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ABOUT THE HISTORICAL AND ETHNOCULTURAL REASONS FOR THE MULTI-LAYERED NATURE OF TRADITIONAL BELARUSIAN INSTRUMENTAL MUSIC

Musical instruments, their structure, way of manufacturing, features of playing, musical genres and forms are capable to keep the specificity throughout the completely historical epoch at preservation of the conditions of functioning. Closely connected with traditional activity and for centuries developing mentality of the people, who stably used them in their practice, the traditional music was the powerful identification factor of ethnic culture at times steadier, more conservative than ethnic consciousness and even household speech. In this article the following factors of traditional ethnic consciousness destruction are analyzed: the marginalian existence of ethnic groups (historically established groups living on their native territories outside of their native state with two opposite vectors of their integration: 1.to center of parent state country; 2.to center of mother ethnic country). They are: the state language and cultural policy, mass-media, education system with their orientation on the state forming ethnoses; the condition of borders; ethnic-confessional problems; local identity over national one; not high level of cultural-educational activity of regional intelligentsia; not correct forms of socialization of traditional culture in a modern society. Our main object: East and West Belarusian ethnic groups in the borders land, marginals, diasporas and their musical traditions, instruments, both genres, forms of singing, instrumental music and their performance, articulation. As our analysis shows those lands traditional music is distinctly connected with all Belarusian culture and its ethnic traditions, moreover – belongs to the Balts and Finno-Ugric substrata of its ethnic history.

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ПРА ГІСТАРЫЧНУЮ І ЭТНАКУЛЬТУРНУЮ ШМАТСЛОЙНАСЦЬ ТРАДЫЦЫЙНАЙ БЕЛАРУСКАЙ ІНСТРУМЕНТАЛЬНАЙ МУЗЫКІ

На думку аўтара артыкула музычныя інструменты народа, іх структура, спосаб вырабу, гуказдабыванне, характэрныя музычныя жанры і формы здольны захоўваць аўтэнтычную спецыфіку цягам сваёй гісторыі цялкам, але – пры захаванні ўмоў іх функцыянавання. Традыцыйная музыка, якая цесна звязана з жыццязабеспячэннем і цягам стагоддзяў уплывае на менталітэт людзей, якія стабільна выкарыстоўвалі яе ў сваёй практыцы, была магутным фактарам ідэнтыфікацыі супольнасці, часам больш устойлівым, чым этнічная свядомасць і гаворка. У дадзеным артыкуле аналізуецца шэраг фактараў разбурэння традыцыйнай этнічнай самасвядомасці: маргінальнае існаванне гістарычна склаўшыхся суполак, якія пражываюць на аўтахтонных тэрыторыях, але за межамі сваёй дзяржавы з двума супрацьлеглымі вектарамі іх інтэграцыі – 1) у напрамку дзяржавы пражывання; 2) у напрамку суседняй дзяржавы свайго этнасу; дзяржаўная моўная і культурная палітыка; сродкі уплывае інфармацыі; сістэма адукацыі з арыентацыяй на дзяржаваўтваралючы этнас; стан межэй; этнаканфесійныя праблемы; мясцовая ідэнтычнасць пануючая над нацыянальнай; невысокі ўзровень культурна-асветніцкай дзейнасці рэгіянальнай інтэлігенцыі; дэфармаваныя формы сацыялізацыі традыцыйнай культуры ў сучасным грамадстве. Нашы асноўны аб'ект: усходнія і заходнія беларускія этнічныя групы на памежжы краіны, маргіналы, дыяспары і іх музычныя традыцыі, музычныя інструменты абодвюх груп, формы спеваў, іх інструментальная музыка і артыкуляцыя яе выканання. Як паказвае наш аналіз, у двух згаданых краях традыцыйная музыка Беларусі выразна звязана з усёй беларускай культурай і яе структурай, разам з тым – генетычна адносіцца да балцкага і фіна-угорскага субстрата этнічнай гісторыі краіны.

Musical instruments, their structure, way of manufacturing, features of playing, musical genres and forms are capable to keep the specificity throughout the whole historical epoch at preservation of the conditions of functioning. Closely connected with traditional activity and for centuries developing mentality of the people, who stably used them in their practice, the traditional music was the **powerful identification factor** of ethnic culture at times steadier, more conservative than ethnic consciousness and even household speech.

The concept «Western Russia» – the further, the more and more resolutely – is treated as the western remote area of the Russian ethnic territories [24], [28], [31]. In such concept the mutation of the historical term «Western Rus'» with which it was called the whole territory of distribution of the Belarusian dialects and which clearly we correlate to *all Belarusian ethnoses* and the most ancient state and confessional its formations (among them Lithuanian Rus', Rus' Black and White are as well, etc.) is distinct. At turn of the XIX–XX centuries the compilers of the maps «Distribution of Russian language in Europe» named the dialects of local population as West-Russian (and Belarusian as well) dialects, understanding the Russian language as a certain united East-Slavic language, and its separate national displays or, in modern understanding, languages (including Great Russian) – only as dialects. We will recollect their classifications: dialects Great Russian; Small Russian (South Russian, Ukrainian); Belarusian (West Russian). [39, p. 54]. There whole situation was considerably promoted by the cultural–historical current at turn of the XIX–XX centuries – *western-russism*, – which see the prospects in coordination of the Belarusian national and the common East-Slavic vectors of development of Belarus' [38].

The concept «West Russia», already in narrower value historically co-relates with northern region of *east remote areas* (so-called «kresy wschodnie») of the 1st Rzecz Pospolita (Republic of XVII–XVIII cc.) who, since tearing away from it Smolensk in the end of XVII century and as a result its several sections in XVIII the item, a number (both in imperial Russia, and in Soviet Union) changes of administrative borders has appeared as a part of the Russian Federation. The more large, their northeast part – i.e. southern (Nevel', Usvyaty, Sebezh, Kunino) areas of modern Pskov region (till 20th years XX century they – as a part of Vitebsk province, before – the Polock principedom), western – Tver', considerable – the western part Smolensk (together with the city of Smolensk), the northwest Bryansk areas (no less than the northeast Chernihiv –

as a part of Ukraine), – it agree to the data of linguistic researches and ethnographic maps (including Carried out by the State commission of the Russian empire) up to October revolution – without any doubts and reservations it was designated as area of the Belarusian language [9], [25], [29], [39].

The *historical dialectology* – on the basis of *coordination linguistic* and *historical-political* factors – carries local dialects to Smolensk-Polock [6, p. 71]: the Belarusian ethnocultural identification of the Polock and Vitebsk earths was not subject to discussion. And Mahiliovshchyna (Mogiliov region) through many centuries not only in ethnocultural, but also in the political-economical relation made a single whole with Smolenshchyna (Smolensk region), was a part of the Smolensk principedom, and then Smolensk wojewodstvo (Smolensk land) of the Rzecz Pospolita. And not casually Smolensk became the first capital of the Belarus' Soviet Republic; in 1924 in the government (Central Electoral Committee) of the USSR was brought up again a question on returning in Belarus Republic structure of these Belarusian ethnic territories [6, p. 38]; that to the middle of 30th years of XX century on these earths in comprehensive schools studied the Belarusian language, the Belarusian educational organisations, mugs, clubs, theatres functioned. In a wartime the Smolensk-Bryansk diocese (with imposed bishop) was a part of Belarus' autocefalian orthodox church [1, p. 203], [10], [11, p. 76-78], [35]. As an original board between German invaders and the guerrillas served rescued from reprisals of many civilians of Bryanshchyna (Bryans region) and Smolenshchyna of action of regular units of the Belarus land army entirely consisting of local population. However inherited from tsarism and the powerful imperial pressure revived in a I.Stalin epoch, stage-by-stage replacement, assimilation, destruction of the Belarusian national intelligency as *subject of the cultural initiative*, special accent of the state cultural policy in this area on education of the Great Russian patriotism, essential support of only Russian-speaking writers, liquidation and so it is enough still the weak Belarusian organisations, schools, circles – at natural historical prevalence at the marginalian northeast Belarusian ethnocultural generality (as well as at other similar ethnogroups) *local* (Nevel', Velizh, Smolensk etc.) *identity over national*, – all it has gradually led to an establishment on these earths as basic – Russian national consciousness. Moreover. Development of modern myths and historical legends, according to which Smolenshchyna throughout all history was the western *advanced post* of the country and all people of *Russia*, had structured that scope of Russia patriotism here even is *more powerful, than* in other – *real* Russian – regions of Russia [11, p. 67-75].

For the *marginalian ethnographic groups* the coexistence at least *two opposite vectors* of their integration contacts and gravitations is characteristic: 1) to the centres of the parent *state country* (for northeast Belarusian ethnogroups – Moscow, Russia; for Belarusians of northeast Belostochchyna / Belostock region – Warsaw, Poland; Vilenshchyna / Vilnia area – Vilnius, Lithuania; Latgalian-Dvinschchyna / Dvinsk area – Riga, Latvia; etc.); 2) to the centres of *mother ethnic country* (accordingly – Minsk, and the nearest local – Mahiliov/Mogilyov, Vicebsk/Vitebsk, Harodnia/Grodno – Belarus').

The important factor for preservation of an ethnocultural vector is the *condition of borders*. For ethnic Belarusians of Nevel'shchyna and western Smolenshchyna in a Soviet period the border was enough conditional – Nevel' habitants contacted (the big markets, study in High schools and technical schools) to nearby Vitebsk, than with far Pskov is more often; its overcoming and nowadays has not too become complicated. As was in Dvinsk and Vilnia edges (today the situation in this plan has worsened: customs, passports for foreign trips, visas). That for one and a half decades the Belarus'-Polish borders today their crossing again has become complicated have opened.

Experience of cultural orientation is essential developing during certain time and connected with *ethnic-confessional* problems. Many ethnic Belarusians-Catholics on *marginalian ethnocultural territories* (at times, today – and as a *part of mother countries*, but were during the certain historical period on the marginalian position, or *out of the national state formation*: Haradzienshchyna / Grodno region, western Vicebschchyna as a part of the Kingdom Polish, intermilitary Poland, etc.) studied at the Polish schools, have mastered (especially in cities and places) corresponding language, listened to the Warsaw radio, extracted magazines, have gradually found the *Polish national consciousness* and at times *became leaders* of movements for the *Polish revival* of these earths (Vilnia edge, the Western Belarus' etc.). «Polskość» (Polish position, Polish orientation), a support on «the Polish spirit» and culture often was any banner of antiimperial struggles. Among orthodox (especially in dioceses of the Moscow patriarchy) – it is available assimilative processes towards russification. In this plan for the East Slavic earths more others the Greek-Catholic faith (formed according to Brest church Unia of 1596) considered the national factor: In its divine service and parish schools the Belarusian and Ukrainian languages were applied. However, after its violent liquidation in 30 XIX century on the earths which have got after section of Recz Pospolita in structure of the Russian empire, the tendency to indigenous population russification have sharply amplified. Told especially boldly appears if to compare these earths to the Halychyna/Galicia which has got during corresponding times in structure of Austro-Hungarian empire. There Greek-Catholics were not exposed o persecutions up to Stalin reprisals of the end of 40th XX century and degree of safety of a national language, culture, consciousness not only rural, but also urban population was considerably above. in the account confessional the factor at definition of an ethnic accessory of this or that group of the population collectors called for care in the middle of the XIX-th century [3].

The *state language* and *cultural policy*, mass-media, education system with their orientation on the state forming ethnoses are essential, certainly. Their influence affects in the ethnogroups which dialects lexically (in lexical level) are closer to language state more strongly. Belarusians in this plan, naturally, represent more pitiable material for polonizations and russifications, than Lithuanians or Latvians – though the scale of germanization of Hungarians is known in the past, swedization of Finns, and traces of hungaryzation also are strong today in Slovakia, the Romanian Transylvania and the Ukrainian Zakarpattya.

Moreover. Realising affinity, almost identity of folklore and household speech of agricultural population of Western Smolenshchyna and Mahiliovshchyna, Vicebschchyna and Nevel'shchyna, plus – against so-called «Equality» of two state languages, powerful russification of cities and places in the modern Belarus' up to «dialect» of the president of this country, – today Mahiliovshchyna and Vicebschchyna show many initiatives on development of Russian consciousness already and on the earths of Belarus. Lexical similarity of Russian and Belarusian languages, a designation of the second – grammatical – as (*Russian – Belarusian*) give to them some kind of «bases» to speak to a certain version of the first about natural «gravitation» of these earths to Moscow, about historical «russkost'» (Russian poztion) of their population, ostensibly polonized during an epoch of Great Lithuanian principedom and Rzecz Pospolita and consequently – «had made Belarusians» [1, p. 218–219].

The parity of the named vectors is caused both character of a national policy of the parent state countries, and scales of *cultural-educational activity of local intelligency* on the marginalian earths, their supports from outside the centres of ethnic mother countries. In this plan of possibility of the Belarusian initiatives in Lithuania, Latvia, Poland it is more preferable (the national cultural centres function, the press, radio- and television programs, clubs, a language course and schools, are held folklore festivals, other forums of ethnic culture etc.), than in Russia (the Belarusian activity on Smolenshchyna, Tvershchyna, Bryanshchyna and has not revived).

But also here not all so is simple. Not so long ago, for example, the Lithuanian government on the basis of the disagreement with character of elections in Belarus' has forbidden translation in territory of Lithuania (and accordingly – Belarusian-ethnic Vilenshchyna) transfers of the Belarus' TV (and accordingly – Belarusian-ethnic Vilenshchyna) in territory of Lithuania [2, p. 6–8).

The told was reflected in a *science* as well – in the ethnography, folkloristics (folklore studies), *ethnomusicology*. The linguistic factor – a live dialect of native rural population – has actually appeared to be ignored, especially thanks to used almost as the law the J.Bromlej's thesis according to which *not language and culture*, but *consciousness of the person* is the mainframe factor in definition of national (including ethnic) *identity* [4]. And today in scientific researches and at folklore festivals the *Belarusian ethnic marginalias* – not diaspora but *historically established groups* living on their *native ethnic* territories *outside of their national state*, in this case Republic of Belarus' [18], [19], – are marked at best as special *Western* ethnographic group of Russian people [23], [24], [28], or as «the Western East-Slavic traditions» [24, p. 178].

Accordingly the *genres of their lands folklore* are treated as a part of common Russian cultural heritage, the texts in collected songs are published in Russian transliteration, very frequently with essential deformation of their phonetics [34], [23], [28]. In certain cases it is however pointed out on so-called «Belarus' influence», specified how it is necessary to say this or that word, an ending, a consonant, a vowel («...it is necessary to remember that on Smolenshchyna all unaccented “o” are sung as “a”, and unaccented “e” as “ya”, the firm verbal endings are softened» [23, p. 3]. The similarity of a sound «g» in local dialects with... a Ukrainian language pronouncing «h» is noted, etc. In this sense the preface to the collected Smolensk songs by V.I.Kharkov is seemed to be more delicate and for that time courageous [36].

How similar editions essentially yield to the works of their predecessors and those few contemporaries who objectively, without ideological corrections or linguistic «lack of hearing» reproduce the most subtle shades of a traditional dialect and melodic type [8], [20], [42]!..

The efforts of Polish institutes which direct the expeditions to Latgalija and Vilenshchyna in order to find there Polish folklore archaic forms are seemed to be so purposeful.

The *researches of the traditional musical instruments* and *traditional instrumental music* of the Belarusian *marginalias* of Smolenshchyna, western Tvershchyna, southern Pskovshchyna [26], [27], northeast Belostochchyna [13], [17], Vilenshchyna [32], more intensive during the last 15–20 years, have created a powerful barrier to the specified tendencies, all the more the instrumental music in much smaller degree than the arts connected with a word, is subject to ideological influences and can keep *the most ancient layers of ethnic culture* at mutations of national consciousness and even at certain destruction of system of verbal communication [15], [17].

And it is clear. While there is a requirement of an execution of the signal, so-called entrapping (that is an imitation of the sounds of animals in order to attract them) or ritual folk-tunes by hunters and shepherds, the sound world of a traditional labour and ritual instrumentalism remains *autonomous*, independent of any integrations or adaptations. And the system of the hunters' and shepherds' signals and also a *material* (grass, bark, tree trunk) of which the instruments (the pipes, penny whistles, small horns, etc.) are made, – they are stable until the surrounding nature and hence the *tune, rhythm, melodic type* of the *musical-communicative messages* and the entrapping imitations connected with singing of birds and shouts of animals in neighbouring woods has not radically changed [15].

To a certain extent the *dance music* less depends on a word, language, ideology too, even in comparison with a *traditional song*. Though there is plentiful field for new forms, fashionable trends, loans, the last, however, expanding a circle of musical realities, do not destroy at all the already existing. Brought to Belarus' during an epoch of active West European interactions between Great Lithuanian principedom and Rzecz Pospolita by the Jews and the Gypsies widely settled on to these lands (the last actively played music not only in the democratic environment around small towns [22, p. 56], but even served as court musicians at great magnates – Sapegas and Radzivils [1, p. 230]) the *cymbals* have not replaced traditional shepherd's sound instruments, have not disappeared under the impact of later influences, but, moreover, – have become the *ethnic representative phenomenon* of the Belarusian culture. If the surrounding nature, the acoustic environment and tradition of the existence of music are stable, the most important spheres of music keep their ethnic originality.

What do we observe on north-east marginalias, whether the traditional instrumentalism agree with the treatment of these territories as West-Russian outlying districts?

The instruments, musical genres and forms – both the most ancient, archaic and appeared throughout last several centuries, – are *distinctly connected* with the *Belarus culture* and in common space of the North- and East-Belarusian ethnic traditions [26, p. 3], [27]. And at the same time – they *essentially differ* from *traditional Russian instrumentalism* even on the nearby, *neighbouring lands*: on the east – Smolenshchyna, on the north – Pskovshchyna.

Among shepherd's instruments of Nevel-Sebezh area – a long embouchure *trumpet*, characteristic for all historical Belarus/, having the Lithuanian and Ukrainian analogues (*trembita*, Polissia *surma*, *daudytė*), but different from its shorter versions in Great Russian territories. At the same time a typical small shepherd's horn (*zhaleyka*) of Western Tvershchyna with a II-shaped uvula notched on the very body of the instrument and three finger-board neck holes covered with fingers of both hands, is widespread both in all Belarusian regions [21] and with many other nations in which *ethnogenesis* the essential place, along with Balts, belongs to a Finno-Ugric substratum (including Lithuanians, Latvians, Russians, not to mention Karelians, Vepsians and other Baltic Finns) [15]. Here we can meet characteristic East Belarusian *twin flutes* with non-fastened tubes – *dvojchatki, dudki* etc., which territory of distribution does not advance to the east beyond Smolenshchyna. Similarly, as a trace of Balts substratum in an ethnic history of Belarusians, the improvisations on several natural embouchure *trumpets* of different size and, accordingly, height of the basic tone are fixed with Belarusians of north-east Belostochchyna. Parallels to these trumpets are found in Lithuanian Aukštaitija [45, p. 36–70], but in the Ukrainian and Polish traditions of south-east and western Belostochchyna the similar phenomenon does not meet [13], [43].

On the Nevel'-Smolensk lands it is widespread some kind of a *national symbol* of the Belarusian musical tradition – that is *manual small cymbals*, a north-east limit of distribution of which accurately coincides with 1st Rzecz Pospolita's borders. And a character of disappearance of a violin in national tradition – gradual, in process of advancement on the north-east of Pskovshchyna, and sudden – on the east from Dorogobuzh and Bryansk – corresponds in first case to smoothness of transition of the Belarusian dialects to Great Russian ones on the north and east from Nevel/ and Sebezh to Velikie Luki and Pskov and in the second case – corresponds to sharp border between zones of the named dialects, dividing Western and Eastern Smolenshchyna [14, p. 312; p. 317], [9], [40], [54].

Contemporary expeditionary researches in the area of music are well coordinated with the documentation of the songs made in the end of XIXth century on Smolenshchyna by V. Dobrovolsky and L. Kuba. The songs were defined by scientists as characteristic Belarus' ones [8], [12], [31], [33], [37], [42]. Knowing perfectly well and directly investigating music of many other Slavic people (Czech, Ukrainian, Serbolugitian

etc.) L. Kuba fixed characteristic Belarusian phonemes in the notation of the Smolensk material in details, and all song tradition of Western Smolenshchyna in the inter-Slavic musical-ethnographic context treated as typically **Belarusian** phenomenon.

In Nevel-Usviaty Paazerye it is widespread and rather characteristic for all ethnic tradition of northern Belarus' so-called «Nadzialiany» – a genre connected with a ritual of a giving presents to bridegroom or fiancée («nadziel» = a parting gift), in the form of linear polyphony of freely articulated wedding crying (usually of tirade structure) against a background of a rhythmically distinct instrumental composition with typical dancing or martial metre.

Here there were frequent and have well remained in memory «Valachobnyja» – ritual songs – folk-tunes of men-*valachobniki* during the Easter rounds of peasant homesteads. The *valachobnyja* songs as a special musical genre (a heritage of the New Year in spring) does represent a characteristic phenomenon of the Belarusian culture. Besides that. On north-east Belarusian marginalias the Valachobnyja songs are as a rule executed with a heterophonic accompaniment of the instruments – fiddles/violins, concertina/harmonics. And even – in a pure instrumental version.

In the marginalian lands (including north-east Belostochchyna) as before all along Belarus' and *never* in Russian ritual practice, both the winter *kaliadas* (in the Christmas period), and the songs of the participants of summer roundabout processions (in a circle of reaping songs) were executed to the instrumental folk tunes. Vocal-instrumental and purely instrumental versions of traditional ceremonial and wedding ritual songs are basically the typical phenomena both as for named marginalian and for metropolitan traditions of Belarus and further – on the West and the South: in Ukraine, Poland, Lithuania, but in no way in Russia where similar genres of folklore, for example, *koliadkas* and wedding songs (reaping ones are known only in Smolenshchyna), even if take place are essentially executed a capelle, without instrumental accompaniment.

It is represented to be typically Belarusian (perhaps along with Ukrainian, Lithuanian, Polish, but in no way with Russian ones) structures of wedding chapels with such basic instruments: a fiddle/violin, cymbals, a tambourine (*buben*) or a big drum with a plate, together with various additions (pipe – *dudka* or flute-piccolo, *harmonic*, *bayan*, accordion, clarinet, mandolin, *balalaika* etc.). The clear functional division of ensemble parties is following: 1) leading one (a melody and a conducting of a form); 2) auxiliary (echoing, virtuosely-decorating, harmonious or heterofonic-alternative); 3) bass-metric – hence it is a designation of such ensembles as «traista muzyka» (i.e. the trebled music) – irrespective of absolute number of musicians playing in a chapel (from 2 to 10 and more) [16].

It is the dominating, among dancing genres, position of a *polka* (both a tune and a dance) that makes related Belarusians (in the marginalian lands and in mother country) with their western neighbours. And it is the *polka* that possesses the greatest number of intragenre variants. Typically Belarusian phenomenon actually is «Liavonikha» (or «Kamarinsky») – the dancing instrumental (sometimes together with short songs) composition with a double 6-beats measure [(1+1+1+1+1) x 2]. Its borders of distribution, both to the West and to the East, are expressive enough («Kamarinskaya» by M.Glinka – quite in this circle: the first orientations to the music of Western Smolenshchyna, its traditional rural chapels, participation in the work of serf orchestras in this region and corresponding composer's impressions on the music of «the small native land» – are obvious).

The musical tradition unites north-east Belarusian marginalian lands not only with the direct western and southern neighbours in Vicebsk and Mahiliov regions of Belarus', but with north-west Belarusian ethnic territories beyond the Belarus-Lithuania, Belarus'-Poland, Belarus'-Latvia borders as well – that is in Dvinshchyna-Latgalia, Vilenshchyna, Belostochchyna, which the musical tradition unites in **common ethno-cultural area** – the **North Belarusian ethnic tradition**.

Certainly, during those or other times in different border zones the local ethnic culture certainly experienced and experiences those or other intercultural influences from their neighbours and originating from the centres of the state mother countries, which affected on a loan of certain genres, instruments, performing technique, and on a specificity of style of corresponding new musical formations. They, naturally, are diverse in different marginalian groups. Just as in north-east Belostochchyna and Vilenshchyna (however – as well as in Haradzienshchyna and Western Vicebskshchyna) along with a pine pipe, a violin, cymbals (known today even among Belarusians of Latgalia), *traista muzyka*, Valachobnyja, Liavonikha, the Polka, etc. it is easy to meet rather popular in traditional environment *Oberek*, and in marginalias of southern Pskovshchyna and Western Smolenshchyna (as well as in Mahiliovshchyna, East Vicebskshchyna, and even in all Belarus') – it is easy to meet various *chastooshkas* (including «Barynia» / The mistress = «Russkogo» / Of Russian). But here and there all is played in Belarusian style. And even if singers do not adapt corresponding song texts and sing them in Polish or in Russian, obviously expressed Belarusian accent in their pronouncing (with characteristic «sh'», «zh'», «c'», «dz'», «ya» instead of «s», «z», «t'», «d'», «e», characteristic «a» instead of «o»), fricative «r»/«h» etc.) give away an ethnic origin of executors.

We observe the similar phenomena in other Belarusian ethnic territories outside the mother country as well – in already mentioned ones and in central-western Bryanshchyna (Russia) and north-east Chernihivshchyna (Ukraine) though the instrumental traditions of the last for the present might appear more full only in future researche.

Distinct ethnic-historical identification is shown as well in traditional musical culture of Catholics of Belostochchyna possessing the Polish consciousness. It is shown in culture both of those who kept in common life their dialect and songs in native language (in north-east region), and of those who were entirely polonized as regards their language, representing so-called *Polish* Western Belostochchyna on the ethnographic map. The instruments, genres and forms of instrumental music in its northern region are in a common context of all northern Belostochchina and, wider, of the *Belarusian* ethnic culture [17].

Late enough period of polonization of the native population of Western Belostochchyna proves to be true by rather distinct local opposition of that native population to the Mazurs, by the presence of bilingual versions of some ceremonial songs, in particular reaping and Valachobnyja (and the Polish texts are presented in literary form, instead of in dialect one); at last, quite clear memoirs of the most senior generation about their childhood when it was still spoken «in a simple way», and at school the teachers corrected: «It is necessary to speak not *try*, but *trzy*, not *treba*, but *trzeba*», etc. [17, p. 347].

A bit different situation develops in **compact diasporas**. In their instrumentalism the phenomena of later origin remain often better than artifacts of the most ancient art, especially when they are closely connected with surrounding nature and traditional forms of its functioning. It concerns both diasporas in the other national powers, and the small ethnographic groups living in limits of their country, but found themselves out of their historical territory.

And what's about consciousness, national *self-determination, ethnic identity*? It's a curious fact, but many of the groups of the immigrants living today in the conditions of diaspora (especially, compact one) keep (or revive) even better than their fellows in marginalian lands and even, at times, in actively assimilating mother countries the ethnic consciousness, and their traditions and culture.

At times they are shown themselves separately. From representatives of the senior generation of Smolensk natives in St.Petersburg and Kareliya you will often hear today: «I am from Belarus', from Smolenshchyna», but they remember only single words, expressions, proverbs, genre stories as displays of the already half-forgotten dialect of native places. And in Mogiliovshchyna when it is believed that a new family will be happy if a wedding ceremony passes following all the rules, «as it was once», invite traditional singers and musicians from the neighbouring Smolensk villages: it is evident that the local customs, archaic ritual songs and music of the Belarusian wedding there were kept better.

The *combination* of the named factors of ethnic identity takes place too. The groups of natives of the East Belarus (including Mahiliovshchyna) who have left their lands because of hunger in the 20th-beginning of the 30th years of XX century and lodged at the Black Sea coast of Khersonshchyna (Southern Ukraine), – they and even 2-3 generations of their children and the grandsons, born already on the new lands, know very well and underline to everybody that they are from Belarus'. They remember and sing traditional songs, dances, folk tunes of their historical native land [30] and as it was told to us during expedition in summer of 1990 by the inhabitant of the Novorossiysk village of Alekseevka region of the Kherson region Arina Mikitauna Alekseenko, «svoj razhavor nikoli ne zabyvajuc'» («they never forget their own native words»).

Presence of the ethnic-differentiating facts of traditional culture quite often causes in representatives of the assimilated populations necessity to reflect. The Catholics as well as the Orthodox of the north-east Belostochchyna if do not realize but quite feel that differ from ethnic Poles, and they would prefer that at school their children are trained not only in Polish, but also «pa-prostamu» – «in a simple way», i.e. in a native language [17, p. 347]. The ethnic consciousness of the Catholics of Haradzienshchyna and Vilenshchyna revives too, many of them make active an aspiration of their children to be trained in Belarusian language (in Vilnius the Belarusian grammar school operates again).

Ethnic revival through traditional, essentially original, local culture, alas, faces cardinally opposite and destructive for folklore aspirations to integration, taking place in activity of the *national cultural and political organizations*. Active distribution in different ethnographic collectives of certain general songs (and as a matter of fact, occurring from another region, or being specially created by professional or amateur authors without knowing local tradition) for the purpose of their joint execution at numerous festivals and holidays often *deforms* the local specificity of both the folklore group itself and the environment generating its creativity which develops, accepts all the new according to its immanent laws.

Whether socialization of traditional culture in a modern society will revive its ethnic identification, or the mutation of the last will destroy ethnic culture, will show the future. The research data, however, are urged objectively and precisely to establish their historical past, to promote its more justified *scientific interpretation*.

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**ЗАСВАЕННЕ БЕЛАРУСКІХ
НАРОДНЫХ АЭРАФОНАЎ
ЯК ПЕРСПЕКТЫЎНЫ НАПРАМАК
ПАДРЫХОЎКІ ВЫКАНАЎЦАЎ-
ІНСТРУМЕНТАЛІСТАЎ ДУХАВЫХ
АНСАМБЛЯЎ І АРКЕСТРАЎ**

Aleksander Korotsev

**DEVELOPMENT OF BELARUSIAN
TRADITIONAL AIRPHONES
AS A PERSPECTIVE
DIRECTION OF TRAINING
OF INSTRUMENTALS
FOR WIND BANDS
AND ENSEMBLES**

Аўтар артыкула разглядае значнасць народных духавых музычных інструментаў у кантэкście беларускай і сусветнай мастацкай культуры. На яго думку, гэтыя прылады павінны стаць не толькі аб'ектам грунтоўных навуковых штудый, але і актыўна папулярывавацца з мэтай ўключэння іх у сучасную выканальніцкую практыку як у сферы прафесійнай музыкі, так і ў аматарскай творчасці. Засваенне выканаўцамі на сучасных аркестравых і ансамблевых духавых і ўдарных інструментах дадаткова яшчэ і іх беларускіх аналагаў з'яўляецца, на думку аўтара, перспектыўным рэзервам і напрамкам развіцця як духавога мастацтва, так і нацыянальнай культуры ўцалкам.

In the article, the author examines the significance of folk wind and percussion musical instruments in the context of Belarusian and world art culture. According to the author, these instruments should not only be the object of thorough scientific research, but also actively popularized with the aim of including them in performing practice both in the field of professional musical performance and loving folk art. Mastering on modern orchestral and ensemble wind and percussion instruments, in addition, the Belarusian national folk wind and percussion instruments is, according to the author, a promising reserve and direction for the development of wind art and the national culture as a whole.

Гісторыя з'яўлення і эвалюцыі народнага духавога музычнага інструментарыя налічвае ўжо больш за 80 000 гг. [27] і, дзякуючы яго вырабу, рэканструкцыі, мадыфікацыі, ён працягвае радаваць прыхільнікаў традыцыйнай культуры і музыкі. Сёння