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- ⁴⁰See Note 39, p. 16
- ⁴¹H. Sepp to the author.
- ⁴²Wossidlo, R. *Reise-Quartier in Gottesnaam*. Rostock, 1981, p. 23.
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- ⁴⁵See Note 37, Past, p. 30.; ERM KV 85, 1.569; Maritime Museum (1960), 1.2; Maritime Museum (1967), 1.189.
- ⁴⁶ERM KV 85, 1.563.
- ⁴⁷ERM KV 85, 1.515; Mäger, M. *Linnud rahva keeles ja meeles*. Tallinn 1967, p. 59.
- ⁴⁸ERM KV 85, 1.561.
- ⁴⁹ERM KV 85, 1.562.
- ⁵⁰Maritime Museum (1962), 1.26, Maritime Museum (1963), 1.136.
- ⁵¹ERM KV 85, 1.563-565.
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SPRING RITUAL *AKASHKA* OF THE SOUTH UDMURTS

On The Problem Of Typology Of Ritual Tunes

Irina Nurieva, Izhevsk, Udmurtia

The aim of this work is to determine the typological features of tunes of one ritual genre. The tunes of the spring rite of a small group of the Udmurts (living

on the territory of Kuckmor region of the Tatar Republic) are the object of this research work.

Kuckmor Udmurts are descendants of the Arsk Udmurts. The archaeological, historical, linguistic researchers prove the antiquity of their settlements. We have chosen *Akashka* tunes which have their own peculiarities among the numerous ancient ritual songs. To analyse the material, we have used the methods of cartography of the tunes according to their belonging to tribal groups. These methods are suggested by the musicologists M. Khrushcheva and E. Boikova.¹

There was a special spring ritual in the calendar of the peoples in the Volga region in the past. The meaning of that ritual was to provide a future harvest. It is the Mari ritual known under the name of *Agar Pairam*, the Mordvinian *Keret Ozks*, the Chuvash variant *Akatuj*, the Tatar and Bashkir *Sabantuj*.²

Udmurts had different local names for that rite of the coming of spring and ploughing: *gyryny potton* ('going to the ploughing'), *badzym nunal* ('great holiday'), *velictem*, *akashka/akayashka* ('Easter'). The tradition of celebrating it under the name of *Akashka* is still alive.

The ritual is held every year, although it has changed a lot, having lost its primary magical function. On account of the mass christianisation of the local inhabitants, the ancient pagan spring festival was afterwards timed to Easter and at present it is firmly associated in the people's consciousness with this Christian ritual.

According to the Kuckmor tradition *Akashka* is divided into two parts – the celebration in the village and going out into the fields. People usually prepared for it for a week. They washed and tidied up in their peasant houses; on the eve of the festival people put juniper twigs sprinkled with coloured egg-shells on the thresholds of their houses, and stuck some of them into the walls. On Easter (or *Akashka*) people cooked special dishes called *Akashka zazeg zhuck*, the ritual porridge with goose meat and meal dishes – *kuar-nyan*, *cheg-chegei* and coloured eggs.

In the afternoon the head of the family went to *Kuala* (the family praying-place, usually in the yard opposite the house). He carried a round loaf or unleavened flat cake with a piece of meat and a spoonful of the ritual porridge. There was a special prayer – *kuris'kon*, in which one prayed to the God Inmar for good health for his family and himself and a rich harvest for the whole household. After the prayer Father came back into the house, where all the members of his family tasted the sacral food. After the ritual meal the Father's relatives gathered and walked together from one house to another, moving with the sun, or against the stream of a river.

The *Akashka* songs were sung exactly in this part of the rite. Usually this

tune had been sung in the house during the ritual meal. The head of the household or one of the eldest relatives began to sing (usually standing). The songs were sung in some villages in the streets, while going from one house of the relatives to another (e.g. Kurkino, Pochinok-Suter). The celebration may last from one day to a week.

The second part of the rite – going out into the fields – was carried out a little later (a week, in a minimum) after the celebration in the village; at this time it was forbidden to dig the earth. It was the eldest and most respected man in the village who sowed the first seeds. For example, Baigeldin Tuimurza was the one who sowed the first handful of seeds in the village of Kurkino, because his hand might bring luck, as the inhabitants of the village thought.

After the sixties this part of the rite has been omitted.

It is difficult to reconstruct the pagan form of the rite now, but obviously the ritual meal in the house and celebration in the village signified the end of the symbolic tillage. The Christian form of the rite strictly timed the celebration to a definite day, which did not often coincide with the time of the beginning of tillage and sowing. That is why *Akashka* in Kuckmor tradition has lost its original pagan meaning, as well as an important part of the rite – going out into the fields.

As a rule, the tune of *Akashka* united various texts, which usually were sung during weddings, on seeings-off of soldiers, on Trinity, Shrovetide and other ritual occasions. But there also exist lyrics written specially for Easter/*Akashka*, in which people sing about how they waited and prepared for it, comparing *Akashka* with a long-awaited arrival of the sky-lark:

Sky-lark, arriving every year,

Is singing songs over the field.

Easter (Akashka), arriving every year,

Is ringing above the steps of the house.

The main peculiarities and differences of *Akashka* tunes in Kuckmor tradition are both in their wide distribution and their strict local character (individualisation). Every village or a group of neighbouring villages has its own typical tune, which is in contrast, for example, to diffused spreading of the *Akashka* tunes in Southern (Alnash) tradition.³ But the phenomenon of narrow locality and individualisation of rite tunes in the Udmurt song-lore is not unique; it is fixed by musicologists in Southern Udmurtia.⁴

Folk singers have realised this peculiarity of the *Akashka* tunes. The melody of an *Akashka* tune is so peculiar for each village that the Kuckmor Udmurts can define which village it belongs to. The affection for, or habit to use one's own tune is very typical. For example, when we wanted to record the information about women-singers, they only often mentioned their maiden names, and

the women-performers (married off in other villages) often sang only their native *Akashka* tunes, though they knew and also performed every spring the tunes of their husbands' villages. The women were asked why was the tune different in another village and they answered that *Akashka* was sung only by their own village or kin, strangers were not allowed to sing it (v. Nizhnii Kuckmor).

The preservation of the relics of tribal relations can explain the strict local character of the *Akashka* tunes. These tribal relations came from matriarchal tribal organisation.

The so-called *Vorshud* was a keeper of family happiness and welfare, and a protector of the family and tribe. The kin was called by his name, too.

The investigator of these tribal Udmurt organisations M. Atamanov has found the traces of a few tribal settlements on the territory of Kuckmor region: there were two big tribes (Yumya and Ucha) and four small ones: Chabya, Nyrya, Lözya, Turya.⁵ A more detailed scheme of the Udmurt settlements, based on historical, folklore and linguistic factors, is given by the investigator of Kuckmor dialect V. Kelmakov. He is of the opinion that the Udmurts living on the lower bank of the Vyatka River originated from ancient Arsk Udmurts, and also from the Udmurts living on the left bank of the Vyatka River and some southern Udmurts.⁶

The cartography of the *Akashka* tunes changes to some extent the schemes of settlements and kins given by the linguists. By the structural analysis of the tunes, six main groups of these tunes had been found:

- Yumya (with the centre in the village of Staraya Yumya),
- Knya (with the centre in Knya-Yumya or maybe in Nyrya),
- Oshtorma (in v. Oshtorma-Yumya),
- Kuzmes (in v. Nizhnii Kuzmes),
- Ucha (in v. Staraya Ucha),
- Kanisar (in v. Staryi Kanisar).

All the villages called as the centres in the group of the surrounding villages are the most ancient settlements of the Kuckmor region.




Some of the villages (Staryi Kanisar, Nizhnii Kuzmes, Oshtorma-Yumya) have been mentioned in the historical documents as early as since the Kazan Khanate in the 15th century.⁷

The tunes of the two villages of Lelvizh and Studyonyi Klyuch are not in these groups, they form two independent groups. The isolation of the Lelvizh tune is apparently due to the fact that it is itself situated between two separate song-genre systems (song traditions): those of the Kuckmor and Baitasi regions. The difference of *Akashka* tune in Studyonyi Klyuch is explained by the double transference of population, i.e., a part of the inhabitants had left Kuckmor

region for Uva region in Udmurtia (the village of Bulai), and some of them came back again and founded Studyonyi Klyuch.

One must mention here that *Akashka* tunes stay in the limits of local tradition, of which the vast layer of ritual songs is the main nucleus. The singing in group with unison-heterophonic polyphony, the recitative quality of the melodies, the narrow scope of the tunes, the form of the caesura tune, based on the syllabic organisation of the verse – all these features are significant for this style. All *Akashka* tunes, as many rite tunes of Southern Udmurts, have the anhemitonic nature of the key, connected with the monody form of the music mentality. The type of the key-melodic organisation of such kind of tunes co-ordinating with syllabic verse is based on the rhythmical correlation of long and short musical measures of time.⁸ Certain peculiarities of speech intonation of the Udmurt language influenced the formation of the key system of the tunes not connected with any dance movements. For example, the increase of the duration at the end of a word or a statement in a speech flood is reflected in the singular 'hinderer' rhythm of the endings of many rite tunes, and *Akashka* tunes in the Kuckmor tradition as well.⁹

The comparative analysis of all versions of *Akashka* tunes has cleared up the distinctive peculiarities of each of the given six groups, connected with the structure of the musical syllabic-rhythmic form and its co-ordination with the main key sounds.

There are certain rhythmical formulas in the basis of musical syllabic-rhythmic forms of the tunes. The musical syllabic-rhythmic form of Knya, Ucha, Kanisar and the greater part of the Yumya groups is composed with the help of such rhythm-formulas as: . The rhythm-formula  is a basis of the syllabic musical rhythmic form for Oshtorma group, the rhythm-formula  for Kuzmes group.

The compositional structure of tunes is formed from the sums of such rhythmic formulas as, for example, 4+3, which is characteristic of Yumya and Knya groups; 4+4 is peculiar for Kanisar group; 4+5 is the main form for Ucha group. Verse caesura comes to exist on the form borders. The melodic caesurae may not coincide with the verse caesurae. For example, the melodic caesura comes earlier than the verse one in Kuzmes tune; the Kurkino tune from Yumya group is the only example of the non-caesura form, in which caesura is formed by purely melodic means.

According to their sound-scale organisation, the tunes are divided into two parts. The larger part of the tunes (those of Yumya, Knya, Oshtorma, Kuzmes groups and the tune of the village of Novaya Ucha) are built on anhemitonic key and there is a major third (cde, cde g, cde ga) in the basis of it. 2-4-note nucleus (cd f, cd fg, cd fga) is the basis of the Kanisar tune key. The tunes of the

Lelvizh and Staraya Ucha villages differ from the others, because they are formed by successive connecting of two couple key nuclei: in the scope of major third (the beginning and the greater part of the tune) and in the scope of a pure fourth at the end of the tune: edcag.

The place of the main sound of the key in the *Akashka* tunes is constant and it is at the beginning and end of the melostanza. As a rule, the main sound of the key is on a low note of the sound scale. The appearance of the low main note in the melostanza in some tunes coincides with the clue moments and it is marked out by melodic caesurae: the ending of first rhythmical period-line (in Knya, Yumya groups of tunes, the tune of Novaya Ucha); before the cadence formation of second rhythmic period-line with the following fixing of the main basis through the opposition of the second, sometimes third degree (some Yumya and Oshtorma tunes). The degree and methods of tune modifications may be quite different: from complete identity of tunes over small intonation variations to considerable changes, affecting the structure of tunes.

The desire of folk performers for improvisation of tunes was restrained by the structure of the rhythmic composition of verse. The syllabic verse 9+8 is the normative nucleus of a verse for Yumya and Knya groups of tunes, the verse 10+9 for Kuzmes group, 9+9 for Oshtorma group, 10+10 for Kanisar group.

Active modification can be found both in some prosodic elements and the whole structure of the melody. Some control markers can still remain in the process of modification: the sounds on the borders of the form between first and second rhythmic periods in Kanisar group; in Ucha group, the first melody of the second rhythmic period; in Yumya group, the first melody of the tunes. The Staraya Yumya tune is an example of modification affected by the structure of the verse, and hence of the tune structure.

The increase of verse scope (instead of normative standard 9+8 – 10+10) leads to the expansion of the tune structure (instead of normative standard 4+3 – 4+4).

More detailed analysis of modifications within the framework of each group may be the topic of future investigations.

Thus, by analysing *Akashka* tunes of all villages of the Kuckmor region, and all variants of these tunes, it is possible to say that there are no universal structural regularities for all the songs of this genre. *Akashka* tunes were peculiar identification signs of a certain tribe.

Taking into consideration our observations and those of such researchers as M. Atamanov and V. Kelmakov, we may assume that six groups of *Akashka* tunes belonged to different tribes: the Yumya group of *Akashka* tunes to Yumya tribe, the Ucha group to Ucha tribe, the Knya group to Nyrya tribe, the Kuzmes

group to Chabya tribe, the Oshtorma group to the tribes which formed the population of the village of Poikino (Lözya or Turya tribes), the Kanisar group to Ucha tribe or also to the settlers from Southern Udmurtia. The exact determination of the belonging of tunes to a concrete *Vorshud* (tribe) may be discovered by the comparative analysis of tribal tunes recorded in some places of settlement of the descendants of one or another *Vorshud* (tribe).

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THE MUSICAL AND RITUAL FUNCTIONS OF THE NGANASAN SHAMAN DRUM

Triino Ojamaa. Tartu, Estonia

There are two aspects of describing the shaman drum. First, the shaman drum is a ritual instrument of several magical functions, necessary for the sha-