

**MUSICAL COMPONENT IN THE “RITES OF PASSAGE” OF HUTSUL FAMILY CYCLE:
ON MEANS AND FORMS OF “BEING MODUSES” IMPLEMENTATION
IN THE TRADITIONAL CULTURE**

The purpose of the article deals with the music component of two significant “rites of passage” in Hutsul tradition – funeral and wedding rituals. It also studies the music performers’ role in these two ritual drama as well as genre system of their musical repertoire. Research **methodology** is based on the systematic comparison of two musical and ethnographic phenomena. It also involves generalizing approach in discovering available published and archive materials as well as transcriptional and analytical methods in describing the data recorded during the author’s personal fieldwork. The **scientific novelty** lies in revealing the system of music functioning in the Hutsul “rites of passage” of family cycle, namely its role, time and purpose of performing, as well as musical genres and forms performed. The novelty is also demonstrated in dealing with the “funeral rite issues”, which have not received significant attention in many areas of research including musical culture. The main **conclusions** of study are as follows: music plays a very important role in both wedding and funeral rites; in both rites the performers are regular participants and play the role of “spokespersons” and “means of mediation” during the main participants’ passage from one state of being to the other. Musical repertoire of two ritual drama consists of both vocal and instrumental music, which makes them similar, but at the same time they are different due to the heterogeneity of genre cycles and emphasis on some particular genre or genres.

Key words: Hutsul tradition; family rites; ritual drama; funeral and wedding music; lamenting (“*prykazuvanie*”), *floyera* and *trembita* playing.

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Музична складова “обрядів переходу” гуцульського родинного циклу: до питання про засоби та форми втілення модусів буття в традиційній культурі

Мета роботи. У статті розглянуто музичний компонент двох “обрядів переходу” гуцульської традиції – похоронного та весільного ритуалів. У статті також проаналізовано роль виконавців музики у двох обрядових драмах, а також жанрову систему їхнього музичного репертуару. У **методології** дослідження використано системний підхід у вивченні двох музично-етнографічних явищ. У статті загалом наочно друкують та архівні матеріали, а також застосовано транскрипційний та аналітичний методи для вивчення та опису даних, здобутих під час особистої експедиції авторки дослідження. **Наукова новизна** полягає у висвітленні цілісної системи функціонування музики у гуцульських “обрядів переходу” родинного циклу, а саме ролі музичного компонента, місця/часу, мети виконання певних музичних жанрів та форм, а також у визначенні долі спорідненості музичного компонента двох обрядових драм. Новизна стосується й самого звернення до “похоронної проблематики” – явища молододслідженого у різних наукових сферах, у тім числі й музично-культурологічній. **Висновки.** Музика відіграє важливу роль як у весільному, так і похоронному обряді; її виконавці є постійними учасниками двох обрядових драм і виконують функцію “передавачів” та “посередників” у процесі переходу головних учасників обрядів з одного в інший стан буття. Музичний репертуар двох обрядових драм складається з вокальної та інструментальної музики, що робить їх подібними, та, водночас, відмінною у них є внутрішня організація музичного репертуару, а саме неповнність жанрових циклів.

Ключові слова: гуцульська традиція; обряди родинного циклу; обрядова драма; похоронна та весільна музика; голосіння (“*приказувань*”); награвання на флюєри “в тугу”; трембітання.

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Музыкальная составная “ритуалов перехода” гуцульского семейного цикла: к вопросу о средствах и формах воплощения модусов бытия в традиционной культуре

Цель работы. В статье рассмотрен музыкальный компонент двух “обрядов перехода” гуцульской традиции – похоронного и свадебного ритуалов. В статье также проанализирована роль исполнителей музыки в двух обрядовых драмах, а также жанровая система их музыкального репертуара. В **методологии** исследования использовано системный подход для изучения двух музыкально-этнографических явлений. В статье обобщенно имеющиеся опубликованные и архивные материалы, а также применено транскрипционный и аналитический методы для изучения и описания данных, записанных автором исследования во время лично проведенной экспедиции. **Научная новизна** состоит в рассмотрении целостной системы функционирования музыки в гуцульских “обрядов перехода” семейного цикла, а именно роли музыкального компонента, места/время, цели исполнения определенных музыкальных жанров и форм, а также в определении уровня родства музыкального компонента двух обрядовых драм. Новизна касается и обращения к “похоронной проблематике” – явления малоисследованного в разных научных сферах, в том числе и музыкально-культурологической. **Выводы.** Музыка играет важнейшую роль как в свадебном, так и похоронном обряде; ее исполнители являются постоянными участниками двух обрядовых драм и исполняют функцию “трансляторов” и “посредников” в процессе перехода главных участников об-

рядов с одного в другой состояния бытия. Музыкальный репертуар двух обрядовых драм состоит из вокальной и инструментальной музыки, что делает их похожими, но, в то же время, отличаются драмы внутренней организацией музыкального репертуара, а именно наполненностью жанровых циклов.

Ключевые слова: гуцульская традиция; обряды семейного цикла; ритуальная драма; похоронная и свадебная музыка; причитание (“*прыказуване*”); наигрывание на флое “в тоску”; наигрывание на трембите.

Relevance of the research (Introduction). In the era of globalization and modernization of the society, amid total transformation or even disappearance of traditional culture, it is extremely important to study, and by doing so at least preserve, some of its fundamental phenomena, which undoubtedly include the “rites of passage” – rituals of the family cycle that accompany the most important stages of a person’s life as an individual and as a member of the society. The choice of Hutsul tradition for the study of abovementioned phenomenon is also not accidental. Hutsul region is rich in production of different unique folk art items as well as spiritual culture phenomena including folklore. Besides the ability of the Hutsuls to transform the simplest handicraft wares into the highly artistic items, one of the most characteristic features of Chornohora inhabitants is remarkable conservatism in their mode of thinking, thereby in most cases the region represents the entire system of certain phenomena’s functioning until now. They include a significant amount of rituals of calendar and family cycle. Not all of them were recorded and studied equally, and even though it may appear strange, some of the main rituals in the spiritual life of Hutsuls did not appear in the focus of research. It applies in particular to the funeral rite, its correlation with other family rituals, and its musical element. No single monograph has been published on this subject matter, all the materials were mostly recorded randomly and hold a modest place in published editions, revealing primarily ethnographic issues [14; 3; 16; 4], some examples of ritual vocal [11, 25-28, 38-41, 46, 51-52, 60, 65-68, 83-87, 105-106, 118, 121, 124-127, 129] and instrumental music performed during this ritual [17; 7]. Thus, the music of funeral rituals remains insufficiently studied.

Purpose of the article. In this research, which is based on some personal fieldwork and archive materials, in particular the recordings made by Lviv ethnomusicologists Lyubomyr Kushlyk and Yuriy Slyvynskiy [1], we aim at revealing the most significant aspects of wedding and funeral rite music in the Hutsul tradition, the element which, in correlation with other components, strengthens certain ritual texts and contexts, and often plays the main role in expressing these emotions, worries and expectations, when verbal and other components are powerless in the critical moments of a person’s life. Taking into consideration these two significant family “rites of passage” in Hutsul tradition, we aim at studying the elements that unite them and consider the extent of such unification. Our objective is also to research the role music and musicians play in both rites and the types of musical forms, in which the Hutsuls reveal their attitude to a person’s life in their special moments – times of passage.

Statement of basic materials. All the Hutsul rites are related to each other. As Ihor Matsiyevsky suggests, “the structural connection between death and birth, funeral and wedding, funeral and calendar cycles can also be seen in traditional views of the Hutsuls on the Sun and the Moon” [7, 34-35]. The unity of these rites, and, thus, their implementation, is really strong. They embody one and the same course of life – the passage from one state to another.

First of all, it should be mentioned that wedding and funeral in Hutsul tradition are very similar in their structure, to be more specific they can be considered long ritual drama performances with inner dramatic development and climatic parts [5; 16; 2, 22-108; 9, 17-25; 12, 26-72].

Like in any drama, there are different “performers” in these rituals, who can be divided into groups based on their functions and level of importance in these rites. Among the essential participants, besides the most important “mute parts” of bride/groom (*kniiaz’/ kniehyنيا*) or the deceased at a funeral and their closest relatives (*cheliad’*), there are special women, who play the same role in both rites: they are “linked” to the “mute” participants and their task is to voice their thoughts and feelings by talking to them and replying for them. At the funeral, such a role is played by specially invited professional lamenters (in some areas it may be women belonging to the family of deceased). At the Hutsul wedding, such function is performed by *svakhy* – women, who are skilled in wedding rituals and usually lead all the ritual scenes.

Even these few observations clearly demonstrate a relation between wedding and funeral drama in Hutsul tradition. This similarity becomes even more apparent, when a deceased is an unmarried person¹.

In case of such interpenetration of the two ritual phenomena it is, nevertheless, essential to uncover the unique features of each of them. We can find those in certain means and forms of implementation of the two ritual drama.

It is known that traditional ritual drama is a phenomenon of synthesis, in which different means coexist, including music, which is an inseparable element of the whole. Nevertheless, every time music will be manifested in different ways: it can appear in various forms, situations, and have a different degree of significance in each specific case.

The role of music.

In wedding drama music sounds in every scene: from the Prologue rituals (such as baking the wedding bread) to the very end of the wedding ritual cycle [12, 27-72]. In funeral drama, as far as it is known, music can be heard in some particular scenes of the drama acts, namely in the Prologue after the moment of

death (scene 2) and in the evening near a deceased ("wake", scene 3), in the main act of the ritual, when they carry out the body of a deceased from the house (scene 1), on the way to cemetery (scene 2), and when they put the body into the grave (scene 3). In the final act of the funeral music could be heard when covering the grave and at the funeral feast. Eventually, music "for deceased" sounds during the Epilogue phase, which lasts for the whole year after the burial: on Christmas in the form of carols and on a Saturday of "ecumenical" commemoration (*zadushna subota*) at the cemetery.

Therefore, we may say that wedding music runs in the whole drama structure, commenting on its every act. Funeral music, on the contrary, exists in the form of some sort symbolic leitmotifs, which are superimposed on action in a certain moment of the ritual composition.

Performers.

There is no unified answer to the question "who performs music" during both wedding and funeral.

On the one hand, at both a wedding and a funeral there are traditional professional musicians: usually they are specifically invited from outside of the main participants' family (wedding) or relatives and those, who belong to the family of a deceased (*svoyaky*), in case of funeral ritual. Performers' special training for these ritual occasions is a common feature for both rites. Also, the undeniable similarity in both cases is that the musicians stay during all the ritual acts and take part in their climax scenes.

On the other hand, there is an obvious difference between them. First of all, it lies in the type of performer cast – solo or ensemble performing that definitely has a strong influence on the music itself.

Thus, the ensemble type of performing is inherent for the wedding music, both instrumental (*kapela* or "*velyka muzyka*" – "large music"² and vocal ("choir" of *svakhy*). At the funeral, on the contrary, the preference is on the side of solo performing: lamenting ("*prykazuvanie*"), *floyara* and *trembita* playing (*nahravannia na floyeri, trembitannia*).

Genre system

The repertoire itself, which the professional musicians perform at wedding and funeral, on the one hand reveals some similarity and on the other hand is absolutely different.

The similarity of both rites' musical component is, so to say, external. It lays in the kinds of musical means: the repertoire includes both vocal and instrumental music that is significant for the pastoral culture, which represents the Hutsuls.

In its turn, the difference of musical component between two Hutsul family rites lies primarily in internal organization of vocal and instrumental repertoire, i.e. genre system.

Every genre has its "weight" in a rite and exists to convey a particular situation. Thus, multifarious characteristics of a ritual drama should be implemented through different ways of expression, i.e. genres.

In this case, in view of the similarities of the two Hutsul family rites discussed above, the same common features should be traced in their musical repertoire organization. Instead, the situation here is somewhat different.

In the genre system of wedding drama two of the three main genres (recitative (epic), cantilena (lyrical), and dance (dramatic) [6, 6] can be found, namely 1) cantilena – as a basis for different kinds of ritual singing – *ladkanka* accompanied by a violin, numerous wedding songs, and also different *spivanky*; 2) dance genre, which refers to both instrumental and vocal repertoire. As we can see, there is no third genre – the recitative – to fill the entire genre system³.

In the funeral rite, alternatively, practically all the musical repertoire is represented by recitative genre in both vocal and instrumental music. Existence and realization of two other genres in the context of Hutsul funeral rituals remains unclear until now and requires a separate further study.

One of such issues which raise questions in the Hutsul funeral repertoire is the cantilena genre. There are no recorded folk funeral songs up till now, as opposed to the numerous samples of the wedding cantilena repertoire – *spivanky*. There are no records neither in published sources nor in the evidence given by informants about the authentic funeral song repertoire performed in Hutsul region.

However, there could be other interpreters of the cantilena genre in the funeral rite, those who belonged to a different tradition. For instance, there are some statements of informants about a deacon singing at a traditional funeral. One of them says, "If a deacon is paid well he sings both funeral and catechistical songs. If the payment is poor he doesn't want to sing and says that "singing for free leads to a sore throat". Nobody from our people sings because they don't know how; there isn't such custom to learn singing, they say it is grimacing [3, 279].

Apparently, songs from deacon's repertoire represented an ecclesiastical tradition. The lyrics of these songs had didactic meaning, the other characteristics were as follows: strophic composition (structure), clear metrical rhythm, and major-minor tonal system⁴.

Yet, other performers of the similar repertoire in Hutsul region could be "the most consistent providers of Christian ideology among folk musicians-instrumentalists" [8, 9] – *lirnyky* – *lira*⁵ players, who lived in Hutsul region. They were often invited to weddings, funerals, and other social events.

The same uncertainty concerns the dance-music genre in Hutsul traditional funeral rite as well.

On the one hand, we can confirm that dance music existed in the traditional Hutsul funeral rite. There are at least several statements by different researchers on this subject matter, i. e. by V. Hnatiuk, I. Matsiyevskiy, M. Patchovskiy, L. Saban, M. Tymofiyiv among other. From their statements we can under-

stand that dance music was played during several different situations of the funeral cycle: 1) In the evening during wake – “*Posyzhinie*” near the deceased in their house, most likely accompanying the games at the “*Hrushka*”, which is a peculiar inner drama action performed by young people [3, 265-277; 14, 243-247; 4, 353; 15, 300]; 2) at the “*Pokomashyny*” (a funeral feast), as evidenced by V. Hnatiuk in his description of funeral rite from Kosiv area: “After returning from cemetery, people eat, drink, and previously they used to dance, maybe they do it somewhere nowadays as well” [3, 285] or “After a deceased was buried, people returned from the cemetery, started another wake, which was much more joyful – very similar to the wedding. Sometimes they did *khovorody* [circle dances] and *d a n c e s* (in the mountainous area) – like a real festivity of Homeric Greeks” [10, 20, 21]; 3) on the New Year’s Eve, when musicians played ‘to the dance’ for the deceased in the house, where they lived during the year [7, 34]; 4) on a Saturday of “ecumenical” commemoration (*zadushna subota*), when passersby old men, when getting something from people, who came to the cemetery, danced on the graves and clapped their hands [13, 211].

On the other hand, we cannot say what kind of dance music it was. Unfortunately, none of the researchers gives definitions for any kind of dance funeral music besides just mentioning the existing dance music genre at the Hutsul funeral.

There is only one description by Ihor Matsiyevskiy about music at “*Hrushka*”, “In the sense of musical composition level “*Hrushka*” is not an independent phenomenon. It totally corresponds with the main musical composition or a system of compositions, which is characterized by the same functional and structural type of music played near the deceased – “*smertevna v tuhu*” [for the mourning]” [7, 33].

Therefore, the dance genre is another issue that needs more answers, which should be based on thorough research and reconstruction.

Scientific novelty. The chosen method of comparative studying of the funeral rite not as a separate phenomenon, but in correlation with other “rite of passage” – wedding ritual drama – enables the research of two phenomena from different perspectives, but at the same time offers a more profound knowledge about the tradition they both belong to. Moreover, it can and should open up new research perspectives not only in musicology, but also in other related disciplines.

Conclusions and Perspectives of Further Research. The main conclusions of the study are as follows: 1) Music plays a very important role in both wedding and funeral rites. 2) The sounding of certain musical compositions during the whole rite (at the wedding) or in the course of its most significant scenes (at the funeral) demonstrates not only the importance of music component itself and its inseparability from the wholeness of ritual drama, but also reveals the importance of performers, who are regular participants in both rites. 3) Music performers are a kind of “spokespersons” for the main participants’ and community’s unspoken thoughts; musicians can also be considered as important ‘means of mediation’ in the process of main participants’ passage from one state of being to the other. 4) Musical repertoire of two ritual drama consists of both vocal and instrumental music, which makes them alike, but at the same time they are different due to heterogeneity of genre cycles and emphasis on some particular genre or genres: cantilena and dance genres in wedding repertoire, and recitative genre in funeral music. Although existence and active functioning of other musical genres with respect to repertoire of the two rites has its manifestations, some of its elements require more attention on the part of researchers.

In general, all the main areas of music-based study with regard for traditional Hutsul “rites of passage” outlined in this article must be further thoroughly researched. First of all, they have to be developed in two fundamental ways: frontally-systematic documentation of all vocal and instrumental music of genre cycles and their profound comparative and analytical interpretations with inclusion, to a maximum extent, of the materials from adjacent historical and ethnographic areas (Boykivshchyna, Pokuttia, Bukovyna, Zakarpattia (Transcarpathia), and also Slavic-Baltic and other neighboring peoples. It will eventually help us to get closer not only to solving many pivotal issues in the studying of traditional music of the ‘rites of passage’ (including little known ritual funeral musical component), but also to the discovery of Hutsul ethnogenesis.

Notes

¹ In this case, wedding rituals overlay with the funeral rite creating a new kind of action – “wedding with the dead” [7, 34].

² Wedding instrumental ensemble, the three main functions of which (melodic, harmonic, and rhythmic) usually involve a violin, *tsymbaly* (hammered dulcimer), and *bubna* (a tambourine). It can also include a *floyara* (end-blown flute) performer too [12, 27].

³ It is possible that this genre was part of ritual wedding repertoire in the past but has been pushed out. Yuriy Slyvynskiy made an interesting comment regarding this assumption: “Besides the word ‘ladkanka’ there is another term in Hutsul region for this ritual wedding singing – “*zavodyny*”, which derives from the word “*zavodyty*” that is “to lament, cry” [12, 73].

⁴ There are songs of similar characteristics in other regions of Ukraine, Lviv region included. These songs are usually performed by elderly women near the body of a deceased the night before burial or sometimes also on the way to cemetery and near the grave immediately after the burial.

⁵ *lira* – the instrument is a Ukrainian version of hurdy-gurdy.

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