foreign cultures. It is important to understand and respect all sorts of music from the globe as mature art forms. We are teachers as much as learners. The secret is not to substitute one's own culture for another, but to be flexible enough so that one can look through the curtain of all these types of music, and appreciate their diversity and wisdom'.[\*19] The pluralism and the de-centered gaze have become markers of a new thinking in the globalizing world, and world music has turned into a transmitter of such thinking. The play of music spots in an untypical environment, i.e. the acculturation of colorful intona-

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18 ——— Pervazov, A. Shamani i computri: elektroacoustichnata muzika i svetovnite tradizionni kulturi [Shamans and Computers: Electroacoustic Music and the World's Traditional Cultures]. – *Bulgarsko Muzikoznanie (Bulgarian Musicology)* 1/ 1998, 8.

19 ——— Ibid., 22.



tions deriving from distant (and heterogeneous) ethnic traditions is a part of the process of a truly '...endless transformation of styles'.[\*20] This play has flared up ethnic fusion during the 1990s and has served as a catalyst for an ongoing conversation, exchange, and dialogue between differences. In this respect, world music has acted as a peculiar barrier to static forces as well as to the frozen viewpoints in the very understanding of music.

Does a similar perspective imply that world music is a postmodern phenomenon?

T. Yordanova considers world music rather a '...typical postmodern generalization,'[\*21] despite the fact that, in her opinion, the phenomenon begun as a seductive, yet superficial and empty, nondescript advertising label. Therefore, in its essence, it is anti-critical and does not correspond to the critical content of the concept postmodern. On the other hand, according to Parvazov, the critical tendency on the terrain of world music may not be loudly explicit, but it really exists and reflects precisely postmodern visions or at least those of them, which point towards '...a charming anti-intellectualism, towards a certain deliberate return to the pre-written, the pre-verbal and the pre-rational, despite the impact of the high technologies'.[\*22] To put it metaphorically, '...shamanism and the new technologies turn out to be very close. What is more, many theorists of postmodernism bring them together in their vision of the new paradigm'.[\*23]

It is rather this notion that pushes postmodern theories, although the conceptualizations along these lines derive from quite different sources. Postmodern ideas – as developed during the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century in fields as diverse as painting, architecture, music, film studies, literature, sociology, communications, fashion, technologies and so on, resist a strict ordering into a system. Not without an ironic hint in this sense, Anthony Giddens argues: 'Post-modern, if it means anything ...concerns aspects of *aesthetic reflection* upon the nature of modernity'.[\*24] The term revises, criticizes or explains the abandonment of the Enlightenment project, the 'grand narratives', as well as the dominant theories related to the latter.

This somewhat unified and inclusive platform, interpreted also as de-centering, shifting of at-

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20 ——— Yordanova, T. op.cit., 29.

21 ——— Ibid.

22 ——— Pervazov, A. op. cit., 13.

23 ——— Ibid.

24 ——— Giddens, A. *The Consequences of Modernity*. Cambridge: Polity Press, 1990, 94.

titudes towards diversity, difference as well to the role of the 'little narratives', has been differently manifested by different theorists. For instance, Jean-Francois Lyotard argues that the destruction of grand narratives is a result inherent in the search for knowledge itself – a process, which nourishes doubts about the claims of knowledge as a totalitarian synonym of truth. Grand narratives are, in consequence, best replaced by 'little narratives' oriented towards a multiplicity of finite meta-arguments.[\*25] From the vantage point of semiotics Umberto Eco's theories are concerned with the role that the reader of a text plays in the activity of interpretation. In this connection, he draws attention to the relative nature of reading the texts and argues on the interpretative approach to textual analysis, which, in its turn, questions the validity of the claims in terms of any universalist interpretations.[\*26] From the viewpoint of psychoanalysis, Jacques Lacan argues on the subconscious connections between the notions of truth, the imaginary and the symbolic, which reveal psychological aspects of relativism and the role of the subject.

A significant moment in postmodern theorizing about music is the denial of hierarchical views, which includes a denunciation of the dictate of binary oppositions (such as high-low, light-serious, mind-body, etc.). As a symptomatic sign in this sense, world music seems to illustrate best the famous postmodern slogan "Act globally, think locally! And forget about the grand plan!". It is another question how this new paradigm operates on different levels and among different communities or individuals. Whether the failure of 'grand narratives' causes alarm or moderate optimism, whether the new forms of play are seen as 'hollow' or 'meaningful' – these are questions, which refer to a great extent to the nuances in the very processes of self-identification, to the common social, cultural and psychological accumulations, including the visions about the role of difference in the construction of artistic realities. Of special interest in this respect is the interpretation of the 'Balkan spot' – both in the context of world music and in the context of the Bulgarian situation.

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25 ——— Lyotard, J.F. *The Postmodern Condition: A Report on Knowledge*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1979, 60-66.

26 ——— See Edgar, Andrew and Peter Sedgewick (eds.). *Cultural Theory: The Key Thinkers*. London and New York: Routledge, 64.

## East, West, and Popfolk: Music and Identity in Bulgaria after 1989

Since 1989 the concept of the change, so crucial for any society in transition, has become a mighty engine for cultural, social, political, ideological and economical challenges in Bulgaria which, along with all Eastern European countries, took the road towards modern democracy as a way to eagerly join the efforts in building of United Europe. One of the basic points in its cultural doctrine clearly refers to the issue of understanding the others, interethnic tolerance, cultural diversity, and appreciating the policy of complementary strategies – a wonderful task which, however, met a number of obstacles, associated quite often with paradoxes observed in relation to the issue of cultural identities. My presumption is that many of these paradoxes appear as a result of the opposition between the actual processes and the way people refer to, imagine and rationalize them. Taking the field of everyday culture, and more specifically, the field of popular music as a source of reflections on the construction of particular cultural identities, I'd like to draw the attention to one of those paradoxes concerning particular attitudes towards what is perceived as *Balkan touch* in music – attitudes which conceptualize Balkan-derived musics as the non-desired other in the national context at home, in Bulgaria, and as the desired-other among strangers, in the context of Western cultures. I will develop this opposition, seen however in the context of late modernity when the process of cultural globalization seems to play unexpected games with the roles of the self and the other, especially in the flexible territory of artistic practices, especially in the field of everyday music which – as a communicational language – does not care much about whatever political or national or ethnic boundaries.

To briefly introduce the problem, I should perhaps first tell the funny story of a friend of mine – a westerner, living at present in Sofia, – who once had invited a young lady to join him for dancing in a *chalga*[\*27] club. The lady had reacted in a very firm way by saying: 'Look, I'm Bulgarian and

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27 ——— *Chalga*, along with popfolk, is ethno-based pop music genre that emerged in Bulgaria in the beginning of the 1990s. The name is an abbreviated form of the word *chalgiya*. Literally, it means playing, but it also refers to a small folk band. The word, incorporated into Bulgarian and into other Balkan languages, comes from Turkish (Arabic). *Chalgiya* also connotes a vernacular instrumental style developed in the interethnic context of Balkan urban folk that emerged during the mid-nineteenth century and gave rise to a new level of musical performance which marked a significant aspect of the transition from rural to urban cultures in the Balkan region.

stand behind European values – so I don't go to chalg clubs, I go to latino clubs.'[\*28] The lady might have different other reasons to refuse this invitation, yet to me it still remains a secret of why in her eyes the European values include *latino* music and exclude *chalg*.

Whatever it is, this story is a good starting point to remind the emergence of ethno-pop musical stream during the 1990s which could be seen both as a new episode in the Balkan continuum in music as well as a particular reflection of 'world music'. This musical stream, flourishing during the 1990s in similar ways under different labels not only in Bulgaria but in all neighbour countries,[\*29] has served as a reminder of the Balkan heritage which, however, used to be excluded or marginalized for years from the public media in Bulgaria. Updated in the spirit of contemporary western pop music, these *old new sounds* are now, along with the changes brought by social and political liberation since 1989, re-surfacing in a very powerful way, demonstrating that what is inherited through common memory cannot be easily deleted as if it had never existed. Labelled most often as *popfolk* or *chalg*, this stream has revived a specific sensitivity to local cultural traditions and brought back the notion of exchange and transmission through ethnically mixed local practices, which have been bound together as part of a 'common stock' throughout the Balkans at least since the mid-nineteenth century and are generally described at present as 'Balkan', 'oriental', or 'non-western'. Notions of that common Balkan stock could be heard, say, in the music of artists like Goran Bregovic or Ivo Papazov-Ybryama, or in the music of the well known in Bulgaria "Cuckoo Band" and many recent popfolk singers (Nelina, Gloria, Anelia, among others), who have gained a high popularity in the national context.[\*30] Infused with contemporary western-derived pop music techniques but based predominantly on a variety of different local sources of ethnic musics, including those developed by Roma and Turkish musicians, this stream has become a sign of modern hybridity and a specific form of interculturalism, similar to many recent popular musical developments that have appeared

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28 ——— See Levy, C. *Produtsirane na poslanija v suvremennata 'etnicheska' muzika* [Producing Meanings in Contemporary "Ethnic" Music]. – *Bulgarsko Muzikoznanie (Bulgarian Musicology)* 3/ 2000, 69.

29 ——— Similar pop music developments under different names are observed, for instance, in Yugoslavia (*turbofolk*) and Turkey (*arabesk*). Discussion on the Turkish *arabesk* is provided by Martin Stoke (See Stoke, M. 'East, West, and Arabesk'. – In: *Western Music and Its Others: Difference, Representation, and Appropriation in Music* Berkeley-Los Angeles-London: University of California Press, 2000, 213-233).

30 ——— Payner and BMK are among the main Bulgarian record labels that produce ethnopop music.

worldwide. However, different observers tend to see in this updated Balkan folk signs either of an antiglobalism,<sup>[\*31]</sup> a form which is breaking the traditional Bulgarian ethnic nationalism,<sup>[\*32]</sup> or a creative hybridity appearing as a result of productive interaction between regional and global pop music styles.<sup>[\*33]</sup> In any case, its semantic meanings, especially in terms of their ideological aspects, are hardly single or one-sided and their reading requires close investigations of particular facts in particular contexts.

However, its high popularity within Bulgaria has been the subject of increasing ideological argument concerning its ‘non-Bulgarian’ origins and its low aesthetic quality in general. Because of being an art form predominantly practiced and developed by Roma musicians, then a little racial discrimination also perhaps played its part. Chalgа has been seen as a threat in terms of presumable *pure* cultural identity of Bulgarians and their ‘civilizational choice,’ a slogan-cliché that has penetrated public space since the 1989 watershed and implied a clear national orientation towards western values and standards.

The debate, loudly undertaken by cultural elites, has revived an old national identity syndrome and a dilemma that has accompanied Bulgaria at least since the time of its liberation in 1878, after five centuries of being part of the Ottoman Empire – long enough to explain the visible oriental cultural traces in the language and music of Bulgarian culture in the present. The dilemma – more political than musical – is shared, however, by other Balkan countries with a similar political history. Underlying it are calls for a clear orientation of the national ‘civilizational choice.’ Which is the road to national prosperity? East or West? Orient or Europe? Or – translating the largely popular interpretations of this geographical binary – cultural backwardness or modern progressiveness? According to some of the most common ideological trends now penetrating the new Bulgarian history, such a dilemma is mainly rhetorical. Cultural elites in this country have repeatedly propagated and encouraged – in the name of the *right* political choice – acculturation of the values associated with

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31 ——— See Kiossev, A. The Dark Intimacy: Maps, Identities, Acts of Identifications. – In: *Balkan as Metaphor: Between Globalization and Fragmentation* (ed. D. Bjelic and Olbrad Savic), MIT Press, 2002. 165- 190.

32 ——— See Rice, T. Bulgaria or Chalgaria: The Attenuation of Bulgarian Nationalism in a Mass-Mediated Popular Music. – In: *Yearbook for Traditional Music* 34, 2002, 25-65.

33 ——— See Levy, C. Who is the ‘Other’ in the Balkans? Local Ethnic Music as a Different Source of Identities in Bulgaria – In: *Music, Popular Culture, Identities* (ed. Richard Young), Amsterdam/New York, NY: Editions Rodopi, “Critical Studies”, 2002, 215-229.

Europe and the implicit idea of ‘catching up’ with the European West. Such a choice, even today, presupposes, however, that the cultural heritage of Bulgarians in its broadest sense (its ethnically mixed culture, language, and music vocabulary, expressed in ways comparable with the lively local inter-ethnic exchanges taking place throughout the Balkans) is something dispensable. Following such a logic, the dilemma has never been posed as a possible expression of complementary conditions, rather than as a choice between alternatives, that is East *and* West rather than East *or* West, and cultural elites persist in trying – in the name of social, political, and cultural progress – to distance Bulgarians from some of the multiethnic traces of their cultural past.

Needless to say, debates of this sort have revealed essentialist views close to the rather anachronistic idea of the national as a ‘pure ethnic Bulgarian,’ while remaining somewhat vague with respect to the place of local minorities in the context of the national discourse. Such a point of view is evidently quite opposed to the idea of interpreting identities in a multiple, pluralistic, and flexible way, according to which the *inherited* and the *acquired* do not necessarily contradict each other and may construct specific identities both of individuals and groups. Paradoxically, in this particular case, the inherited (the Balkan) was conceptualised as the culturally horrifying ‘other,’ that is, as an enemy *inside* the nation, while the acquired (global western influenced and western oriented pop music trends accumulated from *outside*) was considered as a positive sign leading the nation to modern civilization and future prosperity.

Some observers suggest that the ambivalent attitudes to the Balkan cultural notions could be seen as a reflection of one taken for granted ideology developed by Europe itself – the one which, in looking for its positive image in the age of modernity, counts on constructed by it ‘reverse others’ with negative connotations. As the literary theorist Maria Todorova points: ‘...by being geographically inextricable from Europe, yet culturally constructed as ‘the other’ within, the Balkans have been able to absorb conveniently a number of externalized political, ideological, and cultural frustrations stemming from tensions and contradictions inherent to the regions and societies outside the Balkans.’[\*34] Thus, ‘...the Balkans have served as a repository of negative characteristics against which a positive and self-congratulatory image of the “European” and the “West” has been constructed’.[\*35]

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34 ——— Todorova, M. *Imagining the Balkans*. Oxford University Press, 1997, 188.

35 ——— Ibid.

Count Hermann Keyserling even stated that ‘...if the Balkans hadn’t existed, they would have been invented.’[\*36] This paradoxical statement, expressed in 1928, implies again the motives for deliberate ideological construction of this ‘other’ who may serve as a negative mirror in the construction of the positive European self, even if this self is otherwise amorphous and controversial.

However, if we move beyond the Balkans and have a look at contemporary Western popular music, we shall find out the interior dynamics within the Western culture itself – something which Maria Todorova does not miss to note. We shall find out that stereotyped or essentialist attitudes with negative connotations to the Balkan touch in music, if ever existed, are in opposition with the advanced modern understandings of music and its developments. Not only in terms of the actual processes in music but also in the way these processes are imagined and conceptualized. Late modernity witnessed the development of the ‘global village’ which locates people, as never before, in environments of diverse musical vocabularies of diverse origins. And if the very metaphor global village implies that the world today is bigger but is also smaller, it stimulates as well the emergence of new concepts concerning the issue of difference and sameness which are a subject of lively critical discussions. For some commentators like Derrida ‘...the European difference means rather the fact that Europe should not lock itself in its own identity but should diligently try to direct to what it is not.’[\*37] On his part, Richard Middleton states that ‘...the late 20<sup>th</sup> century indicates the start of a new historical phase in which it is becoming clear that only when others are freed to pursue their own trajectories can Western music properly acknowledge the multiplicity of differences lying beneath its authoritarian binaries and become productively other to itself.’[\*38]

With such statements in mind, I would mention numerous symptomatic musical examples circulated under the label of world music which draw the attention to the lively inter-ethnic traffic all over the world and the Balkan notion there is quite visible as well. A number of recently realized projects within the Western cultural context eagerly employ Balkan music vocabulary developed by those who today identify themselves as Bulgarians, Turks, Macedonians, Balkan Gypsies, Serbs, Albanians, Romanians, etc. I would mention as well a number of Balkan music festivals held in Europe

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36 ——— Keyserling, *Europe*. New York: Harcourt Brace, 1928 (quoted in Dimova, 116)

37 ——— Derrida, J. *Drugoto oglavavane*. Sofia: LIK, 2001, 12.

38 ——— Middleton, R. Musical Belongings. – In: *Western Music and Its Others: Difference, Representation, and Appropriation in Music* (eds. G. Born and D. Hesmondhalgh). University of California Press, 2000, 60.

and the U.S. – just to remind that the regional geographical notion embodied by the Balkan touch in music is called today for a new blooming and the stream under the label of popfolk/chalga, observed in Bulgaria, might be considered a part of similar developments in contemporary music all over the world.

I believe that what stimulates the interest of westerners to the Balkan patterns in music refers not so much to looking for ‘exotic sounds’ but to the existence of *specific insufficiency* which usually open the door for embracing and acquiring new identity markers, including markers through the means of music. Thus, if I take for awhile hypothetically the position of a non-Bulgarian, I would ask not ‘Who am I?’ but ‘Who am not I?’ – to learn more about what and why non-Balkan people are looking for in the Balkan music. In other words, what would be the notion of their insufficiency that they may find it in the Balkan musical vocabulary?

There must be many answers. But I am pretty sure that one of them would lead to the particular musical asymmetry, observed in the metric and rhythmic variety, raised all over the Balkans. It would lead to the particular Balkan *groove* – a concept which, according to the informal terminology in popular music studies, is a metaphor of that specific emotional and body drive expressed in dance rhythms. However, it is well known that popular music, in general, is quite sensitive rather to metric and rhythmic patterns which betray or avoid the symmetry or, to put it in another way, oppose the particular order observed not only in music but in western lifestyles as well. Remember, for instance, African American forms or all these musical forms labelled today as *afro*, *latino*, *asian*, etc., which are eagerly employed in modern pop music styles. Apparently, such forms break the stereotyped European idea for metric and rhythmic symmetry. We may suggest – even hypothetically – that Western European notion of insufficiency comes perhaps as a result of one overdone symmetry, overdone order, observed in music but in lifestyles as well.

Years ago, the ethnomusicologist Charles Keil was talking of similar insufficiency in the context of white America – of insufficiency which looked for its other in the African American musical forms, especially in the blues.<sup>[\*39]</sup> I would take the risk to broaden a related suggestion and to entirely hypothetically involve in this discussion one of the ancient myths described in some ethnology textbooks which – despite their mega-narrative profile – may give a light onto concepts of present

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39 — See Keil, C. *Urban Blues*. Chicago Press, 1966.



days. The myth refers to the dichotomy between the East and the West through the symbolic imagery of the lotus and the rose which imply two sides of the human being.[\*40]

According to the story, the rose embodies the rationale and analytical way of thinking. The lotus embodies the concept of mysticism and syncretism, in other words – one rather holistic view which tends to see the mind and the body at once. The rose embodies linear elapse of time. The lotus embodies the cycle elapse of time. Certainly, it is quite questionable whether the rose may exhaust the idea of the ‘rational’ West, and the lotus – the idea of the ‘irrational’ East. And I do not want to stereotype. No more stereotypes are needed to understand the complex developments observed ‘here’ or ‘there’. Yet if today the rose may be still taken as a symbol of the rational, analytical, and traditionally conceptualised symmetry observed in the Western European discourse, then it needs its other, the lotus. To put it another way, the rose needs that particular *releasing*, liberating unevenness and asymmetry, and that particular pre-modern syncretism, survived in modernity, which probably leads to post-modern forms, to unpredictable variants and hybrids, generated by the need of *complementary* alternatives, by the need of dialogue and communication between what the rose and the lotus might produce while interacting.

Such a need clearly stimulates artistic dialogues at the level of the actual processes but is still not quite conceptualized at the level of identity processes, at least if we have in mind the recent debates concerning popfolk in Bulgaria. Cultural elites in this country – even concerned so much about ‘catching up’ with modern Europe – may find themselves still behind the most advanced cultural and ideological developments which today, more than ever, imply free-of-bias-attitudes to cultural others and their diverse values in music. As Timothy Rice states: ‘Perhaps one day Bulgarian intellectuals will realize that the seemingly irreconcilable opposition between a backward, Balkan, Ottoman East, as represented by *popfolk*, and a progressive West, “naturalized” in nearly two centuries of discourse, can be reconciled precisely by their union, their synthesis...in a progressive, attenuated nationalism of the sort implied by, for example, the European Union, a nationalism that recognizes and even celebrates cultural diversity and cultural connections to others.’[\*41] Understanding the category of identity as a process and not as a frozen concept, and following my hypothesis, I

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40 ——— See Jivkov, T. Iv. *Uvod v etnologia* [Introduction in Ethnology]. Plovdiv University Press, Sofia: Jusautor, 2000, 473-481.

41 ——— Rice, T. op. cit.

would only add that the problem, is not only in the recognition of the inevitable inter-connections with the Other as a matter of principle, but also in that critical intentional look at the mirror, called identity, which is not static and hardly can be understood as a deadlock from past times.

*Performing Parody: Simulacra or “Stimulacra”?*  
*On an example by Cuckoo Band*

Cuckoo Band, one of the most popular groups in Bulgaria who contributed to the definition of ethno-based popmusic within Bulgaria, developed a distinctive style, closely associated with the ability to apply the aesthetics of parody. The band was formed in 1993 to play live music at a national TV show with satirical profile but over the years their background role moved into the forefront. Taken as a particular (postmodern) reflection on hot events and processes during the ‘time of transition’, the music of Cuckoo Band is a testimony new cultural conditions that seem to stimulate not only social and political liberalization but also the multiple options of artistic culture. Their creative approach is quite emblematic in terms of those artistic phenomena that clearly signify peculiar flowering of playfulness, open forms and unpredictable fusions. However, their approach is also emblematic in terms of what is generally observed in contemporary popular music: affinity to variants (covers), repetition, or, say, lack of ‘independent’ musical language – characteristics seen by some theorists as signs that predict the ‘death of the author’, the ‘end of the art’, or, a predominant lack of meanings in contemporary cultural condition. In this sense, ‘pop’ is traditionally considered to be the opposite of ‘art’. A striking problem with this situation is the negative interdependence of the two domains that results in a number of false ideas concerning the issue of value and meaning of musical texts.

Notions of such assumptions can be heard in some recent theories. For instance, in trying to approach the current flooding with copies/ cover versions/ variants, which have no connection with original artifacts Jean Baudrillard introduces the concept ‘simulacra’ to refer in a more general sense to the simulation of meanings.<sup>[\*42]</sup> On his part, Frederick Jameson defines the eclectic mixtures and

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42 ——— See Edgar, A. and P. Sedgwick (eds.) *Cultural Theory: The Key Thinkers*. London and New York: Routledge, 2002, 22.

recycling of codes in artistic practices as an expression of *pastiche* or *blank parody* – i.e. an expression of an *empty* parody (a parody without humor). While the concept of simulacra hints that today's musicians have nothing left to do but to re-create, re-make, re-arrange and re-interpret what the world has already created in music so far, the concept of blank parody, no doubt, suggests a phenomenon which has lost its primary essence and purpose.

Indeed, looking at the ongoing dominant stream of cover versions, eclectic mixtures and collages, especially in the field of popular music, one can find good enough arguments for coining terms like 'simulacra' and 'blank parody'. What might bother about such concepts is that they generalize dark reflections on modern artistic forms as a whole and announce a dominant meaninglessness in the modern cultural world, as if missing the point that '...social norms and musical symbols are in a constant change'[\*43] and in talking about meanings or lack of meanings, we must be aware of '...which sounds mean what to whom in which context.'[\*44]

Apparently, such theories re-echo Theodore Adorno's understanding of the bi-polar relation between 'pop' and 'art' – seen as two mutually exclusive cultural fields. And despite the fact that post-modern thinking has erased to a great extent the oppositions between the two terrains – including in terms of their values and meanings, the concept of simulacra seems to rely on those beliefs, which ignore the logic behind the development of popular music.

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Contrary to such visions, I want to argue that eclectic mixtures, recycled codes, and copies of hard-to-be-identified originals not only may transmit meaningful messages but – being based on highly conventionalized musical structures – they bring a high communicational potential and are sometimes even in a great demand in the production of meanings able to work in a large social context. Employing the understanding that communication is not just a transmission of information but a dialogical process, meant to constitute specific cultural meanings, I will take a closer look at a piece, based rather on some highly conventionalized musical codes, and discuss briefly how it operates in

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43 ——— Tagg, P. *Introductory Notes to the Semiotics of Music*. Version 3 (September 1999), 3.

44 ——— Ibid.

terms of the codes and conventions it engages.

The piece, entitled *To Chicago...and Back*, is a 1999 recording of Cuckoo Band which blends modern sound with musical patterns of different ethnic origins (more specifically, derived from Latin American and Balkan vernacular traditions) and illustrates a clear intention to generate multi-layered meanings, located in the field of musical parody.

*The first code* draws to the title of the travel notes<sup>[\*45]</sup> written by the Bulgarian novelist Aleko Konstantinov,<sup>[\*46]</sup> published in 1893 after the author's visit to the Chicago World's Fair held in June of the same year. But why do the musicians of Cuckoo Band employ this title a hundred and six years after its appearance in the public literature life in Bulgaria?

The answer comes if you know the huge popularity of this book among most Bulgarians. The name of the book and its author are deeply associated on the national level with the genres of satire, humor, and parody in literature. The very story, told in the book, brings a good enough portion of self-irony, revealing the experience of one provincial person, coming from a 'non-civilized' country like late 19<sup>th</sup> century Bulgaria, who suddenly found himself baffled and amazed in the big 'civilized' world – a situation which creates a number of comic situations.

However, it must be pointed out that there is no immediate connection between the subject of the musical piece and the novel. But yes, there is an allusion or indirect reference to the humor and the metaphorical profile of the story told in the book. The new usage of this title signals a *humorous intention*, and even more – a peculiar parallel between "then" and "now", when many Bulgarians embrace the sign of the longing for the 'civilized world' in a very obsessive way. A hint of this sense may be heard in the song lyrics, delivered in the manner of a fable:

*She leads me in the dance,*

*She misleads me in the dance...*

*As if I'm walking on the edge of precipice.*

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45 ——— *To Chicago and Back* (published in November 1893) – travel notes by Aleko Konstantinov on his visit to Chicago World Fair in the summer of 1893.

46 ——— Aleko Konstantinov (1863-1897) – Bulgarian writer, author of satirical, social and critical novels, travel notes, feuilletons, articles.

*Stepping two ahead  
Then one back –  
Following this maddening aroma.*

*She wants me to want her,  
She wants me to seek her..  
As if I'm a drowned man, and she's the strand.  
I want to catch her,  
Or her to catch me –  
I'm stepping two ahead, then one back.*

*Refrain:  
But her steps  
Lead me to the end,  
If I get there –  
That wouldn't be me, that wouldn't be me...[\*47]*

The song's message is located firmly in present times and represents, in fact, the immigration syndrome obsessing many Bulgarians who after 1989 dream of escaping from the hard transitional time at home and moving to the big 'civilized' world, where the lifestyle is supposed to be beautiful, smooth and rosy.

We can assume that the very title of the piece is one of the re-cycled codes employed here to point to one humoresque intention – but how is this intention developed further in music?

The piece follows the structure of a diptych. Its first part takes as its point of a departure a pleasing Argentinean tango tune, presented first instrumentally and then vocally. At first hearing, one may bet that the tune suggests the aesthetics of quasi-realism and provokes nostalgic associations which refer to melodrama, to pastiche and the 'good old days', to the realm of escapism, utopia,

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47 ——— Translation from Bulgarian: C. Levy.

and naiveté; in short – to that sentimental territory where ‘all dreams come true’, as may be heard in many pop songs. Indeed, the tango tune is chosen here to signify one ‘unproblematic beauty’. Yet this unproblematic beauty, as heard later in the song, turns to be the musical image of one anonymous (as hinted in the lyrics), elusive and problematic *she* who takes the role of temptress taken here as a metaphor of Western lifestyle.

This is the vocal styles of the male voices that introduce a problematic layer and creates, however, a double critical perspective, suggested by the two quite different vocal manners and the lyrics. Applying the approach of call-and-response, the male vocalists – Georgi Milchev and Slavi Trifonov – contradict each other stylistically. The one manipulates the tune rather in the spirit of melodrama and in the style of sweetish classical crooners, slightly mocking the tango beauty when naming in a witty way its dance steps: ‘stepping two ahead, then one back...’. This play of words signifies a hesitation on whether or not it’s worthy to follow *the maddening aroma* of the imagined she. The other voice replies in a rather earthy and more dramatic manner and announces, in fact, the point of the message: ‘if I get there, that wouldn’t be me, that wouldn’t be me...’

This is how the tango convention, one par excellence ‘latino’ musical fashion with ethnic origins in distant (from Bulgarian perspective) Argentina, traditionally associated with particular dance passion, is now employed and transformed to express a double feeling, a feeling of both desire and fear: desire of being part of a rosy mythologized reality, and fear of disillusion while meeting a strange reality which, as suggested indirectly in the lyrics, may be the ‘Promised Land’, yet it may possibly hurts, destroys or contradicts your self identity.

Far from being didactic in its intended message, the second part of the diptych represents the actual parody. The tango tune is parodied by means of distinctive stylistic approaches developed in vernacular instrumental music all over the Balkans, known under the name of *chalgija* (as earlier explained, a tradition that has been developed in the music of Balkan Gypsy brass bands, and later, in the music of the wedding bands). The odd musical image, mirroring the rosy tango in a ‘wrong’, ‘false way’, employs what I would call a Balkan groove, based on another largely conventionalized code: the particular ornamental instrumental manner of Balkan brass bands and the specific rhythmic patterns of regional irregular dance meter 9/8.

This turn to a regional instrumental sound creates the allusion of *coming back*, that is, coming back to the imagined reality of an oriental semi-rural, semi-urban Balkans. It re-plays at the same

time a stereotype which has historically frustrated Bulgarians – a stereotype which implies a comic dialogue between the ‘uncivilized here’ and the ‘civilized there’. Rather this specific comic dialogue, full of kicking rhythmic riffs and associations to subversive body pleasures, creates a vital musical humor and a *stimulus* which produces the effect of parody.

Eclecticism and the use of highly conventionalized codes, modified in a particular way, is a well established approach in performing parody. However, any particular example may signify different things to different people. Whether or not one can hear the musical smile here, that is, *the stimulus* which makes this parody meaningful, depends on a number of factors. Some of them refer first of all to the degree to which you are inside a particular communication process, that is, inside a particular ongoing *purely musical* and *extra musical* intimate conversation, based on a set of specific situations.

Thus, whether or not we may qualify it as a ‘blank parody’, as a product of ‘simulacra’, or as a projection of *stimulacra*, depends on our personal experience, on our personal ability to get the ironic intentions of the performers, and not least, on our personal sense of humor. Perhaps such ambiguity questions the understanding of music as a ‘universal language’ and gives more arguments to the understanding of *music as a communicational language* which may connote specific meanings created in particular social and cultural contexts.

Such understanding takes to what Bakhtin suggests in his reflections on dialogical nature of people’s comic culture. However, his insights into the 16<sup>th</sup> century Rabelaisian parody claim that the good laugh does not deny its opposite, the serious perspective. The good laugh is always ‘double-voiced’ and brings the potential to purge and supplement the level of seriousness. Apparently, the dichotomy of ‘tears and smiles’, of ‘laughing and crying’, or, to use modern terms, of ‘fun’ and ‘serious’, understood sometimes as mutually excluding each other artistic realms, is only a recent phenomenon associated with cultural fragmentation and the way modernity imagines narrowly distinguished practices. Yet, as we hear in ‘To Chicago and Back’, the serious and the fun co-exist inseparably and, in a way, similar rather to the times of pre-modernity, exploit and innovate – predominantly in the forms of covers, eclectic mixtures and re-cycled codes – that communal potential implied in well established musical conventions. Whether or not it means that we witness a logic coming from the cyclical development of culture and a dialogue between pre-modernity and post-modernity is another issue which I leave it aside for now.

In conclusion, I would suggest that the analysis presented here should not be taken for granted, even

though it is based on the experience of an insider. This analysis presents, after all, one particular interpretation, one particular reading. I'm pretty sure that if someone else undertakes a further reading at the same musical text, the points or conclusions drawn here may turn to be different. For the decoding of musical semantics is an entirely subjective process that validates the concept of cultural relativism. Following this understanding, I believe that nothing is final in our trying to decode and understand the value and meanings implied in musical texts. And from this point of view, 'art' and 'pop' must be considered as just particular, historically constructed cultural domains, as free-of-bias umbrellas, which might be helpful in understanding two distinctive cultural logics with no necessarily negative interdependence.

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## On "Two Voices of Art History"[\*1]

Piotr Piotrowski

In his book *Das Ende der Kunstgeschichte. Eine Revision nach Zehn Jahren*, translated into English as *Art History after Modernism*, Hans Belting, one of the leading European art historians, writes about "two voices of art history," Western and Eastern European. In Belting's view, the task of art history is "to find an European profile that, in the case of art history, means the coexistence of very different and sometimes contradictory narratives."[\*2] He has no doubt that the history of Eastern European art, particularly after 1945, differs from that of art in the West. What makes the difference between the two kinds of artistic experiences, Belting contends, is the Eastern "conviction in the power of art, something that had vanished long before in the West." What is more, to the Eastern European artists of that period art was still "a necessity of life, not – as it was in the West [P.P.] – a professional activity."[\*3]

Belting is not the only one to be interested in the problem. Christoph Tannert, once an art critic in the GDR and now the director of the Berlin *Kunstlerhaus Bethanien*, wrote in 1991, shortly after the fall of the Wall:

After the political changes brought about by "perestroika" in the USSR, the West expected an inrush of beneficial, exotic powers from the East. A "crisis of meaning" in the West – the result of speechlessness and surplus – had nourished hopes for a mythographic renewal from the East.[\*4]

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1 ——— Originally written for: Katja Bernhardt & Piotr Piotrowski (Hrsg.), *Grenzen überwindend...* Berlin: Lukas Verlag, 2006.

2 ——— Hans Belting, *Art History after Modernism*, trans. Caroline Saltzweil and Mitch Cohen. Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2003, 61.

3 ——— Belting, 58, 57.

4 ——— Christoph Tannert, "Reality in the Foreground," in Christoph M. Joachimides and Norman Rosenthal, eds, *Metropolis. International Art Exhibition*, Berlin 1991. New York: Rizzoli, 1991, 32.

When Tannert asked himself a question what could really boost hope for the renewal of culture in the West, he responded that perhaps it was the dissident art of Eastern Europe. According to him, the task of contemporary culture is not to preserve Eastern European institutions, but: "the aim – according to the author [P.P.] – should not be to preserve institutions, but, rather, to protect and stabilize moral attitudes," that is, to maintain the Eastern European nonconformism.[\*5] Another response, as it seems, came quite quickly, when Eastern Europe, and in particular Russia, opened its borders to Western capitalism, including also Western art industry. In that context, Joseph Bakstein wrote:

In just a few years, life in Russia has changed so much that we have found ourselves in an almost wholly different society, living a different life. For nonconformist artists of the 1970s generation, this is especially true: after having risked everything to challenge Soviet official culture, they now find themselves celebrated in the international art world. Strange to say, this sort of success is the most difficult thing for a nonconformist to handle[\*6]

It should be noted that when Belting demanded "harmony of coexistence of two voices of art history," another art historian and curator, Ryszard Stanisławski, made an attempt to speak with a single voice of art history in his monumental exhibition called *Europa, Europa*(fig.1). I do not want to analyze in detail that very important show, displayed in Bonn in 1994, since I have done it on another occasion.[\*7] Let me just say that Stanisławski's way of thinking – and he considered it his mission to include the art of Eastern Europe in universal (actually Western) art – was a typical example of the strategy of Eastern European art critics, aiming at some recompense for a long period of isolation and closed or at best only slightly ajar borders. All this is, of course, a normal reaction to history, but it prevents the recognition of the cultural identity of the region both before 1989 and now. This kind of discourse comes from the community of art critics, curators, artists, and art historians

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5 ——— Tannert, 34.

6 ——— Joseph Bakstein, "Nonconformist Traditions and Contemporary Russian Art. A View from Moscow," in Alla Rosenfeld and Norton T. Dodge, eds. *Nonconformist Art. The Soviet Experience, 1956-1986*. Thames and Hudson in Association with the Jane Voorhees Zimmerli Art Museum, Rutgers: The State University of New Jersey, 1995, 332.

7 ——— Piotr Piotrowski, "Central Europe in the Face of Unification," in Maria Hlavajova and Jill Winder, eds. *Who If Not We Should at Least Try to Imagine the Future of All This*. Amsterdam: Artimo, 2004, 271-281.

– at least a large number of those of them who want to perceive themselves as part of the universal (that is, Western) culture, trying to push into oblivion the historical origin of their own, local one, and to situate their own position on the global, universal level, and not in the regional (read: provincial) framework. In her catalog *After the Wall*, Bojana Pejić quotes the Lithuanian artist, Deimantas Narkevicius, who has told her in Vilnius "I am a bit tired of being a 'Lithuanian artist;' I would like to be just an artist". [\*8]

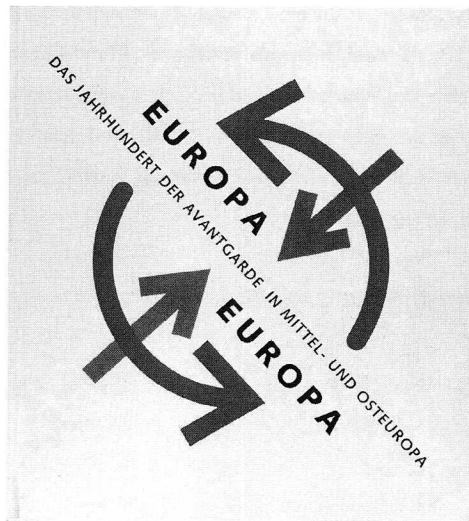


fig.1 *Europa, Europa*,  
exhibition poster: Kunst- und Ausstellungshalle der Bundesrepublik

An interesting attempt to avoid such tensions is a book by the Slovak art historian, Maria Oriskova, *Dvojhlasne dejiny umenia* [Two Voices of Art History].[\*9] Obviously, the title has been borrowed from Belting, yet Oriskova's study is not so much a critique of Belting's theses, but of his sub-

8——— Bojana Pejić, "The Dialectics of Normality," in Bojana Pejić and David Elliott, eds. *After the Wall. Art and Culture in Post-Communist Europe*. Stockholm: Moderna Museet, 1999, 019.

9——— Maria Oriskova, *Dvojhlasne dejiny umenia*. Bratislava: Petrus, 2002.

ject matter, namely the exclusion of Eastern European art from the textbooks of world art history after 1945. Analyzing the art of Eastern or, more precisely, Central Europe, and its reflection in the Western historico-artistic discourse, she makes an effort to disclose the complex and quite peculiar causes of that state of affairs. In her opinion, both parties have been responsible, since the Eastern European critics provided their Western partners with a simplified picture of the local art, developing primarily, though not exclusively, within the so-called dissident paradigm, that is, the resistance against the regime. Such a picture was passively accepted by critics in the West, who assigned to it only peripheral significance. However, the most radical response to the methodological approach to the region's art, exemplified by the *Europa, Europa* show appeared in Ljubljana – both in its museum of modern art (*Moderna Galerija*), which put together a collection of Eastern European art,<sup>[\*10]</sup> and in the projects of a group of Slovenian artists, called IRWIN. Their activity is not limited to artistic creation, but reaches into the field of art history with reference to which they have recently proposed an artistic map of Eastern Europe.<sup>[\*11]</sup>

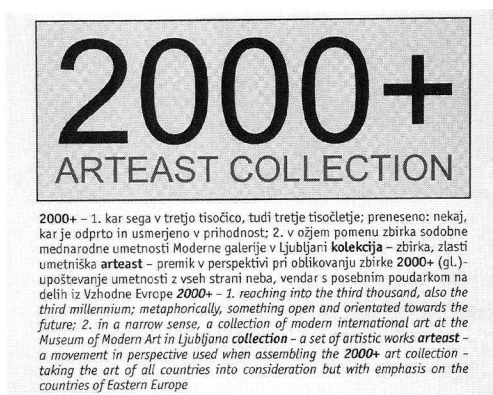


fig.2 2000+ ArtEast Collection,  
collection poster, Moderna Galerija, Ljubljana,  
2000 (curator: Zdenka Badovinac).

10 — Zdenka Badovinac, ed., *2000+ ArtEast Collection. The Art of Eastern Europe in Dialog with the West*. Ljubljana: Moderna Galerija, 2000; Zdenka Badovinac and Peter Weibel, eds. *2000+ ArtEast Collection. The Art of Eastern Europe*. Innsbruck/Wien: Orangerie Congress/Bozen, 2001.

11 — IRWIN, ed., "East Art Map," (fig.3) *New Movement*, no. 20, Ljubljana 2002. Cf. also Borut Vogelnik (IRWIN), "Total Recall," in Maria Hlavajova and Jill Winder, eds. *Who If Not We Should at Least Try to Imagine the Future of All This*. Amsterdam: Artimo, 2004, 171-186.

The former example, called *2000+ ArtEast Collection*(fig.2), is a project to establish a museum practice with reference to the art of Eastern Europe of 1960-2000, which would be an alternative to the universal and global (West-oriented) practices, thus matching a different kind of artistic experience. The collection was founded in 2000 as a result of international cooperation of art critics from the region. The latter is a project of the IRWIN group, constituted by artists who have been sensitive to the problem of their macroregional identity (that of Eastern Europe) since the very beginning of their activity. They have been cooperating with an international team of art critics as well. In comparison to the museum project, the artists tried to move one step further and created a kind of map of the Eastern European art with its interconnecting links, which, in fact, seems to me a rather arguable idea. Even though the two projects are different, they have something in common, as they compose a visual or historico-artistic picture of Eastern Europe or, to use the term of Hans Belting, the "other voice of art history," alternative to the dominant one.

An effort to maintain the cultural uniqueness of Eastern Europe does not imply, however, any consent to essentialize or orientalize the visual culture of that part of the continent within the Western critico-artistic discourse. Precisely such tensions occurred during the *Interpol* exhibition organized in Stockholm in 1996, which was intended to become a model dialog between East and West, in fact though, it turned out to be a starting point of a discussion about the complex situation of European culture after 1989. The history of the exhibition is worth analyzing to find out how difficult the problem actually is. The original idea, developed by two curators, Ian Aman from Stockholm and Victor Missiano from Moscow, was to invite a certain number of artists from the East and from the West respectively, who would then choose their partners from the other side of the Iron Curtain and work together on some common project. Unfortunately, that idea did not bring the desired results. After serious tensions, which had surfaced already before the show was even opened, its very opening became a scandal, making Victor Missiano call the event "the art exhibition which divided East and West."[\*12] The tug of war was in fact a violent reaction of the "Western party" to a perfor-

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12 ——— Eda Cufer and Victor Missiano, eds. *Interpol. The Art Show Which Divided East and West*. Ljubljana/Moscow: IRWIN/Moscow Art Magazine, 2000. Cf. also: Laura Hoptman and Tomas Pospiszyl, eds. *Primary Documents. A Sourcebook for Eastern and Central European Art since the 1950s*. New York: Museum of Modern Art, 2002, 345-361.

mance made by the Russian artists: Alexander Brener, known to have continually attacked the artistic "establishment," who destroyed a work of Wenda Gu, a Chinese artist living in New York, and to another event of Oleg Kulik, pretending to be a dog, who had done that already on various European locations, and who, having bitten a few spectators, was arrested by the Stockholm police. Kulik argued that the chain on which he was "kept" by the organizers was too long, while the audience ignored a warning "Beware of the dog." (fig.4) The artist, however, took his performance very seriously, just as any other he would do.

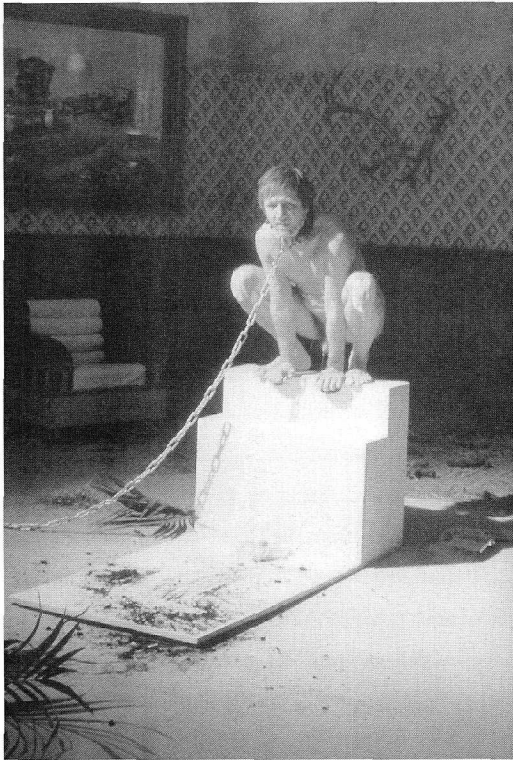


fig.4 Oleg Kulik on the *Interpol* exhibition, Stockholm 1996 (curators: Ian Āman i Viktor Misiano).

It is not my task to reveal the motivation of those two acts of the artists' aggression, and I do not want to take into account the complaints of Wenda Gu, whose work has been destroyed, or the charges pressed by the bitten spectators. The hostile reactions of both the Chinese artist and the bitten victims are perfectly reasonable from the human, purely emotional point of view: no one wants to be bitten, and no one wants his work to be ruined. The objective of my analysis will be an energetic protest of all the Western artists present at the show, who accused all the Eastern European participants of "Eastern European barbarity."

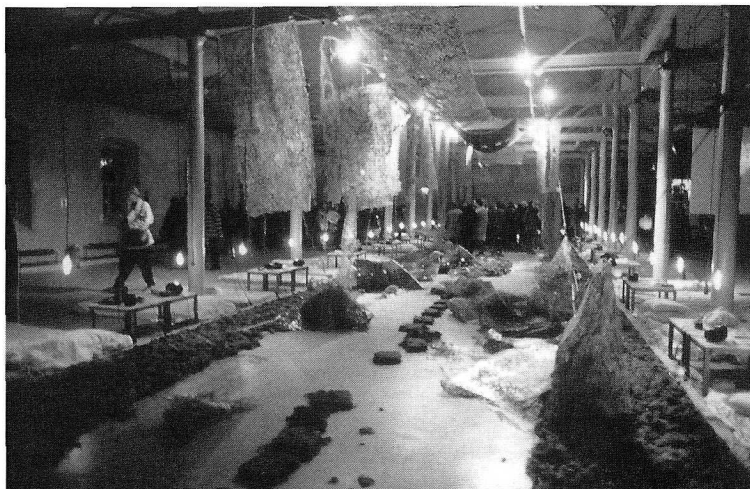


fig.5 Wenda Gu's destroyed work by Alexander Brener, *Interpol* exhibition, Stockholm 1996 (curators: Ian Åman i Viktor Misiano).

Kulik's performance seems particularly significant in this context. According to Renata Salecl:

Kulik was invited as a peculiarity – as a Russian dog. I am certain – Salecl continues – that if an American artist played a dog, he would be of much less interest to the international art scene than the Russian artist. We all know that the majority of people in today's Russia live a dog's life. And the first association with Kulik's performance is that he represents this reality of contempo-

rary Russia. Kulik the dog thus interests the Western art world because he is the Russian dog.

Referring to that particular event, that is, to the *Interpol* exhibition, Salecl added:

The trauma of the West in regard to Russia in recent years is that the West regards Russia as a superpower, but only on the condition that it does not act as one. And, in regard to Kulik's performance, the West finds aesthetic pleasure in observing the Russian dog, but only on condition that he does not behave in a truly dog-like manner. When Kulik ceased to be a decorative art-object – the Eastern neighbor who represents the misery of the Russian dog-like life – and started to act in a way that surprised his admirers, he was quickly designated the enemy. His performance [...] was described as a "direct attack against art, democracy and the freedom of expression," and as a "classical model of imperialistic behavior." [...] The other has to be passive, submissive victim-like other; but, when the other does not act in this way, he or she is quickly designated as imperialistic, fundamentalist, totalitarian, etc. [\*13]

In that case it did not matter that Kulik did not want to be associated with a Russian dog. His intention was to address a more general and universal question of the relationship of man and animal, which has been recently quite often approached in the critique of anthropocentrism. Both to the Stockholm audience, though, and to the Western participants in the show that problem proved totally irrelevant. What was relevant was the identification of Kulik's "misbehavior" as essentially Russian, not so much that of the Other, but the Alien, if not simply an enemy. With respect to Brener's action, we should remember that destruction in art has been, next to the assaults of performers on the audience, a significant element of the Western cultural tradition. [\*14] Thus, from the historico-artistic point of view what happened in Stockholm was rather banal, and definitely not new. What was new, however, was that the act of destruction was performed by an Eastern European, while the target was the work of a Western artist (of Chinese origin) and the Western audience. In his excellent essay on *Interpol*, Igor Zabel recalls the words of another Russian artist, Ilya Kabakov:

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13 ——— Renata Salecl, "Love Me, Love My Dog: Psychoanalysis and the the Animal/Human Divide," *Interpol*, 112.

14 ——— Cf. e.g. Dario Gamboni, *Destruction of Art. Iconoclasm and Vandalism since French Revolution*. London: Reaktion Books, 1997.



[Kabakov] was describing – Zabel says – his experience of a cultural relocated person. One of the aspects of Western culture [Kabakov] was interested in, was the permanent tendency to criticize, provoke and even destroy within this culture. He compared his experience of this tendency – Zabel continues – to the experience of an orphan living in a children's home who is visiting the family of his friend. This friend is sick of his home and his behavior is aggressive and insulting, while the visitor himself sees a totally different picture: a nice home, and kind and intelligent parents. But there is another thing that is essential, the friend's family is strong enough that it is not in danger because of the boy's outburst. The same is true of Western culture, says Kabakov, and continues: Western culture is so vital, its roots are so deep and so alive, it is so productive that it, speaking in the language of the parable above, absorbs, recasts and dissolves in itself all destructive actions by its own "children," and as many believe, it sees in these actions its very own development – what is elegantly referred to here as 'permanent criticism.' But I would like to add a footnote here [Zabel continues quoting Kabakov]: this criticism, like the destruction itself, is permitted [...] only from its own children. That same mom described above would have behaved quite differently if I had started to act up at the table the same way as her son. Most likely she would have called the police.[\*15]

According to Zabel, something like that happened in Stockholm at the *Interpol* exhibition. He writes that although the Cold War is over, the West still plays the role of the "master," and no dialog with the master allows for a true partnership of equal parties. The East, sometimes called the "former East," is still the West's Other. More than that: the West needs the Other to define itself. During the Cold War, however, the West perceived the East in a different ideological framework, as an object of the modernist universalism which was an instrument of the Western expansion, if not a sign of its imperialism. What was universal seemed to be Western, and whatever was considered universal art, in fact was Western art, and the reverse: the Western art was understood in universal terms. The Eastern European artists, critics, and culture activists accepted such a situation, because finding their own place in it gave them an illusion of being members of the "Western family," and not, as the Communist propaganda wanted it, participants in the specific culture of the Eastern bloc. That

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15 ——— Igor Zabel, "Dialog," *Interpol*, 122.

was the main reason why the exchange between East and West was unilateral. At present, though, the West no longer needs the modernist ideology of cultural universalism. It needs the Other to defend its identity and its system of values. Such a strategy, however, is not welcomed in the East and the events at the *Interpol* show demonstrated it explicitly. The Eastern European artists do not want to be instrumentalized by their potential Western partners as the Others. Incidentally, this is also by no means new: in the Western culture there is a strong tradition of the orientalization of Eastern Europe, started by the travelers of the Enlightenment who visited Poland, Lithuania and Russia.[\*16]

The goal of a dialog among the Eastern European art critics (to be precise, between the Russian and Slovene ones) initiated in response to the violent accusations of the Western party in terms of collective responsibility was not so much the creation of a regional identity, but defense against the essentialization and orientalization of Eastern Europe. In fact, though, the problem of the regional, post-communist identification appeared, as it were, tangentially. Joining the debate about identity politics, I would like to draw on the writings of Irit Rogoff, in particular her theoretical and methodological statements on "relational geography." In this respect, her project seems to me quite inspiring, since Rogoff writes about "geography in relation to the issues of cultural difference," however, away from the internal coherence of specific social or ethnic groups.[\*17] Such an approach results in a shift of focus from the centers of power to its periphery. In the context of my argument this is most interesting, since Eastern Europe may also be treated as a geographical periphery of the centers of cultural power,[\*18] located in the metropolitan areas of the West both in the times of modernism and postmodernism.

According to Rogoff, the "relational geography" is a strategy of the reconsideration of a relation between the subject and location, yet not in terms of the national legal system or of the essence of a given cultural heritage. On the contrary, it should be based on the cultural difference, and not unity. Comparing the "relational geography," which could also be called critical geography, to other critical

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16 ——— Cf. Larry Wolff, *Inventing Eastern Europe*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1994.

17 ——— Irit Rogoff, "Engendering 'Terror,'" in Ursula Biemann, ed. *Geography and the Politics of Mobility*. Wien/Köln: Generali Foundation/ Verlag der Buchhandlung Walther König, 2003, 53.

18 ——— Cf. Andrzej Turowski, *Awangardowe marginesy*. Warszawa: Instytut Kultury, 1998.

theories, such as feminism or queer theory, and, on the other hand, to the traditional *Kunstgeographie*, one can argue that the former is not anchored in the "essence" of a place, a kind of *genius loci*, which means that it follows no principle uniting the subject and its location, but reveals a cumulative character, combining in its analysis various overlapping processes.

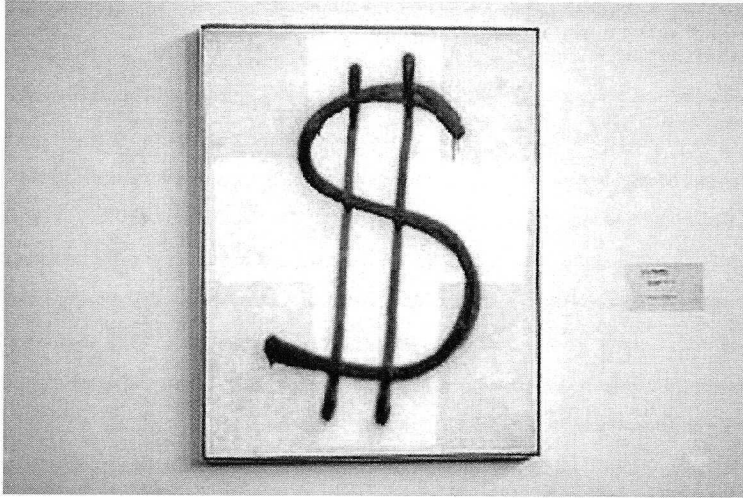


fig.6 The US Dollar sign painted by Alexander Brenner on Kazimir Malevich's *White cross on the white surface*, Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam, 1997.

Let us return to our examples. Alexander Brenner seems particularly interesting to me, since in 1997 in the Stedelijk Museum in Amsterdam he destroyed *White Cross on White* by Kasimir Malevich, spraying on it a symbol of the US dollar. An interpretation of his gesture of destruction exclusively in terms of delinquency, as well as in an ethnic context of the "Russian" identity of the destroyer, is not only an act of abuse, but – perhaps in the first place – a proof of sheer ignorance. Such a point of view makes us totally unable to understand the meaning of Brenner's action. Equally useless may be an effort to find connections between Brenner and Malevich. The latter was also a Russian artist (an Ukrainian-Russian of Polish origin[\*19]). He was very much aware of the differences between his art

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19 ——— Cf. Andrzej Turowski, *Malewicz w Warszawie. Rekonstrukcje i symulacje*. Kraków: Universitas, 2002.

and the culture of the West and generally the cultural difference between Eastern and Western Europe. Likewise, Brenner's action cannot be reduced to protest or a critique of the Western appropriation of Malevich's art., or its fetishization by the commercial politics of the Western establishment. Analyzing what Brenner did one should keep in mind the proper historical context of the 1990s: the fall of the Berlin Wall and (to a certain extent) the Soviet empire on the one hand, and the ongoing commercialization of the nonconformist Russian culture on the other, mentioned also by Joseph Bakstein. It seems that what Brenner might have wanted to say (in contrast to Bakstein, quoted above) was that not everything changed: he wished to keep the cultural difference not only between East and West, but also – and above all – between the official culture (once communist, now commercial) and the nonconformist one. His intention might have been to convince the artists in the East, as well as in the West, that nonconformism is not just an empty word, but a still valid tradition, in tune with the postulates of Christoph Tannert. Such an interpretation has nothing to do with the essentialization of Eastern Europe (in this case, of Russian culture) undertaken in the context of the *Interpol* show by the Western art critics and artists. It is rather an attempt at (re)construction of relations among the subject, place, and time. Likewise, it has nothing to do with justifying aggression and vandalism. These two terms belong to a very different interpretive order and to the network of a radically different problematic. Hence, "relational geography" may help us understand the gesture of the destruction of art.

Interpreting the imposition of the symbol of dollar on Malevich's painting, I would like to make a reference to one more problem indicated on a very different occasion by Igor Zabel. Assuming that after the Cold War the world of art (at least in Europe) is still divided into the East and the West, that the West still dictates the terms and has the infrastructure which makes its domination possible, the critic wonders what kind of attitude the art of Eastern Europe may take now, when the "West has won the Cold War." Attempting to answer that question, he postulates that the art of the East should try to deconstruct the field of art, as it were, from the inside, choosing a strategy of active resistance operating within the artistic system, and there seeking the politics of identity.<sup>[\*20]</sup> Zabel gives no examples, but one may approach Brenner's action as a kind of extreme consequence of such a way of thinking.

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20 ——— Igor Zabel, "The (Former) East and Its Identity": in Maria Hlavajova and Jill Winder, eds. *Who If Not We Should at Least Try to Imagine the Future of All This*. Amsterdam: Artimo, 2004, 283-288.

The quest for identity would then be close to the idea of guerilla warfare, in this case interesting indeed, since waged by the Eastern European artist against the Western system, but executed by the means legitimated by Western culture, such as destruction, direct assault, aggression, etc., which belong to the Western mythology of the culture of rebellion. To support that legitimization let me recall the destruction of Velazquez's *Rokeby Venus* by Mary Richardson in 1914, considered by the feminist historiography as the paradigmatic gesture of the formation[\*21] which has been included in the mainstream of the Western art history a long time ago. Consequently, Brenner's action may lead to conclusions close to Zabel's effort to develop an alternative or rebelling attitude based on the cultural difference between the Western institutional culture of spectacle and Eastern "private", anarchic non-conformism, still compatible with the attacked culture through the Western tradition of resistance.

Now, let us return to Hans Belting and his appeal for harmonious coexistence of different and sometimes even contradictory narratives of art history or at least the "two voices of art history." Of course, one might ask if Belting's appeal makes any sense in the context of the fall of the Eastern bloc and demolition of the Wall, and there are opinions arguing for "one art history," which challenge his assumptions, as well as those which share them. At any rate, the cornerstone of a field of research called "post-communist studies" is a claim that the division into the East and the West, although different from that before 1989, is still very much valid. Such views have been expressed both in the East, and in the West. Such initiatives as *2000+ Art East Collection* and the *Art East Map*, as well as others, including the *Moscow Art Magazine* the 22nd issue of which was titled "East Is Looking at the East, East Is Looking at the West,"[\*22] and a mobile project of an exhibition with its companion volume called *Who If Not We Should at Least Try to Imagine the Future of All This?*, edited by Maria Hlavajova and Jill Winder,[\*23] persuasively demonstrate that a debate of that kind is much needed. Maybe one does not even have to read many books – it is enough to look around to realize that the post-communist world, no matter how diversified, is not a phantasm but reality.

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21 ——— Cf. Linda Nead, *The Female Nude. Art, Obscenity and Sexuality*. London: Routledge, 1992.

22 ——— *Moscow Art Magazine*, no. 22, 1998.

23 ——— Maria Hlavajova and Jill Winder, eds. *Who If Not We Should at Least Try to Imagine the Future of All This*. Amsterdam: Artimo, 2004.

Apart from many elements which constitute the cultural difference, a dispute on art history brings us, as it were, into the heart of the matter, and perhaps that is why it should be taken into account in the first place. Borut Vogelnik writes that what makes the East different from the West is the lack of a system – not so much infrastructure, but interpretation – a system that would impose some order on the artistic processes, supplying concepts, terminology, categories of description, methods of analysis, etc.[\*24] In fact, this is the lack of the history of Eastern European art, the "second voice" of our discipline. Therefore, we should develop a system of the historico-artistic analysis which would prove flexible enough to include many kinds of experience, and coherent enough to construct a narrative revealing the uniqueness of Eastern Europe, but on the other hand, compatible with the "first voice" of art history.[\*25]

If we take into account a critique of the *Europa, Europa* exhibition, and particularly of its methodological and theoretical background, the first step seems to be a rejection (and not access to, as in the case of the Bonn show) of the Western canon of modernist and contemporary art. The Western art history, that "first voice" of our discipline, has been functioning, at least as regards its mainstream, with reference to a canon of works. Fortunately, that canon has been criticized from various points of view: feminist, queer, Marxist, that of the visual cultural studies, etc. All those critiques belong, in general, to the tradition of 1968. However, despite the critical revisions, the canon not only has not disappeared, but it has proved able to absorb many critical theories. On the other hand, even though there have been attempts to include in the canonical history of Western art some artworks from the East,[\*26] the essential domination of the Western canon of the so-called universal art history has remained unchanged.

Of course, and this is very important, the art of Eastern Europe developed in relation to the Western canon. Yet within our analytical practice it seems much more productive to stress the ten-

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24 ——— Borut Vogelnik (IRWIN), "Total Recall," in Maria Hlavajova and Jill Winder, eds. *Who If Not We Should at Least Try to Imagine the Future of All This*. Amsterdam: Artimo, 2004, 171-186.

25 ——— I have attempted such an analysis in my book *Awangarda w cieniu Jalty. Sztuka i polityka w Europie Środkowo-Wschodniej*. Poznań: Rebis, 2005.

26 ——— Cf. Brandon Taylor, *Art Today*. London: Laurence King Publisher, 2005.

sions between the local experience of art and the canon than to place the local art mechanically (and perhaps clandestinely) in the canonical framework of art history textbooks. Our attention should rather be concentrated on deconstruction of the relationship between the two domains, and not on strategies of inscribing the artistic culture of Eastern Europe in the Western canon. In this context, the key question is: what does it mean that the art of the "other" Europe was developing with reference to the art of the West, and how did that development go on? If we fail to ask this question, we will receive a traditional picture of tensions between the center and periphery, while asking it, and deconstructing the relations in search of the particular meanings of the art created outside the canonical centers, as well as interpreting the West-centered mythologies of the Eastern European culture in their historical frames as reactions to the political situation, we get a chance to understand our object of study much better. In other words, we should rather focus on the use and exploitation of the canon, and not on its mechanical influences. This will allow us to disclose the cultural difference which is indispensable to determine the identity of the place.

While the historico-artistic discourse of the "first voice" is clearly marked by the presence of the canon, the development of a similar system in the art of Eastern Europe is very difficult, if possible at all. The reason for this seems quite simple: it is not only that the history of Eastern European art has not been written, but when it is written, it will have to take into consideration the heterogeneity of narratives to a much greater extent than its Western paradigmatic equivalent. The history of the region's art (in particular after World War II) in each country developed independently of the others. Those discourses were parallel, and at least until now they almost never overlapped. That was caused by scarce artistic exchange among the communist countries. Each of them was rather reluctant to take part in such exchange, which was dictated by the subconscious resistance to the official propaganda of some specific identity of the Eastern bloc as a whole, and a claustrophobic complex of isolation of that part of the continent from the "true" sources of culture, that is, the West. I am not saying that there was no exchange whatsoever, yet it was always more or less accidental and, first of all, so sporadic that it could not create conditions for common art history. Hence, in Eastern Europe we have a number of particular or, more precisely, national art histories and canons which are often incompatible and unexchangeable. There is no single historico-artistic narrative, but many national discourses; no single "second voice" of art history, but many "second voices" which most likely will

be negotiated, however, with a result that may not necessarily come out as a uniform canon. Using a geometrical metaphor, I would say, taking the risk of oversimplification, that while the "first voice" has a vertical and hierarchical form, the "second" one, due to its plurality, takes a form which is horizontal, non-hierarchical, and polycentric.

Another fundamental concept of the Western art history is style. In fact, Eastern Europe has never simply reflected the stylistic narrative of art in the West, and in its artistic practice never accepted the paradigmatic stylistics of specific trends of modern art. The model of the history of modernism defined in stylistic terms has always been translated into heterogeneous mutations, both at the beginning of the 20th century and later. The relevant examples are the Russian cubo-futurism (in this case the very label is heretogeneous) the Hungarian activism, the Polish formism, and the Central European surrealism (except for its Czech variant). Also after World War II the situation did not change, regardless of the changing political circumstances whose influence on the culture of the region cannot be overrated. The Eastern European artists and the art critics and historians who followed them used the Western labels of particular trends (e.g. *informel*, neo-constructivism, new expression or neo-expressionism) yet quite often they understood them slightly differently from their Western partners. Let me emphasize one example, that is, conceptual art which was very popular all over Eastern Europe, but its Eastern European understanding proved much wider and much more heterogeneous. In general, the specific character of that kind of art can be defined, referring once again to Hans Belting, as "practical necessity" approached in existential rather than linguistic terms, more ontological, if not outright metaphysical, than epistemological or analytical. In other words, as Laszlo Beke has put it:

In comparison to this Western notion of conceptual art, the Eastern European variant was never so rigorous. Rather, it was flexible and elastic, ironic, humorous, nonprofessional, communicable, always ready to become a social activity of a group of young people or even an alternative movement. [...] On the other hand, the "immaterial" nature of conceptualist works, and the "poorness" of the media employed – "just an idea," words and concepts, paper and pencil, typewriter, postcards, a telephone call, ephemeral actions – made communication easier and censorship more difficult. This is why conceptual art had to be invented in Eastern Europe, and its function as a strategy for evad-



ing authority should be considered a feature specific to its development in the region.[\*27]

By the way, it was not like that everywhere. The conceptual art in Poland was very different from conceptualism in Hungary. It was much less subversive and politically committed, which only proves that the model of the historico-artistic narrative of the region is much more pluralistic.

Now we must ask a question about the reasons for such heterogeneity of art in Eastern Europe. An answer comes from political history which not only differentiated the circumstances of the functioning of art (then and now) in the West and the East, but also the significance of artistic creation in particular countries of Eastern Europe. Of course, the political history of the West does not present a homogeneous picture, either, but even if the situation there varied from country to country in Western Europe (France, Germany, Italy, the UK, etc.), not to mention the other side of the Atlantic (the USA and Canada), still, Western societies always had certain constant and negotiable points of historical reference. For instance, 1968, a key date in the history of Western culture, means more or less the same everywhere. Yet in Eastern Europe, contrary to current opinions in the West, even though the communist regimes were in power everywhere, too, and culture could not avoid its decisive impact, the situation was (and again, still is) very complex. To give a few examples, the year 1948 seems to have been the beginning of the Stalinist cultural policy all over East-Central Europe, except, however, for Yugoslavia in which the same date marked the outset of cultural liberalization to bring results already in 1951. The year 1956 in some countries of the region, particularly in Poland and the USSR means a cultural "thaw," while in other countries (e.g. Bulgaria and Romania) it means nothing. In some countries the years 1968-1970 mark the beginning of the so-called normalization, that is the end of liberal cultural policies or even oppression (in Romania, but primarily in Czechoslovakia after the suppression of the Prague Spring), while in others (e.g. in Poland) the year 1970 marked the beginning of limited artistic liberties. Similar differentiation may have been observed in the early 1980s: in Poland it was the period of material law, while in Hungary the years of the so-called "goulash socialism," that is, a consumerist model of the communist state, openness to

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27 ——— Laszlo Beke, "Conceptual Tendencies in Eastern European Art," in Luis Cammitzer, Jane Farver, Rachel Weiss, eds. *Global Conceptualism: Points of Origins, 1950s-1980s*. New York: Queens Museum of Art, 1999, 42.

the West, and significant liberalization of the cultural policy. Still, there are dates which meant more or less the same all over the region: 1945, the beginning of the Soviet domination in East-Central Europe (with different specific results), and 1989 and the symbolic fall of the Berlin Wall the consequences of which also varied from country to country. The post-communist condition has taken various forms in specific countries which are not developing according to a single schema. Quite on the contrary, because of different national traditions, social structures, and economic solutions, the development of these countries, including also the functioning of culture, yields a much diversified picture of the *post-communist Europe*. For instance, *post-communist Poland* with its strong Roman Catholicism respected by all social groups and political parties (including the post-communists themselves) only little resembles the Czech Republic, while Russia is very different from the former GDR, just like Slovenia from Serbia, even though both countries used to belong to Yugoslavia, or Lithuania from Belarus, even though both used to be Soviet republics.

Is there anything, then, that all the countries of the region had in common in 1945-1989, or have had since then? The first question can be answered fairly easily: the common element of all the local cultures and modes of artistic production (their common frame) was the power system which, although somewhat varied, had many common features, and one very basic: no democracy and the control of the communist party over the public sphere. That pertained to Romania and Yugoslavia, Russia or the USSR, and Poland alike. It is more difficult to answer the second question, if only for the lack of distance in time allowing both the historians of politics and those of art to grasp reality more precisely. Nonetheless, one may notice a certain common frame of reference, too. Next to the lack of a common historico-artistic discourse and a sense of methodological loss haunting art criticism, particularly the more popular one published in the daily press, apart from the scarcity of the art infrastructure and both subjective and objective domination of Western culture (one might say, the culture of the winners, fortunately, since the West has won the Cold War), the most obvious frame of the contemporary artistic culture of Eastern Europe is the history of short duration (the memory of communism) and its influence on society both in high politics and in everyday life. Problems with the functioning of democracy which may be observed with varying intensity in different countries of the region influence in various ways the public functioning of art. This makes the Eastern part of the continent distinctly different from the West, where culture has been function-

ing within much more stable systemic, legal, social, educational, and political frames, very different from those characteristic of the United States, which is a separate issue in its own right.

To conclude: if the identity of the European art history is supposed, according to Belting, to imply the "the coexistence of very different and sometimes contradictory narratives", it seems desirable not only to maintain, but to stress and (re)construct the cultural differences; to emphasize the historico-artistic variation and uniqueness of historical experience. The "relational geography," with its cumulative, non-hierarchical, heterogeneous, and critical manner of thinking, rejecting both the essentialism of the traditional *Kunstgeographie* and the orientalizing tactics of the Western art criticism discussed in some detail above, seems to be a convenient method of writing the "second voice" of art history, which respects both the historical and spatial aspects of our discipline; a geography and a history of a unique kind – as Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann would say, a "geohistory."<sup>[\*28]</sup>

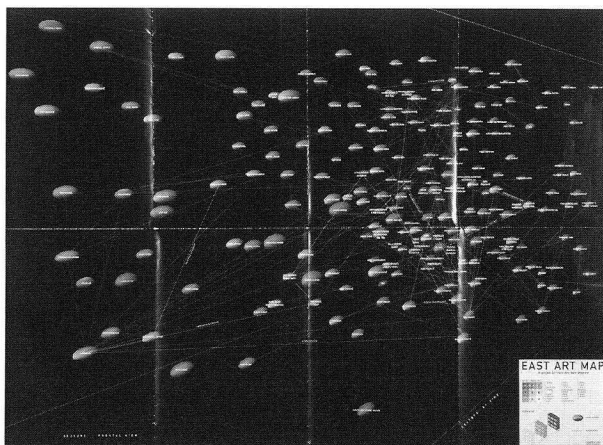


fig.3 *East Art Map*, Group IRWIN, Ljubljana, 2002.

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28 ——— Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann, *Toward a Geography of Art*. Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2004; Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann, "Time and Place: Essays in the Geohistory of Art. An Introduction," in Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann and Elizabeth Philiod, eds. *Time and Place: Essays in the Geohistory of Art*. London: Ashgate (in press).

# The Problem of Modernism: Art Practice under the Gaze of Art History

Anna Brzyski

The accuracy of a description of any historic event depends on whether or not the perspective of the narrator corresponds with that of his audience. What is historically accurate and therefore objective for some may not be for others, since no single account can encompass divergent and potentially competing points of view. Similarly, any attempt to generalize necessarily obscures exceptions and departures from what is accepted as the norm, especially when the norm identifies not the most common experience, but the dominant perspective. These are practical limitations of historic discourse and few historians have been unaware of their existence. And yet, the tendency to narrativize or produce “a discourse that feigns to make the world speak itself and speak itself as a story” [\*1] is arguably as prevalent today as it was a century ago.

This has been particularly true in art history, a field which combines two incompatible impulses: a desire for objective presentation of historic facts and a necessarily evaluative approach.[\*2] Since its inception, first as a form of discourse practiced by a wide variety of agents and only later as a distinct discipline dominated by academically trained professionals, art history has embraced a set of interrelated assumptions concerning its subject and its own function. Foremost among those has been a commitment to a foundational idea that art is, by definition, a historic phenomenon. This basic belief in historic continuity has been such an integral part of the Western conceptualization of “art” that it has been rarely noted, much less questioned, even when the problem of definition of “what is art” has come under intense scrutiny. Since this proposition links the meaning and signifi-

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1 ——— Hyden White, *The Content of the Form. Narrative Discourse and Historic Representation* (Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press, 1987), 2 [p.2]

2 ——— For definition of fact as a concept see Ludwig Wittgenstein, *Tractatus Logico-Philosophicus*, trans. D.F. Pears and B.F. McGuinness (London and New York: Routledge, 1974), 5-14; also Bruno Latour and Steve Woolgar, *Laboratory Life. The Construction of Scientific Facts* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986).

cance of any work, artist, location, institution or event to its place in history and, therefore, determines value relationally as a function of that position, the existence and persistence of such a “blind spot” suggest that this is not simply a matter of an oversight.[\*3]

The presumption of art’s historicity has had a profound impact on the development of art history as a discipline. Because art is assumed *a priori* to have a history and therefore always to function as a tradition, that history is perceived as an empirical given available for investigation and interpretation.[\*4] The assumption of the empiricity of art’s history remains in place even when there is an explicit acknowledgement that all historic statements have interpretive character and that the ideal of full recovery of any historic context is, in fact, impossible. An art historic interpretation may be understood as a statement operating within the discursive economy of a particular field. It may be considered rhetorical, intertextual, contingent, or downright wrong from a particular perspective, but the acknowledgement of the limits of interpretation does not diminish the faith in the presumed factuality of the referent.[\*5] Art’s presumed historicity functions in this context as a privileged text, which in its non-transparency creates the need for the discourse and the discipline of art history. Its status as the domain of art-in-itself makes not only possible but necessary the proliferation of exegesis that does not as much provide stable explanations as guarantees that a meaning and therefore value exist.

The third foundational assumption of art history rests on the other two. It informs how art history perceives and ultimately negates what Robert Jensen refers to as professional practice of art.[\*6] If classical art history defines art diachronically as a distinct and coherent cultural tradition, the defi-

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3——— See Donald Preziosi, “The Question of Art History,” in *In the Aftermath of Art. Ethics, Aesthetics, Politics, Critical Voices in Art, Theory and Culture* (London and New York: Routledge, 2006), 29-54; and *Rethinking Art History. Meditations on a Coy Science* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1989).

4——— Empirization of art’s historicity must be distinguished here from interpretation and engagement with the historic record. The former functions ahistorically by granting “factual” status to an *a priori* assumption of the continuity of art, the latter bases analysis and claims on examination of the information embedded in the historic record. The latter approach treats the art-belief-system, which includes the idea of empirical reality of art’s history, as part of that record, and therefore as historically specific and culturally contingent cultural framework.

5——— See for instance Keith Moxey, *The Practice of Persuasion. Paradox and Power in Art History* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2001).

6——— Robert Jensen’s definition of art practice comes from his forthcoming book *Painters’ Trade*. I am indebted to the author, who is also my colleague at the University of Kentucky, for his generosity and willingness to share his ideas.

nition of art as a form of professional and cultural practice calls for a radically different approach.<sup>[\*7]</sup> It requires a synchronic and diachronic mapping, which acknowledges that the belief system on which the Western conceptual category of art is based and the reality of professional art practice do not necessarily coincide. Jensen defines art practice as the entire spectrum of activities and behaviors, including but not limited to art making, in which individuals who identify themselves and are recognized as professional artists engage in at any given time and place. This definition fundamentally shifts the focus from the art objects to the social environment (not just context) of their production.<sup>[\*8]</sup> Although it does not negate the importance of the final product, in particular with regard to its discursive and institutional afterlife, it acknowledges that the making of art objects is an integral part of artists' professional life and identity, something that they are trained and expected to do and rewarded for doing well. An artwork made by an artist is therefore no different in principle from an essay or a novel published by a professional writer, or an article or a book written by an academic author. It is subject to the same constraints, pressures, and demands that determine professional status and establish what receives recognition and support as a valuable contribution to the field.

Although classical art history recognizes and considers the existence of the institutional, cultural and social context within which the production of art takes place, it treats it largely as background information for interpretation of art objects. Instead of considering artworks as contingent outcomes of professional activities, it accords them special status as privileged forms of cultural evidence and, as Donald Preziosi has noted, devotes itself "to the restoration of the circumstances that surrounded (and therefore are presumed to have led in some however extended and indirect sense to) the work's production."<sup>[\*9]</sup> It is important to note that this approach does not conceive the work as an evidence of the mechanics of visual discourse, particular market conditions or other aspects of professional art practice, but of general cultural trends, ideological investments, or developments assumed to be internal to art itself. In other words, the circumstances cited by Preziosi are not the circumstances of the professional field, but of culture as such.

This relationship not only establishes the need for art history as a field of cultural analysis, it in

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7——— For a definition and discussion of classical art history see author's "Introduction: Canons and Art History," in *Partisan Canons* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2007).

8——— A similar approach, applied to science as a professional field has been taken by Latour and Woolgar in *Laboratory Life*.

9——— Preziosi, "The Question of Art History," 38.

effect conceives it as if it were external to the art system, or as if artists, art practice, and art institutions were not affected by the very fact of its existence. The implicit model here is that of classical sciences and social sciences, which adopt a view that natural, social, and economic phenomena can be studied without being fundamentally affected by the processes of observation, examination and analysis. That may be true in certain fields and under certain conditions, but in art history, a discipline for which the present of art practice becomes the art historic past at an ever accelerating rate, this assumption is highly problematic, if not entirely counterintuitive. Although one could argue that art history or rather historic thinking about art had only limited impact on Western art practice before the mid 18<sup>th</sup> century, that claim could not be made for the period since. The desire of the Enlightenment to arrive at total and objective knowledge, which drove development of classification systems encompassing diverse natural and cultural phenomena, prepared the ground for radical historicization of art.[\*10] By the mid 19<sup>th</sup> century, art past and present was conceived, understood, interpreted, and evaluated from a comparative historic perspective. Contemporary artists were not only keenly aware of this framework, they received both formal and informal instruction in art history and were expected by their peers, critics, and the public to play a role in its on-going creation.[\*11] Within the logic of that system, contemporary art was always perceived as part of the historic continuum, insofar as it could claim a potential for future historic relevance on a national, continental or global level. Perhaps not every artist could aspire to become the next great master in the universal history of art, but many leading artists could and did expect to receive recognition as key figures in the evolving narratives of national schools, and, by the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, of national art.

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10 ——— See Michel Foucault, *The Order of Things: An Archaeology of the Human Sciences* (New York: Vintage Books, A Division of Random House, Inc., 1994).

11 ——— It is interesting to note that in France, a country that had the most complex and sophisticated art system in Europe, art history first became an academic discipline in the context of an art school, rather than a university. The first professorship of art history in France was established in 1863 at the École des Beaux Arts. The first chair in art history at the École was held by Emmanuel Viollet-le-Duc (November 1863 through spring of 1864). He was succeeded by Hippolyte Taine, who held the position from October 1864 through 1888. See Mary G. Morton, "Art History on the Academic Fringe Taine's Philosophy of Art," and Philip Hotchkiss Walsh, "Viollet-Le-Duc and Taine at the Ecole Des Beaux-Arts: On the First Professorship of Art History in France," in *Art History and Its Institutions. Foundations of a Discipline*, ed. Elizabeth Mansfield (New York: Routledge, 2002), 85-99 and 215-228.

## 1890s: the problem of modernism

Given those expectations, how likely is it that historicism, which in the 19<sup>th</sup> century began to function as the dominant paradigm for considering all forms of cultural production, would affect only the interpretation of visual arts while leaving their production untouched? Here the coincidence between fundamental shifts in the dominant forms of cultural production and the dominant forms of cultural interpretation is far too great to be ignored. The entrenchment of historicism coincided not just with the development of modernism, but also with its rapid spread and eventual monopoly over determination of what counted as significant art of the present and the past. In this context, the problem of cause and effect is largely irrelevant; it does not matter whether historicism validated modernism or whether modernism offered a ready proof for the validity of historicist claims. What is significant is that their temporal coincidence appears to have affected the outcome. It made the idea of “modern art” – understood as the art of the here and now – not only possible, but logically necessary.

Approached from this perspective, the history of modern art, which in the course of the first decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century becomes synonymous with history of art in the modern period, emerges as a potential problem, rather than a simple historic fact. At question is not whether the spread of modernism in Europe in the final decades of the 19<sup>th</sup> century deserves special historic recognition, but whether the current ways of dealing with that history account for and agree with the historic record. Despite considerable methodological shifts in the practice of art history, the general outlines of the normative narrative of the development of modern art has changed remarkably little since its introduction in the first decade of the 20<sup>th</sup> century by such authors as Julius Meier Graefe.[\*12] Certainly, there has been some expansion in the cast of characters brought about by revisionism and even an acknowledgement of the possible multiple paths to modernity. Yet, the general narrative of the crucial early period has remained largely a story of a gradual, one could even say organic, pro-

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12 ——— Julius Meier-Graefe, *Entwicklungsgeschichte Der Modernen Kunst: Vergleichende Betrachtung Der Bildenen Künste, Als Beitrag Zu Einer Neuen Aesthetik*, 3 vols. (Stuttgart: J. Hoffmann, 1904), and *Modern Art: Being a Contribution to a New System of Aesthetics*, 2 vols. (London: William Heinemann, 1908).



cess that took between 40 and 80 years (depending on how one identified its starting point) and that proceeded in a more or less orderly fashion through a series of formal and conceptual innovations, each responding to and/or building on the earlier ones. The resulting chronological timeline of modern isms – romanticism, naturalism, realism, impressionism in the first part of the sequence, then rather less clearly sequential, or some would say more rapid succession of neo-impressionism, post-impressionism, symbolism, with art nouveau and jugendstil thrown in to accommodate the expansion of the modern category into design – has focused on the moments and sites of innovation and has been, with only a few exceptions, the story of art in France, or, more precisely, the story of artists working in and around Paris, a uniquely constituted focal point of the European 19<sup>th</sup> century art system.

It is not my intention to dispute the special status of Paris. In this respect, I defer to the historic record which clearly indicates a period consensus regarding the role of Paris as a major art center and of France as a point of origin in the development of what has come to be known as modern art. In fact, when modern art was criticized and opposed outside of France, one of the most frequent charges leveled against it was that it was a French import. It is useful, however, to distinguish between the status and function of Paris within the 19<sup>th</sup> century European art system, and its status and function within the metanarrative of the Western art history, which in the period since the end of World War II has been dominated (quantitatively and qualitatively) by an Anglo-American perspective.[\*13]

When viewed from an alternative vantage point, for instance that of Central Europe, the history of modern art appears much less as a story of steady and gradual evolution, and much more of a punctuated equilibrium.[\*14] In this respect, Paris, a uniquely configured environment, stands out as a radical exception and a departure from what appears to be a continental norm. While in France we can speak of gradual development, which in many respects continued rather than interrupted the

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13 — On the shift in art historic discourse from German and French to English in the post war period see author's "Centers and Peripheries: Language Barriers and Cultural Geography of European Modern Art," in *Local Strategies-International Ambitions. Modern Art and Central Europe, 1918-1968* (Prague: Czech Academy of Sciences, 2006).

14 — Steven Jay Gould, and N. Eldredge, *Punctuated Equilibria: the Tempo and Mode of Evolution Reconsidered*, *Paleobiology* 3, 1977 pp. 115-151. See also, F. Heylighen, C. Joslyn & V. Turchin, eds., *The Quantum of Evolution. Toward a Theory of Metasystem Transitions* (New York: Gordon and Breach Science Publishers, 1995).

theoretical-aesthetic framework first developed within the academic context, outside of France one encounters a very different pattern. Throughout Central and Eastern Europe there is a time lag of approximately fifteen years between the first press reports of the new artistic tendencies and their local adoption. That interval is followed by a period of rapid assimilation and mainstreaming. In many instances, once it is initiated, the entire process from the introduction and recognition of “modern art” as a distinct form of local art practice to its ascendancy into the dominant position within the local art environment takes no more than a decade.

The example of Polish art is in many ways typical of this pattern. Impressionism, which was christened and identified as a new stylistic tendency in France in 1874 and adopted as a group name by the French artists in 1877 on the occasion of their third group show, was recognized by critics as a Polish art phenomenon in early 1890s, despite the fact that Polish artists and commentators were aware of the French movement virtually since its inception.<sup>[\*15]</sup> I choose impressionism as a convenient starting point, because it was widely perceived as the first self-consciously modern style, and because it functioned in the 1880s and 1890s throughout Europe as an umbrella term for “new,” “advanced” or “modern” art. It is also important to distinguish between discourse and stylistic morphology. In referencing impressionism, I am not necessarily identifying the first instances of stylistic changes in Polish painting that could be identified as impressionist or proto-impressionist, but rather the recognition and identification of a particular art practice by critics as well as artists as “impressionist.”<sup>[\*16]</sup>

By the mid 1890s, less than five years after the debut of the first Polish impressionists, the self-identified moderns – artists working in the naturalist, impressionist, symbolist, and proto-express-

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15 ——— For the history of the group's name see Stephen Eisenman, “*The Intransigent Artist or How the Impressionists Got Their Name?*” in *The New Painting: Impressionism, 1874-1886* (San Francisco: Fine Arts Museum, 1986). For the history of the Polish critics and commentators' early engagement with French impressionism see author's “*Modern Art and Nationalism in Fin De Siècle Poland*” (University of Chicago, 1999), 70-126.

16 ——— Once impressionism received recognition as a synonym for modern or advanced art (rather than a term of derision), and was applied to local (rather than French) art, it was a common practice to nationalize the style by finding local genealogies for its development. In the case of Poland, critics frequently identified naturalists such as brothers Maximilian and Alexander Gierymski and Józef Chełmoński as native precursors of Polish impressionism. In Germany, that role fell to Adolph Menzel. See Françoise Forster-Hahn, “*Constructing New Histories: Nationalism and Modernity in the Display of Art,*” in *Imagining Modern German Culture: 1889-1910*, ed. Françoise Forster-Hahn, *Studies in the History of Art 53, Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts, Symposium Papers xxxi* (Washington: National Gallery of Art, 1996), 85-86.

sionist modes, often switching between modes and arriving at hybrid stylistic solutions – were not only routinely exhibiting at mainstream venues, competing successfully for important commissions, and selling works, but were frequently identified as the best and the brightest by the Polish press. In 1895, the Krakow School of Fine Arts under leadership of a new director, Julian Fałat, underwent a reorganization, which led to the appointments of several of those artists as faculty members. In 1897, the School's modernist faculty members, including its director and several other likeminded artists, formed an exhibition society, the Association of Polish Artists "Sztuka." Although Sztuka was ostensibly dedicated to the promotion and exhibition at home and abroad of the best Polish contemporary art, in practice it became a preserve of various forms of modernism. Within less than three years of its founding, the society succeeded in establishing a *de facto* monopoly on exhibition of Polish contemporary art outside the territories of former Poland, making Polish contemporary art synonymous with modern art for the external observers. In 1900, the Austrian government conferred on the Krakow School of Fine Arts the rank of an art academy in recognition of the faculty's achievements. In 1903, Sztuka's leading members were identified as the foremost masters of Polish painting in a remarkable illustrated album entitled *Polish Art*. The only contemporary artists featured in the album were Sztuka members and, therefore, by default, the album identified modern art as the only form of Polish contemporary art deserving art historic recognition.<sup>[\*17]</sup> This entire process from the self-conscious debut of Polish impressionism in 1890 to legitimization of modernism as a mainstream academic practice in 1895-96 and finally to production of a narrative history of Polish art, which culminated in modernism and which identified the leading artists of Sztuka as the foremost masters of Polish painting, took barely 13 years – less than a single generation.

The story of modern art in Poland is by no means unique; analogous trajectories can be mapped elsewhere in Europe. The dates may vary slightly, but the basic configuration remains the same. After an initial delay, there is a rapid process of absorption and mainstreaming that by the second decade of the 20<sup>th</sup> century allows modernism to become the dominant, and increasingly hegemonic, form of contemporary art. This process appears to have a starting point in the 1890s, when "modern" became a synonym for "advanced" among key actors and agents not only in the major art

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17 — Anna Brzyski, "Constructing the Canon: The Album *Polish Art* and the Writing of the Modernist Art History *Polish 19th-Century Painting*," *19th Century Art Worldwide* 3, no.1 (2004). [http://19thc-artworldwide.org/spring\\_04/articles/brzy.html](http://19thc-artworldwide.org/spring_04/articles/brzy.html)

centers, but in the minor ones as well. From Paris, London, and Berlin to Munich, Dresden, Brussels, Glasgow, Prague, Krakow, and Oslo, the idea of modern art was not merely embraced by artists and critics associated with the artistic avant-garde; by 1900 stylistically modern art began to displace traditional, academically based works within mainstream art institutions. By the second decade of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the distinction between academic and modern was no longer relevant, since in many places modern art, though not necessarily avant-gardism, was by then becoming an academic phenomenon. [\*18]

The classical accounts of modernism, which focus on the moments of innovation and present the history of modern art as a stage of the ongoing history of art, do not question why modernism became the dominant art phenomenon in the closing decade of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. They simply report that it did. It is generally taken for granted that modern art's inherent superiority accounts for both its dissemination and endurance and that France's function as the main center of innovation fully explains the delay. In this respect the Anglo-American art history has been particularly consistent in promoting the center-periphery model, according to which the provincial character of Central Europe, in fact of the entire European continent outside of Paris, accounts fully for the difference in the rate of artistic innovation and adoption. Yet, when one considers that in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century information traveled with an unprecedented speed to the furthest reaches of the continent, that Parisian art and cultural trends were keenly watched and reported on not only in Europe but increasingly throughout the world, that major French newspapers and periodicals were readily available from Moscow to Madrid, and that the city was a major travel destination and a site of extensive expatriate art colonies, it is difficult to imagine that this explanation exhausts all possible explanations.

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18 ——— One of the first places to programmatically introduce basic tenets of modernism into academic art curriculum was Krakow School of Fine Arts, after 1900 Krakow Academy of Fine Arts. In 1895, the school's new director Julian Fałat, began replacing retiring faculty members with younger artists associated with modernist tendencies. Within a few years, the school was *de facto* teaching modern art as part of academic studio practice. Elsewhere in Central Europe, artists associated with the first wave of modernism begin to occupy temporary teaching posts and permanent academic faculty positions by the 1900s. For instance, in 1897, a year before he led the formation of the Berlin Secession, Max Liebermann was nominated for professorship at the Royal Academy of Arts in Berlin.

## Cultural competition

What then accounts for the temporal gap? Why did artists working outside of France wait a full decade to become “modern,” and what exactly prompted them to change their minds, in historic terms virtually overnight, in the 1890s? If we assume that the spread and rapid mainstreaming of modernism in Europe and beyond in the 1890s was not inevitable, what were the factors that precipitated what could be only described as a tectonic shift in attitudes that assured modern art’s future as the dominant form of Western visual discourse?

To a large extent the answer to those questions lies in the character of the European art system. In the nineteenth century, that system consisted of local and regional artworlds organized along national lines.<sup>[\*19]</sup> This was true not only on the level of discourse, with the concepts of national schools, and later national art, functioning as key terms of art history and art criticism, but also on the level of art practice, art markets, and art institutions, in particular museums.<sup>[\*20]</sup> In short, the issue of national identity of culture, and consequently of the national identity of art and artists, was of paramount importance for everyone involved in the production, reception, interpretation, and promotion of art.

Although we tend to assume that the 19<sup>th</sup> century international competition among European nation-states was mainly economic and political in character, we should not forget that by the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century it firmly encompassed the sphere of cultural production. In this era of intensifying ethnic nationalism, a nation was defined as a legitimate member of an international

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19 ——— The center-periphery model assumes the existence of a unified territory with a center or centers from which innovation disperses outwards. It envisions Europe as a single artworld dominated by Paris and other lesser art centers, such as London, Munich or Vienna. The idea of an art system is based on a very different metaphoric regime. Instead of treating art as a world unto itself, one which in effect disregards actual national and state boundaries, it acknowledges that for the period under consideration, namely the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, Europe consisted of a complex system of competing artworlds. In other words, instead of being a whole subdivided into regions, European art environment was an amalgam of discrete units. Its presumed cohesion, which warrants the label of a system, comes from the competition (a field of interaction) among the units and Europeans’ shared perception of a common cultural heritage, rather than from actual hierarchy of internal organization. For more on center-periphery as a metaphoric image scheme see Mark Johnson, *The Body in the Mind: The Bodily Basis of Meaning, Imagination, and Reason*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987).

20 ——— For the discussion of national character of European art history in the period from the 18<sup>th</sup> through the 20<sup>th</sup> centuries see Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann, *Toward a Geography of Art* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2004), 36-58.

community of nations in a large part on the basis of its culture. In order to be considered significant, that culture had to be both unique and appropriately advanced. Although those attributes were certainly claimed for their respective cultures by French, German, English, or Polish commentators, they could only be tested and validated through international competition, which gave not only internal but also external commentators the opportunity to see and evaluate the merit of the individual national schools. The inter-national cultural rivalry became most visible in the context of the international expositions or World Fairs, which showcased not only the latest technology and consumer goods, but also works of decorative and fine arts. The first of those, the London Exhibition of 1851, referred to as the Crystal Palace Exposition, set the precedent for the later shows. It inaugurated a period in which major international expositions occurred initially every ten to twelve years and in the decades surrounding the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, every four to five years. Just to mention the major ones, Paris was the host to a series of Universal Expositions, which took place in 1855, 1867, 1878, 1889, and 1900; the Columbian Exposition took place in Chicago in 1893; and the Louisiana Purchase Exhibition in St. Louis in 1904.

During the same period, an increasing number of exhibitions showcasing works by an international array of contemporary artists were being organized at the major European art centers. By the 1880s, there was at least one major international art show hosted in Europe every year in addition to the Paris Salon, which by the 1880s functioned as the premier international contemporary art showcase. Although at first glance those events may appear as opportunities for individual artists to compete for attention and rewards on an international art stage, they were perceived by various commentators, including the artists themselves, as the arenas of inter-national competition. Whenever appearing outside of their native countries or in a context of international art shows, the artists, like the modern day athletes, were always treated first and foremost as representatives of their countries. They may have received individual recognition, but their achievements were always viewed collectively through the lens of the intercultural competition. Writing about the second Vienna Secession exhibition in 1898, in which a number of Polish artists participated, Kazimierz Tetmajer, a Polish poet, author and critic, noted that “they [the Polish artists] kept their place among the front-runners and with the exception of a few internationally famous masters, did not allow any other nationality to overshadow them.”[\*21]

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21 ——— Kazimierz Tetmajer, “Secesya Wiedeńska,” *Czas*, 17 April 1898: 1.

Tetmajer was by no means alone in using terminology of competition, which brings to mind analogies with sport, to discuss art. By mid 1890s, the period in which international sport competitions and races increasingly served to displace and sublimate growing political, economic and territorial tensions and rivalries, this was a common trope shared widely by contemporary commentators. In this context, it seems hardly a coincidence that the first Venice Biennale held in 1895, the oldest continuous international exhibition of contemporary art explicitly conceived as a competition among national teams of artists, preceded by only a few months the first modern Olympic Games held in Athens in the spring of 1896.

If the international art exhibitions functioned as regular tests of the national cultural rankings, the national art museums kept the competition alive for the home audiences and for the foreign visitors during the rest of the year. They served both as constant reminders of the nation's ongoing participation in cultural competition, which was framed by the museum in art historic terms and therefore extended diachronically from the present to the remote past, and as repositories of internationally acclaimed works. In virtually all instances when national art museums engaged in the collecting of contemporary art, the works they purchased were produced by the nation's leading artists. This was certainly true in German countries, Austria, and England before 1880s. Only in France, beginning in the 1860s, the government engaged in limited buying of contemporary foreign works from the Salon, which were distributed among provincial museums and the Luxembourg Museum. In 1890s, under the initiative of Léonce Bénédict, the museum's chief curator, this practice evolved into a more systematic endeavor to acquire representative selections from the "Foreign Schools" for the Luxembourg in order to reveal the influence of French School on Western art.<sup>[\*22]</sup> Elsewhere, the practice of purchasing contemporary works by foreign artists for the national art collections did not begin on a larger scale until the early twentieth century, and when it eventually happened, it was greeted with a great deal of controversy. In many instances, there were explicit restrictions on the use of state funds for purchase of works by contemporary foreign artists. In order to make acquisitions of foreign contemporary art, museum directors such as Hugo von Tschudi, who acquired

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22 — In 1900, Bénédict was able to secured 25,000 francs from the French government to a purchase twenty five foreign works from the Universal Exposition. For the history of foreign art at the Luxembourg see Léonce Bénédict, *The Luxembourg Museum. Its Paintings, Pastels, Aquarelles and Drawings. Foreign Schools* (Paris: H. Laurens, 1924). Also, Léonce Bénédict, *The Luxembourg Museum. Its Paintings* (Paris: H. Laurens, 1913), 19-20.

French modernist works for the National Gallery in Berlin in the 1890s and Neue Pinakothek in Munich in the first decade of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, had to rely on private funds or donations. [\*23]

The national art museums not only collected contemporary national art, they produced historic narratives of the national artistic tradition by showcasing particular works and arranging them in a chronological order. They also established the links between the development of the local traditions and the general history of art by subdividing their collections by period and by producing educational materials, such as catalogues and museum guides, that provided art historic explanations and contextual links. They operated, therefore, with an implicit understanding that there were in fact two factors that determined status of national art within general art history and international cultural competition. Those were historic longevity of the indigenous tradition and its current vitality, defined largely as its competitiveness on the international art scene.

In order to be competitive within the art (historic) Olympics, a nation had to demonstrate that its national art had an independent history that extended from the remote past to the present and that its national school led or at least kept pace with what was perceived to be the general development of art. Since fine art was widely regarded as the highest form of cultural expression produced only by the most advanced cultures and denied to those lingering at the lower stages of development, the ability to demonstrate not only the existence of contemporary national art but also of a long historic tradition of fine art production gave a cultural group high ranking on both the diachronic and the synchronic scales of cultural development. The main assumption behind the synchronic developmental scale was that Europe and its cultural diaspora constituted at present the only genuinely active and therefore advanced area. According to this view, the majority of the non-Western areas of the world did not produce fine art, only ethnographic artifacts. Alternatively, some non-Western regions, in particular Asian societies, may have produced art, but their artworks were perceived as anachronisms fixed at an earlier developmental stage. Because those cultures were seen as static and therefore incapable of self-generated further development, or modernization, they were effectively excluded from the cultural competition. By corollary, within the West, the ranking of nations, understood as unique cultural entities, was implicitly based on cultural refinement, which in

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23 — James J. Sheehan, *Museum in the German Art World. From the End of the Old Regime to the Rise of Modernism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 160-164.



effect meant production of advanced contemporary art. According to this logic, the most advanced nations were not those that were the most productive from an economic standpoint or the most powerful from a military or political standpoint, but the most advanced and refined from the cultural, and in particular, artistic standpoint.

Although in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century France was widely regarded as a European leader within the field of contemporary art, its status was not necessarily permanently assured nor was it universally affirmed. While some saw French contemporary art as the most advanced in Europe, others viewed it as the most decadent. Commentators in countries with long standing political and economic rivalries with France, in particular Germany and England, vigorously contested the perception that Paris led European art or that it provided an example worthy of external emulation. Moreover, within the logic of the system of international art competition, there was always a possibility that whatever the current ranking was, it could change in the future. In fact, art history virtually guaranteed that this would be the case, since the art of each epoch seemed to have a different geographic center. The story of ancient art focused on Greece and Rome, that of the Renaissance primarily on Italy, and of the 18<sup>th</sup> and early 19<sup>th</sup> centuries on France. In theory, any school could emerge as a leader in the present, provided it possessed sufficient innate talent and produces what others would consider historically significant art.

Irrespective of one's perspective on modernism, the French school and therefore French contemporary art could not be ignored. Its visibility and prominence was guaranteed by the unique status of Paris within the European system of local and regional artworlds, a status that was similar to that occupied by Rome a century earlier. There was, however, an important difference. Rome functioned as an art center largely before the era of historicism and ethnic nationalism. It was a place to which artists from all parts of Europe migrated and which had little in the way of distinct local art tradition that could be linked to the idea of nation art and culture. More importantly, the idea of national art did not yet assume the significance that it had in the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

By the time Paris emerged as the new artistic mecca, both historicism and nationalism, which underpinned the discourse on national art, were in place. If in 18<sup>th</sup> century Rome, Italian art meant art of the Italian Renaissance, in 19<sup>th</sup> century Paris, French art meant not only French 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> century art, but also French contemporary art, or, in other words, the entire history and art historic significance of the French School. The issue of French contemporary art and of the French percep-

tion of French art as the leading European school simply could not be avoided. Moreover, Paris may have had the largest and most sophisticated art market in Europe, but it was an insular artworld that was neither particularly transparent nor welcoming to outsiders. European artists flocked there, but for most, their physical presence in the art capital of Europe did not translate into an understanding of or membership in the Parisian art networks. With the exceptions of few artists – Paul Gauguin, Vincent Van Gogh, and later Pablo Picasso, for example – who were not only interested in entering the Parisian artworld and assimilating, but also uniquely equipped to map and take advantage of its social networks, most foreigners remained perpetual outsiders. The majority stayed firmly attached to the national expatriate colonies and eventually returned home. Their sojourn in Paris was an expected right of passage and not an indicator of their interest or ability to become successful Paris-based artists. In this context, success at the Paris Salon, an annual exhibition open to French and foreign artists during the second half of the nineteenth century, may not have been relevant for the foreign artists' status in Paris, but was extremely important from the perspective of their situation and recognition at home. The external validation, especially when occurring within a context of such a major and prestigious venue, was the most effective way of building a reputation at home which for many translated directly into enhanced professional status and increased earning potential.<sup>[\*24]</sup>

Viewed from the perspective of those priorities, it is not surprising that the spread of impressionism and therefore of modernism was delayed. With the exception of Belgian artists, who had a unique understanding of rankings within the Parisian avant-garde, facilitated to a large extent by physical proximity and language, and who therefore began adopting new approaches within years, rather than decades of their appearance in France, other foreign artists had a much longer learning curve. They may have been aware of impressionism in the 1870s and 1880s, but in general they were not aware of its significance until late 1880s. Simply put, prior to the 1890s, impressionism did not have a wide recognition as a new significant phase of art's development outside of France. By the 1890s, that recognition was increasingly there among artists and critics who were paying attention to general trends and who were expecting and actively seeking the next major development. We

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24——— See David W. Galenson and Robert Jensen, *Careers and Canvases: The Rise of the Market for Modern Art in the Nineteenth Century*, vol. no. 9123, NBER Working Paper Series (Cambridge: National Bureau of Economic Research, 2002).

must keep in mind that the term “impressionism” was often used by commentators, especially those outside of France, as a blanket designation identifying all advanced, that is modern art, rather than as a label identifying a particular style.

Several factors contributed to this shift. As noted by Robert Jensen, by the 1890s French impressionism was increasingly exhibited in Central Europe.<sup>[\*25]</sup> The prices for impressionist paintings were escalating and, ironically, impressionism was beginning to get a reputation as a Salon phenomenon. Already in the 1880s, key members of the impressionist circle, Pierre-Auguste Renoir and Claude Monet, were exhibiting at the Salon. By the 1890s, there was a second generation of Salon based artists, who were identified as impressionists or even as the leaders of the impressionist school by foreign correspondents. Although artists such as Jules Bastien-Lepage or Alfred Roll had little in common with the impressionists proper, their association with the Salon and therefore identification or more accurately misidentification of impressionism as a Salon trend was extremely significant for the movement’s reputation. In the 1890s, the Paris Salon was still considered by many, especially those outside of France, as the most important and prestigious event of the art season.<sup>[\*26]</sup>

The inscription of impressionism into the emerging art historic discourse on contemporary art was also an important factor. As noted by Martha Ward, by the 1880s impressionism was being strategically historicized in France (though not yet elsewhere) by commentators such as Felix Fénéon, who championed neo-impressionism and other subsequent modernist development. Ward notes that “to use the prefix [neo] in relation to a movement that was just beginning to gain recognition such as impressionism was to archaize the present – to send it shuttling back in history, over-night.”<sup>[\*27]</sup> This historicization of impressionism not only established neo-impressionism’s claim to be the next step, but also gave unimpeachable credentials to its predecessor. Whatever the status of the subsequent, ever proliferating “neo-isms” was going to be, the fate of impressionism, at least within the evolving modernist view of French art’s history, was now assured. It functioned as the source and a point of origin for a historic trajectory that determined interpretation and ranking of

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25 ——— See Robert Jensen, *Marketing Modernism in Fin De Siècle Europe* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994), 201-234.

26 ——— On the continuing, though diminished importance of the Salon after 1874 see Galenson and Jensen, “*Careers and Canvases: The Rise of the Market for Modern Art in the Nineteenth Century*,” National Bureau of Economic Research Working Paper No. 9123, September 2002.

27 ——— Martha Ward, *Pissarro, Neo-Impressionism and the Spaces of the Avant-Garde* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996), 58.

subsequent developments.

Let us return briefly to the example of Polish modernism. There is a fairly unambiguous account of the events that led the two young Polish painters, Józef Pankiewicz and Władysław Podkowiński, to adopt a self-consciously impressionist style. They arrived in Paris in the spring of 1889. According to Pankiewicz's biographer, Józef Czapski, the artist's first encounter with the style happened on an occasion of their visit to the gallery of Adolphe Goupil.<sup>[\*28]</sup> While attempting to place some of Podkowiński's canvases with the dealer, they saw several paintings by Monet which Goupil had in his possession. A few months later, in June, they visited the Universal Exposition, where they saw a major retrospective of Manet's works, as well as paintings by Cézanne, Monet and Pissarro. They also saw the exhibition of Impressionists and Synthetists organized by Gauguin at the Café Volpin.

They were most impressed, however, by a show of Monet's works, which opened on June 21, 1889, at the gallery of Georges Petit and included 145 of the artist's canvases.<sup>[\*29]</sup> The exhibit, which was conceived as a major retrospective aimed at securing the artist's reputation as the leading impressionist painter, was timed to coincide with the Universal Exposition. This was a strategic similar to that of Courbet's and Manet's staging of their own pavilions for the 1867 Exposition. Those in turn must be considered in relation to the precedent of the major retrospectives of Ingres, who was identified as the head of the classical school, and Delacroix, who was identified as the head of the Romantic school, which were organized by the French government for the 1855 Exposition. In 1867, there was still some doubt as to whether Courbet or Manet was going to emerge as the undisputed leader of the new school. Courbet's publication of the Realist Manifesto, which gave the school a name and a clearly defined identity, was a preemptive move. It all but assured Courbet's place in history. The fact that the realist school was shortly thereafter recognized by critics as the new school, and that Courbet, rather than Manet, was identified as its leader, testifies to the effectiveness of his strategy.

Manet had to wait until the 1890s to be identified as a leader of a school. In an ironic twist of fate, despite the fact that he never exhibited with the impressionists, Manet was frequently identi-

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28 ——— Józef Czapski, Józef Pankiewicz. *Życie i dzieło. Wypowiedzi o sztuce* (Lublin: Wydawnictwo FIS, 1992), 45-48.

29 ——— Czapski, 45-48. See also *Claude Monet - Auguste Rodin. Centenaire de l'exposition de 1889*. Exhibition Catalogue (Paris: Musée Rodin, 1989).

fied as the founder of the “impressionist school” by both French and foreign commentators. This left Monet, an artist who surely deserved such recognition, in a secondary position, that of a follower, rather than a major innovator. It is likely, given how important status and recognition was within the Parisian artworld, that Monet’s retrospective at the Petit Gallery was motivated by a desire to redress this situation. Although it did not necessarily have the intended effect immediately, it confirmed Monet’s reputation as a major innovator and it certainly identified the artist to the Polish visitors as a major figure of a movement that was already familiar to them through hearsay. Most significantly, the collection of works, which included Monet’s key impressionist canvases produced during the 1874-1886 period, provided the Polish painters with an exemplary practical demonstration of what it meant to paint like an impressionist. *Instead of vague descriptions, they were able to see for themselves concrete examples of impressionist painting, which provided them with a set of appropriate subjects and a technique that could be analyzed, learned and applied. Their theoretical knowledge was transformed into practical knowledge; they knew on the level of practice what an impressionist painting looked like, what it was about, and therefore what it took to make one.*

The show’s size and prominence also send an unmistakable message. It confirmed what the young Poles already knew, namely that impressionism was the next significant art movement. If they had any ambition to be counted among historically significant artists, not just at home but on the world stage, *they simply had no choice but to become “modern,” and that meant painting in an impressionist style.* Although from the perspective of the Parisian avant-garde insiders by this time impressionism was old news, superseded by other movements, for the Polish artists, who were not part of the Parisian art circles and who did not view contemporary art from an avant-gardist perspective, impressionism was significant (much more so than any other current “ism” ) precisely because it appeared to be both widely accepted and praised, yet at the same time radically up to date and therefore modern. Their main concern, shared by sympathetic critics, was how to how to make Polish art competitive on the international art scene, and that scene was defined not by the small, private exhibitions put on by ephemeral groups, but by major art shows held at the most significant European art venues, both public and private. Monet’s exhibition held at one of the most famous and prestigious commercially art galleries of Europe send an unmistakable message. Impressionism and therefore modern art was not merely held in high regard by progressive artists and critics, it was commercially viable.

## *The quest for historic significance*

Pankiewicz's and Podkowiński's decision to reinvent themselves as "modern artists" by adopting an unmistakably "modern" working style was a professional decision, one that took into account the relationship between competitiveness and historicism. Although in the mid 1890s traditional methods of painting and sculpting continued to be taught, and conventionally academic works continued to be made, exhibited, sold, and collected, they were increasingly seen by a broad array of key players – the artists themselves, as well as sympathetic writers, critics, government officials, museum professionals, dealers, collectors, and, last but not least, professional art historians – as being simply irrelevant. For those individuals and for entities they represented – art schools, museums, government ministries and agencies, newspapers, journals and publishers, exhibition societies and venues, commercial galleries – art and in particular contemporary art was increasingly defined not by specific form or content, but by something much more elusive, a potential for historic significance, which many felt was the exclusive domain of the modern.

Modern art was quite simply the art of the modern era; contemporary art that was not modern was an anachronism. The supporters of the new tendencies believed that instead of pursuing the historic demands of art, art that was not modern pandered instead to the demands of the philistine public. It was, therefore, no more than a commodity, designed and intended for sale, no different in principle from a myriad of goods lining the store shelves. It was increasingly described not just as "bad art," because that designation implied merely a failure of imagination or skill, but also as "pseudo-art," a practice that adopted the appearance of fine art without pursuing its ultimate aims.[\*30]

Those views were fully consistent with the logic of historicism, according to which history was defined not in terms of a historic record (the full spectrum of all events), but in terms of a selective narration of historically significant episodes. In art history produced under the impact of historicism, these episodes were identified as contributions made to the general development of art by individual artists. Kant, in the *Critique of Judgment*, provided key ingredients and a conceptual

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30 ——— Clive Bell, *Art*, 5th ed. (New York: Frederick A. Stokes Company, 1910), 3-37.

framework for narrating art's history in an "objective" or positive way, even though he did not fully articulate the historicist view of art. Kantian "truths" – that genius cannot be learned; that an artist cannot will oneself to be great but must be born as such; that great artists are above all original; and that true originality (unlike original nonsense) must be exemplary and must serve as a model for emulation by others – became the basic tenants of the 19<sup>th</sup> century art history and, ultimately, provided a compelling rationale for the legitimacy of modern art.

Although it is more common to trace the origins of the historic consciousness to Hegel rather than Kant, it is important to note that Kant's notion of exemplary originality was used by the 19<sup>th</sup> century authors, including Hegel, to argue that art had temporal continuity – namely, that it functioned as an unbroken tradition. Since exemplary work was defined as a work worthy of emulation, the designation of genius depended not only on the intrinsic character of the artist's oeuvre, but also on the artist's influence on others and, ultimately, his impact on the subsequent development of art. The implicit logic behind this argument was used not only to explain the rise of schools and styles, two basic taxonomic categories of the 19<sup>th</sup> century art history, but also to argue that innovation was not merely valid, but in fact superior, to emulation.

The implied temporal succession of great masters, each born rather than made, each giving rise to a school of followers, each giving therefore a new impetus to art, served to create a historic narrative of change, if not necessarily of progress. In Hegel's conception of art's history, the historic development in art is not posited as progress towards a particular goal, but as evolution, understood as accommodation of art practice to ever changing conditions. According to Hegel, the historic evolution of art followed a deterministic process of the Spirit's quest for self-consciousness. Although art evolved through time because of its association with the evolving consciousness of the Spirit, it did not necessarily progress in a qualitative way. Rather, it changed in form and content in keeping with the *Zeitgeist* of the age that produced it. [\*31]

For Hegel, the 17<sup>th</sup> and the 18<sup>th</sup> centuries, in particular the development of the type of natural-

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31 ——— G.W.F. Hegel, *Aesthetics: Lectures on Art*, trans. T.M. Knox, 2 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1975). Hegel's views on the history of art as articulated in his *Aesthetic Lectures*, far from being uniquely original, should be seen as part of a broader discourse that also encompassed discussions of biological evolution in natural sciences and of linguistic evolution in philology. See Edward W. Said, *Orientalism*, Vintage Books Edition, 1979 ed. (New York: Vintage Books, a division of Random House, Inc., 1979).

ism epitomized by Dutch genre painting, represented dissolution of the tenuous union of form and spiritual content that still existed in Romantic art, defined by Hegel as post-classical, Christian art. From that point on, art ceased to evolve or to reflect the *Zeitgeist*. Released from the demands of the evolving Spirit, art became autonomous. Hegel wrote that “From this point onward it is from himself that the artist receives his content.” Because art practice was freed from its subordination to spiritual concerns and because artists increasingly came to question the inevitability of particular forms, art in the present, that is, in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, became “a free instrument which [was] qualified to exercise itself relatively to every content, no matter what kind it may be, agreeably to the principles or criteria of the artist’s own peculiar craftsmanship.” [\*32] Art, in other words, became concerned primarily with itself and the history of art became the history of changes in art practice.

With Kant’s concept of exemplary originality and Hegel’s historic cultural framework, art history as a discourse assumed its familiar shape. By the mid 19<sup>th</sup> century, it was widely accepted that art was a historic phenomenon – a continuous and autonomous tradition defined by canonical figures and schools and connected to the changing historic circumstances through the concepts of *Zeitgeist* and style. These basic assumptions were shared by both the opponents and the proponents of modern art. Baudelaire, for instance, described the history of art in “The Painter of Modern Life” in terms of smooth transitions and continuity between various styles. Comparing artistic development to biological evolution, he implied both an element of inevitability and a necessary historic dependence between the various stages.[\*33] A few years earlier, writing about Delacroix in his review of the 1846 Salon, Baudelaire noted that without the artist “the great chain of history [would break], [it would fall] to the ground.” [\*34] The notion of a chain of history, which recalls the metaphor of “the chain of being” familiar from natural history and the discourse that surrounded contemporaneous debates on evolution, suggests that even at this early date Baudelaire distinguished between historic

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32 ——— Hegel, *Aesthetics*, 605. In view of those statement, it may be worth reconsidering the claim of radical innovation that has been made in recent years in reference to Alois Riegel and the Vienna school of art history, whose practitioners have been credited with severing the causal link between artistic development and *Zeitgeist*. Although Riegel certainly pushed back the autonomy of artistic development to a much earlier period, the basic assumption behind his notion of *Kunstwollen* are not dissimilar from those discussed by Hegel.

33 ——— Charles Baudelaire, *Selected Writings on Art and Literature*, trans. P.E. Charvet (New York: Penguin USA, 1993), 392.

34 ——— Baudelaire, *Selected Writings*, 75.



continuity and progress. He addressed this issue explicitly in his review of the 1855 Universal Exposition, when he noted that the concept of progress was borrowed from the technological sphere and had been misapplied to culture. Echoing both Kant and Hegel, he wrote that, unlike technology, wherein each successive invention derives from knowledge accumulated in previous discoveries, “in the realm of poetry and art, the great discoverers rarely have precursors. Every flowering is spontaneous, individual...The artist owes nothing to anyone but himself. To future ages he holds out no promises but his own works. He is a guarantor for no one but himself. He dies without offspring.” [\*35] In other words, every great or to use our terms historically significant artist had to create a new beginning, a new set of rules. Only invention offered a key to art historic immortality and only second rate artists could afford to be followers.

Baudelaire’s comparison of the great work to a “spontaneous flowering” and his insistence that an artist “holds out no promises but his own works” to future generations recalls Kant’s definition of genius; his explicit references to tradition and to “the chain of history” locates all his assertions within Hegelian historic framework. For Baudelaire, art’s past, present and future were linked not through dependence or influence of one artist on another, but through mechanics of chronology. The old master, the contemporary artist who still awaits that designation, and the future masters not yet born all existed in the diachronic space of art historic time. Their position within that space and consequently within the implied hierarchy depended on their original contribution, or on their exemplary innovation, the evaluation of which was made relationally with reference to past and present production. The artist’s visibility within that space was posited as the ultimate proof of significance and was the basis of canonical designation.

### *Art practice and art history*

Baudelaire’s interpretation of what constituted an exemplary innovation was no doubt highly partisan, but his understanding of the basic conceptual framework of artistic evaluation was not. By the final decade of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the idea that the value of artworks and status of artists was both

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35 ——— Baudelaire, *Selected Writings*, 122.

determined and evinced by their potential or apparent historic significance was widely accepted. Specific value judgments and pronouncements made in the context of art criticism, pedagogy, or practice were made less and less in reference to absolute standards (which was the dominant practice in the 18<sup>th</sup> century and before), and more and more to historic process. The historicist ideology of innovation reinforced by the art market and art institutions, such as international exhibitions, museums, and journals, left little room for Kant's original scheme of the rare, lone genius surrounded by a multitude of followers. To make it as a professional, an artist had to demonstrate that his work had a potential for historic significance. In this context, the question of how to produce historically significant and therefore innovative work become not just a matter of concern for the artistic elites, but for virtually all professional artists interested in receiving symbolic and economic rewards for their work, or to put it simply, making a living as artists.

One could compare the historicist framework to a stage on which contemporary art practice played the role of Art in the unfolding drama of art's history. Historicism provided a frame for interpreting and evaluating contemporary art and therefore shaped expectations, which drove competition not just among individual artists, but among nations. Most importantly, it created an environment in which everyone, including the artists, was looking for new schools and new key artists. Novelty was expected, recognized when it happened, and increasingly rewarded. One could say that after 1900, the market, and here by "market" I mean not only the market for artworks, but also the market of ideas, was speculating on the potential for historic significance. Within the logic created by historicism, that potential could only be realized by modern artists.

By the first decade of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, explicitly art historic, rather than critical, texts were weighing in, identifying the key modern masters, movements, and suggesting future trajectories. Julius Meier-Graefe's *Developmental History of Modern Art* of 1904, translated into English as *Modern Art* in 1908, stands out as one of the earliest and most important efforts of this type. In situating modernism in the context of general history of Western art, Meier-Graefe set an important precedent for narrating that history as a development culminating in modernism.[\*36] In his account,

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36 ——— Meier Graefe's book was not necessarily the first in advancing this claim, but it was the most widely read and because it was available in English translation, it became extremely influential for the evolving Anglo-linguistic art historic discourse. For this argument, its importance rests not on its originality, but on its long term impact.

the author gave no indication that modernism co-existed with other non-modern forms of contemporary art. Neither was he particularly concerned with producing a nuanced and historically accurate image of the period and of art practice. Instead, he assumed the existence of a particular developmental trajectory and he focused exclusively on those artists and formal innovations that made, what he considered to be, significant contributions to the historic process that culminated in most current forms of modern art.

The resulting account, which presented development of modern art as a natural outcome of historic processes of art was not only highly partisan but entirely ahistorical.<sup>[\*37]</sup> It produced an unimpeachable genealogy for modern art by linking the accomplishments of the Modern Masters with those of the Old Masters through the idea of individual genius (refigured as the capacity for significant innovation) and inevitability of historic change. In identifying formal innovation as the most important criterion of historic significance, Meier-Graefe also constructed a hierarchy, within which certain artists were acknowledged as key innovators, while others were relegated to subordinate positions. For the modern period he gave French artists – Courbet, Manet, Cezanne, Degas, Renoir, Monet, Gauguin, and Seurat – recognition as leaders who set the course for the general development of art. German modernists Menzel, Leibl, and Liebermann were given credit for the current development of art on the national level while others, often subsumed within general national or generational categories, were simply identified as participants and followers. According to the logic of Meier-Graefe's narrative, the major innovators were the most significant and therefore most deserving of attention because they, in effect, produced the history of art. The minor figures, implicitly identified as their followers, were important for the understanding of the local development, but since they played no role in the general history, their art historical significance was clearly diminished. They would be of interest primarily to those concerned with the national histories. Needless to say, those figures that did not play any role in the developmental narrative either on the global or the local level were of no interest at all. They simply did not exist as far as modernist art history was concerned.

The subsequent accounts of the 19<sup>th</sup> and the early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, especially those produced

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37 ——— See Patricia Berman, "The Invention of History: Julius Meier-Graefe, German Modernism, and the Genealogy of Genius," in *Imagining Modern German Culture: 1889-1910*, ed. by Françoise Forster-Hahn, *Studies in the History of Art* 53, Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts, Symposium Papers xxxi (Washington: National Gallery of Art, 1996).

from 1920s through 1970s, followed with surprising consistency the logic established by Meier-Graefe and other early modernist art historians. They portrayed modern art not as one of many forms of contemporary art practice, but as the only form, the only historically relevant type of art produced during this period. In other words, the late 19<sup>th</sup> century and early 20<sup>th</sup> century art was modern art. The coexistence of diverse types of art practice was acknowledged, but explained in terms of a struggle between the old and the new, a struggle in which modernism prevailed becoming the bearer of the baton in the historic rally. The ascendancy of modernism to a dominant position was never questioned or examined; it was simply stated as a historic fact. No reasons beyond the apparent superiority of modern work were necessary.

What is also interesting is that postmodernism, which began affecting Western art history in the early 1980s, did little to dislodge this paradigm. Despite the arrival of revisionism, despite growing suspicion of grand narratives and totalizing histories, despite new methodologies that shifted our focus from the works and artists to the context of their production and reception, and despite the fact that art historians were now able to work on topics that not too long ago were considered taboo for serious art history, the basic logic for determining historic significance and therefore the main focus of art history as an academic discipline has remained largely intact. We may be freer to work on the institutions of the artworld, its discourses, or on the so-called peripheral areas (those not playing the central role in the art historic metanarrative) but these areas are still marked as marginal and therefore have remained of marginal interest to the field at large. Despite our growing self-consciousness, which palpably manifests itself on the level of discourse, our mainstream practice has remained firmly focused on the “historically significant art”. The publication in 2005 of *Art Since 1900*, a textbook jointly co-authored by Hal Foster, Rosalind Krauss, Yves-Alain Bois, and Benjamin Buchloh, the leading figures of the contemporary Anglo-American art history and associated with the journal *October*, which in the 1980s played a pivotal role in introducing postmodern theory into art history, is just one example of the compatibility of classic art history with postmodernism.[\*38] According to the book’s publisher, Thames and Hudson, *Art Since 1900* is a definitive survey of the 20<sup>th</sup> and the 21<sup>st</sup> century art. It explores “All the turning points and

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38 ——— Hal Foster, Rosalind Krauss, Yve Alain Bois, Benjamin H.D. Buchloh, *Art since 1900. Modernism, Antimodernism, Postmodernism*, 2 vols. (New York: Thames & Hudson, 2005).

breakthroughs of modernism and postmodernism as well as frequent and sustained antimodernist reactions. It is illustrating with 600 of the most important works of the century, most reproduced in full color.”[\*39]

Although this description, which in effect claims for the book the status of an empirically based canon, was likely produced by the publisher to market the book as a college textbook, it should not be dismissed out of hand. It may have overstated what the co-authors intended, but it reflects accurately the general tenor of the text, which uses the format of a chronological time line to narrativize the history of the 20<sup>th</sup> and the 21<sup>st</sup> century art. The time line format – a seemingly neutral device for presenting factual information – obscures the presence of a narrative, but does not remove it; it merely eliminates the connective tissue of narration, while leaving key elements intact. The structure of this implied narrative is remarkably similar to that put forth by Meier-Graefe a century earlier. It is focused on key innovators and their contributions, traces lists of followers, gives special consideration to artists working in the author’s own cultural “backyard” (even if it does not refer explicitly to *American art*) and notes the existence of general trends. In other words, not much has changed in how the history of art is conceptualized. The cast of characters may be slightly different, but the plot is essentially the same. The history of art is still a story of innovations and their impact, a story from which art practice and art history’s impact on that practice are entirely absent.

The specifics of the rhetoric are not as important as the implications of this and similar texts, as well as other manifestation of classic art historic paradigm on definition, interpretation, and market status of past and contemporary art practice. Since the system and the logic that created the conditions for the spread and dominance of modernism are still with us, should we not consider their impact on such phenomena as the spread and dominance of postmodernism, or the current redefinitions of art practice under the heading of globalism? In the recent years, many commentators, including key theorists of postmodernism, such as Frederic Jameson, have voiced serious doubts concerning postmodernism’s assumed break with modernism.[\*40] I would like to take this opportunity to propose an alternative reading of the problem. It is not necessarily that modernism and postmodernism are manifestations of the same phenomenon. Clearly on the level of art practice and ideol-

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39 ——— <http://www.wwnorton.com/thamesandhudson/college/artsince1900/welcome.htm>, accessed 05.03.05. Added emphasis.

40 ——— See Frederic Jameson, *A Singular Modernity: Essay on the Ontology of the Present* (London: Verso, 2002).

ogy, they are not. However, I would argue that they are products of the same system and the same logic that have been in place since the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, and that have been affecting interpretation, evaluation, as well as production of artworks ever since.









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