# THE MALINA BROTHERS AND REVIVAL OF CZECHOSLOVAK NORMALIZATION-ERA SONGS

# Lee Bidgood

In this project I found myself addressing questions Tom Dickins poses at the conclusion of his 2017 article about 'Folk Spectrum Music' - what he calls folk, country, and tramp songs created in Czechoslovakia during the so-called normalization period. Dickins wonders if the continued vitality of this music is due to continuity with the past, about the importance of nostalgia for one's lost youth - and about the apolitical nature of the songs (Dickins 2017: 690). In my paper last year, I considered the way that the Malina Brothers' work is rooted in a playful, reflective nostalgia (Boym 2008). This year I focus on the Malinas' negotiation of private and public discourse that the songs originally facilitated. I focus on interviews with Luboš, Pavel, and Pepa Malina, and Pavel Peroutka, examining their negotiation between local and cosmopolitan identities, and between their artistic goals and audience expectations. I conclude by discussing depoliticization, arguing that music that emphasized sentimentality and downplayed politics during the 1970s-1980s can be useful in today's polarized social/political life. What might we learn from the Malinas and their audiences about negotiation between fact and affect, past and present?

## **Choosing Songs**

As the Malinas chose their repertory, they were considering what songs meant in the past, and how their sounds and meanings resonate today: for example, the balance of comic and serious songs. Luboš Malina explains: "We just brought what we played in a pub, we brought it to the stage. And gradually we adopted those cover songs that in my opinion are only good for the pub. These are songs like "Jesse James", or "To bylo v Dakotě o vejplatě", or "Felina z El Pasa." This way the Malinas have kept some normalizationera songs.

Luboš discusses a comic example: "*Stín, stín, stará řeka*" by Stanislav Skala/Huňáč: "It's the idealization of the Wild West, a Western story. I think it's very funny. It is a silly, fictional story. The author has never been to America, he only knew it from some Westerns, but invented a story like this, catchy. So, this is one part of the face of the Malina Brothers." (1)

Luboš continues: "There are somewhat more serious songs written by another author, Mirek Jaroš, "Skunk"; they are a bit more serious but still as simple, such as "A život běží dál, jako bílej kůň / a zastaví jenom jedenkrát". Or another, with such a beautiful poetic turn: "*Nech svět ať se točí dál*". These are reminders of what we were experiencing when we used to go to this camp Rábiš near Dvůr Králové. We just spent the weekend there from Friday to Sunday. And we would always play there. Here Skunk incorporated simply into the lyrics the memories and the feelings of such sessions." Luboš cited lines from "Nech svět ať se točí dál": "Máš kroky lehký, když jdeš trávou, otvíráš mříže na chodbách / na farmách ráno voní kávou, já na tu vůni chvíli sáh". Here abstract images are much more poetic than the direct storytelling of "*Stín, stín, stará řeka*". (1)

# Hyperbole, Sincerity, and Perspective

Pepa [Malina] explained that he eventually understood the balance of comic and serious at the core of the Malina Brothers project: "I managed to tune in after five years to what in the band was the strongest and what worked. It's kind of a joke among the whole band, I mean that we work with hyperbole." He also recalled: "When we started playing, Luboš didn't want the band to sound too serious. He wanted there to be some kind of exaggeration in the music." Pepa stressed: "We like this style of humor, and it is natural for us to put this style of humor into the music." (2)

He added that they poke fun in an earnest way, one that is accepted by audiences who have their own affection for these songs: "These are songs that maybe these people have known for 30 years, 40 years. People feel that we do them honestly, they are not calculated, they come from the heart, there's no kind of manipulation in it. It's just real, truthful. We do not pick out material according to what people like, but what we like, what we think will fit us". (3)

Luboš repeated this idea of 'honest' interpretation of songs: "We play songs, simple songs, but we play them on a high instrumental level. I think it is a kind of reminiscence of old times. I'm talking about the sixties, seventies, when country music originated, not only in America, but also here, and when it was honest music. Noncommercial, sincere music that wasn't made to be a business, but because someone felt the need to write a song and tell a story, and his approach was honest. I would say that these are all honest things and I think that we do them honestly." (4)

Luboš argues that the group pokes fun, but in a loving way: "We are not laughing at the old song, there's more feeling in it. There's also the love of it, and there's a certain perspective, or distance. Some people can take it like we're joking around, but in a positive way, and some can only take it seriously. And they like it. Without irony. They might not notice the irony in it, but the irony is there, of course. At least from my point of view." (5)

Pavel Peroutka linked this boundary between a joke and a seriousness to the idea of 'naive art' and the difficulty in performing a 'naive' piece: "It is difficult to recognize the boundary. I know a lot of naive painters who are just great, and there is some childishness in their art. It is difficult to do ordinary naive pieces from those tramp times so that you don't damage them." (6) Of course, the Malinas are re-interpreting the songs, reviving them, and thus changing them per Rosenberg's conception (1995), for example by performing them in a different political climate.

## **Depoliticization / Polarization**

Participants in Czechoslovak normalization-era folk-spectrum music evaded censorship and other governmental controls by avoiding controversial issues, keeping their ideas about the government in their private spheres (Yurchak 2013: 118). Country music (and bluegrass) was permitted by the communist regime, since, unlike the more dissident parts of the folk-music spectrum, most country music practice "did not seek to effect social change, and [...] tended to avoid polemical issues" (Dickins 2017: 661).

Political scientist Justin Acome, drawing on his fieldwork at bluegrass festivals in the U.S. state of Ohio, has considered depoliticizing of bluegrass music in contemporary settings, arguing that "Bluegrass, in all the places I saw it and in all the people with whom I spoke (all of those who make it a thing worth thinking about) is such a perfect model of the sort of popular cultural, aesthetic, traditional 'thing'a thing claiming silence on matters of contemporary politics, and a thing claiming apparently, naturally immutable historical-rootedness - which, together, comprise the visage of depoliticization that makes bluegrass an almost paradigmatically political object (Acome 2013: 21). For Acome, practices or attitudes of depoliticization are "the ways that politics are made implicit" and "can be a way people are denied access to the political interactions that may be their only source of recognition or dignity" (Acome 2013: 5). Acome reinforces folklorist Benjamin Filene's ambivalence about revivals of folk music that present it as 'Frozen in time'; Filene finds revivals that present folk elements "not as isolated relics but as vital parts of living social systems", as less ethically problematic (Filene 2004: 57, 54). For Acome, reification through exclusive and full knowledge is a way of freezing and depoliticizing bluegrass: "Treating it as a thing rather than a social phenomenon [...] putting its definition outside the realm of contestation, misunderstanding, and contention. Pretending it is a self-evident thing that is not negotiable" (Acome 2013: 57).

Dickins argues that while country music "covertly promoted a non-political worldview through its disengagement from people's everyday experience [...] the interdiscursive dimension of country and tramping songs, with their romanticization of the Wild West, invited speculation about life far away, geographically, diachronically, and ideologically, from normalization Czechoslovakia" (Dickins 2017: 662–663). This speculation in the subjunctive mode (Bealle 1993), seems to be a part of the Malina Brothers' qualifying approach. In addition to their playful negotiation of nostalgia, the Malinas avoid polarization: they avoid a single lead singer, don't limit their instrumentation, and avoid genre classification. Still, they are conscious of how their musical activity connects and situates them in socio-political ways.

## **Conclusion: Hope**

Luboš Malina described his dissatisfaction with contemporary culture, media, and politics, and his desire to disconnect from it. "I don't want to stand out completely like 'I don't care', because it's not true, I do care, but I know that for what I want to do, it hurts to care about politics. Not just about politics, but about the whole commercial smog that's here. Radio, television, commercials, newspapers, that's a smog that I don't want to breathe. That's why I have canceled the television, canceled the radio, and I just choose what I want to see and what I want to hear. When I work on my pictures, it feels like when we are playing music: I don't care if someone likes it. I do it for myself." (7) Luboš reflected that the Malinas' concerts can also function as an escape for audiences: "Today's politics is a mess. Here. Maybe there [i.e., the U.S.], too. People come to our concert and forget about politics. Suddenly it's just fun and they say it's a caress of the soul. They enjoy it and forget their worries." Pepa echoed this idea of therapeutic escape: "A lady comes and says, 'I didn't even want to go to your concert, I was just so sad last month, because my 80-year-old mother died, whom I was very close to. But eventually my friend dragged me to the concert and I'm glad I came. You took me completely into another world and made me terribly happy'." (8)

Acome sees in contemporary [U.S.] bluegrass both a continuation of past racist and classist violence, but also means for the kind of healing that the Malinas accomplish in their performances: "The honest joke provides the respite of a safe place away from conflict and difference where they get on with the more important question, perhaps, of to whom the music winks, who is in on the joke – and ideally focusing more on the asking of the question than on answering it." (Acome 2013: 175–176) The Malina Brothers project has provoked criticism from hard-core Czech bluegrassers who wish they were more 'bluegrass' and has challenged U.S. audiences to think about how bluegrass might be a 'native language' for Czechs; it has also sustained the members through a decade of work, and a pandemic. Considering their playful and serious treatment of seemingly trite material from the past, I am inspired to ask how we as performers and scholars can interpret music from previous eras in ways that are aesthetically and ethically coherent, and how we can engage audiences across polarizing lines of ideology and generation gaps. How can we include people in the joke, the song, and the story of music?

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#### Summary

While individuals in the Malina Brothers group (brothers Luboš, Pavel, and Pepa, along with Pavel Peroutka) have been part of the flourishing bluegrass scene in the Czech Republic, the group emphasizes through their performance choices a sense of geographic and cultural location rather than an association with a particular genre. One of the ways that they emphasize their particular group identity is through their use of repertory associated with their hometown of Náchod, in particular retextings of English-language bluegrass, folk, and country songs by local songsmiths such as Mirek "Skunk" Jaroš made during the era of "normalization" (mainly during the 1970s–1980s). In this presentation I use close readings of texts, recordings, and analysis of fieldwork media and interviews with the band to argue that the group uses this retexted repertory in their negotiation between local and cosmopolitan identities. The Malinas' use of the range of string band and vocal material continues some of the cultural and social work that Tom Dickins finds in his discussion (2017) of normalization-era "Folk-spectrum music," but with added layers of memory and nostalgia, and new perspectives on the relationship between Czechs and the United States.

Key words: Nostalgia; Czech bluegrass music; Czech country music; normalization era in Czechoslovakia

## Příloha / Appendix Interview excerpts (Original and author's translation)

Interviews conducted by the author with support from a grant by Fulbright Czech Republic in 2018–2019. Interview with Luboš and Pepa Malina in Český Krumlov (25 May 2019); interview with Pavel Peroutka in Prague (3 June 2019).

### (1) Luboš Malina:

No to je právě písnička ze 70. let, kterou napsal vedoucí skupiny Kliďánko. Kliďánko byla první kapela, kde jsem začal hrát na housle, mně bylo 13 let. Rok 1972. To bylo v Náchodě a je to taková idealizace Divokýho západu, takovej western příběh. Představ si: "*Stará řeka, ve stínu je ranč a tam čeká moje milá. A já se vracím domů a dám jí svoji lásku. Jenonže končí cesta, končí houští, já jedu na koni, začíná poušť.*" A nakonec ho ta poušť samozřejmě dostane: "*Všude je písek a to teplo, jako by se peklo vzteklo*". To je myslím hodně vtipný. "*Kdyby tak trochu mrzlo,*" že. No a pak je tam: "*Tak jsi usnul, milý brachu.*" To znamená, že on tam usnul a umřel. "*Netrápí tě mraky prachu, tak ať se ti něco prima zdá. A ten tvůj klidný spánek jistě ohlidá.*" No, takže to je takováhle písnička, takovejhle příběh, je to příklad toho, že je to dneska trochu hloupé, vymyšlenej příběh, ten člověk nikdy nebyl v Americe, ten to znal jenom z nějakejch westernů, ale vymyslel si takovejhle příběn a napsal píseň, která má strašně chytlavej refrén "*Stín, stín, stará řeka a za řekou milá čeká.*"

Jednoduché akordy, jednoduchá melodie. Každej si to zapamatuje, každej si to zpívá. Takže tohle je jedna část tváře Malina Brothers, takovýhle věci.

Pak tam jsou trošku vážnější písničky, který psal zas jinej autor, Mirek Jaroš, Skunk, a ty jsou už trošku serióznější, ale pořád jednoduchý – "Život běží dál, jako bílej kůň a zastaví jenom jedenkrát." Anebo takový krásný poetický obraty jako třeba "Nech svět ať se točí dál". A to je mimochodem cover a já teď nevím, jak se to jmenuje v angličtině, asi Make World Go Round. Skunk akorát změnil melodii a my hrajeme tu melodii, kterou napsal on, protože se k tomu textu hodí víc než ten originál. No ale v textu jsou krásný poetický obraty. A jsou to připomínky toho, co jsme zažívali, když jsme jezdili na takovou osadu Rábiš nedaleko Dvora Králové. Tam jsme prostě trávili víkend od pátku do neděle. A vždycky se tam hrálo. A tam byly dva manželský páry, dva starší a dva mladší páry, a dohromady hráli a zpívali a říkali si Farmáři.

Well, that's the 1970s song written by the band leader of Klid'ánko. Klid'ánko was the first band where I started playing the violin, when I was 13 years-old. The year 1972. It was in Náchod, and it was a certain idealization of the Wild West, a Western story. Imagine: "An old river, there's a ranch in the shade and there my sweetheart waits for me. And I return home and give her my love. But the road ends, the thicket ends, I ride a horse, the desert begins." And eventually the desert gets him. Well, "sand and heat are everywhere, as if hell was angry." This I think is very funny. "Wish there was a freeze," you know. And then there is, so you fell asleep, my buddy, that means he fell asleep there and died. "Don't worry about clouds of dust, wish you have good dreams. And your beloved horse is ready, to take care of you, of your calm sleep." Well, so it's a song like this, so this is an example of it, actually today it's a fictional story, the man has never been to America, he only knew it from some Westerns, but invented a story like this, and he wrote a song that has got a really catchy chorus "Shadow, shadow, old river, and your sweetheart waits across the river."



Luboš Malina. Photo by Lee Bidgood 2019

Simple chords, simple melody. So, everyone remembers it, everybody sings it. So, this is one part of the face of the Malina Brothers, things like that.

Then there are somewhat more serious songs written by another author, Mirek Jaroš, "Skunk", and they are a bit more serious but still as simple – "*Life goes on like a white horse and stops only once.*" Or such a beautiful poetic phrase as this – "*Let the world continue to spin.*" And that's cover by the way, and now I don't know what it's called in English, perhaps "Make World Go Round." Skunk just changed the melody, and we play the tune he wrote, because it fits the lyrics more than the original. Well, there are beautiful poetic phrases in the text. And these are reminders of what we were experiencing when we used to go to this camp Rábiš near Dvůr Králové. There we just spent the weekend from Friday to Sunday. And we always played there. And there were two married couples, two older and two younger couples, and they played together and sang and called themselves the Farmers.

### (2) Pepa Malina:

Hele, já jsem pochopil Malina Brothers až někdy asi po pěti letech. Nebo jsem se dokázal naladit až po pěti letech do toho, v čem ta kapela vlastně je nejsilnější a v čem funguje. On to je takovej trošku žert, celá ta kapela, myslím tím, že tam je nadsázka. Já nevím, jestli to bude srozumitelný, jak to teď řeknu, ale my máme v Čechách hodně specifický humor a je to vidět na filmech. A je tady natočenej film, kterej se jmenuje *Limonádový Joe*. A to je taková... u nás se tomu říká koňská opera, a ten film je natočenej s nadsázkou, jsou tam parodie, je to taková parodie na Divokej západ, na western a tak. A my jsme na



Pepa Malina. Photo by Lee Bidgood 2019

tom vyrůstali, nám se líbí tenhle styl humoru a je nám přirozený ten styl humoru dát i do muziky. Takže třeba když hrajeme *Rychlejší koně*, tak to je přesně ten styl, kterej nás asi nějakým způsobem specifikuje, nebo Éra parních lokomotiv: "*Klikity klak, klikity klak, projíždí nádraží, klikity klak, s těžkou tonáží.*" To jsou takový úsměvný fráze nebo slova, který se nedají zpívat s vážnou tváří, tomu se musíš smát. Já vím, že Američani mají trošku cit nebo smysl pro nějakej patos.

Vlastně i Luboš, když jsme začali hrát, tak on nechtěl, aby to znělo vážně, ta kapela. A on chtěl, aby v tý muzice byla nějaká nadsázka.

Look, even I didn't understand what the Malina Brothers was until after five years, maybe. Or I managed to tune in after five years to what in the band is the strongest and what works. It's kind of a joke among the whole band, I think, that there's hyperbole, I don't know if it will be understandable, as I say it now, but we have a lot of specific humor in the Czech Republic, and you can see it in the movies. And there's a movie called *Limonádový Joe* (Lemonade Joe). And it is something like... we call it a 'horse opera,' and the movie is made with exaggeration, there are parodies, it is just a parody of the Wild West, Western films, and so and we grew up on it, we like this style of humor and

it is natural for us to put this style of humor into the music, so when we play "Rychlejší konë" (Faster Horses), it is exactly the style that somehow is specific to us, or "Éra parních lokomotiv" (Era of the Steam Locomotives): "Clickety-clack, clickety-clack, passing through the station, clickety-clack, with heavy tonnage." These are funny phrases or words that you just can't sing with a serious face, you just must laugh. I know that Americans have kind of a sense or idea of pathos.

Actually, when we started playing, it was even Luboš who didn't want it to sound serious, the band. And he wanted there to be some kind of exaggeration in the music.

### (3) Pepa Malina:

A že jsou to písničky, které třeba lidi znají 30 let, 40 let, a že lidi cítí, že to děláme upřímně, není to kalkul, že to jde od srdce, že v tom není nějaká vypočítavost. Je to prostě skutečný, opravdový.

A taky vlastně neděláme věci, nebo nevybíráme si věci podle toho, co by se mohlo líbit lidem, ale to, co se líbí nám, co si myslíme, že nám sedne.

These are songs that maybe these people have known for 30 years, 40 years, and that people feel that we do it honestly, it's not calculated, it comes from the heart, it's not like there is some kind of manipulation in it. It's just real, truthful.

And we don't do things, or better, we do not pick out material according to what people like, but what we like, what we think will fit us.

#### (4) Luboš Malina:

Hrajeme písničky, jednoduchý písničky, ale hrajeme je na vysoký instrumentální úrovni a myslím si, že to je trošku připomenutí starejch časů, mluvím teďka o šedesátých, sedmdesátých letech, kdy vznikala country music, nejenom v Americe, ale i tady, a kdy to bylo upřímná hudba. Ne komerční – upřímná hudba, kdy nevznikala proto, aby z toho byl byznys, ale proto, že někdo cítil potřebu napsat písničku o jakýmkoliv příběhu, a že to bylo upřímný. Ty český písničky, nebo český překlady těch amerických bluegrassovejch nebo countryových písniček, to je moc pěkný, to jsou všechno, já říkám, upřímný věci a myslím si, že my to děláme upřímně. Že děláme to, na čem jsme vyrostli, protože já všechny ty písničky znám, nebo většinu z nich znám od doby, kdy mi bylo dvanáct, třináct let a kdy jsem s touhle muzikou začínal jako houslista.

We play songs, simple songs, but we play them on a high instrumental level, and I think it is a kind of reminiscence of old times, I'm talking about the sixties, seventies, when country music originated, not only in America, but also here, and when it was honest music. Not commercial: non-commercial, sincere music that wasn't made to be a business, but because someone felt the need to write a song about some kind of story and it was honest. These Czech songs, or Czech translations of American bluegrass or country songs, they are very nice, I would say that these are all honest things and I think, that we do them honestly. That we are doing what we grew up on, because I know all those songs, or I know most of them since I was 12, 13 years old, and when I started this music as a violinist.

#### (5) Luboš Malina:

Jo, tak to v tom trošku taky je, ta recese, jakože to nemyslíme tak úplně vážně, ale není to jenom to, že bychom se vysmívali, je v tom víc pocitů. Je v tom zároveň ta láska k tomu, víš, ale je tam i nadhled, nebo odstup, nebo jak to říct.

Já si myslím, že některý lidi to můžou vzít, jako že si z toho děláme srandu, ale v dobrým slova smyslu... a některý to můžou vzít jenom vážně. A líbí se jim to.

(Lee Bidgood: Bez ironie.)

Bez ironie. Že v tom třeba ironii nepoznají, ale ironie v tom je samozřejmě. Aspoň z mýho pohledu.

Well, that's a little bit like that, the mischief, like we don't mean it entirely seriously, but it's not like we're just laughing at it, there's more feeling in it. There's also the love of it, you know, but there's also the perspective, or the distance, or how to say it.

I think that some people can take it like we're joking around, but in a positive way... and some can only take it seriously. And they like it.

(Lee Bidgood: Without irony.)

Without irony. They might not notice the irony in it, but the irony is there, of course. At least from my point of view.

#### (6) Pavel (Pája) Peroutka:

Víš, co je strašně složitý? Složitý je rozpoznat tu hranici, protože ji každej má nastavenou jinak. Protože co je pro tebe kýč, nemusí bejt pro mě a naopak. Je to prostě něco, s čím nesouzním úplně, ale neznamená to, že třeba odsoudím naivní věci, to bys musel zahodit celý naivní malířství. Protože naivismus je možná trošku spojenej s kýčem, nebo je ta hranice tenká, ale znám spoustu naivních malířů, který jsou prostě skvělý, je v tom nějaká dětskost, a přitom je to umění. A to je těžký udělat a rozlišit. Jako třeba v tomhle. A pak je těžký dojít k tomu udělat obyčejnou naivní věc z těch trampských dob, abys jí neublížil. Aby nebyla opravdu jen udělaná tak, že si řekneš: "No to je prostě srandovní, že jo?"

Do you know what is so complicated? It is difficult to recognize the boundary because each person has different settings. Because what is kitsch for you may not be for me and vice versa. It's just something that I do not resonate with completely, but it does not mean that I would repel naive things, you would have to throw away the whole naive art of painting. Because naivism may be a bit related to kitsch, or the line is thin, but I know a lot of naive painters who are just great, and there is some childishness in it and at the same time it's art. And that's hard to create and to distinguish. Same as in this [Malinas' music]. And then it is difficult to do such an ordinary naive thing from those tramp times, so you don't damage them. So that it wouldn't be done in a way, like you are saying, "Well, that's just funny, isn't it?"

#### (7) Luboš Malina:

Ale zase na druhou stranu si uvědomuju, že nechci stát úplně mimo, jakože je mi to jedno, protože to není pravda, mně to není jedno, ale vím, že pro to, co chci dělat, mi škodí



Pavel.(Pája) Peroutka.Photo by Lee Bidgood 2019

se zajímat o politiku. A nejenom o politiku, ale o celej ten komerční smog, co tady je. Rádio, televize, reklamy, noviny, to je smog, kterej já nechci dejchat. A proto jsem zrušil televizi, zrušil jsem rádio a jenom si vybírám, co chci vidět a co chci slyšet. A když dělám obrázky, tak to je něco podobnýho, jako když hrajeme muziku, že mně to je jedno, jestli se to někomu líbí. Já to dělám pro sebe. A pro to, že to někomu občas dám a občas něco prodám. A to je fajn. Ale není to rozhodně ten prvotní impulz.

But on the other hand, I realize that I don't want to stand out completely like "I don't care," because it's not true, I do care, but I know that for what I want to do, it hurts to care about politics. And not just about politics, but about the whole commercial smog that's here. Radio, television, commercials, newspapers, that's a smog that I don't want to breathe. And that's why I have canceled the television, canceled the radio, and I just choose what I want to see and what I want to hear. When I work on my pictures, it feels like when we are playing music, I don't care if someone likes it. I do it for myself. And for giving it to somebody sometimes and sometimes selling something. [laughing] And that's fine. But it is certainly not the initial impulse.

### (8) Pepa Malina:

A já si myslím, že ty lidi choděj i díky tomu, že na koncertě relaxujou, že si vzpomenou, jaký to bylo, že znají ty písničky a že se uvolněj a přestanou myslet na to, že tady moje Maruška má zlomenou nohu, nebo teď mě čeká doplatit hypotéka ještě deset let a tak. A často se stane, že přijde paní a říká: "Já jsem ani nechtěla na ten váš koncert jít, mně bylo poslední měsíc tak smutno, protože mi umřela moje osmdesátiletá maminka, ke který jsem měla hrozně blízko. Ale nakonec mě kamarádka vytáhla na koncert a já jsem strašně ráda, že jsem šla. Vy jste mě dostali úplně do jinýho světa a udělali jste mi hroznou radost." Tak to jsou různý motivace těch lidí proč choděj, já nevím vlastně, proč choděj. Já si to jenom myslím.

And I think that people come also because they relax there at the concert, they remember what it used to be, they know the songs and they relax and stop thinking that my Maruška has a broken leg or now I must pay off my mortgage for ten more years and so on. And it often happens that a lady comes and says, "I didn't even want to go to your concert, I was just so sad last month, because my 80-year-old mother died, whom I was very close to. But eventually my friend dragged me to the concert and I'm glad that I came. You took me completely into another world and made me terribly happy." So, there are various motivations of these people, why they come. I don't know exactly why they come. That's what I think.