SIMP *5

SERIES OF THE ICTM STUDY GROUP ON MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS

Edited by Gisa Jähnichen
2017
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Index of Internal / Organological Terms

Code of Ethics
Preface

The papers compiled in this 5th volume of SIMP (Studia Instrumentorum Musicae Popularis, New Series) are dedicated to two main topics. The first topic is ‘Musical Instrument Makers between Local Quality and Global Market’ and the second topic dealt with the “Permissibility of Instrumental Sound in Society”. Additionally, some selected papers on new research subjects were included. The first theme included research, field notes, and reports on local features of musical instruments regarding their ergology, sound quality, and visual aspects that are modified over various time periods in order to expand the local market, to resist the global market, or to accommodate diverse functionalities in the world of ‘world music’. The second theme asks for the permissibility of instrumental sound in society. This included many sub-topics ranging from executive laws to aesthetic concepts regarding selected musical instruments, instrument makers, and instrumentalists in general. Also, hierarchies in ensembles and orchestras may play a role in determining various aspects of permissibility. Gender, age groups, racial and social perspectives are discussed in this context.

All papers were presented in person, through teleconferencing (one case), or through an instructed delegate (two cases) during the 21st Symposium of the ICTM Study Group on Musical Instruments held at the Academy of Music, University of Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina, 5-8 April, 2017. Nevertheless, it is not a primary policy of the Study Group to include only presented papers. Anyone who feels capable and willing to contribute to the main topics of any of the symposia is invited to submit their papers.

In the future, the Study Group will have to work increasingly with teleconferencing as working conditions, travel costs, and legal issues regarding visa requirements may not allow everyone to attend all symposia. However, personal meetings, an immediate and interactive exchange of ideas and experiences is at core of the Study Group.

All papers are arranged in alphabetic order according to the authors’ names. Also, academic titles, originating countries, or institutional affiliation are omitted in the main text. This is to give all contributors the same importance and to avoid unsubstantiated hierarchies. Another principle is to give the authors as much freedom in their writings as possible and to allow for various types of papers, such as problem-centred, reports, quantitatively evaluating papers, interviews, short essays, historical sketches, or rather encyclopaedic papers. Authors are not limited in page numbers, word counts, or number of
figures. The main criteria for quality is the scientific relevance regarding the
topic, the strength of referred facts and sources, and the innovative ideas
deriving from the results. SIMP as a book series is widely used in academic
discurses because of this open minded approach to reflect on organological as
well as on socio-musicological issues.

Due to restructuring of our former publishing house Monsenstein &
Vannerdat located in Münster the following volumes (all NEW SERIES) had
to be made available under new ISBN numbers issued for ReadBox-Unipress,
a publisher dedicated to scientific series of universities and academic
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The Study Group will primarily go for e-publishing which includes an option
of ordering a hardcopy in the same layout as the previous four issues of
Studia Instrumentorum Musicae Popularis (New Series).

All volumes can be ordered through the ReadBox-Unipress homepage contact
numbers. Coming volumes will be hopefully available as e-book and as hard
copies on demand from the new publishing subgroup.

September, 2017

Gisa Jähnichen

Remark: Musical instruments and terms foreign to English language in this volume were
not italicized, only titles of musical pieces, songs, or collections of music. This is to not
overload the text with a huge amount of italicized words and keeping the main text pleasant
to the readers’ eyes. Also, this may avoid inconsistencies considering that the readers may
be familiar with some topics.
Musical Instruments as Paraphernalia of the Shamans in Northern Mongolia

This paper reports about findings gained from extensive fieldwork at different times and at different places of a specific area in Northern Mongolia. One important feature is the multi perspective approach to this research as being an author grown up and familiar with many ways of thinking tradition within Mongolian culture, as being a researcher who discovers cultural aspects from a rather external view taking field reports of others as an important stimulation, and finally as a musician who listens carefully and creates imagination through sound. Detailed information is given in footnotes, captions, and within the main text as far as it is possible. Exact time periods of events and comprehensive biographical data informants interviewed are only accessible through the narratives collected and direct observation as described. This is to keep the level of personal impact on the research as low as possible and to provide further opportunities to follow up without any pressure.

In Mongolia, shamans have only a few musical instruments among their most important paraphernalia. Those are the single-headed frame drum that is only used by shamans in Mongolia, as well as the jaw harp that they play to initiate their séances. Shamans use these instruments in order to enter a trance state absolutely necessary for their shamanistic practice. In this context, the instruments are often described as riding animals which are needed for their spiritual journeys. Only with their help an ontological transition to different states of being or heavens can take place. This is necessary in order to make contact during the invocation with the ghosts present in a place, and to get information needed from those ghosts. The musical instruments mentioned above have specific characteristics among the members of each ethnic group.

Occasionally, these instrumental characteristics also show various innovations. Special rituals are not only required for their construction and animation. Also, if the instruments are damaged or if the shamans owning them have died. The results presented are based on my own fieldwork, carried out in a small secluded geographical area, right after the democratic transition period and in a more recent field work period. The findings show the fundamental change of the social system and its influence on the subject discussed here.

An Introductory History of Mongolian Shamanism

Various religious beliefs and practices are found in Mongolia. It should be noted in this context, however, that the concept of religion does not only exist as an occidental concept, but that there are many different definitions. Above all Buddhism, animism and for a smaller part of the population also Shamanism are of importance today. The origin of shamanism and animism on the territory of present-day Mongolia is not known, which suggests that these religious practices existed early on. Not only the most important Mongolian written document known so far, “The Secret History of the Mongols” from the early 13th century, contains references to shamanism, but also very early records of European travellers include descriptions of different shamanistic practices and devotional objects. These records also indicate that in Mongolia compared to European countries religious practice was very liberal at that time. Buddhism in the Tibetan tradition spread only at a very late stage – primarily from the late 16th century onwards. During the golden age of Buddhism, shamans were persecuted. However, there are hardly any written records on that. This rather conveys the impression that persecutions were initiated locally by zealous lamas. As in Tibet, various rituals or practices of shamanist or also animistic character were eventually integrated into Buddhist belief. Nomads often perform these rituals and practices without knowing about their origins. During the time when the


2 Numerous Mongols living in rural as well as urban regions traditionally carry out animistic practices without being aware of it.

3 “The Secret History of the Mongols” is considered the most significant literary work of Mongolia. It is written in poetic language and describes the genealogy and history of Chinggis Khan and the establishment of the Mongol Empire. The original is said to be lost and only a transcription into Chinese characters dating from the 14th century survived which was rediscovered in 1899 in the archive of the Chinese emperor. Among other clear references, this work also contains the Mongolian word for shaman (böö); see The Secret History of the Mongols: The Life and Times of Chinggis Khan. Translated, annotated, and with an Introduction by Urgunge, Onon (2001). London and New York: Routledge Curzon Press.


Mongolian People’s Revolutionary Party (MPRP)⁶ was in power, religious persecution occurred⁷, above all in the 1930s. My fieldwork⁸ revealed that shamanism was not or only rarely persecuted in the last two decades under the MPRP’s government. During the democratisation process, shamanism only slowly recovered in the 1990s. It was above all the tourism boom and the foundation of the Centre of Shamanic Activities in the capital that contributed to its recovery.⁹

Shamanism and its Importance in Mongolia

When looking for an answer to the question of what shamanism or a shaman is, many – often contradictory – definitions ¹⁰ can be found. According to those definitions, a shaman is a person who acts as an intermediary between the different cosmic spheres – the upper world, the earth, and the lower world.¹¹ When shamans travel to these worlds they use

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⁶ Although the MPRP was a member of the Communist International, this was never reflected in its name.

⁷ As the constitution at that time guaranteed the right to freedom of religion – see chapter I.3.f –, the persecutions were carried out on other grounds, i.e. mostly because of counter-revolutionary activities.

⁸ I carried out my fieldwork primarily in the Darkhad valley in the north, i.e. in the districts Ulaan uul and Tsagaan nuur that are inhabited primarily by members of the Darkhad and Dukha ethnic groups who each spoke/speak their own languages or dialects. This area is surrounded by high mountain ranges and is located in the taiga in the northernmost part of Mongolia. In addition to that, my fieldwork focused on the city of Ulaangom that is situated in the Altai Mountains close to the Russian border.

⁹ Since then, some shamans have practiced shamanism for commercial reasons, above all in the capital. Mishig, a former shaman and drum maker living in the country, said that people in the capital do not pay attention to the correct features of a drum. According to him, nothing can be achieved if someone calls on Heaven with a drum that was not correctly built. He made the sarcastic comparison that “it would be like watering flowers with the wrong amount of water”. A shaman I visited in Ulaanbaatar was not aware of the fact that he owned an “empty drum”, i.e. a drum lacking paraphernalia. I also know of a shamaness in the countryside who, in the tourist season in summer, would always move to a place in the area covered by tourist tours. She has become a destination for travel agencies and conducts “fake” rituals at times when they are not supposed to be performed.


¹¹ Potapov reports that the Teleut people living close to Mongolia in Siberia use drums with only two worlds painted on them. His publication also includes an illustration of such a drum; see Потапов, Л. П. (1949). Бубен телеутской шаманки и его рисунки. Сборник научных статей сотрудников МАЭ, том 10, 192 f. A photo of a very similar drum from the same region can be found in Дыренкова, Н. П. (2012). Атрибуты
ritual techniques of ecstasy\textsuperscript{12} to communicate with the spirits and demons that are dwelling there and that most often have a zoomorphic shape. For shamans, musical instruments in combination with songs are the most important means for entering a seemingly supernatural trance state.\textsuperscript{13} In Mongolia, these instruments are often called the shamans’ riding animals to Heaven. Without them, shamans are not able to interact with creatures from another world. The shamans’ power allows to communicate with spirits and potentially also to influence these spirits. That is why people who are ill or have other problems go and see a shaman to ask for advice and help.\textsuperscript{14} When a shaman dies, the guardian spirits (\textit{ongod}) who have communicated with this shaman are looking for a successor they can reside in or communicate with. In most cases, this will be a young family member of the deceased shaman. This explains why there are many generations of shamans in some families.\textsuperscript{15} That person has usually shown noticeable symptoms as a child or adolescent, has talked to trees or suffered from different seizures. The training received from one or more shamans takes a very long time. And the individual skills of the shamans can differ considerably.

When taking a closer look at the drum as the main shamanic instrument, one will find a variety of forms. This could be a result of isolated living and of the clan structures that were in place above all in former times. However, a lot of what has been preserved from the past shows similar characteristics, which can be attributed to the extensive relations with neighbouring peoples.

\textsuperscript{12} While shamans in other cultures use hallucinogenic substances at times, this is not the case in Mongolia.

\textsuperscript{13} There are differing comprehensive theories about altered states of consciousness during the trance state of shamans. For an overview see Krippner, Stanley C. (2002). Conflicting Perspectives on Shamans and Shamanism: Points and Counterpoints. \textit{American Psychologist} 57, No. 11, 962-978.

\textsuperscript{14} Some Mongols do not only go to see an academically trained physician when they suffer from certain afflictions, but also consult a specialized Buddhist monk or a shaman. When asked about their reasons for that, they simply reply: “If it does not help, it won’t hurt either.” This gives some insight into those people’s way of thinking.

\textsuperscript{15} The former shaman Mishig told me in the interview that there were seven generations of shamanesses before him.
Differences in individual power and training do not only affect the intensity in which a shaman is able to make contact with the spirits. A shaman’s inability to act in the course of a séance in which he has to perform a difficult task – for example, finding and capturing someone’s lost soul – can also have severe effects on everyone involved. The reputation shamans enjoy among the people depends on their respective strength. There are also “weaker shamans” whose instrumental equipment is limited to the jaw harp.
Thus their services for people seeking help only include activities that can be performed with the help of that musical instrument, as for example fortune-telling or those tasks that only require visiting the lower heaven realms. It should be noted that shamans play musical instruments regardless of their musical skills. They almost exclusively use them for their shamanic ceremonies. It should also be pointed out that men and women in Mongolia are truly equal in performing their function as shamans.

The Shaman’s Costume and some Paraphernalia

Shamans in Mongolia are very striking in their appearance. This is not only due to the activities they perform, but also due to the costumes they wear. Such a costume is decorated with highly symbolic paraphernalia made of different materials. The existence of a metal mirror is very important, as shamans wear this mirror for self-protection. Spirits attacking the shaman are supposed to be reflected in it so that they are not able to see the shaman. The amount of paraphernalia indicates the rank of the shaman (Figure 1), and various elements are also added accordingly. Shamans wear headdresses decorated with eagle or eagle owl feathers, or also with antlers among certain ethnic groups. Many fabric threads are attached to the front of the headdress in order to hide the face so that the spirits are not able to see it during the invocation. In addition, shamans wear high embroidered felt boots that often show symbolic appliqué designs. Symbolic sound-producing objects are not only attached to the drum, but also to the entire dress (Figures 3 and 4). These numerous miniature metal objects produce sounds, above all during the shaman’s ecstatic dancing, that scare away the bad spirits. Among them are not only the musical emblems that are also part of the drum, but bigger bells, shells, and coins as well.

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16 In 1997, Bumaa, a woman from the Dukha ethnic group, showed me a very old photograph (Figure 1) of her grandfather wearing his shaman’s costume that, according to her, weighed 26 kg. The costume was hung with so many pieces that I had never seen a similar one in real life or on a picture before.

17 The eagle owl is a very silent nocturnal bird with excellent eyesight. As shamans primarily shamanise at night, this is probably why they use feathers of eagle owls for their headdresses. It is expected that the qualities of the eagle owl are then transferred to the shaman.
Musical Instruments as Paraphernalia of the Shamans in Northern Mongolia

Figures 3a, 3b and 3c: Symbolic objects on the shaman’s costume which produce noise to scare away the spirits; note the snake heads of the attached manjig; 2016. Photos: Otgonbayar Chuluunbaatar.

Figure 4: Detail of a shamanic headdress; note the attached symbolic sound-producing objects; 2016. Photo: Otgonbayar Chuluunbaatar.

The Purpose of using Musical Instruments

Certain musical instruments are indispensable tools for reaching a trance-like state of consciousness as well as for creating a holy space.\(^\text{18}\) This is necessary for journeys to different heaven realms\(^\text{19}\) which are undertaken in order to contact spirits eventually needed for shamanic purposes. Shamans go on these spiritual journeys to get messages or hints from the spirits. They

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\(^{18}\) On a related note, the former shaman Mishig said that a shaman is only able to “ride” to Heaven if he has a good drum and a jaw harp. A weak shaman, however, would not be able to make contact with Heaven even if he used a good drum.

\(^{19}\) The heaven realms amount to 99 eternal heavens that are divided into two groups: 55 white and benevolent heavens in the west and 44 black or terrifying heavens in the east. They are all connected to Mother Earth, i.e. 77 earth-mothers. This division of heavens is also depicted symbolically on drums of non-Mongolian cultures, while shamanic drums in Mongolia often are not painted at all or at least not in such great detail.
are contacted in order to heal the sick and suffering, to relieve human discomfort, or to solve problems as well as to follow ritual traditions thus fulfilling ritual needs. The methods vary depending on the situation, on complications, and on individual circumstances that require different tools. Apart from the drum and the jaw harp, musical paraphernalia which are only used in shamanism, include other sound-producing objects that are attached to the drum, the shaman’s costume or the stick.

Figure 5a: A place (ovoo) adorned with devotional objects where offerings are made; Figure 5b: A tree struck by lightning whose wood is needed to build the drum and that at the same time represents the cosmic tree (double image on the photographic negative); 1997. Photos: Otgonbayar Chuluunbaatar.

The Origin of the Material used for Shamanic Drums

As the drums of deceased shamans are by tradition hung on trees at sacred places, succeeding shamans need new musical instruments. They would never make their drums themselves. Building the instruments is very costly and the shaman’s family commissions a drum maker who should not only have expert knowledge in drum building but also in shamanism. The drum maker’s and the shaman’s years of birth have to be compatible. A former drum maker named Mishig explained that he only built instruments that were ordered. However, he did not accept every order. The details of the drums have to be discussed beforehand as some kind of ready-made drum would only serve decorative purposes. This is also important because the drum measurements, the type of wood, and all details are determined by the clan of the shaman’s predecessor. Ideally, the family members of the shaman let the drum maker know where he can find a tree that was struck by lightning as wood from such a tree has to be used to build the drum (Figure
Musical Instruments as Paraphernalia of the Shamans in Northern Mongolia

5b). For shamans, this is an especially sacred place. They regard the tree as the cosmic tree\textsuperscript{20} that is the axis between the worlds and for the shamans also the connection between the worlds they travel to. The drum made out of this wood serves as flying object and enables shamans to travel to heavens or other worlds. The location of such a tree is also conspicuous because ceremonial blue silk scarfs (khadag) and other offerings are tied to the trees in close vicinity. Symbols of ongod carved out of wood can also often be found nearby. During their lifetime, shamans call on these symbols as helpers and pass them on to their successors. The figures representing the ongod can be made from different materials and differ in their appearance and significance. In most cases, they are theriomorphic figures,\textsuperscript{21} with swans, eagle owls (see Figures 6a and 6b), and bears\textsuperscript{22} belonging to the most powerful ongod. After the family of the shaman has performed certain ceremonies at the tree, the drum maker only takes the material he needs from the chosen tree, as it must not be cut down.

Figures 6a and 6b: Symbols of ongod carved out of wood in the shape of an eagle owl and a swan; 1997. Photos: Otgonbayar Chuluunbaatar.

\textsuperscript{20} The cosmic tree should not be confused with other sacred trees or places (Figure 5a) that are worshipped by Mongols as home of the spirits (ovoo) and that are also hung with devotional objects (hair, vodka, bones, khadag and antlers).

\textsuperscript{21} Note the ongod in the shape of a raven that has wings and uses a shamanic drum and whose lower body is shaped like a human (Figure 7). This depiction resembles shamans who, at the beginning of the trance, sometimes imitate their flight in a symbolic way by stretching out their arms.

\textsuperscript{22} Bear cults are known to have existed for a long time among different East Asian and Central Asian peoples. I own a very old bear made of wool and cloth, which probably was used as an ongod. I received it as a present in 1997 from the family members of the shaman shown in Figure 1. Since it was extremely uncommon in Mongolia to have toy bears, that use could be ruled out. Unfortunately, the people presenting the bear to me were no longer able to provide any further information on it.
The Appearance of the Drum

The shamanic drum is the most important and powerful tool of the shamans and it is also described as their “riding animal” to other worlds where they can contact the spirits. In Mongolia, shamans only use one-headed drums which are neither used in traditional Mongolian nor Lamaist music practices. According to some shamans, one of the explanations for why only one-headed drums are used is that the ongod inside the drum need an entrance and an exit. In a fairy tale of a Mongolian ethnic group living in the territory of present-day China, a female shaman goes to the lower world where one side of her two-headed drum gets ripped. Because of that – as the drum only had one head left – later shamans did not have as much power.

In Mongolia, the materials used for making the drums as well as their form differ. One reason is that they belonged to different ethnic groups or their individual clans and that their dwelling places were sometimes difficult to access. The main reason for the variation, however, is the difference in the respective shamanic activities and beliefs that were learned only within the family and so hardly spread beyond family circles. Moreover, rivalries between individual shamans should not be underestimated.

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25 In very rare cases, triangular drums are mentioned, of which hardly any still exist and which are no longer used in today’s Mongolia. They would be easy to make, but those drums are only used by so-called black shamans (khar бöö – see Пүрэв, Отгоны (1999). Монгол боғийн шашин. Улаанбаатар хот: Адмон, 54 f). According to Mishig, this kind of drums would only be played in the most difficult cases.
The drum has major functional and symbolic characteristics. According to the old Mongolian calendar, the third, seventh or ninth day of the quarter year are considered as particularly auspicious for starting to make the drum. These three days are also called “the Heaven’s running days”. In earlier times, the drum maker Mishig26 made drums following the instructions of shamans, which also included the measurements of the drum. Among the Darkhad ethnic group, three different diameter sizes are used. However, the most common diameter seems to be approximately 60 cm. According to Mongolian tradition, the size was measured by taking three times the distance between the two outstretched thumbs and the middle fingers (about 20 cm each) plus the width of three fingers. The depth of the drum shell should be about 22 cm. Diameters of 70 cm and 100 cm were also used. However, drums with a diameter of 100 cm are hardly produced any more today, since shamans have difficulties holding them during a ceremony.

The Exterior of the Drum

When making a drum, it is necessary to use the right wood for the frame, i.e. a larch that was struck by lightning has to be found. This is very important because the lightning that struck the tree came from heaven. This connection

26 Mishig made shamanic drums as well as paraphernalia. At the time of the interview, he was 73 years old and lived north of Tsagaan nuur. At that point he still owned a jaw harp, but told me that he had left his drum as well his shaman’s costume with his family’s ongod on a sacred mountain 24 years ago. He had received his first drum in about 1972. At the time of the interview, he was hardly able to see any more.
between heaven and earth gives the drum that is made of that material special power. Even though trees that were struck by lightning are very rare, using their wood is absolutely necessary, as shamanic practices won’t have any effect if some other material is used to make the drum. After certain ceremonies, only the parts needed for making the drum are sawed off the tree. One or two planks are made from the wood and used to build the drum shell (drum frame). The wood is softened by soaking it in water for several days. Then the planks are bent into a circle and fixed by tying ropes around them. While the frame of the drum is drying, it should not be exposed to strong sunshine or be placed next to the fireplace, as the drying process should be slow and even. One end of the drum shell is tapered so that it can be introduced into the split end at the other side. This is done to make it more durable, if possible for many years.

Figure 9: Anklebones (lat. *astragalus*) of a sheep used as resonators; 2016. Photo: Otgonbayar Chuluunbaatar.

Figure 10: Strip of wood used as resonator; 2016. Photo: Otgonbayar Chuluunbaatar.

To stabilise the round frame it is fixed to a wooden bar placed vertically in the middle of the drum. Resonators are attached to the drum shell, which is very difficult to do. These resonators are called *buldruu* (lump, bump, swelling) in Mongolian and traditionally consist of anklebones of a sheep that are called *shagai* (Latin *astragalus*) (Figure 9). At times, strips of wood that are attached to the drum shell function as resonators as well (Figure 10), while some Mongolian ethnic groups do not add any resonators at all (Figure 14a). The drum makers use different methods for attaching the

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27 In other cultures, drums in other shapes are also used.

28 Two very different methods of bending the drum shells employed by shamans of other ethnic groups are, for example, described in Diószegi, Vilmos (1963). Denkmäler der samojedischen Kultur im Schamanismus der ostsajanischen Völker. *Acta Ethnographica Hungarica* 12: 146.
resonators to the frame. Today they mostly use nails, but for lack of metal in earlier times they attached them with glue or leather straps. The number of resonators (Figure 13) and the materials used vary between ethnic groups and from person to person.\textsuperscript{29} Traditionally, there are seven or nine equally-spaced\textsuperscript{30} rows of resonators\textsuperscript{31} on the side of the frame, with each row consisting of three resonators. However, there are also drums with four resonators per row and an extra-wide drum from the Oirat ethnic group even shows nine resonators in a row (Figure 14b). In rare cases, shamans insert single anklebones (shagai) between the wood and the skin on the left and right sides of the upper half of the frame (note the tears in the skin in Figure 12) in addition to the resonators described above. This has metaphorical significance as it is considered a symbol for the protection of the animals with hot noses like horses,\textsuperscript{32} sheep and cows. In addition to that, one bone is supposed to help with the journey to Heaven and the other with the return. As a substitute, metal miniature replicas of a sheep scapula are hanging on the inside of the drums of some shamans.

![Figure 12: In rare cases, single anklebones are inserted between the wood and the skin on the left and right sides of the upper half of the frame for the protection of animals (note the tears in the skin); 2016. Photo: Otgonbayar Chuluunbaatar.](image)

\textsuperscript{29} The notion that the size of the resonators indicates the rank of the shaman (see Grimaldi, Susan Ross / Lawrence, John R. (2015). Meeting with Darkhad Shaman, Erdene-Ochiz, of Mongolia: His Story and Description of a Special Tool for Extraction Healing. A Journal of Contemporary Shamanism 8, Issue 1, 17) could not be confirmed by my own research.

\textsuperscript{30} Note that in contrast to my description above, the space varies between the resonators on the drum that the shaman Nergui showed me in 1997.

\textsuperscript{31} According to Mishig, the ongod of the shaman tells him how many rows of bulduu should be attached to the drum.

\textsuperscript{32} Horsehair is attached to the inside of the drums of some shamans. It can also be found on trees sacred to shamans and other people.
The skin that serves as membrane for the instrument has to be stretched over the frame while it’s still wet. Prior to that, it is soaked in water for a few days during which time the hair comes loose and falls out. The skin should then be stretched tightly and evenly. Depending on the time and on whether the drum is built in a modern or traditional way, the skin was or is pulled over the edge of the frame plank and either sewed on with leather thongs or fixed with nails. After having dried, the skin has enough tension (Figure 8a) to produce the desired sound when struck, which should sound lower-pitched for male and higher-pitched for female shamans. According to Mishig, the drum should sound like the voice of Heaven, which is also why resonators are attached to the drum. This gives a lively impression on how heavenly sound is imagined among the people practicing shamanism in Mongolia.

For shamans it is of great importance which type of skin is used. Among the Darkhad ethnic group, female shamas use the skin of a two- to three-year-old female deer (before its first pregnancy). Male shamans, on the contrary, use the skin of a two- to three-year-old male deer. The killing of the animal whose skin is needed has to be preceded by prayers. Nowadays such a skin has become extremely difficult to get hold of due to a law prohibiting the killing of these animals before their sexual maturity. Recently several hunters were arrested for breaking that law. Controls in that region were also tightened because of border-crossing cattle and horse thieves.

If the skin or other parts of the drum break, they are not mended; new drums are made instead. Mishig said that drums could also break during ritual ceremonies, but that rarely happened. According to him, the reason for that were influences from exterior powers during ecstatic journeys.

Figure 13: Two drums with a different number of resonators and one drum without any resonator; 2016. Photos: Otgonbayar Chuluunbaatar.

33 While the drum skin on shaman Nergui’s drum in 1997 was sewed on, it was nailed to the drum he showed me in 2016 with metal nails.
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Figures 14a and 14b: The shell of the drum on the left does not have any resonators, whereas the drum on the right shows an exceedingly large number of nine resonators in a row; 2016. Photos: Otgonbayar Chuluunbaatar.

The Inside of the Drum

The features on the inside of the drum have great symbolic power, but often vary between ethnic groups or clans. Their significance is evident from the names they have.

The drum is regarded as the shaman’s horse for the journey to other heaven realms. In his imagination, the shaman uses the exterior surface as a saddle, and so many of the parts inside the drum symbolise the required riding equipment. Without these parts, a journey to heaven would not be possible, as the shaman might fall off the back of his riding animal (the drum). Those parts are clearly recognizable by their names (Figure 15). The handle (bariul) as part of the vertical bar represents the horse’s saddle. Through the middle of that bar that is also called arrow (sum) runs a wooden curved, bow-shaped crossbar (num). This so-called bow is aligned horizontally to the vertical bar and is attached to that and the frame. The bar and the bow represent the protection against everything that is bad. When Mishig was asked about this, he particularly emphasised the importance of the bow. Two pieces that consist of strong cords or wires are attached to the lateral parts of the bow and are referred to as reins (joloo). A metal piece called stirrup (döröö) hangs from them. The exact location of the bow and the

34 Bow and arrow (num sum), the former hunting weapon and today’s sporting weapon, was and still is of great functional and symbolic significance in Mongolia.
stirrups is based on practical considerations to ensure a secure grip. In rare cases, the stirrup is not solid, but made of bent wire (Figures 16a and 16b). It should be pointed out, however, that there are differences between ethnic groups. The drum exhibited in the museum of Mörön (Figure 16b), for example, does not have a bow-shaped bar, but only a wooden crossbar. In another drum (Figure 19a) seen in Ulaangom, a horizontal, reinforced, and twisted wire runs through the drum in place of the bow.

Figure 15: 1. bow-shaped crossbar (num), 2. handle (bariul) / vertical bar or arrow (sum), 3. reins (joloo), 4. stirrups (döröö), 5. notches (khovil), 6. bells (khonkhinuur), 7. cosmic tree, 8. resonator; 2016. Drawing: Otgonbayar Chuluunbaatar.

Usually the shaman holds the drum by the vertical wooden handle whose ends are attached to the inner drum frame. It is often rounded in the middle for a better grip. Among the Darkhad ethnic group, the upper and lower ends of the bar are wider, flat and decorated with symbols. For example, two 10 to 15 cm long parallel notches are cut into the wood (Figure 8b). Some shamans regard these notches (khovil) as part of the spine of a bird capable of flying. The bars that are used are thicker in the middle and tapering at the sides. Many drums of the Darkhad ethnic group show slanting cone-shaped incisions on the surface of that bar. This symbolises the trunk and the branches of the cosmic tree. Other ethnic groups rather regard it as a representation of a horse’s mane, as the horse serves as means of

transport to the different heaven realms. In most cases, nine of these branches, but at times also seven, eleven or thirteen (Figure 17b) are carved into both sides of the “tree trunk”. One of the earlier drums of the shaman Nergui showed a tree with eleven branches, whereas there were only three branches on his drum in 2016 (Figure 8b). This can be explained with the tripling of the sacred number three and the result being nine. Nine is not only an important number in Mongolian tradition, but also the deities (heavens) in the pantheon of Mongolian shamanism often appear in groups of nine (Figure 18).

Figures 16a and 16b: Note the two bars of the handle with four carved heads at their respective ends as well as the weapons as a protection against the spirits; 2016. Photos: Otgonbayar Chuluunbaatar.

Figures 17a, 17b and 17c: Three metal bells on a drum; incisions representing the branches of the cosmic tree; anthropomorphic figure on the drum handle; 2016. Photos: Otgonbayar Chuluunbaatar.

An extremely important part of the interior of the drum are small metal bells (khonkhinuur) that are conical and do not have clapper elements. Nine of them should be attached to the drum as this is a strong symbolic number. In most cases, three are fixed to the upper end of the vertical bar and three hang from metal rings attached to the inside of the upper half of the drum frame, on the left and right sides respectively (Figure 17a). The bells on the side are also called earrings. In other examples from the same ethnic group, the bells are not attached to metal rings, but to metal wires bent into U-shape. Some of these small bells have a hook right above the cone, while in others the part between the hook and the cone is twisted several times. If such parts were lost, it would make no sense at all to replace them because the new parts would not have been part of the initiation process of the drum. This explains why one of the three bells in the middle of the shaman Nergui’s drum was missing when I visited him in 2016, whereas in 1997 all nine bells had still been there. Interestingly, he had attached two short ribbons to the hook where the missing bell used to be.

Figures 19a and 19b: Note the carved and painted human head on the handle; 2016. Photos: Otgonbayar Chuluunbaatar.

Those noisy bells symbolically represent weapons because they scare the spirits away and serve to protect the shaman when fighting with the spirits. Inside the drum, there are more so-called weapons to be found, which the shaman uses to fight the spirits or to stand his ground against them. It is rather the form that symbolises weapons. These ‘weapons’ are most often made of metal, but there are also pieces that produce as much noise as possible due to their shape, material, and arrangement (scapulae, stirrups,

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earrings, arrows) in order to confuse the evil spirits when the shaman fights them or to scare them away. The drum in the museum of Mörön shows a stirrup (döröö) to which three miniature bows – in part made of twisted metal – are attached (Figure 16a). In addition, several arrowheads (kharvaluud) are fixed to the grip of the bows. On another drum, exhibited in the museum of Ulaangom, two twisted wires run from the reinforced handle to the sides of the drum with four bells attached to each wire and one twisted metal arrow with an arrowhead on one side (Figure 19a). Miniature scapulae (dal) made of metal are also fixed to some drums.

Numerous symbols made of fabric are attached to the inside of the drum: above all khadag (ceremonial blue silk scarfs) as well as thicker twisted ribbons called manjig (Figure 8b) that are most often shaped like a snake.

**Symbolic Painting of the Drum**

The shamanic drums of many neighbouring peoples of Mongolia are painted. In Mongolia, however, this is rarely the case. Among some ethnic groups, the symbolic images on the surface of the drum represent a cognitive map of shamanism. They reveal much of the conceptual world of the shamans and often provide an insight into its meaning.

Figure 18: Painted drum; deities in the pantheon of Mongolian shamanism often appear in groups of nine; note the representations of animals from the realm of the dead, such as snakes, predatory fish, lizards and a turtle; 2016. Photo: Otgonbayar Chuluunbaatar.
Interestingly, the drums of the Darkhad shaman Nergui were not painted when I visited him in 1997 and 2016, but shortly after my first visit, he used another drum with a red fawn painted on the centre of the skin. The image shows an animal at the age when it is used for making the drum membrane. A shamanic drum that belonged to a member of the same ethnic group being now part of a private collection shows different decorations. Small discs are painted on the surface of the drum, which according to some informants represent the spots of a reindeer calf.38

The drum belonging to the more than 100-year-old female shaman Soyun who is a member of the Dukha ethnic group39 shows three rows of resonators on the narrow frame of the drum. Those are linked with red stripes. When asked about the differences between drums of the Dukha and the Darkhad ethnic groups, the drum maker Mishig pointed out that they are not different in principle. Only the respective ongods from whom the shamans get their inspiration are different.

The museum of the small village of Tsagaan nuur exhibits a drum that, according to the museum director, was presented by a non-Mongolian visitor who wanted to remove the drum from his collection because it had brought bad luck to his family. Based on this drum, a brief outline of more detailed images on drums will be given. Painted drums are – even though not as a rule – divided into an upper and a lower part with one or two parallel horizontal boundary lines.40 The heaven is depicted in the upper part, the earth in the middle part and the hell in the lower part. Similar boundary lines can at times be seen along the edge of the drum surface. Heaven has to contain the sun and the moon and, in some cases, there are stars and supernatural beings in the form of different animals – especially birds flying upwards. On some drums, a person with a bow and arrow who is riding a galloping horse and hunting a male deer is depicted. This represents the symbolic killing of the animal to get the skin that is so important for the shaman’s drum. In shamanic thought, however, this male deer continues to live in the form of the drum, which is indicated by its depiction in the realm of Heaven. In the middle of the drum skin, nine figures are often painted next to each other. This is analogous to the nine

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38 Diószegi, Vilmos (1963). Denkmäler der samojedischen Kultur im Schamanismus der ostsajanischen Völker. Acta Ethnographica Hungarica 12: 146-147, Fig. 7b.

39 When Tuva was annexed by the USSR in 1944, a small group of reindeer herders fled across the border to Mongolia where they obtained Mongolian citizenship in 1956. Even today they are the most northerly living nomads in Mongolia and their way of life differs from the Mongolian one. For example, they live in tents and use reindeer as riding animals.

40 Contrary to the Darkhad people, the Teleut people living close to Mongolia in Siberia use drums with apparently only two worlds painted on them.
pairs of branches of the cosmic tree, which can often be seen in the same area. They symbolise the different realms of existence, as the cosmic tree represents the connection between the different realms of heaven and hell. Pictures of hell, on the other hand, feature different animals from the realm of the dead. In the example in Figure 18, snakes, predatory fish, lizards and a turtle are depicted. Remarkably, the latter is shown from below. This can be explained by the story a female shaman tells: When fighting a turtle that she refers to as the devil, the female shaman hits the shell of the turtle with a rounded arrow. This knocks the turtle over and it ends up lying on its back. The four legs of the turtle then have to support heaven and this is when the living beings in heaven are able to come into existence.41 This example shows the strong symbolism of the different images.

A drum that looks completely different (Figure 19a) is exhibited in the museum of the town of Ulaangom in the Northern Altaic region of Mongolia. According to the curator, the drum belonged to a female shaman called Yamaan samgan. This is the only exhibited historical shamanic drum from this area inhabited by Oirat ethnic groups that I know of. Its Oirat origin explains why this drum is so different from those of other ethnic groups. In contrast to other drums, this drum as well as another one from Mörön have handles with anthropomorphic figures. That the drum handle features one or more “human” heads establishes a connection to the Oirat ethnic groups, which might suggest that the drum originates from an area in the northwest close to the Altai Mountains.42 A human-like head43 including the neck and the top of the breast is carved into the upper third of the vertical handle of the drum mentioned above (Figures 19a and 19b). Big metal earrings hang from the ears of the figure, and also the colours in which the figure is painted are remarkable. The head features black hair and the eyebrows, the moustache and the chin-beard are coloured black as well and painted in great detail. The way the eyes are painted is also interesting. They are deep red and round as a ball with a strong black outline around them. Unfortunately the front of the drum exhibited in the museum was covered


42 Another drum with a carved head from the same region (river Khovd) is shown in Diószegi, Vilmos (1961). Tuva Shamanism: Intraethnic Differences and Interethnic Analogies. Acta Ethnographica Hungarica 10: 164, Fig. 13. In all the museums I visited in Mongolia, shamanic exhibits either did not have captions or were only dealt with very superficially. The directors or curators I asked about this were not able to provide me with any further information either.

43 This is called abgaldaï, “the name of a shamanistic idol or a mask representing a shamanistic god”; see Lessing, Ferdinand D. (1960). Mongolian-English dictionary. Bloomington: University of California Press, 3.
by a shamanic costume, which is why I was not able to see if it was painted as I assume it is.\textsuperscript{44}

Another drum (Figures 16b and 17c) displayed in the museum in Möörön has a wooden handle and a crossbar running through its centre with four carved heads at their respective ends. The faces are relatively small and carved in great detail. They have a wrathful appearance with wide open mouths, bared teeth, widened eyes and protruding cheeks. On the top of their heads, they each have a crown made of seven skulls. Without doubt, they represent extremely wrathful deities. Another source suggests that drums like that, in former times, could be found in the area inhabited by the Darkhad ethnic group. I was not able to confirm this in my research, but in one source two drums with carved heads are mentioned that are located in that area.\textsuperscript{45} Others also point to anthropomorphic figures on shamanic drums from the Altai Mountains whose wooden handles do not have notches.\textsuperscript{46}

For the sake of completeness, it should be added here that in very rare cases drums can also show a few paintings on the inside.

The Drumstick

The drumstick is called \textit{orvo} by the Darkhad ethnic group. It is of equal importance as the drum itself, since the shaman cannot play the drum without the drumstick and in further consequence would not be able to make contact with the spirits. Although the drum and the drumstick each have their own body they only exist together.\textsuperscript{47} In the eyes of the shaman, the drumstick is the horsewhip he needs for his journey on the horseback – symbolically on the drum – to urge the horse forward. The drumstick is made of wood from a willow tree or a birch tree. The piece of fur that is stretched over the drumstick comes from a chamois buck or a wild sheep. Those animals are very rare, but Mishig emphasises that it is absolutely necessary to use that material. The symbolic reason for using the skin of those animals is that they are wild animals who live on the rocks of high mountains and therefore do not slip. The handle of the drumstick is

\textsuperscript{44} This assumption is also supported by the description of a very similar drum from the Northern Altai Mountains on the other side of the border; see Radloff, Wilhelm (1884). \textit{Aus Sibirien}. Leipzig: T. O. Weigel, 18.


cylindrical. The oval striking surface is convex on the outside and concave on the inside. A stronger metal rod is placed along the longitudinal axis of this carved-out cavity. On this rod, there are either nine metal rings (Figure 20a) hanging next to each or three metal loops with three metal rings each (Figure 13 on the left). The noise created by the rings is supposed to lure certain ongod into the interior of the drum. In most cases, there is a hole at the end of the handle through which a string is passed (Figure 20b). This does not only allow the shaman to secure the drumstick to the wrist by winding the string around it, but also to tie a number of manjig to it. During a shamanic treatment, the drumstick can also be used as a throwing object. When thrown at the patient’s head, this can well be unpleasant for them. However, the shaman is able to foretell the future like an oracle depending on how the drumstick falls to the ground.


empowerment of the drum

After the drum maker has completed the main parts of the drum, the shaman’s family members pick up the drum. Some family members have to add certain parts. For example, some pendants (the stirrups as well as the bells) inside the drum have to be attached by the maternal uncle of the shaman. This, however, depends on the shamanic ancestors. Like all the other paraphernalia a shaman uses in ceremonies, the drum has to undergo an empowerment ritual. This ceremony is called “enlivening the drum” and is carried out in the presence of the family and the shamanic teacher. It takes
two to three days and contains cheerful as well as strictly ritual parts. The following blessing is known to be pronounced:

- Be a riding animal of the old spirit
- Like the grey moon in the sky
- Be a restive speed
- To make your proper master happy
- Be faster than the wind
- To implement the dreamed cause
- Go fastly without difficulty
- To go to the cosmos country

Figure 11: Note the unusual varying distance between resonators on the drum belonging to the shaman Nergui; 1997. Photo: Otgonbayar Chuluunbaatar.

After the completion of the ritual, only the shamans themselves are allowed to use the drums, which from then on serve as “horses” on their journeys.

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through the world of the spirits. It should also be noted that such a ritual event places a significant financial burden for the family.

The home of the shaman is also the storage place of his or her functioning drum. It is stored with great care because of the ongod inside of it. That is why the drum is wrapped up in a piece of cloth fastened with knots if it’s not used in a séance in order to prevent the spirits from going on an uncontrolled “journey”. Traditionally, the drum is not carried through the door, but pushed under the lattice walls of the yurt. That way the drum is both controlled and protected.

**Shamanic Trance induced by Drumming**

In 1997, I was able to observe the Darkhad shaman Nergui as he carried out an incantation using the drum (Figures 2 and 11). Incantations with drums always happen at night. The inside of the drum is warmed by the fire to improve the drum sound. As an offering, milk is sprinkled on the drum and on its surroundings. Schnapps is also offered by dipping the fingers into it and flicking it into the air (towards the sky). The shaman also drinks it to make it easier for him to fall into trance. In addition to that, incense is burned.

At first, the shaman sings several verses to call the spirits. At that point, the drum is only beaten very slowly. In the course of the séance, however, the rhythm and the pace of the drumbeats change. The beating of the drum and the shaman’s dance get more and more intense. He spins around in his heavy shaman’s costume, bends and stretches into all directions. While doing so, his eyes are closed. The moment in which the shaman gets into ecstasy is accompanied by several screams and rapid movements, which also impairs his ability to sing. While making contact with the spirits, he runs around the room and also communicates with the spirits verbally. Depending on how they behave, he does so in an either gentle way or in a loud voice. Furthermore, he uses the help of his various own ongods. Sometimes the shaman also has to fight with the spirits, which is often expressed by the drumbeat. In this fight, the drum itself can be used symbolically for defence or as a weapon. In the end, the shaman falls to the ground with his body convulsing. A few minutes later he opens his eyes, but

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49 As a child I witnessed a similar ritual. A deceased person was not carried out through the door of the yurt, but pushed under the lattice walls. This was meant to prevent the evil spirits from finding their way back.

50 After the contact has been successfully established, the spirits also speak through the mouth of the shaman, which is why words coming from his mouth are very hard to understand.
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is not yet responsive at this stage. His helpers sit him up and take off his shaman’s costume. The author witnessed how Nergui received a burning cigarette at this point, which he tried to put between his lips again and again. As he was not able to reach his target, they had to take the cigarette away from him. Nergui, however, continued his attempts to smoke even without the cigarette (Figure 21). This shows that he had not reached his normal state of consciousness at that point. Afterwards, the shaman could hardly remember what had happened during the séance.

Figure 21: After a séance, the shaman Nergui tries to smoke without a cigarette; 1997. Photo: Otgonbayar Chuluunbaatar.

The Jaw Harp

The jaw harp is an instrument whose sound is also based on the phenomenon of overtones and it is widely used. When playing the jaw harp, the mouth cavity and the larynx also serve as resonators, but in contrast to overtone singing, the pitch range is much more limited.51

Shamans use the jaw harp (aman khuur) for tasks that do not require them to travel (gallop) that far to get in contact with the spirits, i.e. tasks for which they do not need to communicate with especially strong spirits who reside in the upper world. Those tasks include above all fortune-telling and magical rituals.52 When shamans practice only with a jaw harp, they do not


52 During a séance, however, the shaman Nergui used the words “coming from a far-away place”, which could also mean that he was referring to heavenly spirits.
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put on the shaman’s costume they usually wear during séances with drums. Unlike the drum, the jaw harp is also used during the daytime.

However, the jaw harp is also played in the phase that gets the shaman into an initiatory stage of the drum séance. According to Mishig, a shaman can reach a difficult destination or treat a serious illness if both horses (jaw harp and drum) are used in the séance. Most commonly, shamans call the two instruments “small horse” and “big horse”. The significance of the horse can also be seen in the fact that a Dukha female shaman refers to her jaw harp as horse, although members of her ethnic group traditionally use reindeer for riding. In the context of shamanic music, the jaw harp is also very often used to imitate the sound of a galloping horse. This connection is also illustrated by the fact that the box which serves as a case for the instrument is often carved in the shape of a horse (Figure 22a).

![Figures 22a and 22b: Carved case of a jaw harp that is shaped like a horse; bow-shaped jaw harp in a case; 2016. Photos: Otgonbayar Chuluunbaatar.](image)

Both making the instrument and finding the necessary materials for the jaw harp is much easier than it is in the case of the drum. In Mongolia, both the metal bow-shaped jaw harp (tömör khuur) (Figure 22b) and the wooden frame jaw harp (khulsan khuur) are used. I was only able to find the bow-shaped jaw harp when visiting shamans and the museum of Mörön, whereas the museum of Ulaangom in the Northern Altai Mountains of Mongolia did not exhibit any jaw harps at all. However, I do know musicians in that area who use wooden frame jaw harps. The early use of this latter type is confirmed by an archaeological find in the territory of present-day Mongolia. Not only its very good state of preservation, but also the material it is made of is extraordinary. It is made of bone and the only

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53 Local differences are illustrated by the shamaness Deshit Toshu in Tuva who explains that she does not regard her jaw harp as a horse, but a male deer on which she flies to the middle world like a bird; see Вайнштейн С. И. (1991). Мир кочевников центра азии. Москва: Наука, 255.
jaw harp that I know of in Mongolia that is made from this material. The sounds played on the instrument are limited to the harmonic series. Shamans do not play the jaw harp in an artistic or traditional way as musicians do, but in a much more simplified way, since the instrument is only used to produce sounds and noises needed for shamanic purposes, which can be clearly heard. While only softer audio frequencies can be generated with the wooden frame jaw harp, the ones produced with the bow-shaped jaw harp are much stronger. The sounds and their frequencies help evoke a trance-like state in the shaman. In addition to that, animals’ cries are imitated during the séance (see video 1), which should help the shaman communicate with the animal spirits. The shaman does not only emit sounds produced by animals, such as the horse or the wolf in that case, but also those made by the rider. He uses the khadag as a whip and his upper body sways to and fro as if riding on a horse. This represents the journey to different heaven realms. Evil spirits are driven away with a whistling voice. Although Nergui is beginning to fall into trance twice, he is not able to make contact with the needed spirits, as the woman for whom he holds the séance is not present herself. That fact also made Nergui angry. The woman had contacted him by phone because she had have problems with a love affair.

I also observed the visit of another woman (video 2) who asked Nergui to perform divination, as her saddled horse had been stolen. Before beginning the séance, Nergui slips a ring belonging to that woman over the khadag that is attached to the jaw harp and then fastens the khadag with knots. That way the ring undergoes a purification process. When Nergui then plays the jaw harp, the ring is always next to his mouth. While he starts to play, the client is sitting across from him. Nergui’s wife sits on the bed. From time to time, he interrupts his playing and sings. Through singing he tells the woman that people have started gossiping about her family. He says he will help her with that. He then tells her to put her ring on the upper end of a pole of the lattice on the right side of her yurt for 23 days. After that she will get her horse and the saddle back. The woman then opens the knot in the khadag he presents to her and takes the ring.

The Instruments after the Death of a Shaman

54 Chuluunbaatar, Otgonbayar (2016). Rare Archaeological Musical Artefacts from Ancient Tombs in Mongolia. Studia Instrumentorum Musicae Popularis IV (New Series), Edited by Gisa Jähnichen, Münster: MV-Wissenschaft Verlag, 244-246.

55 He said the fire in their yurt was soiled by gossiping.
When asked about the whereabouts of the drums belonging to his shamanic predecessors, Mishig said that relatives had destroyed the surface of his grandmother’s drum and had then hung the drum on a tree in the mountains that are sacred to the family.\textsuperscript{56} 24 years ago, Mishig himself took his last drum to the place where the ongod of his family resides. According to him, he had received his first drum in 1972.

The surface of the drum was destroyed because the ongod residing in the drum – due to the absence of the deceased shaman – could have started performing uncontrolled actions.\textsuperscript{57} As mentioned before, a man presented such a drum to the museum of the small village of Tsagaan nuur a few years ago because it had caused his family a lot of harm.

**Narratives about Shamans and their Instruments**

Narratives and stories about shamans can already be found in old Mongolian epics. This is not only due to the age of the epics, but also to their melodious sound that is similar to the sound the shaman makes during a séance. Motifs of epics are often heroic figures with special powers and their conflicts with magical creatures (e.g. multi-headed monsters). Thus they seem like an almost ideal place to incorporate stories about shamans. Those stories sometimes describe frightening struggles against evil spirits and enemies in different forms, which can end up being lethal. In addition to that, some epics or epic narratives are known that describe serious conflicts between female shamans.\textsuperscript{58} This shows that shamans can also regard other shamans as rivals.

An extraordinary, very old shamanic legend exists in different versions and also among different ethnic groups.\textsuperscript{59} In this legend, the female shaman Nišan šaman goes on a journey to the afterlife, during which she does not cross rivers on a boat, but by riding her drum. The sound of her drum even destroys a part of a palace. In this context, different references to actions that

\textsuperscript{56} In an early photograph (1920-1930), the funeral of two drums that were hung up on a tree is shown; see Дыренкова, Н. П. (2012). Атрибуты шаманов у турецко-монгольских народов Сибири. Серия Кунсткамера - Архив, Т. VI, Санкт-Петербург: Наука, 319.

\textsuperscript{57} This is the reason why the drum skin of many shamanic drums exhibited in museums is damaged or has cuts in it.


are hostile to shamans are interesting, which, for example, these actions explain why the shamanic drum that once was a double-headed became a one-headed drum. In one story, for example, the husband of a female shaman is left behind in the underworld and destroys one side of her drum in an argument with his wife. So, when the female shaman comes back from the underworld, the drum has become a one-headed drum. In another version, monks steal the drums from the shamans, but are not able to coax any sound out of them. So they throw the drums into the lake, but they swim back to the shore. One day, they eventually managed to pierce one side of the drum, which is how, according to this version of the story, the one-headed drum came into being.

Figure 23: Factory-made “shamanic drum”; 2016. Photos: Otgonbayar Chuluunbaatar.

Review and Outlook

The results from the fieldwork I conducted 20 years apart in one region of Mongolia clearly show the economic changes that took place during that period of time. While at the beginning there were hardly any TVs or telephones to be found in the rural areas of Mongolia and there was only little knowledge about foreign countries, all of that is commonly available today, also in the nomadic cultural sphere. A similar development could be observed in the area of tourism that plays an important role for shamanism in Mongolia. This is why there are professional workshops now that manufacture factory-made shamanic musical instruments (Figure 23) that are above all sold to tourists, but are also more and more used by shamans. In contrast to most other exhibits in museums, shamanic objects do not have any labels or captions and there is no documentation on them. This could be connected with the earlier persecution of shamans. However, I rather assume that it results from a lack of museum tradition in Mongolia, as older

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60 According to shaman Mishig’s narration.
publications show that captions still existed half a century ago. These publications also indicate that the shamanic collections have decreased by now. In conclusion, it can be said that shamanism also opens up to the people of our time.

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Acknowledgement

I would like to thank all shamans and informants who supported me.
Traditional Duct Flute Manufacturing and Socio-Cultural Context: The Instrument Maker Vehab Halilović

Introduction

Considering that musical instrument makers play an important role in maintaining (preserving) traditional musical heritage, this case study discusses the context and the process of making the traditional duct flute, today known as a frula, in the village of Goduša near Visoko. Until recently, traditional musical instruments have generally been investigated with an emphasis on analysing musical elements and forms, structural features of melody and rhythm. However, a more recent approach shows anthropologizing the musical process as a form of ‘humanization’. The study of music, so to say, is shifting from the attention to the sound product towards man. Therefore, this study focuses on a possible shift of circumstances under which instruments are constructed and preserved today. As local and global paradigms have come to modify traditional instrument functionalities, one may consider it crucial to determine the extent of modifications and its impact upon the (intangible) heritage of the musical instrument. The social and cultural significance of traditional practice of artisanship will also examined in order to trace the changing perspectives of the preservation of this intangible cultural heritage in Goduša until the present day.

Fieldwork Methodology

The fieldwork I conducted in Goduša in 2005 gave me an insight into the exclusively handcrafted traditional practice of earlier times, and gave me an opportunity to record the important historical phenomenon of the transition from a traditional to a mechanized manufacturing process. Living near Goduša allowed me to visit the location several times over recent years, and to observe the sustainability of the traditional practice including the social aspects.

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1 Singular: frula; plural: frule.
impacting manufacturing techniques and changing the cultural context of instrument manufacturing.

The methodology applied in this study is based on an interdisciplinary approach that combines fieldwork research undertaken over the course of more than a decade with historical documents and academic articles. This aims at establishing a coherent overview of the phenomenon of having traditional instrument makers in Goduša. Interviews combined with video recordings and photographs helped record elements of the manufacturing process in order to highlight the unique and long-preserved traditional practices of the maker Vehab Halilović, the only frula maker still supporting his household with handcrafts in the area of Goduša today.

This research has also been considered from an anthropological viewpoint to discuss the today’s role of the instrument maker as an advocate of culture, in particular musical culture. This observation gives special emphasis to one instrument maker with the aim to gain a better overview about the role(s) they play in defining how the frule from Goduša acquired their social and cultural meanings. The paper furthermore highlights the significance researches that ethnographically focus on instrument makers, not only to investigate their social role and context, but also to record a potentially fading aspect of intangible cultural heritage. It is important to note that the information an instrument maker provides about his creative endeavours may be beyond oral transmission. Therefore, capturing the ethnographic aspect through video-graphic and photographic techniques plays a vital and important role for the preservation of the artisanship for generations to come. Given that agency is the focus of this suggestion, in order to gain information about the social role of instrument makers, it is quite necessary to gather opinions of ordinary members of the respective community, which would immensely contribute to research carried out in this domain.

**Goduša in the Course of History**

In Goduša, there is a wide spectrum of terminology used for duct flutes including a variety of orally transmitted interpretations of these. Historical literature refers to the duct flutes as flutes (svirala) and the makers are called sviraldžije. Nevertheless, the official name frula is used by the instrument maker Vehab Halilović, the only frula maker still supporting his household with handcrafts in the area of Goduša today.

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4 Verb ‘svirati’ in Bosnian language means ‘to play’.
5 In Goduša duct flutes or single flutes (jednojka) which are smaller in size and had five finger holes, were called whistles - pišće, compare Marković, Zorislava (1955). *Izrada*
The Instrument Maker Vehab Halilović

maker, Vehab Halilović, and by the people of Goduša. Subsequently, this version of the name has also been accepted and applied by scholars.

Before 1927, when a series of administrative divisions were made, Goduša was a distinct municipality consisting of a river basin and several small villages. Since 1927, Goduša it has been incorporated into Visoko municipality, and currently it has the status of a mjesna zajednica. The area of Goduša lacks fertile agricultural land. Therefore, people who inhabited this area adopted the practice of wood handcrafting as their primary means of subsistence. Several families became well-known as makers of smoking pipes – cigarluci, čibuci, and horn & hairbrushes – češljevi, with strong reputations as artisans – zanadžije and makers of duct flutes – svirale, called sviraldžije. There are also records of Goduša having had pluck-string instrument makers – tamburica and double duct flutes – dvojnice in the past. However, these practices are not considered family heritages, but rather learned skills attained through visiting other instrument makers in nearby villages.


Community – the lowest-level administrative division in present-day Bosnia & Herzegovina.


Handcrafting has been family heritage for generations in Goduša. In the sidžil of mula\textsuperscript{10} of Sarajevo from 1565 to 1966 there is written evidence about the presence of a mosque in Goduša, and it is noted that during that time there were only three families who inhabited this region, namely Bečić, Kondžo and Halilović.\textsuperscript{11}

It is furthermore interesting that all historical sources highlight the fact that Goduša’s instrument makers were male, and that they started to learn their handcraft skills from their fathers and grandfathers as ten-year-old boys. Nevertheless, women were always involved in the manufacturing process, accomplishing light handcrafting works such as heating tools on the fire, boiling horns, or most importantly, decorating the finished products. Additionally, the people of Goduša used to organise communal gatherings at their homes, known as mobe, whenever a single family had too much work to accomplish.\textsuperscript{12} Mobe and female assistance in the process of manufacturing handicrafts are nowadays no longer practiced.

Rural regions of Bosnia and Herzegovina depend on handicrafts for subsistence. In so doing, special days of the year are often arranged together with significant events such as market days and annual festivities. In this respect, Goduša’s artisans were no different. The most important customers for traditional duct flutes were shepherds\textsuperscript{13}. Therefore, makers constructed and

\textsuperscript{10} Sidžil (Latin - sigillum) - Court protocol or court records of Turkish authorities which contained the arbitrations, discussions and legacies. Mula (Turkish mülla; Arabic. Mawlā = Mister) - Scholar, theologian; Sultan used to award mula status to educated people or people who attended religious schools, even if this was a lower level of education. See Škaljić, Abdulah (1966). \textit{Turcizmi u srpskohrvatskom jeziku} [Turkisms in the Serbo-Croatian language]. Svjetlost. Sarajevo: 563 and 472.

\textsuperscript{11} Filipović, Milenko (1928). Visočka Nahija [Visoko Nahija]. Srpski etnografski zbornik (Knjiga 43) [Serbian ethnographic journal (Book 43)] \textit{Naselja i poreklo stanovništva} (Knjiga 25), [Settlements and the origin of inhabitants (Book 25)]. Urednik Jovan Erdeljanović. [edited by Jovan Erdeljanović]. Srpska kraljevska akademija [Serbian Royal Academy]: 424.


sold their instruments at joyful events taking place around spring and during the summer.

Finally, one peculiarity worth noting issue is the fact that there is no evidence of makers who also played flutes in the area, which is likewise the situation in the case of Vehab Halilović. But he is not only an instrument maker, but also a maker of all wood and horn handcraft products, a versatility in manufacture that was not practiced before.

Field Notes

The main subject of this study, Vehab Halilović, was born in 1948. Halilović has preserved traditional manufacturing methods using natural resources and handcrafted tools. The following section will briefly outline the Vehab Halilović’s work process in frula manufacturing. This was also the subject of my dissertation.

It is worth noting that all tools used in the duct flute manufacturing process are handmade by Vehab Halilović, and most of them are common to the process of making other wooden handcrafts. The important role is given to the workplace, čekrk, on which all the making takes place. It is a modestly constructed wooden base, on which the whole process is undertaken such as curving the wood in order to make flutes or smoking pipes. The only force that pulls the čekrk in order to spin the wood comes from the lučac, oputa or kajasa, made also of wood and leather, and which is hand-powered by the maker, who pulls it back and forth applying physical strength.

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14 On a few occasions, Vehab Halilović mentioned two other skilled makers who he remembers – deaf maker Ševko Ćustović and Mustafa Halilović, who was also one of the best handcrafters, but also disabled, as he pointed out. Halilović, Vehab (2016, April 5). Personal interview.


There are four phases involved in the process of frula making:

**Phase One**

According to Vehab Halilović, the most common wood used for making flutes is maple. It is usually dried in the shade in order to prevent cracking. At first, a piece of wood is roughly shaped on a wooden base called tesalo, which has a pilot hole carved in the centre for the purpose of its positioning.

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The wooden piece is at first shaped as a rectangular log called taslak that is later on attached to another handmade tool at the edges. Then it is installed on the čekrk and the wood turning process begins.

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19 It is to be noted that taslak dimensions are nowadays standardized (20-30cm long, 4-6cm wide), which was not the case when instrument players required the dimensions of their instruments to be tailored according to their own hand size.
Following the cultivation, the taslak is drilled on the čekrk. The result of the first phase is a flute-shaped piece of wood, which the maker explains is a well-shaped body. One of its ends that becomes the head is wider. After the head comes the neck, where the maker later cuts out the mouthpiece.

**Phase Two**

Vehab Halilović commonly employs a pre-made hole-positioning tool, a wooden template, which standardizes the position of the holes on almost every frula today. There are altogether six holes (⌀0.6mm), which are later on treated with a heated tool in order to clear the pathways of the tube. The instrument is 23cm long.

**Phase Three**

During the previous/second phase, the instrument maker also carved a hole called a svirenjak on the neck of the flute, and for the mouthpiece at the head of the instrument. Vehab Halilović uses a common hazel or willow stick, a soft type of wood, situating it in the mouthpiece opening. After having accomplished the meticulous work of producing a clean whistle sound through
cleaning the airways and testing, the third production phase of the flute’s head, including the duct, and neck is completed.

Figure 5: Hazel stick, svirenjak on the neck and completed mouthpiece. Photo by Lejla Džambazov. (Goduša, 2005, November, 17).

Phase Four

The fourth phase of manufacturing is dedicated to decorating the instrument. This part of the work has increasingly become important today, contrary to previous practices, when the instrument’s decoration was given less attention. There are different techniques used in this process, all performed upon a čekrk. Some flutes are completely painted and then carved. Colours are produced by mixing petrol and tar, which local people consider being the best choice, although in recent field visits this method of dye creation has not been witnessed. Vehab Halilović often applies ornamentation using a burning technique. The burning is carried out with a tool called an igdija that is heated with fire. The carved ornamentation often resembles floral patterns. In earlier periods, ornaments were only burnt around the neck of the flute, but more recent flutes often are decorated as if they have a tin-plated mouthpiece.

Frula in a Shifting Context

As a result of the globalization demand, the role of the frula is nowadays changing. Unfortunately, the process of making a frula as outlined above is rarely practiced due to a decreasing number of players - in this case directly attributable to the declining of the shepherd’s culture. Vehab Halilović is gradually departing from his hand-made manufacturing methods. For instance, instead of the traditional čekrk, he has started using electrical lathe; instead of heating igdija on a fire, he has constructed a special electrical tool (akin to a soldering iron) for instrument decoration. Consequently, it is possible for him to make more than ten flutes per day, which are sold on souvenir markets throughout Bosnia and Herzegovina. These colourful instruments catch the eyes of tourists with their prices reaching as high as 100 BAM (approximately €50 in 2017) on souvenir stalls, but the retail price of Vehab Halilović for a single frula is approximately 3BAM (€1.5) only.

However, it is important to note that despite the fact that Vehab Halilović has adopted modern methods of mass production for the market, he still has occasional players who are demanding handcrafted flutes according to their needs, hand measurements or timbre affiliations: “I want Vehab to make one for my needs, I don't have it in my collection, they all sound different and I like how this one sounds.”

21 Interview with Adem Fišo, from Trzanj, Tarčin, near Sarajevo – a flute player who was an electrician by profession, prior to retirement. Today he regularly performs with the Dance and Folk Association Ivan Planina (Mount Ivan) from Tarčin as folk orchestra
In a recent interview, Jusuf Mušinbegović, another flutist from the village of Tušnjici near Visoko, revealed that he inherited a frula made in Goduša and still plays it. He stated: “I play and sing upon other people’s request, not for myself, but for the people.” Neither of these players are shepherds. In situations where players request Vehab Halilović to create a bespoke flute according to their personal requirements, nowadays he does not charge any additional fee.

Towards Social Development and Cultural Sustainability

Frula flutes and the processes of their manufacturing are diverse and versatile being shaped by local environmental circumstances, social and economic dynamics, and transformations of livelihoods, both inside and independent from established heritage frameworks. This fact raises a number of questions and discussions pertaining to the sustainability of the practices of traditional instrument makers. As already noted earlier, today we are witnessing transformational experiences of artistic production that lead to changes in both perspective and action, hence a ‘traditional’ process is modified and outmoded. When looking at the sustainability of the traditional practice itself, I have observed that through the utilization of handcrafted tools, natural resources and a direct reference to the ‘old’ traditional instrument making process, Vehab Halilović acts as a mediator between past and present practices. While retaining the strong cultural foundations upon which he learned and honed his skill of frula making following the individual desire of some players, he has also embraced modern manufacturing methods for the context of the ‘new’ consumer; the non-player, commonly tourists. When transmitted from generation to generation, this expression of intangible cultural heritage will remain authentic. It is obvious that Vehab Halilović’s attentions as an instrument maker are not only directed toward economic, but also intrinsic values. Engagement with the history and traditions of craft making can also help to stimulate a deeper personal sense of place, and sense of pride in one’s home.

An identification of practice, skills, and techniques, and the utilization of soloist. However, the music is mostly performed on tuned flutes of Serbian origin. Fišo, Adem (2016, April 1). Personal interview.

Interview with Jusuf Mušinbegović (born 1950) is a retired soldier who first learned to play recorder with his primary school teacher, and later learned to play the frula. Mušinbegović, Jusuf (2016, May 5). Personal interview.


of tools and traditional knowledge should be the starting point in the appraisal of the issue of tangible and intangible cultural heritage.25

Social Capital and Societal Connections – Discussion

Studies of musical instruments have shown the ways in which instruments embody and are means to negotiate about cultural and social significance and meaning.26 Here, an attempt has been made to explore the social role and function of the frula today, as a result on the spot investigations and observations of Vehab Halilović while making these instruments in the village Goduša.

Social agents, including wider community engagement, museum’s interests, journalistic curiosity, and formal and non-formal educational collaborations, have impacted upon the cultural values of Vehab Halilović’s handicrafts, thereby opening new dialogue about the ‘life’ of traditional handcraft experts. It is crucial that more attention is paid to, and insight gained from, observations of external influences, considering the fact that they are involved in shaping perceptions of the wider community and societal prejudices about the culture itself.

From the early 1980s onwards, there was a growing realization of international conservation theorists referring to intangible heritage that need to be identified, recorded, preserved and protected. While early efforts, such as UNESCO’s 1989 Recommendation on the Safeguarding of Traditional Culture and Folklore laid the groundwork for this issue, it was not until the 2003 adoption (and 2006 entry into force) of the Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage (ratified by Bosnia & Herzegovina in February 2009) that special attention was paid to modes of recognition and preservation of intangible heritage, including traditional craftsmanship within


Bosnia & Herzegovina, and the state’s responsibilities toward the conventions have proven incredibly difficult to implement. Recognition is slowly growing within the country that special attention must be given to the process of making handcrafts, since once intangible heritage is lost, it would be impossible to recapture. Finally, it is important for the preservation that all stakeholders, and not only researchers and scholars, make efforts to recognize intangible cultural heritage alongside (and as part of) its tangible counterpart.

It is also important to note that social connections occur through social, cultural, and nostalgic associations. These associations may manifest themselves in forms ranging from highly intimate, personal experiences to broader nationalistic or ethnic identity constructions. This social perspective can further give insight to the importance of social connectedness that is present in Goduša, because craft-based experiences encourage social interaction, ownership, and confidence, clustered together under the umbrella of community wellbeing:

“Craft, as we’ve seen, can provide opportunities for satisfying work and a balanced approach to life and work which promotes all-round wellbeing. It can create routes into employment for young people from disadvantaged backgrounds, alleviate the symptoms of physical and mental disorders and stress, and help people to build strong relationships with the people around them.”


30 The making of instruments from natural, non-toxic materials is considered very important among the players. Particular interest in the making of instruments by Vehab Halilović has been paid by Nedzad Ensslin (born 1972), a maker and player originally from Tuzla, Bosnia and Herzegovina, nowadays living in Germany, who has explained his interest in Vehab Halilović’s process of making flutes as part of a wider general interest in ecological approaches to making musical instruments. Ensslin, Nedžad (2017, July 20). E-mail correspondence.


As an example, over the past decade, the consumption market has significantly changed, largely due to non-players’ increasing demand for instruments, and since Vehab Halilović retired from his primary employment, he opted to supplement his pension in order to support his household by making handcrafted wooden products.

Additionally, Vehab Halilović now lives as a tradesman, traveling to towns, markets, village gatherings and seasonal festivals (vašar; plural: vašari) to sell his products, but also to raise awareness of his existence as a maker and artisan. As mentioned above, his flutes attract tourists and wholesale buyers (often souvenir sellers). In addition to his sales while travelling, Vehab Halilović has built a small workshop space next to his house in Goduša, called an ‘Ethno room’ which is supported by the local museum in Visoko (Zavičajni muzej Visoko) to attract tourists to the village, not only to experience its environs and atmosphere, but also to listen to Vehab Halilović’s historical narratives and storytelling. Therefore, his musical instruments are to be considered entangled objects that embody various aspects of cultural and social values. Observing from this perspective, one may consider tourists visiting Goduša as purposeful cultural tourists, who in themselves enable and create additional space for heritage tourism and conservation. This is arguably the most important form of cultural tourism, as it heavily influences the sustainability of methods applied in the scope of protection and preservation of cultural heritage.

The areas of cultural tourism and socio-economic capital can represent possible tools for measuring the unseen economic values and benefits of cultural heritage. Such ideas have already been introduced to the region in relation to conservation and restoration of the built (tangible) heritage through the Council of Europe’s ‘Ljubljana Process’, and related work, although few steps have been made to utilize the economic potential of intangible cultural heritage within Bosnia and Herzegovina to date.

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Flourishing Craft Heritage and Practice

Finally, one may conclude that the popularization of heritage has turned the *frula* into a product or commodity consumed by tourists. In this case, we may as well argue that Vehab Halilović is making an impact on the recognition of the economic potential of cultural heritage by making a livelihood from traditional handcrafted products. At the same time, he focuses on his special skill as an intangible heritage. The existence of a maker who has acquired the knowledge of a whole range of skills through the direct practice of making flutes and other previously mentioned crafts is essential in order to discuss the sustainability of intangible methods. However, in order to ensure the authenticity of the traditional instrument making process in the face of new trends in tourism, it is important to ensure the correct methods are employed and approaches to cultural communities and cultural representations. It must be recognized here that a fine balance exists between the ‘authentic’ and the ‘Disneyfied’. Lawler defines disneyfication as “[The] process of stripping away the original character of a particular destination and repackaging it in a sanitized & friendly format by replacing what has grown and evolved organically with an idealized and tourist-friendly facade.” In the case of Vehab Halilović, the risk is that, through the continued use of traditional instrument making methods, the economic aspect of frule being a source of supplementary income would be lost – while an ‘authentic’ product would be created via ‘authentic’ methods, the reasons behind this would be ‘inauthentic’, thus presenting us with a sanitized role of frule in the social life of Goduša.

The transmission of the traditional process of making duct flutes, while faced with an uncertain future, is undeniably a collective responsibility. While modernization and industrialization remain critical issues, the introduction of which is highly beneficial from an economic perspective, it is at the same time crucial to preserve and transmit traditional processes and methods.

“Safeguarding intangible cultural heritage demands quite different measures from those involved in protecting tangible heritage. A major difference between tangible and intangible heritage is that elements of the intangible cultural heritage are ephemeral: they do not exist continuously but are temporarily enacted or embodied. Another major difference is that intangible cultural heritage is human-borne, that is, for its manifestations and transmission, it depends entirely on people: the knowledge and skills required


for the enactment of intangible cultural heritage are located in the human mind, often in the collective mind of a community, whereas the main instrument of enactment is the human body. The safeguarding of intangible cultural heritage depends therefore, primarily on its continued enactment and on its transmission from generation to generation.”

The Instrument Maker Vehab Halilović

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Mušinbegović, Jusuf (2016, May 5). Personal interview.


Prior to World War Two, in the folkloric practices of Serbia, including the Autonomous Province of Vojvodina, special occasions such as Serbian wedding-, christening- and other parties, celebrations and customs were not imaginable without a piper.\(^1\) Some towns and villages used to boast more than one piper (e.g. Sivac had eight, while Srbobran boasted as many as 13).\(^2\)

At the beginning of the 21\(^{st}\) century (2003), the ascertained number of bagpipers in the whole of Vojvodina was drastically reduced to mere three.\(^3\) In the same year, the first 'serious bagpipe seminar' was initiated by the Novi Sad Cultural Centre and its director Borislav Beljanski. Under the name of *Gajdaško seme Vojvodine* (‘Bagpipe Seeds of Vojvodina’), the seminar’s aim was to put

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3. The three bagpipers were: Rada Maksimović of Srbobran, Branislav Zarić of Kikinda and Maksim Mudrinić of Sivac, see: Томић, Дејан, priredio (2014). Гајде и весела србадија: алманах. Нови Сад: Тиски цвет, 205-206; 207-208; 209-211. Unfortunately, the former two are no longer alive.
new life into the piping tradition and prolong the lifetime of the instrument. The prominent piping instructor Maksim Mudrinić was one of those who worked with the participants in the seminar.

This paper aims to cast light on the way in which this gifted enthusiast, bagpipes collector and promoter of the bagpipes (gajde) and bagpipe music in Serbia was learning the secrets of building the instrument. Based on field research, audio and video recordings made in the Cultural Centre of Sivac and the workshop of Maksim Mudrinić, this report offers a brief overview of the ergology of the 'Banat bagpipes', followed by a description of the techniques of crafting its bag, bellows, drone, chanter, bole/knob and reed (the Serbian terms being mešina, laktača, bordunska svirala, gajdenica, lula and pisak). Focus will also be placed on some changes and improvements of the instrument in terms of ergology and sound, as well as the enormous efforts, energy and enthusiasm manifested by Maksim Mudrinić in his intention to pass his knowledge and skill to the participants in the seminar and all those eager to practise bagpiping.

Figure 2: Maksim Mudrinić in front of his private collection of the music instruments. Photo courtesy by S. Stojkov, 2011.

4 Мудринић, Максим (2010). “Гајдашко семе Војводине, 2003-2010”. Нови Сад: Центар за културу Града Новог Сада, Завод за културу Војводине (manuscript), 2. This map was made by Vladimir Dabić.

5 The ethnomusicological field research took place in Sivac: first at the Cultural Centre, on June 25, 2011 and September 18, 2012, and recently (June 25, 2016) in Maksim Mudrinić’s workshop and native house, by audio and video recording. Herein I express my most sincere gratitude to Mr. Maksim Mudrinić for all his kindness and precious information, as well as to Professor Siniša Bokan, Dean of the Academy of Arts in Novi Sad; my thanks are also due to the students of the Academy: cinematographers Stefan Stojanović and Ivan Milev, and tape-editor Petar Stojanović. Last but not least, I owe thanks to my young colleagues Vesna Karin and Martina Karin whose cooperation during the recording of the material proved praiseworthy.
Maksim Mudrinić was born at Sivac, in 1952. Having graduated from the Teachers’ College (Pedagoška akademija) in Novi Sad, he worked in pre-school institutions of Kula, Crvenka and Sivac (1980–1995); in 1995, he took the post of the musical programme manager at the Cultural Centre of his native Sivac. From 2000 to 2005, Mudrinić was appointed director of that institution. As a musician, he started with the guitar, proceeded with the brač [viola] (bassprim terc), and in 1997 undertook playing the samica tamboura and the bagpipe. In the latter period he became particularly interested in the building of the bagpipes as a traditional musical instrument.

The Ergology and Building of the Big Banat 'Trisonant' Bagpipes: Tradition and Innovation

The so-called 'trisonant' Banat bagpipes are described as "the most enjoyable" by the Serbian anthropologist Sima Trojanović. It belongs to the group of the "biggest", i.e. "most sizeable", bagpipes in Serbia. It is a wind instrument with an air bag and, like the clarinet, with single-reeded aerophones.

The basic elements of the bagpipe made by Maksim Mudrinić are the chanter (gajdenica, karaba) or the 'melody pipe', the (air) bag (meh, mešina), the bellows (laktača, mali meh) and the drone (bordunska svirala). The chanter consists of two parallel cylindrical bores: melodic line is played on one, and harmonic-rhythmical accompaniment on the other. The bag serves as an air reservoir. The bellows enables the bagpiper to pump air into the bag so that he can sing while playing the instrument. As to the drone/bourdon, it has an 'accompanying' role.

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7 For more on this issue, see: Тројановић, Сима (1901). Музички инструменти Српског етнографског музеја у Београду. Београд: Светлост, 7-12.
8 In Vojvodina, this type of the instrument is also known under the name of mokrinske gajde/’Mokrin bagpipe’, after the large village of Mokrin near Kikinda in Banat where the renowned bagpipe maker Aleksandar Acko Pejakov used to live in the first half of the 20th century, see: Томић, Дејан, приредио (2014). Гајде и весела србадија: алманах. Нови Сад: Тиски цвет, 193-194; in Bašaid, another village near Kikinda, it was referred to as svirale, see: Širola, Božidar (1937). Sviraljke s udarnim jezičkom. Zagreb: Jugoslavenska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti,177), while the piper Maksim Mudrinić calls them kumovske gajde, i.e. wedding-party referring 'best man's bagpipe' (Oral source: M. Mudrinić, age 64, Sivac, June 25, 2016, audio tape: WS 750300).
There is an opinion that the trisonant Banat bagpipe is not only the biggest in Serbia but also the most complicated to build and play. The opinion is shared by Maksim Mudrinić who has crafted some 60 bagpipes: the sizeable trisonant bagpipe (in fis1, g1, a1), small trisonant bagpipe (in e2, d2 i g2) and tiny Bulgarian bagpipe (in d2 i g2). Yet in this paper, as has been said above, focus will be placed on the building of big trisonant bagpipe.

Nowadays, the making of traditional musical instruments is often a matter of teamwork. This means that two or three persons/craftsmen take on some of the operations necessary to make one and the same instrument. As the equipment of Maksim Mudrinić lacks a large lathe and big drill needed for rough shaping of the chanter, bole, bellows or drone, he commissions an excellent local turner (lathe operator) who – following Maksim’s sketches – cuts and shapes wood pieces (in recent time, maple has been used most often), while Maksim himself drills holes on the chanter and undertakes high-precision work: whetting, sanding, painting, and varnishing wooden parts. He also prepares the bag, makes the reeds and – in the end – assembles all the parts together and tunes up the instrument. As some tools for the shaping of certain parts are not available in shops, Maksim Mudrinic has made these by himself.

9 In addition, Maksim Mudrinić would – upon commission – make the karabljice in F, a shepherd instrument with six fingerholes also known under the names of karaba (Banat), duduk (Srem), or usne gajde (‘mouth bagpipe’, southern Serbia).

10 A builder thus cooperates, usually on regular basis, with a turner or metalsmith, wood carver etc., see: Дугић, Бора (2015). Трактат о фрули. Београд: Завод за уџбенике, 171.
1. Bag

Unlike some bagpipe makers who use industrially made (synthetic) leather, imitation of animal hide\textsuperscript{11} Maksim Mudrinić makes bags of goatskin in a traditional yet modernized way. First of all, one skins a young goat with one's thumb and not with a knife (!), while all of it is separated from the flesh. The hide is then soaked in lime milk (lime rarefied in water by stirring) to be kept therein for about five days. This allows for taking the hair off the skin easily. The washed skin is then kept in water for the next three days. On the last day, a spoonful of honey is added, for the honey will absorb the lime from the bag "to the last molecule" and the skin will be left in utmost purity. Dried and wrapped in a towel, the bag is then soaked in a solution made of two litres of apple vinegar and a handful of salt to stay therein for another three days.

Rinsed again and dried, it is soaked in a mixture of two litres of alcohol (98\%) and two decilitres of glycerine for the next two or three days. In order to get the final product, one ties up the skin from the legs, neck and back of the animal, inflates the bag and leaves it in a dark room for five to six days until it dries up. Thus, the bag is ready for the attachment of other parts of the bagpipe: in one leg the stock of the bellows is inserted and tied, the stock of the drone into another, while the chanter stock (čurka or našak) is inserted into the neck. Such a bag is of much better quality than those made in the past: it is

softer, the bad smell is gone, and its durability is extended to ten or more years.\textsuperscript{12}

It is presumed that pipers and bagpipe makers began to dress up the bagpipe in 1930’s; these bag covers would be made of cloth in various colors or the flag of the piper’s native country, in order to emphasize his national identity.

2. Bellows

The bagpipe makers in Vojvodina introduced bellows (laktača), or the 'manual bellow', as a sort of innovation or oddity which enables air to be pumped into the bag; in other words, the pipers using the 'invention' no longer have to blow air from their mouth into the bag but do that with the bellows. Hence, they can sing the whole song without 'breathing breaks' and accompany themselves all along, which had been unthinkable before.\textsuperscript{13}

\textbf{Figure 6: Two bellows decorated in various manners. Photos courtesy of M. Mudrinić, 2017.}

What is it that one needs to make bellows? First, two panels – the upper one and the lower one – are cut out of maple planks. They are finely shaped and smoothed with sandpaper; three holes are then drilled through as the seats for three valves to be inserted later. Cow hide of particular size is taylored and cut out; the hide is then glued to the lower panel first, then to the upper one; decorative rivets (metal pins) are 'hammered in' along the edges to make the hide adhere firmly, as the bellows must be absolutely air-tight. There are three valves on the bellows which make it possible for the bellows to get filled with air and prevent the air from streaming into the bag. At the moment the bellows is relaxed, two valves open and let air inside, while the third valve, the one

\textsuperscript{12} In the opinion of Maksim Mudrinic, the bags made some 60 years ago had an unpleasant smell, decayed rather quickly and the pipers had to get a new bag almost every year (Oral source: M. Mudrinić, age 64, Sivac, June 25, 2016, audio tape: WS 750300).

\textsuperscript{13} Before the bellows was invented, a bagpiper could only sing one line of the lyrics, for he had to make a break and resume blowing air into the bag.
linked to the bag, closes up so that the air would not pass into the bag. When the piper presses the bellows, the two valves get shut, while the third one opens letting the air from the bellows flow into the bag. As can be seen, the bagpipe bellows resembles the bellows of the blacksmith. Today, the bellows are usually decorated in various manners.

3. Drone

In earlier times, the drone (bordunska svirala, prdaljka) used to be made of wood and consisted of four parts held together with a cow horn. Ergologically, however, the length of the drone was in early 20th century still a trouble the pipers had to cope with, for it could reach up to 160 cm. For instance, the piper had to be very careful during wedding parties: in the rooms packed with guests, he had to take care that he avoids hitting a guest or sweeping off tableware with his drone. Acko Pejakov from the Banat village of Mokrin, a famed flute and bagpipe-maker, is believed to have introduced the significant innovation in order to solve the problem: he shortened the external length of the drone but retained the length of the air column, so the drone could still produce the bourdon tone two octaves lower than the chanter keynote.

Figure 7: Acko Pejakov (1883-1957); Figure 8: Drone, Sivac. Poto: N. Fracile, 2017.

So, instead of inserting one pipe into the other in order to get the needed length of some 160 cm, he placed the three pipes into mutually parallel position and put them together with special wooden pieces, making the drone

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14 Oral source: Rada Maksimović, bagpiper, age 64, Srbobran, April 27, 1988; tape Mg 44/A1.
considerably shorter. The 'innovation' was adopted by the bagpipe maker Maksim Mudrinić in his practice of building the sizeable trisonant bagpipes. He has explained that – as he himself does not own a large lathe – he gives high-quality maple wood and a corresponding sketch of a drone to the village turner; the turner roughly shapes three segments of the drone, and Maksim proceeds with fine work: whetting, sandpapering, painting, and varnishing, as he does with other wooden parts of the bagpipe. The pieces are linked with metal bands/ferrules. A reed is inserted in the first and smallest part of the drone; via a stock it is linked to the bag. As compared to the reeds in the chanter the length of which is 7-8 cm, the one in the drone is much longer – about 15 cm; if not tuned up well enough, it may put the piper to trouble. The drone has no fingerholes; it produces one continual note that sounds two octaves lower than the basic pitch of the chanter, as is the case with the Slavonian dude type of bagpipe.

4. Chanter

The chanter (karaba, melodijska svirala) is made from a single piece of wood (maple is used most often). At a mutual distance of just one or two millimetre, two parallel cylindrical bores are drilled. The right bore of the chanter has six fingerholes and the melodic line is played on it. Five holes are used to produce the tune, while the sixth, which is placed sidewise, is the flea hole which serves to define the chanter’s basic pitch. The left bore of the chanter has a single fingerhole which defines the chanter’s basic pitch, too. When the piper shuts it, he gets a tone one fourth lower than the basic one. By this ‘voluminous sound’ – Maksim Mudrinić says – „the piper produces a contra”. In other words, the left bore functions as a ‘flexible’ harmonic-rhythmical ostinato. When the piper happens to be left-handed, like Maksim Mudrinić, the position of the bores and fingerholes on the chanter is inverse. The chanter has two reeds (made of elder or cane reed) with a single blade each. The chanter stock (čurka or našak) is a socket-like piece which fastens the chanter; it is linked to the air bag made of goatskin.

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18 Provided the bagpipe is in g1, as is the case with the trisonant bagpipe of M. Mudrinić, the harmonic-rhythmical accompaniment is based on g1-d1 tones.
5. Bol / Knob

The bole, or knob (Serbian terms are lula and rog, as their shape is associative of a tobacco-pipe or a horn respectively) is inserted into the chanter and greatly contributes to the effect that the ‘flexible ostinato’ – based on the interval of the descending fourth and constant metro-rhythmical pulsation – gives a more voluminous sound to the harmonic-rhythmical accompaniment (a kind of the resonance box). Although this part of the bagpipe appears rather simple at first sight, the crafting of the bole takes a long time – several days from the initial phase to the last one. Maksim Mudrinić explains that the crafting of a bole requires high-quality drills and high-quality maple wood. The bole is first shaped – following a corresponding sketch – with bores and drills; wide holes are drilled carefully before one takes the chisel. Tiny pieces of wood are chiselled out one by one until an adequate form of the hole is accomplished. What follows is the inner and outer woodworking, that is, fine shaping on a special machine constructed by Maksim himself; he calls it skalamerija (‘contraption’).
With the help of this device one can easily smooth and shape the bole from many sides in order to get the desired form. In order to protect the instrument from moths, one puts some rosemary or lavender into the bole. The bole may play an additional role: during parties/celebrations, the listeners pleased by the bagpiper’s performance put some money into it as a reward.

6. Reed

The ethnomusicological literature dealing with two- and trisonant bagpipes spotlights the significance, problems and complex process of reed-making, presenting both the traditional techniques and some recent, more modern, techniques applied on plastics, metals and combined materials. In her study entitled "How to Make Dude Bagpipes? A lesson from Pavo Gadanyi", Nina Šala tells about her research experience from the workshop of the Croatian bagpipe maker Pavo Gadanyi (specialized in the dude bagpipes). it was there that she "saw and heard" how many problems and difficulties pipers may face when tuning the reeds. Therefore, one can rightfully claim that the reed is one of the most important yet often most problematic parts of a bagpipe. The opinion has been shared by some pipers from Vojvodina, including Maksim Mudrinić who thinks that the reeds are "the heart and soul of a bagpipe".

The first reeds crafted by Maksim Mudrinić were made of Spanish cane reed (morskovača in Serbian), for it is extremely durable and does not take too long to make; moreover, the tool needed to make it is rather simple and handy. In the past, the reeds made of elder and, later, of cane, used to put the pipers in Vojvodina to great trouble, for the bagpipes would rather often get out of tune (especially the trisonant ones which had three reeds). That is why Maksim Mudrinić searched for new solutions and, in the first decade of the 21st century and with the help of great Bulgarian pipe makers decided to make a reed

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22 Those are, to mention but a few: Čeda Ognjanov Morovanov, age 71, Dolovo, May 10, 1981 (audio tape: Mg XVI/A15-21; Mg XVI/B1-9), Rada Maksimović, age 64, Srbobran, April 27, 1988 (audio tape: Mg 44/A1-14) and Borislav Birač, age 35, Ruma, January 28, 2007 (audio tape: MD 19).
different from the traditional ones which had been shaped out of a single piece of wood (elder or cane).\footnote{Bulgarian pipers prevalingly use reeds made of plastic.}

Since recently, he has been making new reeds that consist of two parts: the ‘body’ of the reed is made of bamboo cane, while the blade/tongue is made of the cane used for clarinets. To begin with, one cuts off a piece of bamboo cane and sandpapers it to get a smooth surface. Small-size tools are used to open a channel 3 mm wide and 30 mm long. Then one takes a piece of clarinet cane, straightens it out and cuts at a desired width. In order to get a constant and identical thickness of the cane, one places it into a metal mould and sandpapers it until it becomes 1 mm thick at one end and 0.5 mm at the other. That is how one gets a clarinet-like blade which is thus adjusted to the bagpipe reed. This ‘clarinet blade’ is then placed against the previously made body of the reed for control; if they match each other, the blade is glued to the lower part of the bamboo cane so that they make a whole. Next, rubber thread is coiled around the lower part of the reed so that the rest of the blade can vibrate. The reed is tuned up by shifting the rubber thread up and down until the desired tone is accomplished. In the opinion of Maksim Mudrinić, this type of reed has proved to be most stable and the best. Moreover, the threat of the bagpipes getting out of tune has been lessened considerably, even at large oscillations of temperature. Experience has showed that the new reed is of greater quality and durability than the earlier ones; the innovation has made things easier for both bagpipe makers and pipers.

![Figure: 13: A new kind of reeds made by M. Mudrinić, Sivac; Figure 14: Reeds made by M. Mudrinić Sivac (Photos by N. Fracile, 2011).](image)

**The Piper and the Instructor**

Maksim Mudrinić is one of the most active and, at the same time, highly reputable pipers in the Republic of Serbia who increasingly devotes his leisure time to the building of trisonant and bisonant bagpipes. Unlike some pipers in
Vojvodina who in the second half of the 20th century had a repertoire of up to some 50 Serbian songs and traditional dance tunes, mostly from the folklore heritage of Vojvodina, Maksim Mudrinić has built a repertoire which is far more sophisticated and diverse: Serbian wedding-feast songs, ritual and customs-related, naughty merrymaking songs (bećarci), kolos, lyrical, epic, patriotic, newly-composed songs in the folk-music spirit, etc.

Many of the genuinely traditional songs have been passed over to him orally by some excellent pipers, tamburitza-players and accordionists from Vojvodina. Thus, for instance, we can now listen to Mudrinić playing the song Pevaj pete na dudu jalovcu [Sing, Oh Rooster, on the Sterile Mulberry Tree] a melodic variant kindred to Pevaj pete na dudu jalovcu/Sing, Oh Rooster, on the Sterile Mulberry Tree, recorded in Banat on a phonograph and transcribed by B. Bartók in 1912. Mudrinić has constantly been expanding and refreshing his repertoire with songs from other parts of Serbia (Šumadija, Eastern Serbia, Southeastern Serbia, Kosovo-Metohija), from Bosnia-Herzegovina, Croatia, Montenegro and Macedonia, as well as some instrumental tunes from Bulgaria and Scotland. As a result, the repertoire of Maksim Mudrinić currently counts about 150 songs and instrumental tunes ranging from the archaic ones (monothematic and bithematic in form) to some more intricate kolos (trithematic and four-theme in form).

Since the bagpipes are mostly suitable for the songs and tunes of diatonic structure within major scale heptachord, the tunes of ambitus larger than the seventh have been inspiredly shaped by the performer and adjusted to the technical and interpretational capacities of the instrument.

With the exception of the fifth tone, on this type of the bagpipes – as Maksim Mudrinić claims – one cannot play a semitone by partly closing the fingerholes like one does on the flute, or the kaval, or other types of the bagpipes. Therefore, the piper must be extremely skillful in order to adapt the tunes of larger range to the interpretative capacity of the instrument and keep the main

24 Those, for instance, included the pipers of Vojvodina who played the trisonant Banat bagpipes: Čeda Ognjanov Morovanov, age 71, Dolovo, May 10, 1981 (Mg XVI/A15-21; Mg XVI/B1-9) and Rada Maksimović, age 64, Srbobran, April 27, 1988 (Mg 44/A1-14; Mg 44A1-3), whose performance I recorded; the recordings present a number of Serbian songs and kolo-dances that prevalingly fall within the musical-folklore heritage of Vojvodina.


26 The famous Scottish song "Amazing Grace" is also on his repertoire.

27 On the big trisonant bagpipes in g1, Maksim can play semitones yet only up to the fifth tone of the heptachord, in this case d2 – des2. Namely, he partly covers the fingerhole with the middle finger of his right hand and thus gets a des2 tone. The fingering is applied by left-handed players like Maksim.
features of the melodic line. The piper who sings while playing the trisonant bagpipes must have an extremely powerful voice so that that his vocal part can 'outcry' the instrument, for the sound of the trisonant bagpipes is extremely and invariably loud. For the same reason, the piper must also have a piercing voice in order to be heard and understood well enough. Maksim Mudrinić is a very musical man and one with excellent diction (the quality many pipers from Vojvodina were lacking), piercing and powerful yet pleasant voice. He masterfully harmonizes his vocal interpretation with the instrumental accompaniment.

In the past, a Serbian wedding party without a piper was unimaginable – not in Serbia only, but also in some neighbouring countries. However, the role of the piper has greatly changed of late. Nevertheless, Maksim Mudrinić played on such occasions in Vojvodina a number of times, but for a short while (usually an hour) and "rather as an attraction" – he says. He also sang and/or played at funerals, slavas (family patron-saints' feastdays) and birthdays. In addition, Mudrinić took part in numerous festivals and cultural events across the country: book presentations, anniversary celebrations related to great figures of science and culture, opening ceremonies of the Novi Sad Book Fair etc. At the Festival of Musical Societies of Vojvodina, held in Ruma in 2006, his performance on the trisonant and bisonant bagpipes earned him the Best Instrumentalist Award.

Countless invitations have been received by Maksim Mudrinić to sing/play at festivals and cultural events abroad: in Hungary, Croatia, Austria, Germany, Bulgaria and Greece, including specialized pipers' festivals in Slovakia (Oravská Polhora, 2011 and Malá Lehota, 2017), Italy (Erice in Sicily, 2016) and the United Arab Emirates (Dubai, 2016). Radio-Television of Vojvodina (RTV) has produced several programmes about Maksim Mudrinić: Tri gajdaša ('Three Bagpipers', 2003), Kida se gajdaška nit ('The Piping Line Is Wearing Out', 2004) and Portreti vojvodanskih umetnika narodne muzike ('The Portraits of Vojvodina’s Folk Music Artists', 2010). A special programme Maksa gajdaš ('Maksa the Piper') was produced by the BN Television (Republic of Srpska/Bosnia-Herzegovina) in 2007.
In order to pass on his knowledge and piping skill to younger generations, Maksim Mudrinić started to teach piping in 2003 when the first seminar dealing with the gajde was organized in Novi Sad under the title of Gajdaško seme Vojvodine ('Bagpipe Seeds of Vojvodina').\(^{28}\) The second seminar for bagpipers was organized two years later, in 2005; it took place in the village of Panonija (well-known tourist destination in North Bačka).\(^{29}\)

In the period 2007-2017, annual seminars have been held for the managements of folklore societies in Vrdnik (near the town of Ruma); Maksim Mudrinić took part in these delivering theoretical lectures and practical instructions on playing trisonant and bisonant bagpipes\(^{30}\). Moreover, owing to the support of the Ministry of Culture of the Republic of Serbia, Maksim Mudrinić organized

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29 The seminar was organized with the help of the Center for Cultural Animation from Novi Sad and the Secretariat for Culture of Vojvodina.

30 The seminar was organized by the Cultural Institute of Vojvodina and the Amateur Association of Vojvodina under the auspices of the Provincial Secretariat of Culture of Vojvodina and the Ministry of Culture of the Republic of Serbia.
Maksim Mudrinić – the Piper, Bagpipes Maker and Piping Instructor

– from 2014 to 2016 – a yearly 'Bagpipe Ethno-Camp' (Gajdaški etnokamp) in Sivac, his native village. Generously and with full devotion he would pass on his knowledge about the bagpipes and the skill of a seasoned musician to the students of the Bagpipe Ethno-Camp; a gifted student of ethnology from Tokyo was one of them, and his name is Taro Kadooka.

Figure 17: Taro Kadooka from Tokyo and three young bagpipers at the Ethno-Camp, Sivac, 2016.

Conclusion

Of the many traditional musical instruments of the Serbs in Vojvodina, some have almost fallen into oblivion while others have suffered obvious changes in order to increase their sonority, ambitus and playing technique, which has helped them survive and even attract great interest of the young (e.g. the tamboura and the flute). Luckily enough, the bagpipes have survived in the 21st century – owing to individual devotees and enthusiasts, performers and builders of the instrument. In spite of the fact that in 2003 there were only three bagpipers in Vojvodina, their number today is incomparably larger, as is the interest in playing trisonant and bisonant bagpipes. The interest has been roused not only among talented self-taught players but also among the students of secondary music schools and even those at university level. The
conditions which considerably backed up the prolongation of the instrument's lifetime in Vojvodina include: organization of seminars and pipers' ethno-camps with the support of the state institutions of culture, the embettered chances for future pipers to get a high-quality yet not unaffordable instrument, and – last but not least – the tremendous enthusiasm, talent and determination of Maksim Mudrinić to pass on his knowledge and skill to future pipers.

In late 19th and early 20th centuries, getting high-quality and well-tuned Vojvodina-type of bagpipes and their inclusion in the instrumental folk-music bands was a great problem. Maksim Mudrinić was aware of that. Therefore, from the very beginning of his career he set out to cooperate with prominent bagpipe makers of Serbia, Croatia and Bulgaria, and to learn their craft. He invariably aspired, and increasingly succeeded, to improve some parts of the trisonant and bisonant bagpipes, especially their reeds. He paid particular attention to precise tuning of his bagpipes, their good sonority and the possibility to use them as either solo or tutti instrument in various instrumental bands. That he has accomplished his goals can be seen from the fact that over the last fifteen or so years he has built – alongside his regular job – about 60 bagpipes in his workshop; these trisonant and bisonant bagpipes met with a warm reception by a number of pipers, show biz artists, as well as by the multi-instrumentalists in folklore societies all over Serbia. He has made a large number of bagpipes for both Serbian players and those of other nationalities from various countries. Thus, the sound of Maksim’s bagpipes can be heard in Croatia and Slovenia, Austria, Italy and France, Greece, England and Russia, Japan and Canada.

In the capacity of a bagpipe maker, player and instructor, lecturer and organizer of bagpipers' ethno-camp, as well as collector of various types of the bagpipes, Maksim Mudrinić has made an enormous contribution to the revitalization and survival of this archaic musical instrument in Vojvodina. He has managed to save the bagpipes from oblivion and bring them back to the admirers of traditional music – for some time to come, at least. As an untired and truly sedulous worker, guardian and promoter of the bagpipes and bagpipe music, he will – I am deeply convinced – continue to advocate this instrument and see to it that the bagpipes of Vojvodina occupy a deserving position in the vast folklore treasury of the multi-ethnic Vojvodina.
References


Bernard Garaj

An Instrument Maker as a Key Factor in Keeping and Developing Musical Traditions

Juraj Dufek is a musical instrument maker who puts his efforts in balancing tradition and marketing. This paper focuses on how different aspects affect his production and how he can play his part in processes related to the maintenance of musical traditions in his closer or distant surroundings.

Facts

Juraj Dufek, born 1976, lives in the small spa-town Bojnice in the Upper Nitra region which neither is a bagpipe region nor has it been recognized as a folklore region in general.\(^1\) He was born into a musical family. His father, originally from Moravia, for a long period working abroad as a civil engineer builder of hydroelectric power dams, used to play several musical instruments. His mother, teaching geography and biology at an elementary school, was a good singer.

His only brother also plays some instruments. Juraj Dufek graduated in materials engineering at the Slovak Technical University in Bratislava and has no musical education. All in all, very few biographical facts, if any, indicate that he was bound to become a bagpipe maker in the end.

Figure 1: Juraj Dufek. Photo courtesy of Svatoslav Dufek.

\(^1\) Apparently it is related to the fact that the traditional rural way of life and living folklore manifestations disappeared or were suppressed more intensively than elsewhere due to a strong industrialization of the country after World War II (mining and chemical industries); Elschek, Oskár (1983). Oskár Elschek: Die Volksmusikinstrumente der Tschechoslowakei. Teil 2: Die Slowakei. Leipzig: Deutscher Verlag für Musik, 152–164.
Bagpipes or more precisely the sound of bagpipes charmed him during university studies when he discovered recordings of Celtic music performed by Irish singer Enya and in particular the Irish rock band U2. Their 1981 album October came with the sound of the Uilleann pipes. Then he began to look for similar recordings of popular music. As an undergraduate he went to Scotland for summer jobs because of the bagpipes. There he bought his first reeds in order to make Scottish bagpipes. In Scotland he was to see a bagpiper perform for the first time ever on the occasion of a local farm harvest festival. After returning to Slovakia in Bratislava he met two bagpipe makers - Anton Vranka (1936), a teacher at the Faculty of Architecture and Rastislav Trnovec, a cartographic engineer. It is significant that I am mentioning the Bratislava environment and that both makers had become familiar with bagpipes very randomly. For Juraj Dufek these meetings have become particularly important because they have directed him towards the Slovak bagpipes which he had not known anything about. Some significant global, resp. globalization instrument making attributes become apparent at this early stage: urban environment, intellectual educational background of instrument makers, a not targeted, but rather incidental contact with the making of traditional musical instruments, a sophisticated mastery of technology and an important effort to implement any kind of experiments and innovations.

Since 1997, when Juraj Dufek made his first Slovakian bagpipes, he has modified his production permanently. His constant search for new technological solutions and inspirations was to become his trademark, although any attempt to characterize these processes in general can only be a snap-shot of a constantly ongoing dynamic and creative production process. It applies not only to global but to a certain extent also to local aspects of his production.

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2 See track B1 Tomorrow, "a lament to Bono’s mother, who died when he was young, features uilleann pipes played by Vinnie Kilduff.", URL October 2017 V.A. October (U2 album).https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/October_(U2_album), last accessed 7 July, 2017

3 Both of them were at that time the first pioneers in making folk musical instruments outside of traditional environment. Anton Vranka, born 1936, (http://www.anton vranka.sk/) as the first in Slovakia experimented with plastic reeds. Rastislav Trnovec (1968 – 2006) as the first in Slovakia had decided for a professional bagpipe making and later on he had become probably the most respected bagpipe maker in Slovakia until the moment when he suddenly, 38-year-old, died.

4 In our discourse I understand the terms “local and global” - although not always entirely – as terms corresponding to the terms “traditional and innovative” and in such a synonymous meaning I will use them.
Local or Traditional Aspects of Juraj Dufek’s Production

Sound

I have been wondering a long time what hierarchy to choose when pointing out the traditional attributes of Juraj Dufek’s production. Leaning towards the anthropological “emic” or intracultural approach may respect the maker’s ideological concept best. From this point of view the most important attribute of his production is a certain kind of sound quality he tries to achieve. Therefore he tries to imitate the timbres of traditional instruments as much as possible. With hindsight of bagpipes in Slovakia this comes as a paradox because making single clarinet reeds the traditional way and from traditional materials (elder berry or cane) almost vanished within the last 20 years.

Playing or Interpretative Qualities

Concerning the sound quality another effort of this maker unfolds: In the first place a traditional bagpipe repertoire would suit to be played on his instruments. This may come as a paradoxical or even pointless statement. Nevertheless a number of technological changes with a distinct impact on intonation and playing qualities define the second most important attribute of his instruments.

Construction Aspects

Juraj Dufek understands construction aspects as a design of external and internal shapes. While following the external shapes he respects the visual parameters of different types and regional variants of traditional instruments. Following the internal shapes also means respecting a profile and measures of bores. In this respect his production takes the entire region’s bagpipe output into consideration thus being definitely different from any other locally produced bagpipe maker.

Material

While application of new materials has become a significant feature of the present bagpipe production, traditional and field tested materials have not disappeared. For making wooden parts Juraj Dufek primarily uses traditional plum wood, on demand of his clients he makes a bag from a goatskin and

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5 The characteristic sound is for Juraj Dufek one of the most important phenomena of bagpipes: “The sound of bagpipes is a primitive and fundamental consonance that is deep within us and touches our soul. Perhaps this is a reason why we all, who are looking for it and are pleased by it, are so close to each other. As a family…” Žabenská, O., Žabenský, M., eds. (2009) Portréty gajdošov. [Portraits of bagpipers.]. Dôlný Kubín: Oravské kultúrne stredisko, 6.
following regional specifics he uses traditional materials also for making resonators, i.e. brass sheet or beef horn.

Figure 2: Wooden parts of bagpipes made by traditional materials. Photo by Bernard Garaj.

_Aesthetic and Decorative Aspects_

Juraj Dufek looks at musical instruments as important artefacts. This means that he follows decorative techniques and patterns which are characteristic features of different types and regional variants of bagpipes. However, this is neither a mindless copying nor imitation. The more so it reveals an individual attitude to each of his instruments. The result is that every new instrument represents a different decorative concept to some extent.
An Instrument Maker as a Key Factor in Keeping and Developing Musical Traditions

Figure 3, 4 and 5: Parts of bagpipes decorated in a traditional way. Photo by Bernard Garaj (3, 4) and by courtesy of Svatoslav Dufek (5).

An Instrument Maker and Player in One Person

In our ethnomusicological discourse we finally have to consider the fact that Juraj Dufek is not only a maker, but at the same time he is an excellent bagpiper. That clearly has a positive influence on the quality of his instruments.6

Global or Innovative Aspects of Juraj Dufek’s Production

New technological processes and materials

New technological processes represent quite a wide range of innovative solutions which are characterized by using new technological processes, modern machine and hand tools on one side (lathes, drills, grinders, etc.) and using new materials on the other side. It affects the production of several parts of the instrument and first of all making the reeds. Dufek has passed through several stages inspired mainly by his predecessor and teacher Rastislav Trnovec from whom he has acquired a construction idea based on a two-part reed.

It took Juraj Dufek several less or more successful attempts to combine wood and plastic. He ended up making the body from a special kind of plastic called polyoxymethylene while the reed itself is made of carbon composite. In fact it is the plastic as well however it is being reinforced by carbon fibres and bonded with epoxy resin. This material is in confrontation of strength, density and weight better than steel, aluminium or alloy but can be treated like wood, i.e. by cutting and grinding. Unlike traditional materials, such as black elder or cane, reeds made out of the new materials come with several very important benefits and consequences:

1. A widely accepted sound quality in comparison to reeds made from traditional materials contributes to the fact why bagpipes still attract musicians and a wide audience.
2. They are resistant to moisture and thus they come with an intonation stability.
3. They eliminate a most common problem amongst beginners or less experienced pipers who often have difficulties tuning the instrument.

It may be noted that Dufek’s efforts to improve making of the reeds do not stop here. Namely, he has discovered other new material, i.e. kevlar fibre stored in a special polymer matrix (used i.e. for producing bulletproof vests). In his opinion such reeds are even better and their application in practice is so far limited only by its high price. The problem is more complex as it seems to be. Making the reeds from cane or elder berry includes and requires a series of adjustment steps with an influence on the quality of
4. They enable to integrate bagpipes into various kinds of ensembles including non-traditional fusions of instruments i.e. within world music.

5. They represent not only an outstanding technological invention but also one of the most important moments in the revival and development of bagpipe tradition in Slovakia within the last 30 years, in which Juraj Dufek has played a key role.¹⁹

Non-traditional materials Juraj Dufek applies to the making other parts of the instruments as well.¹⁰ For making the bag besides the goat’s skin he uses two-piece glued beef leather¹¹ or Gore-Tex, which he considers to be material of the 3ʳᵈ millennium as it is extremely durable and requires almost no maintenance.

Figures 7, 8 and 9: Making the bag from two-piece glued beef leather. Photo courtesy of Svatoslav Dufek.

Sound, its intonation, timbre, intensity etc., i.e. knowledge that old bagpipers sometimes used to consider to be a secret part of their mastery and that they did not share with the others. It could have happened that even old and experienced bagpipers had problems with making the reeds and tuning their instruments well. It refers mainly to the bagpipes with a double or triple chanter, i.e. with two or three reeds inside. See also: Fracile, Nice (2011): The “Banat Bagpipes” in Vojvodina in the Past and Today. Studia Instrumentorum Musicae Popularis II (New Series). Edited by Gisa Jähnichen. Münster, MV-Wissenschaft, 86.

¹⁹ There were some more stimuli within the bagpipe revival process in Slovakia, i.e. intensive field research and documentation of the old bagpipers, establishing two bagpipe festivals and the Guild of Slovak bagpipers. Thanks to Juraj Dufek and his teacher Rastislav Trnovec also making new instruments has become another important part of this movement. From about 11 bagpipers in 1977 their number has increased to more than 100 in recent days. Garaj, Bernard (2011): Rural Musical Instruments at the Turn of Two Centuries: The case of Bagpipes in Slovakia. Studia Instrumentorum Musicae Popularis II (New Series), 105-116.

¹⁰ Several times I was looking for a relationship between new technologies and especially new material applications with Juraj Dufek’s university education in the field of materials engineering. Although thus acquired know-how he does not reject, at the same time he is convinced that a good instrument maker may not have such knowledge. It is more sufficient to be a good craftsman.

In this regard wooden parts of bagpipes, i.e. the chanter and drone pipe represent a special field as well. Apart from traditional fruit trees Juraj Dufek also uses trees of foreign provenance imported from Africa or South America, which although more expensive are more resistant to external temperature changes and thereby positively affect intonation stability of instruments. Originally for members of his own bagpipe ensemble, he made a set of about 20 instruments from the synthetic acetal thermoplastic known as “polypenco”, i.e. the material from which for years chanters of Scottish bagpipes have been made.12 Thanks to the larger bores “polypenco” makes possible the instruments are particularly resonant, a fact that especially young pipers enjoy very much.13

Standardization of Intonation Qualities

Within the last years the problem of standardised intonation has become significant for a wider area of folk musical instrument making and has an important global character. In Juraj Dufek’s production it is reflected in several aspects. It can be identified through the basic tone level in tuning.

For solo playing predominant for bagpipes in Central Europe, the tonic note was not fixed although it used to be tuned within some range of interval. Today’s request to integrate bagpipes into ensembles requires the stable and standardized tuning corresponding to different types and variants of bagpipes.14 Another problem has to do with the intonation qualities of scales. Neutral intervals and quarter tones, which are significant for traditional instruments, are currently eliminated in Juraj Dufek’s production, having made an effort towards an “exact” tuning of all pitches of a scale.15 Standardized scales applied to the chanters along with reeds made from above mentioned new materials not only allow it, but they also cause that two important components necessary for fine tuning traditional types of bagpipes have disappeared, i.e. using wax and a chain with a hook to correct the size of finger holes. Juraj Dufek, as a professional bagpipe maker, has not avoided this process of unification because - as he claims, it is one of the most important requirements of his clients. In respecting it - in spirit of a slogan "the customer

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13 On the contrary the same material allows extremely small bores (3-4 mm) and Juraj Dufek uses it for making bagpipes for children and educational purposes.
14 Thus new terms have appeared such as “f”-bagpipes, “g”-bagpipes or “a”-bagpipes and have become a very common part of discussions among bagpipers.
15 In regard to traditional instruments neutral tones refer to the third, fourth and sixth as well as to the highest tone of the scale which for instance in regard to the bagpipe with a double chanter could be either the seventh or octave.
is king” - another important dimension of folk musical instrument making at present is to be seen.

Types of Instruments

Although traditional types of bagpipes represent in Juraj Dufek’s production only one group of instruments, first of all in their production his key role as an instrument maker is to be recognised. Their dominant part is represented by the Slovak bagpipes. Moreover, thanks to Juraj Dufek also those regional variants of bagpipes are being played again that have preserved only in fragments and in museums. This category also includes the bagpipes with the so-called flea hole from the Slovak-Hungarian border and bagpipes occurring on the Slovak-Polish border.

Figures 10, 11, 12 and 13: Different types of the Slovak bagpipes. Photos courtesy of Svatoslav Dufek.

The second group is represented by historical instruments of the Czech, respectively German origin. Juraj Dufek almost exclusively specializes in the types of instruments that for instance bagpipe makers due to their demanding technology do not make (e.g. “mulitánky” also known as “dudey” with three
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drone pipes or “Marktsackpfeifen” which are very popular in Germany now). All these instruments have survived thanks to iconographic sources or as fragments and Juraj Dufek have successfully reconstructed them.

Figures 14, 15 and 16: Replicas of historical bagpipes. Photos courtesy of Svatoslav Dufek.

The third group consists of instruments that Juraj Dufek makes for special purposes without a concrete historical or current pattern. I mean the already mentioned training bagpipes for children with small bores, with a small (Gore-Tex) bag and a short drone. They are of a big interest especially among beginners playing in children’s folklore ensembles, respectively children's bands. Thus Juraj Dufek’s instruments have become a wide open gate for children entering the music world of adults.

Figure 17: The training bagpipes. Photo by Bernard Garaj.
International Network

In several places of this article an overlap of Juraj Dufek’s production beyond borders of the present-day Slovakia has been indicated. It turns out that contacts with foreign instrument makers and players as an element of internationalization are becoming another important attribute of instrument making today. In regard to Juraj Dufek we can talk about the whole sophisticated network of contacts. He imports from a Scottish company bags from Gore-Tex, wood from exotic trees he imports from Hamburg or from Spanish traders. They offer whole sets of wooden parts for the Asturian, Galician, Catalan and Scottish bagpipes. He orders just selections of them in order to have the least possible waste. Through this network, however, also know-how related to new technologies, measures and technical plans of instruments are exchanged. Juraj Dufek cooperates with a number of makers from Spain (e.g. with Álvaro Seivane from Galicia and with almost all bagpipe makers in Asturias), Scotland, England, Germany (Matthias Brantschke), Czech Republic (Pavel Číp\(^{16}\) and Petr Skalický from Moravia), Hungary (Bese Botond and Andor Végh), Austria (Stephen Pajer) etc. This cooperation works well because the individual makers do not rival and do not compete by their production and that each of them has a different clientele.

Distribution Network, Marketing and Professionalization of Production

Juraj Dufek has built an above mentioned international background because since 2013 he has been acting as a professional bagpipe maker. For him it is equally important a foreign distribution network as well as sophisticated marketing strategy including information about his production presented on his own website\(^{17}\), on YouTube searching the keyword ‘Juraj Dufek’ on social networks or through contacts with his friend and other musicians. Apart from Slovaks, who represent a majority of his clientele\(^{18}\), he makes bagpipes for customers from the neighbouring countries (Czech Republic, Austria, Poland, Hungary) as well as from Germany and the USA.

And what about living on bagpipe making? Juraj Dufek, who has a family with one daughter, makes four to five tools per month and as he says, it is

\(^{16}\) Pavel Číp is the most respected Moravian bagpipe maker and his instruments are particularly popular in the whole Czech Republic, Austria and Germany. Číp, Pavel, Klapka, Rudolf, F. (2006). Dudy v Čechách, na Moravě a ve Slezsku. Nástin historie, rozšíření, návod na výrobu a malá školy hry na tento tradiční nástroj. Brno: Salve Regina.

\(^{17}\) http://www.gajdy.bagpipes.sk/, last accessed 17 April, 2017.

\(^{18}\) The Slovak clientele is interesting also because it does not consist of the Slovak folk music fans, but also members of movements and sects promoting as if original Slavic spiritual traditions, musicians acting in circles of historical fencing and so on.
Bernard Garaj

enough. He could live even much better, but he does not because he still makes a number of instruments just for himself. As he says: "Most of all this I enjoy home mastering, gadgeteering and experiments".

Juraj Dufek’s Relation to Tradition and Innovation

How one can evaluate Juraj Dufek as an instrument maker? Despite the fact that the local and global, respectively traditional and innovative aspects of his production are clearly visible, despite his effort to be commercially successful that undoubtedly influences his production, it seems that a black-and-white assessment is not correct. Juraj Dufek himself defines it clearly and in his relationship to tradition "Traditions must be respected, but have to be kept in the music itself. As for the musical instruments we are not able to make the world go back. People do not want to tune bagpipes three hours and do not have the time for doing it neither…" One therefore might have reservations or objections to the particular aspects of his production but his instruments have had a substantial share in the keeping and maintaining the bagpipe tradition through a community which 30 years ago protagonists of the bagpipe revival in Slovakia could have just dreamt about.

Juraj Dufek as a Complex Personality with an Impact on the Others

Similarly, to a certain extent somewhat controversially, some more important Juraj Dufek’s activities are to be seen. They complement the complexity of his personality and they all would deserve a special attention in a separate article.

Juraj Dufek is an excellent piper who has perfect commands of regional bagpipe interpretive styles, but he implements into his repertoire melodies without a direct or preserved link to local or regional bagpipe tradition.

Juraj Dufek is a teacher and leader of the band Spojené huky Slovenska (United drones of Slovakia), that is very popular in Slovakia but in which due to different playing qualities of players he has not avoid a simplification of bagpipe playing. ¹⁹

Last but not least Juraj Dufek is one of protagonists of a bagpipe revival movement and leaders of the Guild of Slovak but from time to time he breaks strict ideological integrity of the guild by a preference of his own professional interests, for instance by performances at commercial events.

In regard to all of these activities Juraj Dufek has such an impact on young musicians as Stjepan Veković, a Croatian bagpiper or Pavo Gadanyi, a Serbian bagpiper has. “...Gadanyi prompts us to broaden the ethnomusico-logical understanding of the individual from the present focus on the relation between ethnomusicologist and his/her subjects, and the issue of valid ethnographic representation (as experiential and dialogical) to focus on impacts that our subject have on other people. In other words, an individual is not only of his/her acts, but also of his/her effect on others, in Gadanyi’s case, first of all on other, younger musicians.” Juraj Dufek proves and confirms that musical instrument makers do not live in their isolated world, but they are integral and complex personalities whose sphere of activities is usually much larger and as respected authorities they often might have a major impact on it.

References


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Sound, Place, and Migration: Topshurs of West Mongol Oirats

Topshur, also tovshur or tobshuur, is a two-stringed lute played by Western Mongol Oirats, the westernmost group of the Mongols whose ancestral home is in the Altai region of western Mongolia. They are thought to be originally from the river Yenisei and the lake Baikal. Historically, the Oirats were composed of four major groups: Dzungar, Torghut, Khoshut and Dörbet. Minor groups also include Khoid, Bayads, Myangad, Zakhchin, and Baatud.¹

There are several versions of topshurs found among the Western Mongol Oirats, especially in the ethnic groups Dzungar, Torghut, Khoshut and among the Altaian Urianghais. There are both Chinese and English records describing them. Existing studies discussed history, construction, function and performance of topshurs from different areas, with academic focus mainly on the Xinjiang topshurs on its history and construction²; the relationship with Dombra³; the performing style of Khoshut topshur of Xinjiang Oirats⁴; the Altaian topshur and its function in Kai⁵; the Tuvan doshpuluur and some comparison with the Kalmyk topshur.⁶

Regarding their construction, function, and performing practice, in Chinese historical sources and existing studies, topshurs are described as a kind of two-stringed lutes found in Xinjiang, which are carved from a whole piece of wood covered with a wooden plate or animal skin, and with two strings tuned in a fourth⁷. They can be dated back to Yuan Dynasty⁸; they are a kind of rhythmic

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² Wang Xiaoyan (2012). A Study on Transmission of Xinjiang Bohu County Mongolian Topshur, Master Degree, Xinjiang Normal University; and Zhang Shuran (2013). Acculturation of Topshur in Xinjiang Heshuo County, Shanghai Conservatory of Music, term paper, instructed by Huang Wan.
instrument\(^9\) that features a plucking and strumming technique “da” \(^{10}\) or ‘tsokhilt’, a term of technique ascribed to Shamanism practices\(^{11}\); topshurs are closely tied to the folklore of Oirats and accompanied the performances of storytellers Jangar, singing, and dancing Saurding in Xinjiang.\(^{12}\) However, literature written in English focus often on topshurs in the Altai region and Mongolia. Mostly the topshur played by Western Mongolian groups such as the Altai Urianghais\(^{13}\), the Altais, and the Tuvans are discussed. There, the body of the topshur is normally bowl-shaped, and usually covered with tight animal skin. Their strings might be made of horsehair or sheep intestine. This instrument type accompanied the performances of storytellers, singing, and dancing in the Altai and Tuva Republic.\(^{14}\)

So far, above studies take each topshur as a single focus case and contributed to our understanding of the larger image of the topshur as a whole. In this paper, however, all of these topshurs are seen as fragments of one picture by putting them into the history of Oirats starting historically before the period of the Yuan dynasty. It is argued that topshurs are scattered and spread over large geographical areas nowadays and maintained well by different Oirat subgroups. These topshurs thus not only share similar features in construction, function and performing practice, but also differ from each other after hundreds of years being acculturated after migration.

Then how many kinds of topshurs can be found among all Oirats, when and why did these topshurs begin to vary from each other in construction, function, and performing practice? In order to give some powerful arguments, fieldwork was conducted in 2013, 2016 and 2017. Places of fieldwork include Bazhou Mongolian Autonomous Region Heshuo and Hejing counties in the central Xinjiang area, Altay and Tuvan villages in the northern Xinjiang area, Hohhot city in the center of Inner Mongolia and in Beijing, the capital of China, that are marked with dots and arrows, the latter of which shows the Diasporic communities or Sojourning musicians in Hohhot and Beijing from Tuva Republic and Kalmyk Republic.

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\(^{10}\) “Da” is from Han language in Xinjiang Mongolian Autonomous Area.


Based on the above existing researches and the author’s fieldwork, this paper will thus try to give a panoramic and comparative study on the distribution, connection, and differences of topshurs found in Altai, Tuva, Kalmyk and Xinjiang area from a perspective of sound, place, and migration. First of all, it describes the topshurs’ distribution and difference of categories in construction, function, and performance practice, and then the change of the constructions of these versions of topshurs are explained by putting them into the history of the Oirats, especially taking outside cultural contacts and influences during the process of migration into consideration, including the influences from the three-stringed Chinese Sanxian, the two-stringed Chinese Erxian and the Kazakh Dombra, the western guitar, and the Mongolian morin huur. Finally this paper is to narrate on how place and topshurs are connected, expressed, and reinterpreted by Oirats in their migration history.

Topshurs of Oirats: Tradition and Change

During fieldwork Here five topshur versions were found. They are one Altaian and Tuvan topshur in Russian Federation, two Xinjiang Torghut and Khoshut topshur versions in China, one Tuvan doshpuluur, and one Kalmyk Torghut topshur in the Russian Federation. These five different topshurs are basically from the following geographical areas: Altai Mountains, Xinjiang area,

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15 Although there are many other topshur versions in western Mongolia and elsewhere if looking in details, this paper will just take several representative ones for discussion.
Tuva Republic and Kalmyk Republic. They vary from each other in construction, for example there are five different shapes of the soundbox: an bowl-shaped or an olive-shaped, a trapezoid-shaped, a kidney-shaped, a triangle-shaped and a diamond-shaped. They also vary from each other in the material of strings, in having frets or being fretless, in function regarding their cultural and social contexts, and in performance practice.

Altai Uriankhai Bowl-shaped Topshurs

The Altai mountains, the river Yenisei and the lake Baikal in Tuva are thought to be the ancestral home of the Oirats before the 13th century. Currently, these areas are known as Altai Republic in Russia, Altay and Tuvan villages in northern Xinjiang of China, western Mongolia and western Inner Mongolia. Altaian are also called Altai Uriankhai since the time period of the Qing Dynasty (1644-1912), who were annexed by the Oirat of Western Mongolia in the 16th century. The Mongols called them “Telengid” in the period of the Northern Yuan dynasty. After the fall of the Dzungar Khanate in the 18th century, the Qing dynasty subjugated them.

The bowl or olive-shaped topshur is mostly found in the Altai Republic, the Tuvan Republic and in western Mongolia, but not in northern Xinjiang in China. The sound box in the shape of a bowl or in olive shape that is made entirely from one block of wood is believed to be the early way in the history of lute making. Besides, a similar scoop-shaped topshuur is also found and been used in west Mongolian heroic epics and as accompanying instrument. Also, a two-stringed khuntovshuur or tovshuur is found in Mongolia, which is carved from cedar wood and the body is often covered with the leather of wild animals, camels, or goats. The head of the neck is formed like a swan. The Mongol legends say that they originate from a swan. The strings are wound from horsetails hair and tuned in the interval of a fourth. The West Mongols used this tovshuur to accompany the “tuuli”, a heroic-epic myth, and “magtaal”, a praise song.

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Traditionally, the two strings were made from horsehair or sheep intestines and normally tuned into an interval of a fourth. The body of it is covered with skin of hot-nosed animals: horses and sheep, sometimes with goat or camel skin. The fingerboard is fretless. Besides, it features a method of playing

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technique called “tsokhilt”. Like the morin khuur the tobshuur also has a repertoire of tunes known as the Tsokhilt, or ‘striking’. “Tsokhilt”, originally means pulse\(^\text{19}\), has a relationship with shamanism. It was employed among the Darkhat shamans of northern Mongolia both to induce trance and to heal the sick by imitating the animals’ cry, communication, and trotting according to Leonard Fox in his north Mongolian case\(^\text{20}\), which include three kinds of playing “shuud tsokhilt, a direct stroke, kheonii tsokhilt, a tongue stroke, and ongodiin tsokhilt, a spirit stroke.”\(^\text{21}\)

Similarly, the two-stringed Altaian topshur also has spiritual power used in accompanying ritual epics among Altaians prior to hunting, with singing in the deep declamatory haalah/hailah vocal style\(^\text{22}\), “tuuli”, heroic epic myths, and “magtaal”, praise songs. Pegg explains: “the kaichy’s power is to restore harmony between human and supernatural energies, thereby bringing balance to both cosmos and society.”\(^\text{23}\) For example, in Pegg’s book, there were notes on the Altaian topshur in heroic and ritual epics “Maadai Kara” sung by the local musician Elbek Kalkin. What he played is a traditional two-stringed fretless topshur with a wooden face.

The topshur as the epic-teller’s helper-spirit changes its shape during the journey, even into inanimate objects, when required to overcome obstacles. The topshuur can protect a person from bad spirits. It has an ee. It’s a helper-spirit. The kaichy visits the under-world and the upper-world, depending on the story. When the kaichy crosses a river, the topshuur is a boat; when he goes through mountain, it’s a horse. You can’t be a kaichy without a topshuur. As in traditional contexts, he invited the spirit of the Altai by performing an alkysh, again accompanied by the topshur, as a prelude to the epic. After that he is strumming an instrumental introduction in 4/4 meter with the stress on the first and third beats.\(^\text{24}\)

These are key features of any early topshur, which are to some extend re-arranged today in most areas where Oirats are living. In some pictures of today’s popular Altaian topshurs specific arrangements can be noticed.


\(^\text{23}\) ibid: 130-131.

\(^\text{24}\) Ibid: 132.
In order to win larger audiences and to adapt to new contexts, especially in the Soviet period (1917-1991) of the Altai Republic, many parts of the instrument changed. Talking about the historical contexts, The Altai Republic in the northern Altai Mountains was home to nomadic groups and clans that throughout history belonged to different states and empires: the Turkic period under the Kyrgyz (7-9AD), Genggis Khan’s Mongolian Khanate (1206-1368), the Dzungar State of the West Mongolian Oirats (1630 – late 1750s). After the fall of the Jungar State and the attachment to the Chinese Qing Dynasty, thousands of Oirats, i.e. Jungars of West Mongolians, escaped genocide by fleeing northwards to the southern Siberian Altai and requesting annexation by Russia. The current Altai Republic was established in 1991 and was initially called the Oirat Autonomous District. The changes of social and political background made topshurs change as well, for example the material of strings, the face of sounding board, tuning pegs, and frets. According to Pegg, Elbek said the use of a wooden sounding board made it more fitting to larger audiences in festivals introduced in the Soviet period, and less prone to go out of tune. Also, you will find it also has a fretted neck that shows the influence from more recent dombras and guitars.

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26 Ibid: 133.
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Khoshut Trapezoid-shaped Topshurs

Trapezoid-shape topshurs can be mostly found in some parts of Xinjiang, Gansu, and western Inner Mongolia in China, and in Tuva, where mostly the Khoshut sub group of the Oirats lives.

Originally, Oirats share some history, geography, culture and language with the Eastern Mongols, and were at various times united under the same leader Genghis Khan since 1207 and his sons since the time period of the Yuan dynasty as a larger Mongolian entity. Thus, they migrated from the river Yenisei and lake Baikal to a broader region with borders to the east with the Higgnan Mountain, west to Altai, where they were called Altai Urianghais, north to the river Angara, lake Baikal and south to the desert in the Xinjiang area. In the end, they made a change of living from hunting to pasturage. After the fall of the Yuan dynasty in 1368, this territory became the Oirats’ Federation led by Esen (? - 1445). Oirats and Eastern Mongols had developed separate identities to this point where Oirats called themselves “Four Oirats” while they only called those under the Khagans in the east as “Mongols”. The four Oirats are Khoshut, Torghut, Dorbot and Dzungar; only the Khoshut is the direct descendant of Genghis Khan. 27 When Esen died, the Oirats Federation withdraw from there into the Altai region again. Later on, in order to take back their land, the Oirats fought with the East Mongols.

The 17th century saw the rise in power of another Oirat empire in the east centered in Xinjiang, known as the Khanate of Dzungaria (1630 – late 1750s), which stretched from the Great Wall of China to present-day eastern Kazakhstan and from present-day northern Kyrgyzstan to southern Siberia. 28

Figure 5a, 5b, and 5c: The Khanate of Dzungaria Centered in Xinjiang area around 17th century; Left: Xinjiang Khoshut topshur; Right: Tuvan doshpuluur. Photos by the author.

28 Ibid.
The topshur in this period and in this specific place changed from the earlier bowl-shaped before the time period of the Yuan Dynasty (1271-1368) to a trapezoid-shape in the Ming Dynasty (1368-1644). No account gives details why and when it changed, but according to historical literature “West Regions Iconography: Oirats Dzungar Tribe Musical Instruments section” edited by Fu Heng and administrated by the Qing court in 1782, the Dzungar trapezoid-shaped topshur emerged at least before the Qing Dynasty (1644-1912). This book provides detailed information about string material, performance practice, size of neck and the body. This record shows that the Dzungaria topshur was a trapezoid-shaped one with two strings, and it was not made of a single wood block but made from a wooden frame in a more modern way of making musical instruments in the time period of the Ming Dynasty. The construction enlarged the sound volume and changed the timbre to meet aesthetic preferences in that time and place.

Figure 6: “West Regions Iconography: Dzungar Tribe Musical Instruments section in 1782.
Reproduction by the author.

There are basically two types of trapezoid topshurs, one is the Khoshut topshur found in Heshuo, Bohu Counties, Altay Tuwan village in Xinjiang Mongolian Autonomous Region, and northern Gansu province where Khoshut descendants are living. In history, therefore, the Khoshut topshur must have been disseminated to several different areas, including Heshuo, Bohu Counties, Altay Tuwan village in Xinjiang Mongolian Autonomous Region, northern Gansu province, and western Inner Mongolia.
It is believed that the integration and communication with the neighboring East Mongols and Han people living in Xinjiang influenced the topshur tradition of the Oirats. Especially in the historical literature “Emperor Ritual Instruments” edited in 1766 during the time period of the Qing Dynasty, it shows two instruments: erxian and sanxian. They are considered to be similar to the two-stringed topshur as it is popular today.29

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The other one is doshpuluur found in Tuvan Republic of Russian Federation. The Tuvans have strong relationships with Mongolian and historically known as one of the Uriankhai, similar to Altaians. Also they are believed to be a Turkic people ethnic group living in southern Siberia. Traditionally the Tuvan doshpuluur has only two strings, but there exist versions of it with three or even four strings. The two strings are commonly tuned a perfect fifth apart, with the third string usually forming the octave. Sometimes the two strings are tuned a perfect fourth apart. Like the other stringed instruments of Tuva, it is traditionally used as an accompaniment for a solo performance. Here below are data of four topshur and doshpuluur versions in comparison explored during recent fieldwork in Xinjiang and Tuva.

Number 1, 2, and 3 are Xinjiang Khoshut topshurs from three instrument makers: Dawa, Khoshut cultural community, and Deqie. Number 4 is made by Daqin, a Chinese student of a famous Tuvan musical instrument maker. They look alike, but do they have cultural connections with each other? If so, how to explain the similarity or differences? Some measurements undertaken and a

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comparison of them with the Dzungar topshur mentioned in a 1782’s book, with the detailed data of the sound box, string, and fingerboard may help identifying similarities and differences.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Trapezoid-shape</th>
<th>Tuvan Doshpuluur (Made by Tuvan musician Daryk (2017.2))</th>
<th>Khoshut Topshur (of Cal Durang (2013), Standard topshur in Heshuo county (2013) by De Qin (2011))</th>
<th>Dzungar Topshur in West Region Iconography (1782)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sound Box Length</td>
<td>(4) 31cm Wooden frame</td>
<td>(1) 22.2cm</td>
<td>(2) 25.5 cm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sound Box Wide Upper</td>
<td>21.5cm</td>
<td>17.2cm</td>
<td>18cm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sound Box Wide Lower</td>
<td>25cm</td>
<td>22.5cm</td>
<td>20cm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Length of String</td>
<td>60cm</td>
<td>69.7cm</td>
<td>72cm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of String</td>
<td>3 (two strings are tuned a fifth apart and the third string forms the octave)</td>
<td>2 (with the 3rd string not in use)</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neck</td>
<td>45cm</td>
<td>58cm</td>
<td>58cm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cover</td>
<td>Animal skin or wooden plate</td>
<td>Goat skin or Wooden plate</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fret</td>
<td>Fretted</td>
<td>Fretless</td>
<td>Fretless</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Performance</td>
<td>Sotkaar; Put in between two legs</td>
<td>Da; Perform like three string Surnaa</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conclusion</td>
<td>Tuvan: Bigger than Dzungar topshur; Khoshut topshurs in Heshuo County: Similar to Dzungar topshur; Khoshut topshur in Bohu County: Smaller than Dzungar topshur.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 10: Data of comparison of trapezoid-shaped topshurs in Xinjiang and Tuva.

Through comparison, interesting points of differences were found: First, the Tuvan doshpuluur is much bigger than the Dzungar topshur at least those existing before the time period of the Qing Dynasty, while the Khoshut topshur in Heshuo County of Xinjiang area is quite similar, and the Khoshut topshur in Bohu County of Xinjiang area is a bit smaller. Secondly, the Tuvan doshpuluur has three strings in use, the first two strings are tuned a fifth apart and the third string forms the octave. But the Khoshut topshur’s third string is never in use as assured by several reasons collected during fieldwork. The Bohu topshur maintains the use of two strings tuned in a fourth. Thirdly, the Tuvan doshpuluur uses a fretted fingerboard and guitar like tuning peg that makes this instrument more comfortable, while the Khoshut and Bohu topshurs maintain a fretless fingerboard and a rather simple way of playing, accompanying the dance saurding, or the biy-dance in the Altai Republic.

Fourthly, they all feature a method of playing similarly to the Altaian “Tsokhilt”. In Tuvan it is named “sotkaar doshpuluur”, with “sotkaar” meaning ‘to knock’. In Xinjiang, it is “da topshur”, which means ‘to hit’. Recently, the Tuvan performance technique became more complex. The Tuvan
doshpuluur normally uses the thumb plucked downwards and the index finger to strum upwards. Sayan Bapa from another Tuvan famous old generation group "Huun Huur Tu" uses the thumb plucking downwards, and the index strum downwards first and upwards after that. The emphasis is more on the index finger movement. As an accompanying instrument, it creates more single sounds.  

Fifthly, the most significant difference is the way of holding and playing the topshur. The khoshut in Xinjiang seems to be influenced from the Chinese two-string erxian and three-string sanxian, thus maintaining the way of holding it on the right leg. The Tuvan topshur seems to be influenced by the morin chuur, which can be figured out from the way they put the doshpuluur between the two legs that can be observed in the morin chuur or Igil’s performance practice. It is done this way in order to hold the instrument more stable. Another reason for the similarity of the Tuvan doshpuluur with the khoshut topshur is that Tuvan people reportedly traveled often between Xinjiang and Mongolia, thus they probably got influenced by the Dzungar trapezoid-shaped topshur at least since the time period of the Ming dynasty. Here below are two pictures show the difference of their performance practice in terms of holding the instrument and plucking technique.

![Figure 11a and 11b: Daoerji and Aosangjiala in Heshuo County holding on right leg and strumming with thumb and whole hand. Photo by Huang Wan 2013; Figure 11 c: Ayanool Sam in Tuva holding in-between legs and plucking with thumb and index finger. Photo courtesy of Alash ensemble website 2014.](image)

Besides, data of topshurs owned by 8 representative topshur musicians in Khoshut were collected during a fieldwork in south Xinjiang in April 2013, including Aosangjiala, Aribudong, and Dawa’s topshurs, which show the sizes

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32 According to a talk with Sean Quirk, Oct. 2016.
35 According to interview with Hanger, 2016. No literature supports this argument so far.
are similar to the data recorded in the 1782 historical literature “West Regions Iconography: Oirats Dzungar Tribe Musical Instruments section”. These findings support to a great extent that the Khoshut inherited original Dzungaria topshurs at latest before the time period of the Qing Dynasty.

Figure 12a and 12b: Left: representative topshur musicians, left first in the 2nd row is Aribudong, right second in the 3rd row is Aosangjiala in Khoshut tribe in Xinjiang area; Right: interviewing Dawa in 2013. Photos by the author 2013.

Figure 13a: Tovshuur maker Nimajiapu in Altay area of northern Xinjiang. Photo courtesy of Anchin Onir; Figure 13b: Saurding “Black Bear Walking” dance by Kongsier accompanied by a tovshuur in Altay area of northern Xinjiang in 2009. Photo courtesy of the musicians.36

The trapezoid-shaped topshur can also be found in northern Xinjiang Altay where some Tuvan people live. Some Tuvans reportedly live at lake Kanas in the northwestern part of Xinjiang in China and are considered being part of the local Oirat Mongols community that is generally labeled “Mongol”. They are using a larger trapezoid-shaped fretted topshur very similar to the Tuvan doshpuluur. They have two strings tuned in fourths and accompany to the saurding dance, or biy dance in Mongolia. They are not used for solo performances like the topshur among the Khoshut Oirats according to findings

from the fieldwork in 2017. Here below are photos of the tovshuur maker Nimajiapu in Altay, northern Xinjiang, and a photo of an endangering saurding bear dance by Kongsier accompanied on a tovshuur in the Altay area in 2009.

Finally, there is also a small group of people believed to be Khoshut descendants that are named Alasha Mongols living at the border to Gansu and west of the Irgay River. These people are also using a trapezoid-shaped topshur, most of which are made by Dawa in Xinjiang Heshuo according to fieldwork findings in 2013.

Figure 14: Khoshut student Dorjala explains his work to the audience. Photo by the author 2013.

Nowadays, the Khoshut topshur is unavoidably undergoing a process of changes. One of them is the standardization implemented by the government in order to apply for the national list of Intangible Cultural Heritage consisting topshur playing and saurding dance together. The governmental administration tries to copy the idea of the “12 Muqam”, a successful case of winning this high position in the national registry of the Intangible Cultural Heritage preservation scheme. Now, people are trying to set up their own “12 Saurding” dances accompanied by topshurs of the same size and construction. This was one reason for the Heshuo County Cultural House organizing the
production of standard topshurs in order to meet the needs of topshur lessons in Heshuo County. Also, on the professional level, some Khoshut descendants, for example Dorjala, a young student from the composition department of Shanghai Conservatory of Music, composed a western symphony work titled “Saurding Fantasy” in 2013, according to him the “…topshur is very undeveloped, I need to do something for my hometown... It needs frets, a playing like the Dombra...or it will die.”

Besides, there is also a change in performance practices as it is not popular though. Some of the musicians, for example Buyinxikexi, showed some fancy positions while performing during the fieldwork in 2013. This is believed by many people to be a copy from the Kyrgyz komuz and the Kazakh dombra which show their own musical capabilities in the cultural framework of experienced preferences.

Figure 15: Khoshut musician Buyinxikexi shows fancy performing positions. Photo by the author 2013.

Torghut Kidney-shaped and Triangle-shaped Topshurs

Another very strong group among the Oirats is the Torghut with two basic versions of topshurs found respectively in Xinjiang area and Kalmyk Republic of the Russian Federation, i.e. the kidney-shaped and triangle-shaped one. The change of topshur was possibly the result of cultural contacts, separation, and merging looking back to the history of their migration.

In 1628, fearing of the Dzungars rule (1630 – late 1750s), the Torghut and Khoshut led by Ayuki Khan moved westward to the Volga area conducting the called “west migration” in history. 140 years later, when they were informed of the death of the Dzungars in 1771 during the time period of the Qing Dynasty,
they decided to “return east” to escape from the rule of Russia, and to escape from being sent to battlefields fighting with Turkey for Russia.\(^{38}\) They were led by Ubashi and went back home via the territories of Kazakhstan. Only a part of the Torghut came back travelling through Kazakhstan. Another part of the returning Torghuts who failed to reach their destination due to changes in the plan of Ubashi and the warm winter that made the Volga River being not frozen thus not being able to cross on ice, they had to stay and became the today’s Kalmyk republic in the Russian Federation. Actually the word Kalmyk is how they were named by their western Turkic neighbors and it means ‘remnant’ or ‘to remain’.\(^{39}\) Nowadays, Kalmyk people are very special in this area for they are maintaining Buddhism rather than converting to Islam. Finally, the Oirats are remembered by people today as West Mongolians or Xinjiang Mongolians in China, with the Torghut in the Kalmyk area far away from home.

Figure 16a, 16b, and 16c: The two famous movements “West Migration” and “Return East” of the Torghut in 1628 and 1771 from and to Xinjiang: Bazhou Mongolian Autonomous Region and Boertala area; Left: topshur in Hejing County of Xinjiang; Right: topshur in the Kalmyk Republic, Russia. Photos and drawing by the author.

The Torghut finally play two versions of topshurs after these two movements “west migration” in 1628 and “return east” in 1771. These two instruments undoubtedly have a strong relationship with the Kazakh two-stringed plucked lute dombra and the modern Russian balalaika in terms of construction, strings, neck, tuning peg, and performance practice.

One is the Kidney-shaped Torghut topshur found mainly in Hejin County in Bazhou Mongolian Autonomous Region of central Xinjiang, and recently in the Boertala area of northwestern Xinjiang. Today, Torghut people believe that this topshur shape is the true topshur and it has a long history in their mind, but


they cannot provide a proof for the reason of this believe. According to fieldwork findings and historical literature, this shape emerged quite recently, probably only since the end of 18th century or in 19th century after the time period of the Qing Dynasty when through the “return east”-movement the Torghut were separated and relocated in Xinjiang. Some scholars’ views also show that there is no evidence about the accurate time of its emergence, but they all support that the modern wooden frame version was innovated in 1975 by the Boertala Cultural Group and was made according to recent standards in ‘Hohhot Inner Mongolia folk Musical Instrument Factory’.40

This shape can be found in a very large area of Xinjiang. The reason why it is so much scattered is related to its history. According to historical literature, after Ubashi returning east back to Xinjiang, they finally were separated throughout Xinjiang under the implementation of the league and banner system given by the Qing court, which was afraid of a re-union of Oirats and the forming of an Oirat Federation. Thus, the new places provided appeared as a new challenge or chance for their topshur tradition.

Figure 17: Current Torghut tribe mainly are living in these two parts separated by Tian Mountain. Drawing courtesy of Zhang Shuran 2013.

From the map of the current Torghut distribution can be seen that some Torghut were relocated to live together in Kazakhstan in the north of the Tianshan mountains. Thus their topshur is a bit similar to the Kazakh Dombra in terms of its upper part, fretted fingerboard and its performance practice that are quite different from Khoshut versions. Some Torghut and Khoshut are living in the south of the Tianshan mountains, without direct cultural contact

to Kazakhstan. Thus they are maintaining an early trapezoid-shape topshur, especially in Heshuo County as discussed above earlier.

Figure 18: The influence on topshur of Xinjiang to the left from Kazakhstan Dombra to the right. Drawing courtesy of Zhao Tarimu 1988.

The influence and cultural communication continues until today. Recently, the Hejing County in Bazhou Mongolian Autonomous Region designs a topshur teaching course led by the Intangible Cultural Heritage Transmission Scheme. The government even once decided to change the name of Hejing County in 2013 to “Donggui County”, which means ‘Returning East’ County. In Boertala, the young generation topshur musicians, for example Anchin Onir⁴¹, born in the 1990s depicted below, is eager to show a performance technique called “no shadow hand”⁴² borrowed from the Kazakh Dombra. In the picture Anchin Onir is holding his grandmother’s Torghut topshur. He thinks that this unfretted early topshur is quite un-developed compared to the dombra. He preferred to use the word “un-developed” for ‘no fret, no fancy performing technique and no guitar-like tuning peg’ to avoid the strings changes in pitch.

Also, he worries about the future of the topshur and talked about master Deqie, a topshur maker in Bohu county of south Xinjiang: “instrument maker Deqie in south Xinjiang changed the construction to a trapezoid-shape, I think it is not good for the development of topshurs in Xinjiang, we should unite together…”⁴³

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⁴¹ Onir is a famous topshur musician active in Xinjiang Boertala Mongolian Autonomous District.

⁴² “No shadow hand” is a nickname for this quick strumming technique unique of Dombra.

⁴³ Interview online with Anchin Onir, 2017.3.
The other one is the triangle-shaped instrument in the Kalmyk republic that exists since the 17th century. The Kalmyk triangle-shaped undoubtedly got the influence from the later balalaika in the Soviet Union period. A similar issue happened in Tuva. In a picture from Levin’s publication in 2006 which is about some performers in an amateur ensemble in Tuva, a pose on the stage of the local House of Culture shows the expected standard. The instrumentalists hold Russian balalaikas, a substitute for the Tuvan doshpuluur. This also happened to the Kalmyks where the balalaika and a balalaika-like topshur was substituting the traditional ones or used as a way of confirming a Soviet identity. Today, it is used in multi-layered contexts, accompanying story telling and dance, also including singing in a deep declamatory haalah-hailah vocal style accompanied with a topshur.

Chakhar Mongols Diamond-shaped Topshur

Nowadays, the Mongols in Xinjiang form a minority, principally in the northern part of the region. They are primarily descendants of the surviving Torghuts and Khoshuts who returned from Kalmykia, and of the Chakhar
originating from Hebei who were settling in Xinjiang as garrison soldiers in the 18th century.

Chakhar Mongols originally were one of the territories of Kublai Khan (1216-1294). They moved from Shaanxi to the southeastern region controlled by the Northern Yuan Dynasty (1368-1635) based in Mongolia in the 15th century. Later on, the Chakhar Mongols did not belong to a league of the Qing Dynasty, but were directly controlled by the Emperor. The Qing authorities resettled some of their inhabitants from the suburbs of Hohhot and Dolon Nor to the Ili River after the fall of the Dzungar Khanate in the year 1758. They were largely mixed with the Dzungar people and Torghut of the region.\footnote{https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Chahars.}

Chakhar descendants invented a diamond-shape topshur, with little relationship to the Dzungar trapezoid-shaped one according to fieldwork findings, but obviously has a strong connection to the dombra in terms of the design of the upper part of the wooden cover, the fretted finger board, the fix tuning pegs and the performance manners as shown in Figure 21a that has no example in the history of the Dzungar topshur. However, there are examples in the history of the dombra and the komuz of the Kyrgyz people who are also living in the same area in Xinjiang\footnote{See Zhao Tarimu (1988). Xinjiang Mongolian Representative Musical Instruments: Topshur. Musical Instrument: 15.}.
Figure 22: Chakhar topshur performing position shows the influence from Kyrgyz Komuz in 1984. Picture series courtesy of Moerjihu 2007.

The Chakhar topshur is thought to be a totally imagination by many Torghut people, because in the music history of the Chakhar was no evidence of any topshur or similar two-stringed instrument. When shown a picture to some Torghut people during the fieldwork, they took the fieldwork team directly to a local topshur maker’s home in Bohu County in 2012 who instantly pointed out several topshurs are just imagination to him, i.e. the number 8 and 15 are real topshurs, others are also imagined (Figure 23).

Figure 23: Topshurs made by instrument maker in Bohu County, Xinjiang. Photo by the author.

As the topshur maker of these topshurs said he often visit friends in neighboring areas and examines their topshurs which he studies later at home, here are all his topshurs ready for selling to the Alaxan, Hejin, Khoshut. That

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46 For example Hanger, interview on October 6, 2016.
means that this picture is just a window to the world of an “imagined” topshur culture in Xinjiang, where the descendants of Oirats live and originally migrated from the Altai mountains and used to be called Altai Uriangkhai.

Conclusion
This paper roughly investigated five versions of topshurs: the Altaian bowl-shaped of the Dzungar, the Khoshut and Tuvan trapezoid-shaped one, the Kalmyk and Torghut triangle-shaped one, the Xinjiang Torghut kidney-shaped, and the Xinjiang Chakhar diamond-shaped topshurs. All of these topshurs are fragments of one picture or one narration if putting them into the history of Oirats starting before the Yuan Dynasty until recent times. They are spread over large geographical areas where present-day Oirats are living, which stretches from the present-day Kalmyk Republic to southern Siberian Altai and Tuva Republic in the Russian Federation, to northern Xinjiang in China, to western Mongolia, and Inner Mongolia.

They not only share some similarities in terms of construction, strings, performance practice and function of use in specific cultures. They also differ from each other in these regards. The variety of topshurs found in this broad area is the result of acculturation if looking back all the way to the whole history of Oirats. The acculturation includes the process of accepting influences from the Kazakh dombra in the Torghut topshur case, Mongolian morin chuur and Tuvan igil in the Tuvan doshpuluur case, the Chinese erxian and sanxian in the Khoshut topshur case, and the Western guitar in the Tuvan doshpuluur case, and the Russian balalaika in the Kalmyk and Torghut topshur case.

Although some of them to some extend are thought to be imaginations of topshurs, for example the diamond-shaped topshur of the Chakhar and the trapezoid shaped Khoshut topshur that are thought to be imaginations of the dombra, they do represent a specific culture, emotion, and cultural identity of specific groups among the Oirats. In a wider application, topshurs serve as a window to explore how sound, place, and migration are connected, expressed, reinterpreted and imagined.
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Huang Wan


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In the former Yugoslav territory, the accordion has been present since the late 19th and early 20th century.¹ At first, there were diatonic – single, double and three-row accordions, while the mid-century saw the appearance of “block” accordions – whose descant contained both a row of piano keys and a row of buttons (the distribution of tones on this accordion is uncertain, because they were been preserved in Serbia). Nowadays, those used are diatonic accordions, modern chromatic accordions with piano keys and buttons in descant, as well as the so-called concert accordions, which, in addition to the standard basses, have a baritone system.

For the most part, learning to play the accordion has been passed on orally, without introducing musical literacy, by a gifted person, whose main occupation was often not in the field of music. Many players were autodidacts; they learned on their own by ear without being instructed by anyone, listening to artists on the accordion and other instruments, or on the radio.

The leaders in the development of the accordion pedagogy in former Yugoslavia were: the violinist Albin Fakin and his pianist wife Nilka Fakin. They were the ones who founded an accordion school in 1942 in Belgrade, where the piano technique was used for performing on the accordion with piano keys.² In Fakin’s accordion school, textbooks were used in teaching, the practice which has been preserved in both his private as well as in the later public school curriculum to the present day. Fakin’s school was attended by Vojislava Vuković Terzić, who is the author of numerous textbooks for music school, where, unlike Fakin, she does not insist so much on the treatment of the bass as a supporting element of melody, but uses bass as a melodic line, equal

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to the melodic line in the descant. The first state music school to introduce accordion as a subject was the school “Isidor Bajić” in Novi Sad, and the school “Stanković” in Belgrade.

In the former Yugoslav territory, music competitions in the performance of traditional music and the music composed in the spirit of traditional music took root in Serbia, Slovenia and Bosnia and Herzegovina in particular, where, in comparison to other parts of the country, the accordion assumed a particularly important place in the musical life. Some of these competitive events have continuously existed for over 50 years, for example, The First Accordion of Soko Banja, formerly known as the First Accordion of Yugoslavia. Unlike the period of 40-50 years ago, today, there is an increasing number of competitions and festivals of music schools and academies, where the performer’s repertoire consists of classical or art music, i.e. transcriptions of original compositions for the organ and the harpsichord, prepared and adopted to be performed on the accordion, as well as contemporary original works written for the accordion.

Considering the fact that although there are curricula and syllabuses for performance of traditional music and music composed in the traditional spirit in the music school as an institution this idea has not taken root in Serbia, because of “lack of skilled personnel” as it is often said. On this occasion, we will look at music festivals and competitions with programmes that include traditional music performance or music composed in traditional spirit. For instance, comparisons will be made between the music festival The First Accordion of Vojvodina Stapar in Serbia (FAV Festival, Serbian: Prva Harmonika Vojvodine Stapar) and The Championship, Melodyada (sloven. Melodyada, Otvoreno prvenstvo Slovenije 2014/15 V deželi harmonike, Priložje, Slovenija).

3 In her long and uphill struggle against the opposition aiming at inclusion of the accordion in the curricula of a larger number of music high schools, Vojislava Vuković repeatedly drew attention to the attitude of some esteemed musical experts who considered that the accordion was “a valueless instrument for entertainment -- and that, among the already rich selection of instruments in our musical culture, there is no place for an instrument such as the accordion“.


6 Although in the ex-Yugoslav territories, the accordion is most present in Serbia, Slovenia and Bosnia and Herzegovina, a comparative approach will be applied to the example of
FAV Festival age categories for Solo and Duos are: Baby (up to 10), Pioneers (up to 12), Younger Juniors (up to 15), Older Juniors (up to 18), Seniors (over 18). Unlike this, Melodyada has the following categories: A (up to and including the age of 10), B (from 11 up to and including 14), C (from 15 up to and including 18), D (from 19 up to and including 26) and E (from 27 onwards). In regard to disciplines, both competitions include playing on the diatonic accordion and the chromatic accordion with buttons or piano keys. The FAV competition in Serbia is free of registration fee, while the registration fee for the Melodyada competition in Slovenia is between 35 and 45 Euros depending on the age group of the competitor.

Concerning the steps in the example of the FAV Competition the following may be mentioned: There is an audition in Radio Novi Sad recording solo performance on the accordion, and an evening of the Finalists in Stapar. Besides certain other festivals - classification in Croatia and other countries, FAV and Melodyada have a character of qualification for the world accordion competition, the Accordion Olympics or the Accordion Games in Slovenia held biennially since 2016.

With regard to the elements of evaluation in the case of FAV, they are based on 1-10 grading, which includes artistic and technical impression for each performed composition, while in Slovenia, the following elements with 1-10 grading are evaluated for each composition: complexity of the melody, technical perfection, musicality, interpretation, tempo, rhythm, bellows technique, harmony, dynamics, bass technique, sensibility and originality of expression, creativity, original work, diversity of the works presented, competitor's outfit.

The competition programme for the FAV Festival includes the requirements that are adapted to the competitors' age: Baby, Pioneers and Younger Juniors play a programme consisting of: 1. a song from the musical tradition of the Serbs in Vojvodina, 2. a Kolo from the musical tradition of the Serbs in Vojvodina, 3. traditional or composed Kolo from Serbia, 4. a composition from the classical opus (preferably inspired by traditional melodies). Juniors and Seniors play the following programme: 1. a “rubato” song (Serbian from Vojvodina, a song from Serbia or Sevdalinka) (a song in the parlando-rubato

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7 The same age groups are foreseen for the categories of the world accordion competition the Accordion Olympics- Accordion Games (AO-AG).

8 The rating involves evaluating to what degree the rules set by the categories have been satisfied, evaluating the basic musical and performing components, evaluating the achievement of the performance style of the eminent accordionist – role model, whose compositions and the repertoire the competitor performs.
rhythmic system), 2. a song in “tempo” (a song in a distributive rhythmic
system), 3. a Kolo from the musical tradition of the Serbs in Vojvodina, 4. a
traditional or a composed kolo from Serbia, 5. a programme of choice (a
romance, traditional urban song, classical composition, vocal or instrumental
melody from the musical tradition of national communities of Vojvodina and
wider territory.\(^9\)

The programme of a competitor in Slovenia must not be shorter than 4 and not
longer than 7 minutes, while in Serbia the length is not specified, but there is a
limitation to a single melodic cycle (in songs – an introduction, verse and
chorus, and in an instrumental melody – all the different melodic sections in
sequence without the “second round” – repeating it from the beginning).

The order of genres of melodies to be performed, are prescribed by the Rules of
each competition, both in Serbia and in Slovenia. If this order is neglected, the
competitor loses a certain number of points.

During the Slovenian competition, no private recording and photography is
allowed, since only a professional engaged by the organiser has this right. Contrary,
the rules in Slovenia, the Serbian competition allows the recording and live broadcast of the competition, as well as photography, both by private
and professionally engaged persons.

In both competitions competitors preferably perform in traditional costumes
typical of their place of origin. In this way competitors represent the place they
come from and, thus, an element of tradition is preserved. Otherwise, if a
competitor is not able to wear a traditional costume, appropriate clothes and
shoes are mandatory. During the performance, a competitor is not allowed to
wear training shoes and clothes, or dirty and shaggy clothes.

The Jury members of the FAV Festival in Serbia are of various musical profiles:
performers – composers, ethnomusicologists, music programme editors, music
educators, while in Slovenia, they are performers – music educators.
Depending on the composition of the jury, favouring a “certain school” and “a
certain performance style” can be observed. If among the Jury members there
is an eminent accordion performer, this will unavoidably influence the choice
of the musical repertoire of participants. Lobbying within the jury and in the
process of composing the jury is also possible.

The first prize winners in all categories in Slovenia are awarded a gold medal
and gold recognition, the second prize winners a silver medal and silver
recognition, and the third prize winners a bronze medal and bronze

Sombor: City Museum. [Ивков, В. (2011). Прва хармоника Војводине, Фестивал
народне музике Стапар. 2009. Сомбор: Градски музеј], 52.
recognition. The others receive a gift as an encouragement for further work and a souvenir. In Serbia, the first prize winners in all categories are awarded a gold cup and a diploma, the second prize winners and third prize winners are given silver and bronze cups and diplomas, respectively. Those who rank lower receive a diploma as a kind of recognition of their participation in the festival, and the festival absolute winner – the best competitor in the senior category is awarded a gold cup – a gift by Srba Ivkov, a prominent accordion artist - a diploma, monetary award and a prize trip.

The competition rules in both cases foresee sanctions for false personal data application.

In both competitions, each competitor is treated with equal respect, is given encouragement to cherish their love for the instrument and playing, and an impetus to work hard because diligence can guarantee the road to success. Each competition participant is encouraged to bear in mind that their rating is nothing more than a current level of achievement, which will not necessarily be the same in future competitions. If a person has won and achieved a notable result in the competition, this should by no means be taken as an invitation to take it easy, stagnate and practice playing less, but, quite on the contrary, a good rating should be seen as additional motivation for the accomplishment of future goals. If a person has failed to achieve the expected and/or desired result in the competition, it is not supposed to invite disappointment, but to be taken as motivation for gaining new knowledge and mastering playing skills, to encourage a desire for higher results and quality of interpretation. The performers are also recommended to follow the performing style of their role models, but only to a certain extent, because one of the greatest achievements in performance is to develop an individual style of performing, a recognisable mark in interpretation.

The extensive research focusing on the methods, aims and effects of learning to play the accordion, and in order to emphasise the preparations for accordion competitions, among other things, sublimes the attitudes of 15 teachers who teach the accordion in music schools and 15 private music tutors who teach outside the formal institutions. The importance of the forthcoming competition is so pronounced that the entire lesson plan is directed to practising the repertoire for the forthcoming public performance.10 Therefore, as the most important factor that affects the organisation of a lesson, the interviewees mentioned the needs of the forthcoming performance or competition – 100% of

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interviewees from informal teaching group and 95.5% of those in formal education.\textsuperscript{11}

As has already been stated, the relationship organisers-participants-jury members-competitors is closely interconnected and interdependent. What kind of profile of musicians will apply for participation in a certain music event depends on the level of organisation and the given competition rules; who will be invited to the jury and how many members the jury panel will consist of depends on the self-assessment and the financial capacities of the organisers. It is an ambition and is seen as a matter of prestige in all traditional music competitions to engage a superior interpreter of this genre on the accordion, as well as an academically educated accordionist. It is in this combination of a traditional music interpreter and an art-academic music interpreter on the accordion where the potential gap in evaluating competitors lies. As its name suggests, traditional music performance requires traditionalism, which is reflected in a certain older way of interpretation closer to the original. An older and more traditional way means playing in descant mainly with the 2-3 most mobile right hand fingers (2, 3, 1), a constant or predominant bouncing staccato in an alternating solo and chord bass, the accent with a bellows movement at the unit of counting, the interruption of the melodic phrase line with the turn of the bellows, the use and change of register that is considered inappropriate in certain types of playing in the field of classical music, lifting the bellows whilst playing, standing position, which is met with disapproval of the academic jury members. The described way of playing is notably absent in the participants who play classical music parallel to traditional, that is, who receive their education in an institutional way. Participants of such competition play with all five right hand fingers, staccato is present in the alternation of solo and chord bass, the use of accent is appropriate, there is no interruption of the melodic phrase line with the turn of bellows, there is no inappropriate lifting of the bellows, the playing position is seated.

The competition outcomes mainly depend on the jury, and the competitors' satisfaction or dissatisfaction with the jury's decision bears a great influence on whether the same participants will apply again for the following competition event. This can bring the members of the organisation and the competition as such in a difficult position, because the competition primarily depends on how

\textsuperscript{11} “Reviews and mandatory public performances are not subject to a conventional, numerical grading system. Their purpose is to enable public insight into the quality of a teacher's work and the process of a student's development and progress, as well as to create conditions necessary for students' early acquisition of performing experience”. \textit{Nastavni plan i program osnovnog muzichkog obrazovanja i vaspitania} (2010). Beograd: Sluzhbeni glasnik RS. [Наставни план и програм основног музичког образовања и васпитања (2010): Београд: Службени гласник РС.], 78.
interested and motivated the potential participants are, as well as on their previous experiences.\textsuperscript{12}

The FAV and Melodyada Festivals offer a possibility, based on the jury’s decision, to the highest ranking participants to qualify for the international competition of The Accordion Olympics – Accordion Games. This competition has a jury composed of people from different countries who are qualified for different music genres and play on different types of the accordion. In mutual consultations during the decision making on the best candidates in all categories, the impression and opinion of the jury member who is competent for a certain type of music, that is, musical-folklore area, is usually upheld. The “national” element is reflected in the repertoire of the participants in the genre of traditional music, music arranged or composed in the traditional spirit, since each participant presents the music of his/her country or region. In this respect, the jury members who do not come from the same geographical area as the competitor do not assess the authenticity of the performance, but they evaluate the technical and artistic impression. A “global” way of evaluation is possible when classical/art music is performed, where there is a certain expected and preconceived way of interpretation and expression.

Conclusion

The accordion took root in the former Yugoslav territories from the late 19th or early 20th century and has been very popular ever since everywhere, but particularly in Serbia, Slovenia and Bosnia and Herzegovina. Although learning to play has been passed from generation to generation orally, which is still practiced, from the mid-20\textsuperscript{th} century, the accordion gradually entered the school system in the territory of ex-Yugoslavia, and by the end of the same century in some higher institutions of education.

Nowadays, there are numerous accordionists’ competitions, organised on institutional level, for instance, in government schools, where classical/art music performance is practiced. On the other hand such competitions are organised through personal initiatives, namely by music enthusiasts who give due attention to traditional music and to music composed in the spirit of traditional realm. Over the time, these activities have developed beyond the local level, reaching regional, state and even international levels. This paper focuses on the goals and rules of one competition in Serbia and one accordion

\textsuperscript{12} The event presents an opportunity for young accordionists to meet the established performers. There is a noticeable need of competitors, teachers and parents for “eliciting” the following information: whether the prizes are monetary, who the jury chairman is, if a certain performer is going to compete, because “if he is, I am not”.

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competition in Slovenia, where the concept of the programme puts emphasis on the performance of traditional music and on music that is composed in the traditional spirit. According to the competition rules, the festival/competition includes art/classical music performance that reflect the wider perspective and context of the accordion in the music culture in general. However, this does not apply to accordion competitions on school level and in the field of classical/art music; namely, there is no room for traditional music and music composed in the traditional spirit, except for artistic adaptations and variations of traditional music themes and compositions adapted in such a way published in the school textbooks.

In order to overcome the seemingly unbridgeable gap and “rivalry” in preference given to classical or traditional genres of music performed on the accordion, and from very justified reasons and with strong points of argument, we can offer an overview of the interpretations given by accordion teachers in Serbia, among whom 15 are active outside institutions, and the other teach accordion in state schools. 66,7% of the respondents-private tutors consider that it is best to start learning traditional and art music in parallel, and the same proportion of the respondents who teach outside school think that it is best to start learning the accordion at school. The accordion teachers who teach at schools have almost the same opinion. Namely, they believe that those students who learn traditional and classical music in parallel have an advantage (60%), and that it is best that the students start with playing both traditional and art music (71,4%), but they all agreed that it is recommendable to start learning at school. When answering the question about which category of students have the greatest advantage - those who play traditional, art music or both kinds of music – the respondents said that those who learn both types of music are in advantage with the following explanations: becoming familiar with and learning different genres, as well as a better development of performing technique. Those who consider that it is best to start with learning traditional music, as the reason stated that this kind of music is more appropriate to the children's age, while those who find it best to start with learning both types of music also said that it is more appropriate to the age of children, it affects the development of playing technique, and has an influence on the development of musical personality.¹³

Taking the aforementioned into consideration, music pedagogues and accordion teachers give room to traditional music in the learning process, but

Accordion competitions place more importance on academisation. It is best reflected in the conception of rules, which are clearly and concisely stated – the way of playing is increasingly more school/academic in style since there is an increasing number of participants who learn both traditional and classical music in parallel. In addition, whereas the rules of classical music competitions exclude traditional music and esteemed traditional accordionists from their juries, classical music and academically educated musicians are extensively included in accordion competitions in the field of traditional music.
References


Gisa Jähnichen  

Free Reeds for Free Citizens

The mouthorgan called khen\(^1\) used by a number of people in Laos, experienced musicians and beginners alike, is a good example of the conflict between local qualities grown over a period of time and a developing global market for musical instruments.

This article demonstrates multi-layered processes of innovation, differentiation, and repertoire simplification through differently understood modernization that local instrument makers face in present-day communities of Laos and other places with similarly produced instruments. The Archive for Traditional Music in Laos serves as the main source of material that was collected in the last two decades by the author and her team.\(^2\) Additionally, the use of the Lao mouthorgan all over the globe among enthusiasts of world music affects relationships with local developments. Questions regarding authenticity and cultural perspectives are addressed to discuss organological issues that reach beyond primary physicality of free-reed instruments. This article intends to suggest an analytical framework for research approaches to technology and community related developments of musical instruments in a globalizing world.

Introduction to Global and Local Khen Making

The mouthorgan as found in Laos is not only a phenomenon regionally limited to the Autonomous Region Guangxi, Guangzhou, Southern Yunnan, Laos, North Vietnam, Northern Thailand and in some parts of insular Southeast Asia. In recent decades, it has become a global phenomenon of interest to a specific circle of world-music producers who have followed the suggestions of traveling musicians and researchers.

\(^1\) Khen is the general Lao and Thai name for the mouthorgan. It is also often written khaen, kaen, khene, or khène. The spelling ‘khen’ complies with the transcription rules of the Archives of Traditional Music in Laos, established in 1999. Vientiane, National Library of Laos.

Figure 1: Map of Southeast Asia. Dark circles areas of khen production considered in this paper (modification by the author).

However, from very early times, not only different mouth organs but different types of varieties exist that cannot be explained evolutionarily by local resources or cultural variability.

This article examines the typology of differences rather than the primary differences in order to describe conflicting developments in a globalizing world. It scrutinizes individuation in the production process of musical-instrument construction and does not aim at a marketing effect in order to deliver economically significant results for construction improvements.

The main material for the discussion about local instrument making and the global market is the rich collection of recordings in the Archives for Traditional Music in Laos, where 1492 audio recordings of khen playing solo or in ensemble are available to the public. They are well documented and include material collected during the publication and edition of *Khen le Siangkhen* by Kongdeuane Nettavong⁴, an observation of khen playing on Sardinia⁵, and workshops that include khen playing all over the world and that are accessible online. Furthermore, one type of a recently produced khen is physically examined in relation to its individual and cultural meaning.

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Gisa Jähnichen

Meo (1st figure). The name of the dance is written “Meo”, which is the early denomination of the Hmong people living in Vietnam. Confusion about names and titles has continued over a long period of time. Such mistakes indicate that any research of historical depictions and documentations is difficult, but at the same time revealing of the contemporary spirit of the documentarists who then become part of the research.

Figure 2b: Lao National Bank note from before 1975. It depicts a classical pinphat ensemble, but with the instruments showing incorrect proportions. It contains two khen pet players.6

My first observation is that the organological description delivered by researchers, among them ethnomusicologists, stereotypes the primary features of the musical instrument such as the number of tubes, size and length, and in some cases playing positions7. Based on these measurable features, cultural assumptions are made and exoticized. Details and specific contextual

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6 Source figures 2a and b: public domain. Khen pet is an 8-foot mouth organ, meaning a mouth organ with 8 pairs of tubes.

knowledge thereby shrinks to a technical particularity that seems globally unimportant.

This surprisingly old-fashioned approach to organology in recent times has its reasons. Reading through common travel literature and summarizing literature reviews from undergraduates, the tendency to equalize quantitative elements with developmental improvements becomes evident.

A somewhat typical approach in presenting the Lao khen can be found in Jaron Lanier’s video clip. The presenter cum demonstrator, wearing an oversized black T-shirt, regularly moving his long dreadlocks out of his face, explains about the tuning of his khen “This is not tuned. I spent pretty much work on tuning it a bit better, but not... That is actually not a good instrument. These days a lot of them are tuned to Western scales. I mean, Laos... There is a lot of writing on it. We killed most of it, unfortunately. Laos didn’t take well to the Vietnam War. But there is still some variety...There are lot of different instruments with different shapes and different tunings”.

The way Lanier talks, plays, and gains attention from a very specific crowd of interested listeners is symptomatic of appropriating ethnomusicological knowledge among the academically trained world of music. Analysing the connotations, Laos and countries that similarly didn’t do well in something might have had only two parts of history, which are the “earlier times” (in some cases trivialized to “the olden days”) and “nowadays”. Also, the still existing variety does not mean a variety of the same instrument type but different instrument types such as the mouth organ with gourd windchests. The type he plays is obviously not perfectly tuned to any Western scale though he tried to play it as if it were. Thanks to excellent audio equipment, he played really interesting patterns overlapping with delay effects suggesting a “very exotic” sound.

Ethnomusicologists may ignore this practice as Lanier is nobody of their ‘caste’, although he is influential in social networks and on mass media.

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11 Lanier, ibid. 00:08:15-00:08:46.
However, the world changes rapidly. Modern ethnomusicology is not reserved for any specified academics. It is widely popularized, quite often simplified, as deliberately made and compatible mass media, far from being untouchable by anyone who sees a need in using it for whatever purpose. Lanier is talking as a musician and composer to a small crowd of US American intellectuals. He seems himself as an interesting subject to the audience and he as well as the discussants exchange ideas about musical instruments, structures, compositions, and the learned world as if there is nothing much besides a postmodernist English speaking music journalism. Being serious about research subjects, academic agents must consider that anything being produced as proven knowledge or discovered as a fact might be used in isolation from their historical and cultural context, the time, place, and people who are involved. Another point to be mentioned is the impossibility of keeping all knowledge accumulated intact and uncompromised. Ethnomusicologists cannot prevent distortions, shallow applications, or de-contextualisation. That does not mean that ethnomusicologists do not have to be very careful about all details and interconnections.

**Perspectives of “Users”**

Looking from the perspective of the ‘users’, the appropriation of this knowledge can be highly effective. It helps ethnomusicologists in gaining a reputation, cultures in getting known beyond borders, and people getting acknowledged for their outstanding skills. Also, composing music, anywhere in the world, is always coming with the requirement of breaking rules, ignoring histories and affiliations, making something new out of something that not everybody already knows. Lanier’s presentation is only one example of many showing that new music for old instruments—he claims that “Jaron Lanier plays 7000 year old instruments” in the title of the video clip—is only exotic when it is put into a familiar framework such as the features of a ‘musical work’ in front of an ‘audience’.

However, there is yet another interesting perspective. Khen playing is one of the most obvious examples for which researchers localize an instrument’s origin or ‘home region’ in the area they travelled rather than in the instrument’s historically rooted region where it has ‘grown up’ as they are often unaware of the extreme changes the very object of interest took over a period of time longer than their own lives. For example, I am not surprised that Lao mouth organ are featured as an instrument found on Sardinia since I
published a humble article about Don Giovanni Dore from Tadasuni in 2006\(^\text{12}\). Interestingly, some pictures made of him playing khen disappeared after a conference held about his instrument collection (Figure 4). The khen in his collection was witness to a very early globalizing development caused by religiously motivated mobility and considered being ‘not appropriate’ as an example for Sardinia’s ‘rich musical tradition’\(^\text{13}\).


Figure 4: 19\(^{\text{th}}\) July, 2011: In memorial Don Giovanni Dore. A stone plate with Don Dore’s achievements engraved, but without the famous khen, was erected. Seemingly the appropriation reversed.

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Varying Historical Perspectives

The static view on histories taking place far from the researchers’ own circle of academic environment produces interesting dynamics and lets them become themselves part of a new history. Even the engaged discussions of the ethnomusicologists’ impact on the awareness of musical traditions that took place a few years ago\textsuperscript{14}, are part of that history. This is, so to say, in the nature of social things that at one point in history people will try to research about each cultural detail using steadily refined methods and then impose, as a result, the acquired knowledge with all its possibility and impossibility on their contemporaries regardless of the cultural motivations they may adhere to. Seen from this perspective, it is not so sure that the fact of today’s much safer knowledge transfer is always an advantage to those people who primarily deal with a cultural phenomenon.

The focus on the basic instrumental features in mouth organs of the mentioned region is from this point of view first and foremost only interesting to the distant observer. And by doing so, a number of distant observers are also the most bothered by changes caused through the application of external knowledge in the cultures they observed. Thus the appearance of a 13-foot instrument in Laos is actually nothing to be surprised about as this reflects the trend to increase any technical feature that allows for non-local applications. The increased size of modern lusheng instruments and the attachment of further tube resonators falls into the same category.

Examining a khen sam (Figure 6a), a three-foot khen, that was found among some new models of the khen-maker Udonsak Phengyalath in Ban Haysok, Vientiane, the continuation and individuation of sound features can be observed as well as the playfulness of the khen-maker.

Figure 5a: 13-foot khen made by Udonsak Phengyalath; Figure 5b: 13-foot khen with naga head decorations and angular rows of pipes for a better view from the perspective of the musician. This instrument is way too heavy for a relaxed playing position. Photos by ATML/Gisa Jähnichen, 27 November, 2016.

Figure 6a: Drawing of a khen Lahu (khen of the Lahu people in Luang Namtha Province) and a new model using a coconut as windchest made by Udonsak Phengyalath; Figure 6b: Drawing of a khen Hmong. Photo by ATML/Thongbang Homsombat, 27 November, 2016. The khen Hmong is much more often described than the Lao khen as it is a significant
musical instrument of the Hmong diaspora living in the United States and some other places. It is also a khen “sam” (i.e., three-foot khen), but the thickest tube bears usually 2 tongues and sounds differently from the others. The khen Hmong comes with a sophisticated rule set of body movements conducted while playing.\(^{15}\)

There was no order made for this small three-foot instrument, it was just a ‘pilot-study’ for another bigger khen that should secure the reliability of coconut shell as a windchest. Fast drills with an electric motor enable the instrument maker to position well-dimensioned openings in the windchest without cracking the coconut shell. The material for these windchests is growing everywhere and can be continuously harvested. Small and thick-walled coconuts are often thrown away. Without modern tools made of steel, they cannot be properly cleaned. Thus recent developments of technology, not namely in the musical instrument industry, lead to a large playground of possibilities of which one is the reconstruction of small mouth organ either as toys or as unique sound generating instruments.

It seems to be very useful to collect detailed knowledge about khen makers’ biographies as well as about their cultural world views. For example, Khamfeua Duangdala, another important khen maker in Vientiane, also plays the khen at times in reverse position.\(^{16}\) He got this idea from watching Central Asian lute players who were successfully adding acrobatic elements in their solo performances when playing for an anonymous crowd. Similar acrobatic movements have already existed for a long time among Hmong khen players and also among other communities in Guangxi, where musicians in some parts of a specific repertoire compulsorily move in a united swinging pattern. However, among the Hmong, these movements have specific meanings bound to their particular culture. They may showcase fitness, creative spirit, and endurance of the musician during festivals dedicated to courting and competition between villages. The acrobatic playing positions of Lao khen players are, therefore, never used in a similar context. They are only shown on a contemporary stage for solo performances without singers. Their meaning is purely entertaining. Don Dore on Sardinia surely did not know about this fact. He was convinced to play the khen in the right position.


\(^{16}\) Playing in the reverse position means playing the khen upside down as Don Dore did (Figure 3a). A professional observer of the khen scene in Vientiane confirmed this fact. There exist photographs dating back into the period before 2009. Homsombat, Thongbang, April 2017, personal communication.
Udonsak regrets not having a successor in his business as a khen maker. His daughter is too young and not interested. So, he feels forced to take in outsiders to teach his art of khen making. Yet, he is not satisfied and still waits for the right enthusiast to come along.

**Anthropological Perspective**

Khen instruments that are mouth organs with a wooden windchest and tubes in which single free reeds are inserted have had their earliest home in central mainland Southeast Asia, in parts of today’s autonomous region of Guangxi, and the lowlands of Laos and Northeast Thailand. This region is the centre of mouth organs and is closely connected to the region of early brass gong production. From there, mouth organs reached some other places such as insular Southeast Asia, mainly Borneo, and central and coastal China. Reliable evidence of the connection between free-reed instruments and early bronze-drum production is still missing. However, the use of brass tongues instead of bamboo reeds considered as freely swinging sound sources, must have had an impact on their sustainability, status, and musical functionality. Undeniably, technological changes in instrument production had a strong impact on creating traditions. On the one hand, free-reed mouth organs with true reeds or idioglot bamboo tongues became ‘tradition’; on the other hand, brass or silver tongues sustained this tradition as a whole.

![Image of a villager playing a mouth organ](image)

*Figure 7: Villager Liao Mingzhong tries the voice of a lusheng, the mouthorgan of the Miao people, in Wuji Village, Rongshui Miao Autonomous County, south China’s Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous Region, 25 September, 2016.*

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17 The picture series was taken to illustrate that ‘Handicraft of Miao people is preserved well in Rongshui Miao Autonomous County’ as the headline of the respective article goes.
In a similar light, new developments caused through the implementation of new technologies and social contexts can be seen from the perspective of sustaining a practice as a ‘tradition’. Thinking back into history, there would never have been anything being called tradition without the revolving effect of technology and social change.

It is important to go back in history and to discover the roots of the symbolic values embodied in the instruments that are associated with the khen. Guangxi, for example, supports research programs that focus on khen production. They call the instrument lusheng and it is the first category that is looked at here in the circle of varieties. Chu Zhuo described in a recent article some categories in which a typology of lusheng in Guangxi is included. The problem of the categories is that an inconsistent set of features is considered.

![Diagram of lusheng categories]

**Figure 8: Overview about categories of lusheng instruments in Guangxi according to Chu Zhuo**

First, she summarizes the lusheng as being a free-reed instrument and mentions that there are around ten different types of lusheng in Guangxi, with at least four ways of performance arrangements: solo, unison, ensemble, and to accompany a tambourine chant. She says “Typologically, the lusheng can be categorized into the six-foot lusheng and eight-foot lusheng as mentioned in ancient documents of the Song Dynasty. Recently, it falls into ten categories:

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Nevertheless, the preservation efforts were mainly aimed at a sustainable economy rather than a meaningful transmission and transformation of traditional musical instruments into the communal context (courtesy of Xinhua/Ren Pengfei).

six-feet with six tones, six-feet with seven tones, eight-feet with eight tones, six-feet with five tones, six-feet with four tones, four-feet with two tones, and some others. Now it’s an indispensable traditional musical instrument of the Zhuang, Tong, Miao and Yao in Guangxi.”

The lusheng is closely related to the khen Hmong, as known from Laos or Northern Thailand. There are some small differences in how the tubes are inserted and fixed, however, the entire process of making, using, and performing is yet to be discovered in its historical dynamics. Until now, the large museum in Nanning and a smaller section of the instrument museum in the Guangxi Arts University hold collections that are just technically documented and do not include many important intangible features of the lusheng culture, although a number of projects are dedicated to explore exactly this perspective. The categorization mentioned calls for further investigations rather than being a final outcome of research. Tragically, technical documentations in fieldwork follow ups are often seen as a sufficient outcome. This is a point that needs urgent clarification not only among ethnomusicologists in China.

Another important stream of categorizations that includes typologies are the many anthropological and ethnological efforts that focus on material culture. We find a large variety of mouth organs among people inhabiting Southeast Asia and East Asia that use a gourd as windchest and the drone pipe cover made of the same material. This cannot be further examined in this paper but it has to be considered as being available for a more detailed review. Most of these mouth organs are ergologically related to each other. The main feature of this variety type is a rather classical material condition. Repertoire functions of the Sabahan sompoton and other gourd-mouth organ as found among minorities in Vietnam, Laos, and Thailand, and their playing techniques seem to be more similar than among the khen instruments of the central Southeast Asian mainland which were exported in various ways into very distant cultures.


20 An interesting open access documentation can be found here: http://www.facts.org.cn/Pictures/news/201208/t150670.htm
Mutual Impact as Part of the Globalizing Process

In the last decades, khen instruments of the Lao-Isan-Hmong-Yao-Dong-Zhuang region have primarily been investigated by ethnomusicologists coming from abroad. Those who could afford to stay for a longer time and learn to play were scholars from higher developed countries of the West, such as Terry Miller, Christopher Adler, and John Garzoli.

Also, some came from Asia such as Japanese and Taiwanese postgraduates who travelled to Thailand. Only very few crossed the border to Laos, the heartland of khen playing and production. Thailand culture promoters claim Thailand has always been a khen-playing nation, however, the khen-playing tradition is concentrated in the north and northeast where the Isan and other minorities predominate. And yet another important area was widely neglected, namely the autonomous region Guangxi in Southern China and Yunnan’s minorities. Only in recent years have large-scale projects attracted researchers from abroad and stimulate scholars within the country to conduct organised research on the lusheng or khen. However, long before research ever started all people living in these regions contributed to the vast diversity of khen instruments though they did not know about each other. That is what history means from the perspective of globalizing networks.

Figure 9 a: John Garzoli and Terry Miller; Figure 9 b: Christopher Adler.

The first audiovisual archive dedicated to the traditional music and dance of the people living in Laos houses 1492 recordings of khen playing. Among these recordings are 33 seven-foot khen, 8 six-foot khen, and 4 five-foot khen. The

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21 Both pictures are in the public domain and variously used in social networks.
others are prevalently 8-foot khen, called khen pet, and produced over a time period of 30 years, some of them were revived, meaning tongues and tar-wax were replaced, tubes were repaired with glue. Depending on the location and the khen makers, there exist some standard tunings for some standard repertoire, especially in public performance context, a global environment that reached Laos through mass media and personal mobility. Similar processes can be observed in Guangxi for the lusheng. The specified categories tend to further unification and proximity in tunings to serve increasing audiences. However, from the viewpoint of technological development, the future will have to recover individuation as there is also a trend to singularize musical experiences and to limit real-time audiences. In continuation of a discussion led by Davis who reviews in a recent article various ethnomusicological writings about the inattention to musical biographies, this introductory study on local khen making and the global instrument market may contribute to emphasize the individual stories of instrument makers and musicians not only as a means to construct views on communal cultures but as a means to views on general approaches to any musical matters. It is the respect of this perspective that adds value to biographical notes in ethnomusicology.

Figure 10: Distribution of different khen types in the collection of the Archives of Traditional Music in Laos at the National Library in Vientiane, one of the latest and most comprehensive collections of khen recordings. The Lao naming of different khen types comes as khen ha (five-foot), khen hok (six-foot), khen chet (seven-foot), and khen pet (eight-foot). The word behind khen is the number of tube pairs.

Increasing value of biographical notes in ethnomusicology applies even more to developments of the 21st century. Now, free reed instruments are also the
favourites in some recent compositions that aim at popularization and introducing so-called ethnic music to the so-called West, making up an academic branch of world music which causes perceptive distortions criticized as an immediate response to a labelling of World Music in 1987.\textsuperscript{22} Despite inviting khen players with special requests to world-music festivals and concert tours, a very fine example is the following for Lao/Thai khen “Five Cycles, by Christopher Adler (2002), dedicated to Chinary Ung on his 60th birthday. Performed by the composer himself at the Yong Siew Toh Conservatory of Music, National University of Singapore, August 9, 2009”. This piece as well as many others played by well-trained khen players and composers can be taken as witnesses of the current globalising process.

The video example coming with this article shows 54-year old Udonsak Phengyalath living in Ban Haysok, Vientiane, in November and December 2016. It also shows some of the main consumers of his products: teachers and students of the only Public National Music and Dance School at work and one of the very few accepted female Lao khen players, Kongdeuane Nettavong, who dedicated some of her research activities to khen playing.\textsuperscript{23} Udonsak’s khen production reflects roughly how khen instruments of the Lao-Isan-Hmong-Zhuang region were produced over the last hundred years and what new ideas emerged from within this region. He confirms other khen makers who use similar tools and follow similar processes. The students, at the National Music and Dance School and his best consumers, learn with cipher notation and with Western staff notation. Only the melodies are outlined, the rest has still to be practiced through listening and repeating face-to-face with a real teacher. The instrument maker knows about it, however, he thinks further and dreams of improving sound functions. Interestingly, Udonsak is not ready to compromise the material for the sound producing metal tongues of the khen instruments. Also, he does not believe in the future of sampled sound production.

The second part of the video example shows the first section of a Christopher Adler’s composition mentioned above as an artificial global product that can be played anywhere and that adheres to the strict division of musician and audience, khen producer and sound producer, artist and non-artist. The same


piece would probably not work in the context of a Lao evening entertainment among friends or in a temple festival.

Asked for some information about the khen used in this performance, he says:

“This was a standard Lao khaen paet.\textsuperscript{24} I have them in many keys and this one plays in a minor, but the configuration of pitches is the standard arrangement. This particular instrument was obtained from a vendor at a temple fair so I don’t know where it came from.”

*Did you ever buy a Lao khaen directly from a khaen maker in Laos?*

One, once in Vientiane. The maker came highly recommended but over time I have found it to be just ordinary.

*So, you preferred to buy instruments in Thailand as they are “less ordinary”?*

No, I just travel in NE Thailand more often and I know good makers. But the quality is highly variable regardless of the source, which is probably just the nature of the materials when they are brought to another climate.

This short exchange implies a lot of conditions. Firstly, that there is a standard pitch system for the Lao eight-foot khen, which is only true for instruments used in stage performances. Secondly, that there seems to be a concept of minor and major, which is only true for the listener familiar with minor and major concepts such as “keys”. Lao traditions do not know about such keys. All khen instruments are in the “right key”. They are made for the singer, not for the khen player. The range and musical capability of the actual singers are more important than the personal preference of any khen player.

Despite this situation, a number of fascinating innovations happened far earlier and possibly happen all the time, regardless of revolutionary technology or social reconstitutions.

Simply through comparing two examples from the collections in the Archives for Traditional Music in Laos in their contextual features of inclusivity and exclusivity, the dynamics of different historical speeds in renovating performance practices can become obvious. The first example is a love song of the Lave people on the Boloven Plateau. A singer conducting a song called lam with a high-pitched voice is accompanied on a five-foot khen, regarded as a very old type, and a single smaller gong called khong (Figure 11). This “very

\textsuperscript{24} Meaning an eight-foot khen in Christopher Adler’s way of transcription.
old” designation has to be seen critically. Possibly, this is the only available khen around and other eight-foot instruments that might be rather fragile, are broken. Also, the singer sings higher, hence louder, a practice known in many cultures. Such a high-pitched voice is best accompanied with a high-pitched khen rather than with a low-pitched one that seems to be more attractive in the context of larger ensembles. Singers and khen players often exist in a symbiotic way in close proximity. They are used to each other and adapt mutually to the sound.

Figure 11: Beginning of “Bao sao vau hak kan”\(^\text{25}\) khen 5 with Suy, 61.m; The singer is Then, 36.m; and the gong player is Nun, 42.m All are from Namkeong, Paksong, Champassak in April 2001.\(^\text{26}\)

A completely different example is the gathering of khen players and khen makers in the National Library to celebrate the many recent khen recordings.

\(^\text{25}\) Meaning “Girls and boys talk about love”.

\(^\text{26}\) In the archive, khen are put in order according to the type. ‘Khen 5’ means a five-foot khen. Musicians and singers are coming with their name, their age, and gender indication ‘m’ for male and ‘f’ for female as provided by themselves.
Led by Kongdeuane Nettavong in 2003 (Figure 12), the unusual gathering created on the spot a music event, comparable to jam sessions in urban context of sophisticated university cities of the West, producing a new way to express khen playing that was then later applied on stage in large celebrations and named “Khap som”.\(^{27}\) It is instrumental music without a singer but with a pi, a leftover from khen production, a single free reed flute with finger holes. The khen instruments were in similar tunings as they were just recently produced by the khen makers who made them in order to be played in modern bands thus adapting to the keyboard, which at times replaces the khen sound when players are not available.

Before the introduction of the keyboard, five khen instruments in a similar tuning could probably not be found.

![Figure 12: ATML01443 forming an ensemble before playing “Khap som” by Kongdeuane Nettavong, 56.f; Saman Suvannasy, 67.m; Bunthiang Chanthachon, 51.m; Khamfeua Duangdara, 46.m, Thongxoey Othumphon, 55.m (5 khen 8, 1 pi [alternately]). Recorded by Bounmy Phonsavan on DAT with 2 Sennheiser MD 425. September 14th, 2003, Vientiane.\(^{28}\)](image)

When earlier khen players met and played together, they had to modify their playing or play one after the other in order to not disturb each other. The

\(^{27}\) Meaning “Together singing”

\(^{28}\) ATML01443 “Khap som” by Kongdeuane Nettavong, 56.f; Saman Suvannasy, 67.m; Bunthiang Chanthachon, 51.m; Khamfeua Duangdara, 46.m, Thongxoey Othumphon, 55.m (5 khen 8, 1 pi [alternately]). Recorded by Bounmy Phonsavan on DAT with 2 Sennheiser MD 425. 14 September, 2003, Vientiane.
soldiers shown in Figure 13 surely played with khen instruments that were all of different tunings. Therefore, this cannot be claimed as the first type of “Khap som”.

Figure 13: This photograph is entitled “Khaen playing soldiers of 1895 Isaan...” and shows Thai army members from the territory of the Isan people (Lao people living in Thailand). The playing together may have been forced on them as these different khen may not have shared common playing techniques and/or common tunings.

Final Thoughts

One way to globalize musical instruments and their sound is appropriating instruments as sound devices and changing the context dramatically. This happened all the time in history and delivered excellent “traditions” in many cases such as seen through the history of lutes, drums, metallophones, and reed instruments. The composition by Christopher Adler is not an average pop music product or a festivalized abstract of so-called ethnic music. It is a new music to him that is provoking audiences of different background to discuss or revise opinions, to think over other appropriated ideas, and to question mass

29 The photo is in the public domain and found here: http://teakdoor.com/members/thaimeme.html, where it is part of a website named “The Thailand expat forum for Travel, Lifestyle and Fun”. Last accessed 18 April, 2017.
identity imposed through mass media. However, the size of the audience for globalized music of this kind is small.

Looking from the perspective of inclusive ethnomusicologists, the following statements may be further discussed:

- We can observe a process of cultural liberation and re-adaptation of khen instruments: according to the slogan of this article “Free Reeds for Free Citizens!”
- We are part of that process.
- A small group of people can cause rapid changes.
- Some changes are caused by the accidental playfulness of instrument makers.
- Many remarkable changes in living traditions preceded the effects of globalization.
- But: changes cannot be forced by unsubstantiated social visions upon a larger number of musicians and audiences.

And yet, here is another lesson from observation: only a few people such as instrument makers, traveling musicians, and researchers can and do initiate changes and patterns of ideological mobility. The mass media created to be used by masses become the means of individuation that also applies on specific, very individual productions of musical instruments. These instruments may have a second local life soon as their production, their repertoire, their audiences, and their accessibility no longer depend on mass-production tools and monopolizing trade.
References


ATML01443 “Khap som” by Kongdeuane Nettavong, 56.f; Saman Suvannasy, 67.m; Bunthiang Chanthachon, 51.m; Khamfeua Duangdara, 46.m, Thongxoeun Othumphon, 55.m (5 khen 8, 1 pi [alternately]). Recorded by Bounmy Phonsavan on DAT with 2 Sennheiser MD 425. 14 September, 2003, Vientiane.
Many thanks to the following khen players:

Amphay (?m); Bounkham Keoamphay (Ban Kamkok, Thateng, Sekong); Bounloet Thammachak 60.m; Bounlop Luangsabun 77.m; Bounma 41.m; Bunkam Keoamphay 61.m; Bunlop Luangsabun 77.m (12/11/1926); Ban Nonsaat, Saithany, Vientiane; Bunthiang Chanthachon, 51.m; Heuang Luanglat 63.m; Intha Homsanit 64.m (18/10/1939); Ban Nonsaat, Saithany, Vientiane; Kam Phanomsy 63.m; Khakheua Duangdala 39.m; Kham Phanomsy 63.m; Khamfeua Duangdala 46.m; Khamheuang Khambandit 60.m (24/01/1944); Ban Nakeo, Sanasombun, Champasak; Khamkeua Duangdala 39.m; Khamphan Meuansitthida 53.m; Khamphan Sihamonty, 80.m; Khamphay (?m); Khampheng Linthonsy, 57.f; Khamphuvan (?f); Khamson 16.m; Khamtan Phanthalat 62.m; Ki Kongkhamdy 58.m; Kongdeuan Nettavong 56.f; Kongkeo Kanthavong, 52.f; Lanoi 73.m; Lesin Singngam, 38.m; Nyom Khantinayvong 55.m; Obi Santisuk 30.m; Onta Butsadi 59.m;(15/05/1943), Ban Muangnamsang, Hinbun, Khammuan; Onta Butsady, 60.m; Saman Suvannasy 67.m; Sisavang Sainyavong 19.m; Somdy Luangnikon 51.m; Somvang Pongsidavong 45.m; Thithun Phandat 65.m; Thithun Phandet 65.m, Ban Sikhaitha, Sikhottabong, Vientiane; Thongloey, 46.m; Thongxoey Uthumphon, 54.m; Toey Buonpheng 49.m; Toey, 49.m; Tu Phengkeo Sukay, 75.m; Unheuan Phommachan 48.m; Vanna Keophilom 65.m; Vila Sivat 58.m.

Here are listed the names of the khen players followed by the age at the time of the recordings, and gender claimed by themselves (m = male / f = female).
Appendix

Cartoon in 16 pictures on “The Story of Khen Playing” presented during the 21st Symposium of the ICTM Study Group Musical Instruments:

1. **Once Upon a time,** there was a khen player and a serious singer.
2. And a second khen player joined as there was some time left for entertainment – they made their tuning matching...
3. They had a small audience (They have known only one piece...)
4. But they tried to become better and played for an increasing audience. They became professional...
5. They increased the number of players and diversified the size of their khen for louder and thicker sound that could satisfy more people...
6. They also increased the number of tubes and pitches...
7. They increased again the size and used mics...
8. And further they increased and combined everything...
This cartoon, created by the author, was to inspire the discussion on changing values of performance arrangements.
This paper is based on previous pioneering research conducted on the first and oldest instrument-making factory Terezija Kovačić, which produced tambura and other musical instruments in Zagreb. In the meantime, I have discovered more interesting and important facts on this subject, which I will discuss in the present study.

My interest in discussing the history of Croatian instrument makers, particularly those from Northwestern Croatia who are skilled in constructing tambura, lies on a desire to unveil stories about many different luthiers, their lives and businesses. These skilled instrument manufacturers used to enjoy high respect around the turn of the 19th century, whereas they have to some extent fell into oblivion due to different social, economic and especially political reasons. During the second half of the 19th century river sailors from villages near Sisak such as Prelošćica, Lukavec, Caprag, Topolovac and Gušće navigated the Sava River towards the eastern regions of Croatia and Zemun, today’s Republic of Serbia, where they got acquainted with tambura music as well as the tambura itself. During the winter, some started producing a simple version of tamburas for personal use, while some began selling tamburas due to increasing demand. Thanks to the Croatian National Revival, the tambura was progressively introduced as a national musical instrument of Croatia. Some luthiers established their own business and others sold their instruments via shops in the Croatian capital, Zagreb. Among these, the shop of the famous merchant Mijo Krešić’s and the music instrument shop of Tomay & Tkalčić in Ilica 49, may be mentioned. This was a period, which registered the early developments for the Croatian tambura and for its makers, although there were already small tambura bands playing in taverns and pubs in Slavonia, eastern Croatia and in the neighbouring towns of Srijem and Bačka. Various authors suggest that the shapes of the earliest tamburas may have derived from simple shepherd’s instruments called samica or dangubica. The shape

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1 Jeić, Jadran (2010). Tvornica tamburica i ostalih glazbala Terezija Kovačić. Hrvatska revija. obnovljeni tečaj 10(1), 116-121. All figures in this article are by courtesy of the author.
4 Farkaš tuning is an oldest standardized tuning system with a tempered scale in Croatia introduced in 1880s named after it’s main advocate Milutin Farkaš but invented by Mijo Majer from Osijek.
was furthermore influenced by Bosnia and Herzegovina’s various traditional long neck lutes called šargija, karaduzen and bosanska bugarija, which is originating from the Ottoman period.\(^5\) Well-known and professional luthiers like the famous Vienna romantic guitar maker Johann Georg Stauffer (1778-1853) have played a vital role in this regard. The constant improvements of various tambura types in Croatia were encouraged by the great interest of the general public accompanied by the relentless efforts of few honourable enthusiasts’ on continuously developing this musical instrument. One of the first known tambura music propagators was a well-known tambura music composer and musician from Osijek (Slavonia) by the name Paul (Pajo) Kolarić (1821-1876). Kolarić seems also been considered as the founder of the first amateur tambura music group in Osijek in 1847. He has additionally contributed his part to the improvement of the the tambura at least from 1855 onwards. At a later period, Kolarić sent a letter from Vienna to his mother in Osijek, after his landlord and piano builder constructed a new and improved pear shaped tambura for him with complete tempered scale: „I have a tambura like few men have in Slavonia”\(^6\). Today one of his tamburas (brač) from that period is preserved in the Museum of Slavonia in Osijek.\(^7\) Despite several improvement attempts, a large variety of tamburas with different shapes and tunings were used until 1887. These instruments accordingly represented different regions and luthiers. In result of my research, two tamburas from this period denote the early tambura development in Croatia. The first instrument refers to the abovementioned brač of the famous Pajo Kolarić, preserved in the Museum of Slavonia (roughly dated to the mid-19th century). The second one is the tambura primašica made by a respected luthier from Zagreb, Ivan Weiser (also dated to the mid-19th century).\(^8\) Ivan Weiser was highly acclaimed by the founder of the Croatian ethnomusicology, Franjo Ksaver Kuhač, who called him “Amati” of tamburas.\(^9\) \(^10\) In these turbulent days (1848) of ban, Josip Jelačić’s army quest to Hungary to suppress Lajos Kossuth’s revolution, Croats became even more nationally aware and thus interested in their own tradition (Figure 1).

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\(^8\) Etnografski muzej u Zagrebu, Tambura primašica (Zagreb) Ivan Weiser HS:321.322, EM-443.

\(^9\) Jeić, Jadran (2016); Zagrebačka obitelj Weiser i zaboravljeni „Amati“ tambure Ivan Weiser. Etnološka istraživanja No. 21, 57-75.

The Croatian national movement propagated tamburas as a national traditional instrument and it soon became widely accepted among Croatians from every walk of life. In such environment, few artisans started establishing their own tambura making businesses. Apart from the already mentioned Ivan Weiser, Mato Kovačić (1849-1888) from Lukavec near Sisak was among the first respected tambura makers. In early 1870s, Kovačić came to Zagreb to work as a city guard. In his book „Industry of Croatia and Slavonia“, Joso Lakatoš notes that Kovačić opened his business in 1872.

He writes: “Founded in 1872. This is an oldest factory of this profession in Yugoslavia, awarded with first places on three exhibitions in Vienna, Budapest and Zagreb. Products are well known and widely spread across Germany, America, Czechoslovakia and other neighbouring countries. Specialized products are tamburas, but it sells other musical instruments as well. Yearly production of tamburas exceeds 3-4 thousand pieces.”. There are no evidences as to when Mato started with his tambura making business in Zagreb, but it is certainly around the early 1870s. The only mention of a specific instrument from Mato’s period was one mentioned in aazine called Tambura music from 1956. Here, the tambura player and composer, Vladoje Košćica, stated that he ordered one tambura brač from Mato in 1886, which was then delivered to him via postal mail. He performed with this instrument during his tours with the university’s tambura orchestra named „Hrvatska lira“. Mato’s workshop was at first ted at 5 Kamenita street (Zagreb’s Upper Town) where he worked as a city guard. He met Terezija Šimunič (1855-1914)
from Strahinje near the town of Krapina in Hrvatsko Zagorje, perhaps around the mid of 1870s. Mato and Terezija were married in 1877 in Zagreb. They lived together in 22 Pivarska Street, the official address of Mato’s tambura workshop in 1887. Recently I found the only pricelist of Mato Kovačić’s tambura (Figure 2) workshop published in 1887.

Figure 2: Mato Kovačić’s tambura workshop pricelist 1887; Figure 3: Mato Kovačić’s gravestone portrait.

It already had an extensive selection of tamburas based on Farkaš’s tuning (with or without tuning machines). It is published in the first edition of tambura learning handbook in which its author Milutin Farkaš, whom I will later on discuss, highlighted Tomay & Tkalčić’s musical instrument shop and Mato Kovačić’s workshop as a source of good quality tamburas in Zagreb. Unfortunately, in those days, medicine was not yet enough developed in order to cure tuberculosis, so that Mato Kovačić died in 1888. He was buried in Zagreb’s Central Cemetery, Mirogoj (Figure 3). Based on the craftsman’s law of 1872, Terezija Kovačić was able to continue his tambura business as his widow. In October of 1888 she published an advertisement in Zagreb’s daily newspaper Obzor titled “To tambura orchestras and tambura friends” offering good quality tamburas stating that she kept one employee who had been working for (Figure 4) her husband Mato.

15 Državni arhiv u Zagrebu. Gradsko poglavarstvo, Obrtna iskaznica br. 2113-1889 IV.
From that moment onwards, the tambura factory was named after her, Terezija Kovačić. On labels and in advertisements Terezija’s name is usually indicated as T. Kovačić that led to common distrust that T. would stands for a male owner or a tambura maker. In 1891 Terezija Kovačić moved her workshop to 9 Kamenita Street and exhibited various types of tamburas at various events, among them the Economy-Forestry Jubilee exhibition in Zagreb. Daily press reported: “Most beautiful tamburas were exhibited by Terezija Kovačić from Zagreb (9 Kamenita Street). Today, she can easily be regarded as the best producer of our most beloved traditional instruments.”

In 1892 Terezija Kovačić exhibited tamburas at the School Equipment Exhibition in Zagreb and more importantly, she won the gold medal for tamburas exhibited at the Musik-Theater Austellung in Vienna in that same year. The Daily Press wrote: “It will please every Croat that, at this exhibition, Mrs Kovačić from Zagreb exhibited a wide choice of different tamburas and other musical instruments, which were nicely made and decorated with the tricolour ribbon.” Her most valuable accomplishment was probably winning the High Millennial Medal at the Hungarian National Millenium Exhibition in Budapest in 1896. The press wrote: „In this exhibition group, apart from Hefferer, there were only twelve exhibitors, mostly tamburica makers, of which we would like to highlight Terezija Kovačić’s workshop from Zagreb, which strives to satisfy constant...”

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18 Unknown (1892): Katalog izložbe učila. Zagreb: Knjižara Lav. Hartman (Kugli i Deutsch)
19 Miletić, Stjepan (1892). Medjunarodna glumištna i glazbena izložba u Beču. Viena c. 24(25), 408-411. These ribbons were used to decorate tamburas unlike today’s strap. They were made of wool red-white-blue thread by special braiding technique and they were called “narodni gajtani”.

need for tamburas in general public and in a lot of emerging new tambura orchestras.”  

Awards won by the Terezija’s tambura factory in the years 1891, 1892 and especially the one from the 1896 exhibition in Budapest have definitely demonstrated the high quality of artisanship in instrument making. These awards have additionally introduced Croatian tamburas on the European traditional instruments and music scene. Two years earlier, namely in 1894, Terezija Kovačić married Mirko König (1872-1943) in Zagreb, a respected sculptor and mill man from an influential craftsman’s family that came to Zagreb from Hannover in early 19th century. During this time period, tambura production became a lucrative business so that there was a high demand (Lakatoš 1924). The factory’s annual production (Figure 5) exceeded 3000 to 4000 tamburas.

The first Croatian tambura factory Terezija Kovačić moved from the Kamenita Street to downtown Zagreb. The period was indeed the golden age of tambura production since this instrument was the most beloved one. Everybody wanted to play tambura or just to possess one to express national identity. Therefore, tambura makers have benefited from this situation and the intensive development of tambura making in general. The second important factor of which tambura makers benefited from was the publishing of the first handbook “Kratka uputa u tamburanje po kajdah” in 1887 for learning to play the tambura.

Figure 5: Josip Lakatos. Industrija Hrvatske i Slavonije 1924.

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First Croatian Tambura and Other Instruments Factory “Terezija Kovačić”

tambura from staff notation. Its author was Milutin Farkaš, a tambura player and strong supporter. Mention must also be made that tamburas in Farkaš’s tuning were now defined so that people were able to recognize these as tamburas originating from Croatia due to their Croatian maker and inventor. It is also important to note that Farkaš did not invent the tuning but he actually improved an old concept deriving from Zagreb and from Osijek in Slavonia by Mijo Majer in 1882. During his studies in Zagreb in 1882/1883 he founded the University’s tambura orchestra “Hrvatska lira”. Soon, his orchestra along with Croatian tamburas of Farkaš’s tuning became popular among Slavic nations, today’s Czech Republic and Slovakia. It was usually considered as a one-, or a two-voiced tuning in fifths (but one has to be aware that bugarijas (Figure 6) were three-voiced, while berde was four-voiced because it has two strings tuned in parallel octaves).

Figure 6: Milutin Farkaš’s handbook - Kratka uputa u tamburanje po kajdah 1887.

The outcome of this simple type of tuning was that it attracted many people, even non-professionals. Farkaš’s tamburas were long necked lute like music instruments with a tempered and partially chromatic scale. They were plucked with cherry bark or goose feather plectrum (pick) in fast tremolo style (except bugarijas on which chords accompaniment were played and berde which played bass intervals). Some of the instruments resembled the shape of a guitar, e.g. the bisernica; bugarija and berde and others were pear shape, like for instance the traditional brač.

Due to its limited musical range, there were initiatives that tambura should be transformed to a whole chromatic scale and thus become eligible to play even more difficult compositions. The first inventor of such chromatic tamburas in Croatia around 1895 was Alphonse M. Gutschy.22 His ideas were strongly opposed by Farkaš’s tuning propagators as well as by Milutin Farkaš. This situation led to an official announcement of four of the prominent tambura makers in 1897 in which they stated that they are not willing to make Gutschy’s

type of tamburas. Terezija Kovačić's tambura and other instrument manufacturers were among them. Later, Gutschy's tamburas (two-voiced in fifths interval) and Gutschy-Lukić's type (three-voiced in fifths interval) were slowly accepted by the general public and tambura orchestras but this time (after WWII) they were again named after its advocate Slavko Janković, Janković's tuning and not the original inventors Alphonse M. Gutschy and later, around 1935, his companion Jeronim Lukić. The Croatian tambura tuning orchestra of Farkaš first of all consisted of a single-voiced bisernica I, II, III (tuned in pairs as D5-D5), brač I (tuned in pairs as D4-D4), brač II and III (tuned in pairs as G3-D4). In the 20th century all of these tamburas were upgraded to two-voiced instruments and consisted of bisernica I, II (tuned in pairs as G3-D4), brač I, II, III (tuned in pairs as G2-D3), brač IV čeločvić (tuned in pairs as C3-G3), bugarija I (H3-D4-G5-G5), bugarija II (G3-H3-D4-D4), bugarija III (C#2-E3-A3-A3), čelo-brač (G2-D3) or čelo-berde (G2-D3) and berde (G1-G-2-D2-D3).

The most interesting fact was that a part of the fretboard was fretted chromatically (the first 5 frets on bisernicas I, II and brač I; and the first 7 frets on brač II, III, IV) and the rest was divided into two halves (diatonically). The popularity of Farkaš's tuning system and tamburas resulted in the emergence of many tambura makers on the scene (in ancient Croatian language luthier that makes tamburas used to be called tamburičar). The most prominent ones were Janko Stjepušin’s first tambura manufacture (est. 1894) from Sisak, Maksimillijan Gilg’s tambura workshop (est. 1894) from Prelošćica near Sisak, Tomay and Tkalčić musical shop and tambura production (est. 1884) in Zagreb as well as Andrij Car’s tambura workshop (est. 1894). In addition to these manufacturers, there were at least 20 tambura makers in Sisak and its adjacent area only. All these tambura makers share a similar story of development – from small craftsmanship to large-scale production as in the case of Terezija Kovačić and her late husband Mato. Around 1895 Terezija Kovačić’s factory opened a representative shop in Sarajevo at 6 Kulovića Street (former Franz Joseph Gasse) that was run by her brother, Martin Šimunić who was also a luthier. Therefore, tamburas with Farkaš’s tuning as well became popular in Bosnia and Herzegovina. There was a high demand and production of tamburas in a year. The production was accomplished in phases in the most well-known factories and workshops. The production in phases was explained to me by one of the last descendants of the earliest tambura makers of Sisak,

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First Croatian Tambura and Other Instruments Factory “Terezija Kovačić”

namely Velimir Zwirn, grandson of Maksimilijan Gilg from Prelošćica. At firstly, the instrument’s body and the neck were completed out of quarter or semi sawn maple (usually Acer campestre – field maple). The wood used to be carved with special tools in its fresh state. Secondly, the front was made out of quality spruce and support braces were glued underneath, the sound hole was sewed, the pickguard was glued and then the instrument was decorated with different types of wood, mother of pearl or abalone inlays. Thirdly, the instrument was painted usually with quality alcohol-based varnishes. Finally, the tuning machines were screwed on, frets were put, stag and nut were made out of hardwood, usually plum, rosewood or ebony, or cow bone and in rare cases ivory. Tamburas were priced depending on their decoration and the quality of wood used.

Every maker had at least two price ranges. They were not cheap but also not as expensive as classical musical instruments, so that ordinary people could afford one. In Terezija Kovačić’s shop, in addition to an extensive tambura selection, one could buy zither, violins and violoncellos, guitars, flutes, whistles, ocarinas, mandolins, accordions, mouth harmonicas, small percussion instruments and a choice of different musical accessories like bags and cases, picks, straps, stags and nuts as well as different types of strings. Numerous luthiers and apprentices worked at the factory where they made quality stringed instruments in Croatia.

Other instruments and musical accessories were imported from Austria, Germany or Hungary. I know for sure that some strings used to be imported from Bauer und Dürrschmidt Musik Instrument und Seitenfabrik in Marneukirchen, Germany. Another important advocate and innovator of tambura music who played a role in improving the tambura as an instrument was Milan Stahuljak, musician and music teacher from Varaždin.

Figure 7: Mirko Konig at old age.

He introduced these new tamburas in Farkaš’s tambura orchestra: brač IV or čelović (introduced 1899), čelo-brač and čelo-berde. He had done this because of the necessity to fill the gap between the high sound of the bisernicas and the low sound of the berdes. It is also important to mention that Stahuljak participated the First Tambura Meeting in 1907 where a few tambura promoters and enthusiasts discussed about future development of this instrument. Among them was Mirko König representing Terezija Kovačić’s factory (Figure 7).
Other participants of this meeting were:

- Franjo Kuhač, the initiator of ethnomusicology in Croatia
- Janko Stjepušin, owner of a tambura factory in Sisak
- Maksimilijan Gilg, owner of the Prelošćica workshop
- Mijo Habijanec, owner of the Topolovec workshop and
- Kučić (perhaps Dragutin), the father of the last owner of Terezija Kovačić’s factory
- Alois Fröbe, craftsman from Zagreb
- Šeliga and Petričević, the later was conductor of school tambura orchestra from Stari Mikanovci.

The report of this meeting was issued in the exclusive tambura magazine called ‘Tanburica’ that Janko Stjepušin (Sisak) published between 1903 and 1914.26 It is also important to mention the efforts of Milan Stahuljak for publishing „Teoretička i praktička uputa u citaranje za samouke“, handbook for concert zithers (in Viennese tuning) in 1912. The concert zither was also popular in Croatia around the same period like the tambura but it was considered as a foreign music instrument (Figure 8).

Figure 8: Receipt with Terezija Kovačić’s signature 1902.

There are some evidences of Stahuljak’s few order receipts of concert zither (Zittern) strings and accessories from First Croatian tambura and other factory instruments, signed by Terezija Kovačić herself, now kept in Croatian Musical Conservatory (HGZ). In the years before the Great War, Mirko König and Terezija (married König) moved their tambura factory to 10 Ksaver Road where Mirko’s family had a watermill on Medveščak creek. The music instrument shop and the warehouse remained at Ilica 47, 50 and 52. In November 1914, the owner of the most important and respected first Croatian tambura and other instruments factory, Terezija König, passed away of pneumonia. Her husband Mirko published a note in the daily Zagreb newspapers thanking all those who that supported Terezija during her ailment including those who attended her funeral.27 Her final resting place next to her (first) husband Mato Kovačić is Zagreb’s Central cemetery Mirogoj. Her widower Mirko continued running the music instruments business including the tambura but the demand for tambura and its production rapidly decreased in the years of war never to revive again as during pre-war popularity. Mirko König wrote in a letter to an anonymous recipient "War spoiled everything so I had to leave my business with great losses".28

Almost every music instrument factory or every luthier shared the same fate except the luthier, Franjo Schneider whose music instruments business grew during these grim days to a respectable factory because of his businessminded skills and his connections with the royal court of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia and later on with the Independent State of Croatia. After World War II, his factory was nationalized and given the name Glazbala Zagreb and finally Muzička Naklada, which continued constructing low quality musical instruments until the mid-1990s.

Today there is a Museum of Franjo Schneider in Zagreb displaying his workshop and music instruments collection. After the Great War, the factory of the late Terezija made a few successful emergences like the one at the First Zagreb Grand Fair (Velesajam) in 1922 and it was still producing musical instruments. Finally, in 1928 Mirko König handed the factory over to a young opera singer (Figure 9) who later became a famous baritone at the Croatian National Theatre in Zagreb Milivoj Kučić (1905-1991), because he and the late Terezija had no children of their own.

27 König, Mirko. 1914. „Javna zahvala.“ Obzor 57(316), 6.
28 Državni arhiv u Zagrebu. Zbirka Ivana Ulčnika. HR-DAZG-857 - 762, 763, 2985.
Even more important is the fact that Mirko was the best man for Milivoj’s parents at their wedding in 1901. The factory and the music shop continued with work at 60 Ilica St. and at the last address, 72 Ilica Street. Milivoj Kučić closed the factory in 1933 during the great economic crisis.29 According to Milivoj’s son, Gorn Kučić, Milivoj’s role with regard to owning a tambura factory could not be important because he was studying music in Vienna in late 1920s. Still many great quality instruments of that period are on the market and in private collections. I personally play a flat back Portuguese type mandolin made during this last period labelled as T. Kovačić, the first and oldest tambura and other instruments factory, Ilica 72. Many skilled luthiers were educated at Terezića Kovačić’s factory. Among them was Ivan Pipinić who later owned his own workshop in the today’s Tomasz Masaryk (former Marovska) Street in Zagreb. Also, Ivan J. Hlad (also from Hrvatsko Zagorje) may be mentioned who was the founder of The Ivan Hlad Tamburitza Manufacturing Company from Chicago in 1917. Many other luthiers from Dobranić and Vardian factory established instrument manufacturing in USA. Prior to their immigration to the USA, these luthiers were tambura makers in Prelošćica near Sisak.30 In the final period of the factory, luthier Ivan Hus from Šemovec near Varaždin owned had his own workshop at Tkalčić Street in Zagreb later on and sold his instruments via Terezića Kovačić’s music shop.31 Tambura music was very popular among Croatian migrants in the first half of the 20th century. Many tambura orchestras, for instance, the famous “Zvonimir” from San-Francisco played (Figure 10) tamburas that were ordered from Terezića Kovačić’s factory.32

Also Stjepan Radić, a beloved Croatian politician and leader of the Croatian peasant party, owned and played on Terezića Kovačić’s tambura brač that is now preserved in the Croatian History Museum in Zagreb.33 It is also important to mention that Radić’s political party, the Croatian Peasant Party34, helped the tambura partly regain popularity in Croatia through numerous culture and arts societies, commonly branches of “Seljačka sloga” organization, which usually had tambura orchestras.

33 Hrvatski povijesni muzej. Tambura „brač“ Stjepana Radića. HPM/PMH 26424.
34 Hrvatska seljačka stranka (1920s – 1930s).
I would also like to make some notes to conclude the discussion about the music instruments factory owned by the very capable Terezija Kovačić. Tambura in Croatia started its gradual development from a simple self-made traditional (usually with untempered scale) instrument to a valuable and extremely popular orchestral instrument constructed by skilled and accomplished artisans, who later became employees of tambura factories.

In Croatia, the tambura manufacturing reached its zenith at the turn of the 19th century reinforced by the Croatian National Revival and after the first tambura playing handbook was published in 1887. Terezija Kovačić’s factory started the first mass construction of tamburas and was continually manufacturing tamburas from the 1870s until 1933. Terezija Kovačić’s factory was indeed the first Croatian music instrument factory specialized in tambura making. This fact largely helped to introduce a specific type of tamburas (of Farkaš’s tune) invented in Croatia to the worldwide traditional music scene. Today Farkaš’s tamburas tuning methods are registered as a part of UNESCO’s intangible heritage as an “Art of playing on farkašica tamburas in the north and northwest Croatia”.\(^{35}\) They are rarely used by Croatian amateurs and professional musicians. Despite this circumstances, there are still few tambura orchestras in Slovenia, the Czech Republic, Slovakia and among Croatian minority in the Gradišće region, and Austria which use it regularly. It is still known and used among the Croatian diaspora. The Croatian national dance ensemble called Lado recently reintroduced Farkaš’s tambura musicians and

their repertoire. Unfortunately, there are still no formal tambura education institutions and there are still different tambura tuning systems used\textsuperscript{36}. One may ask whether the diverse tuning systems and tambura types contribute to the progress of tambura as a traditional instrument. I believe that it is up to the Croats to decide which tuning system should be declared as a standard system so that the formal tambura training and its level can be based on a determined norm. That is how other countries, which have similar history to ours, maintained their national traditional instruments. For example, the mandolin, regarded as the traditional Italian musical instrument, has only one tuning (G3-D4-A4-E5) and its scales derived from the violin. There are different types (shapes) of the mandolin, e.g. Neapolitan, Milanese and Portuguese. But as far as I know, each of them is tuned in the same manner. The same serves for the ukulele, today’s probably most widespread traditional music instrument from the island of Hawaii. Its soprano variant is always tuned in G4-C4-E4-A4 regardless whether it is made in People’s Republic of China (as in the case of many musical instruments) or in its homeland Hawaii.

Regardless of standardization problems, it is important to keep and treasure every type of tuning, especially Farkaš’s tuning (today almost extinct) that is without doubt exclusively connected with Croatia and its people’s national identity from historical viewpoint. Hence, it is cherished in the memory by Croatian factories and workshops such as that of Terezija Kovačić which manufactures high quality musical instruments during the golden age of the Croatian tambura at the turn of the 19th century (Figure 11, Figure 12).

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{figure11.png}
\caption{Sarajevo representative in Dragoljub 1895; Figure 12: Front bottom of brac from Terezija Kovac ic ‘s factory made after 1894.}
\end{figure}

\textsuperscript{36} Farkaš’s and Janković’s in fifths and today’s most popular tuning four-parts in fourths system from Srijem divided in G-D and A-E sub types.
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Jadran Jeić


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**Items**


Hrvatski povijesni muzej u Zagrebu. Tambura „brač“ Stjepana Radića. HPM/PMH 26424

Muzej Slavonije u Osijeku. Tambura Paje Kolarića. E-355
How Was the Myth Created:
Why Do We Love Sevdalinka Sung with the Accompaniment of an Accordion, Tamburitza, and Folk Orchestra

The question and issue I deal with in this study, the position and role of the traditional song (and folk music in general) in RTV Sarajevo programs was around before although it was not sufficiently discussed or written about. Having in mind that these subject matters are still quite important here in BiH (particularly with the appearance of a number of local radio and TV stations), I believe that they deserve the full attention, a systematic analysis, as well as special research which could help resolve this complex issue, since it should not be considered as an internal problem of a single radio station. Traditional/folk music has a very significant place in shaping the national music programs, which provide a physiognomy to a radio or television station, and therefore the entire issue has a very broad meaning and is with innumerable threads related to various issues of our political, cultural and artistic life.

The data for the present paper were exclusively gathered from interviews with Radio Sarajevo, vocal soloists, former and present employees of the Music Production Department, and with colleagues from the Department of Folk Music at the former Radio Sarajevo. There are no written evidences referring to Tamburitza and Folk Orchestra except for sheet music and annual reports made on orchestras' performance (data obtained from Tomislav Karača's private archives). These are mostly based on statistical data that are related to the implementation of planned recordings over the last three decades of the last century. All figures in this article are by courtesy of the archives used.

Over the first years after the Second World War, then the only radio station in BiH, Radio Sarajevo, the entire activity pertaining to traditional music was carried out by the Department of Folk Music. Redactors and reporters were not only supposed to make a given program. Their task was far more complex. They had to manage folk music ensembles, determine their repertoire, choose soloists – singers and finally make a selection of traditional songs. One of their tasks was to regularly keep in touch with the "live performances" in the field. This rough outline of tasks clearly reveals that it was a very sensitive work which, unfortunately, was not performed by qualified staff, which will be discussed later in the paper.
In its early practice, the Department of Folk Music systematized the entire material according to the following principles: original folklore, improvised folk music, stylized folk music, and arranged folk music.\footnote{These data were obtained as a result of examining archival materials and card files of the Folk Music Department of former Radio Sarajevo.}

Naturally, such systematization has some disadvantages, although it was the most suitable for the practice of the time. The category of the \textit{original folklore} included the real reproduction of folk singing and dancing, primarily the rural tradition. The \textit{improvised folk music} (which includes the performance of Bosnian urban song, sevdalinka), which interests us most in the paper, was widely represented. However, there was a very strong trend which fully denied any significance of this kind of expression in contemporary life, considering it a decadent remnant of the past. Nevertheless, the fact remains that this kind of music has been the most abundant in Radio Sarajevo programs for over fifty years.

Over the first couple of years of Radio Sarajevo’s activity, the stylized folk music was believed to be the most promising. It was supposed to represent the essence of traditional music that was broadcasted. It was believed that the unchanged melody, which was recorded by a melograph and whose latent harmonies were fixed by an "artist" was to provide the audience with the "most authentic expression of folk spirit".\footnote{This was in line with the socialist reconstruction of the country and with the new socio-political order.} By the analysis and systematization of the material of Department of Folk Music of Radio Sarajevo collected over the first decade of the station’s operation, and by listening to almost all recordings made over the period of nearly fifty years, I have observed that in many cases one cannot clearly distinguish between individual kinds.\footnote{I first started this activity as an attempt to prepare a distinctive catalogue of recorded songs performed by Radio Sarajevo vocal soloists, in order to gain a better insight into the archival material and thus allow easier preparation of programs, and continued it when I prepared compact discs \textit{Antologija bh sevdalinke} and \textit{Dojenji bh sevdalinke}.}

Keeping in line with this systematization clearly required addressing the issue of singers – vocal soloists, solo instrumentalists and instrumental ensembles which were broadcasted in Radio Sarajevo programs as well as on other programs of this radio station. Initially, auditions were organized (and this practice continued later on), and a number of performers were engaged some of them developing into consummate singers.\footnote{This was confirmed in interviews with Zaim Imamović, Safet Isović, Spasoje Berak, Ljubica Berak, Himzo Polovina, Zehra Deović, Emina Zečaj and Sejo Pitić. I conducted interviews with these singers for the preparation of authored stories and programs (\textit{Bisernica, Iz muzičke baštine BiH, Muzička zrnca iz Bosne, Sevdalinho pjesmo najmilija}) in the period between 1986 and 2002.} These were singers who were...
endowed with naturally beautiful voice, sense of improvising skill but had no musical-aesthetical education, which frequently required painstaking work on correcting the pub-like manner of singing.

Initially, Radio Sarajevo broadcast sevdalinka live accompanied by accordion duet, the most significant being the duet Ismet Alajbegović – Jovica Petković. Still, we can learn about the distinctiveness of this duet owing to archival recordings, permanently stored in the record library of Radio Sarajevo, made between 1956 and 1965, since no scores, i.e. sheet music, existed.

Actually, they were self-made, i.e. musically illiterate instrumentalists, who improvised their accompaniment just before the recording, naturally as agreed with singers and producers. In this way, a sound image was obtained, conditioned by then only available recording technology – mono-technique, and sound engineers subsequently used the so-called false stereo. It should be noted that such accompaniment reduced the possibility of improvising the vocal melodic line, and thus lowered the singer’s ability to "get into the spirit of" the poetics of lyrics, which is extremely important in the performance of urban songs, particularly sevdalinka. The homogenized sound of instrumentalists, i.e. orchestra aimed at consistent accompaniment to the soloist was preferred.

Figure 1. Archival card with relevant information; Department of Folk Music of Radio Sarajevo.

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5 Part of these recordings is presently available to broader public on compact discs Antologija bh sevdalinke i Doajeni bh sevdalinke.
In the 1960s, Radio Sarajevo began to employ educated musicians, whose producing activities gave a new dimension to the way of performing sevdalinka and gave it to a new direction. Among other things, materials for recording were prepared in advance, which implied making written recordings of songs and their elaboration through arrangements written for Tamburitza and Folk Orchestra. A special and important role among these musicians was played by Beluš Jungić, Ljubinko Miljković, Zvonko Nevžala, and Jozo Penava. Their works included corrections in singing techniques, pointing to the proper voice setup and to the way of performing with the tamburitza or with the folk orchestra. Interestingly, the listed musicians (urban

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6 For a long period of time, ethnomusicologists did not attach any significance to producers' activity in shaping and creating a special manner of 'radio singing'.

7 The ensemble was formed in 1945, as a permanent performing group, which was both engaged to record songs and actively participated in the concert life of Sarajevo and BiH. The first leader of the ensemble was Svetozar Kajtazović; he was followed by Jozo Penava, Drago Trkulja, Mirsad Sijeric and Ivica Bernadić. In the 1970s, the orchestra experienced big staff difficulties, and often had to engage musicians – tamburitza players from Vojvodina and other environments. Soloists on the accordion were also part of the orchestra. Elder listeners to Radio Sarajevo probably remember the popular accordion duet Z. Imamović – I. Alajbegović, performances by Mustafa Krlić, Milorad Todorović and brothers Jovica and Ratimir Petković. Jovica Petković gained an enviable artistic reputation, and represented Radio Sarajevo and Yugoslav radio broadcasting at few local and international festivals. Tamburitza orchestra particularly owes its professional maturing to Beluša Jungić who, in the period between 1950 and 1968 worked as a reductor at the Department of Folk Music of Radio Sarajevo, a producer, arranger and conductor. Almost all vocal soloists owe their artistic reputation to Beluša Jungić’s professional and educational influence. Tamburitza orchestra participated in the making of diverse programs – Selo veselo, Subotom uveče, Partizansko veče, Radio-podmornica, Melodije i pejzaži BiH, Tragom pjesme Ludvika Kube, Revitalizacija narodne pjesme, etc. During the war in BiH (1992-1995), Tamburitza orchestra participated in the recording of patriotic songs.

8 In the first years of post World War II, Radio Sarajevo engaged, opn a free-lance basis, Staniša Stanković’s Folk ensemble, which was very popular among listeners. In an interview of June 1989, Zaim Imamović told me that violonist Mile Nikolić’s performances were particularly valued. By 1970, when the Folk Orchestra of Radio Sarajevo was finally formed, smaller folk ensembles were engaged for and in Radio Sarajevo programs. Initiators for forming a full-time Folk Orchestra included Vlatko Petrović, the then head of the Music Production of Radio Sarajevo. He also selected the first lineup of the orchestra: Ismet Alajbegović – accordion, Jovica Petković – accordion, Milorad Petrović – violin, Spaso Berak – clarinet, Boško Familić – guitar, and Mišo Babilić – bass guitar. Somewhat later, the orchestra was joined by Nedžad Imamović and Muhamed Maluhić. Besides the standard lineup of the orchestra, for performances at larger events, the orchestra was joined by academic musicians Dževad Sabanagić – violin, Branko Glumac – violin, Branko Huterer – cello, and Bećir Drnda – flute. Folk Orchestra participated at festivals – Ilidža, Vogošća, Vaš slager sezone, Festival of amateur musicians and singers, programs Selo – veselo, Subotom uvečer, and projects Tragom pjesme Ludvika Kube and Revitalizacija narodne pjesme.

9 Unfortunately, only one Zvonko Nevžala’s arrangement for song Ja te ljubim djevo mila was preserved in the music score library of Music Production of BHRT. Other authors’ arrangements from this period are non-existent, and part of archival material was destroyed during the war (1992-1995).
song producers) arranged sevdalinkas both for singers who are accompanied by orchestras and for performing by vocal groups, and even for polyphonic performances. Still, I must note that such way of singing is not suitable for the tradition of performing Bosnian urban traditional song, which partly originated from the exclusively monodic oriental modal systems.

Figures 3 and 4: Archival file cards from the Department of Folk Music of Radio Sarajevo.

Arrangements of Bosnian urban songs for performances with the Folk or Tamburitza Orchestra set a new concept, a new organization and, in short, a new pattern which was often considered as the only proper one. Arrangements made for the Folk Orchestra typically included an introduction, which could
also serve as an interlude. Musicians typically composed the introduction and interlude "in the spirit of" sevdalinka, or used the existing melodic material of the song. Interestingly, older instrumentalists in the orchestra very often did not adhere to the written score but rather agreed about the way of performing before the recording session, thus keeping ancient habits and practice. The introduction and interlude changed, in a way that every time the leading melodic part was played by a different soloist instrument, namely an accordion, a violin or clarinet. These leading instruments closely accompanied the singing part (in unison or in heterophony), while the rest of the orchestra played the harmonic background. Arrangers frequently attached significance to individual instrumentalists’, mostly to the virtuosity of accordionists and violinists. Focus was given to the full acoustic and dynamically balanced sound. Such aesthetics of sound balance was generally accepted and favored, and was therefore preserved in later years as well regardless of technological progress and the appearance of new instruments. Present-day listeners will therefore, hardly notice the differences between acoustic and electric bass, or between the side drum and a modern drum set, due to the producers’ intentional "masking" and "muffling". The desired affect was a moderate mixing of melodic and sound characteristics of the orchestra as well as of the vocal soloist.
Figure 5: Arrangement for the song Vozila se po Vrbasu lada, written for the Folk Orchestra of RTVSA by Spasoje Berak.

Bearing in mind the fact that only few arrangements have been preserved by the described musicians, I studied this arrangement and performance style of sevdalinka using recordings and scores by authors who continued their work in the same environment, with orchestras equipped with new instruments. Work by the described authors on arranging sevdalinkas for singing with tamburitza or folk orchestra led to the emergence of the clichéd way of performing, actually a model, typically understood as the only possible one which, as we witness, still prevails at the state and federal radio-television stations.
One could note that the manner of radio singing has (un)consciously been created. It is interesting to note that this aura of "style elegance" in folk singing is particularly preserved and accepted by big folk orchestras in regional radio-television broadcasting institutions.

Figure 6: Celebration of RTVSA anniversary in 1970 (Zita Mušac, Lela Karlović, Zlata Mustafić, Drago Trkulja, Radmila Jagodić, Nadežda Cmiljić, Himzo Polovina, Jozo Penava and Jovica Petković).

With respect of sevdalinkas broadcast in Radio Sarajevo programs, I have observed performances with accordion duet and folk or tamburitza orchestra. At the same time, sevdalinkas sung with saz accompaniment (although in a low percentage until 1992) were also broadcast. For a while, redactors in charge and producers believed that sevdalinka sung with saz accompaniment was not in line either with the contemporary approach to performance or with broadcasting requirements. This kind of performing was therefore, "reserved" for special programs on traditional music. For the needs of such programs, a certain number of recordings were made of saz players Muhamed Mešanović Hamić, Selim Salihović, Hašim Muharemović, Ćamil Metiljević, Muaz Borogovac, Avdo Vrabac, Himzo Tulić and many more. Nevertheless, I believe that a kind of program censorship or ignoring of sevdalinka sung with saz accompaniment was a result of the general socio-political climate. In the period after 1991, due to the "national awakening" and the need to discover the own identity, roots and tradition, singing with the saz accompaniment has re-achieved recognition. Consequently, this way of performing secured its
deserved place in radio programs. I believe that this development should be analyzed more thoroughly and profoundly from the historical, sociological, political and cultural aspect. I would also add that, when listening to the current record supply, in case of saz players we encounter new performers who learned about songs and playing both in the traditional way and through the forms offered by ubiquitous media. Since it has already been claimed that such a tradition inevitably experiences transformation within media, it is clear that part of the transformation, thus presented, is transferred to these performers.
Fieldwork interviews

Karača Beljak, Tamara. Interview with Zaim Imamović, October 1990.
Interview with Sejo Pitić, March 2000.
Interview with Safet Isović, November 2003.
Interview with Zehra Deović, April 2006.
Interview with Bela Samardžić, March 2007.
Interview with Tomislav Karača, March 2007.
Interview with Spasoje Berak, May 2008.

Archive sources

Archiv BHRT. Archive cards of the Department for the Folk Music.
Sound library BHRT. Audio tape recording.
Kumar Karthigesu

The Relevance of the Traditional Sitar in a Globalised World

The sitar remains as perhaps the most widely-used plucked string instrument of choice amongst the practitioners of Hindustani Kshastriya Sangeet\(^1\), but its assimilation and modern-day use has expanded to reach almost all corners of the world music arena – from Jazz to Japanese music.

While the sitar has remained traditionally hand-made and acoustic, its long history has seen various innovations, alterations and modifications to its structure, shape, playing position and design so as to produce a highly versatile, adaptable instrument, which produces a distinctly sweet dynamic tone.

History of the Sitar

There exists much controversy in charting the origin of the sitar. Although there are at least four theories regarding its conception and history, none of these are universally accepted by practitioners, musicologists and academics.\(^2\)

The most popular theory, especially among music practitioners even today is that the sitar was the invention of Ameer Khusrau\(^3\), a Persian poet of the courts of the Emperor Allauddin Khilji in Delhi in Uttar Pradesh, India, in the thirteenth century. Khusrau is cited as being highly influential in the early development of Hindustani Classical music\(^4\), and that he developed the Indian sitar based on an Persian instrument with the same name. However, it now can be proven without a doubt that this Khusrao could not have been ‘the’ inventor of the sitar. He certainly did not mention the sitar in any of his own written works, and there appears to be no direct reference to the sitar, with this particular spelling and pronunciation in any written works of that time. It is even possible that Ameer Khusrau was mistaken for someone else. The "Sangeet Sudarshana" states that the sitar was invented in the 18th century by a fakir\(^5\) named Amir Khusru, or Khusrao Khan. This of course was a different Khusru from the one who lived in the 1200’s. There are conflicting accounts of

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\(^1\) The Northern Indian Classical style of music.


\(^3\) Ab’ul Hasan Yamin ud-din Khusrau ( 1253-1325 CE). He was given the title “Amir” by Jalal ud Din Kiruz Khilji, in the rules of Delhi in 1288.


\(^5\) A self-sufficient seeker, who possesses only the spiritual need for God.
his latter Amir Khusru’s background, but, from various oral accounts, he was a descendent of Miyan Tansen – a legendary poet musician in the courts of the Mughal Emperor Akbar. L.D Josi refers to this Khusru as the father of both Firoz Khan and Masit Khan, credited with advances in Hindustani Khyyal music and the invention of the vilambit (slow pace) sitar gat or composition respectively. Given that the earliest references of the sitar in written text only appeared in the 18th Century, as discussed below, this theory now seems the most plausible.

However, there are also pictorial references that there were lutes, such as the three stringed tritantri veena, as quoted in the 13th Century ‘Sangitaratnakara’ treatise of Sarangadeva) and the seven stringed saptatantri veena or Chitra Veena (described in the ‘Natya Shastra’ by Bharatha), in existence centuries before the time of the 1st Amir Khusrau. In the ancient texts, any stringed instrument was known as Veena, a term that is used to this day. So another theory, posited by Dr. Lalmani Misra in his book Bharatiya Sangeet Vadya, is that the sitar is a direct evolution of the tritantri veena, also known as jantra. Dr. Roy Choudhury goes further to suggest that the suggested ancestor to the Indian sitar, the Persian sehtar, was in itself an evolution of the Indian Chitra (Citra) Veena.

The term ‘sehtar’ referring to an Indian instrument started appearing around the 5th century, about a century before the birth of the Prophet Muhammed, where a Middle Eastern poet singer called Jarham Binatoi who travelled to India makes reference in his poetry to India’s 5th Century ruler, Raja Vikramaditya, who was also known as Samudragupta, and his multiple talents, including his musical abilities.

“His sehtar-playing is such that the listeners’ heart-buds blossom” writes Binatoi. “From these great men (referring to King Vikram) we learnt ishwar-jnana, (knowledge of God) and learnt playing the sehtar for bliss”.

Coins are also available on which King Vikramaditya is seen playing what appears to be the parivadini veena. This is conclusive evidence that the Sitar is

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almost wholly Indian in origin, although it existed in a slightly different shape and size from its present-day design, and the term sitar would only be appended to it much later. This contradicts the belief that the sitar as an instrument emerged from the cross-pollination of the Persian Sehtar and the tritantri veena or chitra veena during the reign of the Mughal Empire.

Another theory suggests that the sitar evolved from the tambur\textsuperscript{12}, an instrument which originated from Persia and appeared in the early periods of the Muslim occupation of Northern India. This was referenced as early as 1200 by one of the earliest chroniclers in Delhi, Hasan Nizami\textsuperscript{13}. Several structurally different versions of this early tambur can be found in pictoral references and writings, which support the hypothesis that the tambur itself evolved greatly in Northern India during the Mughal reign. The most significant detail can be found in the ‘Sangitaparijata’ text written by Ahobala in 1665, which describes 2 versions, a unfretted (anibaddha) and fretted (nibaddha) version of the ‘taumburam’.\textsuperscript{14} Based on the ‘Sangitaparijata’, the Maharaja Sawai Pratap Singh of Jaipur comments in his text “Sawai Sar’ in 1790 that the sitar is in fact another name for the nibaddha tambur\textsuperscript{15}. Singh cites the curved face of the tanpura, and the names given to a number of strings on the sitar even today, such as the jod, kharaj, and so on, to support this theory.

The earliest written reference to the sitar as an instrument in its own right can only be found as late as the eighteenth century, in the text Muraqqa -e- Delhi\textsuperscript{16} written by Dargah Quli Khan. Therefore, it is established that the sitar, in its present-day design, only came into being about 300 years ago.

In order to elaborate the precipitation of invention of the sitar, it is important to provide some background into the history of Indian music, which is wholly responsible for the advent of the sitar in itself.

The history of Indian music dates back to 3rd and 2nd millennia BC\textsuperscript{17}, during the Indus valley civilizations where music was primarily religious or spiritual

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in nature, and primitive. The era from 1500 BC to 500 BC witnessed the rise of Vedic music is where we first come across the use of primitive types of veena such as the parivadini.

The next period of interest to us is the Gupta Period\(^\text{18}\) from 300 AD to 600 AD, where we see music shifting from being purely religious in nature, to being performed for pleasure, in the courts of the Maharaja’s\(^\text{19}\). For example, under the Maharaja Vikramaditya’s reign, Kalidasa, his court-appointed lyrical poet created masterpieces of several great epics and plays. There are also references of various technical terms for defining voice quality and other nuances of music, which included terms like murchana, swarasaptaka and tana. These point to substantial development in the complexities of music rendered during this period. Kalidasa’s work includes numerous references to musical instruments of his era which included a more developed version of the parivadini veena and vipanchi veena, which is significant, because the earlier chitra veena, rudra veena, were not capable of reproducing the vocal nuances mentioned in Kalidasa’s works.

The crucial period of musical development lies between 1200 AD to 1700 AD, beginning with the verse compositions of the 1\(^\text{st}\) maestro Khusrao, using multiple languages such as Persian, Turkish, Arabic, Braj Bhasha, Hindawi and Khadi Boli. This demonstrates that Khusrao’s music had substantial reach across various communities in India. Khusrao is also credited to have created a new system of musicology, called 'Indraprastha Mata' or 'Chaturdandi Sampradaya'.\(^\text{20}\)

The apex period of the development of Indian classical music in general was during the reign of the Emperor Akbar in the 16\(^{\text{th}}\) century, with his court musician Mian Tansen\(^\text{21}\). The text Ain e Akbari mentions the rich music culture of Akbar’s time. This period also includes the advent of the Dhrupad, Khayal and Tappa musical styles, the dissociation of dance from music, and the change of focus from the been to the surbahar and subsequently sitar, and pakhawaj to the tabla.

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Tansen is credited with simplifying the raga and tala system, reducing the 4000 ragas and raginis of his time into a system of 400. He also reduced 92 talas to 12. 22

All this is significant, because as the level of music became more and more sophisticated, musical instruments also needed to develop to keep up. It must be mentioned here that all earlier forms of music were based primarily on vocal music, where melodic instruments played a hugely subordinate role. Normally, the lead singer would himself perform with a rudra veena or bin, embellishing certain parts of his singing with musical phrases from the instrument.

As the potential of the instruments grew, we see a clear separation during Tansen’s period, giving rise to a whole generation of musicians who performed purely on instruments and complimented the main singer on stage. Note: It was not until the late 19th Century, where purely instrumental performances were seen, devoid of the vocal element.

The main style of music performed in Akbar’s court was dhrupad23, but this form of singing was highly restrictive, as it did not allow for free improvisation, changes in tempo and so on. A newer genre called khyal24 was invented by Nyamat Khan, or Sadarang in the 18th Century, which allowed more artistic freedom to singers and instrumentalists alike to improvise freely while remaining within the boundaries of raga and taal. Today, khyal singing has become the mainstream of Indian classical music.

Development of the Sitar

Dhrupad singing was accompanied by the been (rudra veena), but the Been was not suitable to imitate the fast passages and intricate gamakas of the newer khyal style. For starters, the effort of sitting with a been was most uncomfortable, due to the large size of the two gourds, and this hampered faster finger and hand movements. Secondly, the frets on the been were flat, which did not lend itself well to the production of techniques such as meend, or bending in between the musical notes, in tandem with what was being produced vocally. Musicians had, by this time, developed a liking for taans or

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spontaneously improvised musical passages in drut laya or fast tempo, and also the performance of layakaari, or quick changes of speed within a set base tempo.

It was at this point that the sitar was born - keeping all the majesty of the been, but smaller, lighter, and able to produce these fast passages and multiple stroke patterns, such as the diri stroke, which complimented the faster nuances of khyal. The revolutionary changes made here were

- the reduction in the size of the top gourd or resonating chamber, and much later, the subsequent removal of this gourd altogether, (although some schools of sitar, including that of Ravi Shankar’s, still continue to use the second gourd even today. Its purpose is more decorative and for balance, as opposed to contributing meaningfully to the music in itself)
- the use of machine tooled metal strings, including carbon steel, copper, bronze and brass strings, replacing the earlier hand rolled gut strings.
- the curved brass frets, which lent itself well to the production of the advanced techniques of meend and gamakas, replacing the wooden flat frets.
- the addition of more frets, which allowed for quicker changes in raga, or melodic patterns.
- the addition of 11, 12 or 13 ‘sympathetic strings’ or taraf, which resonate along with the notes which are produced by the main strings, adding extra sustain and resonance, and give the sitar its unique twinkling sound.

In a break from tradition and taboo, many instrumentalists switched over to the Sitar and perfected it, without giving up what was considered important in been-playing and dhrupad - singing, but adding on to it, the khyal and taraana styles of music using the sitar.

Two distinct style of sitar performance emerged from the khyal and thumri styles of music respectively. In the Maseekhaani\textsuperscript{26} gat style, influenced by the khyal style of singing, techniques of the left hand feature greatly, such as meend, where the string is pulled downwards following the curvature of the frets. gamak, a type of quick meend, krintan, a plucking technique with the left fingers, jamjamaa, a hammering technique with the left fingers and so on.


\textsuperscript{26} Named after Maseed Khan, son of Firoz Khan, and descendant of Amir Khusrao. Firoz Khan’s own playing style, the Firozkhani bhaj, set to Char taal, was more complex, and hence soon overtaken with the Maseetkhani style, which was set to the more friendly Teentaal time cycle.
The Razakhaani gat\textsuperscript{27}, on the other hand, influenced by the thumri style, focused more on the mastery of the right hand’s striking technique and great speed, enhancing the peculiarities of tone movements, with layakaari, where several complicated multiples of the base tempo are produced.

One of the earlier criticisms of the sitar as a replacement to the been was that the bass tones produced on the been, which supplemented the alaap, or opening, tempo-free aspect of a raga rendition in dhrupad, was missing. Audiences still craved for this soulful aspect of the dhrupad performances. Again, another milestone came about here when Rahimat Khan’s added this Kharaj Shadaj string, made of bronze, to the sitar, in and around the middle of the 20th Century. This solved the problem of performing the alaap adequately.

Rahimat Khan also rearranged the sequence of strings on the main body which resulted in increased melody, flexibility and variety. The earlier string arrangement of the sitar was meant for the use of the sitar as a melodic instrument but only in the higher octaves, a drone instrument, equivalent to a tambura, and an instrument capable of holding rhythm. With the new sequence, Rahimat Khan enabled the sitar to be performed as a melodic instrument covering the lower octaves, while maintaining its drone and rhythmic effect.

Thus was born the present day Sitar. Now the Sitar could perform all that the been and surbahar could produce, and became the only instrument which can be played equally well in both the dhrupad and khyal styles. Many practitioners, who acquired tremendous skill and artistry shot to fame, among them are Ravi Shankar, Vilayat Khan, Nikhil Banerjee, Abdul Halim Jaffer Khan and many others. This also gave rise to distinct styles of performances, called gharanas, which became the identity of each musicians’s style of playing. This, in turn, led to schools of teaching the sitar classically, divided along the lines of gharana or style.

Now with many countries having a large Indian diaspora, the sitar and its classical form of music continues to be taught and promoted in several countries, with schools, colleges and Universities having developed structured syllabi and teaching this instrument as part of the music faculty.

The introduction of the film industry into India also brought about great demand for the use of the sitar. As many would know, Indian film has music and dance sequences as one of its central tenets.

The 1930’s saw the rise of music in Indian cinema with musicals such as \textit{Indra Sabha} and \textit{Devi Devyani} marking the beginning of song-and-dance in India's

\textsuperscript{27} Named after Ghulam Raza Khan of Lucknow, and also known as the Purvi Bhaj.
films\textsuperscript{28}. This leads to the sitar being used extensively for film music which is a clear departure from its restricted use in the earlier classical music style. While the filmi style of music remained rooted in the raga and taala system, at least initially, quick scale changes in performance was a necessity, very different from the elaborate, and time-consuming setting and tuning of the classical style of performance\textsuperscript{29}.

While Ali Akbar Khan was the first Indian musician to travel and perform overseas with his sarod, Ravi Shankar remains the first sitar player to take the Indian sitar beyond the borders of India\textsuperscript{30}. Performing in the US in 1957, the American listeners, at first, were "receptive but occasionally puzzled" by the "infinitely complex music which bears some slight resemblance to modern jazz and Schoenberg's twelve-tone system." as reported in the Time Magazine. That "slight resemblance" was part of the reason Shankar and his sitar soon became household names in the United States. In the mid-1960s, he capitalized on his appeal to modern jazz musicians by teaching a six-week class in Indian music at UCLA. TIME noted in 1964 that "local jazzmen are standing in line to enroll" and that "Shankar's sitar artistry has influenced such jazz innovators as Pianist Dave Brubeck and Saxophonists John Coltrane and Bud Shank."

In 1966, Brian Jones of the Rolling Stones used a sitar on the song 'Paint It Black'\textsuperscript{31}, while another English guitarist, Dave Mason, played one on Traffic's 1967 hits 'Paper Sun' and 'Hole in My Shoe'. Beatles guitarist George Harrison had also discovered Shankar, and, having taken lessons from him, played a sitar on 'Norwegian Wood (This Bird Has Flown)' in late 1965 and 'Love You To' in 1966. Indeed, it was the era of what Shankar described as "The Great Sitar Explosion".

In 1970, Ravi Shankar received a commission from the London Symphony Orchestra to write a concerto for sitar and orchestra, which premiered in the Royal Festival Hall in London in 1971.

Gender liberalization has also lent to the popularity of the sitar over the past 50 years or so. The era of Dhrupad singing and corresponding accompaniment on the been, Surbahar and earlier forms of music performance was restricted to males only. The opening up of society to accept and include females in music performance has seen a tremendous boost in female students learning this


instrument, and now becoming performers with their own identity. In many schools of sitar today, it would not be uncommon to find that female students outnumber their male counterparts.

The sitar is now used for performance in many types of world music scenes, but still remains most commonly used in Hindustani Classical music as a solo instrument.

**Necessity is the Mother of Innovation**

Challenges faced by the sitar in recent times include the scarcity of certain materials. The goraj, or bridges used on the sitar, was originally made of ivory. When the use of this material was banned, antelope horn was used in its place, and considered adequate. In more recent years, the use of antelope horn has also been banned in India, and hence, makers have experimented and started using certain types of hard wood, including the wood of the tamarind tree and ebony. This has come to be accepted by practitioners in recent times. Continual experiments are done even now on using synthetic materials for the bridge, such as teflon, and while the sound quality produced by these materials seems to be accepted\(^{32}\), there is still resistance among the sitar community in using synthetic substances on an otherwise all natural acoustic instrument.

Further innovations, like incorporating the guitars’ grip lock screw tuning keys, have been attempted on the sitar, and while used by some, there appears great resistance to change the aesthetic look of the sitar, especially when the traditional wooden tuning pegs perform the job adequately.

In the past 30 years, sitar makers in India have attempted to innovate greatly, changing the materials used, the intricate carved designs on the body, and even the shape of the sitar, leading to the birth of the ‘baby’ or electric sitar\(^{33}\), which does away with the rounded pumpkin gourd or resonating chamber, replacing it with a flatter wooden back and slightly shortening the fretboard. Again, this is used by some practitioners with a more modern outlook, but the majority still shy away from it. The prevailing argument is “Why fix something which isn’t broken?”

Whatever its origins are, it cannot be denied that the sitar has evolved into a highly versatile acoustic instrument, engineered with a great deal of scientific precision. Its range covers up to four octaves, with an impressive tonal quality for each of these octaves. The utilisation of the taraf strings, coupled with the main strings, broadens the harmonics of this instrument, while the fretboard


\(^{33}\) First manufactured by Sanjay Rikhi Ram, Delhi.
design easily allows fast movements and speed in music. A further discussion of the pro and cons of versatility, tonal quality, impact on instrument makers, and local music communities is waiting for being taken up. Questions such as ‘Did the modern shape of the sitar accommodated the re-creation of local traditional repertoire that was bound to certain playing techniques or technical features?’ are yet to be answered. While it now allows a modern musician to play an entire repertoire, the addition of the taraf strings have somewhat compromised the ability to produce the deep ‘alaaps’ which the been was famous for.

Conclusion

Indian classical music has seen a reemergence in popularity recently, and hence classical sitar has also seen a boost in popularity in recent times. Thus, the sitar as an instrument remains highly relevant today, perhaps even more so than at the time of its invention 300 years ago. The large worldwide Indian diaspora has contributed to the popularity of the sitar outside of the Indian subcontinent, and, in addition, the sitar has gained popularity in being used for several other genres of world music.

The continued journey in the evolution of the sitar is not nearly over, and changes and innovations are being made to this instrument even today to adapt to current trends and genres.
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Gaila Kirdienė

Lithuanian Folklore or Folk-like bands that Include Fiddle and their Cultural Permissibility (1950 – 1990)

This investigation is dealing with the formations and development of the Lithuanian instrumental folklore or folk-like bands that include fiddles. It intends to reveal and discuss various significant, i.e. ideological, cultural, educational, and marketing factors which have affected them from 1950 until 1990, the year of the reinstatement of the Independent Lithuania. It should be emphasized, that relatively many folk musicians, mainly fiddlers and/or accordionists, born between 1906 and 1930, have participated in various traditional bands and led them during their entire lives. Often they played one of the major roles in the foundation of these bands, their instrumentation and repertoires.

Figures 1-2: Bands from the Marijampolė district (Sudovia, Southern Lithuania) led by the folk fiddler, Juozas Jančas (1909-1996). 1) His family’s band performs music on weddings and dance parties, 1955, 2) A folk-like band of the Liubavas’ village culture house, 1959.1

This is the first attempt to investigate Lithuanian folklore and folk-like bands from the perspective of folk musicians, considering historical, political, and social-cultural contexts. Scientific articles and books discussing typical stylized "countryside" bands, their formation, the development and participating at Lithuanian singers festivals2, have already been published. However, attention has neither been paid to other kinds of bands which existed at the same time

1 These and all other photos derive from the albums/archives of the folk musicians referred to here. They are used with their permission.
nor to such relevant aspects like concepts and evaluations made by folk musicians. Relevant sources of the present study are not only limited to materials collected and documented during fieldwork, in which I participate since 1987, but also refers to auto-biographies, memoirs, and chronicles written by folk musicians and other leaders of these bands, rather copiously published during the last decades.

Since the 1950s, three main types of traditional, in the broad sense, instrumental bands that include one or more, usually up to three or four, fiddles are to be distinguished, in accordance with their relationship to the local traditions:

1) folk, habitually called a just band or a band of a certain village or a family, or just musicians, a group of musicians (Lith. muzikantai, muzikantu grupelė),

2) folklore, ethnographical or traditional, and

3) folk-like (Lith. Liaudiškos; Figures 1-3) or stylized/transformed "countryside", sometimes called countryside-like (Lith. kaimo, kaimiškos; Figure 4). Bands of the third type are divided into non-typical, closer to the folk traditions that started to be formed by the local musicians at cultural houses in 1955, and typical, artificially created before Lithuania’s Singers Festival in 1960 with only weak connections to the set of Lithuanian folk bands. They all can be referred to by the same common definition kapela or kapelija meaning 'a band'. For the occasions of large events, the joint folk-like or typical "countryside" bands/orchestras [Lith. jungtinė kapela, orkestras], containing up to several hundred musicians, were usually formed.

Figure 4: Main types of Lithuanian traditional (in the broad sense) bands that include fiddle(s), since the 1950s. Scheme but the author.
The Lithuanian folk musical instrument orchestra founded in 1940, straight after the first occupation of Lithuania by the Soviet Union, is not going to be discussed in this article. This orchestra was and still is compiled of so-called Lithuanian autochthon or ancient folk, or national musical instruments: mainly chordophones and aerophones (Lithuanian zithers, kanklės, and woodwinds, such as a pipe called lamzdelis, a set of multi-pipe whistles skudučiai, a reed-pipe and long wooden trumpets ragai or dauptytės, also a single-reed instrument of the birch-tree bark tošelė), however not original instruments, but modified or developed ones. The Soviet Army’s Ensemble of Songs and Dances founded in 1928 has served as a model, which has given a push to establish analogous ensembles in the then Soviet Republics. Leaving aside a more detailed discussion on the ideological factors which were important for the formation of such orchestras, it is relevant to observe that through their instrumentation, a strict dissociation with (West)European culture was proclaimed. At music schools in Russia, not even a piano accordion was taught, only a button accordion, called bayan.

Furthermore, the present investigation does not deal with the neo- or post-folklore — also called modern/contemporary folk-(lore) or Baltic-music groups and bands consisting of acoustic and/or electronic instruments. First signs of the neo- or post-folklore performances can be traced from 1983 in Lithuania. Nevertheless, the groups and bands which identify themselves as differing from the traditional folklore and contrasting with Soviet sanctioned staged groups, have been actively founded only after the reinstatement of an Independent Lithuania in 1990.

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In the present article, the period under examination is divided into two stages regarding main tendencies of the formations and the development of the folk, folklore and folk-like or typical "countryside" bands: 1) from the 1950s to the 1960s, when bands of all defined types were created and took up their activities; 2) from the 1970s to the 1980s, distinguishing by a tendency towards deeper antiquity and, on the other hand, to assimilation of various types of bands under consideration.

**Beginning of the Lithuanian Folklore Movement in the 1950s**

Likewise other Baltic countries, the 1950s in Lithuania, were a period of fading of the open resistance against authoritarian communist regime and of running-up collectivization and, on the other hand, softening of this regime, especially after Stalin’s death in 1953, with decreasing political imprisonments and mass release of these prisoners and deportees from Siberia since 1957. The arts were highly appreciated in the Soviet Union as one of the greatest ideological means enabling to re-educate people and change their mind-set. As it was claimed, the whole culture had to be of national characteristic, but socialist in its content.\(^7\) Soviet ideologists needed mass festivals; therefore, already in 1946, it was decided to renew special events for all Baltic countries – the singers festivals first held in Lithuania in 1924. In 1955, instrumental bands took part at the singers festivals in some regions or districts of Lithuania for the first time.\(^8\) Most probably they were various local folk bands. Before 1960, folklore ensembles\(^9\), some with instrumental bands, also started their activities in Lithuania.\(^10\)

The results of organological investigations on regional features of wedding and dance music bands during the end of the 19\(^{th}\) century-early 20\(^{th}\) century in Lithuania, first determined by the professional piano accordionist and researcher, Vytautas Baika, in the 1980s, are used as guidelines for folklore bands until today. His investigations were pursued by other researchers. In, the south-east Lithuanian Dzūkija, a fiddle solo used to be played even at weddings, a string ensemble of two or three fiddles and sometimes of a


\(^9\) The ethnographic ensembles existed only in villages and folklore were started to be founded in towns; later they all were called only folklore ensembles.

hammered dulcimer or a small bass and a drum was also popular; an accordion joined the bands only since the 1920s. In east Aukštaitija of northeast Lithuania, mixed ensembles consisted of a fiddle, a clarinet, and a Viennese or Petersburg accordion, whereas in northern districts – a concertina, and a stringed bass or a small drum made an ensemble. The hammered dulcimer was also very popular in eastern Lithuania. Until World War II, Samogitian wedding ensembles of western Lithuania consisted of one or two fiddles, an accordion, i.e. concertina or bandoneon, a bass, sometimes also a clarinet or another brass band instrument as well as a drum. Stringed or brass bands and orchestras were also very popular in Samogitia and in north-west Aukštaitija as well as in Minor Lithuania located in the south-west of the country, only in the latter region they usually had no bass. Eastern Sudovian, in the south of Lithuania, traditions were very similar to that of Dzūkia and in the western part to the Samogitian ones.

It should be emphasized that, even if they were widely known and used in the folk traditions and in folklore or folk-like bands, neither the fiddle nor the dulcimer or brass band instruments and various types of accordions, were officially acknowledged as Lithuanian folk music instruments until the late 1990s. The piano accordion, which spread throughout Lithuania since the 1930s and particularly rapidly in the 1950s, had no access to folklore bands until today. These instruments were considered as belonging to the later more recent strata, brought from other nations or considered as common to all European nations as well as to classical instruments. Other widespread instruments such as the guitar and mandolin have been similarly treated.
Despite the changes of folk music instrumentation during the last centuries, not to mention the last decades.\textsuperscript{14}

Regardless of their skills and experience either folk or amateur, and even academic music making practice, all musicians were under pressure to participate at the ‘self-active’ or amateur art collectives in every rural district, predominantly to perform in ‘singers festivals’. In 1958 or 1959 folk-like bands of the cultural houses had to be included into those bands at specific festivals of Lithuanian districts or regions. However, after each singers festival, the amount of music performers dropped significantly.\textsuperscript{15} As it is abundantly documented in photographs and other materials, the stringed friction instruments, besides fiddles, accordions and, more rarely, brass instruments, were included into the first category of folk-like bands. Guitars and mandolins, sometimes also banjos, since the beginning of the 20\textsuperscript{th} century, were very popular in traditional bands and string orchestras, especially in western Lithuania. Mention must be made that Lithuanians played only the six-string guitar so far.

\textbf{Figures 4-5:} A folk-like band founded and led by Vincentas Svitojus at the Salaperaugis cultural house, 1957; 5) A joint folk-like band that includes hammered dulcimers at the Singers festival of the Švenčionys district, 1959.

According to the folk musician, leader of various bands and teacher of physics, Vincentas Svitojus, born 1926 in the Žalioji village, Liubavas rural-district, Marijampolė district, who used to play fiddle, hammered dulcimer, and piano accordion, the authorities required to establish dance circles and music circles in every reading room or library, or later at a cultural house. Not many musicians were available in those days. His brother Juozas (born in 1920), a highly skilled and artistic fiddler, was sentenced to a political prisoners’ camp in Vorkuta, Siberia, in 1949 for ten years. From 1955 to 1963, Vincentas led a


folk-like band at a cultural house of Salaperaugis village, which consisted of up to nine or more musicians. He played piano accordion, whereas there were additionally two to four fiddles for very big events. Both men and women played guitars or mandolins. Vincentas recalls that it was very easy and cheap in those days to purchase a Russian seven-string guitar or a Russian standardized button accordion (Chromka). Sometimes, they were also bought by cultural institutions. However, Lithuanian musicians had to take the middle string out to get a six-string guitar. Sometimes they also acquired violins. It was expensive to buy a piano accordion, which was the most desirable instrument: ‘A single fiddle would not play at any occasion, but a [piano] accordion, particularly accompanied with a drum – was sufficient enough’. They played only by ear, mostly the tunes they had chosen by themselves, but they later learned and performed some of the most popular compositions or arrangements for typical "countryside" bands. At these times romances and patriotic song’s lyrics as well as partisans’ or politically-flavoured songs, were very popular. For the sake of safety they were often not sung, but only their melodies were played, intending the lyrics of a song. Such a performance was safer for the spiritual resistance of local people.\footnote{Interviewed by Kirdienė in 2017, Kirdienė, Gaila (2013). Significance of Instrumental Music Making in Forced Exile: A Case Study of Lithuanians. \textit{Studia Instrumentorum Musicae Popularis III (New Series)}, 181.}

When I asked Svitojus, if they have taken part in joint bands at their district’s Song Festivals, he replied: ‘There was actually nobody to join in [Lith. jungti], except for ourselves – [there were] only very few musicians’. And indeed, as it is depicted in the photos (see Figures 3, 5-6), in 1958-1959 joint folk-like bands at singers festivals of districts were not large. However, at regional celebrations the whole mass-orchestras could be completed (Figure 7) consisting of entire rows of fiddles, piano-accordions, guitars and mandolins or other plucked instruments, brass instruments and stringed double-basses. In Eastern Lithuania the hammered dulcimers (Lith. cimbolai) were played in the joint folk-like bands and orchestras (Figure 5).

Another long-lived and highly venerated folk musician is the fiddler and accordionist, and a master of music instruments, Albinas Bartnykas who was born in 1926 in Buniškės village, former Seinai district (South-East Lithuania). From the pre-war years onwards, Bartnykas started his intensive activities as a musician performing in various wedding music bands.\footnote{Wedding bands perform exclusively at weddings and sometimes other big parties and not at other occasions.} He recalled his experience of founding the first folk-like bands: “Already from 1947 they used to drag me around to accompany for [stylized folk or national, Lith. tautiniai] dances at schools and cultural houses in Lazdijai district – I had a very good [piano] accordion. [...] About 1955 I was obligated to form a band for a singer
festival of the district. I gathered all musicians from the surrounding villages, we were up to thirteen then: about four fiddlers, three accordionists, four guitarists, mandolinists, and a banjo, plus [a stringed] bass and a drum. Of course, it was not that good [i.e. correct], typical "countryside" band [...]. We did not use written sheet music back then. I only played a less difficult waltz on accordion and others played with [Lith. prisigrojom]. Nobody took photos". Since 1958, similar folk-like bands, consisting of two or three fiddles, piano accordions or Russian standardized button accordions, and guitars, started their activities at culture houses of other villages in Dzūkija as well.19

Figure 6: A joint folk-like band at the Singers Festival of Raseiniai district led by the folk fiddler Povilas Grigalis (1901-1987), 1959; Figure 7: A joint folk-like orchestra at the Regional Singers Festival in Šeduva, 1959.

A small folk or folk-like band, in 1959 led by the folk fiddler and music instruments master, Vladas Žeromskis (1906-1993), Kubiliūnai village, Baisogala rural-district, Radviliškis district in western Aukštaitija, Middle Lithuania, consisted of a fiddle, a bayan, two guitars and a folk double-bass (Figures 9, 11, 13).20 In some areas of Western Aukštaitija and Samogitia, middle and west Lithuania, a clarinet and a cornet could be or were included into the folk-like bands (Figures 6-7). Pursuing older traditions, folk bands in this area also could be mixed, consisting of one or two fiddles, a clarinet or trumpet, one or two (bought or self-mastered) guitars, even though without accordion. However, when playing in an ensemble with the brass instruments,

folk fiddlers had to tune the fiddles higher, a measure that often led to breaking the strings of the instruments.21

Thus, in the 1950s, all over Lithuania the instrumental formations of the folk-like bands, which performed at local and regional mass events, were similar to contemporary local folk traditions. On the other hand, throughout Lithuania, the folk-like bands had many common features such as a large amount of musicians; besides fiddles also accordions and guitars, and somewhere, clarinets and trumpets, directed by then historical-cultural and ideological as well as marketing factors, but they were not unified. Mostly, folk or amateur musicians took part in ensemble events, performing their beloved traditional repertoires despite their constant changing.

**Formation of the Typical Stylized "Countryside" Band**

Based on the local interpretation of a kind of communist ideology, neither folklore bands nor orchestras were supposed to be diverse. They had to be completely united in order to be able to perform a compulsory instrumental repertoire in a giant orchestra. Therefore, a typical formation of the "countryside" band comprised two or three violins, two clarinets and one or two trumpets, a piano accordion, a double bass, a drum and a small drum. This was established just before the Singers Festival of the Lithuanian Republic, later called National Singers Festival, in 1960. 76 typical "countryside" bands including 827 musicians took part in the orchestra at this celebration and over a hundred bands in later celebrations. Three compositions were created which completely used versions of the folk compositions for this common performance: "Wedding March" (Lith. Vestuvinis maršas) by Eduardas Pilypaitis, "Folk-like Waltz" (Lith. Liaudiškas valsas) by Konradas Kaveckas and "[Wedding] Polka" by Povilas Bekeris who also conducted the orchestra in 1960. As it is stated, not a very large group of musicians, mobility, and considerably strong volume of instruments decided their rather wide versatility. Typical bands had to play both instrumental compositions independently and accompany the dancers or singers at cultural houses or schools, preparing for the mass events.22 Since the 1970s they often had soloists, sometimes folk singers or small groups of singers,23 as vocal-instrumental

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21 Materials, documented during the field works in Akmenė and Mažeikių districts in 1987, and by Kirdienė in Luokė rural-district, Telšiai district in 2003-2006 as well as from a folk musician, fiddler, Jurgis Ukrinas, born in 1936 in Sviriaišiai village, Ūbiškė rural-district, Telšiai district, living in Riga (Latvija) in 2011.


performance has been gaining great popularity in Lithuania. There were no instructions to perform compositions of the ‘brotherly republics’, thus, these bands were thought to perform only Lithuanian tunes – the only requirement was that the compositions were folk-like.24

Figure 8: Typical "countryside" band in Lazdijai led by a folk musician, Albinas Bartnykas (piano accordion) that includes two folk fiddlers – Antanas Labenskas next to the accordionist, 1976; Figure 9: Baisogala (Aukštaitija, Middle Lithuania) enlarged typical "countryside" band "Žvangulis", the winner of the "Trakų pilis" Festival, 1982. Folk fiddler, Vladas Žeromskis, is in the middle.

One of the main figures in establishing the typical "countryside" band was a Lithuanian violinist, violist, composer and conductor Jurgis Gaižauskas (1922–2009), whose birth and growth took place in Telšiai, Samogitia, western Lithuania. He started playing the violin by himself. His music education was continued more intensively during the second or third year of his secondary school education. It was here that he started performing in a band and orchestra – initially as a drummer and later on as a violinist. He was not well acquainted with performing folk music. He met folk musicians at a dance evening and during other events. In 1940 he entered the Kaunas Conservatoire taking violin as his major instrument. In 1943–1945, he studied at the Vienna Conservatoire and worked as a viola player in the Radio Symphony Orchestra of Vienna. In 1945 he returned to Lithuania and graduated from the Lithuanian State Conservatoire as violinist and composer. From 1957 to 1977, he led a professional mixed Lithuanian Radio and Television Band, which was later called "countryside" band. The band served as a model for the typical "countryside" band. In the 1960s he also led a typical "countryside" band at the School of Agricultural Workers, and started co-operating with the folk musician, fiddler, Feliksas Baltrušaitis (1929~2011). He introduced the maestro to his father, the famous folk fiddler, Stanislovas Baltrušaitis (1898–1993), from the Raudėnai rural district, Šiauliai region, north-west Lithuania. From 1965 until his death, Gaižauskas was a conductor of all National Singers and Dancers Festivals. Besides other genres, he has composed a lot of instrumental pieces based on folk fiddle music for the typical "countryside" bands, especially

by the joint bands at various festivals such as the very popular 'Play, Jurgelis' (Lith. Grok, Jurgeli), since 1970 every year held in Kaunas, and later in Vilnius. Gaižauskas liked playing violin at these events himself.  

Some folk musicians also formed and led typical "countryside" bands. A band established in the 1960s by Bartnykas in Lazdijai used to perform in a smaller and larger setting (Figures 8 and 13). From 1972-1973, Žeromskis was one of the members of a typical "countryside" band in Baisogala (Figures 9, 11).

I do not support the opinion that the typical "countryside" band started developing since 1944 and that its instrumental formation finally settled in 1960, or that its formation is the most typical for Lithuanian instrumental music making traditions. The typical "countryside" band differs from various mixed folk bands documented in Lithuanian regions from the early 20th century up to the 1960s, because it is more extended. Such an extended mixed structure shows stronger links with the western Lithuanian and, mostly, with some middle-European traditions, probably because Gaižauskas might have been directly influenced by both of them. According to the ethnomusicologist Oskár Elschek, 'For the dance music, the ensembles of string instruments are

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determinant, which have merged in middle Europa with reinforced function of the brass music".\textsuperscript{29}

Thus, in the 1960, the instrumental formation of the typical "countryside" band might have been considered as a way of Lithuanian cultural resistance against the Soviet chauvinism declaring its dissociation from European cultural traditions. However, the researchers have no doubts that the structure of the typical "countryside" band, which has been used for many decades at various mass events and propagated by all means, e.g. mass media and both education and culture systems, has played one of the crucial roles in levelling regional features of traditional instrumentarium in Lithuania.\textsuperscript{30}

Typical "countryside" bands were not founded in villages, but in smaller or larger towns. In the beginning there was lack of the violinists and brass players, but since the 1970s it has been filled in with the teachers and pupils from various schools of music. In later decades, typical "countryside" bands of children and students also were established.\textsuperscript{31}

In the regions, non-typical folk-like bands remained very active and popular, too. According to Svitojus, ‘I chose the way of a non-typical band. Those bands, whose musicians play by ear, are non-typical, while musicians playing from sheet music are of typical bands. Already in 1957, all our musicians not only started playing, but also sang: one stanza we used to play and another perform playing and singing. It was a new trend in Lithuanian bands in those days.’\textsuperscript{32} However they, were not welcome in joint bands at National Singers Festivals like folklore or ethnographic groups prior to 1990, they only could perform separately before the compulsory program, when meeting all the guests or in a procession.


Towards Deeper Antiquity and the Outburst of Creativity after 1970

In the 1970s–1980s Lithuanian folklore movement tended to search and reconstruct in a purist way the earliest known Lithuanian music culture as much as possible. The creation of some Lithuanian professional composers was based on the same concept. This idea was crucial for the most outstanding figure in the Lithuanian music culture since the 1970s, Bronius Kutavičius, born in 1932, who used old musical instruments or even sound tools in his historical reconstruction and scenic fiction for oratorios, created from 1970 to 1990. The first of them, "Pantheistic Oratorio" was created during the time when there was still a quite strict opinion on permissibility and performed only in 1982, when times became more liberal in the political-cultural arena. In Soviet times, such historical reconstructions inspired listeners to rethink their roots, ancient history of Lithuania, its culture, and statehood as well as its continuity and they were interpreted as messages of Lithuanian freedom.33

Composers of the typical "countryside" bands who started to include other folk instruments also overtook this idea. The composer, Vytautas Juozapaitis, and later others, used music instruments such as a button accordion (Chromka), a bandoneon or a reed-pipe (Lith. birbynė), a pipe (Lith. lamzdelis) and in various folk tradition spread idiophones, in these bands. Various folk-like and typical "countryside" bands in Lithuania’s regions also started using other music instruments regardless whether they represent their local traditions or not (Figure 11). In Samogitia, folklore and typical "countryside" bands were especially fond of a bandoneon played by a folk musician (Figure 12).34

Obeying the official interpretation of cultural administrators, the virtuoso musician, Bartnykas also played a bandoneon in the typical band of Lazdijai, south-eastern Lithuania (Figure 13). Already after the Second World War, he got a bandoneon from his brother-in-law and learned to play it. However, he was not at all a fan of this instrument and its keyboard. Since the 1980s, Bartnykas became famous as a fiddler or a "Hohner" button accordion player of folklore bands.


A folk-like band of the Jucevičiai village of southern Lithuania, in 1968 founded and up to 1978 led by Vincentas Svitojus, has used not only a pipe, and an alto trumpet. Sometimes the musicians also included a set of multi-pipe whistles (Lith. skudučiai) though these instruments are characteristic only of north-east Lithuanian traditions. According to Vincentas, because "these instruments were almost extinct, we wanted to revive them to some extent". On the other hand, in this and his later, very famous folk-like band of Jungėnai, in addition a saxophone has been played, due to the strong impact of pop music, which was usually called estradinė muzika in Lithuania, on the traditional culture in Lithuania since the 1970s. In 1985 the Svitojai brothers decided to recreate a band with a fiddle and a hammered dulcimer, similar to the one they used to play prior to the War. They just added a button accordion (Chromka, Figure 14). Having great success, they became winners of the bands

in the folklore festival "Atataria lumzdžiai" in Kaunas. Since 1983 they have been documented as famous folk musicians by the ethnomusicologists. However they mostly liked a folk-like band, which became extremely popular in the whole Lithuania, especially thanks to a lyric-patriotic Waltz called "Vėl gegužio žiedai" ('Blossoms of May’) that was created by Vincentas Svitojus in 1986. One or two hammered dulcimers are also played in the Jungėnai band (Figure 10), but after the older fiddlers died, Vincentas Svitojus remains the only musician who is capable playing a fiddle in this band. Fiddles with a hammered dulcimer and some accordions have also been played in the folk-like or folklore bands of Aukštaitija and Dzūkija, north- and south-eastern Lithuania, which used to perform at local singers festivals of the districts (Figure 15).

Figure 14: A folklore band, consisting of brothers Svitojai and Kajokai at the festival "Atataria lumzdžiai" in Kaunas, 1985; Figure 15: A joint folk-like band of Tverečius rural-district, Ignalina district (folk fiddlers, Pranas Ulozas, Gilioras Berdikšlis, and a dulcimer player, Jonas Lechovickas), about 1985; Figure 16: A shepherd-like band of Baisogala ethnographic ensemble, with the folk fiddler and master, Vladas Žeromskis, 1987

Seeking to preserve and promote older traditions, still more ancient, typical of folk traditions of the first half of the 20th century formations of instrumental ethnographic or folklore bands have been reconstructed since the 1970s. In the village Luokė located in the Telšiai district, a stringed band consisting of three fiddles and a folk double bass (in Samogitian: besedla) of the Lileikiai brothers became very famous and their music was recorded and released.36 Following the suggestion of the ethnomusicologist Arvydas Karaška, in 1981 a shepherd-like band was created in Baisogala, which consisted of a fiddle, mastered and played by Vladas Žeromskis, a reed-pipe, some combs, a two-string bass (Lith. pūslinė) and a set of jingle-bells for a horse (Lith. žvanguliai, Figure 16).

Typical "countryside", folk-like and, later, folklore bands have been the best cultural export representing Lithuanian traditional music abroad and becoming part of cultural tourism. Since the 1970s (Figure 13) and, especially,

the 1980s, musicians started touring not only in the neighbouring countries, but also in other farer countries.37

From 1980 onwards, typical "countryside" bands started to join in with folk instrument orchestras at singers festivals. It was the start of mixing instrumental formations of various types of bands.

**Conclusion**

In the 1950s, throughout all Lithuania, instrumental formations of the folk-like bands were created to perform at local and regional mass events propagated as singers festivals. These instrumental formations were similar to the contemporary folk traditions. Determined by then historical-cultural and ideological as well as marketing factors, these bands were rather large, consisting, besides fiddles, of accordions and friction string instruments, and in western districts, clarinets and trumpets.

A unified typical formation of the "countryside" bands consisted of two or three violins, two clarinets and one or two trumpets, a piano accordion, a double bass, a drum and a small drum and was established just before the Singers Festival of Lithuanian Republic in 1960. Its extended mixed structure shows stronger links with western Lithuanian and, mostly, middle-European traditions and, at these times, might have been considered as a way of Lithuanian cultural resistance against the integration into the Soviet Union. However, these bands, which have performed for many decades at various mass events and were propagated by all means through mass media and both education and cultural policy, have played one of the crucial roles in levelling regional features of traditional instrumentation in Lithuania.

In the 1970s, the folklore movement tended to reconstruct musical culture of the oldest known time periods in Lithuania, seeking to revive an idea of Lithuanian freedom. Various folk-like bands started using other folk instruments, characteristic of their local traditions, or not. More ancient formations of ethnographic or folklore bands have been reconstructed as well.

Starting from the 1980s and especially since the end of the 20th century, influenced by pop music making and marketing, a manifold assimilation process of the folklore and folk-like bands is more and more noticeable in Lithuania, despite any institutional regulations trying to draw lines of distinction. Though folk fiddling has almost vanished, fiddles are usually present in folklore or folk-like bands, however, often not in a leading position.

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Gaila Kirdienė


Gusle-making in Serbia between Tradition and the Market*

The place of gusle (a one-stringed bowed instrument) among the Serbian traditional instruments is on the one hand determined by its subordinate role in the vocal-instrumental performances of epics, and, on the other hand, by its prestigious status in the national culture owing to the overall significance of this genre.

Despite the long-lasting tendency of reshaping the traditional music idioms and their integrating into the popular and the world music genres under the influence of media and cultural policies, the gusle has still preserved its dominantly traditional function and, consequently, its basic ergological features. Still, a thorough analysis shows there are differences between old and new pieces of gusle. The older ones from museums’ collections are of a

* The paper was written as a part of the project Serbian Musical Identities within Local and Global Frameworks: Traditions, Changes, Challenges (ON 177004), funded by the Ministry of Education, Science and Technological Development of the Republic of Serbia.

1 All figures are used by courtesy of the respective institution.

quite small size and simple in their appearance, while the newer examples display a range of distinctions (see Figures 1–3).

The relevance of research of gusle-making was pointed to not only in the material changes in the instrument itself manifested across time, but also in the earlier literature of ethnographic kind. At the beginning of the 20th century, researchers have observed that many guslars – gusle players i.e. singers to the accompaniment of the gusle, used to make instruments both for themselves and the young apprentice musicians, but have also registered the presence of specialized gusle makers who, because they learned the necessary skills and techniques and owned the adequate tools, produced a high quality gusle pieces intended for sale. Notwithstanding, gusle-making did not draw attention of music scholars even when the discipline of ethnomusicology was established in Serbia after the World War II. Their focus was only on instrument’s ergological features together with the practice of gusle-playing which were discussed in detail in national and international circles.

Ethnomusicological approaches from the end of the 20th century and the beginning of the 21st century mostly deal with musical practice and, hence – with music and musicians, putting the phenomenon of instrument-making on the margin. Gusles as a part of traditional epic performance practice were also examined from the perspective of communication theory which, once more, left the topic of instrument making unexplored. Therefore, the 2017 Meeting of the ICTM Study Group on Musical Instruments and its main theme served as an impetus for the research of this missing aspect.


4 During the research of gusle and gusle players in Pirot area (Southern Serbia) in the interwar period, ethnologist Mitar Vlahović remarked the following: Tana Stoja Đ. Pešić, 72 years old, made his own gusle when he was very young; J. P. Ilić, University professor from Dojkinci, recalled that his father, Petar, built gusle (guslu) for him as well as for his relative; Jovan Kostić Savin (died around 1910 in his 40s) sung beautifully with gusle and played gajde [bagpipes] and covare [traditional end-blown flute] and made all these instruments by himself; a carpenter from Brlog made artistic type of gusle that expanded in Montenegro in recent past. Влаховић, Митар (1936). О гуслама и гусларима у пиroteском крају. Гласник Етнографског музеја у Београду, књ. ХІ, 142–160 (Summary in German). [Vlahović, Mitar (1936). O guslama i guslarima u pirotском kraju. Glasnik Etnografskog muzeja u Beogradu, XI, 142–160.]


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Throughout history, the appearance of the gusle has varied under the influence of changing physical contexts – the space in which singing with the gusle accompaniment took place. While the small-size instruments with feeble sound were appropriate for small, private spaces such as rooms of rural homes, the playing of the gusle in public, in taverns and later on concert halls, caused innovations of their construction and used materials towards enhancing the sonority. Furthermore, the gusle were also affected by the transformation of the ‘epic singing style’ that involved the introduction of embellished melodic parts into dominantly recitative lines. It caused more frequent choosing of a higher vocal register (i.e. louder, forced singing) and, consequently, a need for a more voluminous instrumental part to be a ‘sound mask’ to the vocal, as it was traditional function. The influence of the emerging recording industry in the process of gusle changing should not be overlooked either. The rustling, the flageolet-quality sound of the gusle was not adequate for commercial gramophone records, which led to demands of more articulate playing and the instruments with a higher tuning and sharper sounding.

Simultaneously with incentives resulting from shifts in musical performance practice, gusle have been undergoing modifications owing to the appearance of new materials and technologies. For example, thin synthetic cords proved more resistant than horsehair fibres when subjected to greater tension and pressure of the bow in gusle-playing. In addition, the use of special chemical emulsions hastened the curing of the leather required for the resonating box. Finally, the development of woodworking machines not only accelerated the whole manufacturing procedure but also allowed precise replication of an instrument’s form.

Besides all that, gradual marginalization of the practice of singing accompanied by the gusle bring down the instrument’s function to the material symbol of national tradition – an ‘identity icon’ and simultaneously promoted it as a souvenir or memorabilia kind of commodity.

My research findings on the gusle-making practice show the diversity of used technologies together with the palette of individual methods and personal motives confirming that the role of the craftsman has still remained crucial. Hence, the special focus in this paper will be put on the broader problematization of this practice. I will try to point to the distinctions in gusle-making as a result of the diversity of approaches to instrument’s construction.

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8 Ibid.: 335–338.
as well as to its function and market placement. For that purpose, I will introduce three different cases that exhibit characteristics I find paradigmatic for contemporary gusle-making practice as well as the instrument’s role in Serbian society of today.

Dragan Kujundžić (born in 1960 in Topolovac, lives in Zrenjanin, Vojvodina – Northern Serbia) is educated as a “woodworking technician” and specialised in making furniture and parquet laying. Besides, he is also a gusle-maker and gusle player. He explains his interest in this instrument with his family roots – namely, before settling in Vojvodina, his parents were living in Herzegovina (today a part of Bosnia and Herzegovina), famous for its epic singing tradition with gusle accompaniment. When he was a teenager, he started to learn singing with gusle by himself. Since then he became a regular guslar and one of the founders of the Cultural-Artistic Guslars Association ‘Petar Perunović Perun’. He does not consider himself an able guslar owing to the stage-fright he experiences when performing in public. Owing to his woodworking craft Mr Kujundžić showed interest for gusle-making, making his first gusle when he was in his early 20s. So far he made more than 200 pieces. For Mr Kujundžić, gusle-making is a pastime, as well as being a supplementary source of income. He makes as many gusle as his primary, more commercial work allows him to. Therefore, he can be considered a semi-professional gusle-maker. Mr Kujundžić chose the traditional method of manufacturing, which involves manual tools and, in turn, makes the process slow and more expensive (see: Video example 1). Nevertheless, he is proud of his approach assuming that the instrument’s “soul” is stripped off when built with the machines. Discussing the methodology of gusle-making Mr Kujundžić emphasizes the importance of the quality of wood (he assumes white maple as the finest), the size of the stump (he finds it more appropriate to make the instrument from the quarter of the stump instead of a half of the stump due to the better density structure of wood), the level of dryness of wood (he prefers the simple molding of the instrument followed by drying which accelerates the whole process). As a guslar, he is focused primarily on the quality of the instrument’s sound which, as he pointed, led him to manual approach to gusle-making assuming that the noblest examples of gusle found today are built in this manner. Besides, he is also interested in the ornamentation of gusle which can be related to his semi-professional work with woodcut icons. In this process he also uses some more complex solutions such as placing the ornaments on each side of the neck with remarkable visual effects. He sells his instruments mainly abroad using his family and friendly connections with the Serbian diaspora.

Milić Šaponjić (born in 1966 in Radijevići, lives in Atenica near Čačak, Central Serbia) holds many awards from national guslars competitions, being also a highly appreciated gusle-maker. He sees the gusle as the most important thing in his life.\footnote{Interview with Milić Šaponjić from 5. March, 2017.} He did not have a role model in his nuclear family, but his uncles were guslars and kept pieces of gusle at home. Therefore, his first direct contact with gusle as an artifact happened when he tried to repair the uncle’s instrument. Even before that, Mr Šaponjić was a great enthusiast for singing with gusle which he learned by himself. The knowledge he gained in the school for machine technicians encouraged him to make an attempt at gusle-making. His first instrument was, as he recalls, of moderate quality. Later on, he dedicated himself fully to this craft working patiently on improving the necessary techniques and skills. Although he shows a two-fold interest in the gusle – as both player and builder – it can be concluded that building the instruments is his main occupation. Since he is not working in other spheres, he can be considered a professional gusle-maker who constructs in average ten instruments per month. Mr Šaponjić estimates that he has made more than 2000 instruments in his career as craftsman. He insists on the use of high-quality wood (Video example 2), but asserts that the overall excellence of the instrument also depends on other materials, particularly on the characteristics of the leather used for the covering of a resonating-box. He considers himself an expert in the domain of leather curing continuing the tradition of the late Drago Kuburović whose instruments are judged as some of the most sophisticated amongst those used by contemporary guslars. He buys processed horsehair (from Mongolian horses) for bows and fishing lines for cords. The price of the instrument depends on its ornamentation. Unlike Mr Kujundžić, Mr Šaponjić believes that the use of machines does not affect the quality of instruments in a negative way. Moreover, he thinks that modern machines allow making plausible copies of well-built instruments which contributes to the quality of their mass production.

The third example refers to the manufacturing practice of Dragan Jovanović from Novi Sad, Northern Serbia. Besides gusle, he also makes frulas (end-blown flutes) and traditional costumes. His manufacturing is completely market-oriented: Mr Jovanović uses his own Internet site to advertise his products and sell them online both in Serbia and abroad, and therefore his site is in Serbian and in English.\footnote{https://www.frula.info/gusle-prodaja/; Accessed: 4. May, 2017.} This clearly shows that his work is oriented towards fans of world music and tourists rather than aimed at gusle-players in Serbia and the region. In addition to that stands the fact that he does not sell his instruments on small fairs organized as a part of regional and national festivals of gusle player around Serbia. Besides, in his Internet site he highlighted the fact that his gusle possess “many important and famous
people”, specifying some famous politicians and entrepreneurs. It is peculiar that Mr Jovanović does not mention in that context distinguished and awarded gusle players, which leads to conclusion that his instruments may have primarily a commercial use as souvenirs or memorabilia. This can be confirmed by the fact that Mr Jovanović has created an online gusle-playing course, focusing primarily on the rendering of instrumental parts without singing, probably owing to the fact that he is not a guslar in a traditional sense i.e. that is not experienced with performance of narrative texts accompanied by the gusle. Finally, the distinctiveness of Mr Jovanović approach to gusle-making is reaffirmed with the research experience of the author itself: unlike the other informants who contributed to the investigation of the diverse aspects of practice of gusle playing in Serbia including gusle-makers, he set certain conditions for his interviewing which could not be met. Therefore, the exploration of his practice was reduced and based on the data available on the Internet. Since one of the aims of this paper is to problematize approaches to the practice of gusle-making, this type of ‘selfpresenation’ had been enough informative and stimulating.

As Kevin Dawe points out advocating a cultural study of musical instruments, ‘musical instruments exist at an intersection of material, social, and cultural worlds where they are as much constructed and fashioned by the force of minds, cultures, societies, and histories as axes, sows, drills, chisels, machines, and the ecology of wood’. The described distinctive approaches to gusle-making (on conceptual level) stand in correlation with the changes in tradition of singing with the gusle accompaniment and therefore the repositioning of the instrument in the culture. Although gusle are still used primarily to accompany the singing of epic poetry in a traditional manner, the solo type of this performance practice contributed to its remoulding initiated by the development of music industry. The significant part in this processes belonged to the festivalization of traditional music performance practices including singing with gusle which stimulated the professionalization of the bearers of tradition. Institutionalized competitive relations of guslers contributed to

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13 Mr Jovanović asked for a printed certificate of his collaboration in the scientific project of the Institute of Musicology SASA. It is an unusual expectation for the research practice in Serbia and the Institute of Musicology SASA does not possess similar kind of certificate. As he explained in the telephone conversation, he needed this certificate as a reference for his work. It is important to note that Mr Jovanović does not consider himself a craftsman – instead, he wants to be regarded as a manager in the sphere of culture.


15 The first official gusle players competitions were organized in the interwar period, cf. Lajić Mihajlović, Danka (2016b). The institutionalisation of guslars practice and the tradition of singing epic songs with the gusle in Yugoslav and post-Yugoslav contexts. Music in Society. The Collection of Papers. Edited by Fatima Hadžić. Sarajevo: Musicological Society of the
raising standards of performances. It encouraged the focusing on development of vocal and instrumental techniques and other skills as well as the improvement of quality of the instrument. Consequently, it led to the specialization in the process of gusle-making. In other words, the roles of gusle players and gusle-makers\textsuperscript{16} has become divided which explains the fact that nowadays the majority of distinguished gusle players purchase the instruments from experienced craftsmen, while gusle-makers are performers of different levels – some of them cannot even be classified as guslars. The ethical code, typical for the earlier practice of singing with gusle including the making of the instrument was suppressed owing to the influence of market relations in the sphere of traditional music. This process was lightened by Timothy Rice in his explanation of the third metaphor on music – “music is a commodity”.\textsuperscript{17} In his opinion, commodification of the tradition changed traditional social structures\textsuperscript{18}, and consequently the tradition itself. As traditional performing became a commercial act, the gusle-makers felt free to transform their artifacts into commodity objects.

The commodification of gusle came in parallel with their ‘passivization’ – a reducing to material symbol. This dimension was also importante for its traditional function in the past which is confirmed by many sources. According to them, gusle were treated as relics being kept on the walls of gusle players’ homes next to the icons (portraits of saints who in Orthodox Christianity have the role of protecting the family and home).\textsuperscript{19} The fading of tradition of epic singing with gusle emphasized its symbolic relevance and, hence, contributed to the change in instrument’s visual appearance. More elaborate ornamentation became a demand and, at the same time, a challenge for craftsmen who gradually changed the focus from woodworking to woodcut. Although the idea of building an instrument as a means for music performance was still dominant among gusle-makers its visual aspects gained an unprecedented significance. Besides applying the more complex combinations of traditional zoomorphic symbols and newer anthropomorphic elements, the modern

\textsuperscript{16} It is important to mention that parallel to the expansion of literacy among the population of Serbia, in the 19th and, particularly the early 20th century came the division of roles of authors of poetic and music parts of epic forms. Gusle player became simply musician, singer and player who only works with the music dimension while performing the existing, authorized text of an epic poet, see in: Lajić Mihajlović 2014, 74–75.


\textsuperscript{18} Ibid. 28.

craftsmen strive for innovations which sometimes lead to dysfunctionality of instruments. Extravagant appearance of gusle not only proves the skillfulness of a craftsman, but also contributes to the increase of their material value. The importance of symbolic instead of performing function of gusle is also suggested by the applied materials, above all the synthetic cords.

Gusle are rarely made as mere souvenirs which can be concluded by their dimensions and/or type of construction. It is interesting to note that there are no examples of gusle, either as instruments or any kind of replica, in souvenir shops in Belgrade. Even in the finest shops of that kind, such as the one that belongs to the Ethnographic Museum in Belgrade, the cultural institution with national relevance and the head office of the Center for intangible cultural heritage, only frulas are sold although gusle are also inscribed into the official Registar of national cultural heritage of Serbia. The marginalization of gusle on the souvenir market can be related to their marginalization in the contemporary cultural policy and practice, including the media. Besides, as one of the shop workers observed, there are not many noteworthy small-size models of gusle available while the larger pieces are too expensive for a souvenir. Apart from that, the playing of gusle is more demanding in comparison to the playing of aerophone instruments since it includes the acquiring of skill of simultaneous singing and playing, which makes them less appealing. The negative effects of the instruments’ complexity both in construction and playing technique for their preservation are observed on the examples of other traditional music instruments in Serbia such as gajde.  

Concluding Remarks

As a part and a symbol of the practice which under the influences of cultural policies and music industry was oriented to “the keeping of traditional idiom”, more “museumized” then “modernized”, gusle are constructed today primarily as music instruments. The gradual modifications in the sphere of performing, new technologies and new materials did not thoroughly affect its ergological features and methods of building. The changes can be noticed in the degree of use of woodworking machines, importance of wood-drying technologies and, finally, the approach to leather curing. Although the proponents of the traditional manual method of manufacturing and the supporters of a technologised gusle-making process have opposing views on

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the issue of the products’ sound quality, it seems that both approaches result in the expanding range of the quality of gusle’s sound. In other words, the advocating of particular method is related to the importance of the gusle-making practice in a life of the particular person. The automatization of the most demanding parts of the process of gusle-making – the drying and moulding of wood – enables profiting by the ‘mass’ production. On the other hand, for those who choose manual approach with an accent on their symbolics the ornamentation is especially important. Time and skill invested in the process, especially in the woodcut, increases the price of such gusle pieces. Experienced gusle players are able to recognize the quality of the instrument from the first contact, but it could be subjective evaluation, while the wider consensus on the value of certain pieces is usually established in the course of time. The reputation of such pieces grows gradually despite their aesthetical characteristics.

The practice of singing with gusle is fading with the disappearance of its bearers. Thus, there is a continual decline of demand for new pieces of gusle of very good quality. Their still strong symbolizing of the musical tradition contributes to the making of gusle as real instruments. The market value depends on the current standard of living. Finally, the marginalization of gusle as a result of overall deterioration of epic singing tradition influences their status in the souvenir market – their unrelevance and a product without commercial potential. Gusle hold certain economic and symbolic value only among the circle of gusle players and their supporters. Therefore, the majority of contemporary gusle-makers do not expect serious profit from their craft. In other words, approaches to gusle-making practice stand in correlation with their general reception which explains the domination of traditional view – the one that stresses the subservient role of the construction of instruments to the practice of singing of epic poetry with gusle. The commercialization of this practice resulted only in the increase of production of gusle as a symbolic, “silent instruments”.

Similarly to the politics of insisting on “unchanged” transmission of gusle playing practice, a too “restrictive” approach to the gusle-making has ambivalent effects. On the one hand, the ontological value of gusle as “musical sound sources”/“sources of musical sound” is being preserved. On the other hand, by “defending” gusle from commercial use in the sphere of tourism one of the possibilities for their preservation is lost. It seems that there is a potential in the making gusle as souvenirs, both in the “classical” approach of remodeling the material prototype and through the fruitful merging of the traditional, manual method of their construction with the concept of revitalization of relations of people and nature, important in tourism industry. It is a counterpart to the idea of popularization of singing with gusle through workshops and seminars. Participation in particular activities, here gusle-
Danka Lajić Mihajlović

making, is an important part of the strategy of promoting intangible cultural heritage which proceeds from the UNESCO 2003 Convention. The cooperation with expanding tourism industry has a great potential for the preservation of the intangible cultural heritage.

References


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Sources

Acknowledgements
I would like to thank all informants who supported me in this research, especially to Mr Kujundžić and Mr Šaponjić who were real collaborators. Also, I am grateful to Mr Miroslav Mitrović, Senior Curator, Head of the Ethnographic Museum in Belgrade, Documentation Department of the Ethnographic Museum in Belgrade, and Mr Jovo Pejović from Belgrade for the photos.
Music from the Tang Court: Limitations of and Compensations for Instrumental Sound

The Composition and its History

Music from the Tang Court was composed by Chinese composer Ye Guohui (叶国辉, b. 1961) on the occasion of the closing concert of ICTM 42nd World Conference, Shanghai 2013. The instrumentation of this composition, as appears on the full score, is “For group of Asian instruments, female choir, pipe organ, and large orchestra.” This “group,” consisting of (in the composer’s own order) guqin, geomungo, ajaeng, shamisen, đàn đáy, janggu, three piri, and two transverse bamboo flutes, undoubtedly becomes the most obvious feature of the piece. However, the female choir of sixty singers and the eight percussionists in an orchestra of 33 wind instruments and up to 100 string instruments are also astounding to an audience presumably expecting some kind of traditional East Asian music based on the title of the concert – “Night of East Asia.” This may be even more the case considering the context of that closing concert with the first half consisted of four traditional pieces from China, Korea, Vietnam, and Japan featuring performances of soloists and small ensemble of no more than four, while the second half featured almost 200 musicians in concert.

Figure 1: Photo of Ye Guohui in his office with the author (Photo by the author).
Figure 2: Instrumentation of *Music from the Tang Court* (unpublished draft from Ye Guohui)
The composer’s interest in Tang music dates back to 1986\(^1\), since that time, there has been a lively academic environment for the study of ancient Chinese tablatures at the Shanghai Conservatory of Music in which he studied and is now teaching. A number of scholars from China and abroad, including Chen Yingshi\(^2\), Zhao Weiping\(^3\), and Allan J. Maret\(^4\), conducted experiments in deciphering ancient tablatures and combining the results with historical iconography to construct stage performances of “the revival of ancient sounds.” Amazed by these events the composer realized that “the relationship between various elements of the music is overly straightforward if performed strictly according to the transcription of ancient tablatures.”\(^5\)

Therefore, he longed for a chance to find “a most convincing specimen of ancient tablature that is generally recognized in academia and able to be demonstrated and examined,” based on which “a sonic simulation that ‘replaces the old appearance with a new face’ may be tried out.”\(^6\) In 2013, he started to focus on a piece entitled Jiuhuzi (“The Wine-Puppet”) found in the Volume 4 (1987) of the *Music from the Tang Court* edited by Laurence Picken (1909–2007). In the analysis presented, Picken put in comparison his transcriptions of four tablatures for various instruments sharing the same title Jiuhuzi ranging from 1171–1303 A.D.,\(^7\) finding them quite concordant in concrete formative elements of the music such as pitch and rhythm. “It is a surprising phenomenon that the different systems of symbols used by ancient people turn again into very similar results today,” commented the composer. After this concordance had been confirmed by Chen Yingshi and Zhao Weiping, it was regarded by the composer as proof of the fidelity of these transcriptions, and subsequently taken as the “specimen” to be explored in his composition.

As far as known to the author, there is only one paper\(^8\) investigating this composition, written by the composer himself, mainly from his emic

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\(^2\) Chen Yingshi, a scholar specializing in ancient Chinese temperaments and tablatures.

\(^3\) 赵维平.


\(^7\) Namely, the Kofu/Hōshō-fu ryokan (鳯笙譜, about 1201), the Shinsen Shō-tekifu (新撰笙笛譜, about 1303), Jinchi-Yōroku (仁智要錄, about 1171) and Sango-Yōroku (三五要錄, about 1171).

perspective. As Nettl points out, “the emic statement may be an expression of the ideal, and the real is presented by the culture itself in subordinate, etic statements.” Therefore, fieldwork and discussion emphasizing the etic perspective are central to this paper.

![Figure 3: Picken's transcriptions of four different tablatures of “Jiu Huzi”.](image)

The Improbability of Old Music on New Instruments

Although “quite concordant in concrete formative elements of the music such as pitch and rhythm,” these transcriptions have provided far fewer clues than needed for “the revival of ancient sounds.” There are many more formative elements besides pitch and rhythm, nevertheless we can only infer from the scarce and ambiguous historical documents that which of them are regarded essential in the way they are understood. Close as these transcriptions might be to the reality of the music practice in Tang Dynasty, yet how wrong they might have been perceived.

Among them one aspect has aroused arguments extending beyond musicologists to musicians: Is the instrumental sound prescribed for the music an essential element of the music? In other words, is the music substantially transformed if performed with other instruments? Rosalyn Tureck, a pianist specializing in Bach, argues negatively:

“In Bach’s music, the form and structure is of so abstract a nature on every level that it is not dependent on its costume of sonorities. Insistence on the

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employment of instruments of the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries reduces the work of so universal a genius to a period piece. Only a pedantic attitude can be satisfied with insistence on prescribed sounds for this type of music. In Bach everything that the music is comes first, the sonorities are an accessory. Some musicians, pianists in particular, have ceased to play Bach altogether because they do not play the old instruments. This is forcing the accessory factor into a primary position which produces an absurdity… Bach cannot be limited or withdrawn by confining him to the instruments of his lifetime.” 11

Indeed, we might extensively apply her concept to a broader variety of music besides Bach’s. Yet the extent to which we can push forward is subject to the distance we have been from the original music practice, spatially and temporally. Gisa Jähnichen noted

“The degree of strangeness or otherness between two cultures that are limited in their space but possibly not in time is quite similar to the strangeness or otherness of cultures of different time periods that are limited in their continuity, but possibly not in space.”12

In both cases of Bach and of Tang music, the European and the Chinese remain in the region not far from where they were in history; however, Tureck was only less than 300 years away from Bach, while Ye Guohui is over a thousand years from Tang Dynasty. This distance of time requires caution in the understanding of musical meanings. Jiuhuzi remains existing in public media, ranging from gagaku ensemble13, ryūteki solo14, to an appearance in high school music class in the form of pop music arrangement15, with its audience constantly changing. Despite these performances’ somewhat similar sonic appearance, the cognitive and interpretive process raises questions including “what kind of meanings;” “whose meanings;” “of which time;” or “of which part of the world?”

As Frederic Jameson, an American political theorist, has concluded, the subject can no longer locate itself in space and time through being globalised,

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universalised and world-marketed. The differences in the instruments of our globalised today—characteristics in making, habits in playing, varieties in temperament, as well as the relationship of sound groups in the environmental sonic field, render the text of the ancient tablature which the performers are referring to vacillating on the verge of psychological or physiological perceptibility and recognisability, hampering the composer’s attempt to revive ancient sounds, while the use of the “universalised” Western orchestra further complicates our understanding of musical meanings.

Locally Grown Instrumental Sounds as Compensations

The Western orchestra is widely considered by Chinese composers, after the upheaval of the Cultural Revolution, as the embodiment of standardization required by globalization, as if it bore no ethnicity but only “abstract music.” This could be testified by their zeal for composing a bunch of concerti featuring a Chinese instrument in front of a Western orchestra, as well as by their ardour for mimicking the scheme of Western orchestra with Chinese instruments. The observation Stacey Sowards, an American professor of communication, has done in Southeast Asia applies just as well in China:

“Many Southeast Asians embrace Western music and its effects of globalization, particularly in the middle and upper classes. Southeast Asians surely can choose to reject Western music and its influence, but many do not. For viewers, there is an attraction in music globalization. It represents class status and education because it can create music culture that is based on identification with Western music, consumerism, and the ability to speak English.”

Jähnichen’s comments about Stacey’s observation reach deeper into the reality lying behind:

“However, the simple and convincing observation hides the fact that Asians in general can only choose to reject Western music if there would be an alternative that is comparable in terms of its adaptability to their living conditions and their individual expectations in a globalised economic and social system.”


Yet there is another formidable force that contributes to the overly wide use of Western orchestra in China: Conservatories have prescribed orchestral writing for both admission and graduation examinations for composition majors, ever since the restoration of higher education after the Cultural Revolution, followed by extra emphasis on works for orchestra or “Chinese orchestra” in various composition competitions of all Chinese societies from mainland China to Taiwan, from Hong Kong to Singapore, which in turn aggravates the enthusiasm of “spectacular instrumentation” even among common audiences outside the academia of music. Personally I, among a dozen of composition majors ranging from undergraduates to doctors, have suffered from a joint commission from Shanghai Theatre Academy and Shanghai Philharmonic Orchestra to adapt an excerpt from a Beijing Opera traditionally accompanied by four instrumentalists to an orchestra of over eighty musicians. Similar projects are held every year, a vivid re-run of a historical Chinese satire: King Xuan of Qi (齊宣王, ca.350–301 B.C.) loved to listen to sheng ensemble which had to consist of 300 players, among whom Nanguo (南郭), an obscure hermit, was also hired and paid like other musicians; then after the coronation of King Min (湣王, ca.323–284 B.C.) who liked to listen to sheng solo one by one, Nanguo had to flee from the palace.  

The composer, while apparently taking pride in his enormous instrumentation from time to time, also seems to have realized its lack of focus. Therefore, he is adding the “group of Asian instruments” for a general reason as follows: “The differences have to be welcomed. The physical properties of the sound source, the shift in the aesthetics of the performers and the audience, as well as the environmental sonic field, make the occasion complicated, featuring an icon of modernism overlapping its primordial attributes.” Before pondering the modernism enigma in the last section, the composer reveals specific reasons for the choice of each instrument:

Inside the “group of Asian instruments” is a subgroup of three piri (篳篥) and two transverse bamboo flutes, which represent the composer’s first trial to “revive the ancient sounds” of Jiuhuzi based on “Night Revels of Han, Xizai” (韓熙載夜宴圖, ca. 960 A.D.) by the Southern Tang painter Gu, Hongzhong (顧閎中, 937–975 A.D.), on which such instrumentation is depicted. The composer tested three approaches: the five playing Picken’s transcription in unison; each

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playing a pre-composed heterophonic line based on the melody; only one is shown in Picken’s transcription, the other four elaborate with improvised heterophony. The third approach was eventually adopted as it “sounds both complex and lively without burdening the musicians with pre-composed complexity,” a choice made from the composer’s subjective preference and practical accessibility. However, ancient sounds are only to be revived if their musical meanings are to be understood from the musical experience that the privileged ancient musicians had. With the abundance of existing historical documents, the composer could have further contextualised the music practice underlying the picture rather than contenting himself with appropriating the instrumentation depicted there.

![Figure 4: Gu Hongzhong’s “Night Revels of Han, Xizai” (part of the 12th century remake, open source).](image)

The use of other instruments labeled Asian originates from the composer’s imagination that ancient Chinese sounds are preserved in them. This leads to a problem of the definition of “Chinese sounds.” Tang Dynasty was a very open-minded period in the history of China, and the Ten-Part Music (十部樂) assigned to royal ceremonies made use of Han people’s music in only two parts. The composer’s imagination of the intake of various instruments

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Music from the Tang Court

deriving from other people’s culture is most notably manifested by the pipe organ solo, which is over three minutes long on the golden ratio of the piece (16’–19’ in a total of 28’). When asked why so much structural prominence has been put into it, the composer answered, “if there had been pipe organ in that time, it would also be offered to the Tang Court by Western ambassadors and preachers, among all other empires.” So is the stupendous brass in the very beginning which symbolizes the dignity and pageantry of the generalized concept of “royal court.”

Even though some instruments may convey some aspects of Tang court music more than others, it remains doubtful whether they have preserved “ancient Chinese sounds.” For example, eight of the Ten-Part Music featuring diverse music cultures, ranging from Northwest to Southeast Asia, which was not considered “Chinese” back then, and most of them still lie beyond the territory of today’s China. The extent of Sinicization on instruments of other cultures origins vary from one to another, being both the cause and the effect of different permissibilities through the Chinese audience, as can be seen from fieldwork results described in the next section. For example, the pipa and erhu are now considered iconic Chinese instruments, while piri, although Sinicized into guan after being introduced from Central Asian areas such as Kucha, is still limited to only local and occasional use.

The composer himself claimed that the appearance of Jiuhuzi’s tune on every instrument of various cultures is meant to explore timbral possibilities of each in order to, first of all, compensate for the lack of colour due to the deliberate mono-tonality which is the supposed fidelity to music practice in history. Every instrument is utilized in order to correlate or to approximate the function of composition to supposedly ancient or semantically undeveloped expressions, but this intention found it best way in a non-instrumental sound – female choir singing non-semantic syllables, regarded by the composer “as a meeting point of the East and the West, the ancient and the contemporary, the real and the virtual”: although the usage of human voice also varies with space and time, it always bears higher familiarity compared with instrumental sounds. Yet its permissibility could be limited by gender issues: In societies where women seem not appropriate to sing (for example in Kabuki of Japan as


24 According to the Book of Sui Dynasty – Chronicles IX & X (隋書·志第九/第十), various forms of Piri had been brought to central China by King Lü Guang (呂光, 337-399 A.D.) of Later Liang Kingdom (386-403 A.D.) and used in “[Music from] Kucha” (龜茲) for royal ceremonies since Northern Zhou Dynasty (557-581 A.D.). Accessible via https://zh.wikisource.org/wiki/%E9%9A%8B%E6%9B%B8/%E5%8D%B709, and https://zh.wikisource.org/wiki/%E9%9A%8B%E6%9B%B8/%E5%8D%B710, last visited 24 August, 2017.
Liu Xiangkun

well as some popular Chinese theatres including traditional Beijing Opera where female roles must also be played by males — a tradition honored over a millennium known as nandan — “male actress”\(^{25}\), would the female choir still be welcomed as a meeting point?

**Interviews**

Since both locally grown instrumental sounds and the seemingly common female choir would face the permissibility challenge, it is the audience who has a say in whether the composer has accomplished his intention of “reviving ancient sounds” using those borrowed instrumental sounds as compensations. Thus, further fieldwork was conducted among composers, music theorists, and the audience of other professions than music, each covering various communities in China and abroad from Han to Uyghur, from Malaysian Chinese to US American. They were asked the following questions:

1. Do you feel this piece of music is overly diverse or overly monotonous, or just about perfectly balanced?
2. Could you imagine this piece of music, if without the sound of the instruments of other cultures, would be more or less appealing?
3. Which sound impresses you most, either positively or negatively, and why?
4. What do you think is the relationship between the orchestra and the solo instruments? In other words, what are their roles respectively?
5. How far, or how close, is this piece of music to your imagination of “music of the Tang court”?

To be equitable to all interviewees, despite their professions, these questions were designed to address an instinctive rather than a cognitive response. The first question deals with the quantity of instrumental sounds, while the second with their quality. The third question aims to observe how the extent of exoticness might influence the permissibility. The fourth discusses what effect the composer’s view of the Western orchestra has produced on the audience. The fifth question enquires about how well the composition could accord with the audience’s imaginations of the past.

The results could be roughly categorized into the following table, in which different standards of categorization is utilized for different questions to better summerize their results:

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\(^{25}\) More cases and discussions can be found in Zhou Xianggeng (2010). *Male and Female Alternate — Discussing Nandan from Every Aspect*. Taipei: Showwe Publications.
**Question 1.**
Overly diverse, monotonous, or just balanced?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Composers:</th>
<th>Musicologists and the audience:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A bit monotonous because of its mono-tonality</td>
<td>About well balanced</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Question 2.**
What if without the instrumental sounds of other cultures?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Almost all:</th>
<th>A few Europeans:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>It would be less appealing</td>
<td>It could also be nice if other compositional approaches are used instead of introducing exotic instrumental sounds.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Question 3.**
Which sound impresses you most?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Some:</th>
<th>Some:</th>
<th>Some:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pipe organ (negatively)</td>
<td>Ajaeng or Piri (positively)</td>
<td>Female choir (positively)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Question 4.**
What relationship between the orchestra and the solo instruments?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>The East:</th>
<th>The West:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The orchestra makes up the space, the ambiance, and the “haze” around the solo instruments “who” are conveying their characters.</td>
<td>Competitors, like in Sinfonia concertante where the orchestra and the solo instruments are both showing their advantages respectively.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Question 5.**
How far to your imagination of "music of the Tang court"?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Musicologists:</th>
<th>Composers and the audience:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rather far away, because of the overall timbral aesthetics.</td>
<td>Somewhat close, because of the way in which musical elements are organized.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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**Figure 5: Rough categorization of the fieldwork interview results.**

Contrary to previous suppositions, only the results of two questions have shown pertinence to the professions of interviewees. Contemporary composers, Eastern or Western, have relied so much on tonality or atonality that it seems to have been a top priority to be concerned in composition. This circumstance might only be changed by the spectralism emerged in France in the 1970s, which lays most stress on the tone itself. Yet it is still too new to shift most composers’ concept. Therefore, it is not surprising that mono-tonality in a composition half an hour long sounds monotonous to most composers. The
results of the following two questions have, to some extent, validated the composer’s intention to use locally grown instrumental sounds as compensations: They appealed to most listeners, except a few Europeans who may respect the ingenuity of “conventional” compositional approaches more than the involvement of exotic instrumental sounds. Question 3 evoked most diversity among answers which seem irrelevant to both profession and ethnicity. The most-mentioned sound is that of the pipe organ, often described negatively for its excessive structural prominence discussed above. The sounds of ajaeng and piri are exotic enough to most people outside of their own communities, and another attribute contributes to their memorability: They are loud, a simple but valuable quality. The female choir, besides its close familiarity, is also intriguingly contrasted with instrumental sounds and given structural importance. Question 4 reveals the bias towards concertino-ripieno relationship in the West and towards solo-accompaniment in the East, and the solo is more or less anthropomorphic with a character. This might be connected to the emphasis on horizontal lines instead of vertical voices in some prominent music of the East.

Question 5 concerns our imagination and reflection of the past:

“We lean rather to reflect our relation to the past in the very moment of reflection, in other words: we are dealing with our present while speaking about history for not being able to abstract from our today’s experience… About the past we do not know much, only that our proofs have rather the quality of re-interpreted flashbacks. They are to justify what we believe rather than what we know.”

Tureck puts it in a simple way: “Interest in the reconstruction of the past is a modern one.”

From the results for Question 5 could be assumed:

In some traditional East Asian ensembles studied, the timbre of both wind and string instruments are quite convergent, forming quasi-homogeneous overall timbral aesthetics, while in Western orchestra the contrast between the timbres of the woodwinds, the brass, and the strings are more appreciated, forming essentially heterogeneous timbral aesthetics:

Composer Alfred Schnittke wrote in the 1970s in his paper Timbral Relationships and Their Functional Use that “the comparative properties of different timbres

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were used to achieve unity of form. For example, [...] a contrast was made more pronounced by using a new timbre.”

In the latest edition of *Encyclopædia Britannica*, the Non-Western Instrumentation section in the *Instrumentation* entry has the following statements:

“The approach to instrumentation in the music of India and Bali is quite different from that of Western music. The concept of contrast created through the various ‘choirs’ of the Western orchestra is not a primary concern. In Indian music a sameness of colour is created through the use of the drone played on the tambura. This is not to say that this music is uncolourful but that a specific timbre is established for an entire composition.”

This preference for quasi-homogeneous timbral aesthetics could also be the case in other Asian traditional music ensembles besides Indian and Balinese ones, while the appreciation of timbral contrast between different groups of instruments in the Western orchestra is mentioned in both quotes.

Supposedly, musicologists know more about this difference, so the heterogeneous orchestral timbres cannot approach their imagination of traditional East Asian ensembles, while composers focus more on the way in which musical elements are organized, and the treatment of mono-tonality, of heterophony, and of repetitions disagrees sharply with their so-called “art music,” therefore it could be “ethnic” or “traditional.” As for the audience, an ancient Chinese melody alone could mean “ancient Chinese music” — as in numerous audiovisual publications in China in which arrangements making use only of the melody lines of some traditional music are labeled and marketed as “ancient charms and ethos” or with similar titles.

This assumption will be tested in a future study by means of analyzing selected Western composers’ orchestral works from various historical periods, of examining concepts and theories written in instrumentation textbooks from Hector Berlioz and Nikolai Rimsky-Korsakov to Arnold Schönberg and Walter Piston, of interviewing Asian and Western composers and musicologists. To approach from the etic perspective, spectrum analysis of Asian and Western wind and string instruments may also be done and then compared, for

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example, it is possible that the spectral formants of piri and haegeum might
differ less than those of oboe and violin, making the former combination more
homogeneous while the latter more heterogeneous. Yet even if all of these
would have been done, it is still worth keeping in mind that composing is such
a personalized process that there could be no such thing as the “Western
timbral aesthetics” or the Asian one at all, but only some types of personal
preference would be vaguely observed.

The solo instruments can be seen as in a hierarchy of four overlapping layers
added to the frame of classical Western orchestra: 1. Chinese – guqin; 2. East
Asian – geomungo, ajaeng, shamisen, đàn dáy (although it is strictly limited in
use within Vietnam, the composer still lists it among East Asian instruments,
for he feels it conveys “some noisiness and ancientness beyond time and
space”31); and janggu; 3. “trans-regional” – piri and transverse bamboo flute; 4.
European – the pipe organ. Rather concordant results are obtained that these
locally grown instrumental sounds enrich the soundscape of this composition
based on traditional Chinese culture to a large extent. However, the
permissibility of each varies according to the distance of the relationship of
their cultural circles: quite high for East Asian and “trans-regional”
instruments, but the intentionally prominent pipe organ solo near the end is
generally considered lowly permissible, even also by those growing up in a
“pipe organ culture,” for example composers United States.32 This could be
due to the disillusionment of their imagination – not their imagination of the
religious and solemn pipe organ being turned into some “ethnic music
hybridization,”3334 but their expectation of the spatially and temporally remote
Tang court being shattered by some sound familiar to them.

Such results may have revealed the limitations of reaching too far from the
“mother culture” of the music being compensated, which may in turn
corroborate the belief that “musical styles can be made emblematic of national
identities,”35 and that an instrumental sound essentially carries, as any other
humanly produced music, the sense of a certain cultural identity embodied in
its instrumentality.

Court”. Journal of Central Conservatory of Music, 1, 92.
32 On June 30th 2016, four composition professors from West Chester University Swope
School of Music were invited by Ye Guohui to his office and showed his work “Music
from the Tang Court”. They exchanged ideas with the help of the author’s interpretation.
369.
34 Hooker, Lynn M. (2013). Redefining Hungarian Music from Liszt to Bartók. New York:
Oxford University Press, 150.
Modernism: Justification of the Limitations?

In recent decades in China, being a composer in a conservatory has seemed all about being “contemporary” – problem is that the academia of composition has almost evolved towards post-modernism, and modernism might no longer be “contemporary” enough. Nevertheless, modernism still makes perfect shelter for the majority of Chinese composers who are “attracted to music globalization [because] it represents class status and education,” as Sowards puts it. The composer Ye Guohui said, “Beyond the difference among regions, the primordial musical expressions of human beings are convergent. Furthermore, the elapse of thousands of years seems to have brought little change to their original ecology that is steady and persistent.” Therefore, “We become distant from the tradition, only because we are not modern enough.”

He seems to be trying to annihilate the spatial and temporal changes of the ecology with the bold involvement of modernism. However, whether the ecology of locally grown instrumental sounds changes or not represents that of musical and cultural identities, since the former are carriers of the latter. The latter, in turn, represents the process of modernization characterized by globalization and commodification which often takes on the appearance of politics. “The issue of identity – or should I say ‘identity’, it can mean so many things — takes on significance as the main function of music.” “The idea that one makes or listens to music to show who one is, in national ethnic, class, personal contexts, has been around for a long time, but identity hasn’t been recognized until the last two decades as a major function of music.” The Asian instruments used in this composition belong to cultures once politically subordinate to China during the time period of the Tang Dynasty or in other times, and they become carriers of so-called national identity in addition to ethnic identity, “moved from ethnic to national symbols,” due to changes of their homelands’ political status.

A newspaper had this in its coverage of the premiere of this work:

“It is very common that traditional music takes many different shapes and forms and is always changing,” says J. Lawrence Witzleben, program chair of

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the 42nd World Conference of ICTM. “It is very much part of ICTM to study
traditional music in the modern world, as well as music history.”

Through re-interpreted meanings, invented history, and created present music
practice, “Past folk music becomes an important part of future structures of
feeling among very different populations,” to which composers may have
contributed a lot with their intention and privilege to create new musical
experience.

Modernism, or modernization, has imposed on the insiders of locally grown
instrumental sounds a task to figure out their significance contextualized in
realistic and globalized co-ordinates. Yet facing the duality of locality and
globality – although the latter remains a hypothetical condition (Yergin, 1998),
this task would only be fulfilled with the outsiders’ perspective which Chinese
composers always confidently claim to have in order not to “degrade
themselves into folk music amateurs,” although few of them have actually
been insiders of a music tradition – except the Western one.

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Archived on http://usa.chinadaily.com.cn/culture/2013-07/26/content_16835990.htm. Last

Press, 120.


43 Wen Deqing (温德青), a composer and professor in Shanghai Conservatory of Music, used
to make such comments whenever his students (the author was once also one of his
students) make use of any trait of some traditional music. Other composers and
professors, including Ye Guohui himself, also made similar comments.
References


Liu Xiangkun


The Story of a Failed Business Concept: 
Intensifying a Drum Production in Sri Lanka

Introduction

Literature and orally transmitted information make evident that the drumming tradition of Sri Lanka is closely related to the ritual practices of Buddhism, Hinduism, and non-religious belief systems of various social groups in Sri Lanka. The type of religious and secular practice as traditional performance (drumming, singing, and dancing) is categorized by the name of the region to which the respective tradition belongs. Accordingly, there are a number of craftsmen producing Sri Lankan traditional drums distributed in the main regions that are still historically valued, namely up-country, low-country, and Sabaragamuwa. These craftsmen are trained at home, inheriting the knowledge and social position through elder members of the family, mostly passed down orally from father to son. Drums are made according the requirements demanded by the buyer. Traditional performers are particularly concerned with the sound quality of the drum rather than its physical appearance. The production of the drum, from cutting the tree to the final stages, is taken quite seriously. However, according to a number of craftsmen, some practices of crafting that previous generations found important are now being ignored, modified, or changed. After “traditional dance” was incorporated as an aesthetic subject in schools and universities, traditional performers found that these drums were often not made up to the standard that they once were. Looking into many drawbacks of drum makers, some funding organizations have attempted to improve crafting techniques according to the worldviews of neoliberal craftsmen. This study tries to document and discuss how innovations and modifications on traditional drums were understood by project consultants and how they are received by traditional craftsmen and performers.

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Traditional drums that are often used for rituals and Buddhist ceremonies are the following:

- getabera ya (associated with Up-country)
- devol beraya (associated with Low-country)
- dawla (associated with Sabaragamuwa region)
- thammattama (used in all regions)

Figure 1: The map shows three different regions (Low-country, Sabaragamuwa, and Up-country) in Sri Lanka, each with associated common-practice traditional drumming, singing, and dance styles. Scheme extracted by the author.

I visited drum workshops in two villages in February 2013 and Jan 2017. Performers, craftsmen, and project members were interviewed. In 2013, I visited a craftsman, Kalaugalapathane Ranathunga, whose workshop was in Manikhinna, Kandy. To get an introduction to his knowledge, I recorded him making a getabera in his traditional way. There are few substantial writings on Sri Lankan drum traditions related to specific people and places. However, this paper provides firsthand information that might shed new light on previous findings on similar topics. In particular, this study highlights the variety in Sri Lankan drum making, which was previously documented based on preconceived and homogeneous notions of practices.

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5 The word bera stands for barrel shaped drums in general.

Ranathunga inherited the tradition of drum making from his father and dates back to his grandfather’s time. He and his relatives produce few varieties of bera to earn money to cover daily expenses of his family. Ranathunga revealed that he started drum making when he was nine years old, and despite him claiming to be 53, he is said to have been active in the profession for forty years. To take up the family business, he gave up school at a young age. Despite being a maker, he never learned to play traditional drums. He willingly introduced me to two family members who demonstrated the drums for me in his residence. While I visited Ranathunga, his son helped in the work by moving the iron wheel tool for a couple of hours for his father. After working for a few hours on one getabera, Ranathunga said: “It takes at least three days to complete a drum. There are good techniques using machines, but we don’t get enough profit to buy and maintain machines. I sell a general bera for seven thousand and a good bera for fifteen thousand. It takes nearly one day to hollow out the wood. If it is the part of the core of the tree, then it takes at least two days. Such wood is used for expensive drums. We cannot see such expensive drums in instrument shops. Performers personally come to us and
request us to produce such drums in a good quality, then only we start making them.”

According to Ranathunga, he is an expert in making the traditional drums of all three regions. He describes the standard dimensions of gera bera should be between 34 to 36 inches long, with the diameter of the drum heads ranging from 7 to 7.25 inches. He notes that the diameter of the drum heads should be slightly different, at least by a quarter inch (ARCPA8 02119). In addition to Sri Lankan traditional drums, Ranatunga also produces congas, tambourine, bongos, and other varieties of which he is rather careless with dimensions or notions of an authentic sound quality. These drums are often sold to people who occasionally practice popular music in casual entertainment settings.

His brother in law demonstrated drum patterns and techniques for the getabera, explaining which occasions and purposes they are played. He highlighted the spiritual and royal importance of getabera ya9 which is played when the flag is raised on Independence Day, when it needs to invite gods to auspicious occasions, when the sacred tooth is moved in the temple in Kandy, and in the practices of kavi, bana, and bali thovil.10

In January 2017, I returned to further explore traditional drum production in Sri Lanka and to compare traces of this production on the internet. I found a few funding organizations who ran projects looking to work with craftsmen modernize crafting through the use of machines and new techniques to not only save time, but to also make products more attractive with modifications. I contacted the leading people of one organization who has conducted workshops and seminars the use of such efficient crafting techniques. This project was run by the government through a group called the "National Design Center of Sri Lanka." The main objective of the project was “developing local drums, consisted with modernized appearance and turn them into highly marketable products in the modern music instrument market” (mentioned in the website of the project). I spoke often with the project’s resource consultant, Richard Nikapitya. His proposed designs include attractive drums (appendix) that are standardized so that if some part of the drums wears out, the user can replace parts instead of the entire drum. Mr. Nikapitya’s project also equips craftsmen with tools and machines, at no cost, so that they can both

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7 ARCPA 02106 & 02122.
8 ARCPA is an abbreviation for “Audiovisual Research Collection of Performing Arts”. This Audio Visual Archive exists in the Music Department, Putra University, Malaysia. The given code is unique to a deposited audiovisual recording which is accessible to the public.
9 Also known as magul beraya.
10 ARCPA 02131, 02132, 02133 & 02134.
standardize their practice but also apply traditional knowledge through time spent in workshops.

Among all the staff who conducted the project, Nikapitiya seems the most familiar with music. In general, music is his hobby and passion and he explores music by himself and through socializing with experts in performing arts and musicology. He is quite interested in sound acoustics and music management in addition to his main expertise on 3-D animation audio technology, computer science, and product design. After teaching efficient crafting techniques and marketing strategies to the craftsmen recurrently for one year at Kuragala, he recently learned that his efforts on improving the craftsmanship were not appreciated. He says “then later, nearly after two years, I visited them and found that they returned back to the previous working styles and techniques. I came to know that the person who has pawned the equipment was the best skilled in the group. He did it to buy alcohol. Most of the people do not have the equipment anymore and the improved set of skills are not continued.” That was his first expression on the project outcomes when I initiated the conversation with him.
According to the information provided by Nikapitiya and Vijitha, there were previous projects funded by a few other institutions such as the National Craft Council and Central Province Department of Industrial Development & Enterprise Promotion, which have not been successful as expected.

On 30\textsuperscript{th} January 2017, we, myself with Nikapitiya and Vijitha, visited the trained craftsmen at Kuragala village to observe the outcomes. We had many interesting discussions with the craftsmen and people of the village. Also, we found out what they have absorbed from the entire course of the project. One of the craftsmen described the improvement in crafting and what they had to let go. However, after visiting the village along with Nikapitiya, we saw that the progress was not so bad as described prior to the visit.

As we arrived in the village, we met Silva\textsuperscript{11} who was noticeably more talkative than the others we later met in the village. Not having enough space to work in his own house, he works at friends’ homes in the village. According to Nikapitiya, Silva has actively attended the seminars and workshops of the project and learned new crafting techniques and realized to some extent which attitudes of traditional craftsmen have to be changed. Silva’s opinion is that even as attitudes are changed, the instruments cannot be produced accordingly for some reasons which will further be revealed in this article.

Silva seems rather disappointed that he is unable to proceed with his intended modifications in productions and promotions. He says, “We try to do many new things, some are successful and some are left out because what we expect to do is quite expensive and hard work. First, we have to fulfil our daily expenses by continuing usual productions because only a few are here economically fit.” He further elaborated that he would like to reside in a constructed village where he would have less conservative neighbors of

\textsuperscript{11} He was not willing to spell the full name.
younger generations. He wishes, if the government would arrange new housing possibilities, at least for ten young families at an isolated location and keep the work running just to avoid influences of those conservative people, he would be glad. He prefers young craftsmen, who have gained individual skills, which may collectively contribute for a better production. He believes that the project of the National Design Center has improved skills of craftsmen to make the productions more up to the desired standard. They previously made drums aiming at immediate money, means the drums were not attractive as they were not even polished well. Silva is very thankful to the National Design Center for arranging workshops and giving opportunities to learn efficient methods enhancing the quality of the drums. He also says he and his colleagues have even known before how to make it attractive, but they did not think that this is necessary, they did not try. Nowadays, the majority of customers have gotten used to demand drums with a well finished look. What he means by well finished is that not only the outer appearance but also the neatness inside the drum is well done. He admitted that they had never thought of a neatly finished inside.

Figure 5: Thammattama in an exhibition. Photo by Richard Nikapitiya.

Silva was proud to tell about some incidences where some regular customers who wanted to get their drums repaired have said that “the inside of the drum is done so well and we are so fortunate to meet an honest and skillful
craftsman like you.” Seemingly, these craftsmen are currently rather encouraged as they are invited by the Education Department for providing and repairing drums for schools. Meaning, they could overcome the negative reputation of the “Kuragala craftsmen.”

**Some Crafting Tools, Material and Techniques**

In 2013, at the drum workshop in Manikhina, found that Mr. Kalugalapathane Ranathunga did not use electric tools and some material in comparison to what the Kuragala craftsmen use today. The consultant Vijitha asked Silva what tools have been newly introduced by the project and he asked him to tell me more about them in detail. Silva continued “A lot of tools were provided by the project. We actually have known to use the compressor to polish the wood even before. After 2013, we learnt to use electric machines for cutting and engraving the drums irrespective using human power any longer. The water-based method is quite costly, therefore we use it for the purpose of displaying drums in exhibitions and on requests. Unfortunately, we could not follow many new things taught during the workshop, for example using NC (thinner) which no one could learn here yet. During the workshop, we could make best quality drums applying new techniques and material because we were guided. We sold these productions in the exhibition for big money, for example we could sell a thammattama (kettle drum) for 15000 LKR, which is a very high price we never even could imagine.” Silva proudly said that he sold a few best quality drums at high prices for the Sri Lankan customers living in America and France.

![Figure 6: Some examples for modified drums (getabera and dawla) made by Kuragala craftsmen are displayed in the exhibition. Photo by Richard Nikapitiya.](image-url)

**Problems with Some Modifications: Aesthetic Issues**

The design consultant of the project, Mr. Nikapitiya introduced the craftsmen to an artificial hide that can be used for the drum head as an initial step to
make all the getabera sound similar in performances. The conflicting opinions and suggestions of the craftsmen, project consultants, and performers can help to find out what really could be changed in the getabera. Before visiting the craftsmen in Kuragala, I managed to meet Nikapitiya and to discuss a newly introduced hide for the drum heads and its efficiency. I delivered my question to him “There must be traditional shapes of drums and techniques of crafting which was learned from the craftsmen’s forefathers. So, have you ever had an impression they were a bit reluctant to modifications thinking to the look and the sound of the drums?” His answer shows his many ideas about drum traditions. He said “You know that a bera is a very noisy musical instrument. That is a tribal music instrument. If you play 50 drums you will hear fifty different sounds. If you record it, then again, the sounds are changed. If you hear recorded sound from different speakers, then again, the sound is different. If you look at wave forms you will see the difference. That is even common for many other instruments for example you can identify your guitar sound from others. I have observed the natural hide of these drums. I looked at them more than 100 times using a microscope and I have witnessed how bacteria destroy the drum hide step by step.”

I met professional drum player Lasantha Kumara Edirisinghe who also works as an accompanist with traditional drums at the University of Visual and Performing Arts, Colombo. He appreciates that the sound of each getabera can be different and finds the different sounds of drums useful in group performances. He says “On the one hand I don’t think authentic sounds can be produced with an artificial hide which will be a limit in tuning as well too much perfect which is not suitable. I like the changing sound in my instrument. If you use animal hide then the sound will be changed according to the weather, night, morning, and so on. If you play ten traditional drums you can hear ten different sounds which is fantastic. Even we use an artificial hide, we cannot make all the sound being the same, because each musician has his own weight in their strokes.” He further explained that the morning dew makes the getabera sound more pleasant as the drum skins can change according to the time of the day.

Another professional performer is Mr. Dhammika Chaminda. He is also an instructor at the University of Visual and Performing Arts, Colombo. He insisted “you cannot produce the same sound on artificial hide.” He also prefers the sound to be different on each drum in a group drum performance. He says “the stroke should not be changed for example when all performers play the sound ‘jing,’ then there should be different sound qualities within this jing sound yet it should not sound like other strokes. You know, each drum is made according to the physical dimensions of each musician. My drum length is three wiyath, three angul. A wiyath is a length from thumb to the little finger, as the fingers are spread, and angul is the length from the first joint
above the palm to the end of the index finger.” He said that tuning units that are proposed to fix on getabera is not applicable as the performers cannot adjust the tuning while performance carried on. The tuning is not meant to be fixed throughout the performance and drum players like the tonal changes in drums and tuning them while performances going on, are cultured as indispensable parts of performance.

Silva’s experience reveals some problems in using the artificial hide. He believes that the sound of artificial hides is not much different from the natural ones. However, he prefers not use artificial for traditional drums. In his point of view, he finds the use of artificial hides as kind of dangerous for traditional drums like getabera and dawla. He uses artificial hide for non-Sri Lankan drums like congas and dholak. While he could not express clearly why he chooses not use artificial hides for traditional drums, he did mention the use of hydrogen peroxide to make them more stretchable. This procedure leaves the hides much whiter than the natural ones making them more contrasting with an unusual look. He is also not really keen to fix nuts & bolts that were introduced as a tool on the traditional drums to make the tuning more efficient. He said “for that we have to spend a bit more money but we sell it for a big money. We do that on request only,” which he says is exceptional and professional traditional drum players do not prefer such modifications.

After talking to Silva, I met Wimalasiri who is rather conventional. He inherited drum craftsmanship from his father. He is firmly against modification which he thinks are harmful to the authenticity of traditional drums. He informed me that his father was the first person who came to his village and started making tabla. Then later the other people started traditional bera and so on. He inherited the secret of preparing the paste patch for the tabla. As he is the only person who can make it, he says he will not let anyone else in the village know the secret. However, he claims he makes all types of drums which are used in Sri Lanka. His straightforward answer on using artificial hide was “not possible! We have already compromised with goat hide as it is difficult to find monkey hide.” He confirmed his opinion by saying that the technology is developed in India more than in Sri Lanka, but India still could not replace the natural hide used for the tabla heads with any other material.

However, he had never experimented with artificial hides as he finds it as inauthentic even it may make the sound uniform. He says “I don’t think the artists will use it because, according to the tradition, we use only cow, monkey, and goat hides. Without such hides, there will not be a value in the drum. It will not be good to replace skin straps with nylon ropes as warapati12. Perhaps

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12 The straps that connect the two drumheads along the drum.
we can cheat a child with this but not the traditional artists. Traditional artists want it original.”

As a matter of fact, the traditional drummers in Sri Lanka are mostly Buddhists. Traditional rituals where the traditional drums are involved are directly or somehow connected to Buddhist, Hindu, and indigenous beliefs. The performers who are involved in these practices are mostly able to justify obligatory undertakings for the tradition that are considered taboo in the respective belief systems. For example, slaughtering a chicken for a deity as an exchange to cure the illness of the sufferer. Using animal hide for traditional drums is a usual practice which is not taboo in rituals and other religious ceremonies. Wimalasiri is not at all used to modifications like artificial drum heads, he was rather against the advice given through the project. He says “for the getabera we use cow skin for the drum head on left and also for the patiya (belt) and kanwara (the woven loop that attaches the waist strap to the drum). For the right side (louder side), there must be goat skin. It will be much better if you can get a monkey skin to the right. But who will kill a monkey for that purpose? Of course there are people who kill monkeys to eat the meat. Some farmers kill monkeys to protect the crops. We cannot get a skin unless someone kills because, we are Buddhists.” In order to use the monkey hide, the monkey has to be killed without damaging the important part of the skin. He described “the sound of monkey skin is not replaceable with any other skin. Always the skin should be cut at the back but not through the belly. Backside skin is as hard as cow skin but the belly skin is soft. We do not search for monkey skin, but if anyone wants monkey skin to his bera, then he has to find it himself, we only do the craftsman’s part.”

Lasantha Kumara Edirisinghe says “I don’t want someone to kill an animal to get a hide to make my drum. If the animal was killed for eating by somebody else, then the hide can be used without me feeling guilty. I like to use animal hide instead of artificial stuff.”

Mr. Dhammika Chaminda is not only an expert in drum playing he has also gained knowledge in drum making through self-conducted experiments. He firmly admits that the monkey hide is the finest for the right-side drum head without any compromise. He says, “I have already experimented by doing it. You cannot stick the artificial hide on the Gatiya (the woven ring around the edge of the drumhead). Furthermore, I tried to make the body of the drum with fiber material, and it became too light and easy to carry while playing, but it is not practical as we hit fast and the drum tends to shake so easily making it very uncomfortable for us. Therefore, using wood is the best.” Some craftsmen try to use the color of the actual tree by using artificial colors, to cheat us and that is not good. We can identify good wood. Some make straps (warapati) out

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13 Grey Langur monkeys that exist in Sri Lanka.
Chinthaka Prageeth Meddegoda

of the deer hide to attract us. But this is not as strong as cow hide for straps.
Monkey hide is the best for the right drum head. Goat hide is a bit harsh, rough. Some craftsmen use rilawa (rhesus monkey) hide but it is too oily and not nice.” He informed me that the dimensions of the drum are decided according to the performer’s hands who plays it. The dimensions of the longer drums (i.e., yak beraya and gata beraya) were traditionally measured at three wiyath\textsuperscript{14} and three angul in length, and one wiyath at the diameter of the drumhead.

**Tradition versus Modernity**

The people I met during the field studies of this research have conflicting and similar opinions on the industrialization process of traditional drums. However, four different groups can be identified according to their opinions, problems, aesthetic preferences, and commitments that they bear. They are performers, craftsmen, spectators, and design consultants with project objectives. The latter are committed to improving a drum production in Sri Lanka by convincing the craftsmen of adapting new methods and material so that the drums can be standardized\textsuperscript{15}. The objectives set by the project authorities demand these products to be bought by foreign visitors and these products to be exported to the world market which may bring economical wealth to the country.

Drum performers expressed that traditional musicians prefer the look and sound of their non-modified drums. Silva said, “there are some conventional musicians who still like crooked, roughly finished drums and also who will buy them for hundred thousand rupees if the drum sounds good.” Silva is quite critical about the traditional way of life as he sees in Sri Lankan drummers in general. He finds the young generation of drummers just follow their fathers by imitating the appearance and the behavior for example the young drummers wear sarong\textsuperscript{16} and chew betel as their fathers did, therefore he finds their attitudes are not up to date. He says “They learn from fathers by just following without questioning, they believe their feet should touch the earth and then only they are connected to gods. When they get into a public bus, people maintain sort of distance from them because they are not attractive as they eat betel and wearing in indecent way and the way they carry the drum is messy as the drum is rapped with a red cloth.” Silva is rather disappointed that some modifications are not accepted by the drummers. He suggested that the drum should be gracefully polished and kept in an elegant casing like

\textsuperscript{14} A Wiyat is the length from the thumb to the little finger as the fingers are spread.

\textsuperscript{15} Attracted by appearance and long lasting material.

\textsuperscript{16} Sinhala traditional dress wore around the waist by men. It is made in tube shape.
western music instruments’ casings, and then the traditional drummer has to give up betel chewing and wearing traditional dress for casual occasions, they have to get used to decent clothing which may bring traditional drummer into higher status in the society\textsuperscript{17} overcoming the societal disregard. Silva was dared to reveal some tricks that they do to satisfy the traditional drummer who are particular about keeping to the rules in shaping the drum. For example, using kurahan\textsuperscript{18} gala\textsuperscript{19} which has been an essential tool in shaping the drum edges (See figure ?). The musicians expect that craftsmen indeed use kurahan gala which makes the drum appropriate with the tradition. Silva says he does not need kurahan gala for that anymore as they have new tools which is much better for that purpose. He had to pretend that he uses it and therefore he was clever to keep a kurahan gala at working place pretending as if he uses it.

![Image of the kurahan gala](image-url)

\textbf{Figure 6: The kurahan gala is displayed at one of the drum workshops in Kuragala village. Photo by Chinthaka P. Meddegoda.}

The influence of the project objectives are quite visible in the views of some craftsmen like Silva. Nevertheless, some adaptations are visible in all the craftsmen’s workshops. All the craftsmen in the village have replaced the manual wheel to the electric motor. Some craftsmen say after they use the electric motor, for example, the time they spent for 20 beras is now spent to

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{17} In contrast to the picture of Indian caste painted by Dumontian scholars, in which the emphasis is on purity and pollution, the Sinhalese caste system is rooted in a feudal system of service tenures to the king (Rajakariya). Historically, therefore, the status of being low-caste (adu kulaya) in Sinhalese society is primarily connected to the idea of service and land tenure, with notions of impurity forming a secondary theme. Simpson, Bob (1997). Possession, Dispossession and the Social Distribution of Knowledge among Sri Lankan Ritual Specialists. \textit{The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute}, 3 (1), 44.
\item \textsuperscript{18} The word stands for Finger Millet grains and the word gala stands for stone. Kurahan gala is the mill which is used for grinding finger millet.
\item \textsuperscript{19} Kurahan gala is a manual mill made of stone. It is used in Sri Lanka for grinding grains.
\end{itemize}
\end{footnotesize}
produce 50 beras. The craftsmen are not happy with the mediators who find customers to sell the drums. The surface of the wooden body of the drums were cut and polished much better than before as craftsmen were trained and introduced efficient working tools and material by the design consultants of the project.

As Nikapitiya informed me, the project funding was ended by 2014, and therefore they could not follow up the craftsmen for further years caring whether the craftsmen continue what they learned and accordingly to support by providing new knowledge and funds. Nikapitiya’s opinion on development of traditional drums represent the industrial point of view while he is very much aware what he means and his thoughts are utterly straightforward. According to him craftsmen must have a goal to become successful entrepreneur by selling improved productions in masses for higher price without concerning the social and cultural connections that are attached with the conventional drums, performers, and spectators. According to the information provided by craftsmen, they have indeed learned new crafting techniques and material that can make the conventional drum more attractive to the world. The summary of the conversations with craftsmen reveal that although they are willing to change, the conventional performer will not accept the change. If the craftsmen do not facilitate the objectives of industrial projects, they will not receive the financial support and new knowledge. Seemingly, the craftsmen have been able to manage the needs of the both parties by accepting some modifications which do not affect the sound of the drum and its conventional look.

If the drums have to be produced in mass, there will be difficulties like finding the right wood demanded according to the oral tradition. The professional performers who are coming from traditional schools are particular about choosing right wood which are processed with rituals as described in static anthropological literature as Suraweera has pointed out.

20 A few craftsmen informed “there is a summit here who does the mediator role. They buy a bera from us for 6500 LKR and they sell it for 8000 LKR. We are losing 1500 unnecessarily”.

21 “… a tree suitable for drum making, namely that trees grown near temples, waterfalls or trees brought down by natural causes such as lightening were preferred. Trees near cemeteries were considered particularly unsuitable. Once a suitable tree was chosen, the earth under the tree was cleaned, and offerings were made to the Gods to seek their permission. Verses and prayers were recited for up to seven days prior to the felling of the tree and carried out at a particular auspicious time according to astrology. During the construction of the instrument and after the body of the instrument was carved out, it was kept under flowing water for around seven days. It was then taken out to be dried in the shade. A paste of heated resin was coated on the inside of the drum, with the belief that this would protect the instrument from undesired, external, malevolent influences usually reserved for humans” Suraweera, Sumuditha (2009).
Suggestions on ‘Improving Traditional Drum Production’ in Sri Lanka

Silva seems to be rather matured in age though he suggests that he would like to work with young craftsmen who are not following conventional patterns of opinions and crafting methods. His suggestion for developing drums is that the government has to arrange for him an isolated location surrounded young craftsmen with special crafting skills with innovative mind set. The other craftsman who represent “the traditional drum maker” is not willing to accept contrasting modifications such as replacing animal hide with artificial leather and fixing new units on the drum for tuning purposes. He predicts that the traditional drummers will not accept modifications. However, it seems to be like these craftsmen are not confident to face the consequences such as losing customers by changing the condition of traditional drums.

Nikapitiya’s opinion contrasts with the conventional craftsman though Silva could be convinced for the suggested changes. Nikapitiya says “The first thing is, they do not have a target. They do crafting just to live. A country can be developed by doing industries but not by doing a job to cover up daily expenses, just like going to office every day and getting a monthly salary. Their ultimate goal was to become an owner of a pattala\textsuperscript{22}. These craftsmen can test the right sound using many types of leathers thousands of times, they will not lose the drum unlike someone tries different intonations through the throat doing small surgeries. There will be many people criticizing if you try new things. You have to ignore them, just go on, if you consider what they say, you will never reach the target.”

Vijitha, the manager of the project, says “these people tell big stories about making drums, they have not yet done such work and presented. We say you have to do something, then only we can improve through the mistakes. They will get more support from many other sources after they get attention by doing something impressive.”

Conclusion

Improved technology has not only to meet willingness to adapt to improved production skills, but also social needs within the communities. It can be observed that some activities where the traditional drums are involved have been changed or modified according to the factors like economy, modernity, politics, and globalization. Some activities are not frequently functioning

\textsuperscript{22} This is a manual set up with a big iron wheel which is used to shape the drum.
anymore as they were in the past\textsuperscript{23}. The traditional drums were utilized for some popular music and video productions though they were not originated or made for them. However, it is important in looking at why these drums were not asked for modifications or improvements even though the functions are changed in some instances. That is because, the appearance and the sound of the traditional drum is valued or ridiculed or used as just a sound in modern popular events to showcase the traditional performing arts as a part of the concepts no matter it is fusion or any other form of popular performing item. This research can also confirm the assertion of Margaret Kartomi that “musical instruments are fixed, static objects that cannot grow or adapt in themselves”\textsuperscript{24}. In fact, all the major undertakings regarding Sri Lankan traditional drums being observed in different places of Sri Lanka cause changes, from cutting a tree for making a drum to a performing event. While performing, the musician has to take chances in applying or doing modifications on the traditional drums if they encounter the necessity. This is much different from the case of the harmonium or the tabla in the Malay world where the performers have not got any opportunity for changes in the structure of the instruments though their playing techniques and functions are rather different from the functions in the originating cultures of those instruments.\textsuperscript{25} The playing techniques, performance sequences and the condition of the instrument are strongly bound and depending on each other. Therefore it can be asserted that the performer has to encounter the need for modification in their instrument rather than the craftsmen or other observers like funding organizations who do not experience the actual condition nor the musical necessity.

Nevertheless, the process of drum production is rather changed as some examples show clearly the gap between static ethnography provided in some literature\textsuperscript{26} and the dynamics of current cultural and social life in Sri Lankan communities for example visible in the process of choosing the wood and

\textsuperscript{23} Suraweera mentions that “In the periods of this study, I have noted a number of occasions where my informant had to omit the performance aspects of the ritual. Secondly, even though the performance element are still present in the public rituals, these rituals are being adapted to contemporary society with a focus on entertainment”. Suraweera, Sumuditha (2009). Sri Lankan, Low Country, Ritual Drumming: The Raigama Tradition. PHD Thesis submitted to the University of Canterbury, 255.

\textsuperscript{24} Kartomi, Margaret (2001). The Classification of Musical Instruments: Changing Trends in Research from the Late Nineteenth Century, with Special Reference to the 1990s. Ethnomusicology, 45 (2), 305.

\textsuperscript{25} Meddegoda, Chinthaka P. and Gisa Jähnichen (2016). Hindustani Traces in Malay Ghazal – A Song so Old and Yet Still Famous. Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars.

making the drum edges using kurahan gala.  

The growing demand of the traditional drums from schools, universities and private performing arts institutions has increased the number of production of drums and therefore it has become impossible to choose wood and execute other undertakings according to the recommendations set by the tradition. These alterations are disregarded to some extent by the traditional performer as they are not primarily influencing the appearance and the authenticity of sound of the drum though there may be some scientific facts which can really matter.  

Refusing technological changes by the craftsmen and performers may not just indicate unwillingness but may have well considered reasons that cannot always be expressed. However, some expressions as illustrated in this paper can detect and predict some reasons for unwillingness for change. Therefore, parallel to the implementation of technological and industrial approach on traditional music instruments, cultural anthropology should have gone along to understand the possibilities and the limitations. Therefore, there is a strong need for specialists in the humanities that can analyze complex cultural patterns. However, an approach as suggested by Barth and Hannerz and analyzed by Eriksen for the understanding of knowledge distribution and application has yet to be found for a culturally flexibly embedded knowledge reception and critical appropriation as a counteraction to adopting global values for the sake of local sustainability.

A further discussion of more examples and an intense discourse with social anthropology can improve the way how social needs and musical creativity can be academically supported thus contributing to different local life qualities.

References


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27 Figure 6.


Chinthaka Prageeth Meddegoda


**Interviews**

Kalugalapathane Ranathunga (2013). Interview with and his colleagues conducted by Chinthaka P. Meddegoda, Manikhinna, Sri Lanka (ARCPA 02119).


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The Story of a Failed Business Concept: Intensifying a Drum Production in Sri Lanka


Audiovisual Material

Ranathunga Kalaugalapathane (02 October 2013). Interviewed by Chinthaka P Meddegoda on drum production in Manikhinna village. ARCPA 02119, Manikhinna, Kandy.

All other cited audiovisual material is publicly accessible on site at the Audiovisual Research Collection for the Performing Arts at Universiti Putra Malaysia, Music Department (ARCPA).

Appendix

Photos provided by Richard Nikapitiya (numbered according to exhibits).
Contemporary Types of Frula as an Outcome of Bora Dugić’s Artistic Work

When traditional music instruments are considered, we should have in mind that standardization is not achieved in almost any case, and that we can notice numerous variants of one invariant model, at one geographical area. Variant in this case represents every single instrument which has its own characteristics (dimensions, form, material from which it is built, certain aesthetical show-offs), everything that is materialized and could be touched. A summary of different variants makes an invariant model\(^1\), which has only the main characteristics, built in different ways. Synchronic overview of variants of one particular instrument points to its existence in one cultural-historic area, whose descriptions are in function of one particular music context. Goal of this work is to point out the conditions and causes under which invariant of the traditional instrument – frula is changed, getting its own variant forms.

The term frula, as we use it today, sublimes different variants and forms of an instrument that, according to the Hornbostel-Sachs classification, belongs to aerophone duct flutes (421.2)\(^2\), under different names – duduk, duduče, sviralja, svirajče, svirala, which are used even today in some parts of Serbia.

The position that frula has among the Serbian traditional instruments is important for many reasons. Its geographical but also historical representation exceeds that of other instruments. It should be accentuated that only the frula has an uninterrupted continuity and development that could serve for a diachronic view of traditional music consecution. The common discourse names the frula as the clearest representative of Serbian traditional music and overall Serbian culture.

Although its prevalence exceeds the national and cultural borders of the region, identification with this instrument takes the importance of this small piece of wood to a higher level – as a symbol of ethnic and national identity, whose building, at most, relies on builder’s relation with the tradition.\(^3\)

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3. We should not forget that the gusle is also one of the national symbols. However, its use has been reserved for particular cultural circles of the Dinaric society, while kaval became popular after the year 2000 thanks to the development within new music popular music markets in the framework of world music.
National symbols embody its basic terms, making them visible and clear to every member of the nation, telling the principles of one abstract ideology with palpable, concrete language, which causes immediate emotional reaction of all community members⁴.

Observed as a collective cultural phenomenon, national identity is embodied through frula practice that, by virtue of continuity, succeeded to rise to the level of national identification.⁵ Nevertheless, the social context cannot be imagined without individual contemplations that produced it; it needs to be “conceptualized as a frame which includes both individual and collective identity”⁶.

Question of identity is always answered somewhere in between, in the interaction of these two – at the first sight opposite poles: collective/individual. Frula repertoire can be heard on both sides of these two poles that “not only reflects and encodes the meanings of identities, it also takes part in its creating”⁷.

A seminal invariant type of frula (frulas from the first half of 20th century) implies a cylindrical pipe with a relative longitude of a short (about 300mm), middle (400-500mm), or long svirala (700mm and longer). On the upper end is a čep (stopper) with prorez (zasvirač), vetrilo (viraška, prozorče) and sharp ‘brid’, at which the air stream is being split.

Figure 1: Mouthpiece with čep, prorez, vetrilo and sharp brid. Photo open source: http://www.serbska.net/frula-milorad-maric, last accessed 24 April, 2017.

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⁵ Proposed by Serbian ethnomusicological Society members, 2011, frula practice got in the National registry of Intangible Cultural Heritage. This fact confirms that this instrument takes an important place in the musical instrumentarium of this area.
All this represents the upper functional part called pisak or better usnik, which, when insufflating the air, makes the sound by passing one part of the air in the pipe itself, and the other part out of the instrument. At this older type, ellipsoid-shaped playing holes are drilled roughly, but the builders were taking care that the distance between third and fourth hole is somewhat bigger. Although Andrijana Gojković considers that builders were subconsciously marking the border between two tetrachords that way, we could determine with help of music analysis that in the base of this practice we can find a hexachordal sequence which cannot be divided by tetrachordal structures. It is more probably that the first builders wanted to “establish visual symmetry”.

Figure 2: Svirala as built since 1950. Gift from Slavoljub Martić, village Rudno on Golija Mountain, Southwest Serbia.

Considering that, first examples of frula were having marks of untempered tone system, which in some variants is close to major scale.

Building process was mostly simple: from one piece of wood (plum or cornel), pipe is drilled by hand auger; that pipe is being further processed at some simple lathe. A knife was used then to make an usnik, and holes are drilled by glowing rod. The whole process must have been out of primary experience, without standardized measures, so the results were also pretty diverse.

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considering looks, but also the tonal image of the instrument. The making of the *usnik* implies great amount of precision, so the sound depended of the builder’s expertise, who sometimes managed to get a good instrument, and sometimes not. Finishing implies aesthetic work, such as coating the pipe with copper wire or ornamentation at the top part of the frula, above the playing holes. These elements were often considered as personal mark of the builder, which often carved his initials, as well as the year of production.\textsuperscript{11}

Although the player had the ability to use a two octave scale, melody characteristics often didn’t demand it. Music that is characteristic for the repertoire used in this instrument’s main function is to be presented by shepherd’s and traveller’s melodies, and also a traditional kolo as an accompaniment to the dances. In accordance to the repertoire and function, an octave register is used during the performance of folk dances because of the higher volume in the upper octave. The impression of enrichment of the volume was gained also by closing or pressing the opening above the brid with lower lip, resulting in a sharp and biting tone. The highest level of sound reinforcement was a result of so called guttural playing, which implies using one’s own voice while blowing. That way, it comes to a more meaningful activation of metro-rhythmic components which is important to folk dances. The tempo, when playing in a distributive system, had values around a ‘moderate’ (120 BPM) rate. The melody was designed from repeating and varying one or a small number of motives, and the macroform consisted of mostly three to four parts, where the second one originated from the thematic core of the first part.

A simultaneous playing of two frulas was rarely feasible, because of the construction method, which rarely spawned two of the same variants, although individual frula playing was common.

The sequence of activities which carry imaginations from one generation to the next also implies modifications of different types and levels, which form traditions as a dynamic phenomenon.\textsuperscript{12} “Regarding forming tradition, we find relevant factors of different profiles – from social context, historical and economic circumstances to the changes of the individuals as tradition carriers itself”\textsuperscript{13}. The relation between collective and individual consisted of a delegation of “responsibilities“, where the individual, with a specific ability,


sensibility and creativity, is the one who will bring the changes in accordance to personal affinities. Collective, on the other hand, valorises, accepts, or refuses the product of a talented individual. Both sides in a sense bring the judgement about a “traditionality” level, something recognized as “true value”, level of traces of the past, and the past itself is mostly considered as the quality itself. “During the cultural development, an individual comes to situations that present the tasks, but at the same time they offer a solution, and both tasks and solutions are impregnated with tradition in different ways, so the answer to the request, that means the choice of possibilities presents the new experience, taste or virtue of an individual, but is not an innovation for the culture that it belongs to”\textsuperscript{14}. Although the individual was always playing and building the instruments, before the appearance of broadcasting, the individual’s importance was nevertheless more of a social property. The representation of the frula in collective actions led to the acceptance of its appearance on the radio, while it was in the hands of Sava Jeremić. His example was followed by many, and the key changes are the most evident in artistic and building work of Bora Dugić, one of the central figures when it comes to the frula production and practice. He managed to become a synonym for frula in every sense.

This fact, thanks to prominent individuals, forms traditional music of frula in another way.

The coryphaeus of the Serbian music scene grew up in the village Đurđevo in central Šumadija, in a musical family that introduced him to the frula very early.\textsuperscript{15} His first important career steps were at the Cultural-artistic Society (KUD) Abrašević in Kragujevac, which influenced him to desire a better instrument. This moment will make the performer, who was getting better with the time, to also explore the field of instrument-building. These two skills were developing simultaneously – one was encouraging the other. Higher performance level demanded technically better instrument and vice versa. Figuring out that building process, in that case, cannot be that simple, Bora started to get interested in acoustics, materials and building tools.

A first assignment was to facilitate the possibility of producing a major scale while playing music. This required the definition of the hole size and distance between the holes for the particular length of instrument. Unlike elliptical holes that were mostly used at that time, with the same distance between them, and grouped in two partitions (sections) containing three holes each, Bora decided to make round holes with different sizes and distances so the major


scale in performance could finally be achieved. The main problem was the interval of a third, which was lower than the one in a tempered major scale, because of the described way of building according to the experiences of the frula makers. One solution achieving compatibility was widening the second hole, but also narrowing the next hole in order to continue the introduced major scale. The modified frula was then able to meet the musician’s playing needs and could be added to the KUD ensemble.

At many frula competitions in 70’s, where he was regularly winning the first prizes, Bora Dugić was noticed by then director of Radio-Sarajevo, Jovica Petković, who offered him cooperation – recording some of his performances. One of the pieces often played was the Romanian Hora Staccato in original intonation (E flat major). There was a problem of gaining an instrument which could fit the demands of this composition. The flute maker’s work has come into focus again. After hard work and plenty of less usefull instruments, a solution came up. Finally, performing of Hora Staccato gained Bora big fame, which overshadowed all the frula players. With his act, a new era of this simple instrument began.

On Boki Milošević’s call in 1978, Bora Dugić goes to ‘Radio Belgrade’, for which he records two singles: "Dugić i Obradović – kola“ and Bora “Dugić svira na fruli“.

He was then recorded in the spirit of traditional, as well as popular folk radio music of that time, dance music (kola)., So, he became a favourite musician to many listeners. Playing tempo, number of the motives and parts, ornamentation, melody range and motion, alienated from the simple and effective shepherd’s playing to a great extent. Technically and musically very complex, but also masterfully played, with virtuoso appearing in Šumadija folk national costume, with frula in his hand displaying two national cultural
symbols, tracks from these two albums confirmed the evolution of traditional frula practise, from a shepherd to an extremely virtuous instrument of the national folk ensemble. This evolution, however, doesn’t refer only to music but also to the perception. Its acceptance as folk, as music that has national and traditional base, also marks the evolution of the identity itself. Individual creation is accepted from collective as relevant to observing tradition.

At that time, the Chinese National Ensemble was visiting Belgrade, performing the *Chinese Suite* that was very inspiring for Bora Dugić who adapted it for smaller ensemble, in which he could take the soloist role. This track encouraged the interest of other distinguished artists for music of other cultures and genres. The art work carried out at the workshop that Bora was enriching more and more with tools and constructions, showed desired results. These two skills were developed at the same time, and they were supporting one another. More virtuous playing techniques implied a more perfect instrument and vice versa This can be observed through the audio release “Magical flute of Bora Dugić“, published by PGP-RTS. Besides music for folk dances (*kola*), that were created according to the well-known recipe, Bora did something non-imaginable – he played several classical, as well as some popular tracks, adapting them to his instrument, but at the same time distancing them clearly from traditional sources. The National Folk Ensemble accompanied only half of the tracks, while the others were accompanied by “Miša Blam’s Popular Ensemble“ which contains also electronic instruments and choir. In accordance to that, Bora had two appearances on the album cover – one dressed in a national costume, and the other in a tuxedo, both with the frula in his hands.

![Figure 4: Vinyl cover of The Magic Pipe of Bora Dugić.](image)
To that time, he greatly advanced his instruments, but also the technique of performance, so, for him there were no obstacles for playing the frula. In 1983 he created another album, ‘Virtuozna kola’, that is still a challenge for young frula players today.

Bora Dugić’s personal creativity reached is high point in 1989 with the audio releases ‘Nežno proleće’ (Gentle spring) and ‘Sećanje na Dižon’ (Memories on Dijon). Traditional folk dances are replaced with romantic compositions that are just partly relying on fragments of traditional music. The folk ensemble was replaced by modified arrangements with the inclusion of electronic effects and choir parts. For the first time, frula repertoire changed rapidly to fit into the market stream of classical, folk, world/ethno and country branches of popular music. “Thus in front of itself the initally ethno, music becomes more. It becomes the symbol of culture, identity and therefore we should not underestimate its power”16. All of his forthcoming albums will get similar reviews with the world label standing out as constant – Između sna i jave (Between the Dream and Reality), ‘Zauvek i posle’ (Forever and After), ‘Igra duha i daha’ (Game/Dance of the Spirit and Breath).

Figure 5a, 5b, 8c: Covers from the last three albums of Bora Dugić (courtesy of Bora Dugić).

His creative spirit in the field of music was the main reason for advancing the morphological and ergological characteristics of the frula. By determining fixed particular dimensions, Bora soon built frulas of all standardized major scales, from lower A (70 cm) to higher A18.5 cm), which helped him to play other musical genres on this instrument. He builds frulas in two parts, as he could enable additional tuning needed because of the weather conditions that may affect the intonation. Every single stage of building demands different types of machines and tools such as lathe, sharpener, little knives, measuring tools, drills, microscope, and tuners etc.), some of which he made himself.

Building materials like ebony, grenadile, mopani, yew tree, plum tree, and maple tree came from all parts of the world as long as it was legal. Previously dried pieces of wood are firstly cut to the length that is necessary for the particular tuning of the frula. Rough processing on the lathe gives acylindrical shape and final width of the instrument; after that the holes are drilled with drills specifically designed not to damage the inner wall of the instrument. If there is some damage, it is fixed with strong pressurized braiding, with glue that closes pores of the wood, to get a smooth surface which will be sufficient to successfully resonate. Sandblasting and polishing frula are an important stage of building because they lower the noise levels. Great attention is paid to the impregnation of frula - special expensive oils and shellac from the world market are used for processes that need boiling at 80˚ C. After that, the drying process is repeated in order to eliminate excess oil.
The frula’s maintenance and protection from rotting and insects are provided for the next decades (maybe even centuries). The ends of the instrument, more precisely – ends of both parts of the instrument are over-layered with pro-chromatic rings that don’t rust and don’t damage the lips of the player, and also protects the frula from humidity. Also, These ends are the spot where the engraver will imprint the signature of Bora Dugić. Dance (bottom), prozor (window) and glasnik are the key elements of a frula, because they strongly affect sound quality, timbre, and volume. The mouthpiece (*usnik*) that contains these parts is hardly made at first attempt, so it is made independently from the frula’s body in order to avoid damage to the whole instrument if a mistake is made during the construction. Playing holes are crucial for tuning and Bora Dugić was evaluating their perimeter, shape, and distance for many years until he finally standardized this procedure. Drilling with the drills of a different perimeter is finished using dentist tools from both parts of a drill hole.

![Drilling process of playing holes](image)

Figure 8a and 8b: Drilling process of playing holes (photos by courtesy of Bora Dugić).

Tuning is checked/verified by digital devices. Final processing consists of varnishing or covering with celluloid. The result of this hard-labour research is a contemporary shape of the frula, with a range of two and a half octaves, precisely tuned to the tempered scale standard, with warm and full sound. The instrument allows the musician, using virtuous fingerings, to play very complicated and technically demanding compositions.\(^1\)

Besides his own creative output which partly refers to traditional tunes, Bora Dugić remained loyal to the frula repertoire by recording a great number of TV shows, recording solo and accompaniment tracks for radio and television. He took part in films and TV series and he also played in every continent abroad.

Style and mode of playing as well as the repertoire that Bora Dugić performs became the paradigm of every aesthetic norm in performance that other frula players after him were copying or tried to copy in order to achieve success on the internal market. Numerous young frula players were and are his students, moreover, they are also the users of his instruments. Bora, thanks to his skills

and popularity of that frula among the population, very soon became a popular and important figure. The frula, very soon became appeared as being a national symbol in the domain of traditional music.

At the times of a growing popularity of the accordion which tends to overshadow all other traditional instruments, Bora took the frula and gave it, through his own artistic skills and craftsmanship, a new shape in the light of an awakening of national tendencies. Aware of his role in (re)creating a part of the identity of the whole nation, he took the rhetoric of common beliefs that Serbian identity is threatened and that it could vanish under other cultures’ influence. He varies the nationalist theme about Serbian frula like the symbol and sanctuary of the Serbian identity or its protector, in numerous interviews talks about her historical significance, but also the role that frula should have in the future: “Frula is given to me so I, as a Serbian child, could talk through it. All the things that I was carrying in myself through my childhood, all that pastures, and acacia, clover, fields sown with wheat, I carry to this day. Not just that wavy Šumadija, but also a whole Serbia, which is spiritually happy, and historically unlucky, is woven in my being. Serbian frula belongs to Serbia, and I have to set it up at its Serbian place. That is ordered to me, that is my mission that I must finish”. Thinking of frula as an instrument of the resistance that Serbian identity is showing when it is faced with attempts to be destroyed is in the centre of his rhetoric. Part of his music, on the other hand, contradicts the efforts for “defending national identity with the help of authentic traditional music and her authentic instrument – frula”. Except some classical music pieces, he also successfully interprets the music of Macedonia, Bulgaria, or Romania because, as he says, Serbian, or Šumadija music itself is pretty simple and could hardly compete anywhere, thus it needs an extension from intercultural to multicultural and transcultural areas which would enable musicians to compete on the world scene, as it is reflected in cooperation of our character with great artists such as Georg Zamfir, Žordi Saval, Dimitru Zamfir, Teodosi Spasov and many more. However, this pan-Slavonian explanation for typical developments on the world music market, do not really fit his nationalist statements. Ideology seems to be mixed with economic thoughts.

His work, although, is not yet finished. Almost every day, his workshop releases new ideas that wait to be patented, musically hence economically applied, and also accepted by the society. This judgement will determine his future identity image as “process instead of state – as a flow instead of fixed property”. Time will show if his individuality consciously affects the

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collective reinterpretation of the traditional values and identities that puts music in the centre of mentioned dialectics that yet have to be discussed further.

References


Salvatore Morra

Reshaping the Tunisian ‘Ūd in the 21st Century

The ‘ūd (often spelt oud), a plucked instrument, is the most prominent musical instrument of the Arab-Islamic world. This article focuses on the contemporary making of the Tunisian ‘ūd ‘arbī, today also known as ‘ūd tūnsī, drawings as primary sources on ethnographic interviews of the three prominent Tunisian makers of this instrument: Ḥedī Bellāṣfar, Rīdha Jandoubī and Faisal Twirī, in Tunisia between 2015 and 2017. As we will see, ideas about identity pervade understanding of this instrument’s construction and sound, and these take on new significance in the hands of ‘ūd makers in Tunisia. With the instrument itself as its focal object, the article traces the stages of the making process. It foregrounds ‘ūd making: the makers ‘feelingful’ relationships with materials and instruments, and the analysis of musical instrument design in contemporary Tunisia. Accordingly, Eliot Bates’ question about “How do instrument makers relate to the instruments they make at different stages in the making process?” is especially relevant. I intend to reveal aspects of identity beyond the traditional studies of organology, emphasising the link between the crafted-instrument, the maker and society. I explore the ways in which, since 21st century, the oriental ‘ūd is reshaping the Tunisian ‘ūd and how ideas about sophistication and elegance versus a more rugged instrument permeate these broader shifts and function as stabilising discourses which allow different models to cohere as a single instrument, “the ‘ūd tūnsī”.

The ‘ūd tūnsī is a four double-course short necked plucked instrument consisting of a sound chest made of a series of ribs, linked to a flat front surface of wood, pierced by three sound holes, near which a membrane made of bones and wood protects the belly from the strokes of the plectrum. It is an instrument made specifically for Tunisian urban music known as mālūf, and its shape differs slightly from the standard Egyptian model as do the tuning according to different regional traditions: Morocco, Algeria and Tunisia. Generally, the ‘ūd ‘arbī has a longer neck, but a smaller body, more streamlined and tapering form than the ‘ūd sharqī, oriental ‘ūd (the standardised Egyptian type). Also called ‘ūd miṣrī (Egyptian), with usually six double courses, this second type is the most common and most popular ‘ūd among performers throughout the Middle East.

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With the rise of commercial mass media in the twentieth century, mainstream Egyptian music came to be regarded as the dominant style of Arab music, informing musical innovations throughout the Arab world. Within this context began a general standardisation of traditional musical instruments particularly in relation to the ‘ūd. In Tunisia, the absorption of foreign instruments such as the so called ‘ūd sharqī “replacing” the traditional Tunisian ‘ūd ‘arbī, has affected the social importance and positions of traditional instruments creating dualities within practices of instrument making. Nevertheless, today the ‘ūd ‘arbī is still made and played throughout urban Tunisian centers and parts of the North Africa.

Although there have been many ethnomusicological studies on the ‘ūd and its development in the Arab world, my work is distinct in both its subject matter and approach. The instrument has not figured much in research on the Arab

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3 All figures are by the author and courtesy of the interviewees.


Andalusian music of Tunisia\(^7\). Even less research is available on other similar North African ‘ūd traditions in Algeria and Morocco\(^8\). The only three relatively extended studies focusing on this instrument are the master’s thesis by Bertrand Cheret, Anīs Qlibī, and ‘Abīr ʻAyādī\(^9\). Anīs Qlibī’s thesis usefully details the importance, since roughly the 1930s, of historical evidence concerning instrument making: Muslim makers (ʻAbd ʻAzīz Jemaīl, Muḥammad Ben Hassan Bellašfar), as well as Jewish (Ḥa’īm Binsīrī) and Italians (Aldo Scotto) working in the capital and exchanging craftsmanship, and later, luthery masters teaching in their home workshops. ʻAbīr ʻAyādī explores organological innovations focusing on the luthiery of Rīdha Jandoubī. Bertrand Cheret, instead, recognises the importance of incorporating the instrument into a broader north African ‘ūd family, comparing features with other models from Algeria and Morocco. While these studies focus on technical construction, I use ethnography centred on Sidi Bou Said, Bardo and Menzel Temin, to explore how ideas about identity pervade understanding of this instrument’s visual aspects and its construction.

In North Africa it was not the custom for makers to identify themselves on their instruments until the beginning of 20\(^{th}\) century. Therefore, it is rather difficult to attest a lineage transmission of instrument construction between the two centuries (19\(^{th}\)-20\(^{th}\)), if not through accurate investigation of craftsmanship. Further, at the turn of 20\(^{th}\) century in Tunisia, an idea of a specific circumscribed group, namely ‘ūd ‘arbi makers, cannot simply be applied for this instrument. The distinctions between players and makers and the knowledge associated with crafting the instrument and playing it are less clear cut than in some other musical contexts and for other instruments. However, after the first decade of 20\(^{th}\) century there was a change where historical

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Since the 1930s, Belaṣfar is the only luthiery family, headed by Muḥammad Ben Ḥassan, who has been devoted to the construction of the Tunisian ‘ūd‘arbī, including other traditional instruments, passing down the knowledge through generations without interruption until today. My ethnographic observation of the instrument construction by his son and nephew, Ḥedi (b. 1944) and Muḥammad-Islām (b. 1983), at the workshop of the Centre of Arab and Mediterranean Music (CMAM) in Sidi Bou Said, and in their private one in Entilaka - Tunis, in June 2015, points to the existence of a collective imaginary about making ‘ūd‘arbī in Tunisia. Today, Ḥedi Belaṣfar technical skills are considered as cultural merits rather than mere procedures. These skills are culturally embedded in Tunisian national craftsmanship. They are orally transmitted and they come from a passed time from which few examples are surviving today. Therefore, Belaṣfar can be considered the way to the ‘traditional’ construction, and a point where to start when investigating current making of Tunisian instruments. For this family, the ‘ūd‘arbī is not made in the image of its makers, it has a structure that lies in the existent example pieces, and comes with a clear range of features circumscribed by explicit materially directives from earlier living examples.

Just as wood is the central material for making ‘ūd, and carpentry a duty skill, so a particular set of techniques form this ‘traditional’ method of construction. The order and inclusion of some stages is flexible, but the basic process involves creating the mould, ”qālib al-qāṣ‘atun”, a model for the body. Usually, it is made of red-wood pine chosen for its stability and adaptation to climatic changes.

Figure 1: Several moulds, Ḥedī Bellaṣfar atelier. Photo by the author.

The ribs are made of rosewood, mahogany, or walnut for high quality instruments. In this phase it is important the k‘ab, a cubic small block that goes on the upper and lower part of the body, where the ribs remain attached once
the mould is removed. The ribs called adhlā‘a meaning literally "sides", are between 2 and 3 cm and of thickness 3 ml that are reduced to 1.5 ml after shaped by a saw, smoothed and cleaned. Belaṣfar bows the ribs passing them in water and in a machine holding first straight on the edge for bending. They are then fasten to the body starting to place them from the middle of the qālib. The direction in placing the ribs is from the right hand side - then left and again right and so on - from top to down to be welded with a sharpen spike. Then it is left to dry.

Figure 2: Ribs, Ḥedī Bellaṣfar atelier. Photo by the author.

The number of ribs for this instrument is generally between 15 and 21 pieces. When the ribs are dried it is added a fine strip of paper precisely to keep them joint together with an organic glues called ghīra made of animal's calf-leg dried, treated and then solved in water under heat. The locking - qafla regards completing and closing the ribs all together, it is a strip of wood around the edge of the body, with also decorative function.

Figure 3: Strips of papers, Ḥedī Bellaṣfar atelier; Figure 4: qafla, Ḥedī Bellaṣfar atelier. Photo by the author.

The soundboard (waja-face) is composed of 4 or 5 pieces of 2 ml of thickness. Generally made of spruce but cedar is also common. To cut the shape of it, Belaṣfar puts face to face the two parts soundboard and body, to draw the exact map of the shape and to cut it with a saw. He sharps precisely the wood to uniform the surface, and then the pieces are glued together and subsequently smoothed with abrasive paper. The ‘ūd ‘arbī is composed of 3 sound holes (rosette) qamra, literally "moons". A reinforcement of another
wood (often cedar) is placed underneath the rosette at its back side. A paper with geometrical and flowery design is placed on this part to draw the sound holes decoration model and to directly engrave it using a machine with a thorn called takhshish. The harmonic bars literally called musāţar are usually from 7 to 9, four of them are placed in the area of the sound holes measuring thickness 3ml, width 4ml, five of them measuring 6ml thickness, width 14ml are placed two in the upper part of the sound hole area and three in the lower part of the sound hole area.

Figure 5: Face and body, Ḥedī Bellaşfar atelier; Figure 6: Face, Ḥedī Bellaşfar atelier.

Figure 7: Face with reinforcement, Ḥedī Bellaşfar atelier; Figure 8: Lower bridge bowtie shape. All photos by the author.

The lower bridge fars is glued in the lower part of the face. Every maker recognises its design, a bowtie form, as a marker of identity.

A membrane made of wood (rosewood or mahogany and decorated with mother of pearl), literally "protection" or raqma is placed below the two roses to protect the surface from the strokes of the plectrum (rīsha). This pick guard form denotes a culinary design, it has a shape that recalls the layered pastry known as baklāwa, a sweet invented in Turkey or Greece and most probable imported to Tunisia through Beycal Ottoman families\(^{10}\). A similar form can be also observed in the traditional Tunisian pastry maqrūḍ, made with semolina

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and stuffed with cooked dates. It is now essential to the identity of the instrument.

Figure 9: Pick guard, Ḥedi Bellaşfar atelier; Figure 10: Tunisian maqrūḍ, Tunis Medina shop. Photos by the author.

A leather goat is placed around the edge of the body near the harm position to protect it from the wear of temperature degrees. The neck raqaba, is made of red pine, covered with ebony on the top and decorated with bones, which makes the overall weight relatively heavy. It is 24 cm long and large 4cm at the "capo" and 5 cm where it meets the body. One of the main differences from the oriental ‘ūd models is the length of the neck that measures 3/5 (24 cm) of the length of the strings (60cm). In the oriental ‘ūd the neck is 20cm long. The neck is attached to the body by a piece of wood with four angles inserted into the neck, called ‘tail of swallow’.

Figure 11: Neck, Ḥedi Bellaşfar atelier. Photo by the author.

The headstock bunjuq, is made normally of walnut, and carved in only one piece of wood. The pegs made of rosewood (‘asāfir) literally bird, are of distance 2 cm among each other. The decoration of ‘asāfir changes in different designs. A traditional one is represented by a cone peg design which is metaphorically connected to the pine cone, many petals fasten to each other forming a pyramid.
What distinguishes Belašfar’s ‘ūd making from other contemporaries is a laid back attitude to inaccuracy of details and the lack of personal design innovations: wood, bone ornamentations, rosettes carving, overall shape design, and materials all stay within an imagined, idealised crafting Tunisian tradition. It seems that the tradition is the individual expression of Belašfar rather than his achievement. Belašfar’s way of crafting the instrument without posing adequate attention to acoustic principles unexpectedly still results in excellent musical crafts. As Sennet\textsuperscript{11} reminds us, the intimate connection between head and hand, the thinking and the concrete practicing are the focus of the craftsman. For Belašfar it is more a bodily practice, involving hands on contact with the instrument, touch and movements than a scientific process. These values in how the instrument looks reflect themselves also in the sound the instrument produces, a sound that is said to imitate characters of Tunisian identity, connected with sentiments of both its African and Arab sources. If you commission an ‘ūd to Ḥedi Belašfar is not necessary in aspiration for quality and excellence, often finer crafted details are neglected. What is important is the overall basic, wane old aspect - every time I listen to it I feel like hearing the genuine and rustic, almost rural, earthy Tunisian sound. A sound that encompasses ‘ūd‘arbī nature, evoking its Tunisian identity.

The beginning of 21\textsuperscript{st} century has seen the development of alternative methods of ‘ūd construction, all involving some degree of improvement. Other ‘ūd makers than Belašfar in Tunisia use a variety of methods, both traditional and newly invented, for making their instruments. Diversity – not only between makers, but often within a single maker’s practice – responds to the materials being used, availability of tools and machinery, varied knowledge and aesthetic preferences, and the economic models associated with high-end instruments, made slowly by hand, versus quicker, more mechanized modes of production. The distinction between traditional and modern methods represents a significant, though not clear-cut, division between more and less finer approaches. Precision and replicability, along with the implications for

the cost and quality of the instrument, are prominent in the discourse surrounding ʻūd ʻarbī produced using non-traditional methods.

I have chosen two makers, who I consider a representative example, of how ʻūd ʻarbī making differentiated in innovations and improvement. Rıdıha Jandoubī, for example, produces his ʻūd by first using metal reamers to shape the mould of a rib length of wood, sealing the ribs together, then shaping the inside of the ʻūd gluing papers. Faïsal Twirī instead, fabricates the case of his ʻūd still by using a mould based on his measurements of standard ʻūd ʻarbī. For the face, made only of two pieces, Twirī applies techniques that “allows for exact reproduction of a fine face profiles in every instrument made”. Both makers are now using laser technique to drill the three face holes and then making final adjustments by hand. Although the instruments are less and less handy crafted, I argue that these ʻūd tūnsī making involves people still in affective engagements with the identity of the instrument; that such engagements are shaped by larger discursive formations which connect the ʻūd and society; yet that these engagements are generative of new ways of thinking about and making the instrument, and so reshape the ʻūd physically and sonically.

Jandoubī is anʻūd maker both of Tunisian and oriental models, based in Menzel Temin, a small village in the gulf of Kelibia. As for older makers also Jandoubī was a former carpenter. Jandoubī has a somewhat different take on the making process from Belaşfar. For him, there is “no predefined voice of the ʻūd ʻarbī but also the variables are not limitless”. Unlike some makers, Jandoubī does not think of the making process as intuitive; indeed he emphasises the importance of precise measurement and systematic testing of the instrument’s sound; the position of the harmonic bars etc. But past experience, trial and error adjustment and careful listening are all crucial. Jandoubī is also capable to play the instrument well, a factor that plays out differently when he makes different kinds of instrument. With oriental ʻūd, the maker’s “aim is predefined” and is realised, more or less successfully, by precisely controlling the entire assembling of the instrument. Making ʻūd ʻarbī puts more emphasis on what Jandoubī calls the “collaboration” between maker and player, the interplay between the player’s characteristics and the maker’s skill and aims. This, he explains, better accounts for the fact that different makers would, hypothetically, produce different instruments for different players, than the idea that each piece has an inherent “voice”. But also the fact that the Tunisian ʻūd can be the most experimental of the instruments because its crafting tradition is somewhat unique.
Jandoubī has perhaps most experience of using “innovative” methods of construction, in particular for assembling the body\textsuperscript{12}. Jandoubī work demonstrates how needs of quality improvement and certainly speed up of process, can lead people to close engagements with innovation. Jandoubī is the only maker in Tunisia who does not use the mould anymore. “Time wise, it slows down the work and the result is less accurate”, he told me in our first interview. Traditionally, for Ḣedī Belaṣfar, the mould is the ‘hearth’ of the instrument, its most personal part which reflects the personal intention of the maker. As Belaṣfar’s son Muḥammad- Islām told me: it is the most important feature, it differs from one maker to another representing one’s own touch. Jandoubī’s abandonment of the mould astonished me. The ribs are cut and curved one by one lightly watering and shaping them on a hot curved surface. Then, Jandoubī verifies the shape attaching the ribs to one which functions as model, instead of the mould. Once the ribs are shaped, they are assembled one after another using synthetic glue for wood and sellotape to hold them stacked together.

Figure 14 : Ribs model, Rīdha Jandoubī atelier; Figure 15 : Ribs, Rīdha Jandoubī atelier.

Paper strips are glued subsequently once the ribs are completed. In Jandoubī’s case, using a sort of “free ribs mould” for all types of ʿūd making is the culmination of a long process involving understanding the meaning of the mould, saving time to supply the demand, learning how to improve the accuracy.

Figure 16: Body, Ridha Jandoubī atelier. All photos by the author.

Jandoubi comments also highlight how makers often turn to the mould at an early stage in their instrument making career, before they knew about or could find other solutions. Alternative needs also open alternative manufacture, fabrication method. This diversification signals an increasingly flexible conception of what methods can be used for ‘ūd making and how they can be developed. Like later stages in the making process, the shaping of the mould can be understood in terms of the responsive relationship between maker and instrument’s body. Jandoubi shifts the attention from the mould to other parts of the instrument. For Jandoubi, various features, not just the mould, can refract a new identity of the Tunisian ‘ūd. The absence of the leather protection around the edge, for example, which makes it resemble more to an oriental ‘ūd, as well as the soundboard carved with only one rosette instead of the traditional three. Many players, including the well-known master Ziād Ghārs with have commented how slim the neck is compared to the Belaṣfar’s traditional one. This makes the instrument more playable from the point of view of ‘ūd sharqī players, the performance of the two instruments (sharqī and ‘arbī) in the same concert for ‘Abīr ‘Ayādī, for example, is facilitated by this slimmer neck. Jandoubi describes himself as “the Tunisian maker who sells most ‘ūd ‘arbī to Algerian players”. More than 80% of ‘ūd ‘arbī he makes are commissioned by Algerian players, who ask to adapt or change details of the instrument like these.

Figure 17: Neck, Ridha Jandoubi atelier; Figure 18: Tunisian ‘ūd dressing oriental, Ridha Jandoubi atelier. Photos by the author.

Makers’ motivations for choosing alternative features are complex, but questions of identity are rarely far away: desire for changing the aesthetic of the instrument; removing identifiable features, standardisation of features towards an oriental-Turkish ‘ūd model; satisfy the customs demand, all play a part.

Twirī’s experiences highlight how instrument making participates in complex local histories, since the availability of skills transmission rests not on a timeless resource, but on the long-term interplay between the master craftsman and voracity of apprentices in their learning and improving. Twirī, today in his late fifties, trained since he was young at Belaṣfar’s workshop, after school and during summers. Twirī’s research for a finer sound suggests that, historically,
raw materials and inaccuracy of details were used by 20th century makers, then abandoned or improved by local people, eventually by people who begun apprenticeship with these same masters. The first time I came across an ‘ūd ‘arbī made by Twirī was in 2015. At that time only Belaṣfar family seemed to me worth to investigate in terms of ‘ūd tūnsī luthiery, as the history’s family would without doubt represents a landmark. After two years, I became attracted by the look of the Twirī’s instrument, clearly identifiable as tūnsī, with all its features highlighted: the elegant baklava shape of the raqama, the longer neck and smaller body, and the bowtie bridge. But its look was different from the 19th century museum models (Horniman Museum and MIM) or Belaṣfar ones. It was rather reinterpreted, the features perfectly reproduced but finer, something like more modern, contemporary to me. This ‘ūd tūnsī soon appeared to me not anymore an old fashion style of instrument, tribute to the tradition. This look changed my perception of the entire instrument: lighter physically in terms of weight, the face thickness is 1.8ml, but also without the heavily importance of representing an old past. In 2017, I have visited many times Faīsal Twirī in his workshop next to the archeological museum of Bardo, today a quarter of Tunis, to discover that he is an atypical Tunisian luthier.

I was immediately drawn to the finest craftsmanship of ‘ūd ‘arbī making. The exotic beauty of the sound holes, the deceptive fascination of the instrument with an ancient history and the solitary nature of the work seduced me.

Figure 19: Face, Faīsal Twirī atelier; Figure 20: Mould, Faīsal Twirī atelier.

Figure 21: Ribs, Faīsal Twirī atelier; Figure 22: Mould 2, Faīsal Twirī atelier. All photos by the author.
I observed his workshop, creek side ribs and made attempts at ūd using the photographs in my digital archive. Gradually, I gathered more information about his making and continued to work feverishly. It was a passionate time of discovery the multiple identities of different luthiers. For Twirī who makes also oriental and Turkish ūd, the Tunisian one is composed of two main thing: "a neck of 24cm and three rosettes". Whatever else you do, that’s all for an ūd tūnsī, and it cannot be changed. The accuracy of every details, a shiny modern finish through polyurethane brilliant V63 varnish, geometrical calculations and scientific measurements are at stake in Twirī’s work. Twirī is the only maker who trained uniquely in a musical instrument atelier without any engagement with carpentry work. He has gained the traditional method of construction from Belaṣfar but developed a new model in respect of this tradition. I suggest that Faysal Twirī, in reinterpreting the Tunisian ūd materiality, stabilises different approaches between past and present to cohere as a single contemporary Tunisian ūd.

Spending time in Tunisia with ūd makers provided an obvious variety of ūd ārbī-construction observations, including specific divergent beliefs about how ūd(s) were made, what ūd evoked when designed and shaped, or what potentially identity reconfigurations ūd making might have on makers or other people. Beyond these, several well-known “controversies” work to trouble the idea of a “standard” ūd ārbī morphology. These debates centre on whether, or to what degree, a ūd’s craftsmanship is determined by its constituent materials or its new forms, its internal case dimensions; the difference(s) or otherwise between sharqī and ārbī instruments; and the value or otherwise of applying laser technique to the face of the instrument. These topics fuel heated debates also among players and are frequently mentioned by makers, signaling wider anxieties about the quality of certain materials and the appropriateness of human interventions in them. Other challenges to the unitary character of the Tunisian ūd appear in the guise of a range of non-standard ūd ārbī-like instruments that change, substitute or discard various materials, and practices and processes employed to make them.

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elements of the ‘traditional’ form. In conclusion, far from wanting to come down on either side of these arguments, my interest here is in how they unsettle attempts to describe a modern ‘ūd tūnsī, a result of multiple practices for a single identity.
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Taboos and Development of Pratuokng Repertoire among the Bidayuh of Annah Rais through Recreation Using Frequency Modulation Synthesis

Having a set of gongs is a symbol of wealth of the Bidayuh. Gongs can be heard during the Gawai festival, celebrated on the 1st and 2nd June as a sign of gratitude for the results obtained through the annual harvest. The ensemble of gongs is the accompaniment of dance at the open space, the so called 'awah' of the long house, known as 'kupuo'. There are three levels of tone characteristics derived from the gongs: ‘canang’, ‘satu’ and ‘tawak’. Gong music is taboo. Hence, it should not be played for pleasure, especially not during a mourning ceremony of a demised family member in a kupuo, or when a family member is giving birth to a newborn. Interestingly, in Annah Rais (Padawan, Sarawak), there are tube zithers known as pratuokng. They comprise the same tone structure as the Bidayuh gong set, sharing a similar repertoire. Playing pratuokng music is not a taboo as mentioned for gong sets. That means that the musical repertoire is not the primary indicator of the taboo. Regarding this type of permissibility, an experimental study of the pratuokng repertoire has been conducted by means of FM sound synthesis approached as a model. Through audio modulation technique, particularly via frequency modulation, the sum of the sine wave made at various amplitudes can be observed. Hence, generating non-harmonic partials of new side bands will establish a ‘gong like’ timbre. To further enhance the sound design, an envelope generator is used to give the ‘gong like’ timbre and its shape. Finally, trigger points will be used to generate pratuokng music on ‘gongs’ that does not fall under any taboo.

Introduction

Most of the time, daily life is framed by norms and rules such as obeying the ‘silence’ sign in a library or even the way, how to stop at a T junction. Everyone seems to follow these rules unconsciously. The ability of doing so is not a matter of choice, but a matter of upholding and respecting such rules that we were thought of by people who know best what to do. A taboo, however, reflects rules or believed rules in a rejective sense. According to the Oxford dictionary, taboo means ‘A social or religious custom prohibiting or restricting a particular practice or forbidding association with a particular person, place, or thing’. Approximately 64 km from Kuching town via the Penrissen route, Annah Rais, a village of Padawan, Sarawak, is one of the settlements inhabited by the Bidayuh Biata consisting of some “kupuo” or longhouses. There, the
gongs have been musical instruments of high rank. In early literature, they were referred to as essential cultural features of the Land Dayaks. With regards to the importance of gongs, Horsbourgh\(^1\) stated that “they are very expensive gongs, which...are musical instruments as well as representatives of wealth”. Horsbourgh adds that gongs are very “rarely used and that they are not worth describing”. Gomes on the other hand, described another purpose of the gongs noting that “the woman and children would be crowded together in the verandah of the Dayak house, and the men, armed with swords spears and shield, would form a circle around them. Large brass gong could be struck in a particular manner, to let the neighbors know of the attack, and to implore their help”\(^2\).

Other encounters stated by Denison in his travel log for Borneo is that he was treated at night in a crowed Dayak pangghah to “gong beating, which according to these people was the equivalent of music”\(^3\). Based on these early statements, perhaps, a taboo was one of the restrictions that the gongs were rarely played as indicated by Horsbourgh (1858) or played only during special events or occasions by Gomes (1910) and Denison (1879). Similar to what was told by Arthur Borman, a Bidayuh descendant of Annah Rais, is that the gongs hold many restrictions to the owner as well as the villages as a whole. Arthur is a group leader of ‘Madeeh’, an ensemble comprising two to four tube zithers called pratuokng, a gaduokng a small single-headed hand drum. Interestingly, the pieces played by the pratuokng have similar names as the gong music and the strings remind to names of the various gongs. The study is taking a closer look on the organology of the tube zither pratuokng as used by the Bidayuh Biatah in Annah Rais, and how the faculties of sound derived from the pratuokng play a role in their music practice. As the tube zither is unrestricted, questions of gong music permissibility that the Bidayuh inherited from their ancestors, are discussed.

 Chronology

Sarawak’s residents comprises of more than twenty distinctive ethnic groups. They are frequently alluded to as Dayak. The term Dayak is freely referred to the indigenous Iban and Bidayuh. The Bidayuh comprise five minor sub-groups (Figure 1). The vast majority of the Bidayuh and sub-groups live in the southern region of Sarawak. This incorporates the Bidayuh Selakau-Lara in the

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region Lundu, Bidayuh Jagoi in Bau, Bidayuh Biatah who possess a little locale of Padawan, Bidayuh Bukar-Sadong in the region Serian, and the Bidayuh Baru or Bidayuh Modern that involves the focal territory amongst Padawan and Bau.⁴

![Map of language varieties of the Bidayuh and sub-ethnic groups](image)

**Figure 1:** Map defined by language varieties of the Bidayuh and sub-ethnic groups mostly inhabits the southern part Sarawak⁵.

Annah Rais is a settlement with over 500 years of unwritten history. There are about ten to forty families living in a single kupuo. In Annah Rais, each kupuo comes with a different size and name. The kpuuos of Annah Rais are named and categorized based on the number of apartment units build in each kupuo and the kupuo size (Figure 2). There are around ten to forty families’ living in one longhouse or kupuo.⁶

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The size of the tanju or the veranda is large, making it significant as a walkway and a place to work. Each longhouse or ‘kupuo’ in Annah Rais comes with a large tanju, which are significant for socio-economic activities of the community. “Among the Bidayuh, the external front platform is usually wider and more solidly built than the Iban tanjuh. It is usually also much wider than the adjacent covered gallery and often forms a place where people work, visit (especially when it is in the shade) and hold rituals. It is also, in contrast to the practice of most groups, the main roadway of the longhouse. In those Bidayuh villages where there are several adjacent longhouses, the front platforms are often continuous or connected by raised walkways”\(^\text{7}\). This spacious open area is served as a general route used by the people living in the longhouse. This walkway\(^\text{8}\) and working area is often used as drying yard and an area to process plants. It is furthermore, used for ritual ceremonies, which are usually performed during the Gawai festivals. A kupuo contains a group of houses and other buildings, namely a chapel and a baruk\(^\text{9}\) or panggah. The Bidayuh share a joint identity and heritage through living in the longhouse and

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of the longhouse</th>
<th>Apartments</th>
<th>Kupuo Size</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kupuo Saba 1</td>
<td>10 apartments</td>
<td>54.30 meters x 33.20 meters</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kupuo Saba 2</td>
<td>7 apartments</td>
<td>36.30 meters x 21.00 meters</td>
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<tr>
<td>Kupuo Terakan</td>
<td>11 apartments</td>
<td>56.62 meters x 30.10 meters</td>
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<tr>
<td>Kupuo Sijo 1 (Sau-u)</td>
<td>12 apartments</td>
<td>45.66 meters x 22.74 meters</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kupuo Sijo 2 (Sibudat)</td>
<td>6 apartments</td>
<td>32.40 meters x 20.10 meters</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 2: The measurement of each ‘kupuo’ was conducted on 6 July, 2013 (Recorded by Ahmad Faudzi Musib and Chow Ow Wei).

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8 Walkway area: “The area immediately in front of the continuous, lengthwise main wall forms a walkway from one end of the longhouse to the other. If, as is often the case, the longhouse has entrance at its ends, they will usually open onto this walkway. This is the street part of the longhouse, where anyone is free to walk, although it may also be used for storage and often for pounding rice in mortars” (Winzeler, 2004:60).
9 Baruk: “The baruk has survived as the centre of the community. In the centere of the hall the old skulls of the headhunting days are placed in reverence above the fireplace. Here, the village chief and elders discuss local politics and community issues with the people; festivals ar celebrated and ceremonies are conducted by the shamans. In the past, war drums and gongs were kept at the headhouse. Today they are used for festivals”. Ong, Edric and Luca Invernizzi Tettoni (1996). *Living in Sarawak*. London, New York: Thames & Hudson.
cultivating rice and pepper\textsuperscript{10} as their main source of living “As rice is the staple diet of the Bidayuh, it is also the crop which contributes to their most important festival. The rice festival, ‘Gawai’ is celebrated every year to ensure a good harvest”\textsuperscript{11}.

**Pratuokng of Annah Rais**

Located in a highland and surrounded by tropical rainforest that are abundant types of bamboo, Annah Rais uses this natural resource mainly to build and refurb the kupuos. The whole construction of the kupuo is made of bamboo (Figure 3). It was a custom in the past that the tube zithers were made during the drying yard construction and repair. The pratuokng or aguokng tarikng (bamboo gong) which once was made as a toy out of the leftovers of the repair or construction had now become a well-respected musical instrument of the Bidayuh Biata. The pratuokng is categorized as an idiochord tube zither and is


constructed using the large bamboo type known as patukng or betung. Analyses of the frequency spectrum were carried out in order to determine the differences and similarities of a tube zither and the gongs. The result of the frequency analysis between the gongs of kupuo Saba and the main pratuokng (Figure 4) signifies both shared similar faculties of sounds, namely canang, satu, and tawak. Interestingly the pratuokng sounds one octave higher than the gong set, for example the canang, and the tawak and a variation of the satu named strings of the pratuokng.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gong voices</th>
<th>Pitches</th>
<th>Frequencies</th>
<th>Pratuokng voice</th>
<th>Pitches</th>
<th>Frequencies</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>canang 1</td>
<td>G3 + 6 cents</td>
<td>196.69Hz</td>
<td>canang 1</td>
<td>G#4</td>
<td>422.24Hz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>canang 2</td>
<td>F3 - 1 cents</td>
<td>174.50Hz</td>
<td>canang 2</td>
<td>F#4</td>
<td>368.09Hz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>canang 3</td>
<td>A#4 - 39 cents</td>
<td>455.76Hz</td>
<td>canang 3</td>
<td>D#4</td>
<td>315.51Hz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>satu 1</td>
<td>D3 + 8 cents</td>
<td>146.13Hz</td>
<td>satu 1</td>
<td>C#4</td>
<td>283.79Hz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>satu 2</td>
<td>A#2 + 36 cents</td>
<td>119.05Hz</td>
<td>satu 2</td>
<td>C4</td>
<td>255.43Hz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>satu 3</td>
<td>G2 + 48 cents</td>
<td>100.77Hz</td>
<td>satu 3</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tawak 2</td>
<td>A2 - 1 cents</td>
<td>109.89Hz</td>
<td>tawak 2</td>
<td>G#3</td>
<td>207.72Hz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tawak 1</td>
<td>A2 - 19 cents</td>
<td>108.76Hz</td>
<td>tawak 1</td>
<td>G#3</td>
<td>207.72Hz</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 4: The recorded gong set and a single pratuokng voices were extracted for frequency analysis to compare pitches, and note intervals between the two sound sources.

The Forbidden Gongs and the Acceptance of the Pratuokng of the Bidayuh

The recordings found in the collection of the Ethnology Section of the Sarawak Museum such as Gawai Panggah, Bidayuh Biata, Bidayuh Selakau and Lara, Bidayuh Lara, collected during the period of 1988 to 1998 in Annah Rais still maintaining the same settings, with one example recorded in Kupuo Saba on 14th June, 2011. The set consists of three groups of gongs. These representations of gongs are also found on the pratuokng. One point of discussion in the literature on tube zithers, among them the pratuokng, is whether the voice functions found on a gong set resemble the string voices found on a pratuokng or opposite. Could the making of pratuokng derive from the gong sets of the Bidayuh Biatah found in kupuo Saba of Annah Rais? The following is an interview excerpt defining the set of voices which derive from the local gong set12: “The three types of gongs we name canang, satu and...

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12 Borman, Arthur (2017). *Personal communication* in Annah Rais, Sarawak, Malaysia and via WhatsApp messages. 5th February – 11th March. ARCPA 1898, 2011: 00:00:09 – 00:00:32.

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tawak. For these pieces we have here three pieces of canang, three pieces for satu and two pieces for tawak. The gong set recorded at kupuo Saba is used as cross reference with the six string pratuokng of Annah Rais on the 14\textsuperscript{th} June, 2011].” (Figure 5).

Figure 5: Gong Set recorded at Kupuo Sabais used as cross reference with the six string pratuokng of Annah Rais on the 14\textsuperscript{th} of June 2011.\textsuperscript{13}

Quoting Jähnichen with regards to the gong voice resemblance of the pratuokng can be confirmed that: “…there is a possibility of the pratuokng represents the voice of the gong ensemble of the Bidayuh in Annah Rais as all of the voices of the gongs were confined in a large single tube zither. Gongs are very old instruments and were brought in by traders in the past. Definitely the gongs come first. Playing the gongs as an ensemble requires a group of musicians with each playing the canang, satu and tawak. But if there is a funeral or any of the families in the village was just giving birth, playing gongs is forbidden. Playing the pratuokng can be conducted by a single person representing all similar voices of the gongs”\textsuperscript{14}.

\textsuperscript{13} ARCPA 1898, 2011.wav-file.

\textsuperscript{14} Jähnichen, Gisa & Ahmad Faudzi Musib (2014). Personal communication. UPM Serdang.
Catching up with Arthur Borman age 52 on the 5th of February, 2017, with regards to this matter. Arthur confirms that the pratuokng is being used as a substitution especially if there is a death or any member of the community of the kupuo giving birth. Playing the gong will bring bad luck, he added.

Other interesting facts that Arthur mentioned is the following: “…if there are not enough players to play the gong set, the pratuokng will be an alternative”. “Minimum number of gong players is four, provided the four gong players are trained enough to accommodate the voicing of the gongs and playing in syncopated rhythm against the other players”, the usual number of players playing the gong set is six”, Arthur says. From the perspective of the social context of the Bidayuh Biatah community in Annah Rais the substitution of the gong set makes way for the pratuokng gaining recognition by the community rather than towards a normative system that is used to teach as I thought that would be the case, particularly used by the older generation of the Bidayuh in Annah Rais. Since the pratuokng is handy, this instrument allows for musical performances of the pratuokng being carried out during the performance with a minimum of two pratuokng players and one single headed drum called guduokng. The following is a table listing (Figure 6) the titles of the pratuokng pieces that share a similar repertoire of the gongs.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of the pieces in Bidayuh Biata language</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 Pingadap/Penyambut</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Ti-tiek nnuuo’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Simangi binua</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 Kangkuk</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 Tak taki’ taup daka</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 Sinayietng</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 Bua’ jug</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 6: The pieces that share the repertoire for both gongs and pratuokng (Recorded by Ahmad Faudzi Musib from 5 February to 11 March, 2017).

Reconstructing the Pratuokng Pieces through Frequency Modulation Sound Synthesis

In the process of cross examination of the tube zither music, the melody as well as rhythmic patterns played on each sound radiators (strings) of the pratuokng were extracted. The musical parts derive from the extraction is assigned to each musical part of the ‘gong set’. These ‘gongs’ are then played through a design

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15 Borman, Arthur (2017). Personal communication in Annah Rais, Sarawak, Malaysia and via WhatsApp messages. 5th February – 11th March. ARCPA 1898, 2011: 00:00:09 – 00:00:32.
of ‘metal like’ timbre generated via audio modulation techniques known as ‘frequency modulation’. In principle, the audio modulation through frequency modulation generates non-harmonic partials called side bands. Modulating a source oscillator’s frequency with an audio modulator will also produce a timbre change\textsuperscript{16}.

![Diagram of frequency modulation](image)

- **Oscillator A**
  - 910 Hz
  - Control in
  - Out

- **Oscillator B**
  - 200 Hz
  - Control Signal / Modulator

The output waveform will have partials at:

\[
\begin{align*}
A &= 910 \text{ Hz} \\
A + B &= 1110 \text{ Hz} \\
A - B &= \ldots \ldots \text{ Hz} \\
A + 2B &= \ldots \ldots \text{ Hz} \\
A - 2B &= \ldots \ldots \text{ Hz} \\
A + 3B &= \ldots \ldots \text{ Hz} \\
A - 3B &= \ldots \ldots \text{ Hz} \\
\text{Etc.}
\end{align*}
\]

**Figure 7:** Frequency Modulation through audio modulation techniques create a ‘Gong-like’ timbre (Scheme by the author).

One oscillator functions as a modulator that controls the frequency of another oscillator called the carrier, hence sidebands are produced. Both the modulator and the carrier contain a frequency and amplitude as their variable parameters (Figure 7). This makes it possible to ‘reconstruct’ the gong based on the ratio of the modulator and the carrier. The sonic qualities were carefully analyzed and designed with the result that it allows for the simulation of gong music that has been once a pratuokng piece. The sculpturing of sound taking into account derives through the output of each sound engine. This shapes the sound whether it is triggered short with loud amplitude at the beginning or long sustain sound with dampened each single note. This is control via envelope

generator that enables one to configure the curve setting of the output through four parameter controls, which are the attack, decay sustain and release\textsuperscript{17}.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Gong like timbre</th>
<th>Envelope Curve (A.D.S.R)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Canang 1,2,3</td>
<td><img src="image1" alt="Envelope Curve" /></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Satu 1,2,3</td>
<td><img src="image2" alt="Envelope Curve" /></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Tawak 1, 2</td>
<td><img src="image3" alt="Envelope Curve" /></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 8: Three different envelope curve that simulate the gong ensemble via Frequency Modulation (Scheme by the author).

Conclusion

The substitution in instrumentations as shown in the case of the gong set with the aguokng tarikng (bamboo gong) was based on culturally substantiated

\textsuperscript{17} De Furia, Steve (1986). The Secrets of Analog and Digital Synthesis. Rutherford: Third Earth Production, 54-55.
similarities of sound radiators. Creating the gong sound back played by pratuokng and making it audible through another sound engine can be an alternative step for permissible music of the Bidayuh Biatah in Annah Rais in the future. This process is not much different from the historical example of substituting an acoustic piano by an integrated synthesizer that plays a piano without having the hassle of tuning it, moving it around, and places it accordingly. This practice has been slowly sonically accepted in cultures without piano tradition. Though the advances in electronic instrumentations are able to overcome undesirable attributes of the traditional instruments, the psychological impact such as the effect on the listener of getting in trance, or the ability to lift up one’s inner strength like in the “dance of the warrior” will no longer be there.

Therefore, research has to always take into account the inclusive environment, not only sonically but communally with regard of the sounding shape hidden in taboos and their inner dynamics in times of digital technologies. Reconstructing the gong sets from the pratuokng which once substituted the gongs in taboo times is not only a technical possibility but it may cause a social change of looking at taboos.

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What To Do with the Bagpipes Today?
Case Study of One Musician and Bagpipe Maker in Croatia

In this article I want to describe how the role and context of one traditional instrument, the bagpipe, has changed thanks to one man who plays and makes bagpipes and to whom music means the world.

First, I introduce the bagpipes, how do they look, and what was the role of the bagpipe players at the end of the 19th and the beginning of 20th century in Slavonia, which is the Eastern part of Croatia. Bagpipes are a folk wind instruments which consist of several parts (Figure 1): a bag (air reservoir), a blowpipe (into which air going to the bag is blown), a chanter (also called gajdunica) and a drone (trubanj, berda or burdon – producing a single constant monotonous tone).

Figure 1: Bagpipe from the Ethnographic Museum in Zagreb. Photo courtesy of the museum.

The more reeds there are, the richer the sound of the bagpipe is thus the Slavonian bagpipe has been preserved as a solo instrument. The bag was mostly made of kid or sheepskin, while there are also reports about pig, calf and even dog skin being used for the same purpose. With older types of bagpipes the animal’s head and horns were sometimes used. Animal skin was tanned and it was turned inside out. The blowpipe, the chanter, and the drone were fitted in, tied with a cord and further attached to three holes using wax or tar. They were made of various kinds of wood: maple, common maple, or walnut. The chanter, also called dvojnice in Slavonia, is most commonly made
of maple wood and it has finger holes. Reeds were most often made of cane or elder wood and were inserted into the chanter. Bees wax was used for tuning – it was applied to an edge of a finger hole, or it was used for securing different parts of the instrument.¹

In the Croatian territory, bagpipes were widespread in Slavonia, Baranya and Posavina, but they were longest used and preserved in Slavonia. Every bagpiper has had his own playing technique and has adopted his own method of melodic embellishment which differentiated him from the others.

The Role of the Bagpipe Player in Croatian Traditional Culture

During the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century bagpipers used to perform at wheel dances and weddings, as well as during other customary rituals, and at annual and life cycle events. Ethnographer Josip Lovretić, in his monography about the Slavonian village Otok, mentioned that by the end of the 19th century bagpipers used to play at weddings and on Sundays at wheel dance events in front of churches, as well as during diverse celebrations to pay homage to specific saints.² Bagpipers were paid in these occasions. In the past music was considered a valuable segment of different customs during the life cycle. Nevertheless, it reached the peak of its importance before weddings. Bagpipers were expected to be fully involved, not only as musicians, but also as versatile entertainers.³ Consequently, some musicians said that respected bagpipers need to be merry fellows and also able to tell jokes and sing during their performances. For most of them their music was only a secondary source of income, hence they opted to be musicians primarily as a result of their talent and love of music, as well as the joy and the pleasure they derived from playing their instruments. Bagpipe players were the very persons who enjoyed the highest prestige among all musicians in Slavonian villages as late as the early 20th century. However, before long they were overshadowed by

¹ “If the reed sits too tightly, so that it cannot vibrate and no sound is produced, the bagpipe player inserts a hair of his own head. This is why folk used to say that a bagpipe player is tearing his hair out in despair if the reeds are not right.” Kuhač, Franjo Ksaver (1877). Prilog za poviest glasbe južnoslovjenske. Kulturno-historijska studija. Opis i poviest narodnih (pučkih) glazbala južnih Slavena s ilustracijama i kajdama. Rad Jugoslavenske akademije.


What To Do with the Bagpipes Today?

tamboura bands of ever-growing popularity and the tamboura has become the typical and most widespread Slavonian instrument ever since.\(^4\)

**The Sound of Bagpipes**

The sound of the bagpipe, which is very rich and sharp, was described by Franjo K. Kuhač in a very interesting way.\(^5\) Kuhač was a researcher who, during the second half of the 19th century, conducted systematic research on folk music in south Slavic countries. The oldest type of bagpipes in the holdings of the Ethnographic Museum are bagpipes originating from Aljmaš that were made in 1751. During the second half of the 19th century they were purchased by Franjo K. Kuhač.\(^6\)

**Contemporary Use of Bagpipes**

Today, whenever bagpipes are mentioned, either in oral or in written form, they are most commonly associated with the music played in rural communities. This is due to the fact that until the mid-twentieth century peasants were the most numerous stratum in the Croatian society, while ethnology, whose development into a science had just commenced at the time, placed the peasant culture at the centre of its attention. Bagpipe music, as well as other traditional instruments, traditional contents, and performance styles have been preserved to date due to enthusiasts’ custody of native land heritage. Today bagpipes are most commonly played at folk festivals, as well as during revitalisation process of traditional features in ethno music, as well as at festivals of traditional musical instruments such as, for example, bagpipe festivals. This is why in this paper I would like to present efforts of Stjepan Večković: a bagpiper and the organizer of Croatian Bagpipe Festival - which

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\(^5\) "The sound of bagpipes, irrespective of its being nasal, is still penetrating, and hence people with frail nerves find it unbearable if it originates from their close proximity or in the same room. On the other hand, people with strong nerves claim that the sound of bagpipes is not worse, but that it is actually more pleasant than the sound of small pipe organs and also that it is more distinct than the sound of any other musical instrument". Kuhač, Franjo Ksaver (1877). Prilog za povijest glasbe južnoslovenske. Kulturno-historijska studija. Opis i povijest narodnih (pučkih) glazbala južnih Slavena s ilustracijama i kajdama. Belgrad: Rad Jugoslavenske akademije.

\(^6\) According to him they were: "made in 1751 by Andrija Bešlić, who was widely known as a skilful bagpiper. It cost me an enormous amount of effort and money to persuade the family to sell these bagpipes that were made using rare skill and which the family preserved in dear memory". Kuhač, Franjo Ksaver (1877). Prilog za povijest glasbe južnoslovenske. Kulturno-historijska studija. Opis i povijest narodnih (pučkih) glazbala južnih Slavena s ilustracijama i kajdama. Belgrad: Rad Jugoslavenske akademije.
Željka Petrović Osmak

has been organized several years in a row at the Ethnographic Museum in Zagreb, as well as in Mihovljani, Hrvatsko Zagorje, which is where Stjepan is from.

**The Croatian Bagpipe Festival**

The Croatian Bagpipe Festival in Mihovljani is organized every year since 2007 due to the enthusiasm and encouragement of one person. It symbolizes a kind of musical performance through which one instrument, in this case bagpipes, enters the local community and precisely that local community in which bagpipes were never traditionally played, namely in the Northwest part of Croatia, also known as Hrvatsko Zagorje. The Croatian Bagpipe Festival was started by the musician and bagpiper Stjepan Večković, the founder and head of the Centre for Croatian Traditional Instruments, a maker of traditional instruments, especially those with a bag, educator and a teacher of music created on traditional instruments. Considering that of all the traditional instruments bagpipes are his greatest love, he dedicated most of his efforts to bagpipes, which is why he, not only keeps making new ones, but he also started the Croatian bagpipe festival, with the aim of turning his birth town to the centre of piping events. After three years of its existence the Croatian bagpipe festival became an international festival of traditional instruments which brings new and richer sounds of bagpipes and alike instruments to the scene. The Ethnographic Museum in Zagreb became a part of the organization in the festival’s second year, initially by providing space for music events, and later by organizing exhibitions and workshops with topics closely connected to the festival. By joining the festival, the Museum has supported Stjepan Večković’s efforts and helped to raise funds for the festival. Stjepan chose September 29th as the date for the festival - a day when the local saint protector of Hrvatsko Zagorje is celebrated - Saint Michael, in the local language this celebration is also known as Miholje. Considering that there was already a local traditional celebration in place, it made sense to include bagpipe festival as an accompanying event with the celebrations the locals were already used to. This means inserting a new element into an existing pattern.

The whole festival can be observed on several levels, all of which could be interpreted in their own right:

At first are the ideas and objectives of its organizer, Stjepan Večković, a bagpiper, have to be named; secondly there are the messages the musicians bring with them, especially their ideas, objectives, and reasons for joining the festival; and thirdly an audience will bring in its expectations.

Referring to the welcome speech Stjepan gave at the 10th Croatian bagpipe festival held last year, in 2016, the organizer’s main idea and objective was to
spread around an air of warmth and intimate energy. The speech revolved around romantic views at Stjepan’s birthplace (the town where the festival is held), his work, the love he has for his work and people he has met during numerous journeys, and the people he grew up with. Stjepan also stressed that his bagpipes are located in the White House and that he had gained recognition for his work in the USA. However, the recognition most important to him is the one he got from the County Council in Mihovljani. That statement, of course, caused a significant deal of emotional support from the audience. When I talked to the musicians, most of whom were pipers, I learned that their motives for participation in the festival are various. It is also important to emphasize that at this festival nobody plays for a fee. Some performers come because of pure sense of duty towards Stjepan as the event organizer and their friend, whereas others come because they find a way to make acquaintances and send specific messages. Many performers, especially those from the Balkan Peninsula, often had to stop in the midst of their performances to explain that traditional musical instruments and melodies themselves are very similar in Slavic countries that share borders. Often the goal of these interruptions was precisely to show friendship and community among countries of the Slavic south. Performers from remote countries, such as Senegal, wanted to stress the equality of all people regardless of their nationality or skin color, which is why they played not only their traditional musical instruments, but also the guitar. Apart from the official program, some performers found the way to their audience and local population via informal socializing in a nearby café. The bagpipe festival in Mihovljani also has a regular guest – a bagpiper from Scotland (Figure 2).

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7 Stjepan said his goal for this festival is to bring together his friends, bagpipers and other musicians who play traditional instruments, people he has met on his travels all over the world, people who inspired him either as musicians or as people, because he wants to introduce them to his family, friends, neighbors, and other residents of Mihovljani with whom he grew up.

8 They said that the guitar exemplifies the influence of the Western and American culture on their own culture, so they wanted to play the guitar in order to show that it doesn’t matter whether it is played by a white person or by a black person, i.e. it is completely irrelevant whether we are white or black; what is important is what we carry inside of us, and that all of us are equal.

9 Stjepan always introduces his Scottish guest as a great musician, but also as a great human being and a friend. In his introduction of a „real Scottish piper“ Stjepan always likes to mention that in Croatia there is an opinion among most of the younger population that bagpipes originate from Scotland, but that is actually not so, and most of the European countries and further have some kind of an instrument with a bag.
Figure 2: a bagpipe player from Scotland, Lindsay Davidson, at the Croatian Bagpipe Festival in Mihovljani.

Figure 3: A bagpipe player from Belgium, Remi Decker at the Croatian Bagpipe Festival in Mihovljani.\(^\text{10}\)

Among them at the Croatian Bagpipe Festivals in Mihovljani had come bagpipers from: Serbia, Slovakia, Belgium (Figure 3), Bulgaria, Italia, Spain, Netherland, Poland etc., and the bagpipers from different parts of Croatia (Figure 4).

\(^{10}\) The musette bechonnet is a French bagpipe which takes its name from its inventor, Joseph Bechonnet (1820-1900) of Effiat. The instrument usually has three drones, and its hide bag is covered by a cloth bag with ornaments. Bonnaud, Pierre et al (2005). Auvergne. Paris: Christine Bonneton.
One of the aims of the bagpipe festival is to show the dispersion of the bagpipes in Europe and further and how they tie us together. At the end of the festival Stjepan bid his farewell to participants with these words: "I am happy to offer you what is my life". For inhabitants of small village Mihovljani, in Hrvatsko Zagorje, previously unknown tradition of playing bagpipes, has become part of their everyday lives even outside the bagpipe festival frames, because many of them, motivated exactly by this kind of festival and Stjepan’s enthusiasm, have started to play the bagpipes in their free time. This is why Stjepan has started bagpipe courses which he runs in Zagreb, villages in Slavonia, and since recently in Hrvatsko Zagorje as well. In the contemporary society, the use of the song as a tool in life-shaping experiences has been replaced in many cases by a spectator experience. Acquaintances made during the bagpipe festival have resulted in an European project, so the Center for traditional music instruments, led by Stjepan Večković, is also the coordinator of the EU project named European bagpipe educational forum– building EU methodology for preservation, playing and building of traditional bagpipe instruments

The bagpipe festival has become one of the project events that contributes to the overall preservation and presentation of the skills of playing bagpipes and other related traditional instruments, i.e. instruments with bag.

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References


Web resources


Remark: Photos by the author.
Performance production types are performative behaviours formed by its space, performer's quality and reproduction at every turn. When trying to analyze music through analytical approaches, such as what music represents as a text, what it includes in music-related assessments, in the sound's performance process that occurs with the configuration of the instrument, the factors such as performer, space, time, listener and audience which are the components of this text, are important. It is seen that sometimes the melodies produced by the structure of the instruments within the music texts have changed the entire structure of the resulting new performance, when they are performed with a different instrument. The listener and eventually musical text, as well as the performer are included in this change. The new texts that emerged in the performance of the examples of melodies that we have selected from the Turkish Folk Music songs, with the instruments with different structures will be focused within the study.

At the same time, the formation of an instrument is analyzed within the context of performance theories. The performance act assumes the role of a symbol and as a cultural memory carrier that reflects social relations, ideological influence, and social hierarchy. Therefore, the evaluation of the social and political plan in the formation of Turkish folk music performances will be made along with the reconstructions occurred on the bağlama.

Introduction

In this paper the authors try to discuss what cannot or can be changed, what is allowed to change at the point of reproduction or construction of a musical text as a result of an inquiry made on social construction and musical reconstruction through the traditional instrument bağlama, and also what is claimed to never being changed.

Heraclitus' aphorism “No man ever steps in the same river twice” which has become an overused statement in today’s colloquial language renders the process of change of what is traditionally unnecessary, but it also prevents resistance to be overlooked regarding attaining sustainability. This study tries to explain the factors that create the musical structure which emerges through

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1 Bağlama is a Turkish music instrument. It comes in various dimensions according to performance style and tuning system, and regional musical characters. Also it is called by different names such as cura, çöğür, tanbura, divan bağlama, saz.
performing melodies of different texts with instruments other than those thought of in the first place of the multifaceted behaviour called ‘performance’. Considering performance, viewed as a multifaceted structure beyond the dimension of staging along with the processes such as policies shaping the social structure that is formed in the context of historical progress, modernization, globalization, popular culture and similar concepts, this paper possibly will explains the social processes represented through the bağlama, the social change that it carries symbolically and the musical perception in the context of transition periods. The musical texts that named in the title of the paper is taken to analyse examples that cover the entirety of the performance processes also mentioned Cook². This approach is like the screenplay that Cook proposed instead of ‘text’. However, the reflections of melodic change made it possible to use the definition of ‘screenplay’ as well as ‘text’ within this study. The definition of the ‘concept’ of performance can be perceived as ‘rendition’ though there are evaluations in the conceptual dimension as well.

Moreover, Baumann and Briggs’³ contribute with evaluations regarding viewing music that Cook looks at from the perspective of text in both authors’ philosophical perspective. These are texts that are connected to other texts due to being continuous, repeatable, classifiable, as well as showing origin (both textual and national) and type similarities. However, as it can be seen in this approach, the thing that is called text is not evaluated without context.

Performance as a ‘Text’ or ‘Screenplay’ with the ‘Bağlama’

It is not a common occurrence to talk on the ‘performance’ itself. Seemingly, only the ‘music’ itself can be talked about. But performance is a whole and comprehensive area and it covers all the processes mentioned above. The ‘performance theory’ which has emerged during 1970s is translated into Turkish as projectionist, contextual, and performer theory. To express in another way, the concept of ”performance” can be defined as a wide roof that gathers all approaches that gives prominence to the functionality of folklore regarding ”rendition” or ”display”. With the said approach, the verbal cultural products have gained the identity of being a discipline that studies the values of a “newly created culture” beyond the values of a “fossilized culture”.⁴

This concept that we talk about is born out of the idea of understanding the medium that the text is told in order to understand the text itself. It has started

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² Cook, Nicholas (1999). Müziğin ABC’si. İstanbul: Kabalcı Publishing.
by adapting the anthropologic studies to verbally cultured products that have become interpretable and gained meaning and depth.

Within the light of all these evaluations, the use of bağlama in Turkey can be viewed within the historical process. However, some breaking points are seen through the processes from 16th century until the 1800s when the Westernisation movement started. These are the processes on which the paper will focus. This analysis and evaluation once again shows that the act called performance cannot be thought independent of its creating and shaping contexts. Like how rendition itself is a fact in itself and is the recreation, for example. At this point, the role of the performer is also quite complicated. Are they the transmitter, the creator, or those who rebuild with individuality and tradition, or only an element of the path of rebuilding? Of course, each are qualified to take place inside the text we study. According to an evaluation: “A performer, in that sense, is responsible for past performances, but the standards and degree of responsibility can be interpreted according to cultural and historical frames. Just as in type, the adaptation of the performance to past performances requires adjustment of the inter-text relationship between them. Taking responsibility for the sake of doing it right can lead the performer to a tight repetition of past performance dependent on the rules of traditional authority.” Inter-text is not the process of imitating elements to other texts or inserting into a new text as it is, but "a process of changing position (or context)". According to Kristeva, the concept which includes reference, concealed reference, imitation, mirroring, narrative within narrative forms among its methods is a multiple indicator sequence in that sense as being furnished to create a new indicator sequence.5

The bağlama which is an important mediator and tool in cultural structuring of a society as well as rebuilding of a musical text, is also an instrument where every political and ideological change beyond the migration to Anatolia, and the effect of rebuilding is mostly felt in its evolution.

Re-Construction of a Music Tradition through the Bağlama

To mention the subject of rebuilding that is in our study’s title, it is necessary to note that the concept is also related to transmission. As Nettl mentioned, the concept of transmission should lead us to examining the data we obtain from music and information related to text with a comparative method”.6 Actually,

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the nature of transmission and how this can lead to different perspectives on the music had become the subject to a large conference. Its results were published in 1986 edited by Tokumaru and Yamaguti. In another example that Nettl presents "students" while working on how the variants of a piece can be developed, were amazed not at the consistency of the tradition but at their differences with some standard written sources, and thus learned to approach this situation with a sceptical understanding.

The storytelling of Icelandic old storyteller Jon Norsmann that Baumann gives as an example for a traditional transmission in the framework of text and screenplay is not a confirmation of it. The difference in discursive practicality confirms the subject that has to be emphasized in this paper. The musical text that is performed to be a part of the interaction as the direction of the performance and its connection to the inter-textual performance tools is set in a way that Baumann also emphasized a social life concept that is created and recreated by other applications that are connected through inter-expressions.

But the breaking of traditions cannot be denied in all kinds of actions taken with the slogan of "protecting what is traditional" or "inventing an new tradition." "Since the old methods are not reachable or applicable in this era, it can be said that traditions are invented". When evaluating the breaks in Turkish Music tradition, as Hobsbawn mentioned, it shouldn't be overlooked that the breaking points are also obvious in the old things' traditional places and in their surroundings. It can be said that the political conjuncture conveying the dominant ideology through the current and new institutions that provide Turkish Music education puts "tradition" into an altered, broken and "as if" status.

The perception and behaviour called "conservatism," the reflex of preserving what one belongs to and is inside, differentiates what is "traditional." "These trends, which have been widespread among the intellectuals ever since the romantics, could never develop the living past or even preserve it, and actually had to transform themselves into 'invented traditions' " So, this reflex can be perceived as the emerging of a nation. Just at this point, the performer model that was mentioned above specific to the bağlama instrument displays a characteristic of almost every period.

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Examining the musical structure coming with the bağlama, being the tool of the performer, the thing he belongs to and the social processes that surround it, it is obvious that it doesn’t show a fixed progress from past to present. It is seen that the recent history is kept very busy with the tension between the revered Classical Western Music, the Ottoman Palace, and the urban music. “Folk” music could be accepted only sometime and forced into certain forms. Here, the said subject of "forcing into forms" which means freezing what is historical, puts the music that is argued to belong to the folk within institutional structures and the performance that the performer has to provide alienates himself from it. Because the melodies which were played more often with the lute were not satisfying with bağlama the playing style called Konya style emerged in which the pick movements of the lute were tried to be transmitted. This way, a new tradition was constructed or invented. Playing and reading with notes, which means being inside a set form, means filing down the details that create the musical and cultural patterns. A mainly orally transmitted music repertoire is then filled with many examples of these. Before moving on to examples within the study, it will be necessary to mention how the bağlama has been identified throughout the historical process.

The bağlama is treated as a national instrument, but it has been viewed with many attitudes that are very different from each other depending on the political reflection within historical processes. Sometimes, it became the symbol of the protesting stance in the hands of the troubadours and minstrels inside the Turkmen Yuruks that Ottomans forced to settle, sometimes it was accepted as the symbol of arrival from Middle Asia, the newly founded Republic, a national instrument as a symbol of the nationalism process of the nation state, it was identified with certain sects, and sometimes even alienated by the members of other sects as a sacred item of the Alewi faith. It was declared to be a political identity holder in the period when it was identified with leftism and those who carried a bağlama were considered to be criminals, but it never lost the characteristic of being the dominant instrument that starts with the “voices from the homeland”.  

11 **Voices from the homeland (Yurttan Sesler)**; We can say that the foundation of the establishment of the “Yurttan Sesler” (“Voices from the homeland”) is based on the republican ideology and acts of the cultural shaping of the mentioned time. The program of “Voices from the homeland” realized as a project under the leadership of Muzaffer Sarısozen is being the first ensemble formally institutionalized of the Republic of Turkey on the axis of folk music and also it is becoming an important tool like cement to built and create a national musical culture. Ersoy, Ilhan (2009). "Türkiye'de Uluslaşma Sürecinde Bir Simge Olarak 'Bağlama'", Motif Halk Oyunları Eğitim ve İşretim Vakfı, Halk Müziğinde Çalgılar Uluslararası Sempozyumu Bildirileri (s.268-278), İstanbul: Motif Vakfi Yayınları, 931-947.
as an instrument identified with the cultural structure of the society class that the noble section labels as peasants and looks down on and through its mediator as cultural context and inventing new traditions and its physical evolution is extremely complicated. At this point, it is necessary to state that the complexity of reflecting on the scenario of the musical text beyond being a text, as Cook suggested, lies in the dilemma of text and scenario. In the processes that change from generation to generation, the generations’ own listening habits strengthen their own emotional and nostalgic connections, determine the heroes of the musical scenario that is performed as it should be, creates the emotion of intervening with creating music over a single perception of the most correct, or authentic appearance. "The change in social relationships, development of music industry, a detachment from the tradition or to say it more correctly a reinvention of the tradition in Turkey plays a role in these different listening styles and different listening habits".12

However every generation conducts, protects, and conveys traditional music within the frame of its own perception, and it should be noted that not only the local music samples are included in this category. Jazz and classical western music of different provenience are also included within the traditional rendition methods that are appropriated by rural as well as urban population similarly to what is known from German, British, Russian, Norwegian, Hungarian, Bulgarian, Serbian, Ukrainian, Brazilian, Afghan, and Lebanese musical features in course of time. Stone13 summarizes the process in the Libanese musical life in the work named "Culture and Nationalism in Lebanon: Faituz and Rahbani Nation" as below: The nationalist staff that compile from the villages select the folk songs extremely carefully. No folk songs are compiled from the women and children, who are seen to be especially uncontrollable and thus dangerous. The same way, since the locations with sea shores are seen as culturally corrupted areas, pure and uncorrupted mountain villages are visited for compilation studies. Changing simple folk songs are seen as having to be improved through civilized conservation. Broadcasting is deemed to be the most important device in performing “folk music”. In these performances, the lyrics that do not conform to the "national spirit" are changed, and local accents are thrown away. The melodies of the songs are meddled with as well. This seems to be a general problem in many parts of the world.

National Identity Symbol, Musical Structure, and Bağlama

Even though many breaking points have been experienced during the empire and republic periods, the bağlama has become the national instrument and as can be seen in the examples given below, the rewriting of the music texts that belong to different instruments have played a big role in the evolution of the instrument. Size, string usage, tuning system, playing styles and many extensions have come with it. Within the light of this general approach, the usage of bağlama for broadcasting that is the mediator between the performer and the listener became the most important device and transmitter of the nationalization process in this field of observation. The ensemble in Ankara conducted by Mesut Cemil in 1938 was seemingly first broadcasted performing “folk songs”. But folk music performances are not able to be conducted by the performers of that music, and they are given very little time. This situation went as far as the idea of forming a separate folk music choir to be founded by the radio manager of the time, with Muzaffer Sarısözen’s 14 (Figure 1) programme called ‘we learn a folk song’ and ‘Voices from the homeland’ choir.

Figure 1: Muzaffer Sarısözen with old type bağlama instrument (courtesy of the collector).

It is known that there were programmes ending with the justification that they were not conforming to the nationalization and the requested systematic structure. ‘Voices from the homeland choirs’ were founded in İzmir and other provinces (Figure 2).

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14 Sarısözen is a leader and founder of ”Yurttan Sesler – Voices from the homeland”. Also, his notation system has been used for Turkish Folk Music pieces.
Before these institutions were established, orally transmitted melodies had to be collected. This process included a discourse on how naturally the traditional has been recorded. The reconstruction of the musical text through a different instrument as well as the reinvention of the tradition with the examples given is examined in this paper. Realities like records not being perceived as natural in front of a certain committee, the speeding up of tempo to ensure fitting into the duration of a single take makes referencing to collected recordings questionable. It is observed that the compiled melodies are performed only with bağlama as an instrument in the ‘voices of the homeland’. The naming of instruments like pipe, zurna, rebab, mey that represent the region as colouring instruments, away from their identities as instruments that represent the region, adds to the confusion. It is known that some colouring instruments were included in the ensemble through Sarısozen's initiative. Also, when the compilation recordings and the notes taken during the compilation are considered, it is clear that the bağlama's size, tuning system, or number of frets, shows differences (Figure 3).

Figure 3: One type of bağlama, is called "tanbura" size. (photo by the authors).
Examining an example of a Konya folk song played with the lute adopting the performance theory, the emotion, behaviour, and relation between the expressed and the ‘expresser’ who codes certain behaviour and music patterns appear as changes in performer, listener, new performer and the space in which the performance takes place if thinking to the bağlama as a model. When examining the reconstruction specifically for the bağlama, a long term process opens up seemingly impossible to be completed within one life period showing multifaceted and different invisible dynamics. Besides rendition of other instruments’ melodies with bağlama, performing melodies for bağlamas of different sizes and sounds with standardized bağlamas, and also adaptation of bağlama melodies to guitar, violin and similar instruments has caused a new musical perception, sound, emotion, behaviour than the rendition known from earlier stages in history. It could also be the case that those earliest known renditions were once played with another instrument. Here are some examples of them:

1- **Karakoyun** melody is originally a kaval melody. Actually, it is an instrumental melody in high register. A shepherd plays to keep the sheep, which were fed salt, away from going down the creek to drink water. In order to realize this task the feudal lord gave him to marry the lord’s daughter. To convey the sound of a wind instrument using a bağlama, the same emotion and actually the scenario, tapping and plectrum are used together. The melody, which is played in many regions of Anatolia, displays the emotion, behaviour, and relationship that create the sounding idea and the performance and also the emotion that it invokes in the performer and the listener and the connected behaviour is read clearly over this example at the point of reconstruction of the musical text.

2- **Kocaarap Zeybek**: Performed with big size zurna (kaba zurna) and drums. In the bağlama adaptation, a new playing style called ‘zeybek style’ is created due to its rhythmic structure like other zeybek examples. The melody expression of the zurna and the drum, leads from time to time to employ trills to the rhythmic structure by the bağlama player. To interpret the sound of zurna and drum, zeybek styles are preferred to be performed with a tanbura sized bağlama that has been in today’s terminology for some time. Playing on a bağlama of this size by the performers is more satisfying to reflect the grandeur

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15 Kaval is a flute instrument, hence a wind instrument, popularly known as the shepherd’s instrument. The kaval comes in two varieties; Tongued and Non-Tongued. It is generally made from plum wood.

16 Zurna is a reed instrument. The reed of zurna is made of cylindrical bamboo pipe that thinner than little finger. Zurna needs adequate air pressure in to the reed to get voice and high air pressure to get high volume voice.
of zeybek. In short, a new tradition is invented and is being reinvented each time.

Figure 4: Dursun Girgin plays Zeybek of Kocaarap with Kaba Zurna (big size) from Aydın, Aegean side of Anatolia (photo by the authors).

3- *Gitme Bülbül* Konya folk song (in the original recordings at least the source person performs with ud (lute).

Figure 5: Ud player, Ahmet Özdemir, from Konya province in Turkey, during playing "Gitme Bülbül" folk music pieces with Ud instrument (courtesy of the musician).

But when trying to adapt, it didn't reflect the same sensation and it took a form that is entirely different and not pleasant. Therefore, performers invented a playing style called Konya style to adapt the lute's melodic and rhythmical structure to bağlama. The melodic and rhythmical structure played on the lute is tried to be realized with the ‘tezene strike technique’, also called ‘Konya style’ (Figure 6).
Figure 6: Transcription of "Gitme Bülbü" Konya song from Baglama. B note is used as bemol2 according to Sarısozen notation system. Transcribed by Mahmut Cemal Sari, 2017.

This transcription was made according to the Sarısozen notation system. Sarısozen created his notation system according to the bağlama. In this notation sharps and flats are shown with number marks above a pitch such as "si flat2".

Figure 7: Sibemol 2 according to Sarısozen notation system in Turkish Folk Music (drawing by the authors).
An ud notation has different pitches resulting from its playing technic (Figure 8).

Figure 8: Transcription of "Gitme Bülbül" Konya song from Ud. B notes is used bemol2 according to Sarısözen notation system. Transcribed by Mahmut Cemal Sari, 2017.

Conclusion

Looking at the history of thought, this study leads to the conclusion that any music, at least the music examined, is a continuous work. Actually, the discussion of how long un-changeability can be continued when mimesis is the
central, elementarily underlying art following progress or development, changeability is unavoidable and mostly preferred.

While a culture forgets and alters a musical content like a song, it experiences a transmission within itself and even undergoes changes during style construction albeit very slowly.\textsuperscript{17} It is seen that apart from bağlama’s own repertoire the size, tuning systems, adaptations of right hand techniques, the changes in string thicknesses as well as text change as a result of the reconstruction of the zurna, rebab, sipsi, drum, lute and rhythmic elements on the bağlama show similarities to the production style that Nettl emphasizes. The effect of this new tradition has continued up to today’s performances. The construction of traditions in parallel to the construction of national identity has directly and indirectly affected the shaping of the concept of performance which is the subject of our symposium. At this point, the effort of creating a single musical identity is the effort of standardizing so called folk music as following:

1) Causes the music to be recreated every time it is repeated;
2) Even though every example that is claimed to be repeated as an imitation it cannot be the original.
3) The fact that the melody which is claimed to be the original is a repetition prevents accessing the original;
4) Performing the melodies with an instrument other than that for which it was once created in place and time leads to an entirely different text and differentiates musical perception;
5) Every adaptation causes a new form of expression to be created. This forms ‘traditions in time’ such as the zeybek style, Konya style, sürmeli, or Kayseri styles. These new traditional styles cannot co-exist with earlier versions.

The most possible one will continue the tradition. At the same time, coexistence is proclaimed impossible. Here, further research has to continue.

References


The Piano as a Symbol of a "New Culture" in Bosnia and Herzegovina

Historical Context

A specific geographical position in the southeast of the European continent have made Bosnia and Herzegovina an attractive spot on the map of military powers’ conquests; with their presence in the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina, they strove to achieve both economic and political dominance in the Balkan region.\(^1\) The period of the late 19\(^{th}\) and early 20\(^{th}\) century was not an exception to this either, and BiH, occupied by the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, comes into touch with the West European social and cultural trends, first time on the formal level after the centuries-long Ottoman rule. The newly arrived cultural flows, obviously different from the Oriental culture, become part of the BiH daily life.

Socio-political changes directly affected the particularly sensitive area of musical life. Established on the traditional musical values of indigenous BiH practice, the musical life, which had been under the Oriental influences before the Austro-Hungarian occupation\(^2\), found itself in a whirl of “new” musical trends. Musical life became an area of “clashes” of habits and customs, whose differences, unfortunately, made it impossible to form an integral image of BiH musical life. Over the most part of the occupation, musical life developed in parallel into two directions: traditional music and the newly arrived West European musical practice. Still, mutual influence eventually became inevitable, which is particularly evident in the area of performance practice.

So, in this context we are going to discuss about forms of instrumental practice arrived with Austro-Hungary which upon the change in socio-political circumstances became a symbol of accepting “new” musical trends of the european type by local population. In this process, a prominent role was played by the piano – an instrument which became the main medium through

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\(^1\) About the history of Bosnia and Herzegovina (here abbreviated as BiH), the authors recommend Skarić, Vladislav (1985). Sarajevo i njegova okolina od najstarijih vremena do Austro-Ugarske okupacije. Sarajevo: Veselin Masleša.

About the Beginnings of Musical Life on the Threshold of the “New Age”

The development of BiH musical life in the period of Austro-Hungarian administration was a result of complex and comprehensive changes in BiH society. Political, social and cultural happenings were in the causal relations: political ideology and strategy affected the social changes, while the social changes (demographic growth, change in the population’s national and social structure, etc.) affected cultural ones, which had a strong impact on the development of musical life.

In this process, the middle class composed of newcomers, Austro-Hungarian administration office workers, merchants, doctors, clerks, officers and other employees of Austro-Hungarian administration became the initiator of cultural and social developments. Newcomers set up an environment favorable for the development of salon culture. Therefore, we find the inceptions of the West European type of musical life within salons, as a typical byproduct of the middle-class culture of the period. In the overall process of the development of salon culture and musical life in general according to West European standards, a special role was played by the piano – an instrument that soon became the main driver of the new musical trends.

Piano in the Spheres of Salon Culture

As early as the first socializing of salon type, get-togethers – as the press of the time used to call them, the piano positioned itself as an unavoidable part of musical programs. Piano had the role of the main medium of reproducing complete musical evenings; solo-songs, recitals, dances, round dances, theatrical pieces and operettas were adapted for piano. One of the first examples is a get-together organized by the family of Baron Feodor Nikolić, the civic governor for the city of Sarajevo. At the get-together organized in
1883, the piano was the central part of musical program: “Since tea was served, we again had the opportunity to cheer up by listening to nice singing and playing. Baroness Nikolić and Mrs. Kvassay sang, in their pleasing voices and accompanied with the piano, a few lyric songs and duets (…)”⁶ Events similar to this one at the Nikolićs’ homes and those of other rich citizens were a constant of both Sarajevo and BiH musical life. Events of this kind gathered a selected audience, and frequently reached the number of over 200 invited guests.⁷

According to the quantitative presence of piano in the programs of salon events, one needs to wonder: what exactly contributed to the popularity of piano in the contexts of newcomers’ element, and why this instrument became the main medium of the newly arrived musical tradition presented within salons.

Well, in the first years of occupation middle class was the sponsor and organizer of musical events. To own and play the piano was a matter of prestige, cultural awareness and keeping up on fashionable trends. Writings in pro-regime newspapers, regularly published reports on the “respectable” and “selected company”, “the highest-rank BiH circles”⁸, who were entertained by compositions for piano and with piano accompaniment. In the given circumstances, the significance of piano transcended the scope of reproduction – piano became a symbol of a well-off status and emancipation. The presence of piano was supposed to impress the audience, show the pro-European influence and cultural supremacy. Impressing guests was even more important if the invitees included prominent individuals from BiH circles or religious officials. Thus, for instance, baroness Nikolić greeted at her home Islamic council members headed by Reis-el-Ulema dressed in folk costume, and she complemented the evening by singing lyric pieces with piano accompaniment.⁹

The piano became a status symbol of the middle class, its cultural and status identity, as well as the confirmation of the degree of emancipation. Piano playing was considered a necessary and unavoidable part of general education and good upbringing, particularly of ladies. It was desirable to be interested in music, go to concerts, and ultimately play an instrument as well. Music education was a matter of social prestige, and this kind of education thus

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⁶ Anonym (1883). Sijelo u barona i baronice Nikolića. Sarajevski list, 18, 2.
⁷ Anonym (1885). Iz društva. Sarajevski list, 6, 2.
⁸ Anonym (1883). Sijelo u barona Nikolića. Sarajevski list, 9, 2.
⁹ Besides baroness Nikolić, other people, mostly musical amateurs, participated in the musical part of the program. They officially included Bebel, who played the violin, and Mrs. Kvassay known for her pleasing voice, though also for the amateur piano playing in some Sarajevo circles. Anonym (1883). Iz sarajevskog društva. Sarajevski list, 72, 3.
assumes the role of the so-called “social education”. Knowledge of music was a ticket for high society, and therefore it is not surprising that a great number of private music teachers worked in BiH. People were mostly interested in taking piano lessons, and music classes almost always implied piano classes, and one of the most prominent examples of piano teachers was Marija Sam, exclusively educated for teaching the piano. Maria Sam’s example stands out; having graduated from the Music Institute in Zagreb and passed final exams at the Vienna Conservatory, she ran her private piano school at Bišće from 1892 to 1894. In 1895, Sam moved to Sarajevo, where she successfully and continually worked as a private piano teacher. Results of this artist’s teaching could be tracked through press, where extensive writings were published about her pupils’ concerts, from 1898 to 1907, frequently of a charity character. It is symbolic that pupils mostly included girls, which fits the image of “perfect upbringing” and acceptable behavior culture which middle-class society assumed in case of female children upbringing.

The portrait of Milena Mrazović – Preindlsberger (Bjelovar, 1863–Vienna, 20.01.1927) also fits in the image of “perfect upbringing” and social expectations. Initially a writer and successful journalist, Milena came to BiH with her parents only a few weeks after the occupation. The first destination, because of her father’s job, was in Banja Luka and then in Sarajevo, where she lived from 1879 to early 1919. Thus, in musical life, Mrazović remained remembered as a consummate pianist – dilettante; periodicals recorded her appearance at the first concert of art music in BiH organized in Banja Luka on 31.05.1881. On this occasion, Milena performed F. Liszt’s Reminiscence of opera Lucia di Lammermoor by Gaetano Donizetti, Ouverture from opera Rienzi by Richard Wagner for piano four hands, and Concerto for four hands and orchestra op. 153 by Carl Czerny. However, Milena’s activity was not limited only to her piano-playing abilities; she also tried her hand in the field of

12 The concert program typically consisted of pieces by F. Liszt, F. Mendelssohn, F. Schubert, Carl Czerny, which were performed by talented pupils. P., (1907). Dobrotvorni koncert. Hrvatski dnevnik, 114, 6.

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composing. Significantly, this intellectual composed the first compositions created in BiH. Milena composed a few piano miniatures, which had the label of opus, including *Würtemberg Marsch* op. 10 for piano, dedicated to Wilhem Herzog von Württemberg, a military commander and head of the National Government in the first years of occupation. The march, created in the period between 1879 and 1882, was published in Vienna by Doblinger publisher. Together with Milena’s other compositions such as *Osmanich-Mazurka* op. 11 and *Bosnia-Polka francaise*, *Würtemberg Marsch* was an extract of the newly arrived musical practice colored with dilettantism and middle-class elitism.

Furthermore, one of the significant reasons for piano popularity was its universality, which offered a broad range of music literature consumption, starting from pieces written based on simple – typically dilettante piano syllable, all the way to serious piano pieces. Besides the piano repertoire, this instrument allowed performance of pieces that were originally written for larger instrumental ensembles. Thanks to piano transcriptions, adaptations and arrangements, orchestral pieces and excerpts from operas and operettas became accessible to salon guests, which in turn contributed to their prevalence in concert programs. Moreover, even symphonic achievements easily and simply reached the population due to their adaptations for piano, which in turn contributed to their popularization. The procedure of arranging orchestral and vocal-instrumental pieces for piano is also found in the pieces of first BiH composers – settlers who were stationed in BiH for a longer or shorter time period. Julius Gyula Mayor, Julius Fučík and František Matějovský.

16 Wien, Bibliothek im Rathaus. Musikdrucke. Signature, Mc-30339.
19 Julius Fučík (Prague, 18 June, 1872 – Berlin, 25 September, 1916) enrolled in the Prague Conservatory as a small child, first in the department of violin and then in the department of bassoon. He soon became a student of composition and instrumentation with prominent composer A. Dvořák. In 1891, in the capacity of a military musician, he started his work in the Austro-Hungarian regiment no. 49. In 1897, he arrived in Sarajevo and until 1900, he served as a military bandmaster of the orchestra of infantry regiment no. 86. Although he spent only three years as the head of the military band stationed in Sarajevo, Fučík deserved
are only some of the figures who adapted their orchestral works for piano. In this context it is important to mention the Hungarian composer and Franz Liszt’s student, Julius Major, who adapted his piece *Bosnische Rhapsodie* op. 71\textsuperscript{21} for solo piano, and it is interesting that variant for piano was far more popular than original version written for choir and piano.\textsuperscript{22}

![Figure 1: Cover page of score for Sarajevo marsch op. 66 for piano.](image)

the place of one of the most significant military bandmasters that lived in Bosnia and Herzegovina in this short period. Pačuka, Lana (2014). *Muzički život u Sarajevu u period Austro-Ugarske uprave (1878 – 1918).* PhD dissertation. Sarajevo: Muzička akademija Univerziteta u Sarajevu, 44, 243.

\textsuperscript{20} František Matějovský (Nehanice, 26 March, 1871– Sarajevo, 19 April, 1938) Having completed the high civic school enrolled in the Prague Conservatory, where he successfully graduated in 1897. As early as in 1900, he found himself in Banja Luka and actively worked as a conductor of HPD “Nada”. In Banja Luka, he began to give private music classes, and in 1902, the National Government gave him the official permission to open a music school. Starting from May 1905, he lived in Sarajevo where he took over the tasks of a choir leader of the Serbian Orthodox Church Singing Society (SPCPD) “Sloga”. In 1908, he opened the music school in Sarajevo which, according to available sources, operated until 1918, though with shorter interruptions. Hadžić, Fatima (2015). Bajac, Ljubomir. *Grove Music Online.* Oxford Music Online. Oxford University Press. Accessible via, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/2273892. Last accessed 12 May, 2017.

\textsuperscript{21} The composition is dedicated to the “Male singing society”, at whose 23\textsuperscript{rd} founding assembly it was first performed for a large audience as the final item of the concert that was well received by the public. The Archives of Bosnia-Herzegovina. Zajedinčko ministarstvo finansiija. Signature, ZMF, 7988.


\textsuperscript{23} The Österreichische Nationalbibliothek owns a rich collection of Fučík’s music items: http://search.obvsg.at/primo_library/libweb/action/search.do?dscnt=0&v1%281UI0%29=contains&frbg=&scp.scps=scope%3A%28%22ONB%22%29&tab=default_tab&dtmp=1382656106
A similar destiny was shared with compositions by military Kapellmeister Julius Fučík who, during his service in BiH, composed a series of occasional compositions inspired by BiH regions, typically in the form of marches for military orchestras, then adapted into piano miniatures. Some Fučík’s pieces were inspired by his stay in BiH (Serenade Sarajevo op. 53, Bosanska Zora op. 55, Sarajevo op. 66 and Hercegovac op. 235) and were frequently performed at concerts of the time, particularly in variants for piano two- or four-hands.

**Piano in the Spheres of Public Musical Life**

After the West European musical culture, with the piano as one of its most recognizable symbols, had fully mastered the salon environment, it expanded into the spheres of public musical life. The public musical life according to European standards still relied upon newcomers and members of Austro-Hungarian administration who recognized the piano as an essential segment of musical expression and their cultural identity. The popularity of the piano, which permeated all the pores of social life is witnessed by the emergence, and then a sudden flourish of music item market. The market centers included all the larger BiH cities, Sarajevo, Tuzla and Mostar. The most respectable music shops were situated in central Sarajevo streets such as Franjo Josip Street, Ferhadija, Rudolf Street, Ćumurija, Ćemaluša, Appelova obala, Veliki Čurčiluk, and they were typically owned by foreigners. Some of the music shops in Sarajevo who were successful in the period of Austro-Hungarian administration: Carl Šalat, Buchwald B. & Co., as well as bookstores and stationery stores owned by Trifković Jovo, Kajon Daniel A., and Rajković brothers. Paćuka, Lana (2014). *Muzički život u Sarajevu u period Austro-Ugarske uprave (1878 – 1918).* PhD dissertation. Sarajevo: Mužička akademija Univerziteta u Sarajevu, 44, 84–86.

The fact that music item market was flourishing and that the piano played the leading role in the market is proven by the data on an increasing number of the so-called piano showrooms, which were concentrated in the BiH capital. One of the first instrument shops was owned by the private music teacher, Eduard

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597&srt=rank&ct=search&mode=Basic&dm=true&tb=t&indx=1&vl%28freeText0%29=julius %20fu%C4%8Dik&vid=ONB&fn=search. Last accessed 10 January, 2017.


Heeger, who, in about 1900, opened the first shop of the kind in Sarajevo in one of central Sarajevo streets, Ferhadija no. 62.\textsuperscript{26} This respectable musician also owned a piano showroom, which supplied high-quality instruments for citizens in continuity and for years. The showroom was owned by Heeger until his death in 1909,\textsuperscript{27} when his widow took over and successfully managed it until 1918.\textsuperscript{28}

A more significant activity in the area of music instrument’s sales was performed by the shop –warehouse of gramophones, pianos and baby pianos of Petroff brand named Wilhelm Raisner, initially located in downtown Sarajevo as well, at the address Ćemaluša 64, and then in Rudolf Street.\textsuperscript{29} The warehouse operated continually from 1911 to 1918, and judging by announcements and advertisements it performed successfully by offering customers a wide range of records and latest instrument models.\textsuperscript{30}

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=0.5\textwidth]{wilhelm_reisner_instrument_shop}
\caption{Newspaper advertisement of Wilhelm Reisner instrument shop. Figure used from ‘Anonym (1918). Klaviere und pianinos. Bosnische Post, 169, 2’.
}
\end{figure}

Although the music item market was indeed a good indicator of a high demand for piano, a step ahead in terms of presentation to BiH public was achieved by piano positioning within the general-education institutions founded by the National Government, as well as at the first private music schools which were mostly run by settlers. Although piano classes at public, government schools offered only the basic knowledge, it was clear evidence that the monarchy considered the piano as a means of familiarizing local

\textsuperscript{26} Anonym (1900). Werbung. \textit{Bosnischer Bote}, IV, 84.
\textsuperscript{28} Interestingly, besides instrument sales, the showroom also served as a place where pupils could apply for taking private classes with then active music teachers.
\textsuperscript{30} Besides the described ones, there were more instrument shops and warehouses. These were Kratochvil & Reibel (Ċumurija no. 13), Kovačić Therese (Franje Josipa Street no. 84), Franza Maleczeka, Simunić Martina and Tosunović Muhameda, Klavier Salona Freitag (Ferhadija no. 27), Klavier Salona Wustinger (Ferhadija no. 36).
population with achievements of European music tradition. The ultimate achievement at public schools included the performance of simple two-voice and three-voice exercises of Köhler’s school, aimed at mastering the basics of the bass and treble clefs.  

On the other hand, private schools such as František Matějovský and A. eff. Susin’s offered a far more complex music education in the area of theory, harmony and counterpoint, and a more professional approach to learning to play an instrument (violin, cello, piano). However, at private schools, which were mostly attended by settlers’ children and only a few locals, piano attracted the greatest interest. Concert programmes of these schools can give picturesque insight to rich concert activities that piano pupils had. One of the prominent examples is the program of the so-called “piano music evening” of Susin’s school pupils organized at the Community Center in 1918, the following pieces were performed: Spanish Dance no. 2 for two pianos (M. Moszkowsky), Sonata for piano Es-Major (J. Haydn), Nocturno D sharp Major (Theodor Döhler), Children’s March for two pianos (F. Schubert), Improvimpu Es Major (Hugo Reinhold), Minuet G Major (Ignacy Jan. Paderewskz), Scherzo for piano b minor (F. Chopin), Tarantelle for two pianos (Theodor Döhler), Gigue d minor (J. W. Hässlev), Capriccio brilliante op. 22 (F. Mendelssohn), Concerto for piano a minor, I movement for two pianos (R. Schumann), and Invitation to dance for two pianos (C.M. von Weber).  

Piano positioning in the sphere of public musical activity reached the climax in the beginning of the composing activity development, which in the Austro-Hungarian period heavily relied on the piano creations by artists of foreign origin. Besides those who were involved in composing at both dilettante and professional level (Milena Mrazović – Preindlsberger, František Matějovský, Julius Gyula Major, Julius Fučik) with a focus on adaptations of orchestral or choral pieces for piano, one could observe the activity by artists who, during their “Bosnian and Herzegovinian period” almost exclusively composed for piano. In this context, a prominent role was played by Aleksandar Bosiljevac who, during his stay in Sarajevo, recognized the piano as the main means of artistic expression and created pieces such as La serenade op. 42, Izbor gospoda

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33 Aleksandar Bosiljevac (Karlovac, 7 March, 1860 – Hvar, 1918) completed the music school in Karlovac. In 1855, he started the studies of organ in Prague. In January 1891, he was appointed a music teacher at the Teachers’ College in Sarajevo, where he successfully performed tasks for many years. As early as in 1900 he moved to Hvar, where he stayed until his death in 1918. H.J (1892). Alexander Bosiljevac. Österreichische Musik-und Theaterzeitung, Zeitschrift für Musik und Theater, 20/21, 10.
op. 47, Iz prijateljstva op. 48, Souvenir de Ilidže op. 50, Sarajevski tramway, Karišik potpourri narodnih pjesama (1895), Jedna noć na Istoku – fantastični istočni ples (1896). An extraordinary attention was drawn by Bosiljevac’s composition Jedna noć na Istoku – fantastični istočni ples, dedicated to the Sarajevo mayor Mehmed Kapetanović Ljubušak. This composition, permeated with Oriental elements, enjoyed great popularity at concert stages of the time.\footnote{Anonym (1896). Jedna noć na Istoku. \textit{Nada}, 2, 39.}

![Aleksandar Bosiljevac](image1)

Although composers such as Bosiljevac started the first pages of BiH composing activity, a step ahead toward the piano transformation from a symbol of \textit{new} culture into a symbol of \textit{newly accepted} culture was the emergence of the first BiH artists such as Ljubomir Bajac.\footnote{H.J. (1892). Alexander Bosiljevac. \textit{Österreichische Musik-und Theaterzeitung}, Zeitschrift für Musik und Theater, 20/21, 10.} Bajac’s moderate opus\footnote{National and University Library in Zagreb. Muzička zabirka. Signature, H2-4*-162} made up of a few piano compositions such as \textit{Auf der Bosna}, Karišik

\begin{figure}
\centering
\includegraphics[width=0.5\textwidth]{image2}
\caption{Aleksandar Bosiljevac\textsuperscript{35}; Figure 4: Cover page of the score for \textit{Jedna noć na istoku}.\textsuperscript{36}}
\end{figure}

Ljubomir Bajac (Mostar, 31.07.1890–Sarajevo, 1951) completed his primary and secondary music education in Sarajevo. During the 1910/11 school year, he attended the Music Academy in Vienna, and then studied composition at Royal Academy in Budapest from 1911–1913. From 1914 to 1932 he worked in Sarajevo, with shorter interruptions, in the capacity of conductor of SPCPD “Sloga”, and achieved significant results. In the period between the two world wars he was pedagogically and artistically active. Paćuka, Lana (2016). “Pale nade”, Fragmenti o muzičkom životu ratnog Sarajeva (1914–1918). \textit{Zbornik radova 9. Međunarodnog simpozija “Muzika u društvu”}. Edited by Fatima Hadžić.\footnote{Ljubo Bajac’s legacy is stored in Sarajevo Historical Archives. Legacy of Ljubo Bajac. Signature, O-BLJ-67.}

\footnote{Ljubomir Bajac (Mostar, 31.07.1890–Sarajevo, 1951) completed his primary and secondary music education in Sarajevo. During the 1910/11 school year, he attended the Music Academy in Vienna, and then studied composition at Royal Academy in Budapest from 1911–1913. From 1914 to 1932 he worked in Sarajevo, with shorter interruptions, in the capacity of conductor of SPCPD “Sloga”, and achieved significant results. In the period between the two world wars he was pedagogically and artistically active. Paćuka, Lana (2016). “Pale nade”, Fragmenti o muzičkom životu ratnog Sarajeva (1914–1918). \textit{Zbornik radova 9. Međunarodnog simpozija “Muzika u društvu”}. Edited by Fatima Hadžić.}

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narodnih pjesama, Pale nade heralded the process of the transformation of the piano role in BiH society, and thus of the way of its perception and reception.

**Change in the perception of piano in Bosnian and Herzegovinian society:**

**piano in the context of musical institutions**

The change in the perception and reception of the piano in BiH society was affected by changes in socio-political circumstances after the First World War and the end of Austro-Hungarian occupation. In 1918, BiH became part of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia and changes, except in the political area, directly affected the cultural life. In this period we can observe a change in the symbolic meaning of the piano – from a carrier of “new” West European newcomers’ culture to a symbol of a newly accepted culture of West European type by local population.

The first serious proof of the acceptance of the West European musical tradition was the establishment of District School of Music in Sarajevo on 1 October 1920, as the first music school in Bosnia and Herzegovina financially supported by the state. The curriculum was designed according to high professional standards and included classes in piano, solo singing, string and other orchestra instruments as main subjects, and classes in choral singing (ear practice), music theory (elementary and harmonics), chamber music and orchestra practice as accessory subjects. The objective of classes was to “prepare pupils in musical and technical terms for artistic reproduction of classical and modern compositions, and to allow them a possible transition to a higher school of music”.

Pupils were mostly interested in piano classes. A total of 186 pupils were admitted to the first generation, over a half of whom, as many as 104, studied the piano (51 violin, 2 viola, 18 cello and 11 solo singing). Therefore, the most numerous employees of the school were piano teachers; from its establishment until 1941, District School of Music employed 26 teachers, as many as nine of

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39 Hadžić, Fatima (2013). The institutional framework of musical activities in Sarajevo in the period between the two world wars. Muzikološki zbornik/Musicological annual XLIX/1, 79–95.
44 The school admitted twenty more pupils who attended classes free of charge, and sixteen pupils with a 50% discount on the tuition fee.
whom were piano teachers: Klemens Menšik⁴⁵, Ljubomir-Ljubo Bajac⁴⁶, Vlasta Ulehla⁴⁷, Alexander Lukinič⁴⁸, Petar Dumičić⁴⁹, Eugenija Endowicka⁵⁰, dr. Bogdan Milanković⁵¹, Jelka Đurić⁵² and Hela Regel⁵³.

District School of Music regularly organized pupils and teachers’ public appearances.⁵⁴ A review of the concert programs and the number of pupils who appeared publicly it can be deduced that the piano was particularly popular – approximately half of the number of 189 included piano pupils. According to pupil records (teachers’ books), most pupils were born in Bosnia and Herzegovina.⁵⁵ These data reveal a significant influence by District School of Music on the popularization of piano among the school population, as well as on the development of pianism in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The school

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⁴⁵ More details about Menšik will be provided later in the paper. He taught piano and organ at the District School of Music from 1920 to 1941.


⁴⁸ Alexandar Lukinič (Brandýs nad Labem, Czech Republic, 1875–Lovosice, 1942), was a conductor and cellist. He taught cello, double bass and piano at the District School of Music from 1921 to 1925. Hadžić, Fatima (2012). Muzički život Sarajeva između dva svjetska rata. PhD dissertation. Sarajevo: Muzička akademija Univerziteta u Sarajevu.

⁴⁹ More details about P. Dumičić will be provided later in the paper. He taught piano at the District School of Music from 1921 to 1923.

⁵⁰ Eugenija Endowicka (there are no data on the place and year of birth and death), a pianist and music pedagogue. She taught piano at the District School of Music from 1921 to 1923. Hadžić, Fatima (2012). Muzički život Sarajeva između dva svjetska rata. PhD dissertation. Sarajevo: Muzička akademija Univerziteta u Sarajevu: 69.

⁵¹ Bogdan Milanković (Dalj, Croatia, 1885–Sarajevo, 1966), PhD (Romance philology). Milanković worked as a high-school teacher of Italian and French. In Sarajevo cultural life, he left an inedible trace as a principal of District School of Music, founder and the first chairman of Sarajevo Philharmonic Orchestra. At District School of Music, he served both as the principal and a piano and organ teacher starting from 1922. Hadžić, Fatima (2012). Muzički život Sarajeva između dva svjetska rata. PhD dissertation. Sarajevo: Muzička akademija Univerziteta u Sarajevu: 65.


⁵³ More details about H. Regel will be provided later in the paper. She taught piano at District School of Music from 1925 to 1926.


⁵⁵ The Archives of Bosnia-Herzegovina. Oblasna muzička škola.
teachers were significant participants in Sarajevo concert life and pedagogues who educated the next generation of local musicians.

Besides the District School of Music, the Sarajevo Philharmonic Orchestra played a prominent role in the popularization of piano in Sarajevo concert life. Founded as an amateur society in the summer of 1923, the Sarajevo Philharmonic Orchestra was one of the first and most significant carriers of concert activity in the history of BiH music, and it stood out as the most significant musical society during the period between the two wars taken the artistic quality of concert programs as criterion. Although it constantly struggled with problems related to the formation of orchestra ensemble, frequent changes of conductors, as well as lack of regular concert audience, and the evident financial crisis, the Sarajevo Philharmonic Orchestra, managed by the chairperson Dr. Bogdan Milanković, was capable of maintaining the continuity of activity until 1941. By the outbreak of the Second World War, Sarajevo Philharmonic Orchestra organized a few dozens of very successful symphonic, chamber and solo concerts.

Since the major development of concert activity required the acquisition of a high-quality concert piano, the management of the Sarajevo Philharmonic Orchestra strove to resolve this problem as well as other material work prerequisites pertaining to the procurement of instruments and scores immediately upon its establishment. In the first year of its activity, the society was particularly successful in this respect; together with the District School of Music, the Sarajevo Philharmonic Orchestra acquired a concert piano. Thanks to the abundant help of banks and industrial enterprises as well as wealthy citizens of Sarajevo, a new concert piano was purchased, which fulfilled an


57 By decision no. 51446/1923 of 06.07.1923, Regional administration for BiH approved Rules of Sarajevo Philharmonic Orchestra, which in turn marked the official beginning of the society’s activity. The Archives of Bosnia-Herzegovina. Pokrajinska uprava za Bosnu i Hercegovinu. Signature, PU, 18/92/33.

important prerequisite for concert life development, at least with respect to piano music. Industrial enterprises and banks donated a half of the total amount of 70,000 dinars, which was necessary for the acquisition of Bösendorfer, “the best concert piano in the entire kingdom of ours”. The piano was placed on the stage of the Imperial Cinema hall, and the first concert on the new piano was organized on the occasion of the 100th of B. Smetana’s birthday anniversary in 1924.

Figure 5: Sarajevo Philharmonic Orchestra in 1932 (pianist K. Menšik at the piano in the rare left corner).

The data about the initiative followed by the implementation of the piano purchase is a true indicator of the transformation of the instrument’s role in BiH society. This action was both the evidence of the accelerated development

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59 According to Milanković, the amount of 26,000 dinars for the acquisition of a new concert piano was collected in a record time period, of just a few days, in the early 1924. Bujić, Bojan (1973). Pedeset godina Sarajevske filharmonije. Zvuk 3, 288–296.


of concert life and the comprehensive change in the perception of the instrument that was no longer a symbol of a “new”, unknown culture.

Figure 6: Program of the concert by the Czech pianist, Jozef Jiranek, at the Imperial Cinema, 15 March 1925.⁶³

The acquisition of the piano was a well thought investment, which was proven by dozens of outstanding concerts organized by the Sarajevo Philharmonic Orchestra. The acquisition of a high-quality piano had a direct effect on the development of concert life, including on the popularization of art, particularly piano music, since the Sarajevo Philharmonic Orchestra and District School of Music were able to host renowned pianists, thus providing the Sarajevo audience with high-quality musical events. Although the quality of concerts was high compared to the average concert life in Sarajevo, there was no regular concert audience, and the popularization of art music was therefore, one of the most important tasks of Sarajevo Philharmonic Orchestra in the period between the two wars:

“Piano art is acquiring an increasing number of friends in Sarajevo, their circle is expanding concentrically since it receives a sound impulse from the core. The core is Sarajevo Philharmonic Orchestra, which managed to introduce so

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much method and plan in its work that it grew a deep and strong root, educating its audience with cherry-picked pieces from musical literature and providing opportunities to people to hear diverse renowned masters of the day.”

The Sarajevo Philharmonic Orchestra and the District School of Music, institutions whose activities in the period between the two world wars could hardly be separated, organized the appearances of Sarajevo, Yugoslav and European pianists. Besides local pianists, Klemens Menšik, Hella Regel, Anka Ivačić, Matusja Blum, and Yugoslav pianists Ciril Ličar, Paula Begović, Petar Dumičić, Milka Đaja, Melita Lorković, and Branka Musulin, pianist


65 Hella Regel (there are no data about the place and year of birth and death), a pianist and music pedagogue. She attended A. Suzin’s music school. She worked as a piano teacher, and appeared as a soloist and accompanist at concerts organized by District School of Music and Sarajevo Philharmonic Orchestra.

66 Anka (née Ivačić) Humo (Zadar, 1903 – Sarajevo, 1962) learned to play the piano at the HGZ music school in Zagreb in 1923-25, studied in 1925-31 organ (F. Dugan) and solo singing (M. Reizer), graduated in piano playing from S. Stančić’s class at Music Academy of Zagreb. She was married to writer Hamza Humo, and starting from 1931 was a high-school music teacher in Sarajevo, from 1945 in Mostar, and from 1947 a piano teacher at School of Music in Sarajevo.

67 Matusja Blum (Kishinev, 1914 – Sarajevo, 1998), a pianist and renowned pedagogue. She was born in Kishinev, where she started the studies of piano. She moved to Sarajevo from Prague in 1939, upon completing the master class at Prague Conservatory with renowned professors Vilem Kurz and Jan Herman. In Sarajevo, she worked at the High School of Music, and starting from 1955 at Academy of Music in Sarajevo (served as the dean in periods 1963-67 and 1973-77), where she educated a series of excelling pianists and pedagogues.

68 Ciril Ličar (Trbovlje, 1894 – Belgrade, ?), a Slovene pianist and pedagogue. At a concert held at Imperial Cinema on 5 May 1924, Ličar performed the following pieces: C. Franck Prélude, choral et fugue, Bach-Liszt Variations on the theme ‘Weinen, Klagen’, Brahms Balade op. 10 d minor, Scherzo op. 4 e flat minor, Smetana Polka F major, Liszt Tarantella from Venezia e Napoli. The Museum of Literature and Theatre Arts in Sarajevo. Legacy of Bogdan Milanković. Album-memorial book of the Sarajevo Philharmonic Orchestra. The program of the concert.

69 Paula (née Goršetić) Begović (Sisak, 1879 – Dubrovnik, 1956), a Croatian pianist and pedagogue. At a concert held at Imperial Cinema on 11 January 1925, she performed the following pieces: Chopin Nocturne c sharp minor, Sain-Saëns Etude en forme de valse and Brahms Rhapsodie op. 79 b minor. The Museum of Literature and Theatre Arts in Sarajevo. Legacy of Bogdan Milanković. Album-memorial book of the Sarajevo Philharmonic Orchestra. The program of the concert.

70 Petar Dumičić (Příbram, Czech Republic, 1901 – Zagreb, 1984), a Croatian pianist, composer and music pedagogue. At a concert held at Imperial Cinema on 11 January 1925, he performed the following pieces: Schumann Carnaval op. 9, Chopin Valse op. 70 no. 1, Etude op. 10 no. 5, op. 25 no. 12, Reger Humoresque, Albeniz Chants d’Espagne (Prélude, Seguidillas).
of Europea reputation such as: Paul Weingarten\textsuperscript{74}, Jozef Jiranek\textsuperscript{75}, Aleksander Borovski\textsuperscript{76} and Hermann Arminski\textsuperscript{77} performed in Sarajevo with a great success.


\textsuperscript{74} Paul Weingarten (Brno, 1886 – Vienna, 1948), an Austrian pianist and pedagogue. At a concert held in Imperial Cinema on 23 November 1924, he performed the following pieces: Brahms \textit{Sonata op. 1 Cmajor}, Beethoven \textit{Variations with fugue op. 35 E flat major}, Stravinski \textit{Etude op. 7 no. 4}, Dvořák \textit{Na crnom jezeru, Slavenska igra} (adapted for the piano by dr. P. Weingarten), Smetana \textit{Polka op. 7 no. 1}, Liszt \textit{Après une lecture du Dante (Fantasia quasi sonata)}. The Museum of Literature and Theatre Arts in Sarajevo. Legacy of Bogdan Milanković. Album-memorial book of the Sarajevo Philharmonic Orchestra. The program of the concert.

\textsuperscript{75} Josef Jiránek (Ledce/Okres Mladá Boleslav, 1855 – Brno, 1940), a Czech pianist, composer and pedagogue. At a concert held at Imperial Cinema on 15 March 1925, he performed pieces by B. Smetana: Shepherdess op. 1 no. 3, \textit{Toccata} op. posth., \textit{Skice} op. 5 (\textit{Ugodan predio, Scherzo-Polka}), \textit{Trois polkas poétiques} op. 8, \textit{Souvenir de Bohême en forme de polkas} op. 12 no. 2 and op. 13 no. 2, \textit{Polka F sharp major op. 7}, \textit{Au bord de la mer op. 17}, \textit{Concert etude C major op. posth., Rêves En Bohême (Scène champêtre, Au salon, Près du chateau, La fête des paysans bohemiens), Czech dances (Furiant, Kokoška, Hulan, Dupak), Fantasy on Czech folk songs}. The Museum of Literature and Theatre Arts in Sarajevo. Fond: \textit{Legacy of Bogdan Milanković}. Album-memorial book of the Sarajevo Philharmonic Orchestra. The program of the concert.


\textsuperscript{77} Hermann Arminski (1904–1976) was a pianist of Jewish origin. Extremely scarce biographical data state that Arminski lived in Vinkovci (Croatia) until the Second World War. After the outbreak of the Second World War, he immigrated to New York (USA). At a
Halls packed during concerts by famous persons from the world of music are indicator for the increasing interest for piano music in Sarajevo. However, the pedagogical and concert work by local artists is more significant for the development of pianism. Klemens Menšik (Vienna, 1890 – Santa Fe, USA, 1971) was the most significant Sarajevo pianist of this period. A teacher at the District School of Music, since its establishment in 1920, and an active member of the Sarajevo Philharmonic Orchestra since 1923, Menšik spent his most fruitful performing years in Sarajevo, where he built his significant pedagogical and performing career as a pianist-soloist, chamber musician and accompanist. With his work, Menšik contributed to the popularization of piano and development of pianism in Sarajevo; he regularly appeared as a soloist, chamber musician and accompanist, while a few dozens of pupils attended his classes.

![Klemens Menšik](image)

**Figure 7: Klemens Menšik.**

The most significant aspect of Menšik’s concert activity was that within Sarajevo Philharmonic Orchestra. Out of approximately eighty concerts held on 15 April 1928, he performed the following program: Liszt *Après une lecture du Dante*, Milojević *Soir mélancolique*, Vieux conte, Ravel *Gaspar de la nuit*, Beethoven *Sonata* op. 110 A flat major, Chopin *Ballade* op. 23 g minor, *Two mazurkas*, J. Strauss/ Schulz Evler *An der schönen blauen Donau*. The Museum of Literature and Theatre Arts in Sarajevo. Legacy of Bogdan Milanković. Album-memorial book of the Sarajevo Philharmonic Orchestra. The program of the concert.

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The Piano as a Symbol of a "New Culture" in Bosnia and Herzegovina

organized by Sarajevo Philharmonic Orchestra between the two wars, Menšik appeared at twenty-seven. With the Sarajevo Philharmonic Orchestra, he performed a series of most significant pieces of concert literature79 and appeared at three soloist concerts.80

Owing to the activity by the Sarajevo Philharmonic Orchestra and the District School of Music, concert and music pedagogy assumed institutional basis in the period between the two wars. Still, the creative segment was the most significant for the development of piano music. The piano obtained a new dimension in local contexts of BiH music as one of the main media of BiH composers’ composing expression. Besides the composers of foreign origin (Matějovsky, Susin81), local names also gain recognition, e.g. Ljubomir Bajac, who had been active in the Austro-Hungarian period as well. Piano pieces are central in the creation by these composers (more frequently through adaptations of popular folk tunes, less frequently original pieces); however, despite a certain talent and creative intuition, without the firm academic education, these composers only outlined the road of development of piano music, which will achieve the first significant artistic results in BiH in the period after the Second World War.

79 Menšik performed the following concerts with Sarajevo Philharmonic Orchestra: A. Arensky Concerto for piano and orchestra in f minor op. 2, C. Franck Variations symphonies for piano and orchestra, C. Saint-Saëns Concerto for piano and orchestra no. 2 in g minor op. 22, E. Grieg Concerto for piano and orchestra in a minor op. 16, F. Chopin Concerto for piano and orchestra no. 1 in e minor op.11, F. Mendelssohn-Bartholdy Concerto for piano and orchestra no. 1 in g minor op. 25, J. C. Bach Concerto for piano and string orchestra u E flat major (in the program, without a mark foropus), L. van Beethoven Concerto for piano and orchestra no. 3 in c minor op. 37, L. van Beethoven Concerto for piano and orchestra no. 5 in E flat major op. 73, W. A. Mozart Concerto for piano and orchestra A major (in the program, without the mark foropus), W. A. Mozart Concerto for piano and orchestra no. 20 in d minor K. 466, W. A. Mozart Concert rondo for piano and orchestra in D major K. 382 Hadžić, Fatima (2016). Klemens Menšik, zaboravljeni sarajevski pijanista. Zbornik radova u čast 120-godišnjice rođenja prvog bosanskohercegovačkog etnomuzikologa fra dr Branka Marića. Edited by Jasmina Talam and Tamara Karača Beljak. Sarajevo: Muzička akademija Univerziteta u Sarajevu; Mostar, Hercegovačka fanjevačka provincija, 67–101.


81 Suzin – piano compositions (arrangements) published by J. Studnička i dr.in Sarajevo include: Cika Perajasi konja bela for piano four-hands, Haremski ples for piano, Hatikva Zionist anthem for piano, Šegrtsko kolo from allegoric play Veseli svečari for piano, Srbijanka round dance for piano, Oj daj da umrem! Adaptation of a Macedonian song for voice and piano and Album kola for piano. HAS stores scores for Tuguj violinol... ("Crna ponoć kad se spusti") and Oj daj da umrem!, while data on other Suzin’s compositions can be found on the back of the two scores as the offer by bookstore Studnička & drug. Sarajevo Historical Archives. Music scores of A. Suzin.
Conclusion

The ground breaking road of the piano, from an offspring of West European musical culture that arrived together with immigrants to a symbol of newly accepted musical culture among local population was identical to the path followed by the reception of West European culture in these regions. Cultural trends that accompanied the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy and immigrants existed in a narrow circle of middle-class elite, and began to truly infiltrate local population circles only after the occupation ended and a new regime came into force. It is for this reason that the road of piano transformation from a symbol of new culture to a symbol of newly accepted culture can be equaled to the process undergone by European culture in Bosnia and Herzegovina. In the Austro-Hungarian period, piano evolved from the main medium of reproduction in newcomers’ salons to an instrument which became the main carrier of musical infrastructure of public musical life. Piano involvement in all the pores of public musical life of Austro-Hungarian BiH, starting from music item market to composing activity, which attracted the first BiH artists, is a thorough anticipation of the subsequent stage of its transformation, which was to follow in the period between 1914 and 1918.

Within the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, musical culture in BiH developed within a different social environment. Piano still played the leading role; however, the character of the role changed, and an instrument that used to be a trademark of newcomers’ culture became one of the main symbols of acceptance of West European culture by local population. Results of the process that had begun in the previous period soon became evident through the piano presence in different segments of activity of the first BiH institutions of pedagogical (District schools of music), concert (Sarajevo Philharmonic Orchestra), and then composing (first BiH composers) nature, which constituted the foundation for the development of all elements of BiH musical culture, which would develop in its full capacity in the subsequent period (since 1945).
The Piano as a Symbol of a "New Culture" in Bosnia and Herzegovina

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Lana Paćuka and Fatima Hadžić


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Vida Palubinskienė

Traditional Musical Instrument Makers in Lithuania between the Second Half of the 19th Century and the Beginning of the 21st Century

For many years, it was a common practice in Lithuania that musicians made their own kanklės, mend it, and replace its strings. Many musicians earned their living from instrument making. Some kanklės players, having made two or more kanklės, indicated as an instrument maker as their main or second profession. The tradition of kanklės-making in Lithuania has been continuing up to now. For many years, common national instruments and creative explorations of instrument makers have resulted in constant changes of kanklės designs: from traditional to modified, later on to concert kanklės and harp, zithers or even to klaviklės. The examples of instruments show that modifications of the instrument began around mid-nineteenth century.

Kanklės production is associated with human’s death. According to Lithuanian customs it was considered best to make kanklės when a close person or a neighbour passes away. Then one needs to go to a large forest, cut the best tree growing in the higher grounds and make a kanklės from its top. If the deceased was deeply mourned, the kanklės made from the tree harvested at that time would have a sad, mournful voice and the instrument would sound much better. It is believed that this tradition could be related with the customs of perceiving kanklės as “an escort to the other world”.

Following museum exhibits, historical sources, archival data as well as material of ethno-instrumental expeditions, it may be stated that though the instruments used in the second half of the 19th up to the beginning of the 21st century retained their traditional forms, they have their construction elements and methods that make them more or less disengaged from folk traditions. This is explained by the influence of West European music culture.

The research will give due attention to traditional Lithuanian kanklės makers during the second half of the 19th and the beginning of the 21st century. In so doing, an attempt will be made to give an overview based on available written sources and outcomes of research studies on traditional kanklės makers and make thorough investigations on their activities during the 2nd half of the 19th century and the beginning of the 21st century. The discussion will also take a closer look at possible connections between the methods of kanklės making and Lithuanian traditional customs.

The research goal is to provide an overview of creative pursuits and works of kanklės makers and their significance in the ethnic culture of Lithuania during the 2nd half of the 19th and the beginning of the 21st century. For a successful outcome of the present study analytical, comparative-historic and systemic methods will be applied.
Introduction

The material collected during fieldwork show that in those periods the issue of ethnic and national identity started gaining utmost importance\(^1\). Traditional Lithuanian kanklės were considered as a symbol of ethnic identity. The same identity of an individual with kanklės used to be regarded as something that expressed national and cultural identities. The efforts to preserve and nurture the traditions, customs, language, and ethnic music had the most considerable influence on the national awareness of Lithuanians. To a large extent, kanklės, kanklės playing and the music, as some of the means to strengthen national awareness, contributed to the preservation of Lithuanian national traditions and ethnic identity\(^2\). Until present day, we have been guided by the structure of the identity that emerged in the 19th century\(^3\).

The concept of tradition has changed. Scholars interested in “the interaction between culture and history refer to this word as to the period and processes in the past that enable the continuation of the past phenomena in the present”\(^4\). Such evaluation and acknowledgment may be applied to various phenomena: practices, beliefs, expressions, and various objects.

Lithuanian ethnic music instruments and their makers are rarely mentioned in written historical sources. Available archival historical documents provide abundant information about kanklės playing in Lithuania Minor. They not only discuss playing techniques, but also properly describe the instruments along with sketches. The few illustrations have been repeatedly presented in various works.

The oldest known description of kanklės and a drawing of a string instrument are presented in the ethnographic work “Prūsų lietuvis” (The Prussian Lithuanian)\(^5\) written by Theodor Lepner, a vicar of Būdviečiai Parish in 1690. “Apie kankles ir lietuvių liaudies melodijas” (On Kanklės and Lithuanian Folk Melodies)\(^6\) published by the musicologist Friedrich August Gotthold in 1847 is

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5 Lepner, Teodor (1744). *Der preusche Littauer*. Danzig: Den Joh, Heinrich Rüdigern, 94.

considered to be the first more reliable work on kankles (kañklys) in Lithuania Minor. This study contains a drawing with two clearly portrayed instruments: a nine-string kanklės from Šeidiškiai at the top and an illustration taken from the monograph of T. Lepner. The author presented a comprehensive analysis of the body, the strings and the tuning of the instrument he possessed.

In his essay “Lietuva ir lietuviai” (Lithuania and Lithuanians) published in 1869, Otto Glagau wrote that “…in the previous century kanklys was very popular among Lithuanians. The instrument reminded of a harp and was made by Lithuanians themselves and was played to accompany songs. Now kanklys is more rarely seen as it has been replaced by a fiddle”7.

The pictures and descriptions of the abovementioned kanklės are also found in the work “Lietuvių dainos. Litauische Voksgesange”, written by German ethnographers Franz Oskar and Helen Tetzner (published in 1897). They argue that “kanklės, which were made by Nida people, were mentioned in the liturgical books of Burckhart in 1666”8. The books of F. and H. Tetzner presented a five-string kankės, which were from “Russian Lithuania”9 for the first time.

The five-string kanklės from the Biržai region were at first mentioned and described in the guide to the Biržai region entitled “Birže...” (“kunkle, instrument ze strunami od 5 do 12 metalowani, robiony z wierzy po litewsku Žylwits”)10 prepared by ethnographer Eustachy Tyszkiewicz in Polish in 1869. The shape of kanklės, number of strings, and production techniques were described and a drawing of kanklės was included as well. The author compared kankles with Russian (huśle) or gęśli and depicted the dialectic name of the instrument as kunkliai.

The Lithuanian newspaper “Garsas...” (The Sound.....) in the United States published the article “Lietuviškos kanklės” (The Lithuanian Kanklės) in 1897, where kanklės was also described next to other music instruments: “not painted boards are covered in black dye from smoke and abraded from touching and glisten as if covered in black polish (...) Apparently a lover of kanklės had to spend all free evenings for weeks or even months until decorated the upper board according to own phantasy”11.

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9 Lepner, Teodor (1744). Der preusche Littauer. Danzig: Den Joh, Heinrich Rüdigern, 94.
Folklorist and canon Adolfas Sabaliauskas–Žalia Rūta was considered to be the first explorer of ethnic vocal and instrumental music of Biržai region. In his article “Sutartines ir musu muzikos inrankiai” (Sutartines and Our Musical Instruments), he discusses about concise but general characteristics of the kanklės, its tuning, the customs of its production and its playing techniques. In his article “Užmiršti lietuvių muzikos instrumentai” (The Forgotten Lithuanian Musical Instruments) published in 1908, Polish ethnographer Michał Eustachy Brensztejn comprehensively portrays kanklės writing the following: “Kankliai jest to podłużne, płaskie pudło, zbite z cienkich deszczyków lipowych, klonowych, a nawet I drzewa innego, mające od 65 do 75 cm długości z liczbą strun od 8 do 11. Niekiedy końce bywają wycięte esowato. W celu spotęgowania głosu na desce górnej pod strunami wycięty otwór okrągły…” [Kankliai is a flat and oblong box that is hammered together out of thin boards, i.e. linden, maple or any other wood. The length of a kanklės is ca. 65-75 cm with strings between 8 and11 cm in length. The ends of kanklės are sometimes bent with a star-shaped whole on the top to make the sound stronger...]. In his writing, Mikas Petrauskas (1909 and 1913) presents substantial material on Lithuanian folk music instruments. In 1909 he writes about his father who had seen “shepherd’s” kanklės in Šeduvė during his childhood, which was made of “wooden chump with a scooped shoot on its one side covered with a thin board”. At the end of kanklės’ body nails were hammered with 8-10, 15 and more gut strings fastened to them. Tuning of the strings” was not the same all the time and it sometimes happened that one player was not able to play kanklės of another player”. But the author was not aware of how the strings were tuned. In the article of 1913, Petrauskas mentions that his “father made kanklės for priest Al. Burba and had one instrument himself as well<...>tuned as required by diatonic tuning. There were 12 strings stretched .....made of steel”.

The musicologist, Juozas Žilevičius, attempted to investigate the links of kanklės of the Baltic nations with folklore and mythology. On the basis of folklore data, he made a conclusion that kanklės is not only the of Baltic but also of the Lithuanian origin. Žilevičius was among the first to have noticed

that kanklės were made not only upon the demise of an individual but that “water was always necessary “for its production” in his article “Tautiniai lietuvių muzikos instrumentalai” (The National Lithuanian Musical Instruments), Žilevičius presented a detailed description about the construction of kanklės and he characterised the most prevailing types of Lithuanian kanklės. However, I used my own collection and the biggest number of exhibits seems to have been from Western Lithuania. The article provided drawings of those instruments and the valuable information on the number of strings: 5, 7, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13 and 14. His collection is thought to have been destroyed by fire in Gargždai during World War II.

Extensive knowledge of kanklės construction is found in the archival registers of negatives of the photographer, Balys Buračas (1897-1972). These are preserved in the Kaunas Museum of History and Ethnography. The forms and construction of instruments can be traced from the data of the registers.

The works by Lithuanian scholars such as Zenonas Slaviūnas, Jadvyga Čiurlionytė, Jonas Švedas, Pranas Stepulis, Vladas Bartusevičius, Marija Baltrėnienė, Romualdas Apanavičius, Vytautas Alenskas, Alfonas Motuzas, Arvydas Karaška, Rūta Žarskienė, the author of this article and others present the research done on kanklės.

The most significant work written about traditional kanklės of the first half of the 20th century is the study of Zenonas Slaviūnas titled “Lietuvių kanklės” (Lithuanian kanklės). This is an attempt to consistently systemise and classify the material on kanklės available at that time. The masters of kanklės are also mentioned there.

Other authors referred to Zenonas Slaviūnas’ work in an uncritical manner so that their material was more of a repetition accompanied by all the contradictions. The studies of Apanavičius and Baltrėnienė are considered to be the most valuable.

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In his articles Apanavičius discusses the classification of kanklės, the version of origin and the geographic distribution of the instrument. While classifying kanklės, he considered its construction, number of strings and the peculiarities of ethnographic regions. Consequently, he identifies three kanklės types known in the area of their distribution, from south to north-west.

The collective monograph entitled “Senosios kanklės ir kankliavimas” (The Old Kanklės and Kanklės Playing) contains extensive information on kanklės makers. Following Stepulis, in her publication “Devyniastygės kanklės: kankliavimo tradicijos ir dabartis” (A Nine-String Kanklės: Traditions of Playing and Present), Baltrėnienė drew attention to the activities of Ambroziejus, Bonaventūra, Valentinas Kalvaitis and the production of kanklės in Užnemunė. They are believed to have given the impulse for the distribution of kanklės in Užnemunė. The legacy was successfully continued by Pranas Puskunigis in Skriaudžiai and Kaunas.

My article entitled “Kanklės lietuvių etninėje kultūroje”, which refers to kanklės in Lithuanian ethnic culture of the author of this article presents a comprehensive study on the heritage of kanklės as a cultural aggregate which aims to reveal a multi-faceted socio-cultural spread of the phenomenon, its dynamics and importance in the ethnic Lithuanian culture of the 2nd half of the 20th century – the beginning of the 21st century.

The works of Alenskas contain detailed information about works of kanklės masters in the region of Suvalkija. The contributions of Pranas Puskunigis, his father Jurgis Alenskas and other kanklės players from Skriaudžiai and kanklės production are included in the description.

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Kanklės and kanklės playing in Lithuania Minor are analysed in the work entitled “Mažosios Lietuvos muzikos instrumentai ir apeiginė muzika” (Musical Instruments and Ritual Music in Lithuania Minor)\textsuperscript{28} published by Antanas Butkus and Alfonsas Motuzas in 1994.

Information referring to the first attempts of modification of the traditional kanklės in Suvalkija model in Aukštaitija at the end of the 20\textsuperscript{th} century, are found in Asta Motuzienė’s work “Kanklių giesmė” (Hymns of Kanklės)\textsuperscript{29}. The abovementioned works mainly discuss the issues of the geographic distribution of Lithuanian kanklės as well as repertoire, musician’s activities during concerts (or performances). However, they do not provide an overview about regional kanklės masters.

Employing written historical sources, archival, museum and interwar materials, the data collected during the ethno-instrumental expeditions and the conducted research, the article aims to carry out an overview of creative pursuits and works of kanklės masters and their significance in the ethnic culture of Lithuania in the 2\textsuperscript{nd} half of the 19\textsuperscript{th} century up to the beginning of the 21\textsuperscript{st} century.

**Customs Related to Making of Kanklės**

Conducting research on the origin of kanklės, it was not given due attention that their primary function could have been ritual and magic. Their name was linked with various old faiths, sagas and habits. Kanklės may have been perceived as atrophied totems, which have lost their meaning or as inseparable symbols of the pagan cult. According to Apanavičius\textsuperscript{30}, musical instruments had real prototypes in various world cultures and were spiritualised models of these prototypes. The modelling of instruments according to real prototypes shows that models were firstly used in old rituals and were later on adapted in order to satisfy aesthetical needs. The primary function of musical instruments was so significant that the esthetical function of the majority has not been identified up to present day. The transformation of kanklės into a musical instrument must have been a long and complicated process\textsuperscript{31}.

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\textsuperscript{29} Motuzienė, Asta (2001). *Kanklių giesmė*: apybraiža. Utena: UAB “Utenos Indra”.


Since production of kanklės is related with the demise of a human being, the death of a relative or neighbour was believed to be the best time to make kanklės in North-eastern Aukštaitija. Then it is necessary to go to a large forest, cut down the best tree growing in the higher place and make kanklės from its top. If the demised person is mourned deeply, the kanklės made from the cut down tree, will have a mournful sound and an instrument will a much better sound.

Similar customs were observed in Suvalkija. Improvisations on kanklės were played only at dusk just for oneself. The production of the instrument was also related to the demise of a close person and kanklės were placed on the grave of a kanklės player. Buračas explained that “the kanklės left on the dead kanklės player’s grave play for the late when the wind blows until they get rotten there.” It is believed that this tradition could have been linked with the role of kanklės as “a guide to the afterlife” and the related customs.

The Most Prominent Traditional Kanklės Makers in Lithuania (The 2nd Half Of The 19th Century – The Beginning Of The 21st Century)

For many years it was common in Lithuania that kanklės were made by the musicians who played them. Almost every kanklės player was able to make the instrument, to mend it or replace its strings, etc. Following the research data (focussing on the 2nd half of the 19th century up to mid-20th century) conducted in 2008, 51 submitters had made at least one or two kanklės in their life. Several musicians earned their living from the instrument production. Some kanklės players, who had made two or more kanklės, indicated “instrument maker” as their main or second profession. Such cases were rather common: in North-east Aukštaitija – 2, in West and Central Aukštaitija – 8, in Žemaitija – 15, in Suvalkija as many as 25. Two cases were recorded in Dzūkija. However, the majority of those people were joiners by profession. The presented data revealed that the strongest tradition of kanklės production for one’s own use (sometimes also for relatives) was observed in North-western Aukštaitija; a tradition of making it for others – in Suvalkija; in Užnemunė–

Zapyškis (Kaunas district), Sintautai (Šakių district), Skriaudžiai (Marijampolė district), in Žemaitija – Šiluva (Raseiniai district), Akmenė (Mažeikiai district) and in Western Aukštaitija. The surroundings of Krekenava (Panevėžys district) and Švedasai (Utena district) were known for the biggest number of skilful kanklės makers.

Kanklės Makers in Aukštaitija

Stanislovas Rudis-Rudys⁷⁷, the most prominent kanklės maker of the 1⁰half of the 20⁰century in Aukštaitija, was a self-taught joiner, a cabinet maker, a builder and a kanklės player. According to Ona Rudienė, his wife, Rudis started playing kanklės around 1920 encouraged by the pan-piper and kanklės player, Vytautas Kadžys⁷⁸, who was also head of the Young Lithuanians. Rudis taught people to play the kanklės in his immediate neighbourhood as well as in more distant surroundings. By 1932 he formed a group of 20 Krekenava kanklės players. The musicians used to play kanklės and sing for their own pleasure. They also gave concerts in Panevėžys, Radviliškis and Ukmergė and surroundings. The former students of the Rudžiais (many of them) were not only spread in the immediate vicinities of Krekenava, but also in distant regions, among others to Panevėžys, Rozalimas, Utena, Anykščiai, Radviliškis, Ariogala, Gėluva, Telšiai and as far as the United States of America. The tradition of their “masculine” kanklės playing has been continued by the sons and grandsons Kęstutis Rudys⁷⁹, Mindaugas, Žygimantas and Vytenis.

Figure 1: Stanislovas Rudis-Rudys in 1948, Krekenava borough, Panevėžys district. Courtesy of the personal archive of O. Rudiene, 1989.

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⁷⁷ Rudis-Rudys Stanislovas, 1880-1949, Mučiūnai village, Krekenava rural district, Panevėžys county; lived in Krekenava borough.

⁷⁸ Kadžys Vytautas, 1912-1941, Krekenava borough, Panevėžys county.

⁷⁹ Rudys Kęstutis, born in 1926, Krekenava borough, Panevėžys county; lives in Panevėžys city.
In the beginning of the 20th century a number of masters in Lithuania emerged, who particularly liked the idea of modifying kanklės. Such a centre of kanklės production was initiated by the master, Stanislovas Rudys and was established in Krekenava (Panevėžys district). Later other makers caught that idea.

Juozas Lašas, the most prominent master of kanklės of the 20th century – the beginning of the 21st century, lived in Svėdasai. He was born into a family of farm labourer. His father died when he was a little boy and his mother passed away “as soon as he turned eleven years old”\(^\text{41}\). He completed the primary school at his aunt’s in the small town of Salos. His education lasted long, because he had to shepherd during the summers. While shepherding he used to make simple instruments. Later J. Lašas saw kanklės made by Rudys in priest Jonas Kraniauskas’ home and expressed a wish to make the same instrument himself. He presented kanklės made by himself in the agricultural exhibition of 1934 and was granted his first prize! And since then, he never separated his life from kanklės. He made about 900 kanklės which were not only sounded in Lithuania but also abroad. When I visited the kanklės master, Lašas in 1991, he showed around his cosy small house and a big number of unfinished instruments. He even allowed me to play his own kanklės. In that house in the village of Savičiūnai he lived all his long life producing modified kanklės of the Suvalkija model.

Lašas was granted 1st Class Order of the Lithuanian Grand Duke Gediminas for his merits to the Lithuanian culture.

Agronomist Vladas Žeromskis\(^\text{42}\) was a creative instruments master and musician with absolute pitch. In 1957 he graduated from the Joniškėlis Agricultural Technical Institute. At the age of 16 he started playing the self-made fiddle, kanklės and guitar and he was also member of the Baisogala ethnographic ensemble until his death. Žeromskis made 15 fiddles, 6 bassettos (basedlia) (glued sides), 8 bladder fiddles, 3 reed-pipes, more than 10 kanklės and other musical instruments (guitars, pipes). According to Žeromskis, “there had never been kanklės in those surroundings”\(^\text{43}\), so in the period of 1982-1983 he produced instruments using examples of kanklės used in folklore ensembles. Žeromskis liked to play folk songs and dances. However, he played the fiddle in weddings, parties, concerts and at home more frequently than kanklės.

\(^\text{40}\) Lašas Juozas, 1912-2005, Savičiūnai village, Svėdasai eldership, Anykščiai district.
\(^\text{42}\) Vladas Žeromskis, 1906–1995, Kubiliūnai village, Grinkiškis rural district, Kaunas county - Kubiliūnai village, Baisiogala eldership, Radviliškis district.
\(^\text{43}\) Ethnic instrumental expedition (EE) 2, 1988.
The folk artist, wood carver, sculptor, master of music instruments and children’s toys Jonas Bugailiškis\textsuperscript{44} learnt a variety of skills from his father. Since his childhood Bugailiškis has been interested in old things. For a long period of time he worked as a builder. The bigger part of his museum-workshop is occupied by music instruments, which, according to the folk artist, do not require any serious creative activities: “while making musical instruments, it is necessary to be aware of technologies. All the rest are related to subtleties of the sound, which are understood in own way”, – Bugailiškis noted. He stated that “while purchasing a musical instrument, each person chooses the one that suits him or her best: from two or three kanklės a person has to choose the one that sounds best to him or her. Bugailiškis crossed his heart and said that he was not interfering into that process”\textsuperscript{45}. He knew that elm, maple, linden and fir wood used for making kanklės has to be well dried: “wood has to draw its last breath. Nothing good can be done from live wood – it will keep transforming and breaking”\textsuperscript{46}. During the time span of 36 years the master has made 1200 kanklės. In 2009 he was granted the status of Lithuanian artist and since then each of his creative article has been assigned the status of Lithuanian national heritage work. Musical instruments, sculptures and toy created by him have been acquired by Lithuanian and foreign museums. Exhibitions of his works have been organised in Austria, Denmark, Egypt, Estonia, Italy, USA, Latvia, Malaysia, France, Russia and Germany.

Kanklės Makers in Žemaitija

Joiner Aleksis Bielskis\textsuperscript{47} made dowry and colourfully decorated cabinets, chairs, benches, tables, towel holders, frames and shelves. Everything was decorated with carvings. He learnt kanklės making from Dymskis (Šiauliai), who was not only a skilled kanklės maker, but also a good player. By 1938 Bielskis already made over 30 instruments. They had 21-23 strings and sometimes 11-12 strings. He made kanklės “with a decorated bent “neck” similar to a ring-shaped roll, which made it possible to hang it on the hook”\textsuperscript{48}. Bielskis adored children for whom he used to make smaller kanklelės and teach them. Therefore, children

\textsuperscript{44} Jonas Bugailiškis, born in 1955, Ažubaliai village, Rokiškis district; lives in Vilnius city.


\textsuperscript{47} Aleksis Bielskis, 1873-?, Viršai village, Kražiai rural district, Raseiniai district.

from surrounding villages used to gather at the kanklės player’s home. His eldest brother Jonas and Pranas Vaigauskas, another student of the master, also played the kanklės made by Bielskis. The instruments of the latter were with “decorations: the bent “neck” for hanging it on the hook and the upper sounding – board decorated with the “sun”.

Folk artist and ethnographer Albertas Martinaitis is the most prominent master of the present traditional kanklės, other folk instruments, Shrove Tuesday masks and artistic smithery. He is also the head of the Šiauliai folklore club “Patrimpas” and a political and public figure in the region of Šiauliai. He graduated from the Vilnius Technical School and worked in the Šiauliai hydro-geological expedition. Martinaitis made more than 1140 kanklės without any assistance, investing his heart and energy. As he notes: “all my works are my children. A thousand of kanklės are my children, and each instrument has to be adjusted to own inner harmony. This is like a blood group: it will suit one but will be bad for somebody else”.

Figure 2: Albertas Martinaitis, Šiauliai city. Photo: Alvydas Januševičius, 2016.

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49 Jonas Bielskis, 1908-?, Viršai village, Kražiai rural district, Raseiniai district.
50 Pranas Vaigauskas, 1910-?, Laplygiai village, Kražiai rural district, Raseiniai district.
52 Albertas Martinaitis, born in 1953, Kelmė town; lives in Šiauliai city.
Therefore, he repairs broken kanklės free of charge. Martinaitis’ activities are broad. According to Januševičius “The master fascinates not by the works completed but also by his jazzing fantasy, which contributes to feeling the creators of the past at least for a short period, to discovering of music and poetry, where you never expected them to be”.

Alfredas Lučinskas⁵⁵, reed-pipe player and a music instruments’ master in the region of Klaipėda, is leader of the countryside band in the Culture Centre of Žilinanai. He worked as a teacher at the Plungė Art School and as a musician of the ensemble “Suvartukas” for 26 years. A big number of kanklės were made in cooperation with Virbašius. Lučinskas has been making instruments since 1989 retaining the authentic models, materials and processes of production. He has made about 4000 kanklės of various types. Besides kanklės, the master has as well been producing cimbolai (cymbals) (6), bassedla (basedly) (14) and musical toys – symbols of ethnic-culture.

The master of music instruments restoration and reconstruction, Antanas Butkus ⁵⁶, studied the reed-pipe. In 1978 he established Experimental Restorational Laboratory of Folk Music Instruments at Klaipėda University and was its head for a long period of time.

Having analysed short descriptions, engravings and drawings found in the works of Lepner, Bretkūnas, Pretorijus and other public figures of Lithuania Minor, he restored eight old musical instruments of various regions. The Curonian harp, i.e. kanklės (kañklys) of Lithuania Minor, was among them. Each instrument was scientifically substantiated and presented in conferences. The master can give in-depth explanations about restored musical instruments which show his long lasting expertise. Striking kanklės he remembers the history of their birth. According to his suggestion “each instrument is palmed and warmed with my hands. I prepare wood and leave it for some time. While the prepared wood “is moving”, I am thinking of what to do with it”.

When it comes to music instruments’ restoration, Butkus seems to be the only master in Europe, who restorated musical instruments of Lithuania Minor and of the Prussian region based on historical and archival sources.

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⁵⁵ Alfredas Lučinskas, born in 1952; lives in Plungė town.

⁵⁶ Antanas Butkus, born in 1933, lives in Klaipėda city.

Kanklės Makers in Suvalkija

The first best known kanklės players and makers in Užnemunė were Ambroziejus, Bonaventūras and Valentinas Kalvačiai. Ambroziejus\(^{58}\) learnt playing kanklės in early childhood. He also played the fiddle. He was not only a kanklės player but also maker and improver. Together with his brother Bonaventūras he organised circles of kanklės players in the nearby villages. They were friends with the kanklės player Puskunigis whom they frequently consulted about kanklės making. According to Stepulis, “Ambroziejus Kalvaitis is important as a master, who created and improved a complex kanklės of Suvalkija model”\(^{59}\).

Bonaventūras Kalvaitis\(^{60}\), an elder brother of Ambroziejaus, was born and grew up in the same village of Katiliai. He was known in the area as a good kanklės player and organiser of kanklės players’ circles. Together with his brother Ambroziejus, Bonaventūras organised the first circle of kanklės players in the native village of Katiliai and later in surrounding villages such as Pentiškiai, Lepšiai, Kampiniai, Šlūmai, and Griškabūdys.

Valentinas Kalvaitis\(^{61}\) is the son of Bonaventūras Kalvaitis. Being born and growing up in the village of Katilia, He learnt how to play the kanklės from his father. He was very gifted so that he soon surpassed his teachers, i.e. the father and the uncle, in kanklės playing. He made kanklės, organised circles of kankles players and taught the instrument throughout his life. He used to make very decorative kanklės (he made over 200 of them). At the age of 40, Valentinas moved to the village of Skaisgiriai, in the district of Šakiai, where he assembled a circle of 20 kanklės players. These musicians used to play in various events, i.e. evenings of entertainment as well as dances of young people. Kalvaitis was so busy with kanklės making and teaching so that that he did not take care of his own 4 hectar land, because was not interested in agricultural acitivites. According to Stepulis, all he cared about was the kanklės. Therefore, neighbours used to call Kalvaitis “Bonas, Bonas, Medžiagonas”, perhaps because of his constant searching for wood to produce new kanklės.

After completing primary school, the kanklės player and enthusiast Pranas Puskunigis\(^{62}\) entered Veiveriai Teachers’ Seminary but did not finish it. He

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\(^{58}\) Ambroziejus Kalvaitis, born about 1857-1916, Katiliai village, Sintautai rural district, Šakiai district.


\(^{60}\) Bonaventūras Kalvaitis, ?, death about 1908, Katiliai village, Sintautai rural district, Šakiai district.

\(^{61}\) Valentinas Kalvaitis, 1888-1950, Katiliai village, Sintautai rural district, Šakiai district.

\(^{62}\) Pranas Puskunigis, 1860-1946, Katiliai village, Sintautai rural district, Šakiai district; has lived Skriaudžai borough, Prienai district.
learnt to play fiddle and clarinet. At the age of nine he learnt how to play kanklės from Simanas Katilius in his native village and he fell in love with this instrument until his death. In 1906 he moved to live to Skriaudžiai, where he organised an ensemble of kanklės. The ensemble was well known in the surroundings of Skriaudžiai and its musicians were frequently invited to give concerts in small towns and villages in the area. The kanklės ensemble established by Puskunigis has existed up to present day. Later, Puskunigis started kanklės ensembles and teaching this instrument in Kaunas. For two years he even taught kanklės in the Music School of Lithuanian Kanklės Players Society, which was established in 1930 and wrote several articles on kanklės and related issues.

Figure 3: Pranas Puskunigis, Skriaudžiai borough, Prienai district. Photo: Leonas Puskunigis, 1945.

Although he worked as organ player, Puskunigis devoted all his life to the preservation and promotion of kanklės and kanklės players. He wrote articles, published them in the press and gave lectures as well. He also was very concerned about the preservation and the purification of the Lithuanian language. He created poems and songs, wrote sketches depicting rural life, everywhere exalting and romantically spiritualising a folk kanklės player. Puskunigis translated literature works from Polish and Russian languages. In 1920 he wrote “Pradžiamokslį kanklių muzikos vadovėlį” (A Textbook on Kanklės Music for Beginners)\(^63\), which was edited and published by Justinas Strimaitis in 1932. Being more concerned about promotion of kanklės, he did not have time to make instruments and used to order kanklės from other masters.

The Staniuliai, another well-known family of Užnemunė kanklės players, lived in the rural district Zapyškiai. Simas Staniulis and his three sons – Simas, Jonas and Motiejus are all prominent kanklės players. The father was a joiner and played kanklės made during the times of serfdom. The eldest son Simas was literate (used to write letters under request of other people), sang and played on weddings, weekend parties and events for the end of rye harvest. He used to play during funerals processions as well. Just like his father, Staniulis was a joiner and produced kanklės, fiddles, various pipes, drums, horns and other instruments, furniture, fiddles and household article: marriage chests decorated in national ornaments, ornate distaffs and sticks, towel holders, washing paddles decorated in images of snakes, lizards, devils, brownies, etc. At that time ready-made instruments, furniture and other household utensils were hardly available for buying them ready-produced. He was also good at decorating Easter eggs using scraping technique. This kind of art also made Staniulis famous in the neighboring villages.

Jonas and Motiejus Staniuliai left their parents’ home and, being joiners, crafting and playing kanklės, they used to travel in the villages along the river Nemunas. The information on Motiejus is scarce but Jonas is said to have been a travelling master of a cheerful character and a great story-teller. As a shepherd at the age of thirteen, he used to take his kanklės to the pastures and by the time he turned sixteen, he was had already mastered the kanklės beyond self-entertainment. Hence, he performed on festive events of Pentecost, occasions of collective assistance and youth entertainment parties. He did not have his own family. Jonas made kanklės for himself and others and for sale on the market in Kaunas where he not only offered kanklės, but also other fine wooden articles such as cult-figures, sticks, pipes, tobacco holders and small crosses. The crosses made by him were erected in the surroundings and graveyards of Zapyškis, Garliava, Tabariškis and Pažaislis.

Another kanklės player is Kazys Pečkys who is also folk artist, carver and cult-figure maker. He used to produce a big number of kanklės of Suvalkija model.

Prominent kanklės master and roofer Jurgis Alenskas lived not far from the small town of Skriaudžiai. His parents were farmers who owned 12 morgens of

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64 Simas Staniulis, lived about 19th century (beginning – middle), Vilemai village, Zapyškis rural district, Kaunas county.
65 Simas Staniulis, 1859-1931, Vilemai village, Zapyškis rural district, Kaunas county.
66 Jonas Staniulis, 1862-1939, Vilemai village, Zapyškis rural district, Kaunas county.
67 Motiejus Staniulis, ?, Vilemai village, Zapyškis rural district, Kaunas county.
69 Kazys Pečkys, (without data), Pečkiai grange, Sasnava rural district, Marijampolė county.
land near the Jūrė forest. His mother Ona\textsuperscript{71} was a famous singer. They raised two children – Jurgis and Ona, who inherited talent for music from their mother.

After the declaration of the Lithuania’s Independence in 1918, various organisations, societies and amateur artistic collectives were established. Alenskas became an active member of the Lithuanian Catholic Youth Union “Pavasaris” and took part in drama performances. Being thirteen years old he started learning to play kanklės with Puskunigis and later he joined the ensemble of kanklės players headed by Degutis\textsuperscript{72}. Jurgis’ sister Onutė and young people of the surrounding areas played kanklės together. J. Alenska made kanklės to the ensemble leader Degutis, “who played that instrument all his life”\textsuperscript{73}.

Alenskas did not learn music anywhere but he was acquainted with music notes, sang in the choir and, whenever necessary, he replaced organ players of the neighboring parishes. Though he was a self-taught man, he was an enlightened and educated person. Sister Ona remembers her brother as very vibrant during his childhood: “he liked to play very merry, live songs, different polkas, though he was frequently slow, introvert and even sad himself”\textsuperscript{74}.

From 1929 to 1940 Alenskas was leader of the kanklės ensemble in Skriaudžiai and was its member until his death. Playing and making kanklės were of paramount importance. Sometimes Alenskas and Puskunigis used to play kankles, among others, in Kaunas Radiophone. Alenskas was a very skilled kanklės master, who learnt to instruments making from Puskunigis and manufactured over 100 very nice and well-sounding kanklės. He was also good at repairing and tuning the pianos, pump organs and organs. Alenskas restored the “Hohner” accordion.

Teacher Kazys Banionis\textsuperscript{75} was taught to play kanklės by Puskunigis just like other young people in the adjacent vicinities of Skriaudžiai. Later, after the graduation from Veiveriai Teacher Seminary, he worked as a teacher in various places of Lithuania in the period of 1925-1970. He used to organise school learners’ ensembles of kanklės in all his work places, Banionis was their head.

\textsuperscript{70} Jurgis Alenskas, 1905-1970, Patašinė village, Veiveriai rural district, Marijampolė county.

\textsuperscript{71} Ona Radzevičiūtė-Alenskienė, ?, Rėkaviškis village, Plutiškiai parish.


\textsuperscript{75} Kazys Banionis, 1906-1989, Eglyninkis village, Gudeliai rural district, Marijampolė county.
taught how to play and make kanklės. Starting from 1957 he became a member of the ensemble “Kanklės” in Skriaudžiai.

The technologist Juozas Telešius\(^7\) attended the primary school of Leipalingis, completed 4 forms and studied at Kaunas Upper Secondary Technical School. He started playing kanklės at the age of 14 and learnt it from his teacher and kanklės player Antanas Matukonis. Telešius played the fiddle, the clarinet, the folk-style accordion, the accordion, the mouth organ, the balalaika, the guitar, the cimbalom and the bassoon. However, kanklės was his most important and loveliest instrument. He played kanklės for himself because “after work the music of kanklės calms me down”\(^7\), gave concerts and had a group of students. Telešius used to say that “the music of kanklės is a remedy from creeping deafness that suffocates the world”\(^7\). Involved in experimenting, the player made kanklės of a big variety of constructions and designs\(^9\). However, designing own kanklės, he “did his best to retain the traditional form and construction of traditional kanklės”\(^8\).

**Masters of unsuccessful kanklės modifications**

Jonas Garalevičius\(^8\), master of organs, modified kanklės and gliders, was born in the district of Kelmė. After graduation from the Raseiniai Gymnasium, he worked as a clerk in Riga. Garalevičius and duke Lēvenas “made parlour organs”\(^8\) in Tukums. During the period 1884-1898 Garalevičius learnt and worked in the Grüneberg Organ Building Company in Stettin (Poland). From 1898 to 1914 he repaired and restored 100 organs. He built new ones both in Lithuania, like Birštonas, Garliava, Lazdijai, Metelai, Plateliai, Prienai, Raseiniai, Simnas, Šilavotas, Telšiai, Veliuona, Vilkija, Želva and abroad, e.g. Latvia, Belarus (Breslau), Ukraine (Smila), Poland (Sejny – as many as three). The organ in the Cathedral of Sejnyis one of the best organs made by

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\(^7\) Juozas Telešius 1913-2001, Ricieliai village, Leipalingis eldership, Alytus county; has lived in Alvitas borough, Vilkaviškis district.

\(^7\) Ethnic instrumental expedition (EE) 4, 1992.


\(^8\) Jonas Garalevičius, 1871-1943, Žalpiai borough, Kelmė district; lived in Kaunas city.

Garalevičius. He even received orders from the USA but it was “too expensive to transport them there”\(^83\).

From 1901 to 1914 J. Garalevičius made about 2000 string instruments, among them, zithers with 15-25 strings, twelve-string kanklės of the Suvalkija model and kanklės with 1 - 6 keys as well as some without keys together with the instrument master, Jurgis Astrauskas. Garalevičius wrote three text books on kanklės and a handbook for watch making. He also produced an electronic clocks on his improved and patented turning lathe. Together with Kalvinskis, Garalevičius constructed the first Lithuanian gliders in 1911.

According to the musicologist Vytautas Jurkštas, “Jonas Garalevičius is a versatile and talented personality. He is a gifted musician and a master of musical instruments, an artist and a glider constructor, a man of letters and a mechanic – inventor, a public and cultural activist – and these are far from all the creative interests that accompanied him all his long life”\(^84\).

Policeman Jeronimas Jankauskas\(^85\) was interested in music as early as his childhood but did not get any special music education. He was known as a great music lover. In his native place Jankauskas got familiarised with a German zither and attempted to make a similar instrument. In 1925 he ordered a new instrument of bigger construction called kanklės- clavicles\(^86\) from the joiner of Šaukėnai. In 1933 the joiner Zaukis produced more instruments. Then Jankauskas started teaching a group of 10 students in his apartment. This was the beginning of kanklės playing courses. In the same year the first concert of kanklės- clavicles was held in Šiauliai. After several years the number of participants in courses increased and more instruments were were manufactured. These courses were attended by 20 music lovers. Jankauskas was very interested in promoting the kanklės- clavicles: a lot of articles and advertisements inviting how to learn playing the instrument were published in the press. The courses were attended by people from various age groups but most of them were school students. But next to learning how to play the instrument, participants were also familiarised with the elementary theory of music, conducting and composition. The elementary theory of music embraced learning of musical notes, conducting – counting of metric schemes in front of an ensemble of kanklės-clavicles, the science of composition “was limited to

\(^83\) Information from the specialists of the museum in Žalpiai (2007) and Ethnic instrumental expedition (EE), July, 2007.


\(^85\) Jeronimas Jankauskas, 1900 – 1945, Būdaï village, Padubysys rural district, Šiauliai county; lived in Kaunas city.

creation of a simple tune and adaptation of bass accords\textsuperscript{87} during the courses, their participants used to recite poems created by Jankauskas and to act in the stage sketches written by him. The courses were attended by many young people. Though at first sight the courses did not provide their participants with any significant music education, after completion of them a big number of young people started attending music schools, drama studios, etc. After World War II the courses moved from Šiauliai to Kaunas. After J. Jankauskas’ death, the interest in popularisation and development of kanklės-clavicles decreased and they gradually “withdrew from life”\textsuperscript{88}.

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\textsuperscript{89} A part of Kaunas county belongs to Aukštaitija region, a part to Žemaitija (Samogitia), and a part - to Suvalkija.
Dzūkija  

<table>
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**Figure 4: Territorial distribution of kanklės makers** (the second half of the 19th century – beginning of the 21st century).

Based on the available data, I may conclude that in the abovementioned regions in the 2nd half of the 19th century and the first half of the 20th century, Stanislovas Rudis - Rudys (Panevėžys district, Krekenava borough) made the biggest number of traditional kanklės (about 2000), about 200 were made by Valentinas Kalvaitis and 32 – by Ambražiejus Kalvaitis (Šakiai district, Šilutė rural district, Katiliai village) and Aleksis Bielskis (Raseiniai district, Kražiai rural district) made over 30 instruments. Since the second half of the 20th century, traditions of kanklės making have also been continued. The biggest number of traditional and concert kanklės have been produced in Egidijus Virbašius Manufaktūra (4000 instruments), about 4000 kanklės have been made by Alfredas Lučinskas (Plungė), 1140 – by Albertas Martinaitys (Šiauliai), 1200– by Jonas Bugailiškis (Vilnius), over 900 - by Juozas Lašas (Anykščiai district, Savičiūnai village), 240 – by Dalius Martinaitys (Vilnius), over 100 instruments – by Jurgis Alenskas (Marijampolė district, Veiveriai rural district, Patašių village), about 100 kanklės – by Kajetonas Naudžius (Prienai district, Skriaudžiai borough), more than 10 – by Vladas Kučinskas (Prienai district, Skriaudžiai borough) and by a big number of other masters of musical instruments.

**Reconstructions and Modifications of Kanklės**

The principle of authenticity is followed reconstructing kanklės. The instruments have been used in the process of teaching since 1945. A more considerable attention was allocated to the reconstruction and use of authentic ethnic musical instruments after a movement of folklore ensembles started in 1968. Following the descriptions, pictures and drawings in the published works, the kanklės was reconstructed by Zigmas Armonas, head of the Experimental Restorational Laboratory of Folk Music Instruments of Lithuanian Academy of Music and Theatre. The instruments retained their traditional shapes and sound qualities. They are diatonic instruments possessing similar performing qualities like ethnic music instruments. In 1982 Egidijus Virbašius, a co-worker of this Laboratory (later head), graduate from

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90 Though the region of Dzūkija is not included into the area of kanklės distribution, several kanklės players and kanklės makers, who had moved from other regions, used to live in Dzūkija.
the Department of Folk Instruments, started restoring traditional instruments for folklore ensembles as well. The majority of Lithuanian folk ensembles began using traditional instruments produced by both reconstructors and many of them have been played until now.


The published works, the data available in the archives, museums and the results of the expeditions allow to state that masters used wood of ash, maple, linden for kanklės. Birch, black alder and elm were used less often and oak – very rarely. The top of kanklės is most frequently made from fir.

A knife and a scraper were the most prevailing tools for production of the instrument. Later masters started using a chisel, a needle, a drill and even foot-wheeled woodworking lathes. Contemporary masters are well aware of traditional tools and use them at present as well. These are knives, chisels, planes, drills and jigsaws. All the masters use them next to electric drills, saws, chisels, turning lathes, milling and polishing machines\footnote{Apanavičius, Romualdas, Eglė Aleknaitė, Eglė Savickaitė – Kačerauskienė, Kristina Apanavičiūtė – Sulikienė and Ingrida Šlepavičiūtė (2015). \textit{Etninės muzikos gaivinimo judėjimas Lietuvoje}. Kaunas: Versus aureus, 151.}. They emphasise that without the oldest tools today it is impossible to make kanklės of excellent sound. The electric tools here are only helpers in irreplaceable manual work.

The survey conducted by the researchers of the Vytautas Magnus University between 2011 and 2015\footnote{Apanavičius, Romualdas, Eglė Aleknaitė, Eglė Savickaitė – Kačerauskienė, Kristina Apanavičiūtė – Sulikienė and Ingrida Šlepavičiūtė (2015). \textit{Etninės muzikos gaivinimo judėjimas Lietuvoje}. Kaunas: Versus aureus, 151-153.} showed that the opinions of masters about the links of reconstructed instruments with the old traditions differed significantly. Only slightly more than half of them think that the reconstructed instruments retain the features of their old sound. Others argue that producing instruments under contemporary conditions, involving educated people and using both traditional methods and modern technologies, there is little point in discussing the inconsiderate protection of traditions.\footnote{Apanavičius, Romualdas, Eglė Aleknaitė, Eglė Savickaitė – Kačerauskienė, Kristina Apanavičiūtė – Sulikienė and Ingrida Šlepavičiūtė (2015). \textit{Etninės muzikos gaivinimo judėjimas Lietuvoje}. Kaunas: Versus aureus, 151.} However, the masters approach production of reconstructed ethnic music instruments with high responsibility. They link it not only with the old traditions, their continuation and revival but
are also familiar with the needs of contemporary society. They clearly understand that “a contemporary individual cannot turn back and penetrate into the past of one hundred or even more years recklessly, and even possessing objective knowledge of traditions of musical instrument production and their use, she or he cannot rely only on the ancient myths and mythical images”\(^95\).

Figure 5: Factors that influence production of kanklės.

The instruments were modified following the experience accumulated in Lithuanian traditional music playing and the examples of constructions of classical instruments of academic music of other nations\(^96\). The reconstructed instruments are played by professional performers and amateurs and they are broadly used in the process of ethnic music stylisation. The analysis of kanklės exhibits stored in the repositories of Lithuanian museums shows that at the end of the 19\(^{th}\) century and the beginning of the 20\(^{th}\) century their construction changed. Kanklės acquired features of European instruments and those of zithers in particular. The changes were predetermined by the repertory of common national dances, which were complicated or impossible to perform on kanklės\(^97\).


The first modified 12-string kanklės resembling the Suvalkija model was constructed in the musical instrument manufacturing company in Kaunas in 1901. Modification was also encouraged by the Lithuanian Society of Kanklės Players, which started its activities in 1925 and the Kanklės Music School set up in Kaunas in 1930. The 15-string kanklės of the Suvalkija model was made in 1928 together designing its family: alto, bass and contrabass. Though well aware of the Suvalkija model kanklės playing traditions, Justinas Strimaitis, the head of the school, ordered a sketch for Antanas Žmuidzinavičius, an expert in Lithuanian folk art and a painter, who, together with M. K. Čiurlionis, organised the first exhibition of Lithuanian art in Vilnius in 1907, and selected ethnographic and kanklės exhibits for it.

According to Strimaitis’ project, a 22-string kanklės was made in 1932 and a simple mechanism of adjustment of string tune, which was introduced in 1933, is being used until today. The sound of each string is changed by a semitone. It made it possible to play folk melodies, folk and transcribed compositions of academic music on kanklės. With the relentless efforts of Pranas Stepulis, the numbers of strings rose to 29 in 1954 and the sound of the instrument embraced 4 octaves. Bass and contrabass kanklės were also constructed. The last time kanklės were modified in 1964. Taking kanklės of Vincas Kudirka stored in his memorial museum in the village of Paežeriai of Vilkaviškis district, Stepulis ordered a sketch of modified kanklės from the stenographer, Dalia Mataitienė. The concert kanklės has 29 strings and a mechanism of their tuning.

**Professional Kanklės Makers, Master Improvers: 20th - Early 21st Century**

Justinas Strimaitis, one of the most prominent advocates of folk instrumental music, was a teacher. He was born into and grew up in a big family of a poor peasant. He graduated from the primary school in Griškabūdis and studied in Veiveriai Teacher Seminary. Strimaitis worked as a teacher in various places in Lithuania. He fell in love with music at a very young age. He also learnt playing the fiddle. He also played in the orchestra of the Veiveriai Teacher Seminary. In 1931 he showed interest in kanklės, learnt to play traditional kanklės of the Suvalkija model from Puskunigis and was never separated from the instrument ever since. In the same year he became head of the Kanklės Music School in Kaunas of the Lithuanian Society of Kanklės Players. The school was later renamed after the courses of kanklės and panpipe music. Later Strimaitis taught kanklės playing introducing a new

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98 Justinas Strimaitis, 1895-1960, Rygiškiai village, Griškabūdis rural district, Šakiai district; lived in Kaunas city.

technique of finger-nail playing he invented. Under his initiative kanklės of the Suvalkija model were substantially improved. Hence, the sound system was expanded and modal converters were adjusted. Strimaitis taught kanklės playing in Kaunas Gruodis Conservatory from 1950 to 1958.

Strimaitis popularised kanklės and its music in various ways. He organised the production of kanklės, arranged folk songs and light instrumental piano compositions, wrote original compositions for kanklės: waltzes and polkas. He published many articles on various issues of kanklės music in the press. He also edited Puskunigis’ textbook and wrote “Kanklininko prisimintimai” (The Memories of Kanklės Player).

The childhood life of Pranas Stepulis, the most prominent improver of professional kanklės in Lithuania, was very difficult. Afraid of the German army during World War I, his parents fled into the depths of Russia. Pranukas stayed with his grandparents in his mother’s native village of Žališkės. He was fond of singing in his childhood and wanted to learn how to play the fiddle, which he had heard in youth entertainment events. “He would sit glued to village musicians and try to memorise everything.” Stepulis had carved something similar to a fiddle with two rope strings. And he would play and play it..... Later he started playing with other village musicians in various events such as parties and weddings.

Figure 6: Pranas Stepulis in 2005, Vilnius city. Courtesy of Z. Stepulienė, 2008 (personal archive).

Stepulis got interested in Lithuanian folk musical instruments while living in Kaunas. When he started attending music courses organised by the Lithuanian...

101 Pranas Stepulis, 1913-2007, Janėnai village, Šventežeris rural district, Lazdijai district; lived in Vilnius city.
Society of Kanklės Players, “the turning point, which determined his further life”\(^{103}\) occurred in his life. Having learnt to play kanklės from Puskunigis, he purchased kanklės of Suvalkijan model and did not leave it all his life.

Stepulis took over the lead of the courses after Strimaitis resigned. Next to ordinary concerts, participants in the courses played kanklės in Kaunas Radiophone.

In 1940 Švedas established an ensemble of folk songs and dances and Stepulis was invited to work in the orchestra. There he was “a kanklės player, frequently a solo performer and head of the ensemble for twenty years”\(^{104}\). The orchestra needed a wider scale and instruments of higher volume; therefore, Stepulis and other masters such as Pranas Serva, Pranas Kupčikas, Zigmas Armonas started to improve and create concert kanklės. He took up this work with great responsibility, passion and determination.

The Department of Folk Instruments was established in Vilnius Conservatory (now - Lithuanian Academy of Music and Theatre), where Stepulis was invited to teach kanklės in 1945. He worked in the Academy for 47 years and 17 years out of them were dedicated to leading the Department of Folk Instruments. He also worked on the improvement of kanklės, collected pedagogical and concert repertory, created and improved the methodology of kanklės playing, conducted in song festivals, participated in celebrations, contests, conferences, and various meetings.

According to Valentas Leimontas his life was dedicated to kanklės, i.e. to the instrument, which is not only the symbol of the nation but also something lively and sounding at present and in the future since the Lithuanian spirit is embodied in it\(^{105}\).

Reed-pipe player and master of instruments Egidijus Virbašius\(^{106}\) got interested in instrument making 35 years ago, when he used to study folk music in the Lithuanian Academy of Music and Theatre. Armonas, head of Experimental Restorational Laboratory of Folk Music Instruments, invited him to work in the workshop of music instruments under his leadership. He conducted a thorough analysis of the instruments stored not only in the repositories of Lithuanian museums but also in those of Latvian, Estonian, Carelian, Russian and Finish museums. After completing his studies, Virbačius started working...

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\(^{106}\) Egidijus Virbašius, born in 1960, Kaunas city; lives in Vilnius city.
in the academy, teaching students to play traditional music instruments. He is also an organiser - enthusiast of ethnic-instrumental expeditions, courses of ethnic music. Virbačius has written methodological articles, delivering presentations in conferences. He was also active in organising exhibitions of musical instruments not only in Lithuania but also in Poland, Norway, Germany, French, Sweden and England. Since he is well aware of collections of old musical instruments in museums, he confirms to characteristic ethnic and regional traditions while producing new instruments.

Figure 7: Egidijus Virbašius. Vilnius city. Courtesy of E. Virbašius, 2000 (personal archive).

The master says that students of the Lithuanian Academy of Music and Theatre are frequent visitors in his workshop. Young people do not stay long there as they were thinking that “it is very simple to make an instrument” but when they experience that it is not that simple, they never show up in the workshop any more.¹⁰⁷

At present he is making wind instruments: lumzdeliai with a variety of tunings, diatonic and chromatic reed-pipes, horns, trumpets, whistles, goat horns, pan-pipes, Lithuanian bagpipes; string instruments: kanklės of various models, psalterium, cimbaloms, bladder fiddle and percussion instruments: drums, wooden bells, rattles, clatter boxes. He has been investigating and popularising Lithuanian folk instruments with pleasure.

Zigmantas Liutikas, a master of musical instruments, got an idea of producing electric kanklės more than ten years ago. He told that once he had been asked to improve the usual concert kanklės. Accordingly, he noted that the concert kanklės is a portable piano, which hurts fingers and has a poor sound. Therefore, I made my own kanklės that are much lighter with a pleasant sound, while the fingers will not be hurted due to the soft strings.

The master was always interested in music, played several music instruments. Therefore, he knew that several instruments could have been slightly improved. The musician stated that he had started modernising traditional and concert kanklės because he wanted as many people as possible to listen to its sound and also perform in huge halls. Modernisation of folk instruments is seen favourable not only by the master himself but also by ethnic culture experts. The first concert of electric kanklės was held in Šiauliuose. The famous kanklės player, Kristina Kuprytė, makes this instrument sound on the world stages as well. In addition to the production and improvement of kanklės, Liutikas has been delivering seminars about their production.

Having overviewed the professional and creative activities of masters, it can be concluded that the majority of kanklės masters have (had) various professions backgrounds such as joiners, furniture makers, folk artists, musicians, teachers, organists, agronomists, technologists, smiths, organ and glider masters and even policemen! Some of them mentioned several professions. The masters are (were) educated, polymaths and interested in humanities and technical sciences.

The transformations in the traditional life style, the collapse of the cultural system have resulted in changing the image of kanklės in the 2nd half of the 19th century and the beginning of the 21st century. The kanklės has become an instrument that satisfies only esthetical needs. Along with the changed cultural situation the previous symbolic and mythical aspects of kanklės’ and its roles have disappeared and the masters of kanklės have always been making instruments conforming to the needs of the period.

108 Zigmantas Liutikas, born in 1944, Gargždai borough; lives in Gargždai borough, Klaipėda district.


Conclusions

Based on museum exhibits, historical sources, archival data and material of ethno-instrumental expeditions, it can be concluded that for many years it was common practice in Lithuania that musicians made their own kanklės. Almost every kanklės player was able to construct a kanklės, mend it, replace its strings etc. Most of the submitters had made at least one or two kanklės in their life. Many musicians supplemented their incomes from instrument production. Some kanklės players, having made two or more kanklės, indicated that their main or second profession was making instruments.

Under the influence of common national instruments and creative pursuits of masters, certain changes in kanklės construction have been observed: from traditional to modified instruments, and later to kanklės of concert, harp, zither types and even to clavicles. The examples of instruments show that the modification of kanklės started approximately in mid-19th century. Since then, the shapes of a number of instruments have undergone considerable changes. Also the techniques of production have changed, the body has increased as well as the variety of their forms, more strings have been added and the variety of ornaments has increased.

The collected data allow to conclude that the most prevailing traditions of making kanklės for own playing (sometimes for relatives) was observed in North-western Aukštaitija; a tradition of making it for others – in Suvalkija, Žemaitija and in Western Aukštaitija. The traditions of producing modified kanklės in Lithuania are still practiced today.

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Vida Palubinskienė


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Traditional Musical Instrument Makers in Lithuania


Vida Palubinskienė


The purpose of this paper is to reflect on several themes related to the permissibility of instrumental sound in society. My survey focuses on the complex historical itinerary of the presence of folk instrumental practices in the Region of Piedmont, in north-western Italy. The aim is to analyse how instrumental repertoires as well as musical instruments have enjoyed alternate phases of fortune and oblivion within a time frame of over a century of cultural history, focusing primarily on the final decades.

The events concerned are for the most part only slightly documented, and the intention of this survey is to initiate an organic path of re-emergence and re-reading of the sources, beginning with the most recent operations aimed at enhancing an historical cultural heritage.

We have identified an initial exemplary context for our survey in the socio-political organisation of the Ancien Régime. Beginning in the 16th century, the chronicles reveal an emerging element of sound in the military sphere. The movements of the European infantries were in fact governed by the sound of two specific musical instruments: fifes and drums. They were considered so essential as to be on a par with firearms. For this reason there was strong opposition to their widespread use outside the control of the military authority. In particular, on several occasions the civil and religious authorities attempted to abolish the use of sound (together with other markers of a military nature) in the badie, or abbadie, the societates juvenum, the youth consortiums traditionally put in charge of organising holiday celebrations. We can see that despite such limitations on permissibility, they were not enough to contain the phenomenon of which the traces have come down to us today.

Statute of the badia (abbey) of Bossolasco, end of 16th century

1° - The young folks and those who will be described in the Registry of the Abbazia (Abbey) […] shall in each year […] meet together to elect the new Abbà (Abbot) […]

2° - that the said Abbà shall be bound […] to unite and delegate his officials as he deems opportune and that no one of the Officials elected may recuse the office […]

3° - that the said Abbà shall make it understood that whosoever wishes to enter said Company must appear in person and have himself voted within eight days […]

5° - that the soldiers of the Abbadia must as required be ready both in honour and in service of the Most Illustrious Priors of the entire Badia, wherever there is need.
6° - that the *Abbadia* must provide and maintain a badge for the uniform and livery of the Lords and likewise the Cane and Hat and also provide for itself a *tamburo* (drum) which will be the honour and praise of all the *Badia*. […]\(^{1}\)

Statute of the badia (abbey) of Carignano, end of 16th century

The final day of January 1573, was a day of great solemnity for the *Abbadia* of Carignano; this was the day of Shrove Saturday, so that, gathered together by the Abbà the cheerful company, with the great participation of young men and girls, roughly forty in number, they went to the monastery of the Nuns of Saint Chiara and, following an ancient usage, they all entered there beating the *drum*, with *violons and players*, and took up the *dance* […]\(^{2}\)

Statute of the badia (abbey) of Limone Piemonte, end of 16th century

The armed dance of Limone Piemonte […] follows on the occasion of the procession of the Passion of Christ. Four Knights on foot carry the flag which they wave […]; two players of fifes and a little drum follow and then 12 guards and a commander. These soldiers, dressed in a rather characteristic manner and armed with long swords, protect the procession. While they wait for the formation of the procession in the town square, they execute manoeuvres and act out a battle, which is rhythmic, to the sound of fifes and drums.\(^{3}\)

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1 Statuto della badia di Bossolasco, fine XVI secolo

1° - La gioventù e coloro che saranno descritti nel Rollo dell’Abbazia […] dovrà in ogni anno […] ridursi insieme per far l’elezione del nuovo Abbà […]

2° - che detto Abbà sarà tenuto […] unire e deputare i suoi officiali conforme le parerà e che nissuno degli Ufficiali eletti possa ricusar l’ufficio […]

3° - che detto Abbà farà intendere che chi voglia entrar in detta Compagnia debba comparire e farsi vottare fra il termine di giorni otto […]

5° - che gli soldati dell’Abbadia debbano negli occorrenti esser pronti tanto in onore e servizio degli Ill.mi Priori che di tutta la Badia, ove sarà di bisogno.

6° - che l’Abbadia si debba provvedere e mantenere una insegna alla divisa e livrea degli Signori e così il Bastone e Capello e provvedersi ancora di un tamburo che sarà onore e lode di tutta la Badia. […]

(Archivio di Stato di Torino, Ministero della Guerra, Regia Segreteria di Guerra, Stabilimenti militari, Vol. 4).

2 Statuto della badia di Carignano, fine XVI secolo


3 Statuto della badia di Limone Piemonte, fine XVI secolo

La danza armata di Limone Piemonte […] segue in occasione della processione della Passione di Cristo. Quattro Cavaliere appiedati portano la bandiera che sventolano […]; seguono due suonatori di piffero ed un tamburino e poi 12 guardie e un comandante.
Pastoral visit of 1647 made by the Bishop of Ivrea, Monsignor Ottavio Asinari, to the Parish of Castellamonte

At the altar of Saint Michael Archangel the mass is sung, during which the offertory is carried out by the entire badia (abbey); the components of the latter, at the moment of the offertory, are in the habit of approaching carrying their arms. The company of the Suffrage, erected at the same altar, has for a long time had the use of half of a sum of money, which the badia extorts from those who marry for the second time, in order to avoid the uproar of the chiabra (chivaree). In the successive bishop decree monsignor Asinari forbids those who belong to the badia from entering the church with the tympano (kettledrum) and the banner and orders that they be deposed outside the church. Furthermore, molesting or verbally abusing persons marrying for the second time is forbidden.4

Figure 1-2: Torino 1786, Manuscript of the Ordinary Pace of the Army, for fifes and drums;5 the group of fifes and drums of the Carnival of Ivrea, playing during the holiday in 2005.


4 Visita pastorale del 1647 compiuta dal Vescovo di Ivrea, Monsignor Ottavio Asinari, presso la Parrocchia di Castellamonte


5 Archivio di Stato di Torino, Ministero della Guerra, Regia Segreteria di Guerra, Stabilimenti militari, Vol. 4.
If in this brief introduction we have reconstructed an apparatus of sound norms by reading between the lines of chronicles of the time, a direct and attentive interest in the forms of traditional music is generated beginning in the 1800s, in the path of romantic historicism. Research into the primitive origins of peoples then had a strong “political” value as it was on those foundations that the characters of the new national States were meant to be shaped. As far as Italy is concerned, this process began in Piedmont, seat of the reigning House of Savoy well before the unification of the peninsula. It is not in fact by chance that it was the Secretary of State and diplomat Constantino Nigra who undertook the fundamental collection of the folk songs of Piedmont. The severe limit of this compilation is that it is an anthology of mute documents, i.e., almost totally lacking in transcriptions of the sound apparatus: an extremely accurate application of the philological-textual method of analysis is not accompanied by the same attention to the musical and instrumental aspect.

Figures 3-5: A portrait of Costantino Nigra; the frontispiece of the anthology Folk Songs from Piedmont, published by Costantino Nigra; one of the sixteen musical transcriptions of songs present in the work.6

6 Il tamburino (The drummer boy): There are three drummer boys who come back from the war / There are three drummers and tan tan ra ta plan drummers who come back from the war. Nigra, Costantino (1888): Canti popolari del Piemonte. Torino, Ermanno Loescher: 570. Regarding the discovery of the vocal heritage realised by Costantino Nigra, see Raschieri, Guido (2014). «Dizi-me ūn poc, bela Franzéisa». Costantino Nigra et la collecte des répertoires musicaux populaires en Italie au XIXe siècle. Fascinantes Étrangetés. La découverte de l’altérité musicale en Europe au XIXᵉ siècle. Paris, L’Harmattan. 99-117.
A short time afterwards, specifically with reference to musicological studies, at the end of the 19th century, the founding of the *Rivista Musicale Italiana* (Italian Musical Review), a publication of positivist inspiration, is worthy of note. It represented a temporary phase, although one of extreme importance in the development of musical ethnography and ethno-organology in Italy. Unfortunately, however, there was no study dedicated to the reality of the Region’s musical instrumentation.\(^7\)

Despite a reduced presence of detailed treatises up until a given era, there is a large and heterogeneous volume of accessible sources that are useful in illustrating the contexts in which the musical instruments are played and central in defining their specific position in the cultural and social context. On one hand, a wealth of information emerges from a prudent reading of intermediate sources such as chronicles and reportages, illustrations in narrative form, travel reports, reviews of public events, administrative acts, historical and ethnographic accounts of a general nature. Other fundamental elements are derived instead from primary sources such as collections of the instruments themselves, accounting documents, iconographic traces, teaching methods, musical scores.

We can exemplify the results of one of the research topics opened, concentrating on several collections of 19th century manuscripts containing instrumental pieces of dance of popular origin. These offer a direct and unequivocal testimony of a natural attitude of permissibility with regard to the entry and acceptance in educated circles of primitive repertoires of autochthonous expression through processes of formal canonisation. The prevailing destination - openly stated only in some cases - for string ensembles also reflects a practice that must have been shared by the original traditional context before being supported and progressively replaced by wind instruments during the successive period of consolidation and stable presence of the brass bands.\(^8\)

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\(^7\) *Rivista Musicale Italiana* (1894-1955). Torino, Giuseppe Bocca.

\(^8\) The practice of translating models circulating in the world of traditional music into art music is a rather recurrent phenomenon. The analytic case chosen is situated midway between different manifestations of sound that were never really rigidly separated. There are, however, testimonies of a more net distance from the original substrate of folk practice: for the case of Piedmont, we need only mention the eloquent operation conducted in this sense by Muzio Clementi (1752–1832), with the collection 12 *Monferrinas for Piano Op. 49*. For a comprehensive view of the themes dealt with here updated in the light of new findings and reflections, see the collective essay, Benedetti, Maurizio and Titli, Maria, eds. (1999): *Tradizione popolare e linguaggio colto nell’Ottocento e Novecento musicale piemontese*. Torino, Centro Studi Piemontesi.
On a related level, within the horizon of musical romanticism and the style of the national schools, what emerged were experiences in the translation in cultured language and instrumentation of the popular instrumental and vocal repertoires. Here the figure of Leone Sinigaglia stands out. Friend and pupil of Brahms and Dvorak, he carried out personally a monumental work collecting and transcribing traditional musical practices in use in Cavoretto, a village on the hillside near Torino. Based on those materials, Sinigaglia promoted a sort of ‘nobilitation’ through the composition of works for voice and piano as well as orchestral pieces.

The initial results of Sinigaglia’s scholarly contribution come to light with the publication of the orchestral compositions the two Danze Piemontesi (Piedmontese Dances), dated 1903, and the Suite “Piemonte” (Piedmont Suite), composed in 1909. The unpublished Serenata (Serenade), op. 30 and the Rapsodia piemontese (Piedmontese Rhapsody), op. 26, for violin and orchestra, are also worthy of mention, although not based directly on popular themes. Insofar as vocal compositions are concerned, what emerges first of all are the 36 Vecchie Canzoni del Piemonte (36 Ancient Songs of Piedmont) for voice and piano, published in six booklets between 1914 and 1927 by Breitkopf & Härtel. A second collection of 18 Canzoni (18 Songs), for mixed four-part chorus was published posthumously in 1980, curated by Luigi Rognoni.10

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9 The booklet is conserved in the Biblioteca Civica di Mondovì, Manuscript Collection.
Figure 8-10: A portrait of Leone Sinigaglia, the frontispiece of the anthology *Ancient Folk Songs from Piedmont*, collected and transcribed by Leone Sinigaglia, and the cover of the *Piedmont Suite Op. 36*.

Sinigaglia’s Jewish origin made him the object of persecution by the Nazi police who occupied Torino during 1944; at the moment of his arrest, he died of a heart attack, while miraculously, many of his inedited works were saved.

The next phase of our historical itinerary is situated exactly in the difficult political and cultural climate of those years. Despite the premises, under Italy’s fascist regime the universe of folk musical expression was the object of a certain amount of attention on the part of the government, from the point of view of a propaganda that sought the consensus of the masses and in particular the support of the rural population. Cultural performances – just as every other evasive activity – were subject to the organ of management and control of the *Opera Nazionale Dopolavoro*, the entity responsible for recreational activities for workers. This led on one hand to the creation of an underground reality, which found occasions for public performances in large gatherings, organized by the local sections and the headquarters of that entity. On the other hand, the new formal structure imposed upon spontaneous events destined to become genuine performances resulted in a rather significant remodelling of what was originally arranged. We consider an exemplary case the so-called *Lachera* of Rocca Grimalda (in the Province of Alessandria), one of the most archaic carnivals in the area of the Piedmontese Alps. A publication of the *Opera Nazionale Dopolavoro* offers a detailed description of this ritual, dwelling especially on the festival’s founding myth, on the costumes of the participants, and on the choreutic movements carried out in the ceremonial dances. The report also includes – quite a rarity – a collection of transcriptions of part of the instrumental repertoire performed, perhaps attributable to a compiler within the group. Lastly, a brief passage describes the instrumental accompaniment of the dance, entrusted to a sole accordion.
The presence of the accordion is not casual, since this instrument occupied the scene of Piedmontese folk music roughly from the 1930s to the 1970s owing to the fact that it had reached perfection in terms of its construction, to a stability that distinguished it from the precarious nature of the instruments used up until then and which it gradually replaced, and to its character of autonomous and self-sufficient instrument.

Its wide circulation therefore corresponds to an expanded permissibility. It embraces several social and cultural groups thanks to the success acquired in the amateur field as well as in professional use. It reached the point of appearing on various stages, from the urban café-concert and the dance halls in vogue, to the peasant farmyards. The fame of the instrument and its virtuosis was divided between the world of the Piedmontese province and the international scene (it is enough to think of how much the tradition of the Parisian bal musette owes to its Piedmont neighbour or to the level of specialisation attained by the accordion factories in Piedmont and in neighbouring Lombardy on the European continent).

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11 Costumi, musica, danze e feste popolari italiane. 2. ed. (1935). Roma: Opera Nazionale Dopolavoro, 188.
Cultural Trends, Social Belonging and Musical Instruments

Figure 12-15: Diatonic button accordion and semi-diatonic button accordion (piedmontese workmanship, turn of the twentieth century – Collection of the Museo del Paesaggio Sonoro di Riva presso Chieri); Chromatic piano accordions (Galanti Brothers manufacturers, New York, 1930s and M. Boario retailer, Torino; G. Verde manufacturer, Leini, Torino, 1970s – Collection of Domenico Torta).

In the course of the ’70s that same accordion – along with the general diffusion of ballroom dancing – gradually became the last sound symbol of a rural past that the modern world wished to forget. A period of abandonment - ideal and material - followed the splendour and ostentation of the preceding decades.

In a process of return to mythical origins, what was recovered, if anything, was the primitive diatonic accordion. Especially in Torino’s “underground” environment, and later on in smaller urban centres, a new folk music revival was born. It followed, or rather exceeded, a series of experiences of reproposal activated in the preceding decade thanks also to the contemporary refounding of ethnomusicological studies in Italy.

Otherwise, the new itinerary of the ’70s was nourished by international sources of inspiration, where the alternative rock of the English-speaking countries found space, but also the operations of reproposal already inaugurated outside Italy, especially in neighbouring France.
Not coincidentally, once the movement got underway its consolidation came about in the alpine valleys bordering on southern France, since then identified as Occitane, just as Occitane became the name of a new musical genre, thus dictating an historical-political and cultural unity with those lands.

In a process quite close to the invention of tradition, the musical groups thus adopted a refounded vocabulary of expression and a heterogeneous collection of instruments. On one hand we saw the recovery of instruments that had fallen into disuse while on the other, musical instruments coming from outside Piedmont and Italy came into use. To cite an example, an instrument that became a symbol and a guarantee of authenticity of the new genre was the hurdy-gurdy, of which the Italian territory had in truth rare and limited demonstrations in its use by travelling musicians. The itinerary turned then, with success, to the current of folk rock from which further entries were derived.

Figure 16: The cover of the disc *Sound catalogue of the principal Occitan musical instruments*.\(^{12}\)

Finally, more recent experiences, the activity of the group *Musicanti di Riva presso Chieri* and the foundation of the *Museo del Paesaggio Sonoro*, made it possible to re-establish with care a historical and contemporary outline of the organological presences and instrumental practices in the area, thus promoting a renewal of perspectives in an ample socio-cultural context.

The experience of new musical reproposal moves away from the model of folk revival just described, inserting itself within a traditional current belonging to the environment where it was created and never completely interrupted. Similarly, the thirty-year-long operation of independent collection of objects of sound and of testimony regarding their use carried out primarily by Domenico Torta has fortuitously joined forces with Italy’s best tradition of ethno-organological studies. It was an unexpected event that sparked the undertaking of a museum project following the encounter between Torta and Febo Guizzi, the foremost scholar of the instruments of traditional music in Italy.

The museum itinerary of which I curated the set-up offers an infinite series of elements for reflection and interpretation. I limit myself here to some of those that are more pertinent in terms of their connection with the theme of the permissibility of musical instruments.

For example, we can speak about seasonal permissibility, tied to nature, in the construction and in the ritual and recreational use of instruments typical of spring. We find a calendar and religious permissibility, in the use of church bells and the “substitute” instruments of Holy Week.

We must be mindful of gender permissibility: excluding certain practices in singing, the traditional rule dictated a totally masculine context in the management of sound. The informer Pina Tamagnone told us of a warning with which her husband’s family had admonished her: «the whistle of a woman offends the Madonna», a very eloquent sign of how improper it was for a woman to dedicate herself to musical expression.
Other customs common to the rural world define a form of permissibility restricted to professional competence in the management of objects of sound, such as hunting calls and the instruments used to stop bees from swarming.

There is also a very lively sense of permissibility connected to the different level of musical proficiency. We entitled a room of the Museum to the Musicant e Sunadur, musicians and players, the former intended as referring to semi-professional players and the latter to the quite distinct actors of an amateur scene, despite the fact that they share a common language.

Finally, there is an internal awareness of what we call Musica da poch, meaning “Music of little value”, or “music made of nothing”, where in truth we can find traces of an ancestral tendency, both human and communitarian, to make music, where permissibility finds room for expansion.

Figure 19: A scene of the opera Paesaggi Sonori by Domenico Torta (Teatro Regio di Torino, 2014-2015). The group of the Musicanti di Riva presso Chieri in dialogue with the chamber orchestra of the theatre (photo by Paolo Torta).

This concept of music of little value, or music made of nothing, is however very far from the attribution of scarce value to popular musical expressions as a whole which is generally rooted in the culture of the European élites. There is a rather rigid limit between the high and the low of sound performances that must not be surpassed. Within a dichotomic model, that passage (while omnipresent underneath) means a change in rank. Currently, the experience of creating the Museum has brought our study group and the Musicanti di Riva presso Chieri to the point where the tabu that separated the two spheres of cultured and folk music has been demolished. The most noteworthy example of this is the opera composed by Domenico Torta Paesaggi Sonori. Piccolo Popolo, Fievoli Fiabole Frivole (Soundscapes. Little People, Feeble and Frivolous Fables). Here, through a complex narrative and musical plot, the instruments of the orchestra
are called to dialogue on a par with the traditional instruments through the reference to a unifying “generating” sound.

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Guido Raschieri


Nino Razmadze

The Georgian Chonguri

Introduction

Georgia is located at the crossroads of Asia and Europe. It has been proven by archeological and anthropological data that the territory of present-day Georgia has been inhabited by humans since the earliest period of the Paleolithic era without a chronological break; according to the contemporary anthropological research, the fact of autochthony of Georgians in Transcaucasia and formation of them, as they are nowadays, in territory of Georgia, is undeniable.1 Because of its unique geographical location, during these centuries Georgia has had close ethno-cultural relationship with neighboring cultures. The connection between Georgian and Sumerian, Hittite, Hurrian, Urartian tribes has been widely proven.2 Later, the influence of Greek-Hellenistic in the west and Iranian-Achaemenid cultures in the east has been substantial. From CE to the 20th century, Georgia had cultural and political relationships with Greece, the Roman Empire, Byzantium, Iran, Arabia, Mongolia, Ottoman, Russia, as well as the North Caucasus, Armenia, and Azerbaijan.

The Georgian languages (Svan, Zanian or Lazian/Megrelian and Georgian) belong to the Caucasian language group. They display some lexical similarities with the Indo-European languages, which is due to borrowings between languages, rather than due to Indo-European genetics, which probably disintegrated in 5th or 4th century BC.3

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In my opinion, this connection affects the resemblance of terminology and similar appearance of instruments, complicating the process of defining the origins of the instruments.

Georgia has rich musical traditions, especially in terms of vocal polyphony. Different instrument groups are part of the Georgian stock of musical instruments. Some of them are of the lute type category, featuring long-necked instruments such as the panduri with two or three strings – in the east (Figures 1a and 1b), the chuniri or chianuri with two or three strings are bowed instruments (Figure 2), and the chonguri with four strings – in the west⁴ (see Figure 3a and 3b) – which are found in some parts of western as well as eastern Georgia.

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Figures 1a and 1b: Panduri. Collection of the State Museum of Georgian Folk Songs and Instruments.

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⁴ Also the Abkhazian achangur; assimilated from Georgian.
In my report, I discuss the chonguri, one of the popular instruments in western Georgia. The instrument has been a focus of study during multiple periods by various researchers – I. Javakhishvili (1938), M. Shilakadze (1970, 1971, 2007), T. Jvania (2005) and others. In general, the chonguri, as well as other Georgian instruments, have never been of significant interest to non-Georgian scientists.

Lute-like instruments in the North Caucasus are widespread: apa-pshine (Circussian), dechik-pondur (Chechenian/Ingushetian), agach-kumuz (Dagestanian) and dala pandir (Ossetian). The Georgian chonguri with its setting and form of the strings has no analogue with these regions; even the way of musical language and performing techniques are quite different.
The oldest prototype of the Georgian instrument resembling a lute, dates from the 10th century (see Figure 4a and 4b). It is depicted on the door of 10th century church of the savior (matskhvarishi) in Svaneti (Mestia borough, Latali community). The original form of the instrument is noteworthy – the point of connection between the body and neck is not clear, but it has an elongated triangular body. A similar instrument, pandoura (πανδούρα) is depicted on the ancient Greek Terracotta statues⁵ and is known as the medieval rebec, a bowed musical instrument, in Western Europe.⁶

Figure 4a and 4b: The oldest prototype of the Georgian instrument resembling a lute, dates from the 10th century (Svaneti, Mestia, Latali community). Photo: Nino Razmadze, 2017.

Terminology

The term chonguri’s Georgian language origin is from the 17th century. Some of lute-like instruments are named chogur, choqur in Iran, Turkey and Azerbaijan.⁷ Shilakadze says the ancient name of chonguri is changuri (the

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⁷ Azerbaijani Choqhur exists as only one museum exhibit (National Museum of History of Azerbaijan), which looks very much like the Georgian chonguri. For the information given I thank Sanubar Bagirova.
The Georgian Chonguri

letter ‘A’ is replaced by the letter ‘U’, that is characteristic of the Megrelian language), that comes from the name of the harp-like Georgian instrument changi, with the added suffix ‘ur’, that literally means changi-like instrument. Javakhishvili says that the term chang is not found until 10-11th centuries, it can be derived from Persian terms. Shilakadze thinks that the terms chank and chang derive from Sumerian and Babylonian languages. Besides chonguri and changuri, in Guria and Samegrelo there are terms used such as cheguri, chenguri and chkhonguri.

Almost every part of the instrument has a name, sometimes multiple ones. The names of the strings are their number names (first, second, third, fourth) or corresponds to the different names of polyphonic voices, common in folk speech. It is interesting to note that the eastern term zili for ‘high voice’, which has been established by the name ‘the short string’, was probably not known in villages.

Description and Construction of the Instrument

The overall length of the chonguri ranges from 90 to 97 cm. The length of the neck ranges from 52 to 60 cm and the width of the soundboard – from 20 to 25 cm, the average depth of the body is 15 cm. The length of the sounding part of the long strings is 80-85 cm. The most original aspect of the instrument’s design is its fourth string – the zili. It is located between the long first and the second strings and is equal to ⅔ of length of them.

The instrument usually is constructed in the autumn or winter. The wooden material cannot be used until it is fully dried.

The soundboard usually consists of three parts, or, in rarer cases, just one. It is made from a disc with the thickness of 2-3 cm. In the middle section, some sound holes are located, in number depending on the instrument maker. Mostly, spruce wood is used as the primary material.

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11 I was provided with the notes by M. Shilakadze, it was also confirmed by the tellers from my expeditions.
12 tsvrili, gemachkapali, damtskebi, molaparake, modzakhili, maghali bani, mebane, bani, krimantchuli, tsvrili, makivani.
13 The term zili has been actively used in Georgian writings since the 18th century, though its background must be linked to the eastern countries.
The body can be made of one single piece of wood, built from wooden ribs, or the entire instrument, including the neck, can be made from one single log. Sometimes the holes are made on the fringe-ribs which allows for connecting the ribs while constructing the body. The best wood to use for the construction of the chonguri is morus, also known as the wood of the “mulberry tree”.

The neck is made from a single piece of wood. In the middle of the neck a small bridge is located. The only purpose of this bridge is to hold up the zili string. The neck is most often made from walnut wood which provides strength for the neck.

The bridge is located on the soundboard. It has four slots for the four strings. To make it, instrument builders use linden and boxwood. The boxwood is used for the tuning pegs, too.

Traditionally, the chonguri was and is a completely fretless instrument. Considering its repertoire and scales used, it is supposed to possible have only 4 or 5 frets.

In ancient times, the strings were made of a silk thread. The thickness of each string was selected considering the pitch of its sound. Nowadays, artificial strings are most common. Strings are made using fishing cords.

Besides those mentioned above, there are local wood species used in different regions: pear wood, so called bean tree wood, taxus baccata wood, chestnut wood, pine wood, walnut wood, and beech wood.

**Social Function**

Most of the songs for chonguri belong to lyrical-romantic genres which seemingly correspond to the soft and warm sound of the instrument. Among them, there also are joking, ritual-religious songs, and dances.

The social function of recent instruments is different compared to previous ways of use. Based on reports that survived the times, even the past century, the chonguri was actively used in everyday life. Chonguri was performed as accompaniment of:

- lyrical, romantic, everyday life songs, performed while women ‘nadi’ ¹⁵
  - to make the process of working easier ¹⁶

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¹⁴ Chonguri, made of the whole wood, was smaller; nowadays, it is only a museum exhibit.

¹⁵ Collective working process.

• ‘Eukunat kakutebs’ – is related to a specific working process while harvesting ghomi for ghomi in Samegrelo.
• ‘Sabodisho’ (‘Batonebo’) – is sung for the person who is sick of an contagious disease; According to some ethnographic reports, 9 ladies must have played one after another for the sick person.
• In Guria and Samegrelo the song Mze shina connected to the birth of a child was being accompanied with chonguri.
• Cradle Nana – for a child to sleep.
• Mourning songs that were performed on the day of the funeral and were considered as a great honor towards the dead person in Samegrelo.
• Instrumental pieces performed by women for an infertile tree in the hope that it could become fertile.
• Instrumental pieces played during a ritual to ‘catch the soul’ of a drowned person: people used to go to the place, where the person drowned taking the chonguri with them, playing it in the hope that they could catch the soul of a drowned person and taking the soul home.

Nowadays, the instrument almost disappeared from the everyday life and has changed its social function to an instrument of staged folklore. In normal family life, chonguri it is now only used for fun during excessive meals.

Chonguri as Part of an Instrumental Ensemble

Traditionally, the chonguri was accompanied only by a drum when solely accompanying dance.
An ensemble with two chonguris does not have a long history. The repertoire evolved when one instrumental part was rearranged for two instruments: one chonguri has the accompanying part, and another plays the melody. Two chonguris play solo instrumentals or accompany songs. It is worth noting that unlike other Georgian traditional or transformed instruments, the chonguri was not used in so called folklore orchestras that also existed in Georgia, as in other countries of the Soviet Union. On the other hand, since 1920/30s using simultaneously up to 10 or even more chonguris became very popular (Figure 5). Here, its possibilities are limited: in most cases, only some chords are played.

Chonguri was played along with Chuniri and Changi in neighboring regions by occasional performers, because the register, timbre and tune of these instruments were similar.

Nowadays, the approach of performers is relatively unbound – we find chonguri with panduri, with panduri and chiboni, even with chuniri and duduki. In contemporary musical life, both forms – the traditional and the innovative often co-exist.

**Performance Practice**

Chonguri is played by resting the body on the lap. The strings are played with the fingers of the right and left hands, without a plectrum. The fingers or one

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26 It is linked to the names of brothers Sitchinava in Samegrelo, and A. Megrelidze in Guria. This kind of ensemble is not found with any other Georgian instrument.
finger of the right hand pluck and hold the strings, while the fingers of the left hand press down the strings regulating the pitch of the sound and also plucking the strings. In dancing genres, musicians may hit with their fingers against the soundboard 28.

In published and manuscript scores, there is mostly little information about performing methods. In the recent notation practice some optional signs do not completely describe the variety of traditional performing methods 29. It should be noted that there is no fingering reference 30. Nowadays, students follow the notated scores to study chonguri pieces, hence the great deal of information is lost and depends on interpretation skills. Without optional signs, it is impossible to write down in notes the performing methods preserved by traditional performers. This problem becomes evident when communicating with orally trained performers. While filming the chonguri accompaniment separately, I clearly experienced the rich originality of chonguri playing revealed in great improvisational techniques and various combinations of performing methods. That made the instrument sounds completely different. To solve the problem between score reading and realization of un-notated sound I recorded the chonguri repertoire with a singing voice, also in separate parts, played by some traditional performers who are still alive in the Samegrelo region. They employed performing methods by both hands. Also, I used the technique and signs of guitar notation to explain playing techniques of the chonguri. Later, I made an experiment: a non-professional instrumentalist played the two versions of the pieces recorded by me during this fieldwork with and without references to performing methods. As it turned out, the first played version was significantly different from the original and the second one was quite close to it.

The Zili and Tunes of the Instrument

The originality of the chonguri in Georgian as well as in the regional stock of musical instruments, as I have mentioned above, is defined by its fourth, short string. Unlike the modern banjo, which also has one short string, the pitch of

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28 In one rare example, the fingers are hitting the soundboard during the whole piece.

29 In anthologies published till today, only some signs are used for notating the chonguri repertoire curved line (means arpeggiated playing of the chord), emphasis above the chord (its exact meaning is not identified by manuscript notation, slur (means to play the sound (or sounds) following the first one, plucking the string with left hand finger), appoggiatura (written in small notes, is played with the left hand plucking one string. Same meaning has the triplet.

30 It should be noted that in teaching audio editions, where the voice is separated, the instrumental part is not recorded.
the zili does not change while playing. In any tuning it produces the most high-pitched sound.

The fourth string gives possibilities of four-part harmony and variety of tunes, also the range increases. It has been the subject of interest of many researchers (Javakhishvili, Akhobadze, Shilakadze). By understanding the example of the chonguri, we can think more widely about the formation of a four-string instrument. There might be the opinion that the chonguri must have been created by simply adding the fourth string to the three-string panduri\textsuperscript{31}. Sulkhan Saba Orbeliani (17-18\textsuperscript{th} centuries) and Ioane Batonishvili (18-19\textsuperscript{th} centuries) mention the term ‘zili’, based on which, Iv. Javakhishvili concludes that in 17\textsuperscript{th} century, the chonguri existed with 4 strings\textsuperscript{32}. The zili also was called the fourth string, which also means the row number is attached to the instrument, because this string is located between the first and the third string and is not the fourth in the row\textsuperscript{33}.

Unlike all other Georgian instruments, the chonguri has more than one tuning. According to the already named researchers, it has 11 different possible tunings (Figure 6). In today’s performing practice and transcriptions from recordings collected by myself, there is evidence of about four different tunings and the possible existence of one more tuning. All the tunings, except the second one, are characteristic to the Gurian repertoire (a central region of Western Georgia). The second tuning, which has a tuning resembling a minor scale, is mostly characteristic to the Megrelian repertoire (from the region of Samegrelo in the northern part of West Georgia).

![Figure 6: According to researchers (Javakhishvili, Shilakadze, and others), it has 11 different possible tunings.](image)

\textsuperscript{31} Shilakadze, Manana (1970). Kartuli khalkhuri sakravebi da sakravieri musika [Georgian Folk Instruments and Instrumental Music]. Tbilisi: Metsiniereba, 47. Considering absolutely different performing methods, repertoire and area, where it is spreaded - I do not share this opinion.


Figure 7: According to my research, Chonguri has five different tunesings.

Music of Chonguri

Songs with one, two and three voices are performed with chonguri accompaniment. Solo instrumentals are rarely played. In the notation of recordings made at the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century, there are mostly only single voice and drone-continuum accompanying examples. In the beginning of the century there are recordings of simple repetitive melodic formulas. Later, performing technique and musical texture are changed by individual performers, often complying to the requirement of modern virtuosity.

Songs with chonguri accompaniment have an intro, which may contain some chords and a repetition of the whole verse of the instrumental part. The texture of the accompaniment can be:

- Arpeggiated chord, mostly played with plucking fingers;
- Homophonic, with two functionally independent voices (for example – the melody and the bass);
- Chord texture, with an explicit melodic line.

Rarely, the melody of the instrumental part repeats completely the melody of the singing voice part. Basically, singing and instrumental melodies develop counterpoint based on one melodic motif, the only difference being that the melody is instrumental type in the instrumental part. The mastery of the performer is defined by the variety of playing versions.

According to different tunings, the sequence of harmonic steps and chords are different:

I tuning:
I – 5/3; 5/4; 8/5; 8/5/3; 8/5/4; 8/6/4; 8/7/5;
II – 4/2; 4/3; 5/3; 7/5/3; 7/4/3;
III – 6/3; 6/4; 6/5;
IV – 5/2; 5/3; 5/4;
II tuning:
I – 5/3; 5/4
VII – 5/3; 5/4; 6/4; 6/5/3; 6/5/4;
VI – 5/3; 5/4; 6/4; 7/4; 7/4; 7/5/3; 7/5/4; 7/6/4;
III tuning:
I – 8/4; 8/5; 8/6
VII – 5/2; 5/3; 5/4; 9/5/2; 9/5/3; 9/5/4;

Vocal and instrumental parts often create polychords (Figure 8).

Figure 8: Polychords in Oropa34.

Conclusion

This article presents general features and characteristics of one notable, original, and popular instrument in Georgia, the chonguri. It is unique in terms of the arrangement of strings, tunings, and performing methods. When the fourth string was added is not yet known, but in western Georgia, this lute-like instrument has an ancient past with its original, warm timbre, that accurately corresponds to the nature of Megrelian lyrical music. At the current stage, the chonguri has developed into a significant symbol of West Georgian traditional music. On the one hand the chonguri preserves ancient sacral meanings and on the other hand it continues to respond and adapt to the contemporary climate of globally affected performance requirements in Georgia.
References


Interview

The bağlama (or saz) is an instrument with a high symbolic character in Turkey. Its construction is described by Markoff as follows:

“The instrument called saz or bağlama is a long-necked, plucked lute that can be considered Turkey’s national instrument. Saz literally means instrument while the term bağlama derives from the Turkish bağlamak, “to tie.” Built in a variety of sizes and with up to 26 frets, the instrument’s strings are generally arranged in three sets of double courses, and tuned according to regional preferences. It was traditionally strummed and plucked with the fingertips or a plectrum of cherry-tree bark although plastic is the norm today.”

The bağlama is frequently described as “Turkey’s national instrument.” But its place within Turkish society is ambiguous—the Alevi minority, for instance, claims it is a spiritual instrument and not a national one. It is played during the Alevi spiritual ceremony “cem” and used to accompany the spiritual dance “semah” and is thus related to the honouring of God and the access to the spiritual world. In addition, it has a metaphoric character in the Alevi community life.

“For the Alevis, the bağlama has become a powerful symbol of their group identity and their creed. It is also a material representation of Imam ʿAli and the tenets of his faith: the resonator is said to represent his body, the neck his sword Zülfikār, the twelve strings (and sometimes frets) the twelve Shiʿite imams, and the lower course of strings the Prophet Muhammad.”

The bağlama’s place within the republic can thus be seen as paradoxical. It is supposed to represent a religion that is regarded with mistrust by a nation which also claims to be represented by this same instrument.

A short historical overview of the bağlama use—from the hidden Alevi culture to the big national radio ensembles—will be presented. This will be followed by a consideration of the instrument’s significance in the context of immigrants from Turkey living in Germany; here, it becomes a cultural mediator. The case


study of bağlama virtuoso Kemal Dinç who helped bağlama musicians to be recognized in Germany will be outlined. This will lead to an explanation of his commitment to expand cultural and musical possibilities. Statements from an interview with Kemal Dinç which took place in German in Cologne (Germany) on 7 July, 2015, are included. The English translation was done by myself.

1 Historical Overview

For hundreds of years, bağlama hymns have been part of the Alevi religious and cultural life. Alevi were persecuted during the Ottoman Empire and had to hide their identity. Their cultural habits had to be kept a secret with their musical traditions being isolated from the outside world.

Only wandering minstrels who moved between Anatolian villages could see and transport hidden parts of cultural life such as Alevi myths and music. Some of these minstrels even came from Alevi families themselves.

During the decline of the Ottoman Empire, the Young Turks decided to ban Ottoman influences on cultural life in Anatolia. This had a decisive impact on the music which had been exposed to Arab and Persian influence. The Young Turks looked for an unspoiled Turkish folk culture and thereby relied upon the wandering minstrels as sources for legends, myths and songs.

Minstrels were invited to play and sing at festivals and radio sessions. Bağlama ensembles were founded at radio stations with some Alevi bağlama players entering the institutionalized music market. As the musicians had to represent the whole of Anatolia, the repertory became more mixed than it had been through the wandering process beforehand.

“Hymns that were broadcast by state radio […] were cast as folklore, removed from the ritual context of the cem, and set into new contexts of national circulation. Supported by the state and sold in the private music market, Alevi hymns acquired public presence independently of the ritual act in which they were once inextricably embedded.”

These radio sessions paved the way for the bağlama becoming regarded as a “national instrument”. Bates notes:

“We can perhaps best relate the Turkish-national nature of the saz to the efforts of Ankara Radio (later, Turkish Radio and Television) […]. It was through programs such as Yurttan Sesler (Sounds of the Homeland), first broadcast in the 1940s, that the nation as a whole became aware of the music of localities and regions other than those in which they lived, and the

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saz was the core instrument in the Yurttan Sesler ensemble and subsequent national and regional governmental folk music ensembles.”

But the musical representation of traditional repertory underwent changes in the radio recording studios:

“While most rural Anatolian music had been traditionally performed solo or with two- to three-instrument ensembles, Turkish governmental ensembles from Yurttan Sesler onwards featured four or more different-sized members of what became known as the saz family of instruments.”

Today, the bağlama can be heard in many different musical genres such as folk, arabesk and Turkish as well as Kurdish popular music.

The role of bağlama teaching has been extended as well.

“Of all the instruments in Turkey, the saz has accumulated the greatest range of pedagogical theories, method books, instructional videos, and private school franchises. As part of the national project, the saz became the key instrument in Turkey [...].”

This short introduction will be followed by a consideration of how the bağlama is played by people from Turkey outside of the Turkish context.

2 Playing Bağlama in Germany – the Case Study of Kemal Dinç

Kemal Dinç was born in Turkey and spent his early years in Istanbul with his musically interested Alevi family. During his childhood, his father and grandfather went to Germany as guest workers. At first, Kemal stayed in Istanbul with his mother but after the military coup of 1980 they emigrated as well.

Kemal came to Germany, went back to Istanbul and returned to Germany in order to finish his schooling and later attend university there. He states that he did not know about his own Alevi identity before living in Germany: in Turkey, he had grown up in a milieu which did not put focus on religious identity; as a Turk in Germany he got to know many Sunni teenagers and became aware of mentality differences.

As a teenager, Kemal even played bağlama during spiritual semah performances. He states that after a futile search for answers in Alevism, he moved on to protest music and modern arrangements for folk music.

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Kirsten Seidlitz

Kemal aimed at studying bağlama at a university or a conservatorium but this was not possible in Germany at the time. Instead, he studied classical guitar.

Today, Kemal helps the bağlama to become recognized within German society. The formation of a study programme for bağlama has been one of his main aims.

2.1 Bağlama Teaching as Part of Institutionalized Cultural Life

The first regular university programme for Turkish music outside of Turkey was started in 2000 at the “Codarts University for the Arts” in Rotterdam (Netherlands) as part of the “World Music Academy” concept and directed by Talip Özkan. After some difficulties the programme was restarted in 2006, with Kemal Dinç – along with Alper Kekeç and Martin Greve – organizing and teaching.7

Greve describes the students’ motivation to pursue this study programme as follows:

“By now two different types of students can be recognized. Firstly, Turks who have grown up in the Netherlands and are interested in an accredited bachelor’s degree course in their country of residence. In autumn 2007, two Turkish students from Germany and one from London, for comparable reasons, enrolled in the study course. Secondly, particularly students of the masters program are interested in intercultural experiences. Besides Turkish music the World Music Academy also offers courses on Indian music or Flamenco guitar. In addition, Codarts has an Academy of classical European music, a Pop Academy and a Jazz Academy. Such combinations do not exist in Turkey.”8

Following his experiences in bağlama teaching at the university in Rotterdam, Kemal Dinç finally succeeded in creating an official academic bağlama programme in Germany: since 2015, he has been teaching the instrument at the Pop Academy in Mannheim where he initiated the first possibility to study bağlama in Germany.

Besides making an academic approach to bağlama teaching possible, Kemal has also contributed to the recognition of the bağlama teaching for children and teenagers. He is a jury member in the most prestigious German youth


contest for classical music “Jugend musiziert”, helping the teaching and playing of the bağlama to be honoured the same way as the teaching or playing of a classical European instrument.

He has thus contributed to the bağlama entering official discourse and the education system in Germany. One may even argue that he enabled communities from Turkey in Germany to thereby participate in cultural life at a higher level. The bağlama became a cultural mediator: by recognizing the instrumental discipline, German society approved the immigrant communities themselves (regarding their cultural expression).

But, of course, the integration of musical traditions from Turkey into German musical institutions is still not always satisfying.

 Asked what kind of negative reactions by the audiences in Germany he experienced, Kemal replies:

“To me, a negative reaction means – as a musician coming from a foreign country doing foreign music […] – if people are applauding even though the music is kitsch, not aesthetic or really just not good. If people are saying: “Wow! It was great!” This is a negative reaction. […] Of course, German people don’t know this music so well, because they did not hear so many alternative presentations. And they think it is beautiful – or they just want to be hospitable.”

Greve notes as well:

“Serious, artistically demanding music – and not folklore is in demand. Public representation of Turkish culture in Europe is focused primarily on such folklore and since Turkish musicians are scarcely integrated into Germany’s music institutions, guaranteeing seriousness, many non-Turkish musicians hardly believe that serious Turkish music in Germany actually

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9 Interview Kirsten Seidlitz with Kemal Dinç.
exists. This is a common, often unspoken, prejudice regarding the integration of Turkish music.”

Later in his article he points out:

“Again and again it is surprising how cooperations with serious institutions, which noticeably shift from socially motivated attitudes to the emphasis of artistic interests, are accepted by Turkish musicians, students and the respective audience. For too long they missed these opportunities of acceptance. [...] The more the work can focus on purely musical-artistic aspects in the course of the cooperation, the more fun is offered to the persons involved.”

Kemal Dinç thus has played an important role in a process of recognition which has to be continued, so that, one day, we will be able to speak of a satisfying standard.

2.2 New Cultural and Musical Possibilities

Having followed a musical education within the classical European music institutions and working at a World Music Academy and a Pop Academy, Kemal Dinç has found new musical inputs to his bağlama playing. He says:

“After university, I experienced changes of ideas, new horizons. Then I was very influenced by classical music – most of all by German classical music. [...] I had not played bağlama for five years, not any folk music, just classical music. After that, I changed a lot of things about the bağlama: acoustically and physically and then [I wrote] new compositions and so on. It was a bit complicated.”

He wrote pieces of New Music for the bağlama – leaving traditional style behind. This completely new approach to bağlama sound possibilities guaranteed him admiration as well as criticism. Kemal states:

“This is quite new in bağlama literature. This is even the first composition. [...] Avant-gardists found it very interesting; they, too, would like to use the bağlama for some kind of New Music. [...] but [traditionally oriented]

12 Interview Kirsten Seidlitz with Kemal Dinç.
Alevis don’t like to hear that, nor the Kurds – [people belonging to] specific cultural traditions.”

Kemal even asked for a changed version of the bağlama to be built in order to facilitate a new sound creation. He explains:

“After university, I thought about sound possibilities because I did not like this traditional sound. It was too narrow and the bass was missing – the bass, high frequencies, too, the wide sound effect. Therefore I went to see many bağlama makers, to tell them about my new idea. The answer was always: “No! Why should we construct a new bağlama? It is good as it is. This is tradition!” And they did not want to change – very conservative.”

All of the bağlama-makers he spoke to lived in Istanbul and grew up as part of the tradition. Then, Kemal found one bağlama-maker who was based in Istanbul, too, but had lived in Munich (Germany) before. In Munich, he had made guitars and he felt less tied to traditional conventions. He agreed to make a new kind of bağlama. Kemal describes the process as follows:

“We wrote about it a lot, about what we wanted. He was very open-minded. And he was pleased. And until today, for 15 years, I have worked with him. […] After some time, he made the new bağlama for other music as well. […] It is really complicated [to do] something new in Turkey. There is a lot of energy, a lot of movement – unbelievably much energy, even more than in Europe – but the mentality is strange. […] They are stubborn. […] They can’t say: “Wow! This is another effect, another sound colour. It’s beautiful!” […] This is missing. And here in Germany, it is very, very, very open-minded. I liked the mentality here.”

Asked what kind of positive concert reactions he experienced in Germany, Kemal describes the classical audiences as very serious, with an interest in philosophy. He says:

“Here in Germany, audiences are very intellectual, with a lot of experience – very good ear. […] If I play in front of German audiences I always get a positive energy.”

These audiences’ expectations may have facilitated making new bağlama concert experiments. Initiating new playing techniques in an environment foreign to bağlama tradition might have been easier than it would have been in Turkey, where discussions about the use of the instrument are always very

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13 Interview Kirsten Seidlitz with Kemal Dinç.
14 Interview Kirsten Seidlitz with Kemal Dinç.
15 Interview Kirsten Seidlitz with Kemal Dinç.
16 Interview Kirsten Seidlitz with Kemal Dinç.
emotional. Far away from identity discourses, Kemal uses the bağlama as what it is: a musical instrument with various sound possibilities. It should be mentioned that until today, Kemal also plays traditional songs in semi-modern arrangements. He has not quit the bağlama conventions; he has widened them.

3 Conclusion
Bağlama virtuoso Kemal Dinç is committed to various musical styles, practices and performing contexts.

In addition, he helps the bağlama teaching for people of different ages to be recognized within the institutions of musical education in Germany.

Kemal is an Alevi who grew up in Turkey and knows the instrument for its manifold meanings. But he is also a European intellectual proving the bağlama can have its place in different composition styles.

After many decades of struggle concerning bağlama tradition and significance, people like Kemal Dinç have helped the instrument to belong to more circles of people than ever before. Everybody who wishes to relate to the bağlama can choose from the contexts that he has enabled to be established.

References


Interview
Interview Kirsten Seidlitz with Kemal Dinç, 7 July, 2015.
Introduction

The Ainu are the indigenous people in northern area of Japan. Their ethnic population is about 50,000\(^1\). Their heritage language, the Ainu language, is isolated and has no genealogical relationship with Japanese or any other languages in the world. Today, most of Ainu people live on the island of Hokkaido but their traditional territory was wider than now. Until 19th Century, their territory included the southern half of Sakhalin Island, Kuril Islands, northern end of main island of Japan and southern end of Kamchatka peninsula.

This paper is on the origin of traditional musical instrument called the “tonkori” of the Sakhalin Ainu.

Figure 1: Map of Ainu Traditional Territory (around 15-18 C), drawing modified by the authors according to a map in public domain.\(^2\)

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\(^2\) Accessible model of the map: kantei.go.jp, Website for Ainu Policy Promotion.
Shape and Structure of Tonkori

The musical instrument "tonkori" has a long and narrow body shape. Its length is about 1 meter including its "head." The shape of the head is round or triangle. The lower end of the body is sharp, pointed shape. The body and head are made entirely of wood. The hollowed wooden body and wooden sounding board is attached with glue. The cross section of the body is semicircle. It has usually five strings. Some old tonkori had three or four strings. The peg box of Tonkori was called “neck” (rekuh). However, from an organological point of view it is not correct that “its neck is the peg box”. It is better understandable e.g. “ five strings are inserted into a peg box – called “neck” – and held there with five pegs”. The instrument does not have frets. It has two bridges; higher one and lower one. Because of the bridge, one cannot simply stop the strings with fingers. It is played with only open strings. Thus, "tonkori" has only five notes.

Holding Position of Tonkori

The way to hold the tonkori and its playing style is quite unique. Players usually sandwich the body with palms of the both hands. It stands vertical or on a slight diagonal when viewed from the front, viewed from the side, a little bit diagonal. Traditional players basically play pizzicato plucking with fingers while holding with palms without a bow nor a pick.
Tune and Scale
Tuning and scale differ from player to player. Strings are not arranged in the order of the scale. The range is within one octave. Pieces are “minimal music” with continually repeating short motives. Good players play with improvised variations. Every player owns their own pieces, but some basic motives are shared by several players.

Former argument on the origin of Tonkori
The first mention about the "tonkori" is a drawing in *Ezoshimakikan* in 1799. It was a report on Hokkaido Island written by Japanese explorer Murakami Shimanojō. Though Japanese people had recorded Ainu culture from the 15th century for the aim of trade, information of tonkori only go back to the end of 18th century, and when recorded in 1799, the tonkori was essentially the same as today. It had the same shape, same length, same holding as today. we cannot find any prototypes of this instrument. Accounting to the literature, the tonkori suddenly appeared in Sakhalin at the end of 18th century.

Some Japanese researchers are interested in the origin of this instrument. First, in 1958 Kazuyuki thought that this instrument was strongly influenced by
Chinese instruments, and implied relationship with Japanese koto. And after him, in 1963 Kyōjirō and Utamoe (Tomoko) Tomita thought that this instrument is a mixture of Japanese ancient "koto" and Japanese “shamisen.” They did not write about their hypothesis clearly but only implied it. And in 2000, Kazuyuki Tanimoto wrote that the tonkori resembled to Siberian musical instrument called "nars-yukh" of Khanti people in Russian Federation. He thought that tonkori was a mixture of nars-yukh and shamisen. But these hypotheses seem not to be able to explain several incomprehensible features of tonkori.

**Shichepshin in Circassia**

"Koto," "shamisen," and “nars-yukh” do not resemble the shape of the tonkori. There are other instruments in western Eurasia which do show strong resemblance to the tonkori. Especially the Circassian bowed instrument called “shichepshin” in Adyghe may seem to be the prototype of the tonkori. This hypothesis can explain the incomprehensible features of the tonkori.

![Figure 4: Circassian instrument “Shichepshin” of Adyghe Republic. Drawing by the authors.](image)

The shichepshin has two strings, two pegs on the head, a bridge, and a bow. But how might it have become the tonkori? First, the bow was lost. Second,

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6 Based on some explanations in Гучев, Замдин (2014). Учимся Играть на Шичепщине. Майкоп.
pegs moved from head to neck and three more strings were added. Third, the upper bridge was added. The precise process of development is not clear but the differences between these two instruments are shown in Figure 5.

![Figure 5: Shichepshin and Tonkori. Drawing by the authors.](image)

**Explaining “Structural Defects” of Tonkori**

By this hypothesis, we can easily explain the several incomprehensible features of tonkori, which are represented by the following five features. Correctly speaking those features are in fact "structural defects."

1. Instability in holding position
2. Instability of bridges
3. First and fifth strings
4. Reason for sharp end
5. Reason for shape of head.

**Unique Holding Position**

The holding position of the tonkori resembles that of a harp, but the row of its strings are parallel to the body of the player, not like a harp with the strings in a vertical position and fixed to the body of the player. Differ from the case of the harp, there is nothing to support the tonkori in the direction in which the force is applied and therefore the holding is not stable.
If you want to hold the tonkori more stable, it becomes more difficult to move your fingers to pluck the strings freely, because your hands hold and pluck in the same time.

But why is the holding position this way? The answer is simple. The row of the strings of Tonkori is parallel to the body front of the player simply because it was the way of bowed instruments. And by this position the tonkori stands vertically just like a bowed instrument.

Unstable Bridges

The strings are easily deviate from the bridges. Harp type instruments do not have bridges. Tonkori has a lower bridge because it was the way of bowed instruments. Bridges of bowed instruments are hardly moved because the bow always presses the strings. The upper bridge might have been added later. Some old Tonkori had bridges in the shape of arch. Another typical shape of those of bowed instruments. These bridges might have been the heritage from their prototype.
The First and Fifth Strings

Most old tonkori have too narrow peg boxes. The two strings in the both ends—the first and the fifth string—always touch the frame of the peg box. And because of that, the sound of the tonkori is too small.

The two strings in the both ends were supposed to be not existed when the Tonkori was played with the bow. In fact, some old tonkori have only three strings. Of course, the sound might be louder when played with bow. Without the bow, the sound became smaller but with the bow, the size might become larger than before, to make the sound louder.
Figure 9: The first and the fifth strings touch the frame. Photo by the authors.

Reason for the “Useless” Sharp End

The lower endpoint is sharp. But it does not work as a stopper. On the contrary rather it makes easier to slide down just like a sled. In fact, this shape is useless. The sharp lower endpoint might have been used for turning the instruments when you play with the bow.

Figure 10: The sharp end. Drawing by the authors.
Reason for the “Useless Shape of the Head”

There is no reason for having a “head.” The “head” might have been the space for standing 1-3 pegs. There is a hole on the head. It is said that those were for being hung on the wall, but an elder tonkori maker said that there were two holes on the head in old times. They might have been holes to stand pegs.

There are two kinds of head shapes. A round shape and a triangle shape. You can find that some Circassian and Armenian stringed musical instruments have the same shapes of heads.

![Figure 11: The two types of Tonkori heads. Photo courtesy by Tomita (2017) from the cover.](image.jpg)

Some Supporting Features and Historical Validity

Parts of the tonkori are compared to be human body parts. In Ainu culture, parts of the things are not compared precisely to the body parts like the tonkori. Parts of the Adyghe shichepshin are also compared to be human body parts. Those resemblances may support the hypothesis.

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7 Tomita Tomoko (2017). *The world of Tonkori*. Sapporo: Hokkaido University Center for Ainu and Indigenous Studies, 15; “One or two holes are made in the center of the tonkori head.”

8 Tomita Tomoko (2017). *The world of Tonkori*. Sapporo: Hokkaido University Center for Ainu and Indigenous Studies, 15 and 60; An elder tonkori maker wrote “I have heard the tonkori has the shape of a human body.”

9 Гучев, Замдин (2014). *Учимся Играть на Шичепщине*. Майкоп, 8. Not only parts of today’s Shichepshins but those of traditional Shichepshins are also called by human body part names.
The new hypothesis that tonkori is a derivation from bowed instruments like shichepshin is consistent with the history of this region.

The Sudden Appearance of Tonkori in 18th Century

Circassia is almost 10,000 km away from Sakhalin Island. There was already a route between them in 17th century and, in fact, Cossacks lead by Vasilii Poyalkov came to Sakhalin through Amur Region in 1648. The museums in Krasnodar have Manchurian trade objects brought by Kubani Cossacks10. Some Circassians might have joined to Cossacks themselves11. Before the Circassian war in 1763–1864, Circassians and Cossacks gave strong cultural influences each other. There is a possibility that shichepshin was brought to Sakhalin along this Cossack route. But Amur Region was closed in 1689 by the treaty of Nercinsk and Cossacks lost the route to enter Sakhalin Island. If the shichepshin was brought by this route, the period was limited to only 41 years from 1648 to 1689. This hypothesis may explain the reason why the tonkori suddenly appeared in 18th century in the literature. Shichepshin came in 17th century, and 100 years later, Japanese explorers found the tonkori.

Why Tonkori Lost its Bow?

If shichepshin became the tonkori, why does the tonkori not have a bow? The tonkori has kept many characteristic features of bowed instrument until now, but it seemed difficult to keep the “bowed” feature for a long time in 18th century.

The string of the bow for a shichepshin is a made of horse hair. Indigenous peoples in lower Amur district and northern part of Sakhalin Island have bowed instruments like Huqin and they use horse hair for bow strings12. But they have not had horses and the only way to obtain horse must have been the trade with Chinese or Russian merchants.

10 Korsakova, Nataliya (2016) Personal communication at Krasnodar Historical and Archeological Museum, 8th April.
11 Korsakova, Nataliya (2016) Personal communication at Krasnodar Historical and Archeological Museum, 8th April. She Commented that it seemed possible answering to Itsuji Tangiku at Krasnodar Historical and Archeological Museum. Personal communication.
12 They must be simplified derivations from Chinese Huqin and brought to this area from Manchuria. “Sirpakta” of Ulch and “Tyngryng” of Nivkh have only 1 string. Structures of musical instruments seem to be simplified by the difficulty to obtain materials in this area. The “loss” of bow of Tonkori may be a resemble case.
Horse hair has been used as the most important parts of sable traps among Amur and Sakhalin\(^{13}\). As sable fur is not strong enough, indigenous peoples in this area had not used them in daily use themselves. They have always exported them to the outside world. Cossacks could provide horse hair to indigenous hunters for sable traps. But after 1649 when Cossacks disappeared from Sakhalin Island because of Nerchinsk treaty, it became difficult for Sakhalin Ainu to import horse hair. Sable trade was stopped then and there were not horse hair in the list of trade objects from Japanese merchants to Ainu people at that time.

In the 20\(^{th}\) century when Japanese ethnographers started the research on Ainu traditional culture, already silk strings for the shamisen were used\(^{14}\). Elders inform us that strings of the tonkori were made of nettle or tendon of animals in old times\(^{15}\). Nettle strings and tendon strings were not suitable for strings of bow of musical instruments. In fact, it was impossible to make bowed instruments without horse hair at that time in this area. As the horse hair became rare material, bowed instruments might have been played without bows. And finally, the tonkori might have lost its bows before 1799.

References


Korsakova, Nataliya (2016) Personal communication at Krasnodar Historical and Archeological Museum, 8th April.


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\(^{15}\) Tomita Tomoko (2017). *The world of Tonkori*. Sapporo: Hokkaido University Center for Ainu and Indigenous Studies, 68. An elder tonkori maker wrote “I used to use whale’s *shizu* to make the strings of a *tonkori.*” *Shizu* is a Japanese word for tendon.
Chika Shinohara-Tangiku and Itsuji Tangiku


References in Russian Language


The violin appeared most probably in Bosnia and Herzegovina in the second half of the 19th century. At the very beginning, it was played by Roma travelling musicians. This practice had lived until World War II and was confirmed by the results of the Committee for Southeastern Europe of the Deutsche Akademie München. The leader of the research team, Gerhard Gesemann, described two types of musical ensembles which had professionally played in coffee shops (kafana) in Sarajevo in the first half of the 20th century. The first were professional ensembles of Roma players who mostly came from Serbia, whereas their repertoire consisted of Bosnian urban songs.

"Singing and violin can be heard from one of the terraces of a coffee shop (kafana). In the coffee shops (kafana), we have found one of the numerous gipsy bands that are not different from hundreds of others.
Folk songs still remain the core of their music - we did not hear any modern songs - but the manner, as well as the accompaniment of the performance of those melodies was so twisted, that it cannot be part of our research."

It is possible to produce tunes in another than the standardized European diatonic scale ('tempered scale') on a violin which is characteristic to some Bosnian traditions. Due to the violin’s musical and technical capabilities, the violin was used as a solo instrument on and along with traditional songs. It could match with other instruments, especially tamburas. Therefore, it is understandable that the violin once introduced into the Bosnian world was often present in the ensembles. The arrangements of the ensembles were diverse. On the drawing of Gyula Turi, we can see the ensemble that consists of a violinist, a šargija player, a player of the def, and one musician playing wooden spoons.

The first commercial sound recordings of singing along with the violin were made by Franz Hampe in 1907 and 1908 for the needs of the record company Deutsche Grammophon in Hanover. From the list provided by him, it can be concluded that Hampe recorded a large number of sevdalinkas and several ballads performed with violin.

On the List of Bosnian Zonophone records (Spisak bosanskih zonofonskih ploča), there are eight songs performed with violin by the professional musician Mehmed Tahirović. Several details from Tahirović’s biography were noted by Risto Pekka Pennanen:

"Mehmed (Meho) Tahirović came from a Roma musical family in Gorica. The earliest musical permit on which his name was mentioned dates back to 1900. He was probably a tambura player and as the permanent member of various groups, he recorded in 1907 and in 1908 under the leadership of Nazif Memišević. He was also a leading vocalist with violin and tambura accompaniment on three performances in 1908. Under his name, 8 sides were recorded, whereas, on one side, he was mentioned as vocal soloist of the Memišević’s group."
Figure 2: List of Bosnian Zonophone records (Spisak bosanskih zonofonskih ploča).  

From a documentation of Central government of Sarajevo, it can be concluded that Mehmed Tahirović most probably began his professional career prior to 1900 as a member of the ensemble of Ibrahim Muškić from Tuzla. Besides Mehmed Tahirović, the ensemble consisted of Mustafa Tahirović and Osman Bašić.

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5 Zemaljska vlada Sarajevo.
6 In the document from Archive of Bosnia and Herzegovina ZVS 48/274/2-1900, request of Ibrahim Muškić for the issuance of work permit for his ensemble can be found. In the request, it is mentioned that his prior work permit for musical activities is valid until the end of November of 1900.
In the request for issuance of a work permit for musical activities for the ensemble of Nazif Memišević dated February 21, 1907, is mentioned that members of the ensemble are Meho Tahirović, Hasan Pidžo, Mehmed Toparan, Rafo and Avram Atias. Work permit for Memišević’s ensemble was extended until August 20, 1907. Following people were listed as members of the ensemble: Meho Tahirović, Hasan Pidžo, Mehmed Toparan, Avram Atias and Ramo Fejzić. (document number ZVS 22/141/1-1907, Archive of Bosnia and Herzegovina)
repertoire which consisted of sevdalinkas, narrative songs, songs from Serbia and marches. From the list of Hampe’s recordings made in 1907, it can be seen that Tahirović sung the narrative song \textit{Koliko je polje pod Ipek} [How large is the field under Ipek].

It is very interesting to mention that Hampe recorded female singers accompanied with the violin. Sida Musaffia recorded 12 songs among which only two were narrative, while Jelena and Anka Tumac recorded one traditional ballad.

Singing with the violin was recorded by Matija Murko. The epic song \textit{Knjigu piše srpski knjaže} [Book is being written by Serbian knight]\(^8\) was recorded, on the recording\(^9\), was performed by Ale Kadić, who was a barber and salesman from Bosanska Krupa. This unique recording shows that epic songs had established tunes. Unfortunately, singing with the violin was not yet a serious subject of research conducted by Bosnia and Herzegovinian ethnomusicologists. Moreover, the continuity and the spread of this type of vocal-instrumental practice is unknown today. One of the rare singers with the violin having a name remained recorded was Mehmed Varešanović who lived in Sarajevo from 1885 to 1967. Varešanović started practicing music in his early youth. It is known that he had a professional ensemble which performed on various occasions such as teferič (public celebrations) and other different celebrations, in kafana (coffee shops), and hotels. He often performed solo, singing along the violin. His repertoire consisted of sevdalinkas and ballads. In the text that describes the ballads which have local characteristics, Munib Maglajlić recorded:

"One of such Sarajevo’s eight syllables ballads, which described the death of a certain Avdo Lendić, was part of the repertoire of the famous Sarajevan singer Mehmed Varešanović, known as Varešan. Avdo Lendić was warned of his death both in his sleep and while being awake, but he - as the true hero in the ballad - goes to meet the danger, despite the warnings, and he dies from a 'gun shot behind the bush' on Bakije."\(^{10}\)

In 1957, Varešanović recorded about 20 songs for the archive of Radio Sarajevo. Besides sevdalinkas, he recorded two narrative songs such as the already mentioned ballad \textit{San usnio Lendić Avdo} [Dream of Lendić Avdo] and \textit{Koliko je polje pod Ipek} [How large is the field under Ipek]. Varešanović sung

\(^8\) Knjigu piše srpski knjaže is the first verse of song. The original name of the song is \textit{Balada o Hivzi-begu Dumišiću} (\textit{Ballad about Hivzi-bey Dumišić}).

\(^9\) The recording was made on August 15, 1912, in Bosanska Krupa and it is stored in Phonogrammarchiv in Vienna under the label Ph 1718-1719.

with the violin and was followed by Ivo Turković on the kontra and Mišo Bogeljić on the double bass. Varešanović’s method of performing ballads was very similar to the performances of Ale Kadić.

During the last few years, the performance of ballads with violin could rarely be heard. While doing research in November 2014, Kim Burton recorded the ballad Razbolje se Hasanaginica [Hasanaginica got ill] performed by Ismet Babajić from Rašljeve near Gračanica, born in 1948. A melopoetic analysis shows that this ballad performed by Ismet Babajić belongs to the category of long tunes. The type of melo-stanza emerged by connecting and repeating the verses (AABB). The basic melody was not burdened by different decorations, which enables performing of a clear syllabic melody. Elements of both urban and rural musical tradition can be felt in Babajić’s way of performance of the ballads. Elements of style of the rural tradition are noticeable in the singing, while instrumental accompaniment is in the spirit of urban tradition and very similar to the one which could be heard in the performances of Ale Kadić or Mehmed Varešanović.

Another method of singing with the violin is known under the name singing "along the thick string". First information about singing "along the thick string" can be found in the work of Matija Murko. Murko recorded that Hajdar-bey Čengić in Foča. He says that they kept "Bosnian attire, as well as singing along the gusle, tambura, and even violin (ćemane) with 'the thick string'". He noticed that epic songs are sung with different instruments, that "different other instruments replace gusle, especially in the recent times. Gypsies and blind musicians mostly use the violin (ćemane) with one string (the thick G string) or two". In the 1980s, Dimitrije Golemović pointed out:

"I have noticed the appearance of singing of narrative songs along the violin, but in manner very similar to the performance with

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11 Kontra is a specific tambura, essential instrument to the tamburitza orchestra.
12 Copies of her fieldwork were given by Kim Burton to the Institute for Musicology at the Academy of Music, University of Sarajevo. The song Razbolje se Hasanaginica [Hasanaginica got ill] was recorded on the record KB00318.
13 Folk ballads are traditionally performed based on the short tune, because this manner of shaping the melo-stanza enables flowing, clear and expressive presentation of the contents of long songs (with multiple verses), of mostly narrative nature. Forms with long tunes, in which a melo-stanza is shaped by repetition and/or connection of melo-verses or parts of a meloverse, adding exclamations, refrains, or by combining mentioned ways, are not usual in the performance of folk ballads.
accompaniment of gusle. Unlike Serbian, Orthodox population, practice of singing along violin, widely known as ‘singing along thick string’ was typical for Muslims.”

Newer researchers have shown that singing along the thick string was the most widely spread method on the territory of Bosnian Posavina and that it is widespread among all ethnic groups living in that area. The technique of playing on the last G string is very similar to the technique of playing the gusle. The manner and the conception of the song performance is almost the same as the interpretation with gusle. Golemović believes that singing along the thick string represents the way of imitating singing with gusle. He supports his beliefs through the fact that the violin appeared in the area only in "relatively recent history". The musician playing along the thick string Mato Kovačević from Vrbovac near Odžak, born in 1944, remembers that until the 1960s, gusle players from Herzegovina were coming and playing on social gatherings. "A host who could call a gusle player for organising social gatherings ensured that almost the whole village would gather. Gusle players never asked for money, but people still paid them." Kovačević thinks that in those years, singing along the thick string was popular. Playing occurred on wedding celebrations, social gatherings, and other occasions. From the conversation, it can be noticed that singing along thick string has the same function as singing with gusle playing.

Singing along the thick string was transmitted through oral transmission and from 1970s onwards, through electronic media and sound recordings. Golemović noted that singing along thick string was practiced by younger people. "Unlike the gusle's repertoire that mostly belongs to epic poetry, epic songs along thick strings are very rare and even when those appear, then they usually 'describe' the events from the newer future." Newer researches have shown that repertoire regarding singing along the thick string is made exclusively from narrative shapes which describe events from a more recent perspective and important events from the life of local communities or individuals, as well as songs which describe events from the last war in the years 1992-1995. Golemović recorded that singing along the thick string expressed "ballad content such as Dvore mela Hasanaginica [Castles were swept by Hasanaginica], Ašikuju Mujo i Fatima [Mujo and Fatima are talking] and Aj

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Goražde, mom primili gradu [Hey Goražde, my lovely town], characteristic according to the lyrics filled with tragic content".20

Figure 4: Song recorded and transcribed by Dimitrije Golemović.

Jozo Jerkan Brašnjić is mentioned as one of the most important singers practicing singing along the thick string. He is from Potočani near Odžak, born in 1932. He composed a large number of songs which are still readily performed in whole Bosnian Posavina. Among the most popular ones are: *Nas je naša porodila majka Potočani ispod Vučijaka* [Our mother gave birth to us at Potočani below Vučijak], *Pjesma o Senjaku Ivo* [Song about Senjak Ivo], *Kod žene sam zatek’o jarana* [I found my friend at my wife’s place], *Pluća su mi bolna* [My lungs are hurting me], *Mjesto krave ja kupio bika* [Instead of cow, I bought a
Jasmina Talam

Some of these songs can be found on his audio cassette named after the song *Voljeli se Doko i Slavojka* [Đoko and Slavojka were in love] which was published by Jugodisk. Mato Kovačević readily performs the songs of Jozo Jerkan Brašnjić and at the end of each song, he adds two additional verses where he honours the author. In that manner, he finishes the song *Mjesto krave ja kupio bika* [Instead of a cow, I bought a bull] with the verses ‘and I said you help me God, this is the song of Jerkan Joze’ (Figure 5).

Mato Kovačević composed several songs himself. From the conversation with Mato\(^{21}\) and handwritings he carefully keeps, it can be concluded that he wrote all of the songs without instruments which is not common practice. Although the songs accompanied on the violin’s thick string were generally composed in asymmetric ten syllables (4,6) and sometimes in symmetric eight syllables (4,4), in Mato’s songs, numerous metric schemes can be found. Some of the songs are written in asymmetric ten syllables, while in others, we can find double verses - one in asymmetric ten syllables (4,6) and the other one in symmetric twelve syllables (6,6).

The song *Neke noći sanjam svoje rodno selo* [On certain nights, I dream about the village I was born in], where different verse schemes can be found, is especially interesting. The song was written in Germany, where Mato worked almost his whole working life. “Near the end of the war in 1995, my nephew brought me the picture of the house, there was just a chimney, everything else was demolished. This little granddaughter asks: What is this? I say that this is our demolished house. And that is how I wrote the song.”\(^{22}\) It can be concluded that Mato might not one of the most skilled singers when it comes to writing new songs, but his need to express his emotions through songs is clearly expressed and visible, especially in the songs written in the post-war period.

One of the most popular folk singers practicing singing along the thick string is Duško Mrkonjić from Vranjci near Modriča, born in 1959. He began his professional career in the 1980s as a part of the ensemble whose other members were his brother Dragan and violin player Perica Stjepanović. The group played on various occasions. Until 1990, they have recorded ten audio cassettes. Duško recorded his first solo cassette, where he sings along the thick string *Išao sam jednoj ženi* [I went to a woman] in 1985 for the Jugodisk recording house. He published his last record in January of 2016 under the name *Moje pjesme* (My songs) which contains 15 songs.

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\(^{22}\) Kovačević. Mato (2015). *Interview with Jasmina Talam in Vrbovac*, 2.06.2015. Unpublished (Figure 7).
It can be noticed that Duško composed some of the recorded songs, while part of his repertoire consists of the songs from other folk singers. Many songs are mostly humorous, while some songs describe events in local communities. One such song describes the destiny of the unfortunate family that died of food poisoning after eating mushrooms in the village Bežlje near Teslić. The song begins with a short instrumental introduction and is followed by a free metric prologue characteristic to gusle songs.

It is important to pay attention to the method of creating the melo-stanza. The first melo-stanza is created by linking the melo-verses A before which comes an exclamation and B. The second melo-stanza and those that follow are created by presenting the first meloverse A, the repetition of the second part $a_2$ and presenting melo-verse B ($Aa_2B$).

An example of the humorous song *Ja sam Duško od seljaka dijete* [I am Duško, child of peasants] is very interesting and, in a humorous manner, talks about the difficult childhood in the village and the choice of profession. The song begins with a longer instrumental introduction through which the skills of shaping the melody and playing abilities are shown, followed by the prologue which consists of the four verses:

- Ovu pjesmu ko god želi čuti,/Whoever wants to hear this song,  
  Neka sada on malo počuti,./let him now be quiet for a while,  
  On malo počuti./quiet for a while.  
- Pjevat ću vam od teškoće klete,/I will sing you driven by cursed hardship,  
  jer je Duško od seljaka d’jete./because Duško is a child of peasants.
Unlike the previous example, the melo-stanza is created by connecting melo-verses A and B, followed by the repeated part b₂ (ABb₂). The procedure of forming a melody and creating a melo-stanza shows that this is a skilled and talented traditional composer and performer. In the first example, the song text has a sad content, so, Mrkonjić consciously emphasised the text compared to music. The second example, which has a rather entertaining character, allows for more musical freedom. The musician-composer expresses his musical skills by creating a wide ranged and richly decorated melody. The
melopoetic content shaped in such way enables the player to show their playing skills during the performance.

![Figure 8: The cover of the audio cassette Išao sam jednoj ženi [I went to a woman], Jugodisk, 1985. Photo by the author.](image)

Field researches, but also additional information from virtual sources available through the internet, show that only few singers and players practicing singing along the thick string are capable of composing songs which satisfy all important criteria of traditional aesthetics. Due to these capabilities, they are very popular among the urban and rural population. Unlike most folk songs which are composed by rather unknown individuals and shaped by a community, songs sung along the thick string usually have a known author and their text and melodies are transmitted in an unchanged way. Through the analysis of recorded examples of singing along the thick string as well as examples digitally available it can be noticed that older songs of Jozo Jerkan Brašnjić or slightly more recent songs by Duško Mrkonjić can still be found in the repertoire of singers practicing singing along the thick string. Also, more recent songs emerge that describe important events from the life of local communities, as well as certain social and societal topics which are popular in Bosnian and Herzegovinian society during the past 20 years. From the mentioned narrative shapes which were present in the past, singing ballads along the thick string was not recorded recently. Singing along the thick string is still very popular in Bosnian Posavina which is testified by a large number of singers comprising members of all ethnic groups.
References


Archive of Bosnia and Herzegovina, ZVS 48/274/2-1900.


New Waves in Music Arrangements and Instrumental Preferences:
Synthesis between Tradition and ‘Modernism’
Observed in Ethiopian Music

This study looks at new trends applied in songs and their melodic, rhythmic and lyrical arrangements observed in the musical landscape of today’s Ethiopia. The Təgray region, one of nine administrative regions located in north Ethiopia, has been given due attention as a specific study area. The Təgray administrative region belongs to areas I have been frequently visiting during fieldworks, with my latest fieldwork being in August 2016, where I had the opportunity to make participatory observations on one of the carnival-like holiday called ašända¹ in the region’s capital, Meqelle, and its outskirts. This holiday is as usual accompanied by abundant musical and cultural activities celebrated by masses of people. Ašända is practiced by Christian Təgray and Amhara worshipers who commemorate the Holy Virgin Mary during the 15 days of fasting, fəlsäta (ጾመ-ፍልሰታ), taking place in the mid of Nähasse (Ethiopian calendar²).

My investigations will however not be limited to the ašända feast and musical activities and events related with it, but it generally focusses on songs accompanied by traditional and Western musical instruments. In this conjunction, it takes a look at the preferences in terms of fusing these musical instruments in various settings as well as the permissibility of instrumental

¹ In many parts of Təgray and northern Amhara regions including in neighboring Eritrea, the ašända holiday plays a vital role in social, cultural, traditional, political, economic, gender-related and musical spheres. Ašända is also designated as šādāy, ašändaye, soläl (ሰላል), Marə'a (ማርያ = Holy Virgin Mary) and ayniwarı (ያይንወራ) representing different localities in both Amhara and Təgray regions. While the terms ašända, be’ale ašända, Marə’a and ayniwarı are used in Tänben, ኢንጆንተ, Adigrat, Mäqälle, Raya and Axum in Təgray, the terms šādāy (ሽላይ) and ašändaye are common in Wag ከምራ, Lašta, Lalibëlä. Säqota, and soläl in the Amhara region.

² The Ethiopian calendar is related with the Coptic calendar. Between the Ethiopian and the Gregorian calendars there is a difference of 7 - 8 years’ gap. The Ethiopic calendar is composed of 12 months, with each month comprising 30 days. Besides the 12 equal months named Mäskäräm, T’əqamt, ኢንጆንተ, Tahsas, T’or, Yërkatit, Mägabit, Miyazia, Gonbot, Säne, Hamle and Nähasse, which altogether make 360 days, the remaining 5 or 6 days (leap years) of the year are regarded as the 13th month called Pagume (Getahun 2014: 150; Wainwright/Westerfield Tucker 2006: 145). Accordingly, Ethiopia is known as the land of the ‘13 Months of Sunshine’ a motto often applied to advertise its tourism industry.
sounds. An attempt will be made to discuss the following questions: What is the extent of permissibility when it comes to accompanying music instruments, in particular Western music instrument? What are people’s viewpoints and how do they interpret the new wave of songs? To what extent does this music trend cause a disruption or enhance the lifestyle and music practice of the society? How do social, cultural and political dynamics cohere with musical creativity? Are these products conforming to one another or are there moments of discrepancies? If so what are the reasons of such divergences?

Introduction

The Təgray music repertoire predominantly contains songs performed in solo and group. In other words, the practice of instrumental music is very limited. Among the popular traditional music instruments the five- or six-string lyre krar is worth mentioning. The krar, a melody instrument, is an emblem of the Təgray. It is mainly played for song accompaniment. Another music instrument is the one-string spike fiddle masinqo (Figures 1-2). Nowadays, this instrument is gaining growing popularity in the Təgray music tradition more than ever before.

The most important musical instrument one finds all over the Təgray region and used in music performances, is the double-headed cylindrical drum kābāro. Nearly everyone can play the kābāro for song accompaniment. Other than highlighting the given rhythmic flow when beaten, the kābāro also embellishes songs. So even if other musical instruments are missing, the kābāro is enough to give the performance a special note and to instigate partakers to be more actively involved in singing, dancing or hand clapping.

3 In relation with music, the term permissibility is to be understood as acceptability, as something considered appropriate, correct, appreciable, and suitable to listener’s ears.

4 An exception may be the use of end-blown ambilta flutes that are habitually played in sets of three musicians in hoquet style with each flute producing 1 – maximum 2 pitches (if overblowing is applied). Only the combined sounds of all three ambiltas results in a short melodic phrase that is repeated over and over again.

5 There are several kābāro patterns in Təgray music, which represent particular regions and specific song and dance styles (see detailed description in Timkehet Teffera: Music, Making Music and Dancing: Ethno-Musicological Observations in Meqelle, Tigray. Guandu Music Journal 2005.12_03, 2005: 126-149; see also online under https://independent.academia.edu/TimkehetTefferaMekonnen)
An instrument that is also gaining growing popularity in Təgray popular music is the end-blown flute wašənt⁶ (Figure 3). Like the krar and the masinqo, the wašənt is today a frequently played instrument in music bands played along with other traditional and Western music instruments.

Figures 3-4: Təgray traditional music instruments: (left) end-blown flute wašənt and (right) cylindrical double-headed drum käbäro, Photos: Timkehet Teffera, Addis Ababa and Mäqälle. Photos by the author.

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⁶ The Wašənt found in many agricultural and semi-pastoral societies of central and northern Ethiopia and is widely known as the shepherd’s instrument.
Today musicians are re-discovering their identity and consequently re-defining and renewing their musical distinctiveness. Particularly young musicians are gaining awareness of their cultural assets and values so that they are contributing towards shaping the musical landscape in a new direction as well. This is, of course, the product of the socio-cultural and socio-political transformation taking place throughout Ethiopia since more than a decade which has influenced the music and musical practices as well.

It is not only the so far mentioned traditional music instruments that are going to be discussed in this study, but also Western music instruments. Hence, special focus is given to blending traditional and Western musical instruments in accompanying popular traditional songs, a new trend that is gaining increasing attention among Ethiopian songwriters and music arrangers. The alien musical instruments comprise keyboard, lead and bass guitar, alto and/or tenor sax and at times also trumpets, trombones, drum sets and other percussion instruments. In doing so, the preference of musical instruments used to accompany songs and their various settings in the various music groups/bands will be examined.

In Ethiopia, songs are created in different languages spoken by the diverse ethnic communities. Musicians attempt to incorporate the changes taking place in the economic and infrastructural sector as opportunities to integrate these in the songs they create and arrange. A trend in new songs encompasses the synthesis of traditional and foreign music instruments, traditional and foreign musical elements, the fusion of inter-ethnic styles and rhythms, e.g. an Amharic lyric that is arranged in a traditional Tagray or Gurage beats. Furthermore, mentioned must be made to songs that represent two local Ethiopian languages in their lyrics. In so doing, Amharic (lingua franca) lyrics is mostly combined with that of other local languages like, for instance, Oromiña-Amharic, Sidamiña-Amharic, Tagriña-Amharic, Hamar-Amharic, Gedeo, Gedeo is one of the East Cushitic languages in the Southern Nations, Nationalities, and People’s Region (SNNPRG). See e.g. Abreham Belayneh’s song Shalaye on YouTube.

7 In the last couple of years Ethiopia has been witnessing huge economic growth, infrastructural development hence, providing its people to get increasing access to education, health etc. Although the country has still a long way to go in order to change the lives of its fast growing population by eradicating poverty, the positive changes observed so far have contributed towards a rapid urbanization accompanied by great challenges as well new opportunities.

8 Watch new song entitled Birke Nesh. Vocalist Mesay Tefera; melody composer: Kerim Ali; lyrics: Abel Hagos, music arranger: Tamiru Amare; uploaded on YouTube 06.04.2017; https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=pSQiyHlFXCs (last accessed 02.05.2017)


10 Gedeo is one of the East Cushitic languages in the Southern Nations, Nationalities, and People’s Region (SNNPRG). See e.g. Abreham Belayneh’s song Shalaye on YouTube,
Guragiña--Amharic, Hamar, Harare, Wälayitta, Dorze, Kämbata and many more mixtures. Fusing local and alien music elements also alludes to music instruments. Thus, the amalgamation of traditional and Western instruments is common in popular Ethiopian songs.

Regarding Ṭəgray songs arranged with various instrument’s settings and diverse arrangement styles are offered on local and international music markets\textsuperscript{11} and to a certain extent also broadcasted via TV, radio and internet. The music instruments mentioned in this paper take various primary and secondary roles in song accompaniment. This depends on the individual preference of the music arranger. Given the overall features, i.e. melodic and rhythmic structures as well as forms and styles of the selected songs, it would not be a mistake to categorize them as ‘traditional-popular’ tunes.

The songs selected for discussion are music videos of recent periods uploaded on YouTube as well as an extract of my audiovisual recording during the ašända feast in Meqelle. Prior to moving to the details of the instrumental setting applied in these songs, mention must be made that song clips released in recent time generally depict cultural and traditional scenes and activities as well as beautiful landscapes reflecting the lyrical message of the given song accordingly. The footages often feature the singer, dancers, instrumentalists and all other participants in colorful traditional attires.

Music Example 1

The first track is a romantic song entitled Baba Elen performed by Dawit Nega. I found a music video posted on YouTube\textsuperscript{12}. I selected this song in order to demonstrate the drum machine that is frequently played during studio recordings and on various music performances. More than ever before, today it has become a normal routine to make sure that all traditional music instruments are amplified, whereas drum machines that are accordingly programmed to imitate the rhythmic patterns of the käbäro as authentic as possible substitute the traditional drum beating.

\textsuperscript{11} i.e. for Ethiopian diaspora communities in Europe and the USA as well as in neighboring African as well as the Arabian Peninsula in Western Asia.

\textsuperscript{12} https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=BSXkWTedwQM; uploaded on YouTube on August 18 2015; lyricist: Dawit Nega; Melody: folk melody arranged by Dawit Nega & Zemen Alemseged; Music arrangement and mixing: Tesfay Abraha (YT Studio); Camera editing: Shewit Tsehay Belew; \textit{krar} by Ashenafi Girmay; the names of the flutist and the two drummers are not indicated in the music video including the names of the dancers; Mido Film Production
In this song, the footage starts with an intro melody played on masinqo. After a while the vocalist appears in the scene. Both musicians wear traditional attires representing the central highland regions. The masinqo player (Teklehaimanot Kinfe) wears the usual outfit of pants, long-sleeved shirt and a white toga (nätälä) on top. The vocalist wears the same outfit except that the top is decorated with handmade embroideries in green, yellow and red colors representing the Ethiopian national flag. Furthermore, he wears a traditional scarf with matching embroidery around his neck and a ribbon on his head like the male dancers and instrument players who appear at a later time. The footage is the background an impressive natural green landscape somewhere in Təgray with a waterfall, meadows and hills is shown.

After the masinqo introduction, the vocal part sets in. The melancholic melody lines are arranged in free rhythm. The vocal lines are imitated by the masinqo that also fills the vocal gaps with short melody motives. When this song part ends, the all music instruments of the band set in. These are krar, wašant, masinqo in addition to the rhythmic drum beats (the drum is replaced by a drum machine) while steadily changing colorful scenes and backgrounds emerge with instrument players as well as female and male dancers. A short while later two käbāro players appear in the footage beating their drums and moving their body synchronically with the rhythm. However, one may doubt whether the drum sounds contribute anything to the acoustic setting of the full band or whether they have a symbolic meaning. All partakers are dressed in beautiful traditional attires and accessories while the women are additionally beautified with their braided hairs. In music videos of recent periods, great emphasis is given to such traditional outfits and all imaginable scenes that are related with custom, ritual and culture of that particular locality or region or the nation at large.

All music instruments accompanying this song are shown in the footage. All four traditional instruments mentioned above are amplified and technically adjusted in a way not overshadow one another. Additionally, one bass and one lead guitar (played by Mulugeta Kahssu and Tesfay Abraha) belong to the instruments played in the band even though they are not depicted in the music video.

**Music Example 2**

Anbesa Tehle, who accompanies his vocal lines on the krar, performs the next song, a wedding song. The music video is uploaded on YouTube in 2013 (Song title: Niesnet film production: Zalambessa Studio, but the film is probably much older. The footage at first depicts four music instruments, namely a keyboard, a bass and a lead guitar and lyre krar that plays a central role as a melody instrument including the vocalist who is playing it. Nevertheless, the
krar sound is nearly inaudible, because the dominant sound of the other instruments including the drum machine. The video shows particular moments of a traditional-modern mix of a wedding festivity. The bridal party is in one moment portrayed in Western wedding outfits and in another instant in colorful traditional attires. The film seems to have been shot at a real wedding feast featuring a crowded scene filled with wedding guests and the bridal party inside a tent hall, in a house and in the open. There are furthermore, evening shots showing groups of people moving in circles or in rows dancing the traditional Tälhit dance of the Tagray around a campfire. On the other hand, the footages taken in daylight portray similar dance movements of groups of people around a tree. The bridal couple and the vocalist holding the krar frequently appear in the center of the dancing arenas surrounded by dancing groups consisting of wedding guests. Other footages are inserted between the wedding scene showing people from various social strata, young and old, men and women dancing and enjoying their togetherness with amazing landscapes in the background. Drummers are as well depicted beating their kābāro with great passion. I would like to use this subject matter as a transition to music examples I would like to discuss in relation with the role of the kābāro in the music of the Tagray. Without exaggeration, the kābāro is the most permissible music instrument that is not only used to maintain and accentuate the rhythm flow in a song, but the special skills of a drummer are equally vital because it is related with deep and vibrant pleasure and enjoyment. Subsequently, kābāro beating is not only bound to one’s own entertainment, but it is about involving all partakers in a music performance. A kābāro player is traditionally positioned in the center arena surrounding by the singing and dancing group. The main task of the drummer is to ensure that all participants enjoy the music to the maximum.

Both sex groups play the kābāro without any special restriction. Songs are at least accompanied by two kābāro players depending on the event and the number of available kābāros. Without interrupting beating according to the respected rhythm, a drummer customarily performs different body movements such as rhythmic jumps, twists, pulling the shoulder and head backwards, shaking shoulder and shoulder blades, bending the upper body, going into a squat position, kneeling and lying down on the back. In the two selected YouTube music videos, the already explained kābāro playing is depicted\(^{13}\). Each acrobatic-like rhythmic movement can arbitrarily be executed

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\(^{13}\) a) Traditional kābāro playing patterns performed by a male-female couple; the film was recorded during the asānda holiday at one of the main spots called Romanat Avenue (Mekelle) where music festivals that are attended by a huge crowd of people, take place; YouTube upload August 15\(^{th}\) 2016; https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=QT2LVb7_XVY&list=RDQT2LVb7_XVY#t=111: Weni Entertainment, last accessed 4 April, 2017.
in combination with the other dance patterns noted earlier. Additionally, these movements can be synchronized with that of other käbäro player/s involved in the music performance. In addition to the body movements various mime gestures, metaphorical ‘flirting’ and other body languages belong to the acts of a käbäro player. Therefore, playing käbäro means trying to impress every participant and sharing the joyful moment with others. In other words, käbäro players are eye catchers who immediately become center of attention. Therefore, it should by no means be left out in Təgray songs. That is why in popular bands, drum machines (programmed in the traditional Təgray beats) are unquestionably indispensable.

**Music Example 3**

The next song is a short film deriving from my recording during the ašända holiday in August 2016. Prior to discussing the song, let me at first make some notes about this holiday: Ašända commemorates the journey of The Virgin Mary to heaven when she died at the age of 64 as a human being. Ašända is a holiday dedicated to women, particular to young and virgin girls, who symbolize the Holy Virgin Mary, play a significant role throughout the holiday\(^{14}\) (figure 5).

The area was full with mainly female participants (girls and adult women) who came to this spot to celebrate ašända and to enjoy the music concert. The band consisted of traditional and foreign music instruments, while the instrument’s setting was changed according to the arrangement of the respective songs. Several well-known singers were invited to perform on the concert. I positioned myself at a higher place so that I was able to film the extremely amazing crowd of predominantly young girls all wearing colorful dresses wearing their hair braided in a typical Təgrean hairstyle as also presented in figure 6.

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Nearly all female participants had braided hair in similar fashion and they were dressed in their colorful ašända holiday outfits with a variety of accessories. It was amazing to watch the entire ceremony from this particular spot. The music band was unfortunately too far so that it was impossible to get
good pictures or film. But I had the opportunity to meet almost all members of the music band/s in the previous days during their rehearsals for the several ašända performances that lay ahead. During these rehearsals, different sets of traditional and Western music instruments were used to accompany the different songs. The traditional music instruments are those already described at the outset of this paper, whereas Western music instruments included bass and lead guitars, saxophone, a keyboard and a drum machine (Figure 7).

Figure 6: Thousands of primarily young girls enjoying ašända music concert in the Romanat Square, Meqelle. Photo by the author.

Figure 7: Music band performing music at the ašända festival; Photo: Timkehet Teffera, Romanat Square, Meqelle.
Regarding instrumental permissibility, the musicians had different opinions related with their subjective or individual preferences and views. The leader of the band, Gebremariam Mebratu, a multi-talented musician and choreographer suggested that for public performances like ašämä holiday, it is very important to amplify all musical instruments and balance their sounds during sound check as well as during rehearsals with vocalists. This part of our task should be completed well ahead of time. Since the drum is the most important music instrument of the Təgray, it is the drum machine with an appropriate amplification that consists of 2000 partakers at each venue that is prepared for similar live concerts in the city of Meqelle¹⁵.

Mention must however be made that despite the dominant sound of the XXL boxes positioned at both sides of the stage, there were groups of two and more käbäros players among the audience who additionally entertained their respected groups (figure 8). The synchronic käbäros beats, which I was later able to observe the happening from close proximity by mixing in the crowd, the beats were audible and loud enough at least for the members of the respected group and for those standing close to them. I may note here that nearly all ašämä partakers are customarily assembled in different groups among other things, representing their immediate residential areas or working places, etc. Each ašämä group is at first sight often differentiated through its uniform outfit (figure 8). Commonly every group is equipped with one or two käbäros. The käbäro/s is/are not only played during the above mentioned

¹⁵ Personal communication with Gebremariam Mebratu 15th August 2016, Meqelle.
public performances, but wherever the group moves\textsuperscript{16}. So, we herewith may once again take not of the value of the käbäro, its symbolic meaning and its inherent role in the music of the Təgray.

Other people with whom I discussed suggest that in recent Təgray popular songs, traditional and cultural elements are appropriately reflected. They are aware of the fact that for them the rhythmic drumming (regardless whether it is a real käbäro or its substitute in form of a drum machine) is a basic component and should not be missed in their music\textsuperscript{17}.

Indeed it is the basic beats of the käbäro or its machine-supported imitation that encourages group singing and dancing. Many do not seem to give priority to specific music instruments (the Western music instruments) the listen to, since the combined sound that fulfills their expectations is already enough, but the käbäro beats should not be omitted and they are absolute primacy. It is impossible to imagine a performance without it. There are, of course, various levels of awareness towards the new trends of music when it comes to different generations of listeners who accordingly have different preferences. The 75 years old Zenebech Desta for instance notes that she likes the new released songs that are also broadcasted via TV and radio as well as life performances with a mixed music band. She said “I usually give attention to naturally gifted singers who are capable to embellishment a melody in a unique and impressive manner. Of course, I also like the drum beats which is very important during our (Təgray) songs. It is seldom that I give attention to the sound of each music instrument accompanying a particular song”\textsuperscript{18}.

Samuel Bayru\textsuperscript{19} (age 43) accepts the new wave of musical creativity in the songs described so far. He gives due attention to the overall structure of the song, however, in particular to the drum beats that are the nucleus. Without the käbäro, it is impossible for me to see the beauty of a song. The drum beats inspire me, they move and animate me to dance and enjoy. I am, of course, aware that the popular songs the drum machine plays a vital role to give the tune a special flavor. At the same time I also give consideration to the individual touch the vocalist gives to the melodic movements and, of course, the message of the song. If I have the feeling that all these components harmonize with one another, then the song becomes particularly memorable.

\begin{itemize}
  \item It is common that group performs traditional \textit{ašända} songs that are mostly arranged in antiphonal form with a song leader and a chorus group, which are accompanied by käbäro. One may encounter such joyful groups singing and dancing on the streets of Meqelle, in every district and corner of the town.
  \item Personal communication with Samuel Redie, cultural advocate, musician and lecturer at the Department of Music and Visual Arts (Meqelle University), 22th August 2016, Meqelle.
  \item Personal communication 12th August 2016, Meqelle.
  \item Personal communication 13th August 2016, Meqelle.
\end{itemize}
New Waves in Music Arrangements and Instrumental Preferences

for me. It is not a priority for me to focus on accompanying instruments when I only listen to a song (audio), but I am often impressed when I watch a music clip with footages representing colorful traditional attires, beautiful landscapes, cultural activities and scenes reflecting the song’s message, among others, depicting groups of people enjoying their togetherness by dancing and singing. So in such cases, I think I do not necessarily pay full attention to music-related details, i.e. melody, rhythm and accompanying instruments as long as the overall atmosphere and my acoustic expectations (that would include the drum beats) are ensured. If I am an actively participating in a life performance by dancing and singing along with the chorus group, then it will be the overall atmosphere that influences my attitudes towards the songs and/or the accompanying music instrument.

Conclusion

With particular attention given to carefully selected Təğriña songs this study attempted to find out the peculiarities of latest traditional-popular songs that are accompanied by local and Western music instruments in various settings. As an outcome of the discussion and the song analysis, we may conclude that contemporary Təgray musicians - more than ever before - incorporate the traditional and cultural practices of their community in their musical products. Note must be made that the protracted political unrest, during the reign of the dictatorial military Derg (1974-1991), had severely influenced the social, cultural, traditional and artistic life of Ethiopians. Musical creativity was to a large extent abandoned and crippled, because priority was given to either propaganda (for the state) or protest used to oppose the ruling power. However, 25 years after the downfall of the Derg, a wave of peace is witnessed throughout the country so that people are breathing an air of freedom. Since then, Ethiopia has been witnessed remarkable economic, political, educational, infrastructural development. This has contributed a lot towards a positive impact to the lives of the peoples from all walks of life. The living conditions of its peoples have immensely been improved. These positive changes have, of course, also left their marks in both traditional and popular music and culture. Consequently, on the one hand musicians (particularly young musicians) often consciously create their artistic products of their respective societies with the aim at revitalizing and reviving traditional and cultural traits that were for various reasons either superseded, forgotten or on the verge to vanish. On the other hand, there is a great desire to explore new and popular as well as alien musical elements and fuse their styles, forms with traditional elements. This also refers to the preference of traditional and Western music instruments, their fusion as well as to the amplification all instruments in song accompaniment. So, to wrap up the discussion we may argue that the popular Təgray songs pronounce values that are embedded in their traditional identity.
Hence, their traditional nature, arrangement and performance style are maintained regardless whether Western musical instruments and modern technique are additionally used for song accompaniment.

References


Fretted Instruments and the Xinjiang Muqam

Maqamat have been circulating through many countries and regions. Musical instruments used in order to play the Xinjiang muqam take different shapes and structures as they embody fundamental features of that muqam. This paper holds the idea that a negation of the link between muqam kindred instruments will limit the studies of muqam as well as of the instruments. This paper mainly compares and contrasts some of the fretted instruments in the Uygur region of Xinjiang with those in other countries and areas. Also, this paper not only traces the history of the muqam fretted instruments but illustrates their shape, structure, and actual fretting.

As part of the world’s intangible cultural heritage, the Xinjiang Uygur muqam not only embodies the Xinjiang Uygur art but, in particular, is symbolic for the world of the maqamat. It has had wide currency in 19 countries and regions in Eurasia, West Asia, Central Asia, Southeast Asia, and North Africa. According to Mr. Zhou Ji¹, artists and experts in the Xinjiang Uygur Muqam, all the above areas share the same ecological environment with vast expanse of deserts bearing oases that carry life and link ancient countries and communities, their cultures, and their economies through the Silk Road. Thus, in such a context, a music culture arose that reflect oasis life. Furthermore, Social exchange along the Silk Road helped nurture the muqam as a musical principle continuously. The upper class worshipped art, business people promoted art exchanges, the craft industries shaped the basis for art practices, especially religious art dissemination. As a result, muqam thrived prosperously with flexibility, compatibility, and variety.

In the Xinjiang Uygur region, muqam is usually expressed using the fretted instruments tanbur, dutar, satar, and rewap. Classified into chordophones in Hornbostel and Sachs system, these instruments are plucked lutes with long necks and, by name, adopted from lutes in the Persian-Arabic world. Their appearance, however, differs slightly along the Silk Road.

The History of the Fretting of the Long-necked Lutes

Of all the Xinjiang fretted instruments, the tanbur, of which the name is obviously Persian, is closely related to ancient lutes. Then, the Persian-Arabic tanbur is possibly the descendant of the oldest lutes. In the early days, the tanbur travelled and evolved not only in the Persian-Arabic world but in other

places under the influence of the Persian-Arabic culture. Today, generally speaking, the tanbur refers to the long-necked lutes in Central Asia, the Middle East, and other areas influenced by the Persian-Arabic culture, and specifically speaking, it is a singular instrument type. Thanks to its value and evolution in various areas and countries, the tanbur family gradually developed its regional characteristics and finally came into being. Therefore, it is necessary to trace the origin of the tanbur family for further interpretation of their evolution in the above-mentioned areas.

**Brief Background of Early Tanbūrs**

The early lutes found so far may have first appeared in Mesopotamia and ancient Babylonia. They too had long necks. Scholars are of the opinion that Sumerian and Accadian languages had corresponding names for the instrument. Curt Sachs already said that the term pan-tur, the first known name of lutes, was from Sumer and later on it moved into Georgia, in the Caucasus mountainous region, and transformed into the name panturi, which kept moving around and in ancient Greek the name changed to pandura. When the lute reached areas dominated by early Islam, people followed suit. In the Persian-Arabic area pandura is written as tanbur in Arabic and as al-tunbūr in Persian separately. Stated thus, al-tunbūr is etymologically one of the sources of the tunbūr family naming.

The following assumptions can be collected following Hickmann, Sachs, and a number of other scholars: In Tomb No. 38 of the eighteenth Thebes Dynasty in ancient Egypt, the oldest lutes with long necks and frets were found. According to Gadalla, the ancient system of the Egyptians is based on the intimacy between astronomy (symbolized in the calendar) and music. For the ancient Egyptians, musical sounds were based on the pulsation of the complete calendrical cycle and scales were based on 7.557 cents of Egyptian commas. Its major whole tone of 203.77 cents, equal to 9 commas, was also played on long-necked lutes.

People of Persian-Arabic cultures not only inherited the ancient Egyptian lutes with long necks and frets but also learned how to produce microtones with it. In the ancient Egyptian scale, microtones were the smallest unit. Sachs’ study

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shows that the tunbūr’s fretting originates from the Sabaeans way of measuring the earth, and so they called tunbūr a “measured” lute or a tanbur al-mīzānī. This instrument was probably identical with the lute whose fret length was theoretically divided into forty equal parts and only the first five divisions were used in playing and signalled by frets made of gut. Sachs assumes that the scale produced by the tanbur was a series of (unequal) quartertones. His assumption is somewhat similar to that of Arabic scholars of the 10th century such as al-Fārābī.\footnote{Al-Farabi (1967). Kitabu al–musica al–kabir. Cairo: The Arab Writer.} wrote down the fretting of tanbur and this recording could produce scale of unequal quartertones and semitones, such as comma maxima (24 cent) and limma (90 cent). Furthermore, Curt Sachs puts forward that the fretting of tanbur has been consistent in an ancient Mesopotamian standard measure, which is close to Gadalla’s idea that musical sounds were the pulsation of the complete calendrical cycle. Therefore, this paper tries to show that the intervals found on fretted lutes may be divided according to the measurement system, like the systems of measuring time, materials, and even other scales.

### Dasātīn and Frets of Lutes with Long Necks

According to Henry George Farmer, dasātīn, for long-necked lutes, refers to a multitude of frets made of gut and tied on the neck, and for short-necked ones, such as oud, refers to the places upon which the left fingers are placed. Long-necked instruments are designed with sufficient space for fretting while short-necked ones are designed differently.

Owen Wright comments that “dasātīn,” the early fret, everlastingly features the changes of the tanbūr. In the tenth century, the fretting on the tanbur had great effect in Baghdad and it helped engender the scale of approximate quarter-tone steps over a range of little more than a minor 3\textsuperscript{rd}, while the other scale, which may in reality have included neutral intervals, is analyzed in terms of limma and comma (comma being the 24 cents difference between apotome and limma)\footnote{Wright, Owen, et al. (2001). Arab music. Grove Music Online. Oxford University Press, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/01139pg1, last accessed April 28, 2017.}. Şafī al-Dīn’s 17-note-per-octave scale tries to lay the theoretical foundation for the above-mentioned scales.

Şafī al-Dīn’s 17-note-per-octave scale had far-reaching implication in the Arabic-Persian world. It is derived from Pythagorean limma/comma divisions of the octave into two conjunct tetrachords, each comprising two whole steps (lima, limma, comma) and a limma half step, followed by a whole step. This
Xia Fan

arrangement provided the principal model for subsequent generations of theorists. For instance, in 1700, Dimitrie Cantemir was inspired by Ṣafī al-Dīn and in his treatise as he divided the general scale into a total of 33 scale degrees over two octaves. The fretting of the Ottoman tanbûr is shown as the following.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>(D)</th>
<th>yegâh*</th>
<th></th>
<th>(E)</th>
<th>'aşirân</th>
<th></th>
<th>(F)</th>
<th>'acem 'aşirânî</th>
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<tr>
<td>(F♯)</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>(F)</td>
<td>râhâvî</td>
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<td>(G♯)</td>
<td>zengüle</td>
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<td>nihavend</td>
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<td>büselîk</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>segâh</td>
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<td>(c)</td>
<td>çargâh</td>
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<td>evç</td>
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<td>(f)</td>
<td>mâhûr</td>
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<td>mûhayyer</td>
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<td>(g)</td>
<td>gerdânîye</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>sünbûle</td>
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<td>(g♯)</td>
<td>şehnâz</td>
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<td>tîz büselîk</td>
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<td></td>
<td>tîz sabå</td>
<td>tîz hüseyânî</td>
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</table>

Figure 1: The fretting of the Ottoman tanbûr (Cantemir, approx. 1700).

The Figure shown above cannot specifically show the 33 scale degrees over two octaves but can probably present sub-semitone and its enharmonic references that distinguish between flats and sharps.

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Considering the different frettings on tanbūr types in various regions, Laurence Picken thinks the fretting of the common Turkish saz reflects the systems of scaling anterior in the thirteenth-century system established by Ṣafī al-Dīn. The fretting of the ūnbar as used in Turkish art music, of the Azerbaijan tar, and of the Iranian long-necked lutes – tār and sitar – on the other hand, is evidently closely related to the system drafted by Ṣafī al-Dīn.8

Fretted Muqam Instruments

The tanbūr, the successor of the ancient long-necked lutes, carries a long history of changes seen from the perspective of its muqam background. Multitudes of pictures and images witness the fact that before the 8th century music and dance in the Xinjiang Uygur area was mainly expressed with short-necked lutes.9 Later on the dramatic changes of arts centered around Buddhism requiring proper instruments to express music. The same happened to muqam, so fretted long-necked lutes gradually replaced the short-necked ones. Therefore, it is better to interpret muqam with fretted long-necked lutes.

The evolvement of and differentiation between the fretted long-necked lutes is somewhat close to that of muqam, which reflects unique features of the region.

Muqam: Religious and Cultural Background

Knowing the Islamic attitude toward music is an essential to understand the muqam fretted instruments. By comparison with the position of music and dance in Buddhism in the area alongside the Silk Road, music and dance were over long periods of time officially forbidden both secularly and religiously in the Islamic world. Nevertheless, though purely spiritual in matter of ideology, religion does exist with its physical expressions, such as religious buildings, statues, drawings, dance and music. In areas with Islamic culture, some religious groups perform their ritual life with the help of musical instruments, just like the Sufi do in Turkey and on the Balkan Peninsula.10

In comparison with other Islamic religious groups, the Sufi hold music in high esteem and believe they may approach Allah by ritual practices like meditative retreat, zikr, samā, and raqs. However, believers inside the Sufi circles once

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9 such as crook-necked lutes and penta-stringed lutes, which overlap in their features.

doubted the above ritual performances. Then after the 11th century Sufism was spread into South Asia and during the period of the thirteenth- to fourteenth-century, Sufi music boomed in the Indian subcontinent thanks to both Sufi friars’ liberal attitudes toward Indian music and the booming of ritual dance and music in temples. Sufi think that hearing is the most wonderful sensation in human body, and attentive listening to melodious music helps people feel and understand Allah. As a result, the Sufi followers can open their hearts and explore the depth of their soul. Sufi’s explanation of attentive listening is quite of tinge of mysticism.

In the 14th century, the Iranians pioneered the replacement of parda with maqām and Sufi somewhat played a role in this practice. Maqām in Sufi believers’ minds symbolizes “spiritual stage,”11 The Sufi in the Xinjiang Uygur Region have four subgroups. One of the subgroups practice their rituals with instruments from India. In most ritual practices, the subgroups play maxrap, similar to the Uygur Twelve Muqam Intermezzo, with the accompaniment of instruments, like dutar, satar, rewap, tanbur, daff, ney, sapayi, and tax.

Sufi forbid their believers to entertain themselves with music and dancing, but some of its doctrines promote the development of music. In areas where Islamism circulates, music performed in the religious rites, in particular by Sufi, though not in a large scale, has exerted a profound influence upon the local music. The Sufi demand their followers to focus on hearing to achieve this acute sensitivity, which aligns closely with music whose appreciation requires its listeners’ undivided attention.

The acute hearing sensitivity advocated by Sufi is in some way analogous with the inner musical hearing which is basic to composers, conductors, and instrumentalists. For instance, during the creative process, a composer seems to have heard the symphony in his mind that is wildly surging up and down like tidewater; before conducting a new symphony, a conductor shall first do his performance in his mind to catch the overall sound effect and assure himself being calm and masterful before the orchestra. A top instrumentalist shall better his performance by his inner hearing and even can appreciate music in the sound of silence. Though out of different practical needs, both the inner hearing advocated by musicians and the attentive hearing sensitivity by the Sufi are somewhat close and can be regarded as the memory, realization, and recreation of the sound from people’s imagination.

The identification of specific intervals must be realized with the assistance of the acute hearing sensitivity that probably can be fostered and practiced by

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Fretted Instruments and the Xinjiang Muqam

Sufi followers. Muqam is expressed using these intervals produced by the tanbūr. Thus, the traditional tanbur has become a material embodiment of muqam.

The fretted instruments are given priority in the performance of the Xinjiang Twelve Muqam Intermezzo combinations. In southern Xinjiang, the satar leads the performance of Twelve Muqam Intermezzo while in the northern, tanbur does. Nowadays, accompanied by a dutar, the tanbur leads both mukaddima and dastan in the muqam combinations. Both the presiding tanbur and the accompanying dutar bear the responsibility of performing melodies, so does rewap together with aijiak. In some muqam combinations, the tanbur is paired with dutar, and rewap with aijiak. As a result, a lot of instruments work together to complete a boisterous performance. In this case, the daff usually plays a leading role, now and then accompanied by one pair rising and the other pair falling, or by one pair competing with the other or by one pair questioning and the other answering. This performance alternates between ascending, descending and returning through pieces, thus manifesting the muqam. Surely, the alternation of the instruments in the muqam performance keeps unfixed and changing. Undoubtedly, players may change the alternation of the instruments in accordance with the musical situation.

Fretted Instruments in the Xinjiang Uygur Region and in the Persian-Arabic World

Now, people can find very limited pictures and records or something like that to clearly present ancient fretted instruments in the Xinjiang Uygur Region. By reference to Musician Bibliography (1892) by Mullah Ismatulla Mujizi, ‘some scholars’ express the opinion that instruments like tanbur, satar, and rewap originally appeared as early as in the eleven-century and came into their age as late as in the fourteenth and fifteenth century, while muqam grew up from the fifteenth to the sixteenth century. Thus, both the instruments and muqam are very close in matter of emergence and development. This thesis aims at comparing and contrasting the muqam instruments in the Xinjiang Uygur Region and in some Persian-Arabic areas, specifically tanbur, dutar, and satar with tanbur and rewap with rabāb.

The Tanbur Family and other Instruments in the Xinjiang Uygur Region

The names of tanbur, dutar, and satar in Xinjiang Uygur region come from the Persian-Arabic world. The Persian-Arabic dutār and setār possibly evolved from the ancient tanbur whose component of tār means ‘string’ and du ‘two,’ so dutār suggests two strings. Though with two strings in the early days, dutār nowadays bears more strings except those in the Xinjiang Uygur region that
still keep two strings. The same is true of setār, originally with three strings. At present, the instrument has more strings and has developed some unique characteristics in the Xinjiang Uygur Region. It is close to the Central Asian setār yet distant from the Iranian setār.

The tanbur in the Xinjiang Uygur region is different from the tanbur in the Central East, in the Persian-Arabic world, in Turkey, but close to those in Central Asia. As it were, though related to each other, the former tends to inherit the ancient tradition of the Persian-Arabic world while the latter, keeping its rather locally bound music style, has the features of multi-ethnic applications against the background of the Silk Road. The tanbur in the Xinjiang Uygur region differentiates itself from the Uzbek tanbūr, which is a major example in Central Asia, but both are instruments of one type by shape and structure, performing style, and material production.

During a performance on the tanbur, Xinjiang Uygur players have their right index fingers usually wearing ring-shaped fingernails, which might be inspired by their counterparts of the Uzbekistan tanbūr. The Uygur tanbur also keeps melody and drone strings and can be tuned to the fourth and the fifth, and its tied frets made of gut are replaced by plastic strip-shaped ones and rise 0.1-0.2cm so they become stronger than before. Thus, now the Uygur tanbur sounds more sonorous. So these changes make the tanbur in Central Asia and Xinjiang Uygur Region different from those in the Central East and Turkey.

The dutar in the Xinjiang Uygur region also changes. Its shape looks different from the dutār or dotār in the Central East and in Arabic areas but alike with the Uzbek one. Now, its strings are made of nylon. In Central Asia and the Middle East, the dutār has steel strings. Nevertheless, with various changes, dutar in the Xinjiang Uygur region rather keeps its old shape and structure.

The dutar is inseparable from the muqam principle and the Uygur classical music. People usually resort to sing with dutar. They cannot imagine doing their singing and dancing without dutar. In Uygur muqam music, the dutar with a mellow timbre usually accompanies the tanbur and it does the same in Uygur classical music.

The setār is the only bowed instrument among the Persian-Arabic long-necked lutes. Tanbur and setār are both grouped into the bowed instruments. Their frets are made of gut and are tied around their necks. For these features, their players can make ornamental oscillations of up to a semitone, known as nala

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12 A slightly curled half ring is usually made of yangqin strings, and it is tightly fixed on the two sides of the index finger nail. The curled part stretches out like a long finger nail and can effectively hook strings to and fro. This exquisite design helps the player gather his finger strength to produce a pleasant powerful tone.
Fretted Instruments and the Xinjiang Muqam

Due to varieties of languages in most areas, people name those bowed lutes with long necks differently. Turks call the bowed ṭanbūr as “yayli ṭanbūr.” Setār in Kashmir and Iran area is still a plucked instrument and it is regarded as another derivative of the ancient ṭanbūr.

The satar in Xinjiang Uygur region shows high similarity with that in the Central Asia. It is comparatively bigger than that in Central Asia. It has one melody string and fourteen sympathetic strings. The setār in Central Asia has two to four melody strings and eight to twelve sympathetic strings. The satar in the Xinjiang Uygur region often plays a leading role with the least ornaments and variations in muqam performances. In this case, kalong or dutar usually play accompaniment roles. However, for its huge body, the satar is unfit for those quick-rhythmed performances requiring intricate playing skills. Comparatively, aijjak is suitable. Xinjiang Uygur people may think that the unique timbre of satar is deeply desolate and this opinion has become the average standard of a good satar.

The Persian-Arabic Rabāb and related Xinjiang Uygur Instruments

The rewap is a local instrument in the Xinjiang Uygur area. The word rewap itself comes from the Persian language rendered in the Uygur language. Its remarkable ethnic feature distinguishes itself from the muqam instruments in other areas and regions. According to early medieval Arabic texts in the ninth to the tenth centuries as well as its definition of rabāb, the New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians classifies the Xinjiang Uygur rewap being part of the rabāb family.

Rabāb, a music terminology, refers to playing ways and to instruments in a wider context. Players pluck or bow on rabāb family instruments, and rabāb instruments are mainly lutes, lyres and often bowed instruments. As a result, the members of the rabāb family are distant from each other except by name. The Xinjiang Uygur rewap is a perfect example in this regard.

Classified as part of the rabāb family, the lute instruments, particularly with long necks and curvy barbs, the Xinjiang Uygur rewap must be indeed related. Similar instruments outside the Xinjiang Uygur region became gradually non-existent in their areas of use, yet they continued to play their roles by new shapes in other places, especially in Iran, in South Asia and Central Asia after the tenth and eleventh centuries. Some Mughal paintings give a convincing

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proof of the continuous existence of the rabāb depicting two types of rabāb. One has the appearance of the Iranian rabāb in the middle ages. The then rabāb had a round barb-shaped body with a long neck beside which there are tuning pegs. Its surface consisted of leather. It looks very similar to the rewap. The other rabāb on the painting had a less curved barb and oval-shaped body, as shown in Figure 2.

Figure 2: Rabāb (long-necked lute with barb) of the older Iranian and Indian type.14

The rabāb in the picture looks like the dolan rawap from the Xinjiang Uygur rewap family.

Figure 3: A folk muqam band in Kashgar. Photo by the author.\textsuperscript{15}

In Xinjiang Uygur area, the rewap shows various shapes and structures. After the social transition in 1950s, supposed improvements were conducted thus the present rewap takes a new look. Yet, only in the very South and North of Xinjiang exists the fretted rewap. In Kashgar it has become most popular and specialized. Like the tanbur, the rewap is a very expressive solo instrument that requires skilled players. Easily being distinguished for its unique timbre and sympathetic strings, the rewap is hard to be concordant with other instruments in a modern folk instrument orchestra. To meet the performing needs of the Xinjiang Uygur folk orchestra, people created the North Xinjiang rewap on the

\textsuperscript{15} The instruments here are tanbur, rewap, daff, kalong, ney, aijiak from the left and the players here are mainly from Kashgar University, Kashgar Arts School and Kashgar Song and Dance Ensemble. This picture was taken in June, 2015 in Kashgar, Xinjiang, by the author.
basis of the South Xinjiang rewarp in 1956. So nowadays the North Xinjiang rewarp tends to be mellow and mainly plays chords. It also accompanies the South Xinjiang rewarp playing the melody to balance the timbre of the whole folk orchestra. The same is true of the bass rewarp produced for bass needs of the Uygur folk orchestras. The Kumul rawap and the Dolan Kumul, main embodiments of Kumul muqam and Dolan muqam, still keep the shape and structure of the ancient popular rewarp.

**Specific Intervals Played on Fretted Instruments Used for the Xinjiang Muqam**

Some ancient literature like the *Western Region Chart* published in 1782 and *Illustrations of Imperial Ritual Paraphernalia* in 1760 contain some records and pictures about the satar. According to these records, the ancient satar was quite different from the present one and it was a fretted long-necked lute in most cases. Furthermore, the above-mentioned documentation clearly records the specific sizes of the frets of the ancient satar. This suggests that the Xinjiang ancient satar probably had frets that helped produce specific intervals. The sizes of frets of the ancient satar in the *Western Region Chart* can be converted to cents as shown in the following table 1:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Fret position</th>
<th>Unit: cm</th>
<th>The difference of cent</th>
<th>Cent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
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<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>90.979</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>85.760</td>
<td>102.28</td>
<td>102.28</td>
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<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>81.088</td>
<td>96.98</td>
<td>199.26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>79.256</td>
<td>39.56</td>
<td>238.82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>77.280</td>
<td>43.71</td>
<td>282.53</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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16 According to the explanation of Mominjon Yusup, expert on rewarp and professor of Xinjiang Arts Institute.


18 The data is converted from chi, a unit of length, to centimeter, and as a result some figures have four decimal places. Yet, to be generally accepted the data usually keeps three decimal places.
The above data can make reference to the ancient 23-fret satar that could perform over two octaves and its range was close to the modern one. Specifically, there are measurements in cents like 39.56, 43.71, 52.84, 62.87, 40.91, 61.31 and 44.27, which may correspond to a ‘quarter-tone,’ and some like 136.21, 157.2 and 159.84, which refer nearly to a ‘three-quarter tone,’ also a

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>72.384</td>
<td>113.31</td>
<td>395.84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>70.208</td>
<td>52.84</td>
<td>448.68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>64.896</td>
<td>136.21</td>
<td>584.89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>62.582</td>
<td>62.87</td>
<td>647.76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>61.120</td>
<td>40.91</td>
<td>688.67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>53.344</td>
<td>235.58</td>
<td>924.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>51.488</td>
<td>61.31</td>
<td>985.56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>48.160</td>
<td>115.68</td>
<td>1101.24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>46.944</td>
<td>44.27</td>
<td>1145.52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>44.608</td>
<td>88.37</td>
<td>1233.88 (0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>40.736</td>
<td>157.2</td>
<td>157.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>38.848</td>
<td>82.16</td>
<td>239.35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>36.256</td>
<td>119.54</td>
<td>358.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>32.352</td>
<td>197.24</td>
<td>556.14</td>
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<td>19</td>
<td>30.720</td>
<td>89.61</td>
<td>645.75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>27.072</td>
<td>218.85</td>
<td>864.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>24.064</td>
<td>203.91</td>
<td>1068.51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>22.496</td>
<td>116.65</td>
<td>1185.16 (0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>20.512</td>
<td>159.84</td>
<td>159.84</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 4: the fret data and cent of satar in Western Region Chart.
‘five-quarter tone’ like 235.58. A great number of neighbouring frets are helpful of making these specific intervals. Yet, the real situation of music performance shall decide the existence of a tone balancing between what is seen a whole tone in Western understanding.

The modern satar applies the twelve-equal-tempered fretting which cannot accommodate specific intervals. As a bowed instrument, the satar allows for an easily controlled pitch. It is possible that the satar may produce specific intervals when players glide their left fingers on the neighbouring frets made of nylon.

Nowadays, most of the departments providing instrumental performance classes in Xinjiang universities offer satar playing by reference to the aijiak teaching system. Aijiak has its own bowing practice requirements with reference to the violin and it is demanding with regard to is playing skills of the left hand similar to the violin, too. The same is true of the satar. According to the satar practice textbook used in the Xinjiang Arts Institute, the left hand can bend pitches by vibrato, appoggiatura, portamento and mordent. Usually players resort to vibrato for a more pleasant long tone, but different players
Fretted Instruments and the Xinjiang Muqam

make different waving pitches in their performance. The satar strings are usually one-meter long and when they vibrate, waving pitches change slightly the tuning. Therefore, long tones produced by the satar often sound pleasant with the embellishment of a strong vibrato. Aijiak playing can be approached similarly as it is more sensitive. It can also produce a waving pitch.

Practically, a mordent played on the satar can provide some sense of the specific intervals needed in order to play muqam. The term ‘mordent’ refers to the usual Western stave notation. As a matter of fact, such a ‘mordent’ played by the satar cannot be fully notated. Mia Sal, professor of Xinjiang Arts Institute, explains that the ‘mordent’ and the ‘inverted mordent’ are heard when the players’ fingers glide towards one fret for ornaments and embellishments. Specifically, it is explained as the following: a finger quickly glides from a starting fret to the next, but sometimes hardly to the next, upward and downward. This finger gliding starts usually from a lower fret, seldom from a higher one. When a gliding finger covers the space between two neighbouring frets, a specific interval is covered and written as ** and when a gliding finger covers half of the space, another specific interval is produced and can be understood as **. Actually, the real mordent is hard to be quantified and its occurrence will be decided by a specific music situation. The following muqam piece will explain the above mentioned point with the following Figure 6:

![Figure 6: A piece from Oxak Mukami Taazza Marguli. Excerpt by the author.](image)

This author takes five typical situations of mordent for a pitch measurement as shown in the following table (Figure 7).

---

### The Pitch Measurement of the five typical mordents in the bars one to eight from Oxak Mukami Taazza Marguli

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pitch name</th>
<th>Skill of the left hand</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>corrected value of 12 tones equal temperament</th>
<th>Hz</th>
<th>dB</th>
<th>Difference of cent</th>
<th>ranges of waving pitch (cent)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>E4 mordent</td>
<td></td>
<td>The second beat of the first bar</td>
<td>F4-1</td>
<td>342.75</td>
<td>30.21</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>E4+4</td>
<td>331.98</td>
<td>33.77</td>
<td>55.27</td>
<td>55.27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D4 inverted mordent</td>
<td></td>
<td>The fourth beat of the second bar</td>
<td>D4-38</td>
<td>305.79</td>
<td>21.68</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>D4+0</td>
<td>295.02</td>
<td>37.95</td>
<td>62.07</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>#C4+35</td>
<td>284.25</td>
<td>25.36</td>
<td>64.38</td>
<td>126.46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D4 inverted mordent</td>
<td></td>
<td>The third beat of the third bar</td>
<td>#D4+45</td>
<td>304.56</td>
<td>23.67</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>D4+1</td>
<td>295.33</td>
<td>30.55</td>
<td>53.28</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>#C4+10</td>
<td>276.87</td>
<td>24.40</td>
<td>111.74</td>
<td>165.02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E4 mordent</td>
<td></td>
<td>The second beat of the fifth bar</td>
<td>F4-32</td>
<td>344.55</td>
<td>28.69</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>E4+20</td>
<td>334.96</td>
<td>29.85</td>
<td>48.87</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>E4-5</td>
<td>330.19</td>
<td>28.54</td>
<td>24.83</td>
<td>73.70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>D4+9</td>
<td>296.70</td>
<td>32.84</td>
<td>185.15</td>
<td>258.85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D4 inverted mordent</td>
<td></td>
<td>The third beat of the eighth bar</td>
<td>D4+0</td>
<td>295.01</td>
<td>39.93</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>D4-45</td>
<td>287.48</td>
<td>28.92</td>
<td>44.76</td>
<td>44.76</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Figure 7:** Five typical situations of mordent for a pitch measurement.

From the table above, we can see that the ‘mordent’ descends to a pitch of 55.27 cent and 44.76 cent, nearly to a ‘quartertone’ and now ascends to a pitch of

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20 The data were produced by the author using GMASS software.
258.85 cent, nearly a ‘five-quartertone.’ Besides, the mordent sometimes reaches a pitch of 165.02 cent and 126.46 cent, nearly a ‘three-quartertone.’

Specific intervals used in muqam are usually very flexible, so muqam players can complete their performance by ornamenting and embellishing skills only when they fully understand and properly deal with Western notation. Thus, the Western notation as well as other types of written notations are limited to represent the really necessary intervals, just like Zhu Zaiyu expressed by saying that there is a “dead notation but living performance.” He was a musician of the Ming Dynasty.

The satar gradually shows two styles of specialization perceived as an improvement of the Xinjiang Uygur instruments. Shape and structure of the instrument vary a little in the south and the north of Xinjiang and thus cause as well as being caused through a difference of playing styles.

Summary

The fretted muqam instruments of the Xinjiang Uyghur region can be traced back to the most ancient long-necked lutes like pandura, namely tanbur and they have their own fretting system. The fretting may involve ancient measurement systems. People continuously do practicing on the Persian-Arabic tanbur through the dasātin and frets and they not only find the theoretic basis of specific intervals but diversify the fretting with the changes of the tanbur.

Acute hearing is easy to catch microtone usually produced by the fretted long-necked lutes. This type of instruments is suitable for muqam. Sufi indoctrinates its believers to concentrate on and enlighten their sensitive hearing. This teaching is quite helpful to catch and distinguish microtone.

Multitudes of the fretted lutes with long necks are derived from the ancient tanbūr. They are leading muqam instruments performing in the Central Asian and Turkish area and the same is true in the Xinjiang Uygur area. They also have different names in different places. Both Xinjiang folk instruments of tanbur, dutar, and satar and the Persian-Arabic tanbur are somewhat related to each other. Yet, the former looks more like those in the Central Asia than the latter.

It is evident that both Xinjiang ancient and modern satar can produce microtone according to the fretting data from the old literature and the pitch measurement, both of which prove that satar and tanbur family are kindred by name and shape. They are nurtured and grow in muqam, and they make microtone or express their aesthetic view by microtone. Furthermore, the fretted instruments in the Xinjiang Uygur area show the unique characteristic
which only Xinjiang folk instruments possess and is typically exemplified by rewap. Although having a Persian name, rewap is unique in the muqam fretted instrument family and develops into various types.
References


Mia Sal & Xia Fan (2016). Personal communication.


Zhu Zaiyu & Xia Fan (2016). Personal communication.
A post-workshop interview about
MAKING MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS TALK

Introduction

Our workshop was meant to explore ways of experiential as well as experimental learning using Indian tablā, a bodhrán, which is an Irish frame drum, as well as a newly invented East Frisian tea-tin bow.

Both of us have been involved preparing the forthcoming CD Manfred Bartmann’s Frisia Orientalis II: “Making Music of Speech”. In our workshop we offered insights into the making of the audio track No. 5 "Rökeldoab Dada. A grooving Low German mouth music.”

The questions are posed by a hypothetical interviewer.

Question 1: Manfred, what does “Rökeldoab Dada” mean? What are the lyrics about?

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1 This article comes with two audio examples (BartmAudio1; BartmAudio2) and an interactive pdf explaining Manfred Bartmann's East Frisian tea tin bow, (Bartmlnter activeTeaTin.pdf) on the basis of photos, more figures and more audio examples.

Manfred: The lyrics are held in East Frisian Low German. As Low German itself forms a bundle of dialectal varieties, the East Frisian branch is known for this very special expressions and phrases, some of them weird, others even shocking.

The lyrics are all about pouring from a teapot. However, this is done by directing the spurt of tea or water through the sleeve ("Mau") of a traditional blue North German collarless work shirt ("Busrünje"). The lyrics go like this:

Treppott utgeeten, äben Treppott utgeeten (pouring from a teapot)
Dör’n Busrünje Mau, dör’n Busrünje Mau (right through the sleeve of a work shirt),
in ’t Rökeldoab (pouring the liquid through the sleeve right into a grimy hole).
heel liek (very straight, unbowed), heel secüür (very secure)
He is unwies (extremely foolish)

Figure 1.

3 Stürenburg, Cirk Heinrich (1972[1857]). Ostfriesisches Wörterbuch. Aurich/Leer: Schuster, [Reprint], 28: "Buseruhntje, Buserundje = weiter, rund geschnittener Brustrock, Hausjacke von Linne oder Cattun ohne Schöße. Entweder c.m. ' Büste, Brust', oder mit ' Buus' = Scheune, Viehstall, - also hiernach = Stalljacke." In the late 70s, the more so in the 80s, Buseruhntje or Busrünjtjes were almost to become a uniform for many starry-eyed, somehow North German oriented folk revivalists, some of them heavily relying on Groth, Klaus (1852). Quickborn. Volksleben in plattdeutschen Gedichten dithmarscher Mundart. Hamburg. Scheffler, Christoph (2009). Min Hart stiggt to Hoech. Christoph Scheffler singt Klaus Groth. artychoke 0708-CD (www.artychoke.de); Bartmann, Manfred (2011). Frisia Orientalis. Applied Ethnomusicology and Documentation (www.plattschapp.de). the document "10AsIkWeggung.pdf" (2 pages, = Booklet/Tracks),1: "Groth (1819-1899) equated Low German with the spirit of its speakers. Nowadays East Frisian activists m to be trying hard to re-establish this mythical linkage. Another parallel: as a politically hyper-correct, self-styled saviour of his day, Groth made his declarations emphatically - as if no supporting evidence were necessary. As a result, Groth’s collection of poems was to become the foundation stone of a then Neo-Low-German literature. Admittedly Groth wanted the scripting of his vernacular to be appreciated as a patriotic deed, though it was his deliberately adept verbal imagery that made him an eminent modern author of his time. Groth’s poetical world is full of melancholy revolving around the sweet sorrow of parting”. Needless to say Groth’s lyrics do not refer to the East Frisian pulsation concept, the more so when set to music. Scheffler, Christoph (2009). Min Hart stiggt to Hoech. Christoph Scheffler singt Klaus Groth. artychoke 0708-CD (www.artychoke.de), also Bartmann, Manfred (2011). Frisia Orientalis. Applied Ethnomusicology and Documentation (www.plattschapp.de), there the audio track no. 10 ‘ As Ik Weggung’. Concerning Groth’s influence also Lesle, Ulf-Thomas (2015). Identitätsprojekt Niederdeutsch. Die Definition von Sprache als Politikum. Sprache, Literatur, Raum. Festgabe für Willy Diercks.Edited by Robert Langhanke. Bielefeld: Verlag für Regionalgeschichte, 693-741; Roth, Karl Heinz/ Lesle, Ulf-Thomas (2016). Völkische Netzwerke: Alfred Toepfer und das Stiftungsunternehmen ACT/F.V.S. Eine Forschungsbilanz. Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft. 64 (3), 230.

5 Rights with Manfred Bartmann 2017.

6 Low German is full of English (Teepott = teapot) and even French loanwords (secüür); Note that we do not follow any fixed spelling system of any specific Low German dialectal variety. An East Frisian one was brought forward by Byl, Jürgen/ Brückmann, Elke (1992) Ostfriesisches Wörterbuch. Plattdeutsch/Hochdeutsch. Leer: Schuster. This dictionary became a
As these words are demanding something almost impossible, the lyrics I was to make of them are not intended to make much sense. According to my informant Elfriede Lottmann from Norden (*1932), to whom I owe many a song as well as many Low German rhymes and phrases, many of them coming with a specific groove due to a pulse driven rhythm, a much naughtier version of this phrase was used for benchmarking purposes, i.e., for evaluating somebody's knowledge of Low German, simply by using extraordinary and at the same time rare expressions. Please note that this customary procedure of dealing with starry-eyed fans of Low German does not aim at the ability to read and write, which in doing so, would make Low German resistant and equal to other literary languages in Europe. Instead it refers, in the first instance, to a Low German oriented prosody and pronunciation, nevertheless at the same time demanding empathy for an odd and sometimes even weird narrative. However, these sayings also come with a pulse-oriented rhythm of speech, a crucial finding I used extensively when producing my first CD. When exploring the musicality of speech, this finding was to emphasise that a listener's perspective is much more worthwhile than a reader's perspective.

spelling reference as soon as its 168 pages saw the East Frisian pale light of day. The Low German orthography has not a few reformations since. Conformity has been enforced ever since. As I am more interested in the characteristic sounds of East Frisian Low German, and interested to explore its musicality, this is not my philosophy. Gerrit Herlyn (1909-1992), a famous protestant pastor, author and radio presenter in his lifetime, whom I had the privilege to interview in Leer as soon as 06.02.1990, then using my cassette recorder marantz CP230, also did not agree with any forcible coordination of any Low German orthography. Later on, starry-eyed preservationists of Low German were to become famous for these tendencies. Herlyn refused them all, please compare Herlyn, Gerrit (1978). Unnerwegens van Lütje Milm na Groothusen. Weener: H. Risius, 5: "Wi versetten uns dartegen, dat de plattdütse Spraak fastgeschreven word un eens Dags kummt dar so 'n Mienheer Duden her, un de seggt uns, wat recht is un wat 'n Fehler is un wo dat hernutt, un all anner gellt dann up eenmal neet mehr as blot noch sien rode Enkt."

7 Bartmann, Manfred (2011). Frisia Orientalis. Applied Ethnomusicology and Documentation (www.plattschapp.de). CD. There, the document "Low German Mouth-Musics - a Pulsation Concept. A Short Introduction by Manfred Bartmann" (13 pages, = Booklet/ Introductions/ IntrLowGermanMouthMusics.pdf). On that CD four audio tracks refer to pulse-oriented East Frisian mouth musics, please compare the booklet entries (= Booklet/Tracks) "01OlfDolfDeih.pdf" (2 pages), 02MartinmasRhymes.pdf (4 pages) 03RubbTheEasterDrum.pdf (3 pages), and 04MidwinterBells.pdf (5 pages). The folder /Podcasts/ provides further explanations as well as field recordings three of these audio tracks are based on, every podcast appr. 14 min: BartmannPodcast1of3MartinmasRhymes.mp3, BartmannPodcast2of3Easter DrumRubbing.mp3, and BartmannPodcast3of3MidwinterBells.mp3.
According to Stürenburg, 'rakeln' can be translated as to stir, to touch, to hurt, or to insult. Stürenburg also puts the old English phrase 'it recks me not' as related to the Low German 'raken' or 'rakeln', 'dat kann mi nee raken' (= this cannot wreck me). Stürenburg also uses 'to rake' when explaining the Low German verb 'inrakeln', which means to rake the still glowing remains of an open fire into a hole. 'Rökeln' may also mean to poke, as well as to prod and stir (a fire) with a poker to make it burn more fiercely.

**Question 2:** So far, so good, Manfred! However, as this track is all about a 'Rökeldoab Dada', I am still missing the meaning of 'Doab' as well as the meaning of 'Dada'.

**Manfred:** A Doab denotes a hole, sometimes a disgustingly dirty one, at least something you wouldn't touch, let alone stir up. In East Frisia it forms part of a

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8 Stürenburg, Cirk Heinrich (1972[1857]). *Ostfriesisches Wörterbuch*. Aurich/ Leer: Schuster, [Reprint], 194.

9 Stürenburg, Cirk Heinrich (1972[1857]). *Ostfriesisches Wörterbuch*. Aurich/ Leer: Schuster, [Reprint], 201. There the entry "rökeln" as a by-form of "rakeln".
traditional fire pit, full of soot and ash, as a so-called Rökeldoab or Rakeldoab. It may also hold firehooks and pokers. Of course it is not recommended to poke into it or to stir up the soot as the Doab is used to cover dying embers in order to preserve them for re-starting the fire the very next morning.

A Doab may also form part of a meadow, full of brackish water. I never saw cattle drinking from a Doab. This dark liquid is also said to contain mysteries you must not stir up. You may also use this term to express a strong feeling of annoyance, displeasure or hostility, as you may say: I am as angry as brackish water, as Doabwater. That means: You better keep your distance. A Doab is a metaphor for containing something not to be raked through, let alone ruthlessly. In this light I decided to add some more lyrics:

\[
\text{Ik bin net so düll as Doabwater (I am as angry as water from a grimy hole)} \\
\text{Doabwater so ingrimsig (water from that hole being so grimy).}
\]

The New Oxford American Dictionary tells us "Dada was an early 20th-century international movement in art, literature, music, and film, repudiating and mocking artistic and social conventions and emphasizing the illogical and absurd."\(^{10}\) The Dada movement comprised "artists who rejected the logic, reason, and aestheticism of modern capitalist society, instead expressing nonsense, irrationality, and anti-bourgeois protest in their works."\(^{11}\) My artistic intention is consistent with this as far as I reject the idea that this piece of music be associated with the music of the folk revival; at the same I point out that it lacks any sense of the sublime goal of saving East Frisian Low German from extinction, let alone any clear or sound reasoning. Nevertheless it represents the sounds and grooves of a dialectal variety with which I grew up.

**Question 3:** Carlos, in what way is the playing of the Indian double drum tablā connected to the rhythm and melody of speech?

**Carlos:** The methods for learning, playing, and teaching the tablā are all inextricably linked to speech. Both individual tablā strokes and patterns are called bol, from Hindi 'speech'. This 'speech' is 'recited' from tablā master to disciple in a wholly oral transmission. Each bol is represented by a syllable that is then mapped to a particular stroke on the tablā, e.g., na, tin, tirakite, dha, ghege, dheredhere. Traditionally bols were not supposed to be written down,


\(^{11}\) URL Dada (2017).
but it is easy to find today huge compendiums of tablā compositions using Devanāgarī or Latin scripts. However, no standard notation has ever emerged for writing tablā compositions.

Bols are committed to memory, and the recitation of bols is as important to the student as the performance itself. While the vast majority of bols are used for pedagogical purposes, there are some complex bols (for example also in the Carnatic tradition) that are composed, learnt, and performed exclusively orally, without committing them to any instrument. Therefore, tablā players who have been exposed to the guru-śiṣya-paramparā system of learning (such as myself), most of the time—if not all the time—think of a performance in terms of speech, both internalised and manifested.

**Question 4**: Carlos, would you be able to interpret almost any spoken word or phrase on the tablā?

**Carlos**: I can certainly try! ;-) It goes like this: in Hindustani music there is a common performance device called jawāb-sawal or ‘question-answer’, where two instruments engage in a musical 'conversation'. The first instrument (usually the guru or the most experienced of the two performers) will perform a composed or improvised musical segment that the second instrument will imitate or contrast immediately. Nowadays the most common performance of jawāb-sawal is by one melodic instrument (e.g., sitar, santur, bansuri) and one percussion instrument (e.g., tablā), usually during the penultimate section of a raga performance. The ‘answer’ performed by the tablā will not only reflect on the rhythmic components of the melodic 'question', but will also mirror and/or contrast any glissandos and other melodic articulations by modulating the pitch of the larger bayan drum.

**Manfred**: I had noticed this Indian ‘question-answer’ practice on various occasions. Nevertheless Carlos and I did not refer to it, let alone rely on it when recording 'Rökeldoab Dada'. We tried to provide a glimpse of it when recording another track, 'April '84 - fieldworking in East Frisia', another song of mine which saw the light of day 2014 during the aforementioned Symposium 'Music and Otherness' in Ljubljana, which for me was the first opportunity ever to perform it in public, even with Carlos. Nevertheless, on this occasion it was

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13 padhant, which means 'reading'.
me just playing my bass-bodhrán, yet not knowing anything about the jawāb-sawal.

**Question 5:** Carlos, when and how did you first become aware that the Rökeldoab track was in the making?

**Carlos:** I wanted to work with Manfred for a couple of years already, especially after performing tablā with him in Ljubljana, Slovenia during his presentation at the symposium 'Music and Otherness' organised by the ICTM National Committee for Slovenia (August 2014).¹⁴

**Manfred:** Fond memories! It was then when I realised what a great musician Carlos is. I never had seen him perform before, let alone had any idea where all his knowledge and musical expertise stems from. We had already swapped experiences and stories that mark our shared musical preferences already in St. John’s, NL on the occasion of the ICTM world conference in 2011, particularly by referring to our common great friend from Ireland, the incomparable singer Andy Irvine¹⁵, meanwhile hailed as 'a tradition in himself'. In St. John’s I had that gut feeling that teaming up Carlos would just be a feast. With hindsight we were bound to connect musically in one way or another which then was to happen in Ljubljana. There, Carlos was especially keen to learn about the impressions I had locked into my heart and will always wish to share with any new friend, having experienced live concerts of the legendary Bothy Band¹⁶, way back in the 70s a couple of times, Carlos sadly never having had that opportunity simply because he is much younger than I am! The Bothy Band was probably the most powerful Irish band to make traditional tunes blossom, allowing them to breathe using intricate rhythmic arrangements, hereby relying heavily on the technique of interlocking¹⁷ between Dónal Lunny’s¹⁸ Irish bouzouki (tuned GDAD)¹⁹ and Micheal O Domhnaill’s²⁰ DADGAD-guitar.

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¹⁵ URL Andy Irvine (2017).

¹⁶ URL Bothy Band (2017).


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I am proud to report that our work on the Rökeldoab Dada was to breathe the spirit of that great band by superimposing various layers of rhythm, to say nothing of Carlos’ ability to fit so well into the realm of Irish jigs, double jigs and slip jigs which inspired our recording from beginning to end. And of course Carlos is familiar with the sounds and timbres of the Irish frame drum bodhrán. Mine is a bass-bodhrán I acquired via Andy Irvine’s German agent Gabi Nendel. She had it made via her connection to ‘Ringo’ John MacDonagh way back then, Ringo then working as the rhythmic powerhouse of another iconic Irish band, De Danann.

Carlos: Having had that intense meeting in Ljubljana in 2014 I gladly took the opportunity to join Manfred in Bernie’s studio in Salzburg, Austria in June 2015, where I recorded tablā and recited bols for Manfred’s forthcoming new CD Frisia Orientalis II: “Making Music of Speech”.


18 URL Dónal Lunny (2017).
20 URL Micheal ODomhnaill (2017).
22 URL De Danann (2017).
The recording process was definitely sui generis—the preliminary arrangements shifted and re-formed according to what was being recorded, which sent both Manfred and engineer/producer Bernie Rothauer in unexpected tangents towards the finished product. My contribution to “Rökeldoab” was one of the last I recorded in that session. If memory serves, I listened to the basic tracks a few times, and then recorded a basic 6-beat dādra pattern that I embellished with extra fills and breaks as a reaction to what I was hearing from the basic tracks. We did not punch in nor overdub any parts, so it must have been done in one take.

Manfred: I think Bernie Rothauer deserves a special mentioning here! He is hailed as Salzburg’s first choice if you want a certain groove to be evoked when recording your music. He is very perceptive and will always will give you incisive advice, the more so he has a great ability to 'hear the band', something the great Irish musician and producer Dónal Lunny is famous for, according to Andy Irvine.

Question 6: Dear Carlos, dear Manfred, this interview is being held in English. What’s the language both of you prefer when talking to each other in a more informal manner?

Manfred: Well, we are talking informally right now, I think. However, when working in our study group, we all speak English. Nevertheless Carlos has a marvellous talent to make me speak el castellano which is the Spanish I learnt in Spain, having attended ‘los cursos de verano para extranjeros’ in the early 80s in Salamanca and in Santander. All in all, Carlos gets me back on my Spanish track every now and then.

Question 7: You are offering two audio examples: the first one is the mastered track, the second one seems to be a preliminary version. Anyway, where do these warbling sounds come from? They even remind me of R2-D2, the astromech droid popularised by the Star Wars movies.

Manfred: There is a story behind all this. Carlos and I are both huge fans of the Star Wars movie series. However, Carlos knows much more are about the creator of these particular sounds than I do. So it was he who made me learn about the American sound designer Ben Burtt, whom I hadn’t heard of before. Carlos and I hadn't really talked that much about Star Wars although I already

24 Personal communication on various occasions in the course of the last 3 decades.
Carlos and Manfred Bartmann

had used these sounds when giving a paper in Astana on the occasion of our 43th world conference.\textsuperscript{25}

Carlos: The Astana conference was very special in many respects. Frankly, I had no idea that Manfred would refer to Ben Burtt. "In the Star Wars series, part of R2-D2's beeps and whistles are Burtt's vocalizations, also made using an ARP 2600 synthesizer."\textsuperscript{26}

Manfred: So Carlos and I were to meet in yet another field, one more or less beyond those we had already worked in. I always thought that all the sounds that come from R2-D2 stem from an algorithm\textsuperscript{27} I used when delving into psychoacoustics\textsuperscript{28}, especially into the problem whether there could be speech perception without any traditional speech cues. Remez et al.\textsuperscript{29} refer to signals of speech that had been reduced dramatically to so-called sine wave replicas, i.e., bearing nothing but the traces of patterns of vocal resonances. As sine wave replicas often evoke speech perception, especially if they are offered as A/B testings\textsuperscript{30}, they are also called sine wave speech.\textsuperscript{31}

Carlos: Manfred, please help me to cope with that sound image (Fig. 2). Are there any A/B testings displayed in Fig. 2?

Manfred: Yes, the whole example can be seen as a first attempt to exploit psychoacoustic A/B testings in an artistic manner. Please compare the accompanying sound file audio2, which corresponds to the sound image. Fig. 2


\textsuperscript{30} URL A/B testing (2017).

\textsuperscript{31} BartmAudio2 as well as Figure 2: Rökeloaeb. Making music of a speech signal.
shows a spectrogram, i.e., visual representations of some acoustic signals. It shows how the spectral density varies with time (horizontal). Degrees of amplitude are shown at various frequencies on a vertical axis. The one displayed here (Fig. 2) is grey-scaled. It comes with a linear vertical frequency-axis, showing the first three formants\(^\text{32}\) of the respective signal against time. Formants are traces of acoustic resonances. They appear as mere sine waves here. These were extracted from the audio signal using the Dutch application 'PRAAT - doing phonetics by computer'.\(^\text{33}\)

**Carlos**: I find it hard to read the spectrograms whilst listening to the accompanying soundfile.

**Manfred**: Please note that in Fig. 2 different spectrograms may represent very similar sounds, as well as similar spectrograms may refer to different sounds. Fig. 2 displays explorations of sounds. They all come as A/B testings. A/B testing is a method to note the similarity or dissimilarity between two sound versions (A and B) by testing a listener's response to version A against version B, while version B is always modified in some respect. So A will always serve as an indication of a specific sound to function as a point of departure while B is an invitation to recognise any changes of sound quality. In other words: a perceptual set\(^\text{34}\) is put forward as a basis or as a predisposition for speech perception, the more so to be able to focus any modification.\(^\text{35}\) All in all, this also has to do with music cognition, which "is an interdisciplinary approach to understanding the mental processes that support musical behaviours, including perception, comprehension, memory, attention, and performance."\(^\text{36}\)

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\(^{32}\) URL Formant 2017.

\(^{33}\) APP Boersma/ Weenink (2015).

\(^{34}\) URL Set (psychology) 2016.


\(^{36}\) URL Music Cognition (2017).
Question 8: What do you think: If you two had the opportunity to record this track once again, what do you think should or could be different?
Carlos: Honestly? The experience was wonderful to me, so I don’t think I should like to change anything. Sure, I tend to favour a bit more structure when we’re paying studio time, but the results speak for themselves.

Manfred: Thank you, Carlos! Well, I also think our recording\(^{37}\) stands for itself. Nevertheless I had the chance to explore some advanced techniques when playing the East Frisian tea tin bow.\(^{38}\) I managed to imitate the melodic line "Dör’n Busruntje Mau, dör’n Busruntje Mau" that I sing more than I declaim it in our recording by pressing the plank of the bow, and doing so, changing also the string tension. This affects the timbres likewise. I demonstrated all this in our workshop. This also forms part of the aforementioned interactive PDF.\(^{39}\)

When trying to make musical instruments talk, I think two listening strategies will always compete. You may concentrate on pitches, especially on pitch modulations, which requires one to hear more analytically. On the other hand, you also may concentrate on modulations of timbre, especially on formants, which requires a more holistic hearing.

On that note, I decided to rely on that particular algorithm which is probably similar to that one, the speech-like sounds of the famous R2-D2 may have been created, to help me offer a third listening strategy. These warbling sounds may help to question your perception of pitch and timbre and doing so, detect more of the details and subtleties. In one way or another, the sine wave speech reminding one of R2-D2 turned out to be a great device when making music of speech, in these cases by extracting almost speech-like modulations from musical signals.

Question 9: Manfred, East Frisians may have the impression that you prefer some very old-fashioned, maybe even outdated Low German vocabulary. Anyway, what is your message? Do you intend to have terms like Rökeldoab revitalised?

Manfred: Frankly, I don’t think so. However, the gloomy connotations and dark mysteries symbolic of the many grungy holes in East Frisian everyday occurrences have survived in a more figurative sense, especially as figures of speech when discussing political affairs. When asking for the meanings of Rökeldoab in retirement homes, connotations and contexts were discovered

\(^{37}\) BartmAudio1 on the accompanying DVD.

\(^{38}\) BartmAudio1 on the accompanying DVD.

\(^{39}\) BartmAudio1 on the accompanying DVD, page 11, there Figure 9: "pitch modulations by pressing the plank ...".
fairly easy. This was taken as an encouragement to make use of the term and some of the connoted sayings in a new piece of music. And of course these efforts serve to empower people living in retirement homes by appreciation of their implicit knowledge. Their reactions helped a lot to work out new forms of cultural expression. Maybe some of these old terms are disappearing, nevertheless their undercurrents still linger on. Somehow hidden meanings keep telling us: Don’t get caught up in inscrutable pitfalls!

**Question 10:** How would you sum up your experiences when making musical instruments talk?

**Manfred:** Carlos has pointed out that this is exactly what you learn when training as a tablā player. This made me think of how to extend that learning experience to the usage of any other instrument, especially how to evoke speech-like sounds from a musical bow. Knowing that any sound has a potential to be used musically, I wondered whether traces of formants extracted from any instrumental sound could be interpreted as speech. We accomplished this by using the sine wave synthesis algorithm. All in all, the sounds we used pretend to evoke unmediated experiences, simply because we conceptualised them as such. We used the aforementioned tricks though. So in the end, we would be able to make anybody perceive almost anything. Is that not a little bit scary?

**References and Further Reading**


A post-workshop interview about MAKING MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS TALK


Carlos Yoder and Manfred Bartmann


A post-workshop interview about MAKING MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS TALK

URL Collection


Audiovisual Material


Accompanying Audiovisual Material:

BartmAudio1
Rökeldoab Dada. A grooving Low German mouth music. © Manfred Bartmann 2017. A pre-release. Part of Manfred Bartmann’s CD Frisia Orientalis II: Making Music of Speech by Manfred Bartmann, 2017 (forthcoming). All rights reserved. Manfred Bartmann (East Frisian tea tin bow, bodhrán, programming, vocals) with the help of Bernie Rothauer AUT (frame drum, scratching a tin, programming) and Carlos Yoder ARG, SLO (tablā). Lyrics and music: © Manfred Bartmann. (06:02), 320 kBit/s, 13.9 MB.

BartmAudio2
Rökeldoab. Exploring sine waves. Making music of a speech signal and a drum signal. Having extracted traces of formants as sine waves, then using A/B testings. Preliminary, explorative recording. © Manfred Bartmann 2017. All rights reserved. (00:22), 705 kBit/s, 1.9 MB. Lyrics and music: © Manfred Bartmann.

BartmInteracticeTeaTin.pdf

Software

Rūta Žarskienė

Sounds of Brass Instruments: Functionality, Aesthetics, Meaning

This article studies the issues of the functionality, aesthetics and meaning of instrumental sounds through brass ensemble musical performances, which still thrive in the Catholic traditions of Samogitia. The performed study seeks to reveal the source of this tradition, its formation and functioning, the meaning of playing brass instruments during rituals, changes in the aesthetic perception of sound by the audience (consumers) and the musicians.

Introduction

Even today, in Western Lithuania – in the region of Samogitia – the folk tradition of brass bands continues to thrive. Usually, musicians in groups of three would play at Catholic funerals – during the wakes and processions to the cemetery. The Žemaičių Kalvarijos kalnai (Engl. Samogitian Carvary Hills) hymns, sung at wakes, as well as other wake hymns are performed in conjunction with instrumental inserts. During processions, the All Saints’ Litany is performed in such a manner, while at the grave site – the prayer-hymn “Eternal Rest” and others. To this day we can still see brass bands playing at Catholic Church feasts – during Mass and especially in a procession around the church. In the opinion of Lithuanian ethnologists, the brass bands playing at feasts and funerals provide this region with a certain Samogitian colour.¹ In 2013, I was speaking at a Study Group Musical Instruments symposium in Bamberg about the role of brass bands in funeral rituals of Samogitia, and the article has already been published.² Therefore, this time I am writing about a phenomenon that until now had not been studied at all. This is the praying at family graves during Catholic Church festivals, with the accompaniment of brass instruments. I only heard about this phenomena a few years ago for the first time, although I’ve been researching the tradition of


brass bands since 2004. The first time I visited the annual Feast of St Mary Magdalene in Grūstė cemetery (Mažeikiai d.) was in July 2013. The impression it left was tremendous – I was surrounded on all sides by the sounds of nature as well as of activity of people and the polyphony of traditional hymns, performed by brass musicians. Thus, having learned that trumpeters can still be seen and heard at different locations in northern Samogitia, that same year in August I visited the Feast of St Laurence in Leckava village (Mažeikiai d.) and the Feast of St Rocco in Ylakiai (Skuodas d.). I went back to the latter place again in 2014.

Figure 1: General view of St Rocco Feast in cemetery of Ylakiai (Skuodas d.). Photo by Rūta Žarskienė, 2014. LTRFt 19547.

The Role of Brass Ensembles during Summer Cemetery Feasts

How do we understand the term ‘Catholic Church feast granting indulgences’ or just ‘feast’? In ethnologic studies, feasts – as a parish or regional holiday – are researched as the entirety of folk piety; therefore, the concept of “feast” covers not only religious actions performed by an individual for any purpose (confession, prayers), church rituals, but also processions and the secular part of the holidays – fairs and other revelry. Each church usually celebrates a few feasts per year, but the grandest are the main feasts dedicated to the Church’s patron. During the Soviet occupation, the tradition of celebrating Catholic Church feasts was eradicated in the big cities. Yet in the provinces, celebrations of parish feasts didn’t slow down. Here people continued to celebrate not only the usual feasts taking place in the village or town church, but also the cemetery feasts that are examined in this paper. I differentiate the usual parish feasts taking place in the village or town church from the cemetery feasts that are examined in this article. The key sacred accent of these feasts is that the Holy Mass would most often take place in the cemetery chapel, not the village church. According to a 51-year old musician from Ylakiai who would often play at such feasts, “everyone would gather to visit the graves of their loved ones, at the same time offering their prayers by inviting musicians. This is an offering for the dead. This is tradition. Some are led to tears, as it is a funeral, while for others it brings back memories. Maybe saying grace would be sufficient, but since I can invite musicians to play for the deceased, it is a sort of
greater prayer, a sacrifice from the living... This is a sort of family reunion. [In earlier times] with the end of the feast, a march would be requested to play, such as ‘Kęstutis’ or something else. People would come on horses, in carriages, and crowds would sit around the cemetery with food, drinks, songs and music”. These days, such gatherings with food on the grass right next to the cemetery fence are unusual and can rarely be seen. Having visited the graves of loved ones and said their prayers, people get in their cars and drive away to celebrate at the home of a nearby neighbour or to a restaurant. Sometimes they simply go home. But in the second half of the 20th century this custom was still widespread. Its origins can be related to the tradition, mentioned in sources from the 16th–18th century to eat food at the graves of deceased family members during Easter or All Saints’ Day, thus symbolically inviting the dead to join. To this day the tradition is still visible among Easter Slavic Orthodox believers – Russians, Ukrainians, Belarusians, particularly during Holy week and other holidays.

Figure 3: Musicians from Klaipėda playing at the grave site during the Feast of St Rocco in cemetery of Ylakiai (Skuodas d.). Photo by Rūta Žarskienė, 2013. LTRFt 19742.

4 Recorded by the author in 2013. Held in the sound recording’s collection of the Lithuanian Folklore Archive of the Institute of Lithuanian Literature and Folklore – LTRF cd 834/1/.


Figure 4: Musician from Mažeikiai with his grandson during the Feast of St Mary Magdalene in cemetery of Grūstė (Mažeikiai d.). Photo by Rūta Žarskienė, 2013. LTRFt 19710.

Now let us examine the course of the feasts taking place in cemeteries. Usually people start to gather in the cemetery prior to Mass – at the graves of their spouses, parents, grandparents they would lay flowers, light candles. Close-by there might be several small groups of musicians, ready to do whatever is expected of them. The main function of trumpeters was to pray at the grave. For a small offering, musicians at the grave site would say who the prayers were dedicated to (for example, for all those buried in this grave, for the parents, or by simply saying the names of the deceased) and, crossing themselves, would then say a prayer: “Our Father”, “Hail Mary” and “Eternal Rest”. Then they play and sing one verse of a popular hymn (for example, “Mary, Mary”, “Oh Mary, Mother of God”, “Nearer, My God, to Thee”, “Mary’s Name”). At the end, they would again perform “Eternal Rest”, only this time the aforementioned prayer is played and sung in the traditional antiphonal manner. All of these “procedures” usually lasted from 3 minutes (sometimes even less) to 4 minutes 20 seconds. The majority of brass ensembles consisted of three or just two musicians, but sometimes there were four. Having asked elder musicians how it used to be before, they indicated that there had to be at least five musicians, while sometimes even six or seven would play and pray at a gravesite. The instrumentation of each of the groups was different. For example, three musicians from Ylakiai played the cornet, tenor and tuba, while those from Klaipėda played two trumpets and a tuba. Older musicians from Mažeikiai played the cornet and tenor, while a couple of
younger professionals from the same town played the French horn and tuba. There were significant differences in the style, quality and even melodies of the same pieces when performed by musicians from the older and younger generations. According to a 56 year old professional musician from Klaipėda, when playing the second verse (after singing the first), they would play the hymn’s real melody, while earlier melodies played by the amateur musicians were not necessarily the same as the hymn’s melody: “they would play and play and it didn’t always come out in line with the melody”. Something similar could be heard in the performances of the representatives of the older generation nowadays. For example, those musicians from Ylakiai play a very unique introduction and coda of the prayer-hymn “Eternal Rest”. Having asked the 82 years old leader of this ensemble why the melody is so interesting, he replied that this is how he learned it from old sheet music and they have played like this for many years. Musicians of the younger generation, who have had some musical education, play in a somewhat more aesthetic, muted manner, with “bubbles”, including jazz, pop and modern folk music-inspired excerpts to fill out the pauses.

All Saints’ and All Soul’s Days

During the study, about ten locations in the northern part of Samogitia were recorded as including trumpets during summer time feasts in cemeteries. According to a 73 year old musician from Mažeikiai, trumpets and prayers take place at the same location only once per year – at least this is how it is at Ylakiai cemetery. In other location across Samogitia, this tradition was practised during All Saints’ Day (1 November) or All Souls’ Day (2 November). 1 November already in the 700s was declared a holy liturgical memorial celebration by Pope Boniface IV. In 998, Pope Gregory IV expanded this

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8 Lithuanian Folklore Archive of the Institute of Lithuanian Literature and Folklore LTRF cd 834/2/.
9 Lithuanian Folklore Archive of the Institute of Lithuanian Literature and Folklore LTRV 685.
10 From the author’s conversation with a musician during the Feast of St. Rocco at Ylakiai cemetery. Recorded on 17 August 2014.
11 Lithuanian Folklore Archive of the Institute of Lithuanian Literature and Folklore LTRV 598.
12 Lithuanian Folklore Archive of the Institute of Lithuanian Literature and Folklore LTRV 685.
holiday to include 2 November, dedicated to the memory of all deceased, known as All Souls’ Day (Vėlinės in Lithuania).  

A few years ago, during these holidays, trumpets were played throughout almost all of north-western Samogitia – in the towns of Viekšniai, Mažeikiai, New and Old Akmenė, Skuodas, Plungė, Lenkimai, Kretinga, Klaipėda. In Palanga, during All Soul's Day procession, trumpets are played on the way from the church to the cemetery. In the second half of the 20th century, the tradition lived on throughout the entire region of Samogitia, while in the first half of this century it was also known in other regions of Lithuania.

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14 Lithuanian Folklore Archive of the Institute of Lithuanian Literature and Folklore LTRV 685, LTRF cd 834/2/.

15 According to Jūratė Gaideliénė, who wrote about a brass band in Panevėžys, old people remember that before WWII “in some places during All Souls’ Day bands would stand by the cemetery and play a mournful march for a fee.” Gaideliénė, Jūratė (2002). Pučiamieji.
According to a 74-year old interviewee, in her youth, the Viekšniai cemetery on the eve of All Saints’ hosted several trumpeter groups, mostly consisting of four musicians. After the musicians played at one grave, they would be led to another: “It was very lovely – candles lit, trumpets on one side, trumpets on the other.”\(^1\) During the latter holiday, this cemetery would find three four brass ensembles gathering there from the early morning and waiting for people to invite them to play a hymn and pray at the grave of a loved one.\(^2\) This is evidence that brass bands during All Saints’ Day perform the same functions as during parish feasts taking place in the cemetery.

The tradition of playing in the cemetery during church holidays lived on even in the Soviet period, when freedom of religion and folk piety was especially restricted and processions were banned – Communist holidays were organised in place of church occasions. According to musicians of the older generation, in the Soviet era even more people and more groups of musicians would gather at feasts. After all, forbidden fruit is so much sweeter! Folk piety had become a sort of grass roots expression of resistance against the authorities and the ideology of atheism.\(^3\) During the Soviet era, on All Saints’ Day, to overshadow the content of the religious holiday, events commemorating soldiers of the Red Army, killed during World War II and after it – during resistance fights, and deceased Communist leaders were organised at the village and town cemeteries.\(^4\) At these meetings-requiems, poems were read, funerary marches were played by brass bands from schools\(^5\), collective farms or companies.

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\(^1\) Recorded by the author in 2013. Lithuanian Folklore Archive of the Institute of Lithuanian Literature and Folklore LTRF cd 821/2/.

\(^2\) Lithuanian Folklore Archive of the Institute of Lithuanian Literature and Folklore LTRF cd 821/2/.


\(^5\) During a 2011 expedition in Rietavas region, an 80 year old musician from Tverai told that when he was still a student and played in the school brass band, on the eve of All Saints’ the entire school would go to the cemetery and the brass band would play a mournful march. One time, after the end of the official event, several students went to play “Eternal Rest” at the grave of one of the musician’s father. When “one member of the Communist Party heard this, he was very angry” (LTRF Lithuanian Folklore Archive of the Institute of Lithuanian Literature and Folklore cd 512/03/).
After a solemn commemoration, braver musicians would stay in the cemetery and earn some extra money by praying and playing religious hymns at the grave site. Authorities were displeased by such a slap in the face and they tried to frighten the people into abandoning this tradition. An 82-year old musician from Mažeikiai told about an incident in his youth – KGB agents wanted to arrest the trumpeters, confiscate their instruments, but the pious people held hands and didn’t let anyone through, and the agents couldn’t shoot their weapons in a cemetery. People in small towns, the majority of which were Catholic, didn’t want to give in to the aim of the Communist authorities to eliminate religious holidays and, not heeding the potential unpleasantness they could experience, tried to maintain their own traditions. Slowly, the government loosed its reins – it wasn’t really an option to forbid people to visit cemeteries. At this time there were cases of comical situations when in the background of ideologically-motivated speeches one could hear melodies of religious hymns. A 53-year old man remembers that in the mid-1970s, at the new Plungė cemetery, a commemoration took place in view of Communist officials – solemn speeches were delivered, mournful melodies played over loudspeakers, and in the distance one could hear Catholic hymns performed by local brass bands.

Figure 6: Brass ensemble from Mažeikiai praying in Viekšniai cemetery during All Saints’ Day. Photo by Arūnas Baltėnas, 2012.

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21 Lithuanian Folklore Archive of the Institute of Lithuanian Literature and Folklore  LTRV 685.

22 Recorded by the author in 2013. Lithuanian Folklore Archive of the Institute of Lithuanian Literature and Folklore  LTRF cd 1151/3/.
Figure 7. Trumpeters from Klaipėda performing in Salantai cemetery during All Saints’ Day. Photo by Vladas Ščiavinskas, 2016.

Meaning of Prayers with Brass Instruments

Today’s versions: When asked why one needs trumpets in the cemetery, most musicians and the people who hired them replied that this was simply the way it had to be, this was the tradition – some people were brought to tears, as it was like a funeral, while for others it brought back memories. According to an 88-year old woman, who every year invites brass musicians to perform at her husband’s grave, such prayers to the deceased are a sign of respect.\textsuperscript{23} For a 57-year old man this is a reminiscence. He added: “What more can you give the deceased? This is a gift for them.”\textsuperscript{24} Praying at the graves of their mother and grandmother, two sisters explained that they invite trumpeters every year, since they believe that a trumpet-accompanied prayer will ease the suffering of souls in Purgatory.\textsuperscript{25} A 51-year old musician explained that it might even be enough for the gathered family to simply pray, but since they could invite

\begin{footnotesize}
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\item \textsuperscript{23} Lithuanian Folklore Archive of the Institute of Lithuanian Literature and Folklore  LTRV 598.
\item \textsuperscript{24} Recorded by the author in 2014. Lithuanian Folklore Archive of the Institute of Lithuanian Literature and Folklore  LTRF cd 1201/1/.
\item \textsuperscript{25} Lithuanian Folklore Archive of the Institute of Lithuanian Literature and Folklore  LTRV 685.
\end{itemize}
\end{footnotesize}
musicians, this was a sort of “bigger” prayer, an offering from the living to the dead.26

Seeking for roots of tradition: The “necessity” of trumpets in cemeteries is evidenced by an inscription from 1890 on the Ylakiai cemetery gate: Balsas truba swieta judins, ir numirusius pabudins (The trumpet shall sound, and the dead shall be raised). This couplet is an excerpt from Dies Irae Dies Illa by Thomas of Celano in the 13th century – it is the sequence about the Last Judgement. This sequence was translated into Lithuanian in the 17th century by the Jesuit Pranciškus Šrubauskis and became the hymn “Diena rūsti diena ana” (Austere Day)27, as well as being included in hymnal “Balsas širdies” (Voice of the Heart)28 (first edition in 1679). According to researchers of ancient Lithuanian hymns, “17th–18th century Lithuanian Catholic hymns reflected the prevailing Baroque-characteristic perception and feeling of the world, at the same time being an integral part of medieval Christian tradition. At that time, the world outlook was dominated by two intersecting ideas – God and man. On one side was God – the highest point, a moral and aesthetic example, an aspiration; meanwhile, on the other hand there was man, who wanted to remember Christ’s Passion and suffer together”.29

In the Baroque era, the Ars [bene] moriendi textbooks became popular throughout the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. Books of this genre began to appear in Western Europe after the plague from 1347 till 1352. During it, about a third of population had died in many European countries. These books taught how one should live so that in case of sudden death they would still go to Heaven.30 At about the same time, having legitimised the dogma of Purgatory, the understanding that each soul has a shorter or longer penance in Purgatory came into force31 and this is why it was encouraged to pray for the dead. In

26 Lithuanian Folklore Archive of the Institute of Lithuanian Literature and Folklore LTRF cd 834/01/.
Lithuanian, the first such textbook was published by the priest Mykolas Olševskis in Vilnius in 1753. It was called *Broma atwerta ing wiecznasti* (The Gate Open to Eternity). The title of the book is a Baroque allegory. Its meaning – death, and only death, is the gate through which man can enter eternity. It is interesting that over a century, until 1851, this book was published 17 times. Therefore, it can be called a “best-seller” of that time period. No doubt it was very much read among the simple village people in the end of the 19th century as well as the early 20th century. In Chapter 10 of this book we can find examples of how souls can be freed from Purgatory. I was interested in the 13th example, where it is written that for at least a short while, but with great piety, one must pray for the souls is Purgatory by reciting *Requiescant in pace* with the Lithuanian translation provided as well – *Tegul ilsisi amžinoje ramybėje. Amen* (Rest in peace. Amen). This short, “quiver” prayer is nowadays the last line of probably one of the most popular Catholic prayers for the dead, “Eternal rest [grant unto them, O Lord]” (Lith. “*Amžinaį atilsį [duok, mirusiemis, Viešpatie]*”). Quiver prayers were first mentioned by St Augustine in his writings. He was the one who gave origin to this term. The image of a prayer as an arrow was popularised in the 16th century by the Spanish mystics St Teresa of Ávila and St John of the Cross. Therefore, “quiver” prayers were especially popular in the Baroque era and in the instrumental music of this period, preference was given to brass instruments as “owners” of the “quiver” sound. Representing solemnity, festivity and strength, these instruments were used on the estates of nobles as well as during great ceremonies of the Catholic Church in 17th–18th century Lithuania. Corpus Christi feast and important events such as the crowning of miraculous paintings, viewing of the relics of the Holy Martyrs, opening of new Synods of the Diocese were accompanied by processions, which included many different musical instruments. Not only in the capital,
but also in festive processions at more remote churches during parish feasts and pilgrimages, kettle drums and brass instruments – usually trumpets and French horns – were played during this period.38

Wind orchestras and brass bands especially flourished in the 19th century. The way of life of country people was even more influenced by the manor culture than in previous centuries. For example, the Plungė and Rietavas manors’ brass and symphonic orchestras greatly impacted the traditional musical culture in north-western Samogitia. The brother Dukes Michał and Bogdan Oginski also sponsored a music school in which talented children from the surrounding area studied and performed with the orchestra. When the musicians returned to their hometowns during vacations or holidays after their services, they played together with other musicians of their village, taught the more musically inclined village youths, and formed bands.39 This is supported by the fact, that in 1870 brass instruments were played at the wedding festivities of the wealthier members of the villages in this region.40 Throughout the 20th century, mostly five to seven musicians bands used to play at weddings, baptisms, funerals, open air dances and church holidays in villages and towns of Samogitia. Although brass bands and even orchestras in certain periods were popular in other regions of Lithuania, it was in Samogitia that it lived on and continues to thrive – here the rural tradition of brass bands is particularly strong. Even today, the solemn music of the brass bands, comparable to a signifier, can affect in an instant all those gathered at the cemetery. Sounds of brass instruments are perceived as strengthening means of prayers for the dead.41

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Discussions and Final Remarks

It is obvious that the traditions of prayers for the penitent souls in Purgatory and playing of brass instruments during Catholic Church feasts go back to the Baroque period. Having been retained in upper levels of society, these traditions slowly entered the village culture and melded into the peasant customs, becoming part of folk piety. During the “classical existence” period of this folk tradition, particularly significant was the strength of the sound, its loudness, providing an air of seriousness and solemnity. People were moved by the lush, continued sounds of brass instruments. At the end of the 20th century, and particularly in the early 21st century, with people’s aesthetic needs beginning to change, traditions of instrumental music-making began to change as well. In this paper we discussed the tradition of playing in the cemetery during Catholic Church holydays, a tradition that still lives on today. However, in the opinion of the musicians themselves, it is almost completely disappearing. According to a 49-year old professional musician from Plungė, nowadays during All Souls’ Day people no longer want to invite trumpeters to the graves, there is no longer any need for this and people have a different sort of outlook: “It used to be that one neighbour would invite us, and then another would need us. Now no one invites us anywhere, so we don’t advertise ourselves. For the last three years we have no longer gone [to play]”. The disappearance of the tradition of prayers with brass instruments is clearly related to changes in the funerary traditions. When wakes were moved to the cramped funeral halls, there was no longer any room for brass bands. The more “urban” people, with a “subtle” musical taste prefer keyboard, kanklės

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42 Similar tendencies can be noted in other European and even Asian cultures. Swedish researchers, studying the impact of cultural policy, economics and high art on the performance of various genres of music, noted that “one of the many significant changes in music that occurred during the latter half of the twentieth century was the increasing dominance ofprimarily aesthetic aspects of music as the principal motive for professional music-making and attracting audience” Arvidson, Alf, Holst, Susanne, Lundberg, Dan, Nordström, Marika & Åkesson, Ingrid (2013). The Conditions of Music-Making: Between Cultural Policy, Economics, and Aesthetics. Taking Part in Music: Case Studies in Ethnomusicology. Edited by Ian Russell and Catherine Ingram. Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 269. Gisa Jähnichen, in researching the Lue people’s (living dispersed in mainland South East Asia) pi pipes performances’ perception, concludes that “the beauty of Lue pi playing is regarded a strong identity marker and therefore incompatible with the upcoming music production that avoids any kind of roughness and contrasting tone colours that are judged as primitive rudiments contrary to mainstreamed musical representations of minorities in the region”, Jähnichen, Gisa (2013). Sound Aesthetics in Lue Pi Performances. Studija instrumentorum musicae popularis, Vol. III (New series). Edited by Gisa Jähnichen. Münster: MV-Wissenschaft, 151.

43 Recorded by the author in 2014. Lithuanian Folklore Archive of the Institute of Lithuanian Literature and Folklore LTRF cd 989/02/.
(Lithuanian traditional zither) or violins at wakes, rather than trumpets. Nevertheless, brass instruments remain music for open spaces, to be performed outside. In Samogitia, for escorting the deceased to the cemetery and during the prayers at the grave site, trumpets are still necessary. What is the significance of this tradition? Well, prayers with trumpets reach God more quickly! People who invite trumpeters to play and pray at the gravestone even in these modern times believe that such a prayer goes directly to Heaven!

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