In the 20th century ethnic music attracted great interest. With increasing ease of travel and communication, countries and continents seemed to become closer, and access to original folk material became ever easier. Ethnic music could now be found not only in print but in live performance, on television and on the internet. As a result, the whole spectrum of methods and types of intoning (a term introduced by Izaly Zemtsovsky (1981: 87), which means types of voice production) and sounding techniques of the oral tradition could be experienced, even without leaving home. Many of the methods bear the characteristics common for earlier, sometimes very ancient, historic epochs.

Traditional societies became urbanised, and the all-permeating effects of the mass media overwhelmed the traditional ear. The result was a change in musical perception and thinking, ultimately affecting such vulnerable features as sounding techniques and timbre; in other words, those features which defined the authenticity of folklore performance in pre-industrial times. A traditional way of life gave way to technological progress, and oral culture to the mass media.

In the oral music tradition, by ‘authenticity’ of performance we mean the unique and original ‘trueness of sound’ which is characteristic of a historic layer of folk music. However, it should be understood that the ‘sound’ of any music from the oral tradition, even, and especially, an archaic one, can only nominally be called authentic when we remember the probable, though insignificant, evolution of melodies over the centuries. Musical material performed by the last members of the ritual singing tradition, recorded during the 20th century, has a range of consistent features, according to circumstances of performance.

Firstly, timbre and articulation. Both have been described in research papers; see, for example, Zemtsovsky 1989a, 1991. Another reason to raise the question of authenticity of sound is that this has long been a phenomenon of revival performance of folklore in live performance, not by the bearers of folklore musical thinking and hearing but, loosely speaking, by those who learned it. Understanding the value of the original sound of ritual (time-bound) singing, one cannot remain indifferent to its revival, particularly once one is aware of what can be lost during such revival.

Globalisation and the mass media have had a particularly negative effect on ritual (time-bound) genres and on the types of folklore dependent on a traditional way of life, on pre-industrial ways of production and on the natural environment. In those places where these have ceased, ritual folklore fades and eventually disappears.

The issues described above apply to the ritual (time-bound) folklore of the peoples of European Russia and in particular to the Tatars of the Middle Volga region. We will consider these issues through examples from the main ethnographic groups of the Tatars of Volga region: the traditional drawing Tatar melodies\(^{1}\) and the ritual folklore of the Kryashen Tatars.

One of the biggest changes in traditional 20th-century Tatar culture was the marginalisation of the younger generation in terms of their traditional way of life. This was historically determined by cultural/economic factors and, of course, it was further influenced by religious traditions: Islam for Kazan and Mishar Tatars; Orthodox Christianity for Kryashens. The principal reasons for change were the social upheavals at the beginning of the 20th century: the October revolution of 1917, the World Wars and Civil Wars. Soviet ideology, as well as industrialisation and globalisation in the course of the century, had the effect of marginalising new generations in respect of the old way of life. Folklore expeditions between the 1960s and the first decade of the 21st century revealed that musical traditions survived in the memory of the older generation. With the rejection of the

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\(^{1}\) ‘Drawling song’ is a specific genre of the Tatar song folklore, which is characterized of sustained notes, melismas and long verse.
traditional way of life, ethnic components partly disappeared from working life, but not from cultural life. This is shown by the ethnic character of the Tatar musical mentality.

Musical ethnicity lies in the deep in the subconscious and is vividly manifested. In everyday life Russian Tatars employ their mother tongue (Tatar) less and less. Even city-dwelling Tatars who speak no Tatar at all are able to experience their national music in a profound way. Evidence of this is the way in which Tatar Diasporas away from Tatarstan enthusiastically embrace concerts of national music, be it symphonic music, light music or popular music.

Tatar folk songs began to be performed in concert towards the end of 19th century, at ‘Philharmonic Nights’, held for the Tatar intelligentsia of Kazan. There are individual examples of popular lyrical songs performed in concert by untrained singers, accompanied by the bayan, mandolin or small instrumental ensemble. In Soviet times, the tradition of singing lyrical songs to the garmon, and later to the bayan, was supported by the state philharmonic organization. This became an essential part of musical life. Performers of this repertoire came from rural areas, some with untrained voices, and some with vocal training from music colleges or from the Kazan Conservatoire. At that time, every radio or TV concert featured these singers (in some form). This performance style still exists, but professional singers, singing as the voice of the people, have supplemented the repertoire with Tatar pop.

In 1937 the State Song and Dance Ensemble of Tatarstan was founded; similar ensembles were formed in all Republics of the former USSR. This ensemble performed folk songs and dances in choral and orchestral arrangements.

In the 1980s, with the beginning of perestroika, a new phenomenon appeared in the musical life of Tatarstan. Concerts and festivals took place which featured authentic performers, some of whom have never before left their villages. Typically the programmes of such annual concerts, announced as concerts of different ethnic groups of Tatars, were compiled independently of each other, consisting of the most popular lyric and dance songs. However, programmes lacked the less popular drawing epic songs and thus did not reflect the complete diversity of the folk tradition. The ritual singing of the Kryashen Tatars, virtually unknown to the wider audience, was represented by a rather superficial collection of wide-known tunes, owing to a lack of awareness of Tatar folklore among concert organisers. Nevertheless, it is very significant that such folklore concerts took place.

However, it should be noted that complex song forms, lyric drawing songs were performed less. This is even truer of ritual folklore, which lost its social basis and relevance. The stage became, along with audio archives and sheet music, the main ‘ecological niche’ for folklore.

The role of folklore in modern culture and its genres both of performance and in everyday life have long been studied by ethnomusicologists for another reason. Its disappearance from its natural setting causes anxiety and provokes a desire to preserve its place and its subtle specificity in the complexities of modern life.

Folklore displaced from its natural setting, and from its traditional context, then brought into workshops or onto the performing stage, is termed ‘folklorism’. Folklorism may exist in various forms. Different authors suggest partially coinciding typological sequences of folklore derivates. It also should be noted that cultural dominants in folklore interpretation on stage may differ in different cultures and in different historical periods.

Three means of adaptation of Tatar folk songs for stage performance can be seen:

- the folk song arrangements by composers (from 1937)
- popular pseudo-folklore (since the 1970s)
- performance with a tendency towards authenticity (from the early 21st century).

From the vast area of so-called Tatar folk song (in concert performance or recorded), I would like to discuss the latter category of folklore interpretation, that is, the experience of performing Tatar song folklore on stage. I will examine the way it should look and sound, remaining as close as possible to the authentic
historic form. I will try to suggest a possible future direction for Tatar folklore in the form of folklorism, rather than analyse the existing performing experience which is as yet rather unsatisfactory.

In the song folklore of Tatars living in Volga region and in the Urals (taken as a whole), two musical realms exist, in terms of which the adequacy of reproducing song tradition on stage may be discussed: (1) lyrical singing not connected with rituals and (2) ritual (time-bound) folklore. This dichotomy is rooted in the existence of two respective historic layers of music of oral tradition, two different musical languages, two different cultural historic contexts, and two different approaches to the problem of authenticity. Therefore, the criteria used for defining the right historical musical style of the two phenomena above are different.

A) The reproduction of lyrical songs of Muslim Tatars. These are a more recent development of solo singing. Tatar lyrical songs derive from an oral tradition and take one of two forms:

(1) The traditional song forms such as avyl küye = авыл кюе (a ‘village tune’ of square structure, set to a short verse (8+7)). This song form appeared to be universal for lyrical self-expression of Kazan Tatars, because it can be sung as a fast, moderate, or drawling tune. Besides, this form is often accompanied by a garmon or a bayan, which became nationally popular among the Tatars of the Volga region in the 20th century. Avyl küys are performed on the widest scale.

(2) Intonationally complex drawling songs rich in melisms ozyn küy = озын кюй (a ‘long tune’ set to a long verse (10+9)) are performed on stage by a much smaller number of singers, because they require much higher performing skills, natural voice placement, spiritual and life experience, i.e. certain basics of folk professionalism. For an authentic singer, performance of ozyn küy and avyl küye is a field for reproducing traditional melos using the feeling of the unwritten rules to which Tatar melodics unfolds, as well as the knowledge of the culture of Tatar melisms. A singer may have it heritably or borrow it from traditional song environment.

Solo lyric song is a genre with great potential for a singer’s self-expression. It demands a well-developed voice with a capacity for solo-singing even if it is different from the trained way of singing. For this reason, Tatar lyric songs were often sung by singers with a trained background such as Ilham Shakirov, Alfiya Avzalova, Gabdulla Rakhimkulov, Tagir Yakupov, and Albert Asadullin, and sometimes by opera singers (Khaydar Bigichev, Zilya Sungatullina). These are individual talented singers who have mastered the unwritten laws of Tatar melodic environment. Performance of drawling lyric songs by these trained voices, even by opera singers, does not cause any serious contradiction of the style, since these voices suit the theatrical character of ozyn küy without compromising its aesthetics. These performances are in fact outstanding examples.

Inseparable from ozyn küy is the polysemantic aesthetic concept of the Tatar oral music tradition, mong = монг. This I would translate as ‘musical meaning’. This concept cannot be expressed by words; it is the energetic aura created by singing, the spiritual essence of intonations, the charisma of the singer. The act of performance should contain everything: beauty, and sorrow of the things that passed, and courage, and exquisite sonic artistry, as well as the confidence of the singer combined with accuracy of rhythmic syllable subdivision. Here, timbre also plays a special role. In other words, mong is the ability of the singer to influence the listener spiritually, emotionally and by means of timbre.

The lyric songs of Kazan Tatars are mostly performed by men. There are also colourful lyric

4 There are also baits and munajats; however, they are not included in song folklore, belonging to narrative sphere.

5 Kazan Tatars and Tatars-Mishars are muslims-sunnits (officially accepted Islam in Volga-Bulgaria in 922 A.D.).

6 E.g.: Music of the Tatar People. Recorded by Laszlo Vikar, Topic Records, 1995, TSCD912. Released under licence from Tangent Records (1978); No. 16, 17 – short tunes; No. 9, 11, 12, 13, 22 – drawling tunes.

7 E.g.: Ильхам Шакиров, Жырланмаган аге бөзмөн жыр (Ilham Shakirov, Our song is not sung). BARS-MEDIA, 2005, MP3-0025, www.bars-records.ru, No. 127 ‘Иске кара урман’ (Dark forest); Великие исполнители XX века. Рашит Вагапов (Great Performers of the 20th Century. Rashid Vagapov). Moroz Records, 2009, ОМ 08257, CD1, No. 3 ‘Хәйдәр һын Зәбрә’ (Khaydar and Zuhra).

8 Khaydar Bigichev and Zilya Sungatullina performed Tatar opera music (in operas ‘Altinchach’ and ‘Jalil’ by Nazib Zhiganov), where the vocal parts are based on the Tatar drawling tunes.
songs of the Mishar Tatars, where there is a tradition of male and female solo singing; regrettably, a little known and almost lost tradition.

B) The reproduction of ritual folklore. Ritual tunes are the cornerstone of the Kryashen Tatar (Orthodox Tatars) singing tradition. The Kryashens comprise only 5% of the Tatar population; yet in terms of their rich ancient ritual singing tradition, their heritage can be considered vast. This is the choral singing of farming communities. It has archaic qualities dating back to pagan times in the Volga-Kama region. Most singers from this tradition are women. The most typical genres for the Kryashen are weddings, recruiting songs, feast songs and calendar round dances. The type of collective singing in the Tatar Kryashen community is similar to that of other peoples in the Volga region and the Urals: the Mordva, Chuvash, Udmurt and Mari. The Muslim ethos of Kazan Tatars is not compatible with ritual type of voice production (intoning).

Some Kryashen Tatar songs were performed live a few years ago, yet the small number of these shows how difficult this process is. Stereotypical performances of Tatar songs by the State Song and Dance Ensembles of the USSR hinder progress as they are taken for folklore. Recreating the ‘traditional timbre’, the ‘ethnic sound’ of these songs (to use the term introduced by Fritz Bose) – a resonant, almost instrumental sound directed to resonate in the head – is even more difficult.

In Kryashen ritual folklore, singing styles have been preserved that contain sounds common to tribal period communities of the Volga region. Ritual singing can be recognised by its characteristic timbre. The performer of traditional culture who is able to reproduce this characteristic ritual timbre approaches it with a mentality based on ancient beliefs, coded in timbre for centuries. For example, it is known that, at the early stages of social history, calendar songs were addressed to the invisible guardian spirits of the community, on whom people’s lives depended. Ritual melodies, calendar songs, are addressed not to a human listener but to the forces of nature. They are therefore sung in a special sacral timbre which is harsh, metallic, almost instrumental, dissimilar to the one song are sung in. Of course, a modern person, living in a city or even in a village, cannot be the bearer of such world perception. Therefore, the traditional singer performing on stage and the person who learned folklore are qualitatively different cases of performance. In other words, to learn and perform Kryashen calendar-bound circle-dance tunes, one has to deeply understand their spiritual or aesthetic basis, their collective aspiration to higher spheres.

In the practice of ritual singing, it is necessary to realize why some ritual tunes are sung so enthusiastically or so harshly. In folklore, timbre has a deeply determined semantics of its own. Of course, the result will not be ‘authentic’ singing based on an ancient perception of the world, but only a more or less successful aspiration towards it. I view a folklore revival band performing ritual folklore as a role play of modern city dwellers trying to imitate their ancestors, to immerse themselves in the past, in a kind of musical meditation which appeals deeply to the performers’ cultural memories. Firstly, such ‘recreation’ of folklore is undertaken with a completely different mentality; a ‘stage’ mentality, based not on sacral but on self-demonstration, even if inspired. Secondly, it is known that to achieve the objective discussed above requires a certain ethnomusicological education and training in vocal technique. Thus, the result is another folklore museum.

It is not possible for everyone to master the performance techniques of Ritual folklore. Both Kryashen and Mishar ritual Tatar tunes demand untrained voices, with special attention paid to timbre, breathing, and sounding techniques. Forms of polyphonic texture (heterophony, bourdon) developed during this kind of singing, as well as original timbres (especially in calendar tunes) are the features of historic authenticity of Kryashen ritual folklore which are very hard – virtually impossible – to reproduce without penetrating into the objective rules.

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9 Tatar-Kryashen were baptized together with other people from the Volga region after the annexation of Kazan to Russia in 16th–18th centuries.
10 E.g. sound addition to the book Almeeva 2007.
11 I know about actual unsuccessful experience of Tatar opera singers (of Kryashen origin), who tried to turn to singing ritual songs.
of development of such texture, determined by inimitable heterophonic thinking. If one simply learns a heterophonic melody from music notation, one cannot reproduce the lace-like lightness, the illusion of the material being ‘born before our eyes’. This is what Boris Asafyev strove to protect: ‘the life of folk music, its continuous evolution, its never-dying embodiment in living intonations’ (Asafyev 1987: 24–25).

These styles of performing disappear with their bearers. The disappearance of traditional ritual practice and global unification of human way of life lead to ritual singing becoming a museum exhibit. The only real future for this branch of folklore, its survival, is either in audio archives or in concert performance. In the latter, it is important to draw on genuine field recordings.

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Russian Tatars have already been urbanised for several centuries, so that a historic layer of urban Tatars exists. However, there is also a traditional centuries-old village culture, the medium providing not only performers of traditional performing techniques, but also an experienced audience able to evaluate such performances. During the 20th century, the village environment has changed fundamentally, both socially and in terms of music from the oral tradition. In the last 50 years, the mass media have contributed largely to the creation of certain stereotypes of Tatar song performance. The thriving Tatar village is now filled with the sounds of Tatar pop music. As a result, traditional singing is forced out of villages by the mass media.

People living in the city usually learn of national folklore through concert performances, mostly by the State Song and Dance Ensembles which have existed in every republic or region of the former Soviet Union since 1937. Producing attractive, bright, and imaginative shows, these ensembles also dictate their own performing stereotypes based on song arrangements and forms of dances for the stage. So strong is the stereotype of folk song in concert performance that it almost completely replaces folklore itself. City dwellers, already accustomed to these stereotypes, consider such performance actual folklore. For folklorists, these are simply a show of folklorism. They understand such shows are in constant demand. It is not that we are against such shows; but it should be realised that folklore can be presented on stage in different ways, that there may be different performer’s goals and qualitatively different artistic results.

For the last 25 years, experiences of organising folklore ensembles with repertoire partly renewed by new field recordings of folklore has been documented in Tatarstan. However, such ensembles still inevitably follow the pattern set by the Song and Dance Ensemble of Tatarstan. All of them are like each other, because finding new repertoire is not enough; it is also important to solve the problem of performance and sounding techniques. People seem to lack the vision and training to develop their own style. It has been shown that performing folklore on stage requires certain erudition in the subject (in this respect, the great experience of Russian folklorism should be considered), as well as vast knowledge in ethnomusicological subjects, namely in theory, history and performing techniques.

The destiny of folklore depends on solving the problem of the tradition transmission mechanism. Here the difference in the approach to reproduction of ritual singing and lyric song singing must be discussed.

The performer reproducing ritual manner of voice production should bear in mind that traditional timbre/intonational characteristics of sound are determined by mythological background. Therefore, ritual singing offers little possibility of individualisation. Little can be said of the living tradition of Kryashen and Mishar Tatar ritual singing, because the mechanism of its transmission has already been lost. This is connected, in the first place, with the disappearance of ritual practice and with the unification of traditional way of life in Tatarstan in the 20th century. The Mishars lost this earlier, and we can study this only through archive recordings from the 1960s and their notations. The folklore of the Kryashens began to be recorded as early as the 1950s (see Nigmedzyanov 1970, 1976; Iskhakova-Vamba 1981). In 2000, this could still be recorded from traditional bearers in villages. However, the folklore of both Kryashens and Mishars is almost unknown to the public, as it has not been revived in concert. Mastering ritual singing is a hard task for Tatar folklorism to solve. Field recordings are
the main source for the study of performance techniques.

Prospects for Tatar lyric song transmission are much brighter. Lyric songs occupy a large place in the world of Tatar popular music. Here, a great hope lies with those with natural talents (quite a few of whom are in Tatarstan), who are familiar with the culture of chant and melismas. These performers know where to place these melismas correctly in the rhythmic structure, also possessing mong, that is, knowing the canon and its interpretations. It is not by chance that folk pop singers who master Tatar melodic environment – almost all of them born in the country – perform pop-music, too, adding elements of authentic performance to it. Here there is much room for expressing one’s individuality; moreover, individuality in performing lyric songs is the main requirement for the very existence of lyric songs.

In these global times, the natural life of folklore (that is, the existence of folklore in traditional society), especially ritual folklore, is gradually disappearing. The study of Tatar folklore in academic workshops is the most realistic possibility for its future survival. Revival folklore ensembles are one of the last refuges of meaningful folklore performance and the basis of future folklorism. The main advice to those who master authentic singing techniques: folklore is a culture of sound. To perform folklore is to work with a characteristic manner of sound production.

The adaptation of Tatar folk song (harmonisation, orchestration and choral arrangement) is a long-established direction for composers, and there are significant achievements in this field. Kazan Tatar lyrical songs and munajats have already been adapted, although ritual songs of the Kryashen have not yet been adapted for stage performance. Kazan Tatar lyric songs are easily arranged, as avyl küye is traditionally sung to the garmon, and drawling ozyn küy is sung to the garmon and the bayan on stage.

Kryashen tunes are different. Being only vocal, these are more complicated to harmonize. The essence of such tunes – drawling forms with the great significance of the timbre and inner dynamics of every sound – can be destroyed by instrumental arrangement, which inevitably involves tempering and timbre distortion. Experiments with introduction of such instruments as the garmon into this kind of singing, widespread among the Kryashen as well as the other peoples of the Volga Region in the past 100 years, simply destroy the ancient timbre and texture of the tunes.

One has to agree with the reverent anxiety of Boris Asafyev, who wrote: ‘It is due to the vivid intonation, evoking the response in listeners – music being the art of intonations at the first hand – that the art of music constantly renews itself’ (Asafyev 1987). It cannot be denied that certain folk tune genres are impaired by harmonisation and orchestral and choral arrangement. But we should remember that there exists ethnically adequate singing – without any instrumental accompaniment found in the drawling song forms, where attention is paid to the quality and inner dynamics of every sound. Nothing needs to be added because it is complete in itself.12 These are the hardest songs to sing; they are indicators of true artistry and style.13 The performer who will manage to adequately recreate folklore as part of a culture of sound will be the bearer of the new authenticity of our time, based on modern mentality.

12 Of course, genius arrangement, the appearance of which in culture is unpredictable, will demolish this thesis to our unanimous joy.
13 Here I mean the example of the inimitable Ilham Shakirov.
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Volga-Urali tatarlaste laulutraditsioonid 21. sajandil: ajalooliste stiilide edasiandmise küsimusi

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20. sajandile oli omase aktiitne huvi maailma etnilise muusika vastu. Reisimisvõimaluste suurenemine, uute heli- ja visuaalsete informatsiooni kandjate ilumine (maailma kontserdilavada, televisioon, Internet) suurendasid pidevalt folklori jäädvamist ja sellega tutvumise võimalusi tema algupärasest vormides. Tulemusena võib tänapäeval vaaldata laia spektrit intoneerimise tüüpe (Izály Zemtso夫ski termin), milles paljude on varajaste ajastute tunnuseid.

Samas puudutab elu edasine linnastumine üha rohkem traditsioonilisi ühiskondi ja kõikjale tumiv massimeedia koormab traditsioonilist muusikalit teadvust, transformeerides muusikalit taju ja mõtlemist ning mõjutades traditsioonilisse laulmise sellist habrast omastad nagu hääletekitamise viis ja tämber, mis kuulub eelindustasjale kõige endiseelne traditsioonikiri, kuid täna pärast on maailma kontserdilavada, televisioon, Internet suurendanud traditsioonilise muusika esitamise võimalusi.

Üleilmastumise ja massimeedia negatiivne mõju põhjastab traditsioonilise muusirist võimaluste all: ehk kura algupärasust, sest, kui traditsioonilise muusika esitamise võimalusi tegi traditsiooniline muusikalist teadlikkuse ehitamine.

Käesolevas artiklis vaatamata massimeedia koormat, mis ükskõikse rõhutab küik traditsiooniliste laulmist kõige loogilisemaks vaata traditsioonilist folklori ehitamise võimalust, mis lõpetab traditsioonilise muusikalist edasist kasvatamist.


Käesolevas artiklis vaatamata massimeedia koormat, mis ükskõikse rõhutab küik traditsiooniliste muusikaliste teadlikkuse esitatud vormis.