

PRINTING AND PUBLISHING OF SCHLAGER (HIT) SHEET MUSIC IN RIGA IN THE 1920s–1930s

Alberts Rokpelnis

Publishing sheet music in Riga in the 1920s–1930s was a complicated process involving the interaction of various actors – music publishers, printers, and traders that formed a network based on mutual economic interests and technical capabilities. Also, schlager publishing in interwar Riga was a brand-new branch of polygraphy. This article aims to analyse the schlager printing and publishing in Riga, emphasizing the role of key personalities. The topic discussed in the article is related to music history, but it includes various disciplines such as music printing and publishing, music sales and economics, legal issues, and biographic studies.

After the proclamation of the Republic of Latvia in 1918, the new democratic order created a new legal framework, and several new companies entered the business, including printing houses and publishing houses. Within the period, the music publishing industry was growing. At the beginning of the period only a few sporadic attempts to publish foreign schlager editions can be identified. Activity reached its peak at the turn of the 1930s (1928–1931) when at least 17 names of schlager publishers in Riga were active. Whereas in the 1930s, the first local popular dance music composers started publishing regularly in Riga. Starting from 1934, the pressure of censorship increased rapidly in culture as well in the music business because of the authoritarian rule of Kārlis Ulmanis (1934–1940). As a result, the number of publishers decreased in the mid-1930s. Until 1940, only *Harmonija* remained. The period of the 1920s–1930s can be considered a relatively closed period in the political, cultural, and economic history of Latvia because in the summer of 1940, the Republic of Latvia was occupied by Soviet forces, and the authorities put an end to private business activities in Latvia.

Keywords: music industry, popular music, 1920s-1930s, Riga, music publishing, schlager

Music publishing and distribution is an essential topic in popular music studies, sometimes overshadowed by the music research itself and its producers and performers. In previous studies, the personalities of popular music publishers in Riga have been considered somewhat marginal. This raises the question of whether and how it can be explored. As a product of the music industry, schlager editions were released primarily for sale. Secondly, in some cases, it may be because at that time key figures in the field were representatives of German and other minorities whose activities in Riga were

interrupted and ended by the Second World War. Many emigrated and their companies' documentation may have been destroyed. Consequently, their activity has disappeared from Latvian cultural memory as not actual. In the eyes of the elite, it was always just a piece of cheap music printed on cheap paper.

Nowadays, hoping that any ideological or aesthetic prejudice that limits research has been overcome, the last obstacle would be only a question of historical sources available. Therefore, the names of the publishers whose names are printed on the covers of the editions, mentioned in the bibliography, and kept in the library catalogues have survived and help further investigation.

Publishing sheet music in Riga in the 1920s–1930s was a complicated process involving the interaction of various actors. The topic discussed in the article is related to music history, but it includes various disciplines such as music printing and publishing, music sales and economics, legal issues, and biographic studies. This article aims to analyse schlager printing and publishing in Riga, emphasizing the role of key personalities.

In this article, the German term *Schlager* is defined as a genre label in the music industry. It was attributed to the stylistics of popular dance songs such as one-step, two-step, shimmy, tango, or foxtrot), composed in early jazz rhythms and characterised by its melodicism. Its lyrical content focused on contemporary social themes, often in a sentimental, as well as cheerful manner (Gronow, Saunio, and Moseley 1998, 40; Kornberger 2018, 28, 86). Composed for operettas, motion pictures or as popular dance hits, schlager music was broadcasted, published in sheet music, and distributed on records. The most popular *schlager edition* in the 1920s and 1930s context was a popular piano-vocal scores, printed in bifolio format.¹

After the First World War, sales of sheet music declined on a global scale, but until the Second World War, alongside the growth in consumption of recordings, film and radio broadcasts, sheet music publishing maintained a significant market share in the music industry (Garofalo 1999, 319; Boorman, Selfridge-Field, and Krummel 2001, 370; Tawa 2014). After the proclamation of the Republic of Latvia in 1918, the new democratic order created a new legal framework, and several new companies entered the business, including printing houses and publishing houses. Starting from 1934, the pressure of censorship increased rapidly in culture as well in the music business because of the authoritarian rule of Kārlis Ulmanis (1934–1940). But in the summer of 1940, the Republic of Latvia was occupied by Soviet forces, and the authorities put an end to private business activities in Latvia. Therefore, the period of the 1920s–1930s can be considered a relatively closed period in the political, cultural and economic history of Latvia.

1 One sheet of paper folded in half to create two folios (pages) or four pages.

Research sources and challenges

In the 1920s–1930s, the statistics of printing companies or press commentaries did not always make a clear distinction between them, so the term *publisher* was sometimes generically applied also to the printer. Only in a few cases in Riga, the publisher was also the printer, and this will be discussed in more detail. Published and unpublished statistical data provide an overall picture of the sector. For example, the industrial statistics published by the Latvian State Statistical Office cover the total volume of all products (books, booklets etc.) of the printing industry, without distinguishing printed music. In the first general trade census of Latvia (1935), the musical instruments trade was listed in one group with sheet music, music publishers, sales, and repairs of musical instruments, including gramophones, radios and other sound reproducing equipment (Salnais and Jurēvics 1938, 11).

The documentation of private printing companies has survived only in fragments. The documents of the Press and Societies Department at the Ministry of the Interior are available in the Latvian State History Archive of the National Archives of Latvia (LNA LVVA 3724). They contain submissions, statements and other fragmentary information about the operation, issued operating permits or liquidation of companies in the printing industry. Contextual evidence can therefore only be found in press publications (advertisements). The lack of detailed documentation of private printing companies does not allow a full picture of the operating conditions of many companies. According to the Press and Societies Division at the Ministry of the Interior in the 1920s–1930s, there was no specific term for *schlager publishing house*.

Therefore, the interwar schlager editions that have survived to the present day have been used as an important historical source that helps to identify printers and publishers who issued schlager editions and, in many cases, indicate publication dates. Schlager sheet music was printed in single editions or compiled in albums, printed or lithographed. Publications in arrangements for one voice with piano accompaniment were the most common (piano-vocal scores). This article draws its conclusions by analysing 1288 foreign and 238 local authors' schlager editions published in Riga. They are stored in the National Library of Latvia and the Academic Library of the University of Latvia. It should also be noted that most of the foreign schlager editions published in Riga lack several elements characteristic of professional editions, such as the edition identification number, which should normally be located in the middle of the lower part of each page. Guided by the schlager editions, I have identified the names of at least 25 local publishing houses in Riga in the 1920s–1930s that dealt with the foreign and local schlager repertoire. The number of publishing houses was probably higher because sheet music was also published in provincial towns.

In some cases, any identification of the publisher or the printer as such is missing in printed music. In other cases, only the publisher's rights as an author are indicated on foreign schlager editions. It was particularly difficult to trace copyright if a foreign tune was purposely adapted for a Latvian audience without any indication of origin

or composer's name.² In response to current trends of the time, the schlager songs were usually published simultaneously by several publishing houses. For example, the popular slow foxtrot *Blutrote Rosen* (Dark-red Roses), composed by Hans Hünemeyer (1898–1987) in 1929, after its release was immediately published by four local Riga publishers (*Edition Herold*³, *Accord*, *Edition Pärle* and also *Rekord*). This resulted in a quantitative increase in the number of schlager sheet music editions but not in variety.

Sheet publishing in the context of popular music and the music trade

When studying sheet music publishing in the interwar period, one should be aware that the music market was created by the interaction between the dealer, the publisher and printing works. It is important to distinguish between the two concepts of publishing and printing. In the inter-war period, a publishing house (the publisher) was defined as a company that published authors' works based on a publishing contract. For the most part, the publisher (the client) and the printer (the contractor) were two different companies. The publisher, as an entrepreneur, took care of the publication and in many cases distributed books, periodicals, or other printed works. Each publishing house had a trademark, which was placed on the title page or a special page in the publication (Auziņš 1942, 19–20). Most often publications bore the name of the printer and the dealers' stamp too.

As the economic life of the newly proclaimed country recovered after the war, the demand for sheet music increased. In interwar Riga, sheet music was distributed in a corporation with three members – a printing house, a publisher and a music dealer. Operettas and revues were produced in Riga theatres, dance music on the dancing floors and the spread of the repertoire of silent films based on operetta librettos in Riga theatres stimulated the growing interest in schlager music. Short-wave radio broadcasts from all around Europe offered the latest hits and in 1925 national station *Rīgas radiofons* was opened.

Various dealers imported printed music according to customer demand and followed the fashion trends. In Riga, the widest range was to be found in the music (musical accessories) stores or so-called *Musikalien* shops. The music trade in Latvia was subject to temporary regulations from 16 July 1919, and in 1924, the Law on Trade in Products of Polygraph Institutions, Libraries and Reading Rooms was issued. Accordingly, a trade permit was issued by the county governor or town prefect⁴ only to permanent residents of Latvia who were not criminally convicted and were at least 21 years of age (*Likumu un valdības rīkojumu krājums*, Nr. 4, 1921, 65; *Likumu un Ministru kabineta noteikumu krājums* Nr. 21, 250).

2 In the entertainment sphere, couplet performers constantly used popular melodies, but only a few published them, changing the text and not even mentioning the original authors. For example, the popular entertainer Jānis Āre (1882–1955) translated or adapted hit songs into Latvian in the late 1920s and early 1930s. He was active both in the field of records and in the translation of the lyrics of German schlager, as well as he participated in the compilation of various schlager songbooks and albums.

3 Hünemeyer, Hans (1929). *Blutrote Rosen*. [Sheet-music]. Slow-fox. Riga: Edition Harold, etc.

4 Prefect - Chief of the city police.

The quantity of imported sheet music in Latvia is statistically measurable, but its content can't be defined precisely. Official statistics show a sharp increase in sheet music imports in the first half of the 1920s. But it was followed by a gradual decline of imports in the mid-1920s (Figure 1).

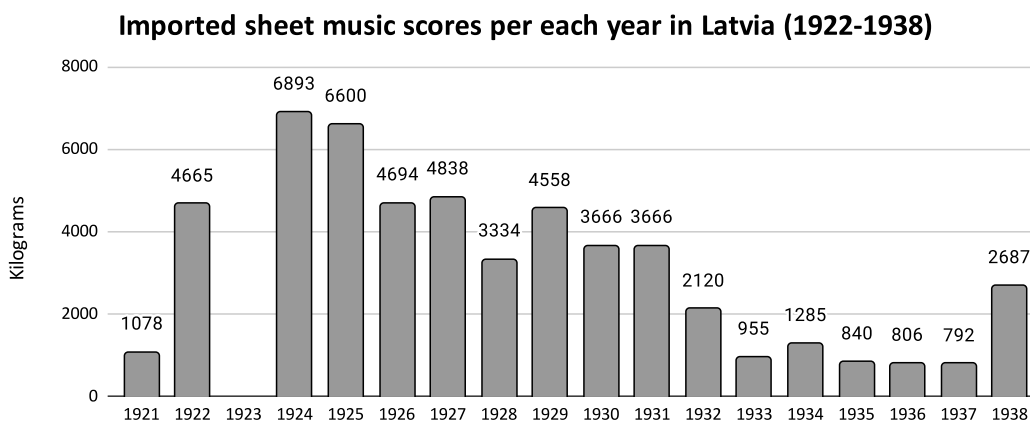


Figure 1. Imported sheet music (kg) according to official statistics in Latvia (1922–1938)

It might reflect the increased activity of local printing companies because foreign sheet music could be imported into Latvia without customs duty. Only later starting from 1930, the decrease in imports was also influenced by the amendments to the law. To reduce the number of traders (importers), a permit from the Ministry of the Interior was also required to obtain a trade license (*Likumu un Ministru kabineta noteikumu krājums* Nr. 19, 1930, 381).

Not only was printed music imported, but also local printed sheet music, including the schlager editions, started to appear in Riga music shops. During the period between the World Wars, music merchants established themselves as the main contributors to the local music industry. In cooperation with both foreign publishers and local sheet music printers, some music dealers organized the publishing of sheet music, including foreign schlager editions. The technical side of sheet music publishing was provided by private printing works (also a printing house or printing press; German *Druckerei*).⁵ High-quality printed works had to be ordered abroad. For example, in Estonia, the publishing house *Eesto-Muusika*, which printed sheet music by Estonian composers in Leipzig, Germany, started to support its composers, based on the possibilities of higher quality materials and printing works (Kalniņš 1924, 6; Preses apskats 1924, 155; Bondare 2011, 22). To promote cultural processes in Latvia, the Cultural Fund (Kultūras fonds) was established on 18 November 1920. It also helped finance the publication of Latvian academic music, while the publication of popular music in Riga was not institutionally supported (Švītiņa 2023, 20). Like the neighbouring countries, in the first half of the 1920s there were no polygraphy printing machines to print qualitative sheet music

5 A printing-house or in the broader sense a typography (Greek *typos* – stroke; *graphien* – to write) was a company (typography, lithography, zincography, etc.), which in the context of the 1920s and 1930s was engaged in a wide spectrum of typesetting and printing works (Auziņš 1942, 359, 388).

in Latvia, because during the First World War factory inventory, including printing equipment, was evacuated from Riga and taken to Russia. Therefore, after the war, the printing works in Riga were in a bad state, there was a lack of raw materials and no employees (Bērziņš 2003, 765). The publishing process, as in book publishing, takes place in several stages: first, the intellectual work or the material to be published; second, the preparation of the manuscript (typesetting, drafts); third, the technical printing and binding. Only large casts justified the typographic method of printing sheet music.⁶ Book publishers (including music publishers) more often worked only with the second or the second and third stages, i.e., only in preparing the material for publication. Only the largest printing companies (among which Riga's Schlager publishers were not) were able to carry out all three stages (Ledaunieks 1940, 19, 52, 53).

Usually, one printing house was working for several publishers. Most often, one printing works issued periodicals, magazines, forms and other products, but some specialized in printing music. Journalist and newspaper editor Oļģerts Liepiņš (1906–1983) writes in his memoirs about the close connection between press publishers and printing houses. According to him, at the time, it was necessary to create and strengthen a basic newspaper first to ensure a stable profit. Only then could we afford to develop other publications (Liepiņš 1982, 593). Already in 1920, the Department of Press and Associations at the Ministry of the Interior began to identify and list the printing presses still able to function. To open or to resume operations based on a permit previously issued during the Russian Empire, the identities of persons were checked by the police. Thus, while monitoring the printed works, the authorities simultaneously controlled the activity of the owners, avoiding the circulation of anti-state printed works (LNA LVVA 3724-1-1493 1920, 60–62, 67). But generally, in the 1920s, private publishing houses and printing works operated relatively unhindered (Zelmenis 2007, 31).

In 1924, the Parliament of Latvia adopted a new Law on Printing Institutions (*Likums par poligrāfiskām iestādēm*). Defining printing works as “industrial” and operating based on a permit with special equipment, their establishment was authorized by the Ministry of Finance. The law provided for the name and address of the printing house to be indicated on all printed works intended for sale (the exception was forms, price indicators, business cards, etc.) (*Likums Par Poligrafiskām Iestādēm*. 1924, 54–55). This norm was also included in the Press Law of 1924. In addition, copies of non-periodical editions, thus also sheet music, had to be delivered to the Ministry of the Interior (since 1937, the Ministry of Public Affairs). Publishers, on the other hand, were obliged to deliver six copies of publications to the State Library and one to the police. To control compliance with this rule, the operation of an illegal printing press was punishable by a fine or up to three months in prison (*Preses likums* 1938, 120).

⁶ In order to obtain high-quality sheet music printing, this is done by a special sheet music letterpress. Then, in the sheet music printing technique, musical staves were used, which consisted of approximately 370 signs in a set of hand sheet music (note heads, lines, stems, bows, etc. (Auziņš 1942, 258) The graphic commission of the Bookmakers' Trade Union (*Grāmatrūpnieku arodu savienības grafiskā komisija*) took care of the training of letterpress in the interwar period. However, there is no statistical information or a study of how many and what kind of sheet music letterers worked in Riga between the wars. Only the fact that they worked in some printing houses, as well as the fact that even in 1930, the sheet music engraving method was still used (Kronika 1930, 3)

Foreign schlager editions produced in Riga were not strictly controlled. The weak level of copyright protection and the lack of awareness in society led to perceptions of the distribution of foreign schlager scores as an area of easy profit in which dishonest speculators operate. Despite that, there was a rise in the numbers of schlager publishers in the mid to late 1920s. The lack of order in the copyright market for imported music (published foreign music) in Latvia between the wars “contributed to a flood of inferior music in Latvian sheet music publications” (Bondare 2011, 15). In other words, the inability or unwillingness of the law enforcement authorities to control the publishers of schlager music has in a way stimulated the spread of uncontrolled business. Although already on December 5 1919 the Provisional Government of Latvia reviewed and decided to keep the Copyright Law of 1911 in force, it was inadequate to the new market conditions. The increase in the speed of information and the technology of music distribution developed more and more rapidly. The law protected only musical compositions by local authors. It was also widely debated in music circles. For example, Jāzeps Vītols (1863–1948), composer and rector of the Latvian Conservatoire, stressed the vulnerability of foreign composers in Latvia, while also acknowledging the vulnerability of Latvian composers in other countries (Vītols 1932, 455). The professional musicians’ societies (for instance Latvijas Skaņražu kopa) were primarily concerned with protection of the rights of their members – local academic composers, for example, in the radiophone since its foundation, in the distribution of sound recordings, as well as in the publication of sheet music. However, leading organizations distanced themselves from popular music, so amateurs or composers of popular music were not accepted in them (Švītiņa 2023, 44, 54). This thinking also made the largest printing and publishing companies avoid schlager issuing, probably fearing for their reputation.

117

The remuneration for concerts or royalties for appearances on the radio, including the publication of records or sheet music, was negotiated by each popular music composer with the publisher. Thus, the works of local dance schlager authors were protected by them in cooperation with the publishers and music dealers. Local authors’ publications usually bore the author’s imprint or a note indicating which publishing house represented the author. The rights of foreign composers, on the other hand, were usually represented by a local music publisher or dealer. Large foreign music publishers protected their interests in Latvia by cooperating with certain local publishers or by maintaining their own representative offices in Riga. Between the wars, music shops became distributors of record labels, as well as copyright agents for local and foreign composers and sometimes even managers of recording sessions. The shop owners also maintained their concert agencies and sold concert tickets (Paziņojumi. Koncerts Latvijas konservatorijas zālē 1936, 18). It was not until May 1937 that a new Copyright Act came into force in Latvia, based on the 1886 Bern Convention.⁷ By that, the distribution of the local and foreign schlager was directly covered by the fourth part of the law on the protection of foreigners’ works and personal rights (Preses likums 1938, 122–123; Maļinovskis 2009, 7, 21).

⁷ Bern Convention for the Protection of Literary and Artistic Works.

To describe the main unifying features of the Riga schlager publishing houses, it should be concluded that in the 1920s they were short-lived – one to three years – and usually did not have their own printing house. The names of publishers such as *Edition Latschlager*, *Edition Fox Riga*, *Edition Herold Riga* or *Edition Pärle*⁸ can be found only on the sheet music because such companies operated in a narrow field and without a wider resonance in the publishing industry. Such labels are characterized by low quality publications and a lot of confusion about their activities in general. For example, there is no research on how foreign publishers of schlager in Riga obtained sheet music for publication. This was most likely done by importing large amounts of sheet music or by importing individual copies that were copied and distributed for sale. This re-publication is evidenced by copied images of the covers of the original foreign publications, as well as by the different sizes of the re-publications (Figure 2.)



Figure 2. Publication of Edition O. D. Strock, Riga (1924) vs. Wiener Bohème-Verlag (1924)

Music publishers and record companies were already forming a symbiosis since the beginning of the 20th century in which the two channels of music distribution were not only competing but cooperating and promoting each other (Wicke 1999, 1350). The shellac sound-records indicate the increasing translated foreign schlager recording numbers reaching their peak at the turn of the 1920s and 1930s.⁹ Between 1928 and 1931, more and more translated world-hits appeared simultaneously in Latvian recordings made in Berlin as well as in local sheet music. The activity of local record labels went hand in hand with the release of records by popular performers. Lyrics were translated or adopted by entertainers such as Jānis Āre or operetta singer Artūrs

8 Until 1935, the names of most schlager publishing houses were in English, containing the word Edition instead of Publishing House. But in the late 1930s, after amendments to the state language law, it was using only names in Latvian was permitted.

9 The peculiarity of shellac recordings was that in the 1930s, previously published recordings of translated foreign schlager songs appeared on the market several times. This created the impression that Latvian hit performers continued active cooperation with foreign record companies. However, most often they were not new, but tunings copied from old matrices. For example, the records published by *Record-Electro* in 1935 were made from matrices of other brands made at the turn of the 20s and 30s (Bērtiņš 2015, 165).

Briedis (1901–1990). These kinds of artists would appear with this repertoire on Rīga silent-film stages, such as performing *Latvian schlagers*¹⁰ at Kino Metropol on 7 May 1928 (Kino Metropol 1928, 7).

During the global economic crisis or the Great Depression, the number of schlager publishing houses in Riga declined. Economists in the late 1930s were already of the opinion that the entrepreneurial experiments in various fields that had been created by the economic crisis at the turn of the 1920s and 1930s were speculative and that the resulting increase in the number and volume of enterprises was not sustainable (Celmiņš 1937, 19). As the crisis eased, a slight revival of publishing was observed from 1932 onwards. For example, a short-lived publishing licence under the name *Mascotte* was withdrawn by musician Maksis Joselovičs (1903–?), who published a series of foreign film and operetta schlager editions called *Tonmusik* (1933) and a few others.

Later, in the second half of the 1930s, it became more and more difficult to obtain a publishing house's permission or printing permit for foreign schlager issuing. The power of censorship increased in the 1930s during the authoritarian rule of Kārlis Ulmanis (1934–1940) (Zelmenis 2012, 190). Limiting the activity of unwanted printing companies at the national level was simple – not granting permission for the release of foreign music. By 1935, new publishing houses were issuing permits to individuals mainly for publishing their compositions. This rule was supported by the Press Law (*Preses likums*), which defined the types of publishers of non-periodical printed works: professional publishers, author-own publishers; one-off publishers of individual works (*Preses likums* 1938, 122). Non-citizens no longer received operating permits, so it narrowed the number of publishers. The leading Latvian book publishers publicly postulated a desire to fight for copyright and against low-quality publications in the market, but it was only a fight against the competition (Ledaunieks 1940, 53). For example, Georgs Jansons-Jansens (1896–?) and his wife Emma Jansons-Jansene were involved in copying and distributing foreign schlager sheet music in the late 1920s and early 1930s. Their publishing house *Edition Pērle* was already self-liquidating in 1932. But in 1936, their other publishing house *Pressa* (formerly called *Union*) was closed down based on the publishers' bad reputation caused by previous activities (LNA LVVA 3724-1-1475 1936, 97). In another example, the *Edition Mondaine* was suspended because it was owned by a Swedish national Tage Sundel (1890–?). Between 1932 and 1934, the publisher issued popular operetta and film schlager scores (about 10 editions have been identified), including popular German composer Robert Stolz's (1880–1975) film-schlager form sound-film *Das Lied ist aus* (*The Song is Over*, 1930). It is important to note that *Edition Mondaine's* schlager sheet music publications do not indicate any copyrights, nor the name of the printer, and the texts were not translated into Latvian. Therefore, reproductions of such foreign publications were not supported. On 13 August 1934, Sundel's license was suspended (LNA LVVA 3724-1-1473 1935, 52).

10 *latyšskie šlāgery - latyšskie shlagera*

With the establishment of the Ministry of Public Affairs in 1937, censorship grew even wider and various restrictions began in all cultural fields, also in the film-screening industry, records, and book publishing (Bondare 2011, 14; Pērkone 2008, 197). In 1938, with the adoption of a new Press Law, the publication or distribution of all foreign translated literature (including sheet music) was subject to rigorous control by the Ministry of Public Affairs. First, it authorized the confiscation of any polygraphic publication printed abroad that the censors deemed harmful to society or if it was considered to be of a poor aesthetic value. Secondly, the authoritarian regime legislated Regulations on the State of War (*Noteikumi par karastāvokli*), so it became easier for the authorities to influence or even stop the work of certain printing companies. If publications were not properly specified or copies of editions had not been sent to the responsible ministry, then it was considered to be a violation. Fines (applied up to 300 LVL) were received both in the cases of publishing houses and printing works if the publisher was also a printer (LNA LVVA 3724-1-1474 1935, 833). For example, lithographers Alfreds Šprote and Rūdolfs Pols received a fine of 10 lats for incorrect book-keeping. It means that either they conducted unofficial printing work or did not send the correct reports. Unfortunately, this type of company documentation in none of the cases has survived (*Valdības rīkojumi un pavēles* 1935, 1).

Schlager printing technology and editions

For printing and reproducing sheet music in Latvia in the interwar period, a lithography method was the most common type of printing in general in the interwar period, as the method was relatively cheap, although being of lower quality. The noticeable characteristics of the method are the lack of shading, the colour imprint that goes over the edges of the image elements, “blurred” edges, as well as the fact that no imprint is visible on the other side of the printing sheet (Grīnbergs 1925, 90; Auziņš 1942, 124, 343; Bondare 2011, 23). The samples of sheet music available today allow us to assume that the sheet music editions of some foreign schlager songs were not only lithographically copied from the original, but also had the addition of translated lyrics. Therefore, a more accurate designation of a method would be typo-lithography. Statistics show that in 1922, a total of 67 type-lithographs were registered in Latvia, then in 1936, out of 147 printing companies, 124 were type-lithography. Moreover, in 1938 out of 123 total type-lithography companies registered in Latvia, 75, or more than half, operated in Riga (*Rūpniecības Statistika* 1938, 44–45; *Rūpniecības Statistika* 1939, 37–38; *Rūpniecības Statistika* 1940, 46). This printing technique is characterized by autographic drawing¹¹ with spaces left free for the text, pressed on a sheet, transferred to a stone or metal plate, prepared for printing colours, and printed from the stones. So the typographically composed lyric-text is mounted in the free places during transfer (Auziņš 1942, 390).

11 The autographic method is also used to reproduce orchestral scores.

Foreign schlager publications as well as schlager music itself or the names of schlager publishing houses, are characterised by a typical or standardized design. There were two types of cover design; copied or redrawn from a foreign original, or the second type, originally drawn. But this was mainly for original schlager editions by local authors. Smudges and colour stains are characteristic of such drawings. Visually interesting are those editions of schlager which feature cartoon elements related to the subject matter of the titles or lyrics, used to attract attention. The same or similar images depicting contemporary fashion elements, dancers, slightly erotic images of women in sumptuous ballroom costumes have been used repeatedly in several publications. Sometimes, for the sake of variety, the same print has been made in a different ink, such as red or purple, in the monochrome lithographic printing technique. Similar cover designs, e.g. cover sketches, can be found not only in different publications but even in the works of different publishing houses if the printing works worked for both (Figure 3).

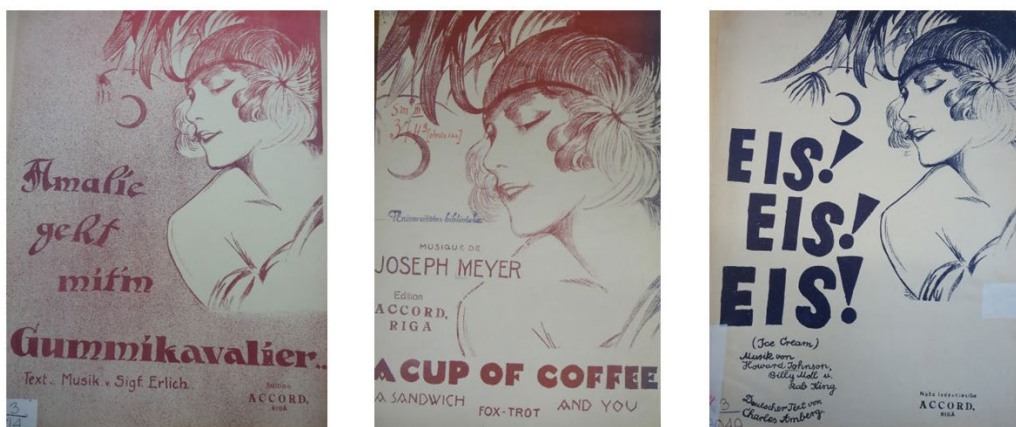


Figure 3. Similar cover designs of schlager editions, published by *Edition Accord*, printed at *A. Šprotes litografija*

The parameters of the schlager editions of foreign and local composers published in Riga are similar to one another. They corresponded to the sheet sizes that printers were working with when they also published other genres of music, such as piano pieces and solos. But they vary slightly depending on the printing press used by the publishing house and also some differences can be identified based on the time of issue. It is indicated in the studies that the size of the printed music sheets in the first half of the 20th century had a tendency to decrease and some countries, for example the USA, even tried to standardize them (Goldmark 2007, 214). Up until about 1920, sheet music was usually 10.5 inches wide (34.5x26.7 cm), but later 12 inches high by 9 inches wide (30x22 cm) might be considered the standard format (Elliker 1996, 11).

In the 1920s, standard bifolio or two-page schlager editions were on thin and low-quality paper, more often approx. 25x20cm in size. But there is no strict pattern because one can find also slightly smaller ones (24x17 or 22.5x18 cm), which roughly correspond to today's B5 ISO format. But there are also larger ones, about B4 in ISO format (30x24, 32x25, 34x26, 32.5x24, 34x25cm). Publications on larger sheets in the 33x27 cm format

are also sometimes present. Someone could say that such editions visually continue the dimensions of the 19th century sheet music publishing in the widely used formats of academic music editions. Also, schlager albums in the 1920s were in a considerably larger format. For example, the internationally recognised albums *Zu Tee und Tanz* (Band 7, 8, 9), printed in *Alfrēda Šprote litogrāfija*, were published in 35x25 cm size.

Most foreign schlager editions just after WWI in Riga were published in their original languages, mainly German and sometimes English, French, Italian etc. But at the end of the 1920s, a new trend began – translations of song lyrics (Figure 4). A single-sheet music publication contained both typographically printed and handwritten letters. This may have occurred in cases where a pre-prepared sample was used, or when copying previously published sheet music material, re-lithographically printing it and adding a translation of the text. For example, the lyrics of a foreign schlager edition were prepared in advance only in German, but the Latvian translation was written down by hand. This does not always mean that the publication was issued illegal copy with no copyrights. This practice has also been found for local author-editions that were initially published abroad, but later copied for publication in Latvia. Such examples can be found, for example, in the publications of Marks Marjanovskis, Oskars Stroks and Saša Vlady. According to the laws, all companies should be Latvian, all documentation must be held in an official language, and it was recommended to translate all the texts (*Noteikumi par valsts valodu* 1932, 23; *Likums par valsts valodu* 1935, 2) (Figure 4).

122

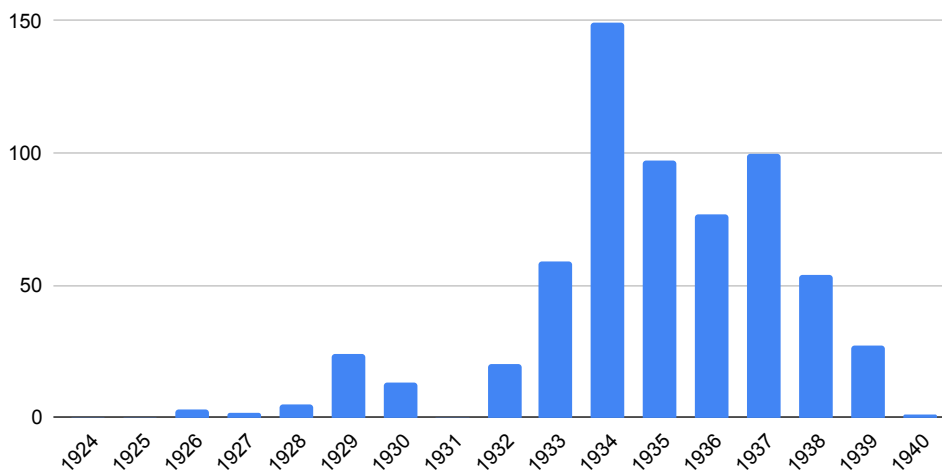


Figure 4. Translated foreign schlager titles issued in Riga.

In 1930s schlager publishing faced new challenges. First, the 1930s are typically the time of schlager (*Film-schlager*) pieces for film and schlager albums. The schlager albums for films were released by labels such as *Harmonija*, *Casanova*, *Akords* were relatively smaller in size, following the stylistic samples of the popular franchise album title *Musik für alle* (*Music for Everyone*). Secondly, the increasing popularity of motion pictures led to the growing adoration of movie stars. This was also reflected in the design of sheet

music editions. Colourful drawings on the covers were replaced by scenes from motion pictures, actors and also popular singers. Print quality had improved, so pictures of popular actors served as souvenirs. Schlager editions for film were released in albums or small series (3–5 pieces). Thirdly, schlager singles and records should be seen as connected within the film industry, since their release most often happened sequentially and simultaneously in various forms of sound distribution media.

In the mid-1930s, the publishing house *Melodija*, which held the copyrights to *FOX* film schlager titles, printed their scores in *Nošu spiestuve N. Lēmanis*, while the coloured covers and photos of the actors were put together in lithography by *Grafika*. It was more profitable for customers to purchase albums, as they were generally relatively cheaper than individual publications. For instance, a schlager film album, published by *Melodija* in 1934, costed 85 santims in 1934 and 1 lats in 1935. By contrast, the tango and slow foxtrot by German composer Robert Stolz's operetta *Venus in Seide* (1932) costed only 40 cents each.

Moreover, in the 1930s, sheet music albums had become similar to entertainment magazines, as they included various thematic articles, news about the lives and biographies of Hollywood actors, photographs of film stars, etc. In this way, the sheet music editions, as well as the records, served not only for playback but also as a representation of the films (Pērkone 2008, 101–102, 111). All the translated and published *UFA*, *Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer*, *FOX*, *Paramount* and *ARS* film schlager scores and lyrics copyrights were protected by *Melodija*. On four albums of movie hits published in 1934 and 1935, printed in multi-colour printing, the advertisement indicates the publishing house's desire to give its publication an elegance appropriate to the era. The advertising text stated that the albums would be printed on "[...] art-printed (chalk) paper, in regular format with a two-colour artistic cover drawing and will contain the most popular schlager(s) and songs from sound films, operettas, the latest dances, etc., as well as works by Latvian schlager composers." (*Populāras Melodijas*, Nr. 1 1934, 16).

In both foreign and local schlager editions (since the late 1920s), no editors or music arrangers are mentioned. Arrangers are only rarely named, for example, in the publications of Oskars Stroks publishing house (*O. D. Strock*), the publisher himself is listed as the arranger. Nor is there any information about transcribers, even though they were employed by the publishing houses. In the context of publishing, their role was essential. A music transcriber must be educated in music, because he must understand what the composer has written from the handwriting, which is written on strips of paper of all qualities and sizes. Any mistakes they made are forever visible in the publications. An informative catalogue compiled by Oskars Stroks in the mid-1930s, *Mūziķa kalendārs: rokasgrāmata* (The Musician's Handbook), lists only a few music transcribers in Riga, including Arvēds Andersons, R. Goldmanis, A[ibert] Jedlička and the aforementioned A[ugusts] Stūrītis (*Mūziķa kalendārs: Rokasgrāmata* 1934, 177). The one of the most notable sheet music transcribers in Riga was Augusts Stūrītis who worked from the beginning of the 1920s, at first for the music printer and publisher Carl Blossfeld. During the Second World War, mentioned as the only truly professional

transcriber in 1942, he was transcribing sheet music for both academic composers and local schlager composers, such as Alfrēds Vinters (1908–1976) (Z. B. 1944, 8).

An interesting, rarely documented aspect of sheet music publishing in Riga is a number of copies of schlager publications. Usually, it was 300–500 pieces in total in one run. The problem is that there is almost no way to trace the re-issuing that would hypothetically answer the question of the popularity of one piece. Important evidence of the issued copies of schlager editions (foreign and local music) in the mid-1930s is provided by the report of Rūdolfs Pols publishing and printing works in 1936. It is a list of 21 piano-vocal schlager editions by foreign and local composers that was reported to the Press and Societies Department at the Ministry of the Interior. The number of issued units varies in amplitude from 200 to 750 units, with average of 300 copies. Among those listed, are two foreign film schlager albums *15 sezonas grāvēji* and *14 jaunākie grāvēji*, each in 750 copies. These two albums do not clearly state the copyrights of foreign labels, also there are no edition numbers, and what is more suspicious are fact that all lyrics are printed only in German. Only few music pieces have handwritten Latvian translations. All of the above raises concerns about copyright infringement in the compilation of these albums. Perhaps this explains the department's request for a detailed report on publications. Among some of the works of local authors, four dance-hits composed by the musician Augusts Dainis¹² (1901–1995) are included in the list mentioned: *Bērnības stāsts* (*A Story of Childhood*, waltz-song), *Ja dziļi acīs man ieskaties* (*If You Look Deep into My Eyes*, tango-song), *Anita* (tango-song), *Latvju meitene* (*Latvian Girl*, march-foxtrot-song). These were issued in 500 copies each (LNA LVVA 3724-1-1475 1936, 665). It can be assumed that the publisher/printer defined the prints of the editions according to the popularity of the content and the possibilities to sell the sheet music. But in cases where the number or quantity of edition copies was not agreed upon between the publisher and the printing press, Article 78 of the third part of the Copyright Law (1937) allowed sheet music publishers to print a single work (manuscript) in no more than 300 copies (*Autora tiesību likums* 1937, 629). Anyhow, it should be noted that this law had not yet been adopted at the time of these publications.

Schlager printing key figures

The documents of the National Archives of Latvia show that out of 84 printing presses registered in Riga in 1923, only two were defined as sheet music printing works. One was a brand-new sheet music printing house located at Bruņinieku Street 73–2, operated by two musicians Artūrs Vēmans (also Vēmens, 1893–1953) and Jānis Upenieks (1888–1974)¹³. The owner of the other sheet music printing house at Suvorova Street 42 (later Kr. Barons Street) was Carl Blosfeld, a long-time book and sheet music publisher (LNA LVVA 3724-1-1496 1923, unnumbered).

12 Augusts Dainis was the clarinetist of Alfrēds Vinters band *Jautrā kapele*, also a composer and music arranger.

13 Arturs Vēmans was a viola violinist, also publisher of sheet music in 1920s and shellac records in 1930s. Jānis Upenieks was a double bassist of the Latvian National Opera Orchestra.

Artūrs Vēmans and **Jānis Upenieks** were among the first in the printing industry to start printing so-called modern dances or schlager editions in Riga using lithographic techniques. However, initially they had obtained an operating permit for Latvian composer publications. On September 15, 1921, even the directorate of the Latvian National Opera sent a letter to the Press and Societies Department at the Ministry of the Interior in support of Vēmans and Upenieks. Attached to it is Vēmans' explanatory letter with a description of the situation. For example, the lack of special sheet music printing presses in Latvia is emphasized, which prevents the provision of schools, conservatories and choir directors. The demand for sheet music was stressed by putting the inability of local book presses to meet the demand at the proper volume and pace in the centre. The lack of funds prevents Latvian composers' sheet music from being published abroad and if so, *the product* becomes expensive for the local customer. In his reasoning, Vēmans referred to the fact that two of the new Latvian operas *Baņuta* and *Uguns un nakts* had not even been published at that time. He also expressed the hope of printing sheet music for the needs of the upcoming Latvian Song festivals (*Dziesmusvētki*) (LNA LVVA 3724-1-1490 1921, 774). Initially, the operation of the printing house was successful, because a year after receiving the permit, the two musicians wanted to set up a new workshop at Avotu Street 34 and expand the printing works for typo-lithography (LNA LVVA 3724-1-1492 1922, 212). From September 1923 to September 1924, Vēmans and Upenieks also published *Mūzikas Nedēļa*, a magazine of the Society of Latvian Composers.

125

Taking advantage of the free market niche, Vēmans and Upenieks also started releasing popular music. Between 1922 and 1925, they printed both dance music and Russian romances. Some testimonies in the press, as well as one undated dance composition composed by Wladimir Afanasjew from the operetta *Maharadscha*, indicate that around 1925 the printing house of Artūrs Vēmans was located at Stabu Street 49a. But in the second half of the 1920s, after A. Vēmans tried to operate alone, he suffered bankruptcy. At the end of the decade, Nikolajs Limans lithograph *Imanta* was already operating at the address of former Vēmans printing works. The importance of A. Vēmans and J. Upenieks type-lithography was that in cooperation with Kārlis Reinholds' music shop, they were one of the first that started the local author's schlager industry, for instance by releasing Oskars Stroks' one-step-song *Mama! Mama!* in 1923. Following the typical visual stylistics of the sheet music design of schlager songs, this publication the colorfully designed cover depicts a couple of dancers, with the inscription in German *Letzte Neuheit!* (latest novelty). The musical piece is composed with an extended instrumental part, but the sheet music contains only a 16-bar chorus with Russian and German lyrics. After the bankruptcy of Artūrs Vēmans printing house (49a Stabu Street) in 1927, in 1928 the premises and inventory were taken over by Nikolajs Limans (also (Lēmanis, 1891-?). Until 1933, his printing house was called *Imanta*, and then until 1940 *Nošu spiestuve N. Lēmanis*. For ten years until 1938, Limans cooperated with various foreign schlager publishers in Riga. In the first half of the 1930s, it was *Edition Mascotte* and *Melodija* for instance. In the mid-1930s he was cooperating with publishing houses *Casanova* and *Daiņa*. Fēlikss Leopolds Starpiņš (1895-?) was one of the last long-term lithographers who printed various books, booklets, and other printed works. The printing house *F. L. Starpiņa spiestuve* was located

at Kuģu Street 13 and was operating since the beginning of the 1920s. (LNA LVVA 3724-1-1496 1923, unnumbered). Starpiņš became active in schlager publishing only in the second half of the 1930s. His main companion in the release of sheet music was *Harmonija*. Unfortunately, in the summer of 1940, the company was nationalized, but its former owner was arrested and on June 14, 1941 deported from Latvia to a labour-camp in remote areas of the Soviet Union (Figure 5).¹⁴

Nosaukums, adrese, īpašnieks	1922	1923	1924	1925	1926	1927	1928	1929	1930	1931	1932	1933	1934	1935	1936	1937	1938	1939	1940
<i>Imanta</i> (Stabu 49a)/ <i>N. Lēmanis</i> (Stabu 49a). Nikolajs Lēmanis																			
<i>Rūdolfs Pols</i> (Bruņinieku 18-1)/ <i>Kaufmanis un Pols</i> (Brīvības 129/133) R. Pols																			
<i>E. Pīpiņa un J. Upmaņa spiestuve</i> (Marijas 10-62). Ērmanis Pīpiņš. Jākabs Upmanis																			
<i>Lit. W. Witting</i> (Gertrudes 101). Vilhelms Vītiņš																			
<i>A. Sprottes litografija</i> (Strēlnieku iela 1a). Alfrēds Šprite																			
<i>T. Sundell</i> (m. Smilšu 7/9). Tage Sundells																			
<i>E. Strautnieks / Latvija</i> . (Merķeļa iela 15). Eduards Strautnieks																			
<i>E. Blumentāla tipo-litogrāfija un nošu spiestuve</i> (L. Peldu 34). Eliezers Blūmentāls																			
<i>F. L. Starpiņš</i> (Kuģu 13). Fēlikss L. Starpiņš																			
<i>A/S "Ernst Plates" litografija</i> (Monētu 18-2)																			
<i>A. Vēmans un J. Ūpenieks</i> (Bruņinieku 73-2)																			

Figure 5. Printing houses, dated according to schlager editions kept in The National Library of Latvia collection.

The lithographer **Alfrēds Šprite** (Alfred Sprotte, 1881–?) should be acknowledged as one of the most important figures in Schlager printing in the 1920s. With the permission of the governor of Vidzeme, he opened his shop in 1913. During the First World War, the activity stopped, but in February 1918 it was restored (LNA LVVA 3724-1-1495 1922, unnumbered). *Litografija A. Sprotte* was located at Strēlnieku street 1a and has been cooperating with schlager publishers around the mid-1920s. Such as *Edition J. Altschuler* (1924), *Edition Latschlager* (1926). For *Oskars Stroks* publishing house, from 1923 to 1926, Šprite printed piano-vocal schlager sheets, as well as popular repertoire for mandolin tablature. However, the cooperation with Stroks was interrupted because the publisher could not pay for the printing services on several occasions (Zirģels 1926, 5). After that, from 1926 to 1930, Šprite printed schlager music for the *Edition Accord*. Later in the 1930s, his activity in music publishing was no longer noticeable. On December 2, 1939, the company was closed and his family left Latvia (*Tiesu sludinājumi* 1940, 5).

14 LNA LVA 1987-1-17038 Felikss Starpiņš. Izsūtīšanas lieta. Fonds: 1941. gada 14. jūnijā no Latvijas izsūtīto iedzīvotāju personas lietas (Deportation case. File: personal files of residents deported from Latvia on June 14, 1941)



Picture 1. Alfrēds Šprote in 1927,
Source: LNA LVVA 2996-17-38649, 5.

Key publishers

The two longest-running schlager publishers in Riga, who were able to overcome economic crises and operate under the pressure of authoritarianism at least for several years, were *Edition Accord*, (also *Akords* from 1935), its owner Rūdolfs Pols and publishing house *Edition Oskar Strock* (also *O. D Strock*, *Casanova* et. al). Together, they have published the largest number of identified schlager publications by foreign (932 out of 1288) and local authors (144 out of 238) piano-vocal scores (proportionally in total 70.5%) (Figure 6).

127

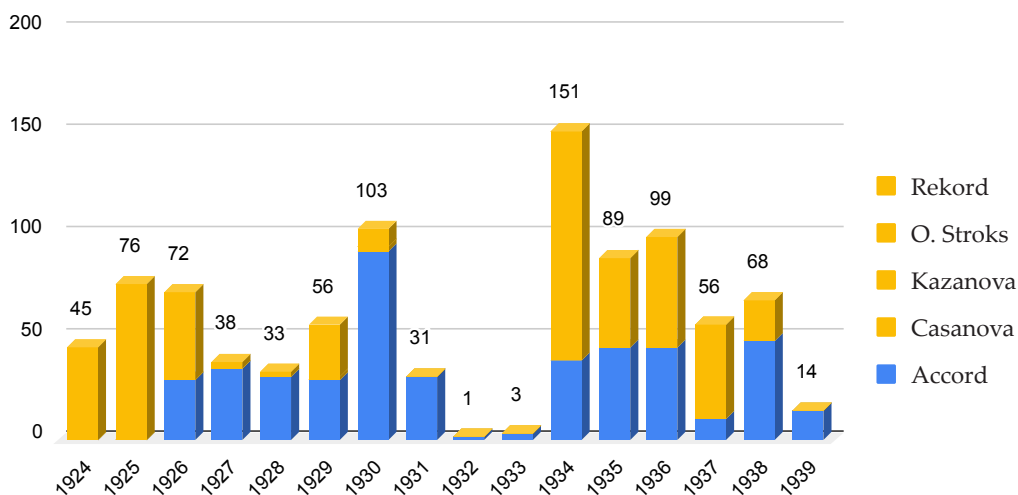


Figure 6. Comparison of published foreign schlagers by Oskars Stroks publishing houses compared to Edition Accord



Picture 2. Rūdolfis Pols in 1928.
Source: LNA LVVA 2996-15-21135, 5.

The owner of *Edition Accord* (*Akords* since 1935) was the lithographer Rūdolfis Ludvigs Pols (Rudolph Ludwig Pohl, 1896–?). He started publishing popular foreign operetta and dance-schlager editions in 1926. In 1931, he obtained also a printing permit and opened his sheet music printing works. In the 1930s, Pols expanded his activity, by printing popular schlager sheets not only for his company, but also for others, such as *Harmonija*. During its operation, *Accord* has released a significant number of foreign schlager editions: about 20 foreign albums, opuses from more than 30 sound-films, about 50 individual schlager editions in the *Edition Accord* series, also sheet music for mandolin and more.¹⁵ Like many other Baltic Germans, on October 20, 1939, in compliance with the Latvian-German interstate agreement on the relocation of residents of German nationality to Germany, R. Pols family left Latvia. (*Izčeļojušo vācu tautības pilsoņu saraksts* 1940, 1138).

Pols importance in the industry is demonstrated by several facts. First, he worked for considerably long period. Second, he was one of the few publishers who was also a printer. Moreover, he also printed music for other publishers. Thirdly, what makes him a key figure, he worked with the first Latvian schlager composers such as Alfrēds Vinters (1908–1976) issuing several of his dance schlager albums in late 1930s.

Oskars Stroks (1893–1975) was the almost non-stop publishing longest-running schlager publisher in Riga between the World Wars. He was a publicly known figure, a concert musician, pianist, composer and arranger, also translator of songs. Unlike many other representatives of popular music in Latvia, he was making comments in the press about schlager music. His activity and recognition sometimes also attracted the attention of the press. For example, in the late 1930s, the publicist Juris Zilnieks made a critical, but vivid comment about Stroks companies *Casanova* work as a publisher:

¹⁵ *Edition Accord* released at least 70 music pieces in the series *Populārnye Russkie Romansy* (*Popular Russian Romances*) and music for several foreign revues.

“[...] a foreign film with its catchy musical hits (schlager) does not manage to go around all Riga cinemas when some sheet music companies (especially agile “Casanova”) have already released the sheet music of these hits to the public. [...] A text translator, sheet music copier and lithography are put to work as soon as possible. [...] Immaculate translation, the cheapest paper, a tangle of mistakes in the scores, smudges and spots of printing ink [...]”.
(Zilnieks 1938, 2)

O. Stroks was one of the first to start using the word *SCHLAGER* not as a label for modern dance-songs in the Rīga music publishing scene and market, indicating it not only in the advertisements of his sheet music store, but also by printing it on music edition covers. The press advertising allows us to conclude that Stroks promoted his dance Schlagers, which were probably little known at the time, alongside foreign popular ones. From 1923 to 1929, the publishing house was named after him, so he quickly gained recognition as a popular schlager publisher in Riga (Kudiņš 2019, 89). On the editions published by Stroks, his name as the publisher is indicated both in Russian (*O. D. Strok*), sometimes in Latvian (*Oskara Stroks izdevniecība*), as well as in German and even in English (*Edition O. D. Strock*). For example, in 1925, schlagers by eight foreign authors were published under the name *8 Welt-Schlager vom Verlag O. D. Strock*. At the same time another edition series (14 shimmies and foxtrots included) were published with bilingual Latvian/German title *Die neuesten und beliebtesten Schlager für Klavier und Gesang* (The latest and most popular hits for piano and singing).

129

In March 1924, the newspaper *Večernee vremâ*¹⁶ published an advertisement of *O. D. Strock* with the text “everyone dances, plays and sings popular and beloved hits and romances”. Along with foreign schlagers such as *Bananas* (1923)¹⁷, *Die Mädels von Java* (1923)¹⁸ and the popular *Liliput* (1922)¹⁹, it also includes Stroks’ one-step-song *Mama! Mama!* (*Vse tancuât, igraût i poût populârnye šlâgera i romansy* 1924, 3)

Based on the numbering used by the publisher by 1927, Stroks had already published at least 220 foreign dance hits in serialized editions, labelled it *schlager* and possibly issuing unidentified amount more. Therefore, in the late 1920s and early 1930s, Stroks’ name in press publications in Riga was often attributed to both publishing and distributing schlagers. Perhaps it was his activity that contributed to the general associative link between the word *schlager* and popular contemporary dance music genres in general.

For a short time, around 1929–1930, Stroks used two labels on his published schlager editions. One was *Rekord* (also *Reccord*), according to the name of music store and sheet music library (at Brīvības street 10) and another *Musik-Verlag Casanova* (Music Publishing House Casanova) that was located at Tirgoņu Street 5, where Stroks had

16 In Russian *Večernee vremâ: dejstvennââ russkââ gazeta*.

17 Foxtrott *Yes! We Have No Bananas* - Irving Cohn (1898–1961) / Frank Silver (1896–1960) / German text of Fritz Löhner-Beda (1883–1942)

18 Henry Richards (?–?)/German text of Fritz Grünbaum (1881–1941).

19 Text and music of Friedrich Hollaender (1896–1976).

a shop for musical instruments and household goods (Grunte 2007, 77; Kudiņš 2019, 88). Stroks' publishing suffered a brief hiatus due to his business failures and affected by Great Depression in general. In the fall of 1931, his restaurant *Barberina* also went bankrupt. Then, after serving a short prison sentence for debt, Stroks emigrated to Berlin, where he was recording his music before (Kudiņš 2019, 259). While trying to published music in 1930–1931 he registered *Casanova* publishing house in well-known German musicians' copyright society AMMRE. However, perhaps due to the growing anti-Semitism in Germany, or perhaps not achieving the goals set, in the fall of 1932 Stroks returned to Rīga (Kudiņš 2019, 87).

In the second half of the 1930s, Oskars Stroks continued to release both film-schlager albums and his compositions. Documents of the Press and Associations Department at Ministry of Interior states that the permit for publishing house *Casanova* was issued (again) in Riga only on January 13, 1933. In 1934, however, the company was re-registered using Latvian as *Kazanova* and operated by that name until 1938 (LNA LVVA 3724-1-1473 1935, 54).

It is possible that Stroks managed to keep his publishing permit, because he was issuing lots of his music. For instance, in 1937 the piano-vocal sheet music album *Russian Jazz! (Russkij džaz!)* was released. Supposedly it was compendium of the Stroks best-selling schlager-dances of the previous decade, most of which had already been released in shellac records and sheet music. The album design hints at Stroks' desire to spread his music internationally. For instance, title produced both in English and Russian. On the other hand, the 14 songs composed in the genres of dance music included in the album describe not only Stroks stylistics, but also the prevailing trends in dance music in local Rīga schlager music stylistics of the 1930s (5 foxtrots, 1 waltz, 1 slow foxtrot and 7 tangos).

It must be emphasized that Stroks publishing house in Rīga did not do the printing work, but for almost 20 years of his business, the orders were executed by various local printing houses. His music publishing business turned out to be generally unprofitable, however, he largely promoted his music through it.

One of the most respected music dealers and another important figure in schlager publishing to mention is Kārlis Reinholds (1881–?). In 1910 he bought the shop and publishing house of the music publisher Carl Blosfeld (1859–1938), located at Aleksander Boulevard No.1.²⁰ As a merchant and publisher, Reinholds' interest in promoting latest party dance-songs had been evident since the early 1920s. In press advertisements, the music publishers and companies *Kārlis Reinholds* and *Julius Heinr. Zimmermann* in Riga offered foreign dances and Schlager, such as the 1922 German collection *Zu Tee und Tanz. Band 5 (Rigasche Rundschau 1923, 2)*.

²⁰ In 1923, it was renamed Brīvības Boulevard.



Picture 3. Kārlis Reinholds in 1928; Source: LNA LVVA 2996-16-7546, 4.

When Reinholds began to organise the series of editions of Latvian compositions called *Tautas mūzikas bibliotēka* in 1920, he was the first to publish works for voice and piano by Latvian composers of academic music.²¹ But he had no printing press. Initially, the printing took place in Hamburg at the *Musikaliendruckerei Moritz Dreissig*. Soon, however, lighter repertoire began to appear. Reinholds' store catalogue *Latvian original-compositions and foreign translations*²² in 1926 includes party dances that were arranged by dance teacher Mārtiņš Kauliņš (1864–1928). But the catalogue does not include any foreign schlager music titles or, for example, any of local dance-hits by composer Oskars Stroks.

Around 1928, Reinholds published three popular German and English schlager songs with no translated lyrics.²³ One of this editions bears the stamp 14.01.1928 of the Press and Societies Department of the Ministry of the Interior that indicates that the publication was authorised by the relevant authority. Copyrights were represented in Latvia by Reinholds (*Eigentum für Lettland K. Reinhold*), though printed by *Lit. W. Witting*. Wilhelm Witting (Vilhelms Vītiņš) (1895–?) cooperated with several publishers issuing foreign schlagers between 1927 and 1930.²⁴ For instance, *Edition Fox Riga* also published several foreign English and German schlagers in the late 1920s through Witting's lithography²⁵. During the economic crisis in 1932, Vītiņš went bankrupt, sold off his printing equipment and a few years later his printing company licence was canceled (*Jaunākās Ziņas*, 20.01.1932.; Rīgas pref. ārējā nodaļa 1935, 8).

21 The first publications were two songs by Emīls Dārziņš *Vēl tu rozēs plūc* and *Mātes gars*. *Latvju Mūzika*, Nr. 1, January 1, p. 28, 1921.

22 The edition is stored in the Small Prints Reading Room of the Latvian National Library

23 Fred Raymond/Charles Amberg *Wenn das Liebesbarometer auf schön wetter steht* for revue *Die Weilt um Mitternacht* (1927); James Huntley foxtrot *Wau-Wau-Stomp*; Anton Profes (1896–1976) foxtrot *Ursula*.

24 Lithograph W. Witting collaborated with *Edition Oscar Strock* and *Edition Fox*.

25 Cioja, Bernard [1927?]. *Why not (Pourquoi pas)*. Fox-Trot [sheet-music]. Rīga: Edition Fox.

Latvian composer Jāzeps Vītols, criticizing the then-current sheet music publishing trends in Riga, used particularly Reinholds' work as an example: "The matter of musical supply is most poorly settled. The second Riga publishing firm, Blosfeld (now Reinholds), is always engaged in reprinting cheap "merchantable sheets" in a faulty, careless edition, thereby doing more harm than real good" (Vītols 1932, 454).

Reinholds continued both importing and publishing sheet music. In 1934, *K. Reinholds* was listed in the Register of Trading Companies as the sale of musical instruments. In the 1930s he owned copyrights and distributed lots of untranslated German film-schlager piano-vocal scores. However, they were printed either by *Oscar Brandstetter* in Leipzig or by *Lith. & Druck Leopold Kraatz* in Berlin. Just to mention, that these issues bears all the copyrights and have original publication imprint numbers. Reinholds also kept the licence for sheet music publishing because he worked with adapted schlager-songs for the Latvian audience (Kļaviņš 1934, 6; LNA LVVA 3724-1-1473 1935, 102). In 1932 he released Fred Markush's tango-song with Latvian title *Mīla nebij tā*, translated by Jānis Āre. Publishing license was given to the German publisher *ALBERTI G.m.b.H.*, printing works were done in Riga in sheet music printing *Imanta*, at Stabu Street 49a.

Reinholds publishing was also very important for local authors. For example, between 1932 and 1936 he published the foxtrots and tango songs of Marks Marjanovskis (*Mark Marjanowsky*, also *Mark Marānovskij*, 1890–1944 or 1945). An author of Jewish origin, he was born in Kyiv province, but since the 1920s engaged in the trade business in Riga. It is not known whether he had studied composition, but his musical language expresses the most common genres of dance music (tango and foxtrot, also English waltz, slow foxtrot, and rumba, which was very popular in the early 1930s). At least 14 dance hits with piano accompaniments released in Riga are precisely dated. The more preserved recordings confirm his activity in the hit genre from the beginning of the 1930s until 1940 (Bērtiņš 2015, 316). Another Reinholds' client was Aleksandrs Okolo-Kulaks (1906–1989) who resided in Liepāja. Having PhD in economics, he nevertheless developed a deep interest in music. Until 1936, his schlager recordings and sheet music were mostly published abroad under the pseudonym Saša Vladi (also Sasha Vlady or Vladijs) (Grāvītis 2001, 15, 27). This is probably why not all of his known compositions or those mentioned in the literature can currently be found in Latvian libraries. However, in 1936, three editions with a total of 17 piano-vocal dance schlager pieces for from Okolo-Kulaks composed operetta *S.O.S.* were published by *K. Reinholds*. It should be noted that it was the only such original revue operetta in the 1930s in Latvia, however, it was never displayed on stage. The author of the operetta's lyrics is his wife Anna Okolo-Kulaks. The first edition took place in 1936 in Warsaw at the *Bemol* publishing house, so lyrics was Polish but hand written Latvian and German translations are included.

After 1934, the authoritarian regime of Kārlis Ulmanis consolidated its power and intensified censorship. The number of publishers of popular music sheet music dwindled. During the authoritarian period (1934–1940), businessmen of Latvian origin had advantages over minorities. Under these conditions in 1936, *Harmonija*, its owner Arvēds Andersons (1904–1989), became one of the leading schlager publishers in Rīga.

When Andersons wanted to open his sheet music publishing house in December 1936, reputation and obedience to the political regime was the most important. The Latvian National Archive documents reveal that information about him was also obtained from the Rīga radio program-director Kārlis Saulītis, to clarify Andersons activities so far. It was confirmed that Andersons' name appeared on some *Bellaccord-electro* records, which, as it was described in reference "contained a few pieces of light dance music" (LNA LVVA 3724-1-1475 1936, 685–687). *Harmonija* published included not only dance schlager pieces composed by Andersons himself, but foreign operettas and film Schlager albums as well. He issued also editions of the then increasingly popular Latvian party dance music by Alfrēds Vinters. During the German occupation of Latvia (1941–1944), the publishing house *Arwed Anderson Verlag* (1942–1944) issued many German schlager dance-songs for Latvian audience. It is surprising how little is known about Andersen's biography. Only certain facts are known about his personality and work, mostly based on his published schlager editions. His name appeared in the music industry in the mid-1930s, when in 1934 he translated the texts of foreign hits for the publishing houses *Accord* and *Casanova*. This made him, as if a seemingly marginal personality, the most popular schlager translator in Riga, whose name is mentioned in the most publications (240 in total).

Most of the above-mentioned lithographers and publishing house owners were important in existence of schlager music industry in Rīga. But another common feature was marked by the subsequent end of the interwar period. When Second World War broke out in 1939, part of the private printing works, including sheet music printers, stopped working. Some of them were German origin Riga inhabitants who were forced to emigrate from Latvia. Among them are the aforementioned Rūdolfš Pols, Alfrēds Šprote, Vilhelms Vītiņš, as well as the publisher Kārlis Reinholds, and many others. The remaining operating polygraphic enterprises, including Nikolajs Lēmanis, were nationalized shortly after the Soviet occupation in the summer of 1940 (Lācis 1940, 2).

133

Conclusions

The publication of schlager music in interwar Riga was a relatively brand-new branch of publishing. Within the period, it can be seen how the music publishing industry improved. If at the beginning of the period, only some attempts to publish foreign schlager are notable, then at least 17 active schlager publishers in Riga at the turn of the 1930s (1928–1931). Whereas in the 1930s, when the first local composers of dance music started publishing more actively in Riga, the number of publishers decreased, reaching three in 1938 but only *Harmonija* remained until the Soviet occupation in 1940.

The Great Depression (1929–1933) in Latvia showed the lack of sustainability of the local music industry and showed how economic fluctuations can have a direct impact on the number of publishing houses and the quantitative indicators of the published editions. The available printed schlager editions suggest that publishing houses were short-lived, especially at the turn of the 1920s and 1930s and most often existed

for only a few years. Furthermore, publications of foreign schlager printed by such lithographers as Vilhelms Vītiņš at the end of the 1920s are characterized by poor-quality, often monochrome printing, on low-quality paper. All above mentioned give as a clear indication allows us to conclude that such an action was hasty, focused on quick profit, sporadic and opportunistic. Unfortunately, the circumstances of sheet music publication are almost always unclear, documentation is fragmented, and it is not possible to find out how many publications have survived. At the time they were issued for use, not as much for collecting. The pressure of the ideology of the authoritarian rule of Kārlis Ulmanis was damaging for many representatives of minorities in industry because of which their activities in culture and business gradually decreased. But at the same time, it cannot be denied that in the period between the wars there was a gradual approach to the observance of internationally recognized copyright norms in Latvia as well. Legislative changes narrowed the scope of sheet music publishers, professionalizing the industry. Music publishers-printers-traders formed a cooperation network based on mutual economic interests and technical capabilities. But only a few Riga sheet music publishers and printers were able to raise their reputation in the short span of 22 years between the world wars, leaving a lasting imprint on the publishing of schlager sheet music. For instance, Rūdolfs Pols, the owner of the *Edition Accord* publishing house could survive economic and political impacts and become one of the leading sheet music publishers as well as music printers in Riga. In contrast, most remained only as short-lived titles on fragmentarily preserved copies in libraries. Not achieving high profit in the economy and not being recognized by the elite of the time, the small industry of schlager publishers in interwar Riga has not yet earned the proper attention of popular music researchers.

Defining the possibilities of further research, perhaps a new aspect is opened by the question of the protection of the copyrights of Riga's local schlager composers abroad. On the other hand, the closer perspectives of the study of the local music industry are related to the interaction with the printed music and shellac records.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

ARCHIVE DOCUMENTS

- LNA LVVA 2996-15-21135. Latvijas Republikas izsniegtās pases. Rūdolfš Pols.
- LNA LVVA 2996-16-7546. Latvijas Republikas izsniegtās pases. Kārlis Reinholds.
- LNA LVVA 2996-17-38649. Latvijas Republikas izsniegtās pases. Alfrēds Šprote.
- LNA LVVA 3724-1-1473. (1935) Izraksts no Rīgas prefektūras par izdevniecību darbību.
- LNA LVVA 3724-1-1474. (1935) Sabiedrisko lietu ministrijas Preses un biedrību departaments (Kioski, spiestuves, izdevniecības) 1935. g.
- LNA LVVA 3724-1-1475. (1936) Poligrafiskās iestādes. Izraksti par pieteikumiem uz izdevniecību atļaujām.
- LNA LVVA 3724-1-1490. (1921) Grafiskās iestādes, 1921. g. Iekšlietu Ministrijas Preses un biedrību nodaļa.
- LNA LVVA 3724-1-1492. (1922) Grafiskās iestādes Rīgā. Iekšlietu ministrijas Preses un biedrību nodaļa.
- LNA LVVA 3724-1-1493. (1920) Grafiskās iestādes Rīgā. Iekšlietu ministrijas Preses un biedrību nodaļa.
- LNA LVVA 3724-1-1495. (1922) Grafiskās iestādes 1922. g. Iekšlietu ministrijas Preses un biedrību nodaļa.
- LNA LVVA 3724-1-1496. (1923) Grafiskās iestādes. Iekšlietu ministrijas Preses un biedrību nodaļa.
- LNA LVA 1987-1-17038. (1941) 1941.gada 14. jūnijā no Latvijas izsūtīto iedzīvotāju personas lietas. Felikss Starpiņš.

135

SHEET MUSIC

- Cioja, Bernard. *Why not (Pourquoi pas)*. Fox-Trot [sheet-music]. Rīga: Edition Fox, [1927?]
- Hünemeyer, Hans (1929). *Blutrote Rosen*. *Slow-fox* [sheet-music]. Rīga: Edition Harold, [1929].
- Krome, Hermann, Huntley, James. *Wau-Wau-Stomp* [sheet-music]. Rīga: K. Reinhold, [1928]
- Populāras Melodijas. Nr. 1*. [sheet-music]. Rīga: Melodija, [1934]
- Profes, Anton. *Ursula: Foxtrot* [sheet-music]. Rīga: K. Reinhold, [19--].

Raymond, Fred (1927). *Wenn das Liebesbarometer auf schön Wetter steht*. From *Rewue Die Welt um Mitternacht* [sheet-music]; Rīga: K. Reinhold, [19-?].

Stroks, Oskars. *Russian Jazz. Русский джаз*. [sheet-music]. Rīga: Kazanova, [1937].

PERIODICALS

Autora tiesību likums. *Likumu un Ministru kabineta noteikumu krājums* Nr. 11(1937). 622–630.

Celmiņš, Augusts. Tirdzniecības un ārzemju tirgotāju pārstāvju koncesionēšana. *Ekonomists* (1937). Nr.1, 19–20.

Kalniņš, Alfrēds. Muzika Igaunijā. *Latvijas Vēstnesis*, 02.02.1924., 6.

Kļaviņš, K. Rīgas apgabaltiesas Tirdzniecības reģistra nodaļa. *Valdības Vēstnesis*, 05.12.1934., 6.

Kronika. *Latvijas Grāmatrūpnieks* (1930), Nr. 8, 2–3.

Latvju Mūzika, Nr. 1, 01.01.1921., 28.

Lācis, Vilis. (1940) Ministru Kabineta Lēmums. *Valdības Vēstnesis*, 10.05.1940., 2.

Likums par poligrāfiskām iestādēm. *Likumu un Ministru kabineta noteikumu krājums*, (1924). Nr. 5, 54–55.

Likums par tirdzniecību ar poligrāfisko iestāžu ražojumiem, par bibliotēkām un lasītavām. *Likumu un Ministru kabineta noteikumu krājums* (1924). Nr. 21, 250.

Likums par valsts valodu. *Likumu un Ministru kabineta noteikumu krājums* (1935). Nr. 1, 1–2.

Noteikumi par valsts valodu. *Likumu un Ministru kabineta noteikumu krājums* (1932). Nr. 4, 23.

Pagaidu noteikumi par tirdzniecību ar drukas darbiem, par bibliotēkām un lasītavām. *Likumu un valdības rīkojumu Krājums* (1921). Nr. 4, 65–66.

Pārgrozījumi. *Likumu un Ministru kabineta noteikumu krājums* (1930). Nr. 19, 381

Paziņojumi. Koncerts Latvijas Konservatorijas zālē. *Rīts*, 25.01.1936., 8.

Preses Apskats. *Mūzikas Nedēļa* (1924). Nr. 8, 154–159.

Preses Likums. *Likumu un Ministru kabineta noteikumu krājums* (1938). Nr. 5, 119–123.

Rīgas pref. ārējā nodaļa. *Valdības Vēstnesis*, 05.08.1935., 8.

Tiesu sludinājumi. Rīgas apgabaltiesas Tirdzniecības reģistra nodaļa. *Valdības Vēstnesis*, 05.03.1940., 5.

Valdības rīkojumi un pavēles. *Valdības Vēstnesis*, 19.07.1935., 1.

Vietējās Ziņas. *Jaunākās Ziņas*, 20.01.1932., 6.

Z. B. Vīrs, ko pazīst visi komponisti. *Daugavas Vanagi: latviešu karavīru frontes laikraksts*, Nr. 11, 1944., 8.

Zilnieks, Juris. Pieskaņas. Filmas – muzikālo sēnalu avoti. *Brīvā Zeme*, 18.02.1938., 2.

Zirgēls, J. Rīgas apgabaltiesas VI iec. Tiesu izpildītājs. *Valdības Vēstnesis*, 27.09.1926., 5.

“Zu Tee Und Tanz. Band 5.” Die Generalvertreter Für Lettland K. Reinhold; Jul. Heinr. Zimmermann. *Rigasche Rundschau*: 18.10.1923, 2.

Kino Metropol. *Segodnja*. 06.05.1928, 7.

Vse tancuūt, igraūt i poūt populārnye šlāgera i romansy. Večernee vremā: dejstvennaā russkaā gazeta. 08.03.1924., 3.

LITERATURE

Auziņš, Ansis (1942). *Latviešu, vācu un krievu grāmatrūpniecības vārdnīca*. Rīga: Latvju grāmata.

Bērtiņš, Atis Gunvaldis (2015). *Latviešu skaņuplašu vēsture I*. Rīga: Vesta-LK.

Bondare, Daiga (2011). *Kultūrsituācijas atspoguļojums nošu izdevumos Latvijā 1918. līdz 1944*. Maģistra darbs. Rīga: Latvijas Kultūras akadēmija.

Elliker, Calvin (1996). Sheet Music Special Issues: Formats and Functions. *Notes* 53, 9–17

Garofalo, R. (1999). From Music Publishing to MP3: Music and Industry in the Twentieth Century. *American Music* 17, 318–354.

Goldmark, Daniel (2007). Creating Desire on Tin Pan Alley. *The Musical Quarterly* 90, 197–229.

Grāvītis, O. (2000). *No operetes Liepājā līdz Kārnegi zālei Ņujorkā: latviešu komponista un pianista Aleksandra Okolo-Kulaka (1906–1989) likteņgaitas*. Rīga: Jumava.

Grīnbergs, Jānis (1925). *Grāmata par grāmatu: Latvijas grāmatrūpniecības arodu savienības grafiskās komisijas rakstu krājums, 1*. Rīga: J. Rozes apgādiens.

Gronow, Pekka, ILPO Saunio, and Christopher MOSELEY (1998). *An international history of the recording industry*. London: Cassell.

Grunte, Vija (2007). Oskars Stroks. Tango. *Latvijas Arhīvi*, 1, 73–94.

Izceļojušo vācu tautības pilsoņu saraksts (1940). Rīga: Iekšlietu ministrijas Administratīvā departamenta izdevums.

Kornberger, Monika Berta (2018). *Deutscher Schlager der Zwischenkriegszeit und seine Protagonisten in Wien “Einmal Sang Die Liebe Uns Ein Lied.”*. Dissertation. Karl-Franzens-Universität Graz.

- Kudiņš, Jānis (2019). *Oskars Stroks: Tango karaļa mantojums*. Rīga: Zinātne.
- Ledaunieks, Valija (1940). *Grāmatu izdevniecība*. Diploma Darbs. Rīga: Latvijas Universitāte.
- Liepiņš, Oļģerts (1982). *Tālos atspulgos: mana mūža atmiņas*. Toronto: Daugavas Vanagu Kanādas valde.
- Maļinovskis, Sergejs (2009). *Autortiesību rašanās un attīstība Latvijā 20. gadsimtā*. Bakalaura darbs. Rīga: LU Juridiskā fakultāte.
- Mūziķa Kalendārs: Rokasgrāmata (1934). Rīga: Kazanova.
- Pērkone, Inga (2008). *Kino Latvijā 1920–1940*. Rīga: Zinātne.
- Rūpniecības Statistika = Statistique de l'industrie*. (1939) Rīga: Valsts Statistiskā pārvalde.
- Rūpniecības Statistika = Statistique de l'industrie*. (1940) Rīga: Valsts Statistiskā pārvalde.
- Rūpniecības Statistika = Statistique de l'industrie*. (1938) Rīga: Valsts Statistiskā pārvalde.
- Salnais, V., Jurēvics, J. (1938). *Pirmā tirdzniecības skaitīšana Latvijā 1935. gadā*. Rīga: Valsts Statistiskā pārvalde.
- Švītiņa, Laura (2023). *Latvijas Skaņražu kopa (1923-1939) un tās nozīme mūzikas dzīvē*. Maģistra darbs. Rīga.
- Vītols, Jāzeps (1932). *Latvju mūzika. Latvieši II*, Rīga: Valters un Rapa.
- Zelmenis, Gints (2007). *Latvijas kultūras politika neatkarīgas valsts pastāvēšanas sākumā (1918-1922)*. *Latvijas Vēsture. Jaunie un Jaunākie Laiki*, Nr. 2, 28–40.
- Zelmenis, Gints (2012). *Latvijas Republikas kultūras politika 1918.–1934*. Promocijas Darbs. Rīga: Latvijas Universitāte.
- Boorman, Stanley, Eleanor Selfridge-Field, and Donald W. Krummel (2001). *Printing and Publishing of Music*. Vo. 1; Available at: <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0000040101>. (Accessed 20.12.2023)
- Tawa, Nicholas (2014). *Sheet Music*. In *Oxford Music Online*, Oxford University Press. Available at: <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/grovemusic/documentID/omo-9781561592630-e-1002257275>. (Accessed 20.12.2023)
- 20. gadsimta Latvijas vēsture. II daļa* (2003). Ed. Valdis Bērziņš. Rīga: Latvijas Vēstures institūta apgāds.