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**PLAYING PANPIPES IN SOUTHERN RUSSIA:  
HISTORY, ETHNOGRAPHY, AND PERFORMANCE PRACTICES**

**VOL. I**

**DISSERTATION**

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for  
the Degree Doctor of Philosophy in the Graduate  
School of The Ohio State University

by

Olga V. Velichkina, M.A.

\* \* \* \* \*

The Ohio State University  
1998

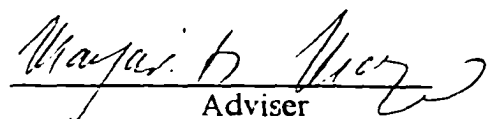
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## **ABSTRACT**

This study is an ethnomusicological description and analysis of the panpipe tradition in South Kursk province, Russia. It investigates current musical practices of panpipe playing in this region and compares them with the state of the same tradition in this region as observed by researchers half a century ago.

The dissertation provides an account of the history of research on Russian panpipes, starting from their first description by Guthrie (1795), and 19th-century ethnographic observations. The most important research on Russian panpipes was conducted by Kvitka, Kulakovskii and Rudneva in the 1930s -1960s.

In addition to South Kursk province, panpipes are also found in some districts of the Bryansk and Kaluga provinces. Features common to the different regional traditions in Russia include the restriction of panpipe playing to women, a preference for ensemble playing with rhythmic dovetailing between different parts, and the production of both vocal and instrumental sounds while playing panpipes.

The South Kursk panpipe tradition is in decline and only a few players remain in the region, compared with hundreds of players observed by previous fieldworkers. The tendency to abandon panpipe playing in villages, however, is to some extent offset by the growing interest of the urban folklore revivalist movement in village panpipe traditions. This interest affects the situation in the villages themselves by creating new opportunities for panpipe performances such as concerts and recording sessions.

The analytic parts of the dissertation include analyses of panpipe tuning, performance terminology, and musical analyses of selected panpipe performances. The analysis of players' views on panpipes and their descriptions of panpipe performance confirm the importance of movement in the playing process. Studying the performance process from the perspective of the players' motor behavior is central to the musical analysis.

Panpipe playing is a little-known and a unique aspect of Russian traditional culture; a detailed examination of this tradition enables us to shed a new light on Russian traditional culture. At the same time, it puts Russian panpipe playing on a map of dissemination of panpipe traditions world-wide. The Russian panpipe tradition adds new dimensions to our understanding of the variety of musical and social roles that this instrument can play in a culture.

Dedicated to my mother

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

First and foremost, I would like to thank all of the people whom I encountered during my field work in various villages of Kursk province. Their acceptance of my interest and their generosity, patience, and hospitality made this study possible. I thank particularly the panpipe players who devoted so much of their time to teaching me and answering my questions.

I am greatly indebted to my adviser Professor Margarita Mazo who was the first to encourage me to undertake the course of study of which this work is the culmination, and who gave me invaluable support and guidance throughout the entire process.

I gratefully acknowledge the patient efforts of my readers, Professor Daniel Avorgbedor and Professor Charles Atkinson and thank them for all their constructive comments.

I thank Dr. Predrag Matijeć, Curator of Hilandar Research Library of The Ohio State University, and Mrs. M. A. Johnson, Assistant Curator of the same Library, for their help with Russian and Greek references to panpipes. I am grateful to Professor Daniel E. Collins, Department of Slavic and East European Languages and Literatures of The Ohio State University for his consultations on the linguistic aspects of the research. I wish to express my deepest appreciation to Dr. David Butler, Professor of Music Theory, School of Music of the Ohio State University for his guidance and support of my interest in the study of musical cognition. I gratefully acknowledge the help of Dr. Thomas Heck, Head

of the Music and Dance Library of the Ohio State University, and Mr. Alan Green, an Assistant Head of the same library in seeking sources and preparing the bibliography.

I am particularly grateful to my colleagues-researchers and fieldworkers in Russia, Professors Nina Savel'eva, Nataliia Giliarova and Viacheslav Shchurov from Moscow Conservatory, Dr. Anatolii Ivanov and Mrs. Larisa Chernova from Regional Center of Russian Folklore, Dr. Ekaterina Dorokhova, a researcher from the Folklore Committee of Russian Composers Union, and researchers from various other institutions Mr. and Mrs. Tatiana and Sergei Starostin, Dr. Tatiana Shentaliskaia, Mrs. Marina Kriukova, Mrs. Irina Novichkova, who generously shared with me their first-hand knowledge of regional panpipe traditions. I wish to thank also my pupils, who participated in the project and whose interest in learning to play panpipes inspired me to undertake this study.

I am indebted to Mr. Sergei Rogosin, a dedicated researcher in the field of Russian folk instrumental music, for bringing to my attention many sources concerning the professional tradition of panpipe playing in Russia .

Many organizations and institutions, both in Russia and United States, contributed to the completion of this project. I wish to thank, in particular, Professor Natalia Giliarova, Head of the Laboratory of Folk Music at Moscow Conservatory, and Dr. Anatolii Kargin, Director of the Regional Center of Russian Folklore, Moscow, for allowing me to work with the collections of archival materials held at their respective institutions. I am also grateful to Mrs. I. Dorokhova, Head of the printing house "Kompozitor," Moscow (former "Sovetskii Kompozitor") for granting me permission to use copyrighted materials.

I specially thank The Ohio State University for its support throughout my graduate program, notably in the form of yearly assistonships and grants which financed my travel and research work in the summer of 1994.

The numerous technical tasks required for this study (measurements, computer calculations, etc.) were carried out with the assistance of Professor Pete Tender and



Professor Mark Ainger (Bösendorfer Laboratory of the School of Music of The Ohio State University), Eric Conrad, a graduate student in the Department of Mathematics of The Ohio State University, and especially Sergey Butkevich, also a graduate student of the same department. I thank all of them for their expertise and for devoting their time to my project.

Last, but not the least, I thank my husband, Frank Kane, for his editorial assistance with the preparation of the manuscript and for his generous support during the entire project and my parents for their patience and moral support.

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2. O. Velichkina, A. Ivanov and E. Krasnopevtseva, *Mir detstva v narodnoi kul'ture* [Child World in Folk Culture]. 1992. Moscow: Ministerstvo Kul'tury Rossiiskoi federatsii.
3. O. Velichkina, "The Role of Movement in Russian Panpipe Playing."  
EthnomusicologyOnLine 2: <<http://research.umbc.edu/eol/2/velitch/index.html>>(1997).

## FIELDS OF STUDY

Major field: Music  
Ethnomusicology and Music History

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## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

BAN	<i>Biblioteka Akademii Nauk</i> (Academy of Science Library), St. Petersburg
FK RSFSR	Fol'klornaia Komissiiia pri Soiuze Kompozitorov Rossii (Folklore Committee of Russian Composers Union), Moscow
GIM	<i>Gosudarstvennyi Istoricheskii Muzei</i> (State Historical Museum), Moscow
GMPI (Gnesin's Institute)	<i>Gosudarstvennyi Muzykal'no-Pedagogicheskii Institut imeni Gnesinykh</i> (Gnesinsky State Musical Pedagogical Institute). Presently The Gnesin's Russian Academy of Music, Moscow
GPB	<i>Gosudarstvennaia publichanaia biblioteka imeni Saltykova-Shchedrina</i> (Saltykov-Shchedrin State Public Library), St. Petersburg
IRLI	<i>Institut Russkoi Literatury</i> (Institute of Russian Literature), St. Petersburg
LGITMiK	Leningradskii Gosudarstvennyi Institut Teatra, Muzyki i Kinematografii (Leningrad State Institute of Theater, Music and Cinematography), St. Petersburg. Presently Russian Scholarly Institute of Art
LMN	<i>Laboratoriia narodnoi muzyki</i> (Laboratory of Folk Music), at Moscow Conservatory. Known also as <i>Kabinet narodnoi muzyki</i> (Office of Folk Music)
GTsMMK (Glinka museum)	<i>Gosudarstvennyi TSentral'nyi Muzei Muzykal'noi kul'tury imeni Glinki</i> (Glinka State Central Museum of Musical Culture), Moscow
MGK	<i>Moskovskaia Gosudarstvennaia Konservatoriia imeni P.I. Tchaikovskogo</i> (Moscow P. I. Tchaikovskii State Conservatory), Moscow
RTRF	<i>Regional'nyi Tsentr Russkogo Folklora</i> (Regional Russian Folklore Center), Moscow



## **NOTE ON TRANSLATION AND TRANSLITERATION**

Unless otherwise noted, all translations from Russian are my own.

Different systems of transliteration of Russian words have been accepted in the English-language publications. In the present dissertation, the version of the Library of Congress transliteration system with diacritical marks omitted was chosen. It corresponds to the System II as discussed in the work of Thomas Show (1967, 4). To avoid confusion, this system was applied throughout the work, to personal names, names of geographical localities, separate words in the text, as well as to bibliographical entries.

## INTRODUCTION

Hearing ensemble panpipe playing live for the first time in 1990 was for me an unforgettable experience. The music seemed to be strangely transparent, mysterious and fragile, as if it were coming from a remote time and space. It was repetitive in character, with a monotonous cyclic reiteration of a short musical phrase and incessant rhythmic pulsation. There was little variation, and nothing remotely resembling a melody. In addition, there was not only pipe playing, but also singing in a thin and high voice, similar to bird calls, producing separate sounds interlaced into the panpipe playing in a manner of a hocket. This music was strange, but it attracted my attention by its immanent logic, inner harmony, and the vital force I sensed was behind it.

Three aged village women played panpipes, their wrinkled faces wrapped with shawls, their big brawny hands tired out from labor, held the reeds very near their lips, as if they were trying to hide the mystery of their music from a stranger. As they became consumed by the music-making, their faces took on a similar expression: eyes looking inside, upper lips protruding, the chin and lower jaw pulled in. This movement lengthened their faces and made them look strange, as if they were not human beings, but rather some other creatures; birds, snakes or lizards. The image evoked the village legends and fairy-tales — about a snake marrying a girl, or about the mythological river maids, *rusalki*, and their love for music and songs. The panpipes that I was hearing for the first time seemed strikingly different from the songs and other instruments used in the same village, and at the same time they were an integral part of the village culture, connected with it by

thousands of invisible threads. It was clearly a puzzle to understand these connections, but even more it would be a challenge to understand this music by playing and experiencing it through my own body, a task which at first looked absolutely insurmountable in its complexity.

This was in the village of Plekhovo, Kursk province, where I had come in search for songs and instrumental tunes that could enrich the repertoire of the children's folk ensemble with which I was working at the time. The ensemble, called *Veretentse* (literary - little spindle), was an enthusiastic revivalist group dedicated to learning and performing traditional music of Russian peasants without any of the arrangements and distortions of it that were common among the professional folk groups oriented to stage performances. *Veretentse* had a region of special interest and expertise — the group of villages in the south end of Kursk province — to which both the pupils and the teachers went regularly to meet with village singers and musicians, learn new songs and dances, and acquire old traditional costumes.

In the ensemble I taught mainly fiddle-playing in the folk manner, using both theoretical and practical knowledge of this tradition that I gained while working on my master's thesis on Russian fiddle music at the Moscow Conservatory. My fieldwork for the thesis was conducted in villages in the western parts of Smolensk and Tver' provinces, where the fiddle was a popular instrument. South Kursk, the region of *Veretentse*'s specialization, also had an interesting fiddle tradition. Unlike West Russia, in Kursk province the fiddle was a part of a larger instrumental ensemble that included other instruments, such as the *rozhok* (a reed), wooden flutes, the *balalaika*, and most recently the *garmon*' (accordion-like instrument). But the core and the soul of this ensemble were panpipes, played exclusively by women.

In the past, panpipe playing was extremely popular and occupied an important part in women's lives. By the 1990s, however, the panpipe tradition in the village context had

largely died out. Some women, who were involved in village *samodeiatel'nost'* groups that performed traditional music on stage and traveled to the cities, were well known in revivalist circles.<sup>1</sup> But other village panpipe players, as they were getting older, gradually stopped playing at all. It was by pure chance that during my first stay in the village of Plekhovo I was told about these women who were masters of panpipe playing, but who never played them on stage. They kindly agreed to play and teach me the next time I came to the village with my city pupils. Our contacts became quite regular and the teaching gradually evolved into playing and singing together. The presence of my pupils from the children's ensemble helped to build our relationship. The villagers felt very flattered by their attention and interest in the music and took a great pride and responsibility in teaching them to play it well.<sup>2</sup> The learning process, however, was neither smooth nor easy for my pupils or for myself.

When I first attempted to play panpipes, I tried to reproduce the music exactly as I heard it. This did not yield any success however: I could neither play for a long time myself, nor maintain the required coordination with the other players in the group. Even after the initial hyperventilation problem common to all panpipe novices disappeared, the experience of playing, notwithstanding its sound results, seemed tiring, hectic, and unpleasant, while notably lacking what one might call a "groove." That made me wonder how my elderly teachers could play much longer than I and enjoy it without showing any

---

<sup>1</sup> *Samodeiatel'nost'* literally means self activity. This term is applied to amateur performance groups which give occasional concerts. In Soviet Russia organizing such groups was part of the official cultural policy, which was supposed to encourage "an organized and state-controlled form of artistic creativity of the masses" (Mazo [1990], viii). In rural Russia, however, where the rich folk traditions were still preserved, such groups often consisted of renowned village singers and musicians who simply performed their authentic folk repertoire on stage when they were asked to (see discussion later in Chapter 3, pp. 149-53).

<sup>2</sup> I remember that once on a warm April Sunday evening after long hours of playing together in the house of an old *rozhok* player, we were finally allowed to go out and demonstrate our art in front of the neighbors, who were casually gathering on the street. The music was resounding in the quiet village, and soon in the middle of the crowd gathered near our house a spontaneous dance circle was formed. I saw a middle age woman approaching one of the girls with panpipes: "You don't do it right, let me show you how to play..." The music was coming back to the place it once lived in, to the younger generation of people whose ancestors owned it, but had almost forgotten its sound... I was always surprised that it was so easy for young villagers to pick up the music and dancing, or even playing a musical instrument. They simply knew what to do and how to move the right way.

sign of fatigue or gasping for breath. My mistake was, as I realized later, that with my previous musical experience I was concentrating on the musical structure, without first trying to analyze and imitate the physical movements of the players. This initial practical challenge of playing provided an impulse that shaped my interest in the motor behavior that I sensed was behind this music and to a certain extent governed its structure and the process of its unfolding in performance.

Problems such as those I experienced are familiar to any ethnomusicologist who makes learning to play an instrument part of his or her research methods. From practical experience we know that appropriate bodily movements in playing an instrument provide for the proper articulation of sounds, which is often seen as an important part of a tune's identity by the performers themselves. Ease and regularity of movement can also explain certain turns of the melody and even important aspects of the musical structure of a tune. Indeed, as Baily, Kubik and many other fieldworkers have observed, in order to reproduce the music correctly, one has to learn to make the proper physical movements on the instrument (Baily 1985, 241, Kubik 1979, 229, and 1985, 57-58).

Beyond correct reproduction of sound, experience with movement on the instrument can be crucial for ethnomusicological research in another way. Through mastering an instrument, a researcher achieves what cognitive and experimental psychologists call a "skilled motor performance." It is characterized by being faster and more fluent, more expressive and creative, than in the unskilled versions of the same activity (Shaffer 1980, 326). In this way, as Blacking observes, body movement may serve as a tool for ethnomusicologists whose goal is "to experience others' bodies through our own bodies" and to learn more about a culture's expressive non-verbal behavior, of which music is an important part (Blacking 1977).

The theoretical focus of the present research is thus a study of “ergonomic factors” of panpipe performance and an attempt to construct a “motor grammar” of a tune that accounts for the generation of musical sequences in the process of playing.<sup>3</sup> It seems important that an analysis of music includes a study of its maker, the creator-interpreter, not only as a social and cultural figure, but also on a biological level *in the process of playing* the musical instrument.

This analytical perspective required new field trips to previously known localities, with a special emphasis on observation of the physical aspects of playing and eliciting native ways of perceiving and describing them.

An attention to the native perspective, as well as the modern situation in which traditional panpipe playing is no longer active, raised methodological questions concerning the role of the researcher in a field. An ethnographer, especially a musician learning and playing an instrument, inevitably becomes an active force intruding into the musical tradition. This intrusion can affect the research both positively and negatively. To prevent possible distortion of the picture that may result from unbalanced use of the participant-observation method, it is important to rely on the judgment of the informants, whose creative contributions involved on all stages of the research (cf. Feld 1987, Widess 1994). Fieldwork may thus be constructed as a dialogue between researcher and performer, in which the performers not only use and exchange their technical knowledge of music-making, but are also involved as integral personalities. The outcome of this dialogue is “data” for constructing an ethnomusicological narrative about the culture in question.

The specificity of my position in research was partly determined by my ability to communicate and share the same native language with my informants. The music culture, however, was “foreign” to me at the beginning and needed to be learned in order for me to

---

<sup>3</sup> Both expressions are taken from the works of John Baily (1990, 1995).

understand it. Thus, my fieldwork experience can be described as communication in monolingual, but multi-musical space; in other words, the cultures of my informants and myself were not fully the same.

Two factors that shaped my fieldwork approach to the music of South Kursk province, were my previous training and experience as a musical folklorist (in the Russian sense) and my subsequent training as an ethnomusicologist, while continuing my research on panpipe tradition and visiting the same locality.

The juxtaposition of the two terms in the previous statement — musical folklore studies and ethnomusicology — requires some clarification. The term ethnomusicology can justifiably be applied to Russian musical folklore studies (Krader 1990). Still, in my personal experience a substantive difference is apparent. While many aspects of fieldwork methodology between the two disciplines are certainly similar, the main differences lie in the areas of theory and ideology. Many Russian musical folklorists have been subscribed to a diachronic approach; they have concentrated on collecting musical repertoire in broad territories in order to establish a map of styles distribution. This does not mean, however, that they have been collecting indiscriminatingly, or that the question of “what is worthy of preservation” (Nettl 1983, 275) has not been asked. Russian musical folklorists have been often aiming to establish the relative chronology of folk music on the basis of historical, geographical and other indirect sources of evidence (see especially Kvitka 1971, 1973, and Goshovskii 1971). This approach has had a side effect of neglecting the study of a single locality; a study of one village, for instance, has been rarely conducted (notable exceptions among the works of Soviet musical folklorists, however, are the studies of Z. Mozheiko and L. Kulakovskii).

On the other hand, most of the research by North American ethnomusicologists for the past two decades has not been oriented toward comprehensive studies aiming at broad

definitions of geographical borders of regional musical styles. Instead, they have preferred to concentrate on one locality, often focusing on individual performers or groups of musicians, with in-depth study of a particular musical practice within its total cultural context. Another important difference is that instead of historical reconstruction tasks, as in Russian musical folklore studies, ethnomusicology pays particular attention to the study of musical change, trying to account for the dynamic aspects of the culture under question.

Both approaches have their advantages and disadvantages, and it is the task of future historiography of the discipline to provide their critical assessment. It is more important to know how, despite their differences, musical folklore studies and ethnomusicology can overlap. In the case of studies of Russian panpipe music, it seemed possible to apply the general framework of ethnomusicology to a subject that has traditionally been considered a domain of musical folklore studies.

While my position with respect to the relationship between musical folklore studies and ethnomusicology certainly reflected my personal constraints (cf. Blum 1975), the uniqueness of my experience lay in the fact that it combined both methodologies to the extent possible. My study also reflected a shift in general orientation. This shift involved moving from concentration on obtaining information about the old traditional practices (in line with the “preservationist” perspective) toward attention to issues of cultural change, the roles of individual performers and their creative processes in the context of the tradition, and understanding of the impact of researchers and public attention on change in performance practices. At the same time, some essential elements of my research project did not change throughout the study. They included concentration on panpipe performance practices as they are revealed through observation of (and participation in) the process of performance itself, and as they were communicated to me by the villagers, verbalized and conceptualized by them.



One important reason for my attraction to research on panpipes was the exceptional place that this instrument occupies in Russian folk music. First, it is a women's instrument, while other Russian folk instruments are predominantly played by men. Second, it is played in ensemble with a multi-part texture and complementary rhythmic relationships between the parts. Finally, unlike other instruments, playing panpipes also involves production of vocal sounds. These features, although they can be found in some panpipe traditions world-wide, are unparalleled in Russian instrumental music. Panpipe practices also break the norms that are established for them in a local culture; for example, although the instrument is said to be played exclusively by women, stories about male panpipe players (marginal, but nevertheless accepted in village community) are abundant. The contradiction between the verbalized rules of playing the instrument and the reality of playing it is also very typical. Although the disparity between performance experience and its verbalization can be found to a greater or lesser degree in all musical performance activities (this problem is familiar to cognitive psychologists of music), panpipe playing, with its aspects of group interaction and competition, seems to be an illustrative example of such a case. Playing panpipes may be interpreted as an engagement in "playing" in a more general sense — not only musical, but also social and cultural, as an on-going "interplay" between creative invention and continuity of a tradition.

This study considers an instrument and analyzes in detail its morphology, tuning and playing techniques, i.e. the topics that traditionally covered by organology. Organology, in the words of Geneviève Dournon, is "primarily a study of actual musical instruments," in all aspects (construction, playing technique, use, function and symbolism, etc.), which are relevant to such a study (1992, 247). In this sense, however, my research is not organological, since it is not centered upon the instrument itself. It is more about the *people playing this instrument*, their music and their view of it, and much less about the panpipes as an object (cf. Titon 1988, 1992, 7-10). The instrument performs the function

of a *magic helper*, according to Vladimir Propp's theory of fairy-tale morphology, i.e., it leads a protagonist on his journey through the labyrinths of a culture, helps him to untangle social relationships and views of the people, and tells about performance practice and the subtleties of the music. We just need to listen carefully of what it has to say.

## **CHAPTER 1**

### **THE HISTORY OF RESEARCH ON RUSSIAN PANPIPES**

The literature on Russian panpipes is very diverse in nature: it includes a whole spectrum of works, from merely passing references to scholarly discussions based on fieldwork observations. To provide a full account of these sources and their specificity, as well as their significance, it is necessary to consider a broader context of historiographic issues concerning the study of Russian folk instruments.

According to Alexander Banin (1986), the history of the research in the field of Russian folk instrumental music can be roughly divided into three periods. The sources from the first period, which lasted until the mid-19th century, mostly contain passing references or descriptions of folk instruments by travelers, foreigners, or casual observers. Systematic scholarly inquiry in the field of folk musical instruments began with the publication of the program for the study Russian folk instruments in 1869 (in the Works of the First Archaeological Congress in Moscow), initiated by Vladimir Odoevskii. The second period (1869 -1937) includes as landmarks the studies of musical instruments by Famintsin (1890, 1891) and Privalov (1906, 1909), who discuss Russian folk instruments from historical and ethnographic standpoints, often in connection with similar instruments of other cultures. The third (“modern,” in Banin’s terms) period began with the works of Kliment Kvitka who based his research on the information and recordings that he collected during fieldwork. In general, this type of three-part scheme — casual observations;

systematic, but “arm-chair” inquiry; and finally a modern fieldwork stage — is observed in the history of ethnomusicology in many countries. Its national specificity lies mostly in the time periods when these methodological changes occur. For example, the works from the second period of Banin’s scheme (those by Famintsin and Privalov) can be compared in their approach to instruments with the works on musical instruments by Curt Sachs (1913, 1930, 1940), Fox Strangways (1929) and André Schaeffner (1936). The third period, with its emphasis on fieldwork, was paralleled by similar trends in Western ethnomusicology. One has to note, however, that in research on Russian folk instruments the “arm-chair” and fieldwork studies continued to a certain extent to be separate even later. For example, Rudneva (1975) mostly provides ethnographic description of panpipes, while Vertkov (1972, 1975) mostly considers the organology of the instrument and the problems related to its history in Russia.

The case study of panpipes has played a significant role in the history of the research on Russian folk instruments. It was precisely this instrument that fascinated Kvitka in 1937, when he organized his first field trip to Kursk province. The discovery of an active and blossoming tradition of panpipe playing was a surprise and a turning point in the methodology of the study of Russian folk instruments (Banin 1983a, 7).

For the following discussion, I divided sources on Russian panpipes into two large groups. The first group contains sources based on direct observation of the panpipe tradition in a particular locality, while the second group contains publications not based on author’s direct observations.

The first group of sources comprises three kinds of observations: verbal descriptions of an instrument and a tradition, audio and video recordings of panpipe playing, and tape-recorded interviews with the players. Eye-witness descriptions of panpipe playing can be found in a number of 19th-century publications, although their authors do not focus on this instrument specifically. Since 1937, fieldwork has become an

important component of research, and verbal descriptions of the instrument and its playing have become more detailed and focused. These descriptions are to be found in fieldwork diaries and scholarly reports, mostly unpublished. Two other types of observations have been accumulated as well: audio and video recordings of the panpipe playing itself and tape-recorded interviews with the villagers. The notations of panpipe playing made from audio recordings are also considered in this group of sources, although they involve high level of subjectivity, reflecting transcriber's conceptual biases and knowledge of local tradition; they are also often not free from mistakes.<sup>1</sup>

The second group of sources includes organological studies (Privalov 1909, Vertkov 1972, 1975), books on the history of Russian music (Keldysh 1983, Beliaev 1951), textbooks and other pedagogical literature (Popova 1956, Budankov et al. 1991), dictionaries and encyclopedias. The availability of sources based on direct observation to the authors of these works varies significantly. An access to unpublished information on panpipes is difficult, and as a result misconceptions and factual mistakes about Russian panpipes are abundant and pervasive, particularly in non-specialist literature (such as popular and children books on Russian folk instruments, music history books and encyclopedias).<sup>2</sup>

Among the works that involve scholarly organological approach, two (Privalov 1909, Vertkov 1975) are especially important. They are characterized by the authors' attention to the instrument's construction, technical possibilities for playing, tuning, etc. Privalov, who first brought Russian panpipes to the attention of scholars, also provided comparative information on panpipes in different parts of the world. The book by Vertkov on Russian folk instruments (1975) summarizes the information on panpipes obtained in

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<sup>1</sup> For example, see discussion of Krivonosov's notation of Briansk panpipe playing in Chapter 1 (p.41), and Rudneva's notation of one of the pieces of Kursk panpipe tradition in Chapter 6 (pp. 236-38). For discussion of conceptual issues involved in ethnomusicological notation see Ellingson 1992.

<sup>2</sup> These works often state that Russian panpipes are tied or glued together, contain up to 7 pipes and are an ancient instrument found already in Medieval Russia. Neither of these statements is true. For further discussion of the issue concerning panpipes in Medieval Russia see this chapter, pp. 61-68.

fieldwork by Kvitka, Kulakovskii and Rudneva, which appeared after publication of Privalov's study. Vertkov also brings to the discussion many historical documents and raises the question of possible existence of panpipes in Medieval Russia.<sup>3</sup>

Table 1.1 provides a summary of sources on Russian panpipes which are most important for the present work.<sup>4</sup> The table follows chronological order. Entries in encyclopedias, teaching manuals, discography, and filmography of Russian panpipes are not included in this table, although some of them will be discussed later.

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<sup>3</sup> This hypothesis of Vertkov will be discussed below, see p. 63.

<sup>4</sup> The table does not list all available sources. Its goal is to show main directions of panpipe research and the chronological framework of the key studies. For a more detailed bibliographic survey, consult the Annotated bibliography of sources based on direct observation (Appendix A).

Date of source	Author	Geographical location of given information on panpipes	Sources based on direct observation (designated by X )	Type of work	Comments
1795	Guthrie	Southern Russia (and Ukraine?)	?*	Book on Russian folk songs, instruments and peasant customs	Description of the instrument and illustration (engraving)
1800s [published in 1906]	Tuchkov	Northern Russia	X	Part of memoirs, discussion and classification of Russian folk instruments	A note concerning absence of panpipes in Russia
1831	Dmitriukov	Kursk province (Sudzha district)	X	Newspaper article on local peasants' customs	Short description of instrument called <i>kuvichki</i>
1830s [published in 1881]	Olenin	Not specified	?	Private letter	Discussion and comparison of Russian <i>kuvitsa</i> and Greek <i>syrix</i>
1862	Mashkin	Kursk province (Sudzha district)	X	Ethnographic description of peasant life and customs	Description of instrument called <i>kuvichki</i>

Table 1.1. Chronology of sources on Russian panpipes (continued on the next page)

\* The question mark designates a possibility that the author had directly observed panpipe playing.

Table 1.1 (continued).

1871	Mordvinov	Kursk province (the village of Vysokoe, modern Medvenka district)	X	Newspaper article on local peasants' customs	Description of instru- ment called <i>kuvichki</i> and a half-tone illustra- tion showing a <i>kuvichki</i> and a <i>dhulka</i> players
1873	Filaret	Chernigov (modern Briansk) province, the village of Koshovo	?	Historical-ethnographic description of Chernigov province	Description of the context of panpipe playing and divisions of panpipe ensemble
1890	Sumtsov	The same as in Filaret 1873		A book on folk legends and customs. Analysis of folk symbolism	Hypothesis of ritual role of panpipes, based on Filaret's description
1904	Khalanskii	Kursk province (the village of Zalomnoe, Sudzha district)	X	Work on dialect, accompanied by the song texts collection	Description of instrument called <i>kuvichki</i>
1909	Privalov	Both Kursk and Chernigov locations, based on earlier sources		A book on Russian folk wind instruments	Description of the instrument, comparison with other panpipes
1927	Zelenin	North Russia (Cherdym district of Perm' province)		A comprehensive book on ethnography of Eastern Slavs	Description of instrument called <i>zor'ki</i>

Table 1.1 (continued on the next page)



Table 1.1 (continued).

1936	Steshenko-Kuftina	Both Kursk and Chernigov locations, based on earlier sources		A book on Georgian panpipes	Discussion of Russian panpipe in the context of other panpipe traditions
1937-40	Kvitka et al.	Kursk province (many villages, including Plekhovo and Gakhovo)	X	Fieldwork materials	Ethnographic description, phonograph recordings
1940	Kulakovskii	Briansk province (villages of Dorozhevo, Domashevo and Chernetovo)	X	Fieldwork materials	Detailed ethnographic description of the panpipe tradition
1946	Kvitka and Rudneva	Kursk province (villages of Budishche and Chernyi Olekh)	X	Audio-recordings (unpublished)	Recording session, conducted at Moscow Conservatory
1959	Kulakovskii	Briansk province (the village of Dorozhevo)	X	A book on Dorozhevo musical culture based on Kulakovskii's earlier fieldwork	Ethnographic description of the panpipe tradition, musical notation. See Kulakovskii 1940
1961	Rudneva	Kursk province (many villages)	X	Ph.D. dissertation based on earlier fieldwork	Detailed ethnographic description, many musical notations, photographs
1967	Rudneva and Shelurov	Kursk province (the village of Plekhovo)	X	Audio-recordings, multi-channel (unpublished)	Recording session, conducted at Moscow Conservatory

Table 1.1 (continued on the next page)

Table 1.1 (continued)

1972	Vertkov	Kursk and Briansk provinces		Scholarly article concerning folk instruments of the peoples of USSR	Discussion of Russian panpipe traditions in the context of other traditions
1975	Rudneva	Kursk province (many villages)	X	A book on musical ethnography of Kursk province	Published version of the dissertation, slightly edited. See Rudneva 1961.
1975	Vertkov	Kursk and Briansk provinces		A book on the history of Russian folk instruments	Short organological and ethnographic description, discussion of related historical information
1977	Trokhin	Kaluga province (the village of Dubrovo)	X	A master thesis based on author's 1976 fieldwork	Ethnographic description of panpipe tradition, musical notation
1980s (date not specified)	Dorokhova	Briansk province (district of Trubchevsk)	X	Fieldwork materials	The information on panpipe tradition (communicated in private conversation)

Table 1.1 (continued on the next page)

Table 1.1 (Continued)

1983	Ivanov	Kursk province (district of Ryl'sk)	X	Fieldwork materials	The information on panpipe tradition (com- municated in private conversation)
1984-85	Starostin S.	Kaluga province (Duminichi district)	X	Fieldwork materials	Tape-recorded interviews with (former) players. Villages other than before (see Trokhin 1977)
1985	Savel'ieva	Briansk province (villages of Dorozhevo and Batskino)	X	Fieldwork materials	The information on panpipe tradition (com- municated in private conversation), musical notations
1987	Shchurov	Belgorod province (village of Bogatoc)	X	Book on South-Russian folk song style	Brief mention of previously existing panpipe tradition
1988-89	Shentalinskain	Kaluga province (villages of B. Zheltoukhi and Barsuki, Kirov district)	X	Fieldwork materials	Tape-recorded interviews with (former) players. Villages other than before (see Trokhin 1977)

Table 1.1 (continued on the next page)

Table 1.1 (Continued)

1988-89	Starostina T.	Kursk province (the village of Budishche)	X	Scholarly article	Discussion of panpipe performance practice
1989-96	Velichkina	Kursk province (many villages)	X	Fieldwork materials	Tape-recorded interviews with players. Audio and video recordings Villages the same as before (see Kvitka et al, 1937-40)
1990	Starostina T.	Kaluga province (villages of Chemaia and V. Pesochnia)	X	Fieldwork materials	Tape-recorded interviews with (former) players. Villages other than before (see Shentalinskaya 1988-89)
1993	Velichkina	Kursk province (the village of Plekhovo)	X	Scholarly article	Discussion of panpipe performance practice
1990-93	Ivanov et al.	Kursk province (many villages including Plekhovo)	X	Fieldwork materials	Tape-recorded interviews with players. Audio and video recordings Villages the same as before (see Kvitka et al, 1937-40)

## Publications of 1795-1830.

### Matthew Guthrie.

Ironically, the first unequivocal reference to panpipes known to us already speaks of the *disappearance* of this instrument in Russia. It is contained in a book called *Dissertations sur les Antiquités de Russie...* (1795).<sup>5</sup> Its author, a Scot Matthieu (Matthew) Guthrie (1743-1807), lived in Saint-Petersburg from 1769 on, and eventually became a physician to the Imperial Corps of Noble Cadets and Councilor of State to the Empress Catherine II and later to Alexander I. In parallel with his professional occupations, he was a prolific writer on many subjects and a member of the Royal Societies of London and Edinburgh and of the Scottish Society of Antiquaries, to which he dedicated his work on Russian antiquities.<sup>6</sup> Guthrie's *Dissertations...* was published in Saint-Petersburg in French. As the title page states, it was a translation from the English original, a manuscript now located in the British Museum (MS. 14390).<sup>7</sup>

Guthrie's book contains one of the first detailed accounts of Russian folk instruments, including panpipes.<sup>8</sup> The appendix of *Dissertations...* also contains an illustration of the instrument. The significance of this first reference cannot be

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<sup>5</sup> Note that non-standard French spelling is retained from the original. The full title page reads: *Dissertations sur les Antiquités de Russie; contenant L'ancienne Mythologie, les Rites païens, les Fêtes sacrées, les Jeux ou Ludi, les Oracles, l'ancienne Musique, les Instrumens (sic!) de musique villageoise, les Coutumes, les Cérémonies, l'Habillement, les Divertissemens de village, les Mariages, les Funérailles, l'Hospitalité nationale, les Repas, &c. &c. des Russes; comparés avec les même objets chez les Anciens, & particulièrement chez les Grecs par Matthieu Guthrie, Conseiller de Cour de SA MAJESTÉ IMPERIALE, Médecin du Corps Impérial des Cadets Nobles de terre et celui des Ingénieurs; Membre des Sociétés Royales de Londres et d'Edimbourg, de la Société Royale des Antiquaires d'Ecosse et de plusieurs autres. Traduites sur son ouvrage anglais, dédié à la Société Royale des Antiquaires d'Ecosse. Avec six planches de figures et de musique. A Saint-Petersbourg, De l'Imprimerie du Corps Impérial des Cadets Nobles. 1795.* I am grateful to Matanya Ophee of the Editions Orphée, Columbus for making the microfilm of Guthrie's book available to me.

<sup>6</sup> Contrary to the statement of Galaiskaia (1987, 224), Guthrie was not a professional ethnographer. In fact, his interests were amazingly broad, ranging from languages and culture to the freezing point of Mercury, gemology, antiseptic rules and manure. The article by Jessie Sweet (1964), dedicated to his classification of gems, gives also his fullest biography and bibliography.

<sup>7</sup> See Guthrie's letter to the founder of the Antiquarian Society of Scotland, the Earl of Bunchan dated 28 of January 1795 (National Library of Scotland, MS. 1708, ff. 88-89). This letter accompanied the copy of the *Dissertations...* he sent to the Society. See also Sweet (1964, 292). I have had no opportunity to examine the manuscript in British Museum.

<sup>8</sup> Unlike Guthrie's book, in the first significant work on Russian musical instruments — *Nachrichten von der Musik in Russland* by Jacob Staehlin, published in 1770 — panpipes are not mentioned.

underestimated. However, both the description and the illustration of the pan-flute in Guthrie's *Dissertations*... raise many difficult questions.

Guthrie's objective was to demonstrate the striking similarity between some Russian folk customs and those of Ancient Greece:

La ressemblance entre les Russes et les Grecs devient frappante, si l'on considère les instruments de musique de paysans, leur dances nationales, leur ancienne mythologie, qui est absolument la même que la mythologie grecque, les jeux, les mariages, les coutumes des Russes, etc. (Guthrie 1795, 4, the non-standard French spelling is from the original).

In the attempt to establish this relationship, Guthrie was inspired by the theory of the common origin of European people, which was developing at this time, mostly due to the research on language.<sup>9</sup> Guthrie was undoubtedly familiar with this theory, since he cites the work of William Jones in the preface to his wife's work (see Maria Guthrie 1802, v). Thus, he assumed that Greek and Russian myths, customs and beliefs, similar to the languages, could have a common root, probably in Indian or other ancient mythology, although they were not necessarily directly borrowed by the Russians from the Greeks. This thought, however, was overlooked by later translators of Guthrie's book into Russian, and the unjust opinion of his work as an attempt to prove the borrowing of Russian folk instruments from the Greeks was established in Russian organology.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> The beginning of the historic-comparative method in linguistics in the second half of the 18th century is connected with the works of William Jones. After the study of Sanskrit, he found the number of common stems and grammatical forms in Latin, Greek, Gothic and other languages and put forward a new theory of genetic relationship and common origin of these languages. (See Jones, Sir William. 1786. *Third Anniversary Discourse, on the Hindus*. London: Royal Asiatic Society).

<sup>10</sup> See Vertkov (1975, 25): "Guthrie made an attempt to compare some Russian folk instruments with Greek ones in order to prove their antiquity and possible borrowing from the Greeks. Guthrie's theory on the origin of Russian folk instruments is incorrect and naive." (Cf. Banin 1986, 109).

Guthrie mentioned three musical instruments which he considered identical to those of ancient Greece — the double flute, the panpipes and the playing spoons, used as a percussion instrument (*la crotola*).<sup>11</sup> On the subject of the panpipes, which he calls *la swirelka*, Guthrie writes:

La *swirelka* est exactement le syrinx ancien, ou le chalumeau de Pan, formé de sept tuyaux inégaux, encore aujourd'hui en usage parmi les cosaques, mais depuis long-temps négligé par les Russes, parce qu'ils ont appris l'art d'imiter si bien cet instrument en sifflant, qu'ils n'en ont plus aucun besoin. (Guthrie 1795, 24)

He mentions later on that he himself heard and even bought two specimens of this instrument while traveling in Ukraine, and recognized in the sound of this instrument that the imitation of panpipe playing was the origin of the custom of whistling in Russian choral singing:<sup>12</sup>

Je dois avouer que j'ai long-temps partagé cet étonnement, jusqu'à ce que voyageant dans l'Ukraine, où j'entendis le syrinx, je reconnus dans cet instrument l'origine de ce siffleur qui accompagne les chœurs de musique des paysans Russes, et qui m'avait si long-temps embarrassé à Saint-Pétersbourg. Les Russes eux-mêmes, ce qui est plus curieux, ne peuvent vous rendre raison de ce musicien si extraordinaire, qui joue un grand rôle dans leur orchestre villageois, quoiqu'ils aient un nom pour l'instrument dont le siffleur imite les sons, et que j'ai acheté dans deux différentes provinces de la Russie proprement dite. (Guthrie 1795, 24-25).

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<sup>11</sup> An argument about particular similarities between Greek and Russian musical cultures based on these types of musical instruments, could not, of course, withstand criticism from the position of modern research (all of these instruments are in fact found almost world-wide). However, it is precisely this point (i.e. , parallels between the two cultures) that triggered the author's attention to the fact of existence of pan-flutes on Russian territory.

<sup>12</sup> The reference to the broad dissemination of whistling looks rather unusual for the description of Russian folk singing. At least, in the light of modern data, it does not appear as the characteristic feature of it. However, the phenomena of whistling with singing was completely ignored by Russian ethnomusicologists. From my own fieldwork in Kursk I only know that the whistlers, called here *svistuny* (only men), accompanied instrumental ensemble playing, but not the singing of songs. This specialized accompaniment was desirable, but not necessarily a part of the performance. On the other hand, a parallel may be drawn between the whistling imitation of panpipes noticed by Guthrie and the vocal sounds produced by modern pan-flute players in high register, especially in the Kursk panpipe tradition.

Konstantin Vertkov in his book on the history of Russian folk instruments states that Guthrie's description actually belongs to the Ukrainian form of panpipes and not the Russian one (Vertkov 1975, 34). His opinion is based on three considerations. First, Guthrie gives the form of the name similar to the Ukrainian name of the instrument — *swirelka* (compare with Ukrainian *svyryl'*). Second, Guthrie himself claimed that he saw the instrument among Cossacks, that is, according to Vertkov, among Ukrainians. Third, the number of pipes in the instrument (seven) described by Guthrie is different from Russian panpipes as they are known today, i.e. with only five pipes.<sup>13</sup>

Although the panpipe described by Guthrie may indeed be of Ukrainian origin, it is important to note that none of the arguments put forward by Vertkov holds true in the light of closer investigation. The name *svirel'* for panpipes is also known in some Russian territories neighboring the Ukraine, namely in Belgorod province (Shchurov 1987, 52). The *svyryl'* — the Ukrainian form of the panpipe — was in fact disseminated only among the Carpathians in the West Ukraine, which was not a part of the Russian Empire at the time of Guthrie's writing. The territory of the Carpathian mountains where the *svyryl'* exists is located very far from the Russian panpipe zones, and neither Russian nor Ukrainian Cossacks ever lived there. Finally, if the structure of the Russian panpipes does not match Guthrie's description, neither does that of the Ukrainian ones.

The contemporary West-Ukrainian *svyryl'* has up to 17 tubes, connected to each other by two wooden slats, and is known in two forms: one with the tubes arranged from the shortest to the longest size (*odnobichna svyryl'*), and another with the longest tube in the middle of the row (*dvobichna svyryl'*) (Humeniuk 1967, 41). If the instrument in Guthrie's description and picture is indeed Ukrainian, it has to be the *odnobichna* form of

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<sup>13</sup> J. N. Forkel in his *Allgemeine Geschichte der Musik* (Leipzig, 1788), gives a description and an illustration of Greek *syrinx*, or *Fistula Panis*, consisting of seven pipes. The picture of panpipes given by Guthrie is very similar to that in Forkel's book, except Guthrie is not showing the connection between the pipes. One may suggest that Guthrie was familiar with this work and took the number of pipes (seven) from there. Forkel's work, however, is not mentioned in any of Guthrie's writings known to me at present.



*svyryl'* , i.e., the one with evenly increasing length of the tubes. But in this type of *svyryl'* the upper open ends of the tubes have notched shapes, while the lower closed ends are inserted into a bow-shaped cartridge, very similar to the Moldavian or Romanian *nai* (Vertkov et al. 1975, 38). However, in the picture in Guthrie's book the upper ends of the tubes do not look notched and their lower ends are not connected or inserted into any sort of cartridge. Considering Guthrie's insistence on the exactness of the pictures (for example, he makes special note that the engraver made a mistake in the number of pipes and put eight of them incorrectly instead of seven), these important construction details could scarcely have been overlooked by the author.<sup>14</sup>

One may put forward some arguments in favor of the Russian provenance of Guthrie's information on panpipes. By the time of his writing, the lands of south Kursk and Belgorod provinces were called "Ukrainian" (U-*krai*-nian), because they were on the *krai* (end) of the Russian Empire, i.e. on the border with Southern neighbors. Later the name was transferred still more to the South — to the present day Ukraine — and assigned to the people who lived in these territories. The frontier settlement had the task of protecting Russia's borders from southern nomads. In documents of the 17th and 18th centuries Russian half-military and half-peasant free settlers were called Cossacks, while Ukrainians who lived on the same territory, in contrast, were called *cherkasy* (see, for example, the collection of historical documents in Bagalei 1886). The original meaning of the word Cossack does not have a connotation of ethnicity, only that of status; it simply means a "free person."

The book of Guthrie's wife Maria, edited by him, was published in 1802. It described her travels in 1795-96 through the southern frontiers of the Russian Empire to Crimea and was based on letters to her husband written on this trip. In the preface, Guthrie

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<sup>14</sup> Kvitka (1943), on the other hand, criticizes illustrations in Guthrie's book, saying that they are schematic and most probably performed from author's verbal description. Also, one may suggest that the modern Ukrainian panpipe, described by Humeniuk, has changed since the 18th century.

writes that he undertook the editing of this work, because “it was exactly the part of the new work which would connect it with another that [he] published here in French in 1795 and demonstrate ... all the striking analogies pointed out in his “Noctes Rossicæ,” [the name of English manuscript of the *Dissertations...* - O.V.] in the same grassy plains where they anciently ranged with their flocks and herds...” (Guthrie 1802, v). In the first letter, Marie says: “I shall not drag you with me through the bad roads of Great Russia at this season of the year, as I know there can be nothing new to you thus far; but shall take you up to the confines of Little Russia [an old name for Ukraine - O.V.], with which you are less acquainted.” She proceeds with the description of her journey from Tula to Kursk, probably considering them to be “Little Russian” (i.e., Ukrainian) territories. Although Marie does not mention panpipes in her letters, South Kursk territory is exactly the place where they were later found. The question, then, is whether she could possibly be one of the informal sources for Guthrie’s knowledge of the instrument.

Although at present the controversy about the Russian or Ukrainian provenance of the panpipes described in Guthrie's *Dissertations...* cannot be definitively resolved, his description fits the Russian instrument better than the Ukrainian one. However, it seems very remote from all the following historical materials on panpipes both in the name and in the description of the instrument. The issue of the authenticity of Guthrie’s information still requires further investigation. For example, an important question is whether he or his wife possessed enough knowledge of Russian and indeed gathered the information firsthand or received it through an interpreter and thus might have a distorted view. Although our knowledge on the Russian period of Guthrie’s life is scant, from available information it appears that he did know Russian sufficiently to communicate with his informants.

Guthrie belonged to the circle of Nikolai A. Lvov, whose *Collection of Russian Folk Songs* he cites extensively in the second chapter of his *Dissertations*.<sup>15</sup> As Mazo points out, the Russian poet Gavriil Derzhavin, a close friend and relative of Nikolai Lvov, even accused Guthrie of "borrowing" the materials for his *Dissertations*.... directly from Lvov.<sup>16</sup> Guthrie did borrow from Lvov's and Prach's collection, but only songs; the discussion of instruments appears to be original.<sup>17</sup> In a letter to the Earl of Bunchan, Guthrie wrote: "One thing I can assert with much truth, that I have struck out for my *Winter Amusement* [the presumed English title for the *Dissertations*...- O.V.], and that it is as new in Russia as it can be in Britain, no research of the kind having ever been made in this Empire."<sup>18</sup>

From the same letter to the Earl of Bunchan it appears that Guthrie was personally acquainted with princess Dashkova, a patron and an active member of the Saint-Petersburg Academy of Sciences. According to the bibliography by Sweet, Guthrie's publications in

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<sup>15</sup> See Mooser 1951, 623; on Lvov and his collection see Mazo 1987. *Sobranie narodnykh russkikh pesen s ikh golosami* [A collection of Russian folk songs with their melodies], was published for the first time in 1790 under the name of Ivan Prach, who made notations of tunes and provided a piano accompaniment. Although in the first three editions of *Sobranie*... (in 1790, 1806 and 1815) Lvov's name was not mentioned, many contemporary witnesses suggest that he played a major role in creation of this collection and most probably wrote a preface to the first edition. The second expanded edition, with slightly different preface, appeared three years after Lvov's death. It is unknown who supervised the preparation of the second edition and made changes in its preface. For the discussion of authorship of this collection see Mazo 1987, 21-29.

<sup>16</sup> In his *Rassuzhdenie o liricheskoi poezii ili ob ode* [Discourse on lyric poetry or on the ode], Derzhavin wrote: "A certain Matvei Gutri [Matthew Guthrie] borrowing from Lvov, wrote and published in French a discourse on Russian songs, saying that he took this from Prach; ... this by itself may allow us to remark that foreigners, even in the most trifling matters, take every opportunity to undercut the talents and glory of Russians" (translated by M. Mazo, cited from Mazo 1987, 24).

<sup>17</sup> Lvov's and Prach's collection does not contain samples of folk instrumental music. The preface to the first edition of this collection only mentions unspecified shepherds' "crudely made instruments," on which shepherds play "special tunes and calls, which in fact are never used by anyone and anywhere else" (see Lvov-Prach 1955, 42). In the same passage of the preface to the second edition the names of the shepherds' instruments are specified as *truby* (pl., sing - *truba*, a horn) and *svireli* (pl., sing. - *svirel'*, a pipe). In another (newly added to the second edition) passage, the author mentions the *rozhok* and the shepherd's *svirel'* one more time (see Mazo 1987, pp. 9 and 11 of the facsimile; for English translation of both passages in the second edition see p.80 and 81). For the period between 1790 and 1806 (the first and the second edition of the collection), no other information on the folk instruments was published, except the book of Guthrie. Although the author of the 1806 edition preface could have drawn his information from earlier or unpublished sources, one cannot exclude the possibility that Guthrie's book influenced the change concerning instruments in the second edition.

<sup>18</sup> See Guthrie's letter to the Earl of Bunchan, mentioned above (National Library of Scotland, MS. 1708, ff. 88-89).

the Edinburgh newspaper *The Bee, or Literary Intelligencer* contain his reviews of Russian books and papers read at the Saint-Petersburg Academy of Sciences (Sweet 1964). He also attempted translations from Russian, including the historic opera *Oleg, Regent of Russia* written by the Empress Catherine the 2nd (British Museum Additional MS. 14390, ff. 364-88). Another work by Guthrie, published in the same printing house in Saint-Petersburg in translation into French from English in 1784, treated a medical topic — his professional occupation in Russia — and was called *Dissertation sur le Regime antiseptique qu'observent les habitants de la Russie*. In this book Guthrie describes the customs of everyday life, clothes, food and houses of Russian peasants in detail that suggests that he indeed was familiar with their life not from the words of other informants, but from his own observations. In both of his books he made a clear distinction between the customs of the nobles and those of the peasants, and stated that the latter and not the former were the subject of his research.<sup>19</sup> This distinction seems essential for validation of his description of folk music instruments.

Guthrie's book, *Dissertations sur les Antiquités de Russie...* was well known among educated Russians at the end the 18th century, and evoked sometimes controversial reactions (see Derzhavin's opinion quoted above). Its publication in French presented no obstacle to its popularity, since the knowledge of French was considered a necessary part of education at this time. First a Russian translation of Chapter 1 of *Dissertations...* appeared in 1806 in the Moscow illustrated journal *Drug Prosveshcheniia* under the title “Sravnenie prostonarodnykh russkikh muzykal'nykh instrumentov s drevnimi Grecheskimi i Rimskimi (perevod iz sochinenii d-ra Gutri I. Sretenskogo)” [Comparison of Russian folk instruments with those of Ancient Greeks and Romans. Translation from the work of Dr.

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<sup>19</sup> “C'est parmi les paysans, surtout lorsqu'ils ont été long-temps dans l'état de vasselage, et par conséquent attachés au même sol pendant plusieurs siècles, que l'antiquaire doit étudier les mœurs et les usages d'une nation, et non parmi les gens du beau monde, ou même parmi les habitants des grandes villes, dans lesquelles les mœurs et les usages changent plus ou moins, selon que la communication avec les nations étrangères est plus ou moins grande.” (Guthrie 1795, 4).

Guthrie by I. Sretenskii]. Several other translations and compilations of Guthrie's description of musical instruments published during 19th century in Russian (see, for example, Velichkov 1874) show that Guthrie's book remained influential for almost a century after its publication.

Sergei Tuchkov.

One more description of Russian folk instruments that belongs to the end of the 18th - beginning of 19th century is contained in memoirs called *Zapiski...* by Sergei Tuchkov, a Russian nobleman and navy general, whose career in the army was interrupted for 15 years of being under the inquest. He spent this time working on literature, writing among other works an autobiographical essay, which remained unpublished until 1906 due to censors' restrictions. In the part of this work entitled *O muzyke rossiiskoi* [On Russian music] the author describes Russian folk-music instruments. The book was probably written between 1813 and 1827, but the information in it belongs to an earlier time, possibly the last decade of the 18th century (Banin 1986, 110). Surprisingly, Tuchkov does not simply ignore panpipes, but makes a special reference to the *absence* of them in Russia: "There are flutes with seven or nine pipes or tubes, which are used by Greeks, but in Russia no one seems to have noticed them" (Tuchkov 1906, 13). Panpipes are the only instrument that is mentioned by Tuchkov as specially absent in Russia. The explanation of this fact can be found in the broader context of Tuchkov's writing.

It appears that Tuchkov had read the book by Guthrie, although his name is not directly mentioned in Tuchkov's essay. The tone of Tuchkov's essay on instruments seems to be slightly polemic. Unlike Guthrie, Tuchkov, with his patriotic mind-set, intentionally focuses on the uniqueness of the Russian folk instruments. He sees his task as describing "the musical tools that were known before the introduction of foreign customs to Russia by Peter the First" (Tuchkov 1906, 12). However, his citations from Jean-Jacques Rousseau demonstrate that his interest in the subject of music was deep and that writings in French

were easily available to him. Guthrie's notion of the similarity of the Russian folk instruments to those of the Ancient Greece could be easily misinterpreted as proof of borrowing of the instruments from the Greeks.<sup>20</sup> On the contrary, Tuchkov wants to demonstrate the independence of Russian folk instruments from those of other countries.

As the author himself writes, "all that is said here by me about the music of Russians, is related to Great, or North Russia" (Tuchkov 1906, 16). Banin (1986, 111) in his critical assessment of the work by Tuchkov concludes that the author, in his writing on musical instruments, was mainly drawing on his impressions from the two years (1791-93) which he spent in one village in Pskov province in North-Western Russia. The local peasant culture of this region of Russia is very different from that of the southern provinces and, in particular, has very different traditions of instrumental music. Quite certainly, there were no panpipes in this part of Russia.<sup>21</sup>

### **19th century ethnographic observations.**

#### Aleksandr Dmitriukov.

The last quarter of the 18th century in Russia — the era of the Enlightenment — was marked by the rise of the interest of educated city dwellers in the life and art of the peasants.<sup>22</sup> Starting from the early 1830s, many of the provincial daily newspapers published eye-witness accounts of everyday village life and ceremonies, collections of song texts, proverbs and fairy-tales. The majority of these publications were written by village priests or teachers, and sometimes also by educated landlords living on their estates in the country. Among these newspaper publications, often under headings such as "Curious

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<sup>20</sup> Such misunderstanding is clearly seen in the later work by Velichkov, who presents a condensed and superficial account of Guthrie's book. He states that "almost all instruments of the Greeks and Romans that were forgotten after many centuries by other European people were *preserved by Russians almost without any change*. ...[Italics are mine - O.V.] In the house of a Russian villager you can even today hear the sounds which long ago were heard in Ancient Greece and Rome" (Velichkov 1874, 477).

<sup>21</sup> See, however, the discussion of D. Zelenin below.

<sup>22</sup> At this time several Russian folk song collections, those by Chul'kov, Trutovskii and Lvov-Prach appeared in print for the first time (for the discussion of these collections see Mazo 1987).

customs of our common people", or "Legends of Ancient Times" the unusual technique of panpipe playing in Kursk province soon attracted the attention of the writers. The first mention of the instrument named *kuvichki* together with a short description of it was made in an article in the Moscow newspaper *Moskovskii telegraf* of 1831 by A. Dmitriukov, a teacher of the town of Sudzha, Kursk province:

The songs of Russians are monotone in melody... The women with the sounds of the *gudok* [a bowed instrument – O.Ů.] or sometimes with the accompaniment of the pipes made from reeds of different length, which are called *kuvichki* here, dance slowly and softly. (Dmitriukov 1831, 266)

Several other unpublished manuscripts by Dmitriukov have survived, but none of them touches on the subject of *kuvichki*. The main topic of his writing was the comparison of Russian and Ukrainian settlers of the district from an ethnographic standpoint. Although it is not mentioned directly, it is clear from the context that the Ukrainians did not have panpipes.

#### Aleksandr Olenin.

Aleksandr Olenin, an archaeologist and historian, mentions panpipes in one of his letters to the poet Gnedich concerning the interpretation of musical terms in Gnedich's translations of Homer epics into Russian. Olenin writes: "*Syrinx* is the name for *kuvitsa*, *kuvichka* in our land [*v nashei storone*]. It seems to be as expressive as the Greek *syrix*. This instrument [is made] from the same material and has the same shape as the Greek one; it is composed of several reeds tied together." Even if Olenin's description is not very accurate or detailed, it deserves to be mentioned here for several reasons. First, it is close to Guthrie's idea of the similarity between Russian and Greek panpipes. But if Guthrie's book were his only source of information, Olenin would not have used the term *kuvitsa*, which is absent in Guthrie. Olenin's letter is not dated, but it could only have been written between 1827 and 1841 (the time of their work and correspondence), most likely in the mid

1830s. By this time only the publication by Dmitriukov had mentioned *kuvichki* (in plural, while Olenin uses it in singular form and different suffix, *-tsa* instead of *-chka*).

Olenin could also have possessed information from unpublished sources, even from his own estates, some of which were located in south Russia, especially in Riazan' province. Privalov (1909) hypothesized, that the mentioning Riazan' in the beginning of Olenin's letter and a vague reference to "our land" (*nasha storona*) in the part where he talks about panpipes is an indication of the panpipe tradition in Riazan' province. Kvitka after reading this book suggested to Kulakovskii to look for panpipes in Riazan' province, and in 1939 the latter went to south Riazan' province, but did not find any clear traces of panpipe existence there (Kulakovskii 1939). One year later he made a field trip to Briansk province, where he found and recorded panpipes. By mistake these two different fieldwork reports were processed as one by K. Svitova at the archives of the Laboratory of Folk Music (*Laboratoriia narodnoi muzyki*, hereafter referred to as LNM) at Moscow Conservatory, and the result was many folklorists' belief in the existence of Kulakovskii recordings of panpipes from Riazan' province. I. Sviridova, for example, writes that Kulakovskii found the panpipes in the village of Chernava in Riazan' province in 1939 (1966, 21). This illusion persisted for a long time, until the mistake was recognized in the 1980s.<sup>23</sup> It is clear at present, however, that Olenin's letter does not connect the existence of panpipes specifically with Riazan' province, and most probably panpipes never existed there.

#### Aleksei Mashkin.

Several decades later, a more detailed description of panpipes is found in an essay by a teacher in the town of Oboian', Kursk province. Aleksei S. Mashkin, who was also an amateur ethnographer, writes:

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<sup>23</sup> This story was communicated to me by N. Giliarova, who was a staff member and later the director of the Laboratory of folk music at Moscow Conservatory.



*Kuvichki* [are] the five reed pipes, one shorter than another and higher in tone. Each [pipe] has a single opening in the upper end, into which the air is blown. In order to play them, [they] put the upper ends of all pipes against the mouth and blow into the holes. At the same time [they] skillfully accompany to the sounds of *kuvichki* by the voice which originates from *kuvichki* sound. Both [vocal and *kuvichki*] sounds, merging together, express "*kuvi-kuvi*" (Mashkin 1862, 101-102)

#### A. Mordvinov.

In the 1871 issue of the popular journal *Vsemirnaia illustratsia*, a half-tone illustration from the photograph of a man playing a wooden flute (*dudka*) and women playing *kugikly* was printed, accompanied by a short article by A. Mordvinov — apparently, a native of Oboian' district — "Springtime in Kursk province." The description of *kuvichki* in Mordvinov's article is the most important among 19th century publications on the subject, and later served as a basis for a more analytical work by Privalov.

*Kuvichki* consist of five reed pipes, one shorter than another, with the lower ends of them tightly closed. They are not tied with each other, but the player assembles them by their tone (since each pipe is one tone higher than another). The player holds them in her hand in front of her mouth and in fact in some dance songs, played by several *dudki*, blows into the pipes and shouts while moving them quickly from one side of her mouth to another. *Fitu-vit', fitiu-vit'* - sounds are heard loudly and sharply, one higher, another lower; while the *dudki* play the tune distinctively. The songs are not sung along with this music, all that is heard is the stamping of the *trepak* dance. (Mordvinov 1871, 258)

This citation, in order to be understood properly, requires some comments. The instrument mentioned as *dudki* (pl., sing. - *dudka*) are wooden flutes with finger holes, played by men (as is clear from the context, as well as the illustration). The language of the description of the panpipes makes unambiguous references to women as players of *kuvichki*. The *kuvichki* were played to accompany the dance and in the ensemble with the male *dudki*.<sup>24</sup>

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<sup>24</sup> Mordvinov calls the dance *trepak*. This name is commonly applied to a particular dance type, known mostly in Ukraine. Russians in South Kursk province, in fact, do not know it. It appears from

### Father Filaret.

The historical-ethnographic description of the Chernigov eparchy, made by Father Filaret [Gumilevskii] in 1873, mentions panpipe playing in the village of Koshovo. The administrative region to which this village belonged (Mglinsk uezd, Chernigov province) has changed its borders since then, so its modern attribution is to Briansk province.<sup>25</sup> The author describes panpipe playing on the day of Saint Aquiline, June 13, or starting from the first sowing of buckwheat. Only girls and young married women who had no children could take part in this event. They divided themselves into four groups. The women who played four pipes were in the first group, those who played three pipes were in the second, with two pipes in the third, and in the fourth group with those who played only one pipe. "These groups walk slowly on the village streets one after another and play pipes, with a motif of not more than four notes from the highest to the lowest, or three notes down and the fourth one up" (Filaret 1873, 152). The author interprets the panpipe tradition as a remnant of pagan rituals held in ancient times in honor of a female goddess.<sup>26</sup>

Although more detailed than many other descriptions of panpipes, this excerpt in Filaret's book is short and raises many questions. The opening sentence states that "In Koshovo village *kugikly* playing by girls is still preserved". No explanation on the word *kugikly* follows, so one wonders if this name of the instrument was thought to be self-evident by the author for the assumed reader of the book. On the other hand, the statement also implies that the preservation of this custom in Koshovo was a rarity, while the other neighboring villages had already lost it.<sup>27</sup>

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Mordvinov's article, however, that he refers to it more in the sense of a dance in general, or any dance. In 1937 Kvitka questioned the village elders about Mordvinov, and learned that he was not a native of this village, but married to someone from Vysokoe. This may explain inaccuracy in his use of local musical terms. Kvitka also noticed that the word *kuvichki* for panpipes was not used among the villagers in Vysokoe (who used *kugikly* instead), and only the strangers were occasionally referring to the instrument by this name (Kvitka 1940b).

<sup>25</sup> In 1857 Filaret made an analogous description in Khar'kov eparchy to which the South Kursk districts belonged at this time. Curiously, while describing Sudzha district he did not notice panpipe playing.

<sup>26</sup> See discussion of the ritual connections of panpipe playing later in this chapter.

<sup>27</sup> See discussion of following fieldwork trips in Briansk province (those by Grigorovich, Zhivov and Savel'eva) later in this chapter.

The main significance of 19th-century sources on Russian panpipes, as can be seen today, is the information concerning the geographical distribution of this instrument in the past. This information allowed the next generation of scholars to conduct fieldwork in these places, aiming specifically at description of the panpipe tradition.

## **20th century publications on panpipes: beginning of the scholarly interest.**

### Nikolai Privalov.

The study of Russian panpipes in the 20th century starts with the writings by Nikolai Privalov entitled *Musical wind instruments of the Russian people* (two parts, 1906 and 1909). The second part of this book is dedicated to the various types of “whistling” (i.e. flute-type) instruments, among which the author considers panpipes. Although the title of his book is limited by nationality, in fact Privalov discusses Russian instruments in a world-wide context through which he attempts to define the relative place of the Russian forms of a given instrument. Privalov was a broadly educated man and based his research on a number of different sources; these included monographs by Fetis, Ambros and Forkel, Mahillon’s classification of instruments, as well as data from Russian and other Slavic languages, Church Slavonic manuscript translations of the Bible, and reports published in 19th-century newspapers.

Privalov supposed that the panpipe originated with shepherds, possibly from Anatolia (Asia Minor), and from there was borrowed by the Ancient Greeks: “It is likely that the name of the instrument was transferred to the name of the God who played it (compare Chinese name *Phan* with Greek *Pan*)” (1909, 25). Aside from its bucolic character, panpipes in the ancient world were often used as ceremonial instruments (for example, *magrefa* in the Jerusalem temple). From here Privalov sees two roads of evolution for panpipes in western Europe: on the one hand, its gradual transformation into organ-like instruments in the context of religious ceremonial traditions, and, on the other

hand, its residual preservation in folk cultures of many European countries as an instrument for entertainment (1909, 23-26). Privalov traces the existence of panpipes in Eastern Europe, in countries such as Lithuania, Poland and Russia. These countries, in the opinion of the researcher, previously possessed ancient traditions of panpipe playing, one of which was preserved in Russia in almost unchanged purity (Privalov 1909, 108). Privalov hypothesized that the panpipe was known in Medieval Russia under the name *tsevnitsa*, which was later transformed to *kuvitsa*, or *kuvichka* (sing. from *kuvichki*).<sup>28</sup> He also reviewed the 19th-century publications on panpipes and made an attempt to find out about the current state of the tradition in the village of Vysokoe, described in Mordvinov's article (through one of his acquaintances who was a native of this place). His informant said that he did not observe or heard anything about panpipe playing, and Privalov concluded that the tradition was defunct.<sup>29</sup>

A few significant features of Privalov's view of panpipe traditions — his organological approach, the hypothesis of the Asian origin of the instrument and evolutionary scheme of its development with few remnants of the old stages which were preserved (the Russian tradition among them) — were taken up and further developed in Steshenko-Kuftina's book (1936). This book, mainly on the subject of Georgian panpipes, was heavily influenced by Hornbostel's theory of the blown fifth. In order to confirm this theory, Steshenko produced meticulous tonometrical measurements of the panpipes' tuning. The cultural-historical parts of the book, although very impressive by the immensity of the material, are rather controversial in their explanations and simplified

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<sup>28</sup> See discussion of panpipe in Medieval Russia later in this chapter.

<sup>29</sup> Later research found that this information was misleading. There are several villages named Vysokoe in Kursk province. It is possible that the person whom Privalov contacted was from a different Vysokoe village.

evolutionary view of the cultural diversity. Steshenko's most important achievement is her field material: the panpipe performances phonographically recorded in Mingrelia, ethnographic descriptions, and notations of the tunes.<sup>30</sup>

Concerning Russian panpipes Steshenko-Kuftina repeated information found in Privalov, including his assertion regarding the death of the panpipes in Russia (1936, 101). However, her book, by coincidence, played an important role in the history of research on Russian panpipe. Steshenko's book was nominated for the State Prize, and Kliment Kvitka was given the task to review it for the Committee of State Prizes.<sup>31</sup> The information on Russian panpipes attracted his attention, and he decided to organize a field trip in the village of Vysokoe and its vicinity. He found that the panpipes in south Kursk province were far from forgotten. On the contrary, the tradition was alive and wide-spread.

#### Dmitrii Zelenin.

A prominent Russian ethnographer and ethnolinguist, Dmitrii Zelenin, in his ethnographic survey *Russische (Ostslavische) Folkskunde* (originally published in German in 1926) mentions panpipes in the Cherdym district of Komi province, North Russia. According to him, the instrument was called *zor'ki* and was usually made from goose feather stems, which were inserted into a holder made of leather (Zelenin 1991, 371). The researcher seems to have based his description of *zor'ki* on a primary source, which he did not cite in the book itself.<sup>32</sup>

Neither the description nor the name of the instrument match anything known in the literature about Russian panpipes. It appears, however, that the *zor'ki* could have an origin

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<sup>30</sup> The sound recordings were made on wax cylinders. Unfortunately, their present location is unknown.

<sup>31</sup> The manuscript of Kvitka's review is now held at the LNM archives (see Kvitka 1938). In his review he criticizes Steshenko for her theory of panpipe origin and her tuning measurements. This review later served as the basis for important Kvitka's work, entitled *On the historical significance of panpipes* (see Kvitka 1986).

<sup>32</sup> The book does not have full bibliographic references. It is well known, however, that Zelenin used numerous archival sources for compiling this work. One of his earlier publication contains a description of ethnographic materials in the archives of the Geographical Society in St. Petersburg (Zelenin 1915). I was unable to locate the source of *zor'ki* description in this work, however.

in the tradition of Komi-Permians, an ethnic group of Ugro-Finnish descent, living in northern Europe in close proximity to the Russian population. As a recent study by Nadezhda Zhulanova indicates, one sub-group of Komi-Permians, called Ziuzdinskii, which is settled in the Afanasievskii district of Kirov province (separately from the other Komi-Permian sub-groups), calls their panpipes *zor'ki* or *zorki*, according to the name of the plant from which they are made (Zhulanova 1997, 158, footnote).<sup>33</sup> It is possible to suggest that Zelenin's information from the Perm' province, which has both Russian and Permian settlements, could have come from the source on Permian tradition mistakenly attributed to the Russians.

### **Fieldwork research and publications of 1937-1975.**

#### Kliment Kvitka.

Kliment Kvitka (1880-1953) was a person who made a major impact on the development of research on the Russian panpipe. Kvitka was a senior researcher at the Institute of Scholarly Research on Music (*Muzykal'nyi Nauchno-issledovatel'skii Institut*) at Moscow Conservatory that later was reorganized into the Laboratory of Folk Music (LNM).<sup>34</sup> In 1937 Kvitka was appointed a scientific director of the LNM. By the time of his fieldwork research in Kursk province, Kvitka already had experience in studying folk instrumental music in Ukraine. One of his previous projects had involved gathering information about Ukrainian folk and semi-professional musicians and their social role and status in peasant communities (Kvitka 1973). This project considered issues of social organization of musical activities, biographies of folk musicians and their understanding of their music, folk terminology, etc. This approach was further developed during Kvitka's

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<sup>33</sup> The panpipe tradition, present in both major subgroups of Komi people (Komi-Permians and Komi-Zyrians), bears many similarities to the Russian panpipe traditions. However, it is an independent phenomena, probably of archaic origin which can not be explained simply as the borrowing from Russia (Zhulanova 1997).

<sup>34</sup> The LNM in Kvitka's time was called *Kabinet nasrodnoi muzyki*, or simply *Kabinet*. For the reason of clarity I refer to this institution always by its modern name, the LNM.

work with Russian instrumental music that came to be the focus of his attention in his Moscow period (Banin and Kanchaveli 1980, 108). One of the strongest points of his approach was a combination of detailed ethnographic description of the instrument based on field observations of one tradition with a broad overview of contemporary scholarship on the subject. This allowed him to identify methodologically important areas of research. To put it into modern words, he was aware of the balance between the etic and emic perspectives, perhaps even more than his fellow researchers on the West.<sup>35</sup> For example, in response to above mentioned tonometric measurements conducted by Steshenko-Kuftina on Georgian panpipe tuning he wrote: “In our opinion, in musical ethnographic work, [pitch] measurement in cents would be profitable for psychological experiments that should be conducted with every group of people before making the decision on the level of exactness which is necessary for the notation of samples of the music of this group” (Kvitka 1986, 251).

Kvitka’s first fieldwork trip to Kursk province was undertaken in 1937 with a team of staff members from the institute in search for songs and instruments mentioned in 19th century sources. On the advice of a staff member of Kursk Committee of Cultural Affairs (*Upravlenie po delam kul'tury*), on this first trip the fieldworkers visited the villages of Plekhovo and Gakhovo. The most important discovery of this trip was the existence of panpipes, especially in the village of Plekhovo. In contrast to Plekhovo, the state of panpipe tradition in other villages was worse. In Gakhovo, visited by I. Zdanovich and V. Krivonosov, only one person was able to play *kugikly*.

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<sup>35</sup> The notion of emic and etic (also sometimes called insider-outsider) perspectives was originally formulated by Kenneth Pike in comparative linguistics (see Pike 1954), and later applied to ethnomusicology. By analogy with linguistics, Bruno Nettl suggested the difference between the treatment of the issue of musical notation in ethnomusicology as the difference between phonetic and phonemic study of language (Nettl 1956, 43). According to him, ethnomusicologists of “phonetic” orientation (such as Herzog and his followers) tend to represent in their notations all sounds of a recorded musical sample as detailed as possible, without regard to their significance within a culture. “Phonemic” school, represented in ethnomusicology by Hornbostel and Stumpf, is oriented toward defining, through the analysis of musical style, the significance of a given musical element within the culture itself. Recently, many ethnomusicological works explored various aspects of etic/emic distinction (see, for example, Alvarez-Pereyre and Arom 1993, Herndon 1993).

Materials from the 1937 fieldwork were supposed to be included in a monographic work by Kvitka on panpipes. However, Kvitka himself found the assembled information unsatisfactory. In his report, he describes the circumstances of the journey — deep mud on the streets of the village that literally paralyzed the researchers who were unable to move their bulky equipment. As a result, instead of observing the musical life of the village and speaking with the villagers of his choice, Kvitka had to rely on information and players chosen for him by the head of the village administration, Iakov Glamazdin who was also a *roz'hok* player (Kvitka 1940a). In addition, the quality of the recordings was quite bad and the attempts to notate the music from these recordings were not quite successful.<sup>36</sup> Especially, the notation of the lead panpipe part presented a problem, since the scholars were not able to distinguish between the voice and pipe sounds on the recording (Rudneva 1973, Rudneva 1975, 74-75).

A second trip was conducted in 1940 by Kvitka and Rudneva to clarify these issues. They visited the same places as in 1937 and also three more villages — Vysokoe, Chernyi Olekh and Budishche, in which many good panpipe players were found. New ethnographic details concerning panpipes were recorded and the mystery of the role of the voice in playing panpipes was resolved. Unfortunately, the sound recordings from Kvitka's second field trip have not been preserved in the LNM archives. The only traces of their existence are found in the notations used in Rudneva's dissertation and book (Rudneva 1961, 1975).

The final point in Kvitka's work on Kursk panpipe tradition was in 1946, when relatively good quality recordings of the instruments were obtained from joint ensembles of folk musicians of the villages of Budishche and Chernyi Olekh who came to Moscow to

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<sup>36</sup> It has to be admitted, however, that the full score of the ensemble consisting of seven performers presented such level of complexity that it would be quite impossible to make a score notation even from a good quality recording.



participate in a festival.<sup>37</sup> At this time, six pieces were recorded by an ensemble of six musicians including three female *kugikly* players, and three male *rozhok*, *pyzhatka* and fiddle players. For each piece the whole ensemble, the ensemble of three panpipe players, and then each instrument playing separately were recorded. These recordings provided solid data for studying structural aspects of the tunes and relationship between the instruments of the ensemble.

All of Kvitka's writings on the subject of panpipes remained unpublished until 1986, when Kvitka's manuscript from Glinka Museum of Musical Culture (GTsMMK) was published by A. Banin (Kvitka 1986).<sup>38</sup> This publication contains the only preserved fragment of Kvitka's unfinished monograph on the subject of panpipes of the different peoples of the USSR. Kvitka worked on this monograph before the W.W.II. A slightly different typed copy of this manuscript is found in the LNM archives at Moscow Conservatory (Kvitka's papers, MS 8/110). Both manuscripts are dated 1941.<sup>39</sup>

### Lev Kulakovskii.

Lev Kulakovskii studied panpipes in Russia in parallel to Kvitka's research. His fieldwork in Briansk province started in 1940, apparently at the suggestion of Kvitka, and was coordinated and subsidized by the LNM. Although Kulakovskii's work did not focus primarily on panpipes, he left a comprehensive ethnographic description of the role of the instrument in village life, the process of making and tuning of the set, and village panpipes terminology.

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<sup>37</sup> This time the recording was made on celluloid disks that could be preserved more easily than wax cylinders.

<sup>38</sup> Before this date, Kvitka's findings concerning panpipes were reported in the book on Russian folk instruments by Artem Agazhanov, published in 1949 on the basis of his Ph.D. dissertation, prepared under the guidance of Kliment Kvitka (Agazhanov, 1949). As far as I know, Agazhanov himself had never conducted fieldwork in Kursk province; he worked as a research assistant for the LNM from 1942 to 1946. Later in life, he worked at the Moscow Conservatory as professor of ear-training.

<sup>39</sup> For methodological assessment of Kvitka's and Rudneva's work see Chapter 2, pp. 79-82.

Especially interesting and detailed was his comparative study of the panpipe traditions of three neighboring villages, Dorozhevo, Domashovo and Chernetovo (Kulakovskii, 1940a,b). While the general ethnography of panpipes was approximately the same in all three villages, their techniques of playing were quite different. In Dorozhevo the only technique known was the playing of a two-pipe sets by each player, while the villagers of Domashevo, located only five kilometers away, used two- and three-pipe sets. At the same time, as Kulakovskii showed, the playing technique of Chernetovo, the village on the other side of the Desna river and quite far from both Dorozhevo and Domashevo, closely resembled the Domashevo style of playing. In all three villages, only one tune was performed on panpipes. This tune did not have a particular name, and was referred to by the villagers only as a “panpipe playing.” The notation of this tune, made by V. Krivonosov and published in Kulakovskii’s book, appears in the Appendix C (Notation 1).

According to this notation and Kulakovskii’s comments on it, the players were divided into two subgroups that played in a syncopated manner with respect to each other, i.e., interweaving, or dovetailing their parts.<sup>40</sup>

One of the groups, called *spoukal'nye*, or *papkaiushchie* (onomatopoetic terms), also produced vocal sounds together with playing the pipes. Women in another group, called *speredergivaiushchie*, or *triasukhi* (the shakers), moved their heads quickly between the pipes, hence the name (Kulakovskii 1940a). It should be pointed out, however, that in the notation by Krivonosov the vocal sounds are given to the “shakers” part, contradicting the comments of Kulakovskii. Since the notator himself was not familiar with the tradition,

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<sup>40</sup> Such organization is unique among Russian instrumental traditions, but similar phenomena can be found in many musical cultures of the world, including African, South American and Oceanic panpipe traditions. In Africa it is also found with many other instruments, especially xylophones. Although at first it might appear logical to call all these examples a type of hocket, there are too many reservations for using this term as a common denominator. First, the term itself has a long history of usage in European music and is not totally unified in its meanings. Second, I would rather avoid the implications of comparison between different traditions, since, as it will be seen from the following, the similarities are often superficial.

we should consider this to be a mistake. Indeed, without verbal description and observations of playing it seems impossible to separate the two parts on the recording.

More detailed and exact notations of Dorozhevo panpipe playing was made in 1985 by N. Savel'eva from her fieldwork recordings using multi-channel technique (for discussion of this technique see pp.47). One of Savel'eva's notations is also reproduced in Appendix C (Notation 2). In this performance, three players participated. Two of them (their parts notated on the first and the third staff lines) were *spoukal'nye*, i.e. produced vocal sounds together with playing, while the third played the "shakers" part, in syncopated rhythm with respect to the other parts.<sup>41</sup> As Savel'eva's notation demonstrates, the players within one group (that of the *spoukal'nye*, or of the "shakers") usually neither play pipes strictly in unison, nor produce vocal sounds together. In fact, it is rather typical for them to place vocal sounds not simultaneously, but in turn, as if they were "answering" each other. The same manner of vocal sounds coordination between the players is characteristic for the Kursk panpipe playing (see discussion in Chapter 6).

In his field trip of 1940 in Chernetovo, Kulakovskii also noticed special manner of playing called "*u vir*", when two sounds were produced by one performer by simultaneously blowing into two adjacent pipes. Kulakovskii said that such a manner was known in this village only.<sup>42</sup> Two-voice playing on panpipes constructed as a row is also quite a rare case among other panpipe traditions of the world.<sup>43</sup>

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<sup>41</sup> In this and following notations of panpipe playing, vocal sounds are shown with the tails pointing up, and the syllables to which they are set (in this case, "fu") are written above the note. All notes with the tail pointing down are the pipes sounds.

<sup>42</sup> The record at LNM archives indicates that phonograph recordings made by Kulakovskii in Chernetovo (catalogued under no. 846/468) were sent for restoration to the Phonogram Archive of the Institute of Russian Literature (IRLI) to St. Petersburg. Their present state is unknown to me. The mystery of Chernetovo two-voice playing will likely remain unsolved, since the tradition in this village, already on the edge of extinction in the 1940's, has completely died out. At the time of my visit to the village of Chernetovo in 1994, vague memories of panpipe playing remained but nobody could demonstrate the playing itself, much less the special two-voice manner of it.

<sup>43</sup> In spite of Hugo Zemp's statement (1981, 415) that "solo polyphonic playing of raft panpipes has not been described from other [than Oceania - O.V.] regions of the world," this effect can be found, in at least several traditions beyond the 'Are'Are panpipe tradition. For example, it is used in the Komi and Georgian panpipe traditions (Steshenko-Kuftina 1936, Chistalev 1974, Zhulanova 1997), and among the Kuna Indians (Smith 1984).

One of the important parallels between Kvitka's and Kulakovskii's works lies in their special attention to the problem of tuning the panpipe sets. In Briansk province, Kulakovskii notices remarkable instability of the pitch system, much more than that in Kursk province. The tuning of four different ensemble sets found by him in the village of Dorozhevo provides a good illustration of this practice. Kulakovskii (1940a) gives the following chart of tuning:



Figure 1.1. The tuning of four sets of panpipes from the village of Dorozhevo, Briansk province (after Kulakovskii 1940a).

Sets that are functionally the same are tuned in unison, with some approximation. According to Kulakovskii, the degree of exactness varies broadly depending on the

individual, and sometimes even a half-tone deviation from a supposed unison did not bother the performers. All these facts demonstrate a high degree of tolerance to panpipe pitch variations among performers. Kulakovskii's observation provided Kvitka with an additional proof of his assertion that the panpipes in Russian tradition are not the instruments that can be associated with preservation of scales.

Kulakovskii's book, *The art of the village of Dorozhevo*, first published in 1959, offered a monographic description of the musical culture of one village, including certainly its panpipe tradition. This book presents an evolutionary view of the tradition, with emphasis on the genres that Kulakovskii considers to be the oldest. Compared with his earlier fieldwork materials, this book does not contain any new information on panpipes, but discusses more fully the author's hypothesis concerning their origin and relative chronology.

Kulakovskii saw the Briansk panpipe tradition as a representation of one of the most ancient stages, if not the very beginning of the development of Russian musical culture in general. He came to this conclusion on the basis of the simplicity of the instrument from an organological perspective, the lack of precision of its tuning, and the generally simple character of its music. He wrote: "In comparison to this culture even the simplest Dorozhevo songs seem like complex, highly organized works" (Kulakovskii 1959, 40). In the vocal repertoire of the same villages he also found some archaic genres, such as the game of the "Funerals of Kostroma", which he related to the remnants of the culture of the early Slavic settlements on these territories. Kulakovskii hypothesized that the panpipe tradition probably belonged to the same or even earlier chronological layer, as these most archaic genres of the local singing tradition. Panpipe playing, according to him, was an earlier stage of musical thinking since the control of pitch and the realization of the mode in singing is much more precise. Comparing with more developed Kursk panpipe

music, he assumed the Briansk style to be more archaic on the basis of its relative simplicity and looser organization.

It is clear that the information at Kulakovskii's disposal was not sufficient for a serious discussion of the origin and development of Russian panpipe traditions. In fact, the problems he posed are unlikely to be solved at all, since there will never be enough data to document the chronology of this purely oral tradition with any degree of certainty. We have a right to doubt, as did Kvitka, whether the Briansk panpipe tradition shows an "earlier stage" or "regression" compared with that of Kursk (see discussion below). As has been discussed in many works by modern ethnomusicologists, apparently logical conclusions based on the assumption of "the simplest in organization is the earliest chronologically" does not always apply to musical cultures (see, for example, Blacking 1967).

Anna Rudneva.

Anna Rudneva, Kvitka's student and assistant in his 1940 fieldwork, continued the study of panpipes in Kursk province, but with a rather different approach. Panpipes were considered by her as one part of a regional cultural complex, studied along with all other elements of a given culture. In this respect her work reflects an important trend in the post-war development of musical folklore studies in Russia — a trend toward regionalism, or studying "musical dialects" of a certain region represented on a certain level of integrity by their most characteristic musical stylistic features (Goshovskii 1971). An important new feature of Rudneva's approach was the encompassing of diverse aspects of folk culture in her ethnographic descriptions, although the relationship between the components was established only at a descriptive rather than structural level.

Rudneva's work in Kursk province focused on the genre of *khorovod* — songs that she considered to be the focal genre in the regional music culture. Her later fieldwork trips in Kursk province (1956, 1962, 1964, and 1973) provided more than 150 samples of songs and instrumental pieces that constituted a solid basis for her analysis of the musical

and poetic style of local *khorovod* songs in her doctoral dissertation (Rudneva 1961). A shorter and slightly revised version of it was published later as a book (Rudneva 1975).<sup>44</sup> The information on panpipes given in her dissertation and book, however, comes from the earlier period, the time of her 1940 fieldwork with Kvitka.

Rudneva's book provides the most detailed and complete ethnographic description of Kursk panpipes. It includes making of the instrument, its tuning, way of playing, local terms for the sets and parts in the ensemble, as well as other performers' terminology. Rudneva was also keen to observe the inner "dialect" differences of the panpipe traditions among the villages, reflected in the repertoire, terminology and relationships between the parts of the ensemble. However, providing a full systematic account of these dialect differences was certainly not her main task, and most of the details are given with reference to one or another village. The reader can only guess whether they were absent in other localities she studied or simply not mentioned because they were the same.

The most informative part of Rudneva's work with instruments is her ethnographic and organological descriptions. Each instrument of the traditional ensemble of South Kursk province (*kugikly*, *dudka*, *pyzhatka*, *rozhek* and fiddle) is discussed individually, with the accompanying notation of performances of solo versions of one or another tune with some notes on the performance techniques.

Notated musical examples of instrumental tunes in Rudneva's dissertation and book were taken mostly from the period of 1937-1946, the recordings by Kvitka discussed above. Since it was impossible to hear all parts in the ensemble performance, she took the parts played by each instrument separately and integrated them into the score, unified metrically, so it looked like all parts were performed simultaneously. In fact, such scores presented only a model of what had been actually performed.

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<sup>44</sup> For the following discussion, the examples are drawn mostly from Rudneva's book, and not from her dissertation, since the latter was not readily available.

At the time the method of multi-channel recording was not yet in use.<sup>45</sup> An attempt to record an instrumental ensemble from the village of Plekhovo using multi-channel recording technique was undertaken for the first time in 1967 during a visit of Plekhovo musicians to Moscow; however, these materials were not used by Rudneva for her dissertation. Perhaps, by 1967 her text on instruments had already been completed. The poor quality of this recording, both on technical and artistic levels — could have also been a factor. The method was used for the first time, and the performers were probably intimidated by the technical complexity, with many microphones and tape recorders in front of them. In contrast, the vocal multi-channel recording of the Plekhovo group was very successful as a performance, and all 13 songs recorded during this session were included in the collection called *Russian folk songs in multi-channel recording* that provided a noticeable breakthrough in studies on multi-voice singing in a number of regional traditions (Rudneva, Pushkina and Shchurov 1979).

One of attractive sides of Rudneva's work with the village performers was her readiness to experiment, participate in music making and learn how to play herself. In her book she described her own experience of playing the accompanying part in a panpipe ensemble and the difficulties arising from the requirement of precise rhythmic co-ordination with the leading part (Rudneva 1975, 154). On another occasion, she participated in an ensemble with an unusual combination of sets: one performer played five pipes, another one — two, and the third one — just one pipe, while Rudneva herself played four pipes.

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<sup>45</sup> In this technique, each of the performers in the group is provided with his or her separate microphone and separate tape recorder, that respectively records the voice of this particular performer as "singled out" on the background of the simultaneous performance of the whole group. The explanation of this technique is given in song collection by Rudneva, Pushkina and Shchurov, where the results of this method were first published: "Notation of a song recorded with multi-microphone technique is [...] notation of the melodic line of each concrete voice separately. After it all obtained parts are brought together in the form of a score" (Rudneva et al. 1979, 3). For a methodological discussion of this way of recording see Chapter 2.



This situation provided the researcher with an important insight that the laws of the ensemble playing are not as rigid as one would expect them to be from verbal descriptions and the observations of only typical occasions of panpipe playing.

The researcher's effort to become a pupil of the musicians she studied is comparable to the approach which was also developing in North American ethnomusicology at the same time (bi-musicality, after Mantle Hood). Rudneva's performing experience, however, occupied only a small part of her activity and was unavoidably limited in scope. She did not go further than learning an accompanying part in a panpipe ensemble, and even this she apparently never played publicly or taught to the other players.

### **Recent fieldwork and the modern state of panpipe traditions.**

After the works of Kvitka, Rudneva and Kulakovskii, the topic of panpipes did not attract the attention of researchers for quite a long time. During the same years, however, information on panpipes from still another region had surfaced. The remnants of formerly-existing panpipe tradition were discovered in Kaluga province, in the watershed between the upper tributaries of the Desna and Oka rivers. Although it was mentioned to Kvitka in 1949 in one of his interviews with a shepherd from this area (see Kvitka 1949), he did not follow up this information, or may not have had the opportunity to do so. In any case, this fact remained unnoticed and the existence of a panpipe tradition in Kaluga province was rediscovered only in 1974, during one of the student fieldwork trips of the Moscow Gnesin's Musical-Pedagogical Institute (GMPI). Two years later recordings of panpipe playing were made in the village of Dubrovo by Vladimir Trokhin, a participant of the 1974 trip. Notation of Dubrovo panpipe playing and Trokhin's description of it show its relationship with the panpipe tradition in Briansk province (Trokhin 1977, 15).<sup>46</sup>

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<sup>46</sup> Trokhin's notation of Dubrovo panpipe playing is reproduced in Appendix C (Notation 3). The GMPI sound-recording archives are currently closed for restoration and the recording itself is not available for examination.

According to Trokhin, three players, two playing two pipes and the third one playing three pipes, participated in his recording. Each part had its own name, *brekhal'nye* (barking), *podlzhivaiushchie* (fitting, or coordinating) and *troiushki* (three pipes). The names of the parts were different from those described in Kulakovskii, as well as the name of the instrument itself (in other places of Kaluga province they were called *vikushki*, while in Dubrovo they were called *dudki*). There was, as in Briansk province, only one tune, referred to by the villagers as a “panpipe playing.” Musically, this tune was to a certain extent similar to the tune recorded by Kulakovskii: panpipe parts were also dovetailing rhythmically with one another. All three players produced vocal sounds while playing the pipes.

In 1980s, more work on Kaluga panpipe tradition was done by the staff members of LNM of Moscow Conservatory, Sergei Starostin and Tatiana Starostina, and the teacher of Gnesin's music college, Tatiana Shentaliskaia. Some of these trips (such as Starostina 1990) were specially focused on panpipes, while in others the panpipes were found rather by accident, while collecting songs (Shentalinskaia 1989-90). The researchers visited several villages in Kirov and Duminichi districts of Kaluga province. At this time, however, the panpipe tradition in these villages has been inactive for such a long time that in spite of all efforts no audio-recording of ensemble panpipe playing was obtained. From the tape-recorded interviews with the village elders, who were panpipe players in their younger years, and could demonstrate each panpipe part separately, the reconstruction of the sound of the whole ensemble can be attempted.<sup>47</sup> It can be concluded, on the basis of analysis of these materials, that the panpipe tradition that previously existed in these districts of Kaluga province was essentially similar to that recorded by Trokhin in the village of Dubrovo.

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<sup>47</sup> The notation of four panpipe parts successively played by one performer is shown in the Appendix C (Notation 4). This notation is based on tape-recorded interview from the fieldwork of T. Starostina (Starostina 1990).

In the Briansk province since the 1960s, new recordings of panpipes have been made in places already visited by previous researchers. In the village of Koshovo, described by Filaret, a panpipe playing was recorded by Zhivov, a student of Moscow Conservatory in 1962. The recording itself is housed in the archives of the Conservatory, but no comments or descriptions of the instrument were preserved to document it. The recording sounds very similar to the panpipe recordings from the region of the upper Desna river, done by Kulakovskii. However, in comparison with them, the performers in the Zhivov's recording seem poor, not very skillful; the ensemble does not consistently display the rhythmic precision so essential for panpipe playing. Perhaps these were the only players in the village at the time of Zhivov's recording. In 1967 a group of Moscow Conservatory students led by Savel'eva visited the neighboring village of Ovetug, where the panpipe tradition also existed in the past. By this time the tradition was already defunct and no recordings were made.<sup>48</sup>

A researcher from the Folklore Committee at the Composer's Union of Russian Federation (FK RSFSR), Ekaterina Dorokhova, in her fieldwork in Briansk province in 1980s found another evidence of panpipe tradition which formerly existed along the Desna river in Trubchevsk district. According to her, in the village of Mansurovo, the women used to play panpipes in an ensemble, also employing vocal sounds while playing. The informants mentioned that there were up to 12 pipes (it was not clear, however, if this number referred to one performer, or to the whole group). The instrument was called *kuvikly* and made from a reed that grew locally. This reed stopped growing, one of the reasons for the demise of the panpipe tradition in this place about 50 years ago. Today's informants remember playing and can describe it verbally, but are unable to demonstrate the playing itself.<sup>49</sup>

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<sup>48</sup> Personal communication with N. Savel'eva in July of 1994.

<sup>49</sup> Personal communication with E. Dorokhova, August 29 1993.

More fieldwork trips to the panpipe region of South Kursk province (Starostin 1984, Starostina 1987-89, Koshelev 1985 and others) provided information on the state of the panpipe tradition about 50 years after its initial observation. The Starostins worked closely with a prominent panpipe performer in the village of Budishche, M. Bocharova, from whom the “quasi-ensemble” recordings of panpipes were obtained, using the technique of mixing channels.<sup>50</sup> The results of this work were reported in an article by T. Starostina (1989).<sup>51</sup>

I myself have conducted field trips in Kursk province since 1989, mainly in the village of Plekhovo, where recordings of a panpipe ensemble were made. The notations of these recordings were published in their entire length and analyzed in an article (Velichkina 1992, 1993).<sup>52</sup>

As a whole, the information on panpipes obtained in field trips by different researchers during the period from the 1960s through the 1990s has brought more details to the large picture outlined by Kvitka's, Rudneva's, and Kulakovskii's research. The results of this newer fieldwork have never been summarized and compared to each other. However, their review allows us to make the following observations concerning the common features of different panpipe traditions in Russia, their past and their present state.

In the past, presumably, panpipe tradition included the territory of the neighboring districts of south Kaluga and Tula provinces, as well as along the upper part of the Desna river, where it formed a juncture with the Briansk panpipe zone. Recordings of panpipes in the village of Batskino at the very north end of Briansk province (Savel'eva 1985) may suggest that in the past the Briansk and Kaluga panpipe zones could belong to one and the same tradition, spread throughout a large territory. Compared to this, the zone of panpipe

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<sup>50</sup> That is, the performer was recorded playing five-pipe part first, and then asked to accompany the recording by playing other parts of panpipe ensemble in turn (cf. with the discussion of Arom's “play-back” technique in Chapter 2).

<sup>51</sup> Discussion of this article see below.

<sup>52</sup> See discussion in Chapter 6.

dissemination in Kursk province is rather compact and clearly delimited in territory. Figure 1.2 shows the geographic location of all historical and contemporary mentions of panpipes' existence in Russia.<sup>53</sup>

It is hardly surprising that the state of the panpipe tradition in Kaluga by the time of its late discovery was much worse than in both Kursk and Bryansk provinces. The process of deterioration of the panpipe tradition in all regions notwithstanding, it is noteworthy to observe that the areas that have been the subjects of the most research demonstrate better overall preservation than the others. The researchers' attention to the panpipes, which brought this instrument into the light of public interest, promoted gradual change in the attitude toward it among performers, fellow villagers, and a newer (and broader) audience for folk music in the cities. The analysis of this change brings us to the important issue of an influence of researchers on the object of study. This topic will be discussed in Chapter 3 of the present dissertation.

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<sup>53</sup> Except for those mentioned in Zelenin 1927 (see discussion above), and the traces of panpipe existence in Krasnoyarsk (Ural region). One specimen of panpipe from Krasnoyarsk region obtained from the migrants from Kursk province, was brought in 1957-58 by V. Khar'kov, and is now housed at the instrumental collection of Glinka's Museum (GTsMMK) in Moscow (no. 2368). I was not able to find any comments concerning panpipe tradition in this region.

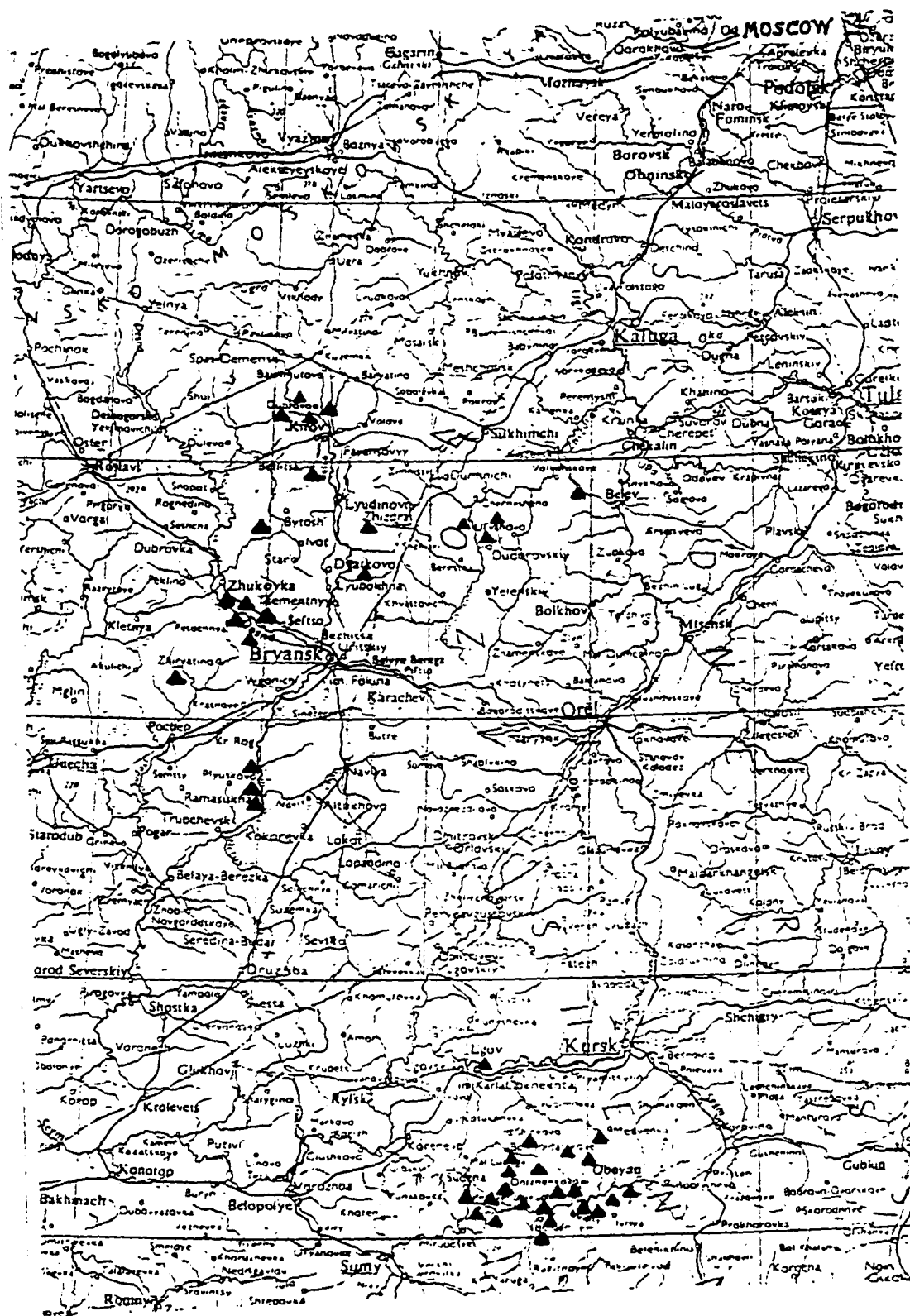


Figure 1.2. Geography of dissemination of panpipes in Russia.

The significant similarity between the two regional panpipe traditions naturally leads one to the assumption of their common origin. This hypothesis was already advanced by Kvitka, who also warned of its possible fallacy: “It is necessary to restrain ourselves from the temptation of simplifying historical research [...]. However primitive the music currently performed on panpipes, it could not be preserved completely unchanged for thousands of years. The question of how significant these necessary changes were, whether the current playing practice in Briansk district is a regress or an embryo, whether the hypothesis of the “wave-like” evolution — with the periods of raising and decline of musical culture — can be excluded, [...] require diligent examination” (Kvitka 1986, 254).

The similarities between the Kursk and the Briansk/Kaluga tradition can be traced in two areas — in the ethnography of the instrument and in the structural organization of the music. All local versions of the panpipe music are characterized by the same principle of rhythmic co-ordination between the parts (which we have called the principle of complementarity) and by the insertion of vocal sounds in playing of at least one of the ensemble parts. Some of the important terms, such as *kugikly* and *para*, are known in both local traditions. At the same time, more detailed panpipe terminology, the number of pipes in the sets, their tuning, and musical repertoires of the two traditions are different.

Common ethnographic features in both panpipe localities include limitation of the instrument’s use to females, prevalence of group over individual performance practices, and seasonal prohibitions on the use of panpipes in connection with agricultural work. It also seems possible to associate the most active panpipe playing in all localities with the central period in women’s lives, the period of childbearing and most intense agricultural work.<sup>54</sup> The question remains, however, how this strong association of the instrument with the female domain may be interpreted in the framework of traditional village culture (see discussion on pp. 69-75).

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<sup>54</sup> The fieldwork materials from different localities often contain information that women usually started playing panpipes in their teens, and continued till 40 or 50 years old (this was the norm, while there could

### **New trends in scholarly research on panpipes after Rudneva.**

The second wave of scholarly attention to panpipes in the 1980s was, to a certain extent, inspired by the rise of interest in the instrument among revivalist performers. One of the most noticeable new features of this period was the scholarly focus on performance techniques of an individual musician and creative processes in music-making. Such study is usually conducted both in theoretical and practical dimensions, when a researcher becomes involved in a learning process of playing the instrument. Such learning experience simultaneously serves as an object for reflection and observation. Although some aspects of this approach were already present in Rudneva's book (bi-musicality, as mentioned before), its full-scale development in Russia belongs rather to more recent years. This methodology is essentially similar to that of Western ethnomusicology.

The fact that Russians went a similar, although independent way in the development of this approach speaks in favor of internal logic in this way of dealing with musical subjects and provides a basis for the integration of both schools. However, there is also an important difference between Russian and Western ethnomusicological approaches to the subject of bi-musicality. If the Western experience is to practice this approach primarily in living traditions outside of one's own culture, for Russians the immediate reason for such study was often an attempt to prevent the extinction of their own traditional culture. Such attempts were viewed almost as an alternative, or at least as an essential supplement to the collecting of materials for archival preservation. The bi-musicality approach opened the door to all sorts of pedagogical experiments, including bringing pupils to the site of

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certainly be many exceptions). In some places the participation of girls and recently married women in panpipe playing was specifically emphasized or encouraged, others preferred the participation of middle-aged women (Starostina 1990), or even elderly women as the players, while the girls would dance (Velichkina 1994, materials from Briansk province). Only a few sources, however, cite the preferable age of panpipe players more specifically. Considering that the villagers often call "old" a woman in her 40s or 50s because she might already have grandchildren by that age, the statements about elderly women playing panpipes have to be taken with caution.



fieldwork in order to come closer to the traditional learning process. It also stimulated the appearance of different teaching manuals that would more or less adhere to the traditional ways of learning.

Tatiana Starostina (1989) offers a good example of the application of bi-musicality to the study of panpipes. Her article, entitled “After A. V. Rudneva: notes on the Kursk instrumental tradition,” presents an attempt to reconsider some aspects of the previous research. Such a focus stipulated a new study of the site already known from Rudneva’s fieldwork. Starostina’s attention was entirely devoted to the only one panpipe player and examining the panpipe tradition viewed through the eyes on an individual.

A discussion of the subtleties of panpipe performance technique is central to this article. Close attention to the performer’s articulation allows the author to provide more exact notation of vocal sounds compared with that found in Rudneva’s book. Another important assessment of previous research provided by Starostina is her analysis of the notation by the full ensemble of one tune from Rudneva’s book. In general, she finds the pitch organization of the whole piece to be modal, as opposed to tonal, i.e. being based on the concept of an unchangeable scale, as for example, in folk or medieval monophonic music, rather than on the harmonic functions as in European tonal music (Starostina 1989, 91). Since each instrument performs a rather individual version of a tune, the texture of the whole ensemble can be defined as developed heterophony. The vertical dimension (simultaneity) of the tune consists of the same components as its horizontal dimension, for practically all notes of the scale can sound together in the parts of different instruments. Analyzing the melodic content of a tune in the parts of different instruments, Starostina applies to them methods similar to those used for analysis of Medieval Russian church music. For each instrument, she defines the starting tone, the “finalis” and the “recitation” tone and concludes that the balance of these tones defines the poly-modal character of the whole tune.

Review of the scholarly literature on Russian panpipes has revealed several issues — such as the names under which the instrument is found, the existence of panpipes in Medieval Russia, and the hypothesis on the connections of panpipe playing with rituals — which have been raised in a number of different publications. Although no definite answer to many of these questions can yet be found, it is important to summarize the information on these topics and attempt to re-assess these issues in light of materials reviewed above.

### **The names of panpipes in Russia.**

Several different names and various forms of the same name refer to panpipes in Russian: *kugikly* (also *kuvikly*, *kugikaly*, *kuvikaly*, *kuvichki*, and diminutive forms - *kugikalki*, *kuvikalki*), *dudki* (also *dudachki*), *trostianki*, *vikushki*, *tsevki* and *svirel'*. The word *kugikly* with its variants is the most common, while the other names seem to have more local dissemination. For example, *vikushki* is a name for panpipes in some villages of Kaluga province (as shown in Gordienko's 1989 classification scheme of Russian folk instruments, see also Trokhin 1977, 15), but it is not found in other regional panpipe traditions.<sup>55</sup> The name *svirel'* is known only in north-western part of Belgorod province (Shchurov 1987, 52) and may be a Ukrainian borrowing.

In Kursk province, according to Rudneva, beyond the name *kugikly*, panpipes in some villages were called *trostianki*, *dudki*, *dudachki* and *tsevki* (Rudneva 1975, 139). The geographical attribution of these terms is not clear; however, they seem to be exclusive to a certain extent, i.e. only one name is commonly used in one village. For example, Kvitka noted that in some villages of Kursk province panpipes were called *dudki*, and although the name *kugikly* was not completely unheard-of, it was never used among the villagers themselves.

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<sup>55</sup> Phonetically, it is plausible that the word *vi-ku-shki* may be the metathesis of *ku-vi-chki* plus the typical Russian suffix *-shki/-chki* (private communication with Jeff Holdeman, graduate student in linguistics at the Ohio State University, May 1996).

In addition to having many local dialect forms, the name for panpipes also seems to have changed during the period of its recorded history. Most 19th-century writers give the form *kuvichki*. In 20th century writings, however, *kugikly/kuvikly* prevails.<sup>56</sup>

The word *kugikly* in any of its variants is quite unfamiliar and strange to an ordinary native Russian speaker outside of the panpipe tradition. It is absent, for example, from the Dictionary of modern Russian dialects (*Slovar' sovremennogo russkogo narodnogo govora*, Moscow: Nauka, 1973). The entry *kugikly* is also absent from etymological dictionaries of the Russian language (see Vasmer 1986-87, or P. Chernykh 1994).

Kvitka (1940a) associated the name *kugikly* with a South-Russian dialect word for the reed — *kuga*. In Max Vasmer's *Etymological dictionary of the Russian language*, *kuga* is defined as a kind of reed *Typha latifolia* or *Juncus communis* (Vasmer 1987, v.2, 398). Vladimir Dal' in his *Explanatory dictionary of the living Russian language*, originally published in 1881-82, gives the words *kuvichki* and *kuga* in separate entries, apparently not seeing any connection between them. In his dictionary, the word *kuvichki* is found in the entry on the verb *kubiakat'* (to mumble, to scream, or cry): “*Kuvichki* (pl., South Russian -Kursk) — panpipes, made from reed, selected and fastened together in a row by resin, according to the tuning” (Dal' 1979, v.2, 210). Dal's description of *kuvichki*, together with its inaccurate mention of fastening pipes by resin (which in fact was not the case in Russia), was later repeated in a number of reference works, such as Big Soviet Encyclopedia (p. 597, v. 23, 2nd ed., Moscow, Bol'shaia Sovetskaia Entsiklopedia, 1953).

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<sup>56</sup> It is important to specify here that this change does not necessarily reflect a change of the form of the word in its use in the village tradition itself, since its recorded forms come from different villages and, in addition, they were not recorded by professional linguists, so the local pronunciation of the word could easily be transcribed inaccurately. The written form *kugikly* (pronunciation in South Russian dialect is [ku'ɣikly], with the ɣ sound being a voiced velar fricative) will be accepted as a standard, following the proposition of Kvitka (1940b, n.d).

There may be a linguistic connection between the name of the instrument — *kugikly* or *kuvikly* — and the word *kuvikat'* (also *kuviakat'*, or *kubiakat'*). This connection was already noticed by Dal', who put both words in one entry. The verb *kuvikat'* also exists in other Slavic languages, such as Serbo-Croatian, Czech, Slovenian, dialects of Polish and Ukrainian languages, where it designates a characteristic “bird call”, similar to that of the night owl or a cuckoo (Grinchenko 1908, 318; *Rechnik Srpskohrvatskog kn'izhevnog i narodnog jezika*. [Serbo-Croatian explanatory dictionary] Beograd, 1978, v. 10, p. 751). The summary of the word *kuvikat'* is given in *Etimologicheskii slovar' slavianskikh iazykov* [The etymological dictionary of Slavic languages] by Trubachev (see Trubachev 1987, v.13, p.142). The word is believed to be onomatopoeic, and a noun cognate, *kuvik* means owl. In Ukrainian both [v] and [g] sounds are possible in this word (*kuvik* and *kugik* both mean the owl, see Grinchenko 1908, 318).<sup>57</sup>

In South-Russian dialects the word *kuvikat'* has a connotation of unusual and piercing loudness, and is also used in connection with birds or animals. In Tula and Briansk provinces the word *kuvikat'* has a meaning “to screech like a pig when it is being slaughtered.” (Filin 1979, v.15, 390). The most wide-spread panpipe name in Briansk province takes a form of *kuvikly*, or *kuvikaly* which is close to the verb *kuvikat'*. However, the panpipe players in Briansk villages do not seem to speak about a particular connection of the instrument with owl calls; the fieldworkers also do not notice any references to this particular use of the word *kuvikat'* in this local tradition.

In South Kursk province the panpipe players themselves and their fellow-villagers explain the name for *kugikly* as an imitation of the sound produced by the instrument,

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<sup>57</sup> Alternation of [v] and [g] sounds is also common in Russian (see, for example, Selishchev 1968, 240). Michael Flier (1983) hypothesized, that the sound [g] has a tendency to be reinterpreted as [v] in a stable environment (i.e., when it is found within a morpheme). A typical case of such phonetic reinterpretation is found in the cases of declension, such as *-ovo*, *-ogo* in adjectives (compare the word *kogo*, pronounced as [ka'vo] with *strog*, *strogii*, which is always pronounced with the [g] sound). I am grateful to Dr. Collins of the Department of Slavic and East European Languages and Literatures of The Ohio State University for bringing this information to my attention.

“kuvi-kuvi” (as in Mashkin 1862, 102), or the sounds of the frogs or birds, with which the sound of *kugikly* is often compared: “because it [*kugikly* sound] is like frogs in a swamp: ‘kugi, kugi’,” (Velichkina 1994), or “[it sounds like] a lapwing — “kugu, kugu” — that is why [they are] *kugikalki*” (Rudneva 1975, 141). The word *kuga*, known in this region, is never applied to the kind of reed from which the *kugikly* are made. Thus, Kvitka’s etymology of the instrument’s name (from the “kuga”) seems not to be supported by the evidence from ethnographic materials.

Although panpipe traditions exist in some other Slavic cultures, the names of the instrument in the other Slavic languages show no similarity with the Russian *kugikly* (except in eastern part of Ukraine, where panpipes were called *kuvitsy*, which could be a borrowing from Russia). In the Western part of the Ukraine the name for panpipe is *svyryl'* (Humeinuk 1967, compare with *svirel'* in Belgorod province), while in Serbia it is *dudurejka* (Devic 1974, Goikovic 1989, 78), presumably also of onomatopoetic origin. A similar instrument is called *fifa* in Romania (Hertea 1988, compare with *fifkat'* - the term designating vocal production while playing panpipes in Kursk province), and *skuduchai* in Lithuania (Slaviunas 1972, 50). In Poland, the panpipe was at one time called *multanki* (Sowinskii 1857, 56).<sup>58</sup>

In conclusion, the onomatopoetic origin of the word *kugikly* is the most probable (see also Kulakovskii 1959, 43). One may suppose that the “kuvi” sound, as an imitation of an animal, bird or baby cry was used as a name for an instrument with similar sound qualities. This may indicate that Russian *kugikly* was not considered by its creators, the ancestors of today’s players, as belonging completely and definitely to the world of human culture (as opposed to the natural world) either as an object, or through its sound. Even its name is not a typical word, and it still keeps the close connection with the broad range of

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<sup>58</sup> The instrument called *multanki* (pl., singular *multanka*) which has been associated by scholars with panpipes, appears in the texts of 17th century Polish Christmas songs (personal communication with Peter Dahlig, a researcher at the Art Institute in Warsaw). See also an entry on *multanka* in *Encyclopedia Powszesna* (Warszawa, 1865), vol. 12, p. 47.

sound phenomena outside the purely human world. This meaning is transparent through all of its different connotations and contributes to our understanding of the nature of this instrument.

### **Panpipes in Medieval Russia.**

Many modern scholars who mention Russian panpipes however briefly, consider them as ancient instruments within the Russian instrumental tradition. Kulakovskii, for example, describes the panpipes he found in Briansk province as “a survivor preserved from the most ancient times” (1959, 32). Vertkov, following Kulakovskii, states that *kugikly* (in his spelling, *kuvikly*) “should be considered one of the earliest representatives of Russian folk instruments” (1975, 34). Some writers on the history of musical instruments in Russia uncritically mention panpipes among other kinds of instruments, such as *sopeli* (wooden flutes) and *truby* (trumpets), which are indeed found in historical documents and iconographic sources (Beliaev 1951, 495, Poponov 1984, 14). Regardless of these notions of the antiquity of Russian panpipes, *kugilky* are neither unambiguously mentioned, nor described, nor illustrated in the early Russian sources known to us today.

The absence of the word *kugikly* in sources is not definite proof that the instrument itself was absent from the medieval Russian musical scene. First, many manuscripts, especially local ones (where one could expect to find the most information on folk customs and instruments), perished in innumerable wars and fires. Second, the instrument could have been referred to under different names. We are left with the following question: even if the name of the instrument is not reflected in written sources, could the instrument itself have existed, possibly under another name that was later changed?

This possibility was indicated by Privalov (1909). On the basis of data provided by the linguist A. Budilovich (1882), Privalov draws a parallel between the words *tsevnitsa* and *kuvitsa* (one of the presumed local variants of *kugikly*) and arrives at the conclusion that these are in fact two stages in the chain of linguistic transformations of the same word.

According to him, the connection between the two words can be constructed as *tsevnitsa* (old Church Slavonic) - *tsevka* or *tsavka* (dialects of Russian and Bulgarian) - *kavka* (Polish) - *kuvitsa* (Ukrainian) - *kuvichka* (Kursk province, Russia). However, from a linguistic point of view, such a transformation does not conform to phonetic laws and is highly unlikely to occur.<sup>59</sup> Other evidence adduced by Privalov for such a conclusion is scant. Ukrainian and Polish forms of this word are mentioned only once in the sources known to me, and the form *kuvichka* is in fact very rarely, if at all, found among Russian versions of panpipes' names.

Even if the words *tsevnitsa* and *kugikly* are not etymologically connected, however, Privalov's hypothesis draws one's attention to the possibility of historical continuity between the instrument known as the *tsevnitsa* in medieval Russian sources and modern *kugikly*. To re-assess this hypothesis, let us consider linguistic and historical associations of the word *tsevnitsa* in a bit more detail.

The word *tsevnitsa* is derived from the proto-Slavonic \**tseǵva*, meaning tube, or pipe (Vasmer 1987, v.4, p. 294-295). The word *tsevka* exists in many dialects, including those of Kursk and Briansk, and designates a tube that contains a thread (similar to a thread reel), a part of a home-made weaving machine. In Kursk province, *tsevka* is made from the same reed as the panpipes, and the part of the reed itself, cut between two septa, is also called *tsevka*. *Tsevkyi* (plural from the *tsevka*) is one of the local names for panpipes in Kursk province, recorded by Rudneva (1975,139).<sup>60</sup>

According to Vertkov, the words *kugikly* and *tsevnitsa*, although not being two different forms of the same name, might have designated the same instrument, the

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<sup>59</sup> The words *kuvichka* and *tsevnitsa* are derived from two different proto-forms, which can be linguistically reconstructed as \**kou-u-* (for the *kui-kugi* stem) and \**koy-u-* (for the *tseǵv-* stem). The vowels found in these stems are not interchangeable and lead to different paths of phonetic changes (this explanation was provided by Daniel Collins, Assistant Professor of the Department of Slavic and East European Languages and Literatures of the Ohio State University in personal communication).

<sup>60</sup> Unfortunately, this is the only mention of it, and I was unable to confirm this information in my own field research in Kursk province.

panpipes, in two different sub-strata of the old Russian language — folk and literary — and therefore the panpipes might have been known in medieval Russia under the name of *tsevnitsa* (Vertkov 1975, 36). This theory, however, needs critical assessment. The most important objection is that the term *tsevnitsa*, as is true of many other terms for musical instruments in medieval Russian writings, was used in very general and inaccurate way, making it impossible to conclude exactly which instrument is referred to.

The earliest known reference to the word *tsevnitsa* is found in a manuscript from the 11th century, where it is used as a metaphorical term.<sup>61</sup> According to the *Dictionary of Church-Slavonic and Russian*, compiled by the Academy of Sciences (*Slovar' tserkovno-slavianskogo i russkogo iazykov*, St. Petersburg, 1867), in Church Slavonic translations of the Bible, the word *tsevnitsa* was used in a similar context: “*serdise moe [...] iako tsevnitsa zviatsati budet*” (“Therefore mine heart shall sound [...] like pipes.”) (Jeremiah, 48:36, King James' version). Translation of the Bible in Medieval Russia was always done from Greek. The same fragment in Greek uses the word *αὐλός* (Brenton 1851, 944), meaning, most probably, any kind of wind instrument, such as flute, clarinet or trumpet (Liddel and Scott's *Greek-English Lexicon*, 7th ed., Oxford 1994). Modern Russian translation offers *svirel'*, in place of the old-Russian *tsevnitsa*.

17th century manuscript sources called *alfavity* (the “alphabets,” or dictionaries) translate the Greek word *sambikia* as *tsevnitsa*, but they neither describe the construction of the instrument nor explain even briefly how it was played.<sup>62</sup> In Greek, *sambuca* was the

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<sup>61</sup> According to information obtained in the card catalogue in the Archives of the *Dictionary of the Russian language of the 12th-17th Centuries* at the Institute of the Russian Language in Moscow (since at present this volume is in preparation), the word *tsevnitsa* is found in *Mineia Sentyabr'skaia*, i.e. sacred monthly readings for the month of September, in a manuscript dated 1096. The fragment reads: “*Tsevnitsa dukhovnaia, kurile, bo s(via)shchennyi, naslzhdayushchi serdtsa pravovernymi uchenii, p'ianstvo strastei ot dush otgoniaishi...*” (a spiritual *tsevnitsa*, a sacred image, pleasing the hearts by the faithful teachings, keeping away from the souls the drunkenness of passions ...).

<sup>62</sup> *Kniga glagolemaia alfavit*, a 17th-century manuscript in the State Public Library (Saltykov-Shchedrin), in St. Petersburg, no. Q.XVI.23, f.142, says: “*sambikia, ezhe est' tsevnitsa*.” A similar statement is found in another manuscript, also of the 17th-century, *Kniga glagolemaia grecheski alfavit*, in the Library of the Academy of Science (BAN), Department of Archival Documents, no. 446. I am grateful for this information to L. Korotova, a staff member of the Archives of the Dictionary of the Russian language.



name for angular harp (McKinnon 1984, 288). The late 17th- early 18th-century bilingual and trilingual dictionaries also mention *tsevnitsa*. Slavynets'kii, a Ukrainian, in his Latin Lexicon translates *tsevnitsa* as *fistula* or *tibia*, the *syrinx* as *tsevnitsa*, and *sambikia* as the harp (see Slavynets'kii 1973). Polikarpov, in his *Leksikon Teiazychnyi* (three-language — Slavonic-Greek-Latin — dictionary), which appeared in 1704, does not have an entry on *sambikia*. He considers *tsevnitsa* to be the same as *svirelka*, and translates both words by Greek words  $\alpha\upsilon\lambda\acute{o}\varsigma$  ,  $\lambda\acute{\upsilon}\rho\alpha$  and  $\kappa\epsilon\lambda\upsilon\varsigma$  ; and by Latin words *lyra*, *fides* (Polikarpov 1704).

From these sources it appears that the connotations of the old-Russian *tsevnitsa* are much broader than panpipes. Only one of the all examined references (that of Slavynets'kii) associated the word *tsevnitsa* with the *syrinx*, the Greek word for panpipes (see McKinnon and Anderson 1984, 489). In Sreznevskii's dictionary of old Russian which was published in 1893 and based on manuscripts dated by 11-17th centuries, *tsevnitsa* was explained as a string, a lyre and only then, with a question mark, as *svirel'*, i.e., a kind of wind instrument, not necessarily panpipes. Also the player of this instrument is referred to as a *gusliar*, or *lirnik*, which suggests instruments other than panpipes (Sreznevskii 1989, v.3, pt. 2, 1447-1448).

Rimma Galaiskaia in her research on the terminology of Russian folk instruments in manuscript sources (1973) finds that an adjective form of the word, *tsevnichnye*, is often applied to the names of *gusli* and *psaltyr'*, both meaning instruments with many strings.<sup>63</sup> She notices the possibility of the connotation of “poly-” or “multi-” (as in French “polycanale” for panpipes) in the word *tsevnitsa*, and the possibility of its application not only to string, but also to wind instruments (Galaiskaia 1973, 76).

After consideration and comparison of historical and etymological data on the word *tsevnitsa*, it is reasonable to suggest that between the original meaning of this word (\**tseva*

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<sup>63</sup> In this work Galaiskaia does not consider the instrument called *tsevnitsa*, however.

- a tube, or a pipe) and its later application to an instrument with many strings, there might have been a stage at which the word *tsevnitsa* could also apply to an instrument with many pipes, i.e. panpipes. This connotation might have preceded that of the many-stringed instrument, and, at least for some time, could have existed in parallel with it. The general meaning of *tsevnitsa* as an instrument consisting of many similar sound objects seems to be well grounded. Panpipes construction could have been known to Russian medieval writers from cultural contacts with Byzantium, where organs with many pipes were used in court ceremonies.<sup>64</sup> Within the knowledge of these writers (mostly monks), there was probably no indigenous Russian instrument like this, and the name *tsevnitsa* could have been re-applied to more familiar string instruments with a similar “multi-piece” aspect to their construction.

Another observation supports this hypothesis. The negative attitude of the Russian chronicles toward folk musical instruments is well known (Famintsyn 1995 [1889], Gal'kovskii 1913 and others). Since the use of musical instruments was prohibited in Orthodox worship, people playing instruments were outside of pious occupations in the eyes of an Orthodox writer, and musical instruments in this context were commonly called “diabolic vessels” and associated with pagan customs (see, for example, Gal'kovskii 1913). At the same time, in translations of the Biblical passages that mention musical instruments, the latter were named vaguely, as metaphors rather than concrete objects, and with a generally positive attitude. Some names of musical instruments were consistently used in the context of pious playing, while others had both positive and negative connotations, depending on the context. *Gusli*, for example, was likely to appear in both contexts, while many terms with specific connotations to wind instruments, such as *svirel'* and *sopel'* were used mostly in association with paganism (Privalov 1909). On the

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<sup>64</sup> The image of an organ on the famous Saint-Sofia fresco clearly shows that the 12th century Russians had at least some knowledge about this instrument. However, the researchers have doubts about whether the organ was actually played in medieval Russia: the Saint-Sofia painting might be depicting the scene of Byzantine court entertainment (see Keldysh 1983, 77-78).

contrary, *tsevnitsa* was always referred to positively and never appeared in the descriptions of folk musical customs condemned by medieval writers.

Some, although usually vague connotations of the wind instrument in the word *tsevnitsa* were preserved till the 19th century, when this word was mostly used in poetry. For example, this word frequently appears in Pushkin's poems. In the Dictionary of Pushkin's language *tsevnitsa* is explained as "*svirel'*: a musical instrument which consists of a row connected pipes of different lengths. It is used as a symbol of poetry and poetic creation" (Vinogradov 1961, v.4, 863).

Nikolai Rimskii-Korsakov apparently considered the words *tsevnitsa* and *panpipes* as synonyms. He included the part of *tsevnitsa* in his orchestral score of opera-ballet "Mlada" (1889). In his autobiographical work, entitled *Moia muzykal'naia zhizn'* [My musical life], he wrote: "Of my musical impressions of Paris I shall mention the music in the Hungarian and Algerian cafes at the Exposition [1889 Paris Universal Exposition - O.V.]. The virtuoso playing on the *tsevnitsa* (Pan's pipe) gave me the idea of introducing this ancient instrument in Mlada during the scene of the dance before Queen Cleopatra" (translated by J. Joffe, see Rimskii-Korsakov 1972, 303).

To conclude this discussion of panpipes in Medieval Russia, let us consider iconographic sources. The most significant argument against the hypothesis of the historical continuity *tsevnitsa-kugikly* is the absence of an instrument which can be identified as panpipes from iconographic materials. So far no picture of Russian panpipes has been found in frescoes, illuminations of manuscripts, or icons. Images of other folk instruments appear quite frequently. As the scholar of Russian church music Nikolai Uspenskii points out, although the Orthodox church had condemned the use of musical instruments "at the same time *skomorokhi* [...] often served as a topic for illuminations of

worship books”(1971, 63).<sup>65</sup> The examples given in his book include the picture of a *gusly* player as an illuminated letter from manuscripts of Psalms and the New Testament from the 14th century (State Historical Museum (GIM), collection *Sinodal'noe sobranie*, No. 69, f.60). Other famous examples of combination of church and lay art are the images of the *skomorokhi* dancing and playing musical instruments on the wall of the Kievan Saint-Sofia cathedral (12th century) and the fresco of the Meletovo church near Pskov, painted in 1465 (see Rozov 1968). Neither of them has an image of a panpipe player, nor do other iconographic sources, such as later popular prints, *lubochnye kartinki* (see, for example, Baldina 1972, pp. 86, 93, 128-130 for the other folk instruments, Bakhtin and Moldavskii 1962). Of course, illustrations of panpipes might have been destroyed or lost, but the total absence of them in all known iconographic sources seems to have no plausible explanation other than that this instrument was unknown to the artists. On the other hand, due to the specifics of iconography of Russian folk instruments in general, some instruments, especially local ones and those known only to particular ethnic, gender or social groups could be easily overlooked by the artists. Galaïskaia (1973) after her studies of iconographic materials concludes that such instruments as Jew's harp and *surma*, a single reed instrument, although well documented in the chronicles, are not found in illustrations.

In contrast to Russia, in Western European iconographic sources several pictures of panpipe players are found. For example, one of the figures beside examples of melodies in the St. Martial Troparium in Paris, BN lat. 1118, dated late 11th-early 12th century, plays panpipes. Another example is found in the 12th-century psalter from the abbey of St. Remigius, Reims (now in St. John's College, Cambridge). Both illustrations are reproduced in the book by Harrison and Rimmer (1964, ill. 29b and 41). Significantly, in the latter picture a panpipe player is shown among the musicians in the upper part of the picture, playing, as suggested by the context, sacred and not “profane” music, together

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<sup>65</sup> *Skomorokhi* (pl., sing. *skomorokh*) is the name for Medieval Russian vagabond musicians, similar to European jongleurs.

with King David, although in western Europe the panpipe has not been used to accompany worship. Although this picture depicts a scene from the Old Testament, the panpipes have a form similar to the one in European folk traditions (pipes are shown within a rectangular box).<sup>66</sup>

Bucolic associations have been characteristic of panpipes since the time of ancient Greece, as reflected in the mythology of this instrument. In ancient Greece, according to Fox Strangways, panpipes did not enjoy great prestige and were mainly referred to as a pastoral, simple, shepherd's instrument (1929, 61). The pastoral image of panpipes was passed from ancient Greece to early Christian mythology; hence, western European medieval sources often show panpipes "in the hands of the Good Shepherd himself" (Marcuse 1975, 591).<sup>67</sup> King David was also a popular figure of Russian iconography. However, unlike western Europe, in Russia he was portrayed more often as a writer, rather than as a singer-musician (Sidorov 1951, 93).

At present there is not enough information at our disposal to prove or disprove the existence of panpipes in medieval Russia. This does not mean, however, that panpipes were absent from the whole territory occupied by the Slavs at this time. A strictly local tradition of panpipe playing could have existed that was unknown to literary and artistic circles or even to anyone beyond the players themselves. The fact that Russian panpipes were played only by women could also have been a factor contributing to masking their existence, since most of the church documents denouncing folk music and customs were directed toward the *skomoroki*, who were exclusively male (see, for example, Famintsyn 1995, 148-52; in English see Zguta 1978).

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<sup>66</sup> See discussion in Harrison and Rimmer 1964, 29. More examples of panpipes' depiction in western European art are discussed in Bowles 1973, Rabitti 1984, Procacci 1991, and Groos 1994.

<sup>67</sup> In connection with Marcuse's book, which is relatively recent and quite serious in its factual base, it is interesting to note that although he was aware of all archaeological findings of panpipes on Russian territory, any information on the existence of living panpipe traditions in Eastern Europe (including Russia) did not come to the author's attention. The editor of the *Oxford Companion to Musical Instruments*, Anthony Baines (1992), was also apparently unaware of the current panpipe traditions in Russia.

### **Interpretation of Russian panpipes in the context of female ritual practices.**

The hypothesis of ritual significance of panpipe playing was proposed already in the 19th century. Filaret (1873, see discussion above) associated panpipe playing with the pagan female goddess, which, according to him, was replaced with Saint Aquiline in the Christian era. Although the transformation of pagan gods into saints with the advance of Christianity is a well-known phenomenon in medieval Russia and elsewhere,<sup>68</sup> there is not enough evidence to support this particular interpretation of it. Sumtsov (1890, 149) on the basis of Filaret's description, considered panpipe playing as a remnant of ancient Russian military music: "It is no doubt that here, in the form of play, the old-time serious custom repeats itself. Probably, we have in *kugikly* playing the memories of ancient Cossack camp music, and maybe even of military music of earlier time, before the Mongolian invasion." Sumtsov's interpretation of panpipes is not supported by any historical data, and the sources he cites do not substantiate this hypothesis. His suggestion about an "old-time serious custom," however, deserves more detailed consideration.

The works of Kvitka and Kulakovskii established ethnographic facts pointing to a previously existing role of panpipes as a female ritual instrument. Kvitka found indications of the former ritualistic role of panpipe playing quite significant and deserving scholarly attention (Kvitka 1986, 255). At the time of Kvitka's and Kulakovskii's research, however, too little was known about the female rituals and their local dissemination to make a serious attempt at interpreting these findings. Given the facts that panpipe playing has ceased in many places of its previous existence, and that many ethnographic details associated with this instrument have been forgotten, the information at our disposal will probably remain too scarce for any definite proof or even a coherent hypothesis concerning

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<sup>68</sup> See, for example, Gurevich 1981. The coexistence of pagan and Christian beliefs characteristic of the Russian peasantry was described in Soviet scholarship as *dvoeverie*. Critical assessment of this concept and the examples of penetration of paganism and Christianity in the materials on contemporary village tradition is found in the work by M. Mazo (1989, 76-80). The author finds the term *dvoeverie* "poorly grounded, since it did not originate in an understanding of the beliefs of Russian peasants as they existed in actual practice, but in the theological bias of those who coined the term" (Mazo 1989, 77).

a ritual significance of panpipe playing. We can, however, propose an interpretation of available materials with a full understanding of the preliminary and hypothetical nature of such an interpretation.

Recent works by the Russian ethnographer Tatiana Bernshtam on the gender and age identities of the Russian peasantry discuss the important role of female groups in traditional peasant communities (Bernshtam 1988, 1995). In particular, she explores one of the springtime rituals, called “baptizing a cuckoo,” which possibly has its roots in female initiation rites (Bernshtam 1981, 197).<sup>69</sup> Based on the analysis of the different forms of this ritual in connection with the territory of its dissemination, the scholar concludes that the rite of “baptizing a cuckoo” is most characteristic for the south-east part of Kaluga province (see also Sokolova 1979, 200). Bernshtam hypothesized that this ritual could have been associated with a rite of passage of a female group, during which the girls enter into a ritual relationship with each other and with a female goddess symbolized by the cuckoo. This ritualistic relationship between the girls in a form of a sisterhood, or female union, could be fixed by the rite of *kumlenie*.<sup>70</sup> The *kumlenie* rite, at one time widely known in many Russian traditions, usually included such elements as the girls kissing one another under or through a birch-tree wreath and exchanging of small gifts, accompanied by verbal ritual formulas and songs. The *kumlenie* rite was often included in a “baptizing a cuckoo” ritual. Smirnov (1981, 64) discussed the relationship of “baptizing a cuckoo” with other springtime and summer rituals and proposed an interpretation of a cuckoo bird as a female fertility symbol, closely connected with the death cult.<sup>71</sup>

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<sup>69</sup> “Baptizing a cuckoo” (in Russian, *kreshchenie kukushki*), is one of many forms of the so-called “springtime funerals,” i.e. the rites dedicated to ritual death and connected with the pagan cult of fertility.

<sup>70</sup> Baptizing a cuckoo is often paired with the rite of *kumlenie* (becoming ritually named sisters) between the participants themselves, as well as between them and the “cuckoo” – a ritual object, which may be symbolically represented by a bird, a plant or a doll, dressed as a woman (Bernshtam 1981, Smirnov 1981, Sokolova 1979). There is a considerable body of ethnographic literature on *kumlenie* in Russian, which describes and analyzes this ritual (for example, Anichkov 1903, Propp 1963, Sokolova 1979). Veselovskii (1894) pointed out that *kumlenie* rite offered an inclusion into female ritual sisterhood.

<sup>71</sup> The connection of a cuckoo to the death cult is pronounced in many Russian traditions. A particular example of this connection is presented by Razumovskaia (1984). The scholar describes the tradition of “lamenting with a cuckoo” in the north-western part of the Russian-Belorussian frontier. As is the

The south-east part of Kaluga province, a possible place of origin for the “baptizing a cuckoo” ritual (according to both Bernshtam 1981 and Sokolova 1979), is known in the ethnographic literature as *Kaluzhskoe Poles'e*. It is located on the border of the present-day Bryansk, Kaluga and Tula provinces. It is known to ethnographers by its specific version of the South-Russian dialect, which is distinct from that of the neighboring districts and has a strong Belorussian influence.<sup>72</sup> The circumstances of the historical development of this territory — its remoteness from roads and big cities, difficulty of access, noticeable conservatism in all aspects of the traditional way of life, could have played a role in the preservation of uniquely archaic rites that were forgotten elsewhere.<sup>73</sup> This is essentially the same territory where the panpipe tradition is found (see map in Figure 1.2).

The “baptizing a cuckoo” ritual also existed in Kursk province, within the zone of panpipe dissemination, although today’s villagers in Kursk do not recall it. However, they know another local form of female gathering, called *morgoski*.<sup>74</sup>

It is difficult to determine the exact territory of this ritual in Kursk province. Gromyko (1991, 350-52) gives a description of the ritual based on archival materials dating from 1852 from Shchigry uезд of Kursk province. Khalanskii (1904) mentions it in southern districts. Recent fieldwork materials indicate Ryl'sk, Sudzha and Belaia districts (Zanozina 1995, 8). All authors point to the close resemblance between the Kursk materials

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“baptizing a cuckoo” ritual in Southern Russia, this tradition is reserved for women. The informants told Razumovskaia that hearing the bird triggers their thoughts about the deceased relatives and the sad memories usually take shape as a lament. The laments' verbal texts in this tradition present the cuckoo in association with the souls of the deceased people, or portray the bird as a messenger from another world (Razumovskaia 1984, 160-61).

<sup>72</sup> On ethnographic and linguistic information about this territory see especially Budde 1897, 1904, Zelenin 1913, Efremov 1919, Lebedeva 1931, Grinkova 1949. Ethnomusicological fieldwork has been conducted since the 1950s by the researchers from Moscow Conservatory, Gnesin Institute (GMPI) and Folklore Committee (FK RSFSR). All these materials, with the exception of Khar'kov, 1954 (who does not mention panpipes), remain unpublished and hardly accessible.

<sup>73</sup> The argument in favor of special preservation of female ritual practices on this territory can be strengthened by another fact that seems to have escaped scholars attention thus far. The only other female instrument in Russia, beyond panpipes, is the rattle (called in Russian *reshchotki*), which is used to accompany wedding dances. Its territory of dissemination is the upper basin of the River Oka, up to Belev district of Tula province, i.e., essentially *Kaluzhskoe Poles'e* (Bagrii 1983).

<sup>74</sup> About this ritual and its interpretation in the framework of female ritual practices, see Bernshtam 1988, 92. In some of the descriptions of this ritual, the opposition to men is clearly expressed.



and the form of this ritual known in Briansk province. Mashkin (1862, 103) mentions among the rituals in Oboian' district "baptizing a cuckoo and *kumlenie* on Ascension Day with the *kuvichki*, the *dudki* and other musical instruments." Could panpipes have been connected with this or similar ritual practices in the remote past?

One may argue, naturally, that overlapping zones of geographic dissemination between the "baptizing a cuckoo" ritual and the panpipes may very well be a coincidence, while one or another could have been borrowed independently and at different times. This, however, does not seem to be the case, since both phenomena, analyzed within their local cultural context, have been proven to be related to the most archaic layers of local culture (Bernshtam 1981, Kulakovskii 1959). Female panpipe playing, even without necessarily being part of the "cuckoo" ritual, could be connected with female ritual practices prominent in the local culture.

Looking from this perspective, we can see certain connections between panpipe playing and female ritual practices on a symbolic level. For example, a characteristic feature of the "cuckoo" ritual and many other seasonal rituals of the spring-summer period is their gender exclusivity (female) and the insistence on collective participation (Sokolova 1979 and others). It is paralleled by the gender exclusivity and emphasis on the collective character of panpipe playing as well. As ethnographic materials suggest, panpipes were often considered as a group instrument. One of Kvitka's informants, from South Tula province told him that in her young years all of the village girls used to "watch the sun" on Saint-Peter's eve and played panpipes all night (Kvitka 1986, 255).<sup>75</sup> Could this be another uncovered fragment of a forgotten female ritual?

Another characteristic feature of springtime and summer rituals noted by many scholars is their special connection with the cult of plants, notions of fertility, and nature in

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<sup>75</sup> The ritual of "watching the sun" is found in many places, especially in South Russia (Leper 1928). It has many parallels with the ritual behavior on the night of Saint-John (*Kupala*) in Belorussia. No descriptions of these two rituals, however, mention panpipe playing.

general (Propp 1963, Sokolova 1979, Tavlai 1986). Panpipes, made from a plant, also seem to keep a strong connection with the world of nature, and have the connotation of a natural object. The ritual dolls for springtime rites were at one time often made from a plant similar to that used for *kugikly* (Grinkova 1947, a plant for the *rusalka* doll is called reed, or, in this dialect, *kuga*). A plant called *kuga* is also mentioned in the song of the “cuckoo” ritual recorded in Belgorod province (Zanozina 1995, 8).

A symbolic connection may also be seen between the springtime dances (*khorovody*, *karagody*, *tanki*), weaving, and panpipes. The motif of weaving and spinning is characteristic of the texts of *khorovod* songs in all regions (Bernshtam 1988, 185). Bernshtam also writes about the close connection of the South Russian *tanki*, weaving and panpipe playing on the basis of the similarity of their terminology (ibid. 185). Unfortunately, some details of this passage in Bernshtam’s book do not seem to correspond to the reality. According to my present knowledge, the *kugikly* were never played in *tanki* (which could only be accompanied by songs), but in *karagody* (on the difference see Rudneva 1975, 81-82). Second, in Kursk province, the *kugikly* were not made from birds’ bones (the reference to Rudneva in Bernshtam’s book is not correct). The only reference to birds’ bones as a material for panpipes belongs to Zelenin (1991, 371) and comes from the Perm’ province. Such a practice, however, is also known in the Komi panpipe tradition (Zhulanova 1995). These necessary elaborations, however, do not invalidate the whole argument in Bernshtam’s work.

One can also mention the linguistic connection between the words “owl” (*kuvik*, *kugik*), “panpipes” (*kugikly*) and “baby” (*kuviakalka*, *kugakalka*, also possible as *kuvia*, *kuviatka*, *kuga*, *kaga*, see Doroshenko 1962, Grinchenko 1908 and others). In the text of a Belorussian ritual harvest song the owl is opposed to the *kugakala* (a “baby”): “*zhnitse, zhnichki, zhitse/ A lavitse savu u zhitse / Nashto nam sava taia/ A treba nam kugakala/ Da*

*kob iano zaplakala/My žh by iago skalykhnuli/ Seredžinkai b addakhnuli.*"<sup>76</sup> The semantic of this text in the context of Belorussian harvest is discussed by Badalanova and Ternovskaia (1983). In the Belorussian Poles'e region, the owl forms a semantic opposition to the chicken, which is a symbol of fertility. The symbolism of birth and a new-born baby plays an important role in Russian and Belorussian harvest rituals and songs. The harvest time, called in Russian *strada* (from the verb *stradat'*, to suffer) is associated symbolically with "the field giving birth" (*rody nivy*), while the last harvest sheaf, which often becomes a symbolic object of the ritual, is often associated in ritual texts with the new-born baby (Badalanova and Ternovskaia 1983, 143, Bernshtam 1988, 151-54). Playing panpipes in Russian traditions was specially prohibited by the elders during the harvest time and following sowing the winter crop (see discussion later), on the basis that it might harm the future crop.

Summarizing all the arguments cited above, we can hypothesize that a connection between panpipe playing and female ritual practices may have existed in the past, and may form the basis for a further interpretation of the role of this instrument in traditional culture.

Materials from other eastern European countries seem to confirm this hypothesis. Three other traditions in particular — those of Serbia, Romania and Komi — have similar associations of panpipe playing with women.<sup>77</sup> The musical features of these traditions also seem somehow related: all of them use a technique of vocal-instrumental interplay and, to a

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<sup>76</sup> Harvest, the harvester/Catch an owl in the field/Why do we need an owl/We need a *kugakala*/We need it to cry/We would rock it/And would take a rest (see Badalanova and Ternovskaia 1983, 143).

<sup>77</sup> See Devic 1974, Alexandru 1980, Herteia 1988, Chistalev 1974, Zhulanova 1995. The Romanian tradition to which I refer here is not that of the *nai*, but of another instrument called *fifa*, players of which are mostly women (Alexandru 1980, 91, Herteia 1988, 217). Strictly speaking, it is not a panpipe, since it only contains one tube, closed at one end and playing only one tone, interpolated with the performer's voice using a yodel-like technique. The similarity of the *fifa* technique of instrumental/vocal interpolation to that known in Russian panpipe traditions was pointed out by Herteia (1988, 217).

certain extent, a principle of rhythmic complementarity in group playing.<sup>78</sup> Their more detailed comparison, as well as possibility of their connections with female ritual practices, however, would require more research.<sup>79</sup>

### **Chapter summary.**

By now, the history of the study of Russian panpipes is more than two centuries old. It has gone from amateurish descriptions and unsubstantiated hypotheses to serious scientific inquiries quite in line with modern ethnomusicological trends in the West. Panpipes in Russia were first mentioned by Guthrie in 1795; throughout the 19th century they were observed and described in the territories of modern Kursk and Bryansk provinces. It took another century to discover their existence in a larger territory, but by that time the tradition had almost completely perished.

The first truly scientific attempt to study Russian panpipes, that of Privalov (1909), was an example of so-called armchair musicology. A significant change in this paradigm appeared in the works by Kvitka and Kulakovskii (1937-40). Later scholarly works of Rudneva and Starostina show an increasing interest in the application of experimental methods, intensive work with individual performers, and attention to playing techniques and folk terminology.

Many questions concerning panpipes, however, still remain and continue to puzzle us. They include, for example, a search for traces of the instrument in historical documents. The question of the origin and evolution of the panpipe traditions in their known territories in Russia can certainly be raised again in the light of new factual information obtained in fieldwork, although no definitive answer is likely to be found.

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<sup>78</sup> All panpipes, mentioned above, are played in ensembles, as the Russian ones. *Fifa* seems to be mostly a solo instrument, although some information points to possibilities of duo performance (Hertea 1988, 218).

<sup>79</sup> In Komi region, for example, women playing panpipes participated in the wedding ritual and played them near the cradle of a new-born baby (Chistalev 1974, 141), although the most prominent season for playing was the hay-making period (as for the Russian tradition).

There are also other issues that still can be elaborated and developed: for example, the study of the relationship between the instrument and other aspects of a local traditional culture of which it is (or was) a part (see Chapter 4), the question of panpipe tuning (see Chapter 5), and more detailed analysis of the panpipe music itself (Chapter 6) certainly deserve more scholarly attention.

Beyond continuing along the lines indicated by previous researchers, the present dissertation also adds some new perspectives to the studies of panpipes, such as the perspective of motor behavior in the process of playing (Chapter 6). A question of social maintenance of the tradition and assessment of recent cultural change (Chapter 3) also has not been considered in previous literature. This enables us to throw new light on Russian panpipe music and may reveal some unknown and surprising aspects of this culture.

## **CHAPTER 2**

### **THEORETICAL ORIENTATIONS OF THE RESEARCH**

This chapter discusses methodological approaches employed in the dissertation. They are grouped according to three major tasks of ethnomusicological research: fieldwork and collection of materials, conceptualization and analysis of these materials (and musical analysis in particular), and writing an ethnographic description of the tradition under study.<sup>1</sup> Respectively, the methodological issues that are relevant to the present research are those related to fieldwork, those related to analysis and conceptualization, and those related to writing.

The methodology of fieldwork is important, as it has been shown many times in both ethnomusicology and cultural anthropology that the methods of collecting material greatly influence the material itself. To introduce and evaluate observations of earlier scholars, the methodological aspects of field research conducted earlier in the same locality have to be addressed. In addition, the following methodological issues of current ethnomusicology will be considered: the use of experimental stimuli and a “cognitive dissonance” approach to the fieldwork; an ethnoscience perspective on eliciting native views; and the application

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<sup>1</sup> It is important to note that these three major areas of ethnomusicological research must not be confused with consecutive stages of the research process. Rather, they are interrelated and often intertwined tasks, which have to be carried in parallel with each other, since the advance in each of these three directions of research potentially stimulates the inquiry in two others. For more discussion on this subject see Spradley 1979.

of bi-musicality as a research tool. The discussion of fieldwork techniques also concerns the use of a specific recording procedure — a multi-microphone recording — and its comparison with the play-back technique advocated by Simha Arom.

For an approach to musical analysis, the methodological premises that will be discussed in detail include the study of the performance process and a study of the players' body movements in relationship to musical structure. The emphasis placed on these areas of inquiry defines the choice of musical materials to be analyzed and informs particular analytical perspectives.

The third major methodological issue addressed in the present chapter concerns representation of the South Kursk panpipe tradition in writing. The discussion involves the issues concerning native ethnographer status with respect to the tradition under study. As my and other researchers' experience has shown, being a partial insider in the field facilitates insights in the tradition and at the same time produces hidden distortions in the scholars' view of reality. One of the most important issues that has to be addressed in the process of writing is the problem of translation, both in its narrow sense (as the translation from the language in which the research is conducted to the language of academic community), and in the broader sense of the word, i.e., as a translation of one conceptual system into another, as well as translation of the fieldwork reality and experiences into writing.

### **Fieldwork methodology.**

#### Historical aspects.

The locality of my fieldwork — the territory in South Kursk province where the panpipe tradition exists — is well-known in Russian musical folklore studies. My work re-examines this local tradition and draws upon the information reported by previous researchers. As has been already stated (see Chapter 1), among the works on the South Kursk panpipe tradition, those of Kvitka and Rudneva are the most significant

contributions to the topic. Therefore, important consideration must be given to their fieldwork methods, techniques, and the basic methodological assumptions that underlie their scholarly approaches.

The fieldwork done by Kvitka and Rudneva on the panpipe tradition in South Kursk province was one of the best examples of musical-instrument studies of its time. The general methodology of their field research had been already shaped by this time by several prominent scholars of Russian folk music, first by Lineva, and later by Gippius, Eval'd, Rubtsov and others. The fieldwork of these scholars, however, was mostly carried out on the materials of vocal traditions, while Kvitka was the first to turn his attention exclusively to the study of an instrument, its repertoire and ethnography in a local tradition.<sup>2</sup> Kvitka's and Rudneva's studies were the first attempt to understand the local repertoire as a whole. Their studies were also the first attempt to situate panpipe music in a concrete physical and cultural environment.

The fieldwork of Kvitka and Rudneva provides rich factual information for comparison with data obtained in the same locality more than half-century later. This concerns details on instrument making and tuning, the uses of panpipes and panpipe music, contexts of playing, and legends and taboos associated with it. All knowledge about the instrument and its cultural context in the past is retained in the memory of today's panpipe players as well, although in Kvitka's time these reports apparently reflected current musical practices. With this difference in mind, many ethnographic details about panpipes in 1930s collected by Kvitka can be "retrieved" in interviews with modern players.

In some particular aspects, the agreement between modern and past performers is striking. For example, if one compares accounts of the performers about the instrument and its music today and in 1930-40s, one can find numerous examples of word-for-word

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<sup>2</sup> Evgenia Lineva has worked earlier with an ensemble of Vladimir horn (wooden trumpet) players and made phonograph recordings from them (Lineva 1907). However, unlike Kvitka's work, Lineva's recordings were made during the musicians' trip to St. Petersburg and not accompanied by comprehensive account of the cultural context of this instrumental tradition.



repetition of many particular expressions (such as certain metaphors, ways of describing playing, some of the terms, etc.), which today's players use in the same way in their explanations of panpipe playing.<sup>3</sup>

This similarity in performers' descriptions leads to two important conclusions. First, it leaves little doubt of the validity of ethnographic descriptions provided by earlier researchers. This is an important observation, since both Kvitka and Rudneva had to rely exclusively on their memory and pencil notes taken during interview sessions.<sup>4</sup> Using a tape-recorder allows for a more detailed observation of performers' ways of expression, although with regard to "traditional" knowledge about the instrument, this advantage over previous research is negatively balanced by the fact of discontinuity of traditional practices. Today's informants, no matter how carefully interviewed and recorded, can provide only their recollections of the traditional contexts of playing the instrument. As valuable as this evidence is, it must be used under the caveat that no human memory can keep all the richness of an experience completely untouched over the years after this experience passed out of existence.<sup>5</sup>

The second conclusion that one can draw from the similarity between the descriptions of panpipe playing recorded 50-60 years ago and recently is that while the

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<sup>3</sup> These native descriptions and expressions recorded by Kvitka and Rudneva are not fully reflected in their published works. For the most part, they are found in their fieldwork notes and diaries, preserved in the archives of the Laboratory of folk music (LMN) of Moscow Conservatory. They are held in the collection of fieldwork materials (folders number 29a,b,c... on Kursk province); two unpublished Kvitka manuscripts (1940a,b) are found in a separate Kvitka's collection. In comparison with these sources, Rudneva's 1975 book, although it incorporated many folk expressions, borrowed from the diary notes, seems less detailed. Also, one may take into account that the time elapsed between the fieldwork trips when information on panpipes was collected and Rudneva's writing was about 15 years.

<sup>4</sup> For Kvitka, who worked with the phonograph, the possibility of recording interviews did not exist, because the phonograph could make only short recordings. In her later fieldwork of the 1950s, Rudneva used mostly reel-to-reel recorders, but because of the shortage of tape she could only rarely afford recording the narratives of the players. One notable exception is an interview with E. Golubovich from the village of Budishche, recorded by Rudneva during a tour of the village performance group to Moscow in 1978 (archives of the LNM, number 3183/1759). Dated after completion of the work on the Kursk tradition by Rudneva, the material from this interview was never reviewed in any of her published works.

<sup>5</sup> This, of course, only refers to the descriptions of the traditional context and not the descriptions and terminology of the performance itself, since they remain current as long as there are still performers and their live performances.

performance context has undergone radical changes, the performers' view of it, especially their conceptualization of the process of playing, performance techniques, and aesthetic norms has not changed significantly over the period of observation. Although information concerning the player's own views on the performance process was not the focus of Kvitka's and Rudneva's research, conclusions about these views can nonetheless be made on the basis of what has been noted. The observations of Kvitka and Rudneva served as a point of departure for more detailed investigation of performance terminology in my own fieldwork (see Chapter 4).

As the state of the tradition itself is constantly changing over time, the approach to fieldwork is also changing, reflecting the development and increasing sophistication of the discipline. Thus, an essential difference in fieldwork approaches between the present research and the work conducted in the same places before can be seen in several distinctive areas.

First, the difference between my project and the work of previous researchers on panpipes can be approached in terms of intensive versus extensive studies (Merriam 1964, 42, Blacking 1973a). In contrast with the more extensive orientation of fieldwork by Kvitka and Rudneva, the present research is focused on intensive in-depth study of a few individual performers in order to account as fully as possible for their performance techniques, used both consciously and subconsciously, and to provide description of the conceptualization of the music by these individuals. Following recommendations given by Blacking, my work aims to be "intensive study of a musical tradition as a system of musical cognitive and social processes which in turn are part of, or are related to, the social and cultural system of the maker of music "(1973b, 209). To attain this goal, establishing long-term connections with the players and participating in their non-musical as well as musical activities is essential. By these means both conscious, verbalized, and more subtle non-verbalized cognitive aspects of musical practice can be approached. Unlike Kvitka's

and Rudneva's fieldwork, my research did not involve collection of a large number of musical samples in order to analyze and classify the music itself, but rather it aimed to understand this music in the total context of human behavior, both biological and cultural, as it exists in this particular tradition.<sup>6</sup>

Second, the present fieldwork attempted to address the issues of native conceptualization of panpipe playing, the role of individuals in the tradition, and the issue of change. These aspects of the research, which have not been the main concern for previous researchers, are characteristic of the modern stage of ethnomusicological inquiry. Methodological issues that bear most profound implications for the present research concern, first of all, new roles of performers and a researcher in the field, since the development of ethnomusicology as a discipline in post-modern and post-structuralist stage is becoming increasingly self-reflective.<sup>7</sup> The roles of performers and a researcher can be addressed through the discussion of the place of experiment in the fieldwork, an approach to native music theory, bi-musicality, and creation of special recording contexts. The consequences of the re-assessment of the roles of participants of fieldwork from both sides — performers and researchers — are crucial for the results of the research and therefore deserve detailed methodological consideration.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> Understanding music within its cultural context has been central to Western ethnomusicology starting with the work of Alan Merriam (1964). According to the fundamental premise of his anthropology of music, the emphasis upon music and its structure must not be divorced from the discussion of broader questions that put this music in its total context. A researcher, in the words of Merriam, "attempts to emerge from his study with a broad and generally complete knowledge both of the culture and the music, as well as the way music fits into and is used within the wider context." Such an orientation, he continues, "will enormously affect not only his results but his field methods and techniques as well" (1964, 42).

<sup>7</sup> For the discussion of this tendency, see Blum 1975, Gourlay 1978, Nettl 1983, Herndon 1993 and many other theoretical and methodological works.

<sup>8</sup> The term "re-assessment" with respect to the role of an ethnomusicologist in the field was proposed by Kenneth Gourlay (1978). In his view, Merriam's model of "sciencing about music" and trend to objectivity, characteristic for positivistically oriented research paradigm, have to be reconsidered in the modern stage of the development of the discipline. Relationship of object-subject, as in "hard science" does not hold true for humanities. In ethnomusicological fieldwork, in particular, the researcher inevitably enters the world he or she studies, and becomes partly an object for his own observation and reflection (Gourlay 1978, 26-27).

### Experiment and its role in fieldwork: the “cognitive dissonance” approach.

The use of experiments has been an important component of anthropological and ethnomusicological fieldwork starting from 1950s (see, for example, Lewis 1953). It also has been used in Russian musical folklore studies (see, for example, discussion of Rudneva’s work in Chapter 1). An intense (and intentional) application of experimental approaches in field research, as well as methodological considerations of such an application, however, became an object of interest for scholars only recently. Methodological aspects of the experimental approach to fieldwork are considered, for example, by Ruth Stone (1982), James Kippen (1987) and Ulrich Wegner (1994).

Ulrich Wegner, in his article concerning the role of experimental methodology in the field, reviews several approaches to fieldwork involving experiment. He finds that the difference between the conceptual positions of a researcher and a native musician can be used as a research device that provides significant insight into a musical performance. He considers this difference as one type of “cognitive dissonance,” and proposes to use it as an experimental device in field research.<sup>9</sup> According to him, in order to evoke performers’ reactions and elicit statements about the norms that are implicit in a musical tradition, a researcher can use apparently erroneous, “dissonant” stimuli and in this way capture essential characteristics of creative processes (1994, 458).

An example of such an approach that is particularly important to my research methodology is found in the work of Margarita Mazo (1994). In her field research on Russian lament, she presented village performers with an experimental tape, on which certain parameters of a real lament performance (for example, melodic patterns and voice

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<sup>9</sup> The term “cognitive dissonance” was coined in 1957 by Leon Festinger (see Festinger 1968); later it became one of the highly influential concepts in cultural studies. This term, in the thought of Festinger and his followers, does not imply any musical connotations (in the sense of musical consonance and dissonance), and refers rather to the “discongruities between cognitions which are mutually relevant” (Festinger 1968, as cited in Wegner 1994, 452).

quality) were modified, while others were left unchanged. By asking the performers to evaluate these different modifications, she was able to gain considerable insight into native conceptualization of lament performance.

The acceptance of experimental methodology as a legitimate tool in fieldwork has changed the roles of both a native musician and ethnomusicologist in the field. Instead of being simply the bearers of the tradition, or sources of information for the researcher involved in the collection of musical samples, native musicians are now considered as co-workers and colleagues, whose judgment is present in all stages of a research project, sometimes even including fine and focused musical analysis. This involvement of native musicians is a hall mark of many recent case-studies in ethnomusicological scholarship (for example, Feld 1982, Widdess 1994). This development is paralleled by similar trend in cultural anthropology (see, for example, Clifford 1986b).

The use of experimental devices, such as pre-recorded tape evaluated by the performers, provides us with an access to the performers' inner representation of musical sounds and musical processes — a difficult and elusive subject that occupies a central place in modern ethnomusicological inquiry. This subject can also be addressed from a perspective that comes from the ethnoscience, or cognitive anthropology.

#### An ethnoscience approach: the study of native music theory.

The importance of performers' own views on panpipe playing is one of the methodological premises of my research. My approach to the study of native musical knowledge is based on the methods proposed by cognitive anthropology (Tyler 1969, Frake 1969, Spradley 1979, 1980, Werner and Schoepfle 1987, and others). The essential characteristic of cognitive anthropology is the development of rigorous procedures — closely derived from linguistic models — for eliciting native terms and the ways in which people categorize their experiences, thus making the explicit difference between the ethnographer's and the native's point of view an important source of insight (Werner and

Schoepfle 1987, 250). In a similar trend in ethnomusicology, Hugo Zemp (1979), Steven Feld (1982), and others stress the task of discovering an indigenous music theory. These studies show that musical conceptions can be elicited even in those cultures that, on the first inquiry, do not seem to possess music theory in an explicitly verbalized form.<sup>10</sup> The methodological premise taken in such studies is that music is patterned in a culture-specific way, and the goal of ethnomusicological analysis is to account for this culture-specific system, as well as for its concrete realization in musical performance (see Blacking 1973b, 17).

For an elucidation of the conceptualization and performance terminology of panpipe players, I utilized the well-known approach of bi-musicality proposed by Mantle Hood (1960). In its application to the present research, both its advantages and its limitations have to be addressed.

#### The bi-musicality approach.

Bi-musicality exemplifies the active involvement of the researcher in the musical practices within the culture she or he studies. This approach has proven its usefulness for understanding musical systems in many case studies, and since the early 1980s has become widely employed by students of many music cultures (see, for example, its review in Nettl 1983, 50).

The reasons for bringing the bi-musicality approach into the methods of my fieldwork are two-fold. First, the experience of playing is essential for the investigation of physical movement with the instrument, one of the theoretical focuses of the present work

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<sup>10</sup> This approach, however, has demonstrated its limitations, especially if one takes the task of analyzing the process of musical performance, which unfolds under the rules that are not necessarily explicitly verbalized. For the discussion of this problem, the distinction between operational and representational models of musical knowledge, introduced by Baily (1988) seems essential (see discussion of these models on pp. 110-11).

(see discussion of this topic later in this chapter). Second, playing the instrument provides a comfortable situation for establishing a close rapport with the informants through learning and making music together.

The use of bi-musicality approach creates a particularly favorable setting for learning the way in which the performers themselves conceptualize their music. The work of Hugo Zemp on 'Are'are music (Zemp 1972, 1978, 1979a,b, 1981) is a particularly good example of the application of bi-musicality in eliciting native musical concepts. Zemp emphasizes that his learning experience has given him a main source of insight into native musical terminology as it is used in its natural context: "Conversations about music occur quite naturally in the course of making new instruments and during practices [...], or at an informal learning session. By learning to play himself, the ethnomusicologist becomes a musician and participates in these conversations; he learns the terminology in its natural context. 'Are'are musicians — and in this way they are probably like many other musicians in other parts of the world — speak more readily of musical structure when a beginner makes mistakes" (Zemp 1979a, 33). Although his arguments and especially his case study based on this approach are quite convincing and considered by many as a classic case of application of the ethnoscience methods to ethnomusicology (Blum 1992, Gourlay 1984, Qureshi 1987), his use of the phrase "natural context" requires a note of caution: the situation of teaching an outsider is not at all "natural" to the performers, and this fact is inevitably reflected in their teaching strategies.

In the process of learning there is always feedback between the pupil-researcher and his teacher-informant, and it is not only the former who learns, but also the latter. The impact of the researcher on his subject of study deserves proper consideration in a comprehensive ethnography of musical performance. The picture is obviously not complete if an ethnomusicologist is, in the words of Kenneth Gourlay, "both omniscient and non-existent, a subject to zero constraint and at the same time to absolute constraint" (1978, 4).

The personality, social status, and gender of a researcher can greatly influence his or her access to learning a culture, as well as the relationship with the performers. This thesis can be well demonstrated in study of the South Kursk panpipe tradition.

While collecting materials about a musical practice which is presently in decline is not rare in today's ethnomusicological practice, very few ethnomusicologists directly concern themselves with the problems which such a situation creates for field research. A notable exception is the work of Jos Koning (1980), in which the author discusses the methodological consequences of the role of ethnomusicologist as a performer of Irish fiddle music. His conclusion is that "it is the fieldworker's responsibility to analyze the possible distortion that may result from the active use of bi-musicality as a research tool" (1980, 429). Such analysis became an important part of my research.

Among the factors that may influence the researcher's access to the role of pupil in the Russian panpipe tradition, the most important seem to be gender and social status. Although panpipe playing in this tradition is currently not considered a sacred or ritual activity, being a woman is still important for gaining an access to practical learning in this explicitly female tradition. While the performers are not at all reluctant to perform under various and sometimes experimental conditions working with a male researcher, they are nevertheless very reluctant to *teach* him to play.<sup>11</sup> This is a local case of a problem well known to cultural anthropologists (a limited access of a scholar to gender-restricted information). It should be mentioned, however, that for other musical instruments in the Russian peasant tradition, which are mostly restricted to males, the reverse gender-crossing initiative of a researcher is not always as difficult as it is in the case of learning panpipes.<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>11</sup> Such was the case with the Starostins' work (1985-1993). Both researchers (a couple) worked intensively with an excellent panpipe player from the village of Budishche, Marina Bocharova. Accepting all experimental conditions of this work and responding rather enthusiastically to this opportunity, Bocharova nevertheless rejected teaching the husband to play panpipes, justifying that by saying that "it is not appropriate for a man, everyone will laugh at you" (personal communication with the researchers).

<sup>12</sup> In my own work with the fiddle tradition it was usually possible to overcome the initial skepticism of my male teachers and to start practical learning sessions even at the first meeting with the player. The same is true for the work of Tatiana Kazanskaia, an academically trained female violinist who studied the fiddle performance practices of Smolensk region (Kazanskaia 1988).



The status and age of a researcher can also affect his or her assumed role of a pupil in Russian panpipe tradition. Since learning of the panpipe playing would have normally occurred in the early teens, it is quite evident that the age of the researcher does not correspond to a normal age of a pupil. The fact of teaching an outsider who has, in the eyes of the villagers, a higher social status as a person coming from a city may also intimidate native performers, and instead of acting in an informal manner they may in fact behave quite artificially. In the words of Marcia Herndon, “exclusive use of participant observation [...] may very well prejudice the data, since it is always possible that methods used to teach outsiders (the ethnomusicologist) [...] are not the same as those used for group members. Informants, too, can be ethnocentric” (1974, 249).

The traditional way of learning panpipe playing relies more on self-instruction and the general listening experience of a pupil than on a particular method of teaching. Thus, the most interesting and subtle aspects of the performance tradition may remain inaccessible if a researcher rigorously builds his or her argument only on what has been verbally communicated during the learning experience. Paradoxically, in this case, the more traditional the way of teaching that the researcher experiences, the less it is like “teaching” at all. That is why one of the most common responses of the panpipe performers to my request to teach panpipe playing was: “What do you want me to teach you? Take it and play.” They soon discovered that I did not have the same background knowledge of the tradition as they did, and from this point the whole setting became essentially unfamiliar for them, since in their own traditional learning experience they have not encountered a need to communicate certain basic rules. Such a setting provides an opportunity for an experiment by the native teacher, and not only by the researcher. This aspect of performers’ behavior can become an important source of information if it is approached properly by the researcher and not taken for granted as a “natural” situation of learning.<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>13</sup> The issue under discussion is not limited to the Russian panpipe performance tradition. Another example of such behavior by a native teacher comes from Irish fiddle culture, in which, as Jos Koning shows, many

This discussion allows us to draw a conclusion that a hypothetical role of a completely objective researcher, the one who would witness the events without being involved in them or affecting them by the fact of his or her presence is highly improbable in ethnographic study. Neither is it a desirable role for a researcher. In other words, a researcher cannot and should not avoid disclosing his occupation with music, and even his or her presence amidst the musical events usually renders them different from what they would be in his absence. In this sense, there is no “absolutely natural” context for any musical recording, however little the engagement of an ethnomusicologist may be, although there are certainly different degrees of researchers’ involvement and the ways to reduce the artificiality of the situation.<sup>14</sup>

#### Creation of the setting for a recording session.

Speaking of possible roles of a researcher (in this case, a folklorist) in a field, Kenneth Goldstein defines a special type of recording setting which he calls the “induced”, or “near-natural” context (1964, 87-89). By that he means that a researcher intentionally creates a situation which conditions the informants to behave in their usual, most natural way. This approach is, in a sense, the opposite of the interview-type setting. Creation of an “induced context” for panpipe performances can serve as a productive tool of investigation and add new insights to our understanding of this tradition.

From this point of view, my ability to play fiddle, which is also a traditional instrument in South Kursk province, happened to be extremely advantageous for the research. It helped to create a friendly atmosphere of common music-making interest beginning from the first meetings with panpipe players and other traditional musicians. My

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of the performance nuances were not accounted for in traditional way of teaching, because in the past the beginner musician was submerged in an intense cultural experience, hearing this music from early childhood. Now, with the diminishing role of traditional music in village life, the possibility for such intense and monopolizing listening is not present, and the results of applying traditional teaching techniques in this new context turn out to be only schematic and clearly unsatisfactory (Koning 1980, 422-425).

<sup>14</sup> I consciously excluded “hidden camera” recordings from my research. The reasons for this are first professional ethics, and second, since I consider fieldwork to be a dialogical enterprise, the position of the researcher must be communicated to the performers in order for this dialogue to occur.

first meeting with Fedosia Glamazdina was a good demonstration of this advantage. The best panpipe player in the village, she is also a very reserved and quiet old lady with a great deal of distrust of strangers. After two minutes of our first conversation, in response to my direct question as to whether she played panpipes, she preferred to answer “No, I don’t even know what you are talking about.” Then it happened that she wanted to listen to me playing fiddle, and for this reason I gave her the panpipes that I was holding in my hand. A few minutes later she found herself playing them with my fiddle accompaniment.

Another fortunate research opportunity for creation a rapport with the players was bringing with me the members of the Moscow children’s ensemble *Veretentse*, who came to study with the village musicians. The role of a pupil was perceived by the villagers as more suitable for them than for me, and so the context of the teaching session seemed more natural to the village players. Since the focus of my work lies in the analysis of the performance process, it was crucially important to be able to observe players’ behavior in different contexts without an obligatory participation in it as a player.

Other important conditions of a recording session, such as playing on the village street at an appropriate time, day and season, with the presence of neighbors as audience often led to spontaneous singing and dancing, greatly contributed to the “authenticity” of such experience. It is precisely in these public situations, with the demanding village audience around, that panpipe performers especially insist on playing together with their urban pupils and find the most important gratification for their effort as teachers.

#### Multi-microphone recording technique.

One particular “technical” aspect of producing the recording merits discussion here, since it greatly affects the level of detail to which these recordings can be analyzed. Since the panpipe ensemble performance is multi-part music with a complex relationship between the parts, it is clear that for detailed study of performance techniques a method of recording that allows for analytic separation of the parts must be used. My approach to this problem

was based on a recording technique called “multi-channel” or “multi-microphone” recording. As discussed in Chapter 1 (p.47, footnote 45), this technique was developed by Russian musical folklorists especially for the recording of vocal multi-part music (see Rudneva et al. 1979). In multi-microphone recording, each performer’s voice is captured by a separate tape-recorder, allowing one to hear this particular voice “singled-out” against the background of the others.

The multi-microphone technique is similar, but not identical, to the play-back technique advocated by Simha Arom (1976, 1984). Both methods can be classified as experimental recordings (i.e., non-conventional, done under special conditions and outside of the real-life context), and both are designed for producing a detailed voice-by-voice score of complex examples of multi-part music. However, in Arom’s technique each performer in turn coordinates his part with the tape played back through headphones (hence the name), while his own part is recorded simultaneously on another track of a stereo-recorder. According to Arom, the difference between the conventional and the experimental (i.e., play-back) recording is very similar to that between any two conventional recordings of the same piece, and thus the experimental conditions do not change the attitude of the musicians towards their own traditional music. Thus, the artificial setting of the recording in play-back method, instead of being a drawback, is in fact one of the advantages, since musicians respond to these conditions which are unusual for them by simplifying and readjusting their behavior in such a way that “musical structure and models to which the musicians refer appear more clearly” (Arom 1976, 484). On the other hand, the artificiality of the setting with the play-back method is balanced by the constant feedback from the musicians themselves as well as expert listeners, whose comments are incorporated at every stage of the recording process. In this way any inaccuracy in the performance is immediately discovered and the incorrect part re-recorded before proceeding further (1976, 494).

S. Arom believes his method of recording to be applicable to the study of all polyphonic music. In my case, however, partly due to the specificity of the material and its present state, and also because the focus of my study is different from that of Arom's (studying of performance process rather than analysis of musical structures), the multi-microphone method seemed to be more suitable. Its advantage for this particular study lies in its setting, in which the group aspect of performance is preserved. Thus, it allows for observation and documenting the interaction between the performers, as well as shows their individual parts unfolding within the context of the process of music-making. I followed this method in the majority of my recordings of panpipe playing.

There is, however, one particular analytic possibility for which the use of the playback method would have a significant advantage over the multi-microphone recording, i.e. electro-acoustic analysis of each separate part using specialized equipment (such as Strobocorr, Melograph, and computer software for sound analysis), which can only handle one part at the time. The use of stereo-recording with two simultaneous tracks allows completely separate parts of multi-part music for the research purposes (cf. Arom 1976, 495). As for multi-microphone recordings, such separation of the voices is not possible at present, at least not with conventional recording equipment. Moreover, one can say in this connection that the multi-microphone recording is generally less accessible to machine analysis, since it was designed specially for the purpose of aural notation. Its attraction lies in the possibility for the human ear to trace one voice slightly enhanced dynamically within the polyphonic whole, a task which is at present insurmountable for machine analysis. This explains why in the acoustic analysis of panpipe performance (see Chapter 5) I considered only the excerpts of solo performances and not the ensemble recordings analyzed in Chapter 6.

### **Musical-analytical framework.**

The recordings of panpipe music obtained for analytical purposes are, first, recordings of performances in their full length; second, these recordings were conducted in “near-natural” conditions (see discussion of an induced context above); third, they used multi-microphone technique. The notion of the recording’s length is important, as it allows one to analyze the performance’s “flow” over time. In addition, extensive fragments of playing provide good material for application of statistical procedures and probability models.

The musical-analytical framework for the present research is based on three important methodological premises. They are: (1) the study of the performance process versus musical work, (2) the study of the players’ body movements in relation to musical structures, and (3) the possibility of access to non-verbalized cognitive aspects of musical performance.

#### Study of the performance process.

Central to my approach to musical analysis of panpipe playing is the notion of performance process, that is, unfolding musical utterances in the situation of performance.<sup>15</sup> The study attempts to define the operational “rules” of music-making in this particular tradition through the discussion of performers’ musical choices and strategies employed in a particular performance. Unlike the analyses of musical structures that mostly deal with the architectural (or proportional) dimension of music as a product of the action of music-making, this study focuses on the processes that underlie the musical performance and to a certain degree determine the sound result of these actions, i.e., a musical piece in the traditional sense of the term.

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<sup>15</sup> In this perspective, the choice of grammatical form -- a frequent use of verbal noun ‘playing’ instead of the noun form -- for the designation of the phenomena under the study is not coincidental, but is meant to reflect the procedural nature of this activity. Similarly, M. Mazo in her work on Russian lament frequently refers to “lamenting,” and even introduces a special term — intoning (also in a form of verbal noun) to designate the “total process of producing the sound utterances in lament and the general sonic procedures through which a performance unfolds” (1994, 173).

Emphasis on process as an important aspect of music is an issue that has been long acknowledged in musicological thought. For example, Russian scholar Boris Asafiev based his theory of musical form on the distinction between the form represented as a “structure” and as a “process,” and proposed a special terminology for description of the procedural dimension of musical form (Asafiev 1963, first edition 1930). He considered musical forms “not as architectonic soundless schemes, but as a natural process of sound organization and crystallization” (1963, 28). Likewise, Charles Seeger addresses similar issues, speaking about the preponderance of the “event as over against the process, the product as over the tradition, the structure as over against the function, the static as over against the dynamic” as the predictable distortions of the verbal handling of the analysis of music (Seeger 1951, 242, cited in Krader 1980, 279). More recently, Marvin Minsky commented on the lack of procedural descriptions in conventional music analysis which he calls “syntactic theories of music” (Minsky 1982). In his thought, the description of music as a product that the human mind produces has to be completed by the investigation of *how* it is conceived or perceived: “To really understand how memory and process merge in “listening” we will simply have to use more “procedural” descriptions - that is, the kinds that can describe how processes proceed” (1982, 6). Recently, the study of generative processes in musical performance attract more and more interest in the field of musical cognition (see Sloboda 1994, Howel, Cross and West 1985, 1991 and others).

The importance of the process of music-making in the explanation of music has long been noticed in ethnomusicology. Blacking, for example, in his often-cited work, *How musical is man?*, defines the task of the ethnomusicologist as “to identify all *processes* [italic’s mine - O.V.] that are relevant to an explanation of musical sound” (1973b, 17). In Blacking’s thought, however, these processes lie outside of musical sound per se. On the contrary, some recent studies are focused on the performance process as sound production (body movements, breathing, etc.) and features that are located largely

*within* the musical sound. The attention to these aspects of musical phenomena is prominent in some of the recent ethnomusicological approaches, exemplified by the works of Baily (1985), Kippen (1987), Qureshi (1987), Mazo (1994), and others. In the words of Bruno Nettl, the tendency of studying music as a process can be considered as a hall-mark of ethnomusicology of the 1980s: “If ethnomusicology research of the 1980s is distinct from what went before, it is distinguished chiefly by an increased interest in the study of processes, and music as process rather than simply as a product” (1992, 381).

It is important to note, however, that the term “process” in its application to the study of music can have several different meanings. In Western European Art music it can often refer to development within a musical structure, i.e., introduction of new thematic elements, their contrast and transformation (this is the meaning of the term *process* in Asafiev’s theory). The process can also be seen in terms of the contextual input into concrete musical performance, as in the model by Regula Qureshi (1987). Finally, the aspect of “processuality” in music may be described as a cognitive process, i.e. what is happening in the mind and the body of a performer while he or she *proceeds* with the sound (an example of this meaning of the term see in Mazo 1994). It is precisely the last aspect that the present work is trying to explore.

To account for the processual aspect of musical performance, I attempt a mathematical description of the process on the basis of probability models. The examples of applications of probability models to the analysis and creation of art works (and in particular to music) are numerous and diverse in their purposes and methodology. The use of the probability model for analysis of performance process provides an opportunity to establish the operational rules that underlie such a process (such as preferences of certain pipes over the others, or placements of the vocal sounds, etc.). In other words, one can, using these rules, formulate a grammar of the panpipe music, which generate potentially infinite number of musical utterances.



A mathematician Andrei Markov, who formulated the first formal description of the class of processes named after him “Markov processes,” applied the Markov chain analysis (a sub-class of Markov processes) to the text of Pushkin’s poem “Evgenii Onegin” (Markov 1914). This method was further developed and applied to analysis of music by a Russian mathematician and musician, Rudolf Zaripov (1983).

The importance of probability relationships between the elements of music was also emphasized by Leonard Meyer, who wrote concerning the definition of the musical style: “the probability relationships prevailing within the system are a function of context within a particular work as well as within the style system generally. The occurrence of any sound or group of sounds, simultaneously or in sequence, will be more or less probable depending upon the structure of the system and the context in which the sound occurs” (1956, 45).

The application of the Markov chain analysis that is close to my work in goals and treatment of the material is found in the work by Wim van Zanten (1983). In line with Meyer’s proposition, van Zanten uses mathematical analysis as a tool for establishing a common stylistic ground within the group of pieces of the Malawian *Pango* repertoire. His method involves construction of transition matrices which quantitatively define the probability of appearance of one musical event occurring after another (in this case the musical event is a chord played on one metric pulse of the music).

The music that served as the material for van Zanten’s discussion lends itself well to this kind of analysis. Its essential characteristics include constant repetition of a relatively short, compact musical structure, with a limited number of musical choices (only 4 chords), the change between which is possible only at certain fixed moments of time. The presence of a constant regular pulsation in this music also makes the task of formalization easier, since it facilitates the choice of the discrete time unit in which the state of the system is defined; it thus allows the scholar to separate and analyze the pitch dimension of the music separately. My application of this method is based on a premise that insofar as

Russian panpipe music is comparable in its structural characteristics to the music discussed in van Zanten's article, one can assume that a Markov chain model provides a good analytical description of panpipe music as well.

My application of the model, however, is different from that of van Zanten in several aspects. First, while van Zanten is interested in obtaining the unanimous quantitative description of the group of pieces, I started my analysis with one particular performance of one piece, focusing first on the dynamics of the performance process. While both approaches, as well as many intermediate possibilities are certainly legitimate, they yield essentially different results. Van Zanten's model has better predictive power (i.e., it can be applied to a broader sample of music); on the other hand, he does not use the probability model on the level of a particular performance and does not attempt to describe the performance process.

Another essential difference from van Zanten's model is that after obtaining a quantitative description of panpipe playing I attempt to explain the preferred transitions shown by the probability matrix as musically significant choices on the part of the performers. One possibility for such explanation can be provided by a particular approach that calls attention to the question of the relationship between musical structure of instrumental music and human body movement on the instrument. This approach, formulated in the works of John Blacking and John Baily, is the second important methodological premise of my analysis of panpipe music and as such deserves a detailed consideration.

#### "Man/musical instrument interface": analytical perspectives.<sup>16</sup>

The first significant insight into the possible relationship between movement and musical structures belongs to Erich von Hornbostel.<sup>17</sup> In his article on African music

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<sup>16</sup> The expression "man/musical instrument interface" belongs to John Baily (1994b).

<sup>17</sup> Descriptions of the movements involved in the performance were abundant in earlier anthropological and ethnomusicological works. See, for example, descriptions of this kind cited and discussed in the chapter on

(1928) he touched two aspects of this issue that both can have an influence upon the music: the trajectory of player's movements in space and the alternation of muscular tension and relaxation. In discussion of xylophone performance, for example, Hornbostel suggested that parallel movements of player's hands may be spatially controlled, so that the player "realizes melody above all as an act of motility" (1928, 49). The muscular tension/relaxation patterns, on the other hand, may provide a physical basis for perception and performance of rhythmic patterns, to the point that the acoustical result of the body movement, i.e. music itself, may sometimes be regarded as a side-issue, although a desirable one:

African rhythm is ultimately founded on drumming. Drumming can be replaced by handclapping or the xylophone; what really matters is the act of beating; and only from this point can African rhythms be understood. Each single beating movement is again twofold: the muscles are strained and released, the hand is lifted and dropped. Only the second phase is stressed acoustically; but the first inaudible one has the motor accent, as it were, which consists in the straining of the muscles (1928, 52).<sup>18</sup>

Hornbostel's propositions on music and movement relationship were brought to the attention of scholars and further developed in several works by John Blacking (1955a,b, 1959, 1961). His first article on the subject "Eight flute tunes from Butembo East Belgian Congo" (1955a) has a significant sub-title: "An analysis in two parts, musical and physical." In this work Blacking brings to the discussion of the music/movement relationship a new important aspect - consideration of the structural layout of the instrument and its physical properties: "It is almost certain that the structure of the tunes is to a great extent influenced by the structure of the instrument. This is a factor which should be more often borne in mind in the analysis of exotic folk music" (1955a, 46).<sup>19</sup> The existence of

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physical behavior in Merriam's *Anthropology of Music* (1964, 103-105). However, the question of the relationship between musical and kinetic structures was not considered in these works.

<sup>18</sup> It is interesting to note, as Baily has pointed out, that Hornbostel most probably had no opportunity to directly observe African music performances and generated his insights concerning music and movement relationship only from the listening to the phonograms (Baily 1985, 239).

<sup>19</sup> Blacking's reference to the "exotic folk music" here reflects the heritage of Hornbostel, who viewed the autonomous existence of movement as the phenomena peculiar to African music and spoke about the differences between African and European perception of movement in music. Elsewhere Blacking points out

structural connections between instrumental music and the morphology of the instruments on which this music is performed is certainly not a new issue in the history of music. Realization of these connections is reflected in several musical notation systems, designed for recording compositions for one instrument, such as medieval European tablatures or ancient Chinese and Korean notations. A new aspect in Blacking's thought is the consideration of this issue in the context of the biology of human movements in general, as well as posing the question of the relative autonomy of movement patterns in musical performance and their primary importance with respect to music structures.

Proceeding from an assumption that "an analysis of the music without an analysis of the instrument is essentially incomplete," Blacking compares musical transcriptions of flute tunes with hypothetical fingering charts (obtained from a structurally identical instrument) and attempts to relate some of the aspects of musical performance with the properties of the instrument and movement patterns of a player's body. His hypothesis is that "the shape and tonality of a phrase may be determined more by the physical properties of the flute — the notes which can be played within each register, and so on — than by purely musical considerations"(p.51). Obviously, the same type of analysis is applicable to other musical instruments as well.

In another case study analysis of music from a body movement perspective, this time Nsenga *Kalimba* (lamellophone) music, Blacking continues his argument in favor of the influence of body movements on musical structure. He analyses the interval frequencies of the melodies played by the *kalimba* and compares them with the same tunes sung with

*kalimba* accompaniment. The two sets differ, in his opinion, largely “because of the physical layout of the *kalimba* conditions the type of tune that is played on it” (1961, 29).<sup>20</sup>

The most interesting feature of the *kalimba* music from a structural point of view is that, while the patterns of fingering are similar between several tunes, they often result in completely different melodic progressions, due to their application to different *kalimba* tunings and also because of the combination of fingering with different rhythmic patterns. This observation allows Blacking to conclude that the most significant common factor between the *kalimba* tunes is not their melodic structures, but the recurring patterns of fingering, although he does not discuss any of these patterns in details. He describes several tunes being “variations on a theme, but the theme is physical and not purely musical” (1961, 29).

The conceptual base of Blacking's approach lies in the distinction between deep and surface structures in music. The deep level may not be immediately apparent on the surface and may require analytical work to reveal it. This assumption, together with Blacking's belief that the music is systematic and logically organized, i.e., based on rules which govern music structure even if they are not verbalized by the informants themselves, renders his approach close to that of a generative grammar applied to music, although in

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that the importance of motion is not unique to the African music and includes European Art music as well: “a pianist who plays the Etudes of Chopin or many pieces by Liszt cannot help being conscious of the sheer physical pleasure of numerous passages, and noticing how music grows out of physical movement” (1955a, 52) (see also the discussion of this point in Baily 1985, 242). Moreover, recent studies from diverse geographical regions and cultural settings (for example, Kawaguchi 1982, Yung 1985, Stone 1994) suggest that the relationship between music and movement is pronounced in many cultures, and often reflected in native terminology, conceptual thought and learning practices.

<sup>20</sup> It is interesting to note that similar kinds of conclusions could be drawn from the analysis by van Zanten (1983), since he also discussed the matrices of probability separately for vocal melodies and their instrumental accompaniment. However, the author himself does not explain the differences between the two matrices by the influence of the physical layout of the instrument, as does not touch the topic of movement and music in his article.

these early works he himself does not use linguistic terminology. Later, after acquaintance with Chomskian linguistics, he wrote that he arrived at similar methods of analysis independently (1970, 1).<sup>21</sup>

In Blacking's analysis of movements in music, the deep/surface dichotomy in musical structure evokes a parallel distinction of biological and cultural aspects in the process of music-making. The latter distinction has a number of important implications for the study of the biological foundations of musical performance. On the example of Venda music, and referring to the notion of deep structure, he seeks the level at which "one may expect to find the Venda using techniques that are employed in other cultures and perhaps in all music making" (1971, 1). This hypothesis suggests a fundamental music-analytical framework that incorporates a description of players' body movements. As one of the basic types of human non-verbal expressive behavior, movement is, in words of Sheets-Johnstone, a "nonseparation of thinking and doing," and "a way in which a mindful body explores the world" (1981, 402).

Sheets-Johnstone speaks about the phenomenon of kinetic intelligence, by which "thinking in movement could be regarded and/or qualified as a particular kind of rationality rather than as pre-rational" (1981, 403).<sup>22</sup> This "thinking in movement" phenomenon can reveal itself in music in the same way it does in dance. Indeed, as Roger Sessions has

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<sup>21</sup> Application of linguistic models to musical analysis has its strong supporters as well as the opponents. *A Generative Theory of Tonal Music* (1983) by Lerdahl and Jackendoff — the most detailed representation of the grammar approach — was frequently criticized, in particular for its treatment of ethnomusicological topics, such as musical universals (Rosner 1984, Cook 1990, 1994). However, it still remains an important and most frequently cited source in experimental studies of musical cognition (see, for example, Howell, Cross and West 1985, 1991, Deutch and Feroe 1981). In ethnomusicology, the in-depth discussion of this topic is offered by Ruwet (1967), Feld (1974), Powers (1980), and Hughes (1991), while the examples of more or less convincing practical applications of linguistic models of analysis are abundant (for example, Becker and Becker 1979, Hughes 1988). It deserves to be noted that in ethnomusicology the trend toward linguistic methods developed earlier than in other areas of musicology. Blacking's first article on the subject appeared in 1971, while musicologists' interest to linguistic models started with Leonard Bernstein's lectures at Harvard University in the fall of 1973 (see preface to Lerdahl and Jackendoff 1983, x).

<sup>22</sup> In more technical language, the specialists in kinetics and motor programming use the term "motor intelligence" in a similar sense. It designates "the cognitive processes which are capable of expressing spatio-temporal patterns appropriate to interaction between subjects and their environment" (Morasso and Tagliasco 1986, 80).

noted, “the basic ingredient of music is not so much sound as movement,” and that “music is significant for us as human beings principally because it embodies movement of a specially human type that goes to the roots of our being and takes shape in the inner gestures which embody our deepest and most intimate responses” (1950, 19). From this perspective, the study of the movement component of music-making provides a new insight into the nature of music and its effects on both performers and listeners. It is in these terms that we can connect the study of movement in music with Blacking’s view of the “biology of music making” and culture’s “somatic states” described in his later works (Blacking 1976, 1977, 1992).<sup>23</sup>

The notion of understanding music through the physical experience of it is also apparent in a seemingly paradoxical statement of Charles Seeger who said that it would be more logical to “music” about music, than to talk about it (1977, 16), as well as in Mantle Hood’s contention that “making music is the most direct mode of music discourse” (1971, 35). Recently, studies of musical performance from the point of view of movement have evoked significant interest among specialists in the field of experimental psychology and motor programming (see, for example, Davidson 1993, Shaffer 1980, 1981, 1984; Shaffer, Clark and Todd 1985, Shaffer and Todd 1994, Todd 1995).

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<sup>23</sup> In the article entitled “Toward the anthropology of the body” (1977) Blacking suggests that in studying non-verbal behavior and communication within a culture an anthropologist may seek deeper understanding through the use of his own body, because it transcends the limits of perception and cognitive processes of the researcher’s own culture. The observer’s body, thus, may serve as a “diagnostic tool” for learning about somatic states in the culture under investigation. Blacking sets out the task for anthropologists “to experience others’ bodies through our own bodies and to learn more about some of the somatic states that we can understand but about which we know little beyond the inadequate verbal descriptions of our society” (1977, 6). Although Blacking does not specifically develop this thought in application to music, the process of music-making can be considered along these lines of inquiry. Music is indeed a non-verbal phenomenon that can be investigated not only from the point of view of its acoustic output, but through researcher’s own bodily experience of it. Numerous scholars propose “making subject of himself” as an important part of their research method (see Berliner 1994, Sudnow 1978, 1979 and others). Playing the instrument can “bring an insight into musical development and creative process which would be virtually impossible to obtain from other methods” (Berliner 1994, 10). As it has been stated before, by learning to play an instrument (bi-musicality approach), the researcher experiences not only the musical, but also the physical logic of music-making, which is embodied in the instrument’s shape and the technical possibilities of its interaction with human body movement. Since these “ergonomic factors of musical performance” (Baily 1995) are often reflected in musical structure, the researcher’s practical insight in them through playing provides an indispensable tool for the analysis of musical material.

Blacking's approach to the study of relationships between music and movement was essentially expanded and developed in the series of works by John Baily (1977, 1985, 1987, 1989, 1990, 1994a,b, 1995).<sup>24</sup> For some time Baily and Blacking were working together on a project entitled "A cross cultural study of music skills" (the work on this project is reported in Baily 1994a and 1995). The scholars hypothesized the existence of a "basic set of 'natural' movement patterns, such as certain sequences of fingering with the left hand and rhythmic patterns with the right hand" (Baily 1994, 11). This hypothetical deep structure was called a "natural" motor technique. It is conditioned, on the one hand, by the morphology of an instrument, and, on the other hand, by the neural, anatomical and physiological constraints of the human body. Thus, "natural" motor technique provides a common basis for the playing of similar instruments in different cultures.

The second or "surface" layer of movement structure — the great variety of different motor techniques found in playing the same type of instrument in different cultures — shows the impact of cultural factors in shaping instrumental technique. Since the motor patterns of a music performance are "part of the general kinetic configuration typical of a particular culture," an impact on this level of musical structure may be made by other movement patterns characteristic for this culture. These ideas are confirmed by the observations of Alan Lomax, who suggests strong correlation between work and dance movements in many cultures (Lomax 1968, 171, 224). Baily and Driver (1992), continuing along these lines of inquiry, outlined two possibilities for research on the role of motor grammars in musical performance: a) study of the same music played on various instruments and adapted to their different technical possibilities; and b) study of one instrument cross-culturally.

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<sup>24</sup> Another insightful researcher and also a prolific writer who deserves to be mentioned in connection with music and movement is Gerhard Kubik. In his works he frequently touches this subject, always in connection with concrete musical examples of African music and motion styles (see especially Kubik 1985, 52-55 and 1994, 37-38). However, he sees the importance of motion as a primary aspect of only African music, and does not consider the possibility of application of this paradigm to other cultures.



The following is a short resume of Baily's theoretical orientation given in one of his works:

A musical instrument transduces patterns of body movement into patterns of sound. The morphology of the instrument imposes certain constraints on the way the instrument is played, favouring certain movement patterns that are, for ergonomic reasons, easily organized on the instrument's spatial lay-out. Thus, the interaction between the human body and the morphology of the instrument may shape the structure of the music, channeling human creativity in predictable directions. [...] The greater the compatibility between movement and morphology, the nearer the music comes to being a transformation of the human body (Baily 1977, 275).

Baily considers the deep/surface dichotomy as a distinction between deep motor structure, taken as a whole, and a surface musical structure, which results from the movements of a player's body. These motor patterns and the rules for their sequencing may be said to constitute the motor grammar of musical performance.

The idea of a "motor grammar" offers a methodologically important approach to the study of instrumental music. It is understood as a type of generative grammar, i.e. the motor skills of a performer, once established, can be used to generate grammatically correct novel sequences with a minimum of conscious planning by the player (Baily, 1977, 329). Essentially, then, it deals with the problem of motor memory, creativity and cognition — i.e., the same issues that were discussed above in connection with the thoughts of Sheets-Johnstone and Sessions:

Performance is organized through the sequential retrieval of motor programs which together constitute a vocabulary of patterns. [...] Sometimes, no doubt, a new rhythmic pattern is generated from the motor grammar which can then be elaborated in the development of an episode. [...] There is a vocabulary for labeling such patterns in speech. Essentially these describe aspects of the movements of the right hand, which suggests that in this case the musician may be thinking primarily in terms of movements rather than sound patterns. [...] It is a form of creativity in movement, a "dance of the hand." The spatio-motor mode of musical performance can be just as "creative" as the auditory mode. [...] The motor grammar may form an important element in this kind of musical thought (Baily 1990, 211).

In East-European ethnomusicology and musical folklore studies, a trend toward studying performers' body movements appeared in parallel with that on the West. A general theoretical framework is presented in works by Ludwik Bielawski of Poland (1987), while some examples of a practical application of this approach can be found in Ivanov (1994) and Boiko (1986).

Bielawski's view of instrumental music has many points in common with that of John Baily. The Polish ethnomusicologist considers musical instruments as objects which transform "human gestures-movements which happen in a specific time and place into musical gestures that are realized in musical time and space" (Bielawski 1987, 106-7). Importantly, Bielawski emphasizes that in this process of transformation the human being has a leading role; thus, he puts man in the first place in his semantic triad "man - instrument - music" (cf. Zakharieva 1987).<sup>25</sup> He does not, however, consider any concrete applications of his concept.

Moscow researcher Anatolii Ivanov (1993), on the other hand, proceeds from the analysis of a concrete musical tradition to the formulation of important theoretical propositions. He discusses the role of movement in playing a South Russian grass flute without finger holes. This flute produces two series of harmonics. One of these series sounds while an exit hole at the far end is open, and another when it is closed by the player's index finger. The logic of motor movement — in this case it is a simple binary "open-close" type of movement — defines the formation of melodic contour, the interaction of players in the ensemble and the tonal organization and the texture of the pieces. The scholar hypothesizes, on the basis of the similarity of organization of instrumental and vocal music of the local tradition, that the logic of motor movement, found in flute music, profoundly influenced the formation of vocal scales and structures of the songs. Thus, the

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<sup>25</sup> In the work of Zakharieva (1987) a similar semantic triad, designated as "player-instrument-sound" is based on a broader historical-cultural and semiotic orientation. She considers musical instruments in their dual sense - as a ritual object with symbolic meaning and as a sound bearer. The two symbols, the material and auditory, are inseparable.

grass flute music becomes a model, or “the instrument for studying and learning local traditional culture as a whole. Its presence in this culture helps to explain in a non-controversial way its musical specificity” (Ivanov 1993, 31).

In the context of the present work, Ivanov’s article is pertinent for the discussion for two reasons. First, it demonstrates useful methodological approaches to studying the role of physical movements in instrumental music, the instrument as part of local culture, and the relationships between vocal and instrumental components of a culture. Second, the musical material that is considered by Ivanov has many important semantic and functional connections with the panpipe tradition whose study is conducted in the present work. The larger geographical context in both cases is South Russian traditional music in which motor movement is clearly one of the stylistic dominants (see, for example, Shchurov 1986, 1987, for English language reference see Warner and Kustovskii 1990). For both instruments the preferable setting is an ensemble performance; female in case of panpipes, and male for grass flutes. In such ensemble performance a canon-like relationship is established between the players on the basis of their motor movements (finger movements and breathing), and this motor structure profoundly influences the musical result. The tunes played on these instruments can be classified as a particular type of so-called *ostinato*-forms, which are based on a repetition of a compact melodic/rhythmic unit.<sup>26</sup> These parallels allow us to consider panpipe and grass flute music as two different realizations of essentially the same musical and social phenomena within the general system of traditional peasant culture in the Russian South.<sup>27</sup>

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<sup>26</sup> The term and the definition of the *ostinato*-forms (in Russian, *ostinatnye formy*) belongs to Russian musicologist Abram Iusfin (1986), who discusses them with the example of Lithuanian *skuduchai* (panpipe) and horn music. The scholar suggests that analogous forms can be found in many traditional cultures (1986, 158).

<sup>27</sup> Consideration of music as a system became an essential concept in ethnomusicology in the 1960-1970s, both on the West and the East. Systemic approach is based on understanding a system as a hierarchical organization, which is sustained by maintaining a certain structure of hierarchical levels. Blacking’s conviction that music forms some kind of system within a larger whole, which is a total culture of a group of people, can serve as an example of such approach. In his article on the Venda, Blacking writes: “As a working hypothesis, it has been assumed that Venda music is systematic and logically organized” (1970, 1).

We shall formulate briefly the most important of the premises of the relationships between movement and music for the study of South Kursk panpipe music.

Analysis of panpipe playing strongly suggests a relationship between musical structure and physical movement.<sup>28</sup> The body movements have certain rules concerning their application in performance; the vocabulary of movements and these rules together constitute what can be called a "motor grammar" of a tune. Studying panpipe music from the perspective of the movement and breathing patterns involved we can, following the terminology proposed by Baily, describe the instrument as a transformer device, or a "translator" of human body movements into patterns of musical syntax.

Movement patterns employed in playing panpipes, and other local traditional instruments are not completely music-specific; they are also employed in other types of activities characteristic of local traditional culture (such as work and dance movements). Thus, a panpipe playing technique can be understood as a result of "specification" of movement patterns existing in other aspects of the culture, while the musical syntactic structure is the result of the movements on the instrument.

Russian panpipe music seems to be particularly appropriate for an examination from this analytical perspective. The musical repertoire of this tradition, the structure of the pieces, and the morphology of the instrument itself encompass just a few components, while the panpipe player's movements are clearly visible, making a construction of a "motor grammar" feasible. The players' own views (expressed in local terminology and metaphors) confirms the importance of movements in learning and playing the instrument. At the same time, it seems that some of panpipe movement patterns are determined by the basic properties of this instrument, so that breathing and movement skills must be similar for panpipes around the world, while the spatial arrangements of the instrument may vary.

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In Russian ethnomusicology and musical folkloristics, many studies of regional musical traditions, published approximately at the same time (for example, Rudneva 1975), can serve as the examples.

<sup>28</sup> The movements are understood here as body "gestures": the breathing, head movements with respect to the pipes (choice of a pipe at a given point in time) and vocal sound production.

### Applications of music cognition in the study of panpipes.

In addition to the perspectives of cognitive theory discussed previously in this chapter, the present dissertation benefits from approaches offered in studies on music cognition to issues concerned with tuning the instruments, and scholar's access to performers' non-verbalized knowledge of music.

Ethnomusicological interest in tuning the instruments has a long history. The exploration of the "exotic scales" played the role of a new paradigm for Alexander Ellis (1884), and later for Erich von Hornbostel (Hornbostel and Abraham 1975). Their attention was particularly drawn to the so-called instruments with unchangeable tuning, such as tuned percussions (xylophones, chimes, gongs) and the panpipes. The latter, believed to be one of the most archaic instruments found around the world, was especially favored for the research on tuning.

The thesis of panpipe's particular importance for the studying of archaic musical scales was first stated by Erich von Hornbostel. Comparing the tunings of modern Brazilian and ancient Peruvian panpipes, Hornbostel found them strikingly similar (Hornbostel 1910). He hypothesized, that the tuning of both panpipe sets he measured demonstrated the same principle of blown fifths.<sup>29</sup> This hypothesis was based on the assumption that the tuning of an instrument found in archeological sites can be measured exactly and therefore these specimens "register" the scales as they were used in earlier times.

After Hornbostel, the importance of studying panpipes' tuning from evolutionary perspective was assumed by Kurt Sachs and André Schaeffner. In the book *Geist und Werden der Musikinstrumente* (1st ed., 1928) Sachs wrote:

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<sup>29</sup> Hornbostel's theory of blown fifths is reviewed in the 3rd edition of Jaap Kunst's *Music in Java* (Kunst 1973, 24-47), to which I refer here, since the works of Hornbostel himself (1919-1920, 1927) are difficult to access. The blown fifth is an interval of 678 cents. The cycle of 23 blown fifths comes to the note with 6 cents difference, i.e. practically the same as the one that started the cycle, only 14 octaves apart. On the basis of tonometric measurements, Hornbostel hypothesized that the cycle of blown fifths was a principle for panpipe tunings in Ancient China, Peru, and Brasilia.

Die Panpfeife hat eine ungeheure Bedeutung für die vergleichende Musikwissenschaft und die Kulturgeschichte überhaupt, weil sie das älteste Skala-Instrument ist und zugleich infolge ihrer Unveränderlichkeit die Skalen treu festhält und ihre bequeme und zuverlässige Nachmessung mit dem Tonometer gestattet (see Sachs 1965, 49).

Few years later André Schaeffner in his *Origine des instruments de musique* (1936) repeated the same hypothesis:

...La syrinx se rencontre chez des populations qui souvent ne possèdent guère d'autres instruments mélodiques et qu'elle nous permet ainsi de fixer des échelles et des hauteurs de sons parmi les plus archaïques (1936, 285).

From the standpoint of modern ethnomusicology one may question both assumptions in these citations: that of the archaic age of the instrument and the stability of its tuning. It is well known today that there is no exact and absolute stability in tuning on any of the instruments. Even gamelan sets usually change their tuning with age, and possibly, also depending on the way of striking the instruments. Panpipe pitches may be changed during the performance by bending the set against the mouth (as for example in playing the Rumanian *nai*, see Alexandru 1974, Apan 1991).<sup>30</sup> As it was stated by Kvitka (see Kvitka 1986), while for some cultures that possess panpipes their exact tuning may be of considerable importance, this observation is not universal, and for Russians it is clearly not the case. Panpipe tuning in Russia, however, even though it is much less articulated and elaborated than in other traditions, can throw some light on the investigation of the cognitive aspects of this tradition.

Tuning is discussed in the present work from a cognitive viewpoint: what the players themselves think about the tuning, how they choose between different criteria, and by which means the consensus is established in a group of musicians. This perspective seems in accordance with the modern ethnomusicological research on tuning (van Zanten

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<sup>30</sup> For further discussion see Chapter 5.

1986, Vetter 1989, Gomperts 1995). Roger Vetter in his article *A retrospect on a century of gamelan tone measurements* advocates the ethnography based study of tuners in the actual process of tuning (the “tuning behavior”), that brings a totally different conceptual picture to this topic compared with earlier research paradigms. This issue can also be considered in terms of Wegner’s “cognitive dissonance”: “tuning a musical instrument, for example, can be considered a dissonance reducing activity. How a musician proceeds in tuning his instrument, therefore, deserves the field researcher’s attention”(Wegner 1994, 459).

Gerhard Kubik in one of his works describes tuning as a process of “focusing” in gradually obtaining desirable pitch level. In the context of the present discussion, his conclusions are particularly valuable:

Measurements with extreme accuracy may falsely suggest more restricted pitch values than the actual margins of tolerance in a given musical culture. [...] The measured tunings may require totally different explanations in different circumstances. One also has to access the intra-cultural meaning of the acceptable tuning fluctuations that may occur regularly in an individual musician’s day to day tuning. [...] Without the help of informants to introduce the researcher to local musical theory one can easily go astray (1994, 169).

Another issue discussed at the intersection of cognition and ethnomusicology is the relationship of the verbalized and non-verbalized musical knowledge. In ethnomusicology, research on native music theory is sometimes associated with a cognitive approach. However, its relevance to cognitive studies is only of a secondary importance for the present work. It is, of course, important to understand how native people conceptualize their musical experience. Such a study, however, deals only with the verbalized part of musical knowledge.

Unlike cognitive anthropology with its sophisticated procedures for eliciting verbal knowledge, studies in music psychology and cognition establish that the knowledge *about* music has to be distinguished from the knowledge of music *per se* (see Serafine 1983, 151). This distinction is also formulated by Baily (1988) in terms of *operational* versus

*representational* models of musical knowledge.<sup>31</sup> An operational model (example — *bol* and *sagram* oral notations in *Hindustani* music) “has a dynamic role in the control of musical performance” (Baily 1988, 114), and often can be tentatively identified with some sort of generative grammar. As such, it becomes a *mode of musical thought*, and thus escapes precise verbal formulation. This is why the performing musicians often comment on their fingers, or their memory guiding their playing “without thinking” (i.e. without verbalizing it) (see Sudnow 1978, Berliner 1978, 1994 and others).

A representational model, on the other hand, is the domain of verbalized musical knowledge (an example discussed by Baily (1988) is the *Herati* music theory). It often describes what a musician has to know in the sense of social and cultural “fitting” into a group. At the same time it may have little or no direct role in the unfolding of musical performance. Such a model is termed by Baily as “static” (1988, 114), and it is often explicitly verbalized as a “school theory.” It is clear, however, that the two types of models can overlap, and that there is no culture in which only one or another model is present.

Because of the presence of non-verbalized musical knowledge in the “operational model,” there is a problem, realized already by Seashore (1938), of the distinction between significant and non-significant variations in performance. “Significant” variations are the deviations from regular structure that are in some way intentional, even if only on a sub-conscious level. Intentionality is connected with the task of expressive (i.e. non-mechanical) performance. It is defined by Clarke (1985, 210) as following: “The term “intention” is used as to mean an information input to an executive system and carries no associations of consciousness, will, or deliberation.” In words of John Sloboda, “expressive performance is rational and intended, but not necessarily a matter of conscious awareness of a performer” (1994, 154).

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<sup>31</sup> The terms operational and representational models are adopted by Baily from Caws 1950.



Unintentional variations can be of two kinds: purely random (“noise” type), and those created by physical difficulties (as in the case of slowing down on technically difficult passages). For example, some of the timing deviations from regular rhythmic patterns observed by Alen in *Tumba Francesa* playing are unintentional, since they arise out of the physical movements of the players (1995, 69). Such unintentional “physically caused” deviations (and, therefore, the lack of expressive meaning of them on the side of performer) are usually quite stable in repetitive performances and difficult to distinguish from intentional and expressive ones. One way they can be tested is by repetitive recording of the same passage while giving different instructions to the performer about his expressive intentions (Sloboda 1994, 155). If in this context the deviation persists, then it may be significant for the performer. The difficulty arises, though, from the problem that the instructions of more or less “expressive performance” may not make any sense to a non-Western musician, for whom the notion of expression in music may be quite different from ours. On the other hand, even for a classically trained Western musician the task of repetitive performance has a certain ambiguity: any creative performer will enter the process of perfecting the playing, which makes an assumption of mechanical repetition doubtful (Clarke 1985, 210). For performers in oral traditions the changes from one performance to another may be even greater.

A cognitive approach to the study of panpipes, employed in the present work, can be formulated as following: through the verbal representation of musical knowledge (“native music theory”), one can gain access to this music in its own terms and formulate culture-sensitive research tasks. In the present research, an importance of the terms and metaphors of motion in native performance terminology leads to an examination of panpipe performance from the point of view of players’ physical movements (in Chapter 6). Musical analysis confirms an importance of movement patterns in panpipe playing and their relationship to the tunes’ musical structures and makes it possible to formulate a tacit

“operational model” of panpipe playing, i.e., a set of rules that underlay the process of performance. The distinction between intentional and unintentional variations proposed in music cognition studies, provided an important framework for the discussion of tuning in Chapter 5.

### **Writing ethnography: methodological problems in the ethnographic description of panpipes.**

The last part of the methodological discussion of the present work concerns ethnographic description of the panpipe tradition of Southern Russia.

The importance of writing as a special stage in the research practice of cultural anthropology has been thoroughly discussed. In the words of James Clifford, an editor of a collection entitled *Writing culture: the poetics and politics of ethnography* (1986) “no longer a marginal, or occulted, dimension, writing has emerged as central to what anthropologists do both in the field and thereafter” (Clifford 1986a, 2). The methodology of writing a description in ethnomusicology, however, has not yet received similar attention from scholars. With no attempt to account for the total complexity of the problems involved in musical ethnographic writing, I shall limit myself to the aspects in which my work offers certain new perspectives or pertains to approaches that are not typical for Western ethnomusicology. The issues under question include the construction of narrative in ethnographic description, the status of a “native ethnographer” and the problem of translation.

In his classic book, *The Ethnomusicologist* (1971), Mantle Hood compared ethnomusicological research with taking a live beautiful tree, making cuts to its roots and branches and transplanting it to a different soil. Not unlike the gardeners, he continues, ethnomusicologists take samples of music out of their traditional environment, and bring them to the ground of academic performances and values. Thus, an alienation of the object

of study from its context is inevitable in the course of the study. What is more, if we take our object to be not simply a collection of musical texts but rather the music culture as a whole, with its underlying social and psychological processes, the writing becomes not the description of a "beautiful tree" which we observe during the fieldwork, but rather our own construction of it.

It is well known that even the process of gathering information is already shaped by the collector's pre-dispositions and assumptions, as well as by his or her knowledge, training, and ideology at large (Blum 1975, Gourlay 1978, Nettl 1983). Moreover, as many anthropologists now argue (Crapanzano 1980, Schechner 1982 and others), what an ethnographer describes is a "negotiated reality" created during the encounter with the informants. "This reality is neither that of an anthropologist nor that of the informants, since the presence of an anthropologist and his or her interest in their culture encourage the informants to be reflexive about their culture" (Ohnuki-Tierney 1984, 585). Writing, which is the construction of a narrative about this encounter, moves us even further away from the "objective" registering of ingenuous ways of living in a given culture.<sup>32</sup>

Cultural anthropology has long faced the impossibility of totally "objective" ethnographic description. Such objectivity is considered not only impossible, but also undesirable, since ethnography, in words of Geertz, is "not an experimental science in search of law, but an interpretative one in search of meaning" (1973, 5). Further in this essay, Geertz comments: "What we call our data are really our own constructions of other people's constructions of what they and their compatriots are up to" (1973, 9). Similarly, James Clifford sees ethnography as a "hierarchical structure of powerful stories that translate, encounter, and recontextualize other powerful stories" (Clifford 1986b, 121).

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<sup>32</sup> Anthropologists such as Whorf wrote about it in the 1950s: "The categories and types that we isolate from the world of phenomena we do not find there because they stare every observer in the face; on the contrary, the world is presented in a kaleidoscopic flux of impressions which is to be organized by our mind" (Whorf 1952, 5 as cited in Ohnuki-Tierney 1984, 584).

Through these different layers of narrative, however, the individual voices of the indigenous people — the informants — must be heard distinctly. With their increasing literacy and involvement in the process of reflection on their own culture (the tendency now found almost around the world), they also reflect on motivation, personality, behavior of a researcher, as well the final output of his or her work. This gives James Clifford the right to say that “both informant and researcher are readers and re-*writers* of a cultural invention”(1986b, 119). An approach involving the informants as collaborators in all stages of work, including the editing of a written account, is also advocated by ethnomusicologists (Feld 1987).

The study of the Kursk panpipe tradition, with more than 60 years of researchers' involvement and interaction with the players has produced a strong impact on this culture. It has made the villagers reflect, value, and take pride in their own culture. On the other hand, it has also taught them to perform the music in such a way that it is easy for a scholar to record it, and to adjust music-making process to the demands of a stage performance (see discussion in Chapter 3). Through the interviews in which the villagers in South Kursk province recalled the history of informants-scholars interaction over past decades, it became clear that their interpretation of it has significantly influenced the modern state of the panpipe tradition. This explains why, in the discussion of contemporary panpipe practices, considerable attention is devoted to the issue of outsiders' impact on this tradition (see Chapter 3).

The story of the relationship of panpipe players to the world outside their villages, told by the players themselves, becomes an important part of the narrative created to reinforce their values and status within the village. Regula Qureshi observed similar phenomena in her study of Sufi music, that led her to an important conclusion concerning the historicity of oral tradition:

For the ethnomusicologist, historical inquiry performance means to engage with the ongoing life of the musical community, thereby embedding the “diachronic” quest in the “synchronic” reality of social and musical processes. From this results the salutary insight that the phenomenon of “history” emanates from historical perspectives put into the service of those who shape and partake in those processes, reflecting their collective and individual interests. History thus emerges as a process among processes rather than a story, even if it takes narrative form (1991, 103).

Thus, a historically oriented ethnomusicologist is inevitably concerned with the changing nature of his or her sources, both musical pieces and their social and cultural context. Historical process in oral tradition must be considered, first of all, not as the classification of the pieces in repertoire as “early” and “late” specimens, but as a significant part of people’s ideology, revealing their values and attitudes toward their music.

In writing an ethnographic account of panpipe music it was also important to preserve the voices of individual players, and to convey their personal interpretations of this tradition. While there is certainly a part of the tradition which belongs to common knowledge, some of the issues, as, for example, the issue of panpipe tuning, involve considerable controversy among the villagers. Another topic of disagreement was that of a man playing or making panpipes. However, the disputes and disagreements of the players themselves can serve a scholar as a source for insight into the nature of this music, since “we understand a culture better if we understand the nature of the natives’ disagreements and controversies” (Werner and Schoepfle 1987, 80).

Another issue that requires methodological consideration is the role of translation in ethnographic writing.

In a very broad sense, ethnographic description may be considered as a translation of a culture’s meanings into another system of meanings (Geertz 1973), and even as a translation of unwritten (oral/aural) experience into a written text (Clifford 1986b). Thus, translation is at the core of ethnographic writing. In linguistic terms, writing an ethnographic account is also a translation from a language in which fieldwork was

conducted to the language of an academic discourse. As cognitive anthropology has argued, even in case of an anthropologist conducting a research in his or her native language, the semantic fields available to the informant and the researcher within the same language may be radically different (see, for example Spradley 1979). It is, however, important to avoid translation on the side of an informant and attempt to describe a cultural meaning system in its own, rather than our, terms.

With respect to the problems of translation, the position of “native ethnographer” requires special attention, due to its possible implications for the research, and not only for purely linguistic reasons. Such position has both advantages and disadvantages for the research. On the one hand, it is clear that the ability to speak the language fluently from the very beginning helps in establishing contacts with the people and renders understandable all subtleties of the meanings and uses of the words. Moreover, there may be other advantages in studying one’s own culture. In view of Ohnuki-Tierney (1984, 585), “native anthropologists have intimate knowledge of daily routines that are exceedingly difficult for outsiders to observe, “ as well as they have “easy access to not only the intellectual dimension but also to the emotive and the sensory dimensions of these behaviors.” The scholar concludes that “native anthropologists are in a position to offer intimate knowledge of these dimensions of human behavior and to make a great contribution not simply for our ethnographic knowledge but to theoretical treatments of human behavior.”

On the other hand, in view of cognitive anthropology, sharing the same native language with the informants puts an ethnographer in greater danger of having a “semantic accent,” when people use the “same” words, but the intended meanings of their words are different (Werner and Schoepfle 1987, 259). Semantic accent is more difficult to control in one’s native language, since some of the connotations may be taken for granted by both an ethnographer and an informant. The only way to detect semantic accents is to submit all ethnographer written observations to the comments of the informants (1987, 266).

It needs to be specified, however, that although the language was indeed the same for me and my informants, we belonged to distinctively different cultures in terms of our musical knowledge. In Russia, as in most other developed countries, there is a sharp difference between traditional music of rural populations and the musical culture of a city dweller, even more, of a musician like me who was professionally trained in Western classical music. Thus, the panpipe musical language was not my “native” one, and therefore my status in the field could be defined as mono-lingual but still bi-musical.

In summary, writing an ethnographic account of the South Kursk panpipe tradition was guided by the following methodological principles: predominant attention to individual players’ views on the tradition, attention to the historical process and change, using the benefits of the position of “native anthropologist,” while avoiding the undesirable effects of the “semantic accent” to the extent possible.

### **Chapter summary.**

In this chapter methodological aspects of the dissertation have been discussed with respect to three different parts of the work — fieldwork research, analysis of musical materials, and writing an ethnographic description of the South Kursk panpipe tradition. Interweaving these three parts at different stages of a research process apparently constitutes one of the distinctive traits of ethnography in general and musical ethnography in particular.<sup>33</sup> For my research, a continuous process of analysis of the obtained material and revising my understanding of it necessitated many returns to the locality of fieldwork. These trips, in their turn, lead to a re-assessment of previous fieldwork experiences and sometimes to the new insights in analytical work.

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<sup>33</sup> In the words of James Spradley, a research procedure used in ethnography is different from that of the other social sciences. In ethnography, the stage of collecting the data and their analysis often coincide or alternate each other in time: while other social scientists first formulate a hypothesis and then test it, an ethnographer often starts fieldwork with only a general question, then generates hypotheses and collects more data, proving or disproving the original hypothesis (Spradley 1979). This description may apply to musical as well as general ethnography.

In the discussion of fieldwork methodology, attention has been paid to the methods of collecting the information, with a particular emphasis on the bi-musicality approach. This approach presupposes an active role of the researcher in a field, intervening in the life of the tradition and affecting it. In today's situation of greatly reduced musical practice of panpipe playing in villages, such active involvement on the part of an ethnomusicologist may result in the distortion of the total picture of a musical scene.

The use of the multi-channel recording technique has made possible a detailed analyses of the process of ensemble playing with its flow of interaction between the participants. Long fragments of performances, recorded in "near natural," (or "induced") contexts has provided sufficient material for an analytical examination that uses statistical methods and probability approaches.

From an analytical standpoint, the most important premises of the present work are studying the musical process rather than musical work, examination of the players' body movement on the instrument as the possible source for musical structure, and studying panpipes from a perspective of musical cognition. Among important ethnomusicological works that have advocated similar analytical approaches are those by Blacking, Baily, Kippen, Mazo and van Zanten.

In my writing an ethnographic narrative of the panpipe tradition, the disagreements and individual views of the players are seen as an important source of insight. Understanding ethnographic texts as a translation from the fieldwork experience into writing serves as a conceptual framework for discussion of the "native ethnographer" status and its implications.

Overall, the theoretical framework of the present research serves the goal of understanding the panpipe tradition in its social, cultural and biological contexts, as well as in its synchronic and diachronic dimensions.



## **CHAPTER 3**

### **SOUTH KURSK PANPIPE PLAYING FROM AN HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE**

This chapter presents an ethnography of panpipes in a group of South Kursk villages. It provides a general description of the cultural scene — the villages, the players and the performance contexts — in which panpipe music exists at the present and existed in the past. It analyzes the musical repertoire of the local instrumental tradition, including that of the panpipes, and discusses modern changes in the performance context of panpipe playing.

The available information on the panpipe tradition spread over a period of more than 60 years, thereby allowing us to view this tradition from a diachronic perspective. Panpipe playing, together with the other layers of traditional culture, has changed its context rather radically over the period of its observation; its future in the village life is uncertain, and its modern venue of existence is not yet clear. The players and informants I have dealt with, even if they participate in modern panpipe performances, still represent the old generation of players and constantly refer to the practice as it existed in their young years. The dichotomy of “now” and “then” was prompted by the players themselves and provided a continuous framework for their discussions. In the present description I refer to this dichotomy in terms of “traditional” and “modern” states of the culture.

The term “traditional” is applied to the state of culture in the period approximately from the beginning of this century till the 1960s, when the village life underwent radical

change. The *terminus a quo* of this time frame is defined by Kvitka's and Rudneva's fieldwork, in which they were interviewing the villagers of the middle and old generation, whose recollections went back to 40-50 years before the time of their being interviewed. For the latter date I rely on recollections of my informants, who mostly refer to the period prior to 1960s when they were actively involved in playing and singing, although they occasionally recall the practices of earlier times as they were recounted to them by the village elders. The term "modern" is used in reference to the state of performance practice in the present or recent past. The main source of information on the modern state is my own observations of the tradition (1989 till present) and also recollections of the players about their recent experiences.

One has to be aware of the dangers of such diachronic perspective. The first danger is a direct association of value judgments in the opposition between the "traditional" and the "modern," when everything traditional is perceived as good and being lost or destroyed by the approaching "modernity." This implies a preservationist attitude and in fact prevents the researcher from seeing historical processes more objectively. The second danger lies in the antithetical form in which this distinction is constructed. Even if sometimes the traditional and the modern states of the culture seem to be opposed to each other (and often they are viewed this way by the villagers), in reality they are no more than two randomly chosen points on the temporal axis of continuous change. It is this process and the social and cultural forces behind it that are in the focus of the present discussion.

### **The locality.**

In Kursk province, panpipes are known in five southern districts. In terms of modern administrative divisions they include the districts of Sudzha, Belaia, Bol'she-Soldatskoe, Oboian' and Medvenka.<sup>1</sup> In the past, the panpipes were also known in the

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<sup>1</sup> In the administrative system, each province of the Russian Federation (in Russian, the province is now called *oblast'*, before 1917 it was *guberniia*) is divided into districts. The latter in modern Russian are called *raion* (sing., pl. - *raiony*), in pre-Revolutionary Russia the same unit was called *uezd*. The borders of provinces and districts were changed many times throughout history. In the 19th century the districts on the

neighboring Ivnia district of Belgorod province.<sup>2</sup> A more logical way of describing the panpipe dissemination, however, would be by referring to areas not by administrative borders, but by the river basins.<sup>3</sup> The zones of panpipe dissemination include the upper basin of the River Psel with its tributaries, the Pena, the Ilek and the Sudzha, and the upper basin of the River Reut, tributary of the River Seim. To the southwest, the border is delineated by dense Ukrainian settlements. The exact borders of the panpipe tradition to the northwest cannot be constructed, due to the lack of recorded information. It is quite possible that in the past, the territory of panpipe dissemination was larger and included some villages along the River Seim itself.<sup>4</sup> Apparently there was no continuity of panpipe tradition between the Kursk and Briansk provinces, since the villages located between them have been visited by many fieldworkers who have never reported any findings on panpipes (see also a map in Figure 1.2).

In 1937, by questioning local people in Sudzha and other South Kursk districts, Kvitka compiled a preliminary list of South Kursk villages known to have panpipes (Kvitka 1940b, 9). His list included 62 villages. According to him, the territory of panpipe dissemination in South Kursk mostly coincided with the type of women's traditional home-

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south end of Kursk province belonged to Khar'kovskaia guberniia. After the foundation of the Ukrainian Soviet Republic in 1922 these districts were regrouped in Kursk province within the Russian Federation. Hereafter I refer to these five districts as South Kursk province.

<sup>2</sup> The existence of panpipes in the past in the Ivnia district of Belgorod province was reported by Kvitka (1940b) and Shchurov (1987, 56). By now, however, this tradition is extinct. No musical recordings of the panpipes in this places were made.

<sup>3</sup> The idea of studying musical traditions along the river basins belongs to E. Gippius, who formulated it in his teaching of ethnomusicology courses in Gnesin Institute. It was shown in many cases that territorial dissemination of the ethnographic facts often retain the pattern of the original settlement. It is probable, that the settlement of South-Kursk territories, as in many other cases, went primarily along the rivers (see Bagalei 1887, Chizhikova 1988 and others).

<sup>4</sup> According to information obtained by A. Ivanov, traces of panpipes have also been found in the village of Makarovka, located further to the north, where the Reut flows into the River Seim. However, in this village panpipe playing started to decline already long ago: an 85 year old person in Makarovka remembered hearing them played by elder women in her childhood (personal communication with A. Ivanov, 1993). Kvitka (1940b, 16) also cites the information given to him by a Kursk judge B. I. Nesmashnyi, a native of Sudzha, who observed panpipe playing in the village of Staryi Buzets, Dmitrovskii district, in approximately 1925. In a field trip of 1990 A. Ivanov and myself were unable to find anyone who remembered panpipe playing in this village.

made dress called *sarafan*. Ethnographers associate the dissemination of *sarafan* in these territories with cultural influences brought from Moscow by the 17th-century colonization process (Lebedeva and Maslova 1967, 202-211).

Many, but not all of the villages on Kvitka's list were re-visited by folklorists during the 1980-1990s. In most of these villages, however, the panpipe tradition was no longer active, although still remembered by the older generation of villagers. In Figure 3.1, I attempt to summarize the available information on geographical dissemination of panpipes in Kursk province. Sources for the map include the works of Kvitka and Rudneva, recent field materials from the archives of LNM of Moscow Conservatory and the archives of RTRF, and the information obtained in personal communications with Moscow ethnomusicologists A. Ivanov, V. Medvedeva, V. Shchurov, I. Novichkova, and T. Starostina, all of whom conducted fieldwork in South Kursk province.

Within the borders marked on the map by a broken line, panpipes seem to have existed in almost every Russian village. To better understand the peculiarity of their geographic dissemination in South Kursk province, however, it is necessary to review briefly the history of settlement in this locality. What follows is a concise summary of historical, ethnographic and archaeological works that contain information concerning the ethnic history of this region. Certainly, a comprehensive discussion of issues that present such a level of complexity as ethnic history are outside the scope of the present work. The following discussion aims only to orient the reader in the problems involved in this kind of research. In the interest of conciseness I do not present all sources, but only those that, in my opinion, are pertinent to the discussion.

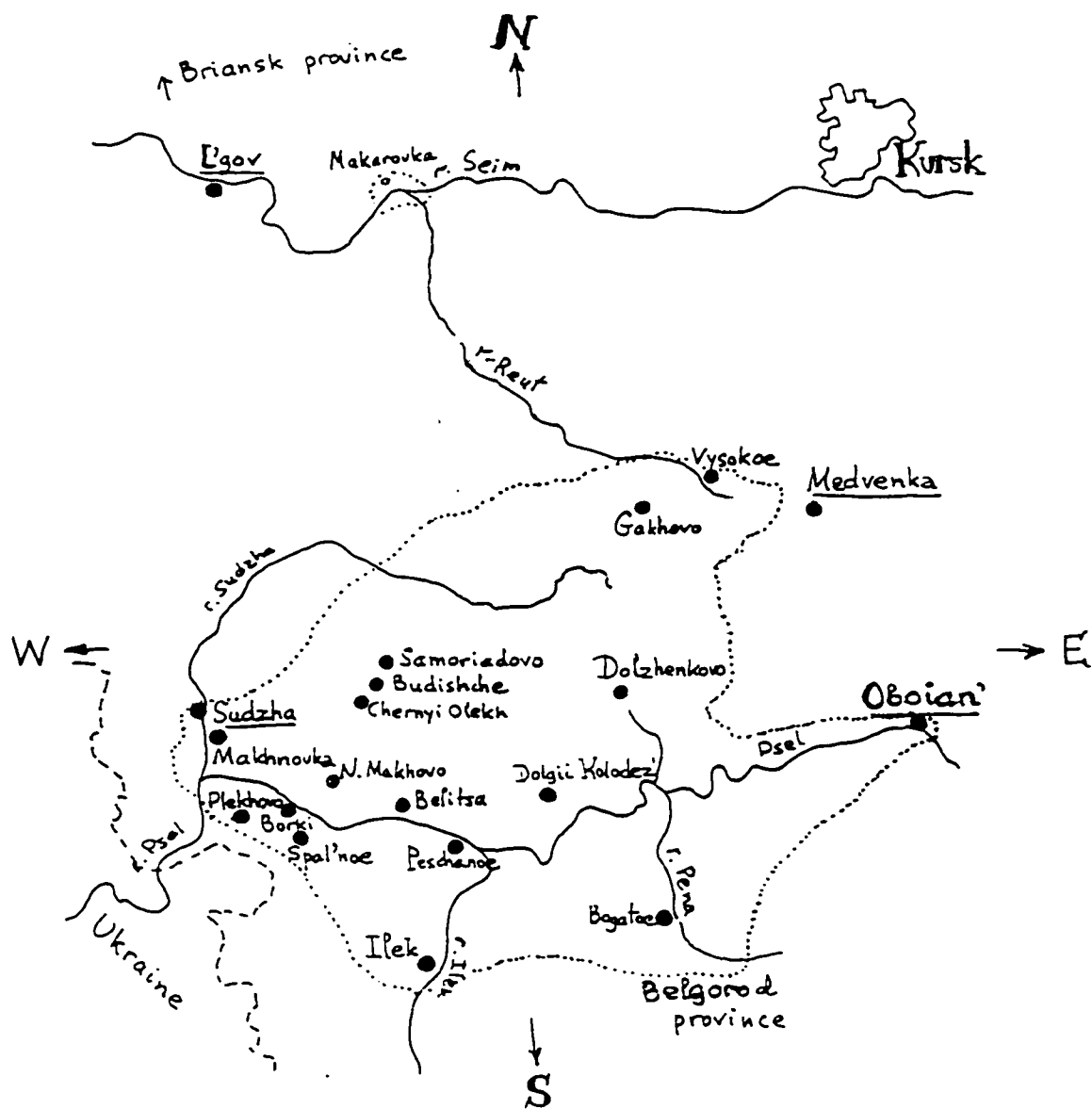


Figure 3.1. Dissemination of panpipes in Kursk province.

According to archaeological evidence, Slavic tribes first inhabited the South Kursk territories starting from the second half of the first millennium (Sedov 1982).

Archaeological excavations in the territories of modern Sudzha and Oboian' districts have discovered, among other things, 10th-century settlements, which have been associated by archeologists with the tribe of Severians mentioned in medieval Russian chronicles (Samokvasov, 1908, 1916; Sosnovskii 1911, Tret'iakov 1953, Sedov 1982, for English language reference see Vernadsky 1976).<sup>5</sup>

During the Mongol invasion, starting in the 13th century, the South Kursk territories were mostly abandoned and the majority of the population moved to the inner regions of Russia. During this time the territory of modern South Kursk province, together with other south Russian territories (modern Belgorod and Voronezh provinces) was commonly referred to as a "wild field," meaning unsettled land, on which only the nomads would occasionally raid. However, as historians have pointed out, far from the roads of war and raids by Mongols, deep in the countryside, small islands of the Slav population could still survive; later, in the 16-17th centuries, they mixed with new settlers on this land (Miklashevskii 1894, Novosel'skii 1948, Senatorskii 1927, Chizhikova 1988).

The raids of the Southern nomads on the Russian frontiers continued in the 16th and 17th centuries. Only after the construction of the *Belgorodskaiia zasechnaya cherta* (Belgorod line of fortifications) in the middle of the 17th century was this territory finally incorporated into the inner lands of the Russian state and eventually settled. The migration of population to Southern Russia in the 16th-18th centuries became known in Russian historic and ethnographic literature as the second Slavic colonization (to distinguish it from

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<sup>5</sup> Among the objects consistently associated with the Severians, the findings from Oboian' and Sudzha districts contain spiral rings (*visochnye kol'tsa*), a type of women jewelry which has been proven to be an identification mark for Severian settlements (Sedov 1982, 134-35).

the earlier first Slavic settlement). In the cultural history of South Kursk province this period played a very important role, since a large part of the modern rural population can be considered directly related to these 17th-century settlers.<sup>6</sup>

The ethnic and social content of the 17th-century settlement in South Kursk, as well as in other south territories, was very diverse. Socially, it comprised a very wide range of strata, from run-away peasants to noblemen on state service. The latter, called in historical documents of the 17th century "the boiar's children" (*deti boyarskie*), were brought by the government in order to protect the borders from the raids of nomads. For their service they received land holdings. Some of these settlers owned a small number of serf-peasants, but most of them did not. Usually, the owner and the peasants all lived in one household, hence the name of this type of settlement - *odnodvortsy* (one-yard settlers). With the creation of a regular army by Peter the Great at the beginning of the 18th century, the institution of military settlements was abolished. In 19th-century documents, the majority of the Russian peasants of South Kursk were considered as *gosudarsvennye krest'iane* (state-owned peasants).<sup>7</sup> The term meant that they had no landlords, and paid taxes directly

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<sup>6</sup>The stability of settlement for the last three hundred years is reflected in local historical documents, such as lists of tax payers and land owners (*pistovye knigi, razbornye knigi, gramoty na zemliu*, etc.), preserved in Kursk Regional Archives (fund no. 1555). Tax payers' documents (*revizskie skazki*), starting from the 2nd revision, conducted in 1744, comprise the lists of family names of the home and land owners in each village (fund no. 184). The family names in these documents are often the same as the names of modern inhabitants of those villages. As Grinkova has showed on the materials from Voronezh province, the distribution of the family names among the villagers is connected with the history of the settlement. The villages in which a few family names are found consistently among 90 % of the total population, those with the most common family names are likely to be the descendants of the original settlers (Grinkova 1929, 81). The same pattern can be observed in South Kursk villages where panpipe tradition exists. For example, in the village of Plekhovo about 90 % of population has 9 family names (Kosheleva, Glamazdina, Khodosova, Motorykina are among the most popular names). This explains why many of Plekhovo players have identical family names, although at present all people with the same last name in a village are not considered relatives.

<sup>7</sup>The term *odnodvortsy* continued to be used in official documents throughout the 18th century. Only in documents of the 8th Revision (1834, the Kursk Regional Archives, fund no. 184, description 2, books 644, 645, 647) the category *odnodvortsy* was abolished and all former *odnodvortsy* were categorized as the *kazennye poseliane* (the state settlement).

to the government. Most of the villages mapped in Figure 3.1 belonged to this category (for the second half of the 19th century, see statistical reports in *Kurskaia guberniia...* 1868, 1887, 1896, 1904).

On the basis of studying dialects and ethnographic features, such as types of traditional dress, food and housing, Dmitrii Zelenin distinguished three major cultural influences on the Russian population of these territories brought by the migration process. One cultural influence was connected with the settlers on state military service, who came from the Moscow region. The second one, according to Zelenin, was from the old (pre-Mongolian) settlers, who apparently came back to this land with the new wave of colonization in the 16-17th centuries. As the third influence he mentioned West Russia (territories of Briansk and Smolensk provinces). The language and the material culture of the South Russian regions (including the territories of South Kursk), according to him, contained noticeable traits similar to those of West Russia (Zelenin, 1913, 49).<sup>8</sup>

The flow of new settlers came to South Kursk lands not only from Russia, but also from the Ukraine. This resulted in a peculiar pattern of settlement, called in Russian *cheresposlosnoe* (strip-farming type), meaning that Russian and Ukrainian villages were established next to each other, but without any significant mixture of the two ethnic groups within the same village (see for example, Chizhikova 1988). In South Kursk province Russian settlement dominated, although the percentage of the Ukrainian population at the end of the 19th century, for example, varied from 11,5% (Oboian' district) to 43,3% (Sudzha district).<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>8</sup>The latter influence is important for our discussion, since another branch of the Russian panpipe tradition is also located in Briansk province. I have not been able to find documentary evidence on migrants from Briansk to South Kursk province, although judging by general pattern of 17th century migration (see Bagalei 1887, Boikov 1879, Zlatoverkhovnikov 1912, Bulgakov 1925a,b, Senatorskii 1927, Novosel'skii 1948), this would have been quite possible. Such a possibility has been confirmed by an ethnographer and historian L. Chizhikova (personal communication on January 16, 1995). Could panpipes have been brought to the South Kursk with one of these flows of West Russian settlers? Or were both regional traditions coming from still another, presently unknown location? These questions, however, cannot be answered at present due to the lack of documentary information.

<sup>9</sup> According to the materials of First All-Russian Census of 1897 (see Chizhikova 1988, 40).



Not unlike other territories where different ethnic groups live together for a long time, Russian and Ukrainian villagers in this region developed many inter-ethnic connections. This mixture and mutual influences between Russian and Ukrainian populations added one more dimension to the already-complex ethnic history of this region. Exchange between the Russians and the Ukrainians was probably facilitated by the fact that these two ethnic groups were closely related at their origins and preserved many common traits in their languages and cultures. In a number of cases it is almost impossible to define whether a particular cultural trait was borrowed in the inter-ethnic contacts after the settlement of this region, or was retained from a common historical heritage shared between the two nations.<sup>10</sup>

In all Russian villages in this territory Ukrainian influence is clearly present, for example in language, food, and types of housing (Chizhikova 1988). On the other hand, observers have repeatedly noted the retention of sharp ethnographic differences between the Russians and the Ukrainians. Dmitriukov, for example, wrote in the 1830s on the life of peasants in Sudzha district: “The manners, ways of living and customs of the Russians and the Ukrainians are different even in small details (*do melochei*); the songs’ melodies, proverbs, sayings [...] the cut of the garments and footwear, head-dresses, forms of carriages and beehives, tanning of hides, etc. — all have their peculiarities among the Russians” (Dmitriukov 1831, cited in Chizhikova 1988, 48).

It is not by accident that Dmitriukov put the “songs’ melodies” on this list. Even today, neighboring Russian and Ukrainian villages do not share most of their traditional music, except for more recent (late 19th century) Ukrainian lyric songs and romances,

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<sup>10</sup> See, for example, in Buznik 1965. On the basis of studying regional dialects, the author suggested that certain features of South Russian dialect were “supported” by similar features in Ukrainian, but not directly borrowed from Ukrainian (1965, 19).

much loved by villagers throughout Russia.<sup>11</sup> Neither have they common instrumental traditions. Panpipes in these districts are known only to the Russians, and are absent among Ukrainians (as established by Kvitka in 1937).<sup>12</sup>

In modern South Kursk province, while Russian and Ukrainian villages continue to live separate lives, all Russian villages throughout the South Kursk region are tied by kinship and various cultural connections, including the repertoire and performance practices of traditional music. This homogeneity, confirmed by observations and recognized by the villagers themselves, is even more striking if one considers that in the complex ethnic history of this region the settlers in fact came from many different parts of Russia.<sup>13</sup> Various elements brought by different groups of migrants and in different time periods, however, did not remain distinct, but rather contributed to the formation of a highly

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<sup>11</sup> Viacheslav Shchurov in his book on the South Russian singing tradition (1987, 44) came to the same conclusion about the difference between Russian and Ukrainian traditional music in the zones of mixed settlement. His research was conducted in Belgorod, Voronezh and Khar'kov provinces. His observations confirmed the hypothesis of the 19th century Russian linguist, A. Sobolevskii, who wrote that while the linguistic boundaries between the Russian, Ukrainian and Belorussian languages are difficult to establish in territories of early settlement, the attribution is very clear-cut in places where the contact between these ethnic groups occurs not earlier than in the 17th century (Sobolevski 1916, cited in Shchurov 1987, 44).

<sup>12</sup> A panpipe tradition exists in West Ukraine, i.e., very far from the border with Russia (see Hotkevich 1930, 183, Humeniuk 1967, Vertkov 1972, Vertkov et al. 1975). The instrument, called *svyryl*, is similar to the Romanian *nai*. At the same time, referential editions and popular books on Ukrainian folk instruments often list an instrument called *kuvitsy* found in Chernigov province and similar to Russian *kugikly* (see, for example, Ukrainian Soviet Encyclopedia, also in Mizynec 1987, 29 and Chernykh 1989, 23). The *kuvitsy*, however, are not found in any serious organological work on Ukrainian folk instruments (those of Hotkevich or Humeniuk). The issue of the Ukrainian *kuvitsy* certainly requires further research. I hypothesize that the existence of a separate Ukrainian form of *kuvitsy* could have been mistakenly attributed to Filaret (1873). In the 19th century the village of Koshovo in which he described panpipe playing, together with the most part of present-day Bryansk province, belonged to the Chernigov guberniia, which after the administrative reform of 1920s became a part of the Ukrainian SSR. Bryansk province, however, retained within the borders of Russian Federation. Bryansk province, similar to the Kursk province, has a significant number of Ukrainian settlements located side by side with the Russian ones. From the context of Filaret's description it is clear, however, that panpipes he described were found in a Russian, and not Ukrainian village.

<sup>13</sup> Documentary evidence concerning the origin of the settlers is fragmentary. However, it allows us to draw conclusions about the diverse ethnic and social backgrounds of the new-comers. The village of Budishche, for example, was founded by military settlers who were the descendants of nobility (*deti boiarskie*), while the neighboring Samoriadovo was settled by the 40 coopers' from Riazan' province, who took away part of their neighbors' land (Bagalei 1887, 370-376, Chizhikova 1988, 20). In the document from the Archives of the Ministry of Justice, called *Description of newly built town of Sudzha* (1665) (published by Bagalei in 1886), the villages of Plekhovo, Borki, and Pushkamoe are described as settled "by Russians, people coming from different towns" (Bagalei 1886, 48-49).

homogeneous regional culture. The opportunity for common celebrations and marriage links, along with economic and administrative factors, were important in the process of musical acculturation of Russian villages throughout this region.

In the past, several neighboring villages would gather on a meadow between them in the spring for special dancing and singing occasions, called the *karagod* (discussed later). The commonality of the musical repertoire was insured by inter-marriages between all Russian villages of the region. In contrast, marriages between the Russians and Ukrainians, although never formally forbidden, occurred rarely.

Another important opportunity for cultural exchange between the villages was created by the *prestol'nye prazdniki*, or local patron saint's days. In the past, practically every village in this region had a church that celebrated its patronal festivals two or three times a year. These patronal feasts in one village never coincided with those in the surrounding villages. After the liturgy, the event was also celebrated with a *karagod* dance on the central village square, at which all relatives and friends from neighboring villages took part. Even when many churches were destroyed during the Soviet period, the tradition of receiving guests on the saint's day continued, although the occasion was no longer celebrated with the liturgy and *karagod* dance.<sup>14</sup>

### **The performers.**

During my fieldwork in Kursk province I visited the villages of Plekhovo, Borki, Belitsa, N. Makhovo, Makhnovka, Chernyi Olekh, Budishche, Peschanoe, Sukhodol, Loshakovka, and Dolgii Kolodez'. Although all of them had panpipe music in the past,

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<sup>14</sup> I observed such a celebration in the village of Plekhovo on Saint Elijah day, August 2 1994 (for a discussion of folk beliefs and customs on Saint Elijah day see Makashina 1982). Although there was no community celebration, as in the old days, the villagers nevertheless treated it as a special day. The day before, the women baked and cooked, expecting their relatives to pay them a visit. Next morning, nobody went to work. People were sitting on the benches in front of their houses, dressed festively — women in new bright shawls and aprons, men in their peak-caps and clean shirts. Everyone greeted the neighbors and passers-by, congratulated them with the feast, asked the news about their relatives: "Are your folks coming today, are they already here?" Even without much singing, the atmosphere of the festival was already there. Later at night, after dinner, singing spontaneously and informally started at the far end of the village, while in another place I saw people dancing on the street accompanied by the cassette player...playing some traditional tunes from time to time, alternating them with the pop music.

today players are found in only a few of these villages. For this reason I mostly concentrated my attention on Plekhovo, Budishche and Belitsa, where the most interesting players live.

The total number of panpipe players whom I met during my work in South Kursk province is about 20, although there may be some more in the villages that I did not visit. Compared with the time of Kvitka's research, this is a dramatic change. Panpipes, which in the 1930s were truly a mass instrument, are played today by only a few individuals. Once flourishing, this tradition turned out to be one of the most fragile elements of local culture and ceased its active existence almost over the life of one single generation.

My interviews with a number of village women over 60 years old revealed that almost all women of their mothers' generation (born at the turn of the century) were panpipes players, while among those who were born in the 1910-1920s far fewer people learned it. The majority of the generation born in the 1930s did not learn to play panpipes at all in their teens, partly because their young years coincided with the Second World War. Today these women are in their late 60s. Most of them are attracted to the traditional instrumental music, and they are especially keen to listen to panpipe playing and sometimes regret that they did not learn to play. Traditionally, learning to play panpipes would take place in early teens, but with the disruption of traditional life brought on by the war and the post-war famine, the practice was largely abandoned.

Most of the people who know how to play panpipes were born between 1910 and 1920 and are now 70-80 years old. In the past, playing at this age would not be qualified as socially accepted behavior. According to the traditional norms, women should stop playing, at least publicly, at the age of 45-50 (see, for example, Kvitka 1937, 13). This explains the refusal of many players to participate in stage performances and even to play for the recording sessions. On the other hand, there is also a physical reason to stop playing panpipes at a greater age, since playing them requires significant physical effort,

especially for breathing. Those who decide to overcome both physical difficulty and the danger to be mocked by the neighbors and continue playing are truly passionate lovers of panpipe music.

The villagers admit, however, that even in the past there were some women who loved to play and did not stop playing until their death. In Plekhovo, I was told that in the 1930s the elders commonly played panpipes on the street on summer sunsets (*na zakat' solntsa*). Some women, exceptionally, continued playing even when their granddaughters were starting to go to dance in the *karagod*.

The recollections of the villagers include many of amusing stories about people with an exceptional love for panpipe music. For example, although after the marriage a woman was generally expected to ask from her husband or her mother-in-law for a permission to participate in music-making, in reality this was not always done. One of the Plekhovo *rozhok* players, Egor Pestsov, talks about his former neighbor — a woman, who loved to play panpipes: "She played *krepto* [strongly, enthusiastically, with great zeal]. When her husband took the horses to the meadow for the night, she usually put her children to sleep, and climbed out of the window to our street, in one night-shirt, to play *kugikly*. "What if your husband finds out?" [We asked her, and she answered:] - Ah, it does not matter..."(Velichkina 1994).

Among those panpipe players whom I met and recorded in the field there were women of different characters and personalities that naturally shaped their attitudes toward panpipe playing. Some of them took part in village folk groups and performed on stage, e.g., Nastia Kosheleva from Plekhovo, Marina (Morechka) Bocharova from Budishche, and two women from the village of Belitsa (Marina El'nikova and Evdokia Chupakhina).<sup>15</sup> Others, who did not participate in these groups, mostly play on an occasion of the ethnographer's visits. Among them, the most important for my work was a group of

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<sup>15</sup> See their photos in Appendix E. In this Appendix, as well as in the following discussion, I use people's real names according to their permission.

players in Plekhovo — Fedosia Glamazdina, Praskovia Glamazdina, Nadezhda Motorykina and Anna Kosheleva. I also interviewed a large number of women who played in their younger years, but who are now unable to do it for health reasons. They were, however, often keen to talk, explain or criticize me when I played for them. Finally, those who are not players themselves often participated in recording or teaching sessions by being a sympathetic, but demanding audience or keen judges of the recordings. For example, Daria Khodosova, one of the best Plekhovo singers and a generous host during my stays in the village, provided innumerable context details and descriptions of panpipe's role in village life and insights into their music.

To complete the picture, there were also numerous interviews with other village instrumentalists of an older generation. I recorded playing and discussed musical matters frequently with Egor Pestsov, the *rozhok* player from the village of Plekhovo, and Nikolai Eroshenko, who is primarily a fiddler, but also plays all other instruments (the *pychatka*, the *rozhok*, the *balalaika* and the *garmon'*). There are five other *rozhok* players whom I encountered in different villages, and about the same number of fiddlers, but no special *pychatka* or *dudka* players, beyond the people who would play them in addition to another instrument. The *balalaiechniki* and *garmonisty* (the *balalaika* and *garmon'* players) are more numerous and also of a younger age. Some of them received initial training in *garmon'* playing at the state cultural institutions; other, such as Vasilii Eroshenko and Semen Sidorov, learned to play in a more traditional way, by ear in an informal setting. Unlike panpipes players and other instrumentalists, whose performance opportunities by now are limited to recording sessions or concert performances, the *garmonisty* play a very important role in a village community and usually accompany weddings and other family celebrations.<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>16</sup> See the photographs of wedding musicians in Appendix E. The two weddings I attended in the village of Plekhovo were held on August 8 and 9 of 1994.

A small number of village women are generally interested in panpipes and say that they would like to learn to play some time in the future. They are mostly middle-aged women involved in stage performances as singers or dancers.<sup>17</sup> My experience with them showed that they find contacts with the elder players rather difficult, and rely on outside sources, such as ethnographers' or the urban revivalists' help and encouragement of their attempts. I know two girls in their early teens, who are learning to play panpipes from their grandmothers, but today such a situation is the exception rather than the rule. There is also one more serious attempt by a person who can be called an insider-revivalist, who attends a music college in the town of Sudzha and who also took part in one of my field trips (Irina Sidorova, a native of the village of N. Makhovo). The question remains, however, whether these timid shoots of interest in panpipes in the places where they used to be played will help the panpipe tradition to continue for the future generations of villagers.

### **Traditional (prior to 1960s) performance contexts.**

In Kursk province, panpipe could traditionally be played solo, in panpipe ensembles and in ensembles with other musical instruments. The contexts for these three ways of playing in South Kursk differ in the degree of their openness to the public and in their intended purposes, but the repertoire of the pieces stays the same for all of the occasions. In this respect the Kursk panpipe tradition differs from that of the Briansk-Kaluga region, where panpipes have always been played in a homogeneous ensemble of panpipes only.

Solo panpipe playing in the Kursk tradition was never intended for public display and was described by the villagers as playing for one's own enjoyment or learning. The villagers recall that playing alone was more typical for particularly good players who especially loved panpipes. Such women used to carry the instrument with them all the time

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<sup>17</sup> For example, Irina Kartavtseva from the village of Borki (see the picture of her with two older panpipe players on the photo in Appendix E).

and play it during the breaks in the household work. Elena Khodosova, a daughter of a well known panpipe player in the village of Plekhovo, remembers her mother playing frequently in the house when interrupting her weaving. In winters, while weaving (this work could last two to three months, depending on the size of the family and the skills of a weaver), she always kept her panpipe set above the weaving machine, so she could easily reach them (Velichkina 1994).

Another occasion for playing alone was a learning situation, i.e. some girls practiced panpipes while pasturing the geese in the meadows or “watching the gardens,” i.e. protecting them from birds or thieves. However, playing alone was only a small part of panpipe players’ musical practice, while playing in a group was the prevalent mode of panpipe performance.<sup>18</sup>

The villagers recall that group panpipe playing could be typically heard while village women were coming back from working in the fields in the evenings, especially during hay-making season. Daria Khodosova says: “The elder women and those who did not play or dance, they carried the rakes and the pitchforks. Some women were going and dancing. You could think of [the scene as] something similar to a *karagod*, or a wedding” (Velichkina 1996b). Fedosia Proniakina, a native of Plekhovo who now lives in the village of Makhnovka, says that because she played *kugikly* well in her younger years, the women would ask her to accompany them to the place of hay-making in order to play together on the way (Velichkina 1994).

Although panpipes could be played in homogeneous ensembles, in the South Kursk tradition combinations with other instruments were also common. In Plekhovo, in particular, an ensemble of panpipes with the *rozhok* (reed instrument) was the most

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<sup>18</sup> At present, the panpipe players are sometimes asked to play solo for concerts or recordings. Some of them, however, find it difficult and do not always agree to do so. Two players from the village of Belitsa, M. El’nikova and E. Chupakhina, for example, always play together. In contrast, Marina Bocharova — the only player left in the village of Budishche — has become an outstanding solo player, who enjoys the opportunity of public performances.



typical. Very often both instruments were present in one family (the husband played the *rozok*, and the wife or daughter played panpipes). For example, everybody in the village highly praises the skill and talent of the family of Kriukovy, in which the men for several generations were famous *rozok* players, while all women played panpipes. Nastia Kosheleva is a descendant of this family. Marina Bocharova (Budishche) also used to play panpipes with her father who played the *rozok*.

### Ulitsa gatherings.

In evenings, the panpipe playing could take place on a village street, in the context of *ulitsa* gatherings. The *ulitsa*, literally a street, designates an informal gathering near somebody's house in evenings. Such gatherings constitute an important part of village communal life, an opportunity to see neighbors and exchange the latest news. In the past, music played a significant role in these gatherings. Although the form of *ulitsa* gathering is preserved in today's village life, the songs are rather rarely heard, while panpipes are not played at all anymore.<sup>19</sup> In the past, however, I was told that the *ulitsa* was one of the most typical situations for panpipe music-making. Elena Khodosova says: "Elder women — in their 40s — after dinner [were] going to the street to play. Or on Sundays, they would gather together and sit: "*Kuma*, let us play!" [they say]."<sup>20</sup> And they sit, do not dance, but just play sitting... This is called a joy of old folks! Without a *rozok*, or a *balalaika*, just panpipes. They sit in a circle on the grass and play... *Batiushka*, *Timonia* — happy [tunes]" (Velichkina 1994).

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<sup>19</sup> In the words of villagers, the reason why they stopped singing on the streets is that they were afraid to be mocked by their neighbors and especially by the young people. In recent years, in mind of the villagers, singing became associated with drunkenness; people singing are immediately accused in drinking. Such association is obviously harmful for the image of traditional music; but at present I do not have enough information to explain its origin. It seems, however, that the decrease in street singing and playing has more complicated reasons and cannot be explained solely for this reason.

<sup>20</sup> *Kuma* in this context is a familiar form of addressing a woman.

### Temporal limitations on panpipe playing.

There were times in a year — the time of Lent and the time of harvest and sowing the winter crop — when panpipe playing was prohibited by village elders. The first one can be explained by the impact of Orthodox church on the village culture, since in general any entertaining during the Lent was considered a sin. In South Russian traditions, however, this prohibition was often respected rather formally, and in fact many songs were “permitted” to be sung during Lent. Some of the songs, such as *tanki*, or *postovye khorovody*, could only be sung during Lent. Panpipe playing for this time, however, was banned. “To play *kugikly* during Lent is a great sin,” — people say in the village of Plekhovo, — “in the Hell these *kugikly* are standing full of blood, and they will be given to a sinner to drink.” This assertion, recorded by Kvitka in 1940, was repeated to me in 1994 (see interview with Daria Khodosova in Appendix D, Interview 4).

Another temporal limitation on playing panpipes was connected not with the church regulations, but with the agricultural activity of peasants. It was given an interesting explanation by the villagers themselves. During the sowing and initial growth of the winter crop, they say, the elder men prohibited playing, because it would “blow on the crops and the ear of rye become empty” (Kvitka 1940b, 15, repeated in Velichkina 1994). The same prohibition was also noted in the Briansk panpipe tradition (Kulakovskii 1940a).<sup>21</sup>

### Wedding.

Dancing with the accompaniment of instrumental music was an essential element of a traditional wedding. It was performed during the processions from bride’s to groom’s houses, and while entertaining the guests during the feast. In her master thesis on wedding ritual of the villages of Budishche and Chernyi Olekh, T. Smyslova writes: “Usually, local musicians — master *kugikly* players, the fiddlers, the *rozhok* players, and those who

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<sup>21</sup> It is likely that such prohibition has ancient origin. One may interpret it as an evidence for a magic connection of the instrument with the nature (see discussion of ritual connections of panpipes in Chapter 1).

played *dudka* and *pyzhatka* — were invited for a wedding to play the *Timonia*, *Chibatukha*, and other *karagod* dances. On the second day of the wedding the *karagod* was started on the street. Only the bride and the groom did not have to dance”(1976, 26).

During my stay in Plekhovo in 1994 I observed two wedding rituals. Even with the diminished role of traditional music in modern village life, on each of these two weddings there was a *garmon*’ player who played for dancing between the meals and during wedding processions. Although there were some other people among the guests who played the *balalaika*, the *rozhok* and the fiddle, the *garmon*’ player was obviously considered the most important. Today, as in the past, Plekhovo wedding musicians cannot be hired or invited from the circle of the spectators, but only found among the relatives and guests of the newly married couple. I learned this by an accident. One day, I noticed a panpipe player, Fedosia Glamazdina, among the people gathered “to watch the wedding” (the expression that villagers use for this occasion) and approached her with the proposition to join musicians in the circle. She indignantly refused, saying that I put her in a slightly embarrassing situation (Velichkina 1994).

#### The *karagody*.

The most important and also most publicly open context for panpipe playing was that of the *karagody*. The term *karagod* (singular, pl. - *karagody*) is a dialect form of the word *khorovod*, meaning a type of out-door dance which involves many participants, who do a variety of choreographic movements, most typically in circles or lines.<sup>22</sup> In the traditional culture of South Kursk, *karagody* were performed on all big church and lay holidays, such as Christmas, New Year, Epiphany, Shrovetide, Easter, Pentecost, etc., and the special village saint’s days. The total number of annual *karagody* was more than 20 days, since the most important holidays had three-day long festivities.

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<sup>22</sup> *Khorovod* songs constitute one of the most important genres of Russian folklore and are known in many different forms across Russian ethnic territory (for the description of this genre in English, see Mazo 1987, 53). In the South Russia, *khorovodnye* songs represent central genre and stylistic basis for the musical tradition (Rudneva 1975, Shchurov 1986, 1987).

Springtime was considered the main time for *karagody*. At Pentecost, the dances lasted a week and were conducted in the meadows, with participants from several neighboring villages. On other holidays, the place for the *karagod* was within the village, on various streets, depending on the time of year. In the village of Plekhovo, for example, during the time between the two World Wars, each village street hosted a *karagod* on a certain holiday. After the war, however, the place was always the central square.

Before the Second World War, the *karagody* were truly mass all-village events, with hundreds of participants and spectators. Shortly after the war, however, they lost their attraction for the young generation of villagers and gradually fell out of use. In Plekhovo, according to the recollections of villagers, the last *karagod* was performed in early 1960s, while other villages ceased doing it even earlier.

*Karagody* in the South Kursk tradition were commonly danced not to songs sung a capella, but to an instrumental ensemble playing.<sup>23</sup> Such an ensemble included men playing traditional wind instruments, the *balalaika* and the fiddle, and women playing *kugikly*. The most traditional instruments, beyond the panpipes, were other winds — the *rozhok* and two types of flutes called the *pychatka* and the *dudka*.<sup>24</sup>

Over the years, the make up of the instrumental ensemble has undergone significant changes. The fiddle first appeared at the beginning of the century, and the *balalaika* was accepted even later, in 1920s (Kvitka 1940a,b, Rudneva 1975).<sup>25</sup> The most recent acquisition, however, was the *garmon'* which made its way into Plekhovo musical life in

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<sup>23</sup> In other parts of Kursk province, as Rudneva noticed, *karagody* were also danced to a capella singing (Rudneva 1975, 89-90). In the past, dancing with the accompaniment of the songs was known in South Kursk under the name *tanki*. The difference between the *karagody* and the *tanki* was that the *karagody* were danced in circles, while the *tanki* could have many different patterns (Rudneva 1975, 82). In most of the villages of South Kursk *tanki* were ceased in 1920s (see Krivonosov 1937). Some of the *tanki* songs remained in the memory of villagers, but were sung in different contexts (as a table songs, for the weddings, or for concert performances). An example of *tanki* song from the village of Plekhovo is *Solovei moi* (no. 1 from Rudneva et al. 1979).

<sup>24</sup> All these instruments and the techniques for playing them are described in Rudneva's book (1975). For more information, see Appendix B.

<sup>25</sup> The description here is made on the basis of information obtained in the village of Plekhovo. In the other villages of the region the process has been essentially the same, although some changes may vary in exact dates.

the 1950s. Since at this time the *karadody* were already on decline, the *garmon'* did not have a chance to become part of an instrumental ensemble in the *karagod* context. However, its bright sound, technical versatility, and the ease of playing, facilitated its acceptance as an effective instrument for stage performances. Today in non-stage occasions, the *garmon'* often substitute for the whole ensemble and provide an accompaniment for singing and dancing.

New instruments with loud sound eventually changed the balance within the group and masked the sound of the older traditional instruments, the panpipes and the wooden flutes that could not compete with their loudness. "The *garmon'*, it beats them all," says Nikolai Eroshenko, Plekhovo fiddler, "even the fiddle and the balalaika are not heard well. Now our *garmon'* player, Vasia, he knows [it] and plays very softly on stage, to let the others be heard" (Velichkina 1996b).

In old-time *karagody*, the musicians did not receive any payment, and their participation, of course, was voluntary, although they enjoyed the respect of their fellow villagers for their musical talents. Traditionally it was not a group of musicians with fixed membership; anybody who played well could join in at any moment in the performance. However, since people from one street usually came to the place of *karagod* gathering together, it was likely for the players at a particular moment of the performance to be neighbors who had played together in *ulitsa* gatherings as well. In large *karagody*, however, they did not keep their group identity or mark themselves as a sub-group among other village musicians.

The village elders always talk about *karagod* as a happy time, where one could spend hours dancing or playing without even noticing it. On Sundays and holidays, people went to the place of *karagod* gathering after the church service and the meal, and stayed until darkness. As the hours of dancing in the *karagody* went by, the panpipe players took

turns, since playing requires intensive blowing and can be tiring.<sup>26</sup> The players simply passed the instruments to other women and joined the dancers or the audience. The collection of panpipes remained the same, since it had already been tuned with the other instruments of the ensemble. After the *karagod*, one woman player usually gathered all the panpipes and kept them until the next performance.

The dancers in the *karagody* usually accompanied themselves by singing short rhymed verses, called *prikazki* or *pripevki*, a local version of the *chastushki*, short topical songs, a well-known genre of Russian folklore.<sup>27</sup> There is some evidence that in the past *prikazki* were less customary in this tradition, and performed by men, rather than women (Kvitka 1940b, Rudneva 1975, 125). In the 1960s singing *prikazki* with the *garmon'* accompaniment became one of the favorite forms of self-expression among the women. However, as I observed in 1994, even today the traditional instrumental tunes are often danced without singing. The *prikazki* are sung in a declamatory manner with a very narrow vocal range. It is typical that while talking about the *prikazki*, the villagers refer to them as “talking”, or “saying” (verbs *prikazyvat'*, *prigovarivat'*), and do not consider it as a “true singing” (see also in Kvitka 1940b, 15). At the same time they define the tunes played by the instruments as “songs.” Nevertheless, the importance of the *prikazki* is reflected in the fact that the names of the tunes are derived from verses sung to a particular melody (see discussion of instrumental repertoire below).

The villagers describe the *karagod* space arrangement as concentric circles: the first was that of the musicians, then one or two circles of dancers and the last circle was formed by the spectators, whose presence at the event was indispensable. The group of musicians

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<sup>26</sup> The best players, however, were known to be able to play for hours without fatigue.

<sup>27</sup> *Chastushki* are short verses, typically in four line form, sung with an accompaniment of musical instruments or their vocal imitation. They can be memorized or partly improvised at the performance (see Gippius 1936, Lazutin 1960, for references in English - Warner and Kustovskii 1990, Titon 1992).

stood in a circle, facing each other, with women and men alternating.<sup>28</sup> The number of musicians varied from village to village, but generally there could be from 5 to 15 people (3-6 panpipes, 1-3 *rozhok*, 2-6 wooden flutes, 1 fiddle and 1 *balalaika*), while the number of dancers was not limited. The villagers say that the more musicians there are, the bigger circles would be and more dancers they would fit in.<sup>29</sup>

Depending on the size of the *karagod*, there could be one or two circles of dancers. The larger dancing circle consisted mostly of women, who either moved forward in a chain one after another turning to the following person from time to time (“an older way”, according to Rudneva 1975, 108), or formed couples in which one woman moved backward all the time while her partner followed her in forward movement (“a newer way”). When a man joined the circle, he usually formed not a couple, but a figure of three, in which he was moving backward, followed by two women.

If the outer circle provided for mass dancing, the inner circle was considered as a space for dance masters. After dancing for some time in the outer circle, a man would lead his two partners into the inner circle, closer to the musicians. While the direction of both circles was counter-clockwise, the speed of the “rotation” was different in the smaller and larger circles. The movement in the outer circle was slow (the participants remember that it usually took about an hour to make the whole round in a big *karagod*), but the inner circle moved faster and allowed for more active movements, especially on the part of male dancers. On the other hand, the freedom of movement in the inner circle was not infinite: these dancers were closely watched by the musicians, who considered the correspondence between their playing and the movements of dancers to be very important. According to

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<sup>28</sup> Rudneva (1975, 192) noted that on her photographs the musicians sometimes stood in two separate groups of men and women facing each other.

<sup>29</sup> The villagers say there could up to five hundred dancers. I cannot say whether this number is an exaggeration. Rudneva (1975) gives similar numbers, but her information, as mine, is not from first-hand observation.

Marina Bocharova, “if someone dances badly — it ruins the playing...They [the dancers] walk as the ducks swim, and the music is played unhurriedly. And they all do their movements together. If someone moves wrong — not just her foot, but even her hand — she has already destroyed the order” (Velichkina 1994).<sup>30</sup> The diagram of the *karagod* spatial arrangement is shown in the figure 3.2.

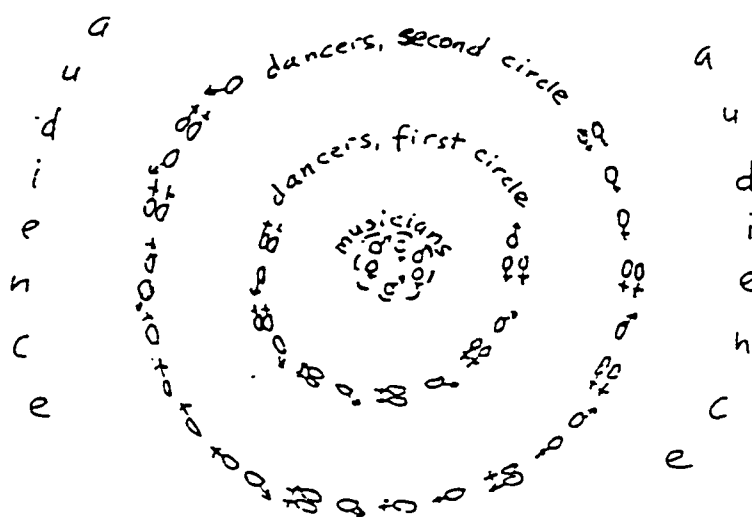


Figure 3.2. The spatial lay-out of a *karagod* performance.

Anthropologist Edward Hall describes “movement in synch” as one of the fundamental cultural constants that underlies the patterned behavior of an individual within a culture, mostly on the subconscious level. The synchronization effect, noticeable already

<sup>30</sup> It should be noted, that the word “together” in this context does not mean any rehearsing or unification of the dance patterns. On the contrary, they are largely individual and the dancers rely mostly on improvisation. What is emphasized in the word “together”, however, is the requirement of the synchronization of *any* movement with respect to musical time. Such synchronization was considered to be a responsibility of a dancer, and not a musician, who was occupied with more specific musical and visual co-ordination within the group of the musicians themselves.



in the act of verbal communication, naturally, becomes much more prominent and important in dance and musical movement. A mass communal dance event, such as a *karagod*, provides an excellent illustration to Hall's thesis that "humans are tied to each other by hierarchies of rhythms that are *culture-specific* and expressed through language and body movement" (Hall 1976, 64).

Following Hall's ideas, we can interpret the spatial layout of the *karagod* as gradual enhancement of the specificity of co-ordination and "movement in synch" patterns — from less organized movements of the outsiders-spectators, through the movements of dancers, to the formation of a special circle of "dance masters" within the larger dancing circle — to the most sophisticated and small-scale movements of the musicians: their moving fingers, heads and diaphragms. These special movements produce musical sound, which in turn governs the co-ordination of the whole. All movements in *karagod* are interdependent, being mutually synchronized and shaped. The cultural "movement code" which is equally important for all strata of the participants, can be exchanged between them, and serve as a source of enjoyment not only for the dancers, but also for the musicians and the audience. The panpipe players, whose level of rhythmic synchronization is the most sophisticated, are located in the very center of this realm of synchronized movements.

#### The musical repertoire of *karagody*.

The repertoire that will be analyzed here is associated with traditional wind instruments (panpipes, the *dudka*, the *pyzhatka* and the *rozhok*). The instruments that appeared in the village culture later (the fiddle, the *balalaika* and the *garmon'* ), beyond these, perform other tunes of common Russian instrumental repertoire, such as the *Russkogo*, *Barynia*, *Stradania*, *Kazachok*, and others. The latter tunes, however, were not played in *karagody*, and they were absent from the repertoire of the older wind instruments.

A tune may be referred to by the name of the characters in *prikazki* verses, who have names like *Timonia*, *Parania*, *Sidor*, *Chibatukha* (the latter is likely a nickname of an old woman). Other tunes are identified by more general names of their “characters,” such as *Batiushka* (“the father”), *Molodka* (“a young woman”), *Starik* (“an old man”), *Sirota* (“an orphan”), *Smirenushka* (“a shy, modest girl”) or even by animals, such as *Zaichik* (“a hare”), or *Utitsa* (“a duck”).<sup>31</sup> In still other cases the tunes are simply identified by the first line of one of the customary verses, such as *Pod mel' nichkoi*, *Zharko pakhat'* and others. The same verses can be easily sung with different tunes. Moreover, since the preferred verses change from one locality to another and even from one performer to another, the same tunes have different names in different villages, and even sometimes within one village tradition. This creates some difficulties in identifying the tunes and counting their total number.

Kvitka recorded five pieces in the village of Plekhovo in 1937, to which he added one more in the village of Gakhovo (1940a). In Budishche he and Rudneva recorded seven pieces, of which three overlapped with the repertoire of Plekhovo. The tune called *Batiushka* in Plekhovo, appeared as *Parania* in Budishche in Kvitka's 1946 record. In the 1980s, however, the same tune was played by M. Bocharova under the name *Polonik*. In some other villages it was called *Polen'ka*, *Zaichik*, and *K zelenomu dubu*. The villagers themselves realize that all these different names refer to the same tune, and are usually able to point it out (Velichkina 1996). The total number of different titles of the tunes in the whole panpipe region is about 40, while the number of different tunes in reality does not exceed 15.

At present, we do not have enough information to hypothesize on the origin of the tunes in the local instrumental repertoire. It is clear, however, that it partly consists of tunes known only locally, while some others have broader zones of dissemination.

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<sup>31</sup> It is important to remember, however, that the music itself is by no means “portraying” such a character, i.e. there is no “word-painting” in this tradition.

*Kamarinskaia*, for example, is a tune widely known in different Russian instrumental traditions, although it seems to have originated from the place called Komaritskaia volost, located in the west part of modern Bryansk province (Martem'ianov 1900, Tsukkerman 1957). The melody of *Pod mel'nichkoi* is similar to another widely known tune called *Akh vy seni*, although in South Kursk region it was never associated with this name. Both tunes — *Kamarinskaia* and *Akh vy seni* — are found in folk song collections starting from the beginning of the 19th century (for example, Bernard 184—, nos. 10 and 37), but scholars have hypothesized an earlier origin.

Tunes similar to the South Kursk *Chibatukha* are known in other parts of Russia (*Kak pod gorkoi*, in Blagodatov 1960, 16), as well as in Belorussia and Ukraine, although none of the Ukrainian and Belorussian parallels has the same title (for example, *Chye pcholy u garodze* in Tsitovich 1975, no. 354, *Metelitsa* in Gutsal 1986, 74, *Kazachok*, no. 75 in Humeniuk 1972).<sup>32</sup> The tune under the same title as in Kursk province was recorded by N. Bachinskaia in Trubchevsk district of Bryansk province in 1940 (archives of the LNM, fieldwork reports). Since the structure of this tune is very simple, these parallel tunes may not be borrowings, but rather the result of independent, but in many ways similar stylistic developments.<sup>33</sup>

Some of the other tunes, especially *A ia vtornichala*, *Batiushka* and *Timonia* are tunes of local dissemination. As Rudneva's and other scholars' fieldwork in the neighboring regions have demonstrated, they are not known in the districts adjacent to the South Kursk region. These tunes are also not mentioned in published folk song collections and scholarly works, other than those that reprint Rudneva's notations (for example,

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<sup>32</sup> For the examples of structurally similar tunes, see Appendix C (Notations 21-24) .

<sup>33</sup> George List in his article on the distribution of a melodic formula (1978) discusses similar possibility for the melody of *Twinkle-twinkle little star* which is found almost universally. The scholar comes to the conclusion that this world popularity results not from a diffusion of a particular melody or melodic formula, but rather from a diffusion of style. Russian scholar B. Putilov (1975a,b, 1976) formulated similar ideas about typologic versus genetic parallels on the materials of Yugoslavian epic tradition.

Traditionally, every village's repertoire consisted of two to three favorites and a few lesser known tunes, while the repertoire of the neighboring villages overlapped. Figure 3.3 shows the geographical dissemination of the tune types. In this chart, filled circles designate tunes that were played on panpipes, and empty circles stand for those which were only mentioned or recorded as played on other instruments. The most popular tunes in the whole region were *Timonia* and *Chibatukha*, followed by *Kamarinskaia* and *Polonik*. The other tunes were less known or forgotten.

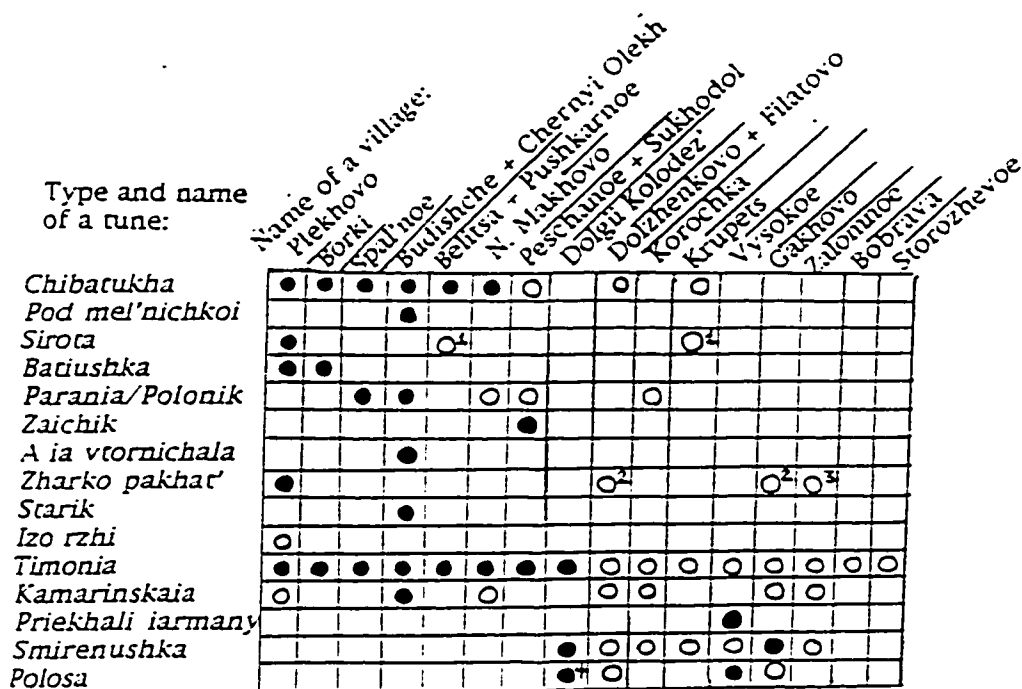


Figure 3.3. Geographical dissemination of tunes' repertoire.\*

- \* 1) in this village, the tune is known under the title *Vasilia*.
- 2) in this village, the tune is known under the title *Nashi shli*.
- 3) in this village, the tune is known under the title *Nashi zhai' poshli*.
- 4) in this village, the tune is known under the title *Meshchanochka*.

In recent times, traditional instrumental repertoire has diminished. Most of the modern panpipe players and other instrumentalists know only one or two pieces. A larger repertoire, as for example, in the case of M. Bocharova (who performs 6 tunes), is an exception.<sup>34</sup> In Plekhovo, for example, the panpipe and *rozhok* players play well only *Timonia* and *Batiushka*, while other tunes escape them. The performers say that even in the past these two tunes were the most popular in their village. As an analysis of the repertoire shows (see discussion in Chapter 6), these two tunes may be considered as representative for the local instrumental repertoire as a whole. As Egor Pestsov formulated it, “with either *Timonia* or *Batiushka* one can dance all [steps] and sing all [the *prikazki*]” (Velichkina 1996a).<sup>35</sup>

While the performance of the other tunes is on the decline, only one tune — *Timonia* — remains and possibly even increases, in popularity. It was also popular in the past and known under the same name all across the South Kursk territory. In modern times, however, it became the tune which all village concert groups decided to perform on stage, and it necessarily appears in all their programs. If several groups are featured in the same program, as frequently happens at local town festivals, *Timonia* may be performed several times or serve as the “grand finale” with all forces combined. The villagers often talk about various manners of performance of this tune in different villages. Usually they find that *Timonia* of their native village is better than that of the others — clearer, more melodic and more “moving,” and when it is played by musicians from a different village “it is hard to understand how one has to dance with it” (Velichkina 1994, village of Borki).

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<sup>34</sup> Although even in the past most of the villages had their two or three favorite tunes, there were still others which they knew how to play as the recordings of 1937 and 1946 have demonstrated.

<sup>35</sup> For the detailed analysis of both tunes, see Chapter 6.

Nowadays, however, the villagers are starting to perceive this tune as a sort of a “regional identity symbol.” This is even more true for town dwellers or for people who have migrated to big cities.<sup>36</sup>

There may be several factors that contributed to *Timonia* 's recent growth in popularity. From a structural standpoint, this tune has very clear organization and lends itself well to playing on the *garmon* ' , especially one which has the alternation of tonic and dominant harmonies “built-in” to its construction: tonic harmony sounds while compressing and dominant while decompressing the bellows.<sup>37</sup> On the other hand, as the villagers watched TV and listened to the radio, they came to realize that *Timonia* had become known in the cities, and that there were professional and revivalist groups that included it in their programs.<sup>38</sup> Probably, such outside recognition also influenced the choice of *Timonia* as a sort of musical “symbol” of the South Kursk region.

### **Modern venues of panpipe performances.**

#### The village players at concerts and recording sessions.

As the older pattern of musical communication between the neighboring villages through springtime *karagody* and local saints' days visits gradually vanished, a new opportunity to perform publicly and reconnect with the people in neighboring villages was offered to South Kursk traditional musicians. During the last two decades, the “town's

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<sup>36</sup> A middle-aged woman working in a little cafe at Kursk bus station, with whom I had a conversation once, and who was originally from the south of Kursk province, after learning that I was going there to study traditional music, exclaimed with excitement: “This is the place of our famous *Timonia*!” and started sing and dance it immediately.

<sup>37</sup> This type of *garmon* ' is widely known in Russia today under the name of *saratovka*, or *saratovskaia garmoshka*. In South Kursk province it was called *rusaskaia* or *nemetskaia* (Russian or German) *garmon* ' . According to the words of Nikolai Eroshenko, this type of the *garmon* ' was the first to appear in Plekhovo. While it was impossible to play other tunes, *Timonia* sounded good on it with almost no effort. Later, however, this type of the *garmon* ' was substituted with more modern instruments with different construction (Velichkina 1996b).

<sup>38</sup> Among them the group called *Karagod* of Moscow Institute of Culture, the student group of the Gnesin Institute, the children's ensemble *Veretentse*, and others. Rudneva (1975) includes a picture of the Piatnitskii choir performing the staged choreographed version of *Timonia* , but I myself have never seen this number in the programs of this choir (maybe it has been dropped from their repertoire).

day” celebrations in the districts’ administrative centers became a hall marks of local cultural policy. These festivals, organized by the state cultural institutions with the goal of fostering regional identity, necessarily engage stage performances of various village groups. Before and after their “numbers” in the program, the villagers have an opportunity to meet other musicians, and to talk and learn from each other. In spite of a certain awkwardness of the artistic forms in which such local festivals were usually presented, they fulfilled the traditional function of providing a space for competition and comparison between musicians from different villages, and enhanced their prestige among their fellow-villagers.<sup>39</sup>

The village of Plekhovo, which was the main site of my fieldwork, displays characteristic features of the modern state of panpipe and other traditional music.

Located in a remote corner of the Sudzha district on the border with the Ukraine, Plekhovo today has a reputation as a place in which traditional music is well preserved. Plekhovo dwellers often refer to themselves as old-fashioned people, poorer and slower to accept innovations than their neighbors. At the same time, if they have something in which they pride themselves, it is their passion for music.

In 1937 Kvitka observed that panpipe playing in Plekhovo was flourishing and even growing: the winter *karagod* dances had recently (in 1930s) began to use panpipe accompaniment. At this time, according to his informants, there were more than 100 panpipe players in the village, i.e. approximately every fifth woman played them.<sup>40</sup>

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<sup>39</sup> During my fieldwork in the summer of 1994, nothing on the musical horizon of the villagers attracted so much attention and evoked endless comments, as the recent local town day celebration followed by the TV report on the next day. Everyone in Plekhovo was assuring me with great zeal that their group was the best in the whole program. The musicians themselves, maybe not so envious to the laurels of glory as their neighbors and relatives, nevertheless found it appealing to compare their music and try to play together, since most of the participants shared the same repertoire. In the post-Soviet era, however, local town days may reduce their folklore performances for economic reasons, since the bankrupt collective farms are not able to provide transportation and days-off for the musicians anymore.

<sup>40</sup> It needs to be remembered, however, that the villagers do not count the accompanying panpipes as really “playing” and refer to them by other words (see discussion in Chapter 4, p. 172). This means, that together with the accompanying players the number of panpipe performers in the village was 5-6 times more. In the words of one of Kvitka’s informants, in Plekhovo of 1937 “there were more women who played panpipes, than those who did not” (Kvitka, 1937).

Plekhovo people did not favor newer instruments, such as the *garmon*' and did not even have any players of it. "When on festive occasions the *garmon*' players come to Plekhovo, the villagers do not go to dance to this place, but go to that place where the panpipes are played," wrote Kvitka in his diary of 1937 fieldwork (Kvitka 1937, 3).

In the following years, however, it was due to scholars' attention and frequent invitations to participate in concerts and festivals that the reputation of Plekhovo as a musical "Mecca" for folklorists and revivalists was gradually created. A village performing group, called *Timonia* (after the name of the most popular local dance tune), was created with the advice and encouragement of Anna Rudneva, who invited the group to perform in Moscow on several occasions during the 1950s - 60s. Plekhovo traditional music became well known after several of Rudneva's publications (Rudneva 1956, 1957b, 1975, Rudneva et al. 1979) and the issue of their LP-record (Shchurov 1967). At present the group comprises about three dozen singers, instrumentalists, and dancers, and participates in all kinds of local, regional and international festivals and concerts. All of their activity notwithstanding, however, we cannot say that they have become professional performers.<sup>41</sup> Formally the group belongs to the organized *samodeiatel'nost'* type, but in fact it never rehearses regularly and does not have a specially trained leader, or *rukovoditel'*. The membership is also loose; in principle, almost everyone in the village among the middle and older generation can sing and dance on stage if she or he has a need or a desire to do it. There is, however, one irreplaceable member of this group, Nastia A. Kosheleva, the only panpipe player in Plekhovo who participates in concert performances.

Opportunities for concert trips to the big cities come approximately once or twice a year. The effect of these concert trips on the musicians has been both positive and negative. On the one hand, it has fostered a rise in the prestige of the traditional musicians for the rest of the village community. On the other hand, the concert activity brought along a large

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<sup>41</sup> In 1991 *Timonia* was on tour in America and invariably got warm receptions from American audiences in New York, Washington, Boston, and Seattle.



degree of adaptation of the musicians themselves to the norms and needs of stage performances or recording sessions. The specific behavior they developed as a response to the new context can be called “performing for the outsiders”, in contrast with the more traditional mode of performing for themselves or for insiders — fellow villagers — in the contexts of the *ulitsa*, the *karagod*, or the wedding.

This “performing for outsiders” type of behavior can be demonstrated by several examples. In 1994 while working with the same performers who were recorded by Rudneva and many other folklorists, I was astonished to realize the degree to which they internalized the situation of the recording session. In contrast to other village singers, they demanded not to record songs from the first attempt, saying that they needed to rehearse them first. They also were worrying about small mistakes in words, coughing during the recording and the starting pitch — concerns that would never come to the mind of a traditional performer without such an experience. One of the singers, Anna Motorykina, told me during this session: “When we sing on the street, for ourselves, we don’t worry about the mistakes, but this - this is a *recording*!” (Velichkina 1994).

The situations of concert performances demonstrate the same attitude and the type of behavior even more clearly. In the situation of informal singing, the appropriate manner to start a song is considered to be with moderate voice and at lower pitch level, i.e. in such a way, that it always has a room to grow in dynamics, while gradually rising in pitch. Concert performance, in the minds of the village musicians, is an intense experience, which cannot accommodate the process of gradual unfolding of a song or a tune played by the instrumental ensemble. In the opinion of N. Kosheleva, for example, on stage she herself as well as the other musicians tend to play music much faster than they would traditionally play it for *karagods*. She explained this effect by the feeling of the shortness and the special intensity of the time on stage and the zeal of the musicians to produce more “enthusiastic” performance. She also pointed out that for her the moment of starting the

concert performance feels tense, because the tuning of instruments, which constitutes an inseparable part of the process of music making in traditional context, in the case of concert performance occurs back stage and separated from playing itself in time and place (Velichkina 1994).

In spite of the unique facets of Plekhovo's musical history, the situation of traditional music in this village is in many respects representative of the whole region. In the villages of Budishche and Belitsa, similar concert groups also exist, and frequently perform on concert stage both locally and in the big cities. In other villages, where the concert groups were not organized at the time, people still sing and dance for their own pleasure, as do members of organized groups in addition to their concert activity. In all villages, however, the place of traditional music in the life of new generations is decreasing.<sup>42</sup>

#### Panpipe playing outside of the village tradition.

Contrary to the tendency of diminishing role of the traditional music on the side of young generation of villagers, the interest in village traditional music and panpipes in particular has been raising with the revivalist movement among urban audiences. Following the publication of the books by Kulakovskii and Rudneva, panpipe playing received unprecedented attention among folklore revivalists and professional concert groups that performed folk music on stage.

In the late 1970s, panpipes appeared in concert programs of the ensemble of Dmitrii Pokrovskii, one of the first folk revivalist groups in Russia. Pokrovskii's was a most influential ensemble, widely performing both in the country and abroad. His repertoire

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<sup>42</sup> Similarly, the experience of concert performances changed the outlook of traditional music in the village Dorozhevo, studied by Kulakovskii. His visit and especially publication of his book in 1959, resulted in frequent requests for performances of Dorozhevo musicians on ethnographic concerts in the cities of Russia and also abroad (as, for example, in France in 1992). At these performances, the audience interest and warm reception of panpipe playing stimulated the interest in it among the younger singers of the group, who successively learned how to play panpipes from the older members of the choir. At the same time in Dorozhevo itself, as well as in all neighboring places the panpipe tradition was discontinued and forgotten. The fate of Dorozhevo's concert group has been a subject of documentary show on Russian TV in 1995 (see Starostin 1995).

policy was based on the search for fresh and unusual sounding music that could attract the audience's attention by its contrast with the standard "ideologically-correct" and routine repertoire of State Academic Choruses of Folk Song and Dance.<sup>43</sup> Being an ethnomusicologist himself, he insisted on performing only pieces recorded during fieldwork without any arrangement and learned directly from the village performers (for the account of this experience, see Pokrovskii 1980). For the panpipes, after initial consultation with Rudneva, the members of the group undertook a field trip to Plekhovo and other Kursk villages.<sup>44</sup>

Later, panpipe playing spread to dozens of urban amateur revivalist groups, both children and adult, particularly in the city of Kursk and other towns of Kursk province.<sup>45</sup> They were also eager to meet village players who came to perform in the cities and visit them in their villages. Naturally, such trips were not research oriented, as they did not seek to record unknown information, find more performers, or produce scientific accounts of their observations.<sup>46</sup> At present, the playing of such groups is, naturally, beyond the level of the village masters whom they are trying to imitate. However, their interest and

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<sup>43</sup> A brief account (in English) of the creation and history of Academic State Choruses as an ideological phenomena of Soviet era see in Kosacheva 1990.

<sup>44</sup> This information was given to me during personal communication with Anna Konukhova, a former member of Pokrovskii's group, in January of 1995. Unfortunately, I had no opportunity to talk to Pokrovskii himself before his death in the summer of 1996.

<sup>45</sup> Among the ensembles that currently learn to play panpipes in Kursk province, one can name two children's groups in the town of Zheleznogorsk of Kursk province ("Chebatushka," lead by Larins, and "Vereiushka"), a student ensemble of the Kursk Music College (lead by N. Gavrilova), ensemble "Lado" of Kursk Historico-Ethnographic Museum (lead by I. Pan'kova and N. Skorniakova). This information was given by Vladimir Minskii, a staff member of Kursk Folklore Center, and Elena Stavrova, a researcher in Kursk Historico-Ethnographic Museum. The Moscow children's group "Veretentse" (lead by E. Krasnopevtseva), where I taught *kugikly* earlier, regularly participates in Kursk local folklore festivals and encourages local groups in their learning.

<sup>46</sup> An example can be provided by the trips conducted by the "Dom russkikh traditsii," a private school in Moscow founded by Pokrovskii's ensemble members, A. Konukhova and V. Teplov. The teaching in this school is primarily based on the materials gathered in the field. The members of the "Dom russkikh traditsii" visited the village of Plekhovo in August 1991, and the villages of Kaluga province, including Dubrovo, in 1991 and 1993 (personal communication with V. Teplov on February 8 1996). Their goal for bringing up the panpipe materials in teaching children has been education, and not future concert activity (personal communication with A. Konukhova on February 2 of 1996).

attention, as well as long-standing human relationships that are often established between the village and urban musicians, play a generally positive role in supporting the prestige of traditional musicians within the village culture itself.

An interest in panpipes has also been growing among the groups oriented more toward performance of arranged versions of folklore. Panpipe playing based on materials from the Kursk tradition (taken from Rudneva's book) is now included in the program of the ensemble of the Moscow Institute of Culture, called *Karagod* (under the direction of Zosimova). Recently, panpipes have become part of the curriculum of folk performance departments of this and similar institutions across the country (although not as a special course, but as a part of general practical training in playing folk instruments). According to the specifics of these programs, teaching an institutionalized version of folk music, the approach of their authors to panpipe playing shows the features of westernization. This is apparent from the panpipe materials included in one of the recent teaching manuals for students of folk departments of Institutes of Culture in Russia (Budankov et al. 1991).<sup>47</sup>

This manual is designed for future professional stage performers of stylized folk music (such as the Academic orchestras of Russian folk instruments), as well as to the directors of village clubs and leaders of *samodeiatel'nost'* groups. It provides perfected, smooth and easy-to-perform versions of panpipe playing. In itself, one might think, such an approach would not deserve a scholarly attention. There are, however, some instructive points, particularly in the ways the instrument and the music are changed in order to suit new contexts and, at the same time, retain at least some of the features that show their specificity as Russian panpipes.

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<sup>47</sup> The tradition of including information on panpipes in books that address the topic of westernized version of Russian folk music started earlier. The first reference to *kuvikly* was published in the book called *Popular Folk Instruments* (Rechmenskii 1956, 78). The information in this book clearly shows that its author was familiar with Kvitka's research on panpipes. According to Peresada (1985, 99), Nikolai Rechmenskii was a composer, teacher and conductor of the orchestra of folk instruments in Moscow, and at 1947-49 he served as an editor-in-chief of Muzgiz (central musical printing house). I am grateful to Sergei Rogosin for bringing the information on Rechmenskii and his book to my attention.

The author of the wind instruments section of the book, Mark Vakhutinskii, briefly describes the instrument, and its performance practices. The details of this description and notes on traditional performance techniques show that the author is familiar with ethnomusicological literature on this subject. This information, however, provides only a starting point for his panpipe teaching.

The recommended panpipes were produced by the Moscow experimental plant of musical instruments.<sup>48</sup> Typically, the modernized instrument has a standard tempered tuning to a major pentachord. In some, more sophisticated versions, however, the tuning can be changed by the movable plugs in the lower closed ends of the tubes. The panpipes are made from plastic, bamboo, ebonite or metal and consist of three to eight tubes glued together in a row.

Concerning tuning, Vakhutinskii states that “*kugikly* do not have any definite scalar form. Most often, it is a set of major and minor seconds” (Budankov et al. 1991, 33). All examples of scales given in the manual, however, are in the form of a major pentachord transposed to different pitches. The option of non-tempered tuning is not even mentioned, and for an obvious reason — non-tempered instruments would not fit in with an orchestra and are also unappealing to musicians with an essentially Western education.

Not unlike other sections of this manual, the panpipe chapter contains two kinds of musical examples, the exercises and samples of the repertoire. The sampling is characteristic for the repertoire of folk orchestras: among the pieces are original compositions by the author, arrangements of Russian and Ukrainian folk songs, and an arrangement of a piece

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<sup>48</sup> At present, according to G. Mikhailova, a person responsible for placing the orders, the plant stopped producing the panpipes, because a Moldavian master who used to make them before left the plant (telephone conversation on February 9 1996). Tradition of making toy-panpipes in Russian musical-instrument plants existed already at the turn of the century. They were not considered a Russian instrument, however. For example, a catalogue of the I. Müller’s plant of musical instruments, published in 1911, listed a “Papageno pipe,” among the children instruments on sale. This pipe consisted of 16 pipes inserted in a cartridge (Müller 1911, 72). Two specimens of manufactured modernized panpipes are located in the collections of Glinka Museum (GTsMMK), in Moscow and in the musical instruments collection of LGITMiK, St. Petersburg. These instruments are listed in their respective catalogues (see Kulikov 1977, 6 and Blagodotov 1972, 10), but no manufacturer’s name for them is known. At present, I have had no opportunity to examine these collections.

by a Russian classical composer. Significantly, no attempt is made to include pieces recorded in the field. One of the pieces, an arrangement of a Ukrainian folk song (Figure 3.4), however, closely resembles the piece in Kursk panpipe repertoire called *Chibatukha*. It is given in notation by Rudneva in Figure 3.5.



Figure 3.4. Arrangement by M. Vakhutinskii of a Ukrainian folk song *Zhuravel'* (A crane) for a duo of panpipes. (After Budankov et al. 1991,35).

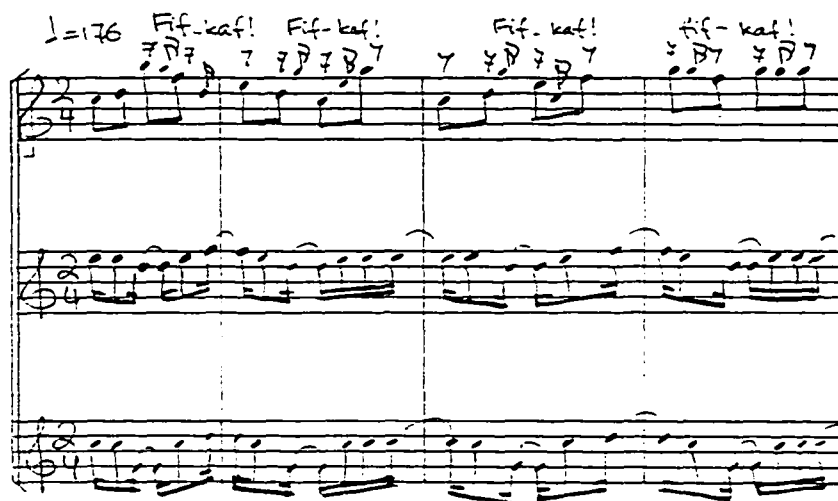


Figure 3.5. Notation of the tune *Chibatukha* from the village of Budishche, Kursk province. (After Rudneva 1975, 196). Only panpipe parts from the whole score are reproduced.

According to Charles Seeger's (1958) dichotomy, the first is an example the "prescriptive", and the second — "descriptive" music writing.<sup>49</sup> Vakhutinskii's arrangement tells the students what and how to perform, while Rudneva transcribes what has been recorded in the field. Nevertheless, there is a conscientious attempt of the "prescriptive" version to retain a hocket-like rhythmic relationship between the parts, which is an essential characteristic of the panpipe performance style. Another characteristic feature, the technique of vocal interpolation, is completely left out of the teaching part of the manual, although it is mentioned as a traditional way of playing panpipes in Vakhutinskii's introduction to the panpipe section. There can be several explanations for this absence: first, this technique is difficult to master and "exotic" in its sound, thus contradicting the aesthetic ideal of institutionalized versions of folk traditions. Second, a traditional restriction of the panpipe playing to women is not suitable for the needs of the stage performance, with its requirements of greater flexibility in the choice of performers in the interest of the show (the picture on p.33 of the book shows a male panpipe player, probably the author himself). Male players could not produce vocal sounds in the same range as female ones, which is required by the tradition. This means that introducing vocal sounds in the range suitable for male performers would require a lower pitched male panpipe set and would thus produce two different "gender versions" of the instrument, a complication that could not be readily accepted by a culture oriented toward standardization.<sup>50</sup>

Another version of a panpipe teaching manual is offered in the section of the work *Mir detstva v narodnoi kul'ture* written in collaboration between Anatolii Ivanov, Elena Krasnopevtseva and myself (see Velichkina et al. 1992). It is based on my fieldwork in the

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<sup>49</sup> Seeger characterized the difference between prescriptive and descriptive notations as the difference "between a blueprint of how a specific piece of music shall be made to sound and a report of how a specific performance of any music actually did sound" (1958, 168).

<sup>50</sup> M. Vakhutinskii is the member of the ensemble "Russkie Uzory," lead by Zazulia. This ensemble, founded in 1970s, performs arranged versions of folklore and music of Russian composers. The group uses panpipes in selected arrangements for its concert programs, but only for the "special effects." In the words of Vakhutinskii, he did not see the need to include vocal sound production on panpipes in his teaching manual, because this effect has no place in the orchestra (telephone conversation with Vakhutinskii on February 7, 1996).

village of Plekhovo and on the experiences of teaching panpipes in the Moscow children's folk ensemble *Veretense* (see also discussion in Chapter 2). Central for the approach to panpipe teaching in this manual is the discussion of correct stature and movements in the process of playing (for further discussion of movements see Chapter 6).

The revivalists, in contrast to "institutionalized" folklore performers, were attracted to panpipes because of the subtleties of its performance technique, its emphasis on group interaction in the unfolding process of playing, and the possibility of reaching a particular psychological state during playing. Bringing out these subtleties presents a special challenge to modern-day city dwellers who are not familiar with the circumstances of the tradition in its village context. These performance subtleties are the most elusive elements and cannot be adequately reflected in any notation, verbal description or explanation of playing techniques. It is clear, however, that they constitute an important aspect of the panpipe tradition and cannot be omitted without losing the meaning of the tradition as a whole.

### **Chapter summary.**

This chapter has presented a general ethnographic and historical description of the cultural context for the panpipe tradition of the South Kursk region in the past and the present.

One of the factors contributing to the special character of a local music culture is its historical heritage. Although in the 17th century the South Kursk territories were settled by people from different parts of Russia, three centuries of life in the area have produced a homogeneous regional culture. Panpipes, known in practically all Russian villages in this territory, were a very important element of this musical tradition. Together with other wind



instruments, played by men, panpipes, played by women, constituted the core of the traditional instrumental ensemble that used to play at weddings, for community dance events — the *karagody* — and for the *ulitsa*, or informal street gatherings.

Women could also play panpipes while they were coming from work in the fields, or in the street on summer evenings. Although solo panpipe playing was possible, panpipes were typically considered ensemble instruments.

The musical repertoire of all traditional wind instruments included tunes known only locally, as well as tunes that were disseminated relatively broadly. The exact number of tunes and the picture of their dissemination throughout the region is difficult to reconstruct, since the association of tunes and names varies.

Today, most of these traditional tunes are forgotten. The tradition is in decline, and there are only about 20 panpipe players left in a whole region that previously counted hundreds and thousands of players. Some of the modern players participate in village *samodeiatel'nost'* groups, while others only play upon the request from visiting folklorists. These two cases represent the modern venues of panpipe playing, while traditional contexts, such as *karagod* and *ulitsa* performances, have been discontinued. The traditional panpipe practices are well remembered, however, by the old generation of villagers, who have much to say about the beauty of this music, as well as about its norms and practices.

In contrast to the diminishing role of traditional music (including panpipes), in a modern-day village culture, there has been a significant increase in interest to this instrument in the cities. Various folk music groups and institutions, ranging from institutionalized organizations to urban folk revivalists, began to include panpipe playing in their learning practices and concert performances. This broad interest reflects back on village players and encourages them to continue playing by creating new opportunities and performance contexts, such as a concert or a recording session. At the same time, it also

produces a new type of behavior — “performance for the outsiders,” influencing different aspects of music making (such as the choice of repertoire and the tempo of the performance).

Overall, the modern state of panpipe tradition compared with that prior to the 1960s demonstrates a radical change in contexts and motivations for music-making. Although making predictions in cultural development is obviously a difficult task, judging from the tendencies displayed today, we can assert that the future role of panpipes in village culture will probably depend on the interest in this instrument outside of the village tradition itself.

## **CHAPTER 4**

### **SOUTH KURSK PANPIPE PLAYING FROM AN ETHNOGRAPHIC PERSPECTIVE**

This chapter focuses on panpipes and performance practices as they are described by the players themselves and by their fellow-villagers. It investigates their concepts and understanding of the music, from the names and relationships of pipes in a set to aesthetic judgments of panpipe performances. It also discusses connections between panpipes and other aspects of traditional culture, such as agricultural and household work, the different responsibilities of men and women, song texts and legends. Methodologically, it incorporates the perspectives of cognitive anthropology and its applications to ethnomusicology, such as the description of the native music theory (see discussion in Chapter 2).

The sources for the following discussion are inevitably mixed in nature. The interviews with panpipe players and other villagers obtained during my fieldwork constitute the primary basis for the discussion. These interviews were conducted in both formal and informal settings, during learning and recordings sessions with the players, and while listening to the recordings together with them or with other villagers. The learning environment provided the most favorable setting for eliciting terms and concepts which describe the most elusive aspects of panpipe playing technique (see also Zemp 1979, 33).

The native concepts and expressions obtained in my fieldwork were compared with those noted by previous researchers. This comparison revealed that some of the metaphors

and expressions reflect a point of view of an individual performer, while others are customarily applied to panpipe playing, although some changes in the latter expressions over time can be observed. Attention is paid to informants' disagreements about the norms of the tradition, since the nature of such disagreements is also a source of insight.

In addition, in my last fieldwork trip in the summer of 1996 I attempted to conduct an informal music perception experiment designed in the framework of Wegner's "cognitive dissonance" approach (Wegner 1994). In the present chapter I discuss this attempt and its results.

### **The panpipe ensemble.**

A typical panpipe ensemble of the South Kursk tradition consists of three different sets of pipes. Each set has its special name and a particular function in the ensemble, and consists of different pipes. There are the lead set, called *para*, and two accompanying sets, called small and big *priduval'nye* (the adjective derived from the verb *priduvat'*, meaning to blow along with something) or *gukal'nye* (from *gukat'*, or to produce loud sound).

The optimal number of players in panpipe ensembles varies. In Budishche three players, one for each part, are said to be customary. In Plekhovo and Spal'noe four players, two on *para*, one on small *priduval'nye* and one on *gukal'nye* sets are most characteristic. Sometimes, older reports indicate a larger number of players (up to ten women in Rudneva 1975, p.192, and n.d., p.18), but most of the modern players consider such a large group difficult to co-ordinate.

The diagram in Figure 4.1 shows the relationship between these sets.

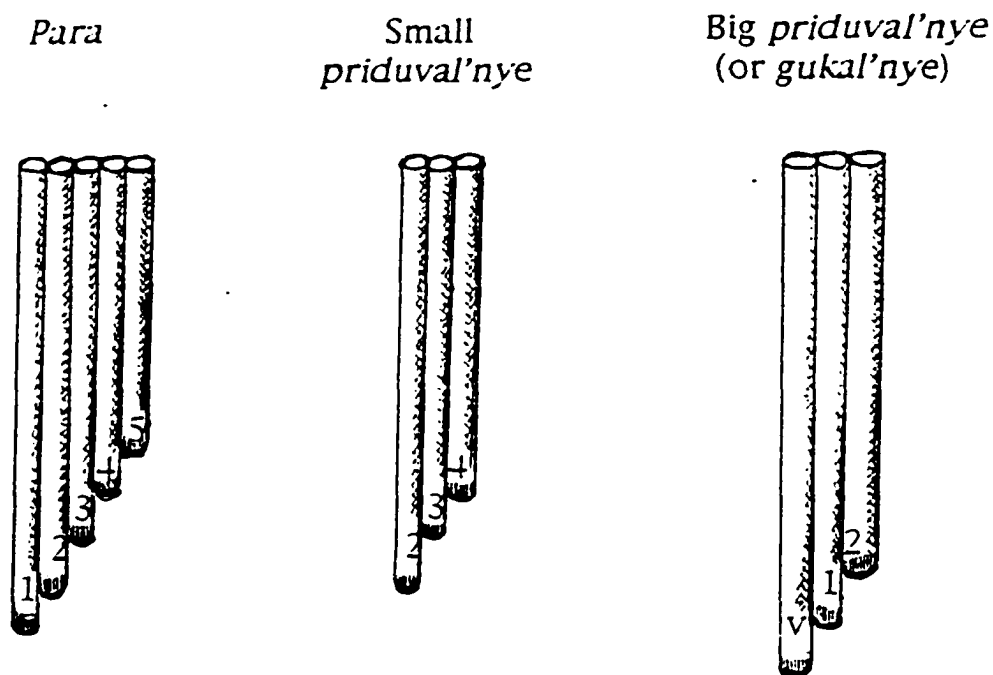


Figure 4.1. Three sets of pipes in the South Kursk tradition.

In this diagram, the pipes are numbered in such a way that the pipes with identical numbers in different sets have the same pitch. Each pipe in a set has a name. In Plekhovo the largest pipe of a *para* set is called *guden'* (from *gudet'* - to buzz, or to drone); this pipe is designated by number 1 on the diagram. It is followed by *podguden'* (under the *guden'*)-2, *siredniaia* (a middle one) - 3, *podmuziutka* or *zlimiziutka* (under, or near a little one) - 4, and *miziutka* (a little one) - 5. The largest pipe in a big *priduval'nye* set (marked as "v" on the diagram) is called *gudok*, or *bol'shoi* (big) *guden'* (also derived from the verb *gudet'*). Terminology used in other villages is slightly different (cf. Rudneva 1975, 145), but all versions of pipes' names are based on the notions of a sequence ("next/under to this or that pipe," or "a middle pipe"), size ("a little one"), or sound qualities.

Two of the pipe names are similar to those of fingers: in Russian, the middle finger is *srednii*, or *sirednii* (as the third pipe) and the little finger is *mizinet*s (similar to a fifth pipe). The association of the five-pipe set with fingers is reflected not only in the names of the pipes, but also in the measurements for making a set (see Chapter 5). The players themselves point to this connection; often they substitute a pipe set with the hand to imitate panpipe playing or demonstrate the movements on the pipes while teaching.

The lead set of panpipes is commonly called *para*. More rarely it is called onomatopoeically — *fiukal'nye kugikly*, since the player of this set also produces vocal sounds (“fiu-ka”). The literary meaning of the word *para* in Russian is “two,” or “a couple,” although it consists of a variable number of pipes, depending on the regional tradition. In Briansk province, the same word is applied equally to two-pipe and three-pipe sets (Kulakovskii 1940b, 1959, 48). In Kaluga province it is used similarly, although sometimes the three-pipe sets are also called *troiki* (information from the villages of Kirovskii district, Shentalinskaia 1988-89 and Starostina 1990, cf. Trokhin 1977, 15).

The reason for having the name “couple” for a set, which in fact may contain from two to five pipes, is not clear. Both Kvitka and Kulakovskii hypothesized that in the past such set contained only two pipes, and that later while the number of pipes gradually increased, the old name was preserved (Kvitka 1940a, 10, Kulakovskii 1940b, 15, Kulakovskaia and Kulakovskii 1975, 11). Indeed, in the Briansk/Kaluga tradition, the two-pipe sets seem to play a major role in panpipe ensembles.<sup>1</sup> Kursk players admit that a *para* player may use only two pipes, alternating between the fifth and the fourth, or the first and the second ones (Velichkina 1994).

Most of the performers do not attempt to explain the name *para* and apparently do not connect it with any number of pipes in a set. As an exception, one should mention the

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<sup>1</sup> Kvitka in one of his fieldwork diaries cites a shepherd from Kaluga province, saying that “the pipes are taken by one, by two, three or four. [Playing] in one [pipe] is awkward, but in two it is good” (Kvitka 1949).

hypothesis of Nastia Kosheleva. According to her, there should be always *two* (a couple) *para* players in a *karagod* performance. Arriving at the place of the performance, one player would be looking for company and ask: "Who will play *na-paru* (i.e., as a couple) with me?" This explanation points to the importance of interaction in panpipe playing. We can also suggest, by analogy, that the expression *grat' na paru'* (to play as a couple) could mean rhythmic dovetailing of the two parts which is one of the characteristic features of all Russian panpipe traditions (see discussion in Chapter 1).

If there are two or more *para* players in an ensemble, one of them is considered to be the leader who starts the performance. The players explain differently the relationship between the two *para* parts in the ensemble. In the village of Plekhovo they say that the two *para* players do not need to play strictly the same melody, since their pipes are tuned the same way. Marina Bocharova (Budishche) says that it is better not to have two *para* players in the ensemble. If this is the case, then, according to her, both *para* players should play strictly together (i.e., the same melody) and not vary their patterns. At the same time, while playing she varies her melodic patterns herself and accepts other versions as well, as long as they adhere to the syntactic rules (see discussion below in the chapter). However, all the performers agree that the vocal sounds of the two *para* players should answer, or "echo" each other. "If there are two *para* players doing *fiukan'e* strictly at the same time, it is somewhat ugly," — says Nadezhda Motorykina.

The accompanying sets, called *priduval'nye*, can be *malye* (small) and *bol'shie* (big). The set of small *priduval'nye* (often referred to simply as *priduval'nye*) doubles some of the pipes of the *para* set, depending on a particular tune. Most usually they are the second, third and fourth pipes of the *para* set. This comes up as a norm when the villagers themselves talk about the make-up of the ensemble. Some of the tunes, however, only use two pipes for *priduval'nye* set, the third and the fourth (as in *Batiushka* ), or the fourth and

the fifth pipes (as in *A ia vtornichala*). In the villages of Medvenka district, as can be seen from Rudneva (1975, 154), the *priduval'nye* set consisted of five pipes equal to those of the *para*.

The big *priduval'nye* set consists of three pipes. Two of them are equal to the first and second pipes of the *para* set, and the third one is larger. The size of larger pipe can vary. Sometimes its length is defined as equal to the length of two fifth pipes of the *para* (M. Bocharova), or as one and a half of its length (E. Pestsov), or two fingers' phalanxes longer than the first pipe of the *para* (N. Motorykina). Often, however, a pipe with overall quality of the sound is preferred, disregarding its particular size (cf. Rudneva 1975, 149).

The version of the big *priduval'nye* set is also known in some villages under the name *gukal'nye*. The word *gukal'nye* comes from the dialect verb *gukat'* which means to yell, to hoot, or to call loudly (Dal' 1989 v.1, 406).<sup>2</sup> It consists of two pipes, one equal to the first pipe of the *para* and another larger than that. Plekhovo players N. Motorykina and F. Glamazdina, while making the pipes in winter 1996, explained that both of the *gukal'nye* pipes must be larger than the other pipes in *para* set, and do not have to be precisely tuned with the latter.

The *gukal'nye* set is not typical in all villages. For example, it is known in Plekhovo, Spal'noe, Borki and Belitsa, but not in Budishche and Chernyi Olekh. This term also comes up in one of Rudneva's citations from her informants from Plekhovo (1975, 149). Rudneva, however, does not consider the *gukal'nye* set to be a separate version of big *priduval'nye*. Contrary to it, modern performers refer to the *gukal'nye* as a rather typical part of a panpipe ensemble. Anna Kosheleva, for example, explains: "Panpipes are

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<sup>2</sup> In the Briansk singing tradition the same word — *gukat'* — is applied to the technique of special exclamatory calls (*gukanie*) at the end and sometimes also in the middle of a stanza, a sort of rapid upward vocal leap from the unison up to a different interval, done by some of the singers or the whole group. This technique is used mostly in seasonal and wedding songs, and it is also known in traditional peasant cultures of other Slavic people. The scholars believe it to be one of the archaic features of this tradition (Eval'd 1934, 1941, Kvitka 1971, 163-64, Zemtsovskii 1974, 153). As far as I know, the term *gukal'nye* is not used with respect to panpipe sets in the Briansk tradition, while the same term used in the Kursk tradition apparently has no connection with that of the Briansk vocal technique.



[called] *fiukal'nye*, *priduval'nye*, *gukal'nye*. *Gukal'nye* have only two pipes, *priduval'nye* - three, and *para* - five, not more" (filmed interview in March 1992, recordings of RTRF).

According to my observations, the *gukal'nye* player produces a pulsating and whispering background for other participants in the ensemble. Often this part may be given to a less experienced player, since both pitch and rhythmic co-ordination of this part with the rest of the ensemble is loose, and the mistakes of a player are not crucial for the quality of the group performance. At the same time, judging by my own observations and the experience of playing with the villagers, the presence of the low-pitch sounds is important for the overall aesthetic image of the ensemble playing. Once, for example, M. Bocharova, my colleague and collaborator in this trip, Marina Kriukova from Moscow, and myself played on three panpipe sets (with me playing big *priduval'nye* and controlling recording level at the same time). While listening to the recording, Bocharova commented that she does not hear enough of a big *guden'* sound (Velichkina 1996a).

Some evidence seems to indicate that the *gukal'nye* set is favored more in those situations where the panpipes are played alone, or with the *rozhok* (the reed instrument) or the *dudka* (one of the two wooden flutes). Since neither of them has pitches lower than the first pipe of a *para* set, the *gukal'nye* set with its lower sounds enriches the overall sonority of the ensemble. This was the case in Plekhovo, where the combination of panpipes with the *rozhok* was the most popular form of the ensemble. The wife of Plekhovo *rozhok* player, Ekaterina Pestsova, used to play panpipes in her younger years in her native village of Spal'noe. At this time, there was only one old *rozhok* player for the whole village, but there were younger fiddle and *balalaika* players who lived nearby and used to come to the *ulitsa* every time there was a playing. The girls playing panpipes decided to drop the *gukal'nye* part from their group, although this tradition existed in the village and they knew about it (Velichkina 1996a).

### Terminology of panpipe performance practice.

The relationship between all players in a group is described by the word *ladit'*, which in this case may be translated as 'to fit', or 'to coordinate.' The noun *lad*, to which the verb *ladit'* is connected, in Russian has connotations of balance, order, concord, peace and harmony (Dal' 1989, 232). In South Kursk province people frequently use the expression *dat'* (or *ne dat'*) *ladu*, meaning 'to make (or not to make) sense,' or 'to understand something' (see interview 1 in Appendix D). With respect to musical instruments, the verb *ladit'* can also mean 'to tune' (Dal' 1989, 232, see also further discussion in Chapter 5). In South Kursk, the word *ladit'* can be equally applied to the process of tuning the instruments, to their actual playing together in the ensemble, to group singing of songs and to the singing of *prikazki* with the music, as well as to the rhythmic coordination of dancers' movements.

Unlike literary Russian, the villagers do not use the expression 'musical instrument' to denote the object with which the music is played. In South Kursk dialect, as in many other village traditions, the word *muzyka* (music) means not so much 'music' as an activity or its product (a musical piece), but rather the musical instrument itself as a material object. This word, however, does not fully apply to older traditional instruments, such as the *kugikly* and the *roz'hok*. I first noticed that people in South Kursk often talk about the *kugikly* being played "with (or without) the music," as if they were two different things; the use of the word "music" is inconsistent. For example, Marina Bocharova once said that "*kugikly* is *kugikly*, and *muzyka* is *muzyka*," (Velichkina 1996a), but earlier she also said that "the *kugikly* with the *roz'hok* is the best *muzyka*" (Starostina 1989, 87). In the summer of 1996 I asked many people specifically whether they consider *kugikly* to be a *muzyka* (meaning 'a musical instrument'). The answers, once again, demonstrated the existence of two different meanings of this word, even when it was used within the same sentence. Praskovia Glamazdina (Plekhovo), for example, said: "*Muzyka* is fiddle, *balalaika* and

*garmon'*. *Kugikly* and *rozhok* are the wind *muzyka*, they play by themselves, but [in the past] they were not called *muzyka*" (Velichkina 1996b). Egor Pestsov explained the same distinction: "All are the *muzyka* — the *garmon'*, the *balalaika*, the fiddle, the *kugikly* and the *rozhok*. But there is a difference: the *kugikly* [players] and I in my *rozhok* play by air, but those [others] — they stay and breathe freely, and work all by their hands only. *Muzyka* [is produced] by bow, or by stroke, or by stretching — there is an air in [the *garmon'*] itself. And *rozhok* and *kugikly* — they [sound] only by air, by your own air. But all this in general is called *muzyka*, a musical orchestra." In the past, he added, *rozhok* and *kugikly* were not called *muzyka*: "It is only now they became to be called like this, as there is now the whole world of various musical instruments. In the old days, we only knew *rozhok* and *kugikly*. We did not call them *muzyka*. This is [how they are called] now, because there is no other name for it, only the musical orchestra" (Velichkina 1996b).<sup>3</sup>

As it can be seen from the citations above, the application of the word *muzyka* in contemporary village speech is an example of what is known in cognitive anthropology as a 'fuzzy set' (see, for example, Werner 1985). The word *muzyka* can mean "any musical instrument in general," or "only some musical instruments," or, although rarely, "a musical sound," or "a tune" (as in expression by M. Bocharova cited by Starostina ). It is important for the present discussion that the *kugikly* and the *rozhok* are considered by the villagers to be different from other instruments (which are the *muzyka* in a narrow sense of this word), because of their use of human breathing to produce the sound <sup>4</sup>

For the panpipes, the expressions which are typically used by the villagers to describe the playing is *grat'* (dialect from *igrat'*, meaning to play), *dut'* (to blow), and

<sup>3</sup> In their young years, the Pestsovs' family traveled widely and lived in many different cities before returning to Egor's native village of Plekhovo. In Egor's expressions the influence of the urban language is noticeable (see especially his use of the analogy with an orchestra).

<sup>4</sup> From the explanations of the villagers themselves it follows that the word *muzyka* appeared in their language together with newer musical instruments. It could be borrowed from urban Russian, or from Ukrainian languages. Kvitka, in his article on Ukrainian musical instruments (1973, 262) pointed out that the word *muzyka* (masculine in Ukrainian) means "the fiddler." The plural form of the same word can also be applied to the other instruments, but only to those that are played in the ensemble with the fiddle. In Belorussian, *muzyka* also means "the fiddler" (Nikiforovskii 1892).

*khodit' po kugiklam* (to walk across the panpipes).<sup>5</sup> In particular, many terms for movements are quite noticeable in panpipe playing descriptions. It is commonly said that a player, *povorachivaet* (turns) when she comes to the pipe at the end of a row, *stanovitsia* or *ostanavlivaetsia* (stands, stays or stops) at a certain pipe, *prokhodit* (walks through), or *perestupaet* (steps over, or skips) the pipes. While some of these expressions, such as 'to stop' can be applied to other instruments as well, the use of the developed and elaborated metaphors of walking seems to be unique for panpipes.

The expressions used to describe panpipe playing are remarkably similar to those used for weaving on home-made weaving machines, a typical occupation of village women in the past. A weaver is also said to "walk across the pedals," to "stay" or to "stop" on one or another pedal, to "skip" or to "step over" them. Unlike walking, neither panpipe players nor weavers are really moving in space — a weaver sits, and a player stays still, without any movements of her feet. In both cases only some parts of the body are moving (the limbs for a weaver, and the head and hands for a panpipe player), but the actions of the body as a whole are described in terms of walking.<sup>6</sup>

If panpipes are played solo, in whatever context (see Chapter 3), they can only be played on a five-pipe set. The accompanying panpipe parts are not regarded as independent entities and never practiced solo. They can only be extracted from the whole for teaching purposes. A clear terminological distinction confirms these different roles of the parts within the panpipe ensemble. The verb *grat'* (to play) is applied only to the *para* players, while the others are said not to play, but only to *pridivat'* and *gukat'* (to blow along, to

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<sup>5</sup> Similar to its English counterpart "to play," the Russian verb *igrat'* is used in a broader context outside of the realm of music. For example, the expression *igrat' svad'bu* (to play out the wedding) is common everywhere in Russia. Another common expression with this verb, *igrat' pesni* (literary, to play songs) is not used in South Kursk province, however. In this tradition the singers say that they *krichat pesni* (literary, to yell the songs). The verb *pet'* (to sing), as in many other Russian village traditions, is only applied to the singing in the church.

<sup>6</sup> In particular, the direct comparison of weaving with panpipe playing was suggested to me by Elena Khodosova, who once said: "One has to walk on them [the panpipes -O.V.] by lips, as you walk on the footboards of a loom [home-made weaving machine]". Later, talking about her mother, she said: "She loved dancing, singing, and she played *kugikly* well. And she wove, as did other people in the old days, very fast, as if they were dancing" (Velichkina 1994).

hoot, to produce loud sound, for *priduval'nye* and *gukal'nye* parts, respectively). When asked whether they play panpipes, village women very often answer categorically “no,” and then add: “I only *priduvaiu* (i.e., I only play *priduval'nye* part).” The same use of the word “to play” with respect to panpipes was noted by Kvitka.

In contrast, performing on other instruments of a large ensemble — the *rozhok*, and the others — is always referred to by the villagers as “playing.” If there are two players of the same instrument, such as two *rozhok* or two fiddle players, the function of a second player is called *grat' vtoru* (to play a second [part]), as elsewhere in Russia, but their act is described as “playing.”

The panpipe players make a distinction between the parts of the ensemble in their importance. Beyond the *para*, the small *priduval'nye* are considered necessary for a panpipe ensemble, while the third part — big *priduval'nye* or *gukal'nye* — is rather optional. The big *priduval'nye* part is regarded as an enhancement or extension of a small *priduval'nye* part, but cannot substitute it in the ensemble. In winter of 1996, when my colleague M. Kriukova and myself played different combinations of parts for village players, we found out that neither a duet of *para* and big *priduval'nye*, nor a duet of two *para* parts is considered an acceptable ensemble. In other words, if there are two panpipe players, one of them has to be a *para*, and the other a small *priduval'nye* player.

In performance, the *para* and the small *priduval'nye* parts are intimately related. It is the player of small *priduval'nye*, who follows very closely and co-ordinates (*ladit*) with the *para*, while other players are expected to *ladit'* mostly with small *priduval'nye* (Velichkina 1991, village of N. Makhovo). If there are two or three *para* players in a group, it is desirable to have a *priduval'nye* player for each of them; thus they form “inner duos” inside of the larger group (Velichkina 1996a, Plekhovo).

The function of both accompanying sets is to complement the *para*'s melody with sounds inserted between those of the *para* player. In other words, the accompanying parts

move in syncopation with respect to the *para*. In this context, it should be noted that the term “syncopation” expresses the point of view of an observer with a Western background. For the *priduval'nye* player herself there is apparently no notion of playing “on the weak beat” in our sense of the word. Although it is quite difficult to discuss these matters with the players (due to the absence of notions such as syncopation from their conception about music), my experience of playing convinced me that the player of the *priduval'nye* part also hears her beat as a strong one, simply inserted between those of the *para* player.<sup>7</sup> One informal experiment, conducted during the fieldwork of winter 1996 can serve as an illustration. I asked Anastasia Kosheleva to co-ordinate the *priduval'nye* pattern with a metronome (beating at conventional quarter notes of her tempo). She started to play in such a way that the beginning of her notes coincided with metronome beat. This observation may indicate that the players do not think about the *priduval'nye* part as syncopated with respect to the abstract metronome beat, but only “syncopate” while playing with the *para*.

According to the players, the *priduval'nye* performer plays *naperekor* (against) with the *para* player (Velichkina 1994, see interview with N. Kosheleva in Appendix D). The meaning of this expression can be approximately translated as “to play or say across, or counter to somebody,” “vying with one another.” This alludes to the fact that the sounds of the two parts do not have to coincide in time, i.e. to the principle of rhythmic complementarity between the players (see also discussion of this principle for other Russian panpipe traditions in Chapter 1). The expression ‘to play *naperekor*’ does not seem to be commonly used, since the relationship between the two parts is obvious for the players themselves. It tends to come up only when they speak with someone less familiar with the panpipe tradition. I noticed it for the first time in 1994, while learning and making mistakes in coordinating the *priduval'nye* part. “Do not play together with me,” — Nastia Kosheleva

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<sup>7</sup> This is similar to the temporal organization of Bugandan xylophone music, in which the players of the two main parts also interpolate their strokes. According to Kubik, the musician playing the second part in Amadinda music never has to feel his pattern as syncopated in the relationship to the first part (Kubik 1994, 76).

explained, — “Play *naperekor*: I blow into one pipe, and you later have to blow in another.” Another time when I heard a similar expression — playing *na-perestrechu* (contradicting one-another) — was in a conversation between the players in the village of Borki, when they attempted to teach younger woman to play the *gukal'nye* part (Velichkina 1994).

Sometimes performers also refer to the coordination between the parts in a panpipe ensemble in terms of breathing. Anna Kosheleva (Plekhovo) says that the *priduval'nye* player “has to catch the air exhaled by the *para* player,” i.e. when the *para* player exhales, the *priduval'nye* inhales (Velichkina 1990).

In her book, A. Rudneva mentioned that the *priduval'nye* player can vary the rhythm of her part significantly. One of the players, while showing the *priduval'nye* part to the scholar, said: “You can play as long as you want, and it still will be different” (Rudneva 1975, 155-56). Four versions of the *priduval'nye* pattern for the tune *Timonia* recorded from two players of the village of Plekhovo in 1937 and 1940, demonstrate the principle of rhythmic variation in *priduval'nye* part. These versions are shown in Figure 4.2.

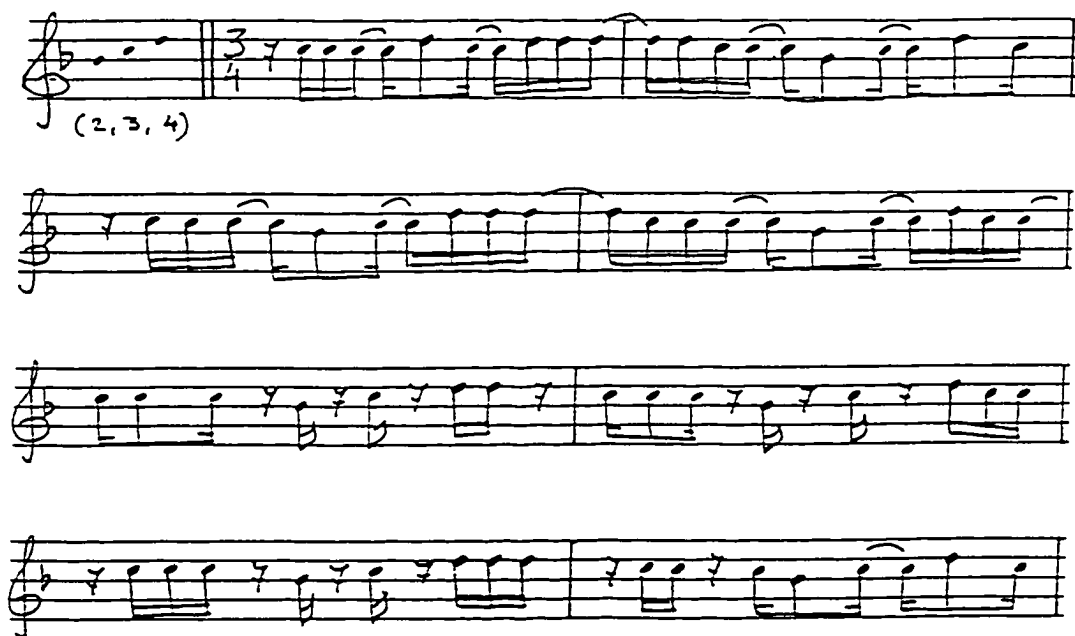


Figure 4.2. Four versions of *priduval'nye* part for *Timonia* (after Rudneva 1975, 156).

As can be seen from these versions, the variation is often produced by means of different articulation (connecting the sounds together, separating them with pauses, or inserting pulsation by shorter notes within the longer one). The general principle, i.e., the rhythmic complementarity between the *para* and the *pridival'nye* part, remains the same in all versions. Modern *pridival'nye* performers prefer to play in a more straightforward way, than on the older recordings, i.e., without much varying their playing rhythmically.<sup>8</sup>

With respect to playing the accompanying parts, I noticed a specific term which applies only to them. When the *pridival'nye* player performs fast rhythmic figures, consisting of two notes played on one breath, these figures are called onomatopoeically *fudukat'*, since these *fu-du* sounds occur naturally when the player pushes two “chunks” of air, separated by a short stop (as, for example, in the technique called “double tongue” on European wind instruments, such as the flute or clarinet). The term *fudukat'* is commonly known in Plekhovo.<sup>9</sup> According to Nastia Kosheleva, this melodic gesture of *pridival'nye* player can be used to emphasize the end of a melodic phrase, and it also helps the player to take deeper breath: “It is like you create an ending of some sort,” — she explains, — “The melody ends, and you stop. You give some rest (*otdykh*) to yourself and you add a variety to the music. You can do *fudukat'* more or less; in the past, if you were tired, you would start doing *fu-du*, *fu-du* endlessly, trying to give a rest to yourself.” (Velichkina 1994, for translation of this interview see Appendix D, Interview 1).

Other terms of the “native music theory” of the South Kursk tradition include the notions of *koleno* and *pereliv*, which are also known in other Russian traditions.<sup>10</sup> The word *koleno* (sing., plural *kolena*, literally - a knee) is applied to songs, instrumental

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<sup>8</sup> The only person among those I met during my fieldwork who played in such manner was Nadezhda Motorykina, the *gukal'nye* player from the village of Plekhovo. Her playing, perhaps because of her interest in rhythmic diversity, tended to disregard the coordination with other players in the ensemble and was not considered by other players as satisfactory (see discussion of the case study example in Chapter 6).

<sup>9</sup> Players from other villages refer to it differently, for example, as *shmuryat'* (to jerk), or *morgat'* (to wink).

<sup>10</sup> Because both terms may have many different connotations, in the following discussion I limit myself by the use of these terms in South Kursk region only.



music and dancing. In Plekhovo, for example, singing with many *kolena* can mean a melodic diversity: “If you sing simply, without the *kolena*,” — explains Daria Khodosova, — “[a song] will not be so beautiful. If [it is sung] with the *kolena*, it is more beautiful, more distinct, and the words are said clearly” (Velichkina 1994). A singer, thus, may decorate a song with more or less *kolena*; while an ability to sing with many *kolena* characterizes a good singer. On the other hand, when I asked Gerasim Zabelin, one of the best Plekhovo singers, to sing a song with less or no *kolena*, he said that it was not possible, since it is the song, and not the singer, who has one or another *koleno*. Daria Khodosova also says: “Each song has its own *kolena*, its own melody, all of its own... One has to do *kolena* in the melody, and not in the words” (Velichkina 1994).

Egor Pestsov demonstrates *kolena* in playing the tune *Batiushka* on the *rozhok*. In his words, one may play *vse odnim kolenom* (all by one *koleno*), or else he may *vyrabatyvat'* (work out) different *kolena* — melodic variants of a tune, so it will sound better and more joyful. While demonstrating “playing with various *kolena*,” he also adds some ornamentation sounds, in the technique that he calls *pereliv*. The term *pereliv* has no exact translation. Its meaning evokes images of pouring water or subtle changes in color (“color play”). In many regions of Russia it is used by folk musicians to denote some sort of special and often elusive sound effects. For example, the shepherds of the upper Volga region achieve an additional sound from an overtone series by shaping the resonator on their horn. This effect they call *pereliv*, or *pirialiv* (Starostin 1989, 69). In the South Kursk instrumental tradition, however, the word *pereliv* means melodic diversity and ornamentation. Figure 4.3 shows notations of these two versions of the tune *Batiushka*, as Pestsov performed them in January of 1996 (a similar recording was made in 1989 as well).

Pestsov commented on the first version as the example of how “some other [players] play *Batiushka*,” with the connotation of a simplistic, not masterful way of playing. About the second version he said: “this is how I play it”. The second version was explained

as having many *kolena*, and it is clearly more varied melodically. He also changed articulation, alternating *legato* fragments with bouncing *portamento* on the repetition of the same note. One particular feature of the second version is the use of ornamentation. As the analysis of video recordings shows, Pestsov, as well as some other players in this tradition produce ornamentation by two different ways. One is the incomplete opening of an additional finger hole while repeating the same sound and another is non-simultaneous lifting and bringing down the fingers while changing the sound. These motor movements result in the placement of the appearance of short additional notes between the melodic ones that create a sort of multi-voice textural effect within a one-voice melody.

The effect of interpolation of these short “grace notes” in the *rozhek* playing is similar to the interpolation of vocal sounds in *kugikly* playing, where non-simultaneity of the instrumental and vocal lines also creates a seemingly independent multi-voice effect. For the panpipe playing, however, the opinion of villagers on both terms — the *koleno* and the *pereliv* — is divided.



Figure 4.3. Two versions of *Batiushka* tune performed by Pestsov:  
 a) all by one *koleno* and without the *pereliv* ("As others play");  
 b) with the *pereliv* and with many *kolena* ("As I play").

Some, like Marina Bocharova, say that the *pereliv* exists in *kugikly* playing as well, but it is not achieved by an individual player. If there are two *para* players in the ensemble and they are both very experienced, their voices “roll over and answer one another” (Velichkina 1996a). This, however, was a rare practice in Budishche, where the most typical arrangement was to have only three panpipe players in *karagod*, one for *para* and two others for big and small *priduval'nye* parts. In Plekhovo, on the contrary, having two *para* players was most typical and desirable for group playing. Three players who live at one end of the village, for example, always asked me to invite one more player from another street, in order to play “more joyfully.” The analysis of the two *para* parts of one performance in Chapter 6 demonstrates that their vocal sounds answer one another. However, when I asked Plekhovo players if the effect created by non-simultaneous voice sound production by two *para* players could be called *pereliv*, they answered negatively, saying that in their village this term was never applied to panpipe playing.

About the application of the term *koleno* to panpipe playing, opinions are diverse. Most of the players agree that in *kugikly* playing, unlike all other instruments, there is no *kolena*: “you simply walk across the pipes, and this is it” (E. Pestsova, Velichkina 1996b). Marina Bocharova, however, finds that the *kugikly* also play with the *kolena*, as do all other instruments. “There may be a hundred *kolena*,” — she said about her playing of *Timonia*. Further discussion revealed that for her this term does not mean a structural unit. Rather, she refers to differences in pitch. According to her, a player must diversify her choice of both vocal and pipe sounds (see translation of this interview in Appendix D, Interview 3). This seems to be an individual use of this term, however.

Kvitka in his fieldwork reports mentions one more terminological distinction concerning panpipes, which I felt would be interesting to explore in more details. The *rozhok* players in Plekhovo told him that they “think the words” (in Russian, *mysliat slova*), while playing; the panpipe players said that they “think nothing, just walk across

the pipes” (Kvitka 1940b, 15).<sup>11</sup> In contrast, strong associations between *kugikly* playing and words were once noticed by Rudneva. She describes that during her visit to the village of Gakhovo one panpipe player refused to play a tune because the text usually sung with it was obscene. “Don’t worry, she will not find out what the words are,” — said another woman, pointing to Rudneva. But the first one still refused, apparently, being ashamed because her fellow-villagers who were present at this conversation, did know the words (Rudneva n.d., 20). “Most players think that one has to keep in mind the words while playing,” — writes Rudneva in her report. In my interviews with modern panpipe players and other musicians, I was not able to find confirmation of this statement. In contrast, all of modern players assert that they do not think or articulate the words while playing.<sup>12</sup>

### **Panpipes and other aspects of local culture.**

Beyond the field of musical terminology, one can also explore how villagers’ views of panpipe playing fit into the total context of their culture. For this discussion I shall consider the metaphors and comparisons of panpipe playing with other activities, made by people themselves, as well as song texts and legends in which the panpipes are mentioned.

While reviewing fieldwork materials on the Kaluga and Briansk panpipe traditions, I noted that panpipe playing was repeatedly compared with threshing by flails. In Kvitka’s 1949 report from Kaluga province, for example, the informant says: “it is like threshing in four flails, as they start threshing — all in the *lad* [coordinated - O.V.]!” In the interviews conducted by Shentalinskaia in 1988-89, this comparison comes up again: “In the past, we played, as you would thresh with flails, one could even dance!” (*graesh, kak tsapom*

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<sup>11</sup> Scholars of Russian instrumental music often report the association of melodies with the words which are “thought of” or “spoken” by the instrument while playing, especially wind instruments (B. Smirnov 1965, Bromlei 1988, Starostin 1989).

<sup>12</sup> The use of verbal articulation for playing a musical instrument is most apparent in the tradition of Jew’s harp playing in Yakutia. Russian ethnomusicologist E. Alekseev used the term *govoriashchii* (speaking) *khomus* to describe this special effect (see Alekseev 1990).

*molotish' ran'she, tantsevat' mozhno*). In Kursk province, according to my observations, the villagers more often compare threshing with dancing than with panpipe playing, but the similarity of panpipe playing to threshing is also noted by them.

Threshing with flails used to be a necessary skill for every villager, but since the 1950s it has mostly fallen out of use. The work is now done by a combine harvester, but occasionally people still thresh small quantities of grain in their own gardens, if necessary. Many elderly people still have the flails and are able to demonstrate threshing in a group, as some did for my filming session in Plekhovo in August of 1994 (see photographs made from the video-recording in Appendix E). Five people participated, demonstrating threshing with three, four and five flails, and then we did a mini-learning session, at which I discovered that this apparently simple work is in fact quite challenging for a modern city dweller, as it requires significant physical effort and a good sense of coordination both within one's own body, and between the workers in a group.

Before the 1930s (collectivization period), this work was done by all adult and strong members of a peasant family, men and women. Threshing was considered one of the hardest types of agricultural work. The size of a threshing group could vary from 3 to 7 workers, depending on the size of the family.

The workers usually stay in a spacious circle, so they would have enough room for rotating the flail in the air if needed.<sup>13</sup> A pile of sheaves is arranged in a line with the ears in a center and the straw pointing to the sides. While threshing, the group moves slowly along the line of sheaves. The flail strokes hit one spot in the center of the circle in clockwise order, with strict rhythmic regularity one after another, while all workers listen carefully to each other's strokes.

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<sup>13</sup> Such rotation is used when a worker wants to change his or her lead arm without breaking the group rhythm. To do so, one stroke in turn is missed and substituted by the circle of flail in the air, while changing arms — a gesture which is performed by experienced workers with spectacular ease and plasticity (Velichkina 1994).

The quality of the strokes is judged on the basis of its sound. If the flail does not hit the ground with its whole surface, the sound is shallow and empty. On the contrary, if the movement was done correctly, it sounds deep and resonant, almost like a chime. The leader's flail (which is usually given to the strongest worker) is heavier and sounds differently from that of the others. The group's sound thus has a starting point and all other strokes follow it with a particular rhythmic pattern, depending on how many people participate.

The villagers, when they talk about threshing, often imitate it by clapping. During my filming session in 1994 one of the women passing by spontaneously started to dance with the threshing "music," accompanying herself by singing and clapping. The association of threshing and playing musical instruments seems to be a typical one. Many people confirmed that threshing sounds so similar to a dance tune, that in the past it was customary to start dancing while hearing the flail strokes.

Both panpipe playing and threshing are based on the same kind of rhythmic organization which we can call the principle of 'complementarity' (in the people's own words, "not quite together, but one after another"). The villagers themselves do not have a special nominative term for this concept, however. Often they describe the effect as "non-togetherness, but coordination" (in Russian, *ne vmeste, no vse v lad*).

Except for panpipes, no other musical instrument within the Russian tradition uses the principle of rhythmic complementarity. The idea of rhythmic complementarity and co-ordination of sounds, however, is not uniquely represented by threshing in Russian culture. Sometimes such organization appeared in other kinds of group work, where it served as a source of aesthetic pleasure for workers. For example, village women used to wash clothes on wooden river wharves, beating the clothes with special sticks. In Briansk province, as people told me, they tried to co-ordinate their strokes the same way they did in threshing. Those women who did not manage to beat in *lad* (co-ordination) with the

others, were often excluded from the team, or were asked to go to another place to continue their washing (Velichkina 1994). Curiously, this information comes from the village of Chernetovo, a place where the panpipe tradition existed. In the South Kursk region, however, women did not recall such practices.

Another example of the principle of rhythmic complementarity is the festive sound of church bells, called *blagovest*, in which bells of different sizes participate, each with its own rhythm (Rybakov 1896, Iareshko 1992). In Plekhovo, the chimes are commonly said to play “like music, so one can even dance.” People told me that in the past bell sounds sometimes provoked spontaneous dancing, such as that which I observed while filming the threshing. At the same time, Ekaterina Pestsova once told me, that good *kugikly* should sound like chimes (Velichkina 1996b). This seems to be a rare metaphor, however. At least, it did not come up in my interviews with other players, while I did not want to prompt their suggestions by asking them directly to compare the chimes and the panpipes.

Another comparison is often evoked by panpipe players in situations of playing and teaching. Whenever someone fails to co-ordinate with the others in a group, or has a pipe or set poorly tuned, such a player is immediately described as sounding “like frogs in a swamp”. The expression is so common that it may appear in a short form just as an exclamation of disapproval. For example, in tuning *kugikly* sets in the summer of 1996, Plekhovo players reacted to mistakes simply by saying “eh, frogs...”, “frogs, again” etc. (Velichkina 1996b). I was able to appreciate this metaphor fully only when I happened to hear frogs singing in early spring, while walking in the fields near Plekhovo. The similarity of their sounds to that of the *kugikly* was so striking that at first I involuntarily looked for an inexperienced *kugikly* player practicing nearby. The frogs “sang” in the same timbre and range, only slower and not rhythmically coordinated, as if they were a little hesitant.

Given this striking similarity, I expected to find more elaborate stories concerning frogs and panpipes. The villagers, however, do not find frogs’ singing to be in any way



similar to the good *kugikly* players; some people refused my suggestion of their similarity with indignation. “If it [panpipe playing] were similar to the frogs, it would not make sense to play! The people would say - hey, who are these frogs out there! Those who play badly, they won’t take playing upon themselves!” — says categorically Ekaterina Pestsova. Some others, however, say that the frogs “sing” beautifully when they are numerous. “If there are many frogs peeping, it is like they are playing *kugikly*,” — admits Daria Khodosova, — “Especially in the spring, during warm evenings... they are just as *kugikly*! Probably, this is connected somehow...” This whole conversation and comparison of frogs with panpipes, however, was initiated by me, and the reaction was rather unusual. Most of the other villagers did not respond so positively to this idea (see the interview with Nastia Kosheleva in Appendix D, Interview 1, however).

The text of one short (two line) *prikazka*, known in Budishche, treats the frogs’ “skills” in panpipe playing rather ironically:

*Ty liagushka, liagushkina mat’,  
Nauchi menia v kugikly igrat’!  
(You, the frog, the frog’s mother,  
Teach me to play the kugikly! )*  
(Velichkina 1996a)

As noted by both Kvitka and Kulakovskii, panpipe playing was considered to be the prerogative of women. When the villagers in South Kursk were asked to explain why, they usually referred to the custom, or to the register of a man’s voice (not high enough to produce ‘fiu-ka’ sounds of required pitch) (Kvitka 1940b, 12, Velichkina 1994). Kulakovskii was told by one villager in Briansk province that women are more inclined to play panpipes because they work in the fields together, while men work mostly alone (1959, 42). This explanation, however, is the exception rather than the rule. The gender of panpipe players is usually regarded by villagers as such a commonly known and natural fact that it is simply left without explanation.

Such a situation, however, may seem unusual for an outsider, especially if one compares panpipes with other musical instruments of the same tradition, all of which, as elsewhere in Russia, belong exclusively to men. In South Kursk, people say that prior to the 1960s, it was considered shameful for a village woman to appear publicly with a *balalaika*, and they had never heard about female *rozhok* or fiddle players in the past.<sup>14</sup> This gender distinction once again points to the fact that in the eyes of the villagers panpipes are somewhat different from the other musical instruments.

While playing panpipes by a woman is a norm in this tradition, cases when a man would play them were not totally unheard of. At first, many villages totally rejected such a possibility: “What are you talking about — a man playing *kugikly*?! And a woman, you say, — maybe she should play the *rozhok* then?!” The more I asked, however, the more people I found who had heard of a man playing panpipes, or had seen one themselves. Since no such case exists at the present time, it is difficult to separate the grains of truth, which these stories contain from the legends. However, they are interesting for the present discussion, since they demonstrate the relationship between a norm and a marginal phenomenon in people’s view of their tradition.

Some common elements exist in memories of different people about male panpipe players. In all of the stories a male player was regarded as an exceptional individual, in his behavior as well as in appearance (for example, no beard or mustache). Beyond panpipe playing, such a person often revealed other interests “inappropriate” for his gender: for

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<sup>14</sup> The fact that most musical instruments in the Russian tradition are played exclusively by men is usually asserted without any comments in the literature (Vertkov 1975, Zelenin 1991). The issue of instrument playing and gender, however, is interesting to investigate in more detail. Although individual cases of “gender-crossing” behavior are rarely mentioned in works on Russian folklore and ethnography, this may be due to the lack of special interest to such cases among collectors. One such mention is found in the work of a medical professional, Ippolit Tarnovskii, who describes a case of a lesbian woman in the village of Nizhnii Novgorod province at the end of 19th century. Among other unusual features of her behavior (more like that of a man than of a typical village woman) he notes that “she usually sang in a coarse voice but sometimes in a fine one” and “played the pipe masterfully” (Engelstein 1990, 819). Unfortunately, I was unable to find Tarnovskii’s work in Russian, while its English translation does not give the exact Russian term for a “pipe” which the woman was playing. The connotation of a pipe being a man’s instrument is clear, however.

example, singing women's songs (often also by "women's (high) voice"), dancing in women's manner, and doing women's kind of work, such as weaving or embroidery (see interview with M. El'nikova and E. Chupakhina in Appendix D, Interview 5). With strict division of peasant household occupations into those of men and women (see, for example, Zelenin 1991), such individuals were often regarded by their fellow-villagers with suspicion and ridicule. Marina Bocharova says energetically: "It is a shame for a man! If he does women's work - he is a fool, a woman! Who will marry this fool, if he weaves himself? [A girl would say:] if he weaves, what would I do?... We have not had even an idea of such a thing, God save us!" (Velichkina 1994). Indeed, in the stories about a man playing *kugikly* and doing women's work, he is either non-married, or marries a girl not from his village in unusually late years. These individuals, however "inappropriate" in their behavior, were nevertheless accepted in their respective communities, allowed to play and sing in *karagods* and even sometimes praised for playing panpipes well.

In spite of their legendary tinge, the stories about men playing panpipes always refer to concrete people, whose names and lives were known to their fellow villagers. For example, the panpipe playing of a man called Afonia, who lived in Belitsa, is remembered in this village, and even in Plekhovo (Daria Khodosova praises his playing which she heard on one of the town's festivals about 16 years ago). Another such person, who lived in Plekhovo, was called Philip, he was a shoe-maker, played and sang well in the *karagods*. He joined the army during the Second World War and was killed.

Two legends about playing musical instruments, panpipes in particular, are known in the village of Plekhovo. One of them, which talks about the fallen *karagod*, does not seem to be known in other villages; and even in Plekhovo itself it is only told by people who live on one village street, the Tolkachevka. This street is located on the far end of the village, close to the meadow called *karagod*. The legend explains its name. In the old times,

as the legend goes, the annual Pentecost *karagod* was held on this meadow, until one day all people playing and dancing in *karagod* “fell through the earth.” The people from the fallen *karagod* were turned into mythological creatures, the *rusalki*.<sup>15</sup> In Plekhovo they were said to preserve the same appearance they had as human beings, and apparently they also kept the same love for music and entertainment. Sometimes, people say, they hear them playing and singing songs in the evenings in the meadow, in a swamp or in a forest. The *rusalki*, however, are considered by the villagers to be evil creatures, since they seek to harm and kill humans by tickling them to death (Interview 6 in Appendix D).

One striking feature of this legend is that the *karagod* and the music are portrayed in it as belonging to both human and “other” worlds. The same ambiguity concerning *karagod* music is seen in another legend, which talks about the *vodianoi* (the river host, a spirit) who was once playing with *karagod* musicians on the river bank, using a goose feather instead of an instrument (Appendix D, Interview 7).

Still another legend about *kugikly* playing exists in Plekhovo. It is quite different from the first two, because it seems to be based on the apocrypha. It talks about a woman named Fedora (probably, Russified version of Greek name Theodora), who was transformed from a sinner to a saint. At first, the story says, she was a *bludnitsa* (loose woman) and played *kugikly*, which in itself is a great sin (Appendix D, Interview 8).

The woman who told this legend was a leader of religious life. The church was closed in the village soon after the 1917 revolution; its building was first used as a warehouse and then demolished completely in the 1950s. Nevertheless, the Orthodox

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<sup>15</sup> *Rusalki* (pl., sing. *rusalka*) are believed to be river nymphs, or spirits, analogous to the mermaids and sirens. Zelenin (1994) considers the *rusalki* to be a particular kind of *zalozhnye pokoiniki* — those, who died by violent death.

tradition continued to live, and played a very important role in the village life. The tradition had been transmitted orally, and in many ways interlaced with folk music and culture.<sup>16</sup> Its peculiar character can be seen most distinctly in the village funeral ritual.

In recent years, the Orthodox tradition in South Kursk has undergone a sort of renaissance and considerably increased its role in village life. Many middle-aged women are learning old-church Slavonic to be able to do the Bible reading during funerals. Even more actively, they enlarge their repertoire of *molitvy* (literally, prayers) — songs with religious texts, sung while people have a night's vigil in the house of the deceased. For Plekhovo's music culture, this seems to be a new genre, which appeared only about 15-20 years ago. Tatiana Kosheleva, the narrator of the legend about Fedora, was one of the first to introduce *molitvy* singing in Plekhovo, and she is now the most respected of all "funeral specialists" in the village, adherent to the spirit and letter of Orthodoxy. This may explain why, in her understanding, playing *kugikly* is a great sin. Other people, less involved with religious life, do not unanimously support her view on *kugikly*.<sup>17</sup>

Considering the *kugikly*'s role in village culture, one would expect to find it mentioned in local song texts. With respect to folk instruments, Russian folk song texts present peculiar sources of information.<sup>18</sup> The references to instruments in song texts certainly cannot "prove" their existence in the same way as historical documents can, nor

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<sup>16</sup> For an analysis of interaction between Orthodox Christian and folk traditions in Russia, based on observations of modern village life, see Mazo 1991. For example, the phenomenon can be seen most distinctly in the village funeral ritual. A funeral ritual which I observed in Plekhovo in the summer of 1994, perpetuated the peculiar mixture of Christian and pagan beliefs, so characteristic of modern village life, such as, for example, the towel on the window near the icon corner, and a glass of water served for the soul of the deceased to come and wash. The towel, I was told, must be necessarily old, home-made, and "not too beautiful, too festive." Another towel was tied around the cross, standing under the icons. This cross, saved by the villagers from the destroyed Plekhovo church, is now a "communal property" and is kept by one woman, who lends it for all village funerals. She also keeps the shawls which the relatives of a deceased tie on the cross during the funerals. Later, she said, she distributes them among village women. These shawls, after being tied to the cross, are said to relieve headaches.

<sup>17</sup> See, for example, the interview with Daria Khodosova (Appendix D, Interview 4). Also, Anna Kosheleva exclaims: "Who cares whether or not one may be punished in the other world?! Who saw it? Or someone came back from the other world and told it?" (Velichkina 1994).

<sup>18</sup> Famintsyn in his works on Russian folk instruments and musicians (1890, 1891, 1995) cites song texts often. Lately, however, most scholars have ignored song texts as a source of information on instruments and their playing.

can they provide a detailed “technical” description of an instrument. However, they may reflect people’s view of an instrument, its role in the culture, and its connection with other symbols or ideas represented in the text.

The number of song texts mentioning the *kugikly* is very limited. Beyond the short verse about the “frog’s mother” (cited above), there is only one song text that mentions *kugikly* directly. The reference to the *kugikly* appears only at the very end of the song’s extremely long and elaborated text (first recorded by Starostin from M. Bocharova in 1984). The song was sung in the village of Budishche anytime except during the periods of fasting, but not during wedding rituals. It is a dance song, and it is also said to “honor a married couple.” As it is often the case with dance songs, in its treatment of a subject of family life the text is rather ironic. A woman reproaches her husband, who is treating her badly: “My friend, Ivan, my sweet-heart, why do you beat me, what are you trying to teach me? It is not I who made you old and sad; the girls and young women in the far-away did it — by the fiddles and the *kugikly*, by their ringing hand-palms, their fast playing and polite talks...” Curiously, the *kugikly* are depicted here in connection with women “from far-away,” seducing a man by their music, a motif which is very common in the world myths about music.

Another song text gives an interesting description of musical activity, but it does not mention the *kugikly* directly: “A beautiful girl, named so-and-so (the name is inserted depending on whom this performance honors), went to the street and started a *karagod* at the gates; she carried out the fiddles and the *dudki*, she called for a young man...” (first recorded by A. Ivanov from M. Drushliakova in Plekhovo in 1993).

A comic dance song *A u nas na bazare koza v sarafane* (“At our market there is a goat dressed in a *sarafan*”), recorded in the village of Dolzhenkovo, enumerates musical

instruments played by domestic animals. One of the instruments is called *svistushki* (literary, the whistles), which, as performers themselves explained, is another name for *kugikly* (recorded by A. Ivanov in 1993).

### **Panpipe learning and aesthetics of the older generation.**

In the last section of this chapter we shall examine people's opinions concerning aesthetic evaluations of panpipe playing, their notion of musical talent, and their ideas about how one should proceed about learning to play panpipes. The material for the following discussion was collected mostly during my two last trips in 1996, when I already knew the informants relatively well and was able to focus our discussions. In summer of 1996 I also confronted the performers with a pre-recorded audio-tape and conducted a small pilot study using a "cognitive dissonance" approach (see Chapter 2, pp. 83-84).

While discussing the topic of metaphors, one negative aesthetic judgment has already been mentioned: playing panpipes badly is compared to the sound of frogs in a swamp. One can ask, then, what are the essential qualities of good panpipe playing. The most important seem to be an ability to co-ordinate with other players, although this requirement is applied mostly to the accompanying players. Among other qualities, important for the group as a whole and for the *para* player in particular, villagers often cite loudness, good use of all pipes in a set, and the quality of a player's voice.

When the panpipe players are asked about the qualities one needs to have to be a good player, they first respond, that "one has to have a good voice." "You have a good voice, you can learn to play" — said the villagers to Rudneva (1975, 154). High, clear voice sounds made by the *para* player have to "cover" the sound of the other instruments and it is what one hears first when approaching a *karagod*.

Some modern players even seem to emphasize the importance of vocal sounds at the expense of other components. Nastia Kosheleva, for example, uses the pretext of her good

voice for a little self-promoting assertion: she argues that the voice quality is more important than anything else when *kugikly* are played with other instruments, since nothing else from *kugikly* can really be heard. She says that the village women praised her play as being better than that of Bocharova, because the latter has a harsh, coarse voice (see interview with her in Appendix D, Interview 1). Bocharova, indeed, frequently complains that her voice prevents her from playing as well as the old-time players. Both of the players refer to voice quality only, while discussing “playing.” In fact, most people recognize that playing the pipes is also important. N. Kosheleva’s playing, for example, evokes rather negative comments among the villagers, because, they say, “she always stays on the same pipe and does not walk enough across other pipes” (Velichkina 1994).

“In order to play, one needs an understanding, on which pipe to start, on which to stop” (Rudneva 1975, 153). In popular opinion, a master player, unlike a mediocre one, “walks” through all pipes while playing, and does it fluently. At first, the expression “to walk through *all* pipes” looked to me as a metaphor without any strict implication, since my analyses of previous panpipe recordings have demonstrated that even master-players do not use equally all pipes in a set (see discussion in Chapter 6). A small perceptual experiment, which I attempted in the summer of 1996, allowed me to hypothesize that this expression may have a more precise meaning.

For this trip, I prepared a tape, on which the excerpt from Bocharova’s playing of the tune *Timonia* was changed in such a way that the form of the tune was intentionally changed, first slightly, and then more significantly (for notation of this excerpt see Appendix D, p. 368).<sup>19</sup> By demonstrating this recording to the players, I hoped to observe their reaction to this “conflicting stimulus” (using expression of Ulrich Wegner).

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<sup>19</sup> The excerpt was prepared using the Digidesign II software at the Boesendorfer lab of the Ohio state University. Operating with a digitized signal, I first cut out the vocal sounds, and then changed the remaining notes so that the deep structure of a tune was distorted. The idea and the method of preparing the



I explained to the players that this was the recording of a girl in America, to whom I had tried to teach *kugikly* playing, but that she had not yet learned to do vocal sounds (in fact, I wanted to focus their attention on *kugikly* playing per se). The tape evoked different reactions. Most of the performers were pleased with the quality of the sound, but did not recognize the tune to be “theirs.” “She plays quite well, now just teach her to do *fiukan’ie*,” — said Praskovia Glamazdina. “She does not go through all the *kugikly*,” — responded Ekaterina Pestsova, — “This is *Timonia*. It starts with the larger [pipe] and goes down (sic.!) to the *miziutka*, and then it turns back.”

Bocharova’s reaction was the most insightful, perhaps because my modified recording was modeled after her playing. She is not only an excellent player, but also an eloquent speaker, and able to reflect on her playing. The “conflicting stimulus” evoked this reflection, and she responded with an astonishing flow of explanations interlaced with playing new melodic versions, which demonstrated a real “musical thinking” process.

Since this interview is translated in Appendix D (Interview 3), I shall only summarize and provide an interpretation of her explanations here. She notes that “she [a player on the tape] makes a good beginning, but then she goes astray,” “stumbles upon a pipe,” and “steps over”: “she went and turned around, but did not go back [as she should], instead she [went to] the *guden’* right away.” In further conversation and elaborations it became clear, however, that it is not “skipping” over the pipes in itself, that is mistaken, but doing it in the *wrong place* within a tune’s structure. Also, according to Bocharova, the player on the tape made an impression, that she “did not know where she was going next.”

Thus, in playing panpipes one has to think ahead, while “hundreds of *kolena* are possible”, but all of them are subordinated to an order. The question remains, however, whether we can interpret these statements as the proof of a ‘deep structure’ idea existing in

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tape for field experiment was suggested to me by M. Mazo, who also used similar approach in her work on Russian laments (see Mazo 1994).

performers' minds. At the least, all of the variants demonstrated by Bocharova during this session adhere to the tune's deep structure (as discussed in Chapter 6). We can tentatively assume that the player's internal representation of tune's structure at some level of abstraction may be similar to this analytical model, although it escapes verbalization on the part of the player.

In the villagers' statements about learning to play panpipes, one point of view is that playing panpipes is not difficult. If one can play another instrument, one should be able to play panpipes as well (interview with N. Kosheleva, Appendix D, Interview 1), and should be able to teach oneself to do it without the help of other players. At the same time, the villagers in South Kursk admit that playing panpipes it is a matter of musical talent. "Her nature does not allow her to play" (*priroda ne dozvoliaia*), people use to say about a player who is not very successful (Kvitka 1940b,6).

At the same time, the self-teaching process may last a long time. M. El'nikova and E. Chupakhina in the village of Belitsa, on my request to teach me, answered with surprise: "You want to learn *kugikly* just in one day, but we learned them all our lives" (Velichkina 1994).

"A good ear," as an ability to recognize and remember a tune, is equal to musical talent. For one who does not have a good ear, all tunes sound the same, for he or she does not understand a difference between them (Egor Pestsov, Velichkina 1996b). One strategy that is commonly used while talking about 'understanding' the melodies is vocal imitations of instrument playing. Good panpipe players are usually capable of singing not only panpipe parts, but also those of all other instruments, with their characteristic melodic phrases and their articulation. The example of vocal imitation of the *rozhok* and the fiddle is given in the Appendix C (Notation 25). Sometimes, a few women can even perform an imitation of the whole ensemble (such recording was made by A. Koshelev in the village of Bobrava in 1985).

Although the players emphasize an importance of self-teaching, they often remember cases when an elder woman taught the girls to play, usually in a group of three or four. Such “learning sessions” were conducted in informal manner, on the village street. The girls were mostly imitating the teacher by example, and then would try it between themselves (Appendix D, Interview 5 with M. El’nikova and E. Chupakhina). Marina El’nikova, for example, recalls learning with the help of a woman named Fedora, who lived next door: “As soon as she would go out to the street — her mother-in-law sends her to the draw-well — we [the girls — O.V.] would be there, with the *kugikly*! Well, she would draw the water, put the bucket aside, and ‘walk’ on the *kugikly*... We would watch her, as she walks on the *kugikly*, and then we would do the same. Then we would begin *priduvat*’... And then her mother-in-law would come out and say: “You know what, Fedora [the woman’s name — O.V.], bring me the water first[...], and then you can go and do with them [the girls] whatever you want. So, she would do that — get the water and then come back to us, sit down near the barn with all of us around her, all three of us, watching her as she walked on the *kugikly*...” (Velichkina 1994).

Usually, family members played an important role in the learning process. Evdokiia Chupakhina from Belitsa, for example, was taught to play by her mother, as she and her elder sister used to play *kugikly* together at home (Velichkina 1994). Both of today’s most active panpipe players, Nastia Kosheleva and Marina Bocharova, remember playing panpipes in their families in the midst of everyday occupations or for festive occasions, and they both played *kugikly* together with their fathers, who played the *rozhek*. This specific family situation encouraged their learning and facilitated their entrance into the tradition. Such family performance also served as a bridge between learning experiences and the big *karagod* performances (see also Interview 5 in Appendix D).

## Chapter summary.

In this chapter, various aspects of the views of the performers on panpipe playing have been explored, including the terminology used to describe and discuss performance practice, verbalized connections with other aspects of the culture, mentions of panpipes in songs' texts and legends and the evaluations of "good" and "bad" panpipe playing.

Analysis of panpipe terminology confirms the existence of a relatively elaborate and reflective native music theory. A special vocabulary of Russian panpipe players, although it may be in some ways not as specific or elaborate as other theoretical systems of musical knowledge (as, for example, the Ancient Chinese system, based on panpipe proportions), it is still rich enough to support Marcel Mauss' saying that "a theory of music exists everywhere there are panpipes" (Mauss 1947, cited in Zemp 1979a, 33). In terms of Baily's distinction between operational and representational model (Baily 1988, see discussion in Chapter 2), the knowledge of South Kursk panpipe players can be termed operational (since it has a direct role in unfolding musical performance), although it often escapes specific verbalization (as demonstrated, for example, by Bocharova's reaction to my modified recording).

Panpipes occupy a peculiar place in the village culture, and they are often compared with other phenomena of village life. Such comparisons and metaphors allow us to uncover semantic ties between different aspects of traditional village culture.

The opinions of villagers often vary and contradict each other, especially with regard to aesthetic and moral judgments of *kugikly* playing (for example, seeing it as a sin). The diversity of personal backgrounds of the informants may explain some of these controversies.

All facets of the phenomena that were discussed in this chapter represented the verbal aspect of cultural knowledge. In eliciting native concepts, I also attempted to extend the limits of the verbal reflection of the players, provoking their reactions to unusual stimuli, using a “cognitive dissonance” approach.

This approach, however, showed its limitations. The most important of them is that people’s real actions, and first of all playing itself, are not the same as talking about them (cf. Gatewood 1985). The performers’ view of the instrument and playing can enrich our understanding of music, but it cannot substitute for the analysis of the music itself. Such analysis can take into account and explore issues raised by the players themselves. There may be some important details, however, that escaped their verbalization. At the same time, the rules verbally expressed by the players may contradict their own musical behavior. Such discrepancies between the real tuning behavior and the verbalization of the rules are demonstrated in the next chapter.

## CHAPTER 5

### PANPIPE MAKING AND TUNING<sup>1</sup>

*Kugikly* in the South Kursk tradition are made from a plant, called *trostnik* (a reed, or a cane).<sup>2</sup> This is a plant with a hollow sectioned stem, a panicle at the end, usually about 6-8 feet long; it grows in abundance in the swamps of south Russia.

*Trostnik* is especially suitable as a material for panpipes. The plant has naturally closed joints at distances of approximately half a foot, which is close to the size of the largest pipe in a set. Hollow in the middle, with even and hard walls, it need only be cut to appropriate size and cleaned slightly in order to be used as an instrument.

In the past, despite the availability of *trostnik* locally, a better reed was sought for making the *kugikly*, as Rudneva and Kvitka were told during their fieldwork. It was sometimes cut very far away, on the banks of the river Dnieper near Kiev, where some of the village elders traditionally went for pilgrimages. On their way home, they would pick up bundles of reeds to be used in making instruments (Kvitka 1986, 249, and Rudneva

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<sup>1</sup> The following discussion is based mostly on my fieldwork observations and video-recordings, supplemented by interviews with the makers. Beyond this, detailed descriptions of panpipe making and tuning in Rudneva's book (1975, 143-148) are incorporated into the discussion; measurements from earlier fieldwork reports are also used for comparison with data obtained recently. In terms of Merriam's three-part model, which involves study on three analytic levels — conceptualization about music, behavior in relation to music, and musical sound itself (Merriam 1964, 32), the following analysis incorporates only the first and the second analytic levels. Villagers' notions about how the instrument should be tuned belong to the first level of Merriam's model, their acts while tuning it belong to the second.

<sup>2</sup> It belongs to the family of plants called in Latin *phragmites*, and the plant itself is called *phragmites australis*, or *communis* (Zalesova 1901, v. 4, 352).

1975, 143).<sup>3</sup> This practice may reflect the strictness of requirements for the quality of the *kugikly* sound in the past. Modern players, however, do not recall such a practice. They say that the material for making *kugikly* was always abundant and easily accessible all around the villages.

Beyond the *kugikly*, in South Kursk the same material was also used for making the reed (*pishchik*) of the *rozhek*, see Appendix B).

The best time to gather the reed for panpipes is in late autumn or winter, when the water in swamps is frozen. Usually women would bring a bundle of reeds and store them in a barn until the appropriate time for making the panpipes. Some say that they would usually make them for Christmas *karagods*, while others preferred to make panpipes in the springtime.

According to my observation and the interviews, the process of making *kugikly* would typically take place outside of the house in the courtyard, or even on the street, since this work produces a lot of waste. On the contrary, when making a *rozhek*, a process requiring detailed work on small pieces of reed, work inside the house was preferred, as was the case during my video-taping of the making of these instruments in 1994. In South Kursk I never heard about making panpipes outside of the village, while working in the fields or on the way home, as was very often the case in the Bryansk tradition (Kulakovskii 1940a).

Since the *trostnik* reed does not grow in Bryansk and Kaluga provinces, a different kind of plant, of umbellate type, is used there for making panpipes. According to Kulakovskii (1959, 41) this is *Angelica silvestris*, called locally *tsvoly* or *stvoly*. It is also sectioned and has hollow space in the middle, but its walls are much softer and do not need to be cut with a knife.

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<sup>3</sup>This fact may be interpreted as another example of the mixed belief system and customary practices in traditional peasant culture: while panpipes were considered as a sinner's instrument (see Chapter 4, p. 187), people were used to bringing the reeds for making them from pilgrimage trips.

Kulakovskii describes an amazingly simple process of making *kugikly* in the village of Dorozhevo, Briansk province: “A women breaks two trunks of the plant, one thicker and another thinner, and further works only by ‘her claws and teeth’ (in the words of the villagers), gnawing or breaking the edges and smoothing them by fast and careful rubbing on the collar or sleeve of a home-made shirt”(1959, 43).

The softness of the material from which panpipes are made in the Briansk tradition facilitates making the instrument, and makes the process itself more spontaneous. At the same time, such an instrument is more fragile; it cannot be kept for a long time, and is often discarded after one playing. In Briansk province *kugikly* are rarely played during winter months. When they are, people use the elder, a plant that has an easily removable core (Kulakovskii 1940b, 8). In contrast, in South Kursk only one type of reed is used for making the *kugikly*, but this reed is more durable than that used in Briansk and the instrument can be kept and used all year round.

Unlike the Briansk panpipe tradition, in Kursk province, in spite of the simplicity of the fabrication process and the availability of material, good pipes and well-tuned sets were often kept for many years. “You make a *para* (five-pipe set) and keep it forever. If one pipe breaks, you substitute it, and this is it,” — explained M. Bocharova (Velichkina 1996a). In 1940, in the village of Gakhovo, Kvitka was shown a set of *kugikly* that was made in 1906, i.e. 34 years before his visit (Kvitka 1986, 249). In 1994, in the village of Borki I saw an old set of panpipes that had been kept by her relatives for approximately 10 years after the death of the player, and then given to younger women who wanted to learn how to play the *kugikly*.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> Unfortunately, for variety of reasons this set does not furnish us with reliable information for further investigation, nor does it provide its current owner with much help in learning. Some of the pipes in this set are broken and thus it was not possible to obtain a sound from them to record the tuning. In addition, the difference in the quality of the material (color, diameter, the width of the walls, etc.) made me suspect that the second pipe in this set did not belong to it originally, but was in fact substituted later, possibly already after the death of the performer herself. Since the pipes in a set are not tied together, one can never be sure that all pipes belong to the same set, until they are either made and tuned in the presence of a researcher, or their unity is certified in some other way by the performers. The case of the old set from the



As Kvitka has pointed out (1986, 254), the durability of the material may have an influence on the stability of panpipe tuning in a given tradition. In Briansk, as Kulakovskii had observed, the makers of a new set did not attempt to compare its tuning with an old set (Kulakovskii 1940b, 11). By contrast, in the Kursk tradition, the old sets of panpipes often serve as a reference for the tuning of a new set. If there is no old set of panpipes available, however, the makers use their hands as a measurement tool (see discussion on p. 208-209). Unlike some other panpipe traditions (for example, in Peru, see Turino 1993), South Kursk panpipe makers do not use measuring sticks.

In the past, in the villages of South Kursk province, the reed served many purposes beyond making panpipes. In springtime the young reeds were mowed for cattle fodder, and children would eat the soft upper parts of the reed as a snack food. In the autumn, the ripe reeds were cut and used to make barn roofs and wall-mats for winter, and the remainder would serve as a kindling material. The ripe yellow reed, open at both ends, was used in weaving, where it served as a sliding tube within the shuttle on which the thread is wound. Thus, there was always an abundance of the material for *kugikly* available nearby on the streets of the village, within easy reach, whenever anyone wanted to make an instrument. This probably facilitated the absorption of the practice by younger generations of villagers in the past. Sometimes in the absence of fresh reed, the players, especially children, would take the reeds out of a nearby barn roof (Velichkina 1994).

Due to socio-economic changes in the village, the reeds are no longer used for all of the purposes mentioned above. Nowadays, with the cattle fed by mixed fodder in winter and early spring and the roofs covered by slate, reed is no longer a common material on the village streets. Today the reeds in the swamps are not mowed and eventually their stems grow more and more thin, making it difficult to find good material for *kugikly*. Children no

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village of Borki does not meet any of these condition, and thus it was excluded from the following discussion of panpipe sets.

longer play with the reeds and are sometimes quite unfamiliar with this type of natural material. The absence of easily available material probably contributed to the decline of the panpipe tradition that we observe today.

With regard to the material for the instrument two important points should be made: first, the material used in the local tradition in South Kursk was widely available and used for other purposes in village daily life (which facilitated the making of an instrument) and durable enough to be kept for a long time when made into a set of *kugikly*. Second, the plant's dissemination does not coincide with that of the instrument itself, as two Russian panpipe traditions that are similar in many ways, use different kinds of material for the instrument. The material conditions, to a certain extent, the difference of tuning strategies and the musical outcome itself.

### **The process of making *kugikly*.**

According to the established practice, the women who played the lead part in the ensemble would take the initiative in making the panpipes for the whole group, although most of the time making and especially tuning the instrument was considered to be a group activity. In the past it was also typical for the group of girls learning to play panpipes to ask an older women to help them in making and tuning the instruments (Velichkina 1994). Since the number of players in a group was not fixed, a total set of panpipes for the ensemble depended on a concrete situation. I shall call the unit of 3-4 individual sets, made and tuned at the same time and designed for an ensemble playing, a "collection," to distinguish it from a set of pipes for an individual player. A collection, wrapped in a rag or a piece of an old shawl, was usually kept by one person. Before the playing, this woman would call the other players, give them their sets, and then pick them up again. Neverthe-

less, the “ownership” of the panpipe collection was never considered too strictly: the panpipes, unlike other instruments such as the fiddle, the *balalaika* and the *garmon*’, could not be bought or sold, since they had no material value.

Since the pipes in an individual set are not tied, different sets were distinguished and separated by placing the closed ends of each set pointing in the opposite direction while wrapping. The players consciously kept the principle of distinction of each individual set while wrapping them. “Only do not mix them!” — they said many times while observing me packing the instruments after the recording session. It is not clear to me why they insist on keeping the individual sets apart, while they themselves can freely exchange pipes which are equal in size between the individual sets in the process of playing. The reason may be that in this way it is easier and faster to sort the sets before playing.

I observed the process of making the *kugikly* several times during the 1994 and 1996 field trips. In my earlier trips, I faced a problem of absence of good material to make an instrument. Since many people had actually stopped playing panpipes, they did not have the instruments ready at the time of our first meetings. My trips usually took place in the summer or fall, when the reed was not available for gathering, and the players were too old to go to the swamps in the winter themselves. For this reason, in 1989-1993 I always brought to the villages a box of reeds cut to different sizes. The players assembled and tuned these “ready-made” sets before starting to play. They were never satisfied with the quality of the reeds, however. From the point of view of my research such a solution was a compromise, since it did not give me an opportunity to observe the process of making and tuning the sets from the beginning to end.

In the summer of 1993, I was able to find relatively good reeds near the village of Peschanoe, and had the first collection (five-pipe *para* set, three pipe small *priduval'nye* set and a big *guden'*) made for me by Maria Golovina of this village. Plekhovo women,

however, found this set too large and said it would be very hard to play it. They also rejected the reeds I brought to them from my trip to Peschanoe, saying they were too large and not completely ripe.

On my next year visit to Plekhovo, I found that E. Pestsov and P. Glamazdina, having learned of city dwellers' new interest in panpipes, actually prepared reeds in the winter, as it was done traditionally. Thus, in the summer of 1994 two collections were made by them and the process was videotaped. The reed itself, however, due to the weather conditions in this particular year, was not satisfactory. In the winter of 1996, I made a trip to the frozen swamp near Plekhovo and gathered a large amount of reed, from which three different collections were made by E. Pestsov, N. Motorykina together with F. Glamazdina, and M. Bocharova. The fabrication of these collections was also video-recorded.

Traditionally, men did not make panpipes. With the recent interest of urban dwellers in this instrument, however, the villagers have come to realize that fabrication of panpipe sets can be remunerative. Among others, Egor Pestsov has been preparing the reeds for the *kugikly*, and making some “commercial sets” for sale to urban visitors. He also agreed, as mentioned earlier, to make two panpipe collections for me during my fieldwork of 1994 and 1996, while I videotaped the process. A reaction of older women to this Pestsov’s making the instrument was of some interest. One of them, watching the video tape, exclaimed: “If I did not see it myself, I would never believe that a man is making *kugikly*!” Others often expressed great surprise saying that, “he is such a good hand at everything, he even knows how to make panpipes!” This often-repeated praise revealed that it was considered highly unusual for a man to know how to make panpipes. However, since the making (i.e., cutting tubes) itself is fairly simple, the concern here seems to be mostly about the knowledge of tuning.

Although the technique for making *kugikly* in Kursk is more sophisticated than in Briansk province, it is still fairly easy. The process of making the *kugikly* in South Kursk province consist of the following steps: (1) gathering the reed and choosing the appropriate material for each set; (2) cutting each reed above the septum (which will serve as a closed end of the pipe); (3) peeling the inside of the tube; (4) cutting the end below the septa (i.e., the open end of the pipe). After steps 2 to 4 are repeated for each pipe in a set, there is the final cutting and tuning of the whole set. Then the next set is cut in the same manner and tuned to the first one, etc.<sup>5</sup>

First, reeds of appropriate size and quality are chosen. They should be ripe, yellowish in color and firm, so the cut reeds will produce soft melodic rustles when hit against one another. Then the reed is cut above the septum, and the outer part of the bottom of the pipe is evened and smoothed. The edges from outside of the joint are left about two millimeters high in order to secure the bottom, since the membrane of a septum is fragile and can be easily cut through. Compared to the direction in which the reed grows, the *kugikly* are always made up-side-down, since the shape of a channel is slightly different at the both ends. The part right above the septum is slightly swollen, which makes it more difficult to clean and to produce a good sound from this end of a reed.

Cleaning the peel inside of the tube is done with a piece of reed chopped alongside and a goose feather. The reed bar is taken into the mouth and held by the teeth, while the pipe is rotated with both hands. Then the peel is shaken out of the tube and it is blown out through its closed end. At this point the bottom of a pipe is very porous, and with a little effort the air can be blown through it. The goose feather is used for final cleaning of the inside of a pipe. Both tools must be handled very carefully and not pushed too much into the tube, since they can easily pierce the bottom. On the other hand, the cleaning must be done thoroughly, for it is directly related to the quality of the sound.

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<sup>5</sup> See pictures of making *kugikly* in the Appendix E, Illustrations 13 -17.

In general, the septum of a reed is more porous than its walls. It often cannot hold air, thus affecting the sound. The pipes must therefore be moistened before and periodically during the playing, so that the bottom swells and closes all the pores. It is common to observe the players licking the lower and upper ends of the pipes before starting to play (licking the upper ends is done in order to smooth their edges which are moving against the player's lips). In Plekhovo, before a performance, the *kugikly* are usually put in water for some time to allow for thorough moistening. Since the *karagod* performances were often held near a well, a spring, or on a river bank, water could be easily found to "let the pipes drink," as the players usually say.<sup>6</sup>

Instead of continually moistening the pipes, another way to keep the air inside the tube channel is to put some kind of adhesive material over the closed end of the pipe. A soft crust of bread or the wax leftovers of church candles were traditionally used, although they did not always hold firmly and could easily fall out. Nowadays, pieces of plasticine, which is more reliable than bread or wax, can also be used, although the sound of such plasticine-end pipes is often criticized by more traditional makers. Such an "innovative" technique is used in the collection made by Egor Pestsov, while M. Bocharova says that closing the porous bottom deprives the pipes of their natural "breathing" and therefore changes the timbre of the instrument unfavorably. The sound becomes darker and more dull, and the instrument loses its specific "ringing" quality. She prefers moistening *kugikly* from time to time with her saliva, and not with water, because water, she says, does not penetrate so thoroughly into the porous material and does not hold the air as well as saliva (Velichkina 1996a).

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<sup>6</sup> Such expressions can be considered as an example of giving a musical instrument anthropomorphic features. This practice is characteristic of many traditional cultures in the world. Among the Eastern Slavs, for example, in Belorussian and West Russian fiddle traditions, the parts of the instrument have names of human body parts, and the instrument also has a voice, similar to that of humans, so it can not only "play", but also "speak", and "cry" (Nazina 1995, Velichkina 1987).

Makers say that for strengthening the bottom and the walls of pipes, they can be put into boiling water mixed with cinders for a few hours. I never observed this myself, however.

### **Measurements and tuning strategies.**

A panpipe maker, depending on the circumstances, may use one of three different approaches for tuning: first, the new set can be measured and tuned to an old set of panpipes; second, it can be tuned to another instrument; third, if there is no such need and an old *kugikly* set is not around, the makers can use corporeal measurements (i.e., their body proportions, in this case hands) for making an instrument.

If new panpipes are intended to replicate an old set, first the length of pipes in this set is copied, and then the two sets are compared in their pitch (see discussion of this procedure on p.219-20).

Traditionally, tuning panpipes to other instruments was executed only in a case when instruments with unchangeable tuning, such as the *pyzhatka* and the *dudka*, were present in the ensemble. All other traditional instruments, including the fiddle, the *balalaika* and the *rozhok*, were tuned to the *kugikly*. In modern performing groups, however, the participation of the *garmon'* with its unchangeable tuning forces the *kugikly* players to tune their instruments to the *garmon'*, which sometimes results in a distortion of visual proportions of a panpipe set (see discussion on p.209-10).

When the *garmon'*, with its standard tempered tuning, appeared in village culture it significantly changed villagers' perception of pitch. In terms of absolute pitch, it also lowered the sound of the instrumental ensemble.<sup>7</sup> Not surprisingly, those panpipe players who participate in *samodeiatelmost'* performances often tune their sets precisely to the *garmon'*, while other, more traditional players do not share these views on tuning. This

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<sup>7</sup> The two most typical tunings of the *garmon'* are A and B-flat major scales. The concert group of the village of Plekhovo today is tuned to A-major, and the group in Budishche — to B-flat major (Velichkina 1994 and 1996a).

factor needs to be taken into account, since those players who do not participate in concerts and have never played panpipes in the ensemble with the *garmon'* are probably affected less by the tempered tuning.<sup>8</sup>

Before starting to make panpipes, the villagers always asked me with which instrument I wanted to play them. When I responded that I was going to play my *kugikly* with the *rozhok*, fiddle and balalaika, and not with the *garmon'*, they started making pipes of their own choice of size, using for the measurements the proportions of their hands. This is the third possibility of tuning, which we now consider in some detail.

#### Visual proportions of panpipe sets.

The importance of the connection between corporeal measurements — a widespread technique in building musical instruments — and psycho-physiological preferences that was demonstrated in the instruments' tuning cannot be neglected in studies of music making.<sup>9</sup> The use of corporeal measurements and the principle of equidistance in tuning of a musical instrument is common for musical practices of many cultures. It was first noticed and described by Charles Wead, who analyzed a large body of specimens from the Smithsonian museum collection and wrote (1903, 438-9):

The primary principle in the making of musical instruments that yield a scale is the repetition of elements similar to the eye; the size, number, and location of these elements being dependent on the size of the hand and the digital expertness of the performer [...]. The pitch-determining elements are therefore primarily decorative.

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<sup>8</sup> Of course, even in this case the effect of other sources of Western urban music, such as radio and TV sets, now in every village house, cannot be denied.

<sup>9</sup> Examples of this connection can be found in the musical practices of many cultures. In general, the larger the length of the instrument, the larger the part of the human body used as a measurement unit to obtain the scale. For example, South Russian flutes without finger holes, described by Ivanov (1993), which are longer than panpipes, are measured with the palm width (Ivanov 1993, 48) between the flutes when they are tuned to play in ensemble. In this range, the palm width difference in length gives an interval of approximately one tone. The largest sets of 'Are' are panpipes use the length of the elbow-wrist part of the arm as the measurement for tuning (Zemp 1979). Detailed exploration of this topic is, however, outside of the scope of the present research.



The tuning thus may become rather individual in each particular case of instrument making, being the result of application of corporeal measurements. Such concept, of course, differs from the modern European concept of scale and tuning as exact values. In the words of Charles Wead (1903, 438), once again,

The people who made and used these instruments, or any single type of them, had not that idea of a scale which underlines all our thinking on the subject, namely: A series either of tones or of intervals recognized as a standard, independent of any particular instrument, but to which every instrument must conform. Modern Europeans for the sake of harmony nearly banished all scales but one, and seldom know by what rules the instruments are tuned to furnish this. But for these people the instrument is the primary thing, and to it the rule is applied, while the scale is the result, or a secondary thing; and the same rule applied a hundred times may possibly give a hundred different scales.

The panpipe tuning process in the villages of South Kursk province demonstrates the importance of visual proportions for building a scale.

The size of the first pipe of the *para* set may be determined by the distance between the stretched thumb and a middle finger of the right hand of the maker.<sup>10</sup> Then all shorter pipes are measured by the width of the index finger's phalanx, as they are said to be spaced approximately equidistantly with respect to each other.

As is known from acoustic theory, the frequency scale and musical intervals are in logarithmic relationship (see, for example, Backus 1977, Hall 1980). In other words, if the principle of spatial equidistance is observed strictly, the size of the intervals, expressed in relative values (such as cents) increases as one ascends. The principle of visual equidistance thus does not result in an aurally equidistant scale.

Some panpipe makers in Kursk realize this increase of the intervals and try to adjust their measurement for obtaining an aurally equidistant scale. For example, Anna Kosheleva (an old panpipe player, not involved in concert activity, unlike Nastia, with the same family

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<sup>10</sup> This is done in the case if there is no old panpipe set nearby, with which the new set can be compared.

name) states that while the distance of one finger phalanx should be observed between the first, second and third pipes, the two smaller pipes should be separated by less than a finger phalanx, as she puts it (videotaped interview of 1992, materials of RTRF, tape 10). Similarly, M. Bocharova defines the differences between the length of adjacent pipes in the *para* set using the sequence of thumb, index, middle and little finger.<sup>11</sup>

In my own observations it seemed to me that for the makers themselves the principle of visual proportions was more important than the resulting sequence of musical sounds. The requirement for all pipes to be the same in diameter and spaced equidistantly is verbally stated and always considered when the pipe sets are evaluated by the villagers.

I learned the importance of visual proportions for panpipe tuning by accident. In 1989 I brought the set made by me in Moscow and carefully tuned to the previous Plekhovo recording, but the pipes in this set did not look equidistant. At this time I was fascinated with the unique “minor third” scale (*c, d, e-flat, f* and *g*) on one of the old Plekhovo recordings (that of 1967), although the same tune in all other villages used the scale similar to the major pentachord (*c, d, e, f*, and *g*). My set was made with a longer third pipe to produce the minor-third scale, and I wanted to know the players’ reaction to its sound. Instead, I was immediately told that this set was not good (*ne ladnye*), because it did not look right, before the villagers even attempted to check the tuning by playing it. It has to be noted, however, that the people who estimated my set in this case were more traditional players, i.e. those, who do not participate in stage performances. For them, it seems, the appearance of panpipe set, i.e. its visual proportions, is inseparable from its tuning. Sets cut non-equidistantly, however, can be found among the panpipes made by the

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<sup>11</sup> Bocharova also states that the fifth pipe in the *para* set should be made smaller in diameter, in order “to produce a softer and more melodic sound” (Velichkina 1996a). Other players, on the contrary, usually say that the diameters of all pipes should be equal, although in practice they may not follow this exactly.

villagers themselves. This tends to happen especially when the makers tune the set by additional cutting of some of its pipes according to an aural, and not visual estimation of tuning.

Traditionally, after the set of pipes has been cut, the players checked its tuning by ear and put seeds or grains into the pipes for small additional correction of tuning.<sup>12</sup> In order to avoid inconvenience and the risk of dropping the seeds during performance on stage, however, modern *samodeiatel'nost'* players in South Kursk tend to correct the pitches of the pipes by cutting them additionally, so that they do not need to be tuned every time. In this way, the visual appearance of a panpipe set becomes separated from its sound in the minds of the makers, and sometimes visual proportions can be sacrificed in favor of the aural criteria of tuning.

Nastia Kosheleva demonstrates such tuning strategy in a most unambiguous way. She admits that her panpipe set, which she plays in concerts, does not look correct, because the pipes in this set have different diameters and uneven distances between them (see set 5 in Table 5.1). “However,” — she continues, — “if you compare the tuning of this set with that of the *garmon'*, note by note, as we did with my daughter when we tuned this set, you realize that they are in fact *ladnye* not by their appearance, but by their sound.”

Marina Bocharova, on the contrary, manages to maintain an equilibrium between the visual and aural principles of tuning. As I observed her making the panpipes in the winter of 1996, she measured pipes by the width of her fingers, and then compared the tuning with one of her old sets. She also said that once she compared the pitches of her original set with the *garmon'*, so she could be sure that the tuning of her set was good,

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<sup>12</sup> Similar practices of panpipe tuning are known in many different panpipe traditions of the world, such as those of ancient Greeks, Georgians, Komi, Mexicans, Peruvians, and 'Are'are people of Solomon Islands (Fox Strangways 1929, Chistalev 1974, Smith 1984, Steshenko-Kuftina 1934, Zemp and Schwarz 1973).

“because it was tuned to the *garmon*' note by note”(Velichkina 1996a). The distances between the adjacent pipes in her sets (see sets 13-17 in Table 5.1) are more regular than in the set of N. Kosheleva.

Table 5.1 shows the visual proportions of the 17 sets of panpipes I have examined. Some of the sets, made earlier, are found in instrumental collection of Moscow Conservatory, while others belonged to the players, or were made on my request during my fieldwork. Although these sets do not exhaust all specimens, they can be considered as representative for the tradition.<sup>13</sup> The measurements indicate the outer length of the pipes (in millimeters), i.e. from the septum (closed end) to the edge of the open end of the tube. In case of uneven cutting, the maximum length was chosen. The visual distances between the adjacent pipes are shown in italics, between the columns indicating the length of the pipes.

As seen from Table 5.1, there is no standard measurement for the length of pipes, nor for the distances between the adjacent pipes. Respectively, there is also no one standard tuning of panpipes, either in terms of the absolute pitch or in terms of the relative values of the intervals between the pipes. At the same time, such variability has certain limits beyond which the set may be considered by the villagers too large, too small, or not well tuned. For example, the set made by M. Golovina in 1993, as well as those by E. Pestsov, in the opinion of some of the Plekhovo players (F. and P. Glamazdina, N. Motorykina), were too large. They explained that it is difficult to blow in such large pipes. Thus, an approximate limit on the length of the largest first pipe of a *para* set is about 200 mm, although there are sets which start from smaller first pipe (especially, the older ones).

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<sup>13</sup> More sets are found in the Glinka Museum(GTsMMK), the Musical Instruments Collection of LGITMiK, and in some private collections. I have not had a chance to examine them, however. The measurements of the two pipe sets made in the village of Vysokoe are given by Rudneva (1940; 1975). Rudneva, however, does not specify the way these measurements were taken. Moreover, she cites these measurements (under the name of the same maker and in the same village) in two of her works, that of 1940 (unpublished fieldwork report) and of 1975, and the measurements given in these two cases are different. Since I was not able to find an explanation of this contradiction in Rudneva's works, I decided not to include her measurements in Figure 5.1.

number of a pipe	v		1		2		3		4		5
number of a set											
1			170	18	152	14	138	14	124	10	114
2					152	15	137	14	123		
3	187	17	170	18	152						
4			195	15	180	20	160	17	143	13	130
5			200	21	179	21	158	7	151	21	130
6	230	43	187	16	171	16	155	15	140	14	126
7	205	22	183	11	172	23	149	9	140	12	128
8					172	14	158	18	140		
9			196	18	178	19	159	19	140	16	124
10			197	17	180	19	161	18	143	18	125
11	213	26	197								
12	212	27	195								
13	249	62	187	20	167	16	151	12	139	13	126
14			182	11	171	20	151	14	137	13	124
15	247	58	189	17	172	19	153	14	139	11	128
16	248	58	190	17	173	18	155	17	138	10	128
17			190	17	173	19	154	13	141	11	130

Table 5.1. Measurements of the outer lengths of panpipe sets.\*

\* Sources: 1-3 - collection of panpipes from the LNM archives (the village of Plekhovo, 1937), 4 - set made by M. Golovina from the village of Peschanoe (Velichkina 1994), 5 - set used for playing in concerts by N. Kosheleva, the village of Plekhovo. Collections 6-8, 9-12, and 15-17 were made for me by N. Motorykina with F. Glamazdina, E. Pestsov and M. Bocharova respectively during the fieldwork in winter 1996. Sets 13 and 14 belong to Bocharova, but they were made earlier. She uses these sets when she plays in concerts.

If the set is too small, it can be said to be a “children’s set” (cf. Rudneva 1975, 143, 149). I saw a children’s set of panpipes, made by A. Kosheleva for her great-grand daughter, in the summer of 1996. The pipes in this set were measured as 153, 136, 123, 107, and 97 mm. The size of the smallest first pipe in the “adult” sets represented in Table 5.1 is 170 mm. One can thus assume that the border between the adult and the children sets lies somewhere between 153 and 170 mm for the first pipe of the *para* set. The players

themselves explain that when the pipes are too small, the voice of the *para* player has to go too high, which may not be convenient or even possible for an adult or aged player.<sup>14</sup>

M. Bocharova once said that as she became older, she added one pipe below her *para* set and took the smallest pipe out, thus lowering the pitch of the whole set by one step. She did it in order to make the vocal sounds in more convenient range for her voice (Velichkina 1996a).<sup>15</sup> This fact points to another important principle in making panpipes: the limits of the acceptable range of sizes are defined by the makers not only by corporeal principle, but also by another set of biological standards, i.e. between those pipes which are “too difficult to blow” and those with which “the voice has to go too high.”<sup>16</sup> This principle may also explain why in general the older sets are smaller than those which modern players make and use. At the time of Kvitka’s and Rudneva’s research younger players participated in the recordings, and high-range vocal sounds did not present the same problem for them as for today’s aged performers.<sup>17</sup>

In the process of making panpipes it sometimes happens that the whole set is reconstructed in such a way that it becomes one step higher or lower (as in Bocharova's set discussed above). Although this practice does not occur very often, it is certainly a traditional one. In addition to my own observations, it was also described by Rudneva (1975, 146-47) and Starostina (1989, 89). It points out to an important feature of the tonal

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<sup>14</sup> This happens because the pitch of the vocal sounds in this tradition has to be coordinated with the pitch of the pipes, especially with that of the fifth pipe. Thus, with the pipe sets starting in the range from *a* or *c* of the first octave and ending at *e* to *g* of the second octave, most of the vocal sounds also occur within the range of *e* - *g* of second octave. It is indeed difficult for non-trained female singer to produce the sounds above these notes without tightening the throat (on vocal registers in singing see, for example, Vernard 1967, and Large 1973). For more discussion of vocal sounds see Chapter 6.

<sup>15</sup> Another factor contributing to the lowering of panpipe pitch by some of the players can be the influence of the tuning of the *garmon*. However, even those of the modern panpipe players who never play with the *garmon* also seem to tune their sets lower than those on the archival recordings.

<sup>16</sup> This principle, of course, is not applicable to all panpipe traditions of the world, in which the pipes can be much smaller and much larger than the Russian ones, without regard to the convenience of the sound production.

<sup>17</sup> As has been mentioned before, inclusion of *garmon* player in stage performances could have also influence the lowering of panpipe pitch observed currently in fieldwork. However, even the players who never play with the *garmon*, still make their sets larger, than those collected by Kvitka.

organization of the music: if the function of the pipes within the set can be re-assigned, it means that all intervals between the pipes are considered to be equal. The “chain” of the intervals can be continued one step up or down, depending on a particular situation.

A similar “chaining” effect can be found in the tonal organization of the vocal music of this tradition. For example, in group multi-voice singing the total range of a song is often a sum of three- or four-note segments sung by different singers, which overlap only partly.<sup>18</sup> The vocal music of this tradition shows the possibility of enlargement of a scale in singing in the same “chaining” manner as in the building of a panpipe set, thus pointing to the fact that the principles of tonal organization in vocal and instrumental music are similar.

#### Tuning an individual set of panpipes.

Wead’s thesis about the flexibility of a scale resulting from application of corporeal measurements is well demonstrated by the variety of panpipe tunings found in the South Kursk tradition. Even after an initial aural comparison of the tunings on different panpipes recordings it becomes clear that despite an apparently similar method of measurement, the scales of different sets present a broad range of possible pitch arrangements, similar to diatonic pentachords with a minor, major or neutral third. One reason for this lack of uniformity is certainly the gross approximation of the measurement system, as well as the capriciousness of the material itself, in which the thickness of the bottom and the inner shape of the channel for each pipe are unpredictable. At the same time, after the initial cut is made, the pitches are almost always additionally corrected. This indicates that together with the principle of visual equidistance some other (and maybe conflicting) models of a desired pitch arrangement are present in tuners’ minds while tuning the instrument.

One particularly striking example of panpipe tuning is found in Kvitka’s 1937 recording from the village of Gakhovo, where the recorded tuning of the *kugikly* set

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<sup>18</sup> This principle of tonal organization in singing of the South Kursk tradition is described by Rudneva (Rudneva et al. 1979, 94-95) and Ivanov (Velichkina et al. 1992, 52 and 87-88).

sounds similar to a fragment of a Lydian scale (as *c, d, e, f-sharp* and *g*). The intervals between the sounds measured in cents were as follows (starting from lowest): 228 cents between the 1st and the 2nd, 139 cents between the 2nd and the 3rd, 223 cents between the 3rd and the 4th, and only 88 cents between the 4th and the 5th pipes.<sup>19</sup> The context and particular circumstances of this recording are not known, and it seems impossible to say whether such panpipe tuning was individual, accidental, or quite typical for this village.

On the 1937 recording, the same woman also sings verses to the tunes that she played. In singing, she employs the same scale with an augmented fourth as for panpipes (see Appendix C, Notation 26).<sup>20</sup> The *dudka* tuning from a neighboring village, recorded in the same field trip of 1937, also had the same scale. These facts seem to point out that the panpipe tuning in Gakhovo was not totally accidental or isolated.<sup>21</sup> On the contrary, this case demonstrates the close connections of scales used in panpipe music with those used in other kinds of music. A scale pattern consisting of approximate whole steps in a range of an augmented fourth is characteristic for the singing tradition of this region, as well as it is found in the broader territory of South Russia.<sup>22</sup>

The tuning on the 1937 recording from Gakhovo is also distinguished from other examples of panpipe tuning by a particularly large deviation from the principle of

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<sup>19</sup> These measurements were taken at the acoustic laboratory of Moscow Conservatory by A. Rudneva and V. Batenin with the help of the frequency measuring machine called "Appun." (Kvitka 1986, 252, Rudneva 1973). The results were added to the fieldwork reports of 1937, kept in LNM archives. At present, I do not have enough information to comment on the accuracy of the equipment and procedures used by the researchers. However, I attempted to re-measure the frequencies of the Gakhovo set, taking the sounds from the copy of the original archival recording, calibrated with the recorded sound of a tuning fork, and then transferred Hertz values into cents. The interval values in cents between my measurements and those of Rudneva and Batenin differ on the average by 10 cents.

<sup>20</sup> Interestingly enough, Rudneva in her notation of the same recording omits any indication of the sharp fourth, both in the panpipe and vocal lines (see Rudneva 1975, 161), which is highly unusual given her careful notation style. She probably considered such a deviation to be coincidental, since in her view all panpipes were tuned to the pentachord with the third approximately half way between the major and the minor (*ibid.*, 145) and did not contain any intentional variations of tuning.

<sup>21</sup> I have not had an opportunity to visit the village of Gakhovo myself. According to A. Ivanov, who has been in this village recently, the panpipe tradition there has completely ceased and no one was able to play (personal communication with A. Ivanov, January of 1996).

<sup>22</sup> For the discussion of this scale pattern, see especially Rudneva 1956, 1957a, Rudneva et al. 1979, Shchurov 1974, 1986, 1987, and Ivanov 1994).



equidistance within the set, as the intervals range from smaller than a half-tone to larger than a tone. Especially, the interval between the fourth and the fifth pipes seems to have been chosen on a basis other than the equidistant principle. I hypothesize that the explanation of this particular feature of Gakhovo tuning may be found in the tuning behavior demonstrated by present-day panpipe makers, specifically when they tune the set of pipes by ear.

As I observed during my fieldwork, after cutting a panpipe set, the makers often corrected the tuning by ear, paying special attention to the “frame” interval between the first and the fifth pipes. They seem to be aiming at the interval of approximately a fifth, although slightly less than 700 cents (about 670-680 cents) between these pipes. Although the boundaries of this frame interval seem largely approximate and vary from one to another maker, I found that an interval larger than 700 cents was judged as unacceptable by the majority of the players.<sup>23</sup>

While tuning the fifth pipe, the makers never considered any visual proportions between the first and the fifth pipes, nor did they attempt to play them simultaneously by taking them out of the set. Instead, they checked and corrected the fifth pipe pitch using short melodic phrases that they played from time to time to see how they sounded on the new set. These melodies often emphasize the notes played on first and the fifth pipes. An excerpt from a real tune can also serve this purpose.

The process of tuning the set by ear while playing short melodic phrases was demonstrated to me in the winter of 1996 by M. Bocharova and recorded on a DAT tape-recorder (see the transcription and translation of this session in Appendix D, Interview 9). In order to observe the strategies of tuning by ear, I asked her to tune this new set without comparing it with another (older) set, i.e. in such a way as if there was no other sets

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<sup>23</sup> One of the sets made for me by E. Pestsov in 1996 had an interval of 723 cents between the first and the fifth pipes. All the players whom I asked to check the tuning of this set found it unacceptable, saying that “the fifth pipe is made too small and needs to be substituted with another one” (Velichkina 1996a).

available. After cutting the set, she did her first trial of playing the melody and stopped at *miziutka*, which did not satisfy her, because it sounded too low. She proceeded, playing short melodies four times, and making additional cuts of the fifth pipe between these trials. Then she played *Timonia*, and after it the tuning of the *miziutka* was finally settled. During this process the interval between the first and the fifth pipes evolved from the initial 652 cents to 688 cents (i.e., it became 36 cents larger than before). The other intervals between the pipes, measured in cents, were as follows: 158, 139 and 212 cents (between the first, second, third, and fourth pipes, respectively), but their unevenness did not evoke any comments from the maker.<sup>24</sup>

Observing the tuning behavior of other makers, I noted that while tuning the pipes by ear they were also most concerned with the interval of the fifth between the outer pipes. Other intervals, even if they were not evenly spaced, were still tolerated.

The tuning of a big *guden'* (the largest pipe of the big *priduval'nye* or *gukal'nye* set), even in the villages where its length is well-defined verbally, demonstrates an especially high degree of toleration. M. Bocharova, for example, defines the length of the big *guden'* as two times the length of a *miziutka*, which acoustically should give an octave between these two pipes. After making a cut, however, the tuning of these two pipes, is never compared by ear. Instead, the big *guden'* is tuned by ear to the first pipe of the *para*

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<sup>24</sup> The way these measurements were obtained is as follows. The DAT tape was fed into computer with the Digidesign II program, which represent a sound signal as the wave-form and allows us to make very precise cuts. From a signal seen on the computer screen I chose and cut 1.5 second long fragments from the middle part of each recorded sound, excluding both the on-set and the off-set parts of a signal. The reason for it was that the attack part of a sound often has a noisy component (blowing), which prevents us from distinguishing harmonics and the fundamental frequency of a signal. The off-set is a rapid fading phase, during which the pitch level is frequently unstable (cf. Zemp and Schwarz 1973). The narrow-band spectrograms were then produced from prepared fragments, using a Lemur program (Lemur Pro<sup>TM</sup>, Kelly Fitz and Br. Holloway, University of Illinois CERL Sound Group). The panpipe sounds are clear in their harmonic structure and their fundamental frequency is usually distinct on the spectrogram as a relatively stable and dark line in the lower part of the spectrum. It is measured automatically with cursor pointing to this line. Since the pitch was fluctuating slightly on these spectrograms, I obtained a fundamental frequency of a pipe sound by measuring the highest and the lowest points of this fluctuation and then averaging them. The range of fluctuation of the pitch in tuning is about 4 Hertz, i.e. the margin of error for the average pitch level is plus-minus 2 Hertz.

set, to which it is supposed to sound approximately at the fourth, but inaccuracy is greatly tolerated by the makers. During the recorded tuning session in winter of 1996, M. Bocharova started from an initial interval of 560 cents between these two pipes, and gradually cut the big *guden'* shorter, but only to the interval of 523 cents, which is still 23 cents larger than the fourth. She also compared the sound of newly made big *guden'* pipe with an older one. Their sounding together was giving a noticeable beating effect, because the older pipe was tuned higher, but M. Bocharova said it could be disregarded. She was pleased with the overall quality of the sound of a new *guden'* and did not want to risk breaking it while cutting more (Velichkina 1996a, see interview 9 in Appendix D).

On Kvitka's 1946 recording from Budishche, the big *guden'* sounded more as an augmented fourth with the first pipe. However, when I played this recording to Bocharova, and asked her specifically about the tuning of a big *guden'* on this recording, she confirmed that to her it sounded correct. Kvitka and Rudneva also asked about the tuning of this pipe when they were making the recording (apparently it sounded odd to the researchers), but were assured by the performers that it was correct (Rudneva 1975, 149).

My observations also show that when asked to evaluate the tuning of a set, the villagers do not separate completely its visual proportions from its sound (and thus my attempts to make them evaluate the tuning of the sets from the recordings cannot be taken as coherent with the internal perspective of this culture). Moreover, within the quality of the sound itself they seem to take the timbre and loudness of the sound as aspects which are more important than pitch. Thus, Bocharova's comment on the tuning of the big *guden'* in the old recording may be in fact her reflection on the quality of the sound, as well as the side-effect of her knowledge that the set was made by the old players from her own village, for whom she has much respect.

It is important to note that all different types of scales found in Kursk panpipe tuning are similar to the scales of traditional vocal music of this locality. While this may not

necessarily lead us to a conclusion that it is the vocal music that influenced panpipe tuning, and not vice versa, it is still important to observe that panpipe tuning in this tradition is neither strictly visual/corporeal nor consistent in terms of pitches. The pitches, however, are not assembled absolutely at random (if it were so, the makers would not attempt to correct the tuning of panpipes additionally after cutting them). This may suggest that the panpipe scale and the scales used in the vocal music of the South Kursk tradition operate within the same attitude to pitch, rather than representing two different strata of traditional music, as Kulakovskii suggested was the case in Briansk province (1959).

Beyond the vocal scales, the presence of other instruments with their pitch arrangements could also be a significant factor that influences panpipe tuning. All these influences make the very notion of a unified, rigid and unchangeable “norm” in panpipe tuning questionable, and rather suggest the existence of different ways of pitch arrangement, negotiated and accepted by some — but not necessarily all — players or listeners, even in one village tradition. The level of idiosyncrasy in tuning was well expressed by Bocharova, whom I asked to evaluate the sets made for me earlier in the village of Plekhovo. She found all of the sets inexact (i.e., not coherent with her perception of norm in tuning), although in different degrees, and concluded with a proverb: *Na vkus, na tsvet tovarishcha net, tak i na lad tozhe* (in a free translation, “There is no similarity between the taste and feeling of color by different people, and the same is with the tuning”).

The next step after tuning an individual *para* set is tuning the identical pipes of the different sets to each other. For this, two people blow into the pipes of identical length. If their correspondence is satisfactory, it is said that they blow *kak v odnu dudku* ([the two pipes sound] as if they were just one).

The makers themselves pay special attention to even articulation during this simultaneous blowing; they look carefully at each other’s mouth and try to blow into their pipes

with the same force.<sup>25</sup> When the villagers taught us to tune panpipes, they insisted on blowing softly, evenly and producing the sounds long enough to evaluate pitch correspondence. Upon noticing a difference in pitch, their first reaction was always that we were blowing “unevenly”, i.e. each of us was blowing in a different way, and they advised us to change the holding positioning order to “reconcile” the two sounds. Only after several attempts of doing it themselves, would they agree to correct the tuning of pipes by one or another way. Such attention paid to the manner of articulation while tuning the instrument indicates that the players are aware that the difference in the manner of blowing can produce a difference in pitch.

### **Pitch fluctuations in panpipe playing.**

The pitch of the panpipes can indeed change quite significantly, depending on the way the pipes are held, and, to a lesser degree, the manner of blowing. In the 1930s this was shown experimentally by M. Bukofzer, who criticized von Hornbostel’s theory of the “blown fifths” (Bukofzer 1936, 1937). Bukofzer estimated the interval of pitch fluctuations (between lowest and highest pitches of the same pipe) between 20 and 100 cents, most frequently about 40 cents (cited in Haeberly 1979, 66).

This possibility raises two important questions. First, one may ask to what extent these pitch fluctuations are found in panpipe recordings of village performers in natural settings, in contrast with the experimental conditions under which Bukofzer’s numbers were obtained. Second, whether these fluctuations are intentional (consciously or unconsciously) on the side of performers, and whether they play any role in performance and appreciation of panpipe playing in this tradition.<sup>26</sup>

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<sup>25</sup> See illustration of the process of tuning in Appendix E (illustration 17).

<sup>26</sup> Two examples from other cultures can illustrate the use of small pitch changes for expressive purposes. In the Romanian panpipe tradition, a half-tone lowering is obtained by changing the angle of holding the instrument (see Alexandru 1974, 17), this technique seems to be well articulated by players themselves (Apan 1991, 13). In jazz, “bending the notes,” often done intuitively, constitutes an important part of an integral image of the style (Berliner 1994).

In the 1940s, the measurements of pitch in panpipe playing were taken by Rudneva (a notebook containing these measurements is found in the folder 29a of written fieldwork materials from 1940). She measured the performance of the tune *Smirenushka* in solo recording of 1937 from the village of Gakhovo, and found that the pitch fluctuations on each pipe while playing were about 50 cents. The scholar did not report these data in her published works, however. Part of the reason for this may be that the rotation speed of the phonograph on which the recording was made, as it was later found in the acoustic laboratory of Moscow Conservatory, was uneven, and the pitch fluctuation observed by Rudneva could be attributed to the changing of the rotation speed ( Kvitka 1986, 251).

To verify the findings by Rudneva, I obtained measurements of pitches in solo panpipe playing recorded on DAT tape-recorder in winter of 1996 in “near natural” conditions (i.e., the performers felt comfortable to play, while their attention in conversations preceding the recordings was not fixed on the pitch fluctuations).

Even the preliminary measurements demonstrated clearly that the pitch fluctuation in panpipe sounds was a norm, rather than an exception in this tradition, and therefore changing speed of rotation in earlier recordings was only partly responsible for the phenomena observed by Rudneva.<sup>27</sup>

To obtain the average pitches for each note played on panpipes and search for the correlation of them with other factors, I analyzed one total performance of *Timonia* played by M. Bocharova solo in winter of 1996. For this analysis I used *Waves+*, a net of computer programs which is currently used in linguistics and experimental

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<sup>27</sup> For the first set of measurements of panpipe pitch in the excerpt from playing I used Digidesign II and Lemur programs, and did it essentially the same way as the measurements for tuning the sets (see discussion on p. 217, footnote 24) Unlike the sounds of pipes while tuning, the sounds in the excerpt from playing were significantly shorter and very diverse in dynamics. The pitch measurements of sounds in playing showed much greater instability compared with the pitch of pipes in tuning. The overall shape of pitch changes within one sound varied from wavy, bell-shaped or reversed bell-shaped contours, to constantly raising or falling contours. I could not detect any correlation between the contours of pitch changes within one note and other factors, such as the position of a note within the structure of a tune, its loudness, etc.

phonetics.<sup>28</sup> Its advantage over the software used for the previous measurements was combination on one screen the pictures of the wave form of a signal, its spectrogram and the graph of the fundamental frequency of a signal, all three synchronized in time, that allowed to operate more precisely with cutting the on-set and off-set parts of each note. Within the middle part of each note, the measurements of fundamental frequency were taken each 3 milliseconds apart. On the basis of these measurements, an additional program (written specially for this research by Mary Beckman) calculated the average fundamental frequency of each note played on panpipes.<sup>29</sup>

The complete numbers of these measurements are given in Appendix C (Notation 14b), while here I summarize the essential results of these measurements (see Table 5.2).

Pipe numbers	1	2	3	4	5
Number of appearances	33	26	26	27	35
Tuning frequency (Hz)	468	504	564	625	691
Average frequency in playing (Hz)	468	507	569	621	695
Minimal frequency in playing (Hz)	461	500	561	614	689
Maximal frequency in playing (Hz)	472	513	572	640	700
Maximal difference in playing(cents)	41	44.5	33.6	71.8	27.4
Difference between the average in playing and tuning (cents)	0	10.3	15.3	11.1	10

Table 5.2. Measurements of panpipe pitch fluctuations in playing.

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<sup>28</sup> *Waves+* environment was designed by David Talkin at AT&T Bell Laboratories, with ESPS and other enhancements by Rodney Johnson and John Shore of Entropic. An example of application of *Waves+* to analysis of music see in Mazo 1994.

<sup>29</sup> I am grateful to the Professor Beckman of the Department of Linguistics of the Ohio State University for her participation in this research.

Table 5.2 demonstrates that the pitch fluctuation of the same pipe in playing can be as big as 70 cents, while 40 cents is the average (i.e., close to the numbers established experimentally by Bukofzer). At the same time, the average of all appearances of a given pipe in the excerpt is relatively consistent with the number produced in tuning measurements of this set done by the same player.

One can conclude from these data that pitch fluctuations of approximately 40 cents are typical for panpipe playing in the South Kursk tradition. The significance of this finding is difficult to gauge, since at present there are no comparable data available on other panpipe traditions of the world. Although Erich von Hornbostel suggested such a possibility as early as in 1903 (see Hornbostel and Abraham 1975), for technical reasons the measurement of pitches during the process of playing was difficult to implement in practice until recently. According to my present knowledge, no measurements of pitch fluctuation during panpipe performance have yet been obtained for any panpipe tradition of the world.<sup>30</sup>

I was not able to detect any traces of systematic use of pitch fluctuations by the performers. Comparing pitch fluctuations with other parameters, such as a position of the sound within a tune's structure, the presence of a neighboring vocal or pipe sounds, relative dynamics of sound production etc., I could not establish any significant correlation between them. I am left to conclude, then, that the pitch fluctuations observed in Kursk panpipe performance are not dependent on other observable elements of panpipe playing, nor are they systematic, but rather occur at random, within certain limitations and therefore do not belong to the intentional variations in performance.

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<sup>30</sup> The measurements of pitch fluctuations of the panpipe sounds by Bukofzer, mentioned above, were taken in laboratory conditions, with the researcher playing the pipes with the goal to produce different pitches. Zemp and Schwarz (1973) measured the pitch of pipes only in tuning, and not while actually playing an instrument.



One may ask, then, whether the presence of unintentional pitch fluctuation in performance makes the tuning procedure irrelevant, and thus invalidates the exact measurements of tuning discussed earlier. The answer may come, once again, from observation of instrument makers' behavior, for whom tuning is a very important component of the whole process of panpipe performance. In my fieldwork, every session with panpipe players invariably started with tuning the pipes, and they would never proceed to playing until they were totally satisfied with the tuning. My experience shows that however strange a particular example of tuning may sound to an outsider, the players themselves are far from being indifferent to the tuning. The possibility of pitch fluctuations in playing seems to balance the approximation of tuning and explain the tolerance of different possible scales by the panpipe players.

### **Chapter summary.**

In a very broad sense, the process of panpipe making and tuning, like that of any other musical instrument, can be considered in terms of transformation of a natural object into a cultural symbol (Levi-Strauss 1964). In this process the natural objects — the reed tubes — each acquire an individual name and function within the set of pipes. The sets are tuned and compiled into a collection, and the roles of different players are verbally defined and fixed in the names of their parts (see discussion in Chapter 4). At each stage of this process there is a balance between the biological and the cultural, and between individual and collective principles. For example, if the initial cutting is made according to the biological measurements of an individual (the finger width of the maker), additional tuning also involves aural estimations. The corporeal measurements and the principle of visual equidistance form only the basis for the tuning process, in which there is a constant negotiation between the visual proportions and aural norms. In addition to this, there is always a certain amount of flexibility for individual adaptation to the norm. Thus, the

process of making and tuning the panpipes can be interpreted as a search for balance through a constant negotiation between the natural and the cultural (biological and social), and, at the same time, between individual and collective norms and practices.

The physical qualities of the material for panpipes, such as its durability, could to a certain extent influence the techniques of making the instrument. As Kvitka has pointed out, the more time-consuming the procedure of making the instrument, the higher are the chances that it will be kept and its tuning be consulted when the new instrument of the same kind is made (Kvitka 1986, 252). Compared with the Briansk panpipe tradition, making and tuning the instrument in the South Kursk tradition is more elaborate; accordingly, in the South Kursk tradition the instrument is often preserved for a longer time and the tuning of older sets can be compared with that of the new ones.

The panpipe makers themselves verbalize the visual equidistance principle as a norm for panpipe tuning. Analysis of their tuning strategy also confirms that they perceive all intervals between the pipes as equal (and thus the scale can be continued one or two steps further in any direction), even if the deviations from equidistance are quite large to a Western ear. Panpipe tuning in the South Kursk tradition allows us to talk about large variation in intervallic values that this culture tolerates. The irregularities in tuning of the panpipe sets are further complicated by pitch fluctuations during the playing itself.

The observations of the tuning behavior of panpipe makers reveals native views on tuning that cannot be obtained by the comparison of tuned sets, no matter how precisely they are measured. The method adopted in this chapter provides an insight into the strategies of making and tuning processes, rather than focusing on the results of these processes, i.e. the sets themselves.

## CHAPTER 6

### MUSICAL STRUCTURE AND PERFORMANCE PROCESS

One essential moment in villagers' descriptions of panpipe music concerns the length of a typical performance: it is often stated that in *karagod* and *ulitsa* gatherings the playing would usually continue for hours. This fact is rendered important by the structure of the music itself. In the process of playing, a short musical unit that constitutes a tune's "kernel" is repeated hundreds, if not thousands of times without any intervention or interpolation with another musical theme. One may think that such a repetition would create a monotonous and tiring effect on the listeners and musicians themselves. Yet these unceasing returns never become mechanical; on the contrary, as my own experiences in panpipe playing confirm, they create a continuous "flow" of the performance, its inner life that makes panpipe playing a deeply satisfying and exciting process. This processual dimension of playing is not necessarily accounted for by the use of improvisation or even melodic variation on the same basic pattern. One can even say that the possibilities for variation of the basic melodic pattern of a tune on panpipes, as compared with other instruments, are rather limited.<sup>1</sup> These limited possibilities, however, do not impoverish the musical interest and flow of panpipe playing. There are, possibly, various extra-musical factors that contribute to the maintenance of the playing process during a long period of

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<sup>1</sup>Although all other instruments of traditional South Kursk ensemble also play the same structure over and over again, their possibilities for melodic variation, such as insertion of grace notes and figurations, seem to be somehow broader than those of the panpipes, especially of the accompanying panpipe parts.

time: watching the dancers, for example, or communicating with other musicians certainly play a role in panpipe players' behavior during a performance. The process of music unfolding itself, however, also sustains the interest of the performers.

In order to understand the processual dimension of panpipe music, one needs to look at two interrelated aspects: underlying musical-structural patterns and procedures by which the repetitive sequence evolves into a continuous performance process. To do that, the present chapter will first consider general principles of tunes' musical organization. This analysis will lead to the discussion of the distinction between tunes' deep and surface structures, which, together with the rules for their transformation, constitute the tunes' generative grammars. An application of this approach accounts for one aspect of processuality in music, i.e. production of a potentially infinite number of musical utterances. Such an approach, however, does not yet explain other aspects of the panpipe performance process.

Understanding the performance process as it unfolds in different parts of a panpipe ensemble calls for a variety of approaches. The grammar approach is able to provide a plausible explanation of the patterns for the accompanying parts as they are performed by many different players. The analysis of the lead (*para*) part strategies, however, necessitates an application of a case-study approach. The parts of two players will be considered in detail using an example of one particular performance. To analyze the aspects of players' strategy, such as choice of pipes and the placement of vocal sounds, probability matrices and statistical methods will be applied. These methods serve to limit the seemingly infinite possibilities for musical utterances that can be constructed for the *para* part using a generative-grammar approach.

An approach that underscores and connects all other methods applied to the analysis of panpipe music in the present chapter is the concept of motor grammar. This notion draws upon the idea of generative grammar, seen through the players' physical movements

on the instrument. It is also relevant to the discussion of probability models in playing *para* parts, since the most probable choices in players' strategies may be explained as movement preferences.

The pertinence of a motor-grammar approach to the analysis of the process of panpipe performance is confirmed by native musical terminology, the role of panpipe music within the local tradition, and its connections with work and dance movements (see Chapter 4). Observations of village performers, as well as my own experience, seem to suggest that once a player is fluent in the performance process, body movements rely more on "motor" logic than on musical requirements. One may therefore suggest a description of panpipe performance in the form of a motor grammar, in which the choice of pipes is considered as the result of players' movements.

The following discussion attempts to demonstrate how the sonic and motor modes of musical activity are interrelated and mutually dependent on many levels. As Baily has shown with the example of Herati *dutar* music, the spatio-motor mode of musical performance "can be regarded as a legitimate and commonly used mode of musical thought, used to instigate and to control musical performance" (1985, 257).

In order to proceed with the application of a motor-grammar approach, one first needs to discuss physical and musical aspects of a panpipe performance separately. The physical aspect, presented first in general terms, includes the types of performer's posture and body movements. The following discussion of musical aspect concerns general principles of the musical organization of tunes. In the subsequent sections of this chapter, the interrelationship between physical and musical aspects of performance will be considered in different parts of a panpipe ensemble. The last section will be devoted to the discussion and analysis of breathing and its role in panpipe playing.

## **The posture and types of movements of a panpipe player.**

While playing, a performer holds untied pipes in a row between the index finger and the thumb of one hand. The other hand lies over the first to provide additional support, elbows are freely lowered along the sides of the upper body, the head and the neck moved slightly forward. Typically, the panpipes are played while standing in a close circle of 3-5 people, facing each other, although specific conditions of the performance (for example, multi-microphone recording setting) sometimes require a wider-than-usual separation between the players. In some of my recording sessions the players were seated, which did not seem to influence significantly the quality of their playing. Still, the most natural panpipe playing posture is the standing position. In the process of playing, performers often turn their heads and upper bodies from one side to another in a slow and gradual movement (see discussion of breathing below), while their feet are resting solidly on the ground. Unlike those of many other panpipe traditions of the world, such as Kuna, 'Are'are, Komi, Georgian, and Venda,<sup>2</sup> Russian panpipe performers never dance while they are playing.

The pipes in players' hands are arranged successively from the longest (lower) to the shortest (higher). Some players hold pipes in their right hand and others in their left hand, placing their second hand on top of the first. The direction from the longest to the shortest pipe can be from left to right (i.e., analogous to the Western keyboard orientation), or right to left. The absolute direction is not relevant to the patterns of movement.<sup>3</sup>

In general the movements of panpipe players can be of three types: those of the player's head with respect to the row of pipes, movements of the vocal tract for the production of vocal sounds, and movements for the production of breathing and blowing

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<sup>2</sup> See, for example, Smith 1984, Chistalev 1974, Steshenko-Kuftina 1934, Tracey 1971, 1992, Blacking 1967.

<sup>3</sup> Therefore, in the following discussion the movements between the pipes will be referred to by the pipe numbers, without the indication of right or left directions of these movements.

into the pipes. The first type of movements (that of player's head) requires some explanation. Panpipes can be played either by moving the head across the row of pipes or by moving the hands holding the panpipes with respect to the head. While a mixture of both these movements occurs most often, most of the South Kursk performers explain verbally that moving the head along the panpipes gives a player more precise control than the movements of hands. The head movement is related to the choice of a pipe, and a concrete pitch, that a performer needs at a given moment of playing. For this reason, movements of the player's head will be considered together with the choice of the pipes.

With this preliminary description of the player's posture and physical movements, we can now turn our attention to the discussion of general principles of the musical organization of tunes.

### **Principles of tunes' musical organization.**

From the point of view of musical structures, each tune of the traditional instrumental repertoire of South Kursk province is based on a short musical unit, which is repeated many times, possibly with small variations, thus forming the sequence of A A' A"...etc. In the following discussion I shall call this musical kernel of a piece a *period*.<sup>4</sup> A period of different tunes may consists of 12, 16 or 24 isochronic time-spans, which henceforth will be referred to as *positions*.<sup>5</sup>

A period is subdivided into phrases. A tune's period can consist of either six or eight positions each. The phrases of 6 or 8 positions, thus, constitute the major "building blocks" of the tunes' structures. Respectively, all tunes can be analytically subdivided into two metric types: those which are based on 6-position units, and those based on 8-position

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<sup>4</sup> The folk musicians themselves may sometimes refer to this unit as a *koleno*, but this term implies melodic, rather than structural connotations (see Chapter 4). Because of the ambiguity of this term I have chosen not to use it for designation of the structural unit and have substituted the term *period* for it. The term *period* seems to be suitable to the material, since it implies the quality of periodicity which is an important characteristic of this music.

<sup>5</sup> In the musical notations, the length of one position is equal to one eighth note.

units.<sup>6</sup> This subdivision, however, does not coincide with a subdivision of tunes according to the pitch-collection principle, i.e., these two dimensions of the musical structures of tunes appear to be independent from each other.

With respect to the aspect of pitch, all tunes are essentially limited to five tones of the pentachord within the fifth, the same five tones as produced by the lead panpipe set (*para*).<sup>7</sup> Among other panpipe sets, only the big *priduval'nye* (or *gukal'nye*) set has one tone (of variable pitch) below this range, and this low tone has strictly accompanying function. Other melodic instruments (the *dudka* and the *roz'hok*) have one tone above the pentachord, but use it rarely and only for ornamentation (this tone can be approximated as *a*). The fiddle and the *balalaika*, of course, have a broader range of tones technically available on these instruments, but the players do not use them while playing traditional tunes.<sup>8</sup> The five notes available on the *para* set of panpipes thus constitute the basic set of pitches from which traditional tunes are constructed.

Some of the tunes use all five tones of the pentachord, while others may avoid one or another tone within this range, thus using one of the versions of a four-tone scale.<sup>9</sup> In this case, the unused pipes of a *para* set are pulled down, so they would not be played accidentally.<sup>10</sup> The versions of the scale arrangement for different tunes are as follows:

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<sup>6</sup> The villagers themselves do not count the number of pulses, nor do they possess different categories for the two groups of tunes. However, they always point out that one tune (with 6-position module) should be danced differently from another one (with 8-position one). Also, the words from the 6-position tunes do not always suit the 8-position tunes, and vice versa (Velichkina 1996).

<sup>7</sup> For convenience, in the following discussion of musical structures, I refer to these tones in Western European terminology as *c*, *d*, *e*, *f* and *g*, without paying attention to their absolute pitch level or particular version of tuning (as discussed in Chapter 5). However, to assure a correct reading of notated examples, I often specify *e*-half-flat as a key signature, since there should be no strict half-tones in this scale.

<sup>8</sup> For more details on other instruments, see Appendix B. In the present discussion I do not include observations on the *garmon'*. The left-hand playing technique for many versions of this instrument is limited only to certain chords (triads and seventh-chords). For this reason some of the tunes of the traditional repertoire cannot be satisfactorily performed on certain types of *garmon'*.

<sup>9</sup> One tune with the scale consisting of only three tones was recorded in 1940 in the village of Gakhovo (see Rudneva's notation of it in 1975, 161). The same tune, however, was recorded in 1937 played by the same performer on a 4-note scale. I suggest that the reason for avoiding the second pipe in the later recording could have been that the performer was not satisfied with the sound of this pipe in her pipe set, i.e. accidental, and not a structural feature of this tune.

<sup>10</sup> As Rudneva observed, "the performers were used to the pipes' arrangement in a set and their pitch level. This is why, if one pipe was missing, especially from the middle, they went astray [in their



- (1)    c d e f g
- (2)    c    e f g
- (3)    c d    f g
- (4)    c d e    g

In current practice, as far as I know, the first tone of the scale is always present, and it often, but not always, serves as a tonal center of the tune (i.e., the tone that begins and ends the tune's period, and is placed on metrically strong positions within it). The fifth tone is also present in all versions of the scale.<sup>11</sup> It appears that the first and the fifth tones play an important role in the pitch structures of all tunes.

For the tunes that use scale arrangements 1, 2, and 4, most instruments start and end their periods on the lowest note of the scale (or on the note which is compatible with it in this tune; see discussion of vertical compatibility below). This tone can be considered as their "tonic" (cf. Rudneva 1975, chart of tunes on pp. 160-61). The tunes that are played without the third tone of a pentachord, as in the scale arrangement 3, start and end on the second tone, or *d*, which in this case functions as a tune's tonic.

All instruments of the ensemble use the same scale arrangement for a particular tune. In other words, the absence of a note in a scale arrangement means that it is avoided not only in all panpipe parts, but also in all parts for other instruments, i. e. it is absent from the pitch collection of this tune as a whole.

Since all instruments, including different parts of panpipes, play different versions of a tune simultaneously, the resulting texture of the whole ensemble has certain harmonic

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playing]"(1975, 160). This observation, one may suggest, points out the importance of motor memory for panpipe playing as well.

<sup>11</sup> A player from the village of Spal'noe in the interview recorded by the team of fieldworkers from RTRF (lead by A. Ivanov) in 1992 mentioned a tune called "*bez miziutki*" (without the fifth pipe), but she could not clearly remember its melody (see Ivanov 1992). I did not meet this player personally. According to my present knowledge, this was the only mention of the existence of a tune performed without the fifth pipe.

dimension. Depending on a particular tune, this dimension (simultaneous combinations of sounds in the parts of different instruments) may have a more-or-less strict organization. I refer to this aspect of the tunes' sound structure as vertical compatibility of sounds, meaning that certain sounds can appear simultaneously in different instruments, while other sounds cannot. All vertically compatible sounds belong to the same sound complex. These sound complexes are rarely triads or any other customary chordal structures; most of them are in fact intervals.

For tunes that use all five notes of the pentachord, the vertically compatible sounds are combinations of *c - e - g*, and *d - f - g*. For tunes that do not use the second note of a pentachord, most probable vertically compatible sounds are *c - f* and *e - g*; for tunes that do not use the third note they are *c - f* and *d - g*. The diagram in the following Figure (6.1) summarizes these relationships between the scale arrangements and the sound complexes used in the tunes.



Figure 6.1. The relationship between the scale arrangements and sound complexes in different tunes.

General principles of the sounds' vertical compatibility can be formulated as follows: there are two major sound complexes for each tune, and their content is related to a particular scale arrangement. The content of these two sound complexes is mutually exclusive, except for the fifth tone of a pentachord, which can belong to both harmonies. All other notes can belong to only one sound complex. The adjacent notes of a scale necessarily belong to different sound complexes, but the definition of the "adjacent notes" depends on the scale arrangement. For example, if the third note is absent in a given tune, as in scale arrangement 3, the second and fourth notes are adjacent and thus belong to different sound complexes (see Figure 6.1). If the third note is present in the scale, as in arrangements 1, 2, and 4, the fourth and the second notes belong to the same sound complex.

Analyses of tunes' structures reveal that the alternation of two sound complexes coordinates melodic lines produced by different instruments, although this underlying vertical structure may be concealed by ornaments.<sup>12</sup> The melodic ornaments are very rich and different for each instrument, and together they produce a slurring and resounding effect. However, the underlying alternation of sound complexes is heard clearly in the ensemble performance. This alternation constitutes the inner rhythm of a piece and establishes the tune's identity, making it recognizable and distinguishable from the others. In the following discussion I refer to this underlying scheme as a *deep structure* of a tune.

For example, a deep structure can be defined in *Chibatukha* tune as follows. This tune uses the five-tone scale and its sound complexes are *c-e-g* and *d-f-g*. Designating these two possibilities as symbols \* and o, we can show the tune structure in the following scheme of this tune:

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<sup>12</sup> The notion of ornaments is used here in the very broad sense of the sounds which are not structurally important at a given moment of time. The sounds qualified as ornaments include pedal tones (uninterrupted, as often in the part of the *rozhok*, or repeated, as in the part of the fiddle), auxiliary and passing notes, suspensions, etc.

Positions:	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Sound complexes:	o	*	o	*	o	*	o	o
Positions:	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
Sound complexes:	o	*	o	*	o	*	o	o

The tunes such as *Chibatukha* and *Timonia* (and, in general, all tunes that use five-tone scale) present the clearest type of deep structure. To underscore the guiding role of the sound complexes in these tunes, I refer to these tunes as “vertically-oriented.”

The tunes of a four-tone scale (in any scale arrangement discussed above) are much looser in their harmonic organization. Their guiding principle is determined by the logic of the melodic line that unfolds in the part of each particular instrument of the ensemble. I refer to these tunes as “linearly-oriented.” An example of this type of tune is provided by *Aiavtornichala*, notated in Rudneva’s book (this notation is reproduced as Notation 7 in Appendix C). In this type of tune several versions of deep structure can be employed; their differences do not appear as significant to the players themselves, and can be easily tolerated even within one ensemble performance. The harmonic relationship between the parts of different instruments in linearly oriented tunes is much looser, and the result is a dense vertical concentration of almost all of the notes of the scale simultaneously. However, there is still one sound complex that is more likely to appear on certain positions of the period, especially the last one. Thus, one may construct with a certain degree of probability the deep structure for linearly oriented tunes as well, using the same principle shown above for *Chibatukha* (in the former, however, such scheme is less clear).

One shall note that the harmonic dimension of tunes’ sound structure can depend not only on the character of a tune itself, but also on the particular circumstances of its performance, recording and notation. For example, among the three ensemble notations of

tunes in Rudneva's book, two tunes, *Chibatukha* and *Timonia* (see Appendix C, Notations 5 and 6), have a very clear vertical organization and adhere to the principles of vertical compatibility of sounds discussed above. The third tune, *A ia vtornichala* (see Appendix C, Notation 7), does not seem to follow these rules at all, and all four notes used in its scale (*c*, *d*, *f*, and *g*) can simply sound simultaneously in the parts of different instruments at any given moment of tune's structure. On the basis of the analysis of this tune from Rudneva's score, Starostina (1989) concludes that this tune's vertical dimension is a coincidental result of different melodic versions played by different instruments. More detailed consideration given to the contextual details of this particular performance, however, may clarify this tune's intended vertical structure.<sup>13</sup>

In case of Rudneva's transcription of *A ia vtornichala*, a number of accidental circumstances happened to be reflected in the score. Since hers is the only recording of this tune available today (most of the modern performers have forgotten it), it is important to bring these circumstances to the discussion in order to clarify to what extent the transcription of *A ia vtornichala* reveals the musical intentions of its performers.

The recording transcribed by Rudneva was made in 1946 in Moscow from the musicians of Chernyi Olekh and Budishche, who came to a folk festival (see Chapter 1).<sup>14</sup> At this time, however, the group was lacking a *rozhok* player, without whom the sound of the ensemble would not be considered complete, so M. Kriukov, a *rozhok* player from the

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<sup>13</sup> The issue here is similar to the one underscored in writings of John Blacking (see in particular 1970, 4). He considered musical notation as an analytical work, designed to represent the musical organization of a piece or uncover the musical intent of a performer, rather than reflect particular circumstances of the performance of this piece for the recording (on notation and transcription see Ellingson 1992).

<sup>14</sup> The date 1948 on this and other instrumental ensemble notations in Rudneva's book is mistaken, or either it refers to the date of the transcription, and not to that of the recording itself. According to the information of the LNM archive, there was neither a fieldwork trip to Kursk province this year nor any other recording session with these musicians conducted at the LNM itself.

village of Plekhovo, was invited to join the ensemble specially for this trip.<sup>15</sup> Since he had a reputation of being an exceptionally good musician, the villagers say, he could *sladit'* ("fit in") with the musicians from a different village.

Among the tunes performed by the Budishche musicians *Chibatukha* and *Timonia* were known in Plekhovo as well, but the tune *A ia vtornichala* was not. A structurally similar tune, however, existed in Plekhovo under the name *Zharko pakhat'*. It seems probable that the *rozhok* player was playing the version of this tune known to him, which in fact was not always compatible with the parts of other musicians of the group. If one examines the melodic content of his part closely, certain incompatibilities between his version and the versions of the other players can be observed (for example, in measure 5, he plays mostly in parallel seconds with the *para* panpipes part). This, however, is partly due to the circumstances of notation, and not just to the playing itself.<sup>16</sup>

Another controversial part in Rudneva's notation of *A ia vtornichala* is that of the fiddle. On the basis of analysis of the tune's structure, it is logical to assume that in this case the notator made a mistake in aligning this part with the others. In fact, the fiddle part should start either two measures earlier, or two measures later, i.e. from the beginning of the tune's period, and not from the middle of it.

If one considers the notation of *A ia vtornichala* without the *rozhok* part and with the fiddle part, aligned differently, the tune's vertical structure becomes considerably more organized. However, its organization is still looser than in the case of *Timonia* and *Chibat-*

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<sup>15</sup> Since I heard the story many times both in Plekhovo, from the relatives of the late M. Kriukov (such as N. Kosheleva), and in Budishche, and have also seen the name Kriukov in the LNM register for this recording, I believe it to be a fact, rather than a legend.

<sup>16</sup> As it has been mentioned in Chapter 1, Rudneva notated the parts of different instruments from their separate solo recordings and later put them together in score format. Considering the overall difficulty of the task, and complex structure of this tune in particular, such an approach was justified. She did not mention, however, that her ensemble scores were produced in this way, which lead to them being taken at the notation of what exactly have been played (as, for example, in Starostina's article). The comparison of the parts played solo with those played in the ensemble performance demonstrate that musicians do adjust and change their parts while hearing the others. It is clear on the recording of *A ia vtornichala* of 1946 that the *rozhok* player does not play the same way in the ensemble, as he played solo just before that, while Rudneva took the version of his solo recording to produce her "score."

*ukha*. Apparently, dissonant vertical combinations created by the *rozhok* player following a slightly different structure were tolerated by the other musicians on the 1946 recording, i.e., they were not strictly out of place in this tune. I encountered a similar situation with different versions of the *priduval'nye* parts for the tune *Batiushka* (see discussion on pp. 239-40), which may contradict one another, but still be tolerated if played in one group.

From the point of view of the structural differences between the tunes of traditional repertoire, a comparison between *Timonia* and *Batiushka* — two tunes chosen for the following analyses — is instructive. These two tunes differ in all aspects of their musical structure. *Timonia* belongs to the group based on a 6-position metrical unit, while *Batiushka* represents the group based on an 8-position unit. *Timonia* uses a five-tone scale and belongs to the group of vertically-oriented tunes. *Batiushka* uses a four-tone scale (scale arrangement 2, without the second tone), and is linearly-oriented.

The deep structure of *Timonia* is observed quite strictly in performance. Even a single tone, contradicting this structure, can be noted and commented as a mistake (see discussion in Chapter 4 and interview with M. Bocharova in Appendix D).

The *Timonia* period has 12 positions, arranged into two symmetrical phrases. Its deep structure, based on the alternation of the two harmonies (*c-e-g* and *d-f-g*) is easily detectable in the different melodic versions played by various instruments (see, for example, Rudneva's score notation of it in Appendix C, Notation 5). One can write the general deep structure rule for a period of *Timonia* as the following:

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
0	0	*	0	*	*	0	0	*	0	*	0

The correspondence between the two phrases becomes evident when they are superimposed:

0	0	*	0	*	*
0	0	*	0	*	0

In a slightly simplified version of the same scheme, there may be no change of chord on position 3, especially in the parts of the instruments that tend to use sustained notes (as the *roz'hok*). This variant of the scheme can be presented as follows:

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
0	0	0	0	*	*	0	0	0	0	*	0

The deep structure of *Batiushka* is more difficult to formulate than that of *Timonia*. Slightly different versions of it can exist even within the same village tradition. For example, in the village of Plekhovo two panpipe players, N. Kosheleva and P. Glamazdina, demonstrated two versions of it on a *priduval'nye* set using the third and fourth pipes:



Figure 6.2. Notation of *Batiushka* tune for *priduval'nye* part:  
a) version of N. Kosheleva, b) version of P. Glamazdina.\*

\* The deep structure schemes for the both versions are given below each notation.

These two versions of the deep structure of *Batiushka* differ in two positions, numbers 1 and 13. Both patterns in Figure 6.2 are not coincidental or mistaken, since they



were repeated many times in the same way while both women were teaching and playing. More versions of it can be found in other villages where the same tune is known under different names, as well as in the playing of other instruments.

The existence of several different versions of the *Batiushka* deep structure is perfectly acceptable for village musicians. Different versions can be combined in the same performance, producing the characteristic “soft dissonant” effect (combination of seconds and fourths in harmonic vertical). These versions coincide in the most structurally important parts, which are the endings of each of the two 8-position phrases, while the beginning and middle parts of the phrases may vary.

### **Playing the accompanying parts.<sup>17</sup>**

The deep structure of a tune manifests itself most directly in the melodic patterns of the accompanying parts (the *priduval'nye* and the *gukal'nye* sets of panpipes).

While the villagers always recommend learning to play panpipes by starting with the accompanying parts, playing them well is in fact no simpler than playing the lead part. The main difficulty lies in maintaining precise rhythmic pulsation and coordination with the leader. When the lead player starts making the vocal/instrumental counterpoint with herself, her vocal sounds may mask the pipe sounds as a rhythmic point of reference for the accompanists. This added rhythmic complexity, together with the fast tempo, makes the task of the accompanists challenging. The insistence of the villagers on always learning the accompanying parts first can be explained not by the simplicity of playing these parts, but by the close relationships of their patterns to the deep structure of a tune, allowing the beginner to comprehend the deep structure in an easier and more effective way.

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<sup>17</sup> In the following discussion of panpipe parts, only melodic content of them is considered. For details on rhythmic coordination between the parts to one another, and rhythmic variations of the accompanying parts, see Chapter 4 (pp. 173-74).

When applied to the accompanying part, the deep structure scheme of *Timonia* can generate a number of melodies. According to the recommendations of the village performers, the *priduval'nye* pattern for *Timonia* should “always start in the middle and always stop in the middle.” Indeed, since the *priduval'nye* set for this tune includes pipes 2, 3, and 4, the first sound complex (pipes 1 and 3, designated by symbol “o” in the deep structure scheme of this tune on p. 238) is represented by only one pipe (pipe 3, or the middle pipe). The first two positions in the *Timonia* period are occupied by this sound complex, so the *priduval'nye* pattern invariably starts with a repetition of pipe 3. On the third position of the period, however, one may choose between pipes 2 or 4, both of which belong to the second sound complex. From any of these, at the next position the player returns to pipe 3, etc. Using rule 1 it is easy to generate several versions of the period. The versions of the *priduval'nye* pattern that the players favor the most are shown in Figure 6.3.

Although both versions can appear in the part of one player within the same performance, they do not alternate frequently. Usually, a player has a clear preference for one pattern, which she repeats until she becomes tired and wants to reverse the direction of her movements.<sup>18</sup> Patterns with only two pipes are also possible.

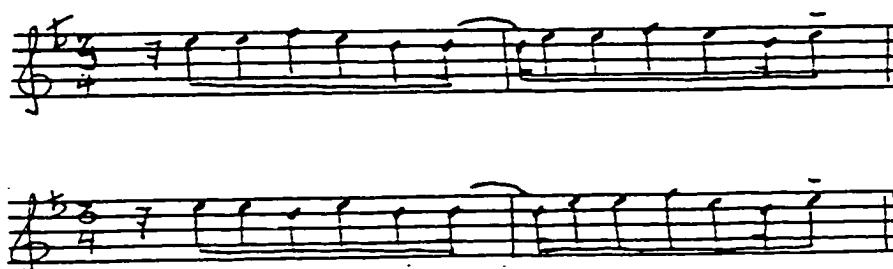


Figure 6.3. Two versions of the *priduval'nye* pattern for *Timonia*.

<sup>18</sup> The same is true for many of the work movements (threshing, mowing, etc.) that also can be performed from the left or from the right side, and reversed if necessary.

It seems that an important property of playing the accompanying panpipe part is establishing the pattern of periodic, “pendulum-like” movements, which are performed in an effective, economical and fluent way.

The players clearly avoid versions which change pipes on positions 5 and 6 (i.e., pipe 4 going to pipe 2 and vice versa). Thus, all movements between outer pipes (2 and 4 in case of this set) are made only via the middle pipe. In other words, the player’s only choices are staying on the same pipe within the same sound complex, or moving to the neighboring pipe when there is a change of the sound complex.

The same rules can be equally applied to the second accompanying part (big *priduval'nye* or *gukal'nye* sets, see Chapter 4). If it is performed on only two pipes, it has even less possibility for variation of the basic pattern and shows the tune’s deep structure in the clearest way:

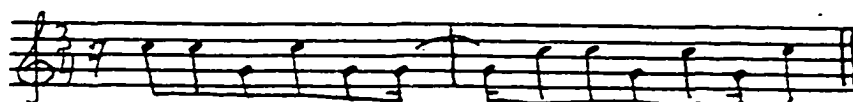


Figure 6.4. Pattern of the *gukal'nye* (two pipe) set for *Timonia*.

If the player of this part is using a three-pipe set (in this case the set is called big *priduval'nye*) she may perform the following versions:



Figure 6.5. Pattern of the big *priduval'nye* (three pipe) set for *Timonia*.

In generating the melodic versions, the second accompanying player follows the same rules as the *priduval'nye* (first accompanying) part, changing only the pipes used for playing.

For *Batiushka*, the accompanying parts are played on only two pipes, and they are also coherent with the deep structure of this tune, whatever version of it is chosen (see Figure 6.2).

In conclusion, for accompanying parts the deep structure scheme may be reformulated in terms of movements. The accompanying player uses two “operators,” M and S, where the symbol S stands for “stay on the same pipe” and the symbol M for “move to the next pipe in a row,” while the difference between left and right movement is not significant. The pattern of movements directly corresponds to tunes’ deep structure, although it presents not the harmonies themselves, but their change or its absence between the positions. Thus, the movement pattern for the *Timonia* accompanying panpipe, related to the tune’s deep structure, is as follows:

Positions:           1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12

Deep  
structure:           o o \* o \* \* o o \* o \* o

Movements:       (S) S M M M S M S M M M M

The same pattern may be illustrated as a diagram of the movements of the performer's head (Figure 6.6). The numbers in the horizontal line are those of the pipes, while positions of the period are given in the column.

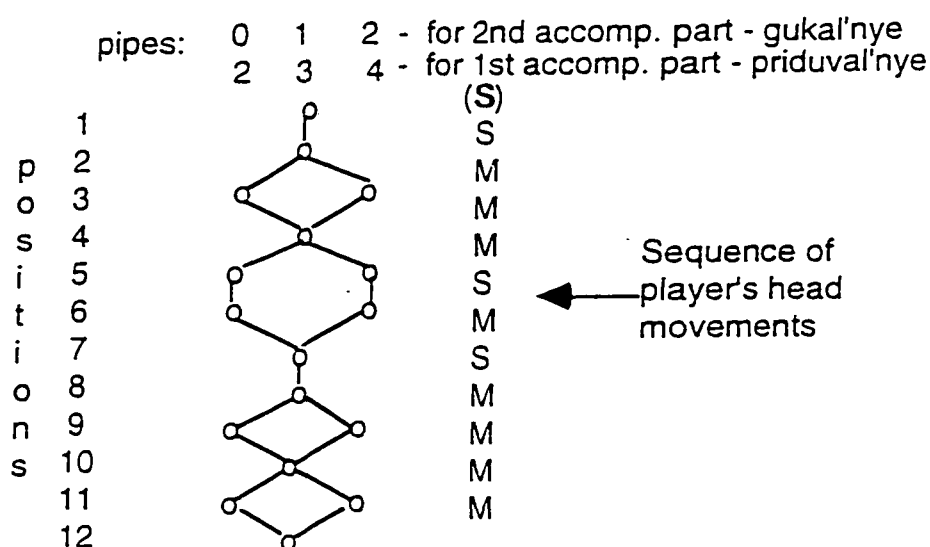


Figure 6.6. Diagram of head movements with respect to the pipes for the accompanying part player of the *Timonia* tune.

The vocabulary of these elementary gestures — movements between two neighboring pipes and staying on the same pipe — is the same for all accompanying panpipe parts of all tunes regardless of the pipes on which they are played.<sup>19</sup> What distinguishes

<sup>19</sup> Although each tune has rather strict verbalized norms for the *priduval'nye* set (for example, *Timonia* always uses 2, 3, and 4 pipes, *Batiushka* — 3 and 4, *A ia vtornichala* — 4 and 5 pipes), some players realize that the accompanying part may be performed on any two or three pipes (as long as they are included in this tune's tone range). For example, this possibility was suggested to me by M. Golovina in the village

them is the sequencing of these gestures, which is defined by the deep structure of a particular tune. Thus, the accompanying players' movements are directly related to the deep structure of a tune.

### **Playing the *para* part.**

Playing strategy for the *para* (five-pipe) part is different from that of the accompanying parts in several respects. The *para* set has more pipes, and thus apparently more possibilities for variation. In addition to step-wise movement, a *para* part player uses skip movements to the other pipes in a row, including movements between pipes which belong to the same sound complex (e.g., from 1 to 3, or from 1 to 5). This increases the possibilities for melodic variation to a practically infinite number.

The movements of the players' heads are important for this part as well, but must be considered with another level of detail. If the movement patterns of the accompanying parts are standard and governed by the same rules for all players, the *para* (five-pipe) players seem to use rather individual strategies for their choices of pipes in performance.

The possibilities of infinite melodic invention in playing the *para* part were clearly demonstrated by M. Bocharova, especially in her response to my experimental recording (see Chapter 4, Appendix D, Interview 3). Some of the different melodic versions found in this session and also in other sessions with her, as well as those of the other panpipe players, are represented in the syntactic chart in Figure 6.7. In this chart, two six-position phrases are shown in two columns; a combination of any two phrases into a period is acceptable.

To observe how these variation possibilities are used by individual players in a particular performance, I chose to analyze as a case study the example discussed below.

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of Peschanoe (Velichkina 1994). Rudneva also report occasional performances of *priduval'nye* on unusual combinations of pipes (1975, 155).

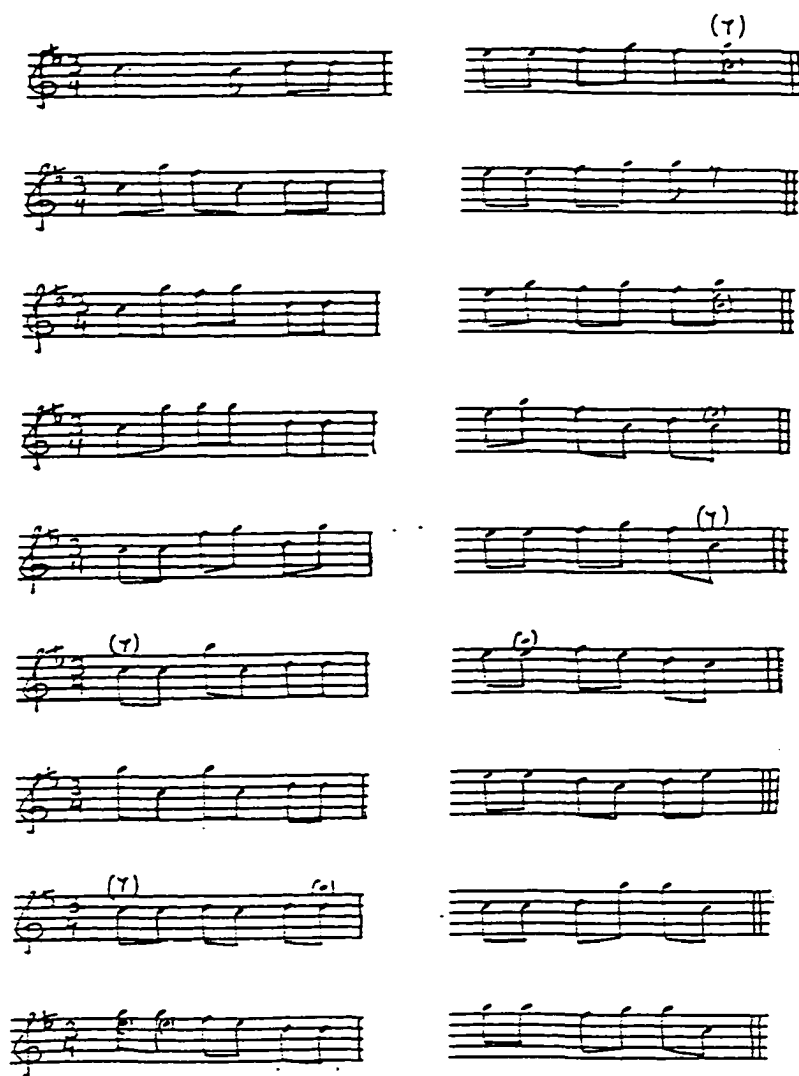


Figure 6.7. The syntactic chart of *Timonia* melodic versions (as played on the five-pipe set of panpipes).

### A case study performance.

As the material for the following analysis, I chose a performance of both tunes, *Batiushka* and *Timonia*, recorded on January 20, 1991, of four women in the village of Plekhovo, among whom two — N. Kosheleva and F. Glamazdina — played five-pipe sets, P. Glamazdina played the *priduval'nye* set and N. Motorykina played the *gukal'nye* set. The session took place in the house of one of the players, and both fragments were recorded after at least an hour of choosing and tuning pipes, discussions, teaching and music-making together. Beyond myself, four of my pupils, members of the children's folk group "Veretentse" from Moscow, aged 13-14, participated in this meeting. The village women felt very flattered by the urban children's attention and interest in their music and tried to play exceptionally well. The other village "music experts" and panpipe players to whom I played this recording later, approved of this performance as a whole, although they had some critical comments on some of the players.<sup>20</sup> We shall explore this criticism later in detail. The "failures" of this recording are instructive, because they help to better understand the villagers' reasoning behind their judgments. Overall, however, it can be taken as a representative example of the traditional manner of playing, done in a near-natural context and not influenced by the constraints of concert performance.

To analyze the performance process, I notated long fragments of each tune, from the beginning to the moment when the playing ceased for one or another reason. These included 30 repetitions of a period for *Timonia*, and 26 repetitions for *Batiushka*. Both scores are shown in Appendix C (Notations 12 and 13).<sup>21</sup>

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<sup>20</sup> For example, N. Motorykina, a *gukal'nye* player, rushed and did not co-ordinate well her patterns with those of other players. Her rhythmically diversified playing contributed a whispering low-pitch background sound for the other players, rather than having an independent role in the ensemble. She is clearly the least experienced player, and admits it herself. However, considering that the *gukal'nye* part is not overwhelmingly important in the ensemble, and its loose co-ordination did not seem to disturb other players, I decided to leave it on the recording in the version as it had been played before. Other critical comments which concern the playing of N. Kosheleva (see also Chapter 4, p. 191), will be discussed later.

<sup>21</sup> For the consideration of the *para* players' head movements the discussion will be limited to the pipe sounds. These sounds are designated with the pipe numbers, from low to high (see Chapter 4, p. 164). Cipher notation of both *para* parts of this performance are given in Appendix C (see Notations 12b and 13b).



### Analysis of *para* players' head movements.

In order to analyze the movements employed in the performance of the *para* parts in relation to the structure of the tune's period, each movement can be measured by a number of steps. Movements to the adjacent pipe in a row contain one step, movements skipping one pipe (as 1 to 3, 2 to 4, etc.) contain two steps, etc. The maximum movement equals 4 steps, which is the movement from one outer pipe to another (from pipe 1 to pipe 5 or vice versa), the minimal is 0 (when a player repeats the same pipe at the next position).<sup>22</sup> Figure 6.8 shows the average difference between the pipe numbers at two adjacent positions of *Timonia*, that is, the size of the movement between the pipes that players make to play the next note. Since the numbers are averaged for all 30 repetitions of the period, the resulting figures are not necessarily integers.

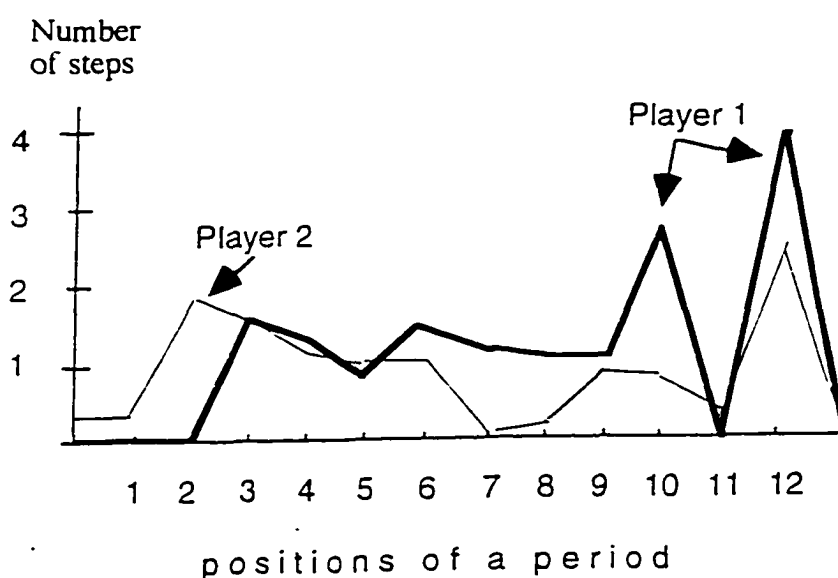


Figure 6.8. The average size of movements per position of *Timonia*.

<sup>22</sup> Positions on which there is no pipe sound are considered 0 steps, because the video recordings of playing show that all movements from one pipe to another occur rapidly, right before playing the next note.

One can see from this graph that the contours of movement activity in terms of steps are similar at certain points for both players. The beginning (positions 1-2) and ending (positions 10-12) of a period — respectively, its most stable sections in terms of repetitions of the same sounds — are also radically different from the rest of the period in the use of head movements. The end is marked by rapid alternation between the positions where the most active movements (i.e., skipping 2 or 3 pipes) occur and those with complete “stops.” For example, position 10 in the part of the first player is usually achieved by a skipping movement, while there is barely any movement between positions 10 to 11, then, again, a skip movement between positions 11 to 12, and no change from 12 to 1 of the next period. For the second player the pattern is similar, with the most active shift between positions 11 to 12, preceded and followed by smaller movements. One may conclude that within the zone of 10-12 positions the most active movements are coupled with a complete stop. This gesture marks the end of a period. In contrast with this, the first and second positions are the least active ones in terms of head movements. Pipe changes almost never occur on the border between two periods (between the 12th and 1st positions). In this way a panpipe performer “links” periods one after another and ensures a smooth transition and continuation of the flow of music. Thus, the periodicity of head and hand movements confirm the structural segmentation of a tune.

The chart of movements in *Batiushka* can be compared to that of *Timonia* (see Figure 6.9). In the performance of this tune there is also a contrast between the middle and the outer positions of a period. The most active movement is executed by both players in achieving the 2nd and 16th positions of a period. In addition, N. Kosheleva has most active movements on 11 and 12 positions (this may be explained as the influence of *Timonia*’s shorter period on her motor memory).

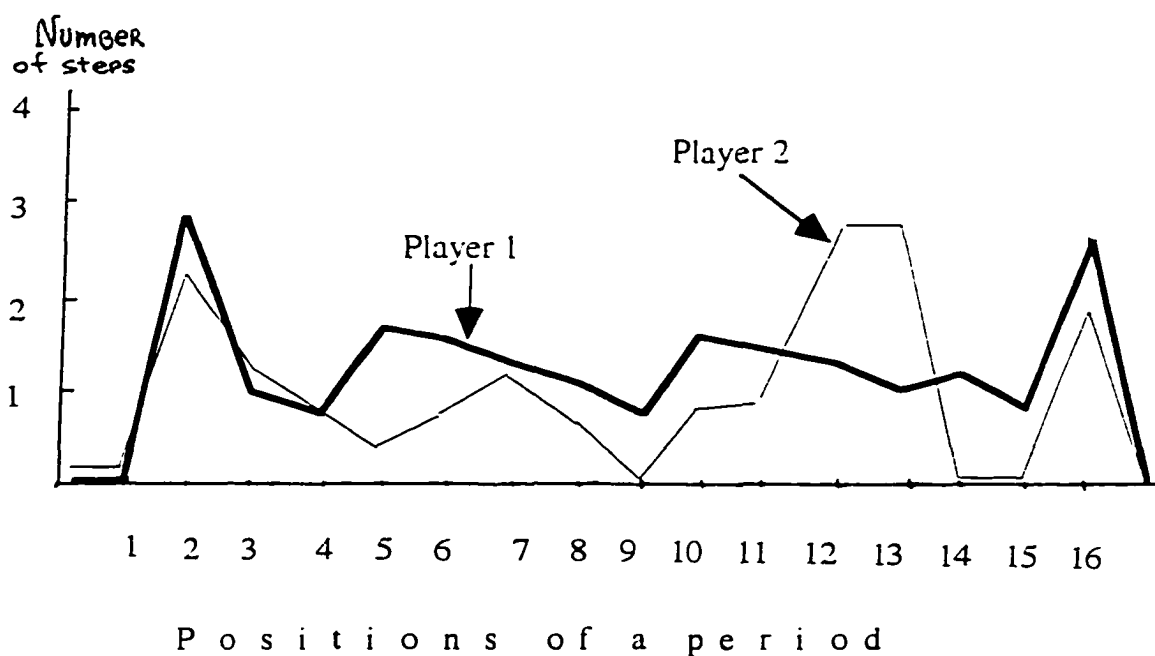


Figure 6.9. The average size of movements per position of *Batiushka*.

The movement charts for both tunes (Figures 6.8 and 6.9) show that the difference in individual manners of players and the syntactic difference between the tunes notwithstanding, the motor movements of players' head and hands are similar in certain ways. They emphasize cyclic patterns, in which the alternation of broad, active movements and stops characterizes the outer parts (the beginnings and the ends) of each period, while the middle parts are moderate in terms of movements of the head.

### Probability model for playing *para* parts.<sup>23</sup>

Considering cipher notations of both tunes (Appendix C, Notations 12b and 13b), one can notice that some pipes are employed by the players more often than others. Moreover, they also have unequal chances to be used after one another. For example, in Glamazdina's performance of *Timonia*, pipe 5 is frequently followed by pipe 1 (see positions 11-12), but not vice versa. These features can be expressed in the matrix of probability for transitions called a Markov chain.<sup>24</sup>

There are two main criteria for estimating the effectiveness of a probability model: the level of entropy and generality.<sup>25</sup> We can imagine a process of matrix construction with a gradual increase in generalization, that is, first a matrix of one tune in one particular performance, then a matrix generalizing several performances by the same players, next a matrix for different versions of a tune (played by different performers), and finally for different tunes of the repertoire. There is a danger, however, that with the increase in generality the level of entropy also increases, that is, more generalized matrices predict less than do more

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<sup>23</sup> The probability is a number between 0 and 1. The simplest example of a probability task is tossing up a coin and calculating the cases when it falls on one or another side. The number of one side up cases is then divided by the total number of tries. In this case, obviously, the probability is going to be approximately 0.5. To obtain the probability of occurrence of a pipe, the number of uses of a particular pipe in a tune is divided by the total number of occurrences of all pipes in the same tune. The sum of probabilities of all pipes in a particular tune, naturally, equals 1.

<sup>24</sup> A formal definition of the Markov chain can be found, for example, in Cox and Miller (1965,76). A (finite) Markov chain is a particular class of Markov processes in discrete time with a discrete state space; a sequence  $X_0, X_1, \dots$  of discrete random variables with the property that the conditional distribution of  $X_{n+1}$  given  $X_0, X_1, \dots, X_n$  depends only on a value of  $X_n$ , but not further on  $X_0, X_1, \dots, X_{n-1}$ . In less technical language, for a Markov chain model it is assumed that (1) there is a finite set of states in which the system can be at any given moment, (2) the probabilities of transition from one state to another are not equal and can be expressed in the form of a matrix, and (3) the probability of transition at each given time  $t$  depends only on the state of a system at the preceding moment of time  $t-1$ . (i.e., the memory of a system is only one step). The last condition, called the Markov property, is in fact a big restriction and may be thought not to hold true for music. However, as Wim van Zanten showed for Malawian *pango* music, the knowledge of two preceding chords reduces the uncertainty of prediction only slightly (Zanten 1983, 90). Insofar as the methods applied here are similar to those of van Zanten, one can assume that the Markov chain model gives a good approximation of panpipe music as well.

<sup>25</sup> Wim van Zanten in his article discusses the level of entropy as an expression of uncertainty of prediction in a matrix (1983, 94). In his definition, the entropy is a real number between 0 and 1. If all transitions in a matrix were equally probable, then the entropy would be 1, that is, the uncertainty of prediction is maximal. If the probability of transition equals 1 at some point (i.e., one element is *necessarily* followed by another), then the level of entropy at this point is minimal.

specific ones. For this reason, a matrix that describes one particular performance has been chosen for the discussion. The advantage of this choice lies in the fact that such a matrix specifies possibilities for variations used in this particular performance, as well as the relative importance of each of them in the sum total of the period's repetitions in this performance.

The "first order approximation" of this model (see Zanten 1983) is the calculation of the total number of use of each pipe in performance — for each player, and for each tune separately. These numbers are given in Table 6.1.

Pipe's number *	<i>Timonia</i>		<i>Batiushka</i>	
	Player 1 (Glamazdina)	Player 2 (Kosheleva)	Player 1 (Glamazdina)	Player 2 (Kosheleva)
1	156	43	71	43
2	86	4	0	0
3	5	7	69	4
4	6	76	96	78
5	63	182	153	262

Table 6.1. Number of occurrences of each pipe in *Timonia* and *Batiushka* in the case-study performance.

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\* Pipe numbers correspond in both cases for both players.

From this table one can calculate the probability of occurrence of each pipe in a tune's performance by each of the players. For the first player's execution of *Timonia*, for example, the probability of the occurrence of the first pipe is 0.49, i.e. almost half of all pipe playings are of the first pipe. The probabilities of occurrences for each pipe, each of the players and for each tune separately are represented in Table 6.2.

Pipe's number	<i>Timonia</i>		<i>Batiushka</i>	
	Glamazdina	Kosheleva	Glamazdina	Kosheleva
1	0.49	0.14	0.18	0.11
2	0.27	0.01	0	0
3	0.02	0.02	0.18	0.01
4	0.02	0.24	0.25	0.20
5	0.2	0.58	0.39	0.68

Table 6.2. Probabilities of occurrence of each pipe in tunes.

As can be seen from the comparison of these numbers, the use of pipes in both players' parts is different. For *Timonia*, each player has one pipe which is played most frequently. For Glamazdina (player 1) it is pipe 1, for Kosheleva (player 2) — pipe 5. The adjacent pipe (pipe 2 for Glamazdina and pipe 4 for Kosheleva), is the second in probability. The pipe which occupies the third place is located on the opposite side of a pipe row (pipe 5 for the first player, and pipe 1 for the second player).

The last two pipes (3 and 4 for the first player, and 2 and 3 for the second) are used extremely rarely. One may assume that the absence of them in these parts is compensated by their use in the *priduval'nye* part.

For *Batiushka*, the pattern of probability distribution between the pipes is different. In Glamazdina's playing, the most frequently used pipe becomes pipe 5, while three others have comparable probabilities (the probability of pipe 2 is 0, since it is not used in this tune). Kosheleva, on the contrary, does not change her strategy (pipes 5, 4, and 1 are the most frequent, as in her *Timonia* execution). Moreover, the probability distribution in her *Batiushka* becomes even more uneven, with pipe 5 being by far the most frequent.

The villagers say that a good *para* player “walks” on all pipes in her set (See Chapter 4, p.191). Glamazdina, in their opinion, does “walk on all pipes,” while Kosheleva “only stays on one pipe.” In the performance in question, however, they both prefer to use extreme pipes, and do not “walk” on the middle pipes, but rather skip them. This observation concerns only their performance in the ensemble, however. Similar analysis of other performances of these two, as well as other *para* players, demonstrates that when they play solo, they do use the middle pipes much more frequently. It is therefore the accompaniment (of panpipes as well as other instruments of the ensemble), that allows them to concentrate only on the extreme registers. Such a change of strategy is especially noticeable in the case of N. Kosheleva. In her solo playing of *Timonia* (Appendix C, Notation 15) she sustains the “walk” on all pipes through the whole fragment.

The “second order approximation” in the construction of the probability model is the matrix of transition between two pipes. Zanten (1983, 93) indicates two possible approaches. In the first one the data are treated as a “chain” of elements, that is, with regard to the relative time that a given element occupies within the structure of a tune. The second approach presents the data as a “sequence” of elements, focusing only on transition possibilities and excluding pauses or repetitions of the same chord from consideration.

Cipher notation of the two *para* parts (Appendix C, Notations 12b and 13b) is an example of chain presentation (first approach), because it lines up the sounds with their respective positions in a period. The same material can be presented as a sequence of elements (second approach), for example, 1 5 1 2 5 1 2 5 1 5 1 2 5 4 5 1... etc., i.e. without the timing of them according to the positions. For the purposes of the present discussion, I consider the matrix that defines only the probability of movement from one

pipe to another, without reference to positions within the period, and exclude repetitions of the same pipe, where there is no movement. In the following this method will be illustrated by the construction of a probability matrix for *Timonia*.

The process of matrix construction is simple. First, one has to count the number of transitions from one pipe to each of the others in the total performance for both players (for example, pipe 1 is followed by pipe 2 in 19 cases, by pipe 3 in 2 cases, etc.), and add them up to obtain the total number of transitions from a given pipe. After that the probability of each particular transition from the pipe in question (e.g., 1>2, 1>3, 1>4 and 1>5) is calculated by dividing the number of transitions to each pipe by the total number of transitions from a given pipe. For example, if pipe 1 is followed by pipe 2 in 19 cases, and the total number of transitions from pipe 1 equals 190, the probability of transition 1 to 2 is  $19 : 190 = 0.1$ .

The sum of the probabilities in each line of the matrix should equal 1, i.e., each state necessarily makes a transition to the next state. The completed matrix for both players on the example of *Timonia* execution is shown in Table 6.3.

	1	2	3	4	5
1	not considered	0.70	0.01	0.04	0.25
2	0.39	not considered	0.03	0	0.58
3	0.10	0.30	not considered	0.11	0.44
4	0.06	0.04	0	not considered	0.90
5	0.45	0.01	0.04	0.50	not considered

Table 6.3. Matrix of probability for two *para* players in *Timonia*.\*

\* The first vertical column is the number of the pipe at the beginning of a transition, the horizontal line is the number of the pipe at destination.



This matrix enables us to discuss some of the player's strategies of movements between the pipes in more detail than before and to successively restrict the choice of pipes for the *para* players. This matrix was compiled for both players, who obviously have different playing styles and strategies. Even so, it has very high probability numbers for certain transitions, while for the others the probabilities are very low. That means that the level of entropy of this matrix is low, and therefore it gives good predictions of players' choices of pipes. To interpret the results of the matrix, it is convenient to divide all transitions into three groups. The first group includes those transitions that are highly probable (more than 25 % of probability), the second group (very small in number) includes the transitions that are less probable (between 5 and 25 %), and the third group — those that are very unlikely (less than 5%). Our attention will be focused on the first and the third groups, since they can be interpreted as musically significant — preferred or avoided movements. To highlight these choices, we can re-write the matrix using the symbols “P” for preferred and “A” for avoided transitions, ignoring the small group of intermediate choices. Table 6.4 shows this simplified version of the probability matrix.

Pipes	1	2	3	4	5
1		P	A	A	P
2	P		A	A	P
3		P			P
4		A	A		P
5	P	A	A	P	

Table 6.4. Modified probability matrix.\*

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\* “P” stands for preferred transitions, “A” - for avoided ones.

First, one can note that the fifth pipe can follow any other pipe with a high degree of probability. This confirms the performers' notion of the predominant role of the fifth pipe in playing. Beyond the movement to pipe 5, all pipes have also another choice of one of the neighboring pipes for a step-wise movement. The fifth pipe itself has two probable transitions, step-wise to pipe 4 and a skip to pipe 1, which are the choices of either the smallest or the largest possible movements.

Unlike pipes 1 and 5, the middle pipes (pipes 2, 3, and 4) are much more restricted in their use. For example, it follows from Table 6.3 that pipe 3 forms a sub-system that cannot be entered from any other state of the system. Such a state is called ephemeral in mathematical terms (Cox and Miller 1965, 91). Indeed, because in the performance in question this pipe was used very rarely by both players, the probability of transition to it from other pipes is close to zero, although this pipe is featured rather prominently in the opening periods of both players. Unlike all other lines in Table 6.3, the probabilities of transition from pipe 3 are all in the same range, i.e. the entropy level in the transition from the pipe 3 is very high. We may conclude that the use of the third pipe in both players' parts in this performance has been coincidental in character. This conclusion confirms the impression from listening of the parts in the case study performance and analysis of the score.

Overall, the analysis of a case study performance shows that a *para* part player, despite seemingly broader variation possibilities, is as restricted in choices of pipes as the players of the accompanying parts. In conclusion, the strategy of a *para* player concerning the choice of pipes and head/hands movements can be formulated as follows:

1. The *para* player has only two major choices for transition from any pipe to the next — one with skip movement and another with stepwise movement.
2. The stepwise movement avoids the third pipe, except the opening period.

3. The skip movement is always done to the fifth pipe, or from the fifth pipe to the first pipe.

4. The probability of skip movements increases toward the end of a period, while on the border between the periods head movement is avoided.

Using these rules in conjunction with the deep structure of a tune we can obtain very good predictions of the melodic variants produced by both players of this recording. The applicability of these rules to other players and other tunes, however, requires further research.

### **Production of vocal sound.**

The *para* players produce vocal sounds simultaneously and in counterpoint with the sounds of the pipes. The players refer to it by the onomatopoetic verb *fiukat'*, because the effect is heard as two syllables, *fiu* and *ka* (see Chapter 4). The exact pronunciation of both syllables varies. The first one can be pronounced as *hiu*, *fif*, *fiuf*, and *fef*, the second as *ka*, *kaf*, or *faf*.

The production of the vocal sounds is confusing for someone unfamiliar with this tradition. This is the most invisible, fast and elusive gesture that players make. In addition, while the village women are keen to teach how to blow into the pipes and produce the pipe patterns for different tunes, they cannot teach the production of vocal sounds in the same way. The vocal sounds are so deeply integrated into the whole mechanism of players' movements that, unlike other constituents, they cannot be easily dissected from this whole and taught separately. The performers also insist on the individuality of this skill, saying that "*fiukat'* is done by each [player] as [she] wants or knows how."

Yet, players often have clear ideas about how it should and should not be done, although they never explicitly verbalize this themselves. One can derive the rules for placing vocal sounds from the analysis of the case-study performance.

The data on the frequency of occurrence of vocal sounds per position in both *Batiushka* and *Timonia* in the case study performances show high regularity in the placement of vocal sounds for both players. Figure 6.10 demonstrates graphically the probability of occurrence of vocal sounds on the positions of the *Timonia* period (in reality, the vocal sound is typically produced after a short pipe sound on the same position).

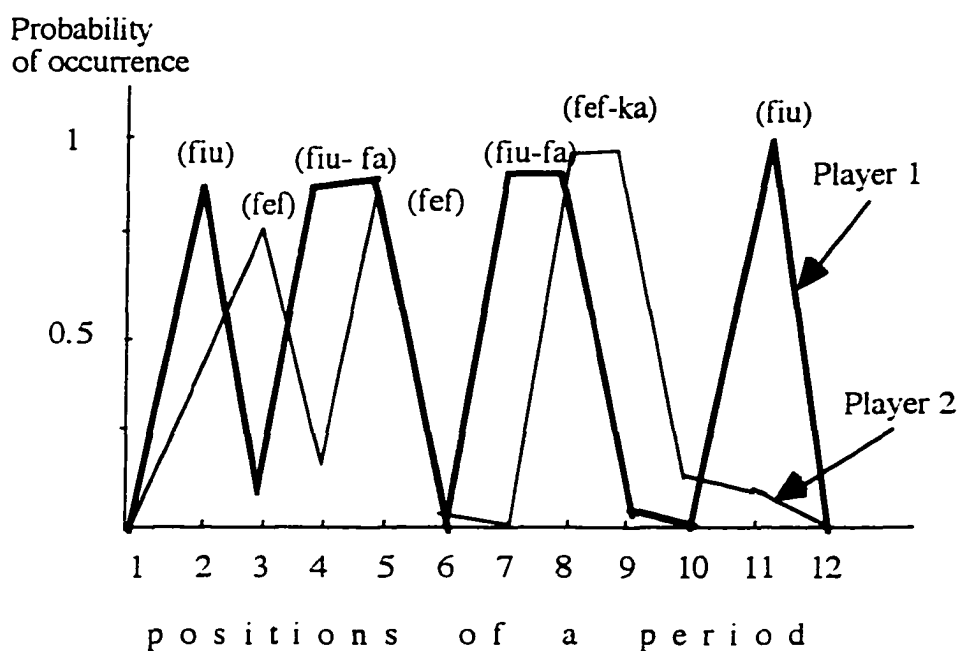


Figure 6.10. Probability of occurrence of vocal sounds for positions of *Timonia* period.

We can see from this graph that most of the positions of the *Timonia* period are either vocalized or not, with very high probability, that is, the placement of vocal sounds by each player cannot be called random. Each player has her own favorite quasi-verbal formula which defines the general rhythm of her vocal sound production. For the first player it can be represented by the sequence of syllables “fiuf, fiu-fa, fiu-fa, fiuf”, while

the second player produces the sequence “fef, fef, fef-ka”. For each player the syllable with the vowel [a] (low position of the tongue) is lower in pitch than the others, and it can only appear in connection with another vocal sound at the preceding position. In contrast, the syllables with high-pitch/high(mid)-position vowels [u, e, i] are placed independently and interpolated with one or more pipe sounds.

The vocal and pipe sounds are coordinated between each other in a following manner. Each syllable has a vowel sound preceded or surrounded by two consonants, most of them being *f* sounds. As these sounds are pronounced, the air flows *into* the pipe, i.e. the consonant is played as a pipe sound. As the vowel is “sung” with the air going above the pipe, its pitch is coordinated with the pipe sound preceding and following the vowel (see discussion below).

The placement of vocal sounds in *Batiushka* (Figure 6.11) is similar to that in *Timonia* in principle, while more syllables are added by both players to fill in longer *Batiushka* period.

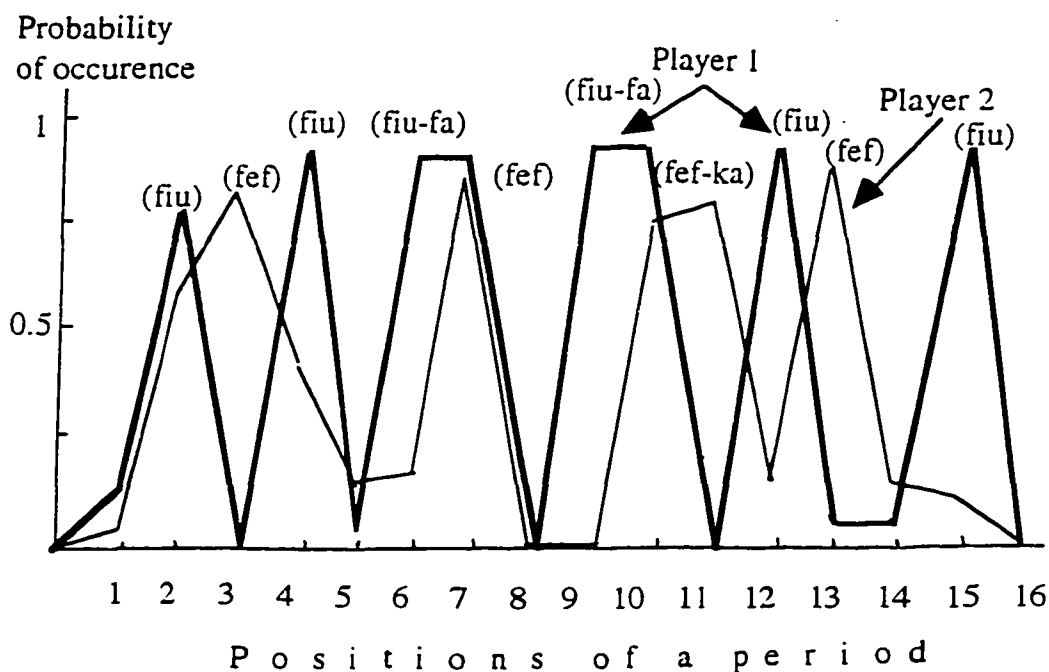


Figure 6.11. Probability of occurrence of vocal sounds for positions of *Batiushka* period.

As seen from the graphs in Figures 6.10 and 6.11, the placement of vocal sounds in the parts of both players rarely coincide with one another. Rather, they overlap, or answer each other. This is the way in which two *para* players are expected to coordinate their vocal sounds in the village of Plekhovo (see discussion in Chapter 4, pp. 166, 179). F. Glamazdina does not change her vocal sound placement very much while playing alone. N. Kosheleva, on the contrary, when she plays solo, tends to do the vocalizing differently from she did it in the duo with Glamazdina. This may indicate that in the case study performance she probably changed her usual pattern to fit in with the ensemble.

Using the graphs in Figures 6.9 and 6.10, one can construct syntactic models for vocal sound production in this performance. Since such models are designed to show how vocal sounds fit into the structure of a period, a simplified one-line notation is sufficient. Such notation does not reflect the exact pitch of each vocal sound; instead, the vocal sounds are divided into high-pitch (around 4 or 5 pipe pitches), and low-pitch ones.<sup>26</sup> For the case study performance, these models are as follows (Figure 6.12).

To approach the issue of individuality in vocal sound production (as the performers themselves recognize, each player produces vocal sounds differently), these models of both players for *Timonia* tune can be compared with those of other performers, such as M. Bocharova, A. Rusanova (a *para* player on Kvitka's 1946 recording), and E. Pestsova, playing *Timonia* (Figure 6.13).

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<sup>26</sup> Phonetically speaking, the vowel in the first syllable belongs to the so-called high or middle positions (of the tongue), while the vowel in the second syllable uses the low position. For the production of a low position vowel after a high one (for example, [a] after [i]), the tongue together with lower jaw moves down. In panpipe playing, this subtle movement of the mouth often co-ordinates with the change of pipes, i.e., with the movement of the head of the performer from a high pitched pipe to a low pitched one. The pitch of the vocal sound also follows this change; whatever the initial pitch level is, the first syllable is always higher than the second.

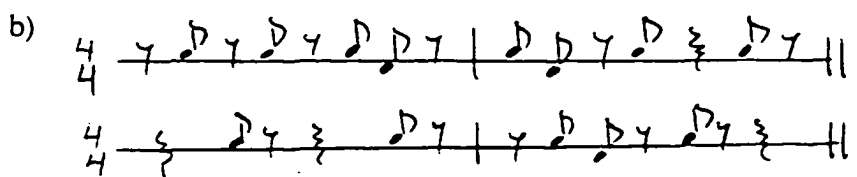
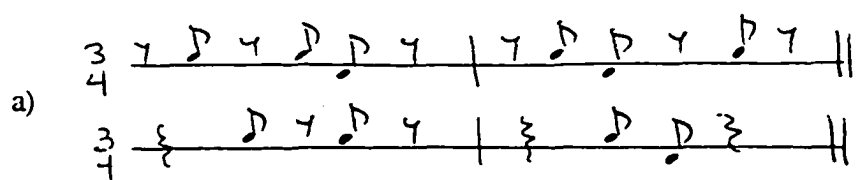


Figure 6.12. Syntactic models for vocal sound production:  
a) *Timonia*; b) *Batiushka*.

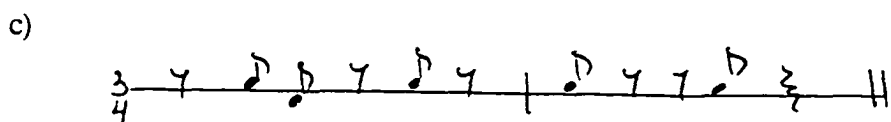
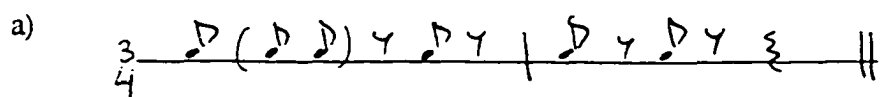


Figure 6.13. Syntactic models for vocal sound production (*Timonia*):  
a) M. Bocharova; b) A. Rusanova; c) E. Pestsova.

Despite the obvious differences between their execution of vocal sounds, there exist a certain number of common features in the strategy of all players. For example, all players tend to avoid vocal sounds on the last position of a period. More commonly, vocal sounds are placed in the inner positions of a period, i.e. those, on which less movement between the pipes occur. In these moments the attention of a player may be safely shifted to vocal sounds, which are more elusive in their pitch and timing than the “rigid” pipe sounds. The latter, in turn, gain their significance in cadential, structurally important points where stability is often needed. One can use the image of a nut — with a hard shell and a soft kernel — to represent the relationship between the vocal and instrumental parts typical for a *para* player’s performance.

With regard to pitch, the vocal sounds are commonly produced with the *glissando* effect, i.e., their pitch is constantly changing. There are three main contours in which such changes occur: raising, falling and the bell-shape contour. Typically, the high sounds are raising in pitch, while the low sounds have falling contour. Most of the sounds, however, have their focal pitch, which may be reached with raising and then left with the falling movement (i.e., in a bell-shaped contour). The focal pitch of the vocal sounds is always close to the pitch of pipe sounds.

There are several different strategies for the choice of the focal pitch for the vocal sound in relation to the surrounding pipe pitches. First, the vocal sound can be inserted in between two different pipes, both in ascending and descending succession. In this case the pitch of the vocal sound can be the same as the preceding pipe sound, the same as the following pipe sound, or different from both. Second, if the vocal sound is inserted between the same pipe sound, it can be either the same as the pipe pitch, or different from it. The players in the case study recording vary in their use of these possibilities. The following Table 6.5 summarizes their strategies in the example of the *Timonia* performance.



Pipes succession	Two different pipes in ascending order			Two different pipes in descending order			The same pipe repeated	
	1*	2	3	1	2	3	4	5
Vocal sounds								
Player 1	13	3	70	33	1	1	12	7
Player 2	20	34	0	43	3	0	8	6
Total for both players	33	37	70	77	4	1	20	13

Table 6.5. Relations of vocal pitch to the pitch of the surrounding pipes (*Timonia*).

\* The numbers designate the type of placement of vocal sounds with respect to the pitches of surrounding pipes:

- 1 - the pitch of the vocal sound is the same as the preceding pipe;
- 2 - the pitch of the vocal sound is the same as the following pipe;
- 3 - the pitch of the vocal sound is different from both surrounding pipes;
- 4 - the pitch of the vocal sound is the same as the repeated pipe;
- 5 - the pitch of the vocal sound is different from the repeated pipe.

Correlation between the vocal sound and the pipe pitch is more typical for N. Kosheleva, than for F. Glamazdina. Also for the former player, in an ascending order of pipes, the correlation of vocal pitch more often occurs with the following pipe. In a descending sequence of pipes it is reversed; typically, the vocal pitch follows the pitch of the first pipe. Kosheleva does not use vocal sounds of a different pitch while moving between two pipes. On the contrary, it is prominent for Glamazdina, who uses it in more than half the cases. Her playing gives an impression that vocal and instrumental lines are more independent from each other and at the same time strictly together in terms of co-ordination. This quality distinguishes the best panpipe players in this tradition.

For both players, the total number of cases where the vocal sound appears between the repetition of the same pipe is not large, compared with the placement of it between different pipes. Thus, one can conclude that the vocal sounds are typically correlated with

the head movements, i.e. the players do not switch their attention alternatively between the two different (instrumental and vocal) modes of sound production, but rather perform them simultaneously, each with its own rhythm and inner logic.

In conclusion, the vocal technique in this performance can be summarized in the following set of rules:

1. The vocal sounds are organized in sequences which are correlated to the size of a tune's period in such a way that the vocal sounds are avoided in cadences and beginnings of the phrases.
2. Each sequence of vocal sounds is an alternation of syllables with high and low position vowels.
3. The syllables with low-position vowels cannot start the sequence or appear independently (i.e. without a syllable with high-position vowel directly preceding it).
4. All vocal sounds are preferably inserted in correlation with the players' head movements between the pipes.

### **Breathing patterns.**

The third type of movement patterns that is related to the structural organization of panpipe playing is breathing. If it is true, that the breathing is directly related to the manner of blowing, then consideration of breathing techniques is essential for the analysis of the biology of music-making on any wind instrument. It is especially important for the analysis of panpipe playing, since the manner of blowing distinguishes the expressive possibilities of this instrument from that of other wind instruments. The analysis of breathing patterns provides an important insight into biological mechanisms involved in panpipe playing.

The role and function of breathing patterns were for a long time overlooked in ethnomusicological approaches to music analysis. However, as M. Mazo has showed in her research on lament (Mazo 1994), the study of breathing patterns can provide a crucial

source of insight into a performance process, because breathing serves as both an expressive and a structural device. The South Kursk panpipe music also confirms the importance of breathing patterns in music production.

The predominant articulation of sounds on a panpipe is non-legato (which also can be defined as staccato, *marcato*, or *portamento*), i.e. each sound is produced by the separate push of air blown into a pipe hole. This principle is to a certain extent imbedded in the morphology of the instrument itself. Uninterrupted blowing from one pipe to the next is very air consuming, because in this way part of the air is wasted during the pipe change. On the other hand, if each push of air is followed by inhalation (i.e., is treated as a separate breathing cycle), it exhausts the player and quickly leads to hyperventilation.

As the analysis of breathing patterns shows, the panpipe players employ two levels of breathing simultaneously, one level (deep breathing) maintaining a normal breathing pace and another level (shallow breathing) supplying air for each note played on the instrument.<sup>27</sup> On the first level, the air is inhaled deeply and kept inside the lower part of the abdomen until the end of the musical phrase. Such a breathing cycle usually corresponds to the length of the period (3-5 seconds on the average), therefore this level of breathing movement can be called a *phrase breathing*. Usually players take a deep breath between the periods, and this seems to serve as a point of reference for all players in the ensemble. Since there is no active movement on pipes at the beginning of the period, the players usually use this time to give visual cues to each other, look at the dancers, other musicians, and take a deep level breath for playing the next phrase.

Phrase breathing is very often reflected in broad bodily movements of players, especially those of the *para* parts. From solo video-recordings of M. Bocharova, for example, it is clearly seen that with each period, her upper body turns gradually from one

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<sup>27</sup> This breathing mechanism in panpipe playing was shown to Rudneva by Evdokia Golubovich from Budishche in her interview on 2. 23. 1978 (archives of LNM, recording no. 3183/1759). Rudneva, however, did not describe it in her book.

side to another, following the movement of her head as she proceeds to the shorter pipes. Then, after a short pause for inhalation, she returns to the starting point of her movement and to the first pipe at the beginning of a new period and starts the same movement over again. The whole cycle of movements seems to be a manifestation of a broad “breathing gesture.” These body movements of the panpipe players also seem to parallel the movements of other instrument players and the hand gestures of the dancers.

The second level of breathing consists of frequent and intense “pumping” of the air directed to a pipe to produce an individual sound. Since this gesture is closely connected with articulation of each panpipe sound separately, it may be called *articulatory breathing*.

Articulatory breathing in panpipe playing, as well as phrase breathing, is a visible and audible phenomenon. It can be observed in the movements of the upper abdominal muscles, pushing the puffs of air through the rest of the air column. The way this is done holds the “secret” of not hyperventilating when playing *kugikly*. While the exhalation and inhalation on each note has to be short and intense, it is important not to allow the “shallow” upper level breathing to perform this movement. To do the panpipe breathing properly, one needs to train the abdominal muscles so that the diaphragm movements allows the small amount of air to be inhaled and exhaled on each note. The deep inhalation only occurs once per period, or per phrase, if the tempo is slow and the period is long.

Articulatory breathing movements are especially visible for accompanying players, since breathing is crucial for their execution of the rhythm, the key task of the accompanists. One of the ways to sustain their co-ordination with the *para* player, as already mentioned (see Chapter 4), is through coordination of breathing: the accompanist should breathe in anti-phase to the leader. One could hypothesize that in the larger instrumental ensemble the movements of the diaphragm may serve as visual cues for the

panpipe players, positioned in alternation with the other instrumentalists. In reality, however, this does not seem to be the case, since the players themselves do not notice this movement.<sup>28</sup>

The best way to appreciate the importance of breathing gestures for panpipe playing is to observe the imitation of playing by holding fingers instead of the pipes. In doing it, women often articulate breathing so intensely that one can almost hear the tune “played” on their fingers. The pushes of air are strong and “compact,” they have definite beginnings and ends, being limited by movements in the larynx which stop the air flow (similar to a glottal stop).

The principle of phrase breathing is not unique for panpipe playing in this tradition. The same principle of breathing supported by upper abdominal muscles is used for sound production on other aerophones in the instrumental ensemble, such as the *roz'hok* and the *pyzhatka*, as well as in speech and singing. As in many other Russian village traditions, public singing in South Kursk is carried out primarily in a loud voice, supported by a constant high sub-glottal pressure. After the cadential unison at the end of each stanza, the sub-glottal pressure is relieved by the whole group simultaneously, and the air is let out very intensely, producing the falling “tails,” which are very noticeable in the local singing style.<sup>29</sup> The descending endings typically coincide with a vowel change from high to low (for example, from [i] to [a] or [e], see cadential unisons in songs no. 9-11, and 13 in Rudneva et al. 1979).

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<sup>28</sup> In my observations and video-recording of panpipe playing I was always surprised that the players themselves do not seem to notice these movements of the diaphragm. When I asked players if they feel any movements in their abdomen when they “push” the air, many answered that they feel no movement at all. N. Kosheleva, after we once experimented with holding my hand on her diaphragm while she was playing, agreed with me that “there is some quivering inside,” but she herself was clearly surprised to notice it. One may suggest then, that this movement is performed automatically and involves no special muscular tension, so it is not even noticed by the players.

<sup>29</sup> These audible air releases are quite common in Russian village singing, and in some other village traditions in the Balkans and elsewhere. In spite of their common features, these releases are shaped according to the requirements of the local tradition. Voiced air releases are also characteristic of laments, but their features are distinctly different from those of other forms of singing (Mazo, 1994).

The difficulties of learning proper breathing technique for panpipe playing may at first seem almost insurmountable for a city dweller. For the villagers themselves, however, such breathing seem to be completely natural, as it is part of their everyday life experience. The way of breathing while speaking in the open air, as I observed many times in my fieldwork, is similar to that during the panpipe playing. The streets of South Kursk villages are usually large, with the yards typically separating the houses. It is very common for the villagers to speak to each other from different sides of the street or from the gardens, with the full voice carrying on the large distances. Their voices, without the tension of shooting or yelling, ring and echo easily to the other end of the village street, almost as if it was singing. Such quality of speech voice seems surprising for an outsider to this culture. The method of breathing (keeping the air inside of the body and regulating its flow by abdominal muscles), employed in this manner of speech, relates it to the singing with the loud voice or playing panpipes.

### **Chapter summary.**

This chapter has presented a discussion of panpipe players' motor movements and the relationships of these movements to the musical structure of a tune.

Three types of movements were considered: the movement of the player's head with respect to the pipes (choice of pipes), vocal sound production, and breathing techniques. The analysis showed that the organization of all these movements corresponds to the structure of a tune's period. The balance between different realizations of periodicity, in breathing, vocalization, and head movements established in the process of playing, supports the musical organization of a tune.

In the discussion of tunes' musical organization, the metric and pitch components of musical structure were considered and the deep structure rules were proposed for different tunes. Two tunes, sharply different in all aspects of their musical structure, were chosen

for the subsequent analysis. The deep structures of these tunes were considered in connection with the head-movement patterns of the players of accompanying parts. Since these parts do not use skip movements between the pipes, the alternation of stop and movement directly corresponds to the deep structure of a tune and generates all melodic variations actually used in performance of these parts.

The head movements of the *para* (five-pipe) part players, more individual for each player and with more possibilities for variation, were discussed through analysis of one full-length performance, using a probability approach. The matrix of probability revealed the norms for movement between the pipes common for both players in this example, restricted the choices of pipes, and limited the seemingly infinite set of variations.

The same case-study performance was used to discuss the principles of insertion of vocal sounds, employing a similar probability approach to analyze the placement of vocal sounds at certain positions of a period. It demonstrated that the placement of vocal sounds by each player has its own logic and is by no means coincidental. It remains to be seen, however, whether the conclusions about the five-pipe players' movements will have the same generative power as the model for the accompanists, since the playing techniques allow much more flexibility for the performance of this part. It has been hypothesized that the situational constraints of a particular performance may also influence the performer of the five-pipe part: for example, in the case study performance the placement of vocal sounds overlaps between the two players in such a way that one player initiates and another responds to them.

After this analysis, one may conclude that motor movements play a significant role in the organization of panpipe performance process. In the execution of a musical piece, rather than being lead by a preference for certain sounds or their sequences, the player's body acts on its own, much the way it acts in dance or during a physically active and

challenging work requiring high coordination. This motor logic, based on the sequencing of movements, to a great extent determines the flow of musical performance and is also a source of the aesthetic pleasure during the panpipe playing.



## CONCLUSIONS

Panpipe playing is a little-known and a unique aspect of Russian traditional culture. A detailed examination of this tradition, undertaken in such a scope for the first time, enables us to shed a new light on Russian traditional culture. At the same time, it puts Russian panpipe playing on a map of dissemination of panpipe traditions world-wide. The Russian panpipe tradition adds new dimensions to our understanding of the variety of musical and social roles that this instrument can play in a culture.

Although it is little known outside of Russia, the Russian panpipe tradition has been observed and studied within the country itself for about two centuries. The history of research on Russian panpipes, summarized in Chapter 1 of this dissertation, reveals the ways in which our knowledge of this instrument was gradually accumulated and transmitted. The Russian panpipe tradition was first mentioned at the end of the 18th century by Matthew Guthrie. 19th-century ethnographers noted its existence in several places in Kursk and Briansk (then Chernigov) provinces and reported on some of its characteristic features. Neither the context for panpipe performance, nor the panpipe music itself was described in detail. Nikolai Privalov, who wrote the first scholarly work on Russian panpipes at the turn of the century, believed that this tradition was already extinct. It was only in the 1930s that Kvitka and Kulakovskii rediscovered the existence of panpipe traditions both in Kursk and Briansk provinces and recorded the panpipe music phonographically. At the time, the results of Kvitka's and Kulakovskii's fieldwork were not published in their complete form. Until the publication of books and recordings in the late 1950s and 1960s, Russian panpipes were known only to a narrow circle of specialists.

The work of Anna Rudneva, who continued Kvitka's research in South Kursk province and published extensively during the late 1950s - 1970s, was especially influential. Its merits were not limited to its academic value; Rudneva's work eventually brought this instrument to the attention of a broader audience of amateur and professional musicians. This growing interest led to concert performances, the introduction of the instrument into academic curricula, and the publishing of teaching manuals.

Among urban panpipe performers, two significant groups have been identified: institutional groups and revivalists. The former introduced panpipe playing into the generally westernized context of academic folk orchestras, where the instrument is used sporadically as a colorful addition to the orchestral score. The second group, the urban revivalists, adopted an approach of learning to play panpipe music as it has been played in the villages. Their attempts were not immediately successful, however. The instrument and its music, despite their apparent simplicity, are elusive phenomena; they require deep comprehension of the surrounding context and culture, as well as certain motor skills that are naturally used in everyday village life and work, but are not familiar to city dwellers. Those aspiring to play panpipes in a traditional manner must work to acquire those skills. The present dissertation partly responds to this practical demand by offering a detailed study of panpipe performance practices and techniques.

The second chapter of this work considers methodological problems relevant to fieldwork, writing ethnography, and analyses of music. Since my fieldwork was conducted in a locality known to researchers for more than half a century, a methodological examination of the work of my predecessors was necessary. The fieldwork of Kvitka and Rudneva in South Kursk province provided a valuable and reliable collection of information that allowed me to consider from a historical perspective the tradition under

study. My work explores the unfolding of this tradition over time. Since the main focus of the previous research was collecting samples of music, many other aspects of the panpipe tradition and its cultural context remained in need of further elucidation.

Chapter 3 of the dissertation discusses traditional and modern contexts for panpipe playing. Over the 60 years of observation in South Kursk villages, the panpipe tradition has undergone significant changes in context and motivations for playing. While most of the traditional panpipe practices were discontinued about 30–40 years ago, concerts and recording sessions became new venues for panpipe playing. The ethnomusicologist's active role in the field is of primary importance, and directly influences the information obtained during fieldwork. The use of current ethnomusicological field methods — such as bi-musicality and cognitive dissonance approaches, elucidation of native terminology, metaphors and conceptualization of music, creation of context-sensitive settings for learning and recording sessions — helps to unravel previously unreported aspects of the local panpipe tradition.

In Chapter 4, panpipe performance terminology and the conceptualization of playing by the performers themselves is examined. Analysis of native terminology revealed the importance of players' body movements in panpipe playing techniques. This notion is used as a starting point for musical analysis, incorporating the perspectives of movement on the instrument formulated by the performers themselves. Descriptions and metaphors used for panpipes and references to the instrument in song texts and legends reveal various connections of the instrument both with the world of nature and with the human world of culture.

An analysis of the technical aspects of panpipe making and of the “tuning behavior” of the makers (Chapter 5) offers an insight into the pitch system characteristic of this tradition and the tuning strategies of the instrument makers and players. After studying available instrument sets and observing the tuning process, we concluded that corporeal

measurements and the principle of visual equidistance form the basis of the tuning strategy. Fine tuning can be achieved by additional techniques in order to correspond with other scales known in this local tradition. While the verbalized norms of tuning are uniform, the real tuning behavior of the makers varies. As the result, the examples of panpipe tuning vary broadly, although certain limits for this variation seem to exist due to biological aspects of measurements and the requirement of convenience in playing. Within these limits, each concrete situation of tuning is a process of “focusing” and negotiation, in which a balance between various criteria (such as pitch and the overall sound quality of a pipe) is gradually established. The tuning behavior, then, differs drastically from a rigid application of an invariable set of requirements for the intervals and scalar patterns.

During a performance the pitches of the pipes are in fact unstable. Fluctuation of a single pitch can be in the range of approximately 40 cents, and sometimes even up to 70 cents. Although these pitch changes seem to be unintentional on the part of the players themselves, they are aware of such a possibility and adjust the tuning through articulation and blowing. Although the discrepancy between panpipe tuning and pitch fluctuation during performance seems to be large according to a Western perception, it does not stop village players from insisting on careful tuning before each performance.

In the last chapter of the dissertation the focus of the discussion shifts from historical to contemporary aspects and from ethnographic description to musical analysis of the South Kursk panpipe tradition. Through this analysis, the essential questions about panpipe music discussed in the previous chapters are re-addressed.

In chapter 6, one subject — panpipe performance — is viewed from multiple perspectives, requiring various analytical approaches and different levels of detail in musical analysis. The discussion of the most general level, the tunes’ structure, employs a generative grammar approach. This analysis introduces general norms that do not depend on an individual player, or even a musical instrument, and that have not changed over the

last 60 years (these norms are traceable in both historical and contemporary recordings). I suggest that these underlying structural principles give the tradition its identity and allow it to continue over time.

Another equally important aspect of the South Kursk panpipe tradition is the spontaneity, variation, and change characteristic of each performance and each player. This quality perpetuates the musical interest and joy of the performance experience.

Understanding of a panpipe performance as a process constitutes the central issue of the musical analysis. To capture this processual aspect of playing, probability matrices and a statistical approach were introduced.

The analysis of the relationships between musical structures and players' body movements, already explored in Chapter 4 through the study of native performance terminology, allowed me to formulate a motor grammar approach for panpipe playing. It has been hypothesized that certain structural aspects of panpipe music are related to the players' physical movements on the instrument more than to strictly musical/structural matters per se.

The ramification of analytic results and checking these results against performers' views can be an infinite process. The more detailed the musical analysis becomes, the more questions there are to ask the performers. Their responses, in turn, provoke a search for new dimensions in analytical work and lead to an examination of other aspects of the music-making process. The present work confirms the assumption made in Blacking's approach to the biology of music-making: "in the transformation of feelings into patterns of sound and vice versa, the innate structures of the body play a part in creation and interpretation, as well as the musical conventions of different societies and the different musical experiences of individuals" (1979, 7).

A combination of various methodological approaches was used in this study in response to the nature of the diverse issues raised. These questions are concerned with

areas of ethnomusicological inquiry that are often considered separately in current ethnomusicological scholarship, i.e., why people make music, how this music is produced and how it is structured. Although each methodological approach taken separately has been explored in scholarly literature, applied in combination they allow for a new understanding of one panpipe tradition in its entirety.

The present work does not exhaust the possibilities for research on the topic of Russian panpipes, nor does it solve all the problems connected with it. Many of the issues identified in the present dissertation remain to be clarified in different villages, beyond those which I have studied in depth. For example, delimiting the territory of panpipe dissemination in Kursk province will require a meticulous search for traces of panpipes' existence in neighboring districts. If new (previously unknown) panpipe players can perhaps be encountered in fieldwork, new sources documenting panpipe traditions of the past may to be discovered in archives. These findings could cast a new light on the results reported in the present work. Furthermore, modern cultural trends in Russia will certainly affect the panpipe tradition, and these changes may provoke new interest and possibly new research. I can only say that I was fortunate to observe this ever-changing and elusive tradition, to ask the questions I thought were important to ask, and to receive the answers I received, however partial and preliminary they may have been.

To understand fully the art of panpipe playing, in the words of Kvitka (1986), "one has to travel to these remote corners, to see the expression of faces, to try to grasp the feeling of everlasting joy, which it [panpipe playing] brings to local people, to share the ever-fresh mood of those who are playing and dancing." These words, written more than half a century ago, are just as true today. Panpipe playing is a tradition which attracts and retains the attention of those who discover it.



**PLAYING PANPIPES IN SOUTHERN RUSSIA:  
HISTORY, ETHNOGRAPHY, AND PERFORMANCE PRACTICES**

VOL. II

**DISSERTATION**

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for  
the Degree Doctor of Philosophy in the Graduate  
School of The Ohio State University

by

Olga V. Velichkina, M.A.

\* \* \* \* \*

The Ohio State University  
1998

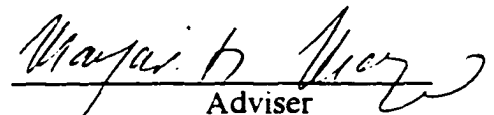
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## **A P P E N D I C E S**

### **APPENDIX A**

#### **ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY OF SOURCES BASED ON DIRECT OBSERVATION**

This bibliography is divided into three sections: (1) archival materials concerning Russian panpipes; (2) scholarly works and ethnographic accounts containing primary source materials used in the present work; (3) discography and filmography of Russian panpipes.

The archival materials contain information gathered in fieldwork by different researchers. These materials include audio and video recordings, tape-recorded interviews, field notes, diaries and fieldwork reports. They are located either in public archives, or in private collections held by researchers who conducted the fieldwork. Since each archive is organized differently, I shall provide some introductory remarks on the relevant archival collections.

The archive of the Laboratory of Folk Music (LNM) of Moscow Conservatory holds most of the panpipe materials, especially those collected during early (starting from 1937), and recent fieldwork by faculty, staff and students of Moscow Conservatory. The archive is divided into several collections, such as field audio-recordings, written fieldwork materials, musical notations of fieldwork materials, photographs and samples of musical instruments. It also contains personal manuscripts, including the collections of papers of Kvitka, Rudneva and Kulakovskii (referred to as Kvitka's papers, etc.). The collection of

field audio-recordings is arranged chronologically by the year of the recording and the identification number of each sound recording, regardless of its physical appearance.<sup>1</sup> In the present annotated bibliography these items are referred to as s.r. (abbreviated for “sound recording”). The collection of written fieldwork materials includes all hand-written field notes of the collectors, diaries, and song-text transcriptions, and sometimes also fieldwork reports.<sup>2</sup> These materials are arranged first according to geographical area of fieldwork and then the year when the fieldwork was conducted.

The archive of the Regional Center of Russian Folklore (RTRF) was founded in 1989. It includes materials of recent fieldwork expeditions conducted by the staff members and associates of this institution. The collections of audio- and video-recordings are catalogued in computer database and can be easily searched. I have not used the collection of written fieldwork materials from this archive.

The archives of the Gnesin's institute (GMPI) contain the materials of faculty, staff and students' fieldwork expeditions of the last 30 years. At present, this archive and also the archive of the Folklore Commission of the Union of Russian Composers are closed for restoration and the materials are temporarily unavailable. From their card catalogues it is apparent that both of them do have some materials concerning Russian panpipes, although their collections of panpipe materials are much smaller than those of the LNM and RTRF archives.

In the following bibliography, the archival materials are arranged by the name of the collectors and the year of the fieldwork. All translations of Russian titles given in brackets are mine. In cases when archival materials do not have a title, a short description of the content is provided in brackets.

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<sup>1</sup> The sound recordings are different kinds of reel-to-reel tapes, and cassettes. Celluloid disks and wax cylinders previously existed, but recently have been substituted by the reel to reel copies (the collection of copied audio-materials is located separately, but the numbers of original recordings are kept for the reference). The originals of the 1937-1946 panpipe recordings are now kept in IRLI Archive in Saint-Petersburg.

<sup>2</sup> More detailed fieldwork reports can sometimes be found in the researcher's personal collection

For scholarly works, discography, and filmography, an English translation of the title of the work or selection is given in brackets. Note that the titles of collections of essays, journals, magazines, etc. containing these items are left without translation. Complete names of the institutions are given in the List of Abbreviations.

***Archival materials: audio and video recordings, field notes, diaries and fieldwork reports.***

Grigorovich, Nina B.

1940 O narodnykh instrumentakh [On folk instruments]. Collection of written fieldwork materials on Briansk province. Archives of the LNM, Moscow Conservatory, Moscow.

Contains description of panpipe tradition in the village of Vshchizh, Briansk province in diary notes. No sound recordings available.

Ivanov Anatolii N., et al.

1990-1993 [Materials of fieldwork in Kursk province]. S. r. 147-161, 167-184, 195-207, 208-215, 239-240, 362-380, 560-561, 599-600. Video-tapes 8, 10, 17, 48-50, 61-64, 68-69, 75, 76. Archives of the RTRF, Moscow.

Contains audio and video recordings of panpipe playing, filmed interviews with the players.

Koshelev, Aleksandr S.

1985 [Materials of fieldwork in the village of Bobrava, Kursk province]. S. r. 3884. Archives of the LNM, Moscow Conservatory, Moscow.

Contains audio-recordings of instrumental tunes performed by vocal imitations of instruments, notations. No panpipe players were recorded, but tradition existed in the past.

Krivososov, Vladimir

1937 Zametki Krivososova V. M. po muzykalnoi etnografii Kurskoi oblasti 1937 g. [Notes on musical ethnography of Kursk province by V. Krivososov, 1937]. Collection of written fieldwork materials, MS 640. Archives of the LNM, Moscow Conservatory, Moscow.

Contains diary notes on the panpipe playing in the village of Gakhovo, Kursk province. Can be used as supplementary material to Kvitka's reports and recordings.

Kulakovskii, Lev. V.

1939 Otchet o muzykal'no-etnograficheskoi poezdke v Riazanskuiu oblast' [Report on musical-ethnographic trip to Riazan' province]. Collection of written fieldwork materials, MS 105. Archives of the LNM, Moscow Conservatory, Moscow.

Describes unsuccessful attempt to locate panpipes in Riazan' province.

1940a Otchet o muzykal'no-etnograficheskoi komandirovke v Brianskii raion Bryanskoi oblasti [Report on musical ethnography fieldwork in Briansk district,

Briansk province]. July 1940. Collection of written fieldwork materials, MS 129. Archives of the LNM, Moscow Conservatory, Moscow.

A copy of this report is also located in Kulakovskii's personal fund. A slightly shortened version of Kulakovskii 1940a is published as an article "U istokov russkoi narodnoi muzykal'noi kul'tury. Ocherk pervyi: Brianskie fleity Pana - *kuvikly*" [At the origins of Russian folk music culture. Essay 1: Briansk panpipes - *kuvikly*], *Sovetskaia muzyka* 10 (1940): 69-75.

- 1940b Otchet o poezdke v Brianskuiu (Orlovskuiu) oblast' v sentiabre-oktiabre 1940 g. [Report on a trip to Briansk (Orel) province in September-October of 1940]. Collection of written fieldwork materials, MS 127. Archives of the LNM, Moscow Conservatory, Moscow.

A copy of this report is also located in Kulakovskii's papers.

Kvitka, Kliment V.

- 1937 Ob ispolniteliakh [About the performers]. Collection of written fieldwork materials on Kursk province, folder 28a, MS 642. Copies of the wax cylinder recordings, s. r. 51, 53, 54, 55, 71. Archives of the LNM, Moscow Conservatory, Moscow.
- 1940a Izuchenie fleity Pana v sele Plekhove Sudzhanskogo raiona Kurskoi oblasti v 1937 i 1940 g.g. [Studying of panpipes in the village of Plekhovo, Sudzha district, Kursk province in 1937 and 1940]. Kvitka's papers, MS 7/103. Archives of the LNM, Moscow Conservatory, Moscow.
- 1940b Otchet o poezdke v Kurskuiu oblast' v avguste 1940 g. [Report on the trip to Kursk province in August 1940]. Collection of written fieldwork materials, folder 28a, MS 648. Archives of the LNM, Moscow Conservatory, Moscow.
- 1940c Perechen' rezul'tatov ekspeditsii 1937-1940 g.g. [List of fieldwork results of 1937-1940]. Kvitka's papers, MS 7/92. Archives of the LNM, Moscow Conservatory, Moscow.
- 1949 [Materials of fieldwork in Kaluga province]. Collection of written fieldwork materials. Archives of the LNM, Moscow Conservatory, Moscow.
- Contains Kvitka's notes on panpipes existence in Kaluga province.

Kvitka, Kliment and Anna V. Rudneva

- 1946 [Audio-recordings of joint ensemble of Budishche and Chernyi Olekh]. Copies of celluloid disks, s. r. 1152-1161. Archives of LNM, Moscow Conservatory, Moscow.
- This recording was conducted at the LNM of the Moscow Conservatory, during a concert trip by the village performers' to Moscow. It has no accompanying written notes.

Rudneva, Anna V.

- 1940 Muzykal'nye instrumenty Kurskoi oblasti. Materialy ekspeditsii 1940 g. 1. Kugikly. Praktika igry v sele Vysokom Medvenskogo raiona [Musical instruments of Kursk province. Materials of 1940 fieldwork. 1. *Kugikly*. Performance practice in the village of Vysokoe, Medvenka district]. Collection of written fieldwork materials, folder 28a, MS 650. Archives of the LNM, Moscow Conservatory, Moscow.
- 1944-45 Tanki i tanochnye pesni v Kurskoi oblasti [*Tanki* and *tanochnye* songs in Kursk province]. Rudneva's papers, MS 28/366. Archives of the LNM, Moscow Conservatory, Moscow.

- 1978 [Tape-recorded interview on panpipes with Evdokia Golubovich, a singer from the village of Budishche]. S.r. 3183. Archives of the LNM, Moscow Conservatory, Moscow.
- [n.d.] Karagody i karagodnye naigryshi [*Karagods* and *karagod* instrumental tunes]. Rudneva's papers, MS 28/370. Archives of the LNM, Moscow Conservatory, Moscow.
- Rudneva, Anna V. and V. M. Shchurov
- 1967 [Multi-channel recordings of songs and instrumental music from the village of Plekhovo, Kursk province]. S. r. 2455. Archives of the LNM, Moscow Conservatory, Moscow.
- This recording was conducted at the LNM of the Moscow Conservatory, during a concert trip by the village performers to Moscow. It has no accompanying written notes.
- Savel'eva, Nina M.
- 1985 [Multi-channel field recordings from the villages of Dorozhevo and Batskino, Briansk district, Briansk province]. S. r. 3829. Archives of the LNM, Moscow Conservatory, Moscow.
- Notation of this recording is in Savel'eva's private collection (Moscow).
- Starostin, Sergei N.
- 1984 [Audio-recordings of panpipe playing in the village of Budishche, Kursk province]. S. r. 3681. Archives of the LNM, Moscow Conservatory, Moscow.
- 1984-85 [Materials of fieldwork in Kaluga province] S. r. 3831, 3879. Collection of written fieldwork materials on Kaluga province, folder 19. Archives of the LNM, Moscow Conservatory, Moscow.
- Contains tape-recorded interviews and demonstrations of panpipe playing, recorded from individual performers.
- Starostina, Tatiana A.
- 1990 [Materials of fieldwork in Kaluga province]. S. r. 3186-3188. Archives of the LNM, Moscow Conservatory, Moscow.
- Contains tape-recorded interviews and demonstrations of panpipe playing, recorded from individual performers.
- Shentalinskaia, Tatiana N.
- 1988-89 [Materials of the fieldwork in Kaluga]. Private collection of the fieldworker (Moscow).
- Contains tape-recorded interviews and demonstrations of panpipe playing, recorded from individual performers.
- Velichkina, Olga V.
- 1989-96 [Materials of the fieldwork in Kursk province]. Private collection of the fieldworker (Moscow).
- Contains audio and video recordings of panpipe playing, tape-recorded interviews with the players, fieldwork diaries, notations. Recordings of 1990 and 1991 are deposited in the RTRF archive.

Zdanovich, I. K.

- 1937 Kurskaia muzykal'no-etnograficheskaia ekspeditsiia 1937 g. Zametki Zdanovicha I. K. [Musical ethnographic field expedition of 1937. Field notes by I. K. Zdanovich]. Collection of written fieldwork materials, folder 29. Archives of the LNM, Moscow Conservatory, Moscow.

Zhivov, V.

- 1962 [Materials of the fieldwork in Briansk province]. S. r. 2113. Archives of the LNM, Moscow Conservatory, Moscow.  
Contains audio-recording of the ensemble panpipe playing. No written comments on this recording were available.

***Scholarly works and ethnographic accounts based on direct observation.***

Dmitriukov, A. I.

- 1831 Nravy, obychai i obraz zhizni v Sudzhanskom uezde Kurskoi gub. [Folk customs and way of life in Sudzha uезд of Kursk province]. *Moskovskii telegraf* 10: 255-71; 11: 359-77.  
First published account on panpipes in Kursk province.

Father Filaret [Gumilevskii]

- 1873 *Istoriko-statisticheskoe opisanie Chernigovskoi eparkhii*. [Historico-statistical description of Chernigov Eparchy]. Vol. 7. Chernigov: Gubernskaia tip.

Guthrie, Mattieu (Matthew)

- 1795 *Dissertations sur les antiquites de Russie, contenant l'ancienne mythologie, les Rites paiens, les Fetes sacrees, les jeux ou ludi, les Oracles, l'ancienne musique, les instruments de musique villageoise, les Coutumes, les Ceremonies... de Russes; comparees avec les meme objets chez les anciens, et particulierment chez les Grecs, par Mattheu Guthrie*. Traduites sur son ouvrage anglais. Avec six planches de figures et de musique. S-Petersburg: de l'Imprimerie du Corps Imperial des Cadets Nobles.

Khalanskii, Mikhail G.

- 1904 *Narodnye govory Kurskoi gubernii (zametki i materialy po dialektologii i narodnoi poezii Kurskoi gubernii)* [Folk dialects of Kursk province: notes and materials on dialectology and folk poetry of Kursk province]. Saint-Petersburg: Imperatorskaia Akademiia Nauk.

Krivososov, Vladimir N.

- 1959 [Notation of panpipe playing from the village of Dorozhevo, Briansk province]. Published in Kulakovskii *Isskusstvo sela Dorozhevo* (Moscow, Sovetskii Kompozitor, 1959).

Mashkin, Aleksei I.

- 1862 Byt krest'ian Kurskoi gub. Oboianskogo uezda [Everyday life of peasants in Kursk province, Oboian' uезд]. *Etnograficheskii sbornik IRGO* 5. Saint-Petersburg: tip. V. Bezobrazova.



Mordvinov, A.

- 1871 *Vesna v Kurskoi gubernii* [Springtime in Kursk province]. *Vsemirnaia Illustratsia*, 120: 258-260.

Olenin, Aleksei N.

- 1881 *Archeologicheskie trudy Alekseia Nikolaevicha Olenina* [Archeological works of A. N. Olenin]. Vol. 1, pt. 1. S-Petersburg: Russkoe Arkheologicheskoe obshchestvo.

Contains a letter to Gnedich concerning Russian panpipes.

Rudneva, Anna V.

- 1961 *Narodnye pesni Kurskoi oblasti: Kurskie tanki i karagody. Tanochnye i karagodnye pesni i instrumental'nye tantseval'nye piesy* [Folk songs of the Kursk province: Kursk *tanki* and *karagody*. *Tanki* and *karagod* songs and dance instrumental tunes]. Ph.D. diss., Moscow Conservatory, Moscow.
- 1975 *Kurskie tanki i karagody* [*Tanki* and *karagody* of the Kursk province]. Moscow: Sovetskii Kompozitor.

Published version of Rudneva's Ph.D. dissertation, abbreviated and edited. This is the most complete published source of information on panpipes in Kursk province. Many primary materials on which this account was based are currently unavailable.

Rudneva, Anna V., et al.

- 1979 *Russkie narodnye pesni v mnogomikrofonnoi zapisi* [Russian folk songs in multi-channel recording]. Moscow: Sovetskii Kompozitor.

Contains notations of 13 songs from the village of Plekhovo.

Trokhin, Vladimir I.

- 1977 *Nekotorye muzykal'no-poeticheskie osobennosti khorovodnykh i pliasovykh pesen Iugo-zapadnykh raionov Kaluzhskoi oblasti* [Some musical and poetic characteristics of *khorovod* and dance songs of south-west part of the Kaluga province]. Master thesis, GMPI im. Gnesinykh, Moscow.

Contains short description and notation of panpipe playing in the village of Dubrovo, Kaluga province.

Velichkina, Olga V.

- 1992 [Notations of panpipe playing in the village of Plekhovo, Kursk province]. Published in *Sokhranenie i vrozozhdenie fol'klornykh traditsii*, v. 2, pt. 2. Moscow: Ministerstvo kul'tury Rossiiskoi Federatsii.

### ***Discography and filmography of Russian panpipes***

Ivanov, Anatolii N., ed.

- 1993 *Skazka o dudochkakh* [The tale about the pipes]. Documentary show (32 min.) for the program *Mirovaia Derevnia* on Russian TV. Moscow: Artel'.

The show is based on fieldwork video recordings of panpipe players from the village of Plekhovo (see Ivanov et al. 1990-1993).

- Kupershmidt, L., producer  
 1975 *Russkii narodnyi teatr* [Russian Folk theater]. Documentary film, 32 mm. Scientific advisers V. Shchurov and L. Kulakovskii. Moscow: Tsentrnauchfilm. Includes the filming of panpipe performance of the women's group from the village of Dorozhevo, Briansk province (see also Starostin 1995).
- Kustovskii, Evgenii, comp.  
 1978 *Folklornyi ansambl' sela Dubrovo Kaluzhskoi oblasti* [Folklore ensemble of the village of Dubrovo, Kaluga province]. LP record series *Poiut narodnye ispolniteli*. C 20-09807-08. Moscow: Melodia.  
 Track no. 9 *Golova moia svet golovushka* contains short fragment of panpipe playing.
- Savel'eva, Nina M. and N. N. Giliarova, comps.  
 1990 *Russkaia narodnaia muzyka zapadnykh, tsentral'nykh oblastei i Povolzh'ia* [Russian folk music of the Western, Central and Volga regions]. LP record series *Musical art of the peoples of the USSR. Anthology. Authentic folklore*. M20 49275001 and C 20 29957004. Moscow: Melodia.  
 Track *Naigrysh na kuviklakh* (no. 1) contains publication of earlier archival recording of panpipe playing in the village of Dorozhevo, Briansk province. This record is also reprinted in Shchurov 1991.
- Shchurov, Viacheslav M., comp.  
 1967 *Fol'klornyi ansambl' sela Plekhovo Kurskoi oblasti* [Folklore ensemble of the village of Plekhovo, Kursk province]. LP record series *Poiut narodnye ispolniteli*. 33D-25612-13. Moscow: Melodia.  
 Tracks *Timonia* and *Zharko pakhat'* contain panpipes playing in an ensemble with *rozhok* and fiddle. *Timonia* track also includes *priazki* singing. These records are also reprinted in Shchurov and Dorokhova 1989 and Shchurov 1991.  
 1991 *Sygrai, Vania* [Play, Vania]: *Folk instrumental music and its vocal counterpart in the southern, western and central regions of Russia*. Compact disc. Pan records 2002 CD.  
 Track 5 contains recordings of Plekhovo and Budishche instrumental ensemble including panpipes (tunes *Batiushka*, *Zharko pakhat'*, *Chibatukha* and *Timonia*). Track 6 contains recording of panpipe playing from the village of Dorozhevo, Briansk province. All recordings were published earlier (for first publications see Shchurov 1967, Smirnov n.d., Savel'eva and Giliarova 1990).
- Shchurov, Viacheslav M. and E. Dorokhova, comps.  
 1989 *Narodnaia muzyka Iuzhnoi Rossii* [Folk music of the Russian South]. LP record series *Musical art of the peoples of the USSR. Anthology. Authentic folklore*. M 20 48597000. Leningrad: Leningradskii zavod gramplastinok.  
 Track *Zharko pakhat'* is a reprint from earlier LP recording of the village of Plekhovo (see Shchurov 1967).
- Smirnov, I. F., comp.  
 [n.d.] *Russkaia narodnaia muzyka. Antologiya*. [Russian folk music: An anthology]. LP record, D 10721(a)-10727(a). Moscow: Mezhdunarodnaia kniga.

Track *Chibatukha* contains panpipes and instruments playing from the village of Plekhovo (apparently, an earlier archival recording whose present location is unknown).

Starostin, Sergei N., ed.

1992 *Zelenye sviatki* [Green *sviatki*]. A documentary show for the program *Mirovaia Derevnia* on Russian TV. Moscow: Artel'.

Includes filming of M. Bocharova from the village of Budishche playing panpipes with other instruments.

1995 *Selo Dorozhevo 60 let spustia* [The village of Dorozhevo 60 years later]. A documentary show for the program *Mirovaia Derevnia* on Russian TV. Moscow: Artel'.

The sound track includes an archival recording of panpipe playing and contemporary panpipe performance by the members of Dorozhevo folk ensemble.

Tomoaki, Fujii, ed.

[1990] *The JVC Video Anthology of the World Music and Dance*. Victor Company of Japan. Newbury: Newbury port Press.

Track *Timonia* dance (23-19) contains a video recording of a concert performance of the Plekhovo *samodeiatel'nost'* group in Moscow.

## APPENDIX B

### NOTES ON OTHER MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS IN THE SOUTH KURSK TRADITION

Instrumental music played an important role in traditional culture of the South Kursk region. Beyond panpipes, other musical instruments were played in the same contexts and often in the ensemble with the panpipes. In the following, these musical instruments, their morphology, and their technique of playing, and also their functions in instrumental ensemble are discussed. This discussion is based primarily on information contained in Rudneva's book (1975) and on my observations during fieldwork, although the latter were rather fragmentary concerning other instruments. Some of the instruments (such as the wooden flutes) are no longer in use, and the search for people who know how to play them would require sustained efforts. However, I recorded all information concerning the modern state of the tradition, including playing other musical instruments, which I could obtain while doing research on panpipes.

The traditional instrumental ensemble of South Kursk province comprises aerophones (the panpipes, the *roz'hok*, the *dudka* and the *pyzhalka*) and chordophones (the fiddle and the *balalaika*). The *garmon'*, included recently, also belongs to the aerophones.

### The *rozhok* .

The *rozhok* is the reed instrument of a type that is very wide-spread in many Russian traditions, although beyond Kursk province it is mostly known under the name *zhaleika*.<sup>1</sup> The *rozhok* in South Kursk province, as elsewhere in Russia, is always played by men.

Morphological descriptions of different types of *zhaleika* are given in general works on Russian instrumental music.<sup>2</sup> In Kursk province its construction includes three parts: the reed, the playing tube with five finger holes, and the resonator, made from a cow horn.

The approximate size of the playing tube is about 13-14 cm, 15 mm in diameter, with finger holes located at about 2.1 cm from each other. On the playing tube, the surface around each hole is lowered so the fingers can be placed tightly on the holes. The holes themselves are made by burning small circles, about 4 mm in diameter (see illustration in figure B.1 below). The names of the finger holes on *rozhok* are the same as the names of individual *kugikly* pipes (Rudneva, 1975, 148). Most commonly, the playing tube is made from maple, although other materials, such as brass or iron, are possible (Rudneva 1975, 176).

The reed part of the *rozhok* (called *pishchik*) is about 4 cm long, and 5-6 mm in diameter. The vibrating part of the reed is cut at about 5-6 mm from the outer edge. Usually, the *pishchik* is open from both ends. The player closes the hole on the outer end of the *pishchik* by his tongue while playing.

As the materials for the *pishchik*, the makers used elder, a goose feather, or reed (the same type of plant as used for the panpipes). Rudneva notes that according to her

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<sup>1</sup> A different instrument also called *rozhok* is found in Vladimir, Ivanov and other provinces to the North-West from Moscow (for general reference, see Vertkov 1975, also discussion of local tradition in Smirnov 1965). This is a wooden trumpet with finger holes. In Russian scholarship the name *rozhok* was given to this type of the instrument, while the Kursk instrument became known under the name of *zhaleika*, as in other traditions (Rudneva 1975, 176).

<sup>2</sup> See, for example, two general works by Vertkov (Vertkov, 1975, 47-50, Vertkov et al., 1975, 29). Descriptions of different local traditions of *zhaleika* playing are found in Starostin(1989), and Bromlei (1988).

informants, wooden *pishchik* was preferable, because the reed could become waterlogged quickly and not play well. Modern players whom I met during my fieldwork (Egor Pestsov and Mitrofan Glamazdin from Plekhovo, Semen Sidorov from N. Makhovo and Vasilii Luk'ianchenkov from Belitsa), however, prefer to make the *pishchik* from the reed.

The *pishchik* is inserted into playing tube at approximately 1/4 of *pishchik* length (i.e., about 1 cm). By changing the depth of the *pishchik* insertion, one can change the pitch and tune the *roz'hok* to the other instruments in the ensemble.

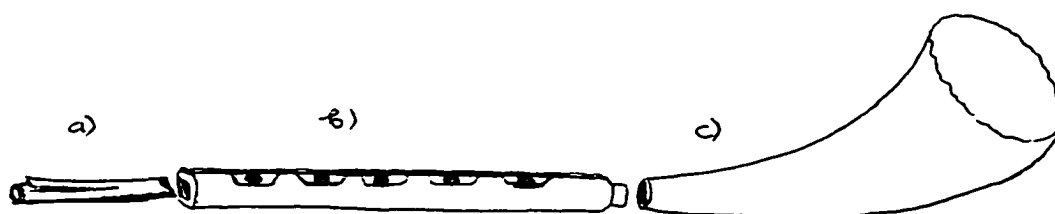


Figure 1. Parts of the *roz'hok*: a) *pishchik* (the reed); b) *tseвка* (playing tube); c) *rog* (resonator made of a cow horn).

As it has five finger holes, the *roz'hok* can produce six-note scale. More elaborate techniques to enlarge the scale, found in other regional traditions, are not known in Kursk province.<sup>3</sup> For the fingering, three fingers of the player's right hand (index, middle, and

---

<sup>3</sup> For example, the shepherds of upper Volga region obtain three more notes from the same type of instrument with five finger holes by using a special playing technique called *igra na pishchike* (playing on

ring fingers) are placed on the lower three holes (closest to the resonating horn), and index and middle fingers of his left hand occupy the rest of the finger holes. Each note is usually produced by opening only one finger hole (see Figure 2).

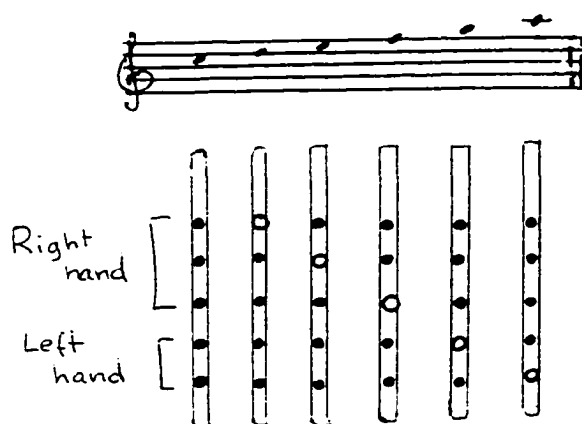




Figure 2. Fingering chart for the *rozhok*. \*

\* Symbol  stands for closed holes, symbol  for the open holes. The lower end of the instrument is the closest to the mouth.

The most popular technique of melodic elaboration among the *rozhok* players whom I observed in my fieldwork consists of the opening of one of the finger holes of the high register in fast alternation with the "all-closed" position, that gave the lowest note of the scale. Scalewise movement, on the other hand, does not seem typical for the *rozhok* playing.<sup>4</sup>

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the reed), when the vibrating part of the reed is shortened by the pressure of player's upper teeth (Starostin, 1989, 77).

<sup>4</sup> An example of the *rozhok* playing see in Appendix C, notation 16. See also the *rozhok* part in the notation of three pieces from Rudneva 1975 (Appendix C, notations 5-7).

The *dudka* and the *pyzhatka*.

Beyond the *rozhok*, two other traditional male wind instruments known in South Kursk are the wooden flutes, called the *dudka* and the *pyzhatka*. Both instruments were wide-spread in South and West Russia, and also in Ukraine and Belorussia (Vertkov 1975, Kvitka 1973).

The difference in their construction is in the presence of a duct in the *pyzhatka*, which is also longer and had 6 finger holes, while the *dudka* is shorter, has 5 finger holes and does not have a duct (Rudneva, 1975, 163). The difference of the whistle hole for both instruments is shown in illustration in Figure 3.

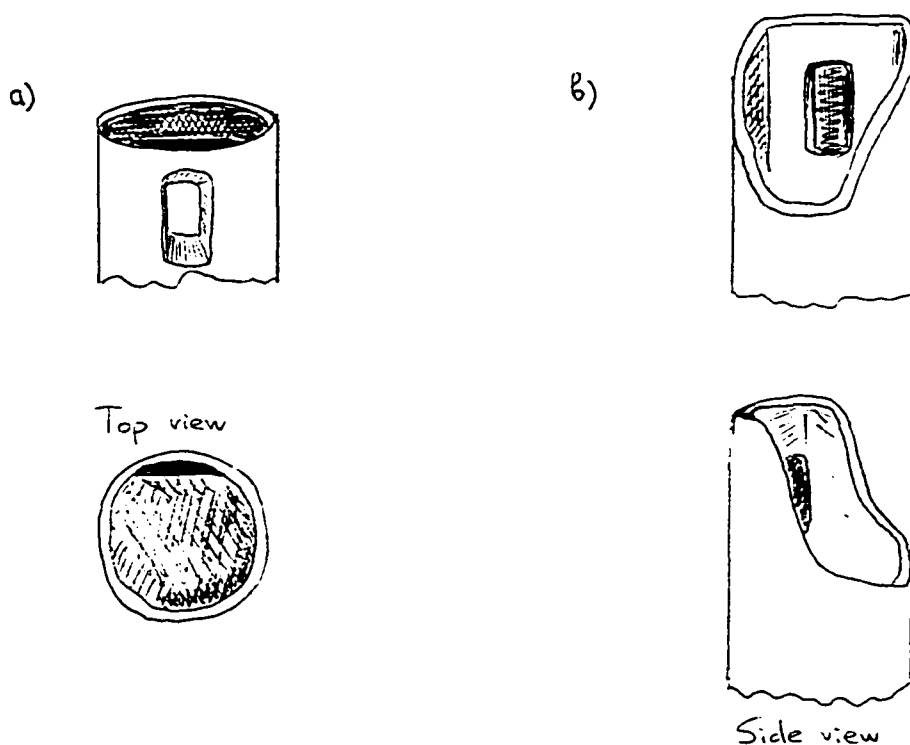


Figure 3. The construction of the whistle-hole of the *pyzhatka* (a) and the *dudka*. (b). (After Rudneva 1975, 165 and 175).



According to Rudneva, on the average, the length of the *dudka* is 33 cm, that of the *pyzhatka* is 43 cm, while their diameter from 4 to 6 cm. The distance between the finger holes some makers defined by eye, while others compared the distances between the *rozok*, the *pyzhatka* and the *dudka*, in order to tune all these instruments for playing in one ensemble (detailed description of this procedure see in Rudneva 1975, 172).

The fingering charts for both instruments can be seen in Figure 4. (The fingering on the *dudka* is the same, as on the *rozok*).

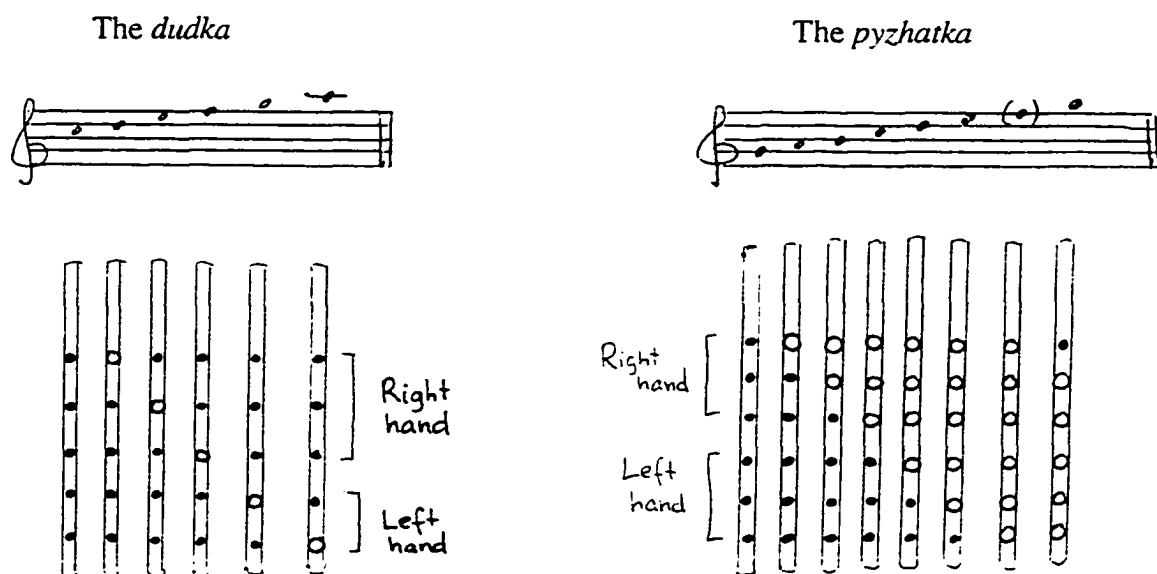




Figure 4. Fingering charts for the *dudka* and the *pyzhatka*. \*

\* The symbol  stands for closed holes, and the symbol  for the open holes. The lower part of the instrument as shown on this picture, is the closest to the mouth.

Rudneva noted that the *pyzhatka* and the *dudka* were becoming rather rare instruments already in 1940s. In the villages I visited during my fieldwork I was able to find neither *dudka* nor *pyzhatka* players, although some of the *roz'hok* players could play these instruments also, and demonstrated the playing on my request.<sup>5</sup>

Both instruments, even in the past, were more popular in some villages than in others. According to the recollections of Plekhovo inhabitants, for example, the *dudka* was not played in this village at all, while the *pyzhatka* was played only very rarely by old people in the 1930s. The instrument currently known in Plekhovo under the name *pyzhatka*, however, is a hybrid between the two different instruments. It has a duct, but its 5 finger holes and shorter length are borrowed from the *dudka* construction, although it is still called the *pyzhatka* (Velichkina 1996b). The instrument I have seen and recorded was made and played by Plekhovo fiddler, Nikolai Eroshenko. It was made from an iron tube instead of the wood. Rudneva also mentions an iron instrument that she saw in Plekhovo during her fieldwork. According to her, this was rather an exception, but *dudki* made from the brass were relatively common (1975, 171).

With respect to the functions of particular instruments in an ensemble, the *dudka* used to be one of the main melodic instruments, together with the *roz'hok* (Rudneva 1975, 191). The *pyzhatka*, according to Rudneva, accompanied the *dudka* and the *roz'hok* playing. Unlike them, the *pyzhatka* was used only in the ensemble with the other instruments and was never played solo.

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<sup>5</sup> For the examples of *dudka* and *pyzhatka* playing, see the notation of the instrumental ensemble by Rudneva, mentioned above.

### The fiddle.

The chordophones — the fiddle and the *balalaika* — both perform accompanying functions in traditional instrumental ensembles. Unlike the traditional wind instruments, both the fiddle and the *balalaika* were more often purchased at local markets or stores, rather than made by the players themselves. Rudneva once encountered a hand-made fiddle in Plekhovo (1975, 184), which was made by a craftsman in the near Ukrainian town of Miropol'ie. All instruments I have seen during my fieldwork were factory-made and had no special details in their appearance, except that the fourth string was often taken away, and a factory-made bridge was replaced by a home-made one.

Unlike the Ukrainian fiddlers of the same region, Russian fiddlers use only three strings in their playing. To Rudneva's question, why it was done so, the fiddlers answered: "This [four-string playing] is how the Ukrainians play it, but among us this is not a custom. *Timonia* you cannot play on the four strings, only on three. *Gopachok* [a name for a Ukrainian dance tune - O.V.] is played on four strings, but we do not know how to play this tune" (Rudneva 1975, 184).

Playing the fiddle in the Kursk tradition is different from other Russian fiddle traditions as well.<sup>6</sup> Kursk fiddlers play the melody mainly on the top string, while two other open strings provide the intermittent accompaniment. They rarely use their fingers to close either of two other strings. If the note one step below the open top string needs to be played (and for most of the tunes it is the tonic note), they prefer to find it on the lowest string, instead of the middle string (see fingering chart in Figure 5). In this way the melodic line can become fragmented between the different octaves (see Notations 19 in Appendix C).

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<sup>6</sup> The fiddle is a rather rare instrument in Russian folk traditions. It is found in West and North-West Russia (Smolensk, Tver' and Pskov provinces) and South Russia (Kursk province and Don Cossacks region), but nowhere else (for descriptions of local fiddle traditions, see Smirnov 1960, Kazanskaia 1987, Velichkina 1987).

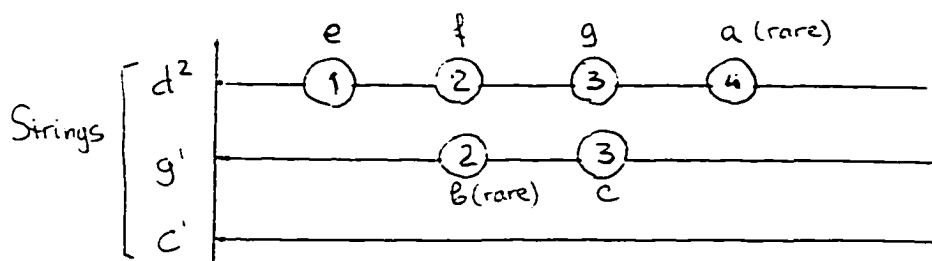


Figure 5. Fingering chart for the fiddle.\*

\* The number in the circle designates the finger which is used to stop a string (according to the convention in violin playing, the numeration starts from an index finger). Letters above the circle designate the note with is produced by this finger.

The bowing technique on the fiddle is also specific to the Kursk tradition. Unlike Ukrainian fiddlers, and also those from other Russian traditions (Smolensk and Pskov regions, as well as Don Cossacks), Kursk performers employ a short and sharply articulated bow strike on each pulse. Using mainly middle part of the bow, they actively alternate double-stops on different strings, interweaving the melody with the open strings, using practically no legato. The frequent transfer from one to string another is facilitated by a bridge, which is flatter on Kursk fiddles, than a standard violin bridge. The left hand technique employs few or no melismas, and the little finger of the left hand is rarely used. As for the majority of local *balalaika* players, the left hand of a fiddler never moves along the fingerboard. This leaves the instrumentalist with a limited range of melodic possibilities, which are, however, sufficient for performance traditional tunes, that require only a five-tone scale.

According to Rudneva, many aspects of fiddle-playing technique characteristic of the Kursk fiddle tradition, such as the bowing and limited use of melismas, discussed above, were probably inherited from another string instrument, the *gudok*, which was previously known to exist in the local tradition in parallel with the fiddle (Rudneva 1975, 182). In ethnographic literature on 19th-century Kursk province, the *gudok* was mentioned several times as a characteristic instrument, often playing with panpipes. No musical record of its tunes is left. However, judging by the morphology of the instrument and the general description of playing techniques, the hypothesis about the basic similarity between playing techniques on Kursk fiddle and the *gudok* seems to be trustworthy.

According to the data compiled by Vertkov, two lower *gudok* strings, tuned to an octave between themselves and to a lower fifth with the upper string, performed the role of a pedal tone, while the melody was played on only the upper string (Vertkov, 1975, 94). Since the finger board of the *gudok* was thicker, compared to that of the fiddle, the left hand technique should be fairly simple. The short bow, curved outside, would not provide many possibilities for prolonged sounds or legato technique, and the bridge was flattened, thus facilitating playing of double-stops.

Although the Kursk fiddle does not have the same technical limitations in its construction as the *gudok*, the manner of fiddle the playing is definitely close to what could have been performed on an older instrument. Apparently, the fiddle tradition in other Russian regions evolved under the influence of the playing techniques of other instruments, or fiddle traditions of Poland and Belorussia, while in Kursk province it was probably inherited from the earlier instrument directly.

### The *balalaika*.

The *balalaika* is a three-string plucked instrument, commonly known in many other Russian regions. Not unlike the fiddle, the *balalaika* in Kursk tradition has no special features in its construction, and is not made by the players, but bought in cities.

The *balalaika* is a relatively new instrument among other instruments in the ensemble. Kvitka mentioned that it was not yet accepted in Plekhovo in 1930s, and the *balalaika* was not included in any of the recordings made during his first fieldwork trips. According to Kvitka, the players of other instruments suggested to him that *balalaika* was “not good” in the ensemble. On the 1946 recording of an instrumental ensemble from Budishche and Chernyi Olekh the *balalaika* player is also absent. At the present time, however, the *balalaika* has become fully accepted as part of instrumental ensemble, and is considered an indispensable instrument for stage performing groups. Young village people may regard *balalaika* as an old-fashioned instrument, but the middle-age people favor it, and like to sing and dance to *balalaika* on all sorts of family celebrations and other festive occasions. Overall, there are considerably more people playing *balalaika* in modern villages, than those who play traditional wind instruments. Among other factors contributing to the popularity of the *balalaika* is the simplicity of playing it, especially for the number of traditional tunes in South Kursk, which only require the knowledge of two chords to be played.

Most performers prefer to play *balalaika* without changing the position of their left hand on the fingerboard. The available finger positions and chords are very limited, although sufficient for traditional repertoire.

In the Kursk tradition, as well as elsewhere, two different tuning of *balalaika* are possible. They are called the “balalaika” and the “guitar” tunings. In the former, the two

lower strings are tuned in unison and the upper one a fourth apart. In the latter, the three strings form a major triad, like the three upper strings on seven-string guitar (hence the name of this tuning system).

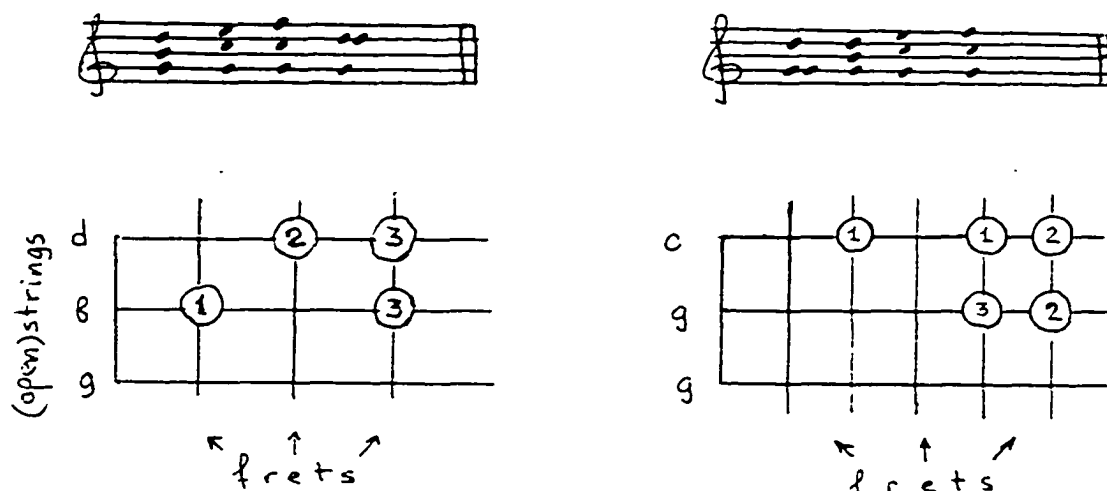


Figure 6. Two versions of tuning and finger charts of chords for the *balalaika*. \*

\* The strings are shown as horizontal lines, and the frets as the vertical lines. The finger positions are indicated by the numbers within the circles.

The preference of one or another tuning depends on the individual performer and also on the tune. Therefore, different movements are used to execute the same harmonic pattern, depending on the tuning.

The *balalaika* playing in South Kursk villages does not call for any special techniques characteristic of only this local tradition. The ability to maintain a constant pulsation and play very softly, but metrically stable and without much rhythmic inventiveness is considered to be the main virtue of a good *balalaika* player.

#### The *garmon'*.<sup>7</sup>

The *garmon'* is probably the most recent instrument to be included in the South Kursk instrumental ensemble.<sup>8</sup> The exact time period when it made its appearance in the village culture, however, is difficult to define, and it probably varied from village to village. Kvitka mentioned that in 1937 there were no *garmon'* players in Plekhovo, and when the players from a different village would come to play there from time to time, the villagers did not go to dance, preferring to dance to older instruments such as panpipes (Kvitka 1937). This means, however, that in the neighboring villages the *garmon'* was already accepted by the time of Kvitka's observation. According to N. Eroshenko, the first *garmon'* appeared in Plekhovo only in the 1950s, and for several years there was only one instrument in the whole village (Velichkina 1996b). In Budishche, however, as M. Bocharova remembers, already in the 1930s *garmon'* was playing in *karagods*, together with other instruments. One of the 19th-century descriptions also mentions *garmon'* among the instruments which were already present in local tradition (Mashkin 1862, 101). It is clear, however, that in Plekhovo the *garmon'* appeared much later than in other villages of this region.

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<sup>7</sup> Under the name of the *garmon'* I refer to several accordion-like instruments, which are in fact known in Russian under different names, such as *garmon'* (also *garmonika*, *garmoshka*) *baian* and *akordeon*. The latter has a key-board for the right hand and the buttons for the left, while the two others have buttons for both right and left hands

<sup>8</sup> For general description of the *garmon'* in Russia and its local traditions, see, for example, Smirnov 1959, 1962).



The *garmon'* in Kursk province was never hand-made, but always purchased. It was always relatively expensive, so very few people in the village could afford to have it. Nevertheless, after its initial appearance, it was considered by the villagers as an attractive and prestigious instrument, and gradually it started to occupy a very important place in village musical life.

In modern village culture the *garmon'* is the most popular instrument, still widely used in village life outside of the context of stage performances. The *garmon'* player is an honored guest on all types of festivities and generally enjoys great prestige for his playing, in particular among middle generation of people (40-60 years old). In modern Plekhovo, for example, the *garmon'* presence is still considered to be necessary for weddings, while the absence of all other traditional instruments is easily tolerated (Velichkina 1994).

Overall, the repertoire of the *garmon'* players differs significantly from that of other instrumentalists, since it includes mostly songs heard on radio and TV. Each *garmon'* player in the region, however, necessarily knows *Timonia*, and sometimes one or two other traditional tunes. Technically speaking, however, not all of the traditional tunes can be played on certain types of the *garmon'*. In particular, the instruments that were used in earlier time were more limited in their playing possibilities for traditional tunes of this region, since they were manufactured for quite a different type of music.

The first *garmon'* that appeared in Plekhovo belonged to the type known in literature as *saratovka* (from Saratov, see Vertkov et al. 1975). In the village itself it was called *rusaskaia* (Russian), or *szhim-razzhim* (squeeze-stretch). Its characteristic feature is that it has only two chords (tonic triad and dominant seventh chord), one played while compressing the bellows, and another while decompressing them. Using these two chords, the *garmon'* players could easily perform the tunes such as *Timonia*, and *Chibatukha*, whose harmonic structure can be adapted to these two chords. Playing tunes with a

different harmonic structure, such as *Batiushka*, *A ia vtornichala*, *Zharko pakhat'*, however, was not possible.

With later models of the instrument, especially such as the *baian*, more flexibility in the chord structure has become possible, but since most of the traditional tunes have fallen from the repertoire of the modern stage performance groups, and since there is no request for them in informal occasions for playing either, the modern *garmon'* and *baian* players do not include these tunes in their repertoire.

#### Instrumental ensemble.

According to Rudneva (1975, 165), the instrument whose tuning was least changeable played the role of the “anchor” in tuning all other instruments in the ensemble. Such instruments were the *dudka*, the *pyzhatka* and the *kugikly*. Their size was usually chosen using corporal measurements, by eye, or comparing the size of a new instrument with an old one. Rudneva (1975, 172) describe a procedure by which the *dudka* could be tuned to the *pyzhatka*. If there was a need to tune the panpipes to either *dudka* or the *pyzhatka*, this was done mostly comparing their pitches by ear, and by trial and error changing the size of the panpipes, until a desirable pitch was achieved. If there was no *dudka* and *pyzhatka* in the ensemble, then the panpipes would become an “anchor” for tuning all other instruments.

First, the instruments whose tuning is harder to change (the *dudka*, the *pyzhatka* and the panpipes) must be tuned to each other. Then, other instruments are tuned using the notes obtained from them. Often, however, there were no *pyzhatka* and *dudka* in the ensemble. In this case the panpipes served as an “anchor” for tuning all other instruments in the group. The pitch collections used by different instruments for playing traditional tunes are shown in Figure 7.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> The tones shown in this figure are only those used for playing traditional tunes. The fiddle, the *balalaika* and the *garmon'* can use much broader possibilities while playing the songs from newer repertoire.

Handwritten musical notation showing pitch collections for various instruments, organized into two main sections: *kugikly* (three staves) and string instruments (five staves).

***kugikly***

- 1. Para
- 2. Driduval'nye (small)
- 3. Driduval'nye (Big) or gukal'nye

**Rozhok and dudka**

**Pyzhatka**

**Balalaika ("balalaika tuning")**

**Balalaika ("guitar tuning")**

**Fiddle**

Figure 7. Pitch collections used in instrumental ensemble (After Rudneva, 1975, 193). \*

\* For string instruments, open strings are shown as the white notes.

## APPENDIX C

### NOTATIONS

#### I. Panpipe playing in Briansk and Kaluga provinces (Notations 1-4).

The image shows two systems of handwritten musical notation for panpipe playing. Each system consists of two staves. The top staff of each system contains a melody with notes marked with an 'x' and the syllable 'Gah!' above them. The bottom staff contains a bass line with notes marked with a '7'. Between the staves, there are clapping and exclamation marks, and some notes are marked with 'Uh' and 'ah, ah...'. The time signature is 2/4.

1. Panpipe playing in the village of Dorozhevo, Briansk province.

Recorded by L. Kulakovskii, notated by V. Krivonosov.\*

Published in Kulakovskii 1959, 42.

\* Vocal sounds are shown as a note of approximate pitch (x) with the syllable "Gah" above it. All other notes are the pipe sounds.

$\text{♩} = 88$

The musical score is written in 2/4 time with a tempo of  $\text{♩} = 88$ . It consists of two systems, each with three staves. The top staff features vocalizations 'Fu!' (represented by notes with upward-pointing stems) and rests. The middle staff contains a continuous rhythmic pattern of eighth notes. The bottom staff contains a more complex rhythmic pattern, including some rests and notes with upward-pointing stems. The notation is handwritten and includes various musical symbols such as clefs, time signatures, and note values.

2. Panpipe playing in the village of Dorozhevo, Briansk province. Recorded and notated by N. Savel'eva (1985). Author's private collection, cited by permission.

Vocal sounds are shown with the tails pointing up and the syllable "Fu" written above the note. All notes with the tails pointing down are the pipe sounds.



3. Panpipe playing from the village of Dubrovo, Kaluga province. Recorded and notated by V. Trokhin (Trokhin 1977, 16).  
Cited by permission.

The convention of notation is the same as in previous examples (notes with the tails up are vocal sounds, notes with the tails down are pipe sounds). The syllables were not indicated in the original.

1

2

3

4

4. Four ensemble parts for panpipe playing in the village of Charnaia, Kaluga province.  
Recorded by T. Starostina (1990), notated by O. Velichkina (1994). Used by permission.

The parts played by the same performer in successive order, and therefore they were not aligned in notation.

## II. Historical recordings of panpipes in South Kursk province (Notations 5-11).

### *Timonia.*

ТИМОНЯ

В. Солдатский р.-и. д. Будище, 1948

The musical score is arranged in five systems, each with a label on the left and a corresponding staff. The first staff is for Panpipes (kugikly), the second for Singing, the third for Rozhok (zhaleika), the fourth for Pyzhatka, and the fifth for Fiddle. The score is written in 4/4 time, indicated by the '4' and '4' symbols at the beginning of the first staff. The notation includes various musical symbols such as notes, rests, and accidentals. The score is divided into two measures by a vertical line. The first measure contains the main melody, while the second measure contains a variation or continuation of the melody. The Panpipes part is the most prominent, followed by the Singing part. The Rozhok, Pyzhatka, and Fiddle parts provide harmonic support.

### 5. *Timonia.*

Performed by the instrumental ensemble of the villages of Budishche and Chernyi Olekh, Kursk province. Recorded by K. Kvitka and A. Rudneva (1946) in Moscow. Notated by A. Rudneva. Published in Rudneva 1975, 118-121. Used by permission.

Continued on the next page



Notation 5, continued

Handwritten musical score for a choir, consisting of eight staves. The top staff has a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp (F#). The music is written in a style that appears to be a transcription of a vocal melody. The lyrics are written below the fourth staff. The score is divided into two systems by a vertical line. The first system contains the first four staves, and the second system contains the last four staves. The notation includes various musical symbols such as notes, rests, and bar lines.

Lyrics (transcribed from the image):

1. Ja-ay, maa Ti-mo - ne ne, maa - ce, no - e-zza Ti-mo - ne e-be-aa - uy

Continued on the next page

Notation 5, continued

A page of handwritten musical notation consisting of eight staves. The notation is written in black ink on a white background. The staves are arranged in two groups of four, separated by a vertical line. The notation includes various musical symbols such as notes, rests, and beams. Above the first staff, there are several small circles and lines, possibly indicating a key signature or a specific notation system. The notation is dense and appears to be a continuation of a piece from the previous page.

Continued on the next page

Notation 5, continued

The musical score consists of seven staves. The top staff is a vocal line with lyrics in Russian. Above this staff are five groups of musical symbols:  $\Phi \Pi \Phi$ ,  $\Pi \Phi \Phi$ ,  $\Phi \Pi \Phi$ ,  $\Phi \Pi \Phi$ , and  $\Pi \Phi \Phi$ . The second staff is a vocal line. The third staff is an instrumental line with block chords. The fourth staff is a vocal line with lyrics. The fifth staff is a vocal line. The sixth staff is a vocal line. The seventh staff is an instrumental line with block chords. The lyrics are in Russian and are written below the fourth staff.

2. А сто-ит ти-мо-ти-ше на го-ре, у не-го все го-лу-бушки в се-ре-бре.

**ЧИБАТУХА**      **Village of Budishche**  
 Б-Солдатский р.-п. А. Будище, 1944

$\text{♩} = 170$

The musical score is written for a six-part ensemble. The top staff is for the Panpipes (kugikly), followed by Singing, Rozhok (zhaleika), Dudka, Pyzhatka, and Fiddle. The tempo is marked as  $\text{♩} = 170$ . The key signature is one flat (B-flat). The melody is primarily in the Panpipes and Singing parts, with some accompaniment in the Pyzhatka and Fiddle parts. The score is divided into four measures.

6. *Chibatukha*.

Performed by the instrumental ensemble of the villages of Budishche and Chernyi Olekh, Kursk province. Recorded by K. Kvitka and A. Rudneva (1946) in Moscow. Notated by A. Rudneva. Published in Rudneva 1975, 196-200.\* Used by permission.

\* A fragment of this notation is also published in Rudneva 1956, 168-69.

Continued on the next page

Notation 6, continued.

The image displays a musical score for a piano piece, continuing from the previous page. It consists of two systems of staves. The first system has three staves: the top staff contains a treble clef and a series of notes with various accidentals (sharps, flats, and naturals) and slurs; the middle and bottom staves contain a continuous stream of sixteenth notes. The second system also has three staves: the top staff contains a treble clef and a series of notes with various accidentals and slurs; the middle and bottom staves contain a continuous stream of sixteenth notes. The notation is in a single key signature and time signature, with a 3/4 time signature indicated at the beginning of the first system.

Continued on the next page.

Notation 6, continued.

The musical score is divided into two systems. The first system consists of three staves: a vocal line on a treble clef staff and two piano accompaniment staves on a grand staff (treble and bass clefs). The vocal line contains several measures with notes and rests, and is marked with 'ff' (fortissimo) dynamics. The piano accompaniment consists of flowing sixteenth-note patterns in both hands. The second system begins with a vocal line on a single staff, which includes the Russian lyrics: 'Мой муж по стыл На па\_чи за\_ стыл,'. Below the vocal line, there are two piano accompaniment staves, continuing the musical texture with similar rhythmic patterns.

Continued on the next page.

Notation 6, continued.

The musical score consists of five systems of staves. The first system has four staves: the top staff contains rhythmic notation with notes marked with 'ф' and 'н' above them, and a '7' below; the second and third staves contain continuous melodic lines; the fourth staff contains the lyrics 'ту-лу-пам а-дел-ся, И то не со-греп-ся. Их-х!'. The second system has four staves with continuous melodic lines. The third system has four staves with continuous melodic lines. The fourth system has four staves with continuous melodic lines. The fifth system has four staves with continuous melodic lines.

Continued on the next page.

Notation 6, continued.

This musical score consists of two systems of staves. The first system contains three staves: the top staff has a treble clef and a key signature of one flat, with notes and rests; the middle and bottom staves have bass clefs and contain continuous eighth-note patterns. Above the first staff, there are four groups of symbols: two groups of two circles with a horizontal line, and two groups of a circle with a horizontal line. The second system contains four staves. The top three staves have treble clefs and contain eighth-note patterns. The bottom staff has a bass clef and contains eighth-note patterns. Below the first staff of the second system, there are two notes with the label 'Xa!' underneath them.



А Я ВТОРНИЧАЛА, ПОНЕДЕЛЬНИЧАЛА Village of Budishche  
 Б-Солдатский р-н, д. Будишче, 1948

Panpipes  
 (kugikly)

05  $\text{♩} = 108$

II Panpipes  
 (kugikly)

III

Singing

Rozhok  
 (zhaleika)

Pyzhatka

Fiddle

7. A ia vtornichala.

Performed by the instrumental ensemble of the villages of Budishche and Chernyi Olekh, Kursk province. Recorded by K. Kvitka and A. Rudneva (1946) in Moscow. Notated by A. Rudneva. Published in Rudneva 1975, 201-204. Used by permission.

Continued on the next page.

Notation 7, continued.

A musical score for a choir or orchestra, consisting of six staves. The top staff is a vocal line with lyrics in Russian. The other five staves are instrumental, likely for piano or strings. The score is divided into two measures by a vertical line. The lyrics are: "А в стоп - ни - че - ле, по - не - дель - ни - че - ле,". The notation includes various musical symbols such as notes, rests, and bar lines.

Continued on the next page.

Notation 7, continued.

Всю по- су- ату по- ро- бн- ле, на- ку- хер- нн- ча- ле.

Continued on the next page.

Notation 7, continued.

A musical score for a multi-stemmed instrument, likely a harp or a multi-stemmed guitar, consisting of eight staves. The score is divided into five measures by vertical bar lines. Above the first staff, there are five groups of musical notation, each consisting of a circle with a cross inside, followed by a dash and a circle with a cross inside. The first staff contains a series of eighth notes, while the other staves contain various musical notations, including eighth notes, sixteenth notes, and rests. The score is written in a standard musical notation style with a treble clef on the first staff.

**Timonia**  
Тимоны (д. Будище)

$\text{♩} = 176$

**Chibatukha**  
Чибатуха (с. Выховское)

$\text{♩} = 160$

**Pod mel'nichkoi**  
Под мельничкой (д. Будище)

$\text{♩} = 118$

**Batiushka**  
Батюшка (с. Плехово)

$\text{♩} = 176$

**Parania**  
Параны (д. Будище)

$\text{♩} = 168$

**A ia vtornichala**  
А я вторничала (д. Будище)

$\text{♩} = 168 - 149$

**Starik**  
Старик (д. Будище)

$\text{♩} = 152$

# 8. Tunes played on panpipes.

Assembled and notated by A. Rudneva. Published in Rudneva 1975, 160-61. Used by permission.

Continued on the next page.

Notation 8, continued.

$\text{♩} = 170$  *Смирнушка (с. Гахово, 1937г. Косинов Д.Г.)*

Two staves of music. The first staff contains the melody, and the second staff contains the bass line. Fingering numbers VII, I, III, and IV are written below the second staff.

$\text{♩} = 170$  *Смирнушка (с. Гахово, 1940г. Косинов Д.Г.)*

Two staves of music. The first staff contains the melody, and the second staff contains the bass line. Fingering numbers VII, I, II, and IV are written below the second staff.

$\text{♩} = 170$  *Полоса (с. Гахово, 1937г. Косинов Д.Г.)*

Two staves of music. The first staff contains the melody, and the second staff contains the bass line. Fingering numbers I, II, III, and V are written below the second staff.

$\text{♩} = 170$  *Полоса (с. Гахово, 1937г. Косинов Д.Г.)*

Two staves of music. The first staff contains the melody, and the second staff contains the bass line. The lyrics are written below the second staff: *По-ло-са мо-я, по-ло-сынь-на, По-ло-са мо-я по-ло-сынь-на,*

$\text{♩} = 170$  *Полоса (с. Гахово, 1940г. Косинов Д.Г.)*

Two staves of music. The first staff contains the melody, and the second staff contains the bass line. The lyrics are written below the second staff: *По-ло-сынь-на, по-ло-сынь-на, и т.д.* Fingering numbers I, III, IV, and V are written below the second staff.

$\text{♩} = 170$  *Полоса (с. Гахово, 1940г. Косинов Д.Г.)*

Two staves of music. The first staff contains the melody, and the second staff contains the bass line. Fingering numbers I, III, and V are written below the second staff.



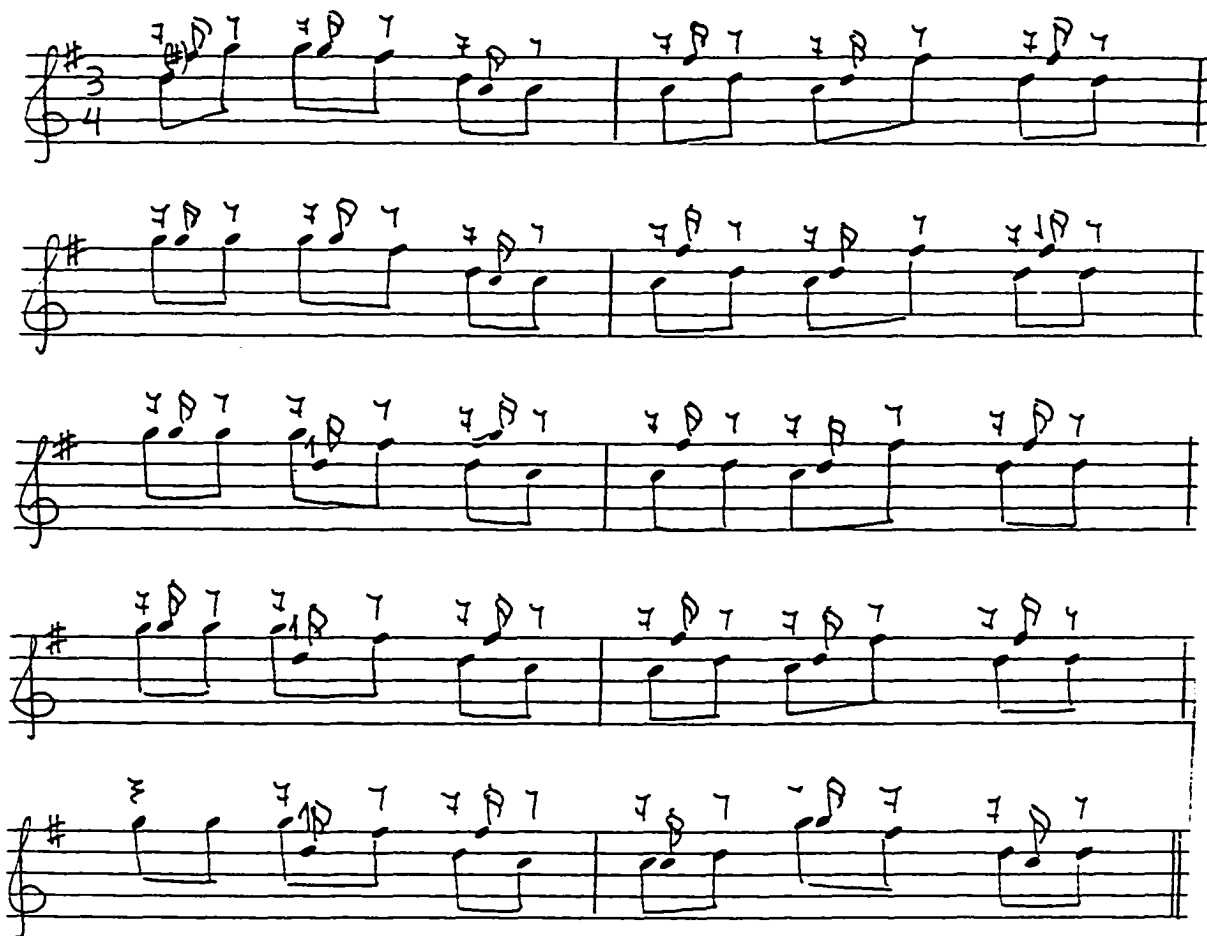
322



10. *Polosa.*

Performed by D. Kosinova (panpipes solo),  
the village of Gakhovo, Kursk province. Recorded by V. Krivososov and I. Zdanovich  
(1937). Notated by O. Velichkina. Unpublished.





# 11. *Smirenushka.*

Performed by D. Kosinova (panpipes solo), the village of Gakhovo, Kursk province.  
 Recorded by V. Krivososov and I. Zdanovich (1937).  
 Notated by O. Velichkina. Unpublished.

### III. Modern recordings of panpipe playing of South Kursk province (Notations 12-15 ).

The image displays three systems of musical notation for a multi-channel recording of panpipe playing. Each system consists of four staves, numbered I, II, III, and IV on the left. The notation is written in a single system across the staves, with various musical markings including notes, rests, and dynamic markings. The first system includes a tempo marking 'Cresc.' and a tempo change '♩ = 108-120'. The second system includes a tempo marking 'moderato' and a tempo change 'accel. a tempo'. The third system includes a tempo marking 'accel.'.

#### 12. *Timonia*.

a) Staff notation of multi-channel recording.

Performed by an ensemble of panpipe players from the village of Plekhovo, Kursk province. Recorded and notated by O. Velichkina (1991). Published in Velichkina 1992, 36-41. Used by permission.

Continued on the next page.

Notation 12, continued

The image displays three systems of musical notation, each consisting of four staves. The notation is complex, featuring various rhythmic values, accidentals, and dynamic markings. The first system includes the marking "accel." on the bottom staff. The second system includes the marking "a tempo" on the bottom staff. The third system includes the marking "accel." on the bottom staff. The notation is written in a style that suggests a specific musical genre, possibly a form of contemporary or experimental music, given the use of many accidentals and the "a tempo" marking.

Continued on the next page.

Notation 12, continued

The image displays three systems of handwritten musical notation, each consisting of four staves. The notation is written in a fluid, cursive style. Above the first staff of each system, there are handwritten notes in a non-Latin script, likely Georgian, which appear to be lyrics or performance instructions. The musical notation includes various note values, rests, and bar lines, indicating a complex rhythmic structure. The systems are arranged vertically, with the first system at the top, the second in the middle, and the third at the bottom.

Continued on the next page.

Notation 12, continued

The image displays three systems of musical notation, each consisting of four staves. The notation is written in a style that includes various rhythmic values and rests, with specific markings above the staves. The first system has markings such as  $\text{1b}\square$ ,  $\text{1b}\square-\square\text{a}$ ,  $\text{1b}\square-\square\text{a}$ ,  $\text{1b}\square$ ,  $\text{1b}\square$ , and  $\text{1b}\square-\square\text{a}$ . The second system includes  $\text{1b}\square-\square\text{a}$ ,  $\text{1b}\square$ ,  $\text{1b}\square$ ,  $\text{1b}\square-\square\text{a}$ ,  $\square\text{a}-\square\text{a}$ , and  $\square\text{a}$ . The third system features  $\text{1b}\square$ ,  $\text{1b}\square-\square\text{a}(\square)$ ,  $\square\text{a}-\square\text{a}$ ,  $\square\text{a}$ ,  $\text{1b}\square$ , and  $\text{1b}\square-\square\text{a}$ . The notation is complex, involving many small symbols and rests, suggesting a highly rhythmic or technical piece.

Continued on the next page.

Notation 12, continued

The image displays three systems of musical notation, each consisting of four staves. The notation is written in a staff with a treble clef and a key signature of one flat (B-flat). The music features a variety of rhythmic values, including eighth, sixteenth, and thirty-second notes, as well as rests. Above the first staff of each system, there are small, handwritten-style annotations in a non-Latin script, possibly representing a specific notation system or a set of instructions. The first system has six measures, the second has six measures, and the third has six measures. The notation is dense and complex, with many notes and rests. The overall style is that of a musical score, likely for a piece of music that is part of a larger work.

Continued on the next page.

Notation 12, continued

The image displays three systems of musical notation, each consisting of four staves. The top two staves of each system are vocal parts, and the bottom two are piano accompaniment. The notation is in a single system, with measures grouped by vertical bar lines. Above the vocal staves, there are lyrics in a non-Latin script, likely Georgian, which appear to be a form of musical notation (neumes) rather than standard text. The piano accompaniment features a steady eighth-note bass line and more complex melodic lines in the upper right hand. The key signature has one sharp (F#), and the time signature is 4/4. The three systems represent a continuous musical piece, with the first system containing 8 measures, the second 8 measures, and the third 8 measures.

Player 1	Player 2.
1 1 5 1 2 5 1 1 2 5 5 1	0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
1 1 5 1 2 2 5 5 4 5 0 1	1 1 5 1 2 2 3 3 4 5 4 1
1 1 0 2 1 2 3 3 1 5 5 1	1 0 0 5 4 5 5 5 5 5 5 5
1 1 5 4 5 5 0 1 2 5 0 1	0 5 4 5 4 5 5 5 5 5 5 1
1 1 2 1 2 5 0 1 2 5 0 1	1 5 4 5 3 5 0 5 4 5 4 1
1 1 3 1 2 1 1 1 2 5 0 1	1 0 5 4 5 4 0 5 4 5 4 1
1 1 2 1 2 5 0 0 1 5 0 1	1 5 5 4 5 2 0 5 4 5 5 1
1 1 2 1 2 5 1 1 2 5 0 1	1 5 2 5 5 5 5 5 4 5 5 0
1 1 2 1 2 2 1 1 2 5 0 1	5 4 5 5 3 5 5 4 5 5 5 1
1 1 2 1 2 5 1 1 2 5 0 1	1 5 4 5 5 4 0 5 4 5 5 1
1 1 2 1 2 5 0 1 2 5 0 1	1 5 4 5 3 5 5 5 4 5 5 1
1 0 4 3 2 5 0 1 2 5 5 1	1 4 4 5 3 5 5 5 4 5 5 1
1 1 4 3 2 5 0 1 2 5 5 1	1 5 4 5 3 5 0 5 4 5 5 5
1 1 5 1 2 5 1 1 2 5 5 1	1 5 5 5 4 5 0 5 4 5 5 0
1 1 2 1 2 5 0 1 2 5 5 1	5 4 5 4 5 5 5 5 4 5 5 1
1 1 2 1 2 2 1 1 2 5 5 1	1 0 5 4 5 4 0 5 4 5 5 1
1 1 2 1 2 5 1 1 2 5 5 1	1 5 4 5 4 5 0 5 4 5 5 1
1 1 2 1 2 5 0 5 4 5 5 1	1 5 4 5 5 4 0 5 4 5 5 1
1 1 2 1 2 2 1 1 2 5 5 1	1 5 4 5 5 5 5 5 4 5 5 0
1 1 0 1 2 2 0 1 2 5 5 1	5 4 5 4 5 5 0 5 4 5 5 1
1 1 2 1 2 2 1 1 2 5 5 1	1 5 5 4 4 5 5 5 4 5 4 5
1 1 2 1 2 0 0 1 2 5 5 1	0 5 4 5 4 5 0 5 4 5 5 1
1 1 2 1 2 2 1 2 5 5 0 1	1 0 5 4 5 5 0 5 5 4 4 0
1 1 2 1 2 5 0 1 2 5 0 1	5 4 5 5 4 5 0 4 5 5 5 1
1 1 2 1 2 2 1 1 2 5 0 1	1 5 4 5 4 5 0 5 4 5 5 5
1 1 2 1 2 2 1 1 2 5 0 1	0 5 4 5 4 5 0 5 4 5 5 1
1 1 2 1 2 2 1 1 2 5 0 1	1 0 5 4 5 4 0 5 4 5 0 0
1 1 2 0 2 2 0 1 2 5 0 1	5 4 5 5 4 5 0 4 5 5 5 1
1 1 4 3 2 2 0 5 5 5 5 1	1 0 5 4 5 5 0 4 5 5 5 1
0 1 4 1 2 5 1 1 2 5 5 1	1 0 5 4 5 4 0 5 4 5 5 1

b) Cipher notation of the two *para* parts.



The image displays a musical score for a piece titled "Batiushka". It begins with a four-staff system labeled I, II, III, and IV. The first staff (I) is marked "Cresc:" and the tempo is indicated as "♩ 108-120". The second staff (II) contains the word "Batiushka". The score then transitions into three systems of multi-channel notation, each consisting of four staves. These systems are characterized by dense, rhythmic patterns with many beamed notes and rests, typical of panpipe music. The notation is spread across the four staves of each system, showing a complex, multi-layered texture.

### 13. *Batiushka.*

a) Staff notation of multi-channel recording.

Performed by an ensemble of panpipe players from the village of Plekhovo, Kursk province. Recorded and notated by O. Velichkina (1991). Published in Velichkina 1992, 42-47. Used by permission.

Continued on the next page.

Notation 13, continued

The musical score consists of three systems, each containing four staves. The notation is complex, featuring various musical symbols such as notes, rests, and dynamic markings. The first system includes a marking 'accel.' (accelerando) above the third staff. The second system is similar in structure to the first. The third system includes a marking 'a tempo' (allegretto) above the third staff. The notation is written in a style that suggests a specific musical genre, possibly a form of contemporary or experimental music.

Continued on the next page.

Notation 13, continued

The image displays three systems of musical notation, each consisting of four staves. The notation is written in a single system across three systems of staves. The first system includes a tempo marking 'accel.' above the third staff. The notation is complex, featuring many beamed notes and rests. Above the staves, there are several lines of small, illegible text, possibly lyrics or performance instructions. The notation is written in a single system across three systems of staves.

Continued on the next page.

Notation 13, continued

The image displays three systems of musical notation, each consisting of four staves. The notation is written in a style that includes various musical symbols such as notes, rests, and beams. Above the first staff of each system, there are several small, stylized symbols or characters, possibly representing a specific notation system or a set of instructions. The notation is arranged in a grid-like fashion, with the staves grouped together in each system. The overall layout is clean and professional, typical of a musical score.

Continued on the next page.

Notation 13, continued

The image displays three systems of musical notation, each consisting of four staves. The notation is written in a complex, rhythmic style, featuring many beamed notes and rests. Above the first two staves of each system, there are small, handwritten-style annotations that appear to be rhythmic shorthand or fingerings. The third system includes the instruction "accel." (accelerando) written above the third staff. The notation is dense and appears to be a continuation of a piece from a larger work.

Continued on the next page.

Notation 13, continued

The image displays three systems of musical notation, each consisting of four staves. The notation is complex, featuring many beamed eighth and sixteenth notes, particularly in the upper staves. Above each system is a line of text in a non-Latin script, likely Cyrillic, which appears to be a transcription of the notes in the top staff of each system. The systems are arranged vertically on the page.

Player 1.	Player 2.
0 4 3 5 1 5 3 3 1 5 3 1 1 5 3 0	0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 5 5 4 0 5 4 5 1
5 5 4 4 5 5 4 5 1 4 5 3 1 5 3 1	1 5 4 5 4 5 4 5 0 4 5 1 5 5 5 0
1 5 3 3 5 5 3 5 1 4 5 0 1 5 4 1	5 4 5 4 5 4 5 5 0 5 5 1 5 5 5 1
1 4 5 5 5 5 5 5 4 4 5 3 4 5 4 1	1 5 4 5 4 5 4 5 0 4 5 1 5 5 5 0
1 3 5 3 4 5 4 5 1 1 5 3 4 5 4 1	5 4 5 5 5 4 5 5 5 4 5 1 5 5 5 0
1 5 4 3 3 5 3 5 0 5 4 0 1 5 3 1	5 4 5 4 5 4 5 5 5 4 5 1 5 5 5 0
1 5 3 5 1 5 3 5 0 4 5 1 1 5 4 1	5 4 5 5 5 4 5 5 5 4 5 1 5 5 5 1
1 4 3 5 1 4 3 5 0 1 4 0 5 4 3 1	1 5 4 5 5 5 4 5 5 4 5 1 5 5 5 1
1 4 3 3 5 1 4 5 0 4 5 3 4 5 4 1	1 5 3 5 5 5 3 5 5 0 5 0 5 5 5 0
1 4 4 3 5 1 4 5 0 4 5 3 4 5 4 1	5 4 5 5 5 4 5 5 5 4 5 5 5 5 5 1
1 5 3 3 4 5 4 5 5 3 1 4 4 5 5 1	1 5 3 5 5 5 3 5 5 0 5 4 5 5 5 0
1 4 3 3 5 4 4 5 0 1 5 3 4 5 4 1	5 4 5 5 5 4 5 5 5 4 5 4 5 5 5 0
1 5 3 5 1 5 3 5 0 1 5 4 5 5 4 1	5 4 5 4 5 4 5 5 5 1 5 5 5 5 5 1
1 4 3 5 1 4 3 5 0 4 5 5 5 5 4 1	5 4 5 5 5 4 5 5 5 4 5 5 5 5 5 1
1 4 4 3 4 5 4 5 0 1 5 3 4 5 5 1	1 5 4 5 5 5 4 5 5 4 5 1 5 5 5 1
1 4 3 3 5 0 3 5 0 4 5 3 5 5 5 1	1 5 4 5 5 5 4 5 5 4 5 1 5 5 5 0
1 4 3 3 4 5 3 5 0 1 5 3 4 5 5 1	5 5 4 5 5 4 5 5 5 5 5 1 5 5 5 1
1 4 5 5 5 5 5 5 5 4 5 3 4 5 5 1	1 5 4 5 5 5 4 5 5 4 5 1 5 5 5 0
5 4 5 3 4 5 4 5 5 4 5 5 5 5 5 0	5 4 5 5 5 4 5 5 5 4 5 1 5 5 5 1
0 5 5 5 5 4 4 5 0 5 5 0 5 5 5 0	1 5 4 5 4 5 4 5 0 5 4 5 5 5 5 1
5 5 5 3 5 3 5 5 0 5 5 3 5 5 5 1	1 5 4 5 5 5 4 5 5 4 5 1 5 5 5 0
1 4 4 4 4 5 3 5 0 1 5 3 4 5 3 1	5 4 5 4 5 4 5 5 5 5 5 1 5 5 5 0
1 4 3 3 5 4 4 5 1 4 5 4 3 5 3 1	5 4 5 5 4 5 4 5 5 4 5 1 5 5 5 0
1 4 3 5 3 4 3 3 4 4 5 5 4 5 4 1	5 4 5 4 5 4 5 5 0 4 5 4 5 5 5 1
1 5 4 0 3 5 3 5 0 4 5 0 4 5 5 1	1 5 4 5 5 5 4 5 0 4 5 1 5 5 5 0
1 4 3 3 5 4 4 5 0 4 5 1 4 5 5 5	5 4 5 4 5 4 5 5 5 4 5 1 5 5 5 1

b) Cipher notation of the two *para* parts.

$\text{♩} = 72$



14. *Timonia.*

a) Staff notation.

Performed by M. Bocharova (panpipes solo)  
of the village of Budishche, Kursk province.  
Recorded and notated by O. Velichklina (1996). Unpublished.

Continued on the next page.



Notation 14, continued

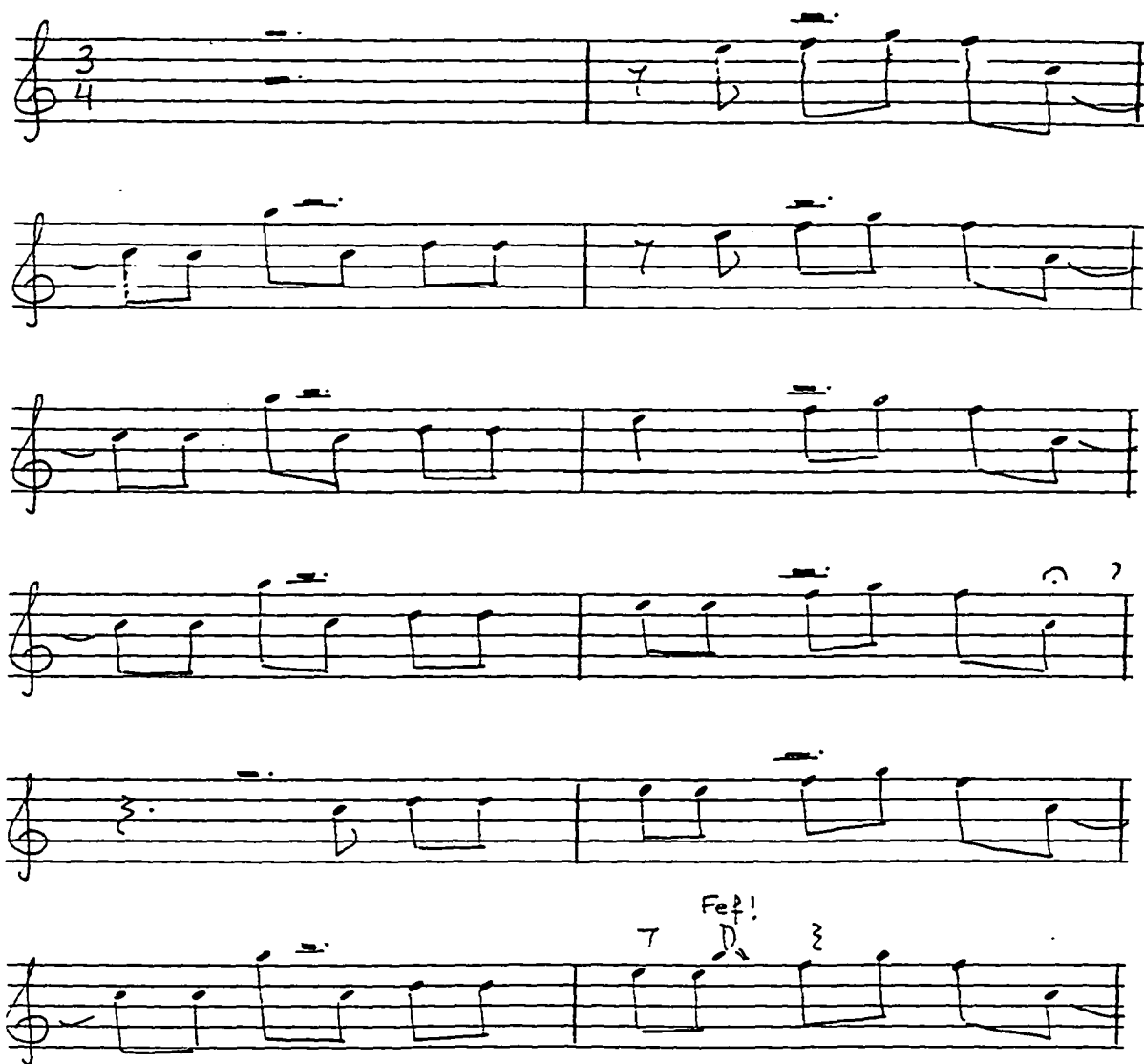


Position 123456789101112	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
1	1	1	1	1	2	*	3	5	4	3	2	1
	466	467	467	463	503		568	691	626	568	508	462
2	1	5	4	5	2	2	3	3	4	5	4	
	467	690	614	692	513	**	564	568	634	691	631	
3	1	1	1	1	2	2	3	3	4	5	4	
	470	467	469	470	501	509	561	566	633	692	627	
4	1	5	4	5	2	2	3	3	4	5	4	
	472	700	630	695	509	503	564	564	625	696	633	
5	1	1	1	1	2	2	3	3	4	5	4	
	470	471	471	472	500	513	568	568	635	695	636	
6	1	5	4	5	2	2	3	3	4	5	4	
	472	698	625	696	501	505	566	564	639	699	635	
7	1	1	1	1	2	2	3	3	4	5	5	
	467	472	472	469	506	**	572	571	632	699	700	
8	1	5	4	5	2	2	3	3	4	5	5	
	464	689	635	699	506	507	565	567	623	693	696	
9	1	5	4	5	2	2	3	3	4	5	5	
	464	689	635	699	506	507	566	567	623	693	698	
10	1	1	1	1	2	2	3	3	4	5	4	
	461	467	471	469	508	510	568	565	630	**	638	
11	1	5	4	5	2	2	3	3	4	5	5	
	470	699	640	698	507	**	565	570	629	699	698	
12	1	5	4	5	2	2	3	3	4	5	4	
	468	691	639	696	503	510	567	569	640	694	631	
13	1	1	1	1	2	2	3	3	4	5	5	
	461	468	469	467	508	509	567	569	631	690	695	
14	5	5	5	1								
	695	697	**	471								

b) Cipher notation of Bocharova's performance,  
showing the measurements of each panpipe sound in Hertz.

\* On this and other positions with empty boxes there was no sound produced.

\*\* In this place the fundamental frequency as not detectable on the machine, although it was heard clearly on the audio-recording.



15. *Timonia.*

Performed by N. Kosheleva (panpipes solo)  
of the village of Plekhovo, Kursk province.  
Recorded and notated by O. Velichkina (1996). Unpublished.

Continued on the next page.

Notation 15, continued

Handwritten musical notation on six staves, featuring various notes, rests, and lyrics. The notation includes eighth notes, quarter notes, and rests, with some notes marked with a 'y' or a 'z' above them. The lyrics are written above the notes, including 'fef,' and 'fe - fa,'.

Staff 1: *fef,* *y* *y* *fef,* *z* *z*

Staff 2: *fef,* *y* *y* *fef,* *z* *z*

Staff 3: *fef,* *y* *y* *fe - fa,* *y* *z*

Staff 4: *fef,* *y* *y* *fef,* *z* *z*

Staff 5: *fef,* *y* *y* *fef,* *z* *z*

Staff 6: *y* *y* *y* *y* *y* *y*

IV. Playing other musical instruments in the South Kursk tradition  
(Notations 16 - 20).



16. *Timonia.*

Performed by E. Pestsov (the *rozhok* solo),  
the village of Plekhovo, Kursk province. Recorded and notated by O. Velichkina.  
Unpublished.

Continued on the next page

Notation 16, continued

Handwritten musical notation for Notation 16, continued, consisting of eight staves. The notation is written in treble clef with a key signature of one sharp (F#). The first staff begins with a treble clef, a key signature of one sharp, and a common time signature. The notation includes various musical symbols such as notes, rests, and slurs. The second staff continues the melody with a long slur. The third staff features a long slur and a fermata. The fourth staff continues the melody with a long slur. The fifth staff features a long slur and a fermata. The sixth staff continues the melody with a long slur. The seventh staff features a long slur and a fermata. The eighth staff continues the melody with a long slur and a fermata.

# КАМАРИНСКАЯ



## 17. *Kamarinskaia.*

Performed by I. Muzalevskii (*pyzhatka* solo),  
the village of Budishche, Kursk province. Recorded and notated by Rudneva. Published in  
Rudneva 1975, 169. Used by permission.

# БАТЮШКА



Штиль вверху означает звуковое или ритмическое - передувание.

## 18. *Batiushka.*

Performed by Eroshenko (*dudka* solo), the village of Plekhovo, Kursk province. Recorded  
and notated by Rudneva. Published in Rudneva 1975, 174. Used by permission.

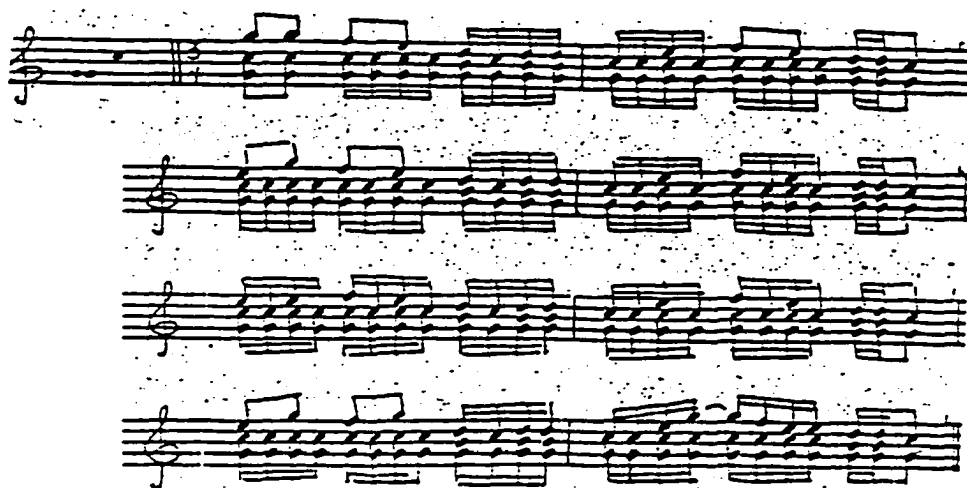
# БАТЮШКА

Б.-Солдатский р-н, д. Будище, 1948



## 19. *Batiushka.*

On the fiddle. The village of Budishche, Kursk province (performer is not known).  
Recorded and notated by Rudneva. Published in Rudneva 1975, 186. Used by permission.



## 20. *Timonia.*

Performed by N. Eroshenko (balalaika solo),  
the village of Plekhovo, Kursk province.  
Recorded and notated by O. Velichkina (1992). Unpublished.



V. Tunes similar in structure to the South Kursk tune *Chibatukha*  
(Notations 21 - 24).



21. *Kak pod gorkoi.*

Performed by the *odnoriadnaia garmon'*.  
Published in Blagodatov 1960, 16.



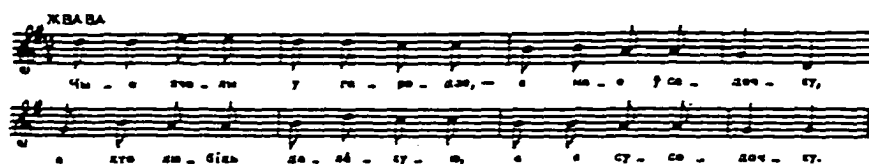
22. *Kazachok.*

Performed by the fiddle.  
Published in Humeiniuk 1972, no.75.



### 23. Metelitsa.

Performed by the fiddle.  
Published in Gutsal 1986, 74.



Чые пчолы у гародзе, —  
А мае ў садочку,  
А хто любіць далёкую, —  
А я суседачку.

Ой, у тае далёкае —  
Валы ды каровы,  
А ў гэтае суседачкі —  
Усе чорныя бровы.

Ой, у тае далёкае —  
Сінія бумажкі,  
А ў гэтае суседачкі —  
Кажух і сямяжкі.

Ой, у тае далёкае —  
Бычкі ды цялушкі,  
А ў гэтае суседачкі —  
Коўдры да падушкі.

Ой, у тае далёкае —  
Бычкі паздыхаюць,  
А ў гэтае суседачкі —  
Санкі паязджаюць.

А я тую далёкую  
Людзям падарую,  
А да свае суседачкі  
Сам памашэрую.

### 24. Chye pcholy u garodze (singing).

Published in Tsytovich 1975, no. 354.

VI. Vocal music in the South Kursk tradition (Notations 25 - 27).

a)

A - ri - ri - ri - ri - ri, ri - ri - ri - ri - ri - ri,

a ri - ri - ri, ri - ri - ri - ri - ri - ri - ri, ri - ri - ri - ri - ri - ri - ri - ri.

du - du - du - du - du - du, du - du - du, du - du - du - du - du - du - du - du.

b)

Du - du...

du - du...

25. *Timonia*.

Vocal imitation of the rozhok and the fiddle playing.  
 Performed by A. Kosheleva, the village of Plekhovo, Kursk province. Recorded and  
 notated by O. Velichkina (1989).

a ia vdevushkakh smirēnushka byla, ia na uli\_tsu ne kha\_zhi\_va\_la,  
 [rebiatsulitsyne va\_zhi\_va\_la, pod kusta\_mi ne sta\_i\_va\_la]  
 a ia vdev\_kakhy triokh rodi\_la, so chetver\_tymy za\_muzhposhla,  
 a pia\_taga u po\_le po\_nes\_la.

# 26. Smirenushka.

Singing the *prikazki*. Performed by D. Kosinova, the village of Gakhovo, Kursk province.  
 Recorded by V. Krivonosov and I. Zdanovich (1937). Notated by O. Velichkina.  
 Unpublished.

№144

...ке на быст - рой,

1. Да на реч - ке, на реч - ке, да на реч - ке на быст - рой,

...ке на быст - рой.

э - хм ле - й лё - ли лё - ли,

э лё - ли лё - а - ли, а - ли лё - ли лё - а - ли,

э лё - ли лё - ли, ой лей лё - ли лё - ли,

ой

2. На реч - ке на быст - рой,

2. Да на реч - ке на быст - рой,

2. Да на реч - ке на быст - рой,

на реч - ке

27. *Da na rechke, na rechke* (phragment).

Performed by a group of women from the village of Plekhovo, Kursk province. Recorded and notated by A. Rudneva. Published in Rudneva et al. 1979, no.3.

## APPEDIX D

### SELECTED INTERVIEW TRANSLATIONS<sup>1</sup>

#### INTERVIEW 1.

**Anastasia (Nastia) A. Kosheleva** (hereafter, N.K.). Interview with Olga Velichkina (hereafter, O.V.). The village of Plekhovo, July 19, 94. Author's private collection.

*[About the karagody and the ulitsa, learning to play panpipes]*

N.K. — When I was a girl, I lived on the street where Egor [Pestsov] lives now. We were going on the hill starting a *karagod*... Egor went with his *rozhok*, old women went to play, and I would go with them...

O.V. — How old were you?

N.K. — I was a girl then... Maybe, about 20. They played, and I listened, and then I started to play myself. Well, my mother, she did not play five pipes, she only *priduvala* [played *priduval'nye set* - O.V.], but other old women all played there. Every evening they would go on the street and play. Now there is nobody from these old women [alive].

O.V. — They were going out on the street in summer?

N.K. — In summer, yes, and if not, they celebrated inside, too. Often at our house. My father was a *rozhok* player, he played *rozhok*, and my mother *priduvala*, she did not *fiukala* [did not *pīāy para set* - O.V.].

O.V. — And you, did you start playing five-pipe set from the very beginning?

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<sup>1</sup>For the following translations of interviews, I have selected most interesting fragments of my conversations with the villagers and arranged them according to their reference in the text. In doing translations, I have attempted to render the meaning close to the Russian original. If an expression or a term requires a longer explanation, I present them in footnotes. Since oral speech often uses incomplete sentences and references to a particular context of conversation (such as 'this', 'that', etc.), I have inserted the explanations in brackets. In order to better orient a reader in the material, I also have inserted the topics (in my definitions of them) discussed in the following excerpts, in bold Italics and brackets.

N.K. — I looked at the old women played and I started playing myself... Well, I saw how... At first, I *fiukala* [produced *fiu-ka* sounds — O.V.] without them, eh...without *kugikly*, and later started [to play panpipes]. Well, what is difficult in it? I, for example, don't understand [what is difficult]. Well, Mania Petrovna (I teach her), she plays the *balalaika*. Well, she does not know how to tune the *balalaika*, because she doesn't have good ear. I teach and teach — she went to me all winter [to learn panpipes, and did not succeed - O.V.] Well, what is difficult in it? Nothing! You only need to “take in” a tune, this is it... “Teach me,” [Mania asked]. And I could not teach! She can *fiukat'*, although with a coarse voice... I say: “Let me teach you, you will be going [to play at concerts — O.V.].” No, she can't. She plays the *balalaika*, though. She should have good ear then, you know. Then, she must be also able to play *kugikly*, right? Finally, I did not succeed in teaching her. And other women, too... [ask to teach them panpipes - O.V.]. You see, well, what's so difficult!?

[She demonstrates *priduval'nye* parts for *Timonia* and *Batiushka*.]

### **[Panpipe terminology]**

N.K. — The *priduval'nye* part for the *Batiushka* tune are played only on two pipes. Do you know why?

O.V. — Why?

N.K. — See, I play *Batiushka* only on these three pipes [on three upper pipes of the *para* set - O.V.], and that is why one should accompany:

[...]

O.V. — *Batiushka*, then, is played on two pipes in *priduval'nye*, because the *para* plays on three pipes? And the *guden'* — you don't go to it at all?

N.K. — Of course, I do! ... Well, see (she plays *para* part for *Batiushka*):



N.K. — Now, *priduvai* [play *priduval'nye* part — O.V.]!

O.V. — Well, I can't understand how to enter on them...

N.K. — *Naperekor* (counter to one another)!

O.V. — *Naperekor*... what is it?

N.K. — I blow into one [pipe], and you — into another [pipe]. Do not blow together with me! Play now and I will do *priduval'nye* with you.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> Note, that while co-ordinating the *priduval'nye* part, the player starts with the second half of a period, and so did other traditional players. Note also, that in playing together, her *priduval'nye* part does not exactly correspond to the pattern as she showed it before, when she played it alone.





N.K. — Play only on these three pipes! Not on this one [the second pipe — O.V.], not at all. If you stay (*vstanesh'*) [on it], you interrupt.

O.V. — Then... I should not “stay” on any?

N.K. — You *can* stay, but only on the *siredniaia* (the third pipe), not on the *podgudka* (the second pipe).

O.V. — And on the *guden'* (the first pipe)?

N.K.— On the *guden'*, yes, when you have ‘walked along’ the melody (*proidesh' melodiiu*). \_ \_

[...]

O.V. — We play *naperekor* — this means that when you blow in, I blow out?

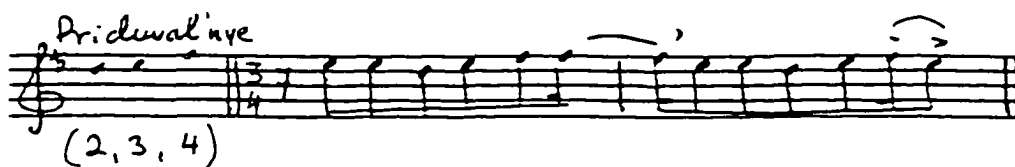
N.K. — You blow, and I don't, I blow — you don't. We must blow not together.

[...]

O.V. — Do you count [the rhythm]?



O.V. — When you play *Timonia* on *priduval'nye*, you start going to the right side first, right? [I play the pattern as she showed it before- O.V.] What if I go to the left first, can one play so? [I play as follows:]



N.K. — Eh, this will be big *priduval'nye*. Play, and I'll try *priduval'nye*.

[...] [We try different versions together, she insists on always starting from the third pipe].

N.K. — Yes, you may go here, and there, wherever you want to.

You may go here [to the second pipe first- O.V.], but ... it seems that going to the smaller one first is better... [we try the "reversed" pattern again several times]. Yes, it is possible to go to this pipe, only one always has to stop on *siredniaia*. You start on it, then you may go either there, or here, and you stop on *siredniaia*. [...]

O.V. — What is *fudukar*?

N.K. — It is like...it is like you create... an ending (*okonchanie*) of some sort... Like you want... eh, you see, stop (*ostanavlivaeshsia*). The music stops, and the melody ends, you understand? Well, you walked through the melody, and the melody ends. See:



O.V. — Is this the *fu-du*, at the end? Do you say it when you play?

N.K. — It is a sort of a divider (*vydelenie*). An emphasis in the music. Otherwise, it is like that:



N.K. — It is possible to do *fudukat'* on all pipes. You make a rest, do you understand? In music, it results in a diversity... and you give a rest to yourself.[...]

O.V. — Now, you played with many, or fewer *fudukat'*?

N.K. — If you do *fudukat'* more, you rest more. Your body and your voice rest. And if you play all the time, without *fudukan'e* (doing "*fu-du*") you don't rest, understand?

[...She plays *priduval'nye* many times] I do *fudukan'e* more, and it's easier for me.

[...She plays many times again] In the past, we were tied to play, then... one would start all the time only *fudu-fudu*, restlessly. This means, one is exhausted, she is making a rest for herself. [...]

*[About the name kugikly and the tuning]*

[O.V. — Why do you think they are called *kugikly*?]

N.K.— The *kugikly* do: *kugy-kugy*, and frogs in the swamp - "*kurny, kurny*", one after another. So the *kugikly kugykaia*, and they are called - *ku-gik-ly*. The frogs, they *kurnukaiut'* — "*ku-ku, ku-ku, ku-ku*", and people say: "Oh, they started playing, all differently — one so *fukaiet*, another so... well, this is like the frogs, the *kugikly*! [...]"

[O.V. — When you make new *kugikly* set, how would you tune and measure it?]

N.K. — *Kugikly*, they are not tuned to anything, you understand? But the fiddle, and the *rozhok*, they must be tuned to *kugikly*. And *garmon'* — now we play mostly with the *garmon'* — only *kugikly* must be tuned to *garmon'*.

O.V. — It cannot be tuned to *kugikly*, right?

N.K. — Right. For example, I make *kugikly*, small or big, and go to try them with the *garmon'*. No, I need to cut them, or make [the new ones] larger. [When you play] with the *rozhok*, you make them as you want. and the fiddle, the *balalaika*, they all tune the strings. But now, because the *garmon'* participates — we are performing with it now, mostly, — then I already tuned these *kugikly* with the *garmon'*. Now, when I come, I don't tune, mine are already tuned. And, if without the *garmon'*, they would all tune to me, as I made the *kugikly*; larger, or smaller, it does not matter. [...]

Now, I made this set, with my daughter, this summer, when she worked here.<sup>3</sup> I cannot do it myself, you understand? Well, she played *garmoshka*, and we checked each pipe against the *garmon'* buttons.

O.V. — You didn't measure them with the fingers, as usual?

N.K. — Well, you see... they [the pipes] are different, one larger, another smaller [than it should be - O.V.], but they are all *ladnye* (tuned)! We checked all of them, and now I can tune [a new set] to these ones, if I need to. In the past, when we played in *karagody*, it was never possible to make pipes all tuned. It is rare. In the past, we went to *karagods*, pipes were given to all players: "Now, let us tune!" — "How?" [she plays one pipe] — "Whose is larger? Yours?" — you take a seed [and drop it in larger pipe]. Well, all tuned... and then we stopped playing, through the seeds, they are not tuned, again! [...]

In the past, we never made pipes so precisely, but always tuned them in *karagody*. If they are not tuned, it is impossible to play.[...]

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<sup>3</sup> Nastia's daughter is a music teacher, who works in the town of Orel and comes to see her mother on summer vacations.

*[About the time to play panpipes in a year]*

O.V. — In the past, when did you played panpipes, and when you did not in a year?

N.K. — At Lent and Spasovki we did not play. We played on Pentecost, Saint Elijah, on *miasoedy*.<sup>4</sup> On *Filipovki* fast<sup>5</sup> we played, there were the *karagody*, on Saint Michael's day.

O.V. — The Filipovki fast is during winter, right? You played panpipes in winter also? And you kept the panpipes?

N.K. — Of course, we kept them! [We did not play only] during Lent and Spasovki.<sup>6</sup> [...]

O.V. — Why you did not play during Lent?

N.K. — Because is a sin... Lent, it is a holy time.

O.V. — But old people, did they say more about it?

N.K. — Well, you know... Lent, it starts when Jesus Christ... they tortured Him, till the Easter... Till the Easter, we did not play *kugikly*. Songs, we sung, it is true. Not the wedding songs, but the others.

[...]

O.V. — Could there be a *karagod* without *kugikly* playing in the past?

N.K. — If there is a *karagod*, it is only with the *kugikly*. Without them it is not possible.

[...] They go — the *kugikly*, the *rozhok*, the fiddle — what else? *Garmon'*, there was no *garmon'* in the past. [...]

O.V. — And they also played *kugikly* outside of *karagods*?

N.K. — Of course, I told you, as we went to the hill to play, the old women in evenings.

Oh, how we played! As the sound echoed in the forest...!

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<sup>4</sup> *Miasoed* (literally, meat-eater) is a season during which the eating of meat is permitted by Orthodox church, especially from Christmas to Shrovetide.

<sup>5</sup> The two week long fasting period before Christmas.

<sup>6</sup> Two week long fast before the Trasfiguration day, on August 19, according to the old-style calendar. In folk tradition, the Trasfiguration is called *Spas*, and the period before it, *Spasovki*.

O.V. — Only panpipes, even without the *roz'hok* ?

N.K. — Yes, if Egor did not come, they played alone. Mostly alone. Two women played on five pipes, two or three *priduvali* (played *priduval'nye* parts). So well, even without the *roz'hok*. Almost everyday, they played. [...]

*[What a good player has to have]*

O.V. — People say: “This woman, she plays well, and another, she plays badly.” How to distinguish [between good and bad play]?

N.K. — How to distinguish? Well, who has a good voice, it is good.

O.V. — Well, that is for the *fufkanie* (voice sounds). What about playing itself?

N.K. — And playing - it makes no difference... It does not matter how one plays.<sup>7</sup> The voice has to ‘accompany’ the music, accompany the panpipes. It is the most important. To play — to blow into pipes — one needs a voice. One has one voice, another — another; one can accompany by her voice this way, and another — another way. This is why one plays well, and another badly. Once, our singers went to perform, there was a woman playing panpipes. I know her, we went to Kursk with her once... her voice is harsh, she plays well, right? But our women said — of course, my voice is not so good, as before, to say the truth — but I accompany well to the music. [...] [Women said]: “You play more melodically, softer(*nezhnee*), than this woman.” [...] When people dance they don't listen to the music, but they listen to the players' voice, and dance. [...] In *karagods*, there are a lot of people...When one listens to the sound from far away, one does not hear the music which is played, only the *fukan'e*. [...]

*[About the lad]*

O.V. — What is *lad* ?

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<sup>7</sup> Nastia's opinion differs from that of other people, who say that the quality of playing is important. Nastia herself is often reproached for *not playing panpipes* well. Note also, that in the following she uses the verb ‘to play’ when in fact she discusses the voice quality only.

N.K. — It is when all is well, good(*vse chorocho* ). *Lad* is when you would understand what to do.

O.V. — You understand, or you do?

N.K. — It is when you know how to do it and you do it. For example, if you come to the garden to weed, you have to know which plant you will take out, and which you will leave... My daughter, Valia, once came to the garden, and said: "I don't understand what to weed...", and I say: "No, you will not make the *lad* here... You need to understand how to do it, how to weed." *Lad* — it has to be in any work.



## INTERVIEW 2.

**Egor S. Pestsov (hereafter, E.P.) and Ekaterina (Katia) Pestsova (hereafter, K.P.).** Interview with Olga Velichkina. The village of Plekhovo. 8.08.1996. Author's private collection.

*[About musical talent (a good ear), learning, musical terms]*

E.P. — You can play with only one *koleno*, and still it is good. *Koleno* — you work it out yourself. *Timonia* and *Batiushka*, you can play them with one *koleno*.

[He plays *Batiushka* in two different manners (see notation in Figure 4.2)]

E.P. — Playing with one *koleno* is good, but it is not 'eloquent' (*ne tak vygovarivaet*). It is simple. And this — [with many *kolena*] — you turn it [the melody], and it becomes more joyful. This, I play with the *pereliv*. That [with one *koleno*] is without *pereliv*, it is direct. M. Kriukov (uncle of N. Kosheleva) played more direct, but Nastia's father, Aleksei, he played more with the *pereliv*. Their father played the *rozhok* and the *pyzhatka*, so they played also, and Nastia's mother, she played *kugikly*. Most importantly, if someone has an inclination, a big wish, and a good ear. Without a good ear, you will not play!

O.V. — But how can one distinguish, if so and so has a good ear?

E.P. — How to distinguish? Say someone plays, but he does not understand the difference between what is good and what is bad. He plays fiddle, and this is it.<sup>8</sup> But what he plays, he does not understand. A person who does not have an ear will never play.

From childhood, I had a desire to learn to play the *rozhok*. Aleksei, Nastia's father, he played it. He would play on Sunday, or on holidays... I was 10 or 12 years old, and I was herding the sheep of a master. I would stop and listen to his playing... How well he

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<sup>8</sup> In Russian, he plays with words: *skripet* is to squeak, or to play badly, *skripka* (with the same steam) is the fiddle.

played! Then, someone made me a *rozhok*, so I tried myself, and did not come to it. So, I would walk and walk, and it 'stands' in my head — it has to be this way... Well, finally I got it right. I started playing. And nobody showed it to me, or taught me, I did it all myself.

O.V. — So, you only memorized it by ear?

E.P. — By ear, only. It [Aleksei's playing — O.V.] stays in my head, in my ears, that this is how it should be played. Whoever else played the *rozhok*, I did not pay attention to them. Only to him. I wanted to play like he did! That is because he was the best...

O.V. — And he was the one who played with the *pereliv*?

E.P. — Yes... And Bokush, he [plays] so-so...<sup>9</sup> What I showed, was [how he plays *Batiushka*]. In *Timonia*, he does not play it to the end. Why? Because *Timonia* should be played on all five fingers, but he plays it on three fingers, as *Batiushka*!

O.V. — And *Batiushka*, is it played 'on three fingers'?

E.P. — On four. Only this finger [he shows the ring finger] does not work, but all the others do. And in *Timonia*, all do. And when he plays *Timonia*, he does not use the other fingers, but not this one. ... So I say, that he does not play it to the end.

[...]

[*What is muzyka*]

E.P. — All are the *muzyka* — the *garmon'*, the *balalaika*, the fiddle, the *kugikly* and the *rozhok*. But there is a difference: the *kugikly* [players] and I on my *rozhok* play by air, but those [others] — they stay and breathe freely, and work all by their hands only. *Muzyka* [is sounded] by bow, or by stroke, or by stretching — there is an air in [the *garmon'*] itself. And *rozhok* and *kugikly* — they are [sounded] only by air, by your own air. But all this in general is called *muzyka*, a musical orchestra.

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<sup>9</sup> The street name of another Plekhovo *rozhok* player, M. Glamazdin.

O.V. — But is there a separate name for the *rozhok* and the *kugikly*?

E.P. — No... [People would say]: “Hey, what are these? — They are the *rozhok* and the *kugikly*!” They are not called *muzyka*. “Well, what was it? — *Rozhok* and *kugikly* were playing, and nothing more. No musicians were there.”

O.V. — So, the *rozhok* player is not a ‘musician’?

E.P. — No... he isn’t. They are called only this, the *rozhok* and the *kugikly*.

O.V. — In the old times, they were not called *muzyka*?

E.P. — No. This how it is called now, not that there is a whole world of them, the musical instruments. And in those times, we only had the *rozhok* and the *kugikly*. The fiddles were there. The *balalaikas* appeared. And the *garmon* ‘wasn’t there, they only started [playing] after the war [W.W.II - O.V.]. [...]

*[About ‘thinking the words’ while playing, kolena]*

O.V. — Egor, I hear people saying about someone who plays the *rozhok* well, that he ‘speaks the words’ (*vygovarivaet*)...

E.P. — Yeah..

O.V. — But he ‘speaks’ — what? The words? Which ones?

E.P. — Well, if you, say, work it out by the ear, those songs, how they are called, say *Timonia*, or *Batiushka*. And other people dance and sing them, by themselves.

O.V. — And when you play — do you ‘think’ the words?

E. P. — No, when I play, I don’t think anything. It is playing by itself. It has become a reflex, then.

O.V. — And when you were learning?

E.P. — Well, when I was learning, then I thought: “How can I play as so-and-so is playing?” Then, I play and dream — do I play right or not? I had a good ear!

O.V. — But you did not connect the melody with the words?

E.P. — No, just simply, the melody. But one needs to use the ear. I told you, one can play *Batiushka*, *Timonia*, but he does not know the difference. He thinks it is all the same.

K.P. — A good ear — that is, you notice who plays how, you just catch it...

O.V. — Catch what — the melody?

K.P. — No, nobody thought about the 'melody' in those days! The sound!

E.P. — The sound — of course, and the melody!

K.P. — No, the melody — who knew about it in those days?

E.P. — Even if no one did, something was standing out...

K.P. — We caught, when people played. "Well," — you would think, — "So-and-so plays this way; will I learn to play the same?" And this was it. No melodies, we just used our ear.

O.V. — And did you use the words?

K.P. — No, we didn't. I do not even remember [the words], simply by ear.

O.V. — And is there a *koleno*, when you play the *kugikly*?

K.P. — No, there is no *kolena*! [Everyone played] her own way, as she knows. And no *kolena*.

O.V. — Well, for example, as Egor says, he can play *Batiushka* on the *rozhek* with different *kolena*...

K.P. — But on the *kugikly* — I say — there is no *kolena*! Simply, you play to get it in *lad*, and this is it.

### INTERVIEW 3.

**Marina Bocharova** (hereafter, M.B.). Interview with Olga Velichkina. The village of Budishche, 08.12.1996. Author's private collection.

*[Listening and critisizing the experimental recording]*

M.B. — If I only had a good voice, I would play exactly like Niusha!<sup>10</sup> She used to say, too: "Morechka, why are you shy? You play as well as I do, only you don't have a good voice!" Well, I see [that is true]...

O.V. — Do I play it too fast, or what?

[We listen to the experimental recording. Notation of this recording follows: ]



<sup>10</sup> Anna Rusanova, an old player from the village of Budishche, recorded in 1946 by Kvitka.

M.B. — Well, you lose your way as you go back — you ‘stumble upon’ a pipe. Well, something has to sound in *lad*, but there — it stumbles upon something. She is a little bit mistaken. Look, she is trying to play the *guden*’ — “fu-du!” and right there she makes a little mistake.

O.V. — Is this mistake from the *koleno*?

M.B. — No... here is the *guden*’, but she makes a mistake before it, and then she makes “fu-du”. She overstepped (*perestupila*).

O.V. — She stepped... jumped?

M.B. — Yes. From the top — and then right to the *guden*’.

O.V. — Is it not right? Do you have to go through the middle pipes?

M.B. — Yes... You have to step, maybe, on every second pipe, but in such a way that you play it... And she — she went along the row [of pipes], she went and went, and as she came to the end, she did not turn back, but went to the *guden*’ right away — “fu-du-du!”

O.V. — Could you show how it should be done instead?

We listen to the tape once more. The following conversation is recorded on the background of the experimental tape.

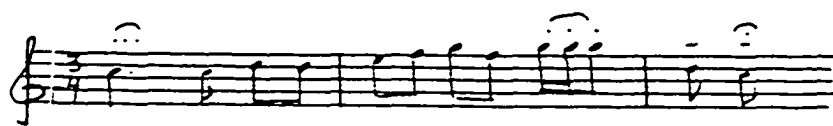
M.B. — At the beginning, it seems not bad... here! As if one tears a half! She made a mistake on the *podgudka*. When she returned from the *guden*’. Here it is — fok! — and she starts again.<sup>11</sup> And here — here she makes a mistake in a row. She blew and blew, but I see, she already went astray. At the beginning she plays as it should be, but then she plays and thinks: where should I blow next? That is what I noted. Right?

O.V. — That is to say, that she does not know herself where she blows next, and does it by chance?

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<sup>11</sup> The place that provoked M.B.’s reaction is marked in the notation with an arrow pointing down (see Figure D\*.\*).

M.B. — As by chance... It is hard to note, where she makes a mistake! ... And she does “fu-du” where it should not be. One should avoid it. Here, listen as it should be played — one can play like this:



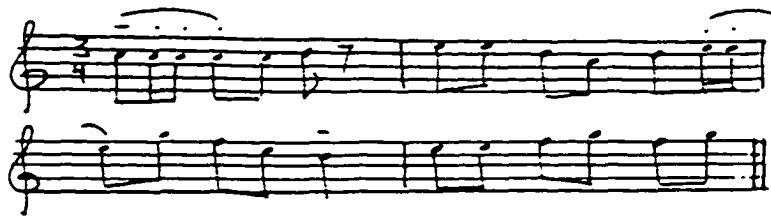
M.B. — Already, I stepped over how many pipes?

O.V. — Over two, it seems...

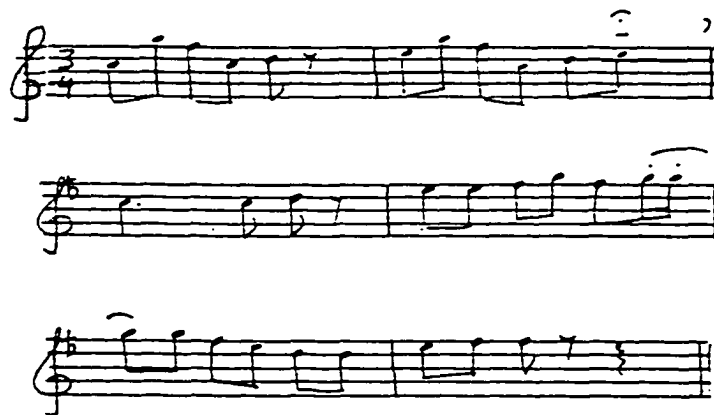
M.B. — And the *lad* — it holds! And you can play this way:



M.B. — You can stay on *siredniaia* (third pipe), or on the *guden'*. She [the player on the experimental recording - O.V.] stumbles, stays where she could not. But you can stay on any pipe, on *any* pipe... Only if you do not lose the *lad*.



M.B. — You can play like this. And like that:



M.B. — Oh, already I went astray! [She starts playing again:]

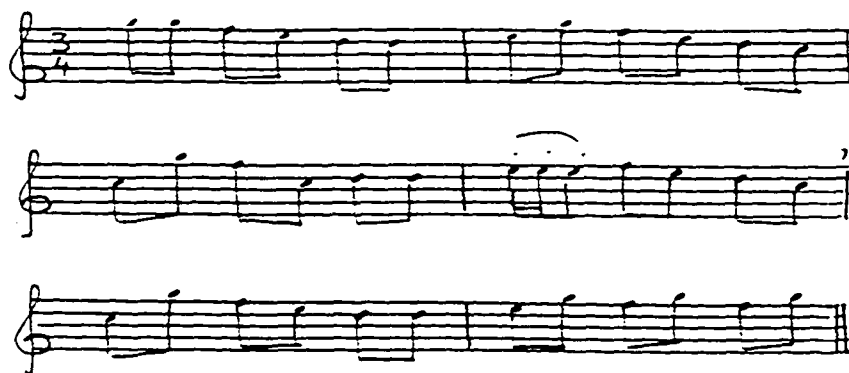




M.B. — And like this! Now, what does she [the player on my recording — O.V.] play?  
She would go to the low sounds, and she does not know, where — already she went  
astray!

O.V. — But she is trying to come to the *guden'* all the time...

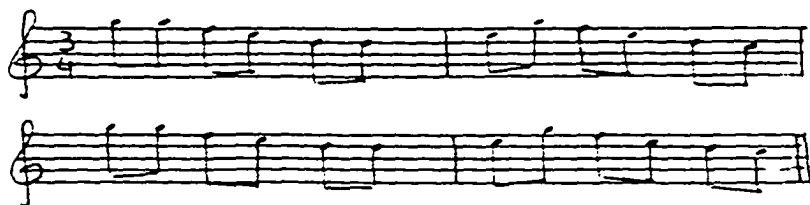
M.B. — That's true! But one does not have to do it. [She shows:]



M.B. — And this is all *Timonia*, and all in *lad'*! [She continues:]



M.B. — Well, understood? There are hundreds of *kolena* there! Go anywhere you want, only don't go astray. Well, play the first... start! And you can play like this, not [starting] from the *guden'*:



O.V. — From the fifth pipe...

M.B. — And more, like this:



M.B. — And like this, like that — all is possible, only don't lose the *lad*! One can stay on any pipe. But you rush to stay on the *guden'*. One has to go here, but you throw, you rush from where you shouldn't.



M.B. — One can stop like this!

O.V. — And this still will be in *lad*?

M.B. — Yes, it all will be in *lad*!



M.B. — You can stop here, and stop there. And sometimes you can even stop in the middle.

[...]

M.B. — Hey, I look at you, and you look at me, as if I were the teacher. But one does not have to watch, just to listen! [She plays:]



[...]

O.V. — You said, a hundred *kolena*. But where does one count them? From which pipe?

O.V. — But anyway, there is *koleno* ?



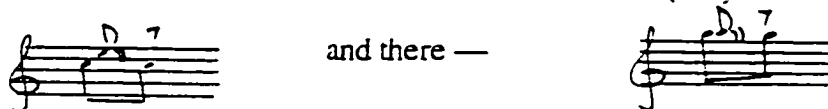
M.B. — Ah, no! It depends...



M.B. — Here it is, a *koleno*! Here it is thinner, and there thicker, it is a *koleno*. You see, I don't do *fiukat'* the same way!

O.V. — And *koleno* — it ends here?

M.B. — No, it is not that "*koleno* ends." I traced it out (*ia vyvela koleno*)!<sup>12</sup> Here, I did



[She plays next example slowly:]



O.V. — So, the *koleno* is 'traced out' by the voice, or by the pipes?

M.B. — By the voice. And by the pipes, too. It is all the same. Not like that,<sup>13</sup>



<sup>12</sup> Expression difficult to translate. The verb *vyvodit'* in this context means to trace out, to deduce, to lead out.

<sup>13</sup> The following example she plays intentionally fast, with vocal sounds abrupt and on one note, noticeably contradicting to the sounds of the pipes.

but like this:



O.V. — Maybe, one just has to play slower?

M.B. — If you know how to play, you can play slower or faster, it is the same. But to understand — if you have a good ear and talent, you understand first, and then you will make it yourself faster, or slower, as you wish, and it will be right.

## INTERVIEW 4.

**Daria S. Khodosova (D.K.).** Interview with Olga Velichkina. The village of Plekhovo, 08.08.96. Author's private collection.

### *[About the frogs]*

D.C. — If there are many frogs peeping, it is like they are playing *kugikly*. Especially in the spring, during warm evenings... they are just as *kugikly*! Just as *kugikly* they play... beautiful! If I had a tape-recorder, I would record them. Well, so exactly, as if they were playing! Probably, this is connected somehow...

### *[About the kugikly 'full of blood', songs and panpipes are old]*

D.C. — The *kugikly*, they say, either this is a truth, or a legend... who plays *kugikly*, when [she] dies and comes to the other world, those *kugikly* are full of blood. What is it, and why? My late mother [told me]: "Eh, daughter, you 'sung out' all your good luck (*prokrichala ty svoe schast'e*)!" And I [answered]: "Well, so I did..." Who knows, maybe it is a sin. But when a song is sung — it comes from the old time, and *kugikly* — even older...

[...]

## INTERVIEW 5.

**Evdokiia (Donia) G. Chupakhina (E.C.), and Marina S. El'nikova (M.E.),** the village of Belitsa. Interview with Olga Velichkina on 07.31.1994. Author's private collection.

*[About the man who played panpipes]*

O.V. — Tell me about the man who played *kugikly*...

E.C. — What to tell about him? He was somehow strange... He had one leg, ...eh, one bare foot, another in a bast sandal. He was lame. He sang the songs and danced. He danced as a girl (*po-devich'iu* — in girl's manner).

O.V. — Not in man's manner, but in girl's manner?

E.C. — In girl's one... he didn't sing as a man; all as a girl, yes... As we go out to the street — there was a waste land near here, and he lived a bit further — in the evenings, we sang, and sang, and then we would say: "come here, boys, here are the girls gathering..." and he would climb the gate, and calls for me: "Donia!" — "Uh!" — "Which song will we sing?" — "Afon'ka, this one!" He would start the song, sitting on the gate, and we would sing and dance... here and there, on the street, [people] sang and danced, everywhere! But now — this all died, nothing is alive [...]

In the past, there was a custom, that if I am a girl, I would not go to another *kutok* (a street corner, group of houses) [to sing and dance]! [We were afraid that] the people will say: "Oh, she is bad, she is chasing the boys..." No, we would not go from our *kutok*! The girls, they would organise the circle and sing themselves [just in the close neighborhood], and the boys would go to visit... [...]

O.V. — How did people dance in *karagods*?

E.C. — In our custom, the girl dances behind, and the man ahead.

O.V. — One girl, or two?



E.C. — Maybe one, or even two... And he goes ahead, the man, and the girls follow him.  
[...]

O.V. — You said, Afonia was dancing as a girl... In a *karagod*, was he dancing 'ahead' (as a man), or he followed?

E.C. — No, he went ahead, although he was dancing as a girl.

O.V. — But then how do you distinguish?

E.C. shows two manners of dancing. As a 'man' she jumps, bends her trunk and swings the hands. As a 'girl' she makes small steps, the hands down or on the waist, while her shoulders slightly rocking. [...]

O.V. — And he played the *kugikly*, too?

E.C. — Yes!

O.V. — And he did *fiufkan'e* (vocal sounds)?

M.E.—He did everything as a girl! He did *fiufkan'e*, and he did *priduval'nye*, and sung. The girls would say: "Afonia, you start!" My sister used to go to the street with him. The girls would stay in a circle, and he was there with them, and sang...

OV: - Did people laugh at Afonya?

E.C. — They did! They did not consider him as a man, just as...

M.E. — As a woman!

E.C. — But he did not understand it [did not care about it — O.V.], and did everything in his manner.

O.V. — Because he liked it this way?

E.C. — Well, may be... He danced and sung, and this is it.

O.V. — And was he unmarried for long time?

E.C. — No, he was married!

M.E. — He was married, but late, very late. Our girls, they were going to the street, but he was unmarried for a long time! Then, he found somebody in another village. And where

they moved after that, nobody knows...It seems, that they moved to a *sovkhos*... and he then died.

O.V. — Did he have a high voice, as a girl?

E.C. — He had a good voice.

O.V. — But good as a man's one?

E.C. — As any...

M.E. — Well, he had a voice as a woman, a little bit... fine, thin voice.<sup>14</sup> I knew him well, my sister was going to the street with him, and I was going after my sister all the time...<sup>15</sup>

O.V. — Did he weave, or spin?

E.C.— Yes, he wove, spinnned, he made the *lapti*.<sup>16</sup> He did all women's work, and man's work also. He made *lapti*, and he mowed, all the man's work...

O.V. — Was he the only child in his family?

E.C. — He lived always alone, and then he got married. It seems to me, that his first wife died, so he married second time... well, he married somebody like himself...

O.V. — Did they have children?

E.C. — No...

O.V. — Like himself?

E. C. — Well, like himself, I mean, a bit foolish...

O.V. — He was considered foolish, because he did everything as a woman?

E.C. — Yes.

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<sup>14</sup> In this context, 'thin' means 'high' voice.

<sup>15</sup> The expression "to go after somebody" (in Russian, *goniat'sia*) in this dialect means 'to be fond of,' or to be particularly interested, try to go everywhere with this person. It is typically used while describing the behavior of kids with respect to their elder sublings.

<sup>16</sup> *Lapti* is a kind of bastshoes. In Kursk province, it is considered a man's work.

M.E. — He did everything as a woman, and the girls were after him all the time. as they would go out to the street: “Well, where is he, Afonia?”

O.V. — So, the girls liked him?

M.E. — Well, he played with them! I told you, my elder sister, her girl-friends... As they would start singing — and here he is, Afonia! He is here and sings with them... [...] So he would sing with the women all the time.

O.V. — And he played the *kugikly* in *karagods*?

M.E. — Yes.

E.C. — He played, and he *fifkal* [did vocal sounds — O.V.].

O.V. — And did he play other instruments?

M.E. — No, not at all... The fiddle, the *balalaika* — no... He was a singer, yes, and he played panpipes — as a girl! And he was tall, very tall...

O.V. — Did he have a beard?

M.E. — No... Maybe, he cut it, or what...

E.C. — He never shaved! As a girl. Well, he was a good person. A bit foolish, but good. He did not harm anybody. [...]

*[About winter entertainments and learning practices]*

D.C.— In winter, we played and danced indoors... all neighbors. And we [the girls — O.V.], we learned. Those, who played, they taught us: “Hey, take the *kugikly*! Play!” And then they liked my voice, so I started to play with them. I did not play in *karagods* yet, but I already played indoors with the older people. [...]

M.E. — This Fedorka Shinkarkina, she lived next door. As soon as she would go out to the street — her mother-in-law sends her to the draw-well — we [the girls — O.V.] would be there, with the *kugikly*! Well, she would draw the water, put the bucket aside, and ‘walk’ on the *kugikly*... We would watch her, as she walked on the *kugikly*, and then we would do the same. Then we would begin *priduvar*’... And then her mother-in-law would

water first, so people will not talk about it near the well,<sup>17</sup> and then you can go and do with them [the girls] whatever you want. So, she would do that — get the water and then come back to us, sit down near the barn with all of us around her, all three of us, watching her as she walked on the *kugikly*... The memory of young people, you know, we noticed everything... Then the three of us (Nun'ka, Dashka and myself) try: " Ah, wait, it does not go right - we have to go again back to her [to Fedora]..." We look at her lips, and then try again, and it's again not correct, and we would wait for her till the evening, when she would go out to the street again. So, that is how we learned...

O.V. — Did you watch her?

M.E. — We watched her lips... And then, she would go home, and we start trying to play... "no, it is not right!" — "Well, we did not learn it yet..." And then, after dinner, we wait for her again. You see, she had a husband, all in-laws... but she still would go to the street! So, she taught us to play...

E.C. — Well, that is how you learned, and me, I was taught by my mother.

O.V. — Did she show you how to play?

E.C. — Of course, she did... My mother and my elder sister played the *kugikly*. My elder sister was big, well, probably the age of Marina...<sup>18</sup> Well, they all would start playing, and they would made me playing with them. I *priduvala* [played *priduval'nye* part — O.V.] with them - and then learned *fiukat'* [do vocal sounds, i.e., play *para* part — O.V.]

M.E. — Well, you cannot just learn it by yourself...

O.V. — So, they corrected?

M.E. — Of course, they did...

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<sup>17</sup> It means: people will not gossip, say bad things about her household.

<sup>18</sup> 'Big' in this context means 'much elder than me', E.C. refers to the age difference between her and M.E. (about ten years).

## INTERVIEW 6.

**Elena Khodosova (E.K.) and Zoia Shitikova (Z. S.).** Interview with O. Velichkina and V. Pankov. The village of Plekhovo, 01.18.1990. Author's private collection.

### *[Legend about the fallen karagod]* <sup>19</sup>

E.K. — People gathered on a meadow — over there, on this meadow! This place, it is now called *karagod*, the meadow. Well, they went to the karagod, all dressed — the young people, and the aged, too. They started playing, — *Timonia*, those *karagod* tunes, you know... The karagod danced, in a circle, in big circle... They danced and danced, ... well, then the earth divided in two — and all *karagod* fell through! And it levelled up, again. All people, who were in the karagod — little and big ones, and middle-aged, and old ones - all fell through! And those old folks who stayed home and did not go to *karagod*, they remained [alive]. And the evening came...

Z.S. — This was the next day, already!

E.K. — No, that same evening! It fell, and at the evening... well, the evening came, and those people who fell came home, knocked at the windows. Those old folks were already sleeping. They came and knocked at the window...

Z.S. — But they are undressed, naked! Well, naked as they were born!

E.K. — Yes. Well, listen... Knock at the window: "Mum, open!" — "What for?" Old folks at home, they have learned that the *karagod* has fallen. "Open, this is I came, we came!" Well... and they [say]: "What to do? Open? It has fallen, the *karagod*... Where you come from?" — "We are returning from the *karagod*!" — "How is it, you are returning from the karagod, and the karagod has fallen? And where are you from?" They are all

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<sup>19</sup> In this talk, two village women participated, Elena Khodosova and her neighbor, Zoia Shitikova. Elena was the main narrator, and Zoia added her comments sometimes. They communicated the story to me and my pupil from the ensemble *Veretentse*, Vladimir Pankov (V.P.), who was 13 year old at the time.

trembling... So, they knocked whether at their mothers, their grandmothers, all relatives — they did not open. Well, if they opened, they tickled them to death. To death, you know, you will laugh to death, this is it! Well, then... in the morning, the night has passed already, these people have gone, no one knows where they've gone...

Z.S. — Well, as the roosters start singing, they disappear.

E.K. — And at three o'clock, they come back...

Z.S. — At three o'clock, people already stopped working, and hid...

E.K. — If they managed to break into the house, to their parents, they tickled them to death... The people were scared, realized that they must not open. They made gratings on the windows, locks... At three o'clock, all is locked, nobody goes out! At this time, they already start coming, catch people and tickle them... People went to the fields, and they worked from the morning till three o'clock. At three o'clock, they harness horses all together, put them one after another and run home. Because they meet the people and tickle them in the fields. Well, that's what happened...

V.P. — But who were "they"?

E.K. and Z.S., together — They were those people, who fell through. They were called *rusalki*.

## INTERVIEW 7 .

**Daria S. Khodosova (D.K.)** The village of Plekhovo, 6.3.1992. Interview with A. Ivanov and L. Chernova. Videotape 10 of the fund of RTRF.

### *[Legend about the fallen karagod]*

D.K. — This was in our village, in Plekhovo. How long ago - I don't remember, I heard it from old people. There is a place behind our garden, called *karagod*. Once on Pentecost people went to *karagod* there. There were *rozhok* and *kugikly* players, and the fiddlers; the *garmon'* was not yet known. They played and played - and the *karagod* fell through! The earth opened up, and they all — the *kugikly*, the *rozhki*, and the fiddlers, and the dancers, and those who watched them — all fell through. The earth levelled up, and those people turned to *rusalki*.

My husband's great grandfather used to go fishing. They [the *rusalki*] pursue him, yell, scream... They pursued him up to the well. He told them: "Wait, I will go carry off fish, and I return to you..."

In the evenings — they are under the windows. [The people] started eating on the floor, they [the *rusalki*] are in the windows, fighting — perhaps they wanted to eat. Then — I think, before the revolution — the *rusalki* stopped coming...

[...]

### *[Legend about the vodianoi playing in karagod]*

"On the village saint's day, in the village of Borki, people from two villages, Borki and Spal'noe were gathering. They started the *karagod*, and there assembled very many people; the fiddles, the *kugikly* and the *rozhki* — they all played. The wind rose up, and the big wave lapped, and went up to the shore, and from it went a man, *vodianoi* [river-spirit]... — eh, like Satan. In a home-made shirt, and a straw hat. He went to the *rozhok* and

whistling! He tuned in with the others, as if he was born here! Played and played, maybe an hour, more or less... And then the whirlwind raised, all twirled. The girls' belts and ribbons dangling, the shawls tearing off the heads... and he — plop! — in the water, and howled...



## INTERVIEW 8.

**Tatiana F. Kosheleva (T.K.).** Interview with A. Ivanov and L. Chernova The village of Plekhovo, 07.03.1992. Videotape 10 of the fund of RTRF.

### *[Legend about Fedora-the sinner]*

T.K. — The old people say, and it is also written in the Bible, that *kugikly* is a great sin. Fedora — a loose woman — played *kugikly* very much, and she became pregnant from a man. But then she dressed like a man and went to the monastery to atone her sins by prayer. The Lord told her: “You can only pray in a desert.” And she went to the desert. There was an oak-tree with the big hollow in the trunk. There, in the hollow, she born a baby and she fed it with her blood and her skin. And she atoned all her sin... [which was] for those *kugikly*. She prayed very much in the hollow in the desert.

## INTERVIEW 9.

**Marina A.Bocharova (M.B.).** Interview and tuning session with O.Velichkina and M.Kriukova. The village of Budishche, 1.11.1996. Author's private collection.

### *[Tuning of a new para set]*

[She plays all pipes once, and then comments:]

M.B. — *Ne ladno* (not tuned)! I already hear it is not right, just hear, myself.

O.V. — How does one hear, that they are not tuned?

[M.B. plays again, emphasizing the sound of the fifth pipe:]



M.B. — I already hear that it is not tuned. [It's] *miziliutka* (the fifth pipe).

[She cuts the fifth pipe, while talking to us:]

M.B. — Eh, I am angry you don't learn fast! I myself, I would learn it at once... Who ever taught me?! Nobody...

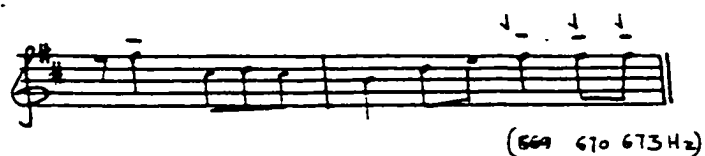
[Next try after cut of the fifth pipe:]



(669)Hz

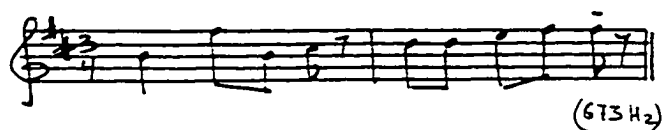
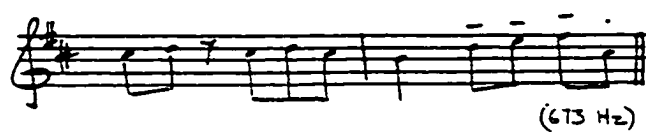
O.V. — Is this still not enough?

[M.B. says “yes” and continues cutting the fifth pipe. The third try:]



M.B. — Still needs more a little bit! I made it [the fifth pipe] too big.

[The fourth try and *Timonia*: ]



[...]

**[Tuning a big guden' ]**

[M.B. tries new big guden' with the first pipe:]

M.B.[to my colleague, M. Kriukova from Moscow] — Marina, hold them [other pipes]!

This one needs to be cut. But it sounds excellent!

[She starts cutting the big *guden'*.]

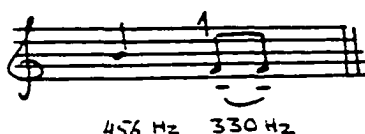
O.V. — How do you now that it needs to be cut?

M.B. — By sound! I hear — I have a good ear! I hear it's is bigger that it needs to be. I don't know that [how you call the sounds] — lower or higher, but for me [the sounds are] thinner and thicker.<sup>20</sup> Clear?

O.V. — Yes, and now it was too thick or too thin?

M.B. — Too thick, and I am making it thinner now.

[She tries two more times the big *guden'*, and then says:]



M.B. — More, more... it is still not tuned. Oh, it sounds loud... it will sound right later.

Give me another *guden'*, that hoarse one!

[She compares the sound of the two big *guden'* pipes. The new one sounds definitely lower than the old one, but she is particularly pleased with the sound quality of the new *guden'* :]—

M.B. — It is thin, but how it sounds! Now, what measures are for?!<sup>21</sup>

M.K. — So, you need both measure and have a good ear?

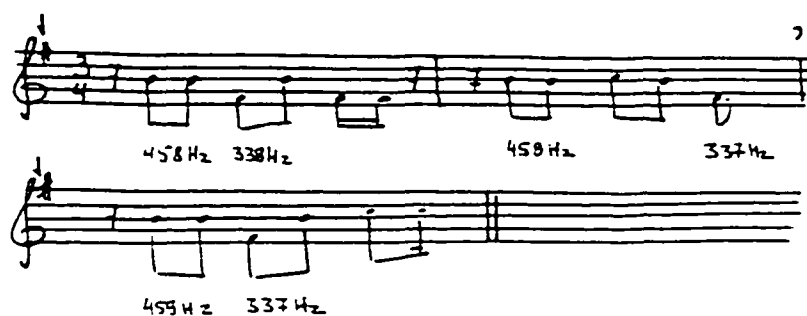
M.B. — Yes, of course!

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<sup>20</sup> The adjectives thin and thick are commonly used in South Kursk with respect to pitch, instead of high and low. The same is true for singing in this tradition.

<sup>21</sup> She means, that she did measure this pipe, but its tuning was too low.

[She cuts last time and plays pattern of big *priduval'nye* for *Timonia*:]



M.B. — Yes, this will do it... And another one — it is hoarse. Now, let us play...

## APPENDIX E

### VISUAL DOCUMENTATION

#### I. Musical instruments and musicians (illustrations 1-12).



1. Anastasia (Nastia) A. Kosheleva, panpipe player,  
the village of Plekhovo, Kursk province.

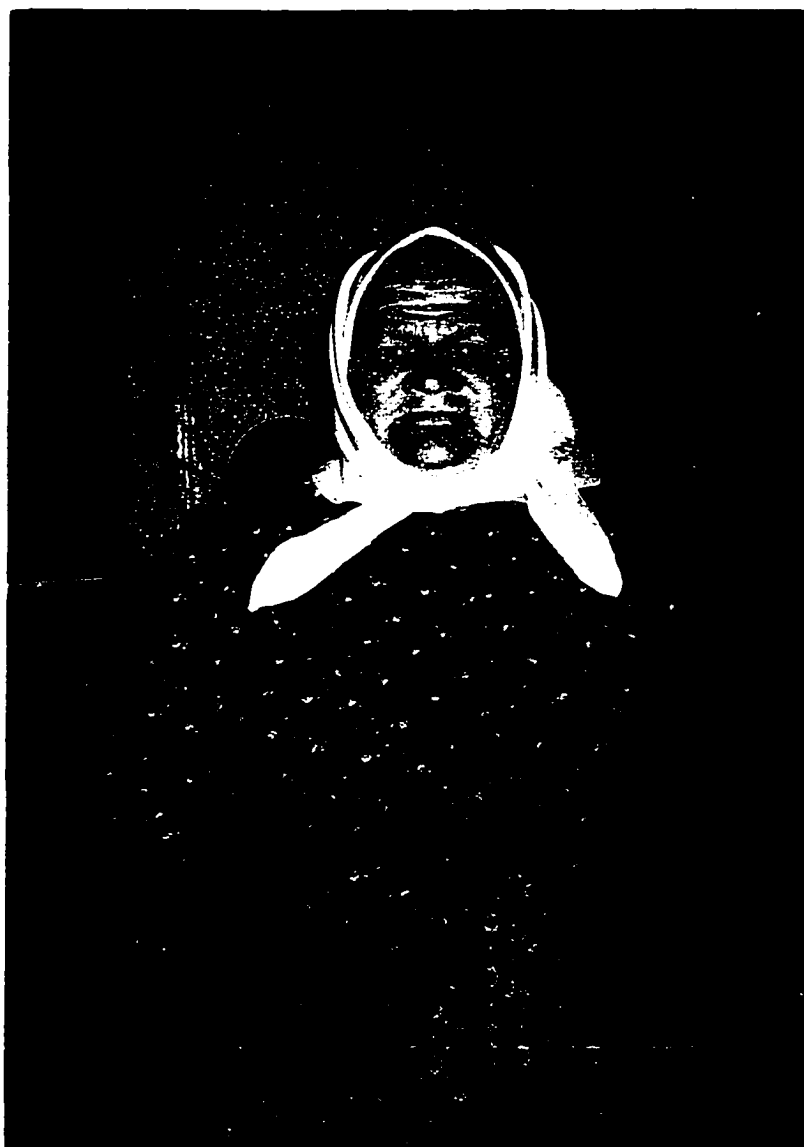


2. Fedosia Glamazdina, panpipe player,  
the village of Plekhovo, Kursk province.



3. Praskovia D. Glamazdina, panpipe player,  
the village of Plekhovo, Kursk province.





4. Nadezhda P. Motorykina, panpipe player,  
the village of Plekhovo, Kursk province.



5. Anna Kosheleva, panpipe player,  
the village of Plekhovo, Kursk province.



6. Marina S. El'nikova,  
panpipe player,  
the village of Belitsa, Kursk province.



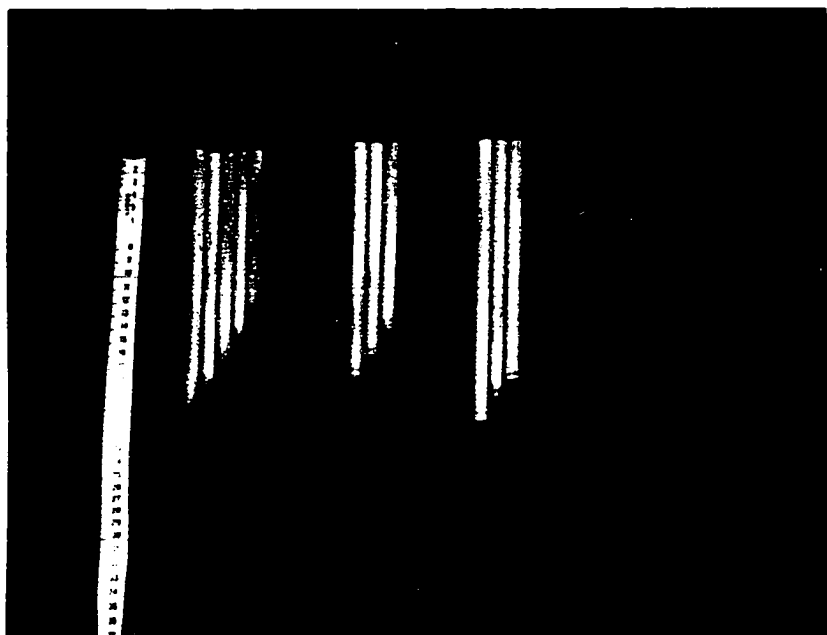
7. Evdokia G. Chupakhina,  
panpipe player,  
the village of Belitsa, Kursk province.



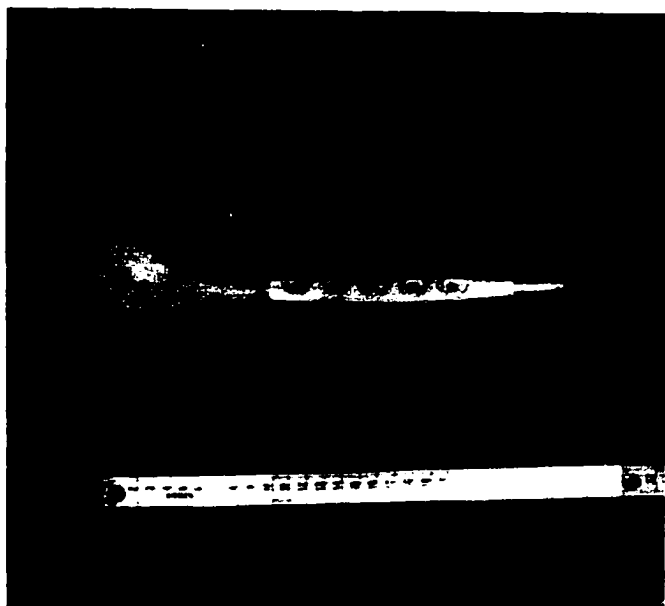
8. Nikolai D. Eroshenko,  
the fiddle, *balalaika*, *garmon'*, *rozhok* and *dudka* player,  
the village of Plekhovo, Kursk province.



9. Daria Khodosova, singer,  
the village of Plekhovo, Kursk province.

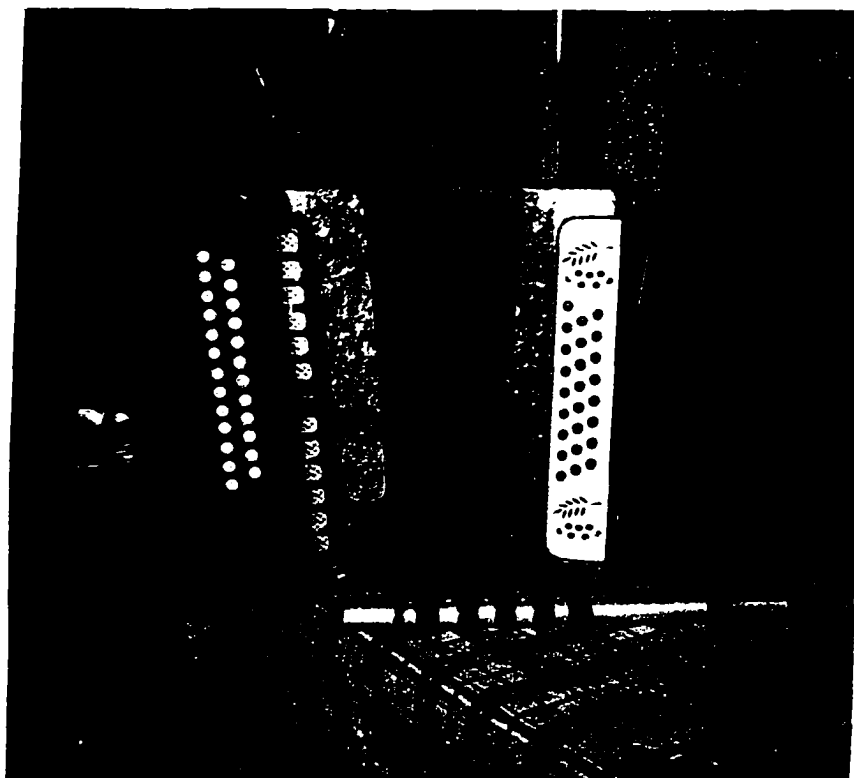


10. Three sets of panpipes.  
Made by E. Pestsov, 1996.  
The village of Plekhovo, Kursk province.



11. The *rozok*.  
Made by E. Pestsov (1996),  
the village of Plekhovo, Kursk province.





12. The *garmon'* and the iron *dudka*  
of N. Eroshenko.  
The village of Plekhovo, Kursk province

## II. Making and tuning panpipes (illustrations 13-17).



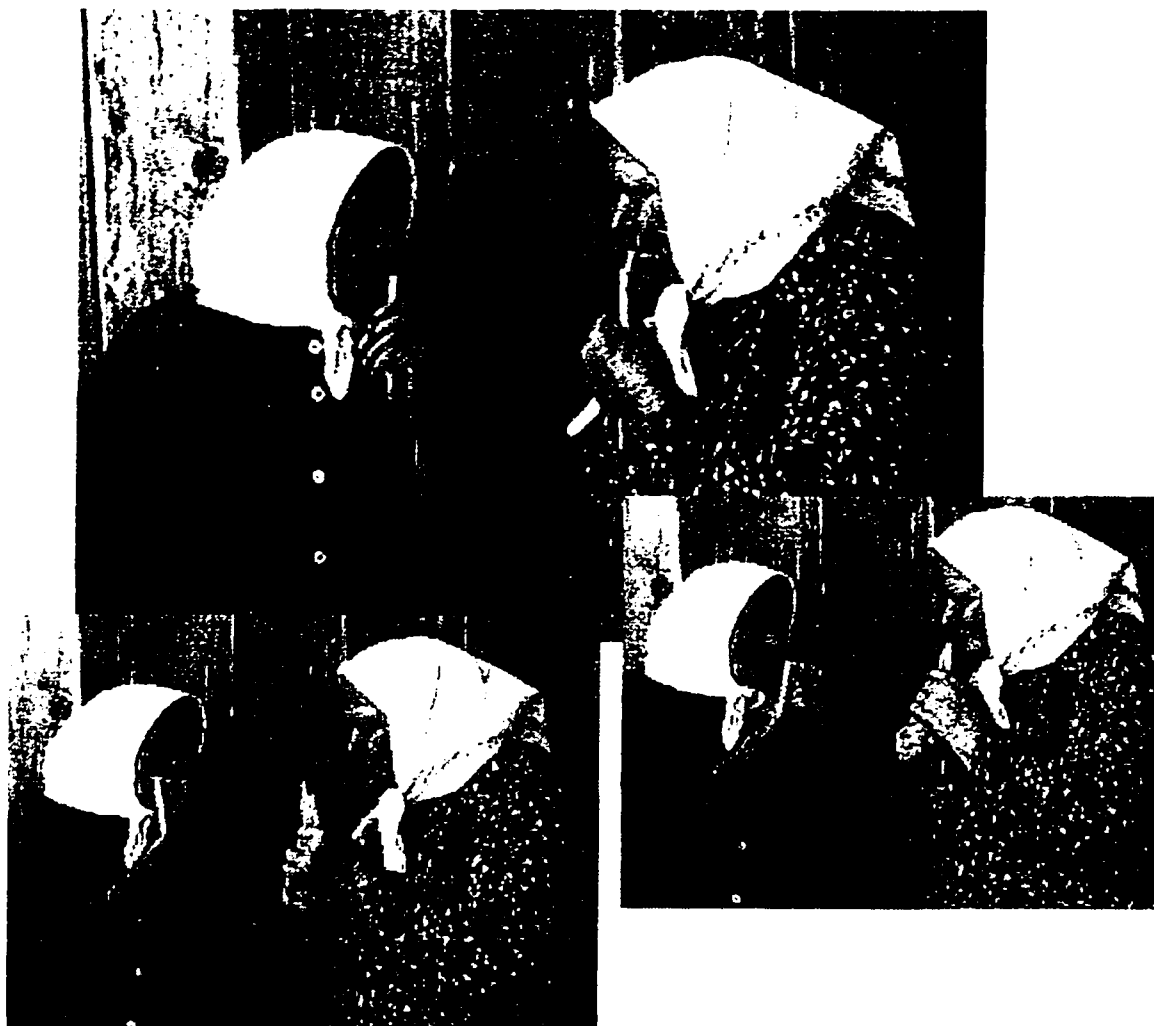
13. Making panpipes in summer of 1994  
in the street of the village of Plekhovo.\*

This and following illustrations are made from field video-recordings.



14. The process of making panpipes (from top left clock-wise): (1) cleaning the inside of a pipe; (2) blowing through the bottom of a pipe; (3) measuring the distance between adjacent pipes in a set; (4) measuring the length of the largest pipe in a *para* set by the distance between the thumb and the middle finger.

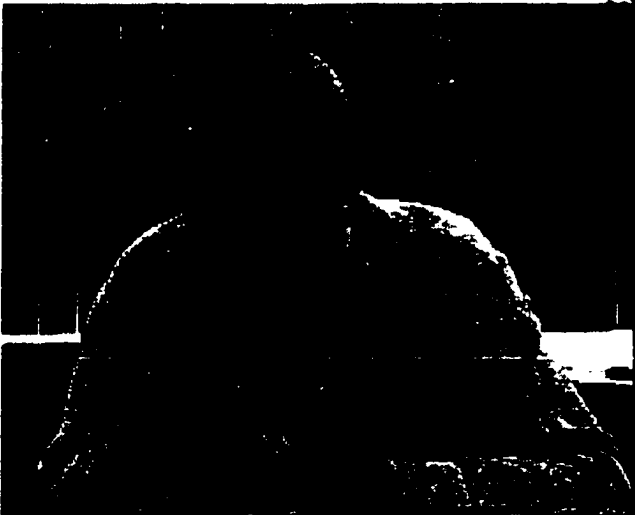
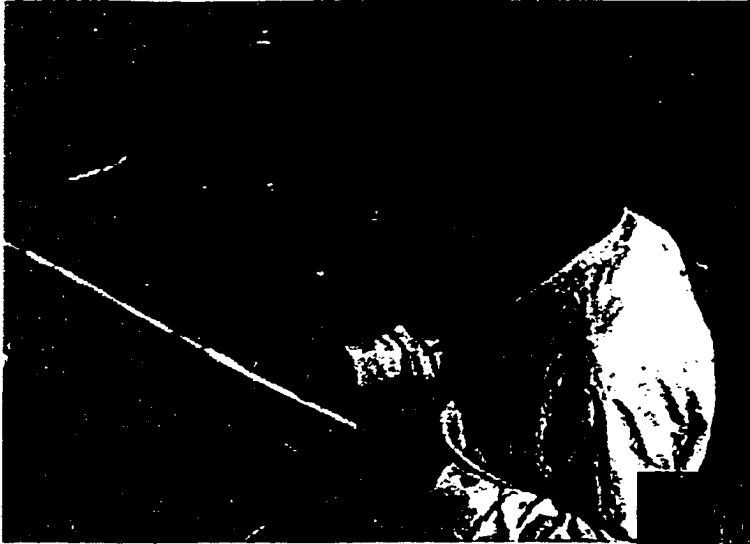
The maker is Nadezhda Motorykina.



15. Tuning two identical pipes to each other  
(Fedosia Glamazdina and N. Motorykina, the village of Plekhovo)



16. Measuring the length of panpipes with a finger  
(Marina Bocharova, the village of Budishche)



17. The process of making panpipes: (1) choosing of the reed; (2) cutting,  
(3) putting plasticine on the closed ends of the pipes  
(Egor Pestsov, the village of Plekhovo).

**III. Playing panpipes (illustrations 18-25).**



18. Fedosia Glamazdina playing the *para* part.



19. Marina Bocharova playing the *para* part.





20. Maria Golovina  
playing the tune *Zaichik* on the *para* set  
(the second pipe is pulled down).



21. Nadezhda Motorykina playing the *gukal'nye* set.



22. Playing panpipes in duo in the village of Belitsa  
(Evdokia Chupakhina and Marina El'nikova).



23. Panpipe trios:  
N. Motorykina, F. Glamazdina and P. Krokhotkina (the village of Plekhovo);  
O. Gaidukova, N. Kosheleva and I. Kartavtseva (the village of Borki).



24. Spontaneous dancing in the summer of 1994 with panpipe accompaniment (during the session with panpipe players).



25. Anna Kosheleva imitating panpipe playing with her fingers.

**IV. Other musical instruments (illustrations 26-28).**



26. Instrumental ensemble of the village of Belitsa.  
(from left to right: Mikhail Kariakin, fiddle; Marina El'nikova, *kugikly*; Vasilii Luk'ianchenkov, *rozhok*; and Evdokiia Chupakhina, *kugikly*).



27. Ivan Maklakov, *balalaika* and Mitrofan Glamazdin, *rozhok*  
(the village of Plekhovo).





28. Egor Pestsov, *rozok* (the village of Plekhovo).

**V. At the wedding (illustrations 29-30).**



**29. Street dancing during the wedding, August 8, 1994.**

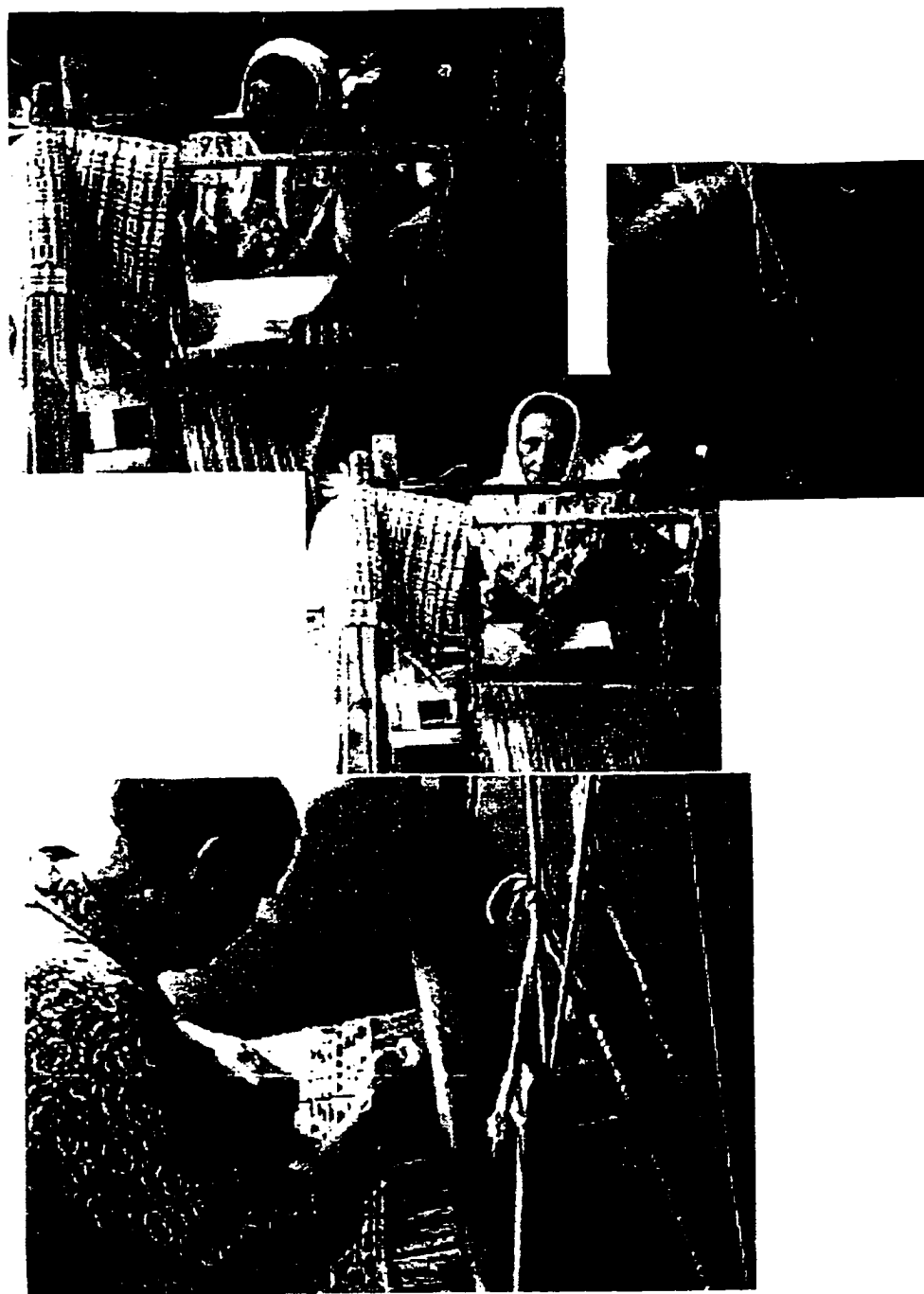


30. The musicians at the wedding, August 8, 1994:  
Nikolai Eroshenko, fiddle, and Vasilii Eroshenko, *rozhok*,  
(part of the ensemble consisting of the fiddle, *rozhok* and *garmon'* players).

**VI. Weaving and threshing (illustrations 31-33).**



31. Demonstration of threshing with flails (filming session in the summer of 1994).

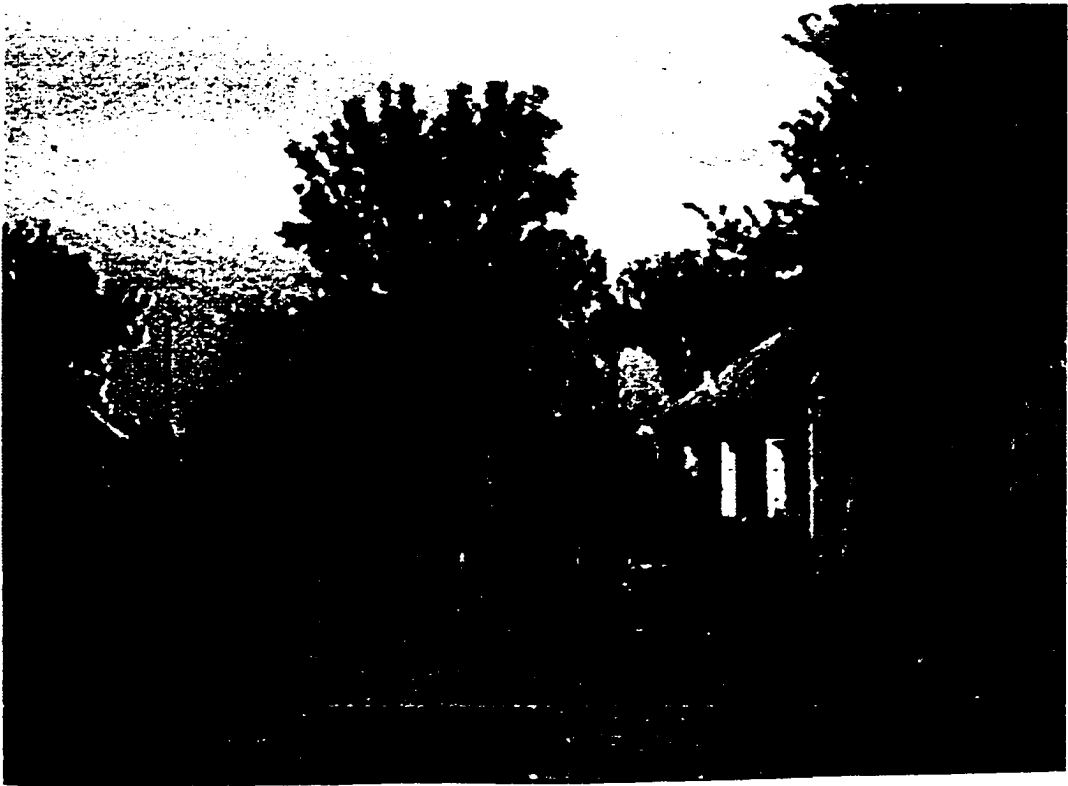


32. Weaving on home-made weaving mashine.



33. Imitation of the weaver's movements.

**VII. A streetview of the village of Plekhovo (illustration 34).**



34. Typical view of the street in the village of Plekhovo.

## APPENDIX F.

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#### СОЮЗ КОМПОЗИТОРОВ РОССИИ ИЗДАТЕЛЬСКОЕ ОБЪЕДИНЕНИЕ "КОМПОЗИТОР"



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- А.В.Руднева "Курские танки и карагоды" М.1975, с.119, 160, 161, 196, 201.

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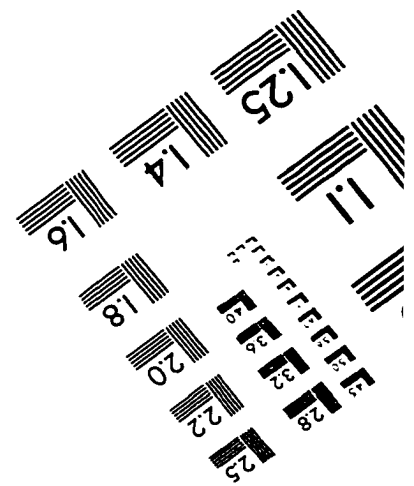
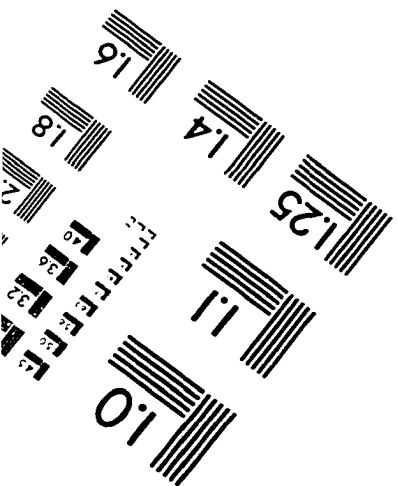
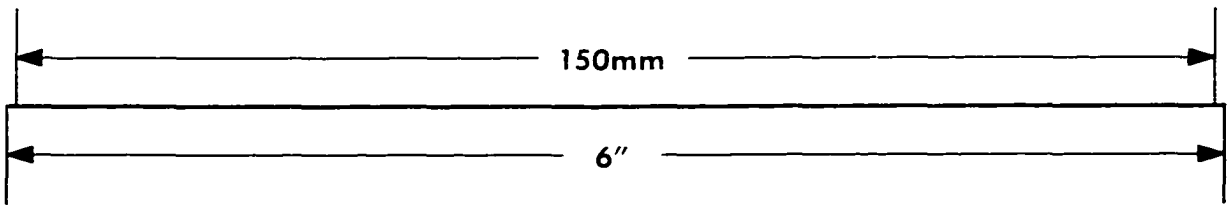
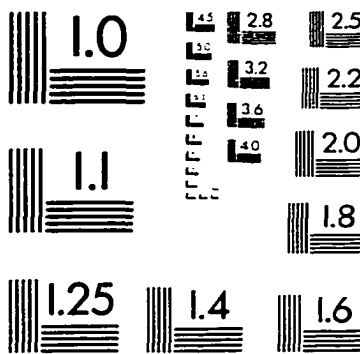
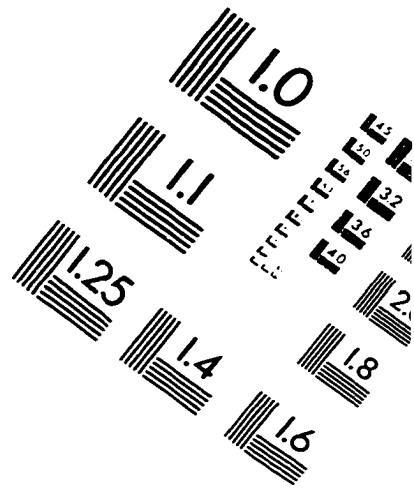
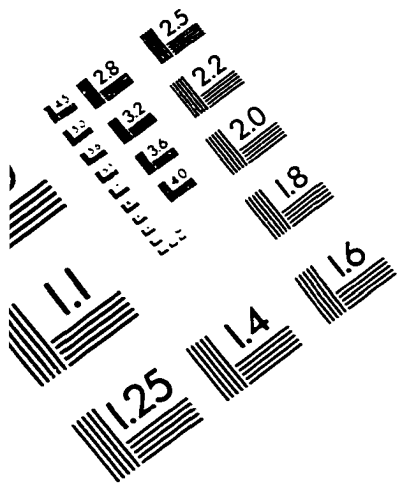
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