

Songs About Social Classes and Their Presentation in Two Largest Latvian Folksong Editions

BAIBA KROGZEME - MOSGORDA

Institute of Literature, Folklore and Art of the University of Latvia (Riga)

ABSTRACT. The article is focused on folksongs about social classes or the so-called social songs, which differ from other Latvian folksongs with their historical content, which has been interpreted from different perspectives in the two largest Latvian folksong editions. In the arrangement of social songs for the first complete folksong edition *Latvju dainas* (1894–1915) the ideas of the Latvian National Awakening were highlighted, whereas the chapter on social songs in the academic edition *Latviešu tautasdziesmas* (1979–2018) demonstrates the impact of Soviet ideology. The article also reveals the role of compilers' personalities in the selection, classification, and interpretation of social songs.

KEYWORDS: Latvian folksongs about social classes, *Latvju dainas*, the academic edition *Latviešu tautasdziesmas*, Krišjānis Barons, Jānis Rozenbergs.

The subject of this article has emerged from my current work on the compilation of the largest Latvian folksong publication – the academic edition *Latviešu tautasdziesmas* (1979–2018) and research of its Soviet history and parallels with the first fundamental edition of Latvian folksongs – *Latvju dainas* (1894–1915). The comparison of the two editions is quite fascinating because it offers the possibility, through the closer analysis of selection and classification of folksong texts, to reveal both the personal scholarly views of the compilers and the ideological context of the historical eras the editions represent. From this perspective, the presentation of folksongs on social classes in both editions is particularly interesting, as the social history of Latvians was one of the main issues in the ideological discourses of both the National Awakening and the Soviet occupation regime, when these editions were created. The objective of the article is to give an insight into the historical content of folksongs on social classes as well as to examine how this content was used in the (re)construction of the Latvian past in the two largest Latvian folksong publications. The methodology of my study resonates with the cultural-historical

and socio-historical trends in Latvian folksong research (Šmits 1928, 1932; Švābe 1956; Rozenbergs 1960; Lietiņa Ray 2003)¹, however, attention is paid mainly to the analysis of the principles of folksong publication during the period of the Latvian national movement in the second half of the 19th century and during Soviet rule in Latvia in the 1950s–1970s.

SONGS ABOUT SOCIAL CLASSES IN LATVIAN FOLKSONG TRADITION

Latvian folksongs are mostly lyrical quatrains that reveal the circle of life and the worldview of a Latvian peasant. When performing a folksong, the singers sequenced the quatrains in thematic song lines corresponding to the situation. Sometimes, through such interpretation longer songs were created. As poetic texts transmitted orally from a generation to generation in hundreds of variations, Latvian folksongs mostly include vague, yet chronologically rich historical information going back to the ancient Indo-European worldview (Biezais 1998; Viķe-Freiberga 2016 et al.). Most of this information, however, covers the time span from the medieval period to the 19th century when the oral song tradition disappeared under the modernization of Latvian society (Barons 1894: 17–18; Šmits 1932).

The motif of social classes² in folksongs describes the communities in which the singers lived, therefore it can be found in nearly all song cycles – in the songs dealing with the relationship in a family (the rich and the poor relatives), orphan and shepherd songs (exploitation of children coming from poor families), war songs (peasants fighting for the nobility), but especially in the songs on marriage and wedding, where the grooms and brides from upper social classes are both praised and criticised. Yet in a comparatively small number of songs, the so-called social songs, the motif of social classes is the key one. These include folksongs dealing with relations between the wealthy and poor people in Latvian society, as well as the songs about the work of Latvian peasants on the German estate.

.....

1 The debate on folksongs as a source of Latvian history started at the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century as a result of the growing interest in the national past and the publication of comprehensive folklore source editions. The main contributor to the debate was linguist and folklorist Pēteris Šmits, who in the 1920s–30s published a series of articles on the possible historical chronology of folksongs and the methodology of their use in historical-ethnographic studies. In the postwar period, a cultural historical approach in folksong research was developed by Jānis Rozenbergs and his colleagues at the Institute of Language and Literature and was newly revived with a social focus in the study of Latvian scholar in the USA Maruta Lietiņa Ray (Bula 2008: 16–21; Laime, Ozoliņš 2014: 239–246).

2 In this article the term 'social class' is used to mark a group of people within a society who possess the same socioeconomic status (*Encyclopaedia Britannica*, <https://www.britannica.com/topic/social-class>).

CHAPTER *BROADER SOCIAL SITUATION AND SOCIAL CLASSES*
IN *LATVJU DAINAS*

Latvju dainas is the key result of the folklore collecting movement organised by the emerging Latvian intelligentsia (New Latvians) during the National Awakening period in the late 19th century. In the six volumes of the edition (8 books) 217 996 texts of folksongs³ are included. These texts were provided by approximately 900 folklore collectors from more than half of the districts inhabited by Latvians in the Russian empire (Vikсна 2015). Active engagement in the gathering of folksongs increased self-awareness of Latvians and contributed to national consolidation. Already during their creation, *Latvju dainas* had a symbolic mission – to represent the uniqueness and unity of Latvian culture (Bula 2000: 64). As a literary version of the perished oral song tradition, the edition serves as a basis for the general understanding of the content and use of Latvian folksongs.

Krišjānis Barons, one of the most active figures of the Latvian National Awakening, devoted 37 years of his life to the creation of *Latvju dainas*, targeting the edition to both academic and nationwide audiences⁴. At the disposal of Barons were nearly all folksongs collected in the 19th century (Arājs 1985a: 163), and his selection and classification of folksong texts in *Latvju dainas* reveal both his personal scholarly views and the ideology of the National Awakening in general.

After the abolition of serfdom in Latvian-inhabited provinces of the Russian empire⁵ by the middle of the 19th century, the modernization process of Latvian peasant society started. The former serfs turned into a socially, professionally, and geographically differentiated society, and the New Latvians saw as their mission to create a political and cultural identity of this society (Zelče 2018: 311). They defined the concept of a Latvian nation, “strengthening in Latvian people the idea about the nation as a form of ethnic unity, which is based on a common origin, language and culture. This concept, as in other Eastern European lands, was adopted from the German tradition <...>. However, the New Latvians related this tradition to the Latvian people and with the help of propaganda succeeded to transmit the idea of a nation from the intelligentsia to the masses” (Apals 2011: 108). The development of a national movement met a harsh opposition from the

3 Both *Latvju dainas* and the academic edition of Latvian folksongs contain only folksong texts. Melodies were collected and published separately (Jurjāns 1894–1926; Vītolņš 1958–1986).

4 In the introduction to *Latvju dainas* Barons writes that the aim of this complete collection of songs is “first, to preserve one of the most beautiful forms of the Latvian spiritual heritage for the Latvians themselves in the future, second, to provide researchers with important and reliable material” (LD 1: XII).

5 In Kurzeme and Vidzeme, which were individual provinces of Russia, serfdom was annulled in 1817 and 1819 but in Latgale, which was a part of Vitebsk province, in 1861.

local German administration and nobility, which had autonomous power status in the Baltic provinces of Russia and mostly regarded Latvians and Estonians as incapable of creating independent national cultures (ibid.: 102–103; Zelče 2018: 320). To prove the opposite, New Latvians developed an extensive educational program for Latvians, publishing hundreds of popular articles⁶ in the press on political, economic and scientific issues, but mainly focusing on the definition of the Latvian national background – language, history and culture, the ancient roots of which they searched for in folklore.

Fricis Brīvzemnieks, the initiator of a folklore collecting movement among Latvians in the 1870s, in his summons urged potential collectors to write down the songs and tales of their forefathers because, firstly, these “folk memories” show “who Latvians are, how they differ from other nations and what are their spiritual treasures”, and, secondly, they contain the knowledge about the old times that cannot be found in any written historical source. He warned that “these blossoms of folk spirit” were disappearing in modern times and therefore had to be gathered and printed in books to preserve them for the coming generations (Brīvzemnieks 1877). For the same reasons, i.e., viewing folksongs as a valuable source of Latvian cultural and social history, Barons announced that the result of the extensive folksong gathering – *Latvju dainas* – must be as complete an edition as possible and as close to Latvian folk life as possible. In his introduction to the edition he criticizes the previous selected folksong publications for being biased and idealistic and brings forward the ethnographic principle of the selection and classification of folksong texts:

The nation has described itself and its spiritual life in a much broader, more liberal and more open manner in its countless songs. A complete compilation must follow this example and should not cast aside as needless or unworthy that which it has preserved for us in its songs as belonging to a full human life. We desire as complete edition as presently is possible.

When arranging the songs in special chapters, the compiler must also carefully consider their true content and meaning, time, place and occasion when and where they actually were sung. The more naturally the classification of the songs corresponds to folk life, the easier and better the compiler will succeed in arranging the songs into chapters (Barons 1894: XI–XII).

.....
 6 Having obtained his education as a physicist and mathematician at the University of Tartu, Barons actively participated in the educational project of the New Latvians. He has written more than 150 popular science articles in various disciplines (Arājs 1985b: 7), including articles on Darwinism, world history and the Indo-European origin of the Latvian language (Barons 1928). His concern about the correct presentation of Latvian folksong language in *Latvju dainas* was expressed in his letters to the publisher which discuss the orthography and folksong dialects (Arājs 1985a: 209–218).

Barons' ethnographic approach was based on the information provided by singers and collectors about the singing contexts of folksongs, descriptions of which can also be found in the edition. Barons' classification is functionally thematic, namely, most of the folksongs are arranged according to their contexts of performance, but those not linked to the certain customs – thematically. To show the ancient origin of Latvian culture and its ethical and aesthetic foundations, from the thousands of folksongs obtained, he set aside the 'deliberately forged' texts and texts of a more recent origin. The naughty songs were selected out of the seasonal, wedding etc. song cycles and compiled in a separate (last) volume of *Latvju dainas*, available only on personal demand (LD I: VII, LD VI; Vīksna 2016: 14).

In the initial plan of *Latvju dainas* there was no separate chapter on the social structure of society (Arājs 1985a: 179). However, in the course of grouping songs and developing a unifying plot line for the whole edition – from the topics of family to work life and relations in a broader society beyond the peasant's household – Barons created the chapter *Broader Social Situation and Social Classes*. The structure of the chapter is thematic, based on the characters of the folksongs. The chapter has five subchapters (see Annex No. 1). Except the subchapter on the relations of neighbours, the rest of them deal with social classes. In the first and third subchapter Barons has compiled songs about the classes in Latvian society.

Farmer, Household, Farmhands

In his article *Latvian Social Condition* historian and folklore researcher Arveds Švābe has the following comment on this subchapter:

Since the composers and performers of folksongs belonged to the mentioned social classes, we can, of course, have an impression about the material and social condition, as well as mentality of these people from thousands of other songs beyond this particular group (Švābe 1956: 249).

Indeed, the subchapter created by Barons about the relationship between farmers and farmhands is small (316 texts), in comparison to the total number of songs in *Latvju dainas*, where the farmers and farmhands are mentioned⁷. Besides, next to the texts highlighting social differentiation, the subchapter also includes humorous teasing songs referring to farmers in seasonal celebrations. Therefore, the motif of

7
A farmer's wife has been mentioned in 507 songs, a farmer – in 438 songs, a farmhand (male) – in 766 songs, a farmhand (female) – in 234 songs (Arājs, Bondars, Kokina 1994: 229–230, 567–569). Most of the songs are about the relationship between young men and women, as well as marriage and wedding songs.

farmhand exploitation is not the prevalent one here. The songs are more dedicated to hardworking or lazy farmhands, generous or stingy farmers.

<i>Kas man vainas nedzīvot</i>	I cannot complain about life
<i>Pie bagāta saiminieka?</i>	In a rich farmer's household:
<i>Balta putra, tīra maize,</i>	White porridge, clean bread,
<i>Rīgā pirkti kamzoliši. LD 31092</i>	Clothes bought in Riga. ⁸
<i>Es bū' laba saiminiece,</i>	I'd be a good housewife
<i>Kad man tāda saime būtu,</i>	If I had a household
<i>Kas neēstu, kas nedzertu,</i>	Who did not eat, who did not drink,
<i>Kas miedzīņu negulētu. LD 31058</i>	Who did not sleep.

Although the relationship between the farmers and farmhands revealed in the songs of the chapter, as well as statements about the farmhands' wealth can be related to wishful thinking in the traditional poetics of the folksongs, one can also try to find historical information in the texts. Namely, the historical context of these songs could be the time period before the introduction of the heaviest form of serfdom in the territory of Latvia in the late phase of feudalism in the mid-18th century. Still in the early 18th century German landlords were interested in the development of farmers' households in Vidzeme (Northeastern part of Latvia) after the devastation of the Great Northern War and plague, to cash in bigger taxes. Farmers recovered and became materially stable; in the biggest households farmhand families lived and worked together with the farmer's family members (Liepiņa 1983: 57–91). The wealth of a farmer's household depended on the quality of work and thus also on the relationship between the farmers and farmhands. Folksongs tell that a farmhand could ask for a bigger salary by threatening to quit (LD 31115) or he could become a farmer himself through hard work or successful marriage (LD 31128). Besides, the economic status of the farmer and farmhand is not always juxtaposed in the songs – sometimes a farmhand is wealthier than a farmer, because he could save up, whereas the farmer had to pay duties to the landlord (Švābe 1956: 252).

<i>Ai, māmiņ, ai, māmiņ,</i>	Oh, mother, oh, mother,
<i>Man saimīte nedzīvoja.</i>	Servants won't stay with me.
<i>– Dod, meitiņ, mīļus vārdus,</i>	– Give them kind words, daughter,
<i>Vāri agri azaidīņu. LD 31041</i>	Cook early meals.

.....
8 Folksongs from Latvian are translated by *Lauma Lapa, Anna Reinholde, Liene Kalniņa, Laine Kristberga* and *Baiba Krogzeme-Mosgorda*.

Daža laba saimeniece	Many a farmer's wife
Saujā slauka asariņas;	Wipes her tears with her hand;
Daža laba kalpa sieva	Many a farmhand's wife
<i>Saujā naudu žvadināja.</i> LD 31048 ⁹	Jingles money in her hand.

It can be questioned what was the reason that urged Barons to create this small subchapter, if quite extensive information on the topic is available in other chapters of *Latvju dainas*, where the social inequality between a farmer and a farmhand is clearly expressed¹⁰. It seems that the reason was not merely practical, namely, that the songs would not fit in other chapters (e.g. seasonal celebration songs, included in this subchapter, have an individual chapter in volume 5). Rather, it could be assumed, that by creating two special chapters about social classes in Latvian society – farmers and farmhands, the noblemen (boyars) and the poor – Barons strived to strengthen the idea of the national past, showing that Latvians historically have existed as one society with its own social structure. In his attempts to (re)construct Latvian history, Barons represents the realistic trend of the national movement¹¹. Like the other New Latvians, he was inspired by the ideas of Enlightenment in the writings of Garlieb Helwig Merkel (1769–1850) about the free and happy past of Latvians, which was brutally destroyed by German invaders¹² (Hanovs 2004: 13 et al.). Nevertheless, his interpretation of Latvian history was based on scholarly data, as is obvious from his geography book on the Baltic provinces (1859) and his commented bibliographical index of publications on the indigenous population of these provinces (1868), where he also deals with the questions of origin, history and current social situation of Latvians¹³ (Egle 1962: 61–63).

.....

9 Barons has placed a similar song in the chapter on marriage:

<i>Ej, māsiņa, pie kalpiņa,</i>	Take, sister, a farmhand,
<i>Ja kalpiņš gadījās:</i>	If you come across a farmhand.
<i>Kalpa vīra līgaviņa</i>	The wife of a farmhand
<i>Cimdā naudu žvadināja,</i>	Jingles money in her glove.
<i>Saimeneka līgaviņa</i>	The wife of a farmer
<i>Kungam deva raudādama.</i> LD 11769	Gives money to the landlord through tears.

- 10 For example, in the marriage songs it is important to climb the social ladder by marrying someone from the farmer's family, yet the boundaries of social classes cannot be crossed easily, because "who would give honey to a raven, who – a mistress' daughter to a farmhand?" (LD 15144).
- 11 The other trend represented by Juris Alunāns created the romantic version of Latvian history and mythology (Apals 2011: 100; Zelče 2018: 322–323).
- 12 Barons has an unfinished translation of Merkel's work *The Chief Imanta* (K. Barona biedrība 1928: 109–130).
- 13 Barons Krišjānis *Mūsu tēvzemes aprakstīšana un daži pielikumi īsumā saņemti* (1859) and *Указатель сочинении о коренных жителях Прибалтийского края* (1868).

From this perspective, the creation of particular chapters on Latvian social classes in *Latvju dainas* can be interpreted as Barons' determined attempt to seek and present Latvian social history retained in poetic texts of folksongs.

Boyar and the Poor Man

Around 700 folksongs are published in *Latvju dainas*, where a boyar – a representative of the wealthy Latvian social class – is mentioned¹⁴ (Rozenbergs 1960: 208–212). Less than half of them Barons has placed in the chapter *Boyar and the Poor Man*. The idea of the chapter is based on the general opposition 'the rich and the poor' because the information about the Latvian upper classes in folksongs is rather vague, and the concept of a boyar (*bajārs*) is a good example of that. Folksong researchers are of the opinion that both the word and the concept were borrowed from Russian¹⁵ before the invasion of German crusaders in the territory of Latvian tribes in the 13th century and, as in Russian, refer to a representative of the upper class, a rich landowner (Švābe 1956: 254; Rozenbergs 1960: 239). Due to the lack of sources, different opinions exist regarding the historical prototype of the folksong boyar¹⁶, yet it is clear that in the course of the development of oral tradition, features of several wealthy classes of prefeudal and feudal societies have been merged in this character – starting from the most ancient *labieši* (good, wealthy people)¹⁷ up to the liegemen subjected to the service to landlords¹⁸ and

.....
14 See also the chapter *The Boyar's Beautiful Daughters* in Viķe-Freiberga's recent book *The Singer of Songs* (2019: 43–79).

15 Boyars (*бояре*) – the second highest social rank in Russia below the duke in the 10th–17th century. Initially the members of the duke's military congregation, since the 11th century also landowners. From the 12th–15th century the political power of boyars increased, but in the early 18th century the title of boyar was annulled (Usacev 2007: 397–398).

16 Rozenbergs and Šmits have concluded that the boyars portrayed in folksongs were the Latvian nobility in the early feudalism. Starting with the 14th century, they merged with the liegemen – vassals of German landlords (Šmits 1928: 637; Rozenbergs 1960: 240–243). Švābe considered that the concept of the folksong boyar contains the features of the ancient Latvian *labietis* (good man), a German liegeman and a wealthy Latvian farmer (Švābe 1927–1928: 1551).

17 According to Švābe, the term of a boyar in folksongs has replaced the older notion of *labietis* who in the historical documents of the 13th century was named as *meliores vires* or *die besten lūte* (Švābe 1927–1928: 1551). In his opinion, *labieši* were Latvian nobility, who after the battles with German crusaders were slaughtered, deported, and germanised (Švābe 1956: 255).

18 Liegemen (*Lehnmann* in German) were the vassals of German landlords in the territory of Latvia. Contrary to German vassals, Latvian vassals got smaller properties in rent that they managed themselves together with their household and farmhands. Liegemen were free people, who did not pay any duties and in times of peace were engaged in civil service, whereas in times of war served in the local cavalry (Misāns 2019: 116). During the 17th and 18th centuries the duties of liegemen towards landlords changed, however, some families managed to keep their inherited privileges up to the 19th century (Dzenis 2014, 2019).

ending with the free peasants – farmers, who had paid their way out of the forced labour at the estate¹⁹.

<i>Kungi manus bāleniņus</i>	Landlords called my brothers
<i>Sauca lielus bajāriņus.</i>	Big boyars;
<i>Vai zemīti piedevāt,</i>	Did you give them land,
<i>Vai tiesiņu atlaidāt? LD 31326</i>	Did you relieve duties?

Therefore, in the chapter *Boyar and the Poor Man* Barons has placed songs not only about boyars, but also about *good, magnificent, prominent people, wearers of silver* and simply *the rich*. The songs tell about their economic superiority and high social status. The first is manifested in their prosperous life (good horses, rich households with silver gates and barns full of grain, a lot of money, gorgeous clothes), the latter – in the scorning attitude towards the poor members of society.

<i>Sivēns sili neizēda,</i>	The pig does not empty the trough
<i>Ka tas kāju neiecēla;</i>	Without stepping into it.
<i>Bajārs kannu neizdzēra,</i>	The boyar doesn't drink up his mug
<i>Ka nabagu neapsmēja. LD 31249</i>	Without scoffing at the poor.

Although in a couple of songs, the boyars have been compared to German landlords, in the majority of texts their ethnic belonging to Latvians can be clearly seen – like Latvian peasants, they own a household, they marry not only the rich farmers' daughters, but also the servant girls, and sometimes they are not richer than peasants (Švābe 1956: 253).

<i>Mūs' kaimiņis bajāriņis,</i>	Our neighbour is a boyar,
<i>Sirmi zirgi, zaļi deķi;</i>	White horses, green covers,
<i>Tas varēja mūs' kungam</i>	He could go with our landlord
<i>Līdzī braukt Vāczemē. LD 31229</i>	To the German land.

<i>Kalnā kāpu skatīties,</i>	I climbed a hill
<i>Kā bajāra meitu ved:</i>	To watch boyar daughter's wedding:
<i>Tādas pat villanītes,</i>	She had the same shawls
<i>Kā bij' man, nabagam. LD 31210</i>	As me, the poor girl.

.....
 19 The free peasants, who had paid their way out of forced labour and worked on their own land, existed up to the mid-18th century, when they became serfs (Liepiņa 1983: 82).

The motif of the latter song could be related to the historical time period from the 16th to the 18th century, when through gradual reinforcement of serfdom all Latvian social groups were merged into one class of serfs (Švābe 1956: 252; Liepiņa 1983: 11; Ķikuts 2019: 95).

When examining the historical information that can be found in the entire material of texts included in *Latvju dainas* regarding the social structure of Latvian society, folksong researchers have come up with the opinion that already in the 12th century Latvians had two social ranks – *good people*, namely, wealthy people and, contrary to them, *bad people* with a low economic and social status (Švābe 1956: 255), and in the medieval period, similarly to elsewhere in Europe, Latvians were divided in three main classes – the privileged people, free peasants and unfree servants (Šmits 1928: 631). The historical sources provide evidence that in the 13th century in the tribal society of Latvians, feudal hierarchy with a privileged upper class – the elders of the land and village – had started to form. The foundation of society was free peasants, whereas the lower class consisted of slaves (Misāns 2019: 113).

Barons' particular attention to the folksongs about social classes in Latvian society corresponded to the attempts of the National Awakening to view Latvians as a nation, not only a class of peasants, as it was declared by the German elite still in the middle of the 19th century (Zelče 2018: 315). The rightless condition of Latvians in their own land was the reason that urged Barons to join the national movement during his studies at Tartu University (1856–1860):

What awakened my national awareness so that I began to take a deeper interest in my people? <...> Our Germans as descendants of the ancient invaders of our land played a role of masters both in the rural areas and cities and referred to the three provinces next to the Baltic Sea as “Die deutschen Ostseeprovinzen Russlands”. A Latvian nation as such did not even exist, there were only peasants or the lowest, non-German social class serving to the German landlords (Bauern, Undeutsche). <...> I wanted that Latvian people would stand equal next to German and other nations (Baron 1924: 50, 55).

In the ideology of a national movement, inspired by the Enlightenment writings on the abuse of Latvians under serfdom, German landlords were blamed for the economic and political rightlessness of Latvians. As a consequence, the lasting concept of ‘700 hundred years of slavery’ was introduced in Latvian national discourse²⁰. The idea of Latvian independence in the past, which was brought forward by the New Latvians, provided the basis for the claim for independent

20 “The existence of serfdom is the central axis in the ‘700 years of slavery’ perspective in discussion of the history of Latvia, which has undoubtedly shaped Latvian self-awareness since the beginning of the national movement” (Ķikuts 2019: 95).

development also in the future and thus deepened the contradictions between the Baltic Germans and the Latvians (Apals 2011: 108).

Barons' critical attitude towards the authority of the German elite in Latvian territory can also be traced in two subchapters of the chapter *Broader Social Situation and Social Classes* which are dedicated to the relations between Latvian peasants and German landlords.

The Master, Life on the Estate, Servants and Peasants

Folklore researcher Dace Bula states that the publication of *Latoju dainas* "was a task of national importance – to show the educated world that even living in the shadow of Tsarist Russia and under the thumb of the Baltic German landowners, the Latvians are an independent people with a unique and ancient culture" (Bula 2012: 6).

Latvian peasant life 'under the thumb' of German landowners is surprisingly realistically described in folksongs, which Barons has placed in the subchapters about peasants' work conditions under the rule of landlords and their emotional attitude towards their masters. These songs have been analysed in detail by Maruta Lietiņa Ray. She suggests viewing them as a significant historical source where the Latvian peasants' personal experience of life under the rule of German colonizers is retained:

The *dainas*²¹ were the only outlet that the slaves and serfs had for expressing their feelings in a system that allowed them no recourse and presented no possibility for changing their situation. The *dainas* were composed in a language the master did not understand, a circumstance that helped keep the *dainas* inviolate. The *dainas* truly became the "vehicles of memory" for the shared experiences of peasant society. The fact that they were remembered <...> until they were written down in the late 19th century shows how important they were to Latvians' understanding of themselves and their history (Lietiņa Ray 2003: 19).

Lietiņa Ray gives vivid examples of folksong texts²² reflecting both the ways of Latvian peasant oppression – corporal punishment, selling slaves and disruption of family units, exploitation of women and children, control of peasants' property, long hours of work, harsh living conditions, etc. – and their resistance against the violence of German landlords – challenging the legitimacy of their presence, ethnic superiority, magic and flight, thoughts of revenge, humour and ridicule (ibid.: 4–17).

.....
21 Since the publication of *Latoju dainas* the word *daina* (from Lithuanian *dainà* – 'song') is a synonym for Latvian folksong.

22 Her examples are quoted from *Latviešu tautasdziesmas* (Copenhagen, 1952–1956) – the supplemented edition of *Latoju dainas* where Barons' layout is retained. I give the corresponding examples from *Latoju dainas*.

*Aiz ko sīka, aiz ko maza,
Aiz ko liela neizaugu?
Dienu kunga tīrumā,
Nakti rijas kūlējiņa.* LD 31642-2

Why am I tiny, why am I small,
Why didn't I grow tall?
By day I work in my master's fields,
By night I work in his threshing barn.

*Vai tu zini, bāleliņi,
Kāda mana dzīvošana?
Vilks nokoda kumeliņu,
Kungs paņēma līgaviņu.* LD 31368

Do you know, brother,
What kind of life I live?
A wolf bit my horse to death,
The master took my bride away.

*Melna čūska miltus mala
Vidū jūras uz akmeņa.
Tos būs ēst tiem kungiem,
Kas bez saules strādīnāja.* LD 31348

A black snake is grinding flour
In the middle of the sea on a stone.
It will be food for those masters
Who make peasants work after sunset.

*Kundziņam tik prātiņa
Kā mazam bērniņam:
Vakarā zirņus sēja,
Rītā pākšu raudzījās.* LD 31311

The master has as much sense
As a little child:
In the evening he sows peas,
The next morning he looks for pods.

However, folksongs in this chapter also tell about the adjusting survival strategies of the oppressed peasants, as bribing an overseer or even a master to ease life conditions (LD 31597, LD 31345) or getting a higher, more protected position – servant at the estate (LD 31434) or overseer of peasants' work (LD 31459, LD 31364) or being related to them (LD 31476, LD 31558). The singers also have described the contradictory status of overseers, who were hated by peasants and punished by masters.

*Stārastiem svaiņi gāja,
Stārastiem bāleņiņi,
Mēs, māsiņas, nezinām,
Kādi kunga tīrumiņi.* LD 31496

Taskmasters are our brothers-in-law
Taskmasters are our brothers,
We, sisters, do not know,
How our master's fields look like.

*Kur liksim, neliksim
Šo bargo stārastiņu?
Noveduši piesiesim
Pie lielā skudru pūļa.* LD 31471

Wherever shall we put
This severe taskmaster?
Lead him along, tie him down
On the big anthill.

One could be appointed as an overseer against one's will. This is what happened with Barons' father, who was psychologically and physically destroyed by this work

(Baron 1924: 14–15). However, personal observation of the life on the estate in his childhood later helped Barons to identify and classify the folksongs about different kinds of landlord's servants, showing these people as a multi-layered social group between landlords and peasants.

Mutual Relations Between Latvians and Germans

Most of the folksongs, cited by Lietiņa Ray about Latvian peasants' resistance to landlords, are from the subchapter *Mutual Relations Between Latvians and Germans*. However, this subchapter not only deals with the historical conflict between Latvian peasants and German masters, both class-based and national, but also contains allusions to the National Awakening represented by its compiler. Namely, the leading motif of the folksongs gathered in the subchapter is the self-confidence of a Latvian peasant that echoes the historical reality in Latvia in the late 19th century – the increase of economic independence of peasants, modernisation of society and active manifestation of national ideas, which were suppressed by the German administration and landowners. In Barons' folksong selection, the German landlords are marked as outsiders to Latvian ways of life, that is – unskilled farmers, as opposed to Latvian peasants, the users and not producers, and, finally, the colonizers of the Latvian land (see also Lietiņa Ray 2003: 12). Several folksongs include the critique of Germanisation which was one of the 'hot' topics in the discourse of the National Awakening.

<i>Trīs vācieši sasabāra</i>	Three Germans quarrelled
<i>Pie maizītes gabaliņa.</i>	For a piece of bread.
<i>Kā tiem bija nebārties,</i>	Why wouldn't they quarrel,
<i>Neviens arti nemācēja.</i> LD 31887	If nobody knew how to plough.

<i>Kārklū vīze sarājās</i>	Peasant's bast shoe
<i>Ar vācieša tupelīti:</i>	Quarrelled with a German's slipper:
<i>Ko tā vīze sagādāja,</i>	What the bast shoe has produced,
<i>To tupele patērēja.</i> LD 31875	The slipper wasted.

<i>Kur, vācieti, tava zeme,</i>	Where, German, is your land,
<i>Kur tie tavi kumeliņi?</i>	Where are your horses?
<i>Kam tu nāci šai zemē</i>	Why did you come to my land
<i>Manus grūtus sviedrus ēst?</i> LD 31876	To use my sweat?

<i>Labāk ēdu koka saknes</i>	Better I will eat the tree roots
<i>Tautu dēla kaktiņā</i>	In the poor house of a Latvian man
<i>Nekā ietu pie vācieša</i>	Than marry a German
<i>Baltu maizi kribināt.</i> LD 31877	To get white bread.

Almost half of the folksongs included in the subchapter (also the cited LD 31876, LD 31877, LD 31887) have only one variation and some deviation from the traditional form, which could be explained with their more recent origin. Taking into account Barons' cautious attitude towards the "newer" songs and the fact that the folksongs selected for this subchapter would also perfectly fit in the previous one, it is tempting to conclude that the creation of the subchapter *Mutual Relations Between Latvians and Germans* is based more on ideological than scholarly considerations.

Thus, although the songs about class relations occupy a rather small chapter in *Latoju dainas*, they carry valuable information about the social history of Latvians and the ideological context of its presentation in the first complete Latvian folksong edition.

CHAPTER SOCIAL OPPOSITES IN THE ACADEMIC EDITION LATVIEŠU TAUTASDZIESMAS²³

In the 1950s, Latvian folklorists at the Institute of Ethnography and Folklore started work on a new complete academic edition of folksongs. Their objective was the same as for Barons' creating *Latoju dainas* 70 years ago – to return to the Latvian people their national cultural heritage, this time – almost a million folksong texts, which were gathered in the Archives of Latvian Folklore (LFK)²⁴. However, since 1945 Latvia was occupied by the Soviet Union, and the ideological background for folksong publication had changed radically. In Soviet Latvia folklore was expected to represent not the national, but the Soviet, that is, working class identity (Niedre 1948: 5)²⁵. According to Marxist ideology, elaborated by Soviet administration, folklore reflected the history of working people at different stages of their historical

.....
23 The concept of the academic folksong edition was developed and texts compiled in the 1950s–1960s. Volumes 1–5.2 were published under Soviet occupation (1979–1984) and included work songs and social songs. Volumes 6–11 with songs on the peasants' circle of life were published in the independent Republic of Latvia (1993–2018). Currently at the Institute of Literature, Folklore and Art the last two volumes of the edition are being prepared.

24 LFK was founded in 1924 and during the independence period of Latvia (1918–1940) was the leading centre of folklore collection and research. During Soviet occupation (1945–1990) LFK became a part of the Institute of Ethnography and Folklore but since 1955 – of the Institute of Language and Literature of the Academy of Sciences.

25 About the development of folkloristics and ethnography under the Soviet rule see Jääts 2019; Kencis 2019 et al.

fight against oppression, and thus should be used as an efficient ideological tool for educating Soviet citizens. The publications of folklore texts arranged according to their historical grounding in certain “social economic formations” (feudalism, capitalism, and socialism) were required (Krogzeme-Mosgorda 2019).

However, the requirement for classification of Latvian folksongs according to their historical origin was successfully bypassed by the compilers of the academic folksong edition. That is vividly described in the memoirs of Elza Kokare, the leader of the Folklore Department (1953–1985):

In the 1950s in the Soviet Union a new approach came about, which was based on maintaining the historical principle both in folklore research and publishing. The fact that the historical principle was not acceptable as a basis for the classification of Latvian folksongs became apparent very early on. Just as the fact that Latvian folksongs are best grouped in chapters by their theme and function, as was done by Krišjānis Barons. However, social factors turned out to have the upper hand. The main one being the negative attitude of Soviet authorities toward folk customs rooted in mythology. But Barons’ system of classification was based specifically on customs. Additionally, we were instructed that the academic edition must be better than *Latvju dainas*. To keep Barons’ system of classification would mean not publishing the folksongs at all. Salvation was found in work songs. And it was very scientific – work songs in Soviet folklore studies were recognized as being the most ancient. Therefore, by beginning the academic edition with work songs, we would be observing the historical principle to some extent, and this would save us from starting off with songs about class relations (LFK [1878]).

Nevertheless, *Latvju dainas* were used as a background for the academic edition because a better pattern for classification of Latvian folksongs did not exist. To satisfy the expectations of the science administration, the sequence of main thematic song cycles was changed, as were the principles of text selection inside some chapters of which social songs are a good example²⁶.

The chapter about class relations titled *Social Opposites* was published in 1983 and occupied the whole 5.1 volume of the academic folksong edition. The concept of the chapter is based on the interpretation of social songs from the perspective of class struggle²⁷, emphasising the opposition both between the poor and wealthy classes in

26 In the introduction to the academic edition it is stated: “In the classification of folksongs, the principle of national history and social psychology has been observed. Work songs are prioritized as the most ancient ones; they are followed by the songs about social relations and the songs dedicated to the human life cycle. Such a classification most directly reveals the social essence and meaning of the songs” (LTdz 1: XVI).

27 “Concept of class (and social class) received little attention until Marx made it central to his theory of social conflict and to the role that classes play in social movements and social change” (Vitt 2007: 534).

Latvian society and between the working people and landlords at the German estate. The chapter has a three-level plan (see Annex No. 2) to structure the vast folksong material – around 30 000 texts, which almost five times exceeds the number of social songs published in the corresponding chapter of *Latvju dainas*. This drastic increase was achieved partly due to the new method of text selection. Namely, in order to increase the number and variety of social songs, they were selected from different thematic cycles (about family relations, courtship, married life, work, seasonal celebrations etc.), picking up the texts, where social classes were mentioned.

However, the main source of the rich material of social songs in the academic edition was the extensive folklore collecting organized by the Archives of Latvian Folklore in both the interwar and the Soviet periods. Most of the social songs were gathered in 1920s–1930s during folklore collecting campaigns in schools all around Latvia²⁸. Not so extensive but valuable material was obtained in yearly fieldwork expeditions during 1950s–1960s under the Soviet directive to collect ‘socially significant’ folklore, as it is referred to also in folksong researcher Jānis Rozenbergs’ (1927–2006) fieldwork diary from 1952 (LFK [1895], 4349). For example, in 1953, in Mārkalne (Northeastern Latvia) he gathered 37 songs about farmers, farmhands, peasants and landlords from Alma Markus, born in 1891. In his comments to the collection he wrote: “In the singer’s repertoire there is a great number of romantic songs. I asked, whether she knew any folksongs about work, life on the estate, about the farmers and farmhands. She answered that in her youth she knew many of those but now had forgotten them.” Next time, when Rozenbergs arrived, the singer announced: “It seems that you have to collect the songs of oppressed people, those, where the masters and rich people are ridiculed. Last time you asked for them, and some came to my mind” (LFK [1900], 2806–2874).

During his fieldwork Rozenbergs has also carried out a detailed survey for his candidate dissertation²⁹ about the meaning of the word *boyar* in folksongs. This survey became a part of the chapter *Songs About Social Groups in Latvian Society* he wrote for the *Handbook for the Folklore Collector* (Sokols, Greble, Kokare 1958: 45–46), which was used by folklore collectors through all the Soviet period. As a result, in the Folklore Archives’ expeditions alone, 148 folksongs about boyars were obtained as a supplement to the subchapter *Boyar* in the academic folksong edition (LTdz 1983: 62–116). Among them there were variations of boyar songs published in *Latvju dainas*, as well as newly recorded texts about the boyar’s sons, daughters and servants. Clearly, without a special effort these songs would not have come forward, as they do not belong to the popular folksong repertoire.

28 Folksongs from schoolchildren were gathered in written form. The texts were obtained both from the informants (mostly children’s relatives) and from written sources, including textbooks etc.

29 Rozenbergs’ candidate dissertation *Humour and Satire in Latvian Folksongs About Boyars and Feudal Landlords* was defended in 1960.

Rozenbergs was also among the creators of the concept of the academic folksong edition³⁰, and during his active professional life³¹ he compiled chapters for 6 volumes. His contribution to the volume of social songs is two subchapters for the chapter *Landlords and Peasants*, which are theoretically based on his candidate dissertation. In the subchapter *Under the Slavery of the Master*, songs are grouped in sections with a purpose to describe the historical conditions of peasants' life under serfdom. Due to the rich text material it is done in detail³², complementing the oppression scene with songs about peasants drinking in inns and going to church as a part of their moral enslavement. The grouping of songs in the other subchapter *Hatred and Struggle Against the Masters* is based on the layout of Rozenbergs' dissertation and reveals the manifestations of peasants' protest against oppression – from open fight to superior wisdom and ridicule. His interpretation of social songs is historical but also ideologically coloured which can be seen, first, from his titles of folksong sections, which have retained the Soviet vocabulary of his thesis (*working people, flunkeys, hatred, fight*). Second, viewing an inn and, particularly, a church as a means of peasants' oppression was also due to Soviet ideology³³. Finally, Rozenbergs' interpretation of the meaning of folksongs in the context of particular sections can be questioned – is it a reference to peasants' physical protest (rebellion) or metaphorically expressed wishful thinking (LTdz 20309), is it ironical or real praise of good masters (LTdz 20805), is peasants' wisdom used only for protest, or also for cooperation with a master (LTdz 20349)?

Rozenbergs' dissertation and his work on collection, selection and interpretation of social songs for the academic edition tells about the work of a talented scholar under the ideological pressure of the Soviet regime in the aspects of both adaptation and fulfilment of personal scholarly interests. His subchapters of social songs show both the observation of the required class-oriented principle of folksong publication (i.e., folksongs as an alternative source for a Marxist reading of Latvian history) and his personal practical solutions for the interpretation of folksong texts³⁴.

.....
30 The concept of the academic edition *Latviešu tautasdziesmas* was elaborated by Elza Kokare, Kārlis Arājs, Jānis Rozenbergs and Alma Ancelāne.

31 Rozenbergs is one of the most prominent scholars in Latvian folklore research. He has written around 100 articles on folksongs, folk singers and history of Latvian folkloristics, gathered thousands of folklore units and promoted the activities of folk singers all around Latvia.

32 For example, separate sections are devoted to sexual abuse of peasant girls by masters, to peasants' duties, their punishment, etc.

33 It is revealed by the facts that 1) the inn songs included in the subchapter constitute a minimal selection of the ones stored at the LFK, and 2) only one third of the selected folksongs about church contains critical attitude towards this institution.

34 About the impact of personalities in elaboration of the academic folksong edition see Melne 2011.

The chapter *Social Opposites* in the academic edition of Latvian folksongs was elaborated by five authors³⁵, who, following the suggestions of the editorial board, introduced a new methodology in the presentation of social songs. The outcome was not quite optimal. On the one hand, the compilation of folksong texts from different thematic cycles provided the possibility to present a not too homogenous, but broad and dynamic picture of Latvian social history, as described in folksongs. On the other hand, this way many songs were taken out of their traditional context of performance and thus changed or lost their original meaning.

Although structurally similar, the chapters on social songs in *Latoju dainas* and *Latviešu tautasdziesmas* present two ideologically different (re)constructions of Latvian history. The chapter in *Latoju dainas* serves the national purpose, offering a concept of a common Latvian history as a precondition for the development of a Latvian nation, while the chapter in *Latviešu tautasdziesmas* with its artificially extended material of social songs presents the pre-Soviet history of the Latvian peasant class in its fight against the oppressors – Latvian and German nobility. The only meeting point of these two interpretations is the critical attitude of both compilers towards the German landlords as implementers of serfdom, which provided for the New Latvians an ambivalent but officially recognized and permanent place in the books of history of Soviet Latvia³⁶ (Bleiere 2009).

CONCLUSIONS

Although the motif of social classes permeates nearly all thematic cycles of Latvian folksongs, only in a comparatively small group of songs – the so-called social songs – relations between social classes are the key subject. The chapters on social songs in the two largest editions of Latvian folksongs – *Latoju dainas* (1910) compiled by Krišjānis Barons and the academic edition *Latviešu tautasdziesmas* (1983) compiled by the researchers of the Archives of Latvian Folklore – present two different interpretations of folksong texts, inspired by the ideology of a historical era when they were created.

The first complete Latvian folksong edition *Latoju dainas* was a substantial part of the nationwide education project implemented by the movement of the National Awakening at the end of the 19th century. The compiler of the edition Barons, an active participant of this movement, used the opportunity to integrate in his layout

.....
 35 The other authors of the chapter *Social Opposites* are Mirdza Berzinska, Helēna Erdmane, Maija Ligere and Mirdza Banga.

36 After an intensive debate in the 1950s–1960s, the established official Soviet view on New Latvians was that they represent the national bourgeois movement which was progressive in the context of the 1850s–1870s (Bleiere 2009: 140–147).

of the chapter *Broader Social Situation and Social Classes* the idea of Latvians as a nation (not just a peasant class) with a common history and culture. His selection of folksongs in the subchapter *The Relationship Between Latvians and Germans* demonstrates the attempts of the compiler to draw parallels between history and the present. The selected folksong texts not only tell about the historical conflict between Latvian peasants and German landlords, but also contain allusions to the actual political situation in the Latvian provinces of the Russian Empire with the growing self-confidence of Latvians and marking German nobility as ‘outsiders’ to Latvian ways of life. The chapter also contains the information on scholarly views and biography of Krišjānis Barons.

The academic edition *Latoiešu tautasdziesmas* was intended as a continuation of *Latvju dainas*, where the entire folksong material gathered in the Archives of Latvian Folklore is compiled. However, the Soviet occupation brought ideological corrections to the concept of the edition, forcing the compilers to partially refrain from the pattern of *Latvju dainas*. The structure of the chapter *Social Opposites* is based on the interpretation of folksongs from the perspective of class struggle, emphasising the opposition both between the poor and wealthy classes in Latvian society and between the working people and landlords at the German estate. Besides, the method of selecting social songs from all the possible song cycles in the folklore archive has not justified itself. It has increased their number and variety but has also deprived many folksongs of their original performance contexts. The contribution of Jānis Rozenbergs to collecting, classifying, and interpreting social songs manifests the role of a scholar’s personality in the creation of the academic folksong edition.

Annex No. 1

LATVJU DAINAS, Vol. 4 (1910)

Chapter *Broader Social Situation and Social Classes*

1. Farmer, household and farmhands
2. Neighbor
3. Boyar and the poor man
4. The master, life on the estate, servants and peasants
 1. Master and peasants
 2. *Kungu vārdi* (magic spells against the master’s anger)
 3. Estate, location of the estate
 4. Servants on the estate: domestic servants, housemaids etc.
 5. Overseer and workers
 6. Overseer and workers in the threshing barn

7. Various general workers' songs
8. Other work on the estate
5. Mutual relations between Latvians and Germans

Annex No. 2

LATVIEŠU TAUTASDZIESMAS, Vol. 5.1 (1983)

Chapter *Social Opposites*

1. Social opposites in Latvian society
 1. The poor man
 2. The rich man
 3. *Labietis* (good, wealthy man)
 4. Liegeman
 5. Boyar
 6. Farmer, household, farmhands
 - Farmer and his wife
 - Farmhands
 - *Bandinieki* (farmhands who received a piece of land as salary)
2. Landlords and peasants
 1. Under the slavery of the master
 - Estate – hell, torturing place of serfs
 - Master – the slave driver of working people
 - Heavy slavery, poverty and misery of serfs
 - Sexual abuse by the master
 - Duties to the master
 - Corvee
 - Punishment of peasants
 - The inn. The church
 2. Hatred and struggle against the masters
 - With power and force against masters
 - With wit and wisdom against the masters. Magic spells.
 - With optimism and self-confidence against masters
 - Curses and revenge against masters
 - With hatred and ridicule against masters
 3. The servants on the estate and people's attitude towards them
 - Overseer. Under the whip of the overseer.
 - Work in the master's threshing barn
 - Manager of the estate. Scribe.
 - Housemaids and servants on the estate
 4. The transportation of the master's goods to the city

SOURCES

- LD – *Latvju dainas*, I s., sastādījis Barons Krišjānis, Jelgava: Draviņ-Dravnieks, II–VI s., Pēterburga: Keizariiskā Zinību Akadēmija, 1894–1915.
- LFK – Archives of Latvian Folklore; LFK [1895] – collection of the 6th folklore fieldwork expedition; LFK [1878] – collection of Elza Kokare; LFK [1900] – collection of the 7th folklore fieldwork expedition.
- LTdz – *Latviešu tautasdziesmas*, 1–5.2 s., sast. autoru kolektīvs, Rīga: Zinātne, 1979–1985.

REFERENCES

- Apals Gints 2011. *Pēterburgas Avīzes: Latviešu pirmā saskare ar Eiropas politiskajām idejām*, Rīga: Zvaigzne ABC.
- Arājs Kārlis 1985a. *Krišjānis Barons un “Latvju dainas”*, Rīga: Zinātne.
- Arājs Kārlis (sast.) 1985b. *Krišjānis Barons*, Rīga: Zinātne.
- Arājs Kārlis, Bondars Harijs, Kokina Silvija (sast.) 1994. *Krišjāņa Barona “Latvju dainu” substantīvu rādītājs*, Rīga: Latviešu folkloras krātuve.
- Baron Līna (sast.) 1924. *Krišjāņa Barona atmiņas: Ar dažiem pielikumiem*, Rīga: Valters un Rapa.
- Barons Krišjānis 1859. *Mūsu tēvzemes aprakstīšana un daži pielikumi īsumā saņemti*, Jelgava: Reners.
- Barons Krišjānis 1868. “Указатель сочинений о коренных жителях Прибалтийского края”, in: *Записки Императорского Русского географического общества по отделению Этнографии*, т. 2, СПб, pp. 1–93.
- Barons Krišjānis 1894. “Ievads”, in: *Latvju dainas*, I s., Jelgava: Draviņ-Dravnieks, pp. III–XXVI.
- Biezais Haralds 1998. *Seno latviešu debesu dievu ģimene*, Rīga: Minerva.
- Bleiere Daina 2009. “Vēsturnieki un 1958. gada diskusija par jaunlatviešiem”, *Latvijas Vēstures Institūta Žurnāls*, Nr. 4, pp. 139–154.
- Brīvēznieks [Fricis] 1877. “Zinātnības un tautas draugiem”, *Latviešu Avīzes*, Nr. 38, pp. 301–302.
- Bula Dace 2000. *Dziedātājtauta: Folkloras un nacionālā ideoloģija*, Rīga: Zinātne.
- Bula Dace 2008. “Latvian Folksongs: Collected, Published and Studied”, in: *Singing the Nations: Herder’s Legacy*, edited by Dace Bula, Sigrid Rieuwerts, Trier: WVT Wissenschaftlicher Verlag, pp. 7–30.
- Bula Dace 2012. “Foreword”, in: Krišjānis Barons. *Latvian Folksongs: Interlinear Translation*, edited by Dace Bula, Sanita Reinsone, Rīga: LU Literatūras, folkloras un mākslas institūts, pp. 6–25.
- Dzenis Agris 2014. *Kuršu ķoniņi un citi lēņavīri Rietumlatvijā: Septiņsimt gadus ilga brīvības saglabāšanas pieredze*, Rīga: Domas spēks.
- Dzenis Agris 2019. *Leimaņi, brīonieki, brīvēznieki Igaunijā, Latgalē un Vidzemē 13.–20. gs.*, Rīga: Domas spēks.
- Egle Kārlis 1962. “Krišjāņa Barona bibliogrāfiskais darbs”, in: *Krišjāņa Barona piemiņai*, (sēr. *Raksti*), XV s., Rīga: Latvijas PSR Zinātņu akadēmija, Valodas un literatūras institūts, pp. 61–64.
- Hanovs Deniss 2004. “Garlieb Helvig Merkel: The National Movement in Latvia in the Nineteenth Century – National Heroes and Rituals”, *Kultūras Krustpunkti: Latvijas Kultūras akadēmijas zinātnisko rakstu krājums*, 1. laidziens, pp. 9–29.
- Jāāts Indrek 2019. “Sciences of the Nation under Soviet Rule: Ethnography and Folkloristics in the Baltic Republics”, *Journal of Ethnology and Folkloristics*, Vol. 13, No. 2, pp. i–iv.
- Jurjānu Andrejs (sast.) 1894–1926. *Latvju tautas mūzikas materiāli*: Rīgas Latviešu biedrības Mūzikas komisijas rakstu krājums, I–VI s., Rīga: A. Grothuss.
- Krišjāņa Barona biedrība (sast.) 1928. *Krišjāņa Barona raksti*, I s., Rīga: Valters un Rapa, pp. 109–412.

- Krogzeme-Mosgorda Baiba 2019. "Tautasdziesmas un padomju valsts: 1953. gada diskusija par latviešu tautasdziesmu publicēšanas principiem", *Letonica*, Nr. 39: *Folklorā: Tradīcijas un valsts*, pp. 21–40.
- Ķencis Toms 2019. *Vācot padomju folkloru*, Rīga: Latvijas Universitātes Literatūras, folkloras un mākslas institūts.
- Ķikuts Toms 2019. "Latvija Krievijas impērijas sastāvā: tradīcijas pārvērtības 18.–19. gadsimtā", in: *Varas Latvijā. No Kurzemes hercogistes līdz neatkarīgai valstij: Esejas*, Rīga: Latvijas Universitātes Akadēmiskais apgāds.
- Laime Sandis, Ozoliņš Gatis 2014. "Vēsturiski etnogrāfiskie pētījumi", in: *Latviešu folkloristika starpkaru periodā*, Rīga: Zinātne, pp. 238–264.
- Liepiņa Dzidra 1983. *Vidzemes zemnieki un muiža 18. gs. pirmajā pusē*, Rīga: Zinātne.
- Lietiņa Ray Maruta 2003. "Recovering the Voice of the Oppressed: Master, Slave, and Serf in the Baltic Provinces", *Journal of Baltic Studies*, Vol. 34, No. 1, pp. 1–21.
- Melne Elga 2011. "Personību loma tautasdziesmu akadēmiskā izdevuma tapšanā", *Letonica*, Nr. 21, pp. 109–120.
- Misāns Ilgvars 2019. "Rietumu modelis un iezemieši. Lībieši un topošie latvieši viduslaiku Livonijā", in: *Viduslaiku Livonija un tās vēsturiskais mantojums*, sastādījuši Levāns Andris, Misāns Ilgvars, Strenga Gustavs, Rīga: Latvijas Nacionālā bibliotēka, pp. 106–128.
- Niedre Jānis 1948. *Latviešu folklorā*, Rīga: Latvijas PSR Zinātņu akadēmijas Folkloras institūts, Latvijas Valsts izdevniecība.
- Rozenbergs Jānis 1960. *Humors un satīra latviešu klasiskajās tautas dziesmās par bajāriem un feodāļiem kungiem*: Disertācija filoloģijas zinātņu kandidāta grāda ieguvei, Rīga: Latvijas PSR Zinātņu akadēmija.
- Sokols Ēvalds, Greble Vilma, Kokare Elza (red.) 1958. *Folkloras vācēja rokasgrāmata*, Rīga: Latvijas PSR Zinātņu akadēmijas izdevniecība.
- Šmits Pēteris 1928. "Ļaužu šķiras jeb kārtas", in: *Latvju tautas dainas*, 2. s., sastādījis Klaustiņš Roberts, rediģējis Endzelīns Jānis, Rīga: Literatūra, pp. 631–638.
- Šmits Pēteris 1932. "Dažādi laikmeti tautas dziesmās", in: *Latvieši*, sēj. 2, Rīga: Valters un Rapa, pp. 7–14.
- Švābe Arveds 1956. "Latviešu sociālais stāvoklis", in: *Latviešu tautas dziesmas*, sēj. X, rediģējuši Švābe Arveds, Straubergs Kārlis, Hauzenberga-Šturma Edīte, Kopenhāgena: Imanta, pp. 249–255.
- Vīksna Māra 2015. "Krišjāņa Barona Dainu skapis, tā papildīšana un likteņgaitas", in: *No Dainu skapja līdz "Latvju Dainām"*, Rīga: Latvijas Universitātes Literatūras, folkloras un mākslas institūts, pp. 13–26.
- Vīksna Māra 2016. "Ko bez tautasdziesmām glabā dainu skapis", *Letonica*, Nr. 33: *Dainu skapis*, pp. 9–18.
- Vīķe-Freiberga Vaira 2016. *Trejādas saules: Mitoloģiskā saule*, Rīga: Pētergailis.
- Vīķe-Freiberga Vaira 2019. *The Singer of Songs: On Cognitive Schemas and Sequential Structuring in Longer Latvian Folk Songs*, Rīga: Zinātne.
- Vītoļiņš Jēkabs (sast.) 1958–1986. *Latviešu tautas mūzika*, I–V s., Rīga: LPSR ZA Valodas un literatūras institūts, Zinātne.
- Vitt Lois A. 2007. "Class", in: *The Blackwell Encyclopedia of Sociology*, Vol. 2, edited by Ritzer George, USA: Blackwell Publishing Ltd.
- Usacev A. S. 2007. "Boyare", in: *Новая Российская энциклопедия*, т. 3, Москва: Энциклопедия, pp. 397–398.
- Zelče Vita 2018. "Jaunlatvieši", in: *Latvija un latvieši: akadēmiskie raksti*, 2. s., Rīga: Latvijas Zinātņu akadēmija, pp. 309–336.

Dainos apie socialines klases ir jų pateikimas dviejuose stambiausiuose latvių dainų rinkiniuose

BAIBA KROGZEME-MOSGORDA

S a n t r a u k a

Raktažodžiai: latvių dainos apie socialines klases, *Latvju dainas*, akademinis leidinys *Latviešu tautasdziesmas*, Krišjānis Barons, Jānis Rozenbergs.

Straipsnio dėmesio centre – latvių liaudies dainos apie socialines klases, arba vadinamosios socialinės dainos. Norima palyginti socialinių dainų skyrius dviejuose stambiausiuose latvių liaudies dainų rinkiniuose – rinkinyje *Latvju dainas* (1910), sudarytame Krišjānio Baruono, ir akademiniam leidinyje *Latviešu tautasdziesmas* (1983), kurį parengė Latvių folkloro archyvo tyrėjai, – siekiant nustatyti, kaip liaudies dainų tekstų atranka ir klasifikavimas atskleidžia tiek istoriniu laikotarpiu, kai buvo rengiamos publikacijos, vyravusią ideologiją, tiek asmenines sudarytojų pažiūras.

Pirmoje straipsnio dalyje aptariamas socialinių dainų pateikimas pirmajame išsamiam latvių liaudies dainų rinkinyje *Latvju dainas*. Dėmesys telkiamas ir į atitinkamo skyriaus sandarą, ir į jame skelbiamų liaudies dainų turinį. Kadangi šio leidinio sudarytojas buvo aktyvus Latvijos tautinio atgimimo XIX a. pabaigoje veikėjas, galima įžvelgti jo pastangas susieti šio judėjimo ideologiją su socialinių dainų klasifikacija. Tokiu būdu skyriuje „Platesnė visuomeninė padėtis ir socialinės klasės“ reiškiami latvių kaip tautos (o ne vien valstiečių luomo), turinčios bendrą istoriją, idėja. O dainų, sudarančių poskyrį „Latvių ir vokiečių santykiai“, atranka ne tik atskleidžia istorinį latvių valstiečių ir vokiečių žemvaldžių konfliktą, bet ir pateikia sąsają su politine Latvijos padėtimi XIX a. pabaigoje ir atspindi stiprėjančią latvių tautinę savimonę. Socialinių dainų, skelbiamų rinkinyje *Latvju dainas*, turinys nagrinėjamas atsižvelgiant į istorinę perspektyvą ir aptariant tiek istorinį skirtingų Latvijos visuomenės sluoksnių gyvenimą, tiek liaudies dainų vaizduojamą baudžiamą vokiečių dvaruose. Šioje straipsnio dalyje taip pat pateikiama žinių apie rinkinio sudarytojo K. Baruono mokslines pažiūras ir jo gyvenimo kelią.

Antra teksto dalis skiriama socialinių dainų publikavimui leidinyje *Latviešu tautasdziesmas* aptarti, pirmiausia kreipiant dėmesį į jų rinkimą sovietmečio folkloro ekspedicijose, o paskui – į garsaus latvių dainų tyrėjo Janio Rozenbergo įtaką šių dainų atrankai ir interpretacijai leidinyje. Iš pradžių *Latviešu tautasdziesmas* buvo sumanytas kaip rinkinio *Latvju dainas* tęsinys, kuriame turėjo būti sutelkta visa Latvių folkloro archyvo surinkta dainų medžiaga. Tačiau Sovietų okupacija ideologiškai pakoregavo šį sumanymą ir privertė jo rengėjus iš dalies atsisakyti rinkinyje *Latvju dainas* taikyto modelio. Skyriaus „Socialinė priešprieša“ struktūrą imta grįsti liaudies dainų interpretacija iš klasių kovos ideologinės perspektyvos, išryškinant tiek turtingųjų ir vargšų priešpriešą latvių visuomenėje, tiek žemdirbių ir dvarininkų konfliktą vokiečių dvaruose. Negana to, dainų atrankos principai, atsižvelgiant vien į socialinių klasių paminėjimą jų tekstuose ir išplėšiant dainas iš skirtingų teminių ciklų, visiškai nepasiteisino. Sudarytojams siekiant kiek galima labiau padidinti socialinių dainų skaičių bei jų įvairovę, daugelis dainų buvo atskirta ir nuo originalaus jų gyvavimo konteksto. J. Rozenbergo indėlis į šio rinkinio sudarymą, socialinių dainų atranką ir interpretavimą akademiniam leidinyje nemažai pasako apie talentingo mokslininko darbą ideologinės Sovietų režimo priespaudos sąlygomis – tiek prisitaikymo, tiek asmeninių mokslinių interesų tenkinimo požiūriu.

The article has been prepared under the auspices of the projects No. lzp-2018/2-0268 “Latvian Folkloristics (1945–1985)” and “Krišjānis Barons’ Cabinet of Folksongs” (Ministry of Education and Science of Latvia, No. 05.04.00).