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MUSIC AS A TOOL OF THE POLITICS OF MEMORY

ABSTRACT

The politics of memory is a sociotechnical operation of altering collective memory through the redefinition or removal of issues relating to history and to the image of social components, existing within it, or through the consolidation of such issues as its new, vital parts. This type of politics involves the promotion of those sets of information and interpretations of facts which suit the vision of the state shared by the nation and the ruling elite. The goal of the politics of memory is the integration of the society around the values commonly considered supreme in a given country. The additional goal is the strengthening of the legitimization of power and a subsequent gain of as much acceptance of the existing political order as possible. The tools used in the politics of memory can be categorized into three groups: aural, verbal and visual tools. Sounds and words (written, spoken and sung) constitute symbols which are commonly used in the politics of memory. Symbols, as well as myths, serve as the basis for rituals which, in the politics of memory, serve as key tools aimed at shaping the collective emotions. As a result of sociotechnical operations, symbols become both signifiers of identification and markers of integrity of the social structure. Rituals integrate and mobilize the community, but also serve as means of demonstrating the ruling elite's power and the enforced social and political order. Music has been emphasized as particularly influential on the general mood of different societies, as this particular tool of the politics of memory has a strong emotional impact on its recipients. In addition, music is highly abstract, which allows it to signify (symbolize) any given content. The natural qualities and influence of music, as well as the variety of its styles and genres, combined with the knowledge and experience of the ruling elite, makes it a highly effective tool of the politics of memory.

Keywords: politics of memory, sociotechnics, tools, music, symbols, rituals, affecting collective emotions

DURING THE LAST twenty-five years a surge of interest in collective memory has become noticeable, especially concerning national and regional memory. At the same time, a number of nation-states have undertaken a series of actions in order to create a consistent image of the shared past in conformity with the interests of the ruling elite and a sense of attachment to such image. The growth in importance of historical policy in contemporary states is reflected in more and more frequent demands for the conservation of national heritage, through opening new museums and increasing the number of registered monuments, as well as by a tendency towards glorification of a particular historical periods. The unification of Europe and the growing globalization necessitate highlighting cultural differences of particular nations and societies, and thus, creating opportunities for such. On the other hand, however, the abovementioned processes also create a need for establishing means of manifesting nationalist views which would be acceptable from the point of view of national interest. Among a number of relatively safe means of the expression of systematically and purposefully stimulated patriotic feelings are sports events and national commemorations, as well as some special occasions, such as formal meetings with eminent people who bear significance to social aggregates, such as high-ranking officials. Additionally, the burial ceremonies of said people are another occasion for manifesting patriotism and national status.

The effectiveness of historical policy can be measured by the resulting sense of collective unity, by attachment to tradition, which could be followed by direct action in its defense, and by the level of legitimization of authority of the governing party, since politics of memory is often employed as a tool to secure their position. The question of effectiveness of the politics of memory needs to cover multiple tools that can be used for its promotion. If we were to describe policy of memory as a process of instilling collective beliefs about the necessity of adhering to a particular system of values and of stimulating particular behavior required by the social order, then state and national symbols, including myths, should be viewed as tools of the politics of memory. They order and direct thinking of the collective components referring to the already shaped hierarchy of values. They simplify the perception of reality and aim at collective emotions, thanks to this assuming an attitude towards this reality proceeds relatively quickly, spontaneously and not much critically. Symbols and myths – to a large degree just because they are state-

ments greatly saturated with emotions and are received as such in mass – are basic measure of the influence of memory. They play a key part in rituals, which belong to activities that gather collective entities around the contents and values which are essential to them. Thus, we can see the politics of memory as the action aiming at enhancing of symbols and myths existing in collective consciousness and relating to selected historical facts and distinguished tradition or inserting new symbols and myths into it. These symbols and myths usually suggest cultural and historic significance of states and nations living within their borders. The functionality of music in the politics of memory is related to the functionality of symbols and myths, especially when they occur within the framework of ritual activities, on which the politics of memory rests. Functions of symbols, myths and music (as a symbol and as a message merely accompanying other symbols), especially in ritual activities, and also beyond them, are convergent in the most essential aspects of the politics of memory. The approval – thanks to the symbols and myths – of the importance of particular historic facts and traditions takes place in emotional atmosphere, which promises persistence of this recognition, and consequently – the persistence of desirable views and attitudes. The debasement of the symbols and myths which, according to the programme, are to be obliterated from memory is realized through exerting influence on the effective sphere of collectivism. Destroying emotional bonds with the myths and symbols is the most certain way to change opinions and attitudes. The rituals – during which the desirable attitude towards the political order established by current political authorities is shaped and reinforced – can be qualified as activities geared towards steering collective emotions. Music intensifies the influence of symbols and myths referring to the selected historical facts, selected traditions, current authorities and state ideology both in the framework of rituals and out of them.

The tools employed by the politics of memory can be categorized according to the types of senses they engage; thus, we can distinguish verbal, visual and aural tools. Word as a tool of politics of memory can be spoken or written, in the form of history textbooks, historical books, and published commentaries of historians on the topics connected with history. In texts dealing with history, the type of narration plays an important role. The historical narrative is a tool of politics of memory by its own, since it is always marked with the beliefs of a historian, and thus has a persuasive function. Among visual tools one can find examples of architecture, including funeral architecture, statues, commemorative plaques, historical-themed paintings and their copies, posters, postcards, stamps commemorating glorious historical events, coins with likenesses of historically sig-

nificant individuals, medals, decorations, and awards for service for the state and the nation. Also films can be placed in that category. Aural devices in the politics of memory include patriotic watchwords chanted collectively, as well as state or national anthems (as there are nations without their own states, which nevertheless have their own anthems, e.g. the anthems of Roms, Cathalonians or Jews until 1948), patriotic songs, including religious songs widely accepted as patriotic, and all other pieces combining music and text in order to evoke a feeling of collective unity based on remembrance of its chosen historical events. Such pieces differ in terms of kinds and style, as they range from rock to hip-hop, from opera to musical. The aural tool, which is the focal point of this article, is music. The aforementioned categorization of devices employed by the politics of memory helps mainly to raise the awareness of the multitude and diversity of tools at its disposal. In reality, verbal, visual and aural tools never appear alone; it is only for analytical purposes that they can be examined in isolation. Each of them is chosen more or less accurately with a given situation and a given collective in mind. Additionally, the politics of memory can be employed with a varying degree of skill. Experience, skill and intuition in utilizing tools of the politics of memory are very important in terms of its goals and effectiveness. The intensification of the politics of memory in a particular country can result in social fatigue, and, in consequence, in a decrease in the society's susceptibility to persuasive and manipulative devices.

The aim of this article is to show music as a specific means of communication and to point to its characteristic traits, which – when used in a correct manner – can make music one of the most efficient tools of the politics of memory. Considering the politics of memory as a sociotechnical operation and identifying its main goals enable us to indicate those aspects of music which can be useful for their fulfilment. The aim of the music of memory is to evoke a feeling of unity among collectives of different kinds and to mobilize them to action for a given cause by means of constructing a unifying vision of the past and of the future. Such vision is inevitably sentimental and task-based. This article focuses on the kind of the politics of memory which is employed for strengthening the power of the ruling elites by highlighting the usefulness of music in the process of legitimization of power; bearing in mind, however, that the politics of memory can also be used in an attempt to consolidate marginalized groups, which want to employ it in order to survive and secure the right of self-determination. Rituals are typical material for the politics of memory, and they in turn are based on symbols, which are usually mythologized. The article describes, among other issues, the mythogenic

aspects of music as well as its symbolic and heavily effective character, which can be successfully employed in the ritualized operations of the politics of memory.

The politics of memory is an action undertaken in order to shape thinking, attitudes and collective behaviour resulting from them. It aims at the consolidation, redefinition or removal of issues relating to history and the image of social components existing in collective memory. It aims at the integration of community around the values considered supreme, strengthening the legitimization of power and obtaining as much acceptance of the existing political order as possible. The politics of memory falls within the framework of political sociotechnics. It can be considered in the context of political marketing. In the Polish and English literature on the subject, it is much more often found under the name of historical policy,¹ although the term 'politics of memory' is used as well.² In the French literature, there is a term 'politique de mémoire,' which indicates deliberate lack or/and revision of what the society remembers as their own or their ancestors' experience. Among Polish researchers of this phenomenon, Sławomir Kaprański³ and sociologist Ireneusz Krzemiński⁴ justify their terminological preference with the intention to avoid association of the politics in question with the politics of people's

¹ See e.g. E. Wolfrum, *Geschichts politik und deutsche Frage. Der 17 Juni im nationalen Gedächtnis der Bundesrepublik (1953–89)*, "Geschichte und Gesellschaft" 1998, no. 24, p. 382; U. Baumgärtner (ed.), *Geschichte zwischen Kunst und Politik*, München 2002; J. le Goff, *Historia i pamięć*, Warszawa 2007; E. Domańska, *Historie niekonwencjonalne*, Poznań 2006; J. Topolski, *Świat bez historii*, Poznań 1998; M. Cichocki, *Władza i pamięć. O politycznej funkcji historii*, Kraków 2005; A. Wolf-Powęska, *Polskie spory o historię i pamięć, polityka historyczna*, "Przegląd Zachodni" 2007, no. 1, pp. 3–44; M. Kula, *Nośniki pamięci historycznej*, Warszawa 2002; A. Werner, *Pamięć i władza: komu służy polityka historyczna?*, "Przegląd Polityczny" 2006, no. 26, pp. 51–55.

² R. Hilderberg, *The Politics of Memory. The Journey of Holocaust*, Chicago 1996; L. Nasrallah, *In Review: Required Reading The Politics of Memory*, "Harvard divinity Bulletin" 2005, vol 33; J. Kramer, *Politics of Memory, Looking for Germany in The new Germany*, New York 1994; S. Hale, *Culture and the Politics Memory*, [in:] *Identity: Community, culture, difference*, J. Rutherford (ed.), London 1990; J. Rappaport, *The Politics Memory. Native historical interpretation in the Colombian Andes*, New York 1990; I. Amadiume, A. An-Na'Im (ed.), *The Politics of Memory. Truth, Healing and Social Justice*, New York 2000; B.A. B de Brito, E.C. Gonzalez, P. Aquilar (eds.), *Politics of Memory and Democratization*, Oxford 2001; L.M. Nijakowski, *Polska polityka pamięci. Esej socjologiczny*, Warszawa 2008; A. Cyganok, *Dewalwacja nagrad. Rossijskaja politika pamjati*, "Uroki Historii. XX wiek" 16.07.2010, <http://www.polit.ru/author/2010/07/08/ordena.html>, DOA 19.03.2011; G. Bordjugow, *Istoriczeskaja politika i politika pamjati w FR, ZSRR i i SNG, Airo XXI* 2010.

³ S. Kaprański, *Pamięć, przestrzeń, tożsamość*, Warszawa 2010.

⁴ See I. Krzemiński, *Wstęp* [in:] L.M. Nijakowski, *Polska polityka pamięci. Esej socjologiczny*, Warszawa 2008.

government. Robert Traba⁵ is led by a similar purpose and opts for the term ‘politics towards memory’ or – which he finds more appropriate – ‘politics towards history’. It is doubtful whether this association was so powerful and discreditable on the ground of Polish science (and even less so on the ground of global science) that it would require a rejection of the term that is very well established in reference books and has a universal value (Geschichtspolitik, the politics of memory). On the other hand, striving for the objectification of defining of actions by the Polish researchers seems to be justified and the term politics of memory – more precise.

The politics of memory is conducted by all states since the beginnings of their origin. It is connected with the reflection on what occupies the memory of a nation living within the borders of this country, the way this content was preserved in the memory (thus in what way it could be possibly exchanged for desirable content), to what degree this content affects thinking and collective behavior. Theoreticians of collective memory or – as e.g. Barbara Szacka,⁶ define the content of memory very generally as reminiscences of past events, or they try to put this content into the framework of various kind of lieux de memoire (according to Pierre Nora’s qualification⁷) occupied by historical, often mythologized characters, institutions, works of art and elements of landscape considered to be essential in the sphere of history and particular tradition. The distinction of various types of issues in collective memory shows the scale and heterogeneity of the phenomenon that it constitutes. As a matter of fact, it preserves not only facts from the past and ideas about people who created various historical events, but also everything that belongs to the wide context of the past. Pierre Nora pointed out that the variety of content stored on people’s minds focuses exclusively on its objectivized material and rational elements. Lech Nijakowski added that collective memory includes subjective and irrational ideas resulting from the experience of what is objective and material. They are feelings, emotions and atmosphere accompanying remembrance of particular facts. The recognition of the existence of an effective aspect of collective memory is not revealing, but it is essential for the present consideration, as well as Nijakowski’s statement saying that not only objective issues make up the cognitive aspect of memory but also those objectivized and irrational. Actually, the memory of facts exists inseparably from the opinions on them. In collective

⁵ See R. Traba, *Przeszłość w teraźniejszości. Polskie spory o historię na początku XXI wieku*, Poznań 2009.

⁶ See: B. Szacka, *Czas przeszły, pamięć, mit*, Warszawa 2006.

⁷ See: P. Nora, *Les Linux de memoire*, vol. 1–7, Paris 1984–1992.

memory, they are usually simplified and stereotypical. Some historical facts are considered to be heroic and glorious, the other ones are remembered as unnecessary and wrong. Some characters function as heroes in collective memory, the others – as traitors and enemies. This is the way resentments are born and they have both effective and cognitive value. Deducing the third – behavioural aspect of collective memory, Nijakowski builds the bridge between what is remembered, and what is already entirely objective (although not always rational) a common deed, action. In fact, what is preserved in collective memory – together with a stock of effects relating to it – appropriately justifies the actions of collective entities. Motivation, which Nijakowski places in the scope of collective memory, is *de facto* the beginning of any action, but only the beginning. Action, in the rituals Nijakowski mentions, is the result of what you remember, but is it correct to put action in the area of memory? It seems to be a logical slip to distinguish behavioral aspect of collective memory close to its cognitive and effective aspects. However, it is important that in this way the creativity of collective memory was emphasized, it was stressed that collective memory is a driving force of various activities. We can assume that the heart of collective memory is to a large degree its effective layer – which, however, in Nijakowski's theory was separated from the cognitive layer – in practice, overlaps it. Anyway, Nijakowski finally states that the storage of facts always exists together with a set of effects connected with these facts. Since the content of collective memory is not much objective, irrational or effective to the highest degree and as such causes adequate actions, the politics of memory can be defined as directing the collective emotional attitude to selective, which are important in the context of assumptions and objectives of the steering system, historical facts and various traditions. Seeing the politics of memory as the systematic and intentional interference in the effective state of the society raises a number of questions: what affects collective emotions effectively? How is it possible to induce effects desirable from the point of view of political assumptions? What situations and actions favour it? Which of the numerous tools used by the politics of memory is the most efficient in evoking and strengthening emotions? For the sake of this article, we will assume that music, among all of the commonly employed devices in the politics of memory, is a tool of remarkably high emotional value, with reference to both individuals and the collective. Establishing whether music – and not any other tool known to the politics of memory – is really a device that evokes the required collective emotional attitudes in the manner which is not only the fastest, but also the most permanent one, would require comparative and quantitative research. Such study seems a task worth conducting with the assumption that

music possesses some special qualities that allow it to exert influence in both the social and political sphere, which result from its very nature and from the fact that it has not yet been recognized as a tool for influencing the masses. Both word and picture are substantially less subtle in exerting influence in comparison to music and are more likely to be associated by recipients with the propaganda materials from the early 20th century. Thus, it is assumed that in operations of exerting mass influence they are more likely to cause social resistance.

Every period has redefined music to accommodate its philosophical assumptions and the performance practice of the time. In the theory and philosophy of music – from the definitions proposed by Ptolemy and Aristotle, through the notion proposed by Eduard Hanslick, to Anton Webern's definition from the 20th century⁸ – it has always been assumed that music is a sound structure organized in time, which consists of rhythm, melody, harmony, articulation, dynamics, tempo, tone colour, form, and acoustics, to which Webern added silence and other acoustic effects. Human voice is in fact considered to be a kind of a musical instrument, which can create or accompany music, since musicology distinguishes two general forms of music, vocal and instrumental; the word, however, is ignored. Textual layer, if it accompanies music, is considered to be an added value.⁹ A composition including both musical and verbal layers is an example of a syncretic piece, of which a prime example is the opera – musical theatre. This article focuses on instrumental musical forms; other forms, such as vocal and vocal-instrumental shall be only briefly mentioned. The only reason for our interest in the latter two is the fact that seem to be more frequently used in the politics of memory, which is connected with the direction of the tastes of the general public in consumer societies. Researching the degree of influence that music exerts on the audience is connected with a number of methodological difficulties. It is a challenging task to examine the influential qualities of sound in isolation from other means of influence and from stimuli accompanying music. What is more, it is not yet certain how the influence of the lines of music on the addressee is supposed to be measured. In such circumstances, the influence of music on mental, volitional, and emotional processes, and thus, on social and political actions is most commonly reduced to the analysis of vocal-instrumental forms. Hence, researchers call their work a study

⁸ For an overview of views on music as a pure (absolute) form see e.g. E. Hanslick, *O pięknie w muzyce*, Warszawa 1903; Arystoteles, *Ustrój polityczny Aten*, [in:] *Dzieła wszystkie*, vol. 6, Warszawa 2001.

⁹ See: F. Wesołowski, *Zasady muzyki*, Kraków 1986, pp. 5–6; L. Erhardt, *Sztuka dźwięku*, Warszawa 1980; B. Pocij, *Idea, dźwięk, forma. Szkice o muzyce*, Kraków 1972.

of music,¹⁰ although what they do is, for the most part, the analysis of the verbal layer accompanying music rather than the examination of the influence of music.

On such a limited basis it is difficult to estimate whether and how the instrumental layer exerts influence. Extending the conclusions from the research on the verbal layer onto the musical layer is methodologically questionable and usually leads to oversimplification or erroneous conclusions. Therefore, the only justified manner of researching music as a causative device seems to be the study on purely musical forms, since it conforms to the traditional understanding of this phenomenon. In Poland, no one has yet shown interest in researching the ancillary nature of music in the politics of memory. In foreign literature, studies combining political science, social science and musicology are sparse, which can be possibly explained by the aforementioned methodological difficulties.¹¹

Music, as a form of communication, has a number of special properties. It is able to adopt and impart meaning that may take shape of a message or an imperative; however, its communication is less explicit than that of word or image. The semantic value of music depends on the supporting elements, which may take form of

¹⁰ See e.g. D. Weinstein, *Heavy metal. A cultural sociology*, New York 1991; H. Ogawa, *Karaoke in Japan. A sociological overview*, [in:] *Popular music – style and identity*, W. Straw, S. Johnson, R. Sullivan, P. Friedlander (eds.), Montreal 1993, pp. 225–227; S. Frith, *The sociology of rock*, London 1978; S. Frith, *Music for pleasure. Essays in the sociology of pop*, New York 1988; M. Forêt, *Sociological aspects of popular music in Czechoslovakia in the eighties*, “Popular Music and Society” 1990, no. 14, pp. 49–55; B. Lee Cooper, *Popular songs, military conflicts and public perceptions of the United States at war*, “Social Education” 1992, no. 56, pp. 160–168; M. Cloonan, *State of the nation. “Englishness”, pop and politics in the mind – 1990s.*, “Popular Music and Society” 1997, no. 21, pp. 47–70; K. Blaukopf, *Young music and industrial society. An essay on new patterns of behaviour*, “Cultures” 1973, no. 1, pp. 211–229; G.H. Lewis, *The role of music in popular social movements. A theory and case study of the island state of Hawaii, USA*, “International Review of the Aesthetics and Sociology of Music” 1985, no. 16, pp. 153–162; D. Rouner, *Rock music use as a socializing function*, “International Review of the Aesthetics and Sociology of Music” 1990, no. 14, pp. 97–107; R. Larkin, *The soul message*, [in:] *The sounds of social change. Studies in popular culture*, R.S. Denisoff, A. Peterson (eds.), Chicago 1972, pp. 92–104; R. Denselow, *When the music’s over: the story of political pop*, Boston 1989; L. Grenier, *From ‘diversity’ to ‘difference’. The case of socio-cultural studies of music*, “New Formations” 1989, no. 9, pp. 125–142; S. Frith, *World music, politics and social change. Papers from the International Association for the Study of Popular Music*, New York 1989; J. Gow, *Political themes in popular music videos. MTV’s “Top 200, ever”*, “Popular Music and Society” 1994, no. 18, pp. 77–89; J. Klein, *It Can’t Happen Here. Social and Political Commentary in the Works of Frank Zappa*, [in:] *Media a polityka*, A.M. Zarychta, Ł. Donaj, M. Kosiarz, A. Barański (eds.), Łódź 2007, pp. 557–564.

¹¹ See e.g. R. Di Yanni, *In the American Grain. Charles Ives and the Transcendentalists*, “Journal of American Culture” 1981, vol. 4, pp. 139–151.

a text, an image, a situational context of emission and reception, and a mood accompanying the emission. Music communicates in a symbolic manner. When compared to a sequence of words or images, it appears to be a highly abstract means of communication. Music also contains and transfers emotions, and has a natural capacity for creating moods. Music, which excels in creating and inspiring emotions, appears to be a proper tool for the politics of memory, which is the process of creating a collective emotional attitude towards facts and events from the past that are intended to form a basis for collective beliefs and behavior. Music is a tale of the flow of emotions. It engages the listeners by means of attuning their emotional states to the emotions conveyed in the emission. Both music and the politics of memory operate on the effective level, which seems to be the most promising ground for the combining of the two. The functionality of music in the politics of memory results from:

- a) its emotional value and the ability to create moods
- b) its capacity for communicating symbolically

Annot. a)

If we interpret the politics of memory as a process of intentional shaping and controlling emotional attitude towards what is remembered and what is to be remembered, the usefulness of music in this process should not be questionable. It is known that music evokes emotional contents and it is one of the most important factors contributing to atmosphere. Moods, in a different way than emotions, have not mobilizing value, they are only conducive to the mobilization of various types of activities. Nevertheless, moods, not in the same degree as emotions, influence attitudes towards authorities (thus, towards historical facts and traditions that are won by authorities) and affect opinions, and consequently – political behavior. Affecting people by means of music in order to evoke desirable moods and emotions resulting from the collective sense of importance of the selected stages of history or single historical facts should be preceded by proper recognition of the current state of ideas referring to the past together with the emotions they generally arouse. Obliteration of the content, often firmly established in collective memory, and placing programmatic content in the foreground of collective memory necessitates the denial of the emotions relating to the view marginalized by the emotions connected with the programmatic content. Musical material, provided that it is properly selected and used, arouses the desirable collective emotions and moods. They somehow overlap the programmatic content, which increases its suggestibility and capacity. The content included in a musical form (at

this point you should pay your attention to the emotional content) is automatically transferred to the programmatic content and built into it. The repeated and systematic character of this process changes the emotional attitude towards programmatic content effectively and according to the expectation of the steering system. The desirable collective emotions pave the way for general attitudes, views and behavior, at which the politics of memory aims at a given case. This way we can use musical, melodic – rhythmic structures with a specific emotional capacity (e.g. romantic music with its strong effect), which is held by the very musical arrangement in order to intensify and consolidate the content of the statement beyond music, endowing it with such essential elements of reception as emotions and mood.

Annot. b)

Music, to an equal degree with word and picture constitutes the material for symbols which refer to the past, supporting the politics of memory. Symbols are constructed by means of sound and visual material, they are deliberately placed in public space (so-called symbolic domain) assuring permanent controlled mnemonic practice, coding the submitted content in memory. If we recognize that symbols channel the effective attitude towards the contents they represent and convey, we can also acknowledge that this attitude is regulated by the components of which the symbols are built: word, picture and musical processes. In the course of managing collective feelings, which both in the politics of memory and any other actions meant to shape social consciousness seems to be rudimentary, emotional influence and also the influence of music as a medium creating atmosphere considerably support the emotional influence of other types of media: word and picture.

In what way does music exist as a symbol and communicate as a symbol? Music and verbal-music material performed cyclically during specific situations, which are important from the point of view of the community, adopts the significance of these situations and their ideological sense becoming their symbolic denotation. Music forms, existing as signs of specific communities, as their symbols, by means of which they identify themselves and are identified outside the community, express not only emotional, but also cognitive sense. Particular musical compositions often become symbols of certain groups and structures, as well as situations which are characteristic of these communities and help to define and demonstrate their distinctiveness and ideology – determine the political order for functioning of these communities. Thus, music not only stimulates the influence of symbols that

do not come from music and myths relating to the past. The music itself – in a particular musical form, as a particular musical composition – can become a symbol denoting the structure where the musical composition was created, the community which promoted it to the rank of a symbol, an event during which it played an important political and symbolical role – music permanently connects these communities with the content it designates. However, to work this way, a musical composition has to become a symbol first, it has to acquire its status and significance. A symbol is a symbol and it can function only when it conveys the content which is understandable at least in the environment where it came into being. It has been already mentioned that musical works sometimes become symbols due to the fact that they emerged in the situations which were important from the point of view of the community. Moreover, the more often a musical work appears in this or semantically identical situation, the more likely it is to get promoted to the rank of a symbol. In that case, the key to understand the symbolic content of the given musical composition is, *inter alia*, information about the situation in which it was played/sung. Is there anything else that could be the key? How can we interpret the message contained in music?

These questions lead us to the issue of the semantic capacity of music. Music research with respect to its semantic¹² content show that music is not a system of signification by nature, but in certain circumstances it can acquire the features of such a system. Meaning in music is derived from sound arrangements, which are not meaningful themselves, but a listener can attribute some meaning to them – music has an ability to take on and then convey the contents having qualities of a message or an imperative. Does it mean that a sound arrangement which music constitutes can be received as a commonly understandable message? Yes, but only if situational or/and verbal and also visual prompt is assigned – e.g. by way of repeated emission – to the sound arrangements. If a musical work occurs in an unusual, exceptional and important situation, and all the more it occurs repeatedly in a particular situation or semantically identical situations, its sense, pictures and characters which co-occur with it, as well as everything said in this situation or later with reference to it, becomes permanently and commonly associated with this musical piece. In other words, when music is associated with a particular situation

¹² On the topic of the semantic layer in music see e.g.: S. Langer, *Philosophy in a New Key*, Cambridge 1942; W. Coker, *Music and Meaning*, New York–London 1972; K. Gucałski, *Znaczenie muzyki, znaczenia w muzyce. Próba ogólnej teorii na tle estetyki Susanne Langer*, Kraków 1999; E. Kofin, *Semiologiczny aspekt muzyki*, Wrocław 1991; J. Faryno, *Tak muzyka znaczyć nie chce bo: „Teksty”* 1977, pp. 5–6.

or a fact together with its contexts, it adopts their meaning. In rituals, which are usually repeated, music conveys the message understood by the participants of a ritual. They perfectly associate musical processes with the verbal layer attributed to them (if it exists); with the essential – from their point of view – situation, where they occurred at least once; and the message conveyed by other symbols assisting exactly this and not other sequence of sounds. It is not necessary to sing words of a patriotic song or hymn every time to understand their message. The melody itself conveys the meaning of these works, and moreover, it represents and clearly expresses specific values and ethos. Motets, cantatas, madrigals function in this way (provided that a listener knows to which situations and facts they refer), some operas (or, more often a particular aria), revolutionary, insurgent and religious songs, which rose to the rank of patriotic songs and protest songs – all these works represent and preserve specific facts in memory. These facts have historical significance, and thus they arouse feelings and emotions connected with them, and maintain them. This is their participation in constructing historical vision, which consequently implies contemporary attitudes and choices.

Essentially, the politics of memory aims at inducing a feeling of group solidarity and mobilizing the collective to take actions in order to preserve it. Music is a perfect tool for integration and mobilization. Musical practices, particularly those which are taken up within the framework of ritual activities aimed at the preservation of the existing political order, are acts of identity and demonstration of the attachment to a particular formation and collectively professed outlook adopted by the formation. They could be considered to be a declaration – specific as far as its form is concerned – of attachment to a particular social structure, and also common simultaneous expression of views, including political views. Similarly to symbols and myths, which refer to permanent values, they join social components as one of the symptoms of tradition. Tradition (according to J. Szacki) gives evidence of power and stability of the structure in which it exists; it is its uniting force, generates sense of persistence and resistance to destructive factors, gives an individual feature, affords additional value and motivates the structure to develop. Music represents all these functions as an element of both rituals and tradition.

Particular music genres (especially mass and religious chants, some symphonies, in particular romantic ones, marches, hymns, protest songs) activate collective entities to maintain unity in an attempt to preserve the existing social and political order or to make a desirable change. Symbols, rituals and myths also encourage to adopt specific attitudes and behaviour, aiming – just as music – at collective emotions. The politics of memory is very often part of the overall action scheme of the

ruling elite, although it may as well be a reaction of a particular group, which has no autonomy or is not allowed to maintain their own tradition (or both). The politics of memory may be a vital part of the strategy of the ruling elite, as it may significantly strengthen its power. In such cases, music performs the function of the affirmation and legitimization of power. Cults growing out from political myths and rituals using characteristic symbols engaging communities during official celebrations are demonstrations of power and the practice which legitimizes the power. In such circumstances, music assists myths and symbols associated with power, representing and demonstrating the political order. Music sometimes takes the form of a myth and a symbol which glorifies the state and its power. Thus, it builds a positive attitude towards the ruling elite and the order it creates.

Music has a great potential to support the processes of coding programmatic messages in collective memory, both when it occurs as a symbol and as a symbol which conveys cognitive and emotional ideas. Even if music does not hold the rank of a symbol, it is a source of particular emotions and moods. This ability is potential because it depends on a few conditions. The more accurately music is selected from the point of view of the aim it is to fulfil, the more effective instrument of the politics of memory it is. The efficient influence of music both in the politics of memory and all other operations aimed at shaping consciousness and collective behaviour requires taking into account:

1) A type of music with reference to the listeners it is to have an effect on.

Marxists held the view that music coming from traditional sources has the greatest influence owing to the familiar melodies. At present, the selection criterion is cultural to the highest degree. In the consumer society, the politics of memory is served by the musical material which is preferred by the society. Classical music appears to be losing its influence, although all state anniversary commemorations are graced by the works of composers from the national school. In Poland and in the Polish communities abroad, there is a tradition of performing the music created by Frederic Chopin, Stanisław Moniuszko, Karol Szymanowski, Grażyna Bacewicz and Ignacy Paderewski. Among contemporary composers, it is Krzysztof Penderecki, whose works prevail as musical tributes. In the UK and the US, during the formal part of various celebrations, the compositions by Benjamin Britten are fairly often performed. Classical music is not addressed to mass audience, and thus it does not have as much influence as popular music. In all European countries, the US and even in the Russian Federation, state celebrations are accompanied by music played on electrical instruments, as most people prefer this kind of music.

Patriotic productions are noticeably smaller in number than popular music pieces, which is evident on different levels in societies in various countries; for example, in Russia, revolutionary and patriotic songs, including military marches, are still highly esteemed, while in Poland they seem to matter only for the members of the older generations. What is more, while in Russia, all state celebrations are honored with those musical genres, which evokes a lively reaction,¹³ in Poland and in Western Europe there are calls for a promotional campaign to encourage citizens to sing popular patriotic songs on festive occasions. Certainly, this is a matter for further research. In Poland, the politics of memory actively supported by Jan Ołdakowski – the Director of The Warsaw Uprising Museum, preserves martyrological myth and tries to establish anti-Germanic and anti – Soviet resentments by means of rock songs (the record *Warsaw Uprising* by Lao Che – a rock band), electronic music (Klaus Schulze and Lisa Gerrard’s concert, celebrations of the 70th anniversary of the outbreak of the World War II), less often jazz music (Tomasz Stańko, *The Suite for Heroes*, the above-mentioned anniversary). In France, there is a tradition, which dates back to several years ago, that state celebrations held on a large scale are honoured by the music performed by Jean Michel Jarre.

2) A type of music with reference to the content which it is to preserve (the attachment to national and state myths as a rule is supported by the music of native origin).

Music sustains selected national and state myths conveying the message which refers to them. It could be implemented through the addition of the verbal layer or through sound effects – dynamics, timbre, as well as emphasized rhythmic structure. A heroic myth is consolidated by works whose added content refers to national heroes and victories or whose form, instrumentation, dynamics and rhythm constitute complementary element for the message that spreads the heroic myth. The same mechanism functions when music is applied to preserve other myths, including the myth of the historical nation who has extraordinary predestination, as well as the martyrological myth – both myths bring back value (quite often through the category of uniqueness and mission) to the history of the nation

¹³ In the last twenty years, the Russian Federation patriotic compositions, which are fairly traditional in terms of genre and style, have been supplemented with the so called patriotic sung poetry performed by singer-songwriters, known as ‘bards’. Among the most famous artists are: the Lube band, Oleg Gazmanow, Igor Talkow, Irina Kramer, Aleksandr Szapiro, Aleksandr Zwincow and W. Charczиков, the winner of several editions of Russian patriotic song festival in the years between 1997 and 2000.

and the state, the culture and religion, and emphasize the martyrology of the nation/nations. The myth about a powerful state is strengthened by all music works which refer to the territorial size of the state, its importance among other states, the force of its army and state authorities. The effectiveness of music in the politics of memory, taking into consideration its ability to strengthen national and state mythologies, should be examined by comparison of sound analysis of particular music compositions, of which there is no doubt that they were or are used in the politics of memory of specific states, with the analysis of national and state myths existing in these countries. The establishment of the correlation between the selected music works and myths gives the basis for the evaluation of their mutual influence.

3) Broadcast frequency

The more often a particular type of music is played/sung on a regular basis, the more fixed and legible the music symbol is and the more effective its influence is.

The above deliberations lead us to the following conclusions:

collective memory is occupied not only by facts, but also by their accompanying emotions which channel evaluation. The emotions come from the same facts and also (remembered) situations, in which these facts were experienced or the knowledge of them was passed on. The politics of memory aimed at the creation and preservation of a particular vision of the future, from which – as it is supposed – current collective opinions on the political order and authority are to result, has not only educational and propaganda aspects, but, most importantly, is effective. The success of the particular politics of memory depends on the skilful management of collective feelings and emotions. Music could be a highly useful tool of the politics of memory with regard to its emotional features and atmosphere-creating qualities. The emotional character of music results in the ability to create the community's sense of identity, to encourage collective actions, to channel attitudes and evaluation and also to develop inclinations to behave in a particular way – which is desirable from the point of view of the politics of memory. Music selected appropriately to its purpose and the perceptive skills of the listeners to whom it is addressed, assists symbols and myths which have the key significance for the community. It acts as a symbol itself, defining the community in the context of its history. Preserving national and state myths, music creates the sense of identity of the members of the society in the context of structures to which they belong. Moreover, it strengthens the authority and political order established in these structures.