

**Russian Orientalism: From Ethnography to Art Song
in Nineteenth-Century Music**

Adalyat Issiyeva

Schulich School of Music
McGill University, Montreal

December 2013

A thesis submitted to McGill University in partial fulfillment of the requirements of the
degree of Ph.D. in Musicology

© Adalyat Issiyeva 2013

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Table of Contents	i
List of Musical Examples.....	vi
List of Tables.....	xii
List of Figures	xiii
Abstract	xiv
Résumé	xv
Acknowledgements	xvi
Note on Dates and Transliteration.....	i
Introduction	1
Context	1
Said and Russian Orientalism.....	9
Literature Review	15
Chapter Outline	23
Contribution.....	27
PART I: CONTEXT.....	30
Chapter 1	31
Unveiling Tradition: Oriental Others in Nineteenth-Century Russian (Folk)Song Collections.....	31
Introduction	31
1. Major Internal Conflicts in Russia During the Nineteenth Century.....	36
2. Oriental Others in Russian Literature and Music	44
Bylinas	44
Historical and Soldier Songs.....	53
Children's Songs.....	60
3. From Discrimination to Integration of Some Others.....	69
Conclusion.....	73
Chapter 2	75
Building Images of the Other: Russian Musical Ethnographies of Intra-Imperial Orientals	75
Introduction	75

1. Russia's Nineteenth-Century Expansion to the South and East and its Policy on Non-Russian Ethnic Groups.....	77
Caucasus	77
Kazakh Steppe and inorodtsy.....	80
Central Asia	82
Colonial Policies in Russian Turkestan	88
2. Popular Russian Literature on Oriental Peoples.....	92
3. The Development of Ethnography in Russia.....	97
4. Oriental Studies in Russia	103
5. Specialized Literature on Russia's Asian Others: Case Studies.....	111
Aleksei Levshin and Russia's Nomads.....	111
Alexander Middendorff and Siberian Others.....	117
Alexander Rittikh and Russia's Others from the Volga-Kama Region...	122
6. Musical Sources and Music Ethnography	130
Early Nineteenth-Century Russian Sources: Aziatskii muzykal'nyi zhurnal [Asian Music Journal].....	130
Late Nineteenth-Century Ethnographies: August Eichhorn and Russia's Newly Acquired Others	136
Conclusion.....	147
PART II: RUSSIA'S OWN ORIENTALISM	148
Chapter 3	149
“You Were Born to be a Spark to Poet's Inspiration”: The Exotic Other in Alexander Aliab'ev and Early Nineteenth-Century Russian Art Song.....	149
1. Historical Context of the Emergency of Russian O/orientalism	149
2. Early-Nineteenth-Century Russian Images of Others	156
Western Images of Others.....	157
Orientalism with a Russian Tone: Decembrist Orientalism	161
3. Alexander Alexandrovich Aliab'ev (1787-1851).....	169
Life and ethnographic experience	169
Aliab'ev's Oriental Art Songs	176
Aliab'ev and Decembrist Orientalism	188

Aliab'ev and Western Clichés	198
Asian Songs	204
4. Alexander Sergeevich Dargomyzhsky (1813-1869)	215
Context.....	215
Belligerent Orient.....	217
Feminized Orient	219
Conclusion.....	227
Chapter 4	229
“I Understood the Soul of These Songs”: Balakirev, the Orient, and the Five	229
1. The Mighty Five and Their Approach to the “Orient”	231
Mili Balakirev	231
Modest Musorgsky and Alexander Borodin	233
Nikolai Rimsky-Korsakov	237
Cesar Cui.....	243
2. Balakirev and his Experience with Oriental/Asian Music	246
Balakirev and the Caucasus	248
Balakirev’s Transcriptions	254
3. The Orient in Balakirev’s Art Songs	259
“Pesnia Selima” [Selim’s Song]	259
“Sosna” [A Pine Tree]	266
“Gruzinskaia Pesnia” [Georgian Song]	269
4. Balakirev’s Late Art songs with an Oriental Subject	283
“Pustynia” [A Desert]	283
“Son” [A Dream]	287
5. Balakirev’s Orient and Beyond	294
Balakirev and Rimsky-Korsakov	298
Balakirev and Musorgsky	303
Conclusion.....	307
PART III: LATE NINETEENTH-CENTURY RUSSIAN ORIENTALISM..	308
Chapter 5	309

“Connected by the ties of blood”: Musical Scales and Instruments in the Quest for the Russian/Asian Identity	309
Introduction	309
Aryanism and Asianism in Russia	314
Part I: Theories Relating Russian and Asian Musical Scales.....	316
Matthieu Guthrie and Rudolph Westphal	316
Petr Petrovich Sokal'skii (1832-1887).....	321
Alexander Famintsyn (1841-1896).....	327
Viacheslav Petr (1848-1923)	339
Part 2: Russian/Asian instruments.....	344
Mikhail Petukhov (1843-1895).....	344
Alexander Famintsyn	350
Alexander Maslov (1877-1914).....	357
Conclusion.....	375
Chapter 6	377
From Oriental Other to Stigmatized Brother: Ethnographic Concerts at the Service of Empire.....	377
Introduction	377
1. The Music-Ethnographic Committee and its First Ethnographic Concert.....	382
Context and Structure	382
Klenovskii's Arrangements	388
Reaction	396
Concert, Politics, and Social Response.....	398
2. Musical Realization of Ethnographic Sources: Alexander Grechaninov's Arrangements of Tatar, Bashkir, and Teptiar' Songs.....	402
Context.....	402
Tatar Song.....	404
Bashkir Song.....	407
Teptiar Song.....	411
“Merging with a Higher Nation”	415
3. Taranchi Songs in <i>Trudy</i> and Their Historical Context.....	417

Context.....	417
History of Russian-Taranchi Relations	419
Why Taranchi?	421
Nikolai Pantusov and His Transcriptions of Taranchi Songs in Trudy ...	425
Glière's and Sakhnovskii's Arrangements of Taranchi Songs	427
4. Ethnographic Concerts: Commercializing the Exotic	442
Conclusion	444
Conclusion.....	446
Appendix A	458
Incomplete List of Folksong Collections Published in the Nineteenth Century	458
Appendix B	460
Programs of the Ethnographic Concerts.....	460
Bibliography.....	479
Primary Sources.....	479
I. Periodicals and Journals:	479
II. Books and articles:	480
III. Scores:.....	489
Secondary sources:	491
Books	491
Articles:.....	507

LIST OF MUSICAL EXAMPLES

Example 1.1 a) “Appeal” from A. Nikulin’s <i>Sbornik pesen</i> ; b) Glinka, “Ne poi, krasavitsa, pri mne,” mm. 1-13	64
Example 1.2 a) Russian folksong “Zemlianichka iagodka” from Abramychiev’s collection, mm. 1-8, b) Gypsy song “Tam za rechkoj” from Abramychiev’s collection	70
Example 1.3 “A Cheremis Song” from Abramychiev’s collection	72
Example 2.1 Two Kyrgyz Songs from A. Levshin’s <i>Opisanie Kirgiz-Kazach’ikh ili Kirgiz-Kaisakskikh ord i stepei</i>	116
Example 2.2 “Persian Song of Fat’h-Ali Shah from Derbent. Ovym Sireli” from <i>Aziatskii muzykal’nyi zhurnal</i>	134
Example 3.1 Aliab’ev, “Cherkesskaia pesnia,” mm. 15-21	179
Example 3.2 Iosif Genishta’s “Circassian Song,” mm. 1-8	181
Example 3.3 Louis W. Maurer, “Tscherkessenlied”	182
Example 3.4 a) Aliab’ev, “Cherkesskaia pesnia” (1843), mm. 16-21; b) Aliab’ev’s transcription of an oriental/Asian folksong	186
Example 3.5 Aliab’ev, “Kabardinskaia pesnia,” mm. 1-16	188
Example 3.6 Ukrainian folksong “Oi, zore, zoren’ko”	193
Example 3.7 Aliab’ev, “Cherkes,” mm. 1-8	195
Example 3.8 Aliab’ev, “Gruzinskaia pesnia,” mm. 1-6	199
Example 3.9 a) Georgian song “Akhal agnago sulo”; b) Georgian song “Akhalo”	201

Example 3.10 a) Aliab'ev, Bashkir Song "Cherez kladku ia proidusia," mm. 1-9; b)	
Bashkir Song "Cherez kladku ia proidusia," mm. 20-23.....	206
Example 3.11 Aliab'ev, Bashkir Song "Mezh granitnymi skalami," mm. 1-7	208
Example 3.12 Rybakov, transcription of Bashkir song "Karai Iurga"	210
Example 3.13 Aliab'ev, Kyrgyz Song "Zachem ia ne gornyi orel molodoi," mm. 1-6 .	211
Example 3.14 Aliab'ev, Turkmen Song "Skazal nash khan bogatyriam pokhod," mm. 1-	
18.....	213
Example 3.15 Dargomyzhsky, "Lezginskaia pesnia," mm. 1-9	218
Example 3.16 Dargomyzhsky, "Vostochnyi romans," mm. 1-9.....	221
Example 3.17 Dargomyzhsky, "Oriental Choir of Hermits" from opera <i>Rogdana</i> , mm. 1-	
4.....	222
Example 3.18 a) Dargomyzhsky, "O deva-roza, ia v okovakh," mm. 1-8; b)	
Dargomyzhsky's transcription of a Turkish tune.....	224
Example 3.19 Dargomyzhsky, "O deva-roza, ia v okovakh," mm. 13-24	226
Example 4.1 a) "Insiraf Grib" from A. Christianowitsch's <i>Esquisse Historique</i> , p. xx,	
mm. 12-20; b) Russian folksong "Podbliudnaia pesnia" known as "Slava!" mm.	
1-6.	236
Example 4.2 a) Rimsky-Korsakov, "Pesnia Ziuleiki," op. 26/4, mm. 1-6; b) Rimsky-	
Korsakov, Liubava's aria from <i>Sadko</i> (Scene III), mm. 1-8.....	239
Example 4.3 Borodin, "Iaroslavna's lament" from <i>Prince Igor</i> (act IV), mm. 1-17.....	242
Example 4.4 Three melodies from Balakirev's letter to Stasov	253
Example 4.5 a) Balakirev, "Pesnia Selima," mm. 29-34; b) Balakirev, "Pesnia Selima,"	
mm. 1-8.....	261

Example 4.6 a) Glinka, opera <i>Ruslan and Liudmila</i> (act III), Ratmir's Aria, mm. 108-112;	
b) Balakirev, "Pesnia Selima," mm. 12-16.	265
Example 4.7 a) Balakirev, "Sosna," mm. 1-18; b) Balakirev, "Sosna," mm. 19-29.	267
Example 4.8 a) Balakirev's transcription of Georgian song "Akh, dilav," m. 1; b)	
Balakirev's "Georgian song," mm. 47-52.....	271
Example 4.9 Balakirev's transcription of Georgian song "Akh, dilav," mm. 9-12	272
Example 4.10 a) Balakirev's transcription of Georgian song "Akh, dilav," mm. 4-7; b)	
Rimsky-Korsakov, <i>Shekherazade</i> (II), mm. 348-351.	272
Example 4.11 a) Balakirev's transcription of Georgian dance "Perkhuli," mm. 1-3; b)	
Balakirev, "Georgian Song," mm. 59-60.....	273
Example 4.12 a) Arakchiev, song no. 16, mm. 1-8; b) Balakirev, "Georgian Song" (piano	
interlude), mm. 1-4	277
Example 4.13 a) Arakchiev, "Kakheti song," mm. 1-7; b) Balakirev, "Georgian Song,"	
mm. 12-15.	278
Example 4.14 a) Arakchiev, "Pluzhnaia," mm. 1-7; b) Balakirev, "Georgian Song," mm.	
23-24.	281
Example 4.15 a) Balakirev's transcription of Caucasian music, no. 25, mm. 10-11; b)	
Balakirev, "Pustynia," mm. 26-29; c) Balakirev's transcription of Caucasian	
music, no. 26, mm. 1-2; d) Balakirev's transcription of Caucasian music, n. 10,	
mm. 13-14.	285
Example 4.16 Balakirev, "Son," mm. 1-12	290
Example 4.17 a) Balakirev, "Son," mm. 19-21; b) Glinka, "Zhavoronok," mm. 14-17	291
Example 4.18 Balakirev, "Son," mm. 27-30	292

Example 4.19 a) Rimsky-Korsakov, “El’ i pal’ma,” m. 23; b) Balakirev’s transcription of Caucasian music, no. 26, mm. 5-8	299
Example 4.20 a) Rimsky-Korsakov, “Plenivshis’ rozoi solovei,” mm. 1-10; Balakirev’s transcription of Georgian song “Akh, dilav,” mm. 19-20.....	301
Example 4.21 Rimsky-Korsakov, “Kak nebesa tvoi vzor prekrasen,” mm. 16-20	302
Example 4.22 a) Balakirev’s transcription of a Georgian dance “Islamei,” mm. 6-7; b) Musorgsky’s “Boevaia pesn’ Liviitsev,” from <i>Salammbô</i> , mm.19-23.....	305
Example 4.23 Musorgsky, “Pesnia Baleartsa,” mm. 6-8.....	306
Example 5.1 Russian folksong “Kak vo gorode tsarevna” cited in Sokal’skii’s <i>Russian and Little Russian Folk Music</i> , mm. 1-12	323
Example 5.2 Little Russian Folksong “Zelenaia moia lishchinon’ka” cited in Sokal’skii’s <i>Russian and Little Russian Folk Music</i> , mm. 1-13	325
Example 5.3 Little Russian Folksong “Oi, po gorakh, po dolinakh” cited in Sokal’skii’s <i>Russian and Little Russian Folk Music</i> , mm. 1-4	325
Example 5.4 Russian Folksong “Eko serdtse” cited in Famintsyn’s <i>Ancient Hindu- Chinese Scale</i> , mm. 1-8	328
Example 5.5 Russian folksong “Shchuchka-rybka” cited in Famintsyn’s <i>Ancient Hindu- Chinese Scale</i> , mm. 1-2	331
Example 5.6 Russian folksong “Ne tesan terem” cited in Famintsyn’s <i>Ancient Hindu- Chinese Scale</i> , mm. 1-4	331
Example 5.7 Two Kyrgyz songs cited in Famintsyn’s <i>Ancient Hindu-Chinese Scale</i> ...	332
Example 6.1 Georgian song “Mertskhali” arranged by Klenovskii, mm. 1-12.....	390

Example 6.2 a) Kyrgyz song “Ai astynda ber dzholduz” transcribed by Pfennig; b)

Kyrgyz Song “Ai astynda ber dzholduz” arranged by Klenovskii, mm. 1-17.... 391

Example 6.3 Sart song “Karalasam kurynda” arranged by Klenovskii, mm. 1-12 ... 395

Example 6.4 Tatar Song no. 2 from *Trudy* arranged by A. Grechaninov 406

Example 6.5 Bashkir Song no. 3 from *Trudy* arranged by A. Grechaninov 410

Example 6.6 Teptiar Song from *Trudy* arranged by A. Greachninov 413

Example 6.7 Taranchi Song “Gozgum” from *Trudy* arranged by Glière 431

Example 6.8 Taranchi Song “Guby tvoi – sakhar, podruzhka” from *Trudy* arranged by

Glière, mm.1-10 435

Example 6.9 A harmonic reduction of Glière’s Taranchi song “Guby tvoi –sakhar,

podruzhka” 435

Example 6.10 Bizet, *Chanson Arabe. Mavritanskaia pesn’*, mm. 1-8 (from *Nuvellist*

LXIII) 436

Example 6.11 Taranchi Song “Bozhestvo – podrug moia” from *Trudy* arranged by

Glière, mm. 1-8 437

Example 6.12 Bashkir song “Mynazhat –obrashchenie k Bogu” from *Trudy* arranged by

Grechaninov, mm. 1-2 437

Example 6.13 Russian song “Ne spasibo te Igumnu” from *Trudy* arranged by Mitrofan

Slavinskii, mm. 1-2 438

Example 6.14 Balakirev, “Ia liubila ego,” mm. 6-8..... 438

Example 6.15 Taranchi Song “Giuli-guncha” from *Trudy* arranged by Sakhnovskii, mm.

1-5 440

Example 6.16 Rimsky-Korsakov, Mizgir's Arioso (act III), from opera *Snegurochka*,

mm. 1-6 440

Example 6.17 Taranchi Song "Giuli-guncha" arranged by Sakhnovskii, mm. 19-22 441

Example 6.18 Anton Rubinshtein, "Nas po odnoi doroge sud'ba s toboi vedet," op. 34,

no. 6, mm. 1-4 441

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1: Aliab'ev's (art-)songs with oriental subject	177
Table 2: List of art songs with oriental/exotic subject composed by the Kuchka members	295

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1: Map of European Russia and the Caucasus before 1855.	2
Figure 2: A Map of the Caucasus, 1855-1887.	4
Figure 3: A Map of Russia's Asia.....	6
Figure 4: A bandurist from Petukhov's <i>Narodnye instrumenty</i>	348
Figure 5: A Caucasian musician playing <i>dongara</i> from Petukhov's <i>Narodnye instrumenty</i>	348
Figure 6: A Buriat woman playing on the three-string <i>domra</i> -like instrument from Famintsyn's <i>Domra</i>	354
Figure 7: A Kyrgyz man playing on the two-string <i>dumbra</i> from Famintsyn's <i>Domra</i> ..	354
Figure 8: A Cossack playing on seven-string bandura from Famintsyn's <i>Domra</i>	355
Figure 9: A blind <i>bandurist</i> from Famintsyn's <i>Domra</i>	355
Figure 10: Central Asian musicians and musical instruments from Maslov's <i>Illiustrirovannoe opisanie</i>	362
Figure 11: A Kyrgyz playing on <i>kobyz</i> from Maslov's <i>Illiustrirovannoe opisanie</i>	364
Figure 12: An ensemble of Little Russian <i>kobzar'</i> players from Maslov's <i>Illiustrirovannoe opisanie</i>	365
Figure 13: Central Asian Musicians from <i>Turkestanskii Al'bom</i>	369
Figure 14: Musicians and Musical Instruments from <i>Turkestanskii Al'bom</i>	370
Figure 15: Ensemble of Central Asian Musicians from <i>Turkestanskii Al'bom</i>	371

ABSTRACT

Russia's ambivalent geo-political and socio-cultural position, as a self-avowed intermediary between the East and the West, shaped its double identity and played an important role in the creation of Russia's own Oriental Other. This dissertation examines the political and cultural resonance of nineteenth-century Russian art songs with oriental or Asian subjects, both within and outside of Edward Said's theoretical construct of "Orientalism." It also addresses how Russian art song composers adapted, transformed and assimilated music drawn from ethnographic sources published during the century. By contextualizing nineteenth-century Russian Orientalism through an analysis of folksong collections, ethnographies, and art songs this study addresses the very formation of the Russian image of Otherness in conjunction with the construction of a specifically Russian national and musical identity. Drawing on an extensive yet under-analyzed and under-theorized repertoire of Russian folk and art songs with oriental subjects, as well as a host of writings by Russian literati, travelers, ethnographers, and ordinary individuals about the music and culture of Russian oriental minorities, this dissertation reveals the changing nature of the theory, practice, and creation of nineteenth-century Russian music with oriental subjects, as well as the diverse and often contradictory representations of oriental Others and the extraordinary complexity of the colonizer-colonized relationship in Russia.

RESUME

La position géopolitique et socioculturelle ambivalente de la Russie, en tant qu'intermédiaire autoproclamé entre l'orient et l'occident, a formé sa double identité et cela a joué un rôle important dans la création de son propre Autre Oriental. Cette thèse examine l'influence politique et culturelle de plusieurs mélodies russes du dix-neuvième siècle ayant des sujets orientaux ou asiatiques, à la fois à l'intérieur comme à l'extérieur du contexte « d'orientalisme » d'Edward Said. Elle analyse également la manière dont les compositeurs de mélodies russes ont adapté, transformé et assimilé la musique provenant de sources infographiques publiées tout au long du siècle. En contextualisant l'Orientalisme du dix-neuvième siècle à l'aide d'analyses de collections de chansons folkloriques, d'ethnographies, et mélodies russes, cette étude s'intéresse à la formation même de l'image russe de l'Autre conjointement à l'édification d'une identité nationale et musicale spécifiquement russe. Basée sur un répertoire abondant – bien que peu analysé et théorisé – de mélodies russes ayant des sujets orientaux, de même que plusieurs écrits d'érudits, de voyageurs, d'individus ordinaires et d'ethnographes russes à propos de la musique et de la culture des minorités orientales russes, cette thèse met en lumière la nature changeante de la théorie, la pratique et la création de la musique russe du dix-neuvième siècle ayant des sujets orientaux, de même que les représentations variées et souvent contradictoires de l'Autre oriental et l'extraordinaire complexité de la relation colonisateur-colonisé en Russie.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to express my profound gratitude to my supervisor, Steven Huebner, who selflessly offered his time, effort, and financial resources for everything from conference presentations, proposals, and abstracts to this dissertation. I also would like to thank Lars Lih, my second reader, for his insightful comments and suggestions concerning the representation of Russian history as well as for helping me to render properly all the intricacies of Russian-English translation. I also wish to thank other McGill professors: Julie Cumming, my former Master's advisor, who enthusiastically supported this research from the very first moment and encouraged me to pursue a PhD program at McGill; Roe-Min Kok, whose two seminars "East Meets West" and "Intellectual History of Ethnomusicology" inspired my research on Alexander Aliab'ev (reflected in Chapter Three) and on Russian music ethnography (Chapter Two); Paul Austin from Slavic Department, who guided me to and through the Slavonic Library in Helsinki (now called the National Library of Finland); and Monique Desroches whose seminar "Methodes de terrains" changed my perspective on Western ethnomusicology and stimulated me to do research on the history of Russian ethnomusicology.

A number of scholars have provided me with helpful insights for different chapters of my research. Professor David Schimmelpenninck van der Oye offered generous comments on my Chapter Five; Michael Beckerman read an earlier draft of my Chapter Four and with his insightful comments helped me to develop some of my arguments; Richard Taruskin, whose enthusiastic response and friendly critique to my presentations at the AMS annual meetings drove me to embark on more meticulous

research in my Chapters Three and Five; Richard Stites read an earlier version of my Chapter Three and left many encouraging comments; Nathaniel Knight, with whom we exchanged many fruitful ideas about Russian nineteenth-century ethnography.

I am infinitely grateful to my McGill friends and colleagues Colette Simonot, Kimberly White, and Dana Gorzelany-Mostak for their help in proofreading my non-native English and giving me excellent and constructive advice on the language as well as to Michel Vallières for turning my Abstract into Résumé. I am indebted to computer wizards Preston Beebe for his patience in helping me to complete my musical examples in Finale and to Meghan Goodchild for helping me with formatting this document. Special thanks to my dear friends in Moscow, Helsinki, Montreal, and US – Evgeniia Zorina, Larisa Zmeevskiaia (who sadly passed away recently), Grigorii Fedorenko, Irina Kandinskaia, Zhanna Vilpponen (Zhantureeva), Rashed Chowdhury, Daine Fereig, Jane Hatter, Alexis Luko, Jill Smith, Inna Mattei, Abir Alsayed, and Marguerite Strand, who offered me their unwavering support and always provided encouragement and inspiration.

The research was conducted in Moscow, Almaty, and Helsinki with the generous support of the Social Sciences and Human Research Council and Fonds de recherche sur la société et la culture. McGill Schulich School of Music Fellowship helped me at the final stage of writing my dissertation.

The maps and some musical examples found in Chapters One, Three, and Four are reprinted with a kind permission from Anthem Press (London), Oxford University Press (UK), and Russian publishing house “Muzyka.”

I would like to make a special mention of people who guided me in library research and thank them for their assistance in finding the most valuable information in piles of books, periodicals, and microfilms: Cynthia Leive, David Curtis, and Andrew Senior from McGill University Music Library, Irina Lukka from the Slavonic Library of Helsinki University, and Emilia Rassina from the Moscow State Conservatoire. Without the hospitality of other libraries this research could not have been completed. These include: Russian State Library (“Leninka”), Russian State Public Historical Library (“Publichka”), the Kazakh State Library of the Academy of Science, the New York Public Library, the Library of Congress, the Robarts Library of Toronto University, and Widener and Loeb Libraries of Harvard University.

Finally, I would like to express my deepest gratitude to my family: my mother, Tamara Alibakiyeva, whose inexhaustible enthusiasm and encouragement, inquisitiveness, and insatiable desire to learn have always been for me a model to emulate; my husband, Parkhat Rozakhunov, whose wholehearted support and encouragement made my study enjoyable and worthwhile; and to my two little kids, Akram Issa and Emran Issa, who inspired my final years at McGill.

This thesis includes manuscripts previously published. The first part of Chapter Five has appeared in *Revue de centre européenne d'étude slave* (July 2013) under the title “‘Connected by the Ties of Blood’: Musical Scales in the Quest for the Russian/Asian Identity” and a small part of Chapter Six is published in a conference proceedings (*Sacre Celebration: Revisiting, Reflecting, Revisioning*) under the title “The Origin of Russian Primitivism? Alexander Grechaninov’s Arrangements of Asian Songs.”

NOTE ON DATES AND TRANSLITERATION

Dates are given in accordance to the Julian calendar ('Old style'), used in Imperial Russia before the reform on February 01, 1918, which are twelve days behind the Gregorian calendar.

In transliterations from the Cyrillic alphabet I used the Library of Congress system, except for names and words known in English by other spellings.

Unless otherwise indicated, translations from Russian and French are my own.

INTRODUCTION

Context

The attitude of the Russians towards their Asian neighbours has always been ambiguous and complex. From the conquered to the conqueror, political ally to economic tyrant, the Russian role has continually changed. Throughout the nineteenth century, Russia was almost constantly engaged in war with its eastern and southern neighbours. In the first half of the century alone there were two Russo-Persian Wars (1804-1813, 1826-1828), two Russo-Turkish wars (1806-1812, 1828-1829), and the Caucasian War (1818-1864) also known as the conquest of the Caucasus. In 1853 Russia engaged in the Crimean War, which it lost in 1856. After its humiliating defeat in the south, Russia's southeastern neighbours became a coveted object of imperial attention. In the 1860s Russia engaged in what was later referred to as the Great Game campaign by expanding into Central Asia, an area where Great Britain was also pursuing its own expansionist goals.¹ In 1877, irritated by the Muslim-Christian crisis in the Balkans, Russia declared a war with Turkey, which ended a year later, freeing Romania, Serbia and Montenegro from Turkish rule and ceding some parts of the Caucasus to the Russian empire and, as a result, altering the balance of power in the east.

¹ In Russian literature the term "Central Asia" is usually applied to the larger area in the Asian continent that includes Xinjiang, Afghanistan, Mongolia, and Russian Turkestan. The region in the inner Asian continent that includes the territory between the Caspian Sea in the west, Pamir mountains in the east, Aral-Irtysh watershed in the north, and Hindu Kush in the south is referred to as "Inner Asia." See F.A. Brockhauz and I.A. Efron, *Entsiklopedicheskii slovar'* (Leipzig and St. Petersburg, 1900), 31: 351. Andeas Kappeler calls this region "Middle Asia." See Kappeler, *The Russian Empire: A Multiethnic History*, trans. Alfred Clayton (Harlow: Longman, 2001). I will use the term "Central Asia," a term more commonly used in Western literature, to designate the territory that in Russian is termed as "Inner Asia."

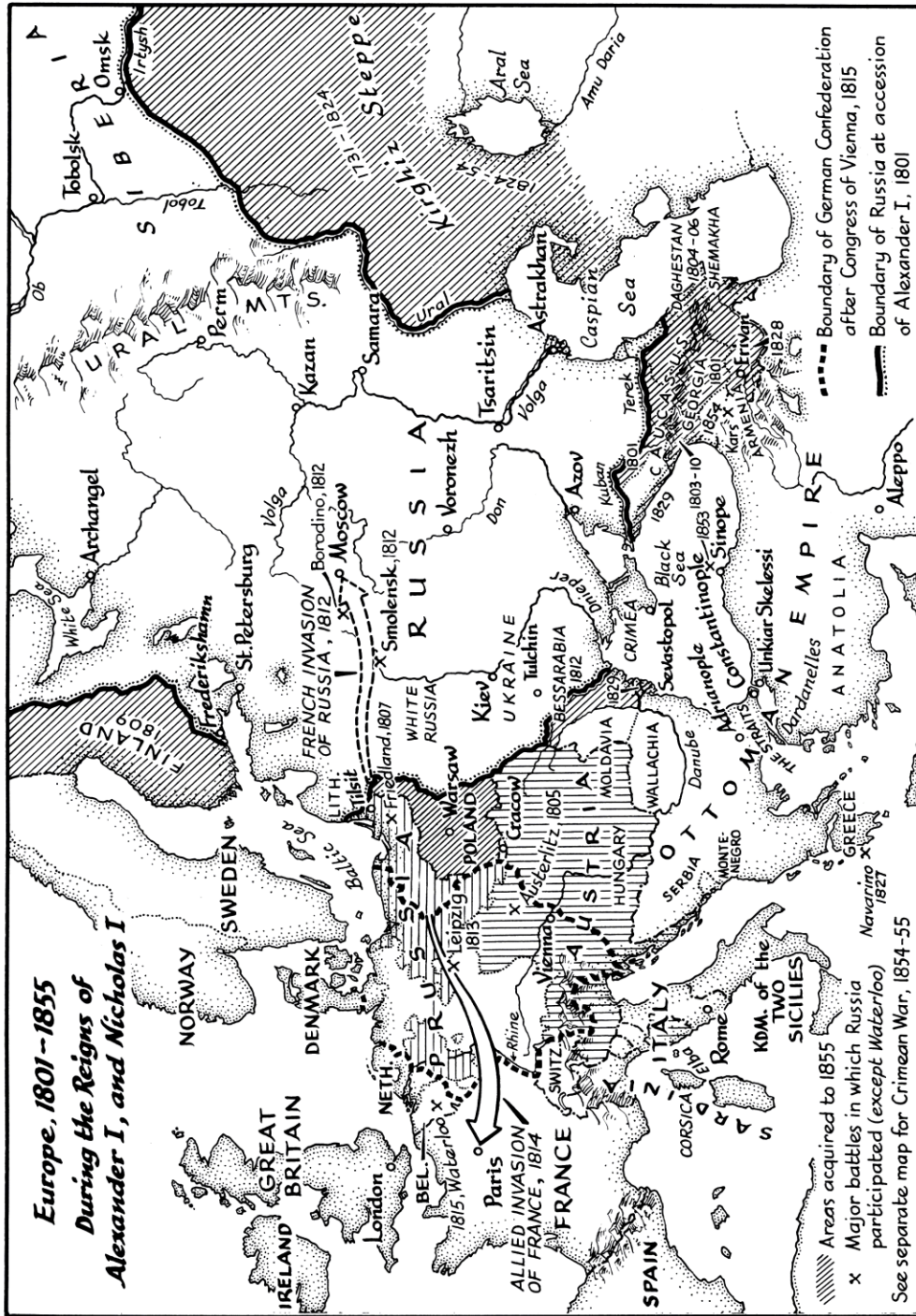


Figure 1: Map of European Russia and the Caucasus before 1855.²

² Reprinted with a kind permission of Oxford University Press from Nicholas V. Riasanovsk's *A History of Russia*, 4th edition (1984).

After the 1820s, the Russian army's advances in the Caucasus facilitated travels to a region divided among a large number of distinct ethnic groups, opened possibilities of immediate cultural interaction with different peoples, and made available ethnographic information and musical transcriptions (although often shaped according to the colonial perspective). Literary men, such as Alexander Pushkin, Alexander Bestuzhev-Marlinky, and Mikhail Lermontov, were not the only ones to travel and serve in the military in the Caucasus. Musicians, such as Alexander Aliab'ev and Mili Balakirev, became acquainted with the East first hand either via travels (in the case of Balakirev) or exile (in the case of Aliab'ev). Both composers showed interest in music of the people they met in the Caucasus or in Asia; both transcribed musical material and incorporated oriental tunes in their own compositions.³ Both acknowledged their sources, giving information on ethnicity, musical genre, and sometimes even providing transliterations of the transcribed songs.⁴ Thus, they tended to recognize the particularity of the Other instead of homogenizing it. Furthermore, because of the Caucasus's special status – it was called

³ Aliab'ev, for instance, in the score of his *French Quadrille from Asian Songs* published in 1834, indicated each "Asian" melody that he used either by giving the name of its place of origin or ethnicity (Circassian, Georgian, Azerbaijan, Baiazid), or by indicating the genre associated with particular people (*Lezginka* – a male dance of the peoples living in the Caucasus, *Tamasha* – Georgian dance music). For detailed analysis of melodic construction of the *French Quadrille* and its Asian sources, see Liudmila Karagicheva, "Liubopynyi dokument 'Russkogo orientalizma'," [An Intriguing Document of 'Russian Orientalism'], *Sovetskaia Muzyka* 2 (1974): 89-96. Aliab'ev also transcribed and arranged four oriental songs: two Bashkir, one Tatar, and one Kyrgyz. For detailed analyses of four *Asian Songs*, see Boris S. Steinpress, "Aziatskie pesni Aliab'eva" [Asian Songs by Aliab'ev], in *Aliab'ev v izgnanii* [Ali'ab'ev in Exile] (Moscow: Gosmuz.izdat, 1959), 91-98. On Balakirev's transcriptions brought back from his trips to the Caucasus, see B.M. Dobrovol'skii, "M.A. Balakirev. Zapisi kavkazskoi narodnoi muzyki," in M.A. Balakirev. *Vospominaniia i pis'ma*, ed. Iu.A. Kremlev, A.S. Liapunova, E.L. Frid (Leningrad: Gosmuzizdat, 1962), 432-53.

⁴ For instance, Balakirev and Musorgsky wrote down transliterations of oriental songs' texts, perhaps in order to be able to render the correct and characteristic rhythmic accentuations in their own music representing Orientals. See B.M. Dobrovol'sky, "M.A. Balakirev. Zapisi kavkazskoi narodnoi muzyki," 434; G.L. Golovinsky, *Musorgsky i folklor* [Musorgsky and Folklore] (Moscow: Muzyka, 1994), 57-58.

“hot Siberia” and was used as a land of punishment – people (many of whom were sent to fight Caucasian mountaineers against their will), often sympathized secretly with Orientals.⁵

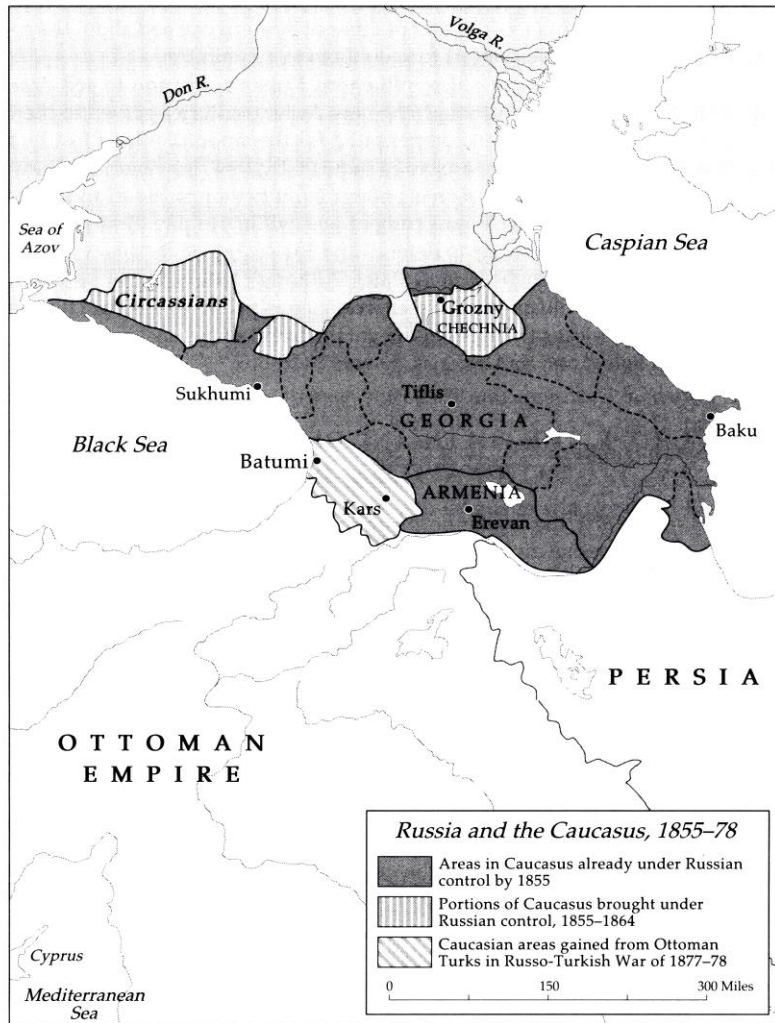


Figure 2: A Map of the Caucasus, 1855-1887.⁶

⁵ The term “oriental” will be loosely applied to all non-European and non-American or non-African peoples and styles, unless defined more specifically. Although in Russian mid-nineteenth century popular literature, “Asiatic” or “Asian” often referred to both Caucasian and Asian cultures, in this research these terms will be exclusively reserved to denote cultures and peoples living eastwards from Kazan and in the present so-called Russian Turkestan (Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan, Tajikistan and Kyrgyzstan).

Many scholars have attributed the particularity of the Russian-Eastern relationship to historical as well as geographic premises. Unlike Great Britain, France, and other European powers, Russia conquered and colonized its immediate neighbours; consequently, the separation between the West and the subjugated East has not always been self-evident and has often occasioned geographical and cultural confusion abroad -- even within Russia itself.⁷

Furthermore, before the nineteenth century, Russia itself was subject to the conquest of its Asian neighbours, and thus a number of Asian linguistic and cultural features were incorporated into, and became an integral part of, Russian identity.⁸ For this reason, in the eyes of the Western European community, Russia was frequently viewed as being “Asian,” which caused a measure of unease among Russians who had adopted quite distinct approaches to the articulation of their own national identity.⁹

⁶ Reprinted with a kind permission of Anthem Press from Walter G. Moss’s *A History of Russia*, 2nd edition, vol. II.

⁷ For instance, over a long period of time Russian geographers and historians could not decide where to draw a line separating Russia’s European and Asian regions. Discussions about whether or not the Ural Mountains are the natural geographical borders between Europe and Asia filled pages and pages of journals and books until the end of the nineteenth century. See Mark Bassin, “Russia between Europe and Asia: The Ideological Construction of Geographical Space,” *Slavic Review* 50, no. 1 (1991): 1-17. However, some scholars, such as Jeff Sahadeo, believe that the Russian empire’s geographic approximation to the East should not be considered as the essential difference from other maritime European colonial states. In the nineteenth century, a travel from Paris to Algiers or from London to Calcutta would take less time than a travel from St. Petersburg to Tashkent. See Jeff Sahadeo, “Visions of Empire: Russia’s Place in an Imperial World (Book review),” in *Kritika* (March 22, 2010): 385. For the description of hardships of a journey from European Russia to Tashkent, see J. Sahadeo, *Russian Colonial Society in Tashkent, 1865-1923* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2007), 28-30.

⁸ See Nikolai Baskakov, *Russkiiie familii tiurkskogo proiskhozhdeniia* [Russian Family Names of Turkic Origin] (Moscow: Nauka, 1979); E.P. Karnovich, *Rodovye prozvaniia i tituly v Rossii* [Ancestral Names and Titles in Russia] (St. Petersburg: tip. A.S. Suvorina, 1886).

⁹ One example of an extreme reaction against the association of Russians with Asians can be drawn here. In 1836, when Chaadaev wrote in his “Philosophical Letters” about Russia’s savage past, thus invoking its links to Asian identity, he was claimed to be insane, and the editor of the journal *Teleskop* in which this article first appeared, was fired, while the censor who authorized the publication this article was sent into

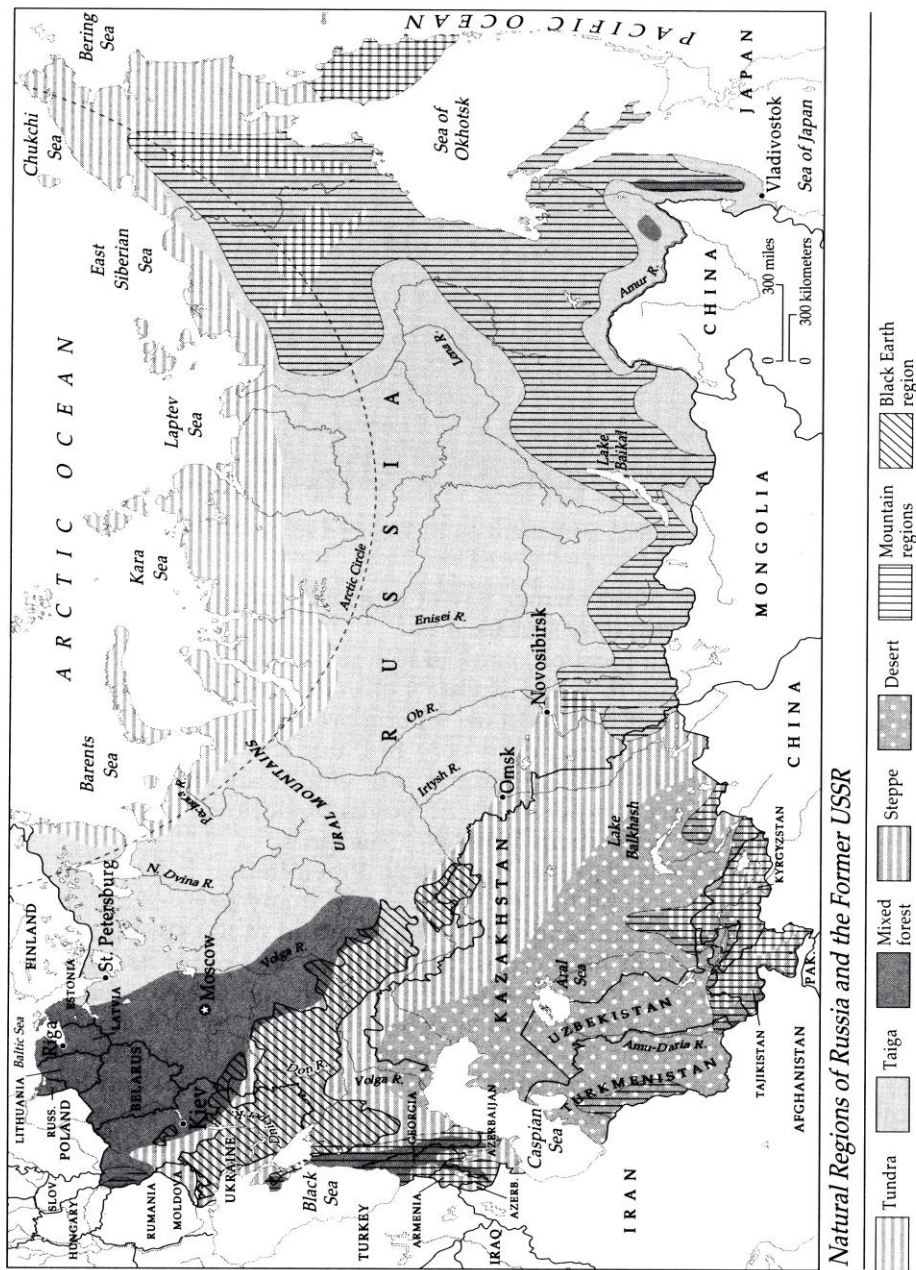


Figure 3: A Map of Russia's Asia.¹⁰

exile. See N.G. Fedorovskii, ed., *V poiskakh svoego puti: Rossiia mezhdru Evropoi i Aziei. Khrestomatiia po istorii russkoi obshchestvennoi mysli* [Searching for One's Path: Russia between Europe and Asia. A Reader of the History of Russian Social Thought] (Moscow: Logos, 2004), 47.

¹⁰ Reprinted with a kind permission of Anthem Press from Walter G. Moss's *A History of Russia*, 2nd edition, vol. II.

Prominent Russian writers, musicians, and artists often broached the issue of Russian “Asianness” or “Easternness” in nineteenth-century literary works. A classic illustration of this may be found in Fedor Dostoevsky’s complaint: “In Europe we are Tatars, whereas in Asia we too are Europeans.” This ambiguous perception of Russian identity might be the reason why the famous critic Vladimir Stasov, in his celebrated article on Russian music, included “the Eastern theme” [*vostochnyi element*] as one of the four distinguishing features of Russian music.¹¹ Such a ready and open embrace of oriental identity reveals Stasov’s considerable respect for Eastern cultures – an attitude that Soviet musicologist Viktor Vinogradov would call “Oriental patriotism.”¹²

Despite the fact that late nineteenth-century Russian music critics (such as Stasov) were aware of the importance of eastern influences in Russian music, little has been said about how the construction of the Russian Orient contributed to the emergence of Russian musical identity.¹³ As a result, Russian music history has found itself with more questions than answers. To what extent is it possible to contribute to national identity using pseudo-national characteristics? Can the colonizers appropriate the culture of the colonized and claim it as an authentic national form of expression? How did the

¹¹ V.V. Stasov, “Dvadtsat’-piat’ let russkogo iskusstva: Nasha muzyka,” in *Vestnik Evropy* (1882-83), reprinted in V.V. Stasov. *Izbrannye sochineniia v triekh tomakh* (Moscow: Iskusstvo, 1952), 2: 522-62. For an English translation see Piero Weiss and Richard Taruskin, eds., *Music in the Western World: A History in Documents* (New York: Schirmer Books, 1984), 390-94. The other three elements are skepticism of European tradition, “striving for national character,” and “extreme inclination toward program music.”

¹² V. Vinogradov, “Zametki po russkomu muzykal’nomu vostokovedeniiu,” [“Notes on Russian Musical Orientalism”], *Muzyka narodov Azii i Afriki* [*Music of the Peoples of Asia and Africa*], vol. 5 (Moscow: Sovetskii kompozitor, 1987), 186.

¹³ For the notable exception, see Frolova-Walker’s *Russian Music and Nationalism: From Glinka to Stalin* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2007).

construction of the Russian Orient contribute to the emergence of Russian musical identity? Although Marina Frolova-Walker has broached some of these questions in her recent book on Russian nationalism, she does not elaborate on the political motivations underlying Russian “inspiration” by the Orient in the nineteenth century Russia; what is more, she pays little attention to Russian imperialistic policy of expansion into Central Asia or to Russian (music) ethnographic sources from newly acquired Asian territories and their effect on nineteenth-century Russian culture.

In my dissertation I will focus on the political and cultural implications of nineteenth-century Russian art songs with oriental or Asian subjects, both within and outside the context of a broader European phenomenon referred by Edward Said to as “Orientalism.”¹⁴ To understand the mechanisms behind Russian Orientalism, my research will be set against extensive studies of nineteenth-century Russian history, literature, ethnographic studies, and folksong collections as well as studies of European Orientalism. The chronological scope of this study begins in the 1820s with the early art songs by Alexander Aliab’ev and ends in the 1910s with the publication of the last volume of *Trudy* [*The Works*] issued by the Music-Ethnography Committee – a part of the branch of the Society of Lovers of Natural Science, Anthropology, and Ethnography. I have not set out to reconstruct a comprehensive history of Russian Orientalism, nor will I attempt to create a positive or negative model of Russian Orientalism. Instead I focus on different events and people who shed light on the particular experiences and ideas relating to the oriental culture in nineteenth-century Russia. I seek to place Russian

¹⁴ See Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Vintage Books, 1978).

Orientalism within the realm of real practice and to investigate the link between specialized knowledge and colonial power in a particular historical context.

Said and Russian Orientalism

In his deeply influential – even pathbreaking – but highly contested *Orientalism*, Edward Said hardly mentions Russia or Russian practice of Orientalism.¹⁵ However, the underlying premise of the interdependence of the political and cultural dimension of Orientalism, as interpreted by Said, cannot and should not be completely disregarded in Russian studies of culture, and music culture in particular. As Nathaniel Knight points out, “[i]t would have been tendentious and inaccurate to dislocate Russia completely from the broader European discourse about the ‘Orient’.”¹⁶

For the past three decades scholars of Russian studies have been questioning the applicability of Said’s ideas in Russia. Whether the Saidean model of “Orientalism” and “colonial forms of knowledge” could relate to the Russian context has been a particularly important question. Some scholars, such as Caplana Sahni and Ewa Thompson, have embraced Said’s ideas rather uncritically, while others, such as Nathaniel Knight and

¹⁵ Ibid. Said’s view of the Orient as a homogenous and monolithic entity has been criticized, since it does not allow for local differences between oriental cultures, nor does it sufficiently acknowledge the development of oriental studies within the same culture, or from one period to another. For a critique of Said on these points see A. Hourani, “The Road to Morocco,” review of *Orientalism* by Edward Said, *New York Review of Books* (8 March, 1979): 27-30; D. Kopf, “Hermeneutics Versus History,” *Journal of Asian Studies* 39, no. 3 (1980): 495-506; Robert J.C. Young, “Disorienting Orientalism,” in *White Mythologies: Writing History and the West* (New York and London: Routledge, 2004), 158-80; D. Porter, “Orientalism and its Problems,” in *Colonial Discourse and Post-Colonial Theory: A Reader*, P. Williams and L. Chrisman, eds. (New York and London: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1994 [1993]), 150-61; J. Clifford, “On Orientalism,” in *The Predicament of Culture: Twentieth-Century Ethnography, Literature, and Art* (Cambridge, Mass. and London: Harvard University Press, 1988), 225-76.

¹⁶ Knight, “On Russian Orientalism: A Response to Adeeb Khalid,” *Kritika: Explorations in Russian and Eurasian History* 1, no. 4 (2000): 701-715; here 709.

David Schimmelpenninck van der Oye, have instead denied the relevance of Said's theories to Russia by claiming Russia's particularity as a simultaneously European and non-European country.¹⁷ Some scholars of Russia have taken a cautious stance on "Orientalism" and questioned Said's East-West binary opposition in Russian nineteenth-century literature. Susan Layton and Harsha Ram suggest replacing the paradigmatic East-West dichotomy with a political and cultural "trichotomy" involving Russia, West, and East or the colonizer, the colonized, and the "ambiguous third element" presented as a romantic artist.¹⁸ In my analysis of Russian discourse on oriental music, I have adopted this "trichotomy" model since it helps to understand the multifaceted nature of the Russian-Asian relationship, often influenced by Western colonial discourse on its own Asian (or oriental) subjects. While some Russian writers participated actively in a Russian-Western dialogue on its *mission civilisatrice*, others, being aware of Russia's own hybridity as a nation, resisted the colonial discourse vis-à-vis the conquered peoples.

Many scholars highlight examples that reveal positive behaviour towards the Other within the traditionally defined Russian frontier. For instance, Vera Tolz observes that a formidable group of Russian academics opposed an official state discourse on the

¹⁷ For examples of the first approach, see Kaplana Sahni, *Crucifying the Orient. Russian Orientalism and the Colonization of Caucasus and Central Asia* (Oslo: The Institute for Comparative Research in Human Culture, 1997) and Ewa Thompson, *Imperial Knowledge. Russian Literature and Colonialism* (Westport and London: Greedwood Press, 2000). For examples of the second approach, see Nathaniel Knight, "Grigor'ev in Orenburg 1851-1862: Russian Orientalism in the Service of Empire," *Slavic Review* 59 (2000): 74-100 and Schimmelpenninck van der Oye, *Russian Orientalism. Asia in the Russian Mind from Peter the Great to the Emigration* (New Heaven: Yale University Press, 2010).

¹⁸ Susan Layton, *Russian Literature and Empire: The Conquest of the Caucasus from Pushkin to Tolstoy* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994); Harsha Ram, *The Imperial Sublime: A Russian Poetics of Empire* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2003). Knight in his article "Grigor'ev in Orenburg" also suggests replacing the Saidean East-West dichotomy with an "awkward triptych: the west, Russia, and the east." Knight, "Grigor'ev in Orenburg": 77.

civilizing mission in the East with its agenda of cultural Russification and tried to defend the cultural heritage of the newly acquired peoples.¹⁹ This may be the reason why the Russian word for Oriental Studies —“vostokovedenie”— is distinct from Said’s politically charged and negative definition of “Orientalism.” Unlike Said, who blurred the lines between academic discipline and imperial policy, some Russian scholars have offered a useful distinction between *Orientalism* as an attitude and *Orientology* as a discipline.²⁰ In my study, the word “orientalism” or “orientalist,” when written in the lowercase, will have a neutral attribution, while Orientalism with an uppercase “O” will carry negative connotations, as in Said’s outline of Orientalist practice and concomitant critique of it. I will occasionally use the word “orientology” or “orientologist” to refer exclusively to Russian studies of the Orient or their practitioners. Thus the word “orientalism” will include all non-negative Russian cultural practices related to the world called by Russians the “Orient,” while “orientology” will denote only the Russian scholarly study of the Orient.

Not all scholars are convinced of Russia’s uniqueness and its relatively mild approach to its eastern subjects. In more recent studies of Russian [O]rientalism and orientology, some researchers have pointed out that the link between the knowledge produced by the colonial states and its impact on the colonial governance and attitudes towards its oriental subjects did exist in Russia. Focusing on the relationship between the

¹⁹ See V. Tolz, “Orientalism, Nationalism and Ethnic Diversity in Late Imperial Russia,” *The Historical Journal* 48, no. 1 (2005): 127-50.

²⁰ Tolz, ‘*Russia's Own Orient*’: *The Politics of Identity and Oriental Studies in the Late Imperial and Early Soviet Periods. Modern European History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011); Michael David-Fox, Peter Holquist, and Alexander Martin, eds., *Orientalism and Empire in Russia* (Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press, 2006), 9-10.

imperial government and science, Elena Campbell argues that Russian stereotyping of the Islamic world and imperial appreciation of modern and secular knowledge for the administration of Asiatic territories within the borders of the empire is similar to Said's idea of Orientalism.²¹ Furthermore, Alexander Morrison claims that "in many respects there was nothing especially distinctive about Tsarist 'Orientalism' because in Russia, like in British India, many academic Orientalists were attached to the administration in Turkestan, and produced denigrating stereotypes of all Muslims."²² This aspect of Russian history, as Alexander Morrison points out, has not received the attention it deserves.²³ Thus, despite the appreciation of Oriental art and culture discussed by Tolz, Schimmelpenninck and Knight, recent studies clearly indicate that only certain *ancient* oriental cultures were appreciated and highly regarded by the Russian intelligentsia. As it is often true with European colonial powers, sharing an Asian people's imagined past did not entail a realistic acknowledgement of their current predicament. Throughout the nineteenth century a distinction between the colonizer and colonized in Russian literature and the arts remained sufficiently transparent. Thus, before initiating an investigation into Russian musical repertoire with oriental subjects, some fundamental questions concerning the unequal nature of these power relations must be raised. In this context, Said's theory of cultural imperialism and the political implications of European art with

²¹ Elena Campbell, "K voprosu ob Orientalizme v Rossii (vo vtoroi polovine XIX veka –nachale XX veka)," *Ab Imperio* 1 (2002): 311-322.

²² Alexander Morrison, "'Applied Orientalism' in British India and Tsarist Turkestan," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 51, no. 3 (2009): 619-647.

²³ Morrison, "Applied Orientalism": 622.

an oriental subject cannot be simply embraced or rejected due to the complex, diverse, evolving, frequently contradicting, yet fascinating nature of Russian O/orientalism.

The debate over Russian Orientalism is more than just a discussion of the relevance of Said's ideas to Russia. It is also a window into a broader political, social, and cultural issues relating to the formation of the Russian empire, as several important nineteenth-century phenomena interplayed with Russian O/orientalism. One of them revolves around the increasing urgency of the problem of cultural self-definition, instigated by the growth of European nationalism.²⁴ In a broader context, Said, speaking with reference to European Orientalism, pointed out that the East "has helped to define Europe," "being a surrogate and even underground self," thereby stressing the importance of the "Orient" for the construction of national selves in Europe.²⁵ Building on Said's important observation, Vera Tolz claims that nineteenth-century Russian O/orientalist scholars were influenced by the "pervasive impact of nationalism on European scholarship" and strove for "nation-building ... rather than imperial domination of the minorities by the Russians."²⁶ In Russian music studies, Marina Frolova-Walker also has observed a link between nationalism and O/orientalism. She argues that many members of Russian society, including Mili Balakirev and Vladimir Stasov, used Oriental style to

²⁴ See Vera Tolz, *Russia's Own Orient*; Olga Maiorova, *From the Shadow of Empire: Defining the Russian Nation through Cultural Mythology, 1855-1870* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2010); Marina Frolova-Walker, *Russian Music and Nationalism*.

²⁵ Said, *Orientalism*, 1.

²⁶ Tol'z, "Orientalism, Nationalism and Ethnic Diversity," 127. Ewa Thomson argues that two types of nationalism – defensive and aggressive – were practiced in nineteenth-century Russia. The defensive nationalism is a phenomenon that emerges as a "reaction to preserve losing identity" and aggressive nationalism is a phenomenon that "looks outward rather than toward itself and as a result is less aware of its own chauvinism and its colonial desire." Thomson, *Imperial Knowledge: Russian Literature and Colonialism*, 9. In Russia, the first type emerged after the war with France, in 1812, while the second occurred a decade later, when Russia engaged in wars in the Caucasus, Turkey, and Persia.

assert their national identity, because they truly believed that the Russians shared a common ancestor with the Asian peoples.²⁷ Other scholars, such as T.A. Shcherbakova, Richard Taruskin, and I. Belen'kaia, also have remarked that the Russian Other often existed for the sake of self-construction, an argument reminiscent of the Hegelian model of "self-assertion through negation."²⁸ This may be the reason why Russian composers, in their intense search for a Russian musical identity, paradoxically created more music representing non-Russian peoples and ethnicities rather than their own.²⁹

The aggressive or expansive type of nationalism implemented by Russian state officials at the beginning of the nineteenth century in the Caucasus coincided with the rise of Russian Romanticism, which also played a crucial role in the formation of Russian Orientalism. Some writers romanticized the brutal reality of warfare, while others expressed their ambivalent feelings about the inhumanity of war. This, as Susan Layton observes, resulted in tensions between the Russian state ideology of a European mission to pacify and civilize the Muslim subjects in the Caucasus, and the romantic representation of these tribes as noble savages whose extermination and inhuman treatment troubled many representatives of the Russian intelligentsia.³⁰

²⁷ Frolova-Walker, *Russian Music and Nationalism*, 153. Surprisingly, Frolova-Walker mentions Said's *Orientalism* only in the context of twentieth-century Russian/Soviet nationalism, assuming an absence of Orientalist practices before this period.

²⁸ See T.A. Shcherbakova, *Tsyganskoe muzykal'noe ispolnitel'stvo i tvorchestvo v Rossii* [Gypsy Music Performance and Creative Works in Russia] (Moscow: Muzyka, 1984), 23-4; Taruskin, *Defining Russia Musically: Historical and Hermeneutical Essays* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997), 158, fn.8; I. Belen'kaia, *Temy Ispanii i Vostoka v Russkoi kamerno-vokal'noi lirike 19 veka: k probleme 'svoego' i 'chuzhogo'* [Spanish and Oriental Subjects in Russian Nineteenth-Century Vocal Music: Towards the Issue of the 'Self' and 'Other'] (Vladivostok: Khabarovsk Institute of Arts and Culture, 2004).

²⁹ As Cherednichenko puts it, they "took responsibility to create music for everyone" without even "dreaming about constructive mastering of foreign melodic territories." See Tat'iana Cherednichenko, "Russkaia muzyka i geopolitika" [Russian Music and Geopolitics], *Novyi Mir* 6 (1995): 191.

³⁰ Susan Layton, *Russian Literature and Empire*.

Imperialism is another important element that influenced the late nineteenth-century Russian approach to oriental subjects. When the Russian empire stretched its borders to the Far East and embraced the vast territories in Central Asia, it became evident that the representation of Russia as a multinational and multicultural state became not just desirable, but the only possible way to assert Russian power in the imperial periphery. As many scholars have observed, local authorities in the regions remote from the center (such as Turkestan or Siberia) often found themselves in situations where the official aims (e.g. Russification or spreading the Orthodox faith) were in contradiction with the goals of colonization. In order to live peacefully with newly colonized imperial subjects, transform them into the loyal Russian citizens, and integrate and exploit them in the larger imperial context, it was imperative to recognize their distinctiveness and tolerate their ethnic, cultural, and religious diversity.³¹ All these national(ist), imperial, and cultural concerns played an important role in the formation and development of O/orientalism and orientology in nineteenth-century Russia and marked Russia's particular engagement with the East.

Literature Review

There is a wealth of literature on the history of the Russian-Asian relationship. I have relied on a number of important works in Russian history to help contextualize my

³¹ See Anatolyi Remnev, "Siberia and the Russian Far East in the Imperial Geography of Power," in *Russian Empire: Space, People, Power, 1700-1930*, ed. J. Burbank, M. von Hagen, and A. Remnev, (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2007), 425-454. On Kaufmann's policy in Russian Turkestan, see Daniel Brower, *Turkestan and the Fate of the Russian Empire* (London and New York: Routledge Curzon, 2003), 26-56.

own study. These include Seymour Becker's *Russia's Protectorates in Central Asia: Bukhara and Khiva, 1865-1924* (1968), Andreas Kappeler's *The Russian Empire: A Multiethnic History*, Mark Bassin's *Imperial Visions: Nationalist Imagination and Geographical Expansion in the Russian Far East, 1849-1865* (1999), Robert Geraci's *Window on the East: National and Imperial Identities in Late Tsarist Russia*. There is an emerging literature on the Russian presence (military and cultural) in Turkestan and its impact on the political and social dynamics of both Russia and Turkestan. Among the most important studies are Daniel Brower's *Turkestan and the Fate of the Russian Empire*, Jeff Sahadeo's *Russian Colonial Society in Tashkent, 1865-1923*, and Alexander Morrison's *Russian Rule in Samarkand 1868-1910: A Comparison with British India*. A few essay collections have also contributed to the discussion of Russian relationships with colonized peoples: these include *Russia's Orient. Imperial Borderlands and Peoples, 1700-1917*, edited by Daniel Brower and Edward Lazzerini; *Imperial Russia: New Histories for the Empire*, edited by Jane Burbank and David Ransel's; *Kazan, Moscow, St. Petersburg: Multiple Faces of the Russian Empire*, edited by Catherine Evtukhov et al.; *Russian Empire: Space, People, Power, 1700-1930*, edited by Jane Burbank et al.; Dmitry Shlapentokh's *Russia Between East and West: Scholarly Debates on Eurasianism*; and Alexander Etkind's *Internal Colonization: Russia's Imperial Experience*.

A number of recent books and essay collections address directly the issues related to Russian O/orientalism and orientology. Among them are books by Austin Jersild (*Orientalism and Empire: North Caucasus Mountain Peoples and the Georgian Frontier*), David Schimmelpenninck van der Oye (*Russian Orientalism: Asia in the*

Russian Mind from Peter the Great to the Emigration), Vera Tolz (‘*Russia's Own Orient*’: *The Politics of Identity and Oriental Studies in the Late Imperial and Early Soviet Periods*) and an essay collection by Michael David-Fox, Peter Holquist, and Alexander Martin (*Orientalism and Empire in Russia*).

A handful of articles about the Russian approach to music with an oriental subject were published in Russian a few decades ago. These include Boris Shteinpres’s and T.I. Sokolova’s works on the origins of Russian orientalism in music, Nadezhda Dmitriadi’s work on Russian style in music about the orient, Liudmila Karagicheva’s article on the origins of melodies used by Alexander Aliab’ev in his *The French Quadrille from Asian Songs*, and Tat’ana Cherednichenko’s article on geopolitics of Russian music.³² While Shteinpres and Karagicheva discuss the contributions to Russian musical orientalism made by Alexander Aliab’ev (discussed in Chapter Three), Sokolova’s work follows the traditional Russian historiographic view of Glinka as the founder of all major trends in Russian music. Sokolova claims that classical Russian orientalism springs from oriental scenes in Glinka’s opera *Ruslan and Liudmila*; however, she neglects the repertoire of songs and musical works written before Glinka. Although she names a few works written at the beginning of the nineteenth century, she does not discuss Aliab’ev’s arrangements of Asian songs or his works that incorporated oriental subjects as an important contribution to the creation of Russian orientalism.

³² See Shteinpres, “U istokov russkogo orientalizma,” *Sovetskaia muzyka* 8 (1959): 84-92; T. I. Sokolova, “U istokov russkogo orientalizma,” in *Voprosy muzykoznaniia* 3 (1960): 459-86; Nadezhda Dmitriadi, “Nekotorye stilevye osobennosti russkoi muzyki o Vostoke,” *Voprosy teorii i estetiki muzyki* 13 (1974): 106-25.

In her article on oriental style in Russian music, Nadezhda Dmitriadi touches on several important issues related to the development and history of Russian music about the Orient. She proposes a periodization of Russian orientalism in music in three phases. The first period (before the 1860s) was characterized by a homogenous depiction of the different ethnic cultures; the second (1860s-1880s) saw the development of a particular musical vocabulary and features for different ethnic groups; and the third period (1890s-1900s) marked the return to a more generalized representation of the east.³³ Within these periods Dmitriadi also distinguishes three different ways in which oriental music influenced Russian musical vocabulary: passive transference (use of musical material without transforming it), transformation (transformation according to the norms, traditions, and requirements of the culture into which this material is transmitted), and synthesis (the original material is not used, but it inspires a newly composed piece of music). Dmitriadi also discusses different attitudes of Russian composers towards the East. Some viewed the culture of other peoples with respectful consideration, and carefully differentiated the cultures by highlighting original and specific features; others emphasized integration, believing that beyond the differences between Russia and the East lay the possibility of rapprochement and synthesis, and that the originality of each culture could be preserved and even benefit from this kind of union.

Tat'iana Cherednichenko raises an important question about the dynamics of development of the self-other opposition in Russian opera with an oriental subject (Glinka's *The life for the Tsar*, Borodin's *Prince Igor*, Rimsky-Korsakov's *The Golden*

³³ See Dmitriadi, 110-111.

Cockrell) in her article on the geopolitics of Russian music. She points out the ambiguity in the cultural representation of the Other and the Russian self: in operatic plots Russia is often desecrated by its own people and demonstrates its strength through non-Russian elements. What is more, the opposing camps (Russia-Orient) are often represented by similar musical gestures: there are plenty of chromatic “barbarisms” in Igor’s part in Borodin’s opera *Prince Igor*, as well as in choirs of Putivlyans, and melismatic passages in “Iaroslavna’s Lament.”

Most histories of Russian music focus predominantly on the larger genres (operatic or symphonic) and do not address at length the vast repertoire of art song with an oriental subject. There are only a few studies of Russian art songs: the foundational 1956 work (in Russian) by Vasina-Grossman *Russian Classical Art Song of the Nineteenth Century*; recent works by Taruskin (in English) on oriental subjects in Russian music; and Belen’kaia’s dissertation (in Russian) on Spanish and oriental subjects in nineteenth-century Russian chamber vocal music. In *Russian Classical Art Song*, Vasina-Grossman describes the different types of songs, examines the different contexts in which the Russian art song emerged and developed throughout the nineteenth century, and provides an excellent overview of the art song repertoire by individual composers. Despite the scope and depth of the discussion of Russian nineteenth-century art-song, Vasina-Grossman’s book should be approached with caution given that, more often than not, it refers to literature influenced by the Soviet ideology and interprets nineteenth-century art songs through the lens of Soviet-era narratives.

Taruskin discusses a handful of nineteenth-century art songs with an oriental subject and suggests political and cultural implications of some Russian art songs in his

celebrated article on Russian Orientalism in music. He argues that nineteenth-century Russian composers replicated derogatory Western Orientalist clichés and, with their creative works, “justified endorsement of Russia’s militaristic expansion to the east.”³⁴ Basing his argument mostly on examples culled from the second half of the century, Taruskin critiques the lack of authenticity in Russian oriental music and emphasizes the composers’ casual attitude toward oriental verisimilitude.

Belen’kaia explores the topic of oriental subjects in Russian music through the prism of a dialogue between “Self” and “Other” and suggests that the genre of art song with Spanish and oriental subjects (which belongs to the type of ethnic-genre [*natsional’no-zhanrovyi*] art song) possesses all the features of the border zone between the “Self” and the “Other.” This type of genre assimilates the elements of the musical language of the “Other” or “transforms the allogenic texts to the point that they are absorbed into the internal semiotics of the semiosphere, while still remaining extrinsic.” In other words, this genre assimilates the texts originating from the outside to the point of their absolute absorption, while still preserving the originality of the source.

None of these studies, however, relates Russian oriental music to nineteenth-century Russian ethnographic studies of the oriental Other. Although studies specifically dealing with Russian musical ethnography on oriental Others are lacking, more generalized studies on the development of Russian ethnography provide an important entry point into the Russian institutions that supported the research of newly acquired Asian/oriental Others and the context in which the ethnographic studies have developed

³⁴ See Richard Taruskin, *Defining Russia Musically: Historical and Hermeneutical Essays* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1997), 154.

in Russia. In the field of ethnography, a number of Russian sources offer background information on nineteenth-century Russian ethnography on its oriental neighbours: these include S.A. Tokarev's *Istoriia russkoi etnografii (dooktiabr'skii period)*, B.V. Lunin's works on Russian learned societies in Turkestan and the studies of Central Asia in Russian pre-revolutionary and soviet orientology, *Istoriia otechestvennogo vostokovedeniia* edited by G.F. Kim, P.M. Shastitko, and A.A. Kozhukhovskaia, as well as a bibliographic dictionary, *Russian Military Orientalists*, by M.K. Baskhanov. In English, Nathaniel Knight's work, including his dissertation on ethnography in mid-nineteenth-century Russia and his articles on different ethnographic events, agencies, and the people involved, represents the most recent and extensive English study of the topic. One of his most significant contributions is his work on the Russian official Vasilii Grigor'ev, who lived and worked in Orenburg (a frontier outpost in Kazakh steppe) in the mid-nineteenth century. In this article Knight questions the theoretical construct that relates knowledge to power and shifts the attention to the individual practices that were often in contradiction to official policies.

One recent work in Russian, Dmitrii Smirnov's dissertation on the activity of Music-Ethnographic Committee, deals with late nineteenth-century Russian music ethnography. Smirnov addresses nineteenth-century Russian theories on folksong and the methods of their analysis (especially those by E.E. Lineva and D.I. Arakishvili). He discusses two different approaches in Russian musical ethnography: *evolutionary* (the origins and development of music explained as a result of the "natural laws" of acoustics); and *historical* (development as a result of inter-ethnic, inter-regional communication; this approach includes sociological and psychological aspects of study).

Thematically, my research contributes to those studies that explore the representation of non-Western music in ethnographic literature of Western colonial powers as well as broader issues of exoticism and Orientalism in musical style. The former approach has been taken up recently by Jann Pasler (“The Unity of Musical Instruments” and “Race and Nation”) and Bennet Zon (*Representing Non-Western Music in Nineteenth-Century Britain*); both scholars address the representation of colonial subjects by nineteenth-century French and British music writers, and invoke social and anthropological theories, such as evolutionism, monogenism, and polygenism. The issues of exoticism and O/orientalism have been discussed at length in Ralph Locke’s book *Musical Exoticism: Images and Reflections*, and articles, “Constructing the Oriental ‘Other’: Saint-Saëns’s *Samson et Dalila*” and “Doing the Impossible: On the Musically Exotic”; Jonathan Bellman’s *The Style Hongrois in the Music of Western Europe*; James Parakilas’ article “The Soldier and the Exotic: Operatic Variations on a Theme of Racial Encounter”; a chapter in Susan McClary’s book on Bizet’s *Carmen*; Derek Scott’s “Orientalism and Musical Style”; David Gramit’s “Orientalism in the Lied”; and Pasler’s articles “Race, Orientalism, and Distinction in the Wake of the Yellow Peril” and “Representing Indian Music: Maurice Delage and Albert Roussel.” More recent articles and books on O/orientalism and exoticism include the following: Claire Mabilat’s study of the representation of music in nineteenth-century British popular art; Nasser Al-Tae’s controversial book on the negative representation of the Other by European composers (*Representation of the Orient in Western Music: Violence and Sensuality*); and a rather

general study of the relationship between literature and music by Jonathan D. Little (*Literary Sources of Nineteenth-Century Musical Orientalism*).³⁵

As it is apparent from this literature review, Russian oriental art song has not been explored at length from political, social, or ethnographic perspectives. This dissertation thus presents the first extensive and in-depth English musicological study of Russian art song with an oriental subject and the only book-length study of Russian art song in the context of ethnographic studies of Russia's oriental Others.

Chapter Outline

The dissertation consists of three parts thematically subdivided into six chapters that generally follow a chronological progression. The first part consists of two chapters that examine the context in which Russian O/orientalism emerged. Chapter one deals with nineteenth-century Russian folksong collections, which include songs about oriental subjects (*bylinas*, or traditional epics, historical songs, and children's songs). After mapping the publication of folksong collections against nineteenth-century Russian history, I suggest that the negative representation of Others, on the one hand, facilitated the manipulation of public opinion and encouraged the empire's ideology of expansion, and, on the other hand, helped to cover internal conflicts by displacing anger onto Russian-Oriental conflicts.

³⁵ For a critique of Nasser Al-Tae's book, see Kristy Riggs, "Representations of the Orient in Western Music: Violence and Sensuality. By Nasser Al-Tae," in *Notes* (March 2012): 596-99.

Chapter Two examines endeavors of Russian ethnographers (military, academic, and music) to collect cultural artifacts and music of the newly acquired Russian Asian citizens. I focus on a number of sources that are representative of Russian studies of different ethnic groups (Kyrgyz/Kazakhs, Giliak, peoples of Volga-Kama region, and peoples of Russian Turkestan) and that exemplify different approaches and attitudes towards Russia's oriental neighbours. I suggest that in Russia, the ethnographic field -- with its wide range of conflicting ideas and practices -- owes much of its vitality to the various differences of the contributors' personal experiences, social status, and education as well as to the (often tangled) web of affiliations of different individuals, institutions, and agencies. My analysis of nineteenth-century Russian ethnographic sources reveals a pronounced trend of embracing the Other and gradually assimilating its musical identity into a distinctively Russian one.

Part two consists of two chapters that trace different stages of development of Russian O/orientalism in art song. In chapter three I consider the formation of early nineteenth-century Russian orientalism through the prism of two major events in Russian history: the insurrection of the Russian aristocracy against Nicolas I, retrospectively called "Decembrist revolt," and the advance of the Russian army in the Caucasus. I examine the art songs by the early nineteenth-century composer, Alexander Aliab'ev, whose works using oriental subjects were significantly influenced by these events. I argue that most of Aliab'ev's songs with an oriental subject reveal his favorable attitude towards the rebellious spirit of Caucasian mountaineers, as shown by his association of the subjugated Orientals, who fought for the natural rights of freedom, with the Decembrists, who also yearned for liberation from tsarist autocracy.

Chapter Four is devoted to the repertoire of art songs by Mili Balakirev and the members of his circle, best known as *Moguchaia Kuchka*, the *Mighty Five* (or the Kuchka). I explore how the members of the Kuchka approached oriental subjects and how they incorporated ethnographic material published in nineteenth-century Russia or brought by Balakirev from his trips to the Caucasus. I suggest that the Kuchka composers approached the oriental subject in two ways. The first, which I shall call the “ethnographic approach,” is characterized by the composers’ involvement in the transcription of folk tunes and the incorporation of this collected material into their works. The second, which I shall call “westernized,” can be described as the borrowing of ready-made Western “oriental” musical material, images, and gestures. I compare Balakirev’s vocal pieces with oriental subjects with the composer’s own transcriptions of oriental tunes that he transcribed while traveling in the Caucasus, and suggest that he used an “ethnographic approach” in his treatment of oriental subjects in music and encouraged the members of his circle to use the same approach. In this chapter I also identify several characteristic elements and musical gestures that entered the Russian musical vocabulary as oriental but were later embraced as a part of Russia’s own musical style.

The final part of the dissertation deals with late nineteenth-century Russian approaches to the Orient. Chapter Five focuses on fin-de-siècle musical-theoretical sources containing discussions of Russian and Asian musical scales and instruments. I examine how Russian musicologists created various racial myths about the use of musical scales and the origin of instruments in Asia, and how they came to the conclusion that some Asian/Aryan musical elements constituted an essential part of Russian musical

identity. Drawing on theoretical treatises by Sokal'skii, Famintsyn, and Petr that allege a link between Russian and Asian/Aryan cultures, I suggest that this music literature reflected the ideology of Aryanism and the so-called *vostochniki* [*Easterners* or *Asianists*] movement. Although both ideologies did not appear to carry any overt political messages, they led to profound political consequences by nurturing nationalistic feelings and strengthening the belief in Russia's legitimate advance in the East. The second part of Chapter Five is devoted to the analysis of fin-de-siècle Russian discourse on musical instruments. It reveals Russia's ambivalent feelings about Asian culture: admiring the Asian *past*, Russians often denied its potential to develop in the *future*. Exceptions to the rule certainly existed, and I incorporate a discussion of them in the chapter.

Chapter Six focuses on the activity of the Music-Ethnographic Committee (MEC), which organized a series of ethnographic concerts that nurtured the Russian public's imagination about oriental culture. My examination of the arrangements of Asian songs by Nikolai Klenovskii, Alexander Grechaninov, Alexander Sakhnovskii, and Reinhold Glière – composers assigned by the Committee to rework Turkic-Tatar music – suggests that the approach to oriental music adopted by Russian composers not only decontextualized it but also inaccurately canonized it as a set of authoritative texts, demonstrating the Empire's determination to intellectually appropriate the culture of newly acquired minorities. Using as an example Grechaninov's arrangements of Tatar, Bashkir, and Teptiar songs, I also suggest that some late nineteenth-century Russian composers' arrangements were informed -- and influenced -- by ethnographic literature, which implied a cultural hierarchy among the subjugated peoples.

Contribution

The most important contribution of this study lies in its attempt to go beyond the broad generalities and consensus perspectives found in current literature on Russian Orientalism in music. I seek to contextualize the formation and development of Russian O/orientalist discourse throughout the nineteenth century, all the while exploring the establishment of Russian national and musical identity. By focusing on an extensive yet underrepresented repertoire of Russian songs with oriental subjects as well as a host of writings by Russian literati, travelers, ethnographers, and ordinary individuals about the music and culture of the Russian oriental minorities, I hope to reveal the changing nature of the theory, practice, and creation of nineteenth century Russian music with oriental subjects. My analysis of Russian art song repertoire suggests that certain musical elements and gestures from the early nineteenth-century works anticipated later European musical clichés that were invented to evoke the Orient; several musical elements became part and parcel of Russian musical identity, while others continued to represent Russia's own Orient.

My study is informed by a number of approaches to segmenting the cultural record. By contextualizing nineteenth-century Russian O/orientalism through an analysis of folksong collections and ethnographies, I address important issues concerning the very formation of the Russian image of Otherness in conjunction with the formation of a specifically Russian national and musical identity. Following Nadezhda Dmitriadi's periodization, I make reference to three different phases, or developments, in Russian musical orientalism: the first takes place before the 1860s; the second, from the 1860s to the 1880s; and the third, from the end of the 1880s to 1917. I show how Russian

composers represented and interacted with oriental subjects in three different ways: 1) ethnographic, entailing a composer's personal contact with representative(s) of different Russian ethnicities and the use of original transcription(s) in a given composer's works; 2) scientific or arm-chair-theorizing, based on second-hand musical materials gathered from the intra-imperial Others and sometimes published in domestic journals, processed in a systematic manner but often out of context;³⁶ 3) Westernized, evoking homogenized images of oriental Others imported from Western culture, sometimes based on transcriptions of oriental songs borrowed from European editions. Besides these three types of representation that resemble Western European models, I delineate a category of a purely Russian representation of the Other. I shall call it "Decembrist representation," or the image of oriental Others related to Decembrist literature, in which the resistance of Caucasian mountaineers during the 1820s and 1830s carried a particular subtext, signalling political opposition to tsarist oppression.³⁷ In sum, I reevaluate Orientalism in Russian music from a political, historical, social, and ethnographic perspective by presenting a wide variety of (often contradictory) case studies on various experiences and multifaceted ideas relating to the oriental culture in nineteenth-century Russia.

³⁶ Although this approach may appear similar to a Westernized approach, it differs in two respects: 1) it constitutes materials based on sources located in the Russian Orient, and 2) generally speaking, it avoids recourse to Western clichés. Taruskin distinguishes intra-imperial (people belonging to the Empire) from extra-imperial (people from Near and Middle Eastern, Turkish, Persian land not belonging to the Empire) categories of oriental others (Russian researchers usually distinguish between oriental music of peoples from external to Russia land and call it "External oriental music." See Taruskin, *Defining Russian Musically*, 152. The category of intra-imperial people can be further refined by two subcategories: "permanent Orientals" (Gypsy and Jewish people) and "newly acquired Orientals" (Caucasians, people of Siberia, Russian Far East, and Russian Turkestan).

³⁷ "Decembrist" ("Decembrism") is a retrospective term for the movement that emerged in early nineteenth-century Russian aristocratic circles as a reaction to the oppressive state structure. The term "Decembrist orientalism" was introduced recently in literary discourses about Russian early nineteenth-century poetry related to the Decembrist revolt. See Harsha Ram, *The Imperial Sublime: A Russian Poetics of Empire* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2003).

PART I: CONTEXT

CHAPTER 1

UNVEILING TRADITION: ORIENTAL OTHERS IN NINETEENTH-CENTURY RUSSIAN

(FOLK)SONG COLLECTIONS

Introduction

For many centuries, the history of Russia was interwoven with the history of the steppe.¹ Frequently connected by political, commercial, or marital ties, Russians and their Asian neighbours (the Khazars, Pechenegs, and Polovtsians, or Cumans) often co-existed peacefully. Many Russians were familiar with Tatar geography, society, customs, language, and politics.² Furthermore, Moscow had been collaborating with the Golden Horde from the fourteenth century, seeking its assistance in the destructive raids on Moscow's rival, Tver'. Gradually, the Muscovites borrowed the Mongol military organization, customs tax, postal system, procedures and etiquette in diplomacy, and bureaucratic apparatus.³ Many members of Russia's upper classes, and even members of the ruling family (including Ivan the Terrible), had familial ties to their oriental neighbours.⁴

Despite these connections, the Russians also had many military encounters with Asian nomadic tribes who, unfortunately for the Russians, were quite powerful in the

¹ On the general history of Russia see Maureen Perrie et al., eds., *The Cambridge History of Russia*, 2 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006).

² Charles J. Halperin, *The Tatar Yoke: The Image of the Mongols in Medieval Russia* (Bloomington: Indiana University, 2009), 7-21.

³ Halperin, 15-16; Richard Voorheis, *The Perception of Asiatic Nomads in Medieval Russia: Folklore, History, and Historiography* (PhD diss., Indiana University, 1982), 84-85.

⁴ E.P. Karnovich, "Sliianie inozemtsev s russkimi," in *Rodovye prozvaniiia i tituly v Rossii* (St. Petersburg: tip. A.S. Suvorina, 1886), 229-250; Nikolai Baskakov, *Russkie familii tiurkskogo proiskhozhdeniia* [*Russian Family Names of Turkic Origin*] (Moscow: Nauka, 1979).

early history of the steppe. At the beginning of the thirteenth century the Mongols and their Asian allies, generically called “Tatars,” swept out of the east and conquered most of the territory of what was then named Kievan Rus’.⁵ This invasion of Asian hordes in 1237 (later called the “Tatar” or “Mongol Yoke”), under the leadership of Batu, a grandson of Genghis Khan, has been interpreted as one of the most dramatic events of Russian history.⁶ It was followed by nearly 150 years of Mongol rule (1239-1380) that left a deep mark on Russia’s collective memory. This was the first and only time in history when all of Russia was subjugated by an invader.⁷ Early Russian Christian chronicles represented this traumatic experience as a punishment for sins, interpreting the Tatars or Mongols as instruments of God.⁸ However, as historian Charles Halperin points out, the Tatars were also portrayed as “instruments of the Devil, and Russian redemption would result in their demise.”⁹

Although many Russian princes, such as Alexander Nevskii (1220-1263) and the princes of Moscow, co-operated with the Golden Horde, the traditional perception of the

⁵ Peter Voorheis has suggested that the name “Tatar” in the *bylina* tradition was used as a label for a generic villain, since this term is applied even to Poles and Lithuanians. See Voorheis, *The Perception of Asiatic Nomads*, 127.

⁶ On the history of Tatar-Russian relationship, see Halperin, *The Tatar Yoke*; Voorheis, *The Perception of Asiatic Nomads*; Janet Martin, “North-Eastern Russia and the Golden Horde (1246-1359),” in *The Cambridge History of Russia. Vol. 1: From Early Rus’ to 1689*, ed. Maureen Perrie (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 127-157. According to Peter Voorheis, the negative interpretation was added by later Russian historians: “Contemporary Russian narratives of folkloric origin ... fail to reveal any special hostility toward the Mongols... Far from being a ‘catastrophe’ for the Russian people and its culture, the Mongol domination extended to Russia with no forcible cultural interference, a political stability, and economic benefits.” See Voorheis, *The Perception of Asiatic Nomads*, 101.

⁷ As opposed to Europe, which had not been conquered by “barbarian hordes” since the fifth century, Russia’s subjugation experience was relatively recent and, thus, left a deeper mark on Russians’ collective psyche.

⁸ Halperin, *The Tatar Yoke*, 65. Peter Voorheis offers a different explanation of why the Mongol victory in some chronicles was presented as retribution of “our sins.” This is because some Russians were aware of the fact that prior to the battle on Kalka River in 1224 Russians violated the diplomatic immunity of the Mongol envoys by killing them. See Voorheis, *The Perception of Asiatic Nomads*, 79-80.

⁹ Halperin, *The Tatar Yoke*, 66.

Mongol conquest in Russian literature was a simple and negative one.¹⁰ According to Russian historiography, as Halperin points out, “[t]he Mongols, almost an elemental destructive force animated only by greed and blood-lust, overwhelmed the Russian principalities, leaving only ruins in their wake. They instituted an arbitrary and cruel administration, executing innocent patriots....”¹¹

Tatar domination slowly receded over a long period of time. In 1380, Prince Dmitry Donskoi first defeated the Tatar army at Kulikovo field. One century later, Ivan III renounced Tatar suzerainty and refused to pay tribute. In 1552, Ivan IV, known as Ivan the Terrible, conquered the capital city of the Kazan Khanate and then, in 1556, the Astrakhan Khanate. From the mid-sixteenth century onwards, Russia started gaining political and economic power over its southern and eastern neighbours. At the end of the seventeenth century, Peter the Great initiated a series of military campaigns on the Black Sea, which was controlled by the Ottoman Empire in the south. The conquest of the south was completed over the course of a century by Catherine the Great, who expanded Russia to the shores of the Black Sea and incorporated the vast steppes of present-day southern Ukraine. In the nineteenth century, Russian rulers continued expanding to the south and east, constantly warring with either Turkey or Persia, or in the Caucasus and Central Asia. By the end of the nineteenth century, Russia had established political, economic, and cultural control over the massive Eurasian region.

¹⁰ On Russian-Mongol military cooperation see Janet Martin, “North-Eastern Russia and the Golden Horde,” and “The Emergence of Moscow (1359-1462),” in *The Cambridge History of Russia*, 1:136, 138, 139, 143, 145, 161-163; Voorheis, 90-91.

¹¹ Halperin, *The Tatar Yoke*, 65. Furthermore, Russian medieval bookmen “never addressed the issue of Russia’s true status under the Horde or articulated any ideology of either conquest or liberation.” *Ibid.*, 193.

Marked by a number of wars with its oriental neighbours, the Russian popular view of Asia was reflected in a vast repertoire of epics and folksongs. In this chapter, I will focus on the formation and development of the Russian attitude towards Orientals in the folk repertoire and trace the change in the representation of Others in nineteenth-century Russian folksong collections. The goal of this chapter is to offer some suggestions for the interpretation of Russian folksongs with oriental subjects. I will argue that the publication and promotion of certain Russian folksong collections nurtured negative sentiments and aggression towards Russia's eastern and southern neighbours through the negative representations of the oriental Others. These representations influenced public opinion in two ways: first, they supported the Empire's ideology of expansion; and second, they helped to cover internal conflicts that shook Russia throughout the nineteenth century by displacing anger onto the Russian-Oriental conflicts. I will limit my discussion to publications of folksongs with negative representation of oriental Others at particularly turbulent moments in nineteenth-century Russian history. Other literary, historical, social, and economic aspects of Russian folksong will not be considered.

In an article on German Orientalist street ballads, Tom Cheesman argues that Orientalism is one of the discourses in which the ideological work that sustains fantasies of unity can be accomplished. He notes that "representations of encounters with the exotic other can help mask the heterogeneity of the imagined community of self."¹² I will

¹² See Tom Cheesman, "Turkish German Self: Displacing German-German Conflict in Orientalist Street Ballads," in *Imagined States: Nationalism, Utopia, and Longing in Oral Cultures*, ed. Del Giudice and G. Porter (Logan: Utah State University Press, 2001), 138.

apply Cheesman's argument to the Russian context and argue that Russian folksong collections published in the nineteenth century evoked an image of a territorially, politically, and culturally integrated Russian community, united in the face of external danger – an image that never corresponded to reality in Russia. To a certain extent, these common external enemies, against whom Russians had fought for centuries, helped to bring Russia's diverse ethnic, religious, and social groups together. More generally, the cult of wars and military victories that, according to Olga Maiorova, became a dominant form of national myth-making in the period between the Crimean War of 1853 and Russo-Turkish War of 1877, allowed for the people's involvement in public affairs and conjured an image of unity between ruler and nation.¹³ The war metaphor, Maiorova argues, helped Russian thinkers to prepare the ground for the brutal Russification policies of the late nineteenth century and contributed to the aggressive character of twentieth-century Russian nationalism.

It would be an exaggeration, however, to state that unification was the only motive behind the publication of folksong collections. The negative representation of oriental Others also participated in establishing the idea of Russia as a Western empire. In this case, Said's argument that "European culture gained its strength and identity by setting itself off against the orient as a sort of surrogate and even underground self" can certainly be applied to the Russian context.¹⁴ In addition to the East-West dichotomy, presented by Said, other dichotomies relating to social, religious, gender, and economic

¹³ See Olga Maiorova, *From the Shadow of Empire: Defining the Russian Nation through Cultural Mythology, 1855-1870* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2010).

¹⁴ Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Vintage Books, 1978), 3.

divisions also played an important role in the formation of Russian identity and functioned simultaneously in imperial Russia. All these phenomena played a different role in the formation and the development of folksongs and folksong collections. In this chapter I will not address all the constituents of this intricate pattern of folksong life and will not provide a comprehensive history of its development. Instead, I will examine one aspect of Russian folksong: its relation to internal conflicts and external wars against Russia's southern or eastern neighbours. A short overview of the major nineteenth-century conflicts within Russia will help the reader understand how the empire was torn by internal conflicts, which threatened its integrity.

1. Major Internal Conflicts in Russia During the Nineteenth Century

After the war against Napoleon in 1812 and the Decembrist revolt in 1825, Russia was plunged into the dark regime of Nicolas I.¹⁵ Besides militarizing the governmental apparatus, in 1826 Nicolas founded a special secret police department, called The Third Section of His Majesty's Own Imperial Chancellery. Five sub-departments of the Third Section, who were responsible for criminal investigations and spying on revolutionaries, sects, criminals, foreigners, and the press, had absolute power over the populace.¹⁶

¹⁵ On the history of nineteenth-century Russia, see N.A. Troitskii, *Rossii v XIX veke. Kurs lektsii* (Moscow: Vysshiaia shkola, 2003); V.A. Fedorov, *Istoriia Rossii 1861- 1917* (Moscow: Vysshiaia shkola, 2003); Alexander Kornilov, *Kurs istorii Rossii XIX veka* (Moscow: Artel, 2004); Dominic Lieven, ed., *The Cambridge History of Russia. Vol. 2: Imperial Russia, 1689-1917* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006); I.K. Pantin, E.G. Plimak, V.G. Khoros, *Revoliutsionnaia traditsiia v Rossii: 1783-1883* (Moscow: Mysl', 1986), 146-159; Alexander Polunov, *Russia in the Nineteenth Century: Autocracy, Reform, and Social Change, 1814-1914*, trans. Marshall S. Shatz (London and New York: M.E. Sharpe, 2005).

¹⁶ On the activity of the Third Section see Sidney Monas, *The Third Section: Police and Society in Russia under Nicolas I* (Cambridge, M.A.: Harvard University Press, 1961); P.S. Squire, *The Third Department:*

After two wars in the East (the Russo-Iranian War of 1826-28 and the Russo-Turkish War of 1828-29) agitation began both inside Russia and on the periphery of the empire. In 1830 and 1831 the so-called “plague” and “cholera” riots took place in the cities of Sevastopol’ and Novgorod. The urban poor, along with representatives of the lower military service, rose against quarantine measures, which, according to the historian Nikolai Troitskii, were rather “epidemic of officials’ abuse of power.”¹⁷ Both rebellions were severely repressed; even children over five years old were punished. In Novgorod only, 4,500 people appeared in court-martial and were sentenced either to death or to penal servitude and exile.¹⁸

Peasant uprisings and rebellions continued incessantly through the 1830s as a result of the obsolescent system of serfdom, which did not differ much from slavery. The antagonism between serfs and landlords became so intense by 1839 that the police chief, Alexander Benkendorf, reported to the tsar that the “serfdom is a powder magazine under the state.”¹⁹ The few steps taken at the end of the 1830s to resolve the critical peasant question had meagre or negative results. A new Law on Obligated Peasants, which would free peasants from their landowner, but would not free them from their allotments and obligations, allowed officials to “inhibit” or “restrict” the peasants’ traditional economic practices with special orders. As a result of one such official order in 1841-43 relating to

The Establishment and Practices of the Political Police in the Russia of Nicolas I (London: Cambridge University Press, 1968); Troitskii, 103; Kornilov, 299-300.

¹⁷ Troitskii, 105.

¹⁸ Ibid, 105-106.

¹⁹ Troitskii, 114; Polunov, 45. Still, more than twenty years passed before serfdom was abolished in 1861.

the compulsory planting of potatoes, the so-called “potato riot” broke out in European Russia, involving some 300,000 peasants.²⁰

Since the mid-1840s, a number of oppositional revolutionary-inclined individuals and underground societies started developing the theory of Russian socialism and began circulating revolutionary propaganda.²¹ Many among them -- such as the members of the Petrashevskii Circle, the followers of the Saint-Simon Circle, the Circle of the Brothers Kritskii, and the Circle of N.P. Sungurov -- were severely punished. After a series of bourgeois revolutions in Europe in the 1840s and 1850s, Nicolas I became particularly alarmed by the prospect of spreading revolution in Russia, and thus took measures to suppress all secret organizations. For instance, twenty-one members of the Petrashevskii Circle (including Fedor Dostoevsky), who believed in the liquidation of autocracy and the abolition of serfdom, were sentenced to death.²²

The unsuccessful war in Crimea (1853-56) only worsened Russia’s internal socio-economic problems. The humiliating defeat, aggravated by famine (in 1854-55 and 1859), resulted in extreme poverty for the rural population, which also contributed to social instability in Russia. By the end of the 1850s, the peasant revolts were so large-scale that they could be suppressed only by military force.²³

²⁰ Polunov, 45-48.

²¹ Three prominent figures are associated with the development of Russian socialist ideas: Alexander Herzen, Nikolai Ogarev, and Nikolai Chernyshevsky. See Sh.M. Levin, *Obshchestvennoe dvizhenie v Rossii v 60-70-e gody XIX veka* (Moscow: Izdar. Sotsial’no-ekonomicheskoi literatury, 1938), 65-123; Pantin et al., *Revoliutsionnaia traditsiia v Rossii*, 132-159, 183-203.

²² Troitskii, 151. Dostoevsky, as well as other condemned Petrashevists, was not executed: at the very last moment the death sentence was replaced either by the penal servitude in Siberia or prison.

²³ In 1858 there were eighty peasant revolts, in 1859, ninety, and in 1860, 108 revolts. See N.A. Troitskii, 189; Pantin et al., *Revoliutsionnaia traditsiia vi Rossii*, 163-164. According to Troitskii, the first “revolutionary situation” emerged in Russia at the end of the 1850s. Troitskii, 174. It was the result of

Tsar Alexander II, who had ascended to the throne after his father's death in 1855, reluctantly abolished serfdom in order to avoid a revolution. Although the abolition of serfdom transformed the country's economy from a feudal system to a bourgeois monarchy, it did not give much relief to those who had been living as serfs. As a result, five months after the proclamation of the abolition, 1,340 peasant revolts took place, more than half of which were suppressed only with the help of military force.²⁴ In fact, peasants in all Russia's provinces displayed acts of disobedience.

Peasant disturbances were not the only manifestations of political protest in Russia. The emerging worker class, dissatisfied with their working conditions, also added to the unstable situation.²⁵ Although in the 1860s workers' strikes were sporadic, in the 1870s, due to the establishment of the first worker unions (such as the Northern Union of Russian Workers), their strikes became more organized, frequent, and widespread.²⁶

three main factors: 1) the "crisis of the upper classes," which became manifest as an inability to maintain the governance in unchanged form; 2) the "crisis of the lower classes," that became apparent in the deterioration of the economic position of the masses (caused by the Crimean War and the famines of 1854-55 and 1859), and 3) a rise in the political activity of the masses. Troitskii, 172-176. Although Troitskii's concept of "revolutionary situation" is influenced by Soviet historiography that goes back to Lenin, it is still clear that within the period before and after the abolition of serfdom Russian people from different social strata challenged the existent order and were not afraid to express their resentment openly. Even some liberal-minded members of the aristocracy expressed their dissatisfaction with the tsarist reforms and were imprisoned in the Petropavlovsk fortress for critiquing the "inefficiency" of the peasant reforms. Troitskii, 246.

²⁴ Fedorov, V.A., *Istoriia Rossii 1861- 1917*, 36. Levin provides a different number of revolts within the same period. See Levin, *Obshchestvennoe dvizhenie v Rossii*, 146. Besides the forces of the internal guard, sixty-four infantry troops, and sixteen cavalry regiments of a regular army were involved in the suppression of these revolts. Troitskii, 229-230. Some post-Soviet and Western scholars believe that in the entire context of Russia the number of participants in peasant revolts was not considerable. See Pantin et al., *Revoliutsionnaia traditsiia v Rossii*, 163-164; Polunov, 92.

²⁵ Twenty-three million serfs formed the market of free wage labour that stimulated industrial development in the cities, and led to the emergence of new classes of bourgeoisie and workers (who eventually became proletariats). See N.A. Troitskii, 200. On the workers' movement in 1860s and 1870s see also Levin, 271-281, 422-470.

²⁶ In the 1870s there were more than 300 worker revolts. See Troitskii, 234.

Despite the harsh measures against the protesters (penal servitude in Siberia), the worker movement spread and drew in larger factories and plants.²⁷

There was also unrest among students: their uprisings resulted in the temporary closing of St. Petersburg and Kazan Universities in 1861. Students of Kazan University supported the peasants' revolt by organizing the Office for the Dead Peasants from Kazan province, in which more than 400 professors and students were gathered. The Office was closed with the arrest of Professor A.P. Shchapov, who delivered a speech, at the end of which he exclaimed: "Long live democratic constitutions!"²⁸ Russian officials reacted by issuing a new "Provisional Rule" for Russian universities, which strengthened surveillance over the students and restricted access for people from different social ranks, or so-called *raznochintsy*.²⁹ This Provisional Rule caused mass student dissent in Kazan, St. Petersburg, and Moscow.³⁰

A number of secret revolutionary organizations, such as *Zemlia i volia* [*Land and Liberty*], Ishutin's Circle, Nechaev's Circle, *Narodnaia rasprava* [*People's Reprisal*], Tchaikovsky's Circle, and Dolgushin's Circle, appeared after 1861. Many members of these circles were radicals. In 1866, one member of Ishutin's Circle, Dmitrii Karakozov,

²⁷ Levin, 469.

²⁸ Levin, 175; Polunov, 142.

²⁹ Singular *raznochinets*; from Russian "razno," or "different," and "chin," a "rank." Encyclopedia of Brokgauz and Efron defines *raznochintsy* as people from "military servants, lower court ranks, civilians and discharged military servants, who registered neither as the merchants nor as members of any guild [...] children of personal nobility." See *Entsyklopediia*, vol. 51 (1899), 179-180. Levin characterized *raznochintsy* as the "contingent of activists and fighters in the revolutionary movement"; they were born in poverty, but were educated; they stood closer to the common people and peasants than noble revolutionaries. Levin, 87-88.

³⁰ Levin, 177-178; Fedorov, 100; Kornilov, *Kurs istorii Rossii XIX veka*, 484-485.

made an assassination attempt on tsar Alexander II; the following year Anton Berezovskii repeated the attempt at regicide, when Alexander II traveled to Paris.³¹

One of the most prominent radical groups in the 1870s and 1880s was *Land and Liberty*, which did not oppose any form of individual terror against government agents.³² Two terrorist acts were committed in 1878: Vera Zasulich, a young teacher, shot Petersburg's governor, Fedor Trepov, and few months later, military officer Sergei Kravchinskii killed the chief of the secret police, Nikolai Mezentsev, who was responsible for the mass repression of many members of the populist movement. In 1879, Alexander Solov'ev, another member of *Land and Liberty*, made a third unsuccessful attempt to assassinate the tsar.³³ Later, *Land and Liberty* was reorganized into another group called *Narodnaia volia*, or *People's Will*, and its organizers sentenced Alexander II to death. After seven other unsuccessful attempts, they finally assassinated the tsar in March 1881. Another wave of repression spread throughout Russia. Within eighteen months (from July 1881 through 1882), six thousand members of *People's Will* were repressed.³⁴

³¹ See Claudia Verhoeven, *The Odd Man Karakozov: Imperial Russia, Modernity, and the Birth of Terrorism* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 2009).

³² Levin, 386. The program of *Land and Liberty* accepted a criminally conspired "systematic eradication" of people who "support one or another odious order," including "the most harmful and prominent" government agents. Ibid.

³³ Polunov, 149-150. Another eight attempts to assassinate Alexander II were made by the members of *Narodnaia volia* [*People's Will*]. Troitskii, 266.

³⁴ Troitskii, 264; Polunov, 155. Troitskii believes that the "second revolutionary situation" emerged at the end of 1870s. Troitskii, 287-297. Peasants were desperate because of the crop setback in 1879 and the famine in 1880 that was caused by the Russo-Turkish War (1877-78). Although the peasant movement was less intense than after the abolition of serfdom in 1861, some of the peasant revolts included as many as 40,000 to 50,000 people from nineteen different rural districts [*volost*] in Russia. Troitskii, 288. The upper classes were thrown into crisis in 1880 when Alexander II entrusted Mikhail Loris-Melikov with the responsibility of making all official decisions to preserve law and order in St. Petersburg or any other Russian province. By doing this, the tsar placed his power into the hands of an uncrowned person,

Besides the class struggle, Russia had to face the challenge of being a multi-ethnic Empire. On the western, southern, as well as eastern frontiers of the empire, the situation sometimes was dangerously unstable. Two Polish revolts broke out in 1830-31 and 1863 and could only be suppressed by brute force.³⁵ Surprisingly, by the second half of the nineteenth century Russian society was so divided that some Russian organizations, such as *Land and Liberty*, supported the 1863 uprising. The Polish revolt of 1863 awoke national movements among the Lithuanians, Belorussians, and Ukrainians, and instigated a series of peasant revolts.³⁶ The Christian ethnic groups of Transcaucasia – Georgians and Armenians – also reacted to Russian rule by organizing nationalist movements. In 1890, the first “Revolutionary Armenian Federation” appeared in Tiflis. It sought to liberate Armenians, first in the Ottoman Empire, and then in the Russian Empire.³⁷ As I discuss in Chapter Two, a great number of Russia’s Muslim ethnic communities lived through national and religious rebirth and by the end of the nineteenth century many regions of the newly acquired territory of Turkestan, such as Fergana and Andijan, were involved in riots.³⁸

revealing his helplessness in handling the current state of affairs. Troitskii, 293. As Polunov points out, “Loris-Melikov gathered around him a circle of like-minded officials and gradually turned into an informal prime minister.” See Polunov, 154.

³⁵ On the Polish national movement see Z. Lenskii, “Pol’skoe vosstanie 1863 g.,” in *Istoriia Rossii v XIX v.* (St. Petersburg: tip. A.N. and I.N. Granat, 1908), 2:271-324; R.E.F. Leslie, *Reform and Insurrection in Russian Poland 1856-1865* (London: University of London, Athlone Press, 1963); Andrej Walicki, *Philosophy and Romantic Nationalism: The Case of Poland* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1982).

³⁶ Andreas Kappeler, *The Russian Empire: A Multiethnic History*, trans. Alfred Clayton (Harlow: Longman, 2001), 220-230. Polish insurgents did not support these peasants since their program of national self-determination differed from the peasants’ socially directed unrest. See V.A. Fedorov, *Istoriia Rossii 1861-1917*, 106-107.

³⁷ Kappeler, 233.

³⁸ Daniel Brower, *Turkestan and the Fate of the Russian Empire* (London and New-York: Routledge Curzon, 2003), 90-96; Jeff Sahadeo, *Russian Colonial Society in Tashkent, 1865-1923* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2007), 79-107. Oddly enough, the Russian government sometimes

In addition to social and ethnic conflicts, religious groups, such as Old Believers, Molokans, and Dukhobors, threatened the state's unity by disobeying its military and religious regulations. In some Russian provinces, such as Chernigov and Vologodsk, *raskol'niki* (schismatics) outnumbered Russian official Orthodox believers.³⁹ As Kornilov points out, in the 1840s no less than one million *raskol'niki* lived in Russia.⁴⁰ In the late 1830s and early 1840s, members of Russian sects considered especially dangerous – Dukhobortsy and Malokane – were completely banished to the Caucasus or Siberia.⁴¹ Other sects, such as Old Believers and Wanderers, were also displaced and persecuted.⁴² The persecution, however, did not lessen the number of *raskol'niki*, but only strengthened their hostility towards the authorities, widening the chasm between the government and the general population.

Thus, the history of nineteenth-century Russia is the history of internal conflicts that tore Russian society apart. Oddly enough, despite the rise of national movements the Russian elite had to suppress its own ethnic core, the Russian peasants, who could not be considered a dominant group when it came to civil rights because of serfdom.⁴³ A negative presentation of the Other in publications that existed in oral culture long before

supported Russia's heterogeneity by encouraging national consciousness of the empire's minority groups (such as the Chuvash and Latvians). As Olga Maiorova argues, the policy of supporting ethnic minorities was implemented in order to counterbalance the expansionist nation-building projects of non-Russian regional elites (such as the Poles or Tatars). See Maiorova, 14-15.

³⁹ Kornilov, 357-58.

⁴⁰ Ibid., 359.

⁴¹ Ibid., 356.

⁴² On the destiny of Old Believers, see Robert O. Crummy, *The Old Believers and The World of Antichrist: The Vyg Community and the Russian State, 1694-1855* (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1970), 198-218.

⁴³ As I discuss in Chapter Two, the nobility of some Russia's subject peoples (Tatars, Poles, Georgians, and Azeri) enjoyed the privileges of the empire's ruling elite and often controlled economic, religious, and social life in the region.

the nineteenth century could have indirectly contributed to the spirit of national unification by redirecting hatred from internal (ideological, social, religious) enemies to external ones. I will now analyze three literary (-musical) genres (*bylinas*, historical songs, and children's songs) that used oriental subjects to emphasize unity in a time of division and conflict.

2. Oriental Others in Russian Literature and Music

Bylinas

A *bylina* is a traditional Russian epic song or narrative poem of the early Eastern Slavs of Kievan Rus about Russian heroes and events that took place in the remote past or about mythical events. The word '*bylina*' itself comes from the Russian *byl'*, a word which signifies a narrative of real events, as opposed to fictional ones. In the vast repertoire of the *bylinas*, the most popular is the so-called "Kievan cycle," which recounts events that took place in or near Kiev involving heroes and others gathered around Prince Vladimir (in the same way that the Knights of the Round Table gathered around King Arthur).⁴⁴ The city of Kiev, after its Christianization in 988-989 and before its fall to Batu Khan in 1240, was one of the wealthiest cities of medieval Europe, richer and more prosperous than Paris or London of the time. The trade routes from Scandinavia to Byzantium and from Central Asia and the Far East to Western Europe passed through

⁴⁴ James Bailey and Tatiana Ivanova, trans., introduction and commentary, *An Anthology of Russian Folk Epics* (Armonk, New York and London, England: M.E. Sharpe, 1998), xxiii; A.M. Astakhova, "Russkii geroicheskii epos," in *Byliny. Russkii muzykal'nyi epos*, B.M. Dobrovol'skii and V.V. Korguzalov, eds. (Moscow: Sovetskii kompozitor, 1981), 12. In three other types of *bylinas* – mythological, Novgorod, and Galician-Volynian – the subject of Russian-Asian relationship is not found. As Voorheis points out, this is because both Novgorod and Galicia-Volyna had relatively little contact with Turkic nomads. See Voorheis, 109.

the Kievan Rus' territory.⁴⁵ Since several steppe confederations, including the Khazar state, the Pechenegs, and the Polovtsians (also known as Cumans), bordered Kiev on the southeastern side, epics from the Kievan cycle portray conflicts between these nomadic peoples and the warriors of Kievan Rus'. Many Russian researchers, who follow the historical school of studying Russian *bylinas*, suggest that "Kievan" *bylinas* represent real people and places.⁴⁶ Indeed, in early *bylinas* one can find the names of different Polovtsian khans, such as Konchack, Sharukhan, and Sugri, which are represented in *bylinas* as Kon'shik, Kudrevan, Shark-velikan, and Skurla.⁴⁷ The name Batyga unquestionably represents Khan Batyi;⁴⁸ the name Tugarin Zmeevich, against whom Alesha Popovich fights, probably originated from the Cuman's khan Tugorkhan, who repeatedly attacked Kievan Rus'.⁴⁹ Early encounters with Tatars, such as the battle on Kalka in 1225 and the Tatar invasion in 1239-1240, are echoed in *bylinas* about the Kalin-tsar, Batyga, and Idolishche.⁵⁰

⁴⁵ Serge Zenkovsky, ed., trans., and introduction, *Medieval Russia's Epics, Chronicles, and Tales* (New York: E.P. Dutton and Co., Inc., 1963), 5; Bailey and Ivanova, xix.

⁴⁶ See, for instance, Vsevolod F. Miller, *Ocherki russkoi narodnoi slovesnosti* [Essays of Russian Folk Literature] (Moscow: I.D. Sytin, 1897-1924).

⁴⁷ See Bailey and Ivanova, 216; Voorheis, 127-128. Russian writer L.I. Emel'ianov believes that some *bylinas* comment on real events in such detail that he includes them in the category of *historical songs*. See Emel'ianov, "Istoricheskie pesni," in *Russkaia istoricheskaia pesnia*, ed. Iu.A. Andreev et al. (Leningrad: Sovetskii pisatel', 1990), 7-10.

⁴⁸ See Vsevolod Miller, "Bylina o Batye," in *Ocherki russkoi narodnoi slovesnosti*, 1: 305-327.

⁴⁹ See *Drevnie rossiiskie stikhotvoreniia sobrannye Kirsheiu Danilovym*, 442; Voorheis, 126.

⁵⁰ S.N. Azbelev, "Byliny ob otrazhenii tatarskogo nashestviia," in *Iz istorii russkoi narodnoi poezii. Russkii fol'klor* (Leningrad: Nauka, 1971), 162-180; *Drevnie rossiiskie stikhotvoreniia*, 444. Although Asian enemies are almost always called "Tatars" in *bylinas*, some of these songs were most probably created before the "Tatar Yoke" and reflected the military encounters with Pechenegs and Polovtsians. See Bailey and Ivanova, 51; A.M. Astakhova, "Russkii geroicheskii epos," in *Byliny: russkii muzykal'nyi epos*, 13.

The first printed fragments of *bylinas* appeared at the end of the eighteenth century, in song collections by Mikhail Chulkov and Vasilii Trutovskii.⁵¹ But one of the most important early sources of Russian *bylinas* – known as the *Collection of Kirsha Danilov* – was found and printed at the very beginning of the nineteenth century. Kirsha Danilov's collection is the first source containing epic narration with transcriptions of tunes. Compiled in the middle of the eighteenth century and first published in 1804 under the title *Ancient Russian Poems Collected by Kirsha Danilov*, this collection went through seven editions, the first two of which especially resonated with the Russian public.⁵² All the Russian intellectual elite knew and cited this source. Rimsky-Korsakov used one tune (about Solovei Budimirovich) from Danilov's collection in his opera *Sadko*. Literary men, such as Alexander Pushkin, Vissarion Belinskii, Ivan Turgenev, and Leo Tolstoi had a copy of Danilov's collection and often cited passages and used motives from it.⁵³ The texts from Kirsha Danilov's collection were often reprinted in other nineteenth-century Russian folk collections, such as Kireevskii's *Sobranie narodnykh pesen* and Khudiakov's *Sbornik velikorusskikh narodnykh istoricheskikh pesen*.

The collection's popularity might be attributed to its role in nurturing nationalism by representing the Russian people's shared glory and suffering. Vissarion Belinsky, an influential nineteenth-century Russian literary critic, believed that every Russian man

⁵¹ Chulkov, Mikhail Dmitrievich (1743?-92), *Sobranie raznykh pesen* (St. Petersburg: Tip. Imperatorskoi Akademii Nauk, 1913); Trutovskii, Vasilii Fedorovich (1740?-1810), *Sobranie russkikh prostykh pesen s notami v chetyrekh chastiakh* (St. Petersburg, 1776-1795). See an incomplete list of nineteenth-century publications of Russian *bylinas*, historical, and children songs in **Appendix 1**.

⁵² A.P. Evgen'eva and B.N. Putilov, eds., *Drevnie rossiiskie stikhotvoreniia sobrannye Kirsheiu Danilovym* (Moscow: Nauka, 1977), 365-366. Kirsha Danilov's collection was published in 1804, 1818, 1878, 1892, 1901, 1938, and 1977.

⁵³ See *Ibid.*, 365-371.

should know Danilov's collection, if "the poesy is not alien to his soul and if everything related to the Russian spirit [*dukh*] makes his heart beat stronger" and, hence, the collection should be part of the schools' curriculum.⁵⁴ According to A. P. Evgen'eva and B.N. Putilov, Belinsky often addressed the images of Russian heroes since he saw (or rather imagined) in them a "poetic expression of the national character of the Russian people."⁵⁵

From 1861 to 1867 there appeared another very popular collection of *bylinas* by Pavel Rybnikov who, in the middle of the nineteenth century, traveled around the region of Lake Onega (north-west of Russia) and gathered several hundred *bylinas*. Rybnikov's rediscovery of *bylina* tradition, the genre that by the nineteenth-century thought to be extinct, caught the immediate attention of a large public, including Russia's official circles. After the publication of the first volume in 1861, Rybnikov obtained an award from the Imperial Russian Geographic Society (IRGO), and after the publication of the third volume he received a golden medal from the IRGO and was distinguished with the most honorary non-governmental Demidov's prize. Furthermore, the Ministry of Education obliged all students of history and philology to buy it.⁵⁶

The importance of Rybnikov's multi-volume publication for the official circles is hard to overestimate. Shaken by rebelling peasants, workers, students, *raznochintsy*, dissatisfied intelligentsia and liberals, Russia, as never before, needed a unifying force, a

⁵⁴ "...esli poeziia ne chuzhda dushe ego i esli vse rodstvennoe russkomu dukhu sil'nee zastavliaet bit'sia ego serdtse." V.G. Belinskii, *Polnoe sobranie sochinenii*, 4: 381.

⁵⁵ "poeticheskoe vyrazhenie natsional'nykh kachestv russkogo naroda." See B.N. Putilov, "Sbornik Kirshi Danilova i ego mesto v russkoi fol'kloristike," in *Drevnie rossiiskie stikhotvoreniia sobrannye Kirsheiu Danilovym*, ed. A.P. Evgen'eva and B.N. Putilov, 370.

⁵⁶ See I.A. Razumova, "Introduction," in *Pesni sobrannye P.N. Rybnikovym*, vol. 1 (Petrozavodsk: Kareliia, 1989), 34.

narrative that would bring together its heterogeneous society. Certainly, besides the projects of unification, the search for redefining the Russian nation interested writers of a nationalist persuasion. Historical myth, due to its democratic nature, not only could appeal to every level of society and could be taken to represent the voice of the common people (the inheritors of the past), but also, as Ol'ga Maiorova argues, could help the Russian elite to “justify programs of national transformation as restorations of deeply ingrained native institutions” and refashion key historical myths to portray the Russian people as the ruling nationality, whose character would define the empire.⁵⁷

What kinds of stories about the Russian-Asian relationship do the “Kievan” *bylinas* tell us? Contrary to history, in which Russian villages were often completely devastated by invaders, battles between Russians and Tatars (or other adversaries) in *bylinas* often end with the victory of Russian *bogatyr*s, or heroes. Il'ia Muromets, Dobrynia Nikitich, or Alesha Popovich always defeat the foe in an open fight or liberate a Russian *kniaz'* (prince) from paying tribute to the Tatars.⁵⁸ In earlier (Medieval) versions of *bylinas* Asian enemies were not often described in derogatory terms. In his dissertation *The Perception of Asiatic Nomads in Medieval Russia*, Peter Voorheis argues that originally *bylinas* portrayed the Asian nomads – Pechenegs, Polovtsians, Mongols, and Tatars – “in a far more positive manner than they did in later centuries.”⁵⁹ Voorheis continues:

⁵⁷ Maiorova, 12.

⁵⁸ See A.P. Evgen'eva and B.N. Putilov, eds., comm., *Drevnie rossiiskie stikhotvoreniia sobrannye Kirsheiu Danilovym* (Moscow: Nauka, 1977), 432; Voorheis, 122-123.

⁵⁹ Voorheis, 130.

It is difficult to imagine that the princes who fought alongside Polovcy, who married them, who themselves might be three-quarters or seven-eighths Polovcian, would be listening to songs in which the Polovcy were reduced to little more than beasts.⁶⁰

Unfortunately, it is impossible to assess when exactly Asian subjects were transformed into villains in *bylinas*. As we know them today, *bylinas* describe Asian enemies in words that emphasize the antagonism between “us” and “them.” For instance, in most of the versions of the *bylina* “Il’ia Muromets and Kalin Tsar” (recorded eighty times from different informants), the head of the Tatar army is called “the dog Kalin Tsar.” Roman Jacobson has pointed out that the “dog Kalin tsar” is just a translation of his totemic name “nogai” which means a “dog,” while Kalin in Turkish means “fat.”⁶¹ James Bailey and Tatiana Ivanova have pushed the argument further and suggested that, because of Kalin’s link with the totemic animal, the noun “dog” does not necessarily carry a derogatory meaning: “In Russian epics it is not always clear whether the performers attach a pejorative meaning to the noun “dog” or simply use it as part of the Tatar Tsar’s name.”⁶² However, for a native Russian speaker, who is not necessarily aware of all the terminological details of the Tatar title, this noun carries an extremely negative connotation, since it is used primarily in a negative context and with adjectives, such as “evil” [*zlodei Kalinovich*], “vile” [*poganye*], or “damned” [*prokliaty*].⁶³

Furthermore, in Russian *bylinas*, the Asian enemy is sometimes represented as a fantastic monster with a hybrid of zoomorphic and anthropomorphic characteristics.

⁶⁰ Ibid., 131.

⁶¹ Roman Jacobson, “Sobaka Kalin Car,” in *Selected Writings*, vol. 4 (The Hague and Paris: Mouton, 1966), 64-81.

⁶² See Voorheis, 124; Bailey and Ivanova, *An Anthology of Russian Folk Epics*, 51.

⁶³ See “Ilia Muromets and Kalin Tsar” and “Dobrynia Nikitich and Vasilii Kazimirovich,” in Bailey, 52-68, 108-118.

Bylinas that recount the fight between the hero, Il'ia Muromets, and his enemy, Idolishche, normally present Idolishche as a mythological monster. However, in one version, Idolishche is presented as a human being, a Tatar who takes the holy city of Kiev.⁶⁴ *Bylinas* about Idolishche and Alesha Popovich also nurtured national hatred towards orientals by associating Tatars with an ugly and evil monster.

Many *bylinas* from Kirsha Danilov's and Pavel Rybnikov's collections present this negative image of the oriental Other. Approximately ten of the sixty-one epic narrations in Kirsha Danilov's collection of 1818 are about Russia's collective suffering at the hands of their Asian enemies and fights between Russian heroes and endless armies from Asia. In a number of songs from Danilov's collection, Tatars invariably attack peaceful Russians, mercilessly ravage Russian villages, and take Russian girls prisoner. The first three editions of Kirsha Danilov's collection were published shortly after major wars had broken out between Russia and its Eastern or Southern neighbours.⁶⁵ In these instances, the collections probably helped to feed the sentiments of animosity and intense hatred towards oriental Others. The first edition coincided with the beginning of the Russo-Persian War (1804-1813). The second edition was published in 1818, one year after the beginning of the Caucasian War (1817-64), which lasted about fifty years. The third edition appeared in 1878, one year after the beginning of the Russo-Turkish War (1877-1878). It is probably not a coincidence that some historical songs from this

⁶⁴ *Pesni sobrannye P.N. Rybnikovym: v trekh tomakh* [Songs Collected by P.N. Rybnikov in Three Volumes], vol. 1 (Petrozavodsk: Kareliia, 1989), 262.

⁶⁵ The list of major nineteenth-century wars that involved Russia and its eastern or southern neighbours includes: the Russo-Persian war (1804-1813); the Caucasian war (1818-1864); the Russo-Persian war (undeclared) (1826-1828); the Russo-Turkish war (1828-1829); the Crimean war (1853-1856); the conquest of Central Asia (1864-early 1880s); the Russo-Turkish war (1877-1878).

collection, such as “Vzatie Kazanskogo tsarstva,” reminded Russians of their defeat of Tsar’ Ivan IV of the Kazan Khanate (1552).

Another historical song from Danilov’s collection refers to the battle of the Russian army under Konotop in the summer of 1659.⁶⁶ In this song, the Crimean Khan takes Prince Semen Pozharskii captive and asks him to switch his allegiance. Pozharskii, offended by this request, swears that if he served the Khan he would have cut off his head. Infuriated, the Khan orders that Pozharskii be beheaded and demands that his body be cut into pieces and scattered all over a field. When the Cossacks gather Pozharskii’s body parts, put them together, and wash them, they coalesce together and the prince’s body is buried with honour. Remarkably, the name of Semen Pozharskii remained in Russian history as a martyr who was canonized shortly after his death and became a locally venerated saint.⁶⁷ The message to the reader (or the audience) in this song is clear: be loyal to the Russian ruler, do not fear the enemy and death, because even if you die in the most undesirable way, your consecrated body will be buried with honour, and you will be venerated forever.

Not all Russian *bylinas* present a Russian-Asian struggle: some *bylinas* reflect internal clashes between Russian princes and heroes. As Baily and Ivanova point out, one *bylina* about Vasilii Ignat’ev (Ignatyev or Ignatievich) and Batyga reflects social conflicts in Muscovite Russia: the aristocratic “fat-bellied” boyars reject the lower-class Vasilii.⁶⁸

⁶⁶ *Drevnie rossiiskie stikhotvoreniia sobrannye Kirsheiu Danilovym*, 153-156.

⁶⁷ See I.B. Babulin, *Kniaz’ Semen Pozharskii i Konotopskaia bitva* (St. Petersburg: Russkaia simfoniia, 2009), 6-7.

⁶⁸ See Bailey and Ivanova, 214. A.M. Astakhova believes that these social motifs were “nourished by historic reality,” which reflected the “real events of public unrest.” See Astakhova, 13.

Once Vasilii returns to the court from his fight against the Tatars, instead of recognizing him as a hero, the boyars scorn him, since they no longer need his help.⁶⁹ In another *bylina* about Il'ia Muromets and the Tatar invasion -- this one from Pavel Rybnikov's collection -- the Russian *bogatyr*', Il'ia Muromets, is unjustly punished by Prince Vladimir and sent to prison.⁷⁰ Once the Tatars arrive in front of the Kiev-grad and Kalin-tsar' demands that the city be given to him without a fight, Prince Vladimir begs Il'ia for help, not for himself, as he puts it, but for the sake of "the Most Holy Mother of God, and for the Saint Mother-Rus', and for the collegiate church."⁷¹ Il'ia overcomes his personal resentment and fights with Kalin-tsar'. Thus, in this *bylina* the internal conflict ends when the external enemy appears and the prince begs the hero for help. A didactic orientation of these two *bylinas* is highly suggestive: they could teach the Russian reader to forgive an unjust ruling system (or unfair personal treatment) for the sake of the greater purpose, such as saving the mother Rus'.

Thus, the subtext of the *bylinas* presented in Rybnikov's and Danilov's collections may have served political ends. On the one hand, the *bylinas* appealed to the Russians' common past and reminded them about the suffering of all Slavic peoples in the hands of a common enemy from the East and thus helped to unite the nation in the face of an enemy. On the other hand, some *bylinas*, such as the one about Ili'a Muromets from Rybnikov's collection, carried a message that all Russian people, just like the

⁶⁹ See Bailey and Ivanova, "Vasily Ignatyev," 214-224.

⁷⁰ See Rybnikov, 2:513-519.

⁷¹ See Rybnikov, 2:514. *Rus'* is an old, poetic name for Russia.

ancient hero Il'ia, should overcome petty personal problems and fight for the common good.

Historical and Soldier Songs

Danilov's and Rybnikov's collections were not the only anthologies printed during wartime and outbreaks of internal conflicts. A huge body of historical and soldier songs with oriental subjects (stylistically related to the *bylinas*) consistently appeared in folksong collections within one year before or after the outbreak of major wars on the eastern fringes of the empire.⁷² For instance, a number of song collections can be connected to the Russian Crimean War of 1853-56. One year before the Crimean War, the *Russian Popular Song-Book* by M. Maksimov appeared in Moscow.⁷³ One song in this collection praises the courage and military prowess of Russian general Paskevich-Erevanskii, who actively participated in the Russo-Turkish War at the beginning of the nineteenth century.⁷⁴ Another song reminds Russian readers about the victory over Napoleon and promises victory in the Balkans: "Adrianople is not so far / and Constantinople is trembling!"⁷⁵

⁷² The essential difference between *bylinas* and historical songs is that in historical songs the events described in the songs took place not in a remote past (such as "Tatar Yoke"), but in relatively recent past; the names, the places, and events referred in historical songs are more precise and can be historically approved.

⁷³ See M. Maksimov, *Narodnyi russkii pesennik soderzhashchii v sebe: pesni, romansy i kuplety iz oper i vodevilei liubimyykh v narode v dvukh chastiakh* (Moscow: tip. V. Got'e, 1852).

⁷⁴ Maksimov, 17-19. Interestingly, the same song text reappears in another collection of song texts published on the eve of the 1877 Russo-Turkish War. See *Polnyi russkii pesennik soderzhashchii v sebe bollee 300 russkikh, malorossiiskikh, tsyganskikh, voennykh pesen, romansov, shansonnet i kupletov* (Moscow: tip. S. Orlova, 1876), 237-239.

⁷⁵ "Nedalek Adrinaopol' / I drozhit Konstantinopol'." See Maksimov, 17. Remarkably, in the text of a few soldier songs from the first half of the century the enemy is sometimes given credit for his bravery. For instance, in three soldier songs from a collection published in 1843 by A. Kalatilin, the Turks "defy death"

Between the years 1851 and 1854, four parts of Mikhail Stakhovich's *Collection of Russian Folk Songs* [*Sobranie russkikh narodnykh pesen*] were published.⁷⁶

Interestingly, in the third and fourth parts of this collection, which were published during the Crimean War, two songs refer to the "Tatar Yoke" and one (an arrangement of a song from Kirsha Danilov's collection) is about a war in the Crimea. The publication of songs about earlier conflicts with oriental peoples reminded Russians of the collective experience of pain and suffering that they had endured for centuries. Notably, in his *Russian Folk Songs*, Stakhovich included one Bulgarian song, which he may have collected from Bulgarians living in Russian territory.⁷⁷ The inclusion of a Bulgarian song is not coincidental: during the Crimean War, many Bulgarian volunteers fought for the Russian army in Wallachia.⁷⁸ Some Russian military officials had hoped to destabilize the Turkish army with a mass uprising of Turkish Christian subjects, including Bulgarians, when the Russian troops crossed the Danube.⁷⁹

and fight the Russians with considerable courage. See A. Kalatilin, *Vseobshchii pesennik ili polnoe sobranie luchshikh vsiakogo roda pesen* (Moscow: I. Ivanov-Smirnov, 1843), 3: 116, 120, 122-123. L.V. Domanovskii also points out that some songs about the Crimean War are "imbued with respect for French soldiers." See L.V. Domanovskii, "Krymskaia voina v russkom narodnom tvorchestve," in *Russkii fol'klor* VI (1961): 245-269; here, 265.

⁷⁶ See *Sobranie russkikh narodnykh pesen* dlia fortepiano i semistrunnoi gitary. Tekst i melodii sobral i muzyku arranzhiroval Mikhail Stakhovich (St. Petersburg and Moscow: s.n., 1851-1854). **Mikhail Alexandrovich Stakhovich (1819-1858)** was a Russian folklorist, guitarist, poet, and playwright. In 1841 he graduated from the Philological Faculty of Moscow University. In 1844 he studied music theory in Dresden. He collected folksongs in the villages of Orlov, Tambov, Voronezh, and Riazan' provinces. Some songs from his collection were rearranged and published in collections by K.P. Vilbova (1860) and N. A. Rimsky-Korsakov (1877). Some melodies were used by Russian composers in symphonic works (e.g. Balakirev's Overture on Three Russian Songs) and in operas (e.g. Rimsky-Korsakov's *Snegurochka* and *Skazka o Tsare Saltane*). On Stakhovich, see I.F. Polikarpov, "Stakhovich, Mikhail Alexandrovich," in *Muzykal'naia entsiklopediia*, vol. 5, ed. Iu.V. Keldysh (Moscow: Sovetskaia entsiklopediia, 1981), 265.

⁷⁷ See *Narody Rossii. Etnograficheskie ocherki. Izdane zhurnala "Priroda i liudi"* [*Peoples of Russia. Ethnographic Essays. Publication of the Journal "Nature and People"*] (St. Petersburg: Tip. Tovarishchestva "Obshchestvennaia pol'za," 1879), 2: 471-472; Kappeler, 117, 124.

⁷⁸ See John Selton Curtiss, *Russia's Crimean War* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1979), 249.

⁷⁹ See J. Curtiss, *Russia's Crimean War* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1979), 238-250.

Although it is impossible to establish a direct link between events of the war and the contents of songs, Domanovskii suggests that certain phases in the development of the Crimean War influenced the content of some folksongs. At the beginning of the war, most popular folksongs expressed Russia's official view: its belief in its own invincibility and the might of the Empire.⁸⁰ Gradually, the songs that reflected official ideology vanished and were forgotten. During wartime many satirical songs that mocked the enemy appeared.⁸¹ At the end of the war some songs expressing dissatisfaction with the tsarist officials and even the tsar' himself emerged.⁸²

Just as a song's popularity could wax and wane throughout different phases of a war, some songs that had emerged in connection with a particular war were recycled and recontextualized into later wars. As E.S. Litvin observes, some songs born in earlier wars with Turkey, such as "Pole chistoe, turetskoe" [A Virgin Turkish Field], reappeared during the Crimean War and the 1878 Russo-Turkish War, gaining new meaning and becoming even more popular in their new context.⁸³

When the Crimean War was almost lost in 1856, one song in V. Il'in's collection of thirty-five songs tried to soothe the uneasy feelings of humiliation.⁸⁴ The song's lyrics

⁸⁰ Domanovskii, 253.

⁸¹ Ibid., 254-255.

⁸² Ibid., 266.

⁸³ E.S. Litvin, "Russkaia istoricheskaia pesnia pervoi poloviny XIX veka," in *Istoricheskie pesni XIX veka*, L.V. Domanovskii, O.B. Alekseeva, and E.S. Litvin, eds. (Leningrad: Nauka, 1973), 23. In a collection of Russian folksongs by N. Abramychev, which I consider below, this song appears in an arrangement for voice and piano. See Abramychev, *Sbornik russkikh narodnykh pesen. Zapisal s narodnogo napeva i pereložhil na odin golos s akkompānimentom fortepiano N. Abramychev* (St. Petersburg: M. Vasil'ev, 1879), 44-45.

⁸⁴ V. Il'in, *Karmannyi pesennik ili sobranie noveishikh romansov, ballad, i pesen* (Moscow: M. Smirnova, 1856), 63-64.

present a series of rhetorical questions addressed to a soldier about past Russian military victories.⁸⁵

Ты помнишь ли как мы под знаменами Отечества сражались со врагом, Как он бежал с несметными полками Скажи, солдат, ты помнишь ли о том? [...]	Do you remember how under the banners Of [our] fatherland [we] fought the enemy, How he [the enemy] ran with infinite regiments Tell me, soldier, do you remember that? [...]
Ты помнишь ли как наш орел двухглавый, На высотах Мормарта бросив гром, Дал миру мир, во имя русской славы: Скажи, солдат, ты помнишь ли о том?	Do you remember how our double- headed eagle, At a height of Montmartre threw a thunderbolt, Gave peace to the world, in the name of Russian glory: Tell me, soldier, do you remember that?

Similar collections of songs on the subject of Russian/Oriental conflicts were also printed around the Russo-Turkish War of 1877. Oriental enemies in songs published around 1877 are of special interest, since, as many Russian, Soviet, and Western researchers point out, this Russo-Turkish War was the result of immense pressure from the public.⁸⁶ The possibility of war in the Balkans was discussed in Russian newspapers from 1875, after the eruption of two revolts in Bosnia-Herzegovina and Bulgaria (in 1876) against the Ottoman rule. The brutal suppression of both uprisings produced a stormy reaction among the Slavic people: Serbia, followed by Montenegro, declared war

⁸⁵ In her research on Russian nationalism Olga Maiorova suggests that after the defeat in the Crimean War the cult of military victories “took an compensatory function in Russian national discourse.” See Maiorova, 129. Memories of war, refreshed by the Polish uprising of 1863, were used to “transform Russian people into the politically dominant group, to epitomize the national’s community’s consolidation along social and religious lines, and to unity ruler and people.” Ibid.

⁸⁶ See Polunov, 167-168, Schimmelpenninck van der Oye, “Russian Foreign Policy: 1815-1917,” in *The Cambridge History of Russia. Vol. II: Imperial Russia, 1689-1917*, 554-574; here, 565; Troitskii, 273-274.

against the Ottoman Empire. In Russia, Slavic Committees collected funds, purchased weapons, and sent them to the Balkans; as many as five thousand Russian volunteers went to fight for their “brother Slavs of the same faith.”⁸⁷ By the end of 1876, Alexander II bowed to public pressure “in order to save his status as true leader of the nation [...] and was compelled to act more decisively in protection of the Slavs,” ultimately declaring war against the Ottoman Empire.⁸⁸

One year before the beginning of the Russo-Turkish War, *A Complete Russian Songbook* with texts of more than three hundred songs was published in Moscow. One section of this songbook is devoted to Russian soldiers’ songs, which praise Russia’s military prowess and recount its successful campaigns in the Caucasus (against Shamil) and in Turkey (the taking of Kars).⁸⁹ Significantly, many songs in this collection appeal to the tsar as father of the nation and protector of Orthodox religion.⁹⁰ For example, one song’s text contains the following lines:

Hurrah! For you, Tsar’ of Orthodox Russia
 Hurrah! For you, the mighty White Tsar’!
 The throne is glorified by you,
 And it is firm in its belief!⁹¹

⁸⁷ Fedorov, *Istoriia Rossii, 1861-1917*, 149.

⁸⁸ Kornilov, 698. For more on the Russo-Turkish War of 1877-1878, see Kornilov, 694-703; Troitskii, 270-286; Polunov, 166-172; Fedorov, 148-155.

⁸⁹ *Polnyi russkii pesennik sodержashchii v sebe bolee 300 russkikh, malorossiiskikh, tsyganskikh, voennykh pesen, romansov, shansonet i kupletov* (Moscow: tip. S Orlova, 1876), 237-9, 246-7.

⁹⁰ See *Polnyi russkii pesennik* (1876), 239, 253-254.

⁹¹ “Ura! Tebe, Tsar’ Rusi pravoslavnoi/ Ura! Tebe, moguchii Belyi Tsar’!/ Proslavlen tron toboiu,/ I krepok veroi on!” See *Polnyi russkii pesennik*, 254.

One soldier song characterizes the war as a simple alternation between fighting and drinking:

[We] like to fight against the enemy,
To answer to a bullet with a bullet,
And with a bottle, in front of the fire,
To revel on bivouacs.⁹²

The connection between fighting and drinking suggests that the war can be managed as easily as drinking, and one should not be scared to engage in battle.

A collection of Russian folksongs by P. Shtein, published in 1877 when the Russo-Turkish War erupted, presents a considerable number of songs about Russian/Asian conflicts from the time of the “Tatar Yoke” to the taking of Khotin during the Russo-Turkish War at the beginning of the nineteenth century.⁹³ Some songs in Shtein’s collection (which he calls *bylina-songs*, or *pesni bylevye*) describe the Russians’ extreme suffering at the hands of Asian invaders. The “Tatars” are taking Russian girls captive, or the Turks “crop the land with our orphan (or Orthodox) heads” and “shower the land not with the dew, but with Orthodox blood.”⁹⁴

Other songs in Shtein’s collection, which presents the majority of songs about Russian-oriental conflicts, depict the courage of the Russian army and its military figures. In one song about the taking of Khotin, for instance, the Turks are described as cowards, who run from the battlefield:

As [we] started shooting –

⁹² “Liubim drat’sia s vragami, / Pule pulei otvechat’, / I s butylkoi pred ogniami, / Na bivakakh pirovat’.” Ibid. 247.

⁹³ Shtein, P.V., *Russkie narodnye pesni, sobrannye Shteinom* (Moscow: Universitetskaia tipografiia, 1877), 22-23, 39-41, 44-45, 48-49, 56-58, 78-80, 96-97, 108, 120-121, 130-131.

⁹⁴ See Shtein (1977), 97.

The Turks started running from us;
 [Our] bombardiers became angry,
 All started pursuing [the Turks];
 Where one of [our] soldiers runs,
 There five-six Turks are lying [dead].⁹⁵

Shtein's collection of songs represents a trend of Russian song collections in the second half of the nineteenth century, since the songs about Russian military prowess in it outnumber the songs about Russia's suffering from the oriental enemy. In general, at the end of the century songs that ridicule the military weakness or backwardness of an enemy's army, as well as songs that exaggerate Russian military power and emphasize the patriotic character of the wars were published much more frequently. After the conquest of the Caucasus and Central Asia, and the Russian victory in the Balkans, Russians developed greater military confidence and prowess, which immediately influenced the content of the historical songs.⁹⁶

Not only enemies from the East and South were subject to repulsive descriptions. Some traditional Russian soldiers' songs composed and disseminated in the nineteenth century express a negative reaction towards Europeans as well. The French are often mentioned in relation to the War of 1812 with Napoleon. The English, along with the French, are also mentioned in songs about the Russo-Turkish war of 1877-78, in which Great Britain and France were allied with Turkey. Significantly, in rare cases, even Russia's own military personnel are criticized. In one song about the unsuccessful

⁹⁵ "Uzh kak nachali streliat' --/ Turki proch' ot nas bezhat': / Bombardiry oserchali, / Vse v pogoniu pobezhali; / Gde odin soldat bezhit --/ Tut piat'-shest' Turok lezhit." See Ibid., 108.

⁹⁶ See *Polnyi pesennik dragotsennyi podarok liubiteliu peniia* (1882); D. Natiev, *Kavkazskii voennyi pesennik* (St. Petersburg: tip. Trenke and Fiusno, 1895); songs and song texts published since the 1880s in the journal *Sbornik materialov dlia mestnostei i plemen Kavkaza* [*Collection of Materials for the Caucasian Region and Tribes*].

campaign against Khiva's Khanate in Central Asia in 1839-40, the adjective "evil" is used to describe a Russian officer who mistreated Russian soldiers.⁹⁷ It should be noted that the conditions of Russian soldiers' lives under Nicolas I (who reigned from 1825 to 1855) were in fact unbearable. In the period from 1825 to 1850 more than one million Russian soldiers from the lower ranks died of disease, while in all the battles combined (Russo-Persian War of 1826-1828; Russo-Turkish War of 1828-29, Caucasian Wars, as well as the suppression of the Polish revolt of 1830-31) only 30,233 soldiers were killed. The total number of soldiers in the Russian army in this period numbered about 2,604,407; thus 40.4% of soldiers died from disease.⁹⁸

One might also argue that developments in international politics were reflected in historical songs. Although it would be too difficult to establish any discernible historical correlation between song contents and particular moments of war, the ideological discourse of these songs was linked to the Russian political context. The publication of songs about infidel [*basurman*] Turks, Tatars, or Europeans who deserve to be punished supported official Russian politics and the Russian belief in the legitimacy of wars and conquest in the East and South.

Children's Songs

The oriental peoples were subject to negative representation in all types of Russian folksongs. Even if the Turks were described as courageous in some songs, they

⁹⁷ See song "Tsiolkovsky na Embe," in *Istoricheskie pesni XIX veka*, ed. L.V. Domanovskii, O.B. Alekseeva, and E.S. Litvin (Leningrad: Nauka, 1973), 197.

⁹⁸ N.A. Troitskii, *Rossia v XIX veke. Kurs leksii*, 159.

still brought nothing but suffering and destruction to Russia. Even some of the songs from children's collections also convey the state's official view on oriental Others.

Stereotypes of militant Caucasians and aggressive Turks (or Tatars) were imprinted on Russian minds from early childhood and sometimes deliberately emphasized in nineteenth-century print culture.⁹⁹ For instance, in his collection of folksongs from the Samar region, V. Varentsov includes no fewer than four lullabies describing how Tatars captured Russian girls and children.¹⁰⁰ Two of the four songs have an open appeal to the child for vengeance against the enemy when he grows up.¹⁰¹ One song-lullaby, "Na goré, na goré," ends with text completely uncharacteristic of the lullaby genre:

Rise, wake up my child,
Take a sharp sabre from the wall,
Chop and cut the evil Tatars!¹⁰²

Another lullaby from Alexander Famintsyn's and Alexander Nikulin's collections, based on Lermontov's poem *Cossack's Lullaby*, promotes the image of an

⁹⁹ As Vladimir Bobrovnikov has pointed out, the "Orientalist idiom of Caucasian 'predatory highlanders' was common in accounts of travelers, traders, and missionaries, who passed through this region." See Bobrovnikov, "Bandits and the State: Designing a 'Traditional' Culture of Violence in the Russian Caucasus," in *Russian Empire: Spare, People, Power, 1700-1930*, ed. Jane Burbank, Mark von Hagen, and Anatolyi Remnev (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2007), 240. Even some nineteenth-century Russian scholars, such as Baron P.K. Uslar, noticed that Russian readers "could imagine the highlander only as a madman, an inflamed mind, chopping [with his sword] his enemies right and left..." Cited in Bobrovnikov, 242.

¹⁰⁰ See V. Varentsov's *Sbornik pesen Samarskogo kraia* [A Collection of Songs from the Samar Region] (St. Petersburg: Tip. Baksta, 1862), 3-9. These songs are categorized as "family songs" and are placed in a section with other twenty-one family songs.

¹⁰¹ Varentsov, 8-9.

¹⁰² "Vstan' probudis' moe ditiatko, / Soimai so steny sabliu vostruiu, / Ty koli, rubi zlykh Tatrovei!" See Varentsov, 8.

“evil Chechen,” who “sharpens his dagger,” while the song’s Russian female protagonist tries to lull her child to sleep.¹⁰³

In an effort to engender the “correct” ideology in the population, the Russian Ministry of Education issued a songbook collection for public schools, in which well-known folk and popular tunes became part of the state’s propaganda machine. Alexander Nikulin’s collection of songs for schools, the third edition of which appeared in 1881, is a good example. In his anthology Nikulin reworked Russian popular songs by adding new texts with a “correct” patriotic connotation to the old melodies.¹⁰⁴ For instance, in “Appeal” [Prizyv], the text of the chorus carries the message of the Russian tsar’ (no particular name is given) to the citizens.¹⁰⁵ He appeals to the people to participate in the creation of a “new” and supposedly better life by voluntarily “unifying in one family,” which would “tie firmly all the links of Russia and give it great strength.” But this “strength is without the pursuit to harm peoples, without thirst to exterminate.” The “aim” of such “strength” is simply to “see the progeny living in prosperity.”

Русский ЦАРЬ перводержавный К новой жизни Русь воззвал, И сынам ея путь славный К новой жизни указал. Этот путь соединенья В одну семью всех семей Свяжет крепко Руси звенья, Силу мощную даст ей.	The Russian TSAR who holds supreme power Called Rus’ to a new life, And showed its sons a glorious path To this new life. It is the path of uniting All families into one family; It will tie the [separate] links of Rus’ firmly together

¹⁰³ A. Famintsyn’s *Russkii detskii pesennik* [*A Russian Children’s Songbook*] (Leipzig: Ber and Hermann, 1875), 20; A. Nikulin, *Sbornik pesen sostavlennyi Alexandrom Nikulinym, odobrennyi Uchenym Komitetom Narodnogo Prosviashcheniia dlia upotrebleniia v shkolakh Vilenskago uchebnago okruga* [*Collection of Songs Compiled by Alexander Nikulin, Approved by Academic Committee of Public Education*], 3rd ed. (Vil’na: Tip. A.G. Syrkina, 1881), 99.

¹⁰⁴ Some songs were arranged for four-voice choir, while others were meant for solo performance with or without accompaniment. There are also some numbers that present a mixture of solo and choral singing.

¹⁰⁵ Nikulin, 62-65.

Но та сила без стремленья Наносить народам вред, Нет в ней жажды к истребленью, Нет желанья людям бед. Цель её –не подвиг громкий В грозном с недругом бою, А лишь в благе для потомков Видеть родину свою. Поживём же други мирно От души мольбу творя, Чтоб в Руси всё было смирно, И приветим так ЦАРЯ: Верь ты русскому народу, Верен он тебе как встарь, За тебя в огонь и в воду Мы пойдём любимый ЦАРЬ.	And grant [our country] mighty power. But this power has no aspiration To bring harm to the peoples It contains no thirst for destruction, No desire to make anyone worse off. Its aim is not a loud exploit In a gruesome battle against the foe, But only to see a thriving homeland For our descendants. Let us live as friends in peace Sending prayers from our soul For all to be tranquil in Rus', And we will greet our TSAR with these words: Believe in the Russian people, They are loyal to you as of old, They are ready to go through fire and flood For you, our well-loved TSAR.

The ideological message in Nikulin's song is strengthened by the song's structure and arrangement, which recalls Russian official religious music practice. The song's arrangement in some way resembles the pattern of the so-called "old," "monastic" style of singing, established in the eighteenth century by Dmitri Bortniansky.¹⁰⁶ "Appeal" opens as an antiphon, in which one verse (which probably carries the song's ideological quintessence) is sung by sopranos in unison to a melody independent from the chorale that follows it (**Example 1.1a**). A four-voice choir responds to the unison singing in a standard homophonic manner, in which the 'chant' melody is trimmed to fit a simple harmonic progression. The melody is placed in the upper voice of a homophonic texture. The tenor voice doubles the chant in sixths, while the bottom line is written to form common triads.

¹⁰⁶ See Marina Frolova-Walker, *Russian Music and Nationalism: from Glinka to Stalin* (New Haven [Conn.]; London: Yale University Press, 2007), 269.

Example 1.1 a) “Appeal” from A. Nikulin’s *Sbornik pesen*; b) Glinka, “Ne poi, krasavitsa, pri mne,” mm. 1-13

a)

Russkii Tsar' per-vo - der - zhav-nyi k no - voi zhi - zni Rus' voz - zval i sy-

5 nam e - ia put' — slav - nyi k no - voi zhi - zni u - ka - zal. —

9 Rus-skii Tsar' per-vo - der - zhav - nyi k no-voi zhizni Rus'voz-zval - i sy-nam e-ia put'

8

15

S
slav - nyi — k no-voi zhi-zni u - ka - zal k no-voi zhi-zni u - kz - zal.

A

T
8

B

b)

Не пой, красавица, при мне Ты песен Грузии печальной: Напоминают мне оне Другую жизнь и берег дальный. Увы! напоминают мне Твои жестокие напевы И степь, и ночь — и при луне Черты далекой, бедной девы. Я призрак милый, роковой, Тебя увидев, забываю; Но ты поешь — и предо мной Его я вновь воображаю. Не пой, красавица, при мне Ты песен Грузии печальной: Напоминают мне оне Другую жизнь и берег дальный.	Don't sing for me, lovely girl, the mournful songs of Georgia They remind me of another life, on distant shores. Alas! They, your cruel melodies, remind me of the steppe, the night; And the moonlit features of a poor and distant virgin. While seeing you, I could forget that apparition so sad and sweet, But then you sing – and it appears once more before me. Don't sing for me, lovely girl, the mournful songs of Georgia They remind me of Another life, on distant shores.

The tune of “Appeal” (**Example 1.1a**) sung by a choir is similar to the melody from Glinka’s art-song “Ne poi krasavitsa pri mne,” which in Russian literature is

considered the first Russian “oriental” art song.¹⁰⁷ The first half of Glinka’s song is in B-flat major; the second period starts in a relative minor; and the final phrase returns to the major tonic (**Example 1.1b**).

In Glinka’s original text, the male protagonist begs an oriental woman not to sing the songs of Georgia that put him into a melancholic mood. Adding Nikulin’s new text to Glinka’s melody might read as creating strong political overtones aimed at educating Russia’s oriental subjects, or more generally, the Others. Although nothing in Nikulin’s text suggests that it is addressed to oriental peoples, the allusion to Glinka’s original song implies that Nikulin’s song particularly spoke to Russian Others. Glinka’s love song addressed to an oriental beauty becomes an official appeal to love the motherland with its indisputably enlightened idea of unification.¹⁰⁸ This blatant reversal of the original text into a crude propaganda hymn exemplifies the colonial methods used to put cultural pressure on the *inorodtsy*, the “natives” or literally “of foreign origin.”¹⁰⁹

The political purpose of Nikulin’s collection is rather obvious. A number of other songs from the collection suggest that its content and structure were quite calculated. The collection opens with a religious hymn followed by a hymn to the tsar’ (“God, save the Tsar”). The third song in the collection, called “Zavetnaia pesnia” [A Cherished Song], glorifies “Saint motherland, Russian kingdom” and all “children” living in it, and pronounces a wish that, should an enemy appear, Russia would have the power to pacify

¹⁰⁷ Taruskin discussed Glinka’s song at length in his article on Russian Orientalism. See Taruskin, *Defining Russia Musically: Historical and Hermeneutical Essays* (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 1997), 155-8. I discuss the history and the origin of this song in Chapter Three.

¹⁰⁸ See Nikulin, 62-5.

¹⁰⁹ I discuss the term *inorodtsy* in detail in Chapter Two.

it and teach the enemy “how to live with reason” [*zhit’ po razumu*].¹¹⁰ The seventh song in the collection, “Pesnia vospitannikov uchebnogo zavedeniia” [A Song of Pupils of a School Board], which supposedly expresses the point of view of school children, ends with the following statement:

To you, our merciful Monarch!
 For your welfare and mercy [given] to us
 In our souls we all keep zealously
 The temple of love and devotion [to you].¹¹¹

At least ten other songs of the sixty-two praise Russia and its Orthodox tsar, and refer to Russia’s glorious past.¹¹² The connection to the Orthodoxy and the monarchy is of special interest here since, along with the spirit of the nation (folk, or *narodnost’*), it creates a tripartite model of Official Nationalism [*ofitsioznaia narodnost’*] articulated by the Minister of Education, Sergei Uvarov. In 1833, in an official letter sent to the heads of all the educational centers of the Empire, a newly appointed Minister of the so-called “popular enlightenment” [*narodnoe prosviashchenie*] stated that the distinctive character of Russia is based on three “firm foundations”: Orthodoxy, Autocracy, and Nationality.¹¹³ Thus, Nikulin’s collection demonstrates how the ideology of the Russian state transformed children’s song repertoire into politically-charged educational material. This collection, approved by the minister of education and published several times throughout

¹¹⁰ Nikulin, 7.

¹¹¹ “Tebe zh, Monarkh nash miloserdnyi! / Za blago, milost’ tvoiu nam / My vse khranim v dushe userdno / Liubvi i predannosti khram.” Ibid., 15.

¹¹² See song numbers 4, 5, 25, 30, 31, 32, 36, 56, 58, 50, and 61.

¹¹³ See Nikolas V. Riazanovsky, *Nicholas I and Official Nationality in Russia, 1825-1855* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1959), 73; Alexander Polunov, *Russia in the Nineteenth Century: Autocracy, Reform, and Social Change, 1814-1914*; trans. Marshall S. Shatz (London and New York: M.E. Sharpe, 2005), 52-53.

the nineteenth century, is an excellent example of state interference in children's domain related to family, and, hence, private life.

The place and time of the publication of this song collection is especially suggestive since the Russian government felt an urgent imperative to promote an ideology of unification. In Polish-speaking Vil'na (present capital of Lithuania) in the western province, the policy of forced integration started being implemented after the 1863 Polish uprising. Polish administrators were replaced with Russian ones, the Polish language was eliminated in an official capacity and banned at all levels of the educational system. As Andreas Kappeler points out, in 1879 even "the use of Polish in school buildings (even during the breaks) became a punishable offence."¹¹⁴ Furthermore, the Ukrainian, Lithuanian, and Belorussian languages were also banned and repressive measures against the Catholic Church were implemented. All this was made to hasten the cultural and linguistic incorporation of the region and to put an end to ethnic, cultural, and religious disagreements.¹¹⁵ Song collections, such as Nikulin's, played an important role as propaganda promoting the Tsar's righteous intentions behind his actions.

However, this type of music propaganda did not seem to work much on the entire population, since Russian revolutionary underground societies continued actively to express their dissatisfaction with tsarist rule. In fact, the third edition of Nikulin's collection appeared in 1881, the year tsar Alexander II was assassinated by the members of *Narodnaia volia* [*People's Will*]. This event, anticipated for decades due to growing

¹¹⁴ A. Kappeler, *The Russian Empire: A Multiethnic History*, trans. Alfred Clayton (Harlow: Longman, 2001), 254. I discuss the different policies towards the Others in nineteenth-century Russia in more detail in Chapter Two.

¹¹⁵ Kappeler, *The Russian Empire*, 252-261.

frustration with the state's politics, proved that the deep ideological divides in Russian society were irreconcilable.

3. From Discrimination to Integration of Some Others

Despite the generally negative depiction of orientals in folksongs, some later nineteenth-century folksong collections of texts or music centred on the idea of a growing nation: songs of Russia's intra-imperial Others were included in collections of Russian folksongs. For instance, N. Abramychyev, in his 1879 *Collection of Russian Folksongs*, included one Gypsy and one Cheremis (Uralic people living in Kazan) song among forty Russian folksongs.¹¹⁶ Interestingly enough, Abramychyev does not distinguish the Gypsy style from the Russian music vocabulary: he uses similar musical gestures in both the Gypsy song "Tam za rechkoi" [Over the river] and the Russian song "Zemlianichka iagodka." Both songs are supplied with a similar accompaniment: a drone in the left hand and a horn-call formula in the right hand (**Examples 1.2a and 1.2b**).¹¹⁷

The inclusion of Gypsies in the imperial musical vocabulary is significant since in earlier song collections Gypsies had been represented as lazy, sly, and thievish cheaters. One song, for instance, states blatantly: "The one who can live on fraud is called Gypsy

¹¹⁶ See N. Abramychyev, *Sbornik russkikh narodnykh pesen. Zapisal s narodnago napeva i pereložhil na odin golos s akkompānimentom fortepiano N. Abramychyev* [Collection of Russian Folksongs Transcribed from Folk Tunes and Arranged for Voice and Piano Accompaniment by N. Abramychyev] (St. Petersburg: I. Pazovskii, 1879), 78-80.

¹¹⁷ The few differences between the two songs include: 1) tonality, 2) rhythm – a syncopation in the left hand of the Russian song, and 3) the ending – the Russian song moves to a relative minor for three bars, while the Gypsy song suggests movement to a dominant chord in the right hand, while the left hand continues playing a drone.

by everyone.”¹¹⁸ However, from the beginning of the nineteenth century many Russian writers, such as Alexander Pushkin, were attracted to the Gypsy theme. According to Thomas Hodge, “during the first third of the nineteenth century, Russia experienced a cultural obsession with the Gypsies.”¹¹⁹ In literature, the elements considered to be

Example 1.2 a) Russian folksong “Zemlianichka iagodka” from Abramychyev’s collection, mm. 1-8, b) Gypsy song “Tam za rechkoi” from Abramychyev’s collection
a)

Allegro assai

Voice

Piano

Pno.

Зем-ля-нич-ка я-год-ка, Зем-ля-нич-ка я-год-ка, Гей, гей, Ох-хо-хо, Гей, гей, Ох ты мне.

¹¹⁸ “Kto umeet zhit’ obmanom / vse togo zovut tsyganom.” See A. Andreev, *Karmannyi pesennik ili sobranie noveishikh kupletov iz oper i vodevilei* (Moscow: tip. Smirnova, 1847), 25.

¹¹⁹ Thomas P. Hodge, *A Double Garland: Poetry and Art Song in Early-Nineteenth-Century Russia* (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 2000), 100.

b)

Allegro *mf*

Там за реч - кой Там за пе - ре - ва - лом Там за реч - кой

f *mf*

Pno.

p

Там за пе - ре - ва - лом Гай лю-ли, Гай лю-ли там за пе - ре - ва - лом.

p

Pno.

particularly Gypsy were cruel passion, extreme emotions, and love intrigues.¹²⁰ In music, however, the so-called Gypsy song (or *tsyganskii romans*) did not differ much from the Russian art-song.¹²¹ In many Gypsy songs composed at the beginning of the nineteenth century by composers, such as Aleksei Verstovskii, Mikhail Glinka, and Alexander Aliab'ev, no musical characteristics specifically suggest "Gypsyess." Thus, Abramych'ev's arrangement of the Gypsy song "Tam za rechkoi," which resembles an

¹²⁰ The Gypsy song in Russian is also called a cruel song (or *zhestokii romans*).

¹²¹ The essential difference lay in the manner of performance that, according to Hodge, included: "Russian words pronounced with a Gypsy accent or in Gypsy dialect, non-Russian rhythmic practices, overt dramatization of the text, exaggerated emotions, and improvisational embellishments." Hodge, *A Double Garland*, 100.

arrangement of the Russian song “Zemlianichka-iagodka,” reflects the trend in early-nineteenth-century Russian culture.

If Abramychhev follows the tradition of presenting Gypsies as musically similar to the Russians and, hence, as musically absorbed subjects of the Empire, the Cheremis, or Uralic people living in Kazan, who speak a language related to Finnish, remained musical outsiders. A Cheremis instrumental tune, simply labelled as “A Cheremis Song,” is distinct from all Russian songs in the collection: it is supplied with parallel perfect fifths and fourths that simply follow the melody (**Example 1.3**). Such a musical “arrangement” could have reminded a Western-European educated listener of a parallel organum technique from the late Middle Ages, suggesting that people who use such a musical vocabulary are simple. As Abramychhev himself states: “This primordial method of harmonization definitely points out the ancient origin of this native Finnish subject.”¹²² Significantly, the parallel organum technique is not used in any other Russian tune from the collection.

Example 1.3 “A Cheremis Song” from Abramychhev’s collection



¹²² “Etot pervobytnyi sposob garmonizatsii nesomnenno ukazyvaet na drevnee proiskhozhdenie etoi korennoi finskoi temy.” See Abramychhev, 80.

In my opinion, Abramychiev's collection exemplifies a gradual shift from a rejection of Others to their political and cultural inclusion. Even though the Cheremis are musically different from the Russians, one of their melodies is included in the collection called "Collection of *Russian* Folksongs."¹²³ The practice of inclusion of Russia's different minority groups into one compendium reached its apogee in Klenovskii's collection of songs *Etnograficheskii kontsert* [*Ethnographic Concert*], published in 1893, discussed in Chapter Six. This collection features music of all the regions and main provinces of late nineteenth-century Russia: Russian, Slavic, Asian, and Caucasian tunes are arranged for piano and solo voice or choir, and explicitly given the names of the ethnic groups or regions from which the tunes originated. As I argue in Chapter Six, Klenovskii's *Etnograficheskii kontsert* served as a vehicle for the expression of the state's ideological agenda: to present a microcosm of the Russian Empire, along with its culturally assimilated oriental peoples.

Conclusion

A brief examination of Russian folksong reveals some connections between the publication of folksong collections and developments in Russian nineteenth-century history and politics. Most Russian folksongs with an oriental subject represented the Other negatively. In nineteenth-century Russian folksongs about other cultures one finds the imprint of ethnic stereotyping that was inscribed in the Russian language from the

¹²³ A similar tendency of including minorities in the picture of a growing empire was noticed by Nathaniel Knight in nineteenth-century Russian exhibitions. See Knight, *The Empire on Display: Ethnographic Exhibition and Conceptualization of Human Diversity in Post-Emancipation Russia* (Washington DC: NCEEER, 2001).

time of the “Tatar Yoke.” Monstrous Tatars in *bylinas*, ridiculed Turks in nineteenth-century historical songs, and frightening Chechen killers in children’s collections – all deserved to be conquered and civilized. Two motives might explain the heightened interest in the publication of folksong collections during times of external and internal conflicts. On the one hand, the re-enactment of the original terror of the Tatar invasion described in *bylinas* helped Russian officials legitimize wars with Russia’s eastern neighbours and further promote Russia’s aggressive expansionist ideology. On the other hand, the folksong discourse on evil Tatars, Caucasians, Turks, or Europeans masked the heterogeneity of Russian society and its internal conflicts based on differences of class, gender, and religion. Interestingly, from the 1870s, some of Russia’s ethnic minorities were included into the picture of the Russian Self, suggesting an important shift in the state’s cultural policy: from denial of oriental Others to their inclusion. This shift in cultural representation will be the subject of the following chapters, as it marked the development of Russian ethnographic studies of Others and shaped the unique face of Russia’s musical identity.

Certainly, the scale of the political message transmitted in the folksongs should not be exaggerated. Other cultural, social, economic, and historical concerns were manifested in and shaped Russian folksong collections. Nevertheless, the publication of these collections was dictated more often than not by intensifying nationalist and imperialist concerns for which the very existence of the Other (and, more often, the negative portrayal) was essential to the articulation of the Self.

CHAPTER 2

BUILDING IMAGES OF THE OTHER: RUSSIAN MUSICAL ETHNOGRAPHIES OF INTRA- IMPERIAL ORIENTALS

Introduction

In the 1864 Circular to the Great Powers, Foreign Minister Prince Alexander Gorchakov explained the mechanisms of expansion as follows:

The situation of Russia in Central Asia is that of all civilized states that come into contact with semi-savage and itinerant ethnic groups.¹ [...] Initially it is a matter of containing their attacks and raids. In order to stop them, one is usually compelled to subjugate the adjoining ethnic groups more or less directly. Once this has been achieved, their manners become less unruly, though they in turn are now subjected to attacks by more distant tribes. The state is duty-bound to protect them against such raids, and punish the others for their deeds. [...] [F]or this reason the state has to decide between two alternatives. Either it must give up this unceasing work and surrender its borders to continual disorder [...] or it must penetrate further and further into the wild lands [...] this has been the fate of all states which have come up against this kind of situation.²

The Russian policy of “unwilling expansion” into Central Asia that Gorchakov described in this oft-cited 1864 Circular started being implemented much earlier in the

¹ In Russian literature the region in the inner Asian continent that includes the territory between the Caspian Sea in the west, Pamir mountains in the east, Aral-Irtysh watershed in the north, and Hindu Kush in the south is referred to as “Inner Asia” See Brokgauz and Efron (1900), 31: 351. The term “Central Asia” is usually applied to the larger area in the Asian continent that includes Xinjiang, Afghanistan, Mongolia, and Russian Turkestan. Andeas Kappeler calls this region “Middle Asia.” See Kappeler, *The Russian Empire: A Multiethnic History*, translated by Alfred Clayton (Harlow: Longman, 2001). However, in my research I will use the term “Central Asia,” a term more commonly used in Western literature.

² See Prince Gorchakov, *To the Great Powers* (St. Petersburg, 1864). Also cited in Kappeler, 194. For the full English translation of this Circular, see F.H. Skrine and E. Denison Ross, *The Heart of Asia: A History of Russian Turkestan and the Central Asian Khanates from the Earliest Times* (London: Methuen and Co., 1899), 417-23.

Transcaucasian region.³ At the very beginning of the nineteenth century, when the Georgian King Georgi asked Paul I to protect Georgia by incorporating it into the Russian Empire, Russian officials justified it with rhetoric about the protection of Russia's new subjects. In 1801 the Christian kingdom of Georgia lost its independence and became a direct subject of the All-Russian Throne, "[n]ot for the increase of our power, not because of greed, not in order to extend the borders of what is already the greatest empire in the world."⁴ In the next few decades the Russian border extended towards the south, to the territory of what is now known as Armenia and Azerbaijan. By 1828, under the pretext of protecting Christian Armenians and Georgians from the rule of backward Muslims, Russia took control of Transcaucasia.⁵

This chapter will be devoted to the principal nineteenth-century Russian ethnographies that mention the musical practices of its Asian Others as well as the publications that include transcriptions of melodies and song texts. Instead of providing an overview of all sources that mention music practices of Russian oriental peoples I will focus on a few sources that represent different approaches and attitudes towards Others. I will argue that most publications aimed at a wide readership tended to highlight the difference between oriental and Russian music (and culture in general) by emphasizing the latter's negative or unpleasant qualities, while the authors of specialized ethnographic

³ Transcaucasia is a region in southeast Europe, between the Black and Caspian seas. Studies on Russian colonization of the Caucasus include Firuz Kazemzadeh, "Russian penetration of the Caucasus," in *Russian Imperialism from Ivan the Great to the Revolution*, Taras Hunczak, ed. (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1974), 239-63; Paul B. Henze, "Fire and Sward in the Caucasus: The 19th Century Resistance of the North Caucasian Mountaineers," in *Central Asian Survey* 2, no. 1 (1983): 5-44; Mark Blied and Vladimir Degoev, *Kavkazskaia voina* (Moscow: Roset, 1994). Transcaucasia is a region in southeast Europe, between the Black and Caspian seas.

⁴ Kappeler, 174.

⁵ Kazemzadeh, 251; Kappeler, 174-75.

literature tended to embrace the songs of Russian Others as their own. I also suggest that some writings from the last third of the century implied that the border between “us” and “them” had been fast disappearing at the expense of the minority people since they had started giving up their own traditional music practices and assimilated Russian music.⁶ Other writings even suggested the possibility of unifying the Russian and Asian “races” into one.⁷ But not all witnesses were culturally insensitive. I will consider the life and writings of one prominent late nineteenth-century music ethnographer, August Eichhorn, who lived and worked in Russian Turkestan for more than a decade, and whose ethnographic essays suggest an appreciation and understanding of the culture of Russia’s subjugated peoples. To understand better the different motivations behind Russian ethnographic works it is necessary to revisit the history of nineteenth-century Russian expansion to the south and east and discuss different official policies towards the newly acquired Others.

1. Russia’s Nineteenth-Century Expansion to the South and East and its Policy on Non-Russian Ethnic Groups

Caucasus

While Russian contemporary politics represented the war in the Caucasus as the liberation of the Christian Georgians and Armenians from Muslim rule, the majority of Caucasian Muslim ethnic groups, such as Cherkes, Chechens, Kabardians, Kumyks and

⁶ See V.A. Moshkov, “Materialy dlia kharakteristiki muzykal’nogo tvorchestva inorodtsev Volzhsko-Kamskago kraia. I. Muzyka Chuvashkikh pesen,” *IKOAIE* 11 (1893): 31-64.

⁷ See A.F. Rittikh, *Materialy dlia etnografii Rossii. Kazanskaia Gubernia* [Russian Ethnographic Materials. Kazan’s Province] (Kazan: Imperatorskii Kazanskii Universitet, 1870), 37-8.

dozens of other peoples viewed the incorporation of the Caucasus as a violent colonial conquest.⁸ Indeed, Nicholas I supported the policy of extermination for Caucasian tribes unwilling to submit to Russian authority. Many Russian military officials, such as the General Aleksei Ermolov, Ataman Vlasov, and Count Ivan Paskevich (-Erivanskii) used starvation and complete extermination of the *auls* (villages) as a standard means of subjugating the mountaineers, or *gortsy*.⁹

The extraordinarily ethnically diverse region of the Caucasus mounted a strong guerrilla resistance to Russian rule. From the mid-1820s ethnically heterogeneous tribes of Dagestan and the Chechens were united against Russia under the banner of a Holy War and managed to oppose Russian might for some forty years. The Caucasian warriors under the leadership of Imam Shamil (1797-1871), an outstanding politician and military commander, became legend in Russia and abroad and symbolized anti-colonial resistance.¹⁰ However, after Shamil was captured in 1859, resistance in the Caucasus was broken and in July 1864 Alexander II announced the “subjection of the western Caucasus, which has been completed by means of a series of glorious and heroic deeds and lengthy and protracted exertions.”¹¹

⁸ Even Georgian aristocrats and peasants unsatisfied with Russia’s repressive policy launched numerous insurrections (in 1812, 1819-1820, 1832, and 1841). See Kappeler, 176. On the history of the Russian conquest of the Caucasus see John F. Baddeley, *The Russian Conquest of the Caucasus* (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1908); Paul B. Henze, “Fire and Sword in the Caucasus: The 19th-Century Resistance of the North Caucasian Mountaineers,” *Central Asian Survey* 2 (July 1983): 5-44; Nicolas Gvosdev, *Imperial Policies and Perspectives towards Georgia, 1760-1819* (New York: St. Martin’s Press in association with St. Antony’s College, Oxford, 2000), 77-98.

⁹ Kazemzadeh, 253; Kappeler, 183.

¹⁰ On Shamil and his life see M. Gammer, *Muslim Resistance to the Tsar: Shamil and the Conquest of Chechnia and Dagestan* (London: Frank Cass, 1994); Rebecca Gould, “Imam Shamil (1797-1871),” in *Russia’s People of Empire: Life Stories from Eurasia, 1500 to the Present*, Stephen M. Norris and Willard Sunderland, eds. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2012), 117-28.

¹¹ Kappeler, 184.

The relationship between Russians and local population in the Caucasus was not always inimical. Russian officials tried to cooperate with the Caucasian elite by co-opting members of the higher social strata into Russian nobility.¹² The Georgian nobility received the same status as Russian nobles in 1801.¹³ Many Georgians, Armenians, and even Muslim nobles entered the local Russian system of administration and the army.¹⁴ Azerbaijani nobles, the *begs*, who were Muslims and did not possess serfs, at first were not granted any privileges; however, after their hereditary landowning rights were recognized, they were granted noble status with restricted rights.¹⁵ The three distinct religious communities in Transcaucasia – the Georgian church, the Armenian church, and the Muslims – also faced different fates. In 1811, the Georgian church was forcibly integrated into the Russian Orthodox church, while the Armenian church remained independent until the end of the century. The traditional social order of the Muslim community, as well as the Islamic clergy and schools, remained intact. Russian officials understood that only the traditional pragmatic pattern of tolerance and control, established earlier by Catherine II, would secure the Caucasus for Russia.

Furthermore, as Robert Crews argues, tsarist policy officially sponsored some Muslim authorities, using them as intermediaries in communication and control over the local peoples in the Caucasus, and, to a greater degree, in the Volga-Kama regions, as

¹² On the Russian policy in the Caucasus see L. Hamilton Rhineland, "Russia's Imperial Policy: The Administration of the Caucasus in the First Half of the Nineteenth Century," in *Canadian Slavonic Papers* 17 (1975): 218-35; Kappeler, 173-78.

¹³ Kappeler, 176; Rhineland, 225-26, 232.

¹⁴ Under the authority of Count M.S. Vorontsov, who served as Viceregent [*namestnik*] of the Caucasian Territory from 1845 to 1854, the Russian administration gained the respect and cooperation of Caucasian peoples. See Rhineland (1975), 231-34.

¹⁵ Kappeler, 177.

well as in the Kazakh steppes and Central Asia. In his recent study on the confessional situation in nineteenth-century Russia, Crews presents the tsarist state as committed to ruling through religious practices and institutions in order to create a greater degree of consensus among the locals and to reduce violence in the colonized territories. Because it officially recognized Muslim, Catholic, Protestant, Jewish, and Buddhist religions, integrative confessional politics, according to Crews, allowed the tsarist authorities to penetrate local communities and govern some twenty million of the Empire's Muslims with great success.¹⁶ However, Crews's model of Russia as a multi-confessional state, as Alexander Morrison points out, is misleading from the period of the 1860s, when important shifts in Russian policy towards Islam were introduced and implemented.¹⁷ The most important difference between the policy in the Caucasus, as well as the Volga-Kama region and the rest of Russia's Muslim regions (including the Kazakh steppes and Central Asia) was that subjugated peoples in Russia were not granted full Russian citizenship status.

Kazakh Steppe and inorodtsy

After the incorporation of the entire Kazakh steppe in the middle of the nineteenth century, as in the Caucasus, the Russian administration worked closely with the non-

¹⁶ See Robert D. Crews, *For Prophet and Tsar': Islam and Empire in Russia and Central Asia* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2006).

¹⁷ See Alexander Morrison, "Review of Robert D. Crews, *For the Prophet and Tsar. Islam and Empire in Russian and Central Asia*," *The Slavonic and East European Review* 86, no. 3 (July 2008): 553-57.

Russian elite.¹⁸ However, Kazakh *begs*, unlike their Caucasian counterparts, were no longer co-opted into the Russian nobility.¹⁹ This was due to the 1822 *inorodtsy* statute, which excluded all the hunters, gatherers, and nomads from the circle of Russian citizens with equal rights.²⁰ The term *inorodtsy* (“foreign born,” “of foreign origin”) at first was applied exclusively to the peoples living in Siberia, but by the end of the nineteenth century it embraced all of the Empire’s citizens of non-Russian origin.²¹ The initial goal of the *inorodtsy* statute was to protect non-Russian people from abuses of the Russian administration and to integrate them by introducing “backward” nomads to the “higher” sedentary lifestyle.²² However, the term *inorodtsy* implied an organic difference from the Russians and, as Yuri Slezkine points out, offered no trajectory by which *inorodtsy* could overcome their status and become full Russian citizens.²³ If the term *inorodtsy* did not carry any pejorative meaning initially and, as Nathaniel Knight argues, “denoted an all-encompassing ‘other’ free from any gradations of hierarchy,” it became unquestionably derogatory later.²⁴ Those nineteenth-century writers who worked for Russian official

¹⁸ Although some Kazakh khans of the Little and Middle Hordes swore an oath of allegiance to the tsar’ in the eighteenth century, it was not until the mid-nineteenth century that the entire Kazakh steppe was incorporated into the Russian Empire. Until the 1920s the term “Kyrgyz” was used to identify all the nomadic peoples living in Turkestan. Thus, the Kazakhs were referred as “Kyrgyz” or “Kirgiz,” while the Kyrgyz people were called Kara-Kyrgyz. See Kappeler, 186. Here and after I will use the names of ethnic groups from the original Russian sources.

¹⁹ *Beg* (also spelled as *begg*, *beig*, or *bek*) is an ancient Turkic name for an administrator, commander, or chief.

²⁰ Kappeler, 205.

²¹ On the development of the term *inorodtsy* see Slocum, “Who, and When, Were the *Inorodtsy*? The Evolution of the Category of ‘Aliens’ in Imperial Russia,” *Russian Reviews* 57, no. 2 (1998): 173-90.

²² All *inorodtsy* were exempt from army service, had to pay smaller taxes than Russian peasants, and enjoyed religious, trade, and commercial freedoms. Kappeler, 169-70; Slocum, 179.

²³ See Yu. Slezkine, *Arctic Mirrors: Russia and the Small Peoples of the North* (Ithaca: New York, 1994), 80-92.

²⁴ Knight, *Constructing the Science of Nationality: Ethnography in Mid-Nineteenth Century Russia* (PhD diss., Columbia University, 1995), 340-41; Slocum, 185-90.

agencies (military or bureaucratic) most often produced ethnographies that were influenced by official policies towards the *inorodtsy* people and reflected their paternalistic attitude.

Central Asia

The situation with Russia's Central Asian region was even more complicated than other regions because this area was inhabited by sedentary peoples, who would not officially fall under the category of *inorodtsy* (hunters, gatherers, and nomads). Since I am particularly interested in the policies in Russia's only colony (Russian Turkestan), I will consider the history of Russian – Central Asian relations in greater detail.

Russia's first two attempts to penetrate Central Asian states (the Khiva khanate), in 1717 and again in 1839, were unsuccessful. However, a number of expeditions sent at the end of the 1850s, which included professionals from different fields to ensure sufficient knowledge of the region, were more carefully researched and revealed the strengths and weaknesses of the Central Asian khanates. From the mid-1860s Russia's south-eastern neighbours (the khanates of Bukhara, Kokand and Khiva) became the focus of imperial attention.

Although it was obvious that these lands were important because they could boost Russia's relatively weak economy, a considerable group of Russian officials preferred to keep the Central Asian khanates as protectorates politically separate from Russia. Given Russia's comparatively undeveloped economic situation, it was more reasonable to

command the remote regions with the help of a local administration than to maintain the Russian army and administrative apparatus there.²⁵ Saint Petersburg's official reluctance to engage in military campaigns against Central Asia was also dictated by the fear that seizing neighbouring khanates would provoke Britain's open opposition. Turkestan was a contested territory, a politically amorphous "buffer zone" that demarcated two colonial fronts of expansion – Russian and British – and, accordingly, two mutually hostile Western powers who, for a period of a few decades, could not come to an agreement on the limits of their respective spheres of influence.²⁶ Russian officials were faced with an intractable political dilemma: aware of the region's geo-political importance, and desiring to strengthen Russia's presence in Central Asia,²⁷ they were under diplomatic pressure from Great Britain to stay out of the territories. Ignoring Britain would risk forcing Russia into a highly undesirable war with the greatest contemporary colonial power. This stalemate situation resulted in an indecisive official political policy in the region, lacking

²⁵ Khalfin, *Prisoedinenie Srednei Azii k Rossii (60-90-e gody XIX veka)* (Moscow: Nauka, 1965), 294. After taking the cities of Tashkent (in 1865), controlled by the emir of Kokand, and Samarkand (1868), controlled by the emir of Bukhara, the Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs insisted on not including these cities within the Russian empire, but rather preserving them as independent city-states that would provide "a buffer against any surprise attacks from Kokand and Bukhara," and thereby help the Russians to exert pressure on these khanates. See Khalfin, *Politika*, 192-195; *Prisoedinenie*, 274-84. Officially, Tashkent became a part of Russia only fourteen months after the capture of the city by the Russian army. See Khalfin, *Politika Rossii v Srednei Azii (1857-1868)* (Moscow: Izdat. vostochnoi literatury, 1960), 217. A similar destiny awaited Samarkand: after taking the city, the minister of war, Miliutin, ordered General Kaufman to leave it. See Khalfin, *Politika*, 192 and *Ibid.*, *Prisoedinenie*, 274-84.

²⁶ See *Afganskoe razgranichenie. Peregovory mezhdru Rossiei i Velikobritaniei 1872-1885* (St.-Petersburg, 1886); G.A. Khidoiatov, *Iz istorii anglo-russkikh otnoshenii v Srednei Azii v kontse XIX v. (60-70e gody)* (Tashkent: FAN, 1969), 86-87; Becker, "Anglo-Russian negotiations," in *Russia's Protectorates*, 58-63.

²⁷ Before sending three expeditions to Central Asia, Gorchakov, the minister of foreign affairs, expressed the official view on the political importance of the mission: "Russia cannot remain indifferent to the situation in Central Asia. She wants to maintain the status quo so that it cannot be violated for the benefit of English dominance." See *Kavkaz i Sredniaia Azia*, 260.

any clear goals or even a more general program of governance.²⁸ From the 1860s to the 1880s, the Russian ministry of Foreign Affairs expressed its concerns about the spread of the Empire into Central Asia and promulgated a cautious policy of non-interference concerning the khanates' internecine wars (which might yet trigger Russian military action in Central Asia.) The Ministry of War and the Ministry of Finances, on the other hand, supported a "policy of power" in the region and insisted on fast and decisive military action.²⁹

After taking Tashkent, the Russians forced first the emir of Bukhara (in 1868) and then of Khiva (in 1873) to sign separate peace treaties, in which most of the points aimed to exploit the region economically and to develop Russian commercial relations.³⁰ Both Bukhara and Khiva had to accept their state of vassalage and were forced to reject all external political and economic relations.³¹ Russian traders were also exempt from taxation and had free access to any region they desired; they were also permitted to maintain privileges in court and could even buy properties in the aforementioned territories. Each of the khanate's governments had to make territory available for erecting

²⁸ After taking Tashkent, the minister of Internal Affairs, P.A. Valuev, wrote in his diary: "Tashkent is taken by the general Cherniaev. No one knows why and what for." See *Dnevnik P.A. Valueva*, vol. 2, entry on 20 July 1865 (Moscow: AN SSSR, 1961), 60.

²⁹ See Khalfin, *Prisoedinenie*; H. d'Encausse, "Systematic Conquest," in *Central Asia: 120 Years of Russian Rule*, Edward Allworth, ed. (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 1989), 131-50.

³⁰ See Khalfin, *Prisoedinenie*, 307-08; S. Becker, "Conquest of Khiva and the Treaties of 1873," in *Russia's Protectorates in Central Asia: Bukhara and Khiva, 1865-1924* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1968), 65-78.

³¹ Although the treaty with Bukhara was in many respects similar to that of Khiva, one major difference stands out: the Bukharean treaty preserved the khanate's formal sovereignty, albeit as "a legal fiction" that, according to Becker, "neither prevented Russia from treating Bukhara as a dependency, nor kept Britain from recognizing Bukhara's inclusion in Russia's sphere of influence." See Becker, *Russian Protectorates*, 78.

Russian factories, wharfs [*pristan*'], and storehouses, and they were additionally required to assure their security.³²

The next target, the Kokand khanate, was eliminated in 1876 because of Alexander II's concern about the constant internal unrest in Kokand that could have threatened the security and order of Russia's borders. Thus by the end of the 1870s Russia controlled most of the Central Asian territory. Only some of the Turkmen tribes, living on the northern borders of Iran and free from incursions by centralized powers, remained immune to Russian influence, but only for less than a decade. Irritated by British economic-political interests growing beyond the northern borders of Iran,³³ and troubled by the weakened position of Russia in the Turkmen steppes occasioned by the Russo-Turkish War (1877-8), the Russians first crushed the nomads of the desert north of Persia and then annexed the entire Merv oasis (1884).³⁴ By the end of the nineteenth century the Muslim population in Russia was larger than that of the Ottoman Empire.³⁵

The importance of these annexed lands, as a boost for Russia's relatively weak economy, soon became obvious.³⁶ Russian industry had sought to adopt capitalistic

³² See Khalfin, *Prisoedinenie*, 307-08; *Kavkaz i Sredniaia Aziia*, 280. For the full English translation of the treaties, see Becker, 315-21.

³³ Although a number of British special agents were sent to Central Asia in the second half of the nineteenth century, it was only in 1873 that the British army headquarters established an Intelligence Department there, whose primary focus was, unsurprisingly, the situation in Central Asia. See R. Johnson, "Establishment of an Intelligence Division," in *Spying for Empire: the Great Game in Central and South Asia, 1757-1947* (London: Greenhill Books, 2006), 123-46. During the 1880s a new and more sophisticated system of intelligence gathering was introduced, and native agents were recruited on a regular basis. See R. Johnson, "On Her Majesty's Secret Service. Espionage on the Frontiers, 1885-1886," in *Spying for Empire*, 165-80.

³⁴ See Becker, "Anglo-Russian Relations and the Pacification of the Turkomans," in *Russia's Protectorates*, 95-121.

³⁵ See Crews, *For the Prophet and Tsar*, 4.

³⁶ On the economic rivalry between Russia and England, see M.A. Terent'ev, *Rosssia i Angliia v bor'be za rynki* (St. Petersburg, 1876).

European standards and rates of economic growth that had nonetheless failed to establish a strong Russian image, as compared with developed European countries.³⁷ Official Russian financial and political agencies supported private enterprises in Central Asia (notably by opening new manufacturing plants and a major fishery) for the business and industrial circles of the Russian Empire, since strengthening its economic and political positions in Central Asia, as Soviet historiographers were to put it, was vital for Russian success in competition with the other European superpowers.³⁸ However Becker contested this view, arguing that the influence of economic factors on Russian policy formation had been negligible. The Russian government gave “small support to the economic development of the Central Asian protectorates, providing only the inescapable minimum to protect and promote Russian private interests in the khanates.”³⁹ Rather, an entire complex of motives was behind the drive toward colonial expansion: “the quest for a secure frontier, the provocations offered by unstable neighbours, the fear of being

³⁷ The narrowness of the internal market (caused by serfdom and, after its abolition, by the lingering encumbrances and inefficiencies of the former feudal, or serfdom-based system) increased the value of these external markets. Within just one decade (1857-67) the import turnover from Central Asia increased by a factor of 4.4, while the export turnover during these same years increased 2.14 times. See P.G. Galuzo, *Turkestan – koloniia* (Tashkent: Gos.Izdat. Uz.SSR, 1935), 8. These numbers continued to grow throughout the 1870s, although up until the early 1880s Russia by no means monopolized the Central Asian market. Russia's share in Bukhara and Khiva's total foreign trade was about one third (other trades were carried out with India, Afghanistan, and Persia). See Becker, 175. With the imposition of new restrictions on the importation of foreign goods in Russian Turkestan and with the building of railroad, by the end of the nineteenth century, the Central Asian market was almost absolutely controlled by Russia. See A. Gubarevich-Radobyl'skii, *Ekonomicheskii ocherk Bukhary i Tunisa* (St. Petersburg: tip. V. Kirshbauma, 1905).

³⁸ Khalfin, *Politika*, 73; Tokarev, *Istoriia russkoi etnografii (dooktiabr'skii period)* (Moscow: Nauka, 1966), 329; *Kavkaz i Sredniaia Aziia*, 314.

³⁹ Becker, 191.

excluded from the area by England, and the temptations afforded by diplomatic leverage, economic profit, and military glory.”⁴⁰

In spite of these economic ties (whether strong or barely developed), and the improving communication system with the telegraph network, Russian Turkestan remained largely unaffected by Western influences. Although some superficial and isolated examples of borrowing clothes and customs, and limited participation in ceremonies at the court level began to take place, until the mid 1880s the average inhabitants of Central Asia did not have much contact with the Russian/Western world.⁴¹ The isolation of Russian Turkestan abruptly ended in 1885 with St-Petersburg’s decision to build the Central Asian Railroad: this was a strategic requirement occasioned by the conflict between Russia and Afghanistan at Penjdeh that had brought Russia and Great Britain to the brink of war in Central Asia. The construction of the railroad not only had an immediate impact on Russian--Central Asian economic relationships, but it also made the khanates more accessible to European Russia, introducing Western culture along with Russian settlers and Western travelers.⁴²

Thus, it is clear that in comparison with the earlier wars in the Caucasus that had afforded an official pretext for helping the Orthodox brotherhood (Greeks, Armenians, Serbians, and Georgians) in restoring or regaining their power over what was perceived

⁴⁰ Becker, 23.

⁴¹ See Becker, “The End of an Era,” 107-21.

⁴² Even before the building of the railroad, the number of Russian settlers at the beginning of the 1880s had reached almost 30,000, while after the 1880s, when the 1886 statute for Turkestan made nomadic land the property of the state, the massive Russian influx into the region was to truly begin. By 1914, the Europeans/Russians numbered nearly 450,000, living mostly in Semirech’e and around Tashkent. See *Kavkaz i Sredniaia Aziia*, 295; Brower, 149. On Central Asian population growth and its ethnic composition, see Ian Murray Matley, “The Population and the Land,” in *Central Asia: 120 Years of Russian Rule*, 92-130.

as a historically legitimate region, the wars in Central Asia had had a more distinct geopolitical and economic character. The fear that the British army would control Central Asia made the Russian Foreign Ministry sign a number of official treaties with China (beginning in the early 1850s), thereby assuring mutual military and economic support.⁴³

Colonial Policies in Russian Turkestan

Both Russian and Soviet, as well as Western scholars, have pointed out several differences between Russian and Western European colonial policies. While Soviet historiography has expressed standard criticisms of Western (including Russian) colonization of the region, it has generally concentrated on the “progressive” byproducts of these incursions, and what this has entailed for its native peoples, such as the abolition of slavery, the prohibition of drug imports, the economic and industrial development of the region, and the liquidation of ruinous (interstate) wars between the khanates.⁴⁴ In addition, Khalfin presents a few examples emphasizing the unusual lack of racist attitudes towards conquered peoples.⁴⁵ First, many Russian researchers revealed a humane, even generous, attitude towards the *inorodtsy*, and urged them to improve their

⁴³ On Russian-Chinese diplomatic relations, see V.A. Moiseev, *Rossii i Kitai v Srednei Azii* (Barnaul: Altaiskii Gos. Universitet, 2003); Fletcher, “Sino-Russian Relations, 1800-62,” in *The Cambridge History of China*, vol. 10. *Late Ch'ing 1800-1911, part 1*, John King Fairbank, ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978), 318-50; R.K.I. Quested, *The Expansion of Russia in East Asia, 1857-1860* (Singapore: University of Malaya Press, 1968), 20-34; Mark Mancall, “Russian and China: the Structure of Contact,” in *Russia and Asia. Essays of the Influence of Russia on the Asian Peoples*, Wayne S. Vucinich, ed. (Stanford: Hoover Institution Press Stanford University, 1972), 313-37.

⁴⁴ *Kavkaz i Sredniaia Aziia*, 314-15; Khalfin, *Politika Rossii*, 236-45; G.A. Khidoiatov, *Britanskaia expansiia v Srednei Azii* (Tashkent: FAN, 1981), 54-55.

⁴⁵ “Russians did not propagate racist ideas about “white masters” and “dark (black, yellow, etc.) slaves.” Khalfin, N.A. *Politika Rossii v Srednei Azii*, 236.

daily living conditions.⁴⁶ Russian/Soviet researchers overlooked the fact that the term *inorodtsy* itself implied the distancing from and discrimination of native peoples, by excluding them from the circle of those who were born on the same soil. Second, Russian historians stress how few distinctions were made between natives and Russians in everyday life: many poor Russian peasants worked for rich native landowners, and this was not considered in Russia an anomalous form of colonial politics.⁴⁷ Such a situation arose due to a set of special instructions issued by the 1865 Steppe Commission, which recognized the Turkestan native peoples as “rural dwellers” of the empire, therein assuming equality with the emancipated Russian rural population.⁴⁸ With the establishment of the colony certain rights of the Turkestan peoples were preserved and enforced: freedom of religious observance, preservation of customary and written practices in all marriages, properties and family affairs, freedom from physical punishment, and freedom from conscription.⁴⁹

Nonetheless, certain critical aspects of Russian colonization did not find an adequate treatment in Russian/Soviet literature. First, some expressions of racist attitude

⁴⁶ Ibid., 240.

⁴⁷ Khalfin, *Politika*, 238-39. Russian and native workers worked alongside each other in manufacturing industries owned by the native rich. To take the year 1912 as an example, in Turkestan local manufacturers owned 160 gin houses out of 256. Ibid., 239. Based on a Marxist approach to the analysis of social life in Central Asia, Khalfin claims that in the Russian empire, unlike the British, class distinctions were much more likely to be expressed than the issue of ethnic differentiation, since the tsarist government continued to support the emir of Bukhara and the khan of Khiva, and protected their long-established feudal system. Ibid., 243-44.

⁴⁸ D. Brower, *Turkestan and the Fate of the Russian Empire* (London and New York: Routledge Curzon, 2003), 30.

⁴⁹ Brower, 38. Most of these points continued the tradition of governing Russia’s eastern peoples established by Catherine the Great.

towards the local population were found among the Russians living in Turkestan.⁵⁰

Although the level of racist expression was far less intense than, say, British in India, and Russians did not use the concept of colour or race [*rasa*] to distance themselves from their Asian subjects, still, as Jeff Sahadeo argues, “dirt” and “disease” were used as a primary tropes in Russian discourse to racialize the colonial relationship and to characterize differences with Central Asians.⁵¹ Second, the Russians’ claims that they had brought peace to the region – a claim pronounced by other European colonizers as well – was a myth propagated by the authorities rather than a credible reality. Again and again, in the 1890s, the Russian authorities harshly repressed riots and bloody revolts.⁵² In 1916 Russian Turkestan was the scene of a large-scale armed rebellion in which an untold number of Asian people, and more than 2,000 Russians, lost their lives.⁵³

Third, the colonial order that seemingly preserved local customs and morals brought permanent unrest to the region. Even if there had been no open exercise of violence, the Russian and Asian populations lived in a state of constant conflict,

⁵⁰ As Daniel Brower observes, the “racist blight” still infected the settler colonies in Russian Turkestan. Brower cites a note of Captain Iungmeister from the Tashkent Okhrana office, which stated that Russian settlers in Semirech’e considered Kyrgyz “animals, and treat them as such, calling them dogs.” Ibid., 139-40.

⁵¹ See Jeff Sahadeo, *Russian Colonial Society in Tashkent 1865-1923* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2007), 85-87. Sahadeo points out that many Russian Orientalists who lived in Tashkent for a long time learned the local language and translated written poems and stories; in short, they seemed to be immersed in local culture, “appeared among the most hostile toward granting increased social opportunities or political rights to the local population.” Ibid., 233.

⁵² After the revolt in Andijan, for instance, besides condemning the leaders to death and sentencing 400 people to exile in Siberia, three villages were completely destroyed, all the inhabitants were forced to move, and the land was given to Russian settlers. Brower, 96. On the 1892 “cholera riot” in Tashkent and the colonial relationship presiding over it, see Jeff Sahadeo, *Russian Colonial Society in Tashkent*, 79-107. Crews, however, still believes that the situation in Russian Turkestan was relatively stable. See Crews, *For Prophet and Tsar*, 245-60.

⁵³ Brower, 161. On the revolt see, Brower, “Turkestan and the Fall of the Russian Empire,” 155-63; General-Governor Lykoshin, “Opisaniie besporiadkov vyzvannykh naborom rabochikh v Samarkandskoi oblasti,” in *Vosstanie 1916 goda v Sdernei Azii i Kazakhstane. Sbornik dokumentov* (Moscow: AN SSSR, 1960), 228-29.

occasioned by the pervasiveness of “structural violence,” and by “the whole colonial system ... a permanent and immanent form of oppression,” which was evident throughout the period of Russian domination.⁵⁴ Hence, despite the imposition of order in the region, the halt of the internecine wars and violence within Asian society – a picture commonly evoked by European colonizers, imagining themselves as peacemakers – there had never been any true peace. And finally, the Central Asian elite was not co-opted into the Russian nobility, as in the case of the Caucasian elite. Even though, as Brower points out, the term *inorodtsy* had never been used by officials in Turkestan, all Asians living in that territory were in *de facto* assigned the *inorodtsy* status, regardless of their previous social rank.⁵⁵ For the first time in Russian history the sedentary people who, by the Russians’ own standards, would possess ‘high’ culture before being conquered were not considered ‘natural’ or indigenous inhabitants of Russia. From this point, Kappeler suggests, Russian policy on nationalities in Asia changed from paternalism and pragmatism to colonialism.⁵⁶ Thus, the diversity of territory, people, and culture, which was a source of the empire’s pride, required different strategies of ruling; no single policy could be applied to the empire’s different areas.

The official policy towards the *inorodtsy* could not but be reflected on popular literature and general ethnographies about the Russia’s Others. However, as we shall see later in this chapter, certain exceptions to the rule did exist.

⁵⁴ H.L. Wesseling, *Imperialism and Colonialism. Essays on the History of European Expansion* (London: Greenwood Press, 1997), 10.

⁵⁵ See Brower, *Turkestan and the Fate of the Russian Empire*, 17. Instead of *inorodtsy* Russian officials referred to Turkestani subjects as “nomads” or “*tuzemtsy*” [*native peoples*]. Ibid.

⁵⁶ Kappeler, 206.

2. Popular Russian Literature on Oriental Peoples

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, articles and books about oriental countries and peoples, as well as their ways of life, were not numerous. One of the most influential Russian literary magazines, *Syn otechestva* [*The Son of the Fatherland*], published only a few articles describing the Peking army, the life of Ali-Pasha, and ethnography on Morlaks. A specialized journal, *Aziatskii vestnik* [*Asian Herald*], was published between 1825 and 1827. Some sections of *Asian Herald* were devoted to “the science and arts,” “travels,” and “news,” while other sections presented book reviews, articles on Eastern poetry, and different European Asian Societies. However, very few articles were devoted to the peoples living in Asia and no material on their music is found in this short-lived journal.⁵⁷

In popular press the music of oriental Others was under-estimated and homogenized, and music was often described in the most unflattering terms.⁵⁸ For instance, in an article about the music and dance of peoples living in Armenian districts,

⁵⁷ Later in century there was an attempt to revive the publication of this journal. In 1872 a Russian traveler and dragoman Petr Ivanovich Pashino published one volume of *Asian Herald* with articles that criticized the tsarist regime in Siberia and condemned its colonial polity in Central Asia. The harmful tone of this journal was immediately spotted by tsarist censors and its second volume was never published. See E.I. Gnevusheva, *Zabytyi puteshestvennik: zhizn' i puteshestviia Petra Ivanovicha Pashino* (Moscow: Izdat Gos. Izdat. Gografi. Lit-ry, 1958), 60-63.

⁵⁸ Richard Taruskin distinguishes two categories of oriental others: intra-imperial (people belonging to the Empire) from extra-imperial (people from Near and Middle Eastern, Turkish, and Persian lands not belonging to the Empire). The category of intra-imperial people can be further refined by two subcategories: “permanent orientals” (Gypsy and Jewish people) and “newly acquired orientals” (Caucasians, peoples of Siberia, Russian Far East, and Russian Turkestan). See Taruskin, *Defining Russia Musically: Historical and Hermeneutical Essays* (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 1997), 152.

published in 1840 in *Maiak*, the author (a certain I. Shopen) described the sound of an ensemble as follows:

The orchestra here, in addition to the *rozhok* (a horn) or *volynka* (a bagpipes), includes an ordinary violin, tambourines, and a drum. All these instruments squeak, grate, and rattle unmercifully, while the strong strikes on a drum that keep this infernal music together, merges with it, to the unspeakable suffering of those who have not grasped yet the beauty of such concerts.⁵⁹

In his discussion of the celebration of Ramadan in Istanbul that appeared in the 1856 issue of *Russkii vestnik* [*Russian Herald*], I.N. Berezin also touched upon the subject of music practice during the month of Ramadan and described one singer and his singing:

...[V]ery swarthy, with an expressive nose, this gentleman sits, swings from one side to another, and while rolling up his eyes howls his tender Turkish songs in fistula using all his strength: here soul is expressed with a scream, harmony with the jarring of notes, and melody –with fistula.⁶⁰

A number of other articles from *Illustratsiia: vsemirnoe obozrenie*, a Russian newspaper popular in mid-nineteenth century, portrayed oriental/Asian music as unappealing to the European ear. One article describes the Persian orchestra as a “collection of drums, kettledrums, flutes, and pipes, surprisingly playing different arias

⁵⁹ “Orkestr zdesnii, krome rozhka ili volynki sostoit iz obyknovennoi skripki, buben i barabana, vse eto pishchit, skripit i stuchit nemiloserdno, mezhdru tem kak takt, uderzhivaemyi silnymi udarami po barabanu, slivaetsia s etoiu adskoiu melodiei, k nevyrazimomu stradaniiu ushei tekhn, kotorye ne postigli eshche prelesti podobnykh kontsertov.” See I. Shopen, “O muzyke i pliaske zhitelei Armianskoi oblasti” [“On the Music and Dancing of the Inhabitants from the Armenian Province”], *Maiak* (1840): 97-100, here: 98.

⁶⁰ “... otmenno smuglyi, s vyrazitel’nym nosom, gospodin etot sidit, kachaiasia iz storony v storonu, i zakativ glaza pod lob, fistuloi revet iz vsekh sil nezhye turetskie romansy: dusha vyrazhaetsia zdes’ krikom, garmoniia drebezhhaniem not, a melodiia –fistuloi.” See I.N.Berezin, “Ramazan v Stambule,” *Russkii vestnik* (1856): 682-704, here 688.

out of tune. This results in cacophony impossible to imagine.”⁶¹ Another article entitled “Memoirs about Egypt” characterizes the music as “repulsive for the European ears.”⁶² In a short but very instructive article by I. Siial’skii on the songs and music of the peoples of Transcaucasia, the author calls the music of the people living in the region “ugly,” “disorganized,” and “malformed” -- in short, “painful” to European ears.⁶³ Furthermore, Siial’skii conflates all the music of the Tatars, Kurds, Armenians, and Georgians and calls “Lezginka,” which is a male dance of the Caucasian peoples, “the best of the Asian dances.”

In addition to publishing some scores of musical works with oriental subjects, the mid-nineteenth-century Russian musical journal, *Nouvelist*, often translated and published articles from European journals, such as *Neue Berliner Musikzeitung*, *Blätter für Musik*, and *Revue et gazette musicale de Paris*. It seems that the content of published articles did not go through detailed scrutiny since they presented articles with contradictory information on the music of oriental peoples on numerous occasions. For instance, two articles on music in Turkey describe it in quite opposite terms. One article published in 1859, “The Concert at Sultan Abdul-Mejid’s [Palace],” written by the Austrian violinist von Adlerburg, presents the music practice in Turkey as advanced in European terms.⁶⁴ He recounts his trip to the Sultan’s quarters and describes the Turkish

⁶¹ *Illustratsiia*, no. 134 (1 Sept., 1860): 138.

⁶² *Illustratsiia*, no. 148 (8 Dec., 1860): 360.

⁶³ *Illustratsiia*, no. 193 (2 Nov., 1861): 283; no. 197 (30 Nov., 1861): 348.

⁶⁴ See von Adlerburg, “Konzert u Sultana Abdul-Medzhida,” *Literaturnoe pribavlenie k Nuvelistu* (January, 1859): 3-4.

ruler as an enlightened Asian who knows, highly esteems, and financially supports music.⁶⁵

Adlerburg describes his visit to the Turkish Conservatoire, where he met the Italian musician, maestro Gatelli, who had replaced the Imperial Band conductor Giuseppe Donizetti, elder brother of the well-known opera composer Gaetano Donizetti. When Adlerburg approached the “spacious and magnificent” Conservatoire building, located near the Sultan’s palace on the shore of the Bosphorus Strait, the sound that he heard there reminded him of the sound of any musical education institution in Europe. The similarity in music making in Turkey and Europe is further emphasized by Adlerburg’s comment on the boys’ performance at the Conservatoire: they were as capable and as accomplished in playing virtuoso passages as European musicians. Since the student boys played “the most difficult passages” on their instruments like “true virtuosos,” Adlerburg concluded: “Turks are absolutely civilized.”

Adlerburg’s article sharply contrasts with another article, “Music in Turkey,” published in the same journal two years later.⁶⁶ It opens with a blatant statement: “Music art in Turkey still stays on the lowest level of development.” The next sentence contains even more sweeping generalizations about Muslim culture:

Generally the Muslims do not have any aspiration for education. Here you find only a mere shadow wherever Europeans and their institutions have not imposed their presence of human intellect.⁶⁷

⁶⁵ According to Adlerburg’s description of the Sultan’s palace, one of its rooms, where he performed on violin, was decorated in European style (everything, including the carpets, was European).

⁶⁶ See “Muzyka v Tursii,” *Literaturnoe pribavlenie k Nuvelistu* (August, 1861): 61.

⁶⁷ Ibid.

The stereotyping of Eastern peoples in popular literature continued into the twentieth century. In 1906, a series of essays under the general title “Little Brothers in the Family of Nations: Essays on the Ways of Life and Customs of the Savages” [*Men’shie brat’ia v sem’e narodov. Ocherki byta i npravov dikarei*] was published in the Free Annex to the journal *A Young Russia* (Children’s Reading) [*Besplatnoe prilozenie k zhurnalu ‘Iunaia Rossiia’ (Detskoe chtenie)*]. The very title of these essays, “Little Brothers,” belittled and disparaged peoples living outside European countries, since in Russian “little brothers” also refers to all the creatures of animal world. The author, Ia. A. Berlin, after describing the customs and culture of so-called “savages” living in Australia, Africa, America, and Asia in seventeen essays, concluded that only truly developed people can acquire [*osushchestvit’*] the “supreme truth” [*vyssshaia pravda*] and protect themselves from poverty. He assumed that “savages,” like children, were unable to support themselves and, because of this, the interference of European culturally developed people is preferable -- even necessary -- to distribute equally the wealth of all “working peoples” [*truzhenniki*].⁶⁸ Thus Berlin, in a way, suggested controlling the “little brothers” economic life, although earlier in the essay he acknowledged that “the white men” exploited the natives (in America as well as in Russian Siberia) instead of helping them.⁶⁹

⁶⁸ Berlin, “Semnadsatyi ocherk: neravnaia bor’ba” [Essay Number Seventeen: Unequal Struggle], in *Besplatnoe prilozenie k zhurnalu ‘Iunaia Rossiia’ (Detskoe chtenie)* (Moscow: tip. K.L. Men’shova, 1906), 45-46. The inability of savages to support themselves, which makes them similar to children, was commonly used in European rhetoric justifying the exploitation of the subjugated peoples.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 5-26.

3. The Development of Ethnography in Russia

As a distinct academic field Russian ethnography was born in 1845.⁷⁰ That year the Russian Geographical Society founded an Ethnographic Division, which at first prioritized the study of smaller, disappearing ethnic groups of the empire, and in 1847 turned to Russian people as their primary focus.⁷¹ As Nathaniel Knight points out, in mid-nineteenth-century Russia two factions within the Geographical Society debated over the subject of Russian ethnography. The proponents of the first faction, headed by Karl von Baer and represented mostly by scholars of non-Russian origin, believed that Russian ethnographic studies should concentrate on the empire's diverse ethnic groups that are threatened by progress. For them, ethnography was a science of empire. Furthermore, as Kappeler points out, the works of foreign-born scholars tended to represent Russian Others in a more positive way, while Russians more often had confirmed negative stereotypes of their Asian neighbours.⁷² For champions of the second faction with Nikolai

⁷⁰ Robert Geraci sees two predecessors of Russian ethnography: travelers' descriptions of the peoples and the academic studies of the languages and literatures of Asian (or oriental) peoples. See Robert P. Geraci, *Window on the East. National and Imperial Identities in Late Tsarist Russia* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2001), 159.

⁷¹ See S.A. Tokarev, *Istoriia russkoi etnographii*; Nathaniel Knight, "Science, Empire, and Nationality: Ethnography in the Russian Geographical Society, 1845-1855," in *Imperial Russia. New Histories for the Empire*, Jane Burbank and David L. Ransel, eds. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1998), 108-41. From 1850, other branches of the Russian Geographical Society started functioning throughout the empire: Caucasian Geographical Society in Tiflis (1850), Siberian Department in Irkutsk (1851), North-Western Department in Vil'na (1867), Orenburg Department (1868), and South-Western Department in Kiev (1873). Since the 1890s new departments of the Geographical Society were open in Khabarovsk, Chita, and Vladivostok (1894), and in Turkestan (1897). See Tokarev, *Istoriia russkoi etnografii*, 282-363.

⁷² See Kappeler, *Russland erste Naionalitäten*; Geraci, *Window on the East*, 165.

Nadezhdin as leader, however, the study of Russian nationality had to be the focus of attention.⁷³

Despite the factions' different goals, their methods of study were similar: focus on nationality as the central object of research and avoid general questions about the development of the human race and culture. What Russian ethnographers were interested in, as Knight observes, was *byt* – a large concept that included all aspects of everyday life from their households to rituals and customs. In the mid-nineteenth century, Russian ethnographers produced texts that were descriptive in orientation and did not include any analytical or comparativistic discourse that would imply larger concepts of cultural development. This is because the notion of *byt* did not imply any hierarchical or comparative elements since the very etymology of this word (derived from the verb “to be”) excludes it.⁷⁴

As Knight argues convincingly, the focus on *byt* and the paradigm of ethnography as gathering factual information about and describing *narod* [people] resulted in Russia's failure to respond to the debate between monogenists and polygenists over the unity of the human race, which heated the pages of European scientific (and especially ethnographic) publications.⁷⁵ As we shall see in Chapter Five, the discourse of evolutionism did not begin to be felt in the works of Russian ethnographers until the 1880s. But by this time, Knight claims,

⁷³ In the Russian Academy of Science a similar debate between the “German” (i.e. non-nationalist, cosmopolitan) and “Russian” parties took place in the 1860s. See N.I. Veselovskii, “Baron V.R. Rozen,” in *Zhurnal ministerstva narodnogo prosviashcheniia*, 14, no. 4 (1908): 178.

⁷⁴ Knight, “Science, Empire and Nationality: Ethnography in the Russian Geographical Society, 1845 – 1855,” in *Imperial Russia: New Histories for the Empire*, edited by Jane Burbank and David Ransel (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1998), 127.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 131.

the paradigm of ethnography as the description of nationality was deeply rooted in Russian science and would continue to be a persistent feature despite the efforts of academic ethnographers to instill a more theoretical approach.⁷⁶

Another element that contributed to the formation of a specifically Russian ethnography on Russia's Others was the exile ethnography or ethnographic works written by political exiles.⁷⁷ Having been oppressed by the official tsarist system, many exiled Russian writers supported Russia's Asian subjects and often stood for their rights. As Bruce Grant observed: "exile defined the fledgling discipline of Russian ethnography in ways that set it apart from its counterparts in western Europe."⁷⁸

Throughout the nineteenth century there were a few waves of political exiles: the first group of exiles was the group supporting the 1825 Decembrist revolt (discussed in Chapter Three);⁷⁹ the next group of exiles was the group of participants in the 1863 Polish revolt. But probably the largest group of exiles were the political exiles sent to Siberia in the 1870s-1880s. As discussed in Chapter One, social unrest accompanied the 1861 Emancipation of Serfs. As a result the number of political convicts increased

⁷⁶ Ibid., 131.

⁷⁷ Among the repressed ethnographers were: I. A. Khudiakov, who studied the Yakut language and culture; Vatslav Seroshevsky, who wrote novels and ethnographic essays on Yakutia; S.F. Kovalik and V. F. Troshchansky, who wrote on Shamanism; D. Klements, who contributed to the study of the geography, geology, ethnology, and archaeology of Siberia and Central Asia; Lev Shternberg, who contributed to the ethnographic knowledge of peoples living on Sakhalin Island; Grigorii N. Potanin, an explorer of Central Asia, and N.M. Iadrintsev, who contributed to the exploration and ethnographic studies of Siberian peoples. On Repressed ethnographers see, Tokarev, *Istoriia russkoi etnografii*, 306-10; D.D. Tumarkin, ed., *Repressirovannye etnografy* (Moscow: Vostochnaia literatura, 1999); I.A.V. Vasil'kov, M.IU. Sorokina, eds., *Liudi i sud'by. Bibliograficheskii slovar' vostokovedov-zhertv politicheskogo terrora v Sovetskii period (1917-1991)* (St. Petersburg: Petersburgskoe vostokovedenie, 2003).

⁷⁸ Bruce Grant, "Empire and Savagery: The politics of Primitivism in Late Imperial Russia," in *Russia's Orient. Imperial Borderlands and Peoples, 1700-1917*, Daniel R. Brower and Edward J. Lazzerini, eds., 293.

⁷⁹ On the favorable attitude of the Decembrists towards the Kazakhs, see E.A. Masanov, *Ocherk istorii etnograficheskogo izucheniia kazakhskogo naroda v SSSR* (Alma-Ata: Nauka, 1966), 92-98.

drastically in the 1860s and especially at the end of the 1870s, after the adoption in 1878 of the “Provision” of the administrative exile, which allowed Russian officials to send people to Siberia without a trial.⁸⁰

Many late-nineteenth-century exiles were members of a group called *narodniki* (or *narodniks*) (from Russian *narod*, i.e. “folk” or “people”) who later became members of a revolutionary organization called *Land and Liberty*. The *narodnist* movement (often referred to as a Populist movement) rose after the 1861 Abolition of Serfdom. In the 1870s it gave rise to a massive action called “going to the people” [*khozhdenie v narod*], which aimed to spread socialist ideas among the peasants. Formed mostly from members of Russia’s middle class and intelligentsia, *narodniki* considered Russian peasants as potential revolutionaries, who, once they were indoctrinated with socialist ideals, could overthrow the autocracy. While doing propaganda work, some *narodniks* also gathered ethnographic material from peasants, and later became prominent ethnographers and orientologists (e.g. Dmitrii Alexandrovich Klements and Lev Shternberg).⁸¹

Few other elements complicated the formation of Russian ethnography. Russian scholars professionally involved in studying the societies and cultures of the Middle East and Asia, or the orientologists, formed an additional layer of specialists who influenced the development of ethnology. As Vera Tolz argues, since the 1880s many specialists

⁸⁰ Tokarev, 307.

⁸¹ On the lives of Dmitrii Klements and Lev Shternberg see Tokarev, 309-10; Bruce Grant, “Empire and Savagery: the Politics of Primitivism in Late Imperial Russia,” in *Russia’s Orient: Imperial Borderlands and Peoples, 1700-1917*, 292-310. I use the term “orientology” [*vostokovedenie*] to designate a field of oriental studies that does not imply the political, negatively-charged Saidean “Orientalism.” As I have discussed in Introduction, the word “orientologist,” by extension, is used to describe professionals involved in studying the society and culture of the Asian peoples, and will not carry the Saidean negative connotations implied in the word “Orientalist.”

associated with the Russian Academy of Science, particularly Baron Victor Rozen (1849-1908) and his disciples Vasilii Bartol'd (1869-1930), Nikolai Marr (1864-1934), and Sergei Ol'denburg (1863-1934), challenged Eurocentric visions of history and saw the multi-ethnicity and interaction between the eastern and western cultures as a positive force in the formation of Russian culture.⁸² They considered themselves “armchair scholars” [*kabinetnye uchenye*] and believed that the German model of “pure scholarship” (instead of English and French “practical knowledge”) should be used in Russian academia.⁸³

By the late nineteenth century the representatives of minority groups in Siberia and the Caucasus also participated in the production of new knowledge about their own communities. Some imperial scholars established close professional and personal relationships with representatives of *inorodtsy* communities and, according to Tolz, “constructed a more favourable image of the *inorodtsy* than had been previously the case.”⁸⁴ Russian orientologists started applying to the *inorodtsy* a theory of integration, previously used on the Russian population. This theory was based on the idea that national loyalty can be developed through the knowledge of and love for the history and tradition of a place of birth or *malaia rodina* [small homeland]. Russian orientologists,

⁸² Tolz, “European, National, and (Anti-) Imperial: The Formation of Academic Oriental Studies in Late Tsarist and Early Soviet Russia,” in *Orientalism and Empire in Russia* (Bloomington, IN: Slavica Publishers, 2006), 107-134, here 126. These specialists, according to Tolz, played a crucial role in the formation of the Russian Eurasianism movement and even influenced Edward Said’s *Orientalism* mediated via the works of Arabic writers, such as Anwar Abdel-Malek. See Tolz, “European, National, and (Anti-) Imperial,” 132-33.

⁸³ Tolz, *Russia's Own Orient': The Politics of Identity and Oriental Studies in the Late Imperial and Early Soviet Periods* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 69-84.

⁸⁴ See Vera Tolz, “Imperial Scholars and Minority Nationalisms,” in *Kritika: Explorations in Russian and Eurasian History* 10, no. 2 (spring 2009): 261-90, here 281.

such as Nikolai Marr, Vasilii Bartol'd, and Dmitrii Klements (1848-1914), believed that by promoting studies of local cultures and nurturing ethno-cultural awareness among the *inorodtsy*, Russia's minority groups would become "better integrated into the pan-Russian state-framed community without losing their distinctiveness."⁸⁵

Finally, many Russian scholars from mixed Russian-*inorodets* families and a few representatives of ethnic minority groups (such as Alexander Kasimovich Kazembek and Nikolai Katanov) entered the Russian educated elite and became part of Russian academia, teaching at the university level. For instance, Muhammad Ali Kazembei, known as Alexander Kasimovich Kazembek (1802-1870) of Azeri origin was one of the first European Turkologists of Turkic origin, who became a professor of Turkic languages first at Kazan (in 1826) and then at Saint Petersburg University (in 1849).⁸⁶ He wrote a number of articles on history, religion, language, and grammar of oriental peoples and, unlike many of his European counterparts, portrayed Islam in a relatively favourable light.⁸⁷

Later in the century, Nikolai Katanov (1862-1922), from a Turkic-speaking minority group called Abakan (now commonly Khakass), was offered a post as a professor of Turkic languages at Kazan University.⁸⁸ Although some Russian academics were uncomfortable offering such a visible position to an *inorodets*, Katanov, as Robert

⁸⁵ Ibid., 270.

⁸⁶ On the life of Kazembek, see A.A. Kozhukhovskaia, ed., *Istoriia otechestvennogo vostokovedeniia s serediny XIX veka do 1917 goda* (Moscow: Vostochnaia literatura, 1997), 234-36; Schimmelpenninck, *Russian Orientalism*, 101-09.

⁸⁷ See David Schimmelpenninck, *Russian Orientalism*, 107.

⁸⁸ On the life and works of N. Katanov, see S.N. Ivanov, *N. F. Katanov (1862–1922): Ocherk zhizni i deiatel'nosti* (Moscow-Leningrad, 1962); Robert Geraci, *Window on the East*, 309-41.

Geraci points out, gained respect as one of the University's most gifted scholars and his work was distinguished with a number of medals.⁸⁹

Thus, the exile ethnography, as well as the ethnography formed within the walls of Russian learned societies and by the members of *inorodets* and mixed Russian-*inorodets* origins, informed the ethnographies' sympathetic spirit to oppressed peoples and shaped some views of the later nineteenth-century specialists on oriental studies. The support of the *inorodtsy*'s case grew to such an extent that at the beginning of the twentieth century some Russian scholars, such as Lev Shternberg, argued that some *inorodtsy*, for instance, the Muslims, were "intellectually incompatibly higher than the surrounding Russian population."⁹⁰

4. Oriental Studies in Russia

Interest in Russia's Asian Others became more pronounced at the end of the 1860s with the expansion towards Central Asia and the founding of a second major center of ethnographic study in Moscow, the Society of Friends of Natural History, Anthropology, and Ethnography [*Obshchestvo liubitelei estestvoznaniia, antropologii i etnografii*], or OLEAE. Since the OLEAE's main goal was to raise awareness and educate people, the Society held a major exhibition representing most of the peoples of

⁸⁹ *Window on the East*, 317. A list of other teaching staff of non-Russian origin at Kazan University and Gymnasium also included: Tatars the Khalfin family, A. Daminev, S. Murtazin, Nuri and Akhmet Abdusattarov, M.G. Makhmudov; Buriats G. Nikituev, D. Banzarov; Persian Seid Aliev; a native from Chinese Turkestan Abu-Karimov, and many others. See Mikhailova, "Razvitie orientalistiki v kazanskom universitete," in *Kazan, Moscow, St. Petersburg* (1997), 288.

⁹⁰ See Tolz, "Imperial Scholars and Minority Nationalisms," 281.

the Russian Empire (including the newly acquired region of Russian Turkestan) as well as neighbouring Slavic nationalities in 1867.⁹¹ As Nathaniel Knight and Daniel Brower have observed, this exhibition underlined Russia's new imperial ideology by constructing through visual arts a hierarchy of peoples living in the imperial borderlands.⁹²

Three other exhibitions were organized by OLEAE: a Polytechnic Exhibition (1872), an Anthropological Exhibition (1879), and a Geographical Exhibition (1892). In 1872, the Moscow Polytechnic Exhibition presented the newly acquired region of Turkestan in particularly lavish terms, likely due to the fact that the newly appointed Governor-General of Turkestan, Konstantin von Kaufman, himself sponsored the Turkestan section.⁹³ In 1869 Kaufmann commissioned the creation of an album of

⁹¹ Supported by the tsar and local administration the first Ethnographic Exhibition aimed to "demonstrate the power and grandeur of Tsarist Imperia." Tokarev, 285. It exhibited 288 mannequins dressed in traditional costume, 450 outfits, 600 photographs, and 1,200 different artifacts and objects of everyday life. As Tokarev points out, the organizers made everything look like a serious scientific enterprise: popular lectures were organized during the exhibition, a directory to the exhibition was published in 1867, along with a catalogue with photographs of some of the displays and the minutes of the meetings of the exhibition planning committee in 1878. Over 90,000 people, including the Tsar himself, attended this exhibition. See Ibid. On the exhibition, see Knight, "The Empire on Display: Science, Nationalism and the Challenge of Human Diversity in the All-Russian Ethnographic Exhibition of 1867." Paper presented at the National Council for European and East European Research, August 20, 2001; Brower, *Turkestan and the Fate of the Russian Empire*, 45-55.

⁹² Knight, "The Empire on Display"; Brower, *Turkestan and the Fate of the Russian Empire* (2003), 45-46. Furthermore, Brower suggested that the textual and visual modes of representation of human differences in the exhibition implied a discourse of the empire's role in Central Asia as a patron and protector of Russia's newly acquired Asian subjects. See Brower, 46. Interestingly, the idea of presentation of Russia as a multiethnic land appeared in the proposals for the foundation of the first Russian museum written between 1817 and 1821 by Friedrich von Adelung and Burckhard von Wichmann. See Kevin Tyner Thomas, "Collecting the Fatherland. Early Nineteenth-Century Proposals for a Russian National Museum," in *Imperial Russia: New Histories for the Empire*, Jane Burbank and David Ransel, eds., 91-107.

⁹³ Nikolai Rubinshtein, who was asked to organize musical events for the exhibition, proposed bringing musicians from all regions of the multiethnic empire to give concerts with the participation of Russian and *inorodtsy* performers. However, as Elena Shabshaevich points out, Rubinshtein's ambitious plans were never realized because of the lack of financial resources as well as the conflict between his ideas and the ideas of the organizers of the exhibition. See Elena Shabshaevich, "Nikolai Rubinshtein and the Moscow Polytechnic Exhibition in 1872," in *Musica* (2011), nos. 3-4 (July-August): 43-47. Rubinshtein's dream of bringing musicians from the empire's ethnic minority groups and letting Russians hear their performance was realized by the Russian government some twenty years later at the 1896 All-Russian Exhibition in

articles on Central Asia, which within ten years catalogued more than 4,000 publications on the region. He also ordered the creation of a *Turkestan Album* [*Turkestanskii Albom*], which included approximately 1,200 photographs of the area, pictures of different ethnic groups living in the region and Russians serving in Turkestan, as well as maps, architectural plans, and watercolour drawings.⁹⁴ Kaufman also sponsored the building of a special Turkestan Pavilion in the style of famous madrasa (or Muslim school), Sherdar in Samarkand. The Turkestan Pavilion included everything from musical instruments and different artefacts to the models of houses, from zoological and fauna collections to the models of bazaars, from samples of opium and hashish to the models of Central Asian streets.⁹⁵

Prior to the exhibition Kaufman invited and generously paid explorers, such as botanist Aleksei Fedchenko, linguist Nikolai Ostroumov, and artist-in-residence Vasilii Vereshchagin, to conduct a “thorough study” of the new region.⁹⁶ Experienced in serving in Russia’s turbulent regions, such as the Caucasus, Kaufman seemed to be aware that only comprehensive knowledge of the region could help him control some three million ethnically and linguistically diverse subjects, partly nomads, partly sedentary, and mostly

Nizhnii Novgorod. See N. Findeizen, “So Vserossiiskoi Vystavki v N.-Novgorode,” *RMG*, no. 9 (1896): 1010-1020. On general information about the 1896 Exposition in Nizhnii Novgorod, see Iu. N. Bubnov, *Vserossiiskaia promyshlennaia i khudozhestvennaia vystavka 1896 goda v Nizhnem Novgorode. K 100-letiiu so dnia otkrytiia* (Nizhnii Novgorod: Dekom, 1996).

⁹⁴ I will discuss some pictures from the *Album* in Chapter Five.

⁹⁵ See V. Iversen, “Otchet o poezdke na Moskovskuiu politekhnicheskuiu vystavku,” in *Trudy Imperatorskogo vol'nogo ekonomicheskogo obshchestva* (1873), vol. 1.

⁹⁶ Vasilii Vereshchagin made two trips to Russian Turkestan (in 1868 and in 1879). Kaufman promised to publish his works in a special volume, with a state subsidy of 30,000 rubles. Two hundred and fifty of Vereshchagin’s drawings and paintings were presented at very popular exhibits in St. Petersburg, Moscow, and abroad. On life of Vereshchagin see A.K. Lebedev, *V.V. Vereshchagin* (Moscow: Iskusstvo, 1972); Lev Demin, *Smol'bertom po zemnomu sharu: Mir glazami V.V. Vereshchagina* (Moscow: Mysl', 1991); Vahan D. Barooshian, *V.V. Vereshchagin: Artist at War* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1993); Schimmelpenninck, *Russian Orientalism*, 76-91.

Muslim. As Brower puts it, ethnography for Kaufman had “an important role to play in constructing his new colony. It was for him and his officials a tool in pacifying the population.”⁹⁷ Thus, in Central Asia the research expeditions followed the steps of military campaigns: often the officers performed scientific observation (including ethnographic) or some ethnographers were attached to military vanguards. For this reason, it is difficult to draw a line between the official bureaucratic publications or military-statistical surveys from purely ethnographic works.

Besides IRGO and OLEAE, other learned societies included programs of Oriental Studies. Among the most notable were the Russian Archaeological Society (1846), the Imperial Archaeological Commission in Saint Petersburg (1859), the Moscow Archaeological Society (1864), and the Society of Archaeology, History and Ethnography in Kazan (1877). According to Vera Tolz, this history of the institutionalization of Oriental Studies in Russia demonstrates the growing nationalism and anti-Western sentiments caused by Russia’s defeat in the Crimean War. As Tolz argues,

[i]n an attempt to define Russia’s identity as separate from, and often in opposition to, Western Europe, arguments about the impact of Eastern cultures and traditions on Russia gained a particular prominence.⁹⁸

Each of these societies had its own organ that published studies accomplished by its members. By the end of the 1860s, journals focused on specifically ethnographic issues began appearing. The ethnographic department of IRGO issued two periodicals –

⁹⁷ See Brower, *Turkestan and the Fate of the Russian Empire*, 54.

⁹⁸ Tolz, “European, National, and (Anti-) Imperial,” 112.

Zapiski Russkogo Imperatorskogo geograficheskogo obshchestva po Otdeleniiu etnografii [Notes of the Ethnographic Department of IRGO] and *Living Antiquity* [Zhivaia starina, or ZhS], published respectively from 1867 and 1891. They were among the most important specialized sources of knowledge about geography, history, nature, and culture of the new Russian subjects. Beginning in 1891, *Zhivaia starina* also published material on ethnography and folklore of people living in the Russian Empire as well as reports from ethnographic expeditions.⁹⁹ An article by Sergei Rybakov on folk music of the Tatar, Bashkir, and Teptiar' peoples appeared in this journal in 1894.¹⁰⁰ Rybakov's work on the music of Russia's oriental peoples living within Russian borders for a few centuries was probably considered important since other journals and newspapers published different selections and in 1897 his entire near-300-page work was published as a separate volume of *Mémoires de l'académie Impériale des sciences de St.-Pétersbourg*.¹⁰¹

Another important ethnographic journal, the *Ethnographic Review* [Etnograficheskoe obozrenie], or EO, was issued by OLEAE and distributed beginning in 1889.¹⁰² It published articles and tunes transcribed from Russian oriental

⁹⁹ It also published detailed programs on how to collect folklore and musical instruments.

¹⁰⁰ See Rybakov, "O narodnykh pesniakh, tatar, bashkir i teptiarei," nos. 3-4 (1894): 326-64.

¹⁰¹ Rybakov, "Muzyka i pesni ural'skikh musul'man" [Music and Songs of the Ural Muslims], *Mémoires de l'académie Impériale des sciences de St.-Pétersbourg* 2, no. 2 (St. Petersburg: Tip. Imperatorskoi Akademii Nauk, 1897).

¹⁰² Another journal distributed by the OLEAE from 1863, *Izvestiia obshchestva liubitelei estestvoznaniia*, published only one article that discusses a selection of Asian musical instruments in the context of the laws of music harmony. See Alexsei Vladimirkii, "O zakonakh muzykal'noi garmonii i natsional'nykh muzykal'nykh instrumentakh dostavlennykh na etnograficheskuiu vystavku," in *Izvestiia Imperatorskogo Obshchestva Liubitelei Estestvoznaniia*, vol. 7: *Sbornik antropologicheskikh i etnograficheskikh statei o Rossii i stranakh ei prinaldezhashchikh, izdavaemyi V.A. Dashkovym*, kn. 1 (Moscow, 1868): 152-68.

Others, including Kirgiz, Altai, and Caucasian peoples.¹⁰³ Some articles and transcriptions of Asian tunes resonated in Russian music circles. As I discuss in Chapter Six, the transcription of two Kyrgyz songs from M.V. Gotovitskii's and R.A. Pfennig's work published in *EO* were used by Nikolai Klenovskii in his *Collection of Folk Songs (Ethnographic Concert)*, an anthology of Slavic and oriental/Asian tunes arranged and performed at Ethnographic concerts organized through 1890s-1910s by Music Ethnographic Committee.¹⁰⁴

The Russian Society of Archaeology, History, and Ethnography working under the auspices of the Kazan University also published a number of studies on music culture and transcriptions of musical tunes in its journal, *Izvestiia Obshchestva Arkheologii, Istorii i Etnografii pri Imperatorskom Kazanskom Universitete* [Proceedings of the Society of Archaeology, History, and Ethnography under the auspices of the Imperial Kazan University]. Among the central articles on music of Russian Asian subjects (that include transcriptions) are those by Valentin Moshkov on music of *inorodtsy* living in the Volga-Kama region and Nikolai Pantusov on music of the Taranchi people, or the Uighurs, living in Russian Turkestan (discussed in Chapter Six).¹⁰⁵

¹⁰³ M.V. Gotovitskii and R.A. Pfennig, "Dve stat'i o kirgizskikh i sartsikh narodnykh pesniakh" [Two Articles on Kyrgyz and Sart Folk Songs], in *EO*, no. 3 (1889): 73-91; A.A. Ivanovskii, "Kirgizskii narodnyi pevets Nogoibai" [Kyrgyz Traditional Singer Nogoibai], in *EO*, no. 3 (1889): 92-101; A.P. Anokhin, "O napevakh altaiskikh inorodtsev i mongolov," *EO* (1907), no. 4; Arsenii Koreshchenko, "Nabliudenie nad vostochnoi muzykoi, preimushchestvenno kavkazskoi," in *EO*, no. 1 (1898): 1-22.

¹⁰⁴ See N. Klenovskii, *Sbornik narodnykh pesen: etnograficheskii concert russkikh i drugikh narodnostei s perevodom na russkii iazyk* [Collection of Folk Songs: Ethnographic Concert of Russian and Other Peoples with Russian Translation], 4th edition (Moscow: Muzykal'nyi sektor, 1926).

¹⁰⁵ See V.A. Moshkov, "Materialy dlia kharakteristiki muzykal'nogo tvorchestva inorodtsev Volzhsko-Kamskago kraia. I. Muzyka Chuvashskikh pesen" in *Izvestiia Obshchestva Arkheologii, Istorii i Etnografii pri Imperatorskom Kazanskom Universitete* 11 (1893): 31-64. Moshkov, "Melodii Orenburgskikh i nogaiskikh Tatar," in *Izvestiia Obshchestva Arkheologii, Istorii i Etnografii pri Imperatorskom Kazanskom Universitete* 12 (1894): 1-67.

Apart from literature published in specialized journals, the *Russian Musical Newspaper* [*Russkaia muzykal'naia gazeta*, or *RMG*], founded in 1894 by Nikolai Federovich Findeizen (1868-1928), also included articles on music culture (and ethnography) of oriental peoples. Some authors published articles on a regular basis. For instance, Rybakov's research on the music of peoples living in the Volga-Kama region appeared several times.¹⁰⁶ Dmitrii Arakchiev, a member of the Music Ethnography Committee (discussed in Chapters Four and Six), also published a number of articles on the music of peoples living in the Caucasus.¹⁰⁷ Some *RMG* articles on the music of Russia's ethnic minorities had purely descriptive character, while others discussed common late-nineteenth-century topics, such as the influence of Asian music on Russian music culture or the Russification and extinction of music cultures of Russia's ethnic minorities.¹⁰⁸ The ideology of Asianism and Aryanism, which I discuss in Chapter Five, also channelled through the pages of this musical newspaper.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁶ Sergei Rybakov, "Kurai –bashkirskii muzykal'nyi ocherk," no. 1 (1896): 35-52; Ibid., "Russkie vliianiia v muzykal'nom tvorchestve nagaibakov, kreshchennykh tatar Orenburgskoi gubernii," no. 11 (1896): 1343-54; Ibid., "Liubov' i zhenshchina po narodnym pesniam inorodtsev," nos. 21-22 (1901): 565-75.

¹⁰⁷ See D. Arakchiev, "O lirikakh severnogo Kavkaza" [About the Lyricists of Northern Caucasus], nos. 22-23 (1907): 547; Ibid., "O narodnoi muzyke gruzin-pshavov i khevsur" [About the Folk Music of Georgians-Pshavs and Khevsurs], nos. 47-48, 50-52 (1906): 1096, 1134, 1197, 1240; Ibid., "Sravnitel'nyi obzor gruzino-imeretinskoi narodnoi muzyki i muzykal'nykh instrumentov" [Comparative Study of Georgian-Imeretian Folk Music and Music Instruments], nos. 50, 51-52 (1904): 1209, 1264.

¹⁰⁸ See S. Rybakov, "Russkie vliianiia v muzykal'nom tvorchestve Nagaibakov, kreshchennykh tatar Orenburgskoi gubernii" [Russian Influences on the Music Art of Nagaibaks, the Christianized Tatars of Orenburg District], *RMG*, no. 11 (1896): 1343-54.

¹⁰⁹ See V. I. Petr, "O melodicheskoi sklade ariiskoi pesni. Istoriko-stavnitel'nyi opyt. I. Chast' teoreticheskaiia. II Chast' prakticheskaiia" [About a Melodic Structure of Aryan Song. Experience in Comparative History. I. Theoretical Part and II Practical Part], in *Russkaia muzykal'naia gazeta* n. 1 (1897): 3-28; and (1897-1898), Annex: 1-56; B. Babkin, "Balalaika. Ocherki istorii ee razvitiia i usovershenstvovaniia," *Russkaia beseda* (March, 1896): 83-121, and *RMG* (1896): 682-94, 804-6;

Generally, most articles in *RMG* presented a favourable image of the musical cultures of Russian oriental peoples.¹¹⁰ Some articles even corrected negative perspectives of Asian musical practice. For instance, Sergei Rybakov, in his article on *kurai* (a Bashkir wind instrument), cites a number of articles from Russian and Western sources and expresses his disagreement with statements that Bashkir music is “uninteresting,” “in minor mode,” and “limited in repertoire.”¹¹¹

Another article by music historian Nikolai Findeizen, published in *RMG*, reviewed musical instruments presented at the All-Russian Exhibition in Novgorod (1896), including the instruments from the Central Asian section of the exhibition. It also briefly discusses the musical performance of two Asian instrumental ensembles from Central Asia. Although Findeizen describes his experience of listening to their music as painful, he uses a sympathetic tone and suggests that maybe his European ear, which is unable to hear all the subtleties of Asian melody, should be blamed:

Both orchestras awfully affected my ear. Only occasionally could one establish a contour of some unpretentious tune, which does not exceed the limits of three or four tones [...] but maybe our deplorable ear is to blame for it, [since it] is not able to hear a subtle distinctions of a third of their tones. The elder-musicians had a really grand and serious demeanour [*vazhno i ser'ezno smotreli*], while playing their monotonous, yet florid [*pestryi*] tunes.¹¹²

¹¹⁰ Except for one article on Japanese music, which presents it as an underdeveloped phenomenon. See Iu.K., “Iaponskaia muzyka” [Japanese Music], no. 12 (1904): 335-39. The article's derogatory tone can be explained by Russo-Japanese War (1904-1905) that erupted in the same year as it was published.

¹¹¹ See Rybakov, “Kurai, bashkirskii muzyakl'nyi ocherk,” no. 1 (1896): 35-52.

¹¹² “Oba orchestra deistvovali na moe ukho uzhasno. Lish izredko mozhno bylo ustanovit' abris kakogo-nibud' nezateilivogo napeva nevykhodiashchego iz granits 2-3 tonov [...] no byt' mozhet vinoiu tomu nashe pagubnoe ukho, nesposobnoe razlichat' tontoj grani 1/3 ikh tonov. Uzh bol'no vazhno i ser'ezno smotreli stariki-muzykanty, ispolniaia svoi odnoobraznye, no pestrye napevy!” See N. Findeizen, “So Vserossiiskoi Vystavki v N.-Novgorode,” *RMG*, no. 9 (1896): 1010-1020; here 1018.

Findeizen's article presents an important shift from Orientalist prejudice towards a non-Western music aesthetic. In this passage, the author raises an essential question of the relativity of musical taste in different cultures and does not blame other peoples' culture for not understanding it. Instead, he questions his own (or more generally, European) ability to hear and appreciate the music of Eastern Others. It is important, thus, that one of the major late-nineteenth-century musical periodicals, *Russian Music Newspaper*, identified differences in the set of aesthetics of European and Eastern cultures.

5. Specialized Literature on Russia's Asian Others: Case Studies

Aleksei Levshin and Russia's Nomads

Among the early nineteenth-century sources that include Asian tunes is Aleksei Levshin's *Opisanie Kirgiz-Kazach'ikh ili Kirgiz-Kaisakskikh ord i stepei* [Description of Kyrgyz-Kazak or Kyrgyz-Kaisak's Hordes and Steppes] that presents two tunes with Russian translation of the texts.¹¹³ One of the first detailed studies of nomadic peoples living in the steppes of the vast territory beyond the Volga River, Levshin's *Opisanie*

¹¹³ See A. Levshin's *Opisanie Kirgiz-Kazach'ikh ili Kirgiz-Kaisakskikh ord i stepei* [Description of Kyrgyz-Kazak or Kyrgyz-Kaisak's Hordes and Steppes] (Saint Petersburg: tip. Karla Kraiia, 1832). **Aleksei Iraklievich Levshin (1799-1879)** is a Russian writer, ethnographer, and public figure. After graduating from Khar'kov University in 1818, Levshin was appointed to the Asian Department of the Ministry of Internal Affairs. In 1820-1822 Levshin lived in Orenburg, the city bordering with Russian Asia, and worked as an "assistant of the diplomatic relations with Kyrgyz-Kaisaks" of the Orenburg Frontier Commission. During this period he studied Russia's diplomatic relation with state formations in the steppes beyond the Volga River and with the Central Asian khanates. On the life of Levshin, see F.A. Brokgauz, I.A. Efron, "Levshin, Aleksei Iraklievich," *Entsiklopedicheskii slovar'* 33 (1896): 445; "Levshin, Aleksei Iraklievich," *Russkii biograficheskii slovar'* 10 (Saint Petersburg, 1914), 159-60; I. Erofeev, "A.I. Levshin i ego trud 'Opisanie kirgiz-kazach'ikh ili kirgiz-kaisatskikh ord i stepei,'" in *Levshin A.I. Opisanie kirgiz-kazach'ikh ili kirgiz-kaisatskikh gor i stepei* (Almaty: Sanat, 1996), 534-95.

earned international acclaim: in 1840 it was translated and published in French as *Description des hordes et des steppes de Kirgiz-Kazakhs ou Kirgiz-Kaiissaks* and some selections were translated and published in Italian in *Revista europea*.¹¹⁴

Three volumes of Levshin's *Description* cover geography, nature, and history of the steppes, in addition to providing interesting information on the lifestyle and culture of nomadic peoples. From Levshin's discussion of life in the Kazakh steppe it becomes evident that he views its history and culture from a developmentalist point of view common to early anthropology. Developed by Jean-Jacques Rousseau and other philosophers of the Enlightenment, the theory of developmentalism, in combination with the comparative method, assumed that the universal concept of human growth, both personal and societal, can be applied to any Western or non-Western culture.¹¹⁵ It was believed that the threefold paradigm of developmental progress from savagery to barbarism and then to civilization, if applied to modern primitive societies, could explain the early stages of mankind's development. The link with Jean-Jacques Rousseau is particularly important here given that, as I. Erofeev points out, Levshin was under the influence of the Enlightenment philosophers, such as Voltaire, Montesquieu, and Rousseau, during his years of study at Kharkov University.¹¹⁶

Levshin places Kyrgyz-Kaisaks (or simply Kyrgyz) between the first and the second stages of development, calling them and their culture "semi-savage." When

¹¹⁴ Erofeev, 568. In his work Levshin calls the Kazakh ethnic group by a different, yet similar, name "Kyrgyz-Kazak" or "Kyrgyz-Kaisak," which, prior to the early 1920s, was used in Russian official language to identify Turkestan nomads. The modern Kyrgyz people were usually called "Kara-Kyrgyz." Here and in the rest of my dissertation I will use the ethnic names from the original sources.

¹¹⁵ Stocking, *Victorian Anthropology*, 15; Honigmann, *The Development of Anthropological Ideas*, 114.

¹¹⁶ See I. Erofeev, "A.I. Levshin i ego trud," 541-45.

Levshin discusses the laws and regulations practiced by the Kirgiz, he notes that they resemble European laws from their earliest stages of development:

Savage, but close to the uneducated nature of man, the law of revenge and punishment (Drou de taillon) existed almost among all the peoples during their infancy. We can find it among the Jews, Greeks, Romans, Arabs, Germans, Scandinavians, and, finally, among our ancestors, the Slavs.¹¹⁷

Other popular developmentalist ideas that relate the earliest stages of development with anthropological tropes of animality, childhood, naturalness, ignorance, innocence, helplessness, and imitation, also can be identified in Levshin's *Description*. According to Levshin, the Kyrgyz are more confiding [*doverchivyi*] and unsuspecting than other Asians, since they did not live in despotism; they are closer to nature because they are rough, ignorant, unbridled in their wilfulness [*neobuzdannoe svoevol'stvo*], and always reveal their predatory character [*khishchnichestvo*].¹¹⁸ Furthermore, they are skilled in imitating the sounds of nature while playing their instruments or performing the long narrative about their heroes.

The eloquent narrators know how to adorn the novel with assimilations [*upodobleniia*] and words imitating nature: they depict the calls of different animals with their voices, [and] complement their descriptions with bodily gestures [...] In all the narratives of this people one can see fervid imagination and inclination to poetic enthusiasm.¹¹⁹

¹¹⁷ “Zhestokii, no blizkii k neobrazovannoi prirode cheloveka zakon mshcheniia i vozmezdiia (Drou de taillon) sushchestvoval pochtu u vsekh narodov vo vremia ikh mladenchestva. My nakhodim ego u evreev, grekov, riml'ian, arabov, germantsev, skandinavov, i, nakonets u predkov nashikh, slavian.” See Levshin, vol. 2, 372.

¹¹⁸ Ibid., 323-25.

¹¹⁹ “Krasnorechivye raskazchiki umeiut ukrashat' povest' upodobleniiami i prirode podrazhaiushchimi slovami: oni golosami izobrazhaiut krika raznykh zhivotnykh, dopolniaiut opisaniia telodvizheniiami [...] Vo vsekh rasskazakh sego naroda vidno pylkoe voobrazhenie i sklonnost' k piiticheskomu entuziazmu.” See Levshin, vol. 2, 354.

The Kyrgyz's ability to imitate different sounds, emphasized here by Levshin, is of particular interest. As Benett Zon argues, in the late eighteenth century the followers of developmental theory, such as William Godwin, believed that the savages could imitate different sounds of nature better than civilized men, and that this ability was inherent.¹²⁰ The later English theorists, such as Henry Chorley, created a racial profile for black peoples, claiming them to be powerful imitators. Chorley merged imitativeness in music with the images of purposeful fakery and deceit, a characteristic commonly associated with blacks, and, according to Zon, his comment was greeted with some approval.¹²¹

Levshin's writings, however, cannot be considered part of this developmentalist racism literature since he does not relate imitativeness to any negative ethnic/racial characteristics. On the contrary, Levshin seem to assume the connection between imitativeness and "fervid imagination and poetic enthusiasm" – the positive qualities usually associated with artistry in Romantic period. Furthermore, Levshin believes that Kyrgyz are not deficient in creative abilities:

not a single educated reader would deny them [Kyrgyz] in the capacity of poetry, when he learns that they, like the most ancient peoples in the world, have songs in which they praise the deeds of their heroes, describe nature, and sing about love.¹²²

While Levshin esteemed imitativeness and poetic imagination in Kyrgyz narrative art, he paradoxically denied any originality in inventiveness in their poetry and music. He

¹²⁰ Zon, 6-7.

¹²¹ Ibid., 117.

¹²² "...ni odin prosveshchennyi chitatel' ne otkazhet im v poniatiiakh o stikhotvorstve, kogda uznaet, chto oni, podobno drevneishim narodam mira, imeiut pesni, v kotorykh proslavliaiut podvigi svoikh geroev, opisывaiut prirodu i poiut liubov' [sic!]." Levshin, 352.

claimed that Kyrgyz improvisatory poetry was “mostly non-sense and ugly,” their “melodies [...] are almost all the same, simple, monotonous, cheerless, and tedious for the ear,”¹²³ and some of their instruments, such as the *dombra* (which he calls *balalaika*), that often accompany the narration, are unoriginal and borrowed from the Russians.¹²⁴

Another notion – the notion of purity of sound – plays an important role in Levshin’s distinction of Kyrgyz music from European music. When Levshin describes Kyrgyz musical instruments, he often uses the words “impure” and “rough,” reminding the reader of the wildness of people living in the steppe. The *kobyz*, a string bowed instrument, produces “very rough and impure” sounds according to Levshin, even though its shape resembles the Russian *gudok* and even the European violin.¹²⁵ The *chibyzga*, or wind instrument made of reed, does not have any valves or bridges inside it. “To play the *chibyzga* means to sing with the inside of a throat. Naturally one can conclude that the wildness and roughness of its sound exceeds that of *kobyz*.”¹²⁶ Significantly, in European nineteenth-century literature, the notion of purity of sound was also related to the concept of European civilization. As Jann Pasler points out, French musicologists and ethnographers, such as Julien Tiersot and Johannes Weber, believed “pure” intonation or highly refined sounds were reserved exclusively for highly refined civilizations.¹²⁷

¹²³ “...proizvedeniia byvaiut po bol’shei chasti bestolkovy i urodlivy [...], melodii [...] pochti vse odinakovy, prosty, odnoobrazny, unyli i utomitel’ny dlia slukha.” Ibid., 353, 354, 355.

¹²⁴ This statement disagrees with late nineteenth-century writings about musical instruments, most of which claimed that it was the Russians who borrowed *balalaika* from Asians. See Chapter Five.

¹²⁵ Ibid., 354.

¹²⁶ “Igrat’ na chibyzge znachit pet’ vnutrennostiiu gortani. Posle sego ne mudreno zakliuchat’, chto ona v dikosti i grubosti zvukov dolzhna eshche prevoskhodit’ kobyz.” Ibid., 355.

¹²⁷ Jann Pasler, “Theorizing Race in the Nineteenth-Century France”: 487.

Besides a discussion of poetry and brief description of Kyrgyz musical instruments, Levshin provided the transcription of two Kyrgyz melodies. Unfortunately, it is hard to tell whether he himself transcribed these tunes. However, it is evident that the person who transcribed them had a limited musical background. Consider, for example, the very beginning of each song (**Example 2.1**). Although both melodies are clearly in D major, the key signature indicates G major. Neither the tempo nor character of the tune is indicated. And finally, not a single dynamic marking is provided.

Example 2.1 Two Kyrgyz Songs from A. Levshin's *Opisanie Kirgiz-Kazach'ikh ili Kirgiz-Kaisakskikh ord i stepei*



Thus, Levshin's treatment of Kyrgyz music and culture is contradictory. On the one hand, his blatant generalizations about Kyrgyz songs as being all "simple and monotonous," as well as his judgemental description of the quality of their sounds reflects a purely European attitude towards the culture of "uncivilized" nomads. On the other hand, Levshin's praise of poetic imagination and imitativeness in the performance

of narrative poems suggests his openness to understanding the creative art of Russia's nomads. Significantly, towards the end of the nineteenth century, the second view of Kyrgyz culture as being rich in poetry and imagination became prevalent in Russian literature. Writers such as M.V. Gotovitskii, A.A. Ivanovskii, and Priest Petr Tikhov stressed the originality and closeness to nature reflected in Kyrgyz poetry and underlined the high social status of a poet in their articles published in *Etnograficheskoe Obozrenie* [Ethnographic Review] and *Musyka i Zhizn'* [Music and Life].¹²⁸ As I discuss in Chapter Five, one factor, which may explain the *fin-de-siècle* shift in the perception of Asian cultures, was the growing popularity of the ideologies of Asianism and Aryanism.

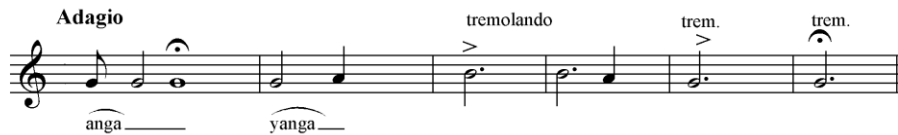
Alexander Middendorff and Siberian Others

A number of anthropological studies of Russia's *inorodtsy* living in Siberia began to appear in the 1850s, coinciding with the expansion of the Russian empire into the Amur region and Primorskii krai. In general, early to mid-nineteenth-century references to music are brief and unsubstantial. Occasionally, some studies included descriptions of singing and musical instruments, as well as transcriptions of melodies from Russian subjects living in Siberia. One of the first relatively detailed descriptions of musical practice in Siberia was written by Alexander Theodor von Middendorff, a Baltic German zoologist, who traveled to the Amur region in 1843-1845 (before this land had become

¹²⁸ See M.V. Gotovitskii and R.A. Pfennig, "Dve stat'i o kirgizskikh i sarskikh narodnykh pesniakh" [Two Articles on Kyrgyz and Sart Folk Songs], *EO*, no. 3 (1889): 73-91; A.A. Ivanovskii, "Kirgizskii narodnyi pevets Nogoibai" [Kyrgyz Traditional Singer Nogoibai], *EO*, no. 3 (1889): 92-101; Petr Tikhov, "O Muzyke Turkestanskikh kirgiz," *Musyka i zhizn'*, no. 2 (1910): 2-4; *Ibid.*, no. 4, 9-14.

part of the Russian Empire).¹²⁹ Middendorff's diary, which later fell into the hands of another Russian-German explorer of Amur region, Leopold Ivanovich von Schrenck, was occasionally cited in Schrenck's own research, *Reisen und Forschungen im Amur-Lande in den Jahren 1854-1856*. Several interesting passages in Middendorff's diary describe the music practise of one ethnic group, the Gilyak (also spelled as Giliak), living in Amur. It is worth citing them at length:

First, the Gilyak Lamran stepped forward. He had a pleasant voice and truly a great deal of skill. During the singing one could hear only a few words besides anga –ynga, and it seems as though these words, used as an introduction and refrain with each song, had no meaning, but simply belonged to the singing. Here are the notes:



The preliminary note was held as long as the breath allowed and formed (without words) the introduction. The trill was a guttural trill and is likewise held a long time. Since Lamran produced a very pure note and also had an acceptable vibrant guttural trill, this slow style was very pleasant, but not [without] a little melancholy.

The second singer was the Gilyak Dsheien, and his melody the following:



¹²⁹ **Alexander Theodor von Middendorff (1815-1894)** was a Russian zoologist and explorer of Baltic origin. In 1837 he graduated with a medical degree from the Imperial University of Dorpat. In 1839, under the patronage of Karl von Baer, he accepted the position of assistant professor of zoology at Kiev University. In 1840 he traveled with Baer to Novaia Zemlia, and in 1842-45 he went to lower Amur River valley (then a part of Chinese territory) on behalf of the Saint Petersburg Academy of Science. On the life and works of Middendorff see Sukhova, N.G., and E. Tammiksaar, *Aleksandr Fedorovich Middendorff [Alexander Theodor von Middendorff]* (Moskva: Nauka, 2005); Erki Tammiksaar and Ian R. Stone, "Alexander von Middendorff and his Expedition to Siberia (1842-1845)," in *Polar Record* 43, no. 3 (2007): 193-216.

Dsheien's style of singing was much faster than that of Lamran, but the overall impression was somewhat sad. Although the holding of the guttural trills was also the most important thing for him, a special virtuosity was added: in holding the note, he suddenly acted as if he were losing his breath and as if someone were choking him, so that one became quite fearful and afraid that he would suffocate, but then the word begun came out quite clearly [...]

Finally the Gilyak Njaungur stepped forward as the third [performer]. He sang as follows:



Njaungur showed special virtuosity in singing: even the melody was much more varied than the previous ones; in addition, however, he, also produced the stuttering, the loss of voice, strangulation and the stopping of the guttural sounds [...], and, moreover, besides the sobbing guttural trill, he also made a falsetto nasal trill. In his case the[se] trills, and especially the latter, reminded one vividly of the vibrating sound of the jew's harp. These trills require a great deal of practice, and it is impossible for us to hold them as long and to produce them as clearly.¹³⁰

Several issues come to mind when considering these passages. First, Middendorff gives the names of the performers, indicating that for him the Gilyak singers are individuals, each of whom also possesses his own style of singing. Second, he describes their singing as “very pleasant” and “especially virtuosic” – the qualities usually associated with the civilized European performance practice. Third, Middendorff points out that the singers produced different effects (stuttering, loss of breath, sobbing guttural trills, falsetto nasal trills), some of which required “great skill” or “a great deal of

¹³⁰ See Leopold von Schrenck, *The Peoples of the Amur Region* (St. Petersburg, 1881-1895), translated from the German by Alois Hagler (New Heaven, Conn.: Human Relations Area Files, 1964), 2: 680-81.

practice.” Furthermore, Middendorff states that a European would not be able to produce special vocal effects, revealing certain limitations in the capacity of Europeans to produce the sounds. Furthermore, in a later passage where Middendorff compares the singing style of all three Gilyaks, he distinguishes the singing style of the two last singers and compares them to “our artistic virtuosos who play violin.”¹³¹ All Middendorff’s observations reveal his high esteem of Gilyak musical culture. Finally, although Middendorff’s transcriptions of Gilyak melodies are amateur, they indicate tempo, musical ornaments (trills), articulation marks (accents), and other symbols related to performance practice (e.g. fermatas), revealing a certain level of musical education.

Whether Middendorff’s transcriptions correctly rendered Gilyak songs, these musical examples demonstrate his sincere effort to transmit the subtleties of music performance and reveal the author’s respectful attitude towards the culture of Russia’s northern peoples. Furthermore, Middendorff’s description of Gilyak music is strikingly positive: the Russian/German ethnographer does not use language that would undermine the potential appreciation of Gilyak music. Unlike many of his European counterparts, he praises the performers’ musical skills and compares them to those of Europeans.¹³²

Not all Russian anthropologists of Siberian peoples shared Middendorff’s opinion of their cultural development. A couple of decades later, Leopold von Schrenck, who

¹³¹ Schrenck, 681.

¹³² In nineteenth-century Western European literature the music of peoples living in the North was generally denigrated and presented as music of one of the most primitive societies. See Stafford, *A History of Music* (Edinburgh, Constable, and London: Hurst, Chance, 1830), 3-4; Tomlinson, “An Account of the Music of Savage Nations (From T.H. Tomlinson’s Lectures of Music),” *Musical World* 31 (July 30, 1853): 481-82; Richard Wallaschek, *Primitive Music: An Inquiry into the Origin and Development of the Music, Songs, Instruments, Dances, and Pantomimes of Savage Races* (London and New York: Longmans, Green, 1893), 58-60.

cited Middendorff's diary in his *Reisen und Forschungen im Amur-Lande*, expressed quite different opinions on Gilyak music. Although the terms he used to describe Gilyak music were not derogatory in themselves, they incorporated a set of social values that placed Gilyaks on a lower level of development. Schrenck described the Gilyaks' behaviour when they danced as "childish," their minds as "incapable of illusion" or fantasy, and their musical instruments as "very primitive."¹³³ Thus, unlike Middendorff's, Schrenck's vocabulary implied underdevelopment of the natives living in Siberia and presented their culture as antithetical to that of the civilized Europeans.

It is interesting to note that, later in the century, the Gilyak people gained special attention precisely because of their so-called "primitive" way of life. As Bruce Grant has pointed out, Russian anthropologists who spent several years in Siberian exile at the end of the nineteenth century redefined "primitivism" along socialist lines. Using as example the Gilyak's way of life reigned by the "natural communism," Russian anthropologist Lev Shternberg, for instance, concluded that primitive life revealed communism as mankind's original state.¹³⁴ Thus, throughout the nineteenth century, the Russian perceptions of Siberian peoples, such as Gilyaks, ranged from savages to socialists, from artistically incapable and childish to musically developed people.

¹³³ Schrenck, 682-84.

¹³⁴ B. Grant, "Empire and Savagery," in Daniel Brower and Edward J. Lazzerini, eds., *Russia's Orient, Imperial Borderlands and Peoples, 1700-1917* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1997), 293.

Alexander Rittikh and Russia's Others from the Volga-Kama Region

For Alexander Rittikh, a Russian general staff official, the collection of ethnographic materials from *inorodtsy* living in Kazan and Saratov was not a primary concern. He collected them in passing during his travels to the Volga-Kama region to recruit the native population.¹³⁵ He started gathering ethnographic information on *inorodtsy* because he believed it would be beneficial for Russia to know more about the “homogenous mass” [*odnorodnaia massa*] of *inorodtsy*, who lived in the vast territory of the Russian Empire. He believed that “tribes that live for hundreds of years, not doing any good either to themselves or to their country or humanity,”¹³⁶ should participate more actively in the building of empire.

Rittikh's attitude towards the non-Russian ethnic groups presents a mixture of paternalistic patterns, established by Catherine II, with imperialistic attitudes of assimilation, which implies an accomplishment of the *mission civilisatrice*. On the one hand, Rittikh presents Russia as a “big family, where each of the brothers does different

¹³⁵ See A. Rittikh, *Materialy dlia etnografii Rossii. Kazanskaia Gubernia* (Kazan: tip. Imperatorskogo kazanskogo universiteta, 1870). **Rittikh, Alexander Fedorovich (1831-19??)** is a Russian general staff official and a military cartographer and writer. He studied at Nikolai Engineering Academy and in the Academy of the General Staff. In 1862-1864 he served in Minsk Gubernia, where he supervised the building and restoration of Orthodox churches and opened as many as thirty popular schools. He also created an atlas of people living in the Western-Russian region. During the Russo-Turkish war Rittikh supervised the transportation of injured soldiers, and then commanded an infantry brigade. In 1894 A.F. Rittikh retired at the rank of General Lieutenant. Among the works he left include atlases of ethnic groups living in Russian western regions as well as in the Caucasus, articles on Russian trade in the Baltic Sea and the Slavic-French Congress in Paris, among others. A short biography of A.F. Rittikh can be found in Brokgauz and Efron Encyclopedia, vol. 54.

¹³⁶ “plemena, kotorye zhivut sotni let neteriaia svoei narodnosti, no i ne prinosia ni sebe, ni svoemu gosudarstvu, ni chelovechestvu ni moleishei pol'zy.” Rittikh, vol. 1, 1-2.

crafts and works for the common good. Over them dominates [*glavenstvovat*] the older brother, that is Russian people.”¹³⁷ When he talks about the abilities of *inorodtsy* to learn, he points out that they are no worse than the Russians’ and adds: “Educate a child correctly, and [you] will be sure that he will become a human being.”¹³⁸ This phrase reveals that Rittikh assumed the *inorodtsy*’s childish state of development, not sufficiently advanced to be fully human. On the other hand, he anticipates that the Tatars will become Russian and predicts the blending of two culturally and ethnically distinct peoples into one race. Using craniological table of Doctor N.V. Barminskii, Rittikh observes the kinship between the diameters of Russian and Tatar brains and concludes: “Kazan Tatars now present a race transformed, acclimatized in the Kazan District [*gubernia*], and waiting for its ultimate transformation.”¹³⁹

Besides craniology, Rittikh believes that music is also an attestation of this transformation:

Tatar music resembles Russian [music], but differs with the predominance of vibration. Every movement from one note to another is accorded with roulades... Tatar dance songs are taken from the Russian... [Thus,] if one compares Russian and Tatar folk songs, one notices the kinship in music of these peoples – something that is evident from the history of the region and similarity of skulls, and this, in its turn, gives hope that Tatars, with the laps of time, would transform into Kazan-Russian people [*pri sravnenii ...zametna blizost’ etikh narodov*].¹⁴⁰

In addition to the similarity in skull shape and melodies, Rittikh also notes that Tatar Muslims, especially those who have bureaucratic positions, embrace the Russian

¹³⁷ See Rittikh, 1: 3-4

¹³⁸ Rittikh, 2: 156.

¹³⁹ “kazanskie tatary predstavliaiut nyne preobrazivshuiusia rasu, aklimatizirovannuiu v kazanskoi gubernii, ozhidaiushchuiu svoego okonchatel’nogo preobrazovaniia.” Rittikh, 92.

¹⁴⁰ Rittikh, 37-38.

way of life, the costumes, customs, and food. He believes that many Tatars are ready to be integrated into Russian life.¹⁴¹

Rittikh's concern with the assimilation of Russian *inorodtsy* is hardly surprising. As a military agent who recruited *inorodtsy* for the Russian army, he was interested in and whole-heartedly embraced the idea of "unobtrusive passing to unification of different peoples with the Russians."¹⁴² The realization of this assimilation, according to Rittikh, was possible thanks to a system of education, newly developed and recently introduced in Volga-Kama region by Nikolai Il'minskii. The essence of the system lay in the use of the Russian alphabet in local languages, the translation of religious books into native dialects, and the gradual introduction and switch to the Russian language and religion. Through

¹⁴¹ Rittikh, 2: 17-18, 20. Rittikh's claims about the blending of Russian and Asian cultures are not isolated. Other Russian research written at the end of the nineteenth century also reveals gradual assimilation of *inorodtsy* music by Russian music. For instance, Valentin Alexandrovich Moshkov in his research on Chuvash music claims that the similarities between Russian and Chuvash music (their melodies and performance practices) reveal assimilation of the Chuvash music repertoire into the Russian repertoire. **Valentin Alexandrovich Moshkov (1852-1914?)** is a Russian officer and ethnographer who contributed to the research of Gagauz (Turkic speaking Orthodox Christians) and Chuvash (Turkic speaking and practicing paganism) peoples. Despite his military career, Moshkov's interest in music (he played flute and had absolute pitch) and linguistics (he learned and wrote the first dictionary of Gagauz language) made him an invaluable ethnographer who studied peoples of a region where he served (Olonets gubernia; Volzhsko-Kamskii region, Kazan, Warsaw, and Bessarabia). His ethnographic study of *inorodtsy*, for which he received the Small Golden Medal from the Imperial Russian Geographical Society (IRGS), were published in the journals of the IRGS and the ethnographic department of the Society of the Amateurs of Natural Science, Anthropology, and Ethnography [*obshchestvo liubitelei estestvoznaniia, antropologii i etnographii*] under the auspices of Moscow University. On the life and works of Moshkov see A.M. Reshetov, "V.A. Moshkov kak uchenyi (k 150-letiiu so dnia rozhdeniia)," downloaded from <http://www.roerich-museum.org/MUSEUM/Add/Rus/reshetov/011.doc> at home library on August 9; M.G. Kondrat'ev, "Pervoprokhodets," *Muzykal'naia akademiia* 3 (2002): 142-149. Another article by N. Kharuzin, however, also underlines the fact that Russians were not assimilating other peoples but were assimilated by the culture of Russia's other Asian peoples. See N. Kharuzin, "K voprosu ob assimiliatsionnoi sposobnosti russkogo naroda," *EO*, no. 4 (1894): 43-78.

¹⁴² Rittikh, 1: vii.

learning grammar, the law of God, and Russian language, *inorodtsy*, according to Rittikh, would become “proponents of conscious enlightenment.”¹⁴³

Even though Rittikh could have been a good cartographer and honest Russian official, he was a bad music critic. The transcriptions of songs and melodies that Rittikh provides in his appendix were made with the help of Kapellmeister of the second infantry division, I.V. Gusev, while transcription of the texts were undertaken by Inspector of Chuvash schools, Nikolai I. Zolotnitskii. Obviously Rittikh did not possess either linguistic or musical skills to perform musical ethnographic research. Nonetheless, he makes sweeping comments about the *inorodtsy*’s music. As a result, Rittikh’s discussion of Tatar, Chuvash, and Cheremis music reveals serious incompetence in the subject. Not only does he use the same musical vocabulary to describe all three music cultures, he does not seem to hear any difference in the music of these peoples.¹⁴⁴

According to Rittikh, all *inorodtsy* music is either unoriginal (borrowed from Russians), or monotonous and limited in repertoire. Tatars, for instance, used the same melody for songs with different texts contents.¹⁴⁵ Chuvash people “do not have many original motives, but use improvisation and the entire repertoire of Russian dance songs.”¹⁴⁶ Occasionally Rittikh touches upon the social status of musicians. For instance, he notes that the Chuvashes love their musicians who play *puzyr*’ to such an extent that they place them in a higher social rank: “no one would venture to quarrel with them in

¹⁴³ Ibid., 2: 200.

¹⁴⁴ His discussion of *inorodtsy* music boils down to whether they have nasal sounds, trills, and vibrations in the voice.

¹⁴⁵ Rittikh, 2: 37.

¹⁴⁶ Rittikh, 2: 103.

order not to be deprived from music.”¹⁴⁷ Although Rittikh’s description of music practice of Chuvash people does not use derogatory language, his comments on their music system are not without a hint of scorn:

The art of these people depends not only on their respiratory organs, but essentially on the perfection of these instruments, which lately expanded to eight tones; and this type of playing is considered the pinnacle of art [*verkh iskusstva*].¹⁴⁸

Furthermore, Rittikh compares a musical ensemble of Chuvash people to an ensemble of animals from Krylov’s fable *Quartet*. In this fable (well-known to any educated Russian) a monkey, a donkey, a goat, and a bear decided to play music without knowing how to play or read it; they tried different positions to sit, assuming that this would improve their music, but no matter how they sat, the music did not sound good. They asked a nightingale how to sit in order to play well, and a nightingale answered: “to be a musician, one requires skills, and ears more sensitive than yours...and you, my friends, no matter how you sit, you are worthless bust as musicians” [*a vy, druž’ia, kak ni sadites’, vse v muzykanty ne godites’*]. It is common knowledge that Krylov criticized the Russian governing system in his fables, in addition to different individual vices and debilitations.

However, Rittikh’s reference to Krylov’s fable is somewhat obscure, since in the following page he observes Chuvash people’s musical inclination and notes that they are successful in singing in a church choir.¹⁴⁹ Furthermore, he claims that the Chuvashes can play on military instruments better than any other *inorodtsy* and suggests placing them in

¹⁴⁷ “nikto ne reshitsia s nimi ssoritsia vo izbezhanie lishitsia muzyki.” Rittikh, 102.

¹⁴⁸ Rittikh, 2: 102.

¹⁴⁹ Ibid., 2: 103.

a military orchestra.¹⁵⁰ Thus, Rittikh's statements about *inorodtsy* music, particularly those of Chuvash peoples, are sometimes contradictory.

Although Rittikh was a faithful military agent, occasionally he criticized Russian officials and Russian people for their inability to govern, their ignorance and illiteracy, as well as lack of religious endeavour and bad language.¹⁵¹ He also raised an important issue about the status of native peoples living in Kazan and asked whether it was legitimate to call them *inorodets* – the term that indicates “born in other land” or “of foreign origin”:

It is strange that until now everybody call *inorodty* the inhabitants of Kazan gubernia, while in relation to ancientness [*starodavnost'*] to all mass of the gubernia, only Russians can be legitimately called *inorodtsy*. The Chuvash people are at home; Kazan gubernia is their second motherland, but we are the strangers [*prishel'tsy*] who became domesticated. It is desirable that the term *inorodets* be withdrawn from practice.¹⁵²

Despite the momentary criticism of Russian governance, Rittikh always retreated to the subject of the benefits provided by Russian civilization and religion and the importance of assimilation and acculturation of Russia's minority groups. In fact, the question of assimilation of Russia's Others was so important for Rittikh that a couple of decades later he wrote *Four Lectures on Russian Ethnography*, in which he voiced a concern that Russian cosmopolitanism precludes *inorodtsy* from complete absorption.¹⁵³

¹⁵⁰ Ibid., 2: 103-04.

¹⁵¹ Ibid., 34-35.

¹⁵² “Stranno chto donyne vse nazyvaiut korennykh zhitelei kazanskoi guberni *inorodtsami*, togda kak v otnoshenii starodavnosti i ko vsei masse naseleniia guberni, tol'ko odni russkie mogut zakonno nosit' eto nazvanie. Chuvashi u sebia doma; kazanskaia gubernia ikh vtoraia rodina, a my prishel'tsy, sdelavshiesia domashnimi. Zhelatel'no bylo by, chtoby slovo *inorodtsy* vyvodilos' by iz upotrebleniia...” Rittikh, 52.

¹⁵³ See Rittikh, *Chetyre lektsii po russkoi etnografii* (St. Petersburg: tip. V.V. Komarov, 1895). Not all Russian officials would agree with Rittikh's statement.

Thus, the three examples of ethnographic study on Asian others by Aleksei Levshin, Alexander Middendorff, and Alexander Rittikh reveal different approaches to music and culture of Russian Asian subjects and present three different trends of Russian study of the Orient. Aleksei Levshin's book is an example of a Russian official bureaucratic view on nomadic peoples. Several elements – his education, the era, and the milieu in which he worked – contributed to Levshin's attitude towards the Kyrgyz-Kaisaks and shaped his ethnography. First, he was educated at the beginning of the nineteenth century at the Khar'kov University where he studied European history, philosophy, and aesthetics, and became influenced by the writings of European philosophers, such as Voltaire, Montesquieu, and Rousseau. Second, apparently Levshin did not know much about the history of the Orient, or did not learn any oriental language before he was appointed to Orenburg.¹⁵⁴ From an early age Levshin was more interested in exploring the “nature of human beings” or Rousseau's “natural human.”¹⁵⁵ Third, Levshin served at the Russian Asian border for a relatively short time and learned about the nomads more from archival and historical documents than from personal accounts (although he made some trips to the Small Horde). And finally, in his introduction to the book Levshin explains that he wrote it for bureaucratic purposes, which is why he

¹⁵⁴ When Levshin studied at Kharkov University the position at the Department of Oriental Languages was vacant. See *Istoriia otechestvennogo vostokovedeniia do serediny XIX veka*, G.F. Kim and P.M. Shastitko, eds. (Moscow: Nauka, 1990), 112-13. The first critique of Levshin's *Opisanie* also complains that Levshin, because of his lack of knowledge of oriental languages, had to rely exclusively on sources written in European languages. See *Journal Ministerstva narodnogo prosveshcheniia* 3 (1834): 82.

¹⁵⁵ See Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *Discours sur l'origine et les fondements de l'inégalité parmi les hommes. Discours sur les sciences et les arts* (Paris : GF Flammarion, 1992).

describes in great detail the history of Russian administration in the Kirgiz steppes and provides statistical data for the region.¹⁵⁶

Unlike Russian bureaucrat Aleksei Levshin, Alexander Middendorff was a passionate orientologist who represented the German faction of the Russian Geographical Society and was closely affiliated with academia. The link with this particular faction is evident from Middendorff's connection to Karl Ernst von Baer (1792-1876) who in 1839 invited Middendorff to participate in his expedition to Russian and Norwegian Lapland, White Sea, and Novaia Zemlia.¹⁵⁷ Middendorff, as a true representative of Baer's school, envisioned Russia as a multi-ethnic empire and believed in the priority of ethnographic work among peoples (or small ethnic groups) that are in danger of extinction. A foreign-born Russian ethnographer, Middendorff presented a decisively positive picture of Russian Siberian *inorodtsy*.

Unlike both Levshin and Middendorff, Alexander Rittikh served in Russia's borderlands as an official military agent, and was ordered to map peoples living in the different regions of the growing empire. Rittikh was not even remotely related to Russian Academia. If Middendorff was entirely devoted to academic life and research, and Levshin at least graduated from the Kharkov University, Rittikh had not even entered any university. As a result, he did not possess any methodological tools to study the history or culture of different ethnic groups. Instead, he was preoccupied with the official idea of assimilation of Russian minority groups, their "usefulness" [*pol'za*] in military service,

¹⁵⁶ Levshin, *Opisanie*, 9.

¹⁵⁷ Sukhova and Tammiksaar, *Aleksandr Fedorovich Middendorff*, 21–22. With the recommendation of Baer, Middendorff was appointed as a professor of zoology at Kiev University. Ibid.

and their participation in the development of the region's economy. It is evident that Rittikh supported Il'minskii's system of assimilation of Volga-Kama *inorodtsy* through the establishment of schools in native languages, in which the *inorodtsy* would be introduced to Russian culture, language, and, in particular, the Orthodox religion.

6. Musical Sources and Music Ethnography

Early Nineteenth-Century Russian Sources: Aziatskii muzykal'nyi zhurnal [Asian Music Journal]

This is a rare journal, which was published in eight parts sometime between 1816 and 1818 in Saint Petersburg by a certain Ivan Dobrovol'skii.¹⁵⁸ The musical content of the entire journal (with some reductions) was reprinted in 1897, in an appendix to Sergei Rybakov's *Musyka i pesni ural'skikh musul'man* [Music and Songs of Ural Muslims]. As Rybakov pointed out, at the very end of the nineteenth century, there were only two or three copies of this journal left, which is why Vladimir Stasov suggested reprinting it.¹⁵⁹

Unfortunately, there is no information on the identity of the authors of the musical and textual transcriptions. It is possible that the publisher, Ivan Dobrovol'skii, transcribed all or some of the tunes since he was a music teacher at the Astrakhan Gymnasium, the place of study for many of Russia's different ethnic groups. It is also possible that the appearance of this journal is related to Kazan University. Although the journal itself was

¹⁵⁸ Nikolai Findeizen suggested that Ivan Dobrovol'skii could have been a teacher at the Astrakhan Gymnasium. See N. Findeizen, "Muzykal'nye zhurnaly v Rossii. Istoricheskii ocherk (1774-1903)," *Russkaia muzykal'naia gazeta*, no. 48: 1118.

¹⁵⁹ Rybakov, 298. In a short preface for Dobrovol'skii's reprint Rybakov stated that he considered it necessary to cut the piano accompaniment for the Asian melodies provided by Ivan Dobrovol'skii, since he found it "primitive" and "naïve." Ibid.

published in Astrakhan, a censorship note at the very beginning of the first book states that the “printing is allowed with the provision of eight copies to the Censor Committee of Kazan University.”

The link to Kazan University is instructive, since at the beginning of the nineteenth century Kazan held an exclusive position in oriental studies in Russia and even in Europe.¹⁶⁰ Although the university itself opened only in 1804, the study of Asian peoples was offered at Kazan Gymnasium from 1758. As early as 1778 one of the members of Kazan Gymnasium, Ibragim Khalfin, published the first alphabet of the Tatar language with Arabic letters, and in 1785 he wrote a dictionary of the Tatar language, which included 25,000 words (before this publication there were dictionaries of Tatar that included only around 600 words).¹⁶¹ From the opening of Kazan University, Arabic, Persian, Jewish and Syrian languages were available for study. The faculties of Tatar-Turkish languages (1828), Mongol (1833), Chinese (1837), Sanskrit and Armenian (1842) were gradually added to the curriculum of the Department of Oriental Studies. It is significant that some professors of Asian background (such as Ibragim Khalfin) taught at the University from its foundation and in the 1820s and 1830s Bashkirs, Kalmyks, Buriats, and Meshcheriaks were enrolled as students at the university.¹⁶² Many of them later became staff members at the institution or prominent orientalists.

Another event that occurred at Kazan University indicates that some of its faculty members could have been involved in the publication of *Asian Music Journal*. In 1818

¹⁶⁰ *Istoriia otechestvennogo vostokovedeniia do serediny XIX veka*, 118-139.

¹⁶¹ Mikhailova, 276.

¹⁶² S.M. Mikhailova, 276-77. Ibragim Khalfin may have been involved in the preparation of the journal (or at least in preparation of the texts of some songs).

Kazan University went through a series of inspections that “proved” the “disloyalty” of its staff.¹⁶³ A conservative administrator of Kazan educational okrug (district), M.L. Magnitskii, recommended to Alexander I to “demolish publicly” the university as a “nest of sedition” where the “spirit of freethinking” was hovering. Although the university was not closed or demolished, eleven of its professors were dismissed and the lectures given to the students were closely observed. Ethnography was declared particularly suspect and the list of special instructions forbid professors of oriental studies from teaching the history and culture of oriental peoples, so that nothing would weaken the doctrine of the Orthodox Church. This event could have affected the publication of *Asian Music Journal*, which ceased to exist that same year likely due to the imposition of rigid governmental censorship.

The musical content presented in *Asian Music Journal* seems to be original, except for the last two Tunguz tunes cited from Middendorff’s *Uebersicht der Natur Nord- und Ost-Sibiriens* and one Armenian song that, according to G.S. Belolipskaia, could have been written by an Armenian *ashug* (musician performer) living in Asltrakhan, Cherkez-ogly (1763-1845).¹⁶⁴ Each of the first four parts of *Asian Music Journal* focuses on one particular ethnic group. The first part comprises seven Kalmyk melodies, two of which are provided with texts in both the Kalmyk and Russian

¹⁶³ On the development of oriental studies at Kazan University in the nineteenth century see S.M. Mikhailova, “Razvitie orientalistiki v Kazanskom universitete v XIX veke,” in C. Evtuhov, B. Gasparov, A. Ospovat, M. von Hagen, eds., *Kazan, Moscow, St. Petersburg: Multiple Faces of the Russian Empire* (Moscow: O.G.I., 1997), 273-301.

¹⁶⁴ See Belolipskaia, “Etnicheskaia i istoriko-etnograficheskaia tematika v astrakhanskoi presse pervoi poloviny XIX veka,” in *Vestnik Stavropol’skogo Gosudarstvennogo Universiteta* 66 (2010): 148-56, here 152.

languages.¹⁶⁵ The second part presents two Armenian songs with the texts and three instrumental tunes. The third part includes two songs of Kazan Tatars (with texts) and two melodies of Astrakhan Tatars (without texts). Part four presents one Persian instrumental tune. Parts five through eight comprise the melodies of different ethnic groups. Part five gathers together the melodies of the Tatar, Khiva, Kyrgyz, and Turkmen peoples; part six those of the Cossack, Mountaineer [*Gorsakaia*], Circassian, and Chechen peoples; part seven those of the Bukharian, Kabardian; and part eight includes two Lizghin, three Nagai, and two Tunguz melodies. Thus, all the songs published in *Asian Music Journal* were gathered within the border of Russian Asia or in its proximity (Bukharian and Khiva Khanates). Significantly, later in the century all ethnic groups presented in the *Asian Music Journal* became part of the Russian Empire.

Part four of *Asian musical journal* is particularly interesting since it presents four parts (two “violins,” one “tambura grando,” and one “flute”) of one song called “Persian Song of Fat’h-Ali Shah from Derbent. Ovym Sireli.” The title of the tune suggests that this musical piece was transcribed in a city of Derbent, which became part of the Russian empire in 1813 with the Treaty of Golistan while Fat’h-Ali Shah was ruling Persia.¹⁶⁶ The transcription of this tune in four parts might be one of the first cases in which an oriental tune played by an ensemble is not presented with just one line of music: each musical instrument is given a separate staff line (see **Example 2.2**). Such a non-reductionist approach to oriental music suggests that the author(s) who transcribed this

¹⁶⁵ All the texts provided in the journal exist in two versions: in the original language and in Russian translation.

¹⁶⁶ See J.C. Hurewitz, *The Middle East and North Africa in World Politics: A Documentary Record*, second edition in two volumes (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1975), 1: 197-98.

Example 2.2 “Persian Song of Fat’h-Ali Shah from Derbent. Ovym Sireli” from *Aziatskii muzykal’nyi zhurnal*

Violino 1-mo



Violino 2-do



Tambura grando



Example 2.2 “Persian Song of Fat’h-Ali Shah from Derbent. Ovym Sireli” from *Aziatskii muzykal’nyi zhurnal* (continued)

Flauto



1) In the original, probably by mistake, g is written

tune was (were) willing to accept that oriental music could be sophisticated enough to be presented in a manner similar to that of a western ensemble – as a score with separate parts for each instrument.

Certainly, this transcription has some flaws (e.g. the accompanying tambura part is significantly shorter than the three other melodic parts) and this melody might not appear (or sound) particularly Persian. I believe, however, that the person(s) who transcribed it captured some important aspects of oriental ensemble playing. The texture

is divided in two layers: one layer presents a melody in heterophonic texture, while the other layer provides a drone with a clear rhythmic pattern played by a plucked lute. It is significant that even Russian folksongs often performed in hetero-polyphonic textures were not treated this carefully until the 1870s: they were not presented in different variants and were not transcribed in several lines until the publications of Vasilii Prokunin's and Yuli Mel'gunov's transcriptions.¹⁶⁷

Thus, the content of *Asian Music Journal* demonstrates that in early nineteenth-century Russia there was genuine interest in music of Russia's oriental/Asian neighbours. This journal also exemplifies early nineteenth-century attempts to present oriental music carefully. Although subjectivity is unavoidable in any musical transcription, it is evident that some transcriptions from the *Asian Musical Journal*, such as the "Persian Song of Fat'h-Ali Shah from Derbent," sought to preserve the integrity of the original tune and demonstrate the transcriber's understanding of the complexity of oriental music.

Late Nineteenth-Century Ethnographies: August Eichhorn and Russia's Newly Acquired Others

The last third of the nineteenth century witnessed a substantial advance in Asian ethnographic, anthropological, and organological research. A more scrupulous type of music ethnography can be found in the writings of Russians who lived and studied music in situ. Among the most prominent works about music of oriental/Asian peoples are the

¹⁶⁷ Frolova-Walker, *Russian Music and Nationalism*, 230, 371 (fn. 9).

works written by Sergei Rybakov and Valentin Moshkov, who gathered information from “Tatars” living in the Volgo-Kama region, and Nikolai Pantusov and August Eichhorn, who worked and lived in so-called Russian Turkestan for more than ten years. The works by Rybakov and Pantusov found resonance in late nineteenth-century music circles: some of their song transcriptions were arranged in European manner and performed in Moscow public concerts organized by the Music-Ethnographic Committee. Their transcriptions and arrangements will be the subject of the Chapter Six. Moshkov’s and Eichhorn’s transcriptions, however, did not find an adequate resonance among contemporary Russian music connoisseurs for different reasons. Moshkov’s transcriptions were discredited by music ethnographer Iulii Mel’gunov and the professor of Moscow Conservatoire Sergei Taneev. As a result, his articles that concentrated on musical issues of Chuvash music were first published with a note of caution and then were rejected by the publisher.¹⁶⁸ Eichhorn’s ethnographic works met an even worse destiny: they faded into oblivion for eighty years and were not published until 1963. In this section I will focus on the life and works of August Eichhorn, since they offer rich material, which will help us to understand Russian fin-de-siècle discourse about oriental/Asian music and culture.

The information on the life of August Eichhorn is scant.¹⁶⁹ It is certain that he was born in 1844, in Lößniz (Germany). Before he left for Turkestan, he played as a violinist in different orchestras of Riga, Saint Petersburg, and Moscow for several years. In 1870

¹⁶⁸ See Kondrat’ev, “Pervoprokhodets”: 145.

¹⁶⁹ On Eichhorn’s life and work, see Vsevolod Cheshikhin, “Sredneaziatskii muzykal’nyi etnograf,” in *RMG* (1917): 19-26, 29-32; Beliaev, “Muzykal’no-etnograficheskaia rabota Eichhorna v Uzbekistane,” in *Muzykal’naia fol’kloristika v Uzbekistane* (Tashkent: Izdat. A.N.UzSSR, 1963), 5-24; T. Djani-Zade, “Dnevnik voennogo kapel’meistera Avgusta Eichhorna. Istoricheskii dokument po izucheniiu kul’tury Russkogo Turkestana,” in *Trudy Gosudarstvennogo Tsentral’nogo Muzeia Muzykal’noi Kul’tury Imeni M.I. Glinki. Almanakh*, M. Rakhmanova, ed. (Moscow: Kompositor, 1999), 1: 82-86.

he was conscripted for military service and went to Central Asia to serve as a Kapellmeister for the tsarist military orchestra. In 1875 Eichhorn took up Russian citizenship and spent eight more years (until 1883) in Tashkent. Then he left for Saint Petersburg and from 1889 to 1907 played second violin at the Mariinskii Theatre. The date of Eichhorn's death remains unclear. Post-Soviet researcher Djani-Zade suggests either the end of 1909 or the beginning of 1910.¹⁷⁰

At his death August Eichhorn left behind a catalogue of Central Asian musical instruments, a diary, and a detailed music ethnographic research of peoples living in Russian Turkestan, including Kyrgyz (or Kazakh), Uzbeks, Jewish, Gypsy, Kashgar (or Uighur), Taranchi, Indian, and Afghan peoples. He also composed music for his military orchestra, in addition to music for different chamber ensembles and the theatre.¹⁷¹

Eichhorn's interest in ethnographic work began in 1871 when he was asked to prepare a collection of musical instruments for 1872 Polytechnic Exhibition in Moscow, a task that he accomplished faithfully.¹⁷² In 1873 the samples of musical instruments gathered for his exhibition were sent to the Vienna World Fair. Later Eichhorn gathered another collection of musical instruments, which was exhibited in 1885 at the Philippe Patek museum in Saint Petersburg.

¹⁷⁰ See Djani-Zade, 84.

¹⁷¹ See Beliaev, 7.

¹⁷² Although Eichhorn himself did not value this first collection of musical instruments, his work was awarded with a Big Silver Medal given by a committee of the exhibition's organizers. See Eichhorn, "Introduction" to his "Muzyka Kirgizov," in Beliaev, *Muzykal'naia fol'kloristika v Uzbekistane (pervye zapisi): Avgust Eichhorn: muzykal'no-etnograficheskie materialy* (Tashkent: Izdat. AN Uz.SSR, 1963), 25-26).

Besides gathering musical instruments Eichhorn transcribed melodies from people living in Tashkent as well as other regions of Russian Turkestan:¹⁷³ in 1876 he went to Kokand and in 1879 to Fergana Valley where he transcribed more than one hundred songs and instrumental tunes, including some excerpts from Makom.¹⁷⁴ Eichhorn visited the cities and villages of Osh, Dzhahalabad, Andizhan, Namangan, Margelan, Kamysh-Kurgan, Vuadil', and Arraban. Significantly, he transcribed music from any ethnic group that he encountered in the region, including the Gypsies and Jewish people, largely neglected by other nineteenth-century European ethnographers.

Eichhorn's works on peoples living in Russian Turkestan probably can be counted among the first Russian music ethnographies that employ rigorous methodology. In his essays Eichhorn often identifies his performers and the places of their performance. He also provides exceptionally detailed descriptions of the contexts in which his musical examples were performed, precise explanations of the techniques for producing musical

¹⁷³ When Eichhorn describes musical instruments, he also provides their tuning, range, and scales that they can produce. The discussion of some instruments Eichhorn accompanies with the transcription of typical music phrases or rhythmic patterns that they produce. See *Ibid.*, 170-71, 176-77.

¹⁷⁴ Makom, Makam or Mukam is a term that designates a genre of instrumental-vocal-dance music performed by professional musicians and shared by many peoples living in Central Asia, such as Uighurs, Uzbeks, and Tajiks. On Uighur muqams, see Tamara Alibakiyeva, *On ikki muqam* (Alma-Ata: Oner, 1988); J. During, S. Trebinjac, "Introduction au muqam ouïgour," *Papers on Inner Asia* 17 (1991): 1-58; T. Alibakiyeva, *The Uighur Muqam. Historical and Theoretical Problems* (Ph. D. diss., Alma-Ata, 1991); Sabine Trebinjac, *Le pouvoir en chantant. L'art de fabriquer une musique chinoise* (Nanterre: Société d'ethnologie, 2000). On makams of Central Asia and abroad see also: *Makomy, mugamy i sovremennoe kompozitorskoe tvorchestvo [Makoms, Mugams and Contemporary Composition]*, F.M. Karomatov, D.A. Rashidova, eds. (Tashkent: Izd.literatury i iskusstva im. Gafura Guliyama, 1978); I. Radjabov, *Makoms* (Ph. D. diss., Tashkent-Leningrad, 1977); O. Matyakubov, *Khoresm Makoms* (M. A. thesis, Tashkent-Leningrad, 1981); V. Sadykova, *The Problems of Formation of Structure in Azerbaijani Instrumental Mugam Improvisations* (M. A. thesis, Leningrad, 1983); R. Browning, *Maqam: Music of the Islamic World and Its Influences* (New York: The Alternative Museum, 1984); O. Ibragimov, *The Fergano-Tashkent Makoms with Respect to Problems of Makamat* (M. A. thesis, Tashkent, 1991); Inna Naroditskaia, *Song from the Land of Fire: Azerbaijanian Mugam in the Soviet and Post-Soviet Periods* (Routledge, 2003).

sound, as well as an exhaustive account of different performance styles.¹⁷⁵ He sometimes transcribes several versions of the same tune, revealing his awareness of the nature of oral tradition with its constant currents of improvisation. Furthermore, Eichhorn verifies his transcriptions by singing melodies back to the original singers.

Unlike his Russian colleagues, mostly armchair ethnographers who worked in Moscow or Saint Petersburg studies to write theoretical treatises or to rearrange oriental music (discussed in Chapters Five and Six), Eichhorn believed that it was impossible to experience the music of nomads without having Central Asian “concert halls” of a “far stretched desert steppe... valleys and gulfs of peaceful idyllic mountain ridges with their pastures and meadows.”¹⁷⁶ Eichhorn remarked:

I always felt pity that I am not a graphic artist or a painter to draw, along with [music] notes, the pictures of nature that frame the songs and the melodies of the nomads, the landscapes and local views, that form a decorative background of their music...¹⁷⁷

The music of nomads, Eichhorn concludes, would sound absolutely “trivial and silly” [*neznachitel'noi i smeshnoi*] in our concert halls. Likewise, our most grandiose and brilliant musical instrument would sound “poor and unimpressive” if performed in the steppes.¹⁷⁸

Consequently, Eichhorn's attitude towards the music of nomadic peoples suggests that he did not believe in Russian *mission civilisatrice* in Asia: he did not think that Asian

¹⁷⁵ See *Muzykal'naia fol'kloristika v Uzbekistane*.

¹⁷⁶ Eichhorn, 53.

¹⁷⁷ “Ja vseгда zhalel, chto ya ne risoval'shchik i ne khudozhnik, chtoby vmeste s notami davat' izobrazhenie vsei prirody, obramliaiushchei pesni i melodii kochevnikov, landshafty i mestnye vidy, sostavliaiushchie dekorativnyi fon ikh muzyki, na kotorom ona iarko vystupaet v svoei pravdivoi samobytnosti.” Ibid.

¹⁷⁸ Ibid., 55.

music (or culture in general) should be brought to European music cultural standards and harmonized in European manner. On the contrary, a Western European type of accompaniment for Eichhorn was a “barbarian distortion,” the presence of which makes Asian melodies sound “trivial and dull” in comparison to their “healthy and fresh beauty.”¹⁷⁹ Eichhorn’s use of term “barbarian” in relation to European music practice is particularly striking since he never labels Asian peoples and their cultures as “savage,” “barbarian,” “semi-civilized,” or “primitive.” Rather, he uses an adjective “naive” in his description of nomadic peoples, but does it with a sense of romantic nostalgia for the past. The way of life in the steppe evokes in Eichhorn’s imagination the images of the society, “pure” and “unspoiled” by European civilization, a paradise lost in Rousseau’s Romantic interpretation of primitivism.

Eichhorn’s ethnography offers a good example of self-conscious or serious partiality in his work. We learn about the limitations of his capacities and his achievements, as well as about the (un)cooperativeness of his informants, and, above all, about the specific conditions and nature of his fieldwork among the Central Asian peoples. Probably the most challenging limitation for Eichhorn is that of music notation. In his discussion of shaman rituals, he confessed that he could not notate a melody, since “all musical signs, compared to a performance itself, were only dead marks.”¹⁸⁰ This passage reveals Eichhorn’s awareness of a different level of performance practice, which neither his verbal descriptions, nor his musical transcriptions, would be able to transmit. In his discussion of Uzbek music Eichhorn writes an even more striking commentary: he

¹⁷⁹ Ibid., 67.

¹⁸⁰ Ibid., 49.

admits that “our” European/Russian system of notation is insufficient to fix quarter tones; and what is more, “we do not possess proper music-auditory skills” to catch those intervals as well as to grasp the floating pulse and ambiguous rhythmic patterns of the music.¹⁸¹

Eichhorn does not attempt to place the music of the Central Asian peoples in any kind of universal hierarchy of race or nation, which would reinforce the conventional judgment about their so-called “savagery.” Furthermore, he “corrects” earlier negative descriptions of Kyrgyz music. For instance, when he describes a wind music instrument called *sybyzgy*, he cites Aleksei Levshin’s unenthusiastic account of the “rough and impure” sound of *chibyzga*. Eichhorn suggests that Levshin’s “preconceived underestimation” [*predvziataia nedootsenka*] of this instrument is caused by a bad performer. Levshin, according to Eichhorn, did not hear a skilful Kyrgyz player, who can produce on this instrument a “pure sound” similar to that of European instruments with valves.¹⁸² Thus, Eichhorn disagrees with earlier statements about the deficiency of some musical instruments and finds European equivalents for Asian instruments.

Moreover, Eichhorn’s ethnographic essays contain many passages that express his genuine admiration of, and high esteem for, Asian music. When he describes a performance of *bakhshi*, a traditional healer, he states that, “despite the seeming unmusicality” of performance and “inadequacy to our tastes,” even an unprepared listener “unconsciously feels bewitched and not able to tear oneself away [from listening],” even without understanding one word. When the performance is over, one still “feels oneself

¹⁸¹ Ibid., 99.

¹⁸² Ibid., 52.

seized with some kind of intoxication” and continues hearing and seeing the image of the performer.¹⁸³ It is perhaps not surprising that even a decade after Eichhorn’s return to Russia, he confessed that the “songs of the steppes” – “genuine and true music that bestow on a human heart consolation and gratification” – still “resounded” in him with their “beauty and charm.”¹⁸⁴

Therefore, Eichhorn seemed to accept the Asian culture and way of life, nomadic and sedentary, as it was. He showed an understanding and expressed a profound respect for the music of subjugated and supposedly inferior Orientals. Perhaps the most revealing example of such attitudes, unusual for a European ethnographer, is found in Eichhorn’s account of a Muslim holyday in Zangi-Ata. Describing the performance of the Uzbek orchestra accompanying this festivity, Eichhorn is not stinting in his praise. Causing “absolute horror” and “great enthusiasm” simultaneously, the performance of the *karnai* (huge wind instruments with long bell-shaped pipes) evoked, at least in Eichhorn’s imagination, pictures from the ancient times of Solomon, such as the “joyful exultation of the Israelis” singing in temples, and the “dances described in biblical stories.”¹⁸⁵

Eichhorn’s eulogy of the congruence of the performance of the Uzbek ensemble stands out in sharp contrast to the description of the performance of his own orchestra. When his “horribly off-key orchestra” started playing, Eichhorn indignantly remarked

¹⁸³ Ibid., 34.

¹⁸⁴ Ibid., 68.

¹⁸⁵ Ibid., 184.

that it immediately brought him back to “non-poetic, naked, and grim reality.”¹⁸⁶

Eichhorn continued:

To be honest, because of its ensemble and its accuracy in performance, the music played by Sarts excelled in its style the music played by my orchestra, which did not have any style at all.¹⁸⁷

This passage reveals that Eichhorn’s attitude towards the music of Asian peoples was not filtered through Russian nationalist claims of cultural superiority over the conquered peoples (endemic in so many colonial situations). This could have been because of Eichhorn’s own double identity, which helped him to transgress Russian/European prejudices to Asian music and culture. He himself did not feel part of the Orthodox community in Russian Turkestan,¹⁸⁸ while, at the same time, because of his Russian citizenship, he could not consider himself fully German. It could have been that he felt he stood outside the dominant-dominated relationship and, as a result, revealed relative objectivity in the judgement of both orchestras.

Eichhorn’s ethnographic writing was an important stage in the emergence of music ethnographic style in Russia. Even though his work was not published until the 1963, it reflected a generally more sympathetic ideological stance on Asian subjects typical in late nineteenth-century Russia that I discussed earlier. Naturally, in Russian/Soviet historiography Eichhorn entered as a lone ethnographer, who left behind

¹⁸⁶ Ibid., 185.

¹⁸⁷ “Ja dolzhen otkrovenno soznat’sia, chto muzyka sartov ansamblem i tochnost’iu ispolneniia namnogo prevoskhodila v svoem stile muzyku moego orkestra, kotoraiia voobshche ne imela nikakogo stilia.” Eichhorn, “Diary,” 108.

¹⁸⁸ On Orthodox Christmas Eichhorn had to attend an official Church ceremony, at the end of which he had to kiss the cross in front of everybody; he did it, but against his will. Then the priest sprinkled the holy water on him, which outraged Eichhorn, since he knew that the priest was aware of his different origin. Ibid., 110.

the cultural baggage of civilization, uncovered a particular cultural Otherness, collected different musical artefacts (instruments and melodies), and created an important body of texts, covering music of different intra-imperial Russian ethnicities.¹⁸⁹ Indeed, in his ethnographic essays Eichhorn tended to romanticize his work somewhat and the field of his studies as well as to present a committed public self-image. However, his diary reveals a slightly different persona from the one he projected.¹⁹⁰

Several inconsistencies can be found in Eichhorn's public statements and private comments. For instance, in the note accompanying Eichhorn's full collection of musical instruments of the Central Asian peoples he claimed that he was "impelled as a musician by the feeling of love for the matter" and gathered this collection using his own funds.¹⁹¹ However, from his diary we learn that a few years earlier he was commissioned and paid 200 roubles by the Turkestan Committee to collect musical instruments and transcribe melodies for the 1872 Polytechnic Exhibition in Moscow.¹⁹² These pecuniary rewards beg the question as to the limits of cultural sensitivity, and the degree to which disinterested claims are likely to be contradicted by the reality of self-interest, especially in the imperial context of nineteenth-century Russia.

In his diary Eichhorn revealed both his vanity and careerism: on several occasions, he stated that he "cherished a hope" not to serve people but to get a Medal for Merit or to be distinguished other than for his devotional work with the military

¹⁸⁹ See Eichhorn's biographies cited above.

¹⁹⁰ See his diary, translated by Tamila Djani-Zade, "Dnevnik voennogo kapel'meistera Avgusta Eichhorna," in *Trudy Gosudarstvennogo Tsentral'nogo Muzeia Muzykal'noi Kul'tury Imeni M.I. Glinki*, 1: 87-120.

¹⁹¹ Eichhorn, "A Statement" [Zaiavlenie], in *Muzykal'naia fol'kloristika v Uzbekistane*, 186.

¹⁹² Eichhorn, "Diary," 120.

orchestra.¹⁹³ From his diary we also learn that a simple human quality of greed – striving for money – brought Eichhorn to a remote region of Russia, where he had to undergo many deprivations and hardships in everyday life.¹⁹⁴ Furthermore, it seems that Eichhorn put himself in voluntary exile because he did not want to participate in the 1870 Franco-Prussian war.¹⁹⁵

Even some of the most inspired pages of Eichhorn's account of Asian music practice, for example the celebration of Zangi-ata, end with a bitter note:

Despite that everything for me was new and original, [the life] in Tashkent is incredibly boring... even if the angels come from the skies to make local celebrations more interesting, for me, a Moscow merrymaking with "earthly" angels is one hundred times more pleasant...¹⁹⁶

Thus, besides the romantic and "enthusiastic admirer of Asian amenities" (as Djani-Zade describes him), there was another Eichhorn whose interest in the advancement of ethnographic knowledge was inseparable from the advancement of his own career, material life, and social status.¹⁹⁷ In George Stocking's telling words: "There never was a moment of ethnographic innocence,"¹⁹⁸ and Eichhorn certainly enjoyed his (in Balandier's term) "colonial situation" with its particular social divide (*fracture sociale*) caused by colonial divide (*fracture coloniale*).¹⁹⁹ As a member of a white

¹⁹³ Ibid., 110, 112, 115, 118.

¹⁹⁴ Ibid., 113.

¹⁹⁵ In his diary, when Eichhorn expresses his striving to go back to Russia, he says that he cannot do so, because if he does, it is almost sure that he will be mobilized and sent to Paris. See "Diary," 112.

¹⁹⁶ "nesmotria na to, chto vse dlia menia bylo novo i svoeobrazno, vse zhe v Tashkente neveroiatno skuchno! ... esli dazhe sami angely soidut s nebes chtoby pridat' interes zdeshnim torzhestvam, to mne stokrat milee moskovskoe gulianie s zemnymi "angelami." "Diary," 108-109.

¹⁹⁷ Djani-Zade, 86.

¹⁹⁸ Eichhorn, "Diary," 67.

¹⁹⁹ See George Balandier, "Situation coloniale: approche théoretique," *Cahiers internationaux de sociologie* 11 (1951): 44-79.

minority who lived according to the same ethos, spoke the same language, and was assigned a certain status within the European group, he fully participated in the privileges of the dominant caste during his stay in Tashkent.

Conclusion

The Russian history of ethnographic engagement with Asian peoples and cultures offers particularly rich material in the demonstration of the contradictory and multifaceted nature of the Russian-Asian relationship. The Russian ethnographic field, with its conflicting ideas and practices, owes much of its vitality to the varying personal experience, social status, and education, as well as to the web of affiliations of different individuals, institutions and agencies. As a result, many Russian ethnographers, such as Alexander Middendorff and August Eichhorn, resisted the colonial discourse about the conquered peoples, while others, such as Aleksei Levshin and Alexander Rittikh, followed European paternalistic and colonial patterns of discussion of Asian culture and music. Thus, shaped by the choir of many different voices, Russian ethnography presents a unique case of negotiation, interaction, and a dialogue between colonizers and colonized. Despite the power of a dominant ideology to assert and enforce its claims, any given Russian ethnographic representation is unique, open, dialogic, and thus subject to the ongoing dynamics of historical interpretation.

PART II: RUSSIA'S OWN ORIENTALISM

CHAPTER 3

“YOU WERE BORN TO BE A SPARK TO POET’S INSPIRATION”: THE EXOTIC OTHER IN

ALEXANDER ALIAB’EV AND EARLY NINETEENTH-CENTURY RUSSIAN ART SONG

The opinion of one of Russia’s foremost Orientalists [S.F. Oldenburg] is more than simply polemical when he declares: “As a neighbour of the Orient, Russia always knew and understood it well.” One could say with more justice that: “The Orient’s neighbour, Russia, despite its geographical proximity, often preferred reading shoddy western books on the Orient to a direct study of the Orient; this applies with special force to the Muslim Orient.”¹

Vasilii Bartol’d

1. Historical Context of the Emergency of Russian O/orientalism

Russian O/orientalism was not theorized or conceived in Russia, but in Europe and the fact that it emerged from European stimuli has been widely accepted among modern scholars.² For this reason, early Russian Orientalism imitated Western Orientalist stereotypes. Three European schools of oriental studies – French, German, and English – strongly influenced the first Russian scholars and literati.³ A.V. Boldyrev, a pupil of the famous Orientalist Silvestre de Sasy, was one of the most prominent representatives of

¹ “Bolee chem sporno mnenie vyskazannoe odnim iz vydaiushchikhsia russkikh vostokovedov: ‘Sosed Vostoka, Rossiia, vseгда khorosho ego znala i ponimala.’ S bol’shim pravom mozhno bylo by skazat’: ‘Sosed Vostoka, Rossiia, nesmotria na eto soselstvo, chasto predpochitala chtenie plokhikh zapadnykh knig o Vostoke neposredstvennomu izucheniiu Vostoka; v osobennosti eto otnositsya k musul’manskomu Vostoku’.” See Vasilii V. Bartol’d, *Istoriya izucheniya Vostoka v Evrope i Rossii: lektsii chitannye v universitete i v leningradskom institute zhivyykh vostochnykh iazykov* (Leningrad: Tov. Alekseeva, 1925), 295.

² As it is discussed in the Introduction, the Russian word for “orientalism” is distinct from Said’s politically charged and negative definition of it. In this research this term, when written in the lower case, will have a neutral attribution, while Orientalism with a capital “O” will carry negative connotations, as in Said’s critique of Orientalism.

³ The practice of teaching the oriental languages began in the mid eighteenth century, at Moscow University. See *Istoriia otechestvennogo vostokovedeniia do serediny XIX veka* (Moskva: Nauka, 1990), 98.

the French school of Orientalism in Russia,⁴ while Christian D. Fraehn (or Fren) and F. I. Erdman, pupils of the renowned Hebrew scholar Oluf Gerhard Tychsen, represented the German school of thought.⁵ The influence of the English tradition became more apparent slightly later and revealed itself mostly in Russian poetry. Alexander Pushkin, Mikhail Lermontov, Alexander Bestuzhev-Marlinsky, as well as other poets who devoted a number of poems to oriental subjects from the 1820s onward, were particularly attracted to Byron's oriental narrative poems, such as *Bride of Abydos*, *Don Juan*, and *The Corsair*.⁶

It is significant that the first steps in the development of O/orientalist literature, however, were made by followers of the French school. From the early 1810s onward, French writers and critics considered the oriental subject one of the most important for European Romanticism, and Russia, by extension, also embraced Orientalism as an inseparable component of Russian Romanticism. In 1813 J.C.L. Simone de Sismondi wrote the book *De la littérature du midi*, in which he praised oriental poetry of the past and charged the West with the task of "preserving the cultural treasures of a fallen

⁴ Aleksei Vasil'evich Boldyrev's (1780-1842) translations of Arabic and Persian literature were widely used in the academic as well as popular circles. His *Reader of Arab* (1824) and *Reader of Persian Literature* (1826) as well as *Abridged Arab Grammar in Tables* (1827) were used as important sources of oriental literature until the end of the nineteenth century. See Lobikova, *Pushkin i Vostok*, *Ocherki* (Moskva: Nauka, 1974), 9-10; *Istoriia otechestvennogo vostokovedeniia do serediny XIX veka*, 221-22.

⁵ Christian Danilovich Fraen (1782-1851) left a mark in Russian history as the founder of oriental numismatics. He also taught Persian at the Kazan University, although his teaching career cannot be considered successful since he did not speak Russian and had to communicate with the students in Latin. See *Istoriia otechestvennogo vostokovedeniia do serediny XIX veka*, 219.

⁶ As Pushkin confessed, during his Southern period (1820-1824) when most of his oriental *poèmas* were written, he was "madly in love with Byron." See N.M. Lobikova, *Pushkin i Vostok* (Moscow: Nauka, 1974), 32. It is probably not a coincidence that Russian literary critics from the early 1820s compared Pushkin's *Bakhchisarai* with Byron's oriental poems in verses. See Lobikova, 32.

civilization.”⁷ His so-called “southern theory” was in opposition to the ethnocentric Friedrich Schlegel’s “northern theory” of Romanticism, claiming that Romanticism originated in Norman and German mythology.⁸ In 1823, in the first Russian theoretical treatise on Romanticism, Decembrist Orest Somov followed the French “southern theory” by featuring Asian Muslims as the empire’s pre-eminently “poetic” group⁹ and presenting the Arabs or the Moors as the “first people who had romantic literature.”¹⁰ The tradition of venerating ancient Arabic literature was supported on the pages of Russian popular journals, such as *Vestnik Evropy*. In the 1825 report by Bobrovskii, translated from Polish, the author states in a peremptory tone that when Europe was “covered with a dense darkness of ignorance” between the eight and the eleventh centuries, “the muses found refuge in the Arab world.”¹¹ This might be the reason another Decembrist Wilhelm

⁷ Susan Layton, *Russian Literature and Empire: The Conquest of the Caucasus from Pushkin to Tolstoy* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 80. An excerpt from this book was also published in the Russian journal *Vestnik Evropy*, in 1818, under the title “On the Arab’s Literature.” Ibid.

⁸ L. Leighton, *Russian Romanticism: Two Essays* (The Hague: Mouton, 1975), 88-94. Later, in the early 1820s, however, German philosophers Kant and Hegel accepted oriental art as an art that had sublime features and, by characterizing some mystical experiences of eastern religions (Hinduism, Islam and Judaism) as sublime, implicated their importance in European Romanticism. See Ram, *The Imperial Sublime: A Russian Poetics of Empire* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2003), 13.

⁹ S. Layton, 83.

¹⁰ See A.S. Bushmin et al., eds., *Ikh vechen s vol’nost’iu soiuz’: Literaturnaia kritika i publitsistika dekabristov* (Moscow: Sovremennik, 1983), 160. Somov added that “the poetry of the Moors... shines with its freshness, novelty of senses, expressions, and images, not to mention fantasy [vymysel].” See Lobikova, 36.

¹¹ “pokryval gustoi mrak nevezhestva... muzy nashli ubezhishche sebe u Arabov.” See Bobrovskii, “Istoricheskii vzgliad na knizhnyi iazyk Arabov i na literaturu sego naroda,” in *Vestnik Evropy* 5 (1825): 27. Citation from N. Iu. Chalisova, A.V. Smirnov, “Podrazhaniia vostochnym stikhotvortsam: vstrecha russkoi poezii i arabo-persidskoi poetiki,” in *Sravnitel’naia filosofii*, M.T. Stepaniants, ed. (Moscow: Vostochnaia literatura, 2000), 245-343; here 256-57.

Karlovich Küchelbecker (1799-1846) suggested later that “truly Russian” poetry could be created only by assimilating “all the intellectual treasures of Europe and Asia.”¹²

From the second decade of the nineteenth century onward, Russian journals published translations of Arab-Persian literature, travelogues, ethnographies, and later, (quasi) letters from the southern wars, (quasi) travel journals, and statistical and geographical descriptions of Russia’s new territory.¹³ For instance, the journal *Aziatskii Vestnik* [*Herald of Asia*], issued from 1825 onward, published a number of “journeys” to Asia, Persia, and India written by non-litterateurs.¹⁴ Between the years 1825 and 1827 this journal also published a number of reports on the work of Asian Societies in London, Paris, and Belgium. Other journals, such as *Otechestvennye zapiski* and *Syn Otechestva*, supplied reports from the wars and sometimes even published information about the organization of the Persian and Turkish army.¹⁵ Some popular journals, such as *Biblioteka dlia chteniya* by O. I. Senkovskii, specialized in promoting the image of the exotic Oriental lifestyle.¹⁶

In addition to journals, Russian publishing houses were also busy publishing oriental manuscripts and literary works. The early publications of oriental literature, such

¹² Küchelbecker, “O napravlenii nashei poezii, osobenno liricheskoi, v poslednee desiatiletie” [About the Direction of Our Poetry, Especially Lyrical, in the Last Decade], in *Puteshestvie, dnevnik, stat'i* [Travels, Diary, Articles], 458. This passage is cited in English by Harsha Ram, *The Imperial Sublime*, 148.

¹³ While founding and editing the journal *Sovremennik*, Pushkin published reviews of books pertaining to a study of local areas. See D. I. Belkin, “Mir Vostoka na stranitsakh pushkinskogo *Sovremennika*,” in *Tvorchestvo Pushkina i zarubezhnyi Vostok*, D. I. Belkin et al., eds. (Moskva: Nauka, 1991), 201.

¹⁴ See *Istoriia otechestvennogo vostokovedeniia do serediny XIX veka*, 209-10.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 211-212.

¹⁶ Not everybody shared an interest in Senkovsky’s journal. Belkin points out that Pushkin did not like *Biblioteka dlia chteniia* for a number of reasons. First of all, it publicly supported the imperial policy of expansion toward the Orient and second, it promoted very subjective, distorted and even grotesque images of the Orient. See D.I. Belkin, “Mir vostoka na stranitsakh pushkinskogo *Sovremennika*,” in *Tvorchestvo Pushkina i zarubezhnyi vostok*, 211-15.

as the famous Persian tale *One Thousand and One Nights*, were based on translations from the European languages.¹⁷ Since the early-1810s the original Russian translations from the Arabic and Persian languages (as opposed to double translations from French and German) started appearing in periodicals such as *Vestnik Evropy*, *Syn otechestva*, and *Kazanskii vestnik*.¹⁸ To be closer to the original text, translations of poetry were often rendered in prose. As Russian researchers Chalisova and Smirnov observed, by providing extra footnotes with explanations of the exotic images and even citing Muslim legends, authors of the earliest Russian translations of oriental poetry tried to supply the reader with “cultural context,” in order to provide an inner perspective.¹⁹

Nonetheless, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, both Russian and European literary works homogenized the oriental subject and represented it as a monolithic entity without geographical or ethnic distinctions. Indeed, in Russia, “oriental” referred to nearly every culture and people living outside Russia and the West. The Arabs, the Persians, the Greeks, the Caucasians, Central and East Asians, as well as Gypsies and Jewish people were all marginalized into one group of the “Oriental Other.” As Gukovskii’s puts it: “The orient of the Russian romantic tradition was ... the style of the Koran and the Bible taken together, and at the same time the style of Persian poetry and Caucasian legend. The traits of all these historical phenomena interwove to constitute

¹⁷ The Russian version of *One Thousand and One Nights* appeared between 1763 and 1803.

¹⁸ For instance, in 1811 *Vestnik Evropy* published the first A. V. Boldyrev’s translations of Arabic proverbs and a fragment of a popular legend about Leila and Medjnun. See Lobikova, 9-10.

¹⁹ Chalisova and Smirnov, 269-70.

a singular image of the East.”²⁰ However, from Pushkin’s poetry on, different representative features of the Russian Orient become more apparent and the diversity of the local oriental peoples was treated more carefully. As a result, translations of oriental songs with indications of their origins in the titles (Chechen, Circassian, and Gypsy songs) gradually infiltrated the pages of the oriental *poèmes*.²¹

A number of different characteristics were considered Oriental and were used to represent the Other. Some of these characteristics were mere replications of nineteenth-century European Orientalist clichés, while others seem to be genuinely Russian. Most but not all images emphasized the idea of difference between two opposed categories: the uncivilized Orient, or collective “them,” and a civilized collective “us.” However, some Russian poets and musicians embraced the identity of Oriental others and de-romanticized them, blurring the line between Asians and Russians, which, as Susan Layton argues, “inscribed the consciousness of the orient as an organic part of Russia.”²²

²⁰ Gukovskii, *Pushkin i russkie romantiki* [*Pushkin and Russian Romantics*] (Moskva: Intrada, 1995), 258-59. In English this passage is cited by Ram, *The Imperial Sublime*, 132.

²¹ It is well known that Pushkin, Bestuzhev-Marlinsky, and Lermontov either asked their friends to translate or translated themselves some original oriental songs, which then were included into their oriental *poèmes*, such as *Tsygane*, *Ammalat-Bek*, and *Khadzhi-Abrek*. See Layton, *Russian Literature and Empire*, 113; A.P. Semenov, “Motivy gorskogo fol’klora i byta v poeme Lermontova ‘Khadzhi-Abrek’,” in *Mikhail Iur’evich Lermontov. Sbornik statei i materialov*, A.M. Dokusov et al., eds. (Stavropol’: Stavropol’skoe knizhnoe izdatel’stvo, 1960), 14-25. Since Pushkin, ethnographic dimensions started being introduced into otherwise imagined poems or novels. On the ethnographic side of Pushkin’s *Prisoner*, see Gukovskii, *Pushkin i russkie romantiki*, 287-92. Layton points out that some sections of Marlinsky’s ‘Ammalat-Bek’ also “read as an ethnographic essay, with the author holding forth on local ‘Asiatic’ customs, religion, history, language, and so forth.” See S. Layton, “Marlinsky’s ‘Ammalat-Bek’ and the Orientalization of the Caucasus in Russian Literature,” in Derek Offord, ed., *The Golden Age of Russian Literature and Thought* (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1992), 34-58, here 39.

²² S. Layton, *Russian Literature and Empire*, 88. Stephanie Sandler came to a similar conclusion in her discussion about “The Fountain of Bakhchisarai.” See Sandler, *Distant Pleasures. Alexander Pushkin and the Writing of Exile* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1989), 179-80.

In the pages to come I will first discuss the historical and cultural context in which Russian O/orientalism emerged, then I will give a short overview of major O/orientalist images common in the European tradition and define one particular image from the Russian tradition. Using the art-song repertoire from early to mid-nineteenth century, I argue that Russian art songs based on original transcriptions of Caucasian and Asian tunes, especially those of Alexander Aliab'ev (1787-1851), demonstrate considerable thoroughness or authenticity in representing various Russian oriental ethnicities and do not always replicate nineteenth-century European Orientalist clichés. Aliab'ev's genuine interest in Asian culture that resulted in arrangement of four Asian songs do not reduce or humiliate the culture of Russian oriental others and do not suggest any notion about Russian (and generally European) superiority. Furthermore, I argue that Said's idea of the antagonism between the collective imperial "us" and the colonized "them" in Russian art song is not always relevant. I will discuss some works of literature and music that reveal favourable (and therefore not Orientalist) attitudes towards the rebellious spirit of the conquered, often contradicting the imperial conviction of the Russian state. At the same time, some Russian songs with oriental subjects represent the Other by invoking a set of European stereotypes. I will suggest that Alexander Dargomyzhsky's (1813-1869) art songs evoke mainly the popular Western European image of the Orient as a land of pleasure and sensuality. Besides the evocation of the Western images of the Orient, the composer also draws on a number of musical gestures (slow tempo, chromaticism, and drones) used by nineteenth-century Western European composers to represent the seductive East.

2. Early-Nineteenth-Century Russian Images of Others

Edward Said, in his influential *Orientalism*, discussed in detail the Occident's process of inventing the Orient. He emphasizes that the phenomenon of Orientalism is a European fantasy that helped to define the West itself which, however, resulted in the lack of a real Orient in Orientalism. Said's Orientalist paradigm resonates with Derrida's theory of *différance* and Hegel's concept of constructing a subject through the Other.²³

In his *Phenomenology of Spirit*, Hegel articulated an abstract subject that can be understood only through the Other as a categorical opposite.²⁴ Accordingly, the category of subject does not refer to its essence or its metaphysical self-presence, but rather to the process of its construction and invention through placing the subject within the context and against the background of its opposition. This assumption leads to the fundamental problem of the articulation of the counter-subject, the very existence of which is questionable, since it exists only in its negation and thus does not have its own essence independent from the subject. Thus, the counter-subject has little to do with its own reality, but is imagined and constructed according to the subject and exists only for the purpose of the subject's articulation.

The application of Hegelian ideology to the idea of Orientalism suggests that any national identity, as a subject created by the Western world, cannot be defined by itself;

²³ Derrida's concept of *différance* involves opposition, as well as spatial and temporal distance from the subject, which is created to articulate the subject's very existence, since the subject can be understood only through the relationship to its Other, or through something that it is not. Historical, social, economical, cultural, religious, moral, and other kinds of oppositions, according to Derrida, produce the effects of difference that paradoxically "do not find their cause in a subject or a substance" See Jacques Derrida, "Différance," in *Critical Theory Since 1965*, ed. H. Adams and L. Searle (Florida: Florida State University Press, 1986), 126.

²⁴ G. W. F. Hegel, *Phenomenology of Spirit* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977).

its opposite needs to be presented. Since nineteenth-century European society faced an urgency of self-determination dictated by the emergence of new nation-states, the creation of the Other became essential. For Russia, the struggle to gain European (that is “advanced” and “civilized”) identity was difficult due to its particular geographical and cultural situation, discussed in the Introduction.

Western Images of Others

To describe the two worlds – civilized West and uncivilized East – both European and Russian literature used two pejorative images and one positive image of the Orient that appealed to the nineteenth-century reader. One negative image came from the fantasy world of the *One Thousand and One Nights*, in which all sexual pleasures were possible.²⁵ Post-colonial theorists have observed that erotic connotations were added to the imaginary relationship between East and West and presented through the idea of masculinity and the conquest of “virgin” territory.²⁶ In early-nineteenth-century Russian literature, the masculine word “Caucasus” was often replaced by the feminine noun “priroda” [nature] in order to create a gendered opposition between Russian military men and the virgin Oriental nature and to produce a more appealing image of dirty war affairs. As Layton puts it: “Nineteenth-century writing about the Caucasus exhibited the same urge to feminization [as the American colonist], with the spotlight squarely centred on the

²⁵ Said, *Orientalism* (1978), 190. In his recent book, *Representation of the Orient in Western Music: Violence and Sexuality*, Nasser Al-Taei discussed in detail the two negative images of the Orient.

²⁶ See Said, *Orientalism* (1978); Stephanie Sandler, *Distant Pleasures*.

passive virgin ready to satisfy male desire and indeed just waiting for man to take advantage of her.”²⁷

Another stereotypically negative representation, probably generated from war experiences, was the construction of the decadent image of the Orient – a place of savagery, barbarism, and backwardness.²⁸ Several authors have carefully analyzed this negative representation in Western nineteenth-century culture. In Russian literature, however, the same features of savagery and backwardness sometimes had a self-referential connotation: according to many writers, Russian society had to liberate itself from *Tatarshchina* (loosely translated as “Asiatic blight”). Hence, oriental backwardness was considered a temporary condition.²⁹ Furthermore, as Layton notes, aggressiveness and proclivity to violence often was connected with the lack of civil society in Asia, which in its turn was associated with liberty [*vol’nost’*]. Thus, this very lack of social organization was transformed into a sign of freedom and liberty from oppressive structure in the minds of Russian nineteenth-century readers.³⁰ That is why, for Pushkin and many other Russian writers, the Caucasian mountaineers, despite their wildness and brutality, had appealing characteristics, such as vigour, grace, emotional authenticity, loyalty, and

²⁷ Layton, 178.

²⁸ This type of representation of orientals has found careful treatment in Said’s *Orientalism* and in a number of works on Russian literature. See Kaplana Sahni, *Crucifying the Orient: Russian Orientalism and the Colonization of Caucasus and Central Asia* (Oslo: The Institute for Comparative Research in Human Culture, 1997); Vladimir Bobrovnikov, “Bandits and the State: Designing a ‘Traditional’ Culture of Violence in the Russian Caucasus,” in *Russian Empire: Space, People, Power, 1700-1930*, Jane Burbank, Mark von Hagen, and Anatolyi Remnev, eds. (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2007), 239-267; Sabirzyan Badretdinov, “Sincere Solders and Naïve Servants,” *Transitions* 5, no. 12 (1998): 97-100.

²⁹ See Daniel Brower, *Turkestan and the Fate of the Russian Empire* (London and New York: Routledge Curzon, 2003), 18.

³⁰ S. Layton, “Marlinsky’s Ammalat-Bek” (1992), 36.

civic courage.³¹ Furthermore, it should be stressed that since Pushkin's *The Prisoner*, the discovery of equal capacity for violence among the Russians and Circassians destabilized Russia's "civilized" identity. The European/Russian practice of duelling, described in *The Prisoner*, the decapitation of a bullock with one blow of a sword by General Ermolov depicted in Bestuzhev-Marlinky's *Ammalat-Bek*, and the extermination of the local population by the Russian "beast of prey with bayonet," who "kills the children and the old folks", described by Lermontov in *Izmail-Bey* – all revealed the relativity of notions of "civilization" and "savagery." This "transition between 'their' violence and 'ours,'" according to Susan Layton, "accentuates the Circassian status as an underground Russian self."³²

The third representation of the Orient was in discord with the first two since it imagined the Orient as a site of eternal wisdom and sublime spirit. This fashion of "wise orientals" was established in French literature by Montesquieu in his *Lettres persanes* and Voltaire in his *Zaïre* as a way to critique European society. German poets, such as Johann Wolfgang von Goethe,³³ Friedrich Rückert, and August von Platen,³⁴ also often presented "wise orientals," but not for the self-referential critique; they rather expressed their

³¹ Ibid.

³² Layton, 95.

³³ According to Viacheslav Ivanov, Goethe established a new style in representation of the Orient; he un-orientalized the Orient by freeing it from fancy but unrealistic oriental stereotypes and by using relatively simple language in his *Der West-Östliche Divan*. See V. Ivanov, "Zapadno-Vostochnyi Divan," in *Vostochnye Motivy. Stikhotvoreniya i Poëmy* (Moskva: Nauka, 1985), 464-68. Henry Broms also points out that Goethe re-evaluated some issues concerning the aesthetics of Persian literature. See Henry Broms, *Two Studies in the Relations of Hafiz and the West* (Helsinki: *Studia Orientalia* 39, 1968).

³⁴ Ann C. Fehn and Jürgen Thym, "Repetition as Structure in the German *Lied*: The Ghazal," *Comparative Literature* 41 (1989): 33-52. In the early nineteenth century, many German literary men, including Goethe and Rilke, expressed their interest in learning Arabic and Persian to be able to read oriental literature and the Koran in their original languages.

genuine interest in and admiration for the oriental philosophy, literature, and art. Among the Russians, a respectful attitude towards the Orient was generated in the early nineteenth century and openly pronounced by Sergei Uvarov, the President of the Academy of Science (1818-55) and the Minister of Education (1833-49), in his *Projet d'une académie asiatique*.³⁵ Published in French in 1810, and immediately translated into Russian and German, Sergei Uvarov's *Projet* enjoyed a sensational reception, and was at once praised by Schlegel and Goethe, and reviewed upon Napoleon's command by the French Orientalist Louis Langlès. Thus, Uvarov's *Projet* was the first step in the institutionalization of the Russian study of Asia on the basis of its historical and geographical legacy.³⁶

“La Russie repose... sur l'Asie. Une frontière sèche d'immense étendue la met en contact avec presque tous les peuples de l'Orient, et l'on auroit peine à croire que de tous les états de l'Europe, la Russie se trouve celui où l'on s'est le moins livré à l'étude de l'Asie.”³⁷

According to Uvarov, Russian researchers would not only make an “immense contribution to the progress of general enlightenment, but satisfy its dearest interests as well” by studying Asian cultures.³⁸ Uvarov's statement that Asia is “the central point

³⁵ **Sergei Semenovich Uvarov (1786-1855)**, the most influential minister of education in Imperial Russian history and a president Academy of Sciences. He introduced a number of reforms in Russian education and formulated a doctrine of Official Nationality (“orthodoxy, autocracy, and nationality”), which underlay his policies concerning public education. See Andreievskii, I. E., ed., “Uvarov,” in *Entsiklopedicheskii slovar' izd. F.A. Brokgauz and I.A. Efron* 34, no. 67 (1902): 420; Cynthia H. Whittaker, “The Impact of the Oriental Renaissance in Russia: The Case of Sergej Uvarov,” *Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas* 26 (1978): 503-24.

³⁶ See S.S. Uvarov, *Projet d'une académie asiatique* (St. Petersburg, 1810). A.L. Gal'perin, “Russkaia istoricheskaia nauka o zarubezhnom Dal'nem Vostoke v XVIII v. —seredine XIX v.,” *Ocherki po istorii russkogo vostokovedeniia* 2 (1956): 3-35; Cynthia H. Whittaker, “The Impact of the Oriental Renaissance in Russia: The Case of Sergej Uvarov,” 503-24.

³⁷ See Uvarov, *Projet*, 8.

³⁸ Ibid.

from which emanated all the light scattered on the globe” and his belief that “Greek sages” acquired their religious and philosophical knowledge from India, was repeatedly propagated in Russian literature throughout the nineteenth century.³⁹ According to Uvarov, Asian studies would rejuvenate the “decadent and dormant intellectual life” of early nineteenth-century Europe.⁴⁰

Orientalism with a Russian Tone: Decembrist Orientalism

All of the oriental images discussed above overlap one way or another with the European repertoire of images, although they introduce new overtones into the picture. But can it be that Russians, despite their proximity to the East, have never created anything original and different from European Orientalism? Have they never contributed even one image distinct from the Western Orientalist vocabulary of representations? In order to address these questions, I will discuss two major events in Russian history – the wars in the Caucasus and the Decembrist revolt – that were critical for the formation of a distinctly Russian discourse about the Orient in the early nineteenth century.

Russia’s interest in the southern areas along the Black Sea and the Caspian increasingly grew since the reign of Catherine the Great (1729-1796).⁴¹ Controlled by

³⁹ Ibid., 2-3.

⁴⁰ In spite of Uvarov’s admiration for Asian peoples’ glorious past, which the West was to save from oblivion, he possessed a typical nineteenth-century disdain for its “backward” and culturally impoverished present: “Les Orientaux défigurés par les institutions à la fois barbares et modernes conservent quelques traits de leur ancienne physionomie.” Ibid., 5.

⁴¹ On the history of the Russian conquest of the Caucasus in English see John F. Baddeley, *The Russian Conquest of the Caucasus* (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1908); Paul B. Henze, “Fire and Sward in the Caucasus: The 19th-Century Resistance of the North Caucasian Mountaineers,” *Central Asian Survey* 2

numerous Caucasian states (some princely, some democratic) and by Persia and the Ottoman Empire, the Caucasus was a homeland of many religiously, linguistically, and culturally diverse ethnic groups. In addition, in the Caucasus, Russia had to confront not only Persia and Turkey, but also the western powers assisting them (Great Britain and France). After the first Russo-Turkish War against the Ottoman Empire (1768-1774), Russia gained access to the Black Sea and incorporated the vast steppes of the present-day southern Ukraine. In 1783, Russia annexed the Crimea after Crimean Khanate had enjoyed a mere nine-year nominally independent existence.⁴²

In 1801 Catherine's successor Paul I proclaimed the incorporation of the Georgian Kingdom, and in 1802, Paul's successor Alexander I occupied the eastern Georgian Kingdom of Kartli-Kakheti.⁴³ During the first decade of the nineteenth century, the Russian army captured the Western Georgian kingdoms of Imereti, Guria, Mingrelia, and the Khanate of Karabakh. This disputed territory became the reason for the Russo-Persian War of 1804, which ended with a Russian victory in 1813. In the Treaty of Gulistan, signed after the war, the vast territory of modern Azerbaijan, Dagestan, and Eastern Georgia passed to the Russian Empire. After the second Russo-Persian War (1826-1828), the Khanates of Erivan and Nakhichevan in the south of Caucasus were incorporated into Russia. In spite of Russia's fast advance into the Caucasus, the Russian state met strong resistance that continued through the entire reign of Nicholas I. Eastern

(July 1983): 5-44; Nicolas Gvosdev, *Imperial Policies and Perspectives towards Georgia, 1760-1819* (New York: St. Martin's Press in association with St. Antony's College, Oxford, 2000).

⁴² See Gvosdev, 50. This helped to provoke the second Russo-Turkish War (1787-1792), which was catastrophic for the Ottomans. It ended with the Treaty of Jassy, which legitimized the Russian claims to the Crimea.

⁴³ See Gvosdev, *Imperial Policies and Perspectives towards Georgia, 1760-1819*, 77-98.

Caucasus was pacified in 1859 with the capture of Imam Shamil, the leader of the anti-Russian resistance movement. However, in other regions of the Caucasus, rebellions and guerrilla warfare persisted through the 1860s and 1870s, culminating in the widespread rebellion of 1877, which coincided with the beginning of another Russo-Turkish War.

The Russian army was in continuous need of military supplies due to the protracted war in the Caucasus. Many Russian soldiers and officials were sent to the Caucasus against their will. From the time of Alexander I, the Caucasus gained special status as a “hot” or “southern Siberia,” because it started being used as a land of punishment for those who opposed the tsarist regime.⁴⁴ In fact, the 1820s were marked by a flood of Russian aristocrat-Decembrists serving as infantry for the Russian side despite their very ambivalent feelings.⁴⁵

“Decembrism” is a retrospective term for the movement that emerged in early nineteenth-century Russian aristocratic circles as a reaction against the oppressive state structure, which resulted in a revolt on December 14, 1825. After the Russian army’s foreign campaigns and the defeat of Napoleon, many members of Russian aristocratic society became interested in Western systems of governance, including British legislation

⁴⁴ Vano Shaduri, *Dekabristskaiia literatura i gruzinskaia obshchestvennost'* (Tbilisi: Zaria Vostoka, 1958), 22.

⁴⁵ The life and death of Bestuzhev-Marlinsky can be a good example of doubts about the imperialist view on war in the Caucasus. Layton, “Bestuzhev-Marlinsky’s Interchange with the Tribesman,” in *Russian Literature and Empire*, 110-32. As a result, many Russian soldiers deserted the army to join the forces fighting against Russia. See K. Sahni, *Crucifying the Orient: Russian Orientalism and the Colonization of Caucasus and Central Asia* (Oslo: The Institute for Comparative Research in Human Culture, 1997), 49.

and constitutional practices in United States, France, and Spain.⁴⁶ They saw sharp differences between the Russian and European peasantry and realized that the living conditions of Russian peasants were not far from slavery.⁴⁷ As Russian historian N.A. Troitskii puts it: “Seeing Russian people ... in the shackles of serfdom after the historical victories of 1812-1815 became for them [future Decembrists] unbearable.”⁴⁸

In 1814 secret societies started appearing in St. Petersburg and small cities of Ukraine (e.g. Kamenets-Podol’sk). Their members included people from Russia’s highest civil society and military ranks: Count M.A. Dmitriev-Mamontov, Princes Sergei Volkonskii and E.P. Obolenskii, Baron V.I. Shteingel, General M.F. Orlov, Lieutenant Colonel S.I. Murav’ev-Apostol, Major V.F. Raevskii, Colonel and Commander of the Viatka Foot Regiment P.I. Pestel; and poets K.F. Ryleev, I.I. Pushchin, A.A. Delvig, and F. Glinka. By the early 1820s the movement had spread to several cities in Ukraine and Russia. Besides that, a number of separate secret societies that planned to overturn the autocracy and serfdom also appeared in the Russian periphery (Orenburg), Poland (Polish Patriotic Society in Vil’na), Moldova (Kishinev), Belorussia, Lithuania, and in the Caucasus.⁴⁹

⁴⁶ Decembrists claimed that their revolt was the first attempt to push Russia towards European liberalism. See the testimonies of Baron A. Y. Rozen and N. I. Lorer, in G. R. V. Barratt, *Voices in Exile: The Decembrist Memoirs* (Montreal and London: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1974), 126, 68. As Nikolai Bolkhovitinov noticed, many Decembrists believed the American Constitution was the most perfect model for future Russia. N. N. Bolkhovitinov, “The Declaration of Independence: A View from Russia,” *The Journal of American History* 85, no. 4 (March 1999), 1392-93.

⁴⁷ As G.R. Barratt points out, the memoirs of various members of the Decembrists’ northern Society suggests that they “were profoundly shaken by the blatant differences between peasant life in Russia and in Western Europe, which they saw as officers stationed abroad during the wars against Napoleon.” See Barratt, *Voices in Exile*, 39.

⁴⁸ See Troitskii, *Rossiiia v XIX veke* (Moscow: Vysshiaia shkola, 2003), 77.

⁴⁹ On the Orenburg secret society and their members, see L. Bol’shakov, *Otechestvu dragie imena. Triptikh o dekabristakh na Urale*, vol. 2 (Cheliabinsk: Iuzhno-Ural’skoe knizhnoe izdatel’stvo, 1975).

By 1825, all secret societies had merged into two major branches – southern and northern. The aims of the southern society, lead by Colonel P.I. Pestel, were articulated in a program called “Russkaia pravda” or “Russian Truth”: 1) to overthrow autocracy and establish a republican order, and 2) to abolish serfdom as well as the higher class’s privileges. All members of Russian society had to merge into “a united class – civil,” and half of the land had to be given to people.⁵⁰ The northern society (lead by the captain of General Staff Nikita Mikhailovich Murav’ev) was distinguished from the southern by a less radical program: 1) instead of republican order, it projected constitutional monarchy, and 2) the abolition of serfdom did not imply the distribution of land to peasants.⁵¹ Despite the obvious disagreement in their programs, the members of both branches believed that only a military *coup d’etat* could change the present status quo; the involvement of the masses might only harm the movement and increase the number of unwanted victims.⁵² Northern and southern secret societies had been preparing for a *coup d’etat*; in the south only, they had estimated about 70,000 people to take up arms. However, all their plans were confused by the sudden death of Alexander I and the alarming rumours that their conspiracy had been uncovered.

On the eve of Nicolas’s I accession, the organizers planned to gather the Moscow, Finnish, and Grenadier regiments in the Senator Square and forcibly prevent the senators from swearing allegiance to the new tsar. In the meantime, two other regiments (Izmail

⁵⁰ Troitskii, 85.

⁵¹ There was a schism within the northern society: some members believed in republican order, and they formed a radical wing of the northern society (K.F. Ryleev, I.I. Pushchin, P.G. Kakhovskii, brothers A.A. and N.A. Bestuzhev). Troitskii, 88.

⁵² Although the Decembrists supported the French Revolution of 1789, they considered the popular uprising one of the undesirable means of change. Fedorov, 169; Troitskii, 83.

and the Navy) would seize the Winter Palace and arrest the tsar's family. However, on the day of the accession (14th of December, 1825), their plan fell apart: instead of the expected 6,000 soldiers only 3,000 gathered in the Square, Nicolas administered the oath to his allegiance at daybreak and it was too late to force the senators to change their allegiance. Besides that, A.I. Iakubovich, who was supposed to seize the Winter Palace, did not do so, and the "dictator" of the insurrection, Lieutenant of the Life Guards Preobrazhenskii Regiment and Prince Sergei P. Trubetskoi, did not present himself in the Square. Thus the insurrection was doomed to failure. In addition to the huge number killed on the 14th of December, 1825, all other participants were severely punished: five were hanged publicly, while the others were either sent to Siberia or to the Caucasus (as infantry in the protracted wars with Caucasian mountaineers).⁵³ All later attempts at uprising in Ukraine and Russia's peripheral cities were also cruelly suppressed. A regiment of four thousand soldiers was formed from those who participated in St. Petersburg and later in Chernigov (Ukraine), and sent to the acting army fighting in the Caucasus.⁵⁴

It is important to note that despite the relatively small number of participants in the December uprising, the number of those who sympathized with the Decembrists' ideas was much larger. As Gukovskii points out, Decembrism was "a huge ideological movement that seized almost all members of the noble intelligentsia [*dvorianskaia*

⁵³ The official number of people killed was eighty; however, a witness of the event, Senator P.G. Divov, counted about 200 killed, while the officer of the Ministry of Justice, S.N. Korsakov, counted more than 1200 people. See P.Ia. Kann, "O chisle zhertv 14 dekabria 1825 g.," *Istoriia SSSR*, no. 6 (1970): 114-15. Fedorov believes that the latter number was grossly exaggerated; no more than 700 people could have been killed on that day. See Fedorov, 201.

⁵⁴ Fedorov, *Dekabristy i ikh vremia* (Moscow: Izdat. Moscow University, 1992), 258.

intelligentsiia] and created the whole world-view with its own literature.”⁵⁵ Many Decembrists considered literature and poetry two of the most potent tools in raising popular consciousness about the tyranny of autocracy. In 1823, Ryleev and A. Bestuzhev started writing propaganda verses in the style of folk songs. The investigating commission criminalized the composition of these songs and brought this serious charge against the poets.⁵⁶ Poetry proved to be the strongest means in spreading “seditious” anti-government messages, not only before the uprising, but also after. To avoid extremely severe censorship imposed after 1825, Russian literati had to resort to what later became known as ‘Aesopian language’.⁵⁷ As both Russian/Soviet and Western scholars of nineteenth-century Russian literature have agreed, the oriental space and identity allowed the Decembrist poets to transmit their political views by associating the subjugated Orientals, who fought for the natural rights of freedom, with the Decembrists, who also yearned for liberation from tsarist autocracy.⁵⁸ Many Russian poets even identified themselves with their literary tribesman heroes, non-Russian victims of tsarist oppression: Lermontov with Izamil-Bey (a Circassian-born Russian officer who deserts his Regiment to join the anti-Russian resistance forces), and Bestuzhev-Marlinsky with Ammalat-Bek (a Dagestani hero who murders his Russian friend, Colonel Verkhovskii,

⁵⁵ See Gukovskii (1995), 151.

⁵⁶ Fedorov, 169.

⁵⁷ As Lauren Leighton points out, it was necessary to create this language because Russian writers had to “contend not only with the three-way relationships between author, critic, and public, but also with an extremely sensitive government.” L. Leighton, *Russian Romanticism: Two Essays*, 22. In his *Pushkin i russkie romantiki*, Gukovskii discussed in detail the words-symbols that had a clear political and ideological connotation. For instance, “tyrant” and “freedom” brought up an entire chain of associations and ideas related to the French Revolution. See Gukovskii, *Pushkin* (1995), 153.

⁵⁸ Gukovskii, *Pushkin i russkie romantiki*, 268-81, or 2nd edition (1995), 227-258; Layton, *Russian Literature and Empire*, 96; Ram, *The Imperial Sublime*, 132.

in order to marry the irresistible Seltaneta).⁵⁹ The “cult of war and death for the idea” in the culture of Muhammedians and ancient Jews, according to Gukovskii, “appealed to the radicals of the 1800s-1820s as political-educational material [*v plane politichski vospitatel'nom*].”⁶⁰ In the late 1810s, the tradition of pseudo-translation, or “versification” [*perelozhenie*], of Biblical texts, as well as imitation of the Koran and Psalms, found a new resonance among the Decembrist poets. Fedor Glinka, Alexander Pushkin, Wilhelm Küchelbecker, and many other poets wrote a number of poems “translated” from quasi-ancient texts which, in fact, evoked certain images associated with modern social-political problems.⁶¹ Thus, Decembrism in literature initiated the development of the so-called “oriental style,” which, in Harsha Ram’s words, “functioned as a coded form of political opposition.”⁶² In a similar vein, Gukovsky stated that an “oriental image had a character of a slogan, which called for the struggle of nations against tyranny.”⁶³

Despite the sympathy towards orientals and attraction to the free spirit of the Caucasian people, as Layton and Ram point out, some Decembrists paradoxically supported imperial expansion to the Muslim south and Russia’s “civilizing mission” in the East.⁶⁴ Thus, Russia’s early nineteenth-century O/orientalism included a number of contradictory elements and images that emerged in an intricate historical and political atmosphere. In this chapter I would like to consider the life and art songs of the early-

⁵⁹ S. Layton, “Bestuzhev-Marlinsky’s Interchange with the Tribesman,” in *Russian Literature and Empire*, 110-32; Harsha Ram, *The Imperial Sublime*, 207-10;

⁶⁰ Gukovskii (1995), 227.

⁶¹ See Gukovskii, 227-49; Ram, *The Imperial Sublime*, 165-66, 170-72.

⁶² Ram, *The Imperial Sublime*, 132.

⁶³ Gukovskii (1995), 228.

⁶⁴ See Layton, *Russian Literature and Empire*, 9-10, 103; Ram, *The Imperial Sublime*, 127, 149-58.

nineteenth-century Russian composer Alexander Aliab'ev, who incorporated a wide range of the oriental images available in his time. I suggest that, because of his life experience, Aliab'ev was receptive to both the obvious and subtle interplay of political and historical forces, which helped him to create a new musical image of the Oriental Other (which I will call "a Decembrist image") that was distinct from any western European images. I will compare Aliab'ev's oriental songs with the songs of his contemporary, Alexander Sergeevich Dargomyzhsky (1813-1869), which embodied more westernized images of the feminized and belligerent Orient while using original musical gestures to represent cultural otherness.

3. Alexander Alexandrovich Aliab'ev (1787-1851)

Life and ethnographic experience

Alexander Aliab'ev was born in Tobol'sk (western Siberia) into the family of a civil governor.⁶⁵ His father, Alexander Vasil'evich Aliab'ev, was an official with a rather independent mindset. He played an important role in the development of education in Siberia: his appointment in Tobol'sk is associated with the opening of the first seven people's schools in Siberia, the Tobol'sk theatre, as well as the first private printing house. As a child, the future composer Alexander had at his disposal a peasant horn orchestra and a library of musical scores.⁶⁶ In 1895 the Aliab'ev family moved to

⁶⁵ On the life of Aliab'ev, see B. Steinpress, *Aliab'ev v izgnanii [Ali'ab'ev in Exile]* (Moscow: Gos.Muz.Izdat, 1959); B. Dobrokhotov, *Alexander Aliab'ev. Tvocheskii put'* (Moscow: Muzyka, 1966); O. E. Levasheva, "Aliab'ev," in *Muzykal'naia Entsiklopediia*, vol. 1 (Moscow: Sovetskaia Entsiklopediia, 1973), 130-31; *Istoriia russkoi muzyki*, vol. 5, 29-96.

⁶⁶ Dobrokhotov, 7.

Astrakhan' (in the Caucasus) and then to St. Petersburg, where Alexander Vasil'evich was first appointed as a secret advisor [*tainyi sovetnik*], then a senator, a president of a Mining Agency, a rector of a Mining College and a Mint.

Not much information is available about Aliab'ev's formal education, although later the composer himself pointed out that, besides studying French and German, he had also studied geography, history, and mathematics.⁶⁷ A.A. Aliab'ev started studying piano, theory, and composition seriously from Johan Henrich Miller in St. Petersburg. A well-known composer, theorist, pianist, violinist, and teacher, Miller established himself in St. Petersburg in 1803. He taught a number of famous artists, such as pianist John Field, violinist P. Rode, famous music critic A. Doerfel, Russian composers A.N. Verstovskii, Mikhail Viel'gorskii, and famous literary man and diplomat A.S. Griboiedov. In 1812, when Napoleon's army invaded Russia, Aliab'ev left his civil service position (he worked in a Berg-Office) and joined the third Ukrainian Cossack Regiment. After Napoleon took Moscow, Aliab'ev joined a partisan force under legendary hussar Denis Davydov. Aliab'ev participated in a number of crucial battles in Dresden, Leipzig, and Paris, and for his service he was recognized with several distinctions and the promotion to the rank of lieutenant.⁶⁸

Until November 1823 Aliab'ev continued serving in the army, although he spent more time on a leave of absence. After he resigned from military service, he settled in Moscow. During his early years Aliab'ev wrote music for a number of vaudevilles in collaboration with A.N. Verstovskii, L. Maurer, M. Iu. Viel'gorskii, and F. E. Shol'ts.

⁶⁷ Ibid., 9.

⁶⁸ See Shteinpres, 8-9; Dobrokhoto, 17.

Some of these vaudevilles (*Khlopotun, ili Delo mastera boitsya* [*Mr Bustle, or Work Fears the Master*]) became quite popular.

An event on February 24, 1825 drastically changed Aliab'ev's life. Aliab'ev invited an old acquaintance, retired lieutenant and landlord T.M. Vremev from Voronezh, to his Moscow flat, along with retired Major N.Ia Davydov, Aliab'ev's brother-in-law N.A. Shatilov, I.A. Glebov, and S.A. Kalugin. Vremev and Glebov began a card game, and as a result, Vremev lost 80 000 rubles. Vremev refused to pay and accused Glebov and other players of being card sharks. Aliab'ev slapped Vremev in the face twice. In three days Vremev suddenly died. The first autopsy indicated that Vremev died from a stroke. However, due to Kalugin's denunciation of Aliab'ev, the composer was accused of manslaughter. During the three-year investigation into Vremev's death, Aliab'ev was held in prison. In December 1827, although his guilt was not proven, Aliab'ev was sentenced to exile in Siberia as a "person harmful to society."⁶⁹ Aliab'ev and the other gamblers – Shatilov, Glebov, and Kalugin⁷⁰ – were deprived of their noble titles, military ranks and distinctions. Furthermore, Aliab'ev was forced to perform penance in a church for seven years[!] for a crime he did not commit. Aliab'ev was first exiled to Tobol'sk (his native city) and then to Orenburg (in 1833). In the early 1830s, due to his poor health, the composer was permitted to travel once to the North Caucasus (Stavropol', Piatigorsk, Kislovodsk, in 1832-3). In 1843, towards the end of his life, he was allowed to live in Moscow's suburbs under police supervision but without rights to appear in public.

⁶⁹ Dobrokhotoy, 75.

⁷⁰ Another participant of the event, N.Ia. Davydov, died in the prison. See Dobrokhotoy, 74.

Most of Aliab'ev's biographers agree that he was not exiled for murder, but because of his connection to the most "dangerous" writers, who were later tagged as Decembrists: Piotr Alexanderovich Mukhanov (1799-1854),⁷¹ Alexander Alexandrovich Bestuzhev-Marlinsky (1797-1837), and Fedor Nikolaevich Glinka (1786-1880). Since the early 1820s Aliab'ev had frequented a number of St. Petersburg's artistic and aristocratic circles, several of which were associated with the Decembrist movement, such as "A Green Lamp" [*Zelenaia lamp*], a literary society organized by a violinist and singer N.V. Vsevolozhskii, as well as an artistic circle headed by N.I. Khmel'nitskii. After moving to Moscow, the composer continued to meet regularly with members of Moscow's Decembrist secret society, such as A.A. Tuchkov, G.A. Rimski-Korsakov, and P.N. Svistunov.⁷² The latter was considered especially dangerous because of his involvement in the plot to kill Alexander I.⁷³

In spite of all its unpleasant aspects, exile provided Aliab'ev with different musical environments and put him in direct cultural and musical contact with Asian peoples. His years spent in Russia's Southern and Asian peripheries – the Caucasus (1832-33) and Orenburg (1833-35) – helped him to become extremely receptive to Oriental culture and music, and this unique experience left a deep mark on his musical language. The list of his oriental works includes transcriptions and arrangements of

⁷¹ Second lieutenant of the Izmail Regiment, P.A. Mukhanov and P.N. Arapov wrote a libretto for Aliab'ev's comic opera *Lunnaia noch ili Domovye* (1822). See Dobrokhoto, 27-8.

⁷² See Dobrokhoto, 33, 35, 262 (fn. 9). A Green Lamp had twenty-one members, including the most ardent Decembrists poet Fedor Glinka, Sergei Trubetskoi and A. D Ulybyshev. Among the visitors of the society's meetings were also famous poets A.S. Pushkin, A.A. Del'vig, N. Gnedich. See B.L. Modzalevskii, "K istorii 'Zelenoi Lampy'," in *Dekabristy i ikh vremya*, vol. 1 (Moscow, 1928); P.E. Shchegolev, "Zelenaia lamp," in *Iz zhizni i tvorchestva Pushkina* (Moscow: Gos. Izdat.Khud.Lit., 1931); Fedorov, *Dekabristy*, 67-68.

⁷³ Fedorov, *Dekabristy*, 241.

original Asian tunes for piano and voice, art songs, a melodrama based on Pushkin's *The Prisoner of the Caucasus* (1829), *Two Caucasian Mazurkas* (1834), *Bashkir Overture* (1834), *French Quadrille from Asian Songs* (1834), the opera *Ammalat-Bek* (1842-47, on a poem by A.A. Bestuzhev-Marlinsky), as well as *Circassian Dances* and *Circassian Overture in f-moll*.⁷⁴ Such a wide variety of genres of musical works with oriental subjects or of oriental origins demonstrates the composer's genuine interest in Oriental culture.

Two years spent in the Caucasus inspired Aliab'ev to write a number of musical works, some of which were based on the composer's transcriptions of local tunes.⁷⁵ Aliab'ev's sketchbook reveals the composer as a careful ethnographer. Not only did he identify the ethnic origin of some tunes, but he also often recorded a genre or a region in which a particular tune was transcribed.⁷⁶ Furthermore, Aliab'ev's interest in the Asian/Caucasian music was so strong that he tried to notate songs with original texts in Russian transliteration without speaking any oriental language.⁷⁷ As Dobrokhotoy suggests, Aliab'ev's ethnographic experience might have been enriched by witnessing Muslim festivals that usually took place in the villages near Piatigorsk. Guests of the

⁷⁴ He transcribed and arranged two Tatar, one Bashkir, and one Kyrgyz song. For detailed analyses of four *Asian Songs*, see Boris S. Steinpress, "Aziatskie pesni Aliab'eva" [Asian Songs by Aliab'ev], in *Aliab'ev v izgnanii* [*Ali'ab'ev in Exile*] (Moscow: Gos.Muz.Izdat, 1959), 91-98; for a detailed analysis of melodic construction of the *French Quadrille* and its Asian sources, see L. Karagicheva, "Liubopytnyi dokument 'Russkogo orientalisa'," *Sovetskaia Muzyka* 2 (Feb., 1974): 89-96.

⁷⁵ During his second year in the Caucasus (1833) Aliab'ev was particularly attracted to local musical culture, so he transcribed several Caucasian vocal and instrumental tunes and incorporated them into his compositions. Later I will discuss two songs composed in this period and published immediately after Aliab'ev's trip to the Caucasus (1834) – "Kabardian" and "Georgian" songs -- both of which are clearly marked by local musical culture.

⁷⁶ See, for instance, *The French Quadrille from Asian Songs*.

⁷⁷ Dobrokhotoy, 206.

Piatigorsk resort often went to neighbouring auls (villages) to see the celebration of bairam (a Muslim festival that follows the ninth or the fasting month of Ramadan, and usually falls in the summertime). One of Aliab'ev's contemporaries described a festivity that took place only five verstas from Piatigorsk in the middle of the 1820s in a popular Russian journal *Otechestvennye zapiski [Notes of the Fatherland]*.⁷⁸

Another source for Aliab'ev's ethnographic knowledge could have been a famous local Kabardian musician, who used to perform Asian tunes at the mineral resorts.⁷⁹ The auditory experience of living in the Caucasus had such an impact on Aliab'ev that even ten years later the composer used material gathered in the early 1830s in his opera *Ammalat-Bek*. In the 1830s, Aliab'ev published two collections of art songs and songs: *Kavkazskii pevets [The Caucasian Singer]* (1834-5) and *Novosel'e [House-Warming]* (1834). Out of twelve songs from *Kavkazskii pevets* two are devoted to an oriental subject: *Kabardian song* and *Georgian song* (which I will discuss later). One song from *Novosel'e* is on an oriental subject, *Liubovnik rozy solovei*. This song alludes to the Orient, as the song's lyrics are Kozlov's translation of a verse from Byron's *Bride of Abydos*.

The next station in Aliab'ev's life after Tobol'sk was Orenburg, a city on the Ural River dividing Russian East from West. In Orenburg, the composer had a chance to hear not only the music of people living in remote regions of Russia, but he also heard music from the regions not yet conquered by Russia, Khiva and Bukhara. For a long time Orenburg was a military outpost on the frontier of the Kyrgyz-Kaissak steppes. From an intellectual point of view, the city could be characterized as a "typical provincial

⁷⁸ *Versta* is an old Russian measure of distance: one *versta* equals 1.6 km.

⁷⁹ See Shteinpres, *Aliab'ev v izgnanii*, 68.

backwater,” with a very uneducated population and no library.⁸⁰ However, as a merchant city, Orenburg offered a number of opportunities. It was in Orenburg that people from different regions of Russia and the Russian frontiers came to buy and sell their goods. Caravans from Bukhara and Khiva, as well as from China and India, came through the city. In addition, horses, flocks of sheep, and herds of cattle were brought to Orenburg by nomadic Kyrgyz-Kaissaks. Instrumental and vocal music was also a part of Orenburg’s cultural exchange.

In Orenburg, inspired by local musical tradition, Aliab’ev wrote his *Bashkir Overture*, in which he used an original Bashkir melody passed on to him Vasilii Nikolaevich Verstovskii, the brother of a famous early-nineteenth-century Russian composer. Aliab’ev also arranged four Asian songs, which he dedicated to Orenburg’s general-governor Vasilii Alekseevich Perovskii.⁸¹ Aliab’ev’s stay in Orenburg was also enriched by the ethnographic experience he gained in Tashla village, where he travelled with his new friends – the Timashev family.⁸² In Tashla Aliab’ev transcribed a number of original Bashkir, Kyrgyz, and Tatar folk tunes.⁸³

⁸⁰ Knight, “Grigor’ev in Orenburg 1851-1862: Russian Orientalism in the Service of Empire,” *Slavic Review* 59 (2000): 82.

⁸¹ One of Aliab’ev’s friends and supervisors, Perovskii, sympathized with the composer. For a short time after the war with Napoleon, Perovskii himself was a member of a Decembrist movement. The Perovskii family was part of the literary-artistic circles of Russia: among Vasilii’s close friends were the poets A.S. Pushkin, Viazemskii, Zhukovskii, Del’vig, Krylov, and V.I. Dal’, the latter the philologist and author of the magnum opus *Explanatory Dictionary of the Living Great Russian Language* [*Tolkovyĭ slovar’ zhivogo velikorusskogo iazyka*]. See Dobrokhoto, 138-9.

⁸² During the 1812-1814 war Egor Nikolaevich Timashev, similar to Aliab’ev, served in a partisan detachment and participated in a number of battles. His wife, Ekaterina, was a poetess and knew A.S. Pushkin well. Dobrokhoto, 147.

⁸³ Dobrokhoto, 148-50.

In 1835, due to Perovskii's petition, Nicolas I finally granted Aliab'ev permission to live near Moscow. When Aliab'ev left Orenburg, his first-hand long-term contact with Asian culture was over.⁸⁴ However, Aliab'ev later used his musical ethnographic discoveries from Asia. In 1843 the composer set Lermontov's *A Circassian Song* and later, in 1847, just four years before his death, he finished writing his opera *Ammalat-Bek*, which was set in the Caucasus.⁸⁵ Thus, throughout Aliab'ev's entire life Asia remained a source of inspiration.

Aliab'ev's Oriental Art Songs

Aliab'ev's earliest attempt at creating the musical orient was undertaken in the late 1820s, before his trip to the Caucasus (**See Table 1**). In 1828-29 he wrote dramatic music for Pushkin's *Kavkazskii plennik* [*The Prisoner of the Caucasus*]. One song from it, a "Circassian Song," was published separately twice, in 1829 and 1831. As Dobrokhotoev has observed, the entire score of *The Prisoner* is free from any element suggesting an oriental setting.⁸⁶ On the local level, the "Circassian Song" also presents no evidence of the composer's musical acquaintance with this region (**Example 3.1**).

⁸⁴ He traveled to Crimea only once, in the summer of 1839. This trip did not leave as much of a musical impression on him as his 1832-1833 stay in the Caucasus.

⁸⁵ Aliab'ev came up with the idea to write an opera set in the Caucasus in 1838. A short article published in *Severnaia pchela* informed the readers that Aliab'ev brought from the Caucasus "something charmingly beautiful, the sounds of which have not been known to Europe yet, [they are] breathing with the mountain storms, and [...] new life. They say Aliab'ev is planning to publish these mountain songs" ["chto-to ocharovatel'no prekrasnoe, zvuki, kotorykh Evropa eshche ne znala, ot kotorykh veet gormyni buriami, v kotorykh slyshna novaia zhizn'. Skazyvaiut chto Aliab'ev nameren izdat' eti gorskie pesni"]. See Dobrokhotoev, 175.

⁸⁶ Dobrokhotoev, 82-84.

Table 1: Aliab'ev's (art-)songs with oriental subject

Year	Title (author of the lyrics)	Geography /ethnos	Content	Musical elements
1829	"Cherkesskaia pesnia" (Pushkin)	Circassians (Caucasus)	Cossacks, beware of Chechens!	d-minor; refrain - declamatory style (repetition of <i>d</i> in voice and piano acc.)
1830	"Irtys' (I. Vetter)	river in Central Asia	Loneliness in exile; self-reflection	f-minor; a typical Western European art-song; AB-form
1834	"Liubovnik rozy, solovei" (Byron-I. Kozlov)	Turkish?	Rose and nightingale (Sufi type of poetry)	A-Major; ABA-form (B-recitative) chromatic oscillation in piano; vocal melody - 6ths up and down (in section B)
1834	"Kabardinskaia pesn'" (A. Bestuzhev-Marlinsky)	Kabarda (Caucasus)	"Na kazbek sletelis' tuchi": a Mulla's prayer saves Caucasian mountaineers from Russian soldiers	g-minor; drone in piano, unison of vocal melody and accompaniment, syncopations and incorrect syllabic stresses, Phrygian mode, trill on the first beat
1834	"Gruzinskaia Pesnia" (L. Iakubovich)	Georgia	"Plachet deva gor": A mountain maiden cries to keep attention of a Russian man	G-major; drone in piano, slow harmonic rhythm, undemanding progression
1834	"Cherkes" (V. Alyab'ev)	Circassians (Caucasus)	A Circassian commits suicide after realizing that his aul is seized by the Russians	g-minor; occasional drone in piano, syncopations; incorrect syllabic stresses
1843	"Cherkesskaia pesnia" (M. Lermontov)	Circassians (Caucasus)	There are many beautiful maidens in our mountains, but my advice is to buy a horse instead of a bride	b-minor → G-major; AB form; Andante → Allegretto; fast passages (sometimes with aug.2) in piano acc.
1833-1835? Cycle <i>Aziatskie pesni</i>	1. "Bashkirskaya Pesnia"	Bashkir	"Cherez kladku ia proidusia": lyrical song	G-major/minor: 2 melodies (slow in major and fast in minor); coloratura in voice is echoed by piano; drone; pentatonic scale
	2. "Kirgizskaya Pesnia" (N.V.)	Kyrgyz	"Zachem ia ne gornyi orel molodoi": if I were a mountain eagle, I would take you, Zuleika, to your home - a wild cliff	A-Major; ABA-form (B-recitative) chromatic oscillation in piano; vocal melody - 6ths up and down (in B)

	3. "Bashkirskaiia Pesnia (N.V.)	Bashkir	"Mezh granitnymi skalami": a maiden asks a sea, wind, and raven to convey a farewell to her beloved	E-major/minor; ABC-form; drone, simple harmony; the melody is also found in Rybakov's song collection
	4. "Turkmenskaia Pesnia"	Turkmen	"Skazal nash khan bogatyriam pokhod": our khan has ordered to prepare for a war with Kyzyl-bashi and my Girei is also going there	C-major; plagal harmony, drone; chromatic passages in acc.
Lost	Arrangement of the Bashkir folk song about Salavat Iulaiev	Baskir	Lost	

Perhaps the lack of oriental *couleur locale* can also be explained by a certain confusion in the song's text: although Pushkin called the song "Circassian," the Circassians are not present in it at all; instead, other Caucasian people, the Chechens, are the subject of the song's refrain. The peaceful lifestyle of the Cossacks described in the couplets (fishing and dancing) is always interrupted by the words of warning in the refrain: the Cossacks are urged to be careful since there are dangerous Chechens on the other side of the river waiting for the perfect moment to attack them. In Aliab'ev's music the two opposing worlds are represented by different modes: minor for the Cossacks and major for the Chechens mentioned in the refrain. In spite of its major tonality, this section sounds dark because of its declamatory style: only one note is repeated in the vocal line and the bass of the accompaniment that conveys the state of tense anxiety (or maybe even fear).

Example 3.1 Aliab'ev, "Cherkesskaia pesnia," mm. 15-21

Poco vivace *mf*

1. 2. 3. че-че - нец хо-дит за ре-кой,

че-че - нец хо-дит за ре-кой.

В реке бежит гремящий вал;
В горах безмолвие ночное;
Казак усталый задремал,
Склонясь на копье стальное.
Не спи, казак: во тьме ночной
Чеченец ходит за рекой.

Казак плывет на челноке,
Влача по дну речному сети.
Казак, утонешь ты в реке,
Как тонут маленькие дети,
Купаясь жаркою порой:
Чеченец ходит за рекой.

In the river runs the rattling wave;
Silence night covers the mountains;
A tired Cossack slumbered,
Leaning on a steel spear.
Do not sleep, Cossack: in the darkness
A Chechen walks beside the river.

The Cossack floats on a dugout,
Dragging nets on the river's bed.
Cossack, you will drown in the river,
As small children drown,
Bathing when it is hot:
A Chechen walks beside the river.

На берегу заветных вод Цветут богатые станицы; Веселый пляшет хоровод. Бегите, русские певичцы, Спешите, красные домой: Чеченец ходит за рекой.	On coast of cherished waters Flourish rich <i>stanitsas</i> ; ⁸⁷ Cheerful the round dance dances. Run, Russian singers, Hasten, beautiful, home: A Chechen walks beside the river.

At least two other composers set Pushkin's "Circassian Song" before Aliab'ev: Czech-born composer Iosif Iosifovich Genishta (1795-1853) and Louis W. Maurer, a violinist and director of the Riabovo amateur symphony orchestra (Riabovo is a village situated eleven verst of Petersburg).⁸⁸ Genishta's "Circassian Song" was first published in 1822 as an Annex to the *Lady's Journal* [*Damskii zhurnal*] and Maurer's version was first published in 1823 as an Annex to the German translation of Pushkin's *Prisoner* by A. Wulfert.⁸⁹ Aliab'ev probably knew both settings of "Circassian Song" since in the early 1820s he was well acquainted with both composers. How then does Aliab'ev's setting differ from those of his predecessors?

Genishta's "Circassian Song" has highly dramatic character transmitted via a sweeping gesture in the vocal line that outlines a minor tonic chord, followed by a leap down an octave from the fifth scale degree (**Example 3.2**).⁹⁰ Unlike the vocal line, the harmonies in Genishta's song are rather uneventful: they turn around two functions – tonic and dominant.

⁸⁷ *Stanitsa* is a village inside the Cossack host.

⁸⁸ Dobrokhoto, 30.

⁸⁹ See Genishta's "Circassian Song" in *Damskii zhurnal* 1, no. 1 (1823) and in V. Shebalin, ed., *Pushkin v Romansakh i pesniakh ego sovremennikov (s 1816 do 1836 g.)* (Moscow: Muzgiz, 1936), 4-6. L. Maurer, "Tscherkessenlied," in *Der Berggefangene von Alexander Puschkin, aus dem Russischen übersetzt. Geduckt in der Buchdruckerei der besondern Kanzellei des Ministeriums des Innern. 1823* (St. Petersburg: E.I. Ol'dekop, 1823); also in *Pushkin v romansakh i pesniakh ego sovremennikov*, 202-03.

⁹⁰ The beginning of Genishta's song sounds like the theme of Paganini's famous *Capriccio* no. 24.

Example 3.2 Iosif Genishta's "Circassian Song," mm. 1-8

The musical score for Iosif Genishta's "Circassian Song," measures 1-8, is presented in two systems. The first system shows measures 1-4, and the second system shows measures 5-8. The score is in 2/4 time, key of D major, and marked [Allegro]. The vocal line (Голос) is written in a single staff, and the piano accompaniment (Ф-п.) is written in two staves. The lyrics are in Russian: "1. Вре . ке бе . . жит гре . му чий вал; В го . рах бе . змо . лви . е но . чно . е; Ка".

Maurer's rendition of Pushkin's text ("Tscherkessenlied") contrasts drastically with Genishta's setting: it has an extravagant harmonic progression, non-square phrase structure, and no coherent melodic line normally associated with the song genre, sounding instead like accompanied recitative. It opens with a five-measure recitative-like melody that right from the beginning tonicizes the second scale degree and then moves through the minor sixth and minor third chords to the dominant and C-major tonic in measure 7 (**Example 3.3**). The second half of Maurer's "Tscherkessenlied" continues to spin out unconventional harmonies: a half-diminished chord on the sharp fourth scale degree is followed by a dominant to the third scale degree (measure 9); then a diminished chord (to the second scale degree) with a *b* (not belonging to the chord) in the bass moves to the dominant of the third scale degree which is tonicized twice via the dominant

Example 3.3 Louis W. Maurer, "Tscherkessenlied"

Allegro moderato

Голос

1. Es wallt des Stro - mes Don - ner.flut, die
*) 1. Вре - ке бе - жит гре - му - чий вал; В го -

Allegro moderato

Ф-п.

p

sostenuto

Ber - ge stehn im Mon - den.glan - ze und der Ko.sak er.mü.det
- рах бе.змо - лви - е но.чно - е; Ка.зак у.ста.лый за.дре -

p

ruht,
- мал, ge.lehnt an sei - ne Ei - sen - lan - ze.
Склонясь на ко - пи - е ста - льно - е.

p e sostenuto

Schlaf nicht, Ko.sak, geh dei - nen Gang: der Berg.sohn schleicht den Strom ent.lan.g.
Не спи, ка.зак: вóтьме но - чной Че - че - нец хо - дит за ре.кой.

p

harmony (measure 11). The last two and half measures finally establish the tonic of C-Major.

Perhaps for Maurer, as for any other early-nineteenth-century European composer, the world beyond Europe meant the absence of European logic and European musical conventions. Maurer's "Tscherkessenlied" might be one of the first examples in which an unconventional harmonic language is used to represent otherness.⁹¹ Approximately at the same time, Franz Schubert set August von Platen-Hallermünde's ghazal "Du liebst mich nicht," which evokes the oriental world with similar means. In Schubert's setting, as David Gramit argues, an "active violation of conventional logics" creates an effect of harmonic rather than melodic allusion to the oriental style. By using extravagant modulations, tonal chromaticism, and no V-I resolutions, Schubert explored new ways in constructing an oriental identity and evoked "new patterns of emotion and experience associated with the Orient."⁹² When Maurer composed his "Tscherkessenlied" he definitely did not use Schubert's "Du liebst mich nicht" as a model, since Schubert's Lied was not published until 1826. Thus, it is striking that both Schubert and Maurer draw on a similar orientation towards syntax in order to create a musical representation of the Orient.

Fourteen years later, in 1843, Aliab'ev wrote another "Circassian Song" but with a different text by Mikhail Lermontov. Unlike Aliab'ev's setting of Pushkin's poem, this setting suggests that Aliab'ev was acquainted with Caucasian folklore. The song consists

⁹¹ Maurer's song was published in 1823, but could not have been composed before 1821 (the year Pushkin's *The Prisoner* was published).

⁹² See D. Gramit, "Orientalism in the Lied: Schubert's 'Du liebst mich nicht,'" *Nineteenth-Century Music* 27 (2003): 115.

of two parts: the first describes the beauty of oriental women with “night and stars in their eyes” and the second advises a young man to buy a horse instead of wedding a beauty.

Много дев у нас в горах, Ночь и звезды в их очах; С ними жить завидна доля, - Но еще милее воля! Не женися, молодец, Слушайся меня: На те деньги, молодец, Ты купи коня! Кто жениться захотел, Тот худой избрал удел, С русским в бой он не поскачет: Отчего? - жена заплачет! Не женися, молодец, Слушайся меня: На те деньги, молодец, Ты купи коня! Не изменит добрый конь: С ним - и в воду и в огонь; Он как вихрь в степи широкой, С ним - все близко, что далеко. Не женися, молодец, Слушайся меня: На те деньги, молодец, Ты купи коня!	There are many maidens in our mountains, Night and stars are in their eyes; To live with them is an enviable lot,- But freedom is lovelier still! Do not marry, young man, Listen to me: With that money, young man, Buy yourself a horse! The one who decided to marry, Has chosen himself bad destiny, He will not gallop into a fight with a Russian: Why? His wife will cry! Do not marry, young man, Listen to me: With that money, young man, Buy yourself a horse! A good horse will not betray you: You can go with it through thick and thin; It is like a whirlwind in the wide steppe, With it - all that is distant is close. Do not marry, young man, Listen to me: With that money, young man, Buy yourself a horse!

From the context of the song it is difficult to determine the ethnic origin of the male protagonist, and hence, it is difficult to argue that this song exemplifies the Russian colonial attitude towards oriental women. Rather, Lermontov’s readers might have perceived this song as a translation of an original Circassian song since the poem is performed by the Circassians in the poet’s narrative poem *Izmail-Bey* and the song’s

poetic and structural features differ drastically from the rest of the narrative poem.⁹³

Some Soviet researchers, such as L.M. Semenov and A.S. Andreev-Krivich, insist that the motif of this song – an opposition between a woman and a horse with the preference for the horse –originated from the folklore of the Caucasian mountaineers.⁹⁴ Others, such as V.A. Manuilov and B.V. Tomashevskii, claim that a similar opposition between a woman and a horse also can be found in the Russian song “Ty, duma moia, dumushka” [You, my thought] from an eighteenth-century collection of Russian folksongs, which Lermontov probably knew.⁹⁵ Thus, it would have been difficult to convince nineteenth-century Russian listeners who read Lermontov’s narrative poems that the text of “Circassian Song” exhibited the attitude of the colonizer.

As for the musical evocation of the Circassians: a little gesture at the very end clearly underlines the song’s oriental character. The piano interlude consists of four fast passages, two of which are based on the scale with an augmented second (**Example 3.4a**).

This might be one of the earliest uses of the scale with an augmented second in relation to the oriental world in art song. Previously, as Jonathan Bellman observed,

⁹³ See Mikhail Lermontov, *Sochineniia* [Works] (Moscow: Pravda, 1988), 317.

⁹⁴ See L.P. Semenov, *Lermontov i fol'klor Kavkaza* (Piatigorsk: Ordjonikidzevskoe kraevoe izdatel'stvo, 1941), 36, 79; S.A. Andreev-Krivich, *Lermontov. Voprosy tvorchestva i biografii* (Moscow: Izd. AN SSSR, 1954), 76.

⁹⁵ See V.A. Manuilov, *Roman M.Iu. Lermontova 'Geroi nashego vremeni.' Kommentarii* (Moscow, Leningrad: Prosveshchenie, 1966), 102; *Lermontov: Sochineniia v shesti tomakh*, N.F. Bel'chikov, B.P. Gorodetskii, B.V. Tomashevskii, eds. (Moscow-Leningrad: AN SSSR, 1954-57), vol. 3, 324. Furthermore, Manuilov points out that this song was recycled for Kazbich, the Chechen bandit from Lermontov’s famous *Hero of Our Time*. Manuilov, *Roman M. Iu. Lermontova*, 102.

augmented seconds were used in western-European music as a part of *style hongrois*.⁹⁶

The effect of an augmented second, “whether achieved through manipulating the Gypsy Scale, or simply through arbitrary harmonic motion,” according to Bellman, is

Example 3.4 a) Aliab’ev, “Cherkesskaia pesnia” (1843), mm. 16-21; b) Aliab’ev’s transcription of an oriental/Asian folksong

a)

b)

unmistakable in the trio of the third movement of Schubert's C-major quintet and in many other examples from the beginning of the nineteenth century.⁹⁷ However, it is important

⁹⁶ See Schubert's, *Divertissement à la Hongroise*, D. 818, no. 3, or his *Mélodie hongroise*, D. 817. For a more detailed analysis of the Style hongrois, see Jonathan Bellman, "Toward a Lexicon for the Style Hongrois," *The Journal of Musicology* 9, no. 2 (Spring, 1991): 214-37.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 235.

to note that Aliab'ev's augmented second comes from his own personal musical experience in Russia's orient, not as a part of western-European musical language. One short melody in Aliab'ev's sketchbook, in which he notated the original Caucasian/Asian tunes, has a passage that opens with an augmented second and closes in the Phrygian mode (**Example 3.4b**).⁹⁸

Although the Phrygian mode is not found in any of Aliab'ev's melodies, it appears in the harmony of another song with an oriental subject. In Kabardian Song "Na Kazbek sletelis' tuchi" [Storm-Clouds have Gathered around Kazbek], at the end of each couplet a dominant harmony appears in Phrygian mode, that is, with a lowered second scale degree, forming a dominant 4/3 with a flat 5 (**Example 3.5a**).⁹⁹ The Phrygian sound is particularly audible since it occurs in the bass line and as the final gesture of the song (see last two measures). "Kabardian Song," from Aliab'ev's opera *Ammalat-Bek* (written after Alexander Bestuzhev-Marlinky's oeuvre of the same name), is significant for a number of reasons and is probably one of the most interesting examples of the type of oriental song that I call "Decembrist."

⁹⁸ B. Dobrokhoto, *Alexander Aliab'ev. Tvocheskii put'*, 206. It is important to note that in Aliab'ev's sketchbook one can find two Kyrgyz melodies from Levshin's *Opisanie Kirgiz-Kazach'ikh ili Kirgiz-Kaisakskikh ord i stepei* [*Description of Kyrgyz-Kazak or Kyrgyz-Kaisak's Hordes and Steppes*], discussed in Chapter Two. As Dobrokhoto points out, he used these melodies in his opera *Ammalat-bek*. Ibid., 206-07. This means that Aliab'ev carefully studied sources that included transcriptions of Asian melodies available during his time.

⁹⁹ *Kazbek* is an extinct volcano in the central Caucasus Mountains, between the Georgian Republic and the Russian Federation.

Aliab'ev and Decembrist Orientalism

The Kabardian Song “Na Kazbek sletelis’ tuchi” tells about the mountaineers fleeing from the Russian army to a forest; at a critical moment, when the Russians are about to catch the mountaineers, a Muslim mullah prays for help: “Ish Allah! Don’t give us away!” Suddenly, the forest appears and saves the mountaineers by covering them.

Example 3.5 Aliab’ev, “Kabardinskaia pesnia,” mm. 1-16

Moderato

1. На Каз-

tr *fp*

- бек сле - те - лись ту - чи, слов - но
- стах под - ки по - го - ни, за - не -

p *fp*

pp *p*

гор.ны-е ор - лы, им на - встре - чу на ска-
- сен и штык, и меч, смерть-ю се - ет - ся кар -

- ле уз - де - ней от - ряд ле - гу - чий!
 - течь... Нет спасе - нья в си - ле, в бро - не.

Вы - ше, вы - ше, кру - че, кру - че,
 Ве - гу, бе - гу, ко - ни, ко - ни!

ска - чет, рус - ски - ми раз - бит, след их
 Па - ли вы... а да - ле - ка кре - пость

кро - ви - ю ки - пит, след их кро - ви - ю ки - пит.
 гор - но - го лес - ка, кре - пость гор - но - го лес - ка.

На Казбек слетелись тучи,
 Словно горные орлы.
 Им навстречу, на скалы
 Узденей отряд летучий!
 Выше, выше, круче, круче

Storm-clouds have gathered around Kazbek
 As mountain eagles.
 Towards them, on the cliffs
 Is galloping a detachment of *uzden*'!¹⁰⁰
 Higher, higher, steeper, steeper,

¹⁰⁰ *Uzdeni* are people who belong to the class of feudal nobility in Kabarda and Dagestan.

Скачет, русскими разбит: След их кровью кипит.	Is galloping [the detachment], defeated by Russians. Their track is hot with blood.
На хвостах полки погони; Занесен и штык, и меч; Смертью сеется картечь... Нет спасенья в силе, в броне... "Бегу, бегу, кони, кони!" Пали вы... а далека Крепость горного леска.	There are [Russian] regiments close behind; A sword and a bayonet are unsheathed; Rifle shot is sowing death... There is no salvation in strength or armour... "Run, run, horses, horses!" You have fallen ... but still faraway Is the fortress of the mountain glove.
Сердце наших - русских мета... На колени пал мулла - И молитва, как стрела, До пророка Магомета, В море света, в небо света, Полетела, понеслась: "Иш-Алла, не выдай нас!"	The Russians are aiming at our hearts... A mullah has fallen on his knees – And his prayer, as an arrow, Up to the prophet Mahomet, To the sea of light, to the sky of light, Has flown, has rushed: "Ish-Allah, do not give us away!"
Нет спасенья ниоткуда! Вдруг, по манию небес, Зашумел далекий лес: Веет, плещет, катит грудой, Ниже, ближе, чудо, чудо!.. Мусульмане спасены Средь лесистой крутизны.	There is no salvation anywhere! Suddenly, by the will of heaven, Is heard the murmurs of a distant forest: Blows around, rolls a heap, Lower, closer, a miracle, a miracle!.. The Moslems find safety Within the steep grove.

Russian/Soviet musicologist Vera Alekseevna Vasina-Grossman points out the similarity between Bestuzhev-Marlinsky's "Kabardian Song" and a poem by Alexander Griboedov "Khishchniki na Chegeme" [Predators on the Chegem] (1825), written in the best tradition of Decembrist romanticism.¹⁰¹ Griboedov's poem is written from the perspective of a mountain dweller who describes the fate of the captured Russians in the Caucasus as a mere exchange of one type of tyranny for another:

¹⁰¹ V. A. Vasina-Grossman, *Russkii klassicheskii romans XIX veka* [Russian Nineteenth-Century Classical Artsong] (Moscow: Izat Akademii Nauk, 1956), 47-48.

Узников удел обычный, – Над рабами высока Их стяжателей рука. Узы – жребий им приличный; В их земле и свет темничный! И ужасен ли обмен? Дома – цепи! В чуже – плен!	Prisoners will suffer the usual fate, -- High above the slaves Is the arm of their greedy owners. Chains are the fate that befits them; In their land even the light is that of a dark prison! And is the exchange so terrible? Chains at home, captivity abroad!

According to Vasina-Grossman, Bestuzhev-Marlinsky's "Kabardian Song" could have been written under the direct influence of Griboedov's "Predators," since the former was well acquainted with the poem, and because the "Kabardian Song" exactly replicates the meter, rhyme pattern, the number of lines in the verse (in short, the stanzaic form) of Griboedov's poem.¹⁰² However, according to Alexander Bestuzhev-Marlinsky, his "Kabardian Song" is almost a literal translation of a real Kabardian song that he heard during his exile in the Caucasus.¹⁰³ In any case, the allusion to the Decembrist poems, with their characteristic evocation of the mountain landscape as a trope of resistance to Russian rule, and the association of the freedom-loving peoples of the mountains with the progressive Russian who falls under tsarist oppression clearly connects this song with the Decembrist aesthetic and political model.

How might the musical elements contribute to the creation of a Decembrist type of song? Did Aliab'ev leave a particular imprint on the score, which would distinguish this song from the rest of his oriental songs? Vasina-Grossman characterizes Aliab'ev's "Kabardian Song" as "savage, warlike [...], and] remote from the traditional understanding of the 'oriental art song'," and suggests that it offers a more "vivid and

¹⁰² Vasina-Grossman, 48.

¹⁰³ Ibid., 48.

realistic” rendition of oriental images.¹⁰⁴ Indeed, several characteristics contribute to the sombre, dark but energetic quality of the song: a long perfect fifth drone in the left hand, occasional unison of the vocal melody and the accompaniment, syncopations, the Phrygian colour added several times to the dominant harmony, the trill on the first beat, and the sparse texture that minimizes any distraction away from the dark mood.

However, drones, syncopations, and the Phrygian mode can be found in Aliab’ev’s other songs. Only one element – an unusual text-music alignment – can, and probably should be, considered a particular gesture of Aliab’ev’s Decembrist type of song. In measures 7 and 16 on words “tuchi,” “pogoni,” and “letuchii” Aliab’ev uses incorrect syllabic stress. There are two possible reasons for Aliab’ev’s text-music alignment. He could have used an incorrect stressing because he wanted to introduce syncopation that is characteristic of Caucasian music. Or he might have used one of the original Caucasian tunes and intentionally avoided musical “corrections” by imposing linguistically appropriate Russian stresses (**Example 3.5**, mm. 7 and 16). In both cases, by not “correcting” the music and keeping syncopations that result in incorrect pronunciation, Aliab’ev creates a new musical language that underlines the existence of a distinct linguistic and musical accent, thus allowing the Other to be the Other, or express its Otherness through music.

¹⁰⁴ Vasina-Grossman distinguishes four new types of songs in early nineteenth-century Russian music: 1) Russian song, 2) elegy, 3) ballade, and 4) (art-) songs in dance rhythm. However, she does not articulate songs with oriental motifs as an independent category of songs. Instead, she points out that many songs written in different dance genres often allude to Spanish subjects, which implies that the oriental song is a subcategory of songs written in dance rhythm. Vasina-Grossman’s classification cannot be applied to Aliab’ev’s oriental songs since not many of them are in dance rhythm. See Vasina-Grossman, “Bytovoi romans pervoi poloviny XIX veka,” in *Russkii klassicheskii romans*, 1-69.

It is likely that Aliab'ev used an original folktune indirectly related to musical tradition of peoples living in the Caucasus. Aliab'ev's "Kabardian Song" melodically and rhythmically resembles a Ukrainian ritual song-*vesnianka* (also spelled as *vesnyanka*) "Oi zore zoren'ko," arranged by Alexander Aliab'ev himself (**Example 3.6**), which, in its

Example 3.6 Ukrainian folksong "Oi, zore, zoren'ko"

Andante sostenuto

Ой зо - ре, зо - рень - ко, зо - ра!

З ким ти, Ма - ру - сю, ото - я - ла?

turn, resembles a melody of one Circassian tune.¹⁰⁵ The "amazing similarity" between "Oi zore zoren'ko" and the Circassian tune was noted for the first time by Maximovich in the commentary to his 1834 publication of a collection of twenty-five Ukrainian songs,

¹⁰⁵ M. Maximovich, *Golosa ukrainskikh pesen* [*The Voices of Ukrainian Songs*], ed. B. Steinpress (Moscow: Gos. Muz. Izdat, 1961), 25-26.

which includes “Oi zore zoren’ko.”¹⁰⁶ Indeed, it is hard to deny the obvious resemblance between the melodic contours and syncopated rhythms of Aliab’ev’s “Kabardinskaia pesnia” and the traditional *vesnianka* from Maximovich’s collection.¹⁰⁷ Although there is a disagreement on the ethnic provenance of the song (Maximovich points out the link to a Circassian song, while Aliab’ev calls it “Kabardian”), it is possible that this tune was popular among many different ethnic groups living in the Caucasus. Hence, it would be unfair to accuse Aliab’ev of homogenizing oriental peoples just because he called a “Circassian” tune “Kabardian.” Furthermore, the Kabardian language belongs to the eastern branch of the Circassian group of languages and is sometimes considered to be a dialect of the Circassian language.¹⁰⁸ It is probably not a coincidence, then, that Aliab’ev interchanged “Kabardian” and “Circassian:” he used the opening of the “Kabardian Song” in his *Circassian Overture* (with a more acute rhythmic pattern), which was conceived as an overture for the opera *Ammalat-bek*.¹⁰⁹ Finally, the title of the song might have been dictated by Bestuzhev’s poem, in which this song appears under the name “Kabardian.”

¹⁰⁶ *Vesnianka* is a ritual love song performed during spring rites. As Soviet musicologist Sheinpress suggests, Aliab’ev himself could have pointed out to Maximovich the similarity of the Ukrainian tune with the Circassian song. See Shteinpres, *Golosa*, 134.

¹⁰⁷ At the end of the nineteenth century, the link between the music of Russian oriental (southern) neighbours and Russian/Ukrainian folksongs resonated especially clearly in music-theory treatises. Refer to chapter five of this dissertation for more information on why and how Russian theorists articulated this concept.

¹⁰⁸ As Michael Khodarkovsky points out, the Kabardians living in the North Caucasus were often referred to as Circassians. See Khodarkovsky, “‘Ignoble Savages and Unfaithful Subjects’: Constructing Non-Christian Identities in Early Modern Russia,” in *Russia’s Orient. Imperial Borderlands and Peoples, 1700-1917*, Daniel Brower and Edward J. Lazzerini, eds. (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1997), 14.

¹⁰⁹ Dobrokhoto, 203.

It seems that this song's unusual rhythms especially appealed to Aliab'ev, since he inscribed that tune in Dargomyzhsky's album and used the same syncopated rhythm in another Decembrist type of song, "Cherkes" [A Circassian].¹¹⁰ The song's text by Vasilii Aliab'ev (the composer's brother) also suggests a link with Decembrist poetry (**Example 3.7**).

Example 3.7 Aliab'ev, "Cherkes," mm. 1-8

Allegro vivace

Об-вер-нут бур - ко - ю ши - ро - кой, и лук, и

стре-лы за спи - ной, чер-кес над про - па - стью глу -

fp

¹¹⁰ Among all tunes found in the whole collection of Ukrainian songs, only two other songs share a similar syncopated rhythm.



Обвернут буркою широкой,
И лук, и стрелы за спиной,
Черкес над пропастью глубокой
Стоит... И вскрикнул удалой:
“Что горы вздрогнули от гула?
Что грозно ропщет по реке?
Не стало Трамova аула!”
А шашка замерла в руке.

О конь, товарищ быстроногий,
Нагорных скакунов краса,
Какою скачешь ты дорогой,
Какие видишь небеса?
Твой ныне корм - пшеница ль яра?
В твоём же тесном деннике
Разгулье стало от пожара -
А шашка замерла в руке...

Нет сакли, где черкес свободный
На ложе неги отдыхал,
И сладостно кумыс холодный
Из чаши братской выпивал.
Нет ружей; нет одежд богатых;
Нет памяти о кунаке,
Даров тех дружбы верной взятых -

Wrapped with a felt cloak,
Bow and arrows are behind [his] back,
A Circassian is standing above a deep abyss...
He shouted audaciously:
“Why have the mountains shuddered from the
rumbling?
What grumbles terribly on the river?
The Tramov *Aul* has disappeared!”¹¹¹
And [his] saber remained still in [his] hand.

Oh, a horse, light-footed comrade,
[You are] the beauty of highlands,
On what path are you galloping,
What [kind of] heaven do you see?
Is your food now – some spring wheat?
In your narrow stall
Fire is raging
And [his] saber remained still in [his] hand.

There is no *saklia*, where the free Circassian¹¹²
Took his rest on the bed of *nega*,¹¹³
And drank delightfully cold *kumiss*¹¹⁴
From the brother’s cup.
There are no [more] arms, no splendid clothes;
There are no memories of the *kunak*,¹¹⁵
[There are no] tokens of that friendship --

¹¹¹ *Aul* is a small village.

¹¹² *Saklia* is a Caucasian mountain hut.

¹¹³ On *nega*, see footnote 126.

¹¹⁴ *Kumiss* is fermented mare’s milk.

¹¹⁵ *Kunak* is a friend among the mountaineer Caucasians.

А шашка замерла в руке... “Наездников исчезли силы, Как дымный пар от облаков; Нет храбрым на земле могилы; Сдружился с ними врана клев; Но удалому ль согласиться, Что на Эльбрусе плена звук?!” Сказал - и в бездну он стремится, И шашка выпала из рук!	And [his] saber remained still in [his] hand. The riders’ strength has vanished, Like a smoky steam from the clouds; There is no tomb for the brave ones; The raven’s pecking became friends with them; But would the daring agree, That on Elbrus there is a sound of captivity?!” [He] said [this] - and rushed to the abyss, And [his] saber has dropped out of [his] hands!

The text expresses revulsion because of the extermination of the mountaineers and their homes, and implies doubts about the legitimacy of the tsarist’s action in the Caucasus. It tells the story of a mountaineer who returns to his native city and realizes that it is completely destroyed by the enemy; in despair and from his “incompliance with the sound of captivity in Elbrus” (the highest mountain in Caucasus) he commits suicide. In spite of the Circassian’s confrontational attire (he carries a sabre, bow and arrows), the use of friendly images, such as a “fraternal cup,” “endowments of friendship,” and the adjectives “free” and “courageous,” renders a rather positive picture of the Circassian and suggests the poet’s sympathy towards his unjust destiny. In the music, Aliab’ev repeats syncopations on wrong syllables of the words “shirokoi” [wide], “strely” [arrows], “vskriknul” [cried out], allowing, in some sense, the subaltern to speak with his own accent.

Not all of Aliab’ev’s Decembrist songs have such a strong sense of musical otherness. His autobiographical “Irtys” alludes to an oriental location (Irtys is a river in Central Asia) only for the purpose of self-reflection. The sound of the river corresponds to the lyrical hero’s psychological state of loneliness. He asks the river to carry away his sadness; in the last couplet, there is an analogy between the water stream and the “pure tear of sorrow.” Because in Decembrist poetry the Orient is associated with exile and

loneliness, in this song the Orient refers not to the oriental subject *per se* but rather becomes a means of expression of the inner life and feelings of the lyrical hero. Hence, there are no musical elements or gestures in this song indicating the presence of the oriental world; the harmonies, rhythm, and melodic contour evoke only the Western world of the song's protagonist.

Aliab'ev and Western Clichés

A more conventional western-European representation of the orient also occurs in Aliab'ev's repertoire of art songs. The type of Oriental song that I will discuss next is perhaps one of the most popular and appealing to Russian and European audiences. It presents the image of the Orient as a land of unabashed sexuality, pleasure, and laziness. According to Locke, Parakilas, and McClary, European Orientalists typically feminized the Orient, and their arguments could easily be applied to a group of Russian songs that I will call "pleasure" songs. In his "Gruzinskaia Pesnia," or "Georgian Song" ("Plachet deva gor" [The Mountain Maiden Cries and Cries]), the Orient is represented by a simple, submissive, naïve, and weak woman, whose only desire is to stay with a powerful Russian man. She begs him not to leave her but rejects all his offerings of gold and garments, preferring his constant and special attention (his smile, look, and his kiss -- "a sign of ardent love").

Neither the melody nor the piano accompaniment of this piece suggests any oriental *couleur locale* (**Example 3.8**). A simple drone accompaniment to a perfectly diatonic tune, a slow harmonic rhythm, and an unadventurous progression with only one

modulation to the parallel e-minor – all these gestures can be easily associated with a simple female Other, but not necessarily an oriental one.¹¹⁶ Nevertheless, Soviet

Example 3.8 Aliab'ev, “Gruzinskaia pesnia,” mm. 1-6

Andantino poco sostenuto

1. Пла - чет, пла - чет де - ва
- чу я де - нег,
- ри ме - ня ты

гор:
зла - та, „Рус - ский, дай твой встре - тить взор;
им, я с то - бой всег - да бо - га - та;
цен - ным пер - стнем зо - ло - тым,

Плачет, плачет дева гор:
“Русский, дай твой встретить взор;
Там, где давят виноград,
Первый встретила я взгляд,
Там меня ты полюбил,
Много золота сулил,
Много золота сулил.

The mountain maiden cries and cries:
“Russian, let me to meet your gaze;
There, where the grape is pressed,
I met your first glance,
There you came to love me,
You promised me [to give] much gold,
You promised me [to give] much gold.

¹¹⁶ On the representation of female others in western-European music see R. Locke, “Constructing the Oriental ‘Other’: Saint-Saëns’s *Samson et Dalila*,” *Cambridge Opera Journal* 3 (1991): 261-302; S. McClary, “Images of Race, Class and Gender in Nineteenth-Century French Culture,” in *Georges Bizet: Carmen*, 29-43 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992); J. Parakilas, “The Soldier and the Exotic: Operatic Variations on a Theme of Racial Encounter,” *The Opera Quarterly* 10, no. 2 (1993-1994): 33-56; and 10, no. 3 (1994): 43-69; N. Al-Taei, *Representation of the Orient in Western Music: Violence and Sensuality* (Farnham and Burlington: Ashgate, 2010).

Не хочу я денег, злата, Я с тобой всегда богата; А без милого одна Я и в золоте бедна; Ты сулил мне, дорогой, Ценный перстень золотой, Ценный перстень золотой.	I do not want neither money or gold, I am rich just with you; And without [my] darling, alone, I would be poor even with gold; You promised me, my darling, A valuable golden ring, A valuable golden ring.
Не дари меня ты им, Ценным перстнем золотым, Не дари меня нарядом, Подари улыбкой, взглядом, Поцелуем подари – Знаком пламенной любви, Знаком пламенной любви.”	Do not give it [golden ring] to me, The valuable golden ring, Do not give me any garments, [Instead] give me your smile and look, Give me your kiss – The sign of ardent love, The sign of ardent love.

musicologist Liudmila Karagicheva has suggested a link between Aliab'ev's song and several traditional and popular nineteenth-century Georgian songs, such as “Akhala agnago sulo” and “Akhalo.”¹¹⁷ Indeed, the similarities between the following examples of both traditional tunes and Aliab'ev's song seem too obvious to dispute (**Examples 3.9a** and **3.9b**). Significantly, in Russian/Soviet music literature, the same two Georgian songs are claimed to be the sources of another well-known early nineteenth-century Russian art song, “Ne poi krasavitsa pri mne” [Don't sing thy song of Georgia] by Mikhail Glinka (**Example 1.1b**).¹¹⁸

¹¹⁷ See Liudmila Karagicheva, “Liubopytnyi dokument russkogo orientalizma” [A curious document of Russian orientalism], in *Sovetskaja muzyka* 2 (1974): 89-96. The transcription of “Akhalo” appeared in the journal *Illiustratsiia*, in I. Siial'sky's article on the songs and music of the people of Transcaucasia. See *Illiustratsiia*, no. 193 (1861), 283.

¹¹⁸ Kh. Arakelov, “K voprosu ob istokakh vostochnykh tem v tvorchestve Glinki,” in *Pamiati Glinki, 1857-1957: Issledovaniia i materialy*, V.A Kisilev, T.N. Livanova, V.V. Protopopov, eds. (Moscow: Izdat. AN SSSR, 1958), 203-23.

Example 3.9 a) Georgian song “Akhal agnago sulo”; b) Georgian song “Akhalo”**a)****b)**

In an important article on Russian Orientalism, Richard Taruskin called Glinka’s example “authentic but not exotic.”¹¹⁹ Indeed, there is no reason for it to be considered exotic since the suggested Georgian sources for Aliab’ev’s and Glinka’s art songs were associated with Georgian urban culture, which from the beginning of the nineteenth-century was considerably influenced by Russian culture. Several writers who visited the Caucasus, including Alexander Sergeevich Griboedov (a famous playwright and composer and a Russian diplomat in Persia) and A.S. Pushkin, observed how popular this tune was in aristocratic circles in Georgia and beyond, and pointed out that it was often sung with different texts written by anonymous as well as famous Georgian poets. The poem “Akhal agnago sulo” (Georgian) “Dusha nedavno rozhdennaia v raiu” (Russian) [A soul, newly born in Paradise] by Tumanishvili was one of the most popular texts known

¹¹⁹ Taruskin, *Defining Russia Musically*, 158.

to Russians through Pushkin's travelogue *Journey to Erzurum during the Campaign of 1829*.

D. Tumanishvili, from "A Spring Song"

Душа, недавно рожденная в раю! Душа, созданная для
Моего счастья! от тебя, бессмертная, ожидаю жизни.

От тебя, весна цветущая, от тебя, луна двунедельная,
от тебя, Ангел мой хранитель, от тебя ожидаю жизни.

Ты сияешь лицом и веселишь улыбкою.
Не хочу обладать миром; хочу твоего взора. От тебя ожидаю жизни.
Горная роза, освеженная росой! Избранная любимица
природы! Тихое, потаенное сокровище! от тебя ожидаю жизни.

* * *

"A soul newly born in Paradise! A soul, created for my joy!
From you, immortal one, I long for life.

From you, eternally blooming spring; from you, oh moon in its second week;
From you, my guardian angel, from you I long for life.

Your face is radiant and you cheer with your smile. I do not want to rule the
world.
I desire your glance. From you I long for life.

Mountain rose, freshened by the dew! Chosen favorite of nature!
Silent, secret treasure! From you I long for life."

It is likely that in the original Georgian poem a man addresses a woman, since in the Russian language the word "dusha" [soul] is gendered feminine and the "soul" in the poem is described with images usually associated with female beauty: "eternally blooming spring," "moon in its second week," "mountain rose, freshened by the dew," and "silent, secret treasure."

Although Aliab'ev closely followed the original melody, he used a different text written by the popular nineteenth-century Russian poet Lukian Iakubovich (1805-39).¹²⁰ Iakubovich's poem seems to be a direct reversal and even an ironic subversion of the original: in place of a male speaker, Iakubovich introduces a female character; instead of him "longing for life" and praising her beauty, she expresses her desperate need for his constant attention. The use of similar images – a smile and a glance – in both texts provides further evidence of an intertextual connection. Furthermore, Iakubovich's poem carries an obvious political implication of the dominant-dominated type of relationship between Russia and Georgia.¹²¹

It is likely that Aliab'ev knew the melody of the original Tumanishvili song, since he traveled to the northern Caucasus two years before composing his "Georgian Song," and, considering the popularity of "Akhal agnago sulo," he would have had a chance to hear it. However, we can only speculate about whether Aliab'ev was aware of the original meaning of the song, since the Russian translation appeared in Pushkin's *Journey to Erzurum* only a year after he composed the song, in 1835. In any case, this mixture of

¹²⁰ **Iakubovich, Lukiian Andreevich (1805-39)** was a Russian poet who graduated from Panssion in 1826, became a member of S.E. Raich's literary society, and was one of the most prominent poets before Lermontov. From the 1830s, he was published in popular literary journals, such as *Northern Flowers* (*Severnye tsvety*), *Literary Newspaper* [*Literatunraia gazeta*], *Athenae*, *Teleskop*, *O.Z.*, and *The Contemporary* [*Sovremennik*]. Along with D.P. Oznobshin and A.G. Rotchev, Iakubovich was one of the first poets to introduce an oriental subject into Russian poetry. See *Russkiiye poety XIX veka* [*Russian 19th-Century Poets*], ed. N.M. Gaidenkov (Moscow: Gos.Uchebno-pedagogicheskoe izdat. Min.Prosviashcheniia, 1958).

¹²¹ The tendency of feminizing and erotizing the conquered territory, as Susan Layton points out, was "most evident in the literary invention of Georgia as an oriental woman." See Layton, *Russian Literature and Empire*, 13. In her analysis of the stories about cross-cultural romance, Layton also notices that "Cossacks were especially effective carriers of these stories' message that tribeswomen were a good, assimilable population for the Russian empire, even if their male relatives deserved extermination." *Ibid.*, 169.

the original melody and the colonialist text only reinforced oriental ethnic and cultural stereotypes in the listeners' imagination and promoted a derogatory view of the Other.

Asian Songs

Perhaps the most pronounced statement of Aliab'ev's genuine interest in Asian culture can be found in his arrangement of four Asian songs entitled *Aziatskie pesni*. It is significant that Aliab'ev devoted this collection of arrangements to Orenburg's general-governor, V.A. Perovskii, since it demonstrates that Aliab'ev believed that his Asian songs were worthy of offering as a gift to a dear friend and understanding supervisor. All four Asian songs – two Bashkir songs (“Cherez kladku ia proidusia” and “Mezh granitnymi skalami. Karai Iurga. Voronoi inokhodets”), one Kyrgyz song (“Zachem ia ne gornyi orel molodoi”), and one Turkmen (Turkhmenskaia) song (“Skazal nash khan batyriam pokhod”) – are unified by one feature in the accompaniment: a drone. Other musical devices, such as an echo effect (in the first Bashkir song and in the Turkmen song) and the juxtaposition of two different melodies (in two Bashkir songs), are also used in order to stylistically connect the collection.

Aliab'ev found the Russian texts for two songs – the Kyrgyz song “Zachem ia ne gornyi oriel molodoi” and the Bashkir song “Mezh granitnymi skalami” – in an 1836 publication of “Bashkir songs” in the journal *Biblioteka dlia chteniia*.¹²² Aliab'ev was so enchanted with Asian songs that he later used one Bashkir song (“Cherez kladku ia

¹²² The researchers of Ufa Institute of Language and Literature believe that the author of all the texts of *Asian Songs* was P.M. Kudriashev, since no other person at this period was able to poetically translate verses from the Asian language. See Dobrokhotoy, 285, fn. 26.

proidusia”) as an aria for Sultanetta in his opera *Ammalat-Bek*.¹²³ This song comprises two contrasting parts: a slow lyrical *uzun-kiui*, with some typical melodic ornaments, and a fast and rhythmical *kyska-kiui* (**Examples 3.10 a and 3.10 b**).¹²⁴ According to Shteinpres, this juxtaposition of two different types of melody is characteristic of Bashkir music.¹²⁵

One feature in the accompaniment of the first part of the song foreshadows a gesture later used by Russian composers to evoke either the Oriental or Russian worlds. It is a melodic pattern of a semitone either sliding up from $\hat{5}$ to $\hat{5}^\#$ and $\hat{6}$ or sliding down from $\hat{6}$ to $\hat{6}$ -flat and $\hat{5}$ against a static bass (see **Example 3.10 a**, m. 8). Whereas Taruskin suggests that this is an exclusively oriental gesture and calls it “the essential *nega* undulation,” Frolova-Walker argues that it appears in a much wider context; hence, she calls it the “Kuchka pattern.”¹²⁶

¹²³ A little earlier, in 1850, this song appeared in the journal *Nouvelist* (n. 11). See Dobrokhoto, 209, 292 (fn.9).

¹²⁴ According to L.P. Atanova, a researcher at the Ufa Institute of Language and Literature, Aliab'ev's song presents a combination of two melodies from Bashkir traditional songs “Syr-Daria” and “Artylysh.” See Dobrokhoto, 285.

¹²⁵ Shteinpres, *A.A. Aliab'ev v izgnanii*, 95.

¹²⁶ See Taruskin, “‘Entoiling the Falconet’: Russian Musical Orientalism in Context,” *Cambridge Opera Journal* 4 (1992): 253-80; Frolova-Walker, *Russian Music and Nationalism from Glinka to Stalin* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2007), 141-60. Some issues related to the use of the Kuchka pattern are addressed in Chapter Four. In my opinion, Taruskin's interpretation of “nega” as “S-E-X à la Russe” significantly reduces the richness of the word's colour to a specific ethnic group and simple physical allusion. See Taruskin, *Defining Russia*, 165. According to the dictionary of Pushkin's language, the word “nega” has several meanings: 1) “contentment or being content, careless, and without need”; 2) “state of being serenely calm, bliss, pleasure”; 3) “sensual thrill, pleasure.” See *Slovar' Pushkina*, vol. 2 (Moscow: Gos. Izdat. Inostrannykh i Natsional'nykh Slovari, 1957), 776.

Example 3.10 a) Aliab'ev, Bashkir Song "Cherez kladku ia proidusia," mm. 1-9; b) Bashkir Song "Cherez kladku ia proidusia," mm. 20-23

a)

Andante poco sostenuto

Че-рез клад-ку я прой-ду-ся, а...

По-до мной дро-жит до-ска:

b)

Allegretto

Не ви-дал, не знал люб-ви я, встре-чу мне са-ма при-шла.

Через кладку я пройдуся,
Подо мной дрожит доска:
С красной девой обнимуся,
Дрогнет золота серьга!

Не видал, не знал любви я,
Встречу мне сама пришла.
Горько мне, все жду беды я;

Жизнь веселая прошла!

In fact, the composers one generation older than the members of the Kuchka circle equally used the chromatic sliding between the 5th and the 6th scale degree.

Instances of $\hat{5}\#$ and $\hat{6}$ chromaticism can be found in abundance in Russian romances of the 1820s and 1830s, including Glinka's and Aliab'ev's early art songs. For instance, this very gesture occurs in the refrain of Aliab'ev's first *Circassian Song* (composed no later than 1829) precisely at the moment where the text states "a Circassian wanders over the river" (see **Example 3.1**).

The second Bashkir song, "Mezh granitnymi skalami" [Between the Granite Rocks], is subtitled "Karai Iurga. Voronoi inokhodets" [Karai Iurga. Black Horse]. This subtitle probably refers to the popular Bashkir song "Karai Iurga." In the text provided by Aliab'ev ("Mezh granitnymi skalami") there is no reference to a horse. Instead, a girl pleads to the sea, the wind, and a crow to deliver her beloved a farewell; in deep desperation, she throws herself into the rough waves of the sea "between the granite rocks." Despite the dramatic content of this Bashkir song, written in the form of a ballad, the music (its mode, simple structure, and repetitive pattern) does not give any hint of the story's tragic ending (**Example 3.11**).

Soviet musicologist B. Shteinpres noticed the discrepancy between the dramatic action of the lyrics and the melody, which has certain lightness, as well as the especially striking contradiction between the text and music in the last verse. The poetic genre of a ballad, according to Shteinpres, requires awareness in the choice of a song's structure: it should go beyond simple couplet form. Thus, Shteinpres suggests, Aliab'ev probably first arranged the Bashkir melody "Karai Iurga" and later found a translation of another

Bashkir song, “Mezh granitnymi skalami,” which he decided to use for his arrangement.¹²⁷

Example 3.11 Aliab’ev, Bashkir Song “Mezh granitnymi skalami,” mm. 1-7

Andantino

1. Меж гра-нит-ны-ми ска-ла-ми и кло-ко-чет
2. Не-бо-скло-но-дел-ся ту-чей, ве-тер во-ет

и шу-мит
и сви-стит,

cresc.

Меж гранитными волнами и клокочет и шумит
Море бурными волнами... Дева морю говорит:
“Море, море, где ж заветный дар мой сердца, ты скажи?”
Море плещет безответно и синеется в дали!
Море плещет безответно и синеется в дали!

Небосклон оделся тучей, ветер воет и свистит,
И вздымает прах летучий ... Дева ветру говорит:
“Ветер, ветер, прямо к югу ты от севера подуй,
И доставь с любовью к другу мой последний поцелуй,
И доставь с любовью к другу мой последний поцелуй.”

Распустя по ветру крылья, ворон за море летит;

¹²⁷ See Shteinpres, *Aliab’ev v izgnanii*, 97.

Море стонет от усилья, дева ворону кричит:
 “Ворон, ворон! Друг печальный!... Отлетая в дальный путь,
 Ты отдать поклон прощальный другу сердца не забудь!
 Ты отдать поклон прощальный другу сердца не забудь!”

Что же ворон? Ворон крикнул, полетел искать могил,
 Меж скалами ветер свистнул и протяжно вдруг завыл;
 Зашумело, заплескало море вдруг перед грозой,
 Вьется с вихрем покрывало, дева борется с волной,
 Вьется с вихрем покрывало, дева борется с волной.

Intending the song to be performed by and for the Russian public, Aliab'ev disregarded an obvious textual-musical confusion. If he had known the cultural context in which “Karai Iurga” was usually performed, and if he had read an earlier description of the song’s performance by Russian academician and doctor of medicine Ivan Lepekhin, who traveled in the Ural region, Aliab'ev might have thought twice before he married this particular text with “Karai Iurga’s” melody. In his 1770 *Daily Notes of the Travel around Russia’s Different Regions* [*Dnevnye zapiski puteshestviia po raznym provintsiiam rossiiskogo gosudarstva*], Lepekhin clearly stated that among the Bashkirs, “Karai Iurga” was considered “the most merry” song [*samaia vesiolaia*].¹²⁸ Unfortunately, Lepekhin did not leave any melodic transcription of “Karai Iurga,” thus, it is difficult to judge how lively the song he heard was.

Most probably Aliab'ev did not read Lepekhin’s *Daily Notes* and did not know the original text of “Karai Iurga.” It is remarkable, however, that this song remained popular with the Bashkir people until the end of the century. Sixty years after Aliab'ev’s

¹²⁸ See the citation from I. Lepekhin’s “Dnevnye zapiski puteshestviia po raznym provintsiiam rossiiskogo gosudarstva,” in Rybakov, *Muzyka i pesni ural'skikh musul'man*, 117-18. Furthermore, Lepekhin pointed out that this song was associated with the dance repertoire, since when a Bashkir musician started singing it everybody began to dance. Ibid.

arrangement, it was again transcribed and published by Rybakov in Chapter One of his book *Musyka i pesni ural'skikh musul'man*. Besides transcribing two versions of “Karai Iurga,” the Russian music ethnographer recounted the Bashkir legend associated with it.¹²⁹ A striking resemblance between Aliab'ev's “Karai Iurga” and one of the variants of Rybakov's transcription reveals not only the Bashkirs' enduring musical tradition and their strong resistance to Russian influence, but also underlines Aliab'ev's faithfulness to this tradition (**Example 3.12**).

Example 3.12 Rybakov, transcription of Bashkir song “Karai Iurga”



The characteristic drone that opens Aliab'ev's arrangement of “Karai Iurga” is used almost throughout the entire arrangement of the Kyrgyz song “Zachem ia ne gornyi orel molodoi” (**Example 3.13**). The composer allows himself to move the harmony to the upper mediant minor chord only for a couple of measures in the middle of the song; then, he immediately returns to the initial G-major. This uneventful harmonic development is probably the result of the melodic line that turns infinite times around the first, third, and fifth scale degrees of G-major, severely reducing Aliab'ev's compositional choices. Thus,

¹²⁹ It is a legend about how a black ambler helps a young man to kidnap a bride (she was in agreement) from another village. See Rybakov, 138.

the composer cannot be accused of producing of a simplified image of the Asian other because his “simple” harmonic accompaniment was dictated by the original melody.

Example 3.13 Aliab'ev, Kyrgyz Song “Zachem ia ne gornyi orel molodoi,” mm. 1-6

Andante *fp*

1. За - чем я не гор - ный о - рел мо - ло - дой с мо -
 - чем я неволь - ный пи - то - мец по - лей, конь
 - чем я негро - зный вла - детель ле - сов, не

- гу - чим по - ле - том и си - лой гро - зой? Тог - да бы, Зю - лей - ка, те -
 гор - дый и сме - лый и вет - ра бы - стрей? Тог - да бы, Зю - лей - ка, те -
 волк кро - во - жад - ный А - ю зве - ро - лов? Тог - да бы, Зю - лей - ка, те -

Зачем я не горный орел молодой
 С могучим полетом и силой грозой?
 Тогда бы Зюлейка тебя я унес
 В родное жилище на дикий утес!
 Туман тебе –пища, луч солнца –питанье,
 Туман тебе пища, луч солнца питание.

Зачем я не вольный питомец полей,
 Конь гордый и смелый и ветра быстрее?
 Тогда бы Зюлейка тебя я умчал
 В привольный степи где льется Урал!
 Там марево –пища, там ветер –питье,

Там марево –пища, там ветер –питье.
 Зачем я не грозный владетель лесов,
 Не волк кровожадный, Аю зверолов?
 Тогда бы Зюлейка тебя я украл

В лесную берлогу, в приют между скал!
 Песнь птиц –твоя пища, прохлада –питье,
 Песнь птиц –твоя пища, прохлада –питье.

The last Turkmen song, “Skazal nash khan bogatyriam pokhod,” develops in a variation form in which the original melody remains intact, while the harmony and texture are varied (**Example 3.14**). Later in the nineteenth century, this variation form was mythologized by members of the Kuchka circle as a form of development characteristic exclusively of the Russian music tradition. It was linked to the “father” of Russian music, Mikhail Glinka, who used this “changing-background” variation (tagged by Russian/Soviet researchers as “Glinka variations”) in his opera *Ruslan i Liudmila* and symphonic fantasy *Kamarinskaia*. However, as Frolova-Walker observes, there is no tangible foundation to the belief that this form is particular to the Russian tradition:

Glinka’s variation technique was certainly idiosyncratic and inventive, but it was his own development from European art music sources, not the result of folk inspiration, or the manifestation of his Russian soul.¹³⁰

As we can see, this form was used by Aliab’ev a couple of years before Glinka’s opera *Ruslan i Liudmila* was completed and more than ten years before his *Kamarinskaia* appeared. In fact, it was widely used by earlier Russian composers, as Frolova-Walker has observed, with strikingly similar patterns of variation.¹³¹

Thus, by arranging four Asian songs –“Cherez kladku ia proidusia,” “Mezh granitnymi skalami,” “Karai Iurga,” and “Zachem ia ne gornyi orel molodoi” – Aliab’ev

¹³⁰ Frolova-Walker, *Russian Music and Nationalism*, 114.

¹³¹ Ibid. In the last chapter of this dissertation, I will discuss how the “changing-background” variation form became ideologically charged for Russian composers and how this form was used by members of the Music-Ethnography Commission in the arrangements of folksongs.

made a significant contribution to the creation of Russian (or, broader, European) musical orientalism. The composer's genuine interest in Asian peoples resulted in a unique and appealing repertoire of songs that do not reduce or humiliate the oriental peoples' culture

Example 3.14 Aliab'ev, Turkmen Song “Skazal nash khan bogatyriam pokhod,” mm. 1-18

Moderato

Ска-зал наш хан бо-га-ты-рям по-ход.

rit.

Сед-ла-ет ко-ней по зо-рям на-род, на-род.

fp **f**

Сказал наш хан батырям поход.
 Седлает коней по зорям народ, народ.
 На казыл башей потекут войной.
 Джигитам коней подают, и мой, и мой,
 И мой туда же, мой джигит Тирей,
 Милей меня ему джигит, милей, милей!

and do not transmit Imperial convictions about Russian (and generally, European) superiority.

More proof of Aliab'ev's attention, support, and sympathetic attitude towards Asian peoples is revealed in his interest in a legendary Bashkir man – Salavat Iulaev. He was a fellow-fighter of Emel'ian Pugachev –the leader of a massive peasant revolt that took place in the Ural Mountain region at the end of the eighteenth century. Although

Catherine the Great officially prohibited mentioning Salavat's name in public, in Aliab'ev's time, many songs about this legendary person were still circulating among the native population.¹³² Aliab'ev transcribed one of them, intending to arrange it. As Dobrokhotoy points out, one of the popular Russian journals connects Aliab'ev's name with the name of Salavat and states:

A young Bashkir man Salavat, a son of an insurgent Iulai, was the leader of rebels and, with his ferocious actions, inspired people with awe [*navodit' uzhas*]. A Bashkir song about him, as an excellent horseman-batyr, remained in the collective memory for a long time... This song was translated by Mr. Kudriashev and published in the 1820s, in a journal of Mrs. Izmailov and Svin'in; it was arranged [*perelozhen na muzyku*] by former colonel Aliab'ev.¹³³

Unfortunately, Aliab'ev's arrangement of the song about Salavat Iulaev is lost so we cannot assess the composer's musical involvement in the creation of Asian heroes. However, his interest in a legendary Asian who acts against Russian rule underwrites certain notions that later became vital to the civilizing mission and again demonstrates Aliab'ev's proclivity for Decembrist ideals.

Not all Russian composers supported the spirit of revolt among Russia's Asian population, nor did they have a sympathetic attitude towards Russia's oppressed oriental others. This is why Aliab'ev's repertoire of oriental songs stands out so sharply against his repertoire of contemporary songs. Alexander Dargomyzhsky's art songs with oriental subjects, written a decade later than Aliab'ev's, promote a more western image of the Orient and express a very different attitude towards Russia's Oriental neighbours. This is

¹³² In a special 1775 manifest issued by Catherine II, all participants of the Pugachev revolt had to be imprisoned and their names consigned to "eternal oblivion and profound silence." See Paul Avrich, *Russian Rebels, 1600-1800* (New York and London: W.W. Norton, 1972), 245.

¹³³ Dobrokhotoy, 150.

perhaps because the composer had never traveled to the south or east from Russia and his knowledge of oriental music was mainly gained through popular readings and Western music with an oriental subject.

4. Alexander Sergeevich Dargomyzhsky (1813-1869)

Context

Alexander Dargomyzhsky's encounter with the Orient was not direct: unlike Aliab'ev, he traveled exclusively to the west.¹³⁴ However, Dargomyzhsky might have had contact with an Asian musician at least once. In his notebook, which contains a number of Russian and Little Russian folksongs, there are also transcriptions of three tunes of Oriental origin: Turkish, Greek, and Serbian.¹³⁵ Soviet musicologist M.S. Pekelis believes that all three songs could have been notated from one inhabitant of the Odessa or Crimea region, who knew the songs of all three oriental ethnic groups living in close proximity.¹³⁶ It is possible that the performer was of Turkic origin: out of three oriental songs only the Turkish one has the text's original transliteration, suggesting that he/she did not know the texts of the Greek and Serbian songs.

Dargomyzhsky also might have heard samples of oriental/Asian/ Caucasian music from his teacher, Adrian Trofimovich Danilevski. In his *Short Biographic Note* [*Kratkaia biograficheskaia zapiska*], 1866, Dargomyzhsky wrote that since 1821 he took piano

¹³⁴ On Dargomyzhsky's life, see Alexander Dargomyzhsky, *Avtobiografiia. Pis'ma. Vospominaniia sovremennikov* (Petersburg: Gos.Izdat., 1921); Dargomyzhsky, *Izbrannye pis'ma* (Moscow: Muzgiz, 1952); M. Pekelis, *Alexander Sergeevich Dargomyzhsky i ego okruzhenie (1858-1869)* (Moscow: Muzyka, 1983).

¹³⁵ See Dargomyzhsky, *Polnoe sobranie romansov i pesen*, vol. 2 [*Collected Edition of Art songs and Songs*] (Moscow, Leningrad: Gos.Muz.Izdat., 1947), 637-41.

¹³⁶ *Ibid.*, 664.

lessons with a “quite good musician –Adrian Trofimovich Danilevskii” the same Danilevskii, who arranged eight Asian songs and one lezghinka for P. Siial’skii’s article about the songs and music in Transcaucasia, discussed in Chapter One.¹³⁷

Besides having listened to personal auditory experiences with oriental music, Dargomyzhsky also had transcriptions of oriental tunes: he owned Alexandre Christianowitsch’s *Esquisse historique de la musique arabe aux temps anciens avec dessins d’instruments et quarante mélodies notées et harmonisées*, published in 1863 in Cologne.¹³⁸ Soon after the publication of *Esquisse historique* Dargomyzhsky arranged one of the melodies and gave it to Rimsky-Korsakov, who used it later in his oriental symphony *Antar*.¹³⁹ However, Christianowitsch’s book could not have influenced Dargomyzhsky’s oriental style, since it was published only six years before Dargomyzhsky’s death and a few years after most of the composer’s oriental art songs were written.¹⁴⁰

¹³⁷ See A.S. Dargomyzhsky, *Avtobiografiia. Pis'ma. Vospominaniia sovremennikov* (Peterburg: Gos.Izdat, 1921), 1-2; Kh. Arakelov, “K voprosu ob istokakh vostochnykh tem v tvorchestve Glinki,” in *Pamiati Glinki, 1857-1957: Issledovaniia i materialy*, V.A. Kisilev, T.N. Livanova, V.V. Protopopov, eds. (Moscow: Izdat. AN SSSR, 1958), 204.

¹³⁸ **Alexandre Christianowitsch (1835-1874)** – an officer in retirement, writer, pianist, and composer, who traveled to Algeria in 1861 and collected a number of Arabic tunes published two years later in Cologne. See I. Iampol’skii, “Issledovatel’ alzhirskoi muzyki Alexandre Christianowitsch,” in *Muzyka narodov Azii i Afriki*, vol. 3 (Moscow: Sovetskii kompozitor, 1980): 279-95. Pekelis points out that Dargomyzhsky knew A. Christianowitsch personally - probably before the publication of his *Esquisse historique* - and met with him on several occasions in St. Petersburg as well as in Leipzig in 1864. See M. Pekelis, *Alexander Sergeevich Dargomyzhsky i ego okruzhenie*, 3: 31.

¹³⁹ See Rimsky-Korsakov, *My Musical Life* (New York: Tutor Publishing Co., 1936), 81.

¹⁴⁰ Except for his unfinished opera *Rogdana* with an “Oriental choir of hermits,” which I discuss later. In his comparison of Dargomyzhsky’s and Rimsky-Korsakov’s treatment of the same melody, Soviet musicologist Pekelis stresses that Dargomyzhsky’s arrangement is “simple” and free of conventional “romantic exoticism.” See M. Pekelis, “Dva ocherka o Dargomyzhskom. 2. Dargomyzhsky i orientalism,” in *Sovetskaia muzyka* 2 (1963): 43-50, here 49. Unlike Rimsky-Korsakov, who ornamented the original melody slightly and harmonized it in a more colourful manner, Dargomyzhsky stressed the song’s “severe-archaic diatonicism” [*surovo-arkhaicheskaiia diatonika*] based on the modulations [*perelivy*] of natural E minor and Lydian F major.” Ibid.

Besides the popular readings and few available sources on oriental music Dargomyzhsky was well acquainted with Western music that had an oriental subject. When he traveled to Paris in late 1844 he attended a concert in which Félicien David's famous *ode symphonique Le Désert* was performed. Although the Russian composer thought that "in general the music was written correctly" [*muzyka pisana pravil'no*] and presented many ideas, he felt that it was unoriginal. He stated:

Despite the fact that David went to the Orient to bring melodies for this symphony, I found so little Arabic spirit and so much of French fluff that it [the symphony] should be called 'Les boulevards de Paris.' And the Arabic song in this symphony reminded me terribly of the [Russian] song 'Ivan-the-lout' [*Ivan-muzhik*].¹⁴¹

Belligerent Orient

Even though Dargomyzhsky was not impressed with the work of the French composer, his early attempt to musically capture an oriental world also does not bear any oriental flavour. His "Lezginskaia pesnia" [A Lezgin Song] (late 1830s) evokes a purely Western idiom of military music with its energetic character, fast tempo, square phrase structure, dotted rhythm, and rising sequential phrases (**Example 3.15**). The little chromaticism that there is in the accompaniment (mm. 2-4 and mm. 12-14) does not flavour the song with an oriental accent. As Vasina-Grossman observes, Dargomyzhsky's "Lezginskaia pesnia" is "by far inferior to the innovative Caucasian songs by Aliab'ev."¹⁴²

¹⁴¹ A.S. Dargomyzhsky, *Izbrannye pis'ma*, vol. 1 (Moscow, 1952), 29-30.

¹⁴² See Vasina-Grossman, 114.

The song's text (by D. Kropotkin) consists of the parting wishes of a young Dagestan lady to her man, Bek, before he goes to fight "the enemy for their native land." With remarkable cheerfulness, she guides her man toward his horse, gives him yataghan (a weapin between the sabre and dagger), bow and arrows, and a sabre, and asks him to bring back the head of an enemy instead of garments and jewellery.

Example 3.15 Dargomyzhsky, "Lezginskaia pesnia," mm. 1-9

Allegro vivo

1. Ми - лый Бек, вы - ез - жай По - ско -

Милый Бек,
Выезжай поскорей на войну
И врагов поражай
За родную страну.
Твой оседланный конь,
Что у сакли стоит,
Пылок он, как огонь,
Легок он, как джигит.

Darling Bek,
Leave for war quickly,
And strike down enemies
For your native land.
Your saddled horse,
That stays at a *saklia*,¹⁴³
Is ardent as fire,
And is light as a Dzhigit.

¹⁴³ *Saklia* is a hut.

Отточен ятаган, И колчан полон стрел; От смертельных их ран Враг не раз уж бледнел. Вот и шашка, возьми И скорей на коня, Только раз обними На прощанье меня. Если ж с боя живой Ты приедешь назад, То смотри, дорогой, Привези мне наряд, Жемчугу и перстней И камку и тафту, И серег и цепей, И златую фату. Но нет, вместо фаты И камки золотой [П]одари меня ты Вражьей мертвой главой. Ту главу буду я, Как алмаз сберегать, И по ней, Бек, тебя Станет мир вспоминать.	The <i>yatagan</i> is sharp,¹⁴⁴ And the quiver is full of arrows; From their fatal wounds The enemy has more than once become pale. Here, take a sabre, And quickly take a horse, Embrace me just once Before you leave. If you come back From the battle alive, Then, dear, watch: Bring me garments, Some pearls and rings, And some <i>kamka</i> and a taffeta,¹⁴⁵ Earrings, chains, And a golden veil. But no, instead of a veil And golden <i>kamka</i>, Bring me the head Of a slain enemy. Like a diamond I will keep this head, And, because of it, Bek, You will be remembered hereafter.

Feminized Orient

Apart from “Lezginskaia pesnia,” none of Dargomyzhsky’s songs with an oriental subject presents the belligerent East: his representation of the orient is limited mostly to the “pleasure” type of songs. Not surprisingly, Dargomyzhsky’s interpretation of a feminized and sensual Orient parallels the common Western stereotypes found later in

¹⁴⁴ *Iatagan* is a type of a knife or short sabre used in Ottoman Turkey and in areas under its influence.

¹⁴⁵ *Kamka* is a silk brocade.

nineteenth-century operas by Verdi, Saint-Saëns, Massenet, and Delibes.¹⁴⁶ The musical language Dargomyzhsky uses to represent eastern others does not differ drastically from Western Orientalist idioms. These include chromatic passages, drones, and slow tempi. For instance, in Dargomyzhsky's setting of Pushkin's poem, "To a Greek Girl," which he calls "Vostochnyi romans" [Oriental Art song] (1852) (**Example 3.16**), the composer uses a slow tempo and chromatic passages to portray the sensuality of a girl, who was

Ты рождена воспламенять Воображение поэтов, Его тревожить и пленять Любовной живостью приветов, Восточной странностью речей, Блистаньем зеркальных очей И этой ножкою нескромной... Ты рождена для неги томной, Для упоения страстей.	... born to be A spark to poet's inspiration, Perplexing with the lively glee And dazzle of your saturation; Your eastern speech's lilting fashion, Your little foot's demure temptation, Your limpid eyes, like crystal beaming – Oh, you were born for tender dreaming (<i>nega!</i>) And the allaying of men's passion. ¹⁴⁷

To create and emphasize the girl's exoticism, Dargomyzhsky begins and ends the song with the unconventional gesture of an augmented triad, gradually unveiled in the piano accompaniment (**Example 3.16**). He furnishes the song's harmony with rather extravagant modulations (to the major 6th and minor 7th degrees) and long harmonic progressions that wander without aim or resolution to any tonality (chromatic shifting of dim.7th chords in mm. 9-10, 20-21).¹⁴⁸

¹⁴⁶ See Ralph Locke, "Constructing the Oriental 'Other': Saint-Saëns's *Samson et Dalila*," *Cambridge Opera Journal* 3 (1991): 261-302.

¹⁴⁷ Pushkin, *The Complete Works of Alexander Pushkin* (Norfolk: Milner and Company Ltd., 1999), 2: 91.

¹⁴⁸ Again, the unconventional harmonic progression of this song is similar to early nineteenth-century attempts (by Maurer and Schubert) to create an unknown oriental world.

Example 3.16 Dargomyzhsky, “Vostochnyi romans,” mm. 1-9

The musical score for Dargomyzhsky's "Vostochnyi romans" (mm. 1-9) is presented in three systems. The key signature is G major (one sharp), and the time signature is 3/4. The tempo marking is "Adagio".

System 1: The vocal line begins with the lyrics "Ты рождё...". The piano accompaniment features a prominent augmented fifth (Aug. 5_3) and is marked "p legato assai". A chromatic descent is indicated in the piano part.

System 2: The vocal line continues with the lyrics "на воспла-ме-нять во-обра-же-ни-е по-э-тов, е-го тре-". The piano accompaniment includes multiple chromatic descents and a modulation from G major to B major.

System 3: The vocal line concludes with the lyrics "во-жить и пле-нять лю-без-ной жи-вотью при-ве-тов, вос-точ-ной стран-но-". The piano accompaniment features a chromatic descent and a modulation from B major back to G major.

Dargomyzhsky's non-conventional approach to harmony and modulations in oriental songs was later noticed by one of the members of the Kuchka, Césaire Cui. In his essay on Russian art song, Cui observed Dargomyzhsky's novel approach to the oriental subject that differed from the European "superficial banal devices" [*vneshnie shablonnye*

priemy] based on the oriental scale and “chromatic embellishments” [*khromaticheskikh zavitushkakh*].¹⁴⁹

In Dargomyzhsky’s vocabulary, the augmented triad, however, cannot be identified as an exclusively oriental idiom, since it also appears in the art song, “Ia zdes’ Inezil’ia” [I am here, Inezil’ia] (1860s), evoking Seville (Spain) and in the introduction to the “Oriental Choir of Hermits” [Vostochnyi khor otshel’nikov] from his unfinished opera *Rogdana*, which is based on a fairy-tale (**Example 3.17**).¹⁵⁰ It is probably more correct to say that Dargomyzhsky’s augmented triad signified Otherness in general.

Example 3.17 Dargomyzhsky, “Oriental Choir of Hermits” from opera *Rogdana*, mm. 1-4



In another setting of Pushkin – “O deva roza, ia v okovakh” [Oh, Rose-Maiden, no, I am in Fetters] (1858)– which is subtitled “An Oriental Air,” the composer follows the Western formal structure of through-composed airs with their characteristic recitative

¹⁴⁹ See Cui, “Ocherk razvitiia ‘romansa’ v Rossii,” in *Artist* 45 (Jan., 1895), 12.

¹⁵⁰ See “Ia zdes’ Inezil’ia,” in A. Dargomyzhsky, *Polnoe sobranie romansov i pesen*, vol. 2 (Moscow, Leningrad: Gos.Muz.Izdat, 1947), 597-605; “Vostochnyi khor otshel’nikov,” in A. Dargomyzhsky, *Polnoe sobranie vokal’nykh ansamblei i khorov*, M.S. Pekelis, ed. (Moscow, Leningrad: Gos.Muz.Izdat, 1950), 156-62. The text for the choir is taken from Pushkin’s “Podrazhaniia koranu” [Imitation of the Koran].

at the beginning, slow section in the middle, and fast (or relatively fast) ending (**Example 3.18a**).¹⁵¹

О дева-роза, я в оковах; Но не стыжусь твоих оков: Так соловей в кустах лавровых, Пернатый царь лесных певцов, Близ розы гордой и прекрасной В неволе сладостной живет И нежно песни ей поет Во мраке ночи сладострастной.	Oh, Rose-maiden, I am in fetters; But I am not ashamed of your fetters: Thus the nightingale in the laurel bushes, Feathered king of sylvan singers, Near the proud and beauteous rose, Lives in delightful bondage And tenderly sings songs for her In the gloaming of the voluptuous night. ¹⁵²

In an almost entirely diatonic opening, the composer sets a mood of oriental laziness by using a slow tempo, letting the piano accompaniment move separately from the voice (as if they are too lazy to begin together), and by repeating a great many times the same short phrases in the accompaniment, which makes the harmonic progression somewhat “unprogressive” (**Example 3.18a**).

It is interesting to compare Dargomyzhsky’s “O deva roza” with a traditional Turkish song (**Example 3.18b**) found in the composer’s note-book, since the original Pushkin poem is subtitled “Imitation of the Turkish Song.” At first glance Dargomyzhsky’s art song and his transcription of the Turkish song share no similar melodic elements. However, the modal development of both tunes implies a major-minor oscillation. The tonal centre of the Turkish song changes from E-flat major to C minor in

¹⁵¹ Although Dargomyzhsky does not indicate the change of tempo between the slow and faster sections, the density of information distributed per measure in the last section (sixteenth-notes instead of quarter-notes) makes it sound faster.

¹⁵² For a poetic translation of this poem, see Pushkin, *Collected Narrative and Lyrical Poems* with English translations in the original prosody by Walter Arndt (Ann Arbor, MI: Ardis Publishers, 1983), 63.

the second half, while Dargomyzhsky plays with major-minor tonalities throughout the entire song. Major-minor undulation also is implied in Dargomyzhsky's song at the very

Example 3.18 a) Dargomyzhsky, “O deva-roza, ia v okovakh,” mm. 1-8; b) Dargomyzhsky's transcription of a Turkish tune¹⁵³

a)

Andante

О де-ва-ро-за, я в о-ко-вах;

но не стра-шусь сво-их о-ков: **)

b)

№8 Тихо

Он-ке-ре дыдым сан-на са кым сэ-вмедо-ку зьяр-яр-яр-яр а-ман а-ман а-ман а-ман

first phrase that oscillates between G major and E minor. Furthermore, as Pekelis suggests, Dargomyzhsky used an element typical of oriental music in this song – a

¹⁵³ See M.S. Pekelis, ed., *A. Dargomyzhsky. Polnoe sobranie romansov i pesen*, vol. 2 (Moscow: Gos.Muz.Izdat, 1947), 638.

descending glissando, which in the transcription of the Turkish song occurs at the end of almost each phrase (**Example 3.18b**). In Dargomyzhsky's "O deva roza" it occurs in measures 26-27 (between *g* and *d*) and is indicated with a remark "slowly sliding the voice" [*medlenno spускаia golos*].¹⁵⁴ Besides these melodic particularities, Dargomyzhsky's "O deva-roza" also captured the flexible meter of the Turkish melody. In Dargomyzhsky's sketchbook the Turkish song in is the only one that does not have either an indication of a meter or bar lines, suggesting a rather indefinite metrical structure. Thus, without imitating the melodic line of the original Turkish song, Dargomyzhsky used the modal major-minor oscillation, glissando technique of singing, as well as an ambiguous metrical structure to represent the Orient.

The second part of the song is abundant with chromatic passages in the piano accompaniment (**Example 3.19**). One characteristic rhythmic feature used by Dargomyzhsky – an ornament played in a very particular rhythm (a quarter note tied with a group of four 32nd notes followed by another quarter note), later becomes an oriental idiom in the music of composers from the Kuchka and Beliaev circles. It appears in Balakirev's setting of Pushkin's "Gruzinskaia pesnia" [A Georgian Song] (1863), Rimsky-Korsakov's setting of Kozlov's Oriental Art song "Plenivshis' rozoi solovei" ["Enslaved by the Rose, the Nightingale"] (1866), César Cui's setting of Jean Richepin's "Le Turc" (late 1880s), and A. Glazunov's setting of Pushkin's Oriental Art song "V

¹⁵⁴ See Pekelis, "Dva ocherka o Dargomyzhskom. 2. Dargomyzhsky i orientalism," in *Sovetskaia muzyka* 2 (1963): 46-50, here 48.

krovi gorit” [In the Blood Burns the Fire] and his “Arabskaia melodiia” [Arabic Melody].¹⁵⁵

Example 3.19 Dargomyzhsky, “O deva-roza, ia v okovakh,” mm. 13-24

так со - ло - вей в ку - стах лав - ро - вых, пер - на - тый царь лес -

- ных пев - цов, близ ро - зы гор - дой и пре - крас - ной,

Thus, Dargomyzhsky’s attempt to develop a new musical vocabulary for the Oriental style should be acknowledged; his art songs with an oriental subject reveal an open-mindedness to oriental idioms and genuine desire to create a new type of music that

¹⁵⁵ See Balakirev was well acquainted with Dargomyzhsky’s “O deva roza, ia v okovakh,” as he arranged it for a small orchestra even before it was published. M. Pekelis, *Polnoe sobranie*, vol. 1, 658. Another member of the Kuchka, Cesar Cui, might also have witnessed the song’s first unofficial performance: in the late 1850s, he and Balakirev frequented Dargomyzhsky’s weekly musical evenings during which the composers shared new ideas and performed their newly composed works. See Gordeeva, 10. Later Cui praised this song as being a “perfect sound embodiment of the Orient” [*sovershennoe zvukovoe olitsetvorenie Vostoka*]. See Cui, “Ocherk razvitiia romansa v Rossii,” *Artist* 45 (Jan., 1895), 12.

would represent oriental Others. Nevertheless, Dargomyzhsky's relatively careful attitude towards oriental music did not entail a careful attitude towards the representation of oriental people. His general view and representation of the Orient as a feminized and simultaneously belligerent land simply replicates Western European stereotypes. It is striking that, although in Russian/Soviet literature Dargomyzhsky is known as the "father of Russian musical realism," his portrayal of the oriental subject in music somewhat undermines this common assertion. One possible explanation is that Dargomyzhsky sought not only to create an alluring representation of other lands in his oriental art songs but also to evoke the Russian concept of "artistic truth" [*khudozhestvennaia pravda*]. The "artistic truth," as opposed to literal truth of realism, was intended to create a subjective impression of the Orient, which would not necessarily present the subject as it was but rather an idea about it. Thus, Dargomyzhsky created an oriental world that fulfilled the Russian audiences' expectations of the Orient.¹⁵⁶

Conclusion

The Russian notion of O/orientalism included a number of contradictory elements and images that emerged in an intricate historical and political atmosphere. Some nineteenth-century Russian composers, such as Alexander Aliab'ev, revealed a genuine interest in and respectful attitude towards the culture of the Other; while others, such as Dargomyzhsky, relied mostly on Western orientalist clichés. Those who sympathized with the oppressed not only named the subaltern by its ethnic origin, but also gave the

¹⁵⁶ See Taruskin's discussion of verisimilitude in Russian oriental songs, in "Entoiling the Falconet," 199-201.

Other a voice through his/her original tunes and offered the oppressed the opportunity to narrate his own story with his own accent (although in a language understandable to Russians). However, those who were not acquainted with the suffering and desperation of oppressed Orientals stigmatized Orientals with images imported from the West. One possible explanation for this ambiguous attitude towards the Other might be the increasing urgency of self-definition instigated by the growth of European nationalism. As Vera Tolz argues, nineteenth-century Russian O/orientalist scholars were influenced by the “pervasive impact of nationalism on European scholarship” and aimed at “nation-building ... rather than imperial domination of the minorities by the Russians.”¹⁵⁷ After the war with Napoleon, which seriously shook Russia’s belief in being affiliated with European (French) culture, and before entering into protracted expansionistic campaigns in Central Asia, Russian artists (musicians) searched for their distinct selves by building their musical empires either by embracing the identity of the southern (Caucasian) neighbours, or by negating it. In the end, Russia’s Orient existed not only to be as, in Pushkin’s words, “a spark to poet’s inspiration,” but also for the sake of the poet’s distinctively Russian self-existence.

¹⁵⁷ See Vera Tolz, “Orientalism, Nationalism and Ethnic Diversity in Late Imperial Russia,” *The Historical Journal* 48, no. 1 (2005): 127.

CHAPTER 4

“I UNDERSTOOD THE SOUL OF THESE SONGS”: BALAKIREV, THE ORIENT, AND THE FIVE

“You will not believe what an enormous and important role he played in the education of all of us – this energetic young Balakirev, who had just returned from the Caucasus and played for us the little oriental songs [*pesenki*] he had heard there! If they still appeal to you even now, you can imagine what they meant in those days to us, who had never before heard anything like that. To us those new sounds were in their way a revelation; we were all literally reborn.”¹

Rimsky-Korsakov

Milii Balakirev’s role in the formation of Russian musical style cannot be overestimated. He appeared on Russia’s cultural horizon at the particular moment when the socio-political atmosphere (discussed in Chapter One) was especially unstable and when interest in gathering all types of ethnographic material (discussed in Chapter Two) was at a peak in Russian society. At this moment Milii Balakirev, along with like-minded friends Alexander Borodin, Nikolai Rimsky-Korsakov, Modest Musorgsky, and Cesar Cui, grappled with the most important subject in Russian culture: the search for a national identity. As has been often noted before, in this quest for Russianness the Kuchka members uncovered something that they thought would distinguish them from the rest of Europe: the oriental element. In his oft-cited article on Russian music, Vladimir Stasov identified “the Oriental element” as one of the four distinguishing features of Russian

¹ See N.A. Rimsky-Korsakov. *Vospominaniia V.V. Yastrebtseva*, vol. 1, 1886-1897 (Leningrad: Muzgiz, 1959), p. 112. For the English translation of this passage, see A.A. Yastrebtsev, *Reminiscences of Rimsky-Korsakov*, ed. and trans. by Florence Jonas (New York: Columbia University Press, 1985), 48.

music.² Unfortunately, Stasov did not explain why and how the composers of the New Russian School “reproduced the unique forms of the East.”

In this chapter I will consider how Mili Balakirev and other members of the *Moguchaia Kuchka* (or the Kuchka) approached oriental subjects and how they incorporated ethnographic material published in nineteenth-century Russia or material Balakirev brought back from his trips to the Caucasus. I will argue that two major threads run through musical works written by the members of the Kuchka. The first, which I shall call the “ethnographic approach,” is one in which the composers first collected folk tunes (Russian or oriental) and later incorporated the collected material into their works. The second, which I shall call “westernized,” can be described as borrowing ready-made Western oriental musical material, images, and gestures from Western collections of oriental songs and incorporating them into original compositions. I suggest that, as the mastermind of the Kuchka, Balakirev encouraged an “ethnographic approach” and did his best to introduce, share, and represent original musical material that he brought back from his trips to the Caucasus.

In her recent book on Russian nationalism, Marina Frolova-Walker argues that Balakirev perceived the Orient as a part of Russian ancestry and, consequently, used the oriental style as an essential component of Russian musical style.³ I will develop Frolova-Walker’s argument and give a fuller account of the composer’s contribution to the

² See Vladimir Stasov, “Nasha muzyka za posledniia 25 let,” *Vestnik Evropy* (October, 1883), reprinted in V. V. Stasov, *Izbrannye sochineniia v trekh tomakh* (Moscow: Iskusstvo, 1952), 2: 522-68. For a translation, see P. Weiss and R. Taruskin, *Music in the Western World: A History in Documents* (New York: Schirmer Books, 1984), 390-94.

³ See Frolova-Walker, *Russian Music and Nationalism: From Glinka to Stalin* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2007), 153-54.

creation of Russian musical orientalism/Russianness by looking at Balakirev's vocal pieces with oriental subjects and comparing them with the composer's own transcriptions of oriental tunes. I will identify some characteristic elements and musical gestures that entered into Russian musical vocabulary as oriental but later became embraced as a part of Russia's own musical style. I will argue that Balakirev was sensitive to the nature of his sources and particularly careful in the representation of at least one ethnic group living in the Caucasus, the Georgians.

1. The Mighty Five and Their Approach to the "Orient"

Milii Balakirev

The Kuchka's head – Milii Balakirev – was interested in learning about oriental music firsthand.⁴ He traveled to the Caucasus three times and brought back a number of Armenian, Kalmyk, Kabardian, Georgian, and Persian tunes that he used and shared with the members of his circle. The Caucasus, however, was not the only region where Balakirev gathered oriental melodies. As Rimsky-Korsakov recounted, when he and Balakirev visited the barracks of His Majesty's body-guard on Shpalernaia street, they heard how oriental men [*vostochnye "cheloveki"*] played music on some kind of balalaika-shaped or guitar-like instrument and sang "in chorus the melody of Glinka's *Persian Chorus*, though a variation of it." Balakirev immediately transcribed another melody sung by the group, which, according to Rimsky-Korsakov, he later used as the

⁴ I will consider Balakirev's approach to the East in detail later in this chapter.

first subject of the Allegro of his symphonic poem *Tamara*.⁵ For Balakirev the spirit of folksong was alive and could be found anywhere; thus, he took every opportunity to gather original folk material. Furthermore, he encouraged other composers to collect exotic music. After his studies in the navy, Rimsky-Korsakov went on a maritime trip on the ship *Almaz* (1862-65) and sent Balakirev an Indian song that he transcribed during his travels. Balakirev replied with the following request: “If you have a chance to hear primitive songs [*dikie pesni*], please, transcribe them and listen attentively to the rhythm played on drums, and everything related to the primitive music.”⁶ Like many other European musicians, such as Fétis, Balakirev probably believed that so-called “primitive” people used drum instruments more than anything else.⁷

Balakirev also sent some material to his French colleague, Louis-Albert Bourgault-Ducoudray, who at that time was writing his opera *Tamara*.⁸ After the successful premiere of the opera, Bourgault-Ducoudray wrote a letter to Balakirev, thanking him for sending “precious material,” which gave him a clear idea about

⁵ See E. Frid, “Simfonicheskoe tvorchestvo,” in *Milii Alekseevich Balakirev. Issledovaniia i stat'i*, Iu. N. Kremlev, A.S. Liapunova, and E.L. Frid, eds. (Leningrad: Gos.Muz.Izdat, 1961), 76-204, here 159-60; Nikolai Rimsky-Korsakov, *My Musical Life*, translated from the revised second Russian edition by Judah A. Joffe (New York: Tutor Publishing Co., 1936), 60.

⁶ “Vnimatel'no vslushivaites' i v ritm barabanov, i vo vse, do dikoi muzyki otnosiashcheesia.” See Balakirev's letter to Rimsky-Korsakov on 14 Dec., 1863, in Nikolai Rimsky-Korsakov, *Polnoe Sobranie Sochinenii: Literaturnye proizvedeniia i perepiska*, vol. 5 (Moscow: Gos. Muz. Izdat., 1966), 75. “Dikii” can be translated as “savage,” “wild,” or “primitive” with a “wild” overtone.

⁷ In Chapter Five I will address the issue of the association of musical instruments with certain levels of cultural development.

⁸ See B.M. Dobrovol'skii, “M.A. Balakirev. Zapisi kavkazskoi narodnoi muzyki,” in *Milii Alekseevich Balakirev. Vospominaniia i pis'ma*, Iu.A. Kremlev, A.S. Liapunova and E.L. Frid, eds. (Leningrad: Gosmuzizdat, 1962), 434.

Caucasian music, and confessed that he would not have been able to create the local colour found in the score without Balakirev's help.⁹

Modest Musorgsky and Alexander Borodin

Except for Balakirev, no other member of the Kuchka had the opportunity to spend time in Russia's Orient and gather music ethnographic material firsthand. However, the appeal of creating oriental music works based on original material was so strong that some members of the Kuchka befriended ethnographers and anthropologists to acquire information from distant lands. For instance, Musorgsky heard and transcribed some Asian songs from his friend, the traveler, Orientalist, and amateur musician Petr Ivanovich Pashino, who memorized and brought many tunes from the places he visited.¹⁰ The list of oriental tunes he transcribed from Pashino includes music from different ethnicities: Burman, Armenian, Kyrgyz, and one "Dervish" melody of Persian origin.¹¹ Musorgsky also transcribed one Turkish melody from Russian writer Vsevolod Vladimirovich Krestovskii, who participated in the 1877-1878 Russo-Turkish War as an official war correspondent and brought some interesting musical material back from his

⁹ R.I. Zaritskaia, "Pis'ma k Louis Albert Bourgault-Ducoudray," in *Balakirev. Vospominaniia i pis'ma*, 205.

¹⁰ E.M. Gordeeva, *Kompository moguchei kuchki* (Moscow: Muzyka, 1986), 175-78. **Petr Ivanovich Pashino (1838-1891)** was a member of the Russian Imperial Geographic Society, and worked as a secretary at the Persian Embassy. He traveled to Afghanistan, India, Burma, Turkestan, China, Japan, Egypt, Ethiopia, and European countries, wrote books on his travels to Turkestan, and contributed a number of articles to the well-known journal *Sovremennik* [Contemporary]. For a detailed account of his life, see E. Gnevusheva, *Zabytyi puteshestvennik* [A Forgotten Traveler] (Moscow: Gos. izd-vo geograf. lit-ry, 1958).

¹¹ See Modest Musorgsky, *Complete Works XX*, Paul Lamm, ed. (New York: Kalmus, 1969), 24-26. The Dervish song was probably the one Pashino learnt in Persia. According to Gnevusheva, during his 1861 trip to Persia Pashino became acquainted with dervishes from whom he transcribed a number of stories. Pashino sympathized with them because they opposed the Shakh's ruling system and the Muslim clergy. See Gnevusheva, 31.

trip.¹² According to Gordeeva, Musorgsky planned to include all these tunes in his opera *Pugachevshchina*, which he never finished. Musorgsky is also known for transcribing some Jewish songs that he heard in his neighbourhood and during his trip to Southern Russia. He incorporated them later into his chorus from *Salammbô*.¹³ Although Musorgsky's experience with oriental music cannot be considered purely "ethnographic" given that the composer never traveled further than Crimea or Kazan, the fact that he transcribed the music himself indicates his inclination towards an ethnographic method of collecting music material.

Borodin also contacted a Russian traveler and ethnographer, Vladimir Nikolaevich Mainov, when he started working on his opera *Prince Igor*.¹⁴ Mainov, in turn, approached his colleague in Budapest, the Hungarian scholar and traveler Pál Hunfalvy, who studied Finno-Ugric peoples in Central Asia and Polovtsian districts of Hungary.¹⁵ According to Vladimir Stasov, Mainov gave Borodin some motives from songs of the Finno-Ugric peoples and some motives from Central Asia transcribed by Hunfalvy.¹⁶ Besides the melodies, Mainov forwarded a list of Hungarian folksong collections, which included a "special collection of Polovtsian melodies."¹⁷ In a letter to

¹² See Gordeeva, 174; P.A. Nikolaev et al., eds., *Russkie pisateli 1800-1917. Biograficheskii slovar'. T.3* (Moscow: Bol'shaia rossiiskaia entsiklopediia, 1994), 146-49.

¹³ See Boris Schwarz, "Musorgsky's interest in Judaica," in *Musorgsky: In Memoriam, 1881-1981*, M. Brown, ed. (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1982), 50.

¹⁴ **Vladimir Nikolaevich Mainov (1845-1888)**, a Russian writer and ethnographer. A member of the Russian Geographical Society, he traveled and studied the northern peoples of Russia. He was known for his book *Trip in Obonezhie and Korela* (St. Petersburg, 1974). See *Slovar' Brokgauza i Efrona*, vol. xviii (St. Petersburg, 1896), 383.

¹⁵ S.A. Dianin, *Borodin* (London and New York: Oxford University Press, 1963), 86, 315.

¹⁶ See V.V. Stasov, "Alexander Porfirievich Borodin," in *A.P. Borodin v vospominaniakh sovremennikov*, A.P. Zorina, ed. (Moscow: Muzyka, 1985), 31.

¹⁷ Dianin, 87.

Borodin, Mainov speculated that the Polovtsian music might resemble the music of Chuvash, Bashkir, and Kyrgyz people, since Konchak ruled both the Polovtsians and the Kumans (people related to Altai Turks).¹⁸

Despite Borodin's interest in the ethnographies of the peoples he represented in his opera, his career as a scientist kept him from traveling for ethnographic purposes. Sometimes he was compelled to rely on transcriptions of collections of oriental songs, as in the case of *Arabskaia Melodiia* [*Arab Melody*]. In his article on Russian Orientalism, Richard Taruskin examined the source of Borodin's *Arabskaia Melodiia* and how the composer evoked the orient by introducing a "snaking chromatic accompanying line" to support an entirely diatonic tune.¹⁹ What Taruskin did not discuss is a footnote to this tune in Christianowitsch's collection, which draws attention to its striking similarity to the Russian folksong, "Podbliudnaia pesnia."²⁰ In the nineteenth century this Russian folksong was used to represent the Russian monarchy and was often included in Russian operas as the subject of a glorifying choir "Slava!"²¹ Indeed, thirteen notes of the middle part of the Arabic "Insiraf Grib" transcribed by Christianowitsch coincide with the opening of "Slava!" (if one disregards the first two notes) (**Examples 4.1a and 4.1b**).

It is probably not a coincidence that of the forty melodies from Christianowitsch's *Esquisse* Borodin chose this particular one. The melodic elements that evoked both

¹⁸ Ibid., 86-87.

¹⁹ See Taruskin, *Defining Russian Musically: Historical and Hermeneutical Essays* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1997), 166.

²⁰ See A. Borodin, "Arabskaia melodiia," in *12 Songs for Voice and Piano* (New York: International Music Co., 1994), 27-29; A. Christianowitsch, "Arabic Noubas Grib," in *Esquisse Historique de la musique arabe aux temps anciens avec dessins d'instruments et 40 mélodies notées et harmonisées par Christianowitsch* (Cologne: Librairie du M. Dumont Schauberg, 1863), xx.

²¹ See Taruskin, "Slava!" in *Opera News* 55, no. 9 (19 January 1991): 18-21. Christianowitsch cited the melody of "Slava!" in his *Esquisse Historique*, xx.

Russian and Eastern music in *Arabskaia melodiia* might have appealed to Borodin because of his own mixed Western-Asian identity. As is well known, Borodin was the illegitimate son of Luka Gedeonov, a Georgian prince with Tatar ancestry, and Avdot'ia Antonova, a Russian woman of simple origins. Christianowitsch's remark that this tune could have been brought to Russia through the Tatars may have strengthened Borodin's desire to harmonize it.²² Perhaps the phenomenon of seeing the Self in the Other and the Other in the Self was a driving force behind Borodin's oriental compositions.

Example 4.1 a) "Insiraf Grib" from A. Christianowitsch's *Esquisse Historique*, p. xx, mm. 12-20; b) Russian folksong "Podbliudnaia pesnia" known as "Slava!" mm. 1-6.

a)



b)



Besides Christianowitsch's collection of Arabic tunes, Borodin also possessed Salvador-Daniel's *Album de douze chansons Arabes, Mauresques et Kabyles* with transcriptions of Algerian, Mauritanian, and Kabul songs and a separate edition of two of Salvador-Daniel's songs, "Soleima" and "Heuss ed Duoro," both of which are based on Algerian and Tunisian tunes.²³ As Dianin has demonstrated convincingly, many musical

²² Ibid.

²³ See Rimsky-Korsakov, *My Musical Life*, 80-81; Dianin, 307.

elements of the Polovtsian sections from Borodin's celebrated opera *Prince Igor* resemble these songs of Salvador-Daniel.²⁴

Nikolai Rimsky-Korsakov

In spite of the ethnographic interests of Russian composers, some members of the Kuchka circle neither engaged directly with the peoples they were representing nor were interested in finding someone who had been in close contact with oriental peoples. They rather preferred music material published in European editions, processed through Western ears. Rimsky-Korsakov, for instance, incorporated in his works examples from collections of oriental songs, such as Salvador-Daniel's *Album* and Alexandre Christianowitsch's *Esquisse historique de la musique arab*.²⁵ Notably, most of the songs Russian composers drew from these collections evoked Western stereotypes of the oriental Other and used well-established European gestures to define the musical Orient.²⁶ For instance, Rimsky-Korsakov's symphonic work *Antar*, based on a popular Orientalist story by Senkovskii, characterizes the East through three main themes: revenge, power, and love, which a male protagonist wants to experience.²⁷

Among the kuchkist composers, Rimsky-Korsakov perhaps treated the ethnographic material with the most freedom. He boldly changed melodic and rhythmic patterns of certain folksongs. Although he legitimized his actions as being motivated by

²⁴ See Dianin, 308-310.

²⁵ See Gordeeva, 77-80.

²⁶ See Borodin's *Arabskaia melodiia*.

²⁷ On *Antar*'s program see A. Kandinskii, *Istoriia russkoi muzyki*, vol. 2 (Moscow: Muzyka, 1979), 233.

artistic reasons, he was probably catering to his European audience for whom the Orient was associated with only certain musical gestures. I am alluding to the example from *The Legend of the Invisible City of Kitezh* (an opera, completed in 1905, whose plot is set around the time of the “Tatar yoke”), in which Rimsky-Korsakov added an augmented second in an otherwise diatonic Russian song “On the Tatar Captivity.”²⁸ The least acquainted with oriental culture but the most prolific in writing music with an oriental subject, Rimsky-Korsakov, in Said’s words, orientalized the Orient in order to meet the expectations of the sophisticated nineteenth-century European audience.²⁹

This most obvious feature in Rimsky-Korsakov’s works has been discussed in certain writings on Russian music.³⁰ Another, more problematic issue, however, seems to have been neglected in major Russian and Western writings on Russian music. In some oriental art songs Rimsky-Korsakov used a musical vocabulary similar to the Russian lexicon; that is, they sound as Russian as they do oriental.³¹ Consider, for instance, the following examples that reveal glaring melodic similarities between the beginning of Rimsky-Korsakov’s “Pesnia Zyuleiki” [Zuleika’s Song] (**Example 4.2a**), and the beginning of Liubava’s aria from his opera *Sadko* (**Example 4.2b**). The orchestra’s

²⁸ See A. Kandinskii, *Istoriia russkoi muzyki*, 2: 199; Ibrahim Quraishi, “Kitezh and the Russian Notion of Oriental Despotism,” *The Opera Quarterly* 13, no. 2 (1996-1997): 69-74. On the representation of Eastern Others in *Kitezh* see Simon Morrison, *Russian Opera and the Symbolist Movement* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), 156-157.

²⁹ See Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Vintage Books, 1978).

³⁰ See Quraishi, “Kitezh” and Francis Maes, *A History of Russian Music from Kamarinskaya to Babi Yar*, trans. A.J. and E. Pomerans (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), 82.

³¹ Simon Morrison observes an important point of transition, and of fruitful interchange, between the Russian and oriental/fairytale features in Rimsky-Korsakov’s opera *Sadko* and claims that the composer, by depicting the self as other and the other as the self, “rather than strengthening conventional subject-object divisions” affirms that “for all peoples of all places, identity and reality exists in flux.” S. Morrison, “The Semiotics of Symmetry, or Rimsky-Korsakov’s Operatic History Lesson,” in *Cambridge Opera Journal* 13, no. 3 (2001): 291.

diatonic melody played in unison in Scene III, which introduces the Russian female protagonist Liubava (Sadko's wife), is almost identical to the vocal melody of a supposedly oriental female singer – Zuleika – in Rimsky-Korsakov's art song, written a decade before his opera *Sadko*.

Example 4.2 a) Rimsky-Korsakov, “Pesnia Ziuleiki,” op. 26/4, mm. 1-6; b) Rimsky-Korsakov, Liubava's aria from *Sadko* (Scene III), mm. 1-8

a)



b)



Did Rimsky-Korsakov want to demystify the Orient? Or was he simply so enamoured with the melody of his oriental art song that he decided to reuse it a few years later to present a Russian female character? Alternatively, as Simon Morrison suggests, perhaps in *Sadko*, Rimsky-Korsakov intended to “demonstrate the inherent universality, rather than the inherent foreignness, of Russian music.”³² The answer to these questions can perhaps be found in Rimsky-Korsakov's own statements in his conversation with P. Karasyev. The composer did not believe in a Russian musical style *per se*. As Frolova-

³² See Ibid.

Walker points out, Rimsky-Korsakov “came to believe that Russian style was in truth no different from any other style that he might choose to adopt for purposes of local colour or simply on a whim: the Russian style, like any other, was merely a set of conventions.”³³ In order to make music to sound “Russian,” he suggested “not writing according to specific rules but rather by removing from the common language of music those devices which are inappropriate to the Russian spirit.”³⁴ Such a technique of self-imposed restrictions and negations, according to Rimsky-Korsakov, could be used to master any type of local colour. In other words, Rimsky-Korsakov believed that different national styles shared a pool of similar musical resources that have to be carefully distributed or avoided in order to create characteristically Russian, Spanish, or German music. Unfortunately, the composer did not leave a list of musical elements, melodic and harmonic patterns, representing different national styles.

The musical “confusion” of the Russian and oriental identities does not end here. In his art song “V temnoi roshche zamolk solovei” [In the Dark Grove the Nightingale Fell Silent], Rimsky-Korsakov adds several musical gestures from the oriental vocabulary, such as melismas and chromaticism, although there is no allusion to any oriental subject in the text.³⁵ Another Kuchka member, Borodin, also “confused” Russian and oriental female protagonists in his celebrated opera *Prince Igor*. As Sergei Dianin has noted, the composer planned to use the same melodic material for both Konchak’s

³³ See Frolova-Walker, *Russian Music and Nationalism*, 207.

³⁴ Ibid.

³⁵ Only a remote connection with the East can be suggested here: in Sufi poetry, a nightingale is a symbolic figure that represents a soul longing for eternal beauty. See Carl E. Ernst, “The Symbolism of Birds and Flight in the Writings of Ruzbihan Baqli,” in *The Heritage of Sufism*, ed. by Leonard Lewisohn (Oxford: One World, 1999), 353-66.

daughter and Iaroslavna.³⁶ In other words, he considered the possibility of exchanging Russian and oriental identities. Above some tunes in his sketchbook Borodin indicated: “Material intended for Konchak’s daughter or Iaroslavna, suitable for an impassioned, dramatic recitative.”³⁷ Significantly, Borodin not only singled out a couple of expressive gestures for both Russian and Eastern female characters, but also identified both characters with the adjectives “impassioned and dramatic,” which were commonly used as oriental markers.

Another striking example of this musical confusion is found in the last movement of *Prince Igor*, in “Plach Iaroslavny,” or “Iaroslavna’s lament.” In her aria, Iaroslavna, Igor’s wife, expresses her grief about Igor’s captivity. She calls the wind, the river Dnepr, and the sun, and reproaches them for not helping Igor in the battle. At the beginning of her aria, the Russian heroine sings in a perfectly oriental style, with a characteristic melisma and an augmented second (**Example 4.3**).

Perhaps for Borodin emotionally charged moments (the beginning of the aria is marked *dolce ed espressivo*) were stylistically similar whether they featured Russian or oriental characters, or maybe he associated intense emotions (regardless which character expressed them) with oriental vocabulary. Or perhaps this musical “confusion” was shaped by the ideas shared by many members of Russian society, including Balakirev and Stasov, who truly believed that the Russians shared a common ancestor with the Asian peoples. Thus, as Frolova-Walker puts it:

³⁶ See Dianin, 305.

³⁷ Ibid.

Balakirev did not see the Oriental style as means of representing a separate, alien people, an Other, in current parlance, but as an essential component of musical Russianness... the Oriental style became a default style, so that he ceased to perceive it as Oriental.³⁸

Thus, Frolova-Walker's statement about Balakirev's Oriental style seems to be applicable to at least two other members of the Kuchka – Rimsky-Korsakov and Borodin.

Example 4.3 Borodin, "Iaroslavna's lament" from *Prince Igor* (act IV), mm. 1-17.

Moderato assai ♩=69

pp pp mp dolce ed espr. pp mp

aug. 2 3

pp mp mp

aug. 2 3

Ярославна

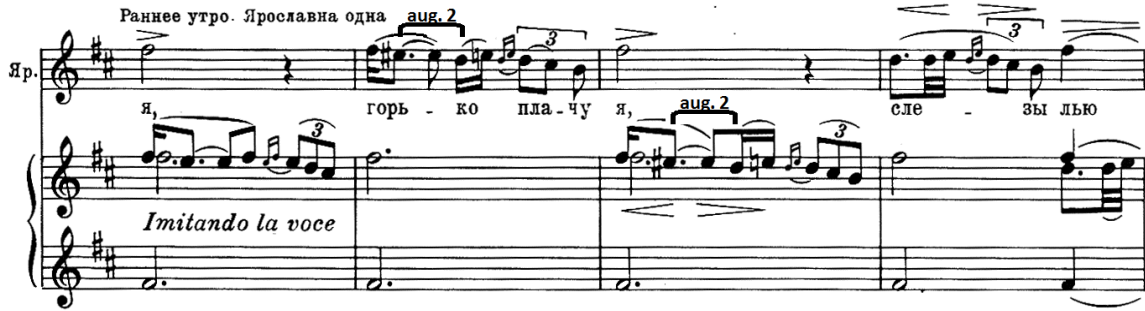
Городская стена и площадь в Путивле.

Ах! плачу

lunga pp

ЗАНАВЕС

³⁸ Frolova-Walker, 153.



Cesar Cui

The last member of the Kuchka -- and perhaps the least known for his musical works -- Cesar Cui entered the Russian music-nationalist Olympus as a famous critic, although some of his works did gain popularity in his own day.³⁹ Apart from his *Prisoner of the Caucasus*, Cui wrote a number of art songs with an oriental subject. It seems that Cui, unlike the four other members of the Kuchka, did not care at all about ethnographic material from the East. As Dianin pointed out, Cui “was opposed to any kind of ‘ethnographical tendency’ in music.”⁴⁰ He mostly used Western musical and non-musical clichés of oriental others, creating images that promoted disparaging and degrading representations of oriental peoples. For instance, Cui set two texts by Jean Richepin with oriental protagonists -- Attila and a Turk, both renowned for their ferocity -- in “Le Spadassin” [A Hired Killer] and “Mon Rival” [My Rival].⁴¹ By choosing two texts from Richepin’s *Les Blasphèmes*, in which Huns and Turks are described with images of the

³⁹ For instance, his operas *Kavkazskii plennik* [*Prisoner of the Caucasus*] and *Syn Mandarina* enjoyed some popular success.

⁴⁰ Dianin, 306.

⁴¹ See Cesar Cui, *Vingt poemes de Jean Richepin*, op. 44 (Paris: Heugel, 1890).

cruellest destruction and brutality, Cui reveals a fundamentally negative attitude towards orientals.⁴² The Turk in Richepin's poem promises to desecrate Christian churches in Constantinople and make golden horseshoes from sacred objects, while the Hun sings about the bloody conquest of Europe: "In my haughty gallop I pass, and, when I leave, one sees dispersed corpses everywhere. It is my arrogant saber that scattered them."⁴³

This hostile attitude towards oriental peoples resonated with the Russian ideology of imperialism, which in official circles became prevalent at the end of the nineteenth century.⁴⁴ The "pacification" of the Caucasus and the conquest of "fanatic" Muslim Central Asian khanates in the 1860s confirmed Russia's European status and reinforced a strong sense of Russia's civilizing mission in the East. It is possible that Cui sympathised with these views since he had been affiliated with the official Russian military agency – the Academy of Military Engineering – and remained attached to his official duties until the end of his life. In 1877-78 Cui was even sent to the frontline during the Russo-Turkish war as an expert on fortifications.⁴⁵ Furthermore, among his students in the Nikolaevkii Engineering Academy were members of the Imperial family, most notably,

⁴² Cui's negative opinion about the Turks could have been gained in his trip to Turkey during the Russo-Turkish War of 1877. In an article for an engineering journal written shortly after his trip to Turkey, Cui describes the cities "ravaged" and "devastated" by the Turks and the Bugar people, who are afraid to have another slaughter. See Cui, *Putevye zametki inzhenernogo ofitsera na teatre voennykh deistvii v evropeiskoi Turtsii* [Travel Notes by Engineering Officer on the Site of Military Action in European Turkey] (Saint Petersburg: Tip. Dep. Udelov, 1878).

⁴³ "Dans mon galope superbe je passe, et quand je pars on voit de toutes parts de cadavres épars. C'est mon sabre superbe qui les épargilla." Cesar Cui, *Vint poemes* (1890), 46-47.

⁴⁴ On Russia's imperialistic ideology, see Mark Bassin, *Imperial Visions: Nationalist Imagination and Geographical Expansion in the Russian Far East 1840-1865* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999), esp. 37-68 and 182-205; Austin Jersild, *Orientalism and Empire: North Caucasus Mountain Peoples and the Georgian Frontier 1845-1917* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2002); David Schimmelpenninck van der Oye, *Toward the Rising Sun: Russian Ideologies of Empire and the Path to War with Japan* (Northern Illinois University Press, 2001).

⁴⁵ See A.F. Nazarov, *Tsezar' Antonovich Cui* (Moscow: Muzyka, 1989), 107.

Nicolas II.⁴⁶ In his final years, the composer was showered with decorations and titles of honour from the Russian and French military services and attained the military rank of General in 1906. Unsurprisingly, when his Kuchka fellow, Rimsky-Korsakov, was fired from the Saint-Petersburg Conservatoire after the first Russian revolution in 1905, Cui did not sign a petition supporting his “bright-red” friend.

Thus, in my view, one of the factors that almost certainly contributed to the diverse approaches to oriental subjects among the members of the Kuchka is the composers’ differing social and professional backgrounds. Balakirev, Borodin, and Musorgsky, whose lives were not associated with official Russian military service, tended to make greater use of ethnographic material in recreating the music of the oriental peoples.⁴⁷ On the other hand, Rimsky-Korsakov, who served in the Imperial Russian Navy until his late twenties, and Cui, who remained in military service until his death, did not care much about the ethnographic authenticity of the music in oriental art songs. It is perhaps not a coincidence that Rimsky-Korsakov and Cui – two composers who had served in State institutions – tended towards the presentation of a homogenized and stereotypical image of the East.

⁴⁶ See A.A. Il’inskii and G. Pakhul’skii, *Biografii kompositorov s IV-XX veka s portretami* (Moscow: Izd. K.A. Durnovo, 1904), 518.

⁴⁷ Balakirev had never served, Musorgsky resigned his commission as an officer in the Preobrazhenskii Regiment in his early twenties, and Borodin served as a physician in the Second Military-Land Forces Hospital only for one year and a half.

2. Balakirev and his Experience with Oriental/Asian Music

Balakirev's earliest experience with oriental music might have been in Nizhnii Novgorod, the city where he was born and spent his youth. As the "third official capital," Nizhnii Novgorod was famous for its annual summer trade fair – the largest in Europe (bigger than in Leipzig) – which transformed the city into a meeting place for Eastern and Western cultures; people from remote areas of the vast Russian Empire and elsewhere came for two summer months to trade.⁴⁸ One participant asserted on the pages of the Russian journal *Severnaia pchela* that

One can meet Armenians, Bukhareans, and Tatars all over the place. The dialects of many ethnic groups constantly pursue you, so that it seems that here is the second building of the tower of Babel.⁴⁹

Besides the yearly trade fairs, Balakirev could have gained some musical experience from Novgorod's diverse local population, which included Tatars, Mordvinians, and Cheremis people.⁵⁰ In addition, Balakirev's mentor, friend, and patron, Alexander Ulybyshev, a local landowner in Nizhnii Novgorod, was also interested in oriental music. In his writings, Ulybyshev described his experience listening to Turkish and Persian songs from the "natives" [*tuzemtsy*].⁵¹ Because Ulybyshev played a crucial

⁴⁸ See Dominic Lieven, ed., *The Cambridge History of Russia. Vol. 2: Imperial Russia, 1689-1917* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 268. Over 1.5 million people attended the Fair each year. As Tatiana Zaitseva points out, the fair "favoured the city's connection with the distant world's corners. It is not a coincidence that among the fair's pavilions there were Chinese rows, symbolizing trade market with China and other Asian countries; there was also an Armenian church." See Zaitseva, *Milii Alekseevich Balakirev. Istoki* (Saint Petersburg: Kanon, 2004), 96.

⁴⁹ "Armian, Bukhar, Tatar takoe mnozhestvo, chto na kazhdom shagu vstrechaesh' ikh. Dialekty mnogikh natsional'nostei besprestanno presleduiut vas, tak chto kazhetsia, chto tut vtoroe Vavilonskoe stolpotvorenie." Ibid.

⁵⁰ See *Cambridge History of Russia*, vol. 2, 271.

⁵¹ On the influence of Ulybyshev on Balakirev's formation as an artist, see T. Zaitseva (2004), 145-54.

role in Balakirev's early education, he could have been one of the first to introduce Balakirev to oriental tunes.

When Balakirev left Nizhnii Novgorod to study at Kazan University, he was once again in a multiethnic milieu: both the students and the professors at Kazan University were of different ethnic backgrounds. The professors who taught in the Department of Oriental Studies, for example, were Tatars, Persians, Buriats, Turks, and representatives of other Asian ethnic groups.⁵² Even though Balakirev studied mathematics, he may have attended some lectures by the best professors from other faculties, including the Kazan's well-reputed Faculty of Oriental Studies. As Zaitseva has suggested, besides attending the required courses, students were also allowed to attend lectures by any of the professors on campus. Furthermore, the city of Kazan itself, which before the mid-sixteenth century was a centre of the Golden Horde, presented a mixture of Russians and Asians (mostly Tatars) living right beside each other.⁵³ It is difficult to imagine Balakirev not having any musical experience with the ethnically diverse local population during the two years that he spent in Kazan.

Therefore, Balakirev could have heard oriental (most probably Asian) music before he traveled to the Caucasus. Although there is no record of Asian tunes left from his life in Nizhnii Novgorod or Kazan, Balakirev's phenomenal memory certainly retained some musical material from his youth.

⁵² See S.M. Mikhailova, "Razvitie orientalistiki v Kazanskom universitete v XIX veke," in *Kazan, Moscow, St. Petersburg: Multiple Faces of the Russian Empire*, Catherine Evtukhov et al., eds. (Moscow: O.G.I., 1997), 275-301.

⁵³ In 1857, the Tatar population living in Kazan totaled 6,900. See D.M. Iskhakov, "O nekotorykh aspektakh formirovaniia gorodskoi kul'tury," in *Kazan, Moscow, St. Petersburg*, 253.

Balakirev and the Caucasus

Balakirev traveled to the Caucasus three times, in 1862, 1863, and 1868.⁵⁴ During his first trip he wrote a few letters to Stasov and Cui in which he expressed his delight with the Caucasian nature and people. He stated, “The climate here is delightful [prelestnyi], the view of the Caucasian mountains instils into me something energetic, strong.”⁵⁵

Many Russian/Soviet researchers have connected Balakirev’s fascination with the Caucasus to his admiration of Mikhail Lermontov, a Russian poet who served and died tragically in the Caucasus.⁵⁶ In a letter to Stasov written in Piatigorsk, Balakirev confessed:

I am breathing with Lermontov... of all Russian writers Lermontov affects me most of all... we agree on many things; I like the same kind of nature as Lermontov does... I like also Circassians, from their traditional costumes (I do not know a better costume than a Circassian), and there are many other strings touched by Lermontov, which resonate in me...⁵⁷

This might explain why most of Balakirev’s songs with an oriental subject were settings of Lermontov’s poems (“Pesnia Selima,” “Evreiskaia melodiia,” “Sosna,” and

⁵⁴ Although Balakirev also traveled to the Crimea region (in 1892), this trip was made at the end of his life and did not leave the same impressions on the composer’s writing.

⁵⁵ Cesar Cui, *Izbrannye pis'ma* (Leningrad: Gos.Muz.Izdat., 1955), 481.

⁵⁶ See E. Frid, “Simfonicheskoe tvorchestvo,” in *Balakirev. Issledovaniia i stat'i*, 156-157; V. A. Vasina-Grossman *Russkii klassicheskii romans XIX veka* [Russian Nineteenth-Century Classical Art Song] (Moscow: Izat. Akademii Nauk, 1956), 154.

⁵⁷ “Dyshu Lermontovym... Lermontov iz vsego russkogo sil'nee na menia deistvuet... my sovpadaem vo mnogom, ia liubliu takuiu zhe prirodu kak i Lermontov... cherkesy tochno tak zhe mne nraviatsia (luchshe cherkesskogo kostiuma ya ne znaiu), i mnogo eshche est' strun, kotorye Lermontov zatragivaet, kotorye otzyvaiutsia i vo mne...” See *M.A. Balakirev i V.V. Stasov. Perepistka*, A.S. Liapunova, ed., vol. 1 (Moscow: Muzyka, 1970), 188.

“Son”).⁵⁸ Besides the art songs, Balakirev composed one symphonic poem based on Lermontov’s narrative poem, *Tamara*, and also planned to write another programmatic symphony based on Lermontov’s *Mtsyri*.⁵⁹ Balakirev’s impression of the Caucasus countryside excited the composer even three decades after his trip to the Caucasus. In a letter to E. Reis Balakirev recalled:

The grandiose beauty of local [Caucasian] nature and the beauty of the tribes (inhabitants) [*plemena*] that harmonizes with it -- all these things together made a deep impression on me, and I conceived [to write] a large orchestral work to express these impressions.⁶⁰

During his second trip to the Caucasus in 1863 Balakirev’s “inclination” towards nature in the Caucasus developed into a genuine interest in the music and culture of Caucasian peoples. He wrote to Stasov that he found “some juice” [*nakhodit kakie-to soki*] in the “virgin breed of people not yet touched by civilization” [*v devstvennoi porode liudei netronutykh pokuda obshchestvennoi tsivilizatsiiei*].⁶¹ During this trip Balakirev “discovered” the Georgian culture and even learned some of the Georgian alphabet.⁶² In a

⁵⁸ See Table 2 on page 294.

⁵⁹ See Frid, “Simfonicheskoe tvorchestvo,” 156-57. Despite Lermontov’s excitement about Caucasian nature and people, as well as his alienation from the Russian aristocratic society, the poet participated in an aggressive war against the Caucasian mountaineers. As Ewa Thompson points out, Lermontov’s writing often carries imperial overtones: stereotyped images of subalterns, trivialization of the Caucasus, and a dismissive attitude towards the native inhabitants. See E. Thompson, *Imperial Knowledge. Russian Literature and Colonialism* (Westport and London: Greenwood Press, 2000), 70-73. What is more, Lermontov’s contemporary literary critics, such as Vissarion Belinskii, never recognized a problem of native inhabitants, confirming that they had been living within the Russian ethos of imperialism. See Thompson, 72.

⁶⁰ “Grandioznaia krasota tamoshnei roskoshnoi prirody i garnomiruiushchaia s nei krasota plemen, naseliavshikh etu stranu, --vse eto vmeste proizvelo na menya vpechatlenie glubokoe, i togda ia zadumal bol’shoe orkestrovoe sochinenie dlia vyrazheniia etikh vpechatlenii...” See *Milii Alekseevich Balakirev: Letopis’ zhizni i tvorchestva*, E. Frid et al., eds. (Leningrad: Muzyka, 1967), 93.

⁶¹ See *Perepiska M.A. Balakireva s V.V. Stasovym*, V. Karenin, ed., vol. 1 (Moscow: Muzgiz, 1935), 192.

⁶² Balakirev even signed his letter to Stasov in the Georgian alphabet. See *M.A. Balakirev i V.V. Stasov. Perepiska*, vol. 1 (1970), 220.

letter to Cui from Tiflis written in 1863, Balakirev declared: “I became a partisan of the Georgians... I love their songs, I even learned the Georgian alphabet... What a wonderful dance they have *lezginka* (the name of the dance)!”⁶³

Almost four decades after his first two trips to Georgia, Balakirev still recalled his impression of Georgian music. In a conversation with V.P. Glebov, when the latter remarked that Russian folksongs were “too monotonous, little melodious, and sometimes even cacophonic” [*odnoobrazny, malomelodichny, a podchas dazhe i priamo kakofonichny*], Balakirev replied that when he first traveled to the Caucasus he had similar feelings about the songs of the Georgian peasants. When he later analyzed their music in detail, however, and “understood the soul of these songs,” he became “enraptured” with their “richness and originality.”⁶⁴

Among the peoples of the Caucasus, Balakirev also expressed interest in the Armenians: he supported them in their conflict with the Azeri people, known as the Armeno-Tatar massacre, which started during the Russian Revolution of 1905 and lasted two years. In 1907 the composer contributed a collection of songs to the publication of *Artsunkner [Tears]* “for the benefit of starving Armenians.” He arranged an Armenian song that he had transcribed earlier from L.I. Karmalina for piano.⁶⁵

⁶³ “Ia sdelalsia zdes’ partizanom Gruzinskoi narodnosti... pesni ikh mne ochen’ nraviatsia, ia dazhe vyuchilsia gruzinskoi azbuke... Kakaia prelest’ ikh tanets lezginka!” See Cui, *Izbrannye pisl’ma*, 490-91. See this passage also in *M.A. Balakirev. Letopis’ zhizni i tvorchestva*, 93-94.

⁶⁴ This conversation with Glebov took place on 6 January 1904. See V.P. Glebov, “M.A. Balakirev (Iz vospominanii),” *Istoricheskii Vestnik* (December, 1916): 705. This passage is cited from *M.A. Balakirev. Letopis’ zhizni i tvorchestva*, 91.

⁶⁵ *Letopis’ zhizni i tvorchestva*, 280, 514. This song was published in 1907 in Saint Petersburg by Pushkinskaia tipografiia.

Balakirev's fondness for the Georgians and Armenians is not surprising, as both ethnic groups are Christians. It is perhaps more perplexing that Balakirev expressed a positive attitude towards the Muslim Circassians and Kabardians (a smaller group of Circassian people living in the Northwest Caucasus). While in the Caucasus, Balakirev wrote to Stasov and spoke about them as "a great bunch of people" [*slavnyi narod*].⁶⁶ He liked one of the Circassian dance melodies so much that it became the main theme for his famous piano piece *Islamei*. In a letter to Cui, Balakirev confessed that he liked Circassians as much as he liked Russians and added with indignation that Russians treated them "in the manner of the Tatars [*po-Tatarski*], or, one might say, in the manner of the Muscovites, [Russians] pillaging them as much as possible."⁶⁷

One anecdote from a visit to Kislovodsk, described in 1862 in a letter to Cui, is of special interest. At one point, Balakirev and the other Russian visitors at the resort met with the Circassian people and spoke with them for quite some time. At first, the Circassians were surprised that the Russians spoke to them with respect [*po-chelovechski*] and they "opened their mouths wide with amazement."⁶⁸ When Balakirev and the other Russians expressed their sympathy and the sympathy of all educated Russian society towards the Circassians, the latter wanted to hug the visitors, but the interpreter stopped them. Balakirev continued,

Then we spoke for a while in the same vein, and they were surprised and delighted with our speech (they are very naive), and finally one of them

⁶⁶ See M.A. Balakirev i V.V. Stasov. *Perepiska*, vol. 1 (1970), 188.

⁶⁷ "po-tatarski, luchshe skazat' po-moskovski, grabiat ikh naskol'ko vozmozhno." See Cui, *Izbrannye pis'ma*, 483. Here "po-Tatarski," or "in the manner of the Tatars," refers to the Tatar raids of the remote past (discussed in Chapter One), not the Tatars of the present day.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 483.

said: if all Russians here were like you, then the Caucasus would have been won long ago. I like Circassian simplicity and sincerity.⁶⁹

Here Balakirev revealed his genuine sympathy towards the maltreated Circassians and distanced himself from the “mean and predatory officials” [*gnusnye grabitel'stviushchie chinovniki*] who served in the Caucasus.

Balakirev's open-mindedness to the Circassians' situation, particularly their squalid living conditions, was probably a key to his comprehension of their music and culture. Indeed, it seems that Balakirev, to a certain extent, “understood the soul” and felt a profound empathy with certain Caucasian songs, and was able to transmit their spirit. According to P. Ostiakov's description of Balakirev's encounter with the Kabardians, the composer was so apt in arranging their dances that when he started playing their traditional music on the piano, “an 80-year-old man, a respectful *uzden*”⁷⁰ [*pochtennyi uzden*'], could not help [*ne vyterpel*] but throw himself into a dance” [*pustilsya v plias*].⁷¹ Balakirev's arrangement of a local tune not only was instantly recognizable but also captured the spirit of the dance so well that it inspired the local people to dance. It is possible that Balakirev's interest in the Circassians (Kabardians) arose from his admiration of Lermontov (who also adored Circassians) and the general Russian Romantic notion of the Caucasus as the land of freedom. As discussed in Chapter 3, for early nineteenth-century progressive readers, Circassians represented the free and

⁶⁹ “Zatem razgovor prodolzhsia v tom zhe vkuse, i oni udivlialis' i voskhishchalis' nashimi rechami (oni ochen' naivny), i nakonets odin iz nikh skazal: esli by zdes' russkie byli by takie zhe, kak i vy, Kavkaz davno uzhe byl by pokoren. Liubliu cherkesskuiu prostotu i chestnost'.” Ibid.

⁷⁰ *Uzden* is a person who belonged to the feudal nobility in Kabarda and Dagestan.

⁷¹ See P. Ostiakov in this “Narodnaia literatura kabardintsev i ee obraztsy,” *Vestnik Evropy*, no. 8 (August 1879), 702.

indomitable spirit of Russia's democratically inclined peoples, and the Caucasus in Russian literature (especially in Decembrist poetry) symbolized independence from and opposition to the suffocating official policy.

Example 4.4 Three melodies from Balakirev's letter to Stasov

a) Circassian:

Skoro [fast]



b) Spanish:



c) two Russian tunes:



Besides the Georgian, Armenian, and Circassian peoples, Balakirev also cultivated a great interest in Turkish and Persian music. In a letter to Stasov, he promised to “exert every effort” in order to travel to Spain, Turkey, and Persia.⁷² He might have wanted to explore certain musical similarities with Russian and oriental folksongs, because in the same letter to Stasov Balakirev cited a Russian folksong alongside Circassian and Spanish folksongs and pointed out their melodic resemblance: “These

⁷² See *Perepiska M.A. Balakireva s V.V. Stasovym*, vol. 1 (1935), 192.

songs are of the same kind, aren't they?"⁷³ Here are the three melodies, cited by Balakirev, that when presented in standard one-line notation might appear similar in melodic contour and rhythm to a non-specialist (**Example 4.4**).

Thus, this passage reveals that Balakirev's interest in finding similarity in music of Russian and oriental peoples contradicted the Orientalist binary opposition. The composer's evaluation of the melodies is not tainted with any sense of superiority over the conquered Circassians; rather, the compared cultures are considered almost as equals.

Balakirev's Transcriptions

What exactly did Balakirev transcribe? The composer's sketchbook with the Caucasus tunes often does not contain sufficient information on where, when, from whom, and how they were transcribed. He rarely wrote out the texts of the songs. Often he did not bother to indicate the tempo or meter and left many songs unfinished. As Russian/Soviet musicologist Frid has argued, Balakirev "was not a rigorous ethnographer."⁷⁴ However, some songs seem to be transcribed with great precision. For instance, as Boris Mikhailovich Dobrovol'skii points out, Balakirev's tune no. 22 appears in two later transcriptions: the first by Ippolitov-Ivanov, who traveled to Kakhetiia in 1882, and published in 1895 in the journal *Artist* with Georgian and Russian texts, and the second by Nikolai Klenovskii, who transcribed this tune in 1892 from one of his

⁷³ "Nepravda li chto eti pesni odnorodny?" Ibid.

⁷⁴ In *Islamei* he mixed in one melody transcribed in the Caucasus with another tune of the Crimean Tatars that he had heard in Moscow. Frid, "Simphonicheskoe tvorchestvo," 66-67.

Georgian students studying in Moscow.⁷⁵ Two years later Klenovskii arranged this tune for a male choir and published it in his *Etnograficheskii Contsert* [*Ethnographic Concert*], which I will discuss in Chapter Six. Indeed, all three versions have an identical melodic contour, the same opening and cadential gestures, as well as a characteristic sliding gesture from the fifth to the first scale degree at the end of the song. In short, all three songs look like the variants of one source melody.

A few of the tunes from Balakirev's transcription have brief notes that hint at the location and the situation in which they were transcribed. After gathering details from Balakirev's notebook and analyzing the tunes' melodic content, the Russian/Soviet musicologist Dobrovol'skii concluded that Balakirev transcribed melodies from many different ethnic groups living in the Northern Caucasus as well as the Transcaucasian regions: Georgians, Armenians, Azeris, Kabardians, Chechens, and Hungarians. Some transcriptions were probably lost, as there are no motives similar to the melodies from Bourgault-Ducoudray's opera *Tamara* in Balakirev's archival materials. Even though the French composer claimed in his letter to Balakirev that he used tunes that Balakirev sent him in the Introduction to his opera and in the phrase of the warrior Hirvan, Dobrovol'skii could not find them.⁷⁶

⁷⁵ B.M. Dobrovol'skii, "M.A. Balakirev. Zapisi kavkazskoi narodnoi muzyki," in *M.A. Balakirev. Vospominaniia i pis'ma*, Iu.A. Kremlev et al., eds. (Leningrad: Gosmuzizdat, 1962), 452.

⁷⁶ Bourgault-Ducoudray wrote that he owed Balakirev "the most precious materials" that gave him an impression about the Caucasian folksong and if in his score "there are at least some traces of true *couleur locale*," then the French composer has to thank Balakirev for it ["...samye dragotsennnye materialy, kotorye smogli dat' mne predstavlenie o kavkazskoi narodnoi pesne; i esli v moei partiture imeiutsya khotia by sledy vernogo kolorita, ia etim obiazan vam"]. See R.I. Zaritskaia, "Pis'ma k Lui-Albertu Bourgault-Ducoudray," in *Balakirev: Vospominaniia i pis'ma*, 205; Dobrovol'skii, 434.

Balakirev's sketchbook also contains folk songs transcribed from the Kalmyks, Asian people living in Russian cities bordering with Asia. As Dobrovol'skii suggests, they could have been transcribed in 1868 when Balakirev traveled to Astrakhan', a city with a mixed Russian and Asian population.⁷⁷

Although Balakirev expressed interest in oriental music and delight with the music and culture of the Caucasus peoples, after his third trip there in 1868, he had an apparent change of heart. In a letter to Hector Berlioz, he referred to the peoples of the Caucasus (both Christian and non-Christian) as an "Asian rabble" [*aziatskii sbrod*]:⁷⁸

it might be that next spring in Tiflis – the capital of the Caucasus – Armenians, Georgians, Persians, Circassians, Kabardians, and the rest of Asian rabble for the first time will hear, under my direction, the music of Beethoven, Schumann, Glinka, Fr. Schubert, and, of course, yours.⁷⁹

Balakirev not only called the Asians a "rabble" but he also assumed they were at a lower level of cultural development, as evidenced by his comment that he did not want to

⁷⁷ See Dobrovol'skii, 433.

⁷⁸ In Vladimir Dal's *Explanatory Dictionary of the Live Great Russian Language*, the ancient meaning of the word "sbrod" is explained as more neutral: "people, who roam from different places." See Dal', *Tolkovy slovar' zhivogo velikorusskogo iazyka* (1863-), downloaded from <http://vidahl.agava.ru/P203.HTM#36835> on September 9, 2012. However, the context, in which Dal' uses "sbrod" in the nineteenth century is far from being neutral. It is related to the word "sbrazhivat', sbresti s puti" [make away from one's path], "sbrodit' or sprokazit' khudoe" [play naughty pranks], or "sbrodyzhit', sheromyzhnichat', ernichat', i zhit' tuneiadam za chuzhoi schet" [be a sponger, be wicked, and live at somebody else's cost]. Because of such a negative context, I have translated "sbrod" as "rabble."

⁷⁹ "Mozhet byt' uzhe budushchei vesnoi v Tiflise – stolitse Kavkaza – Armiane, Gruziny, Persiane, Cherkesy, Kabardintsy i prochii aziatskii sbrod uslyshit pervye pod moim upravleniem muzyku Betkhovena, Shumana, Glinki i Fr. Shuberta i konechno i vashu muzyku, kotoruiu ia tak uvazhaiu." See *Perepiska M.A. Balakireva s V.V. Stasovym*, vol. 1 (1935), 255. Interestingly enough the word "sbrod" [rabble] is omitted from the later publication of the Balakirev-Stasov correspondence. See *M.A. Balakirev i V.V. Stasov. Perepiska*, vol. 1 (1970), 439. This letter, as all other letters addressed to Berlioz and Bourgeault-Ducoudray, were written in Russian and then translated into French by one of Balakirev's friends, Cesar Cui or T.I. Filippov.

perform for them “anything too serious so as not to scare them.”⁸⁰ Perhaps when Balakirev talked to a Western musician like Berlioz, he saw himself as an agent of Western civilization, bringing European culture to uneducated and uncivilized people. After all, Balakirev was steeped in Russian popular romantic literature, in which the Caucasus was often perceived from the perspective of a Russian soldier. In many Russian romantic novels, including one that Balakirev liked very much, Lermontov’s *Hero of Our Time*, Asians are often presented as “exceedingly stupid” [*preglupye*], “pitiful” [*zhalkie*] “swindlers” [*pluty*], unable to take care of themselves.⁸¹ As Kappeler points out, although Pushkin, Lermontov, and Tolstoi sometimes portrayed the mountaineers as noble, nature- and freedom-loving savages, “in the long term the negative image of unreliable brigands and Muslim fanatics gained the upper hand.”⁸²

On the other hand, Balakirev does not merit the title of a colonial agent whose views on the conquered peoples differed drastically from his opinion about his own culturally advanced brothers. On the contrary, Balakirev once revealed his negative feelings towards his own Slavic peoples and even towards the Russians themselves. For instance, when he traveled to the Caucasus, he encountered Ukrainians, whom he called by the pejorative name “Khokhly,” and compared them unflatteringly with Asians: “what is repelling in them is their continuous desire to be sly...but their slyness is somehow

⁸⁰ “Tol’ko na pervyi raz ia ne khochu im davat’ ochen’ ser’eznoe, chtoby ikh ne zapugat’.” See *Perepiska M.A. Balakireva s V.V. Stasovym*, vol. 1 (1935), 255.

⁸¹ See Ewa M. Thompson, *Imperial Knowledge*, 69.

⁸² See Andreas Kappeler, *The Russian Empire: A Multiethnic History*, trans. Alfred Clayton (Harlow: Longman, 2001), 185.

trivial, Asian, penetrated them through... They are not able to be civilisers...”⁸³

Furthermore, in a letter to Stasov written during his 1864 trip to Sushchevo village, Balakirev wrote that his euphoria about his common brethren had passed and now, when he looks at common Russian people [*narod*] without bias he concludes that:

Russians are not intelligent, although clever, and not beautiful, very dishonest, and even low-down... They are good for dragging plummet... good as stokers, but no more than that.”⁸⁴

Nevertheless, under the influence of Pan-Slavism, Balakirev defended his fellow Slavs in an 1880 letter to Stasov, praising the Czechs for their “frantic and unbelievable energy” displayed in the crusades, the “heroism” of Serbs displayed in the defence against the Turks, and the Montenegrins, a little nation that confronted the Turks and the Germans.⁸⁵

In short, Balakirev’s attitude towards Asian/Caucasian peoples, as well as towards his own Slavic brethren, was complex. Sometimes his derogatory remarks about Eastern peoples present him as a culturally insensitive person, while in other instances his sincere admiration of Caucasian peoples and their culture leaves the impression of a person who stood against the official policy in the Caucasus.

⁸³ “Chto mne v nikh protivno –eto bespreryvnoe zhelanie v razgovore s vami khitrit’, chto po bol’shei chasti byvaet neudachno, no khitrost’ kakaia-to melkaia, aziatskaia prososala ikh naskvoz’... Tsvilizatorami byt’ oni nesposobny...” *M.A. Balakirev i V.V. Stasov. Perepiska*, vol. 1 (1970), 189.

⁸⁴ “Russkii narod i neumen (khotia i smyshlen), i nekrasiv, ochen’ nechesten, dazhe podl... oni prekrassny dlia peretaskivaniia tiazhestei... slavnye kochegary, no ne bolee.” See *M.A. Balakirev i V.V. Stasov. Perepiska*, vol. 1 (1970), 230.

⁸⁵ See *M.A. Balakirev i V.V. Stasov. Perepiska*, vol. 1 (1970), 350-51. Surprisingly, in that letter Balakirev said nothing particular about his fellow Russians.

3. The Orient in Balakirev's Art Songs

"Pesnia Selima" [Selim's Song]

"Selim's Song" [Pesnia Selima], one of Balakirev's earliest examples of a song with an oriental subject, was composed in 1858, four years before Balakirev's trip to the Caucasus. It is based on Lermontov's narrative poem *Izmail-Bey*.⁸⁶ In Lermontov's *poëma* this song is performed by a young girl called Zara, who disguises herself as a male (Selim) in order to follow her beloved prince Izmail-Bey. Zara sings a song about girl who sends her *djigit*⁸⁷ to a war and tells him to stay loyal to love:

Месяц плывет И тих и спокоен; А юноша-воин На битву идет. Ружье заряжает джигит, И дева ему говорит: "Мой милый, смелее Вверяйся ты року, Молися востоку, Будь верен Пророку, Любви будь вернее! Любви изменивший Изменой кровавой, Врага не сразивши, Погибнет без славы; Дожди его ран не обмоют, И звери костей не заруют!"	The moon above Is quiet and calm, But a young warrior Is headed for battle. As the dzhigit loads his musket, A maiden says to him, "My darling! Believe firmly in fate And pray to the East! Be true to the Prophet, But be even truer to love! He who betrays love In foul treachery, Without having vanquished an enemy, Will die without glory Even the rains will never wash away his wounds, And even wild beasts won't bother to bury his bones.

⁸⁶ Lermontov's *poëma* is based on a true story about Izmail-Bey Atazhukin (Atazhukov), a Kabardian taken captive as a boy in the 1780s and educated in Russia. Atazhukov was distinguished with the Fourth Degree tsarist Cross of St. George for his courage demonstrated in the taking of Izmail (Turkey), but then went back home and joined the war against Russia. See A.V. Popov, *Lermontov na Kavkaze* (Stavropol': Stavropol'skoe knizhnoe izdatel'stvo, 1954), 16-18.

⁸⁷ A skilled horseman of the Caucasus.

Месяц плывет...	The moon above is quiet and calm... ⁸⁸

Russian/Soviet musicologist Vasina-Grossman suggests that Balakirev's "Selim's Song" follows the tradition of the Decembrist interpretation of the Caucasus as the land of freedom.⁸⁹ According to Vasina-Grossman, the generation of the 1860s perceived this song as a call to the struggle for freedom since the Russian revolutionary democrat Nikolai Chernyshevskii cited it in his celebrated novel *What is to be done?*⁹⁰ However, I contend that this song cannot be evaluated as a Decembrist song, since, instead of valuing warfare or freedom, it underlines the importance of being faithful to love (not even as much to the Prophet, who in the Decembrist poetry was often used to signify a higher idea).

Even though the text refers to "vanquishing the enemy," the emphasis on love seems to be more important for several reasons. First, Balakirev's decision to set this particular version suggests he placed much value on the love theme. In the second version that Lermontov later used in another narrative poem *Beglets*, the main theme of love is changed to glory, which affects the meaning of the poem: instead of being faithful to love the male protagonist is called to be faithful to glory. Second, his setting musically underscores the phrase that encourages the protagonist to be faithful to love. It is set up

⁸⁸ Laurence R. Richter, *Selected Nineteenth Century Russian Song Texts* (New York: Leyerle Publications, 2005), 12.

⁸⁹ Interestingly, Vasina-Grossman draws a connection between this song and Aliab'ev's "Kabardian Song" discussed in the previous chapter. See Vasina-Grossman, 152.

⁹⁰ Ibid. As Vasina-Grossman points out, according to Vladimir Il'ich Lenin, this song in Chernyshevskii's novel inspires the main female protagonist Vera Pavlovna and the Kirsanov's family to go underground; at the end of the novel, Vera Pavlovna, after listening to a performance of this song by a "lady in mourning," comes to the conclusion that only revolution can bring the desired change. See Vasina-Grossman, 152-54.

against a declamatory phrase (“Pray to the Orient,/ be faithful to the Prophet”) that is sung on D-sharp coloured by B major harmony. The relatively slow rate of harmonic change and the one-note declamation in this phrase is interrupted by the phrase “Be even truer to Love.” The harmony suddenly moves to G-sharp minor and the melody descends in stepwise motion with a dotted rhythm—all of which makes this line sound more decisive (Example 4.5a).

Example 4.5 a) Balakirev, “Pesnia Selima,” mm. 29-34; b) Balakirev, “Pesnia Selima,” mm. 1-8

a)

pp poco a poco riten. *f a tempo*

Мо - ли - ся во - сто - ку, Будь ве - рен про - ро - ку, Люб - ви будь вер - ней!

b)

Allegretto

p con bravura

Aug. 2 Aug. 2 Aug. 2 Aug. 2 Aug. 2 Aug. 2

Thus, it is unlikely that Balakirev meant to evoke Decembrist Orientalism here. Rather, the composer aimed to create an oriental local colour. Even though, as I have already observed, Balakirev wrote “Selim’s Song” before his trip to the Caucasus, both the vocal line and the accompaniment have some features of oriental music, which, according to Vikhanskaia, Balakirev could have learned from his Saint Petersburg’s friend Nikolai Borozdin. In a dedication of his “Pesnia Selima” to Borozdin Balakirev wrote in his friend’s album “in the memory of that supreme delight [*vysokoe naslazhdenie*] that he experienced [*vkushal*] in his friendship with Migrel’tsy” (people living in Georgia).⁹¹ This note, according to Vikhanskaia, suggests that Borozdin might have played some samples of Caucasian music for Balakirev and introduced him to Caucasian culture.⁹² Also, as I have already observed, Balakirev might have become acquainted with the music of oriental peoples in the cities where he lived and studied before his arrival in Saint Petersburg.

According to Vikhanskaia, the oriental flavour is present from the very beginning of the song in an instrumental interlude that imitates the sound of an oriental ensemble (**Example 4.5b**).⁹³ It is no coincidence that Balakirev introduced oriental musical gestures in the accompaniment, since in the Russian tradition of Oriental representation it was the accompaniment that usually signified *couleur locale* (via ornamentations,

⁹¹ A. Vikhanskaia, “Romansy i pesni,” in *Balakirev. Issledovaniia i stat’i*, 284. **Nikolai Alexandrovich Borozdin (1827-1887)**, an amateur composer and a professional lawyer who studied with D. V. Stasov (a brother of V.V. Stasov) in the Jurisprudence College and served in the Caucasus. He was a champion of Balakirev’s music and often participated in the Kuchka gatherings. See *Perepiska* (1971), 348.

⁹² Balakirev met Nikolai Borozdin a year before he composed “Selim’s Song” and they soon became good friends. See *Letopis’ zhizni i tvorchestva*, 39.

⁹³ Vikhanskaia believes that it functions as a framing device in a similar way in Balakirev’s later instrumental pieces *Islamei* and *Tamara*. See Vikhanskaia, 285.

chromatic passages, and augmented seconds), while the vocal line conformed to characteristics of European (diatonic and non-melismatic) music. As T.I. Sokolova suggests, this is because Russian composers “chiefly chose something that would be received and appreciated by the audience easily”; the new elements that might be difficult to understand were usually introduced with “great caution and only in particular contexts.”⁹⁴ Accordingly, in “Selim’s Song” the piano accompaniment evokes the orient by incorporating an augmented second in the first two phrases of the interlude and in the postlude.

The vocal line at the beginning of “Selim’s Song” is also oriental in nature. Kisilev believes that this is due to the “meandering melodic line” [*izvilistost’ melodicheskoi linii*], while Vikhanskaia suggests that its oriental nature is manifested in its “mediant melodic variant” [*tertsovyi melodicheskii variant*].⁹⁵ Unfortunately, Vikhanskaia does not explain what she means by “mediant melodic variant.” Perhaps she refers to the short sequence on the words “A iunosha voim na bitvu idet,” a three-note pattern that is first sung in B-major and then is repeated a third down in G-sharp minor (**Example 4.6b**).

According to N. Dmitriadi, the major-minor alteration, or “mutable relative major-minor mode” [*parallel’no-peremennyi lad*] is a characteristic element of both

⁹⁴ See T. I. Sokolova, “U istokov russkogo orientalisa,” *Voprosy muzykovedeniia* 3 (1960): 459-86, here 465.

⁹⁵ See G.L. Kisilev, “O romansakh Balakireva,” in *M. Balakirev. Romansy i pesni*, G.L. Kisilev, ed. (Moscow: Muzgiz, 1937), 10; Vikhanskaia, 284.

oriental and Russian music.⁹⁶ There are many examples of Russian pieces that use the relative major-minor mode, including: Glinka's "Kavatina Liudmily" (the moment where she addresses oriental character Ratmir), "Persian Choir," and "Turkish Dance;" Borodin's "Choir of Polovtsian Girls" (opening act 2) and the "Dance of The Men"; Rimsky-Korsakov's the dance of "Shemakhanian Tsarina" (in Allegretto), from *Shekherezada* "The Tale of the Kalender Prince," and many others.

The melodic phrase d#-c#-d#-b (in m. 19, **Example 4.6b**) also resembles the beginning of Glinka's Ratmir Aria (on the words "Khazarii roskoshnyi tsvet") from his opera *Ruslan and Liudmila* (act 3), which Balakirev believed to be one of the best examples of Russian orientalism (**Example 4.6a**).⁹⁷ Although this phrase is found in art songs or arias that refer to an oriental subject, it cannot be classified as exclusively "oriental." A similar melodic gesture occurs in Balakirev's art songs "Vzoshel na nebo mesiats iasnyi" (M. Iatsevich, 1858) and "Pridi ko mne" (A. Kol'tsov, 1868), Borodin's "Morskaia tsarevna" (A. Borodin, 1868) and "Pesnia temnogo lesa" (A. Borodin, 1868), all songs that have little or nothing to do with the orient.⁹⁸

⁹⁶ See Nadezhda Dmitriadi, "Stilevye osobennosti russkoi muzyki o Vostoke," *Voprosy teorii i estetiki muzyki* 13 (1974): 119.

⁹⁷ Balakirev considered Glinka the founder of Russian musical style. As a result, anything written by Glinka was idolized and used by the Kuchka members as a model for further development. Balakirev also transcribed a number of Glinka's works for piano, edited many of his works (including his opera *Ruslan and Liudmila*), and co-edited Glinka's *Complete Works*.

⁹⁸ Vasina-Grossman believes that two of Balakirev's songs ("Vzoshel na nebo mesiats iasnyi" and "Pridi ko mne") are connected to each other with the "spirit of love languish, ardent and affectionate call" ["nastroenie liubovnogo tomleniia, strastnogo i nezhnogo zova..."]. See Vasina-Grossman, 151. Such an emotional state usually is associated with the orient and can explain why the composer used this musical gesture.

Example 4.6 a) Glinka, opera *Ruslan and Liudmila* (act III), Ratmir's Aria, mm. 108-112; b) Balakirev, "Pesnia Selima," mm. 12-16.

a)



b)



Dmitriadi claims that another prominent gesture, a short (usually three or four note) phrase repeated in a downward sequence, is also oriental. In the first section of "Selim's Song" a short sequence of three notes is found in measures 13-14: $d\#-c\#-d\#-b-a\#-b-g\#$ (**Example 4.6b**). The Russian/Soviet musicologist has observed that, in general, this sequence is characteristic of the oriental vocabulary of the Mighty Five composers, and it later penetrates music related to non-oriental subjects (e.g. Sergei Rachmaninov's music).⁹⁹ Sokolova also points out that by the end of the nineteenth century many elements characteristic of the representation of the oriental world penetrated into music of the non-oriental world and became intrinsic to Russian music.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁹ See Dmitriadi, 1974, 113.

¹⁰⁰ See Sokolova, 483.

Thus, Balakirev's personal experience gained at the annual trade fairs in Nizhnii Novgorod, as well as his experience living in Kazan, a city with a mixed population, might have contributed to the oriental flavour of his early "Pesnia Selima." Balakirev's musical vocabulary in "Selim's Song" influenced many nineteenth-century composers. Tchaikovskii called it a "little chef d'oeuvre" and in a letter to von Meck confessed that he could not listen to it without tears.¹⁰¹ It is probably not a coincidence that "Pesnia Selima" was published no less than four times within Balakirev's lifetime.

"Sosna" [A Pine Tree]

"Sosna" is another song with an oriental subject that Balakirev composed before his trip to the Caucasus in 1861. It is a setting of Lermontov's "El' i pal'ma," a free translation of Heine's "Ein Fichtenbaum." In his art song Balakirev closely follows the poem's two-part structure, representing the opposing worlds of the north and the south through all possible musical elements. The first half of the song, describing the life of a northern pine tree, is written in F-sharp minor, in a slow tempo (Adagio) with a declamatory melodic line (**Example 4.7a**).¹⁰² In the accompaniment all the notes except for the middle voice (and then the bass) are sustained for several measures; the C-sharp octave that is struck at the beginning is held for eight bars. At the beginning the tonal

¹⁰¹ Tchaikovskii wrote to von Meck in 1881: "these are little chef d'oeuvres... there was time when I could not listen to "The Selim's Song" without tears." Tchaikovskii to von Meck, *P.I. Tchaikovskii. Perepiska s von N.F. Meck*, Zhdanov and Zhegin, eds., vol. 2 (Moscow: Academia, 1935), 546. See also in *Balakirev Letopis'*, 242.

¹⁰² In her article on Balakirev's art songs, Vikhanskaia observes that in the second edition of *Sosna* Balakirev cut a melodic phrase with an oriental flavour from the piano interlude. After revising the song, Balakirev probably realized that an oriental gesture did not fit in the opening section, meant to describe the north. See Vikhanskaia, 304.

centre is ambiguous ; one can only guess that it is F-sharp minor because of the dominant harmony (m.11), which is never resolved. The vocal line also recites on two notes (c# and g#). By composing a constrained vocal line along with a slow harmonic progression Balakirev creates the effect of stasis, produced by the northern nature frost-bound with cold. The world of the southern palm tree is conveyed by major mode (D major),

Example 4.7 a) Balakirev, “Sosna,” mm. 1-18; b) Balakirev, “Sosna,” mm. 19-29.
a)

Adagio

p

На се - ве - ре ди - ком сто - ит о - ди - но - ко На

p quasi Corni

го - лой вер - ши - не со - сна, И дрем - лет, ха - ча - ясь, и

pp

сне - гом сы - пучим О - де - та, как ри - зой, о - на.

pp

b)

121

Allegretto agitato *p*

И снит - ся ей все, что в пу - сты - не да - ле-кой, В том

tremolo *sf* *p*

Commodo

кра - е, где солн - ца восх - од, Од - на и гру -

- стна на у - те - се го - рю - чеш Пре -

Allegretto agitato, a tremolo that imitates string instruments, clear harmony, a higher register in both the voice and accompaniment, and the syncopated rhythm in the right hand, coupled with the melismatic counterpoint in the left hand of the accompaniment (Example 4.7b).

“Gruzinskaia Pesnia” [Georgian Song]

Of Balakirev’s early art songs with an oriental subject, “Gruzinakaia pesnia” creates one of the strongest evocations of oriental flavour because it was written right after his second trip to the Caucasus in 1863.¹⁰³ In a letter to Bourgault-Ducoudray Balakirev confessed that even though he did not use any folk melodies, his “Georgian Song” was “induced by impressions from the Caucasus.”¹⁰⁴ Even so, Taruskin has critiqued Balakirev for using a “stereotyped local color” and for using musical elements that do not reflect Georgian music.¹⁰⁵ According to Taruskin, the composer’s setting of Pushkin’s “Ne poi krasavitsa pri mne,” published under the actual title “Gruzinskaia pesnia” [Georgian Song], resembles Turkish and Persian music, rather than Georgian. Taruskin also suggests that Balakirev was aware of the discrepancies between real Georgian music and the music he created to represent Georgia. Balakirev did not pursue ethnographic tasks and did not aim for an authentic representation (e.g., Islamey); instead, he purposely stylized the spirit of the traditional “Russian orient” because he “meant to sacrifice verisimilitude to something higher, or at least more legible – what Russians call *khudozhestvennaia pravda*, ‘artistic truth’.”¹⁰⁶ Thus, according to Taruskin, Balakirev reproduced his contemporaries’ idea of the orient instead of Georgian music. Russian musicologists Vikhanskaia and Frid also state that Balakirev did not demonstrate

¹⁰³ See Balakirev, *Letopis’*, 95. First it was composed for an orchestra, and then later arranged by M. Musorgsky for a piano. Ibid., 110. For the text of this song see Chapter One.

¹⁰⁴ Balakirev to T.I. Filipov, letter written on 21 May 1890, in *M.A. Balakirev. Vospominaniia i pis'ma*, 225.

¹⁰⁵ See Richard Taruskin, *Defining Russia Musically*, 158.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid.

any ethnographic precision. Both musicologists suggest that Balakirev blended the musical characteristics of all people living in the Caucasus and, instead, presented a stylized spirit of the traditional Russian orient.¹⁰⁷

However, Balakirev's sketchbook of tunes brought from the Caucasus includes many Georgian songs with musical elements that Taruskin, Frid, and Vikhanskaia claim to be not particularly Georgian. For instance, two Georgian tunes (nos. 12 and 19) with an augmented second can be found in Balakirev's sketchbook. Balakirev sent one of these Georgian melodies, "Akh, dilav" [Ah, morning], to Bourgault-Ducoudray when the French composer was working on his Georgian opera *Tamara*.

In his "Georgian Song" Balakirev incorporated a few melodic gestures from one Georgian folksong called "Akh, dilav." One is an ascending stepwise motion from the first to the third scale degree, in which the third note has a relatively longer value (**Example 4.8a**). The composer used it three times: at the beginning on the words "ty pesen" (mm. 6-7) and when the material from the beginning is repeated, on the words "ne poi" and "ty pesen" (mm. 48-49 and 50-51) (**Example 4.8b**). This opening gesture, in fact, is also found in a number of songs popular in Tiflis at the beginning of the nineteenth century. Here I refer to the Georgian song "Akhal agnago sulo," the text of which was translated by Pushkin, and the melody transcribed and used by several composers (including Glinka and Aliab'ev, discussed in the previous chapter) (**Examples 3.9a and 3.9b**). As the Russian/Soviet musicologist T.I. Sokolova argues, although this

¹⁰⁷ See Frid, 66-67; Vikhanskaia, 289.

gesture is “equally inherent to the European melody,” in Russian music it became intrinsic component of the representing the Orient.¹⁰⁸

Example 4.8 a) Balakirev’s transcription of Georgian song “Akh, dilav,” m. 1; b) Balakirev’s “Georgian song,” mm. 47-52

a)



b)

Tempo I

Не пой, кра-са - ви -

ца. при мне Ты пе - сен Гру - зи - и пе - чаль - ной:

pp

aug. 2

aug. 2

¹⁰⁸ Sokolova, 467. Exactly the same opening gesture is found in the middle section of Balakirev’s “Ispanskaia serenada” [Spanish Serenade].

Balakirev also uses a melismatic figure with an augmented second in its rhythmically varied version on the words “pesen Gruzii” [songs of Georgia] (**Example 4.8b**, mm. 51-52) derived from the second phrase of “Akh, dilav” (**Example 4.9**).

Example 4.9 Balakirev’s transcription of Georgian song “Akh, dilav,” mm. 9-12



It seems that Balakirev particularly liked “Akh, dilav.” Besides using its elements and sending it to Bourgault-Ducoudray, he also shared it with his Kuchka friends, who later reproduced it in music representing the Orient. For instance, the second half of the first phrase – a descending stepwise motion from the fifth to the third scale degree with the characteristic touching of a lower neighbour tone – bears a striking resemblance to the second movement of Rimsky-Korsakov’s *Shekherazade* (**Examples 4.10a and 4.10b**).¹⁰⁹

Example 4.10 a) Balakirev’s transcription of Georgian song “Akh, dilav,” mm. 4-7; b) Rimsky-Korsakov, *Shekherazade* (II), mm. 348-351.

a)



b)



¹⁰⁹ It can also be considered a sequence of three notes (which resemble a simple trill touching a lower neighbouring note) that moves a whole tone down and all together forms a descending motion from the fifth to the third scale degree.

Balakirev also used a melismatic element from another melody in his sketchbook (no. 20, m. 2), indicated as “Perkhuli” (the name of a Georgian dance) (**Example 4.11a**), in the piano postlude of his “Georgian Song” (m. 60) on the same pitch as the original (**Example 4.11b**).

Example 4.11 a) Balakirev’s transcription of Georgian dance “Perkhuli,” mm. 1-3;
b) Balakirev, “Georgian Song,” mm. 59-60

a)



b)



Besides Balakirev’s own transcriptions, which affirm the existence of melismas and augmented seconds in Georgian music, other nineteenth-century Russian musicians also noted the presence of musical elements in Georgian music that Taruskin has argued are Persian or Turkish. One study by Mikhail Ippolitov-Ivanov, a composer who lived and worked in Tiflis for more than a decade and who made ethnographic trips into inner Georgian regions, provides a general account of different styles of Georgian music, some

of which indeed resemble Persian music.¹¹⁰ In his article “Georgian Folk Song and its Current Condition” [Gruzinskaia narodnaia pesnia i eia sovremennoe sostoianiie] published in 1895 in the journal *Artist*, Ippolitov-Ivanov offered his explanation of why some Persian and Arabic elements were so prominent in Georgian music. According to Ippolitov-Ivanov, Georgia’s geographical position made it difficult to preserve its cultural particularity: it is surrounded by Muslim states and peoples, with Ossetinians and Dagestanians in the north, Turks and Persians in the south, Abkhasians in the west, and Tatars in the east and south. From the eighth century Georgian culture has been under the influence of Arabic culture, which in music can be observed in melismas, small grupetto, trills, and long passages of small notes:

The beauty of such melismas fascinated absolutely all people who happened to encounter the Arabs. The traces of their musical influence can be found in traditional music of Spanish, Turkic, Persian, and Tatar peoples.¹¹¹

Many Georgian songs transcribed by Ippolitov-Ivanov bear remnants of “Arabic” music: for instance, songs 2, 3, 8, 10, 11, and 12 have melismas, trills, and long passages of notes of short duration.

The influence of Persian music, according to Ippolitov-Ivanov, became prominent in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, when Georgia was governed by Muslim rulers who hired Persian singers and musicians to perform in their courts. The attraction to

¹¹⁰ M. Ippolitov-Ivanov, “Gruzinskaia narodnaia pesnia i ee sovremennoe sostoianie,” *Artist* 45 (1895): 134-46.

¹¹¹ “Prelest’ takikh melism uvlekala reshitel’no vse narody, kotorym prikhodilos’ volei-nevolei stalkivat’sia s arabami. Sledy ikh muzykal’nogo vliianiia možno zametit’ na narodnoi muzyke ispantsev, turok, persian i tatar.” Ippolitov-Ivanov, 136.

Persian music was so strong that when Georgia regained its political independence from Persia, many rulers and aristocrats preferred to surround themselves with Persian musicians.¹¹² For Ippolitov-Ivanov, modes with augmented seconds characterized Persian music. According to Ippolitov-Ivanov's classification, two songs (no. 5 and 12) from his article can be considered Persian since they are based on a mode with an augmented second.

Ippolitov-Ivanov's article on Georgian music was not the only nineteenth-century source that noted the existence of chromaticism, melismas, and augmented seconds in Georgian music. Arsenii Koreshchenko, another Russian composer and a member of the Russian Music Ethnographic Committee, also observed the presence of melismas and chromaticism in Georgian folksongs.¹¹³ As does Ippolitov-Ivanov, Koreshchenko points out that these elements were borrowed from Arabic and Persian music and were prominent mostly in the regions of Georgia where the population was mixed with Tatars and Armenians.¹¹⁴ For example, in the Kakheti [Kakhetiia] and Kartli [Kartalinia] regions, the simple diatonic Georgian melody became embellished with chromaticism,

¹¹² Ibid.

¹¹³ See A. Koreshchenko, "Nabliudenie nad vostochnoi muzykoi, preimushchestvenno kavkazskoi," in *Etnograficheskoe Obozrenie*, no. 1 (1898): 1-22. **Arsenii Nikolaevich Koreshchenko (1870–1921)** was a Russian pianist and composer who graduated from Moscow Conservatoire in 1891 where he studied under Sergei Taneev (piano) and Anton Arenskii (composition). During the period 1891–1894 Koreshchenko taught at the Moscow Conservatory and at the School of the Synod; he later taught composition and the piano at the school of music and drama attached to the Moscow Philharmonic Society. He is the author of two operas (*Pir Baltasara*, 1892, and *Ledianoi Dom*, 1900), one ballet (*Volshebnoe zerkalo*, 1903), *Lyrical Symphony*, Concerto-Fantasy for piano and orchestra, and many other pieces for orchestra, choir, piano, and piano and voice. See N.B. Pushkina, "A.N. Koreshchenko," in M.V. Esipova, ed., *Moskovskaia konservatoriia ot istokov do nashikh dnei. 1866–2006. Biograficheskii entsiklopedicheskii slovar'* (Moscow: Mosk.Gos.Konservatoriia Im. P.I. Tchaikovskogo, 2007), 260. In the last chapter I will discuss the activity of the Music Ethnographic Committee in greater detail.

¹¹⁴ See Koreshchenko, 19. Of course, on some level one needs to acknowledge that "Arabic" and "Persian" music are fictions themselves. If "Georgian" music can have "Persian" elements, then "Persian" music can have "Arabic" or "Turkish" elements.

“additional small notes” [*dobavochnye melkie noty*], and “destructive or ruinous augmented seconds” [*zloschastnaia uvelichennaia sekunda*].¹¹⁵

Another later ethnographic study of Georgian music (made with the help of a graphophone) written in Russian by Georgian composer and musicologist, Dmitrii Arakishvili (Arakchiev), discusses the influence of Persian and Arabic music on Georgian music. Dmitrii Arakchiev points out that in Georgia at the beginning of the twentieth century, everyone loved and performed music with Persian and Arabic elements, and in aristocratic circles this music was often accompanied by Persian instruments.¹¹⁶ Arakchiev calls solo songs with melismas, syncopated rhythm, and augmented seconds “urban Persian-Arab-Georgian music.”¹¹⁷

Georgian songs based on scales characteristic for the Kartli and Kakheti regions probably caught Balakirev’s ear since, along with a highly melismatic melody, he used a scale with an augmented second as well as Dorian and Phrygian modes (characteristic for urban areas and Kartli or Kakheti regions) in his “Georgian Song.” Furthermore, many features of Georgian folksong that Dmitry Arakchiev transcribed in the Kakheti and Kartli regions stunningly resemble some gestures from Balakirev’s art song.¹¹⁸ For

¹¹⁵ See Koreshchenko, 20. Koreshchenko believed that the authenticity of Georgian music could be recovered by cutting out all the embellishments. He cut all melismas in one Kakhetinian melody and claimed that the “beauty of melody was not lost at all” [“*krasota melodii ot etogo nichego ne utrachivaet*”]. Koreshchenko, 20.

¹¹⁶ Dmitrii Arakchiev, “*Kratkii ocherk razvitiia gruzinskoi, kartalino-kakhetinskoi narodnoi pesni s prilozheniem notnykh primerov i 27 pesen v narodnoi garmonizatsii D.I. Arakchieva*,” in *Trudy muzykal’no-etnograficheskoi komissi sostoiashchei pri etnograficheskom otdele Imperatorskogo Obshchestva Liubitelei Estesstvoznaniia, Antropologii, i Etnografii*, vol. 1 (Moscow, 1906), 269-344.

¹¹⁷ Ibid., 286.

¹¹⁸ Dmitrii Arakchiev traveled to the Caucasus several times between 1901 and 1903. All his transcriptions were made with the help of a graphophone, which he always brought with him. See Ianchuk, “*Vstupitel’naia zapiska*,” 8.

instance, the right hand of the piano interlude of Balakirev's "Georgian Song" (**Example 4.12b**, mm. 2-4) is based on the Dorian mode just like Arakchiev's songs: no. 16 from Appendix 1 (**Example 4.12a**) and no. 27 from Appendix 2 are either entirely Dorian or have long sections in this mode.

Example 4.12 a) Arakchiev, song no. 16, mm. 1-8;¹¹⁹ b) Balakirev, “Georgian Song” (piano interlude), mm. 1-4

a)

№ 16. *Moderato, un poco rubato.*

ს. რი ს. რს. ლოი ს. რს. ლოი და ს. რს - ლადალო

და ს. რს. ლოი ს. რი ს. რს - ლოი და

b)

The image shows a page from a musical score for 'The Swan' by Camille Saint-Saëns. The tempo is marked 'Andantino' with a metronome marking of M.M. ♩ = 52. The key signature is B-flat major (three flats) and the time signature is 3/4. The score includes a piano accompaniment and a vocal line. The piano part features a 'Tamb.' (tambourine) in the right hand and a melodic line in the left hand. The vocal line is in the soprano register. The score is divided into two systems. The first system shows the piano introduction and the beginning of the vocal melody. The second system continues the vocal melody and piano accompaniment. The lyrics 'He' are visible at the end of the second system. The score is written in a clear, professional style with standard musical notation.

¹¹⁹ See Arakchiev, “Kratkii ocherk,” Appendix 1, p. 298.

One characteristic element of modal development in Balakirev's "Georgian Song," a juxtaposition of two different versions of the same scale degree (for example, on the words "Bereg dal'noi" the harmonic seventh degree is changed almost immediately to its natural version), is often found in Georgian folksongs from the Kakheti and Kartli regions (**Example 4.13b**). For example, song no.1 in Appendix 2 from Arakchiev's transcription alters B-flat with B-natural, which changes the mode from Phrygian to Aeolian, and E-flat with E-natural, switching from Locrian to Phrygian mode (**Example 4.13a**). Similarly, song nos. 6 and 15 from Appendix 1 and nos. 2, 3, 6, and 10 from Appendix 2 are based on pitch material that switches from one mode to another.

Example 4.13 a) Arakchiev, "Kakheti song," mm. 1-7;¹²⁰ **b)** Balakirev, "Georgian Song," mm. 12-15.

a)

კახური სიმღერები. Кახетинскія пѣсни.
 № 1. კახეთური. ГУМНОВАЯ.

Adagio. *ad libit.*

შირ-გე-ფად-ღმერ-თი ვს-ს-გ-ნთ, ის უფ-რთ

a tempo *Allegro non troppo.*

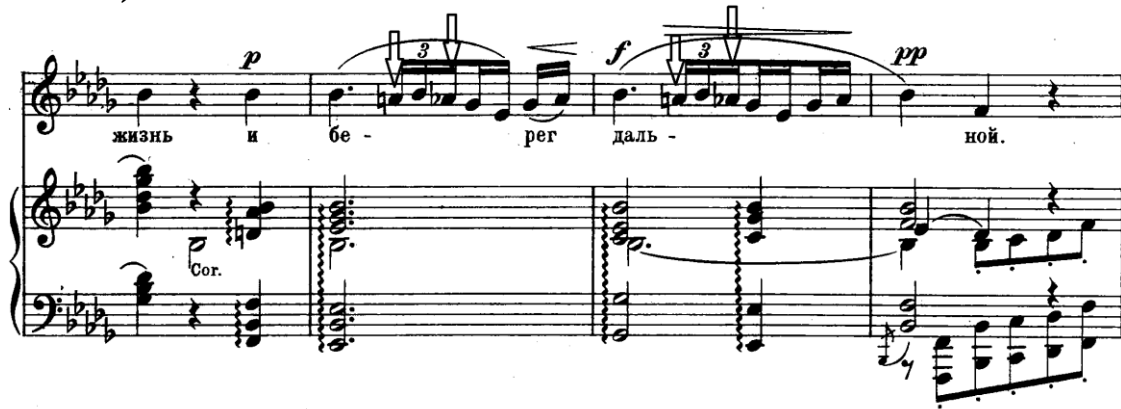
ად-ღ-ღ-ღ - ბუ-ღი-ს. თ. ძი-ვარ-თთ, თა-ძი-ვარ-თთ, ის უფ-

a tempo

რთ შუ-შუ-შუ მარ-თე ბუ-ღი-ს. თ შუ-შუ თ-თ-თ უფ-რთ

¹²⁰ See Arakchiev, "Kratkii ocherk," Appendix 2, p. 319.

b)



Some melodic features of Georgian folksong transcribed in the Kakheti region are also similar to Balakirev's "Georgian Song." For instance, the beginning of the second line of the Georgian song transcribed by Arakchiev (m. 4) resembles a sequence of running thirty-second notes in Balakirev's song (mm. 22-24) (**Examples 4.14a and 4.14b**). In a number of other songs from Arakchiev's collection (Appendix 1, nos. 9, 12, 15c and d, and 16, and Appendix 2, nos. 1, 2, 4, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, and 27), as well as examples from the collections of Koreshchenko (no. 15b) and Ippolitov-Ivanov (nos. 2, 3, 4, 8), a similar rhythmic pattern plays a prominent role.

Ippolitov-Ivanov and Koreshchenko unfortunately did not discuss rhythm in their articles. Russian writers tended to write rather vague and contradictory comments about the rhythmic structure of Georgian songs. Koreshchenko, for instance, noted that Georgian song is "free of the fancifulness [*vychurnost'*] and mosaicism [*mozaichnost'*] characteristic of Persian music,"¹²¹ while in his memoirs Ippolitov-Ivanov mentioned "fanciful-capricious" [*prichudlivo-kapriznyi*] rhythmic patterns of solo singing in the

¹²¹ See Koreshchenko, 15.

Kakheti region.¹²² According to the transcriptions they left, many of the Georgian songs they heard had sophisticated rhythmic patterns. Songs 2, 3, 8, and 10, transcribed by Ippolitov-Ivanov, as well as song no. 15 from Koreshchenko's article, have a distinct rhythmic pattern that Balakirev also used in his "Georgian Song." This pattern is a half, quarter, or eighth note followed by a group of four thirty-second notes (three of which are in descending stepwise motion). In Arakchiev's collection this pattern occurs in almost all songs from the Kakheti and Kartli regions (see **Examples 4.13a** and **4.14a**).

Significantly, this rhythmic pattern can be found in many songs written by members of the Kuchka and composers who were in close contact with them. Besides Balakirev's "Gruzinskaia pesnia" (1863), it appears in Rimsky-Korsakov's setting of A. Kol'tsov's "Vostochnyi romans" [Oriental Art song], "Plenivshis' rozoi solovei" [Enslaved by the Rose, the Nightingale] (1866) and his setting of I. Nikitin's "V temnoi roshche zamolk solovei" [In the Dark Grove the Nightingale Fell Silent] (1866), César Cui's setting of Jean Richepin's "Le Turc" (late 1880s), and A. Glazunov's setting of Pushkin's Oriental Art song "V krovi gorit ogon' zhelan'ia" [In the Blood Burns the Fire] (1888) and his "Arabskaia melodiia" [Arabic Melody] (1882).¹²³ Furthermore, as I pointed out in Chapter Three, this rhythmic pattern plays a prominent role in Dargomyzhsky's "O deva-roza, ia v okovakh" [Oh, Rose-Maiden, I am in Fetters] (1858), an art song known to all the members of the Five.

¹²² M.M. Ippolitov-Ivanov, *50 let russkoi muzyki v moikh vospominaniakh* (Moscow: Gos.Muz.Izdat, 1934), 62.

¹²³ All songs, except for Rimsky-Korsakov's "V temnoi roshche zamolk solovei" [In the Dark Grove a Nightingale Fell Silent] evoke an oriental subject. The use of this rhythmic pattern in *V temnoi roshche* can be explained by the song's subject: *solovei*, a nightingale, is commonly evoked in Persian literature.

Example 4.14 a) Arakchiev, “Pluzhnaia,” mm. 1-7;¹²⁴ b) Balakirev, “Georgian Song,” mm. 23-24.

a)

№ 2. გუთნუღო. ПЛУЖНАЯ.

Adagio-rubato.

Adagio-rubato.

მეტ გზ დი, გზ. მი. დი დს გუ. თან. ნო მი. რ. დ. ვ. რ. ი. ს. თ. ს. თ,

მი. დი. დს გუ. თან. ნო

მე. მე. მე. მე. მე. მე. კ. ბ. ს. რ. ი. ს. ლ. ა. თ. მ. თ. მ. თ.

მე. მ. რ. ი. . ს. . რ. ა. ლ. ე. ი. დ. ს. . ს. რ. ი. . ს. . ლ. ა. თ. . მ. თ. . თ. . მ. თ. . თ

b)

Музыкальный фрагмент из оперы «Стой, ты не бойся» (А. Коплов). Музыкальная запись включает вокальную партию и фортепиано. В вокальной партии слышны слова: «СТО - КИ - е НА - ще - ВЫ, ТВО -». Музыкальная запись включает ноты для вокала и фортепиано, а также обозначения динамичности (f, mf) и тембра (Fl.).

Thus, any view that Balakirev's reading of Pushkin's poem was negligent in terms of *couleur locale* can be seriously questioned. Balakirev correctly used musical elements (the melismatic contour of a vocal line, augmented seconds, Dorian mode, and characteristic rhythmic patterns) to represent Georgian musical culture and did not simply

¹²⁴ See Arakchiev, “Kratkii ocherk,” Appendix 1, p. 319.

create “artistic truth” about the Orient.¹²⁵ Although one cannot speak of any composer “correctly” using musical sources from a different culture, at the very least we must acknowledge both that Balakirev was sensitive to the nature of his sources, and that multiple features in his “Georgian Song” correspond to musical gestures he heard or encountered during his travels in the Caucasus. Thus, whereas Taruskin claims that this song is an example of “exotic but not authentic music,” I would argue that Balakirev’s “Georgian Song” is both exotic *and* authentic.

Furthermore, Balakirev’s “Georgian Song” also serves as a good example of what the composer perceived as both oriental/Caucasian and Western musical vocabulary. In the middle section, where the male protagonist recalls a beloved left far away, Balakirev changes his musical vocabulary drastically: the harmony becomes more chromatic (with the tonicization of remote keys), the melody becomes diatonic and does not shift from one mode to another, and all characteristic rhythmic patterns in the vocal line as well as the accompaniment are dropped. Thus, in some sense, the musical language of Balakirev’s “Georgian Song” can be considered a reflection of Balakirev’s understanding of oriental, as well as Western, characteristics in music.

¹²⁵ If one wanted to criticize Balakirev for not accurately representing Georgian music, one would have had to appeal not to the phrases with augmented seconds and melismas, but to the very opening phrase of Balakirev’s “Georgian Song,” which is based on a pentatonic scale. Although one can find the pentatonic scale in some transcriptions of Georgian songs by Russian musicians (including Balakirev), it is not characteristic for traditional Georgian music. Rather, the pentatonic scale plays a more prominent role in music of Chuvash and Tatar peoples living in the Volga region, where Balakirev spent his youth. It is unclear why Balakirev used a pentatonic gesture to open his Georgian song. The list of few examples of pentatonic gestures in Georgian songs transcribed by Russians in the nineteenth-century include: Balakirev’s sketchbook song no. 26 (it opens with a pentatonic gesture); Ippolitov-Ivanov’s transcription of song no. 7 is based on *e-g-a-b* scale that omits one of the pentatonic steps; and Koreshchenko’s transcription of song no. 11b and 15c have a pentatonic opening. See Ippolitov-Ivanov, Appendix, 11, Koreshchenko, Appendix, 3, 5.

4. Balakirev's Late Art songs with an Oriental Subject

"Pustynia" [A Desert]

Some thirty years separate Balakirev's early art songs from the late ones.¹²⁶

However, Balakirev continued to depict two opposed worlds within single works. In a setting of A. Zhemchuzhnikov's poem "Pustynia" [A Desert] (1895-1896), Balakirev evokes the distinct worlds of a desert and a garden.

Уже давно иду я, утомленный; И на небе уж солнце высоко; А негде отдохнуть в степи сожженной, И все еще до цели далеко. Объятая безмолвием и ленью, Кругом пустыня скучная лежит... Хоть ветер бы пахнул! Летучей тенью И облако на миг не освежит... Вперед, вперед! За степью безотрадной Зеленый сад, я знаю, ждет меня; Там я в тени душистой и прохладной Найду приют от пламенного дня; Там жизнь я наслаждаться буду, Беседуя с природою живой; И отдохну, и навсегда забуду Тоску пути, лежащего за мной...	Long have I wandered, weary, And the sun is already high in the sky. There is nowhere to rest in this sunbaked steppe, And my destination is still far away. Immersed in silent inertia, The monotonous desert stretches in all directions. Oh, for a light breeze! Like a fleeting shadow, Even a passing cloud offers no relief. Onward, onward! Beyond the stern steppe A green garden awaits me, I know. There in fragrant cool shade, I will find shelter from the flaming day. There I will be able to enjoy life, Conversing with living nature. And there I shall rest and forever forget The weariness of the road I have just traveled.¹²⁷

¹²⁶ See Table 2 on page 294.

¹²⁷ Laurence Richter, *Selected Nineteenth Century Russian Song Texts* (New York: Leyerle Publications, 2005), 14-16.

Russian/Soviet musicologist Iurii Keldysh does not think this song is set in an exotic location. He instead interprets it in a metaphoric vein.¹²⁸ According to Keldysh, the opposition of two poetic worlds has a symbolic religious-philosophical meaning. In the image of an arid desert he sees a symbol of mundane life, full of painful sorrows and torments, while the image of an umbrous green garden symbolizes death as a “joyful and light rebirth” [*radostnoe i svetloe vrozhdzenie*]. Keldysh compares the first part of the song with “booming strikes of a funeral knell” [*gulkie udary pokhoronnogo kolokola*].¹²⁹ Indeed, the slow tempo that Balakirev marks as “Assai lento marziale,” the C-sharp minor key, the very low register in the accompaniment, and the dotted rhythmic ostinato on C-sharp played in the left hand all evoke the image of a sombre funeral procession.¹³⁰

In his discussion of Balakirev’s “A Desert,” Keldysh does not even utter a word about the song’s oriental location. In my view, however, the song’s eastern flavour should not be completely invalidated. The musical vocabulary that Balakirev used to describe the garden resembles his own transcriptions brought from the Caucasus. The melody on the words “dushistoi i prokhladnoi” (mm. 26-27) resemble the melodic gestures of a Georgian tune that Balakirev transcribed in the Caucasus (despite its different mode): both have a melismatic movement from the fifth to first scale degrees,

¹²⁸ See Iu. Keldysh, *Istoriia russkoi muzyki*, vol. 2 (Moscow and Leningrad: Gos.Muz.Izdat, 1947), 113. Vikhanskaia too does not think that this song can be classified as oriental. Although she notices the sensuality of the melody in the second part of the song, she believes that “its oriental character does not have any direct poetic motivation.” Vikhanskaia, 304.

¹²⁹ Keldysh, *Istoriia russkoi muzyki* (1947), 113.

¹³⁰ Vasina-Grossman associates the beginning of the song with the funeral march from Chopin’s b-minor piano sonata. See Vasina-Grossman, 159.

Example 4.15 a) Balakirev's transcription of Caucasian music, no. 25, mm. 10-11; b) Balakirev, "Pustynia," mm. 26-29; c) Balakirev's transcription of Caucasian music, no. 26, mm. 1-2; d) Balakirev's transcription of Caucasian music, n. 10, mm. 13-14.

a)



b)



c)



d)



touching lower or upper neighbour tones of the third and/or second scale degrees
(**Examples 4.15a** and **4.15b**).

The same passage of Balakirev's song is similar to the beginning of another Armenian melody, which opens with a pentatonic gesture from the first to the fourth scale degree via the third scale degree (no. 26, mm. 1-2) and then goes back to the first scale degree adding an embellishing figure to the second scale degree (**Example 4.15c**). The theme that is played as a counterpoint in the accompaniment also resembles a Caucasian (it is unclear whether it is Georgian or Chechen) dance tune with a rhythmic pattern of mixed duplets and triplets that move down towards the first scale degree (**Example 4.15d**).¹³¹ Furthermore, as Vasina-Grossman suggests, this tune from the second part of the song alludes to the second subject ("Tatar") from Balakirev's famous piano piece, *Islamey*.¹³² Vasina-Grossman concludes that the beautiful place described in this musical picture represents the place of Balakirev's own musical memories of his trips to the Caucasus.¹³³ Thus, she also follows Keldysh's metaphorical interpretation of the song.

Nonetheless, the very name of the song and its main subject, a desert, directly evokes the images of a different, if not exotic, land. After Félicien David's *Ode symphonique, Le Desert*, which Balakirev knew very well, it is hard to interpret any piece with the same name without referencing this work.¹³⁴ Even though in Balakirev's A

¹³¹ Tune No. 17 from Balakirev's sketchbook also has a similar rhythmic and melodic pattern.

¹³² Vasina-Grossman, 159.

¹³³ Ibid.

¹³⁴ In a letter to Tchaikovsky Balakirev confessed that he liked F. David's *Le Desert*, despite its "childishness," and suggested Tchaikovsky compose an aria representing night for his cantata *Noch [Night]*

Desert there are no musical references to David's *Le Desert*, the very title evokes the oriental locale. Because of its connection to David's earlier work and because it draws on a number of musical gestures that Balakirev used to represent the orient, in my view Balakirev's "Pustynia" can also be counted as an oriental work.

"Son" [A Dream]

A setting of Mikhail Lermontov's poem "A Dream" is the last art song setting that evokes an oriental, Caucasian locale. In Lermontov's poem, a male protagonist lies alone in Dagestan dying of a bullet wound. He dreams that a woman in the homeland (back in Russia) has a vision of him dying.¹³⁵

В полдневный жар в долине Дагестана С свинцом в груди лежал недвижим я; Глубокая еще дымилась рана, По капле кровь точилась моя. Лежал один я на песке долины; Уступы скал теснились кругом, И солнце жгло их желтые вершины И жгло меня — но спал я мертвым сном. И снился мне сияющий огнями Вечерний пир в родимой стороне. Меж юных жен, увенчанных цветами, Шел разговор веселый обо мне.	In the noonday heat, in a valley of Dagestan, With a bullet in my breast, I lay motionless; In my breast the wound was still freshly smoking, And blood slowly leaked from it. I lay alone on the valley's sand; The cliffs' ledges crowded around me, And the sun burned their yellow points And burned me, but I slept with a deathly dream. And I dreamt of an evening feast gleaming with lights In my native land. Young women, their hair wreathed in flowers,

in the style of "O, belle nuit" from David's *ode symphonique*. See *Perepiska M.A. Balakireva s P.I. Tchaikovskim*, S.M. Liapunov, ed. (St. Petersburg: Iu.G. Tsimmerman, 1912), 16.

¹³⁵ Lermontov wrote this poem just few months before Martynov shot him, and, as Susan Layton notes, the "poem gives the eerie impression of predicting the author's death." See Susan Layton, *Russian Literature and Empire: The Conquest of the Caucasus From Pushkin to Tolstoy* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 229.

Но в разговор веселый не вступая, Сидела там задумчиво одна, И в грустный сон душа ее младая Бог знает чем была погружена; И снилась ей долина Дагестана; Знакомый труп лежал в долине той; В его груди дымясь чернела рана, И кровь лилась хладеющей струей.	Were talking merrily about me. But without entering into the merry talk, One woman sat pensively, And her young soul plunged into a sad dream By God knows what force; And she dreamed of a valley of Dagestan; A familiar corpse lay in that valley; In his breast the wound was still freshly smoking, And blood poured from it in a stream that grew slowly cold.¹³⁶

Harsha Ram contextualizes this poem in the prophetic tradition of Russian verse. Ram believes that the set of motifs that Lermontov uses in “Son” (the Russian body lies in a remote land in a state between life and death; his body is violated) resonates with motifs from Russian victory odes. According to Ram, in the odes of Gavrila Derzhavin, Wilhelm Kuchelbecker, and Alexander Pushkin the body of a lyrical hero, the poet-prophet, is equated with the nation’s body and a dream or sleep is allegorically read as political subjugation. In Kuchelbecker’s “Propochestvo” [The Prophecy] and in the epilogue of Pushkin’s *Kavkazskii plennik*, sleep or captivity is followed by an awakening, which brings historical or ontological change. “This change,” Ram suggests, “is understood militarily.”¹³⁷ In other poems of the Russian prophetic tradition, such as Pushkin’s “Prorok” [The Prophet], the poet becomes a vehicle of divine utterance after the long sleep and divine intervention; he is asked by God to “burn the hearts of people with the word.” In Lermontov’s “Son,” however, instead of awakening and becoming a

¹³⁶ Partially translated by Harsha Ram in *The Imperial Sublime: A Russian Poetics of Empire* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2003), 172, 203.

¹³⁷ Ram, 173.

prophet, the lyrical hero-poet simply dies. Thus, the dying soldier in Lermontov's "Son" can be read as both imperial aggressor and as martyred victim. The poem negotiates two motives: the brute violence of a colonial war and the individual tragedy of a soldier, whose life is constrained by the state's military affairs.

Furthermore, as Ram observes, the terror of a dying body in a remote land in Lermontov's work underlines the poet's own fear of dying outside his homeland and not being able to reunite with his motherland even posthumously. As Ram puts it:

Burial, be it of bodies or of memories, is a symbolic act reconciling the dead and the living and resolving the materiality of death through the promise of transcendence. For Lermontov, it also serves the elusive goal of reconciling the imperial periphery with the motherland. If the rites of mourning and burial are a mark of nostalgia for an organic national community, then the abandoned or unburied body suggests the symbolic dislocation of nationhood effected by the imperial state.¹³⁸

Therefore, this poem, according to Ram, marks both the end of the prophetic tradition, since it demystifies the heroism of death, and the birth of a new realistic tendency in literature.

The tragic reality of Lermontov's "Son" is underlined in Balakirev's art song with a number of effective harmonic and melodic devices. The first section, which describes the dying soldier, is developed through a harmonic progression that wanders without an apparent goal. Different versions of dominant or diminished chords suggest E minor and C-sharp minor followed by F-sharp minor. However, the dominant chords are almost never resolved: in the entire first section only one dominant chord finds its resolution in

¹³⁸ Ibid., 202-03.

C minor (at the end of the first period). Such harmonic wandering evokes the image of an unsettled soul that is dislocated for an unknown purpose and in an unknown land. The harmony wanders as if it is the soul of an unburied soldier who cannot find refuge on earth or in heaven.

Example 4.16 Balakirev, “Son,” mm. 1-12

Moderato М. М. $\text{♩} = 80$

В пол-днев-ный жар в до-ли-не Да-ге-ста-на С сви-ном в гру-ди ле-жал не -

дви-жи-я; Глу-бо-ка-я е-ще ды-ми-лась ра-на; По кап-ле кровь то-чи-ла-ся мо -

я. Ле-жал о-дин я на пе-ске до-ли-ны; У-сту-пы скал тес-ни-ли-ся кру-гом,

The vocal line emphasizes the poem’s tragic content by stressing the meaning of each word. The song opens with a declamatory phrase sung in a limited range; then on the words “lezhall odin” [lay alone] the vocal line suddenly rises an octave higher, as if the cry is coming from the depth of a soul (**Example 4.16**). The nagging intonations on a

diminished fifth repeated three times (each time perfect fourth higher, mm. 8, 10, 12)
intensify the tension in the vocal line.

The D-flat major middle section of Balakirev's three-part setting of "Son" describes a woman who dreams of her beloved dying in a remote land (**Example 4.17a**).

Example 4.17 a) Balakirev, "Son," mm. 19-21; b) Glinka, "Zhavoronok," mm. 14-17
a)

b)

Interestingly, the melodic line that opens this section resembles one of the phrases from Glinka's song "Zhavoronok" [The Lark] (1840), in which the protagonist compares himself with a lark who sings a song to his beloved, but whose body is invisible: "One

does not see the fields' singer,/ Where he sings so loudly" (**Example 4.17b**).¹³⁹ Balakirev probably used this melodic phrase because the last two lines from Glinka's song allude to the subject of memory or remembering ("Someone will remember me/ And sigh stealthily"),¹⁴⁰ a central theme in "Son."

Apart from the reference to Glinka's "Zhavoronok," Balakirev alludes to the orient in the middle section by using a scale with an augmented second combined with a melismatic figure (**Example 4.18**). Surprisingly, the first section, which might well have evoked the orient, since it describes the soldier's body in Dagestan, does not present any oriental elements, while the section about the homeland (Russia) contains oriental musical signs and vocabulary. Is it because the oriental music style, as Frolova-Walker points out, became for Balakirev a "default style"? Or is it because Balakirev felt much more "at home" when he alluded to the Orient; in other words, he naturally situated a set of oriental signs within a Russian context?

Example 4.18 Balakirev, "Son," mm. 27-30

¹³⁹ "Ne vidat' pevtsa polei,/ Gde poet tak gromko." Probably Balakirev truly liked Glinka's art song "The Lark" since this is the only vocal piece of music for which he wrote a piano transcription.

¹⁴⁰ "Kto-to vspomnit pro menia/ I vzdokhnet ukradkoi."

Balakirev's art song was prophetic, even though he might not have meant it to be: it was composed on the eve of the Russo-Japanese War (1904-05), which claimed thousands of Russian lives and was one of the causes of the Russian Revolution of 1905. The text of Balakirev's "Son," which critiques imperial predatory wars that affect not only those who are conquered, but also those who are conquering, echoes another vocal piece composed three decades earlier by another member of the Kuchka. It is Modest Musorgsky's setting of the ballad "Zabytyi" [The Forgotten One] (1874) by Arsenii Golenishchev-Kutuzov.¹⁴¹ Both the text and the music of Musorgsky's piece were inspired by Vasilii Vereshchagin's famous painting "Zabytyi," in which the body of a dead soldier lies alone on a deserted Central Asian battlefield.¹⁴² In the Golenishchev-Kutuzov's ballad a narrator tells the story of a forgotten soldier, who has been killed in a "foreign land" and abandoned unburied by his fellow comrades who rejoice over the defeated enemy. While he is being eaten by a "mean crow," his wife sings a lullaby to their child trying to calm him and promises to cook a "pirozhok" [little pie] when the "tia-tia" [daddy] comes back. Thus, many poetic elements unite Balakirev's "Son" and Musorgsky's "Zabytyi," including a dying (or dead) man in a remote land and a woman thinking of him in the homeland, as well as the striking contrast between dream and reality. Furthermore, Musorgsky's ballad, written just four years before the Russo-

¹⁴¹ Vikhanskaia compares "Son" with Balakirev's earlier art song *Sosna* since both art songs have a similar idea of two soul mates suffering because of separation and striving to meet with each other. Vikhanskaia, 234.

¹⁴² After the only exposition of "Zabytyi," any reproduction of this painting by Vereshchagin was banned for twenty years. On Vereshchagin and his exhibitions in Russia and abroad, see V.V. Stasov, "Vystavka kartin V.V. Vereshchagina," in *Sobranie sochinenii V.V. Stasova*, vol. 1 (St. Petersburg: tip. M.M. Stasiulevicha, 1894), 499-506. On life and works of Vereshchagin, see V.V. Stasov, "Vasilii Vasil'evich Vereshchagin," in *Ibid.*, vol. 2, 269-330.

Turkish War, also foreshadows the death of thousands of Russian soldiers in a remote location.¹⁴³

When Balakirev wrote his “Son” [The Dream], he could have had Musorgsky’s ballad “Zabytyi” [The Forgotten One] in mind since he was well familiar with it: all the members of his circle, along with V.V. Stasov, witnessed the creation of Musorgsky’s ballad. First, in 1874, they attended Vereshchagin’s Saint Petersburg exposition with the scandalizing painting “Zabytyi,” which was completed in 1871 after the artist’s return from the Turkestan campaign. Second, Balakirev most probably witnessed Musorgsky’s first performance of this piece for Vereshchagin in one of the evenings organized by Stasov in December 1879. In addition, Musorgsky’s “Zabytyi” was performed in November 1881 in a concert organized after the composer’s death. In his review of the concert Stasov paid special attention to “Zabytyi” and described its performance as “staggering.”¹⁴⁴ In this context, Balakirev’s “Son” should be considered part of the Russian literary and musical tradition of works devoted to the subject of war in the East and, to a certain extent, a critique of it.

5. Balakirev’s Orient and Beyond

Many Russian/Soviet musicologists have suggested that Caucasian themes were prevalent in mid-nineteenth-century Russian music. Kisilev, for instance, states that, for Balakirev and his friends, oriental music was associated above all with Georgian music,

¹⁴³ There is no musical intertextuality between these two art songs. However, Musorgsky evokes the orient by using a scale with an augmented second in the first section.

¹⁴⁴ V.V. Stasov, “A concert in Memory of Musorgsky (1881),” in *Musorgsky In Memoriam 1881-1981*, Malcolm Hamrick Brown, ed. (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1982), 320-21; here 320.

the original samples of which Balakirev brought from his trip to the Caucasus.¹⁴⁵

However, this seems to exaggerate the importance of the Caucasian theme in the works of the composers from Balakirev's circle. Balakirev did not restrict himself to Caucasian material and wrote art songs related to Tatar, Jewish, and Spanish subjects (See **Table 2**). Other members of the Mighty Five cared even less about the Caucasus. Musorgsky did not compose anything related to the Caucasus, preferring to spend more time on Jewish subjects.¹⁴⁶ He also devoted one song – “Zabytyi” – to a Turkestan-based subject.

Borodin composed only one oriental art song based on an original Arabic tune. In his oriental works, Rimsky-Korsakov mostly alluded to a general idea of the East, not the Caucasus in particular. Although Cui wrote only a few works on Caucasian subjects (an opera *The Prisoner of the Caucasus*, the art song “Kinzhal” [A Dagger]) and a setting of seven poems by Armenian poets, he also wrote two art songs with non-Caucasian exotic subjects: one art song – “Les roses d'Ispahan” – evokes the Persian world and another – “Le colibri” – evokes an exotic creature living in the New World.

Table 2: List of art songs with oriental/exotic subject composed by the Kuchka members

Composer's name	Year/opus	Name of the art song	Places or people evoked
Balakirev, Milii Alekseevich (1836-1910)	1855	“Ispanskaia pesnia” [A Spanish Song] (M. Mikhailov)	Spain
	1858	“Pesnia Selima” [Selim's Song] (M. Lermontov “Ismail-Bei”)	Caucasus

¹⁴⁵ G. Kisilev, “O romansakh Balakireva,” in *M Balakirev. Romansy i Pesni*, G.L. Kisilev, ed. (Moscow: Muzgiz, 1937), 5-13; here 10.

¹⁴⁶ See Boris Schwarz, “Musorgsky's interest in Judaica,” in *Musorgsky: In Memoriam, 1881–1981*, M. Brown, ed. (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1982), 85-94.

	1859	“Evreiskaia Melodiia” [A Jewish Melody] (M. Lermontov)	Hebrew
	1861, 1895	“Sosna” [A Pinetree] (Lermontov's free translation of Heine's “Ein Fichtenbaum”)	East vs. West
	1863	“Gruzinskaia pesnia” [A Georgian Song] (A. Pushkin)	Georgia
	1895	“Pustynia” [A Desert] (A. Zhemchuzhnikov)	Orient
	1903-4	“Son” [A Dream] (M. Lermontov)	Dagestan
Borodin, Alexander Porfir'yevich (1833-1887)	1881	“Arabskaia melodiia” [Arabian Melody] (A. Borodin)	Arab
Cui, Cesar Antonovich (1835-1918)	1881/17	“Bolero”	Spain
	1885-86/33, no.1	“Solovei” [A Nightingale] (A. Pushkin)	Orient
	1889-1892/49, no.7	“Kinzhal” [A Dagger] (M. Lermontov)	Causasus
	1890/44	Vingt poemes de Jean Richepin	Huns, Turks
	1896/54, no.2	“Le Colibri” (Leconte de Lisle)	New World
	1896/ 54, no.3	“Les roses d'Ispahan” (Leconte de Lisle)	Persia
	1907/ 75	Seven poems by Armenian poets	Armenia
	1907-1908/ 86, no. 9	“Podrazhanie Koranu” [An Imitation of the Koran] (A. Pushkin)	Arab
Musorgsky, Modest Petrovich (1839-1881)	1863 (1866-71)	“Tsar' Saul” (Byron-P. Kozlov)	Hebrew
	1867	“Evreiskaia pesnia” [A Jewish Song] (L. Mey)	Hebrew
	1874	“Zabytyi” [The Forgotten One] (A. Golenishchev-Kutuzov)	Turkestan
Rimsky-Korsakov, Nikolai Andreevich	1865	“V krovi gorit ogon' zhelan'ia” [In the Blood Burns the Fire] (A. Pushkin); lost	Spain

(1844-1908)			
	1866	“Plenivshis' rozoi, solovei. Vostochnyi Romans” [Enslaved by the Rose, the Nightingale] (A. Kol'tsov)	Orient (Persia)
	1866	“El' i pal'ma” [The Pine and the Palm] (M.Mikhailov-Heine)	Orient
	1866	“Iuzhnaia noch” [Southern Night] (N. Shcherbina)	South
	1866	“Na kholmakh Gruzii” [On the Hills of Georgia] (A. Pushkin)	Georgia
	1867	“Evreiskaia pesnia” [A Jewish Song] (L. Mei)	Hebrew
	1867	“Kak nebesa tvoi vtor blistaet” [Thy Glance is Radiant as the Heavens] (M. Lermontov)	(Orient)
	1870	“Vstan', soidi!” (Evreiskaia pesnia) [Arise, Come Down! (A Jewish Song)] (L. Mei)	Hebrew
	1870	“V Tsarstvo rozy i vina” [In the Kingdom of Roses and Wine] (A. Fet -Hafiz)	Persia
	1882	“Pesnia Ziuleiki” [Zuleika’s Song] (I. Kozlov-Byron from Abidos Bride)	Turkish
	1882/1897	“Anchar” [The Upas Tree] (A. Pushkin)	Asia, Africa, Philippine Islands
	1897	“Liubliu tebia, mesiats (Melodiia s beregov Ganga)” [I Love Three, Moon (Melody from the Banks of the Ganges)] (A. Maikov)	India
	1897	“Posmortri v svoi vertograd” [Look in Thy Garden] (A. Maikov, from cycle “Iz Vostochnogo mira” [From Eastern World])	Orient
	1897	“Svezh i dushist tvoi roskoshnyi venok” [Cool and Fragrant is thy Garland] (A. Fet)	Orient
	1897	“Deva i solntse” [The Maiden and the Sun] (A. Maikov, from cycle <i>Novogrecheskie Pesni</i> [New Greek Songs])	Greece
	1897	“Pevets” [The Singer] (A. Maikov, from cycle <i>Novogrecheskie Pesni</i> [New Greek Songs])	Greece
	1897	“Tikho more goluboe!” [Quiet is the Ble Sea] (A. Maikov, from cycle <i>Novogrecheskie Pesni</i> [New Greek Songs])	Greece
	1897	“Ne poi krasavitsa pri mne” (Pushkin)	Georgia
	1888	“El' i pal'ma” [The Pine and the Palm] (M.Mikhailov-Heine)	Orient
	1898	“Grechanke” [To A Greek Girl] (A. Pushkin)	Greece

Nonetheless, for a brief period after Balakirev's trip to the Caucasus, all Kuchka members lived under the spell of the Caucasus.¹⁴⁷ This is especially evident from the art songs composed by the youngest member of the Kuchka – Nikolai Rimsky-Korsakov, in the 1860s. As Rimsky-Korsakov recalled in his memoirs, in 1866 he often spent evenings with Balakirev, who

had at the time a large stock of oriental melodies and dances, memorized during his trip to the Caucasus. He often played them for me and the others, in his own most delightful harmonisations and arrangements. My acquaintance with Russian and oriental songs at the time marked the origin of my love for folk music.¹⁴⁸

Significantly, in 1866 Rimsky-Korsakov composed no fewer than five songs with an oriental subject. Although in his memoirs he stated that he composed nothing during the spring of 1866, his songs from opuses 2 and 3 were actually composed before the end of May.¹⁴⁹ Perhaps Rimsky-Korsakov considered these songs as compositional exercises and did not want to draw any attention to them. And with good reason.

Balakirev and Rimsky-Korsakov

Many elements from Balakirev's Caucasian sketchbook "traveled" to Rimsky-Korsakov's early oriental art songs.¹⁵⁰ The most obvious are the ornamentations and augmented seconds. Ornamental figures – turns around one note – can be found in three

¹⁴⁷ Cui wrote to Rimsky-Korsakov that Balakirev "brought with him from the Caucasus an enormous wealth of oriental music and this must not remain fruitless. See Cui's letter to Rimsky-Korsakov on the 27 December/8 January 1864 in C.A. Cui, *Izbrannye pis'ma* (1955), 61.

¹⁴⁸ *My Musical Life*, 58.

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 57.

¹⁵⁰ I will consider only songs written up to 1870.

out of five art songs written in 1866. For instance, in the piano accompaniment of Rimsky-Korsakov's setting of Heine's "Ein Fichtenbaum" (Russian translation by M. Mikhailov) called "El' i pal'ma" [The Pine and the Palm], this figure is repeated six times in the second half of the song where the text describes the oriental world, with the palm tree standing on the "cliff burned with torrid heat" (**Example 4.19a**).

In Balakirev's transcriptions of the tunes brought from the Caucasus, there are at least two songs with exactly the same type of turn ornament (see nos. 25: mm. 6, 8; 26: mm. 6, 8, **Example 4.19b**).

Example 4.19 a) Rimsky-Korsakov, "El' i pal'ma," m. 23; b) Balakirev's transcription of Caucasian music, no. 26, mm. 5-8
a)



b)



Perhaps Balakirev especially liked this form of ornamentation since, according to Rimsky-Korsakov, besides his art songs he planned to use it in his opera *Zhar Ptitsa*

[*Fire-bird*], which he never finished.¹⁵¹ In later Western European music this ornamentation became pretty cliché. However, in the context of Balakirev's master-disciple relationship with Rimsky-Korsakov's in 1860s and considering Rimsky-Korsakov's own account of his reaction to the material that Balakirev brought from the Caucasus, at the very least we must acknowledge that this ornamentation figure could have had special meaning for Rimsky-Korsakov.

Another variant of the same turn is found in Rimsky-Korsakov's two art songs – “Plenivshis' rozoi solovei” [Enslaved by the Rose, the Nightingale] (**Example 4.20a**) and “Evreiskaia pesnia” [A Jewish Song]. It first touches the upper neighbour note then goes to the lower neighbour note, repeats it and remains on it. A similar turn is found in Balakirev's transcriptions of songs 19 (m. 19) and 20 (m.2) (see **Examples 4.20b** and **4.11a**, m. 2). In Rimsky-Korsakov's “Plenivshis' rozoi solovei,” this melismatic figure is combined with a characteristic rhythmic pattern (a quarter note followed by four thirty-second notes). As discussed in the previous chapter, from the mid-nineteenth century this pattern was often used to evoke an oriental locale. It is possible that Balakirev's “Georgian Song,” with exactly the same musical-rhythmic gesture on the words “tvoi zhestokie napevy” repeated twice in a sequence, was a model for this particular place in this art song by Rimsky-Korsakov (**Example 4.20a**).

¹⁵¹ See Ibid., 59. More on this opera see A. Gozenpud, “Neosushchestvlennyi opernyi zamysel,” in *M.A. Balakirev. Issledovaniia i stat'i*, 362-83.

**Example 4.20 a) Rimsky-Korsakov, “Plenivshis’ rozoi solovei,” mm. 1-10;
Balakirev’s transcription of Georgian song “Akh, dilav,” mm. 19-20**

a)



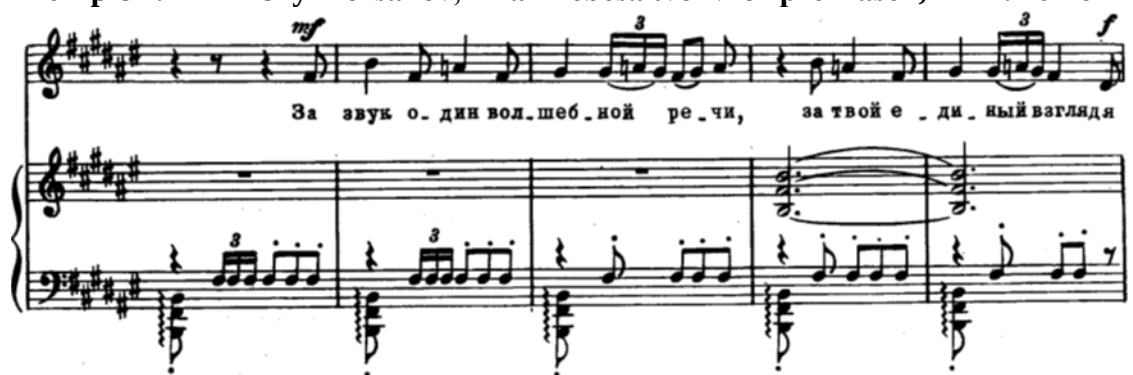
b)



Another important rhythmic formula that Rimsky-Korsakov borrowed from Balakirev is a figure in the accompaniment that imitates the playing of a drum instrument with its characteristic subdivision of the second beat. In both Balakirev’s “Georgian Song” and Rimsky-Korsakov’s “Kak nebesa tvoi vzor prekrasen” [Thy Glance is Radiant as the Heavens], the piano accompaniment emphasizes the second beat with the repetition of four thirty-second notes or three sixteenths (compare **Examples 4.21** and **4.12b**).

Besides melodic and rhythmic elements, Rimsky-Korsakov also learned to evoke the orient through particular harmonic progressions. One of the most important is a sustained pedal point coloured by different harmonies. The piano prelude and postlude, as well as a section on the words “uvy, napominaiut” from Balakirev’s “Georgian Song”

Example 4.21 Rimsky-Korsakov, “Kak nebesa tvoi vzor prekrasen,” mm. 16-20



and the entire first section of his “Pustynia” [A Desert], are set on pedal points. Rimsky-Korsakov’s “El’ i pal’ma” [The Pine and the Palm] (the entire section of the Palm tree is on E flat) as well as “Plenivshis’ rozoi solovei” (piano interlude and postlude is set on drone f#-c#) also use pedal points. Again, although the pedals were employed by other European composers earlier in the century to evoke exotic worlds (e.g., F. David, *Le Desert*), most probably it was Balakirev who taught the younger member of the circle how to use them. Interestingly enough, the lack of originality of Rimsky-Korsakov’s early art songs was apparent not only to him. Russian publisher Alexander Beliaev was most likely aware of this problem, which is why he paid the composer nothing to publish the first four of his songs from opus 2 (among them “Vostochnyi romans”) and less than half the minimal usual price for “El’ i pal’ma” [The Pine and the Palm], “Iuzhnaia noch” [Southern Night], and “Na kholmakh Gruzii” [On the Hills of Georgia] from opus 3.¹⁵² Not coincidentally, all these art songs were composed in 1866.

¹⁵² V.V. Yastrebtsev, *Reminiscences of Rimsky-Korsakov*, 241. As Yastrebtsev contests, Rimsky-Korsakov recalled that Beliaev paid composers from twenty-five to seventy-five rubles per song, while Rimsky-Korsakov received only ten rubles for each song from his opus 3. Ibid.

Balakirev and Musorgsky

Balakirev's influence on Musorgsky is more limited. Edward Garden traces a few musical elements, such as the constantly changing time signature and mock-modulation (a tonicization of a relative minor over the tonic pedal), which Musorgsky learned from his teacher and employed in his early works.¹⁵³ Garden also suggests that Musorgsky modeled his "Chorus of Priestesses" from his early, unfinished opera *Salammbô* on Balakirev's "Song of the Golden Fish" (1860) and a piano piece called "Berceuse" (1901).¹⁵⁴ I would like to add yet another source of Musorgsky's inspiration by Balakirev: the material that Balakirev brought from the Caucasus.¹⁵⁵ One of Musorgsky's letters to Balakirev, written in 1866, attests to the fact that Balakirev's Caucasian "findings" could have influenced Musorgsky's compositional choices:

I would like to talk to you about all sorts of matters, and show you a new little piece ("Boevaia pesn' liviitsev" ["A Militant Song of the Libyans"]) from my *Salammbô* – a male chorus on the theme that you know already with a variant *à la georgienne*.¹⁵⁶

¹⁵³ E. Garden, "Balakirev's Influence of Musorgsky," in *Musorgsky, In Memoriam, 1881-1981*, 19-26.

¹⁵⁴ This later work of Balakirev was written more than thirty years after Musorgsky worked on *Salammbô*. However Garden believes that, since Balakirev often improvised his works on piano, he may have played or improvised his *Berceuse* in the presence of Musorgsky in the early 1860s, even though the piece is dated 1901. It could have been, however, that Balakirev was influenced by his own disciples later in his career.

¹⁵⁵ It is worth noting that Musorgsky worked intensively on his *Salammbô* after Balakirev's second trip to the Caucasus. He finished writing his second scene from the second act of *Salammbô* (scena obriada) in December 1863; his "Pesn' baleartsa" in August 1864, and "Boevaia pesn' liviitsev" in 1866. See Pavel Lamm, "Ot redakrota," in *Musorgsky. Complete Works*, vol. 19 (New-York: E.F. Kalmus, 1960), 3-8.

¹⁵⁶ "Potolkovat' s Vami khochetsia o vsiakikh materiakh, da pokazat' Vam novuiu shtuchku (boevaia pesn' Liviitsev) is moei "Salambo" – muzhskoi khor na izvestnuiu Vam temu s variantom *a la georgienne*." *M.P. Musorgsky. Pis'ma i dokumenty. Sobral i prigotovil k pechati A.N. Rimsky-Korsakov* (Moscow, Leningrad: Muzykal'noe izdat., 1932), 104.

Boris Schwarz analyzed the melodic content of “A Militant Song of the Libyans” in his article on Musorgsky’s interest in Judaica. Schwarz argues that the melody is based on the original Hassidic theme attributed to Rabby Abraham ha-Mol’akh.¹⁵⁷ However Schwarz does not address Musorgsky’s remark at the end of this letter (what did Musorgsky mean by “à la georgienne”?) and does not discuss the song’s accompaniment. The *georgianisms*, however, are apparent precisely in the orchestral part of “Boevaia pesn’ liviitsev” [A Militant Song of the Libyans]. The accompaniment in measures 19 through 22, on the words “tak mchatsia liviitsy sred’ vikhria pustyni” [“the Libyans are tearing amidst the swirl of the desert”] bears a striking resemblance to one of Balakirev’s transcriptions of a Caucasian dance called “Islamey” (**Example 4.22a**). In Balakirev’s transcription of “Islamey” (mm. 6-7) the subject is placed in the middle voice while the accompaniment is in the upper voice playing a repetitive figure – triplets touching the upper neighbour. Musorgsky uses exactly the same accompaniment in his “A Militant Song of the Libyans,” placing the main melody in the lower register (and doubling it in octaves) and the triplet accompaniment in the upper register (**Example 4.22b**). Musorgsky probably knew Balakirev’s transcription of the Caucasian dance “Islamei” since Balakirev almost certainly played it many times for his friends before he composed his own piano piece called “Islamei” based on this very tune in 1869.

¹⁵⁷ B. Schwarz, “Musorgsky’s Interest in Judaica,” in *Musorgsky, In Memoriam, 1881-1981*, 90.

Example 4.22 a) Balakirev's transcription of a Georgian dance "Islamei," mm. 6-7:
 b) Musorgsky's "Boevaia pesn' Liviitsev," from *Salammbô*, mm.19-23

a)

b)

Так мчатся оляны - выйди среди них ряцу -

Ай-гай-га! Ай-гай-га, ай-гай!

оты - ни. Сра - жен - ный,

Ай - гай - га, ай - га!

Although Musorgsky does not use any melody that Balakirev transcribed in the Caucasus, “Pesnia Baleartsa” [Song of the Balearic Islander] has a few melismas that resemble Balakirev’s transcriptions. For instance, in mm. 6 and 8 Musorgsky uses a rhythmic-melodic pattern (a quarter note followed by four thirty-second notes) that, as discussed above, has been associated with the oriental world since the mid-nineteenth century (**Example 4.23**).

Example 4.23 Musorgsky, “Pesnia Baleartsa,” mm. 6-8.



Thus, Balakirev’s experience with oriental/Caucasian music became Musorgsky’s source of inspiration. For the Kuchka members, this music was transformed into a set of melodic and rhythmic conventions, some of which were used in the context of Russian musical identity. Being fully aware of Balakirev’s influence on their early works, Rimsky-Korsakov and Musorgsky probably did not consider them worth mentioning or even finishing. As Musorgsky stated in a conversation with Nikolai Kompaneiskii about his unfinished *Salammbô*: “To carry on would have been futile... We have had enough of the Orient in *Judith*... Art isn’t a pastime, time is precious.”¹⁵⁸ Then Kompaneiskii

¹⁵⁸ “Eto bylo by besplodno...Dovol’no nam Vostoka v ‘Iudifi’... Iskustvo ne zabava, vremia dorogo.” See Iurii Keldysh and Vasilii Iakovlev, eds., *M.P. Musorgsky; k piatidesiatiletiu so dnia smerti, 1881-1931. Stat’i i materialy* (Moscow: Gos. Muz.Izdat, 1932), 110.

reflected: “M. P. implied that one cannot picture the Orient without having seen it or without knowing its melodies.”¹⁵⁹

Conclusion

Balakirev played a major role in the formation of an oriental style in Russian music. Although his art songs were preceded by and developed the tradition of oriental works by Aliab'ev, Dargomyzhsky, and Glinka, discussed in Chapter Three, most of his works with an oriental subject were based on his own experience. The rich material that he brought from his trips to the Caucasus found its way to the most inspiring pages of oriental music. Furthermore, his infatuation with the Caucasus, which he maintained throughout his life, also inspired a large number of music works written by the members of his circle and beyond. Deep respect and understanding of the people living in the Caucasus, combined with his desire to learn about the culture and music of Russia's Others, are the key points of Balakirev's original style. His “ethnographic approach” (which was relatively careful for that time) and genuine interest in gathering original music material resulted in a fair representation of at least one ethnic group living in the Caucasus, the Georgians. Besides creating a model for Russian musical representations of the Other, Balakirev, by avoiding a colonialist mode of thinking dominated by the binary opposition, also traced a course for representing the self as not entirely different from the Other.

¹⁵⁹ “M.P. podrazumeval chto nel'zia opisyyvat' Vostok ne vidia ego, ne znaia ego melodii.” Ibid.

PART III: LATE NINETEENTH-CENTURY RUSSIAN ORIENTALISM

CHAPTER 5

“CONNECTED BY THE TIES OF BLOOD”: MUSICAL SCALES AND INSTRUMENTS IN THE QUEST FOR THE RUSSIAN/ASIAN IDENTITY

Introduction

After a humiliating defeat in the Crimean War (1853-1856) the tsarist government temporarily halted its activity in the Balkans and the Middle East and decided to strengthen its presence in Central Asia.¹ In the late 1860s and early 1870s the Bukharian, Kokanese, and Khiva khanates, Russia's southern neighbours, became coveted objects of imperial attention and by the end of the 1870s most of this Central Asian territory was under a different type of Russian control.² Out of the three large Central Asian khanates, one (Kokand) had been entirely absorbed and the other two (Bukhara and Khiva) survived as truncated Russian protectorates. Only a few of the Turkmen tribes, living on the northern borders of Iran, and free from incursions by centralized powers, remained

¹ On the general history of Russian Central Asia see N.A. Khalfin, *Politika Rossii v Srednei Azii (1857-1868)* (Moscow: izdatel'stvo vostochnoi literatury, 1960); N.A. Khalfin, *Prisoedinenie Srednei Azii k Rossii (60-90-e gody XIXv.)* (Moscow: Nauka, 1965); Seymour Becker, *Russia's Protectorates in Central Asia: Bukhara and Khiva, 1865-1924* (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1968); *Kavkaz i Sredniaia Azia vo vneshnei politike Rossii: vtoraiia polovina XVIII-80-e gody XIX v.*, N.C. Kiniapina, M.M. Bliev, V.V. Degoev, eds. (Moscow: Izdat. Mosk. Univeristeta, 1984); Edward Allworth, ed., *Central Asia: 120 Years of Russian Rule* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 1989); Daniel Brower, *Turkestan and the Fate of the Russian Empire* (London and New York: Routledge Curzon, 2003).

² During the early 1860s Russian newspapers and journals were flooded with articles on the importance of the Central Asian region to the development of Russian economic power. Several newspapers, including *Severnaia pchela* [Northern Bee], *Torgovyi sbornik* [Commercial Digest], *Russkii vestnik* [Russian Herald] (a journal that presented the official viewpoint), *Vestnik Evropy* [European Herald], and other influential periodicals published articles on the region's natural climatic advantages for agriculture (especially cotton), and for providing abundant natural resources. Many articles also highlighted certain trading advantages that had not yet been fully explored. For example, V.V. Grigor'ev, "About Bukharian cotton and the possibility of growing cotton on the Syr-Dar'ia river," in *Severnaia pchela* (1862), and "Bukhartsy i khlopok," in *Torgovyi sbornik* (1864); Iu.A. Gagemeister, "On the Importance of Russian Trade in Central Asia" [O torgovom znachenii Srednei Azii v otnoshenii k Rossii], *Russkii vestnik* 41 (1862): 706-36.

immune to Russian influence, but for less than a decade. Irritated by British economic-political interests growing beyond the Northern borders of Iran, and troubled by the weakened position of Russia in the Turkmen steppes, occasioned by the Russo-Turkish War (1877-1878), the Russians first crushed the nomads of the desert north of Persia and then annexed the entire Merv oasis (1884).³

Conquering the land entailed another, probably much more important and decisive task: conquering the hearts and minds of the subjugated peoples.⁴ As I discussed in Chapter Two, some Russian/Soviet and Western scholars have pointed out that the pattern of Russia's colonial policy was different from that of Western Europe and that nineteenth-century Russian scholars often revealed a humane attitude towards indigenous peoples or *inorodtsy*.⁵ Other scholars have stressed the presence of some critical aspects of colonization in Russia, such as racist discourse and constant violence between the colonizer and the colonized. However at the turn of the century, many Western scholars believed that Russian *mission civilisatrice* in the East was clearly successful and this was due to Russia's geographic, cultural, and sometimes even racial proximity to Asia. In *The Heart of Asia* published in 1899, two prominent English orientalists, Francis Skrine and

³ See Becker, "Anglo-Russian Relations and the Pacification of the Turkomans," in *Russia's Protectorates*, 95-121.

⁴ In the early nineteenth century, Sergei Uvarov, the President of the Academy of Science (1818-1855) and the Minister of Education (1833-1849), called for Asia to be conquered not "by fire and sword," but "via enlightenment, to subdue minds with the gentle spirit of religion, the dissemination of science and art, with the education and prosperity of the conquered." See his *Projet d'une Académie asiatique* (St. Petersburg, 1810), and Cynthia H. Whittaker, "The Impact of the Oriental Renaissance in Russia: The Case of Sergei Uvarov," *Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas* 26 (1978): 515.

⁵ See for instance, Khalfin, *Politika*, 236, 240; Nathaniel Knight, "Grigor'ev in Orenburg, 1851-1862: Russian Orientalism in the Service of Empire?" *Slavic Review* 59, no. 1 (2000): 74-100; Robert D. Crews, *For Prophet and Tsar: Islam and Empire in Russia and Central Asia* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2006).

Edward Ross, expressed the prevalent European view of Russians as people internally connected to Asians with “ties of blood.” Skrine and Ross believed that Russia’s success in its “civilizing mission” in the East was facilitated by the Russian system’s distinct contrast with the English judicial and executive system of administration and by “latent and unconscious sympathy” between the conquerors and conquered.⁶ Russians were able to rebuild and control the region because this mutual sympathy “rendered the task of government easy and assured its stability.”⁷ Interestingly enough, at the end of their book Skrine and Ross underline a few features that they believed were fundamental to the Russian nation. These include a strong “Oriental strain,” low standards of comfort, and social etiquette with a “tinge of barbarism.”⁸ Authors writing from the perspective of Russian Eurasianist ideology likewise positioned Asian “Turanian” (that is nomadic and, hence, “barbarian”) roots as vital in the formation of the Russian nation.⁹

These writings of western scholars as well as Russian Eurasianists raise many questions. To begin, how did some Russians come to embrace the Asian identity so passionately at the beginning of the twentieth century? Next, what historical, cultural, and musical elements did Russian writers choose to represent their national identity?

⁶ See F.H. Skrine and E. Denison Ross, *The Heart of Asia: A History of Russian Turkestan and the Central Asian Khanates from the Earliest Times* (London: Methuen and Co., 1899), 413.

⁷ Ibid., 414.

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ See Petr Savitskii et al., *Exodus to the East: Forebodings and Events: An Affirmation of the Eurasians*, translated and edited by Ilya Vinkovetskii (Idyllwild, California: Charles Schlacks, Jr. Publisher, 1996); originally published as *Iskhod k Vostoku. Predchuvstviia i sversheniia. Utverzhdenie evraziitsev* (Sofia: Balkan, 1921). On Eurasianism, see Marlène Laruelle, *L'idéologie eurasiste russe ou comment penser l'empire* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 1999); Slawomir Mazurek, “Russian Eurasianism – Historiosophy and Ideology,” *Studies in East European Thought* 54, nos. 1-2 (2002): 105-23; Mark Bassin, “Classical Eurasianism and the Geopolitics of Russian Identity,” *Ab Imperio* 2 (2003): 257-67; Sokolov, S.M., *Filosofia russkogo zarubezh'ia: Evraziistvo* (Ulan-Ude: VSGTU, 2003).

Furthermore, was the scholarly study of subject peoples different in Russia than in other imperialistic nations? As Jann Pasler has pointed out, late-nineteenth-century French discourse on exotic scales and instruments seemed to be connected to the colonial discourse of evolution, racial difference, and European superiority.¹⁰ How did Russian music writers negotiate the elements of their not-quite-European and, as some argued, not-quite-Asian identity? Did Russian music writers talk about racial difference/similarity in the music of Russian and newly conquered/acquired Asian people?

In the previous chapters we saw how certain Russian writers, critics, and musicians had expressed high esteem and admiration for Asian culture. This attitude subsequently shaped ethnographic studies of Russia's internal orientals. A great number of ethnographies, favoring the similarities rather than the differences between Russian and Asian cultures (especially towards the end of the nineteenth century), had nurtured Russian composers' and music theorists' imagination about the cultural connections between Asia and Russia. In this chapter, I address some Russian music theoretical works by Petr Sokal'sky, Alexander Famintsyn, and Viacheslav Petr that invoke the Russian-Asian cultural relationship and discuss the Asian or Aryan provenance of Russian musical scales.¹¹ Since the use of scales was often associated with musical instruments and tuning, in the second part of this Chapter I will also address some Russian works on musical instruments (such as those by Mikhail Petukhov and Alexander Maslov) that are particularly pertinent to the Russian-Asian cultural relationship.

¹⁰ See Jann Pasler, "Theorizing Race in Nineteenth-Century France: Music as Emblem of Identity," *Musical Quarterly* 89, no. 4 (Winter 2006): 459-504.

¹¹ Russian music writers did not seem to distinguish clearly between *Asian* and *Aryan* and freely interchanged both terms.

In my analysis of Russian late-nineteenth-century works on the provenance of Russian folk music I develop Pasler's argument about the relationship between colonial discourse of evolution and European superiority and the theoretical discussions about musical scales and instruments. My analysis of works written from the 1880s through the 1910s suggests that, despite the Russians' admiration for the Asian past and their pride in being affiliated with it, the view of contemporary Asian culture often was not free from cultural stereotypes, and thus conveyed an underlying message concerning the greatness -- not to say superiority -- of the Russian nation. In Russian theoretical treatises, the oriental music tradition was constructed as a frozen and static object, dehumanized into fixed and abstract texts, as opposed to Russian traditional music with its ability to progress over time. Most of the Russian writings on musical instruments followed the European tradition by affiliating musical instruments with race. The categorization of musical instruments and the values attached to each instrumental group often repeated European patterns of classification that suggested value judgments and notions of racial superiority/inferiority. All the same, some exceptions to the rule did exist. Maslov's article on the evolution and geographical dissemination of musical instruments reveals his high esteem for Asian culture and a surprising refusal to accord any originality to the repertoire of European and Russian musical instruments. I will argue that Maslov's methodological and ideological approach to Asian culture was not coloured by the colonial and racist discourse; he did not mix Russia's political position of power in the East with cultural matters.

Aryanism and Asianism in Russia

To understand why and how Russian musicians created and promoted myths about Russian-Asian cultural connections, it is important to address the ideology of two interrelated intellectual currents that shaped late nineteenth-century Russian self-identity and musical literature. The first is Aryanism and the second is the “Easterners” or “Asianists” movement (called *Vostochniki*). According to Marlene Laruelle, in the Russian context, Aryanism arose in the mid-nineteenth century as a reaction of Russian intellectuals against German and French ideas about Russia’s affiliation with the “Turanian” (nomadic) world. Nineteenth-century Russian thinkers used the connection to Scythians, Russia’s eastern neighbours who originated from Central Asia, to prove Russia’s Aryan historical and cultural legacy. Paradoxically, the proximity of Asia inspired the Russians to imagine they were more European than the West itself. Unlike German and French writers, who defined Aryanism as racial category, Russians considered Aryanism in the cultural-linguistic terms. As Marlene Laruelle argues, Russians did not develop racial or anti-Semitic ideas of Western-European Aryanism and never denied the essential equality of man.¹² Although, as Nathaniel Knight points out, Russian Aryanism “was not a political or intellectual movement in any conventional sense,” and no Russian music theorist identified himself as an Aryanist, the idea of Russia’s musical affiliation with Aryans was seriously considered and for a few decades dominated theoretical discussions about the scale structure.¹³

¹² Laruelle, *Mythe aryen et rêve impérial dans la Russie du XIX^e siècle* (Paris: CNRS Éditions, 2005), 25.

¹³ See Nathaniel Knight’s review of Marlene Laruelle’s *Mythe aryen et rêve impérial*, in *Slavic Review* 66, no. 3 (2007), 556.

The followers of Asianism also claimed Russia's Aryan legacy, but they possessed a more Asiatic vision of Russian identity.¹⁴ Although the idea of Asian identity had been pronounced in Russian literature earlier in the century, the Asianist current appeared after the 1878 Congress of Berlin, which humiliated Russia by disavowing its victory over the Ottoman Empire in the Russo-Turkish War. Many disappointed Russians (including the followers of Slavophile movement) turned their heads towards the East and declared that the future of Russia lay in Asia. Some Asianists argued that Russia had to expand into the cradle of the Aryan race in the steppes and mountains of Asia to liberate the remnant Aryan tribes from "Turanians" – "the barbaric and eternally decadent" Asian Islamic and Turkic peoples.¹⁵ Furthermore, Russia imagined they had a moral obligation to free the Aryan Buddhist peoples living in Manchuria, Xinjiang, Mongolia, and Tibet from Western and Chinese oppression.¹⁶ Russians' conviction of ethnic and cultural proximity with Aryans strengthened the belief in Russia's legitimate advance in the East, interpreted, as Laruelle puts it, "as the simple reunifying of different peoples destined to live under the same banner."¹⁷ As one of the leading Asianists, Prince Esper Ukhtomskii, wrote: "We are only tightening the bonds between us and that which in reality was

¹⁴ On *Vostochniki* movement see D. Schimmelpenninck van der Oye, "The Asianist Vision: Esper Ukhtomskii," in *Toward the Rising Sun: Russian Ideologies of Empire and the Path to War with Japan* (Northern Illinois University Press, 2001), 42-60; M. Laruelle, "The Orient in Russian Thought at the Turn of the Century," in *Russia Between East and West: Scholarly Debates on Eurasianism*, Dmitry Shlapentokh, ed. (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2007), 25-26.

¹⁵ E.E. Ukhtomskii, *Ot Kalmykskoi stepi do Bukhary* (St. Petersburg, 1891), 63, quoted by Laruelle, "'The White Tsar': Romantic Imperialism in Russia's Legitimizing of Conquering the Far East," *Acta Slavica Iaponica* 25 (2008): 113-34, here 129.

¹⁶ See Laruelle, "Romantic Imperialism," 113.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 134.

always ours.”¹⁸ Russian liberation discourse about this originally Aryan land was interwoven with a messianic discourse about the “White Tsar” whose arrival was supposedly awaited by several million men in Asia.¹⁹ Thus, both the Aryan and Asianist currents, besides nurturing Russian nationalistic sentiments and fantasies of a direct relationship with the East, provided ideological justification for Russia’s imperial advances in Central Asia and the Far East.

Part I: Theories Relating Russian and Asian Musical Scales

Matthieu Guthrie and Rudolph Westphal

Russian music-theoretical treatises were deeply influenced by the ideological orientations of Aryanism and Asianism. Although not overtly political, they reinforced the myth of Russia’s connection to the Aryan world and indeed held significant political implications. One of the earliest pronouncements of Russia’s indebtedness to its Aryan roots was made in 1795 by Matthieu Guthrie. In the preface of his *Dissertations sur les antiquités de Russie*, Guthrie refers to William Jones’s “discovery” that the common root of all European languages and cultures (including Greek) was Indo-European: “le berceau de toutes les nations européennes” was the Iranian empire.²⁰ In spite of Guthrie’s claims with respect to the Russian debt to Iranian culture, as mediated via the Greeks, he

¹⁸ Ukhtomskii, Kniaz Esper Esperovich, *Travels in the East of His Imperial Majesty Czar Nicholas II of Russia, when Cesarewitch 1890-1891*, 2 vols. (Westminster: Constable, 1900), quoted by Schimmelpenninck, *Toward the Rising Sun*, 44.

¹⁹ See Laruelle, “Romantic Imperialism” and her book *Mythe aryen et rêve impérial*.

²⁰ See Matthieu Guthrie, *Dissertations sur les antiquités de Russie* (St. Petersburg: Imprimerie du Corps Impérial des Cadets Nobles, 1795), 6.

did not make any effort to prove or provide documentary attestation for his statements.²¹ Instead, Guthrie exhaustively compared Russian and Greek mythologies, analysing their respective rites, ceremonies, games, weddings, meals, traditional dances, cultural artefacts, and musical instruments.

Throughout the nineteenth century, many Russian writers developed the idea of Russian affiliation to the Aryan race.²² Rudolph Westphal's article, "O russkoi narodnoi pesne," was one of the influential writings that asserted Russia's Aryan inheritance on the basis of the analysis of Russian folksong.²³ The author claimed that Russians preserved the ancient Aryan cultural foundations with "such integrity and authenticity" that, "in the eyes of science," they have to be respected most among all the contemporary Aryan nations.²⁴ To prove his statement Westphal turns his attention to linguistics, customs, and folksongs, and claims that the Russian system of conjugation, and its forms of family and social life (the lack of private land or property), as well as the lyrics associated with wedding ceremonies and funerals, whether directly or indirectly mediated (through the Greeks), derive from Aryan roots. The urge to place Russians into the Aryan narrative

²¹ Persian culture is mentioned only in the preface and just twice in the text's footnotes: first, in relation to the Greek *l'Ode de Pindare*, the melody of which, according to Burney, resembles "airs persians apportés en Europe par les missionnaires"; and, for a second time, Persian culture is mentioned in the discussion of the Russian cult of the adoration of fire. See Guthrie, 4, 6, 49, and 65.

²² Marlene Laruelle discusses in detail the genealogy of Aryanism in Russia in *Myth aryen et rêve impérial*.

²³ R.G. Westphal, "O russkoi narodnoi pesne," *Russkii vestnik* 143, no. 9 (Sept. 1879): 111-54.

²⁴ See Westphal, 112; for the English translation of this passage, see Frolova-Walker, 249. In the very last line of his article, Westphal suggests a direct link between Russian and Iranian (Persian) literature, claiming that "Russian meter [*razmer stikha*] is more original and older than the ancient-German accentual verse [*tonicheskii razmer*]... it assumes a place of precedence directly after the Avesta meters." Westphal, 154. It seems that Westphal's main argument that the Russians were the best among the Aryan tribes in preserving the original Aryan culture resonates with Stasov's claim made a decade earlier: Russians *preserved* rather than *developed* alien traits derived from Asian literature and art. See V.V. Stasov, "Proiskhozhdenie russkikh bylin," in *Sobranie sochinenii V.V. Stasova 1847-1886*, vol. 3 (St. Petersburg: Tipografiia M.M. Stasiulevicha, 1894), 948-1260.

was so strong that Westphal did not notice some obvious flaws in his argument. As Marina Frolova-Walker points out, Westphal used the same methods and evidence to prove Russian culture's simultaneous Hellenic and Persian provenance.²⁵

For the source of musical theories that fall within the same pro-Asian category of writing, it is helpful to consider two other sources essential for the Russian study of the East in relation to Russia's own culture. One is Sergei Uvarov's *Projet d'une Académie asiatique* (1810), mentioned in relation to early nineteenth-century Russian Orientalism, and another one is Vladimir Stasov's articles on Russian *bylinas* (epic poems). The former, published in French in 1810, and immediately translated into Russian and German, enjoyed a sensational reception. Uvarov's *Project* was the first step in the institutionalization of the Russian study of Asia on the basis of its historical and geographical legacy.²⁶ Uvarov's statement that Asia is "the central point from which emanated all the light scattered on the globe" and his belief that "Greek sages" acquired their religious and philosophical knowledge from India, was repeatedly propagated in Russian literature throughout the nineteenth century.²⁷

²⁵ See M. Frolova-Walker, *Russian Music and Nationalism from Glinka to Stalin* (New Heaven and London: Yale University Press, 2007), 249.

²⁶ S.S. Uvarov, *Projet d'une Académie asiatique* (St. Petersburg, 1810); A.L. Gal'perin, "Russkaia istoricheskaia nauka o zarubezhnom Dal'nem Vostoke v XVIII v. –seredine XIX v.," in *Ocherki po istorii russkogo vostokovedeniia*, vol. 2 (Moscow, 1956), 3-35; Cynthia H. Whittaker, "The Impact of the Oriental Renaissance in Russia: The Case of Sergej Uvarov," *Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas* 26 (1978): 503-24. It is perhaps not a coincidence that Uvarov so ardently championed eastern studies in Russia, since he himself was a descendant of the Tatar Golden Horde, Christianized in fifteenth century. See I. E. Andreevskii, ed., "Uvarov," in *Entsiklopedicheskii slovar' izd. F.A. Brokgauz and I.A. Efron*, vol. 34 (St. Petersburg, 1902), 420.

²⁷ Other parts of his *Projet* – such as how Asian studies would rejuvenate the "decadent and dormant intellectual life" of early nineteenth-century Europe, and his hope to solicit Russia's intellectual prestige by becoming the "mediatrix between European civilization and Asian wisdom" -- also resonated in the writings of Russian officials.

Another influential source documenting the Russian roots of Eastern cultures was an extensive work on the origin of the Russian *bylinas* (epic songs) by the famous music critic and writer Vladimir Stasov.²⁸ In his 1868 article on Russian *bylinas*, the author claimed that most of the motifs in the Russian legends could be traced either to the ancient Aryans or to the Turkic-Mongol peoples. A few salient points from Stasov's discussion of possible "borrowings" from the East may be said to form a common discourse in the subsequent Russian musical and theoretical debate. First, Russian culture originated from ancient Aryan culture; second, the various elements of the Aryan legends were not borrowed by the Russians directly, but through the mediation of other Asian neighbours; third, the Russians preserved these borrowed materials without introducing new elements; fourth, other Russian arts, such as architecture and painting, are also the result of such borrowing; fifth, although deriving from the same Aryan roots, Russian legends (or their reflection in epic heroes) are far less similar to those of the Europeans, while yet exceptionally close to Asian norms of epic development. There are number of other nineteenth-century sources that drew cultural links between Russia and Asia and stressed the importance of studying Asian cultures closely in order to understand Russia's own history. However, these two writings, aimed at a wide readership and published in

²⁸ See V. V. Stasov, "Proiskhozhdenie russkikh bylin," in *Sobranie sochinenii Stasova, 1847-1886*, vol. 3, 948-1260; first published in *Vestnik Evropy* 1, 2, 3, 4, 6, and 7 (1868): 168-221, 637-708, 225-276, 651-677, 590-664, and 292-345. Throughout the 1870s and 1880s, Stasov continued writing articles in which he elaborated on the Asian influence on Russian culture. See his "Russkii narodnyi ornament: shitie, tkani, kruzheva," in *Sobranie sochinenii Stasova*, 1: 185-293; "Zametki o drevnerusskoi odezhde i vooruzhenii," *Ibid.*, 2: 571-95; "Iskusstvo Srednei Azii. Sbornik ornamentov i uzorov, sniatykh s natury chlenom Samarskoi uchenoi ekspeditsii N. Simakovym v 1879 g.," in *Ibid.*, 2: 693-709.

popular journals, resonated most with the Russian public, sparking off intense debates on the subject of Russian/Asian identity.

Towards the end of the nineteenth century, the idea that Russian culture has an Asian or Aryan provenance appealed to many Russians of different social milieu. Doctor Vasilii Florinskii, Prince Ukhtomskii, historians Vasilii Kliuchevskii and Sergei Platonov, the essayists and writers, Nikolai Danilevskii, Fedor Dostoevsky and many other representatives of the Russian intellectual elite were attracted to Aryanism or Asianism. Many late nineteenth-century Russian scholars, such as Andrei Snegarev, Mikhail Veniukov, and Petr Semionov-Tian'shanskii, believed the European attitude towards the East to be more racist because Europeans avoided intermingling with the natives (like, for example, British colonizers in India). Russians, on the other hand, freely mingled with Asians.²⁹ Such an attitude towards race relations might explain why some Russian *fin-de-siècle* sources on Russian and Asian cultures assumed the equality or sometimes even superiority of Asian culture.³⁰

²⁹ See Tolz, "Russia and the West," in *A History of Russian Thought*, William Leatherbarrow and Derek Offord, eds. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 197-216; here 208.

³⁰ Few musical writings from the late-nineteenth-century and the beginning of the twentieth-century take an entirely non-judgmental approach to Asian culture. See, for instance, Mikhail Petukhov's *Narodnye instrumenty Sankt-Petersburgskoi konservatorii* (St. Petersburg: Tip. Imperskoi Akademii Nauk, 1884). An example of a pro-Asian point of view is found in Alexander Maslov's article "Narodnye muzykal'nye instrumenty, ikh evoliutsiia i goeograficheskoe rasprostranenie" [Traditional Musical Instruments, Their Evolution and Geographic Spreading], *Muzyka i zhizn'*, nos. 5-6 (1910): 1-21.

Petr Petrovich Sokal'skii (1832-1887)³¹

Petr Petrovich Sokal'skii was one of the first to claim and attempt to prove that Russian folk music was an “independent stem grown from a common root: this is the Asian cradle of humanity, whose other stem led to Southern Europe (Greece and Rome).”³² Sokal'skii's work tracing the affinities between Russian and Asian folk music was first published in an article in *Muzykal'noe obozrenie* in 1886, and then as a monograph one year after his death.³³ The idea that certain Russian and Asian/oriental tunes were similar was articulated well before the *fin de siècle* in a few Russian sources. For instance, Alexander Christianowitsch in his *Esquisse Historique de la musique arabe* noted similarities between an Arabic tune from Noubia *Grib* and a Russian folksong known in the nineteenth-century as “Slava” and used in Russian opera to represent

³¹ **Petr Petrovich Sokal'skii (1832-1887)** – a composer, chemist (in 1855 graduated from Khar'kov Institute with a Master's in chemistry), and music activist. Beginning in 1855 Sokal'skii wrote a number of articles on chemistry, farming, and music published in Russian journals and newspapers, such as *Vremia*, *St.-Peterburgskie vedomosti*, *Muzykal'nyi listok*, *Novorossiiski telegraf*, *Odesskii listok*, *Muzykal'noe obozrenie*. From 1856 to 1858 Sokal'skii lived in New York and worked as a private secretary and children's teacher for a Russian consul general Notbek. After winning second prize from the Russian Music Society in St. Petersburg in 1861 for his cantata *Pir Petra Velikogo*, Sokal'skii went to the Russian capital to meet with Dargomyzhsky, where he also met Stasov, Balakirev, and Cui. He started studying at the St. Petersburg Conservatoire but never finished his studies because of poor health. In 1864 Sokal'skii organized an amateur choir in Odessa. In 1866 Sokal'skii along with other musicians organized “Russian concerts” (performing exclusively music by Russian composers) to gather money for a public music school. During the Russian-Turkish War he served as a military correspondent (1876-1878). Besides two operas (*Osada Dubno* and *Maiskaia noch*) and one cantata, Sokal'skii wrote art songs and chamber works. See G.B. Bernandt and I.M. Yampol'skii, *Kto pisal o muzike* [Who wrote on music], vol. 3 (Moscow: Sovetskii kompozitor, 1979), 81-2; T. Karysheva, *Petr Sokal'skii. Zhizn' i tvorchestvo* (Moscow: Sovetskii kompozitor, 1984).

³² See Sokal'skii, *Russkaia narodnaia muzyka Velikorussaia i malorusskaia v ee stroenii melodicheskoi i ritmicheskoi i otlichii ee ot osnov sovremennoi garmonicheskoi muzyki* (Khar'kov: Tip. Adol'fa Darre, 1888), 366.

³³ Petr Petrovich Sokal'skii, “Kitaikaia gamma v russkoi narodnoi muzyke,” *Muzykal'noe obozrenie* nos. 26-28 (1886): 204-5, 209-11, 217-220; Sokal'skii, *Russkaia narodnaia muzyka*.

Russian tsardom.³⁴ Also, Alexander Rittikh, in his study of the people of the Kazan region, traced the “astounding similarities” between Russian and Tatar folksongs.³⁵ However, Sokal’skii was the first to construct a theoretical concept to prove this statement.

Without going into a detailed account of Sokal’skii’s speculations on how music had developed in ancient times, I will outline the passages in which he discusses when and how Russian folk music became subject to Asian influence. According to Sokal’skii’s theory, the Asian influence occurred in two stages. In the first stage, the ancient “Chinese” or pentatonic scale (*c-d-f-g-a*) was transmitted to Europe via the migration of various peoples from Asia.³⁶ This scale, according to Sokal’skii, should not be considered the legacy of a “yellow race,” as Alexander Serov had earlier maintained, since it could also be found in old Russian songs, either in its entire form or at least in part.³⁷ To support his statement Sokal’skii provided a number of examples supposedly with a pentatonic structure, which he found in Russian folk song collections.³⁸ His theory would have worked if he had been consistent in his analytical approach. However, he completely disregarded passing tones, claiming these “inessential notes” that break the pentatonic structure could have been the result of the “incorrect notation of a tune.”³⁹ One

³⁴ See A. Christianowitsch, *Esquisse Historique de la musique arabe aux temps anciens avec dessins d'instruments et 40 mélodies notées et harmonisées par Christianowitsch* (Cologne: Librairie du M. Dumont Schauberg, 1863), xix-xx. See R. Taruskin, “Slava!” *Opera News* 55, no. 9 (19 Jan., 1991): 18-21.

³⁵ See A.F. Rittikh, *Materialy dlia etnografii Rossii. Kazanskaia Gubernia* [*Materials for Russian Ethnography. Kazan Province*] (Kazan: Imperatorskii Kazanskii Universitet, 1870), 37-38.

³⁶ Sokal’skii, 45.

³⁷ A. Serov, “Russkaia narodnaia pesnia kak predmet nauki,” *Muzykal’nyi sezon* 6 (1870): 2.

³⁸ Sokal’skii never used the term “pentatonic,” and mostly, yet paradoxically, referred to the scale as “Chinese” or “Scottish.”

³⁹ Sokal’skii, 40.

striking example from Balakirev's collection (N. 31) is a case in point (see **Example 5.1**). According to Sokal'skii, the song's scale (*c-d-f-g-a*, with *c* as a tonic) lacked the third and the seventh (*e* and *b^b*), although the seventh was still "touched" but "only slightly, as a passing note, without which the melody can do [*oboitis*']".⁴⁰

Example 5.1 Russian folksong "Kak vo gorode tsarevna" cited in Sokal'skii's *Russian and Little Russian Folk Music*, mm. 1-12



The second stage of Asian influence on Russian folk music, according to Sokal'skii, occurred during the time of the Crusades, when European music still relied on the Church mode system and showed little inclination towards leading tones, whereas the music of eastern peoples regularly included chromaticism and leading notes as part of a melody's ornamentation.⁴¹ Expanding on Helmholtz's argument that Eastern music influenced European music at the time of the Crusades, Sokal'skii claimed that ornamentation in Russian (or Little Russian) songs, especially those involving a leading note, invariably had eastern origins: unlike the European leading note (resolved in the first scale degree), the Russian (Little Russian) leading note has "Asian" characteristics (notably, it is used for expression and therefore resolves to notes other than the first scale degree). These musical traits, Sokal'skii believed, came to the Russians from their

⁴⁰ Ibid., 42. It is unclear why Sokal'skii chooses *c* as a tonic, although most obviously *f* is a centre.

⁴¹ Sokal'skii, 177. Herman von Helmholtz, *Die Lehre von den Tonempfindungen als physiologische Grundlage für die Theorie der Musik* (Braunschweig, F. Vieweg und Sohn, 1863), 437.

oriental (mostly Persian) neighbours, who also brought a number of musical instruments and performance practices with them.⁴² The South Russian *bandura*, a plucked string instrument, for example, derived from the Persian-Arabic *tanbur*. The Arabic “rebab” came to Europe in the twelfth century under the name of “rebec” and was the ancestor to our violin.”⁴³ Russian “gusli” were also developed, “if not from the Jewish “komval,” then from the ancient Persian “kanun” with 75 catguts.”⁴⁴

Sokal’skii’s readiness to embrace an oriental, rather than western, musical identity is truly striking: near the end of his book on Russian folk music he suggests the presence of Arabic-Persian modes in Little Russian folksongs. Because Little Russian tunes did not fit into any Greek or European modal system, Sokal’skii claimed they were based on the Persian-Arabic mode of *Zirafkand*.⁴⁵ Examples 99, 100, 122, 123, and 124 cited from Rubets’ and Iosif Artemovskii-Gulag’s collections, according to Sokal’skii, are all based on the scale $c-d-e^b-f-g-a^b-a-b-c$ (or its transposed version) and use the leading note (b) as a means of expression since it is not resolved into the first degree.⁴⁶ Just like in the Persian-Arabic scale *Zirafkand*, claims Sokal’skii, here two modes (major and minor) are

⁴² Some earlier Western European writers have drawn parallels between Arab-Persian and European musical instruments. See F.-J. Fétis, *Histoire générale de la musique depuis les temps les plus anciens jusqu’à nos jours*, vol. 2 (Paris: Typographie Firmin Didot, 1869).

⁴³ Sokal’skii, 156-57. By the time that Sokal’skii wrote this work, statements about the Arabic provenance of the European “rebab” were commonplace. Fétis, 107. However, unlike Sokal’skii, earlier writers, such as Fétis and Christianowitsch, considered “kemāngeh roomy” (not “rebab”) as the ancestor of the European violin. See, Fétis, *Histoire générale*, 140; Christianowitsch, 30.

⁴⁴ Sokal’skii, 157. Christianowitsch drew a link between these instruments and various peoples. See Christianowitsch, 30.

⁴⁵ In relation to *Zirafkand*, Sokal’skii cited R.G. Kiesewetter’s, *Die Musik der Araber, nach Originalquellen Dargestellt* (Leipzig: Breitkopf und Härtel, 1842) and H. Helmholtz’s *Die Lehre von den Tonempfindungen*. See Sokal’skii, 155.

⁴⁶ Although the leading note eventually does resolve to the first degree via the dominant, Sokal’skii disregarded this point.

mixed, as if there is a major third in the upper tetrachord ($g-b$), while the lower tetrachord consists of a minor third ($c-e^b$) (see **Example 5.2**).⁴⁷

Example 5.2 Little Russian Folksong “Zelenaia moia lishchinon’ka” cited in Sokal’skii’s *Russian and Little Russian Folk Music*, mm. 1-13

Не скоро
Зе - ле - на - я - мо - я - ли ши нонь - ка, що без со - неч - ка за -
вя - ла, що без со - неч - ка за - вя - ла.

In **Example 5.3** Sokal’skii cites a Little Russian tune from Lisenko’s collection with two augmented seconds ($e-f\sharp-a-b-c-d\sharp-e$ with a as a tonic) known in the West as the gypsy scale. Even though he does not identify the song’s scale as the Arabic mode of *Nawá Athar* (or *Hijāz Kār’*, if e is a tonic), he characterizes the tune as being ornamented with “oriental chromaticism.”⁴⁸

Example 5.3 Little Russian Folksong “Oi, po gorakh, po dolinakh” cited in Sokal’skii’s *Russian and Little Russian Folk Music*, mm. 1-4

p
Ой, по го - рах по до - ли - нах пта - шеч - ки ли - та - ют,
lamentabile
не за - зна - ла я рос - ко - ши, вже ли - та ми - на - ют.

⁴⁷ Ibid., 161-62.

⁴⁸ Sokal’skii, 169. On Arabic modes (maqams) of *Hijāz* and *Nawá Athar*, see Scott L. Marcus, “Modulation in Arab Music: Documenting Oral Concepts, Performance Rules and Strategies,” *Ethnomusicology* 36, no. 2 (1992): 171-95, here 175.

Thus, Sokal'skii claims that the chromaticization of diatonic notes in south-Russian music is used for the “intensification of a tune’s expression,” revealing a number of characteristics intrinsic to the music of the “Asian orient:” “special *tension*,” “clarification of a minor mode by introducing a major third to the dominant,” “softening the entry into the tonic with a leading note,” and the “intensification of lyrical feeling” with the use of two leading notes (to the tonic and the dominant), resulting in a scale with two augmented seconds.⁴⁹ Near the end of his book Sokal'skii came to a conclusion that was echoed in a number of other theoretical treatises published at the end of the nineteenth century:

South-Russian melodies are very close in their melodic profile [*sklad*] and share intervals with Serbian, Bulgarian, and Moravian melodies. In general, they show an affinity to the melodies of South-Slavic peoples, suggesting their common provenance with Persian *Aryan* roots [...] going back to ancient times when individual differences between Aryan tribes, to which both the Persians and Slavs belong, were not so apparent.⁵⁰

In sum, Sokal'skii suggests South Russian music is more “Asianized” than “Europeanized” since it is “tinged, chromaticized [*okrasilas*’, *okhramatizirovalas*’], something that did not happen with Western European music from introducing the system of the leading note.”⁵¹ The influence of Asian culture, Sokal'skii believed, did not end with music and musical instruments, but extended to the objects of everyday life: ornaments sewn on clothes, headwear, hairstyles, oriental robes, and kaftans.⁵²

⁴⁹ Sokal'skii, 174.

⁵⁰ Ibid., 177.

⁵¹ Ibid., 178.

⁵² Ibid., 177.

Alexander Famintsyn (1841-1896)⁵³

The end of the nineteenth century brought a growing number of musical theories and ideas concerning the Asian provenance of Russian culture. Alexander Famintsyn's treatise, *Drevniaia Indo-Kitaiskaia gamma v Azii i Evrope* [*Ancient Hindu-Chinese Scale in Asia and Europe*], published in 1889, was one of them.⁵⁴ Following Sokal'skii, Famintsyn claimed the pentatonic scale was "the most ancient formation of the general Aryan musical system" and, as such, it was common to the Mongolian as well as the Aryan peoples. After analyzing 137 folk melodies from all the continents identified in his German, French, and Eastern European sources, Famintsyn concluded that the pentatonic scale originated in Central Asia during "prehistoric" times, and was preserved from the influence of Roman Catholic civilization only in the remote regions of northwest Europe, Asia, and Russia.⁵⁵

⁵³ **Famintsyn, Alexander Sergeevich (1841-96)**, was a Russian music historian, critic and composer, educated in the natural sciences at St. Petersburg University and in music at the Leipzig Conservatory (studying under Moritz Hauptmann, E.F. Richter, Carl Riedel, and I. Mocheles). He was appointed professor of music history and aesthetics at the St. Petersburg Conservatory (1865–1872); between 1869 and 1871 he edited the periodical *Muzikal'nii sezon* and later contributed to Bessel's *Muzikal'nii listok* and other journals. From 1870 to 1880 he was secretary to the directorate of the Imperial Russian Musical Society. A short biography with a list of his writings is found in G.B. Bernandt and I.M. Yampol'sky, *Kto pisal o muzike*, 3: 149-51; and Gerald Abraham, "Famintsin, Aleksandr Sergeevich," in *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/09279> (accessed August 30, 2010). Famintsyn's education in pure science left a pronounced mark on his approach to Russian music theory and history, for which he was criticized by the members of Balakirev's circle. Although he was one of Stasov's chief adversaries, and famous for instigating the first musical trial brought against him, Famintsyn, nonetheless, often reiterated Stasov's ideas on the origins of Russian culture. See Stasov's "Po povodu pis'ma Famintsyna," an open letter to the *St-Petersburgskie vedomosti*, in *Sobranie sochinenii V.V. Stasova*, vol. 3, 442-49. Famintsyn's hostility to the music of the Kuchka played the fatal role in research on his life. His theoretical and compositional works have been completely forgotten and until now neither Soviet/Russian nor Western European researchers have investigated this figure.

⁵⁴ See A.S. Famintsyn, *Drevniaia indo-kitaiskaia gamma v Azii i Evrope* [*An Ancient Hindu-Chinese Scale in Asia and Europe*] (St. Petersburg: tip. Iu. Schtaufa, 1889).

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 167. Unfortunately, Famintsyn does not provide exact geographical parameters for his conception of Central Asia. From what he writes, however, it seems that Central Asia does not include Persia, nor the Arabic or Mongol worlds.

In order to establish the ancientness of Russian culture and trace its affinities to Aryan culture, Famintsyn strives to find a pentatonic structure in every Russian melody. He “discovers” ninety tunes based on the five-tone major scale in the Pal’chikov collection of Russian melodies, which consists of 124 transcriptions.⁵⁶ However, Famintsyn’s analysis is inconsistent. Like Sokal’skii, he often deliberately ignores passing or neighbouring tones and argues that songs lacking a pentatonic structure are the result of a corrupted or incorrectly transcribed melody.⁵⁷ Consider, for instance, **Example 5.4**, the Russian song “Eko serdtse” from Pal’chikov’s collection. Famintsyn cites two different variants of this song (variant 1 is on the upper staff and variant 2 is on the lower staff). The author indicates notes that do not belong to a *sol-la-si-re-mi* scale with an “X”. The “O” designates all of the places where the *f#*, which does not belong to the pentatonic collection, is avoided.⁵⁸

Example 5.4 Russian Folksong “Eko serdtse” cited in Famintsyn’s *Ancient Hindu-Chinese Scale*, mm. 1-8

Variant 1

Variant 2

⁵⁶ See Famintsyn, *Hindu-Chinese Scale*, 115.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 63.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 122.

It is difficult to understand why Famintsyn insists on the pentatonic structure of variant two of the song. In his example, the notes that do not belong to the pentatonic scale take up approximately 10% of the tune. Just as in any diatonic tune, the notes that do not belong to a tonic triad are repeated less often. A few pages later, Famintsyn explains how to grasp the pentatonic character of a melody that does not seem pentatonic at first glance. He writes, one should “discard from a melody any notes that do not belong to this [pentatonic] scale,” and, if the melody still “maintains its essential character, then the existence of the [pentatonic] scale, hidden at first glance, becomes evident.”⁵⁹ Thus, Famintsyn’s theory reveals his preconceived notion about the scale structure of the Russian folksong. For Famintsyn, all methods of analysis (including the cutting of “useless” notes) are appropriate so far as they confirm his theory.

In order to “prove” the original pentatonic structure of a tune, Famintsyn sometimes compares two variants of the same song from different collections and argues that the version that follows the pentatonic structure is the original one. For instance, Famintsyn considers two versions of the song “Malen’kii mal’chishechka,” one from Pal’chikov’s collection and another from Abramych’ev’s. He claims that the folksongs collected by Pal’chikov in Ufa province, in Nikolaevskii village, which is situated far from the main musical centres, preserved the ancient scale in all of its “integrity.” Abramych’ev transcribed another variant of the same tune from Viatka province, which Famintsyn considers derivative and corrupted since it diverges from the pentatonic

⁵⁹ Famintsyn, 130.

structure. Thus, Famintsyn suggests that a pentatonic structure can “serve as a criterion for the identification of a greater or lesser antiquity or for the purity of a tune.”⁶⁰

Needless to say, Famintsyn’s methodology shapes his view of the lineage of Russian song and allows him to find a great number of “pentatonic” examples in other collections of Russian folksongs. For instance, in analyzing Rimsky-Korsakov’s collection of Russian songs, first published in 1877, the theorist suggests a number of corrections that, according to his system, would “recover the flow of a tune” and create “greater smoothness and uniformity.” Songs nos. 71, 88, 92, 97, and 99 from Rimsky-Korsakov’s collection would “gain in swing of melody” [*v razmakhe melodii*], if someone would introduce a “total order” [*polnyi poriadok*] in their structure,⁶¹ while other songs (nos. 71, 72, 75, 76, 77, 84, 88, 89, 92, 94, 97, and 99) would gain “quite an archaic character” [*vpolne arkhaicheskii kharakter*].⁶² It is difficult to imagine how Famintsyn would “correct” tunes in Rimsky-Korsakov’s collection, since the author does not cite a single example from it. How, for instance, would Famintsyn correct tune n. 77 (**Example 5.5**), in which all notes, except for the 1st and 5th scale degrees, appear an equal number of times? Or how would he bring “total order” to tune no. 76 (**Example 5.6**), if it sounds perfectly diatonic?⁶³

⁶⁰ Ibid., 127.

⁶¹ Ibid., 128-29.

⁶² Ibid., 127.

⁶³ Rimsky-Korsakov, *100 Pesen*, 159. Faminstyn never talks about the metrical placement of pitches, which would help in understanding his preference for cutting certain scale degrees. Using a similar approach in the analysis of tunes, Famintsyn lists all Russian “pentatonic” melodies in the collections of Balakirev, Abramychiev, Mel’gunov, and Prokunin.

Example 5.5 Russian folksong “Shchuchka-rybka” cited in Famintsyn’s *Ancient Hindu-Chinese Scale*, mm. 1-2



Example 5.6 Russian folksong “Ne tesan terem” cited in Famintsyn’s *Ancient Hindu-Chinese Scale*, mm. 1-4

Andantino

Не те-сан те-рем, — не те-сан, — Толь-ко хо-ро-шо — рас-кра-шен; —

Не у-чен Лу-ка, — не у-чен — Толь-ко хо-ро-шо — на-ря-жен.

As for his analysis of Asian songs, such as the Tatar or Kyrgyz (Central Asian nomadic peoples), Famintsyn treats them as being essentially similar to any other Russian or European songs. For instance, Famintsyn considers the two examples of Kyrgyz songs taken from Levshin’s *Opisanie kirkiz-kaisachikh ord* (1837) purely pentatonic, suggesting an alternative reading without a passing *g* (indicated with a question mark), which “incidentally breaks the main 5-tone scale” [*sluchaino narushaiushii*] (Example 5.7).⁶⁴

⁶⁴ Ibid., 67.

Example 5.7 Two Kyrgyz songs cited in Famintsyn's *Ancient Hindu-Chinese Scale*



It is remarkable that in his discussion of the musical examples derived from Russian Asians, Famintsyn does not use any negative or pejorative adjectives. This contrasts with his approach to the music of northern aboriginal peoples, or indigenous Australians, in which he often resorts to adjectives such as “savage” and “semi-cultural,” and describes their music as “monotonous,” “feeble,” and “most elementary.”⁶⁵ This probably reflects the Russians’ positive attitude towards the Kyrgyz people who, by the end of the nineteenth-century, had been civilized (and hence were not savage). The Kyrgyz people received an education in Russia (hence, they could not be deemed backward).⁶⁶ Furthermore, because the Kyrgyz and other

⁶⁵ Famintsyn, 27-29.

⁶⁶ S.G. Rybakov, *Muzyka i pesni ural'skikh musul'man s ocherkom ikh byta* [Music and Songs of Ural Muslims with the Essay on their Way of Life] (St. Petersburg: Tip. Imperatorskoi Akademii Nauk, 1897), 273; Lunin, *Nauchnye obshchestva Turkestana i ikh progressivnaia deiatel'nost'*. *Konets XIX-nachalo XX veka* (Tashkent: Izd.AN UzSSR, 1962), 30; Knight, “Grigor’ev in Orenburg,” 95; Brower, 8. Some members of the Kirkiz-Kaisak tribe in fact were educated in Russian military schools and were recruited by the Russian military intelligence office. For example, Chokan Valikhanov served as an officer of the Russian army and went to Turkestan to gather intelligence on the political situation and military state of affairs in Central Asia. See Kermit E. McKenzie, “Chokan Valikhanov: Kazakh Princeling and Scholar,”

nomadic Central Asian peoples had been a part of the Russian empire for a long time, calling them “savage” or “uncivilized” would imply that Russia’s ‘civilizing’ mission failed. Thus, Famintsyn, like Russians in general, embraced Asian culture as an integral part of Russia’s identity as a whole.

Although both Sokal’skii and Famintsyn attempt to prove the same point – that Asian music had an influence on Russian music – their works differ in several key respects. First, Famintsyn disagrees with Sokal’skii’s belief that the leading note came from its southern and eastern Russian neighbours, claiming rather that it was introduced to Russian melody via the European music tradition.⁶⁷ Second, Famintsyn rejects Sokal’skii’s hypothesis regarding the development of music in phases, and proposes yet another theory of musical scale development, also in three stages: 1) “the most ancient stratum” of the general-Aryan musical five-tone system; 2) the newer stratum of the seven-tone system derived from Gregorian chant; and 3) the newest stratum of major-minor music. Third, unlike Sokal’skii, who prefers to stay away from comparative musicology and does not refer to any specific sources of Asian music, Famintsyn appeals to all the sources of musical material that were commonly available during his time, indiscriminately gathering resources from all over the world and presenting cultures from geographically remote areas. For example, just fifteen pages into Chapter 5, describing the “5-tone scale in [the music of the] Mongols,” Famintsyn manages to discuss the

Central Asian Survey 80, no. 3 (1989): 1-30. As the famous nineteenth-century Russian orientalist V. Radlov observed, many members of nomadic tribes (Kyrgyz, Kara-Kalpaks, and Turkomans) often fought on the Russian side against the Central Asian town population. See V.V. Radlov, “Sredniaia Zeravshanskaia dolina” [A Middle Zaravshan Valley], *Zapiski IRGO po otdeleniiu etnografii*, 6, no. 1 (1880): 1-93; here 73.

⁶⁷ Famintsyn, 173.

modal structure of music in China, Japan, Malay, Siberia, the Urals, the Caspian Sea, and even Papua New Guinea.⁶⁸ Throughout the book, alongside examples culled from Central Asian music, Famintsyn also provides “pentatonic” examples from South Asian, Irish, Scottish, Finnish, Moravian, Slovakian, Swiss, Mongol, Chinese, Japanese, Malayan, Greek, Polish, Lithuanian, Breton, Serbian, and Czech traditions (albeit listed in Famintsyn’s chosen order).⁶⁹ At this point, he painstakingly telescopes the enormous complexity of the Asian and non-Asian music traditions into a formal discussion on the modal structure of certain tunes, which confirms, in Famintsyn’s eyes, his reductive and tendentious theory. Faminstyn’s attitude toward the sources he used to produce his text, considered *the* only authoritative sources for his entire knowledge of Asian culture, facilitated his perception of Asians as members of a single race rather than as a collection of different nations. Furthermore, his musical examples are linked to each other, ostensibly through scientifically proven axioms (and yet invariably aimed to fit the evidence to the desired conclusion). Likewise, his speculations about this extraordinary body of music, which he had never actually experienced aurally, firmly places Famintsyn’s *Hindu-Chinese Scale* book within the category of fiction.

Nonetheless, because of Famintsyn’s equally reductionist treatment of Asian, Russian, or indeed, any other European musical examples, it would be unfair to blame him for promoting an Orientalist attitude. His approach to music as an abstract subject is

⁶⁸ Ibid., 56-70.

⁶⁹ The statement on affinity between music of Greece, Brittany, Ireland, and Russia was pronounced few years earlier by Bourgault-Ducoudray in his *Trente melodies populaire de Grèce et d’Orient* (Paris: Henry Lemoine, 1876), 14-16, and “La Musique primitive conservée par les montagnes,” *Annuaire du Club alpine française* (1884): 9. While Famintsyn believed that pentatonicism was the key element of Aryan musical identity, the French theoretician claimed that the presence of Hypodorian and Hypophrygian modes confirms the hypothesis of shared origins of the Aryan people. Ibid.

consistent with his chosen preference for diagrammatic analysis, and as such, was intended to work for all peoples and nations. Thus he cannot be accused of creating undue stereotypes about Asian cultures in particular. In fact, Famintsyn's writing and his approach to music analysis resembles that of early German comparative musicology, one of four subdivisions of systematic musicology, according to Guido Adler's 1885 definition of music science.⁷⁰ In his book, Famintsyn adopts the methods of comparative musicology, articulated in Adler's celebrated article: "comparing of tonal products, in particular the folksongs of various peoples, countries and territories, with an ethnographic purpose in mind, grouping and ordering these according to the variety of [differences] in their characteristics."⁷¹ Famintsyn's work also shares two key concerns of comparative musicology: "first, a concern with the origins of musical features"; and second, a belief that such "origins may be revealed through the study of tones, scales and intervals."⁷² Similar to early studies in comparative musicology, Famintsyn's research appears to be an "armchair" study of the second-hand material collected and published primarily by amateur ethnographers, and then analyzed under "laboratory-type conditions."⁷³

⁷⁰ G. Adler and Erica Mugglestone, "Guido Adler's 'The Scope, Method, and Aim of Musicology' (1885): An English Translation with a Historico-Analytical Commentary by Erica Mugglestone," *Yearbook for Traditional Music* 13 (1981): 1-21. Actually, one can even say that Famintsyn was inclined to German thought not only because he spent two years studying in Leipzig, but also because of the centuries-long Russian-German history of mutual attraction. See Walter Laqueur, "Russian-German Attitudes," in *Russia and Germany: A Century of Conflict* (New Jersey: Little Brown and Co., 1990), 21-37.

⁷¹ Adler, 13.

⁷² See Peter G. Toner, "The Gestation of Cross-Cultural Music Research and the Birth of Ethnomusicology," *Humanities Research* 14, no. 1 (2007): 85-110; here 91.

⁷³ See Vanessa Agnew, "The Colonialist Beginnings of Comparative Musicology," in *Germany's Colonial Pasts*, Eric Ames, Marcia Klotz, and Lora Wildenthal, eds. (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 2005), 43.

Another important element of comparative musicology infiltrates *Hindu-Chinese Scale*. It is a hidden ideological message that emerged in most comparative musicological studies of this period: the sense of superiority over indigenous cultures. In chapter two, devoted to the discussion of “how the scales of folk tunes come into being and become established,” Famintsyn draws a clear line between the music of “primitive,” “semi-cultural,” or “savage” peoples and the music of presumably more culturally “advanced” peoples. Those who stand on the lowest level of development could only create music with a small range, a limited number of notes in a scale, which resulted in melodic monotony, repetitiveness, and “poorness (limited range) of the intervals used in a tune.”⁷⁴ Famintsyn’s statements about the link between the number of notes used in a scale and a peoples’ cultural development, in fact, is similar to François-Joseph Fétis’s theory that the musical aptitude of people can be judged by the number of notes used in their scales. Like Fétis, one of the most influential nineteenth-century music critics, Famintsyn believed that musical systems can shed light on racial or ethnic origins of music: he connected particular scales with certain peoples or even races.⁷⁵ The difference was only in the details of their statements: Famintsyn connected the pentatonic scale to the Aryan musical system, while Fétis believed that the pentatonic scale was used exclusively by members of the “yellow race.” Peoples belonging to the Aryan race, according to Fétis, preferred scales with microtones, since the “nervous sensibility of ancient Aryans [...]

⁷⁴ See Famintsyn, *Ancient Hindu-Chinese Scale*, 27.

⁷⁵ See F.J. Fétis, “Sur un nouveau mode de classification des races humaines d’après leurs systemes musicaux,” *Bulletin de la Société d’anthropologie*, vol. 2, second series (Paris, 1867).

needed a multitude of intonations ... and a great quantity of nuances to express the passionate movements of the soul.”⁷⁶

Among the examples used to characterize music of semi-cultural or savage peoples, Famintsyn includes melodies transcribed from peoples living in the Friendly Islands (now Tonga) and the Caribbean, as well as from “Australian savages” and the “Eskimo.”⁷⁷ Conversely, Russians are positioned on the other side of the continuum of cultural development. This is because Russians created a repertoire of “drawn-out tunes” [*protiazhnaia pesnia*], which assumed a more developed melodic and structural form that reflected the “endless wide open space and mirror-like surface of our fields and steppes, the ‘wide expanse’ of our strong rivers.”⁷⁸ The last statement about Russian song being influenced by a particular environment reveals Famintsyn’s connection with another important school of thought (particularly that of the German tradition): ethnology.⁷⁹

Famintsyn acknowledges his interest in ethnology in his Preface by enthusiastically citing one of the leading figures of the Berlin school of ethnography:

⁷⁶ See Jann Pasler, “Theorizing Race in Nineteenth-Century France: Music as Emblem of Identity,” *The Musical Quarterly* 89, no. 4 (2006): 465. On Fétis’s work, see Emile Haraszti, “Fétis fondateur de la musicologie comparée. Son étude sur un nouveau mode de classification des races humaines d’après leurs systèmes musicaux. Contribution à l’œuvre de Fétis,” *Acta Musicologica* 4 (1932): 97-103.

⁷⁷ In relation to music with a simple structure Famintsyn also lists examples from Abyssinia, Moravia, Slovakia, Switzerland, Finland, and the southern Slavic countries, pointing out that the tunes’ relative simplicity is due to the influence of musical instruments whose simple melodies became the basis for vocal tunes. Famintsyn, 32-35.

⁷⁸ Famintsyn, 37.

⁷⁹ On German ethnology and diffusionism, see Robert H. Lowie, *The History of Ethnological Theory* (New York: Rinehart and Company, 1937); Raoul and Frada Naroll, eds., *Main Currents in Cultural Anthropology* (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1973); Woodruff D. Smith, “Social and Political Origins of German Diffusionist Ethnology,” *Journal of the History of the Behavioral Sciences* 14 (1978): 103-12; W. D. Smith, *Politics and the Science of Culture in Germany 1840-1920* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991); J.M. Blaut, *The Colonizer’s Model of the World: Geographical Diffusionism and Eurocentric History* (New York: The Guilford Press, 1993); H. Glenn Penny, *Objects of Culture: Ethnology and Ethnographic Museums in Imperial Germany* (Chapel Hill [N.C.] and London: University of North Carolina Press, 2002).

Rudolf Virchow.⁸⁰ Politically liberal and anti-Darwinian in biology, Virchow believed in the sameness of all human individuals and their capacity to “realize a potential for intellectual development.”⁸¹ Virchow argued that the physical differences among peoples and their distinguished cultural character was a result of the specific climates in which they lived. Famintsyn, too, believed that Russian song reflected the natural environment associated with open space, assuming that if Russians resided in a different land, their songs would have had a different character.⁸² Another of Virchow’s ideas, that “all European people that have Aryan roots, came here from the orient,” also runs throughout Famintsyn’s book.⁸³

Besides some obvious references to ethnology and comparative musicology, Famintsyn’s work draws on another important theoretical framework developed within the Berlin school of ethnology: diffusionism. German diffusionists believed that civilisation and cultural traits were diffused from a limited number of cultural areas, *Kulturkreise*, rather than being invented independently of one another. The main goal of diffusionists was to uncover the history of mankind through the comparison of traits from different areas and trace their spread. The basic assumption that societies developed due to constant migration and environmental adaptation resulted in diffusionists’ treatment of the history of mankind as one unit. They had no objection to attributing similar cultural

⁸⁰ Famintsyn refers to his *Die Urberöckerung Europas* (1874).

⁸¹ W. Smith, *Politics*, 103.

⁸² Some Russian ethnographers of German ancestry, such as Karl von Baer (a leading figure in the Russian Geographical Society), were also proponents of geographical determinism, claiming that history is predetermined by geography. See Nathaniel Knight, “Science, Empire, and Nationality: Ethnography in the Russian Geographical Society, 1845-1855,” in *Imperial Russia: New Histories for the Empire*, Jane Burbank and David Ransel, eds. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1998), 118.

⁸³ Famintsyn, 8.

traits in order to connect people of geographically distant regions.⁸⁴ It is not difficult to see that Famintsyn's main preoccupation (tracing the spread of the Aryan scale) as well as his treatment of geographically remote cultures and their music systems, based on the assumption that they come from one source, resembles the diffusionists' approach to cultures. In short, Famintsyn made an error common to all extreme diffusionists: he mistook analogy for homologous features.⁸⁵

One last observation about the similarities between Famintsyn's work and diffusionism seems in order. Although later diffusionist theory was affected by the imperialist attitude of European racial superiority, these later colonialist influences, as Woodruff Smith points out, "were not, for the most part, very significant for basic diffusionist theory."⁸⁶ Similarly, although Famintsyn's writing was influenced by the attitude of Russian cultural superiority, it is not, for the most part, the most significant thesis that he proposed. Famintsyn's approach to Asian music culture reflects rather a general Russian attitude towards Asia as a part of Russian Empire with its all-embracing musical and ethnic identity.

Viacheslav Petr (1848-1923)⁸⁷

Sokal'skii's and Famintsyn's ideas about proving that Russian music has Aryan roots with the analogy of the musical scale system became popular at the end of the

⁸⁴ Lowie, *The History of Ethnological Theory*, 184; Smith, *Politics*, 142.

⁸⁵ See Lowie, *The History of Ethnological Theory*, 184.

⁸⁶ W. D. Smith, "German Diffusionist Ethnology," 108.

⁸⁷ **Viacheslav Ivanovich Petr (1848-1923)** was born in Opochin (Bohemia) into the family of a music teacher. He studied at the Prague University (theory department), and served in the army in Odessa, Kamenets-Podol'sk, and Kiev. In 1909 he was appointed professor of Nezhtinsk History-Philology Institute. See *Kto pisał o muzyke*, 2: 277.

nineteenth century in Russia.⁸⁸ Their books were mentioned in all major articles on music theory of the period including Viacheslav Petr's highly theoretical work "About the Melodic System of Aryan Song" [O melodicheskom sklade ariiskoi pesni] published in *Russian Musical Newspaper* in 1897. Although Petr's theory differed in details about how the most ancient scale was formed and developed, its basic premise – the supremacy of (Little) Russian music and its direct connection to Aryan music – becomes clear with the analysis of musical examples provided by Petr in his Annex. Like Sokal'skii and Famintsyn, Petr believed that the origin of European and Russian scales was in Aryan music culture.⁸⁹ However, unlike both Russian theorists, Petr claimed that the system of scales had gradually developed from a simple dichord to a trichord and tetrachord. Thus, according to Petr's theory, the number of notes used within an octave could define the ancientness of the scale: the fewer the notes, the more ancient the scale. The musical features that Famintsyn would consider more "primitive" in Petr's theory turned out to be more ancient, closest to the source, "primordial."

According to Petr, the first phase of the development of Aryan music involved only two notes of a tetrachord (c and f). Peter calls this "most ancient epoch of Aryan

⁸⁸ At the beginning of the twentieth century, Famintsyn's theory that the pentatonic scale connects music of all Aryan races became central to the Eurasianist theory of Russia's Asian ethnic basis, pronounced by Nikolai S. Trubetskoi. See N. Trubetskoi, "The Upper and Lower Stories of Russian Culture (The Ethnic Basis of Russian Culture)," in *Iskhod k Vostoku. Predchuvstviia i sversheniia* [Exodus to the East. Forebodings and Events. An Affirmation of the Eurasians], Ilya Venkovetskii and Charles Schlacks, eds. (Idyllwild: Charles Schlacks, Jr., Publisher, 1996), 80-94, here 89.

⁸⁹ V. I. Petr, "O melodicheskom sklade ariiskoi pesni. Istoriko-sravnitel'nyi opyt. I. Chast' teoreticheskaia. II Chast' prakticheskaia" [About a Melodic Structure of Aryan Song. Experience in Comparative History. I. Theoretical Part and II. Practical Part], *Russkaia muzykal'naia gazeta*, no. 1 (1897): 3-28; and (1897-1898): annex., 1-56.

peoples” the “epoch of a dichord.”⁹⁰ In his Appendix, which consists of more than two hundred examples, Petr presents only five tunes based on a dichord or harmonic tetrachord (two dichords joined together – *c-f-g-c*): one Russian wedding melody from Pal’chikov’s collection (N.79), two tunes from the Little Russian melodies in Kolberg’s collection (nos. 95 and 328), and two songs from the Lettish collection by Iur’ian (nos. 1 and 2). From Petr’s citations of Russian, Little Russian, and Lettish songs as examples of the first and most ancient phase of the development of Aryan music, it is not difficult to see that the author assumed that the Russians stood in a direct line of transmission from an Aryan source.

Petr’s work was truly inspired by Famintsyn’s *Hindu-Chinese Scale*; he reiterated many ideas that Famintsyn explored one decade earlier. First, Petr’s main preoccupation – finding commonalities in musical elements used by peoples whom he believed belonged to the Aryan group – corresponds to Famintsyn’s concern of finding the roots of Russian song in the music of the Aryan race. Second, both claimed that Russian folksong was less corrupted by the Western music system and, thus, closer to the original Aryan source. Third, the methodology of both writers resembles that of ethnology, diffusionism, and comparative musicology. In his preface Petr claimed that, using an “archaeologico-musical position,” he would like to provide a “new proof” about the ancestral home of the Aryan peoples and “to recover the prototype of Aryan song.”⁹¹ This proof would be in line with discoveries in comparative linguistics, which found that the united Aryan

⁹⁰ Petr, “O melodicheskom sklade,” part I, 27-28.

⁹¹ Ibid., 1-2.

ancestors lived in Asia, on the south slope of the Himalayan Mountains.⁹² Such references to archaeology and comparative linguistics (or comparative studies in general) reveal that his work is built on the methodological pillars of ethnology.⁹³ Furthermore, similar to Famintsyn, Petr claims that the modern system of music (something that Famintsyn refers as “Western” and Petr calls “our major-minor music”) “forced out the ancient folk song and replaced it with operatic arias, art-songs, and chansonnettes (or cabaret songs).”⁹⁴ As a result, the examples of tunes unspoiled by the modern system can be found only in remote regions, mountains, forests, steppes, and presumably among the Russians.⁹⁵ And finally, Petr’s and Famintsyn’s theoretical studies were based on speculations about the origins of the Aryan musical system which led the authors to far-reaching conclusions about Russian music and a cultural legacy with Aryan roots. Despite their grandiose claims, neither of the authors experienced direct contact with Asian music culture.⁹⁶

The analysis of Russian music theoretical treatises reveals that at the end of the nineteenth century there was widespread agreement that Asian culture was very influential in Russia, although opinions were divided as to its line of development. The

⁹² Petr considered the principle of comparative studies so important to his own work that it bore the subtitle: “history-comparative experiment” [*istoriko-sravnitel’nyi opyt*].

⁹³ The very aim of Petr’s work – “to recover the prototype of Aryan song” – corresponds to the objectives articulated by ethnology: reconstruction of human history through the comparison and contrast of different cultures.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 10.

⁹⁵ Famintsyn, 6. Petr adds islands to the list of places where one should be looking for examples of music uncorrupted by modern civilization. See Petr, part I, 10.

⁹⁶ Although Petr could have heard an ensemble of Asian musicians at the 1896 All-Russian Exhibition in Novgorod, he never referred to this event and/or the sound of Asian music *per se*.

three music historians that I have just discussed argued that most of the examples of modern European “art music” deviated significantly from its Aryan roots and did not preserve the most original and ancient Aryan musical system. Russian folksong, however, was not corrupted by “high art” (that is, music based on the Roman Catholic major-minor system) and preserved its pure Aryan foundation. All three Russian theorists seem to be especially proud that Russian folksong did not submit to the influence of the Western musical system.⁹⁷ Thus, the main idea of Western European Aryanism – the idea of “racial purity” – was transformed in Russian discourse into the idea of cultural/musical purity, which supposedly could be traced in the structure of Russian folk melody.

The myth about the preservation of the origins of Russian folksong could have been fostered for political reasons. Despite Russia’s decisive victory in the 1877-1878 Russo-Turkish War, the Congress of Berlin (1878) undermined Russia’s reputation in the international arena. Russians were profoundly dissatisfied with how the major European powers divided the map of Eastern Europe, and this resulted in growing tensions between Russia and three other European countries – Great Britain, Germany, and Austro-Hungary. In this context, resistance against the Western powers might have appealed particularly to Russian readers. On the one hand, discourse about the destructive impact of Western “artificial music” helped Russians to give vent to resentment and general indignation caused by the Congress of Berlin (as if everything from the West is

⁹⁷ According to Famintsyn, only Russian folksongs deserve true attention, as he believes that most of them are unspoiled by the Western constraints imposed by “high art.” Western music, on the other hand, is corrupted by “art music” since any art form “deviates folklore from its original and age-old path” and effaces indigenous characteristics of a particular folk tradition, “vulgarizing and depersonalizing it.” *Ibid.*, 6. Sokal’skii also claims that “Russian folk music was created without any influence of Hellenic-Roman civilization, which became the basis of the Western European culture of higher classes.” Sokal’skii, 366.

destructive for Russia). Russian folksong's ability to resist the influence of the Western musical system and preserve its original Aryan characteristics could have been interpreted as evidence of Russia's political potency and resistance against the West. On the other hand, the myth about Russia's stronger affiliation to the Aryans helped Russians to establish their proximity with the Buddhist world, which, in turn, facilitated Russia's justification of further colonial advances into the East. Adding an Asian or Aryan element into Russian identity seemed to offer Russians more advantages than disadvantages. While Russian theoretical treatises were not overtly political, in fact they nurtured nationalistic sentiment and had profound political resonance. They inspired fantasies of greatness in the Russian nation – fantasies that contributed to bringing Russia to a 1904 disastrous war with Japan.⁹⁸

Part 2: Russian/Asian instruments

*Mikhail Petukhov (1843-1895)*⁹⁹

A specialized literature on musical instruments started emerging in the early 1880s. One of the first attempts at a detailed classification and description of Russian and

⁹⁸ On Russian history of the ideology that led to the war see Schimmelpenninck van der Oye, *Toward the Rising Sun*.

⁹⁹ **Mikhail Onisifovich Petukhov (1843-1895)** graduated from the School of the Guard's Warrant Officers [*shkola gvardeiskikh podpraporshchikov*]. After he went into retirement, Petukhov devoted himself to music activity. He contributed to Russian periodicals, such as *Vsemiranaia Illiustratsiia*, *Svet*, *Baian*, *Trud*, *Niva*, and wrote a number of entries to the *Encyclopedic Dictionary of Brockhausen and Efron*. He translated from German into Russian Helmholtz's *Uchenie o slukhovykh oshchushcheniiakh kak fiziologicheskaiia osnova dlia teorii muzyki* [*Die Lehre von den Tonempfindungen als physiologische Grundlage für die Theorie der Musik*] (St. Petersburg, 1875). Petukhov also published a separate article on the improvement of balalaika in *Zvezda* 13 (1888) and about Andreev's balalaika hobby group in *Baian* 11 (1888). For a short biography on Petukhov, see *Kto pisal o muzyke*, 2:281.

Asian instruments was made by Mikhail Petukhov.¹⁰⁰ In his 1884 book on the collection of musical instruments in the museum of the St. Petersburg Conservatoire, the author for the first time discussed Asian musical instruments in the context of Russian/European ones.¹⁰¹ The primary aim of the book and its format (a commentary on the instruments collected and presented in the museum), of course, did not allow him to describe all known Russian and Asian instruments. In many cases, because of the lack of information, Petukhov could not afford to go far beyond technical descriptions of Asian instruments, enumerating their physical characteristics, such as length, depth, number of strings, and sometimes, but not always, tuning. Nevertheless, the author recognized this problem and did everything to provide the work with all available and up-to-date information on the museum's Asian instruments, sometimes revealing and citing at length rare and original sources drawn from ecclesiastical journals, hard-to-find albums, and personal communication with people who had first-hand experience with oriental music.

Unlike Russian theoretical works by Famintsyn and Petr, Petukhov's description of Asian instruments does not reveal any whiff of Russian (or Western) cultural superiority. The organization of Russian and Asian instruments does not imply any inherent hierarchy of instruments or cultures; there is an uneven distribution of certain categories of instruments in certain cultures. Petukhov's work suggests nothing at all similar to late nineteenth-century French discussions on musical instruments that reveals,

¹⁰⁰ M. Petukhov, *Narodnye instrumenty S-Petersburgskoi konservatorii* (St. Petersburg.: Tip. Imperskoi Akademii Nauk, 1884).

¹⁰¹ It should be noted that Petukhov's book might be considered one of the early reflections of the official view on Asian instruments and culture in general, given that the Imperial Academy of Sciences stood behind this publication.

as Jann Pasler has observed, the role that musical instruments played in shaping French perceptions of colonial countries and their cultures.¹⁰² Petukhov does not engage in any judgmental commentary that would associate certain types of instruments a peoples' cultural refinement. Even though Petukhov follows the usual pattern that presents instruments in order from more sophisticated (string) groups to the less complicated and simple (wind and percussion) groups; although this is a pattern also used by Fétis and Chouquet, Petukhov's discourse does not suggest evolution, hierarchy, or the racial filiations implied by French writers.¹⁰³ Petukhov includes Asian instruments in each instrumental category, implicitly suggesting that Asian culture had reached a mature degree of civilization. Thus, Petukhov's categorization is notably distinct from the French model, which separates European instruments from oriental ones in different chapters. Each section of Petukhov's work follows the same pattern that suggests a progressive transition from "us" to "them": it opens with a discussion of Russian musical instruments, then moves on to consider the Little Russian (or other Slavic peoples), followed by the instruments of Russia's Asian and Caucasian peoples, and it ends with a description of the musical instruments of peoples outside the Russian empire (Japanese, Papuan, etc.).

Although Petukhov refers several times to Fétis's *Histoire générale de la musique depuis les temps les plus anciens jusqu'à nos jours*, he does not himself subscribe to the evolutionary and racist ideas of the French writer. On the contrary, when Petukhov

¹⁰² Jann Pasler, "The Unity of Musical Instruments in the Racial and Colonial Agendas of Late Nineteenth-Century France," *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 129, no. 1 (2004): 24-76.

¹⁰³ See Fétis, *Histoire générale de la musique depuis les temps les plus anciens jusqu'à nos jours* (Paris: F. Didot, 1869-76), and Gustave Chouquet, *Le musée du Conservatoire National de Musique: Catalogue descriptif et raisonné* (Paris, 1875).

comments on sources that cite listeners' negative responses to oriental music, he discredits the author's authority on the subject, thus implying remarks are inaccurate and should be disregarded. For example, after citing P.A. Solov'ev description of the opening of an Arabic wedding with "somewhat wild" [*kakim-to dikim*] sounds followed by "monotonous singing" [*zaunyvnym peniem*], Petukhov points out that Solov'ev never expressed any interest in Arabic music and was not even a specialist in music in general.¹⁰⁴ By remarking that Solov'ev uttered his "personal impressions" rather than reported the results of a scholarly inquiry, Petukhov encourages his readers to approach Solov'ev's work skeptically and therefore somewhat attenuates the work's negative tone.

In Petukhov's work, as in some other sources (discussed below), the visual presentation also does not in any way express the primacy of the Russian people or their traditions; on the contrary, the oriental musicians in many cases have a more appealing or, at least, a more aestheticized appearance than the Russians (see **Figures 4** and **5**).

All the Asian instruments and the accompanying musicians have a decorous appearance, with the exception that the Asians (Caucasians) are portrayed sitting and playing their instruments on the floor. One could, of course, speculate that this posture (sitting or kneeling on the floor) suggests some form of subjugation. However, these are the actual postures assumed by Asian musicians and thus, for them, do not necessarily indicate oppression. Furthermore, in the description of Asian or Caucasian instruments,

¹⁰⁴ Petukhov, 50-51.

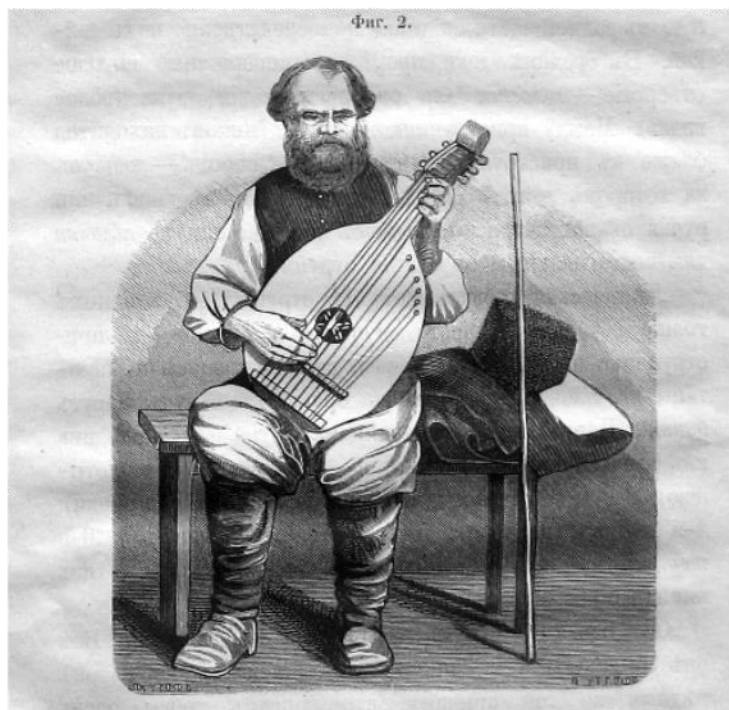


Figure 4: A bandurist from Petukhov's *Narodnye instrumenty*



Figure 5: A Caucasian musician playing *dongara* from Petukhov's *Narodnye instrumenty*

Petukhov consciously avoids offensive or pejorative terms. This is particularly noteworthy given his description of Papuan wind instruments in which Petukhov does stress the people's backwardness by pointing out that these people "walk in the costumes of their forefather Adam." He goes on to reject their performances as "wild."¹⁰⁵ By implication, unlike the people outside the empire, all Russian subjects have developed beyond the primitive stage of evolution, thereby demonstrating the progressive effects of Russian colonization. The empire's subjects apparently enjoyed the advantages of Russia's 'civilizing' mission. Like late nineteenth-century French Republicans, who believed that the social environment influences people and their ability to learn, many Russians assumed the possibility of cultural assimilation through education of *inorodtsy*; Russian officials envisioned Russian subjects leaving behind their backward way of life and thereby enjoying Russia's advanced civilization.¹⁰⁶ By the end of the nineteenth century a considerable number of Russian citizens of purely Asian or mixed Russian-Asian origin became well known for their achievements, such as the half-Russian painter Grigorii Vereshchagin and historian Ivan Smirnov, and prominent Russian orientalist A.K. Kazembek (of Azeri origin) and Nikolai K.Katanov of Abakan (now more commonly Khakass) origin.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁵ Petukhov, 45.

¹⁰⁶ See Knight, "Grigor'ev in Orenburg," 96.

¹⁰⁷ On the life of Katanov, see S.N. Ivanov, *Nikolai Fedorovich Katanov (1862-1922): ocherk zhizni i deiatel'nosti*, 2nd ed. (Moscow and Leningrad, 1973); on the lives of Smirnov and Katanov (in English), see Robert P. Geraci, *Window on the East: National and Imperial Identities in Late Tsarist Russia* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2001), 195-222 and 309-42. On the life of Vereshchagin, see A.K. Lebedev, V.V. *Vereshchagin* (Moscow: Iskusstvo, 1972), and (in English) see Vahan D. Barooshian, V.V. *Vereshchagin: Artist at War* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1993), and Schimmelpenninck,

Alexander Famintsyn

Writings such as Petukhov's were the exception. The majority of sources from this period contain derogatory descriptions or unflattering visual representations of Asian musical culture. Even though most discussions about the provenance of Russian musical instruments acknowledge their Asian origin and embrace the idea of a common Aryan heritage for both Russian and Asian peoples, they suggest Asian instruments possess less cultural capital than their Russian and European counterparts. For instance, Famintsyn's fundamental 1891 work on the *Domra i skhodnye ei instrumenty* [*The Domra and Related Musical Instruments of the Russian People*], a Russian plucked instrument, underscores Russian culture's supposed greatness.¹⁰⁸ Although in this book Famintsyn continued to speculate on the existence of a common Aryan root for both the Russian and Asian peoples and claimed that the *domra*, *balalaika*, *kobza*, as well as the *bandura*, came to Russia from the East, his approach to Russian instruments significantly differs from his analysis of Asian instruments.¹⁰⁹ The latter are discussed in terms of their shape and tuning, and Famintsyn offers only superficial descriptions of various forms of musical practice.¹¹⁰ For most Russian (and Little Russian) instruments, by contrast, besides supplying a physical description, Famintsyn provides a detailed account of the

"Mirza Kazem-bek and the Kazan School of Russian Orientalology," *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East* 28, no. 3 (2008): 443-58.

¹⁰⁸ See Famintsyn, *Domra i skhodnye ei instrumenty* [*The Domra and Related Musical Instruments of the Russian People*] (St. Petersburg: Tip. G. Arngol'da, 1891).

¹⁰⁹ **Zakhar Zakharovich Durov (?-1886)**, professor of history and member of the Russian Church, who sang in the St-Petersburg Conservatoire between 1883 and 1886. His work, *Opyt istorii muzyki v Rossi* [*The Trial of the History of Music in Russia*], was awarded an honorable accolade from the Russian Academy of Human Sciences. For Durov's life history, see *Kto pisal o muzyke*, 1: 296.

¹¹⁰ Only general comments on musical practice are added to the description of Asian instruments.

instruments' histories (documenting where and in which context they were mentioned in earlier sources). He also describes various forms of performance practice and particular styles of performance, as well as supplying the historical names of performers and a specific instrument's aesthetic function, its repertoire, and the scales associated with it. Furthermore, some instruments, such as the *bandura* and guitar, are pronounced as more important, revealing a preference for their purely instrumental repertoire and the undeniable (for the nineteenth-century theorist) fact of their elevated, or "more artistic" (non-utilitarian) function.¹¹¹ In addition, in discussions of Russian (and Little Russian) European instruments, Famintsyn often employs expressions, such as "artistic" and "superlatively virtuosic performance," or "excellent technique of performance," to indicate a high level of perfection and thus, a high degree of civilization.¹¹² To prove his point, in an Appendix, Famintsyn presents some musical pieces, ranging from simple balalaika tunes and relatively simple *bandura* pieces, to virtuosic guitar arrangements. Such a layout of musical examples suggests the expressive possibilities inherent in the development of European instruments, and thus, their ability to attain the highest level of "art."¹¹³

Asian instruments, however, are not treated in the same manner. No musical examples appear, nor is there any discussion of the repertoire or the musical performers; no mention is made of sophisticated techniques of performance or the instruments'

¹¹¹ Famintsyn, *Domra*, 170.

¹¹² For instance, Famintsyn is unstinting in his praise of the guitar, transformed and modernized by a famous Russian guitarist, Andrei Sikhr, who added a seventh string to expand the guitar's range and to develop its performance techniques. See Famintsyn, *Domra*, 192-93.

¹¹³ It should be noted, however, that some Russian instruments, such as the balalaika, are scorned by Famintsyn as "vulgar," because its function is limited to voice and dance accompaniment. See Famintsyn, *Domra*, 86, 170.

historical development or legacy. One might assume that the author simply lacked information on these instruments. Indeed, as we have discussed in Chapter Two, the specialized ethnographic literature describing music of the *inorodtsy* and presenting a substantial body of transcriptions of their melodies emerged at the beginning of the 1890s. When Famintsyn was completing his *Domra*, there were no detailed writings on Asian music practice to consult. Before the publication of *Domra*, only Eichhorn's description of the collection of Central Asian instruments (1885) and Gotovitskii and Pfennig's article on the music of the Kyrgyz people were available to the wider public.¹¹⁴ At the same time, from the 1830s onwards there was no shortage of articles with mostly negative impressions and superficial descriptions of Asian music practice.¹¹⁵ Rather than identifying this problem, admitting his lack of knowledge, and thereby giving his readers an incomplete but fair picture of Asian culture, he instead created an image of Asian/oriental music practice that only reinforced negative cultural stereotypes.¹¹⁶ By silencing important aspects of Asian/oriental music practice without properly accounting for this omission, he created an image that assumed its predictability and lower level of cultural attainment.

¹¹⁴ See A.F. Eichhorn, *Polnaia kollektsiia muzykal'nykh instrumentov narodov Tsentral'noi Azii* [A Complete Collection of Musical Instruments of Central Asian Peoples] (St. Petersburg, 1885); M.V. Gotovitskii and R.A. Pfennig, "O kirgizskikh i sartovskikh narodnykh pesniakh," *Etnograficheskoe obozrenie* [Ethnographic Review] 3 (1889): 73-91.

¹¹⁵ See, for instance, Levshin, *Opisaniie Kirgiz-Kazach'ikh ili Kirgiz-Kaisatskikh Ord i Stepei* [Description of Kyrgyz-Cossack or Kyrgyz-Kaissak Hordes and Steppes] (St. Petersburg, 1832), 3: 137-38; I. N. Berezin, "Ramazan v Stambule," *Russkii vestnik* 2 (1856): 682-704; P. Siial'sky, "Nechto o pesniakh i muzyke v Zakavkazskom krae" [Something about Music in Transcaucasian Region], *Illustratsiia* [Illustration] 193 (1861): 283; A.F. Rittich, *Materialy dlia etnografii Rossii* [Russian ethnographic materials. Kazan province] (Kazan: Imperatorskii Kazanskii Universitet, 1870), 37-38.

¹¹⁶ Petukhov, for instance, complained about the lack of sources on Asian music on several occasions.

Interestingly enough the visual presentation of Asian musical instruments, as well as their practitioners, in Famintsyn's *Domra* shows them to be portrayed on an equal basis with Russian musical instruments and practitioners. Compare, for instance, two pictures of Asian musicians (a Buriat woman and a Kyrgyz man) with two pictures of Little Russian bandurists from Famintsyn's *Domra*. Nothing seems to suggest an assumption of Russian (Little Russian) cultural superiority, although, as seen above, in the text there are certain implications of Russian (and European in general) cultural superiority (compare **Figures 6 and 7** with **8 and 9**).

It should be noted that the tradition of linking Russian instruments with Asian ones was not new. Petukhov, for instance, noted that: "many scholars, including Mr. Durov, believe that it [the balalaika] is an instrument of "Tatar origin."¹¹⁷ However, before the publication of Famintsyn's *Domra*, not everyone would have agreed with this statement. As observed another contemporary of Famintsyn, B. P. Babkin, prior to the publication of Famintsyn's work on *domra*, it was widely believed that the balalaika was one of the most ancient *Russian* instruments.¹¹⁸ Nonetheless, Famintsyn's authority on the Asian provenance of the Russian balalaika was rarely challenged (if at all) after the publication of *Domra*.¹¹⁹ Famintsyn's attitude toward Asian/Russian instruments and the

¹¹⁷ See Petukhov, p. 7.

¹¹⁸ See B. Babkin, "Balalaika. Ocherki istorii ee razvitiia i usovershenstvovaniia," *Russkaia beseda* (March, 1896): 83-121.

¹¹⁹ See Ibid., and B. Babkin, "Balalaika. Ocherki istorii ee razvitiia i usovershenstvovaniia," *RMG* (1896): 682-94, 804-6; Findeizen, *History of Music in Russia from Antiquity to 1800* [*Ocherki po istorii muzyki v Rossii*], trans. by S. W. Pring, ed. and ann. by M. Velimirović and C. R. Jensen. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2008.

pattern that he uses to present his argument also influenced later discourse on this subject. For instance, the aforementioned article by Babakin, first published in *Russkaia beseda*



Figure 6: A Buriat woman playing on the three-string *domra*-like instrument from Famintsyn's *Domra*



Figure 7: A Kyrgyz man playing on the two-string *dumbra* from Famintsyn's *Domra*



Figure 8: A Cossack playing on seven-string bandura from Famintsyn's *Domra*



Figure 9: A blind *bandurist* from Famintsyn's *Domra*

(March 1896) and then in *RMG* (in a slightly abridged version), carried a subtle message of Russian cultural superiority. Although some Russian musical instruments (such as the balalaika) were borrowed from their Asian neighbours, they were developed through the inventiveness of Russian musicians.¹²⁰ Asian peoples' instruments, by contrast, remained unchanged and thus -- just like culture -- remained frozen in a primitive stage of development. According to Babkin, Vasilii Vasil'evich Andreev modified the balalaika by introducing a new technique of playing, elevating it to the rank of a concert instrument. In his description of Andreev's performance Babkin praises the "virtuosity" and artistry of his playing and cites a number of enthusiastic statements on Andreev's concerts in Paris from European journals.¹²¹ Thus, the "balalaika, despised by everyone, from the darkness of stables and back streets [...] emerged renewed and perfected [...] in the concert halls and immediately won itself a stable position among other instruments."¹²²

It is not difficult to see that Babkin's article follows the argument set forth in Famintsyn's *Domra*. Like Famintsyn, Babkin retells the narrative of the development of the balalaika from its primitive Asiatic manifestation to the fully improved concert hall instrument.

¹²⁰ In its original form, the balalaika had an oval body, a longer neck, and only two strings, like the Asian *dombra*, and the third string was added later as a result of the "instrument's improvement." See Babkin, 804.

¹²¹ One of them is A.Lavignac's citation: "Je suis heureux d'apprécier la remarquable virtuosité que possède la société Russe la Balalaika et l'originalité de leurs instruments si pittoresques." See Babkin, "Balalika," *Ruskaia beseda*, 114. Another source cited by Babkin is by Fr. Carné, who praises the balalaika for its supreme, fresh, and original sound: "Un grand charme, une poésie, étrange se dégagent de cette merveilleuse Balalaika." Ibid.

¹²² "iz mraka koniushen i podvoroten... vystupila obnovlennaia, usovershenstvovannaia... na kontsertnuii estradu." See Babkin, "Balalaika," *Ruskaia beseda*, 115.

Alexander Maslov (1877-1914)¹²³

Alexander Maslov's "Illiustrirovannoe opisanie muzykal'nykh instrumentov khраниashchikhsia v Dashkovskom etnograficheskom muzee v Moskve" [An Illustrated Guide to the Musical Instruments in the Dashkov Museum, Moscow] contains textual as well as visual examples of the discourse of Russian superiority over the culture of indigenous peoples.¹²⁴ Following the European/Russian tradition of classification of musical instruments, Maslov groups all string instruments in the category of more sophisticated instruments that belong to civilized peoples. Like Petukhov, he starts his description of instruments from the Dashkov Museum in Moscow with the string group, then proceeds with wind instruments and ends his discussion with percussion. But unlike Petukhov, Maslov does not separate Russian/Slavic instruments from those of oriental peoples. In one section that deals with a certain group of instruments, Maslov presents a mixture of Russian, Slavic, Kyrgyz, Central Asian, Finnish, and Sino-Japanese specimens, as well as the exemplars of music instruments from the Caucasus, Siberia, and Sunda Islands. Probably such a mixture is dictated by the arrangement of instruments at

¹²³ **Alexander Leont'evich Maslov (1877-1914)** – Russian music theorist, folklorist, and journalist. In 1902 he graduated from the music-dramatic college of the Moscow Philharmonic Society; beginning in 1901 he participated in folklore expeditions to Orlov, Saratov, Simbir, Samar, and Arkhangel'sk gubernia. He served as a secretary of Music-Ethnographical Commission under the Moscow University Society of Friends of Natural Science, Anthropology, and Ethnography. In 1902, along with P. I. Pezarovsky and P. A. Kotov, Maslov opened a private musical school, where he taught music-theoretical subjects. Maslov participated in the organization of Moscow People's Conservatoire, where he taught music theory beginning in 1907. From 1901 to 1907 Maslov was a correspondent of *Russian Music Newspaper*; he was then editor and publisher of the journal *Music and Life* from 1908 to 1912. He is also known under the pseudonyms A. Livin, Livin, A.M., and A. M-v. See G.B. Bernandt and I.M. Iampol'sky, *Kto pisal o muzyke*, 2: 190-91.

¹²⁴ See A.L. Maslov, "Illiustrirovannoe opisanie muzykal'nykh instrumentov khраниashchikhsia v Dashkovskom etnograficheskom muzee v Moskve" [An Illustrated Guide to the Musical Instruments in the Dashkov Museum, Moscow], *Trudy Muzykal'no-Etnograficheskoi Komissii* 2 (1909): 205-68.

the Dashkov Museum as each instrument is given an ordinal number (there are 237 instruments in total).

A short overview of the pre-history of the Dashkov Museum would shed light on important questions related to the ideology underlying its expositions and help to answer some questions about why the collection was organized the way it was. The Dashkov Museum was founded after the All-Russian Ethnographic Exhibition was held in Moscow in 1867.¹²⁵ As Nathaniel Knight points out, the main organizers of the exhibition – Anatolii Petrovich Bogdanov and Sergei Maksimov – envisioned it as a microcosmic display of the Russian Empire:

While the peoples portrayed in the displays might be wild and exotic “others” they remained Russia’s others, internal aliens whose character and lifestyles constituted a part of the overall might and diversity of the Empire.¹²⁶

However, a mere presentation of the Empire as a conglomeration of diverse peoples would satisfy neither the organizers of the project nor its public. The exhibition’s goal, as articulated by Maksimov in the newspaper *Golos*, was to underline the strength of the Russian people presented as “a single force” able to “organize a state and rule over such a multitude of ethnically diverse peoples.”¹²⁷

Nevertheless, according to the critique in the press, the exposition’s ideological imperative was not conveyed. The Great Russian displays were particularly inadequate in

¹²⁵ V.A. Dashkov, an amateur ethnographer and the assistant director of the Rumiantsev Museum, donated twenty thousand rubles to fund the Exhibition. Later, he asked to create an ethnographic museum (of which he would be director) using the collection compiled for the Exhibition.

¹²⁶ Knight, “The Empire on Display,” 13.

¹²⁷ S. Maksimov, “Etnograficheskaia vystavka v Moskve, II,” *Golos* 122 (May 4, 1867), 1; quoted by Knight, “The Empire on Display,” 15.

their portrayal of the strength of a nation that was allegedly able to “draw together all the otherwise disparate parts of the Russian people and [...] mightily assimilate the surrounding aliens.”¹²⁸ The exposition of musical instruments, scattered in different sections of the exhibition, also did not seem to emphasize the pre-eminence of the Russian people. Strikingly, not a single instrument belonging to Great Russians was displayed. Only one Little Russian instrument of the wind group, the simplest *sopilka*, was presented among more than forty instruments of people (mostly *inorodtsy*) living in Russia.¹²⁹ Furthermore, as Knight observed, the catalogue listing the specific displays never identified Russians as an ethnic group; the Russians were listed under the category of “Eastern Slavs” and identified only by their specific province of origin.¹³⁰ Similarly, a description of the instruments from the Dashkov Museum (based on the collection gathered for the 1867 Exhibition), written by Maslov forty years after the Exhibition, does not contain the category of Russian musical instruments. Except for one balalaika, all Russian instruments, such as the *gusli*, *lira*, pipes, shepherd’s horns, *sopilkas*, and *zhaleykas*, were identified exclusively by region rather than by ethnic group. Paradoxically, in spite of being the titular nationality of the Empire, Russians were

¹²⁸ Ibid., 22.

¹²⁹ For the first description of musical instruments displayed at the 1867 All-Russian Ethnographic Exhibition in Moscow, see Aleksei Vladimirkii, “O zakonakh muzykal’noi garmonii i natsional’nykh muzykal’nykh instrumentakh dostavlennykh na etnograficheskuiu vystavku,” in *Izvestiia Imperatorskogo Obshchestva Liubitelei Estestvoznaniia*, vol. 7: *Sbornik antropologicheskikh i etnograficheskikh statei o Rossii i stranakh ei prinallezhashchikh*, izdavaemyi V.A. Dashkovym, kn. 1 (Moscow, 1868): 152–68. Interestingly enough, the first description of musical instruments does not seem to share much with the Western/French view on and classification of musical instruments, as well as their hierarchical system of association of certain types of musical instruments with different cultures.

¹³⁰ Ibid., 20.

presented as a group divided between different regions, which weakened the image of Russians as a united and homogenized nation.

A possible explanation might be found in the Russian Ethnographic Society, which, as in the case of Great Britain's Ethnological and Anthropological Societies, emerged with a policy of interest in colonized peoples. A considerable number of members of the Russian Ethnographic Society (of non-Russian ancestry), as Nathaniel Knight points out, envisioned the Russian Empire as an amalgam of ethnically diverse peoples and considered the preservation of cultural and material artifacts of less-developed peoples, whose existence was threatened by progress, the prime task of ethnography.¹³¹

The Russian tradition of literary ethnography, part of Russian's learned culture and a major influence on the perception of Russian national identity, also could have contributed to the regionalistic view of Russia. As Catherine Clay has observed, the ethnographic reports written in the 1850s and 1860s by writers working for government-sponsored journals "contributed to the rethinking of the Official Nationality formula and, potentially, the recognition of legitimate diversity."¹³² These writers hoped to cultivate an ideology that would replace the older model of official nationality (which included the three ideologies of "autocracy," "Orthodoxy," and "nationality" (or folk) with one which would "acknowledge regional diversity and recognize the authority of local tradition."¹³³ Maslov's "Illustrated Guide" fits into the tradition of Russian literary ethnography and

¹³¹ See Nathaniel Knight, "Science, Empire, and Nationality," 117.

¹³² See Catherine B. Clay, "Russian Ethnographers in the Service of Empire, 1856-1862," *Slavic Review* 54, no. 1 (1995): 45-61; here, 53.

¹³³ *Ibid.*, 54.

bears the pattern of representation of the empire's people developed in the Russian Ethnographic Society.

Some characteristic tropes of European discourse regarding the correlation of certain types of instruments with a higher/lower degree of civilization are also found in Maslov's work. At the beginning of the description of each group, Maslov generally comments on the instruments' cultural position, in a spirit similar to Fétis's and Gustav Chouquet's works on musical instruments.¹³⁴ According to the author, the instruments of the string group are more complex, while wind instruments are found in cultures of all primitive peoples, "no matter how low the level of their culture."¹³⁵ And the percussion instruments play a prominent role in accompanying dances and religious ceremonies among people who "did not attain high culture."¹³⁶ Thus, Maslov's classification of instruments resonates with the European system of categorization and ascription of instruments to a certain level of cultural development, as described by Pasler.¹³⁷

Analysis of how instruments are organized in Maslov's work also reveals important implications of an inherent hierarchy based on an evolutionary model of musical thinking. The assumption that oriental instruments held a lower hierarchical position can be culled from visual representations. First, the images of Central Asian

¹³⁴ See G. Chouquet, *Le musée du Conservatoire National de Musique*, 197-256; F.-J. Fétis, *Histoire générale de la musique depuis les temps les plus anciens jusqu'à nos jours*, 2: 107-164.

¹³⁵ Maslov, 241.

¹³⁶ *Ibid.*, 261.

¹³⁷ See Pasler, "The Utility of Musical Instruments." It is important to note that Maslov, as many other European writers, valued some oriental instruments as highly cultivated. He especially praised bowed instruments, the great variety of which is found in many oriental cultures (Arabs, Persians, Hindu, and Chinese), although the West generally did not produce them. Maslov also describes some wind instruments, such as the *zurnai*, as having a highly sophisticated mechanism and suggesting that it was a predecessor of the European oboe. See Maslov, 252.



Figure 10: Central Asian musicians and musical instruments from Maslov's *Illiustrirovannoe opisanie*

musicians appear only in sections where Maslov describes wind instruments (see **Figure 10**). Out of five performers presented on one page, only one plays on a plucked string instrument (*dutar*); three other performers play wind instruments (*nai*, *surmai*, and *karnai*), and the last one is a female performer playing a percussion instrument (Maslov calls it “a tambourine of Uzbeks from Turkestan”). Maslov’s discussion of the *karnai* provides the reader with an important detail about the context of its performance. The *karnai*, from Turkestan “initially was used for military purposes, but now [is] employed only for solemn occasions.”¹³⁸ Such an observation about the use of instruments that no longer exist in a military context suggests that peoples who played it are now pacified and no longer present a threat to the Russian Empire.

Besides five Central Asian musicians, there is one picture of a Kyrgyz *kobyz* player, representing a music culture of nomads living in the vast steppes of Central Asia (see **Figure 11**). Although the instrument the musician holds in his hands would be classified as being at the “highest stage of invention” (for it is a bowed instrument), the picture of the performer reinforces the primitive stage of his development: his poor clothing and somewhat roughly made instrument, as well as the background of grass and simple matting on which the player is sitting. In addition, a *yourt* (a traditional nomadic house) behind the musician indicates that he lives close to nature.

¹³⁸ Ibid., 254.



Figure 11: A Kyrgyz playing on *kobyz* from Maslov's *Illiustrirovannoe opisanie*



Українські кобзарі і «тронева музика» (понад).

Figure 12: An ensemble of Little Russian *kobzar'* players from Maslov's *Illiustrirovannoe opisanie*

Shabby clothing was another indication of the cultural hierarchy inherent in visual representations. Little Russian performers' attire sharply contrasted with that of Asian musicians. All Little Russian musicians are shown wearing (high-) boots, dressed in classy suits (one man right in the middle of the picture, and another in the back row) or in casual costumes, sometimes with a white shirt (see **Figure 12**). This picture demonstrates that the musicians all belong to middle-class society and are more or less well-to-do. With the exception of a female percussion player, the Asian musicians, by contrast, look rather impoverished. Although their bodies are covered with clothes and traditional hats, what they wear can be described only as rags. Their appearance might have led readers to conclude these people are limited to a lower evolutionary development.

Third, all Asian musicians are presented playing solo instruments, whereas the Little Russians are depicted as part of an ensemble of eighteen performers. This contrast might have suggested to the reader that music culture in the orient had not developed ensemble performance, which requires rhythmic and melodic coordination and certainly requires the attainment of a higher cultural level. Furthermore, Maslov's readers could have imagined how the original stage of a solo performance (Kyrgyz player) developed into collective music making. The picture of a Kyrgyz kobyz player is placed at the beginning of a chapter on string bowed instruments, while the picture of the Little Russian ensemble is placed at the end, suggesting a trajectory for the development of string instruments, from semi-cultural solo playing to civilized ensemble music practice.

Fourth, all the images of Central Asian musicians were taken from the ethnographic part of *Turketanskii Albom* and arranged in a way that suggests an inferior

cultural development.¹³⁹ *Turkestanskii Albom* was prepared in 1871-1872 by A.L. Kun by an order of the first Russian Turkestan general-governor, K.P. von Kaufman. It is comprised of six large volumes of more than 1200 photographs, twenty-one watercolors, fourteen architectural plans, and thirteen military-topographical maps, covering Central Asian history, archaeology, ethnography, and industry.¹⁴⁰ Although this album had a very limited circulation (only six or seven copies), pictures from this album were reproduced (and redrawn) in many other nineteenth-century books, including Petukhov's *Narodnye muzykal'nye instrumenty* and Famintsyn's *Domra* that I discussed earlier.¹⁴¹ The ethnographic part of the *Turkestan Album* consists of more than twenty pictures of Central Asian musicians and entertainers, among which there are several pictures of musicians playing bowed instruments. According to the Western/Russian classification of instruments, these would have been considered highly sophisticated and would have belonged to people who were more culturally advanced. One of the pages of the *Album* presents eight pictures of musicians playing different instruments: five of them hold

¹³⁹ See *Turkestan Album. By order of the Turkestan Governor-General, Adjutant-General K.P. von Kaufman I. The Ethnographical Part - Native populations in the Russian possessions of Central Asia. Compiled by A.L. Kun. 1871-1872. Lithographed by the Military Topographical Department of the Turkestan Military District* (St. Petersburg: Printing-house of K. Zameslovsky, permitted by the Censor, 6 November 1872).

¹⁴⁰ As an introductory note to the *Turkestan Album* states, the main aim of this album was to "present visually: 1) the past life of the region in preserved ancient monuments (archaeological part); 2) contemporary life of the population – types, beliefs, rites, customs, dwellings, dress and views of more populated places (ethnographic part); 3) culture of the country in industrial and technical relations (industrial crafts and trades part); and 4) advancement of the Russians into these new lands, grouped together as one, views of the places which are distinguishable because of Russian arm." On *Turkestan Album* see Heather Sonntag, "The *Turkestan Album* – A Brief Material Re-Oriented and Its Antecedents," in *Journée d'Etude Centrasiatique. Atelier 3: Histoire du Turkestan russe et du Xinjiang*, accessed at home library on Oct. 26, 2007. http://www.reseau-asie.com/cgi-bin/prog/pform.cgi?langue=fr&Mcenter=suparticle&TypeListe=showdoc&ID_document=369.

¹⁴¹ Unfortunately, the author of the album did not provide any information on the context of the presented pictures, except for the place they were taken, names of musical instruments, as well as the names of the officials serving in Russian Turkestan at the end of the nineteenth century.

string instruments (three of which are bowed), and three of them are playing wind instruments (see **Figure 13**). Of the eight pictures on this page, Maslov chose the simplest instruments (a *urnai* player – first row, second from the left; and a *nai* player – second row, second from the right) to present Central Asian culture. Although *gidzhak*, *kamancha*, and *kauz* players are all found on the same plate (page) of the *Album*, Maslov avoided reproducing photos that would suggest the existence of an advanced music practice in Asia.

Maslov took two other pictures from the set on the next plate (see **Figure 14**). He chose to present a *dutar* (first row, third from left) and a *urnai* (in the middle of the first row) player. Again, for some reason Maslov ignores other pictures on the same page representing the Asian string instrument group (second row, first picture from the left), preferring to show the examples of simpler instruments.

The last picture used by Maslov was taken from the next plate of the *Album*. It is a picture of a young woman playing a percussion instrument (see **Figure 15**, second row, second picture from the left).¹⁴² Once again, Maslov chooses one image out of six that does not capture the variety of music making practices in Central Asia. The subtitle of this page in the *Turkestan Album* – “A troupe of musicians” [*Truppa muzykantov*] -- indicates that the main focus of the page should be on the collective music making

¹⁴² Maslov calls this instrument a “tambourine of Uzbeks from Turkestan.” Maslov, 263.



Figure 13: Central Asian Musicians from *Turkestanskii Al'bom*.¹⁴³

¹⁴³ Library of Congress, Prints & Photographs Division, [reproduction numbers, LC-DIG-ppmsca-09953-00001 through 00008], digital file from Part 2, vol. 2, pl. 82, nos. 262-269.



Figure 14: Musicians and Musical Instruments from *Turkestanskii Al'bom*.¹⁴⁴

¹⁴⁴ Library of Congress, Prints & Photographs Division, [reproduction numbers, LC-DIG-ppmsca-09953-00009 through 00014], digital file from Part 2, vol. 2, pl. 83, nos. 270-275.



Figure 15: Ensemble of Central Asian Musicians from *Turkestanskii Al'bom*.¹⁴⁵

¹⁴⁵ Library of Congress, Prints & Photographs Division, [reproduction numbers, LC-DIG-ppmsca-09953-00015 through 00020], digital file from Part 2, vol. 2, pl. 84, nos. 276-81.

presented in two pictures in the first row, while the other two musicians, along with a dancer and a clown from the bottom row, present rather an incomplete part of a greater picture. Nonetheless, by taking a female musician from the second row, Maslov shifts the center of attention from two ensembles of instrumentalists to a solo player and again reduces the social context of music practice and the complex values attached to the instruments.¹⁴⁶

Thus, even though Maslov did not make open statements about the cultural level of Asian peoples, an analysis of the images of musical instruments in his “*Illiustrirovannoe opisanie*” reveals some features that might have led the readers to conclude that the culture of Russian Central Asian colonial subjects was limited to a lower level of development. Thus, in spite of the popular belief that photographs reflected reality and guaranteed an objective and accurate presentation, they fragmented the way reality was perceived; the arrangement of photographs had the effect of reducing knowledge of Asian music practice.

One can only speculate whether Maslov himself was involved in arranging the photographs and images for his work or if it was a publisher’s choice. Some instances from nineteenth-century French practice suggest that publishers actively participated in choosing pictures for photographically illustrated books on the Orient.¹⁴⁷ Aiming to satisfy the

¹⁴⁶ In the *Album* there are pictures presenting up to twelve Asian musicians playing in ensemble. It is possible that Maslov did not present such a large number of participants, since it would have lessened the difference between the Little Russian group of musicians and Central Asian musicians.

¹⁴⁷ Kathleen Stewart Howe, *Excursions Along the Nile: The Photographic Discovery of Ancient Egypt* (Santa Barbara: Santa Barbara Museum of Art, 1993), 27.

expectations of a mass audience, the photographs had to underline geographical and temporal distance and cultural difference between the Western and Eastern worlds. Similarly, Maslov might not have participated in the construction of the visual narrative presented in his *Illustrated Guide*. Actually, it would not be surprising if Maslov did not choose the photographs used in his book, since another article published in *Muzyka i zhizn'* a year prior to the "Illustrated Guide" reveals Maslov's high esteem for Asian culture, and particularly that of Russian nomadic neighbours.¹⁴⁸ The "original" string instruments, the *dumbra* and *kobyz* of the Kyrgyz people, according to Maslov, are the prototypes of the modern balalaika and violin.¹⁴⁹ This reverence for the original Asian instruments is especially notable because of Maslov's striking claim about the lack of originality in the repertoire for European and Russian instruments.¹⁵⁰

Maslov's article is written as a kind of survey of instruments belonging to peoples of all continents and cultures. Similar to the French popular discourse on the hierarchy of musical instruments, "less developed" people of Africa and North America were deemed to use percussion and wind instruments. However, the Asians according to Maslov, earned the highest praise for preserving and using (more than any other people in the world) the bowed string instruments. Comparing European instruments with those of Asia, he claimed that "musical instruments of our continent apparently are not that original."¹⁵¹ Maslov argued that it is unfair to compare Asian/African/American traditional musical instruments

¹⁴⁸ See A. Maslov, "Narodnye muzykal'nye instrumenty, ikh evoliutsiia i geograficheskoe rasprostranenie" [Traditional Musical Instruments, Their Evolution and Geographic Spreading], in *Muzyka i zhizn'* 5-6 (1910): 1-21.

¹⁴⁹ Maslov, "Narodnye muzykal'nye instrumenty," 16-17.

¹⁵⁰ Ibid., 13-14, and 16.

¹⁵¹ Ibid., 14.

with modern European instruments, such as the grand piano or violin. To make a fair evaluation of instruments, all music cultures should be placed on an equal footing; one should not mix Asian traditional instruments with European instruments that went through many stages of development before they took today's shape. Only "primordial European instruments" – either the prototypes of modern instruments or instruments that did not change much from the ancient times – can be included in a comparativistic study. As a result of his study, Maslov denied any originality in the European, Russian, and Central Asian instruments by claiming that they all were borrowed from the orient.¹⁵² European Russia, "if one would not take into consideration the music of *inorodtsy*, can be considered one of the poorest countries in terms of musical instruments."¹⁵³ Except for the original horns with reed [*rozhki s pisshchialkami*] and *zhaleikas*, all Russian instruments were borrowed either from the West or from the East. This statement reveals Maslov's disinterested position in promoting Russian nationalistic views; he clearly did not want to mix Russia's political position of power in the East with cultural matters. Furthermore, at the very end of his essay, Maslov comes to the striking conclusion that Western European music, although it has a "great heritage," cannot be "the model for the future music" [*muzyka budushchego*] since it has not yet absorbed the best musical features of all people from the globe; the "modern cultivated art" [*sovremennoe kul'tivirovannoe iskusstvo*] lacks characteristically vital features that are present in the music of some non-European

¹⁵² Ibid., 12-16. Maslov, unfortunately, as many other writers of his time, does not give precise information on what geographical area he means when he refers to "the orient."

¹⁵³ Ibid., 16.

peoples.¹⁵⁴ Thus, despite the narrative program, Maslov's methodological and ideological approach to the analysis of musical instruments reveals a set of influences different from that of the Europeans. It is not coloured by the colonial and racist discourse characteristic of European writing.

Conclusion

Nineteenth-century Russian music writers actively participated in the construction of a European discourse on the Russian cultural affiliation with the Aryan race. An analysis of Russian fin-de-siècle discourse on musical instruments and scales reveals that there was a widespread agreement that Aryan or Asian culture was far more influential in Russia than the European. Some writers (such as Sokal'sky, Famintsyn, and Petr) argued that the Russian connection to the East can be traced in the modal structure of folk melodies, while others (like Maslov) believed that Russian musical instruments were proof of Russia's Asian heritage. One of the possible explanations of the recognition of Asian culture can be the growing popularity of the Aryanist and *Vostochniki* [Asianist] movements that attracted many members of Russia's political elite (including Prince Ukhtomskii) and people from an educated upper-level class or intelligentsia. However, the general admiration for the Asian *past* and the pride in this affiliation often did not assume that Russians' view of *contemporary* Asian culture was free from cultural stereotypes. As the analysis of works by Alexander Famintsyn or B.P. Babkin reveals, some Russian writers presented Asian musical instruments as fixed objects unable to

¹⁵⁴ Ibid., 17.

develop in time and replicated European patterns of categorization of musical instruments that suggested value judgments and notions of Russian superiority. The examination of the writings of other authors (Petukhov and Maslov), however, suggests that colonialist and racist discourses characteristic of European writing did not influence their ideological approaches to the analysis of musical instruments. Instead, they exemplify a positive attitude towards the culture of colonized Asia. Thus, the discussion of the Russian Asian/Aryan identity on the pages of late nineteenth-century music publications reveal the contradictory and multifaceted nature of Russian O/orientalism and present a unique case of negotiation and interaction between the colonizers and colonized.

CHAPTER 6

FROM ORIENTAL OTHER TO STIGMATIZED BROTHER: ETHNOGRAPHIC CONCERTS AT THE SERVICE OF EMPIRE

Introduction

Late nineteenth-century concert life in Russia's primary urban areas (Moscow and St. Petersburg) offered a wide range of musical experiences, including ethnographic concerts and concert-lectures, festivals, and exhibitions. Numerous concert venues opened their stages to different kinds of ethnographic performances: from serious concert-lectures to balalaika orchestras, and from a Russian bard's sombre solo-*bylina* performance to the unbridled singing and dancing of the gypsy.

Sometimes the most incongruous musical trends were mixed together on a single stage. One of the most sensational late nineteenth-century choirs, called Slavic Capella [*Slavianskaia kapella*], might, for instance, present military, peasant, and Little Russian choir performances along with gypsy dancing and singing, all in one concert program.¹ With its spectacular performances, Slavic Capella, under the direction of D.A. Agrenev-Slavianskii, became popular not only in Russia, but also in England, Germany, France, and America, and held the stage from the 1870s to the 1890s. Some of Agrenev-Slavianskii's concerts had lavish stage décor that corresponded to the texts of the songs,

¹ **D.A. Agrenev-Slavianskii (1834-1908)** was a popular Russian singer and choir director, who first became famous in the early 1870s by performing in theatrical concerts in Russia, America, England, Germany, France and other countries. The peak of activity of "Slavic capella" falls from the 1870s to the 1890s. On the life and works of Agrenev-Slavianskii see A. Super, *La chapelle Impériale russe. La chapelle de M.D. Slaviansky d'Agrenéff. Esquisse historique et critique sur la question de la musique à l'église* (Paris: Piquoin, 1886).

and choir members wore costumes matching the clothes of the protagonists in the works they performed.² In order to create the desired ambience of seventeenth-century Boyar Rus (pre-Petrine Russia), which corresponded to the popular understanding of *narodnost* or Russian national character, Agrenev-Slavianskii invited several specialists to stage the concerts, including the historian I.E. Zabelin, folklorist E.F. Barsov, and artist M.O. Mikeshein.³ The international success of the Slavic choir also provoked negative reviews from Russian musicians. Hermann Laroche, for instance, underlining the “cheap popularity of the melodies” performed by Agrenev-Slavianskii and their pseudo-folk character, remarked that these characteristics mesmerized the “semi-educated mob.”⁴ Petr Tchaikovsky saw in Agrenev’s activity only opportunism, the exploitation of false patriotism, and, most important, the direct profanation of the true nature of folk song.⁵

² For instance, in the performance of one popular Russian folk song “Ei ukhnem,” the members of the choir were wearing artistic rags from I.E. Repin’s picture “Burlaki na Volge” [The Volga Boatmen]. Agrenev-Slavianskii called this kind of folk song re-creation a “living picture” [*zhivaia kartina*]. *Istoriia russkoi muzyki v desiati tomakh*, L.Z. Korabel’nikova and E.M. Levashev, eds., vol. 10B (Moscow: Muzyka, 2004), 773.

³ *Istoriia russkoi muzyki* 10B: 773.

⁴ See H. Laroche, *Izbrannye stat’i* (Moscow: Muzyka, 1977), 4: 72.

⁵ Tchaikovsky, *Muzykal’nye fel’etony i zametki Petra Ili’cha Tchaikovskogo, 1868-1876: s prilozheniem portreta, avtobiograficheskogo opisaniia puteshestviia za granitseiu v 1888 godu i predisloviia G.A. Larosha* (Moscow: Tip. Iakovleva, 1898), 300. From the beginning of the activity of “Slavic capella,” Tchaikovsky openly expressed his repulsion with the “cunning and enterprising tenor” [*lovkii i predpriimchivyi tenor*], critiquing him on the pages of *Sovremennaia letopis’* and *Russkie vedomosti*. See Tchaikovsky’s articles in *Sevremennaia letopis’* (15 November 1871; 6 December 1871) and *Russkie vedomosti* (2 February 1873; 23 November 1875; 10 December 1875), cited in I.F. Kunina, ed., *P. Tchaikovsky o Rossii i russkoi muzyke. Izbrannye otryvki iz pisem i statei* (Moscow: Gos.Muz-Izdat., 1961), 39, 42-44, 49, 90-96, 98. In an openly sarcastic tone, Tchaikovsky described how Agrenev-Slavianskii became popular using the “deplorable ignorance of the masses” [*priskorbnoe nevezhestvo mass*] and false patriotism [*lozhnyi patriotizm*]. Slavianskii, according to Tchaikovsky, distorts folk music, “with a sacrilegious hand offends the shrine of our folk art...pursues his non-artistic objects, having nothing to do with art” [“sviatotatstvennoi rukoiu oskorbliaet sviatyniu nashego narodnogo tvorchestva, [...] presleduet tseli ne khudozhestvennye, s iskusstvom nichego obshchego ne imeiushchie”]. Unfortunately, Tchaikovsky further complained that even if he could “open the eyes of the public” [*otkryt’ glaza publike*] in order to reeducate and foster the public’s musical development, he would not have had anywhere to send them to listen to true music. When Tchaikovsky wrote this article in the middle of the 1870s, Moscow still did not even possess a Russian opera theater. See P.I. Tchaikovsky, *O Rossii i russkoi muzyke*, 95.

Several new types of concerts and genres of music that offered a kind of folk-music experience appeared temporarily toward the end of the nineteenth century. Some ensembles performed exclusively comic scenes from everyday life, with an accompaniment on different Little Russian, Tatar and Jewish instruments. Others performed stage adaptations [*instsenirovka*] of song cycles popular with Russians since the time of Ivan the Terrible (“Sten’ka Razin and the Princess”). At the end of the 1870s, a new type of entertainment based on gypsy songs appeared in Petersburg and Moscow on the stages of the Imperial Alexandriiskii and Minor Theaters. The idea behind this new genre, called “Gypsy songs in faces” [*Tsyganskie pesni v litsakh*], was to entertain the public with a kind of operetta comprising a potpourri of numbers that accompanied a simple melodramatic plot, usually a love triangle.⁶

At the end of the 1880s, another new performance tradition presenting staged folklore became popular. V.V. Andreev organized a so-called “Circle of amateur balalaika players” [*Kruzhok liubitelei igry na balalaikakh*] who played an instrument normally used to accompany song or dance or in a small ensemble with other Russian instruments.⁷ Andreev’s balalaika ensemble was such a spectacular success that by the end of the nineteenth century, the Circle included about 20,000 amateur balalaika players

⁶ See Homo Novus (A. Kugel), “O tsyganshchine,” *Teatr i iskusstvo* 31 (1905): 408-09, and *Istoriia russkoi muzyki* 10 B, 784-85.

⁷ **Andreev, Vasilii Vasil’evich (1861-1918)** was born in Bejetsk into a wealthy merchant family. In Russian music history he is known as the modernizer of Russian balalaika. With the help of the violin maker F. Passerbskii, Andreev designed a chromatic 12-fret instrument and later developed different types of balalaikas – discant, piccolo, prima, alto, bass, and double bass). See F.V. Sokolov, *V.V. Andreev i ego orkestr* (Leningrad: Gos.Muz.Izdat., 1962).

as members, and by the beginning of the twentieth century, Russia manufactured more than 20,000 balalaikas annually.⁸

The popularized version of folk music performed by Agrenev-Slavianskii's and Andreev's troupes obtained such great success because, the audience, "the masses," as L.I. Levin and E.D Uvarova put it,

were less interested in the subtleties of artistic interpretation or the authenticity of folk songs performed onstage; rather, they were attracted to the catchy, spectacular, and overemotional [*podcherknutaia emotsional'nost'*] performances and the diversity of the repertoire.⁹

Although the general public was not interested in the authenticity of folk songs performed onstage, some specialists expressed concern about the "extinction" of "true" Russian song. Many members of Russian society shared the conviction that the vanishing monuments of folk poetry and music should be preserved. To protect a "dying culture," the Ethnographical Division of the Imperial Russian Geographical Society organized scientific expeditions to Russia's remote areas from the mid-1880s; from the early 1890s, several Russian Moscow and St. Petersburg societies began organizing concerts that featured musicians from Russia's backwoods who performed the "ancient" genres of *bylina* and "northern starina" [*severnaia starina*, or ancient songs].

⁸ *Istoriia russkoi muzyki* 10B: 770. Andreev had two goals: first, to preserve an orchestral sound and "return" to people old highly artistic examples of folk songs (or, in other words, revive the dying interest in folklore); and second, to raise the level of music culture and provide the masses access to "serious" music and musical art through orchestral playing on accessible instruments. Andreev's orchestra performed not only folk songs but also arrangements of Western European music (e.g. fragments from *Carmen* and *Prince Igor*). Ibid., 771.

⁹ See L.I. Levin and E.D Uvarova, "Bytovaia i prikladnaia muzyka," *Istoriia russkoi muzyki* 10B:774.

The interest in folk repertoire grew to such an extent that opera singers even included folk songs in their concert repertoire. Mariia Ivanovna Dolina, a famous Russian contralto and soloist of the Mariinski Theater in St. Petersburg from 1886 to 1904, organized sixteen “Ethnographic concerts” between 1907 and 1908. In these concerts, she presented a wide variety of Russian vocal music, from peasant songs and *bylinas* to and works by Glinka, Musorgsky, and Tchaikovsky. Her concerts in France, Germany, and Turkey (among other places) resonated with a wide public.¹⁰

In this chapter I will focus on the activity of the Muzykal'no-Etnograficheskaia Komissii [Music-Ethnography Committee] (MEK), a part of the branch of the Society of Lovers of Natural Science, Anthropology, and Ethnography; I am particularly interested in how the content of the ethnographic concerts organized by this committee engaged with the idea of Russia as a nation. I will argue that interest in Russia's eastern “other” was part of Russian officials' broader endeavour of national self-definition as a multiethnic state. As James Clifford has aptly observed, “[t]he concrete activity of representing a culture, subculture, or indeed any coherent domain of collective activity is always strategic and selective.”¹¹ I will argue that the concerts presented by MEK between 1893 and 1911 culturally appropriated and recontextualized Russia's eastern neighbours in a narrative of Russian domination and -- in spite of underlying differences between Russians and oriental others -- promoted an image of Russia as a united state. I will also suggest how the arrangements of Russian and *inorodtsy* folksongs performed and published by MEK might

¹⁰ *Istoriia russkoi muzyki* 10B, 774; and I.A. Kamenev, *Solistka Ego velichestva Mariia Ivanovna Gorlenko-Dolina* (St. Petersburg: Trud, 1912).

¹¹ See J. Clifford, *The Predicament of Culture: Twentieth-Century Ethnography, Literature, and Art* (Cambridge [Mass.]: Harvard University Press, 1988), 231.

shape the perceptions of and responses to the subjects living in the Russian empire. The categorization of cultured and uncultured, the hierarchy among the different *inorodtsy* (the “natives,” or literally, “outlanders”) – in other words, the inherently biased preconceptions channelled through ethnographic publications – all found realization in music.¹² After a close reading of music ethnographies, Russian composers (like Alexander Grechaninov) created musically distinct arrangements for people they believed were at a different cultural level of development. In general, the arrangements that presented people thought to be culturally advanced tended to be more elaborate, while those presenting other “less advanced” *inorodtsy* were dressed in simple, if not simplistic, musical language.

1. The Music-Ethnographic Committee and its First Ethnographic Concert

Context and Structure

The Music-Ethnography Committee, or MEK, was officially formed in 1901 as part of the ethnography branch of the Society of Lovers of Natural Science, Anthropology, and Ethnography [Obshchestvo Liubitelei Estestvoznaniia, Antropologii i Etnografii or OLEAE] under the auspices of Moscow University. The ethnography department of the OLEAE had been engaged in research of folk music since a groundbreaking ethnographical exhibition was held in Moscow in 1867. The discussion of the musical instruments of peoples living in Russia on display at the 1867 exhibition was published in the journal *Izvestiia Imperatorskogo Obshchestva Liubitelei Estesstvoznaniia* in 1868 and included the description of Aleut *castanets*, Kyrgyz *kobyz*,

¹² In Chapter Two, I discuss in detail how the term *inorodtsy* developed throughout the nineteenth century.

dumbra, and *iataga*, as well as Karelian *kandala*, Chuvash *gusli*, and Bashkir *sybyzga*, and many other instruments of Russian *inorodtsy*.¹³ After 1889 the OLEAE published the journal *Etnograficheskoye obozreniye* [*Ethnographical Review*], in which the first musical ethnographies appeared. The precursor of MEK were the “Sunday evenings” held from the 1880s by Vsevolod Fedorovich Miller (1816-1913), a well-known Russian linguist and music amateur.¹⁴ Several important Moscow musicians, composers, and folklorists (such as Sergei Ivanovich Taneyev, Alexander Tikhonovich Grechaninov, and Pavel Ivanovich Blaramberg) frequented these “evenings” and later formed the core of the Music-Ethnography Committee.

The main goals pursued by the members of MEK were openly educational: raising interest in music ethnographies among the general public by spreading knowledge through publications, public lectures, open meetings (accompanied by musical illustrations), and ethnographic concerts.¹⁵ Many musicians were concerned about the disappearance of authentic folk song under the corrupting influence of the city. Since the

¹³ See Aleksei Vladimirkii, “O zakonakh muzykal’noi harmonii i natsional’nykh muzykal’nykh instrumentakh dostavlennykh na etnograficheskuiu vystavku,” in vol. 7, *Sbornik antropologicheskikh i etnograficheskikh statei o Rossii i stranakh ei prinaldezhashchikh, izdavaemyi V.A. Dashkovym, kn. 1* (Moscow, 1868): 152-68.

¹⁴ See D.V. Smirnov, “Muzykal’no-etnograficheskaiia komissiiia,” in *Traditsii russkoi khudozhestvennoi kul’tury. Mezhdvuzovskii sbornik nauchnykh trudov 3* (Moscow and Volgograd, 2000), 213-232.

¹⁵ As Nathaniel Knight pointed out, the Society of Lovers of Natural Science, from which the Music Ethnography Committee emerged, underlined that its main orientation “was not to be an elite guild of master scientists pursuing their esoteric truths in a rarefied atmosphere of exclusionary rigor.” See Knight, “The Empire on Display,” 6. The very title of the Society – *Obshchestvo Liubitelei* (“liubitelei,” “lovers,” or “amateurs”) – suggested an inclusion of people from all social strata; all those who would express an interest in science in its widest sense. Ibid.

city popular song, or *gorodskoi romans*, had been forcing out the genuine folksong even in the countryside, the collection of folk songs in the villages became an urgent matter.¹⁶

It is important to note that the activities of MEK, unlike the Song Committee [*Pesennaia komissia*] established in St. Petersburg, included the collection of and research on music of Russian *inorodtsy*.¹⁷ In his “Introductory Note about the Activity of MEK,” the Committee’s chairman, Nikolai Ianchuk, deplored how “while we are doing research in one region, maybe more precious pearls of folk song-making [*narodnoe pesnetvorchestvo*] perish in the other.”¹⁸ For Ianchuk, the study of *inorodtsy* music was extremely important, as it could reveal “to what extent the music of Finns, Turks, and Mongols have influenced it [Russian music].”¹⁹ “The centuries-long cohabitation of Russians with other tribes of different origin [*inoplemennoi*],” Ianchuk claimed, “could not but be reflected in Russian music.”²⁰

Despite the fact that Ianchuk called the music of *inorodtsy* “interesting and diverse” and expressed concern about *Russification* and the possible extinction of some

¹⁶ Interestingly, similar attempts to understand France’s history through collecting and analyzing regional folksongs were made by the Société des traditions populaires. See Jann Pasler, *Composing the Citizen: Music as Public Utility in Third Republic France* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2009), 333. A few years prior to the foundation of MEK, the Société organized the concerts of so-called *chansons populaires* that included the folksongs from the Flemish and Basque regions of France, as well as Alsace (the region contested by Germany on the west bank of the upper Rhine). As Pasler argues, these concerts helped both republican and conservative elites to support their pre-existing agendas. For republicans, they offered a new way of shaping national identity as united by the sense of the shared nation’s past, while for the conservative elites the concerts helped to assert regional identities with distinct languages and culture. Pasler, “Race and Nation: Musical Acclimatization and the Chansons Populaires in Third Republic France,” in *Western Music and Race*, Julie Brown, ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 147-67.

¹⁷ On the Song Committee see N.P. Kolpakova, “Pesennaia komissii russkogo geograficheskogo obshchestva,” in *Russkii fol’klor. Materialy i issledovaniia VII* (Moscow and Leningrad: AN SSSR, 1962), 354-66.

¹⁸ See Ianchuk’s “Vstupitel’naia zapiska ob izuchenii narodnoi pesni i muzyki i o deiatel’nosti MEK,” *Trudy* (1906), 1: 3.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 4.

²⁰ *Ibid.*

non-Russian subjects, his attitude towards *inorodtsy* was not without customary colonial paternalism. The secretary of MEK pointed out that it was the responsibility of a ruling nation [*gospodstvuiushchaia natsiia*] to show attention towards its subjugated peoples, “at least from the scientific point of view” [*khotia by s nauchnoi tochki zreniia*], since in the history of human culture, “petty peoples” [*melkie narody*] represent an important link in the history of mankind; the absence of studies on these peoples can lead to erroneous conclusions about history.²¹ Ianchuk pointed out that other imperial nations (such as England and France), despite their cruelty towards indigenous people, spared neither strength nor resources for ethnographic and anthropological research, and published huge volumes of ethnographic material on conquered cultures. As a civilized people, the Russians also had a responsibility to research people whom they conquered and whose near-future destiny might be complete extinction. Thus, there were two driving forces behind the MEK’s concern about *inorodtsy* music: the identification of what is inherently Russian and what is not, and second, Russia’s scientific position vis-à-vis other European imperial powers. It seems that Oriental music was not studied for its own sake.

The first ethnographic concert took place in Moscow in 1893. Along with folk songs arranged for piano and voice or choir and orchestra by Nikolai Klenovskii, the concert program included Balakirev’s symphonic poem *Rus’*, *Tatar dances* by Pavel Ivanovich Blaramberg, and Klenovskii Finale “Glory” from his ballet *Svetlana, the Russian Princess*.²² All folksongs performed in this concert were published in an

²¹ Ibid., 3.

²² **Nikolai Semenovich Klenovskii (1857-1915)**, Russian composer and conductor. In 1879 he graduated from Moscow Conservatoire where he studied with Gubert (theory) and Tchaikovsky (composition); he

anthology of songs entitled *Ethnographic Concert* [*Etnograficheskii kontsert*], comprising a large number of Russian ethnic groups.²³ In a brief introduction, Klenovskii informed his audience that the *Concert* was the result of his years of study of Russian folk music.²⁴ This research also stimulated Klenovskii to study songs of other peoples living in Russia. He observed that “most of the melodies [of other peoples] had a striking resemblance with the Russian ones in terms of scale and rhythm.” Klenovskii did not wish to describe his observations and conclusions in an abstract discussion [*otvlechennoe rassuzhdenie*]; rather, he decided to present them in a form more accessible to the public – a concert. He stated, “Having in mind not only specialists, but the so-called wide public [*bol'shaia publika*], I thought it would be appropriate to add an artistic character [*khudozhestvennyi kharakter*] to each piece.” The result of this artistic research was the re-creation of thirty-two songs of different “tribes” living in Russia.

also assisted N. Rubinshtein in conducting the school's orchestra. Between 1883 and 1893 Klenovskii was one of the conductors of the Moscow Imperial Theatres. From 1889 to 1893 he directed the Moscow University Orchestra. In 1893 Klenovskii accepted the position of director of Tiflis Music College, where he remained until 1902. Klenovskii wrote two ballets, *Prelesti Gashisha* (1885) and *Svetlana* (1886), as well as many sideshows to different ballets; he also wrote music to the dramas *Messalina*, *Zvezda Sevil'i*, and *Antonii i Kleopatra* (among others), the orchestral suite *Mirazhi*, two coronation cantatas and two cantatas for the celebration of Pushkin, Georgian songs for solo, choir, and orchestra, a suite for a piano, and a Georgian liturgy. Iu. Keldysh et al., eds., *Muzykal'naia entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Sovetskaia entsiklopediia, 1974), 2: 833-34. **Pavel Ivanovich Blaramberg (1841-1907)**, a self-trained Russian composer. After his graduation from Petersburg Alexander Lyceum in 1860, he served in the Central Statistic Committee and statistic department of the Russian Geographical Society. In 1876, he started working for the Russian newspaper *Moskovskie vedomosti*. From 1883 to 1898, Blaramberg taught music theory, (orchestral) arrangement, and the analysis of musical form at the Music-Dramatic College of the Moscow Philharmonic Society. He composed the operas *Demon*, *Maria Burgundrskaia*, *Skomorokh*, *Tushintsy*, and other music. See G.B. Bernandt and I.M. Yampol'skii, *Kto pisal o muzyke* [*Who Wrote on Music*] (Moscow: Sovetskii kompozitor, 1979), 1: 100.

²³ See N. Klenovskii, *Sbornik narodnykh pesen: etnograficheskii concert russkikh i drugikh narodnostei s perevodom na russkii iazyk*, 4th ed. (Moscow: Muzykal'nyi sektor, 1926).

²⁴ Klenovskii did not mention what kind of research he had done; he must have learnt about folk music in a similar way with other contemporary musicians, e.g. by studying collections of songs. His previous experience with folksongs included the arrangement of some tunes for the collection of Russian songs by Iu.N. Mel'gunov (1879).

Interestingly, Klenovskii distributed his attention to all subjects of Russia almost equally; the arrangements of Russian folksongs do not outnumber any other folksongs, and only five Great Russian songs and eight songs of other Slavic peoples closely related to Russians (four Belorussian and four Ukrainian) were included in the *Concert*. Five other songs of southern and western Slavic peoples (two Bulgarian and three Polish) and Balakirev's symphonic poem *Rus'* (which opened the program) comprised the first part of the concert. This, without a doubt, was meant to represent the brotherhood of Slavic peoples. The second part of the concert also opened with a symphonic piece, the *Tatar Dances* by Pavel Blaramberg. This section focused on non-Slavic peoples living in Russia. It included four songs of Balkan Lithuanians, five Georgian, and one Armenian song, all representing the Christian part of Russia. The songs of people representing the Asian non-Christian part of Russia were placed at the end of the concert: a Chuvash song, followed by two Kyrgyz and one Sart song.²⁵ All songs were arranged according to their geographical distance (or remoteness) from the heart of Russia: Chuvash people lived within the borders of Russia from the time of Ivan the Terrible, on the western side of the Ural mountains; the Kyrgyz occupied the steppes on the eastern side of the Ural mountains and were absorbed after the Chuvash during the reign of the Catherine the Great; the Sarts were relatively new people of Russia living in Central Asia and conquered only in the second half of the nineteenth century. In addition, two Greek songs arranged by Bourgault-Ducoudray from his *Trente melodies* were performed in their original form. The concert closed with the Finale "Slava" ["Glory"] from Klenovskii's

²⁵ See the programs of all the concerts organized by MEK in **Appendix 2**.

ballet *Svetlana, the Slavic Princess* [*Svetlana, slavianskaia kniazhna*] performed by the orchestra and choir. The semiotics of such a concert ending was probably carefully considered: the glorifying Finale sung in Russian allowed the folksongs of all non-Russian peoples to be framed by Russian music. For, as it will be recalled, the concert opened with Balakirev's piece written to celebrate Russia's glorious past and ended with a choir singing "Glory."²⁶ Furthermore, in the context of nineteenth-century nationalism with its project of consolidation and integration, the political implication of the concert's structure is obvious: Russia is presented as being the only potential leader able to assure a better future for the entire Slavic race. Thus, this concert's structure served to enhance the sense of Russia's greatness and its ability to assemble a great number of peoples and cultures, which were represented in the middle of the program.

Klenovskii's Arrangements

In the introduction "From the Author," Klenovskii explained his approach to the songs' arrangements. His credo was to not interfere with the melodic line; he did not change a single note from the original transcription of the melodies. The accompaniment was also supposed to follow the melodic structure of a tune, since, as Klenovskii affirmed: "all introductions and endings added by me are mainly based on the musical

²⁶ Balakirev's *Rus'* was originally written for the celebration of one thousand years of Russia and was initially entitled *Musical Picture, 1000 Years*.

phrases that are found in the melodies themselves.”²⁷ All Russian and Slavic songs from the *Concert* have a purely diatonic introductions and endings suggested in the tunes.

Although in most arrangements Klenovskii remains faithful to the pitches and rhythms of the original tunes, three examples of non-Russian music do not follow the stated principle: the Georgian “Mertskhali,” the Kyrgyz “Ai astynda bir dzholduz,” and the Sart “Karalasam Kuryрмаиди” are all provided with an accompaniment with an orientализing flavour.²⁸ Despite the songs’ diatonic melodies, the composer added an introduction and ending based on a scale with an augmented second. Although the two songs represent entirely different peoples – Christian Georgians living in the Caucasus, Asian nomadic Kyrgyz loosely practicing Islam, and Asian sedentary Muslims – the arrangements Klenovskii composed for the Georgian and Kyrgyz songs are strikingly similar.

The Georgian song “Mertskhali” [Lastochka, or Swallow] opens with a repeated phrase emphasizing an augmented second played by flutes, oboes, and clarinets, supported by French horns playing an open fifth (see **Example 6.1**). After a rather short four-bar introduction, the tenors sing a melody with a touch of Phrygian mode in unison. Then, in a very typical Georgian manner the three-part male choir starts oscillating between B minor and D major.²⁹

²⁷ “Vse pribavlennye mnoiu vstupleniia i zakliucheniia osnovany po priemushchestvu na muzykal’nykh frazakh zakliuchaiushchikhsia v samikh melodiakh.” See Klenovskii, *Sbornik narodnykh pesen*, 3.

²⁸ See Ibid., 70-71 and 90-93.

²⁹ On Georgian traditional choral singing see D.I. Arakchiev (Arakishvili), “Kratkii ocherk razvitiia gruzinskoi, kartalino-kakhetinskoi, narodnoi pesni,” *Trudy*, 1: 269-344; G. Chkhivadze, *Osnovnye tipy gruzinskogo mnogogolosii* [Major Types of Georgian Polyphony] (Moscow, 1964).

Example 6.1 Georgian song “Mertskhali” arranged by Klenovskii, mm. 1-12.

Allegro

Fl.
Ob.
Cl.

Piano

f

Corpi. quart.

Meno mosso

Tenors (1 and 2) and soloist

T

8

Дгэс мэрт-ха - ли шэ - мо-прин - да чик - чи - ки - та гад - мом - дза - ха:

B

Meno mosso

5

Timp. *f*

p Quart. *sf*

Pno.

9

a tempo
(together)

T

8

mf

Дэ - ла, Дэ - ла, Дэ - ли о - Дэ - ла! *p*

B

mf

9

a tempo

Corn.
Timp.

mf

p

Pno.

The beginning of the Kyrgyz song, “Ai astynda ber dzholduz” [Est’ pod lunoiu zvezda, or There is a Star under the Moon], arranged for orchestra and mixed choir, has a similar appeal: it opens with a brass fanfare (trumpet and trombones), followed by the sweeping gesture of *tutti* orchestra, and crescendo in the passages with an augmented

Example 6.2 a) Kyrgyz song “Ai astynda ber dzholduz” transcribed by Pfennig; b) Kyrgyz Song “Ai astynda ber dzholduz” arranged by Klenovskii, mm. 1-17.

a)

♩ = 88 M.M.

The musical score is written for two voices, Soprano and Alto, in 3/4 time. The tempo is marked as 88 M.M. (Metronomic Minutes). The key signature is one flat (B-flat). The Soprano part begins with a treble clef and a key signature change from one flat to two flats (B-flat to A-flat). The Alto part begins with a treble clef and a key signature change from one flat to two flats (B-flat to A-flat). The music is a simple melody with a few rests and a final cadence.

b)

second (see **Example 6.2b**). After the repetition of the same material in sequence, another dramatic gesture is introduced: stepwise motion in the tuba and horns (echoing the beginning of the original melody), which is interrupted by a trombone fanfare on *b* forming, albeit in a low register, a sinister tritone with the first note on *f*. The tenors also sing the song's melody in unison. Thus, both songs open with the brass section playing open fifths and a sweeping passage with an augmented second performed by either high woodwinds or *tutti* orchestra.³⁰ This beginning, inconsistent with the song's melodic style, completely changes the simple sound of the Georgian and Kyrgyz tunes. It adds a new "exotic" colour that otherwise is absent in the original tunes. The only apparent difference in Klenovskii's accompaniment of the Kyrgyz and Georgian songs is in the frequency of passages with an augmented second. In the Kyrgyz song these passages appear after almost every phrase, while in the Georgian song they occur only in the introduction, ending, and between the couplets. Perhaps Klenovskii wanted to enhance the degree of Asianness of the Kyrgyz people by repeating the augmented second passages more often.

The inconsistency between the original tunes and arrangements does not stop there. The Kyrgyz song's dramatic opening and the generally gloomy character of the song's introduction do not reflect at all the content of the original text (see mm. 1-12):

Есть под луною звезда Краше луны; Лучше для нас , чем богач, Преданный друг. Если обидет тебя	There is a star under the Moon More beautiful than the Moon; For us, a staunch friend is better Than a rich man. Even if an evil man

³⁰ There are few differences between Georgian and Kyrgyz songs in phrase structure (Georgian has all phrases divisible by 4 bars, while the Kyrgyz song the phrases present a pattern 3+2 bars).

Злой человек, Будь и тогда лучше добр, А не гневись.	Offends you, Be kind and Do not get angry.
Здравствуй, красотка, я был от тебя далеко, Нынче же возле тебя – мне на сердце легко! Сильно вдали от тебя, милая, я тосковал, Но теперь ты – моя! День блаженства настал!	Hello, my beautiful one, I was far away from you, Now I am by your side [and I feel] light in my heart! Far away from you, my darling, I felt miserable, But now, you are mine! The day of felicity has come!

The first verse of the song's text is clearly didactic in content and runs against a rather bellicose orchestral introduction. The subject matter of the second verse is somewhat unrelated to the first verse: it is a man's love address to a pretty girl. The inconsistency between the two verses is easily explained: the original Kyrgyz song that Klenovskii arranged has only one verse; the composer took the text for the second verse from another Kyrgyz song published in the same article by Pfennig.³¹ The two Kyrgyz songs Klenovskii used are not related textually or musically. Nevertheless, the obvious discrepancies between the two original songs and the contradiction between the accompaniment and the texts did not discomfort or trouble Klenovskii. These points might be evidence of Klenovskii's cultural or aesthetic incompetence. Furthermore, one could also argue that Klenovskii's arrangements were a re-enactment (conscious or not) of the general Russian tendency of exercising the power of the "greater nation" to change the destiny of the "lesser people." However, the idea of mixing different texts with the same melody might have been inspired from the article on Kyrgyz and Sart songs by

³¹ See Pfennig, "O kirgizskikh i sarskikh narodnykh pesniakh," *Etnograficheskoe obozrenie* no. 3 (1889): 83-91.

Pfennig – the same article from which Klenovskii took the melodies for his arrangements. In one passage describing Kyrgyz music, the author mentions a common musical practice in which different texts are sung over the same melody.³² Perhaps after reading the article, Klenovskii felt that his free approach to the text and mixture of two songs would not harm the original tune, since the interchange of different texts over the same melody was practiced among the Kyrgyz in any case.³³

In another arrangement of an Asian tune, the Sart song “Karalasam kuryрмаиди,” Klenovskii again used an augmented second to highlight its origin, although the interval is not suggested in the original tune (see **Example 6.3**). What is more, Klenovskii pushed the melody further into the realm of the oriental, by embedding it in a chromatic accompaniment, which significantly altered the colour gamut of the piece.³⁴

³² See *Ibid.*, 91.

³³ Later, in his collection of Tatar, Bashkir, and Teptiar’ songs, Rybakov also mentioned that some *inorodtsy* used one melody to sing different texts. See S.G. Rybakov, *Muzyka i pesni ural’skikh musul’man s ocherkom ikh byta* [Music and Songs of Ural Muslims with the Essay on their Way of Life] (St. Petersburg: Tip. Imperatorskoi Akademii Nauk, 1897), 65, 73.

³⁴ This practice of taking simple, authentic Asian/oriental tunes and making them sound “exotic” through sophisticated harmonization in accompaniment was by no means new in the Russian tradition. Rimsky-Korsakov and Borodin artificially added “exotic” gestures to the oriental melodies, which did not sound oriental enough to alert the Russian audience to the presence of the “Other.” As discussed in Chapter Four, Rimsky-Korsakov, for instance, inserted an augmented second into an otherwise diatonic folksong “On the Tatar Captivity” in his opera *The Lay about the Invisible City of Kitezh* to persuade his audience of the music’s oriental character and to add an oriental property to a Russian tune. See L. Kershner, “Skazanie o nividimom grade Kitezhe i deve Fevronii,” in *Opery Rimskogo-Korsakova. Putevoditel’* (Moscow: Muzyka, 1976), 399; A. Kandinskii, *Istoriia russkoi muzyki II* (Moscow: Muzyka, 1979), 199; Ibrahim Quraishi, “Kitezh and the Russian notion of Oriental despotism,” *The Opera Quarterly* 13 (1996-97): 69-74. In his *Arabskaia melodiia* based on the Arabic Noubat “Grib,” transcribed by Christianowitsch in his *Esquisse Historique de la musique arabe*, Borodin created images of a voluptuous and seductive Orient without changing the original melody of the diatonic tune, but instead by adding an introduction and composing a piano accompaniment with a drone, or chromatic oscillation between the 5th and 6th degrees – gestures that Taruskin calls “the essential *nega* indulgence” and which Frolova-Walker identifies as the “Kuchka Pattern.” See Richard Taruskin, *Defining Russia Musically: Historical and Hermeneutical Essays* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1997), 168; Marina Frolova-Walker, *Russian Music and Nationalism: From Glinka to Stalin* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2007), 141-60.

It is probably not a coincidence that from the two transcriptions of Sart songs published in *Etnograficheskoe obozrenie* Klenovskii chose this particular song. Ethnographer R.A. Pfennig, who transcribed it, pointed out that this tune reminded him of one of the motives from Glinka's opera *Ruslan and Liudmila*. He was probably

Example 6.3 Sart song “Karalasam kuryрмаиди” arranged by Klenovskii, mm. 1-12

The musical score for Example 6.3 is arranged for piano and voice. It begins with a piano introduction in 2/4 time, marked 'Andante' and 'p espressivo'. The piano part features a 'Corn engl' (Cornet English) melody in the right hand and a bass line in the left hand. The tempo is marked 'Andante'. The vocal line enters in measure 7 with the lyrics 'Ка - ра - ла - сам ку - рын-май-ди дюнь - я - нын бур - чи, —'. The piano accompaniment continues with a 'p rall.' (piano, rallentando) section, followed by a 'dim.' (diminuendo) section, and then a 'pp Quart.' (pianissimo, quartet) section. The tempo changes to 'a tempo' in measure 10. The score ends in measure 12.

referring to the Persian chorus from act three, which has a similar melodic and rhythmic pattern.³⁵ Klenovsky's attraction to the familiar element in an unfamiliar culture might be explained by the late nineteenth-century practice of “finding” similarities between Russian and Asian cultures, discussed in Chapter Four. Also, as discussed in Chapter

³⁵ See Mikhail Glinka, *Ruslan i Liudmila* (Moscow-Leningrad: Gos.Muz.Izdat, 1947), 161.

Five, the idea of Russian affiliation to Asian culture, popular among Russian historians, linguists, and music theorists, helped to promote the myth of a Russian Aryan past. In turn, the notion of Aryan Russia influenced the modes of thought towards Asia and seemed to legitimize its conquest.

Reaction

Although the *Ethnographic Concert* was widely acclaimed, some Russian critics saw in Klenovskii's arrangements a "trite method of treatment" [*shablonnyi sposob obrabotki*], a dangerous trend of "orientalization" or an intrusion [*naviazyvanie*] of some properties (such as an augmented second) that did not belong to a tune. After a publication of *Etnograficheskii contsert*, Arsenii Koreshchenko, a member of MEK, expressed a critical view on Klenovskii's arrangements.³⁶ He pointed out that the general ignorance in the field of oriental music resulted in a

stereotypical and false view that only Persian music should be considered "oriental." Any other folk tune transcribed in the Orient, which does not carry the specific features of Persian music [augmented second], cannot be recognized as oriental.³⁷

³⁶ See Arsenii Koreshchenko, "O vostochnoi muzyke (persidskaia, armianskaia i gruzinskaia narodnaia vokal'naia muzyka)," *Moskovskie vedomosti*, no. 321 (21 November, 1897): 3-4, and no. 322 (22 November, 1897): 3-4. This article with minor alterations and fifteen song transcriptions was reprinted later in *Etnograficheskoe obozrenie*. See A. Koreshchenko, "Nabliudenie nad vostochnoi muzykoi, preimushchestvenno kavkazskoi" *Etnograficheskoe Obozrenie*, no. 1(1898): 1-22. **Arsenii Nikolaevich Koreshchenko (1870-1921)**, Russian pianist, composer, conductor, professor, and music critic; author of three operas, one ballet and cantata, and symphonic music. In 1888 Koreshchenko graduated from Moscow Conservatoire as a pianist (S.I. Taneev) and composer (A.S. Arenskii). From 1894 to 1896, he directed the music section in the Russian newspaper *Moskovskie vedomosti*. He then taught music theory classes at Moscow Conservatoire from 1891 to 1894. From 1906 to 1919 Koreshchenko taught at Music-Dramatic College of Moscow Philharmonic Society. Then he directed and taught at the Khar'kov Conservatoire from 1919 to 1921. See *Muzykal'naia entsyklopediia* (1974), 2: 952-53.

³⁷ Koreshchenko, "O vostochnoi muzyke," no. 321, 3.

According to Koreshchenko, the majority of European composers had been transferring these musical stereotypes from one work to another, overusing them to such an extent that “all these harmonic and melodic spices, such as an augmented second and chromaticisms, bored the listeners [*poriadkom uzhe prielis*’].”³⁸ “Klenovskii, too,” Koreshchenko continues, “probably in his desire to emphasize the place of the song’s origin (*the Orient*), did not find anything better than to add to the Georgian songs his own introduction and ending in the Persian manner” [*na persidskii lad*].³⁹

Nonetheless, I think one should be careful in echoing Koreshchenko’s critique of Klenovskii’s rendering of the original Georgian tune. The introduction of the Georgian tune with an augmented second makes sense within the compositional constraints: the melodic opening with *c*-natural does not belong to B minor or D major – the two tonal centres sustained in the song. The Georgian melody offers few harmonic possibilities: a Phrygian B minor (which could be sustained only in the first two bars) or a scale with an augmented second that has *c*-natural in it.⁴⁰ The Kyrgyz song (“Ai astynda”), on the other hand, presents quite another matter. The melody clearly outlines the lower tetrachord of a-minor (up to 5th scale degree), which makes using a scale with an augmented second absolutely unnecessary. Technically speaking, however, Klenovskii did not distort the original melody *per se* (see **Example 6.2a**), since he added the augmented second in the upper tetrachord, which does not appear in the melody of the Kyrgyz song.

³⁸ Ibid., 4.

³⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁰ Furthermore, Koreshchenko accuses Klenovskii of changing the scale of two Georgian tunes, “Patskha” and “Mertskhali.” However, the augmented second was introduced only in one tune, “Mertskhali.”

Perhaps Klenovskii was anxious that his public would not understand the difference between Russian and non-Russian diatonic scales, and he decided to distance aurally (via an augmented second) the Russian and non-Russian worlds. Such a choice was hardly surprising: aimed at a wide public, Klenovskii's arrangement had to meet the audience's expectation by furnishing "Asian" music with harmonic idioms that were supposed to represent the Orient.

This is why, despite the critique, the Russian public responded enthusiastically to Klenovskii's oriental kitsch; at this historical moment, few people were concerned about the authenticity of the represented material. Although Klenovskii's *Ethnographic Concert* was far removed from "real" ethnographies, it gained immediate and widespread popularity. His anthology of songs went through five editions and, as one contemporary Russian ethnographic journal put it, even the texts, published after the concert in a separate brochure, were "sold with readiness."⁴¹ What caused such a definitive public success? Other than the obvious answer, -- how Klenovskii's anthology met the audience's expectations about Russia's Asian culture -- the broader political implications of this success story tell quite a different story.

Concert, Politics, and Social Response

As a public event, the ethnographic concert could not help but serve as a vehicle for the expression of the state's ideological agenda: to present a microcosm of the

⁴¹ See Viktor Beliaev, *Central Asian Music. Essays in the History of the Music of the Peoples of the USSR*, ed. and annotated by Mark Slobin, trans. by Mark and Greta Slobin (Middletown: Wesleyan University Press, 1975), 116; *Etnograficheskoe obozrenie* 3 (1897): 220.

Russian empire with its oriental peoples culturally assimilated within it. The ultimate aim of these concerts, in my opinion, was similar to the goal formulated by the organizers of the All-Russian Exhibition of 1867 and echoed in Mikhail Katkov's article published in the official newspaper *Moskovskie vedomosti*: "The diversity of the elements entering into the composition of the Russian population, in no way violates national unity and can, given a healthy policy, only facilitate the richness of the development and the strength of the composition of the state."⁴² The very notion of ethnographic diversity went arm in arm with the notion of a unitary Russian identity, "imagined" by some members of Russian intellectual society as a multitude of diverse nationalities, separate yet unified.⁴³

A number of other Ethnographic Concerts, which were organized by MEK, followed the same layout. In a certain sense, they developed a popular late nineteenth-century practice of Russian ethnographic/anthropological exhibitions. As Daniel Brower observed, there was an important change in the tendency of representing peoples of Russian Asia from exoticized to domesticated: in 1891, the Moscow Central Asian exhibition included the reconstruction of a Tashkent street scene with picturesque shops manned by Sart traders, while the Turkestan exhibit at the 1896 national fair had none of

⁴² M.N. Katkov, *Sobranie peredovykh statei Moskovskikh vedomostei 1867 goda* (Moscow, 1897), 205; see English translation in Nathaniel Knight, "The Empire on Display: Science, Nationalism and the Challenge of Human Diversity in the All-Russian Ethnographic Exhibition of 1867" (paper presented at the National Council for European and East European Research, August 20, 2001), 19.

⁴³ See Knight, "Science, Empire and Nationality: Ethnography in the Russian Geographical Society, 1845-1855," in *Imperial Russia: New Histories for the Empire*, Jane Burbank and David Ransel, eds. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1998), 117. As I discussed in Chapter Two, many Russian scholars of almost exclusively non-Russian descent supported the view of Russia as a multiethnic state. Nathaniel Knight suggests that, for them, national loyalty meant loyalty to the state and the tsar rather than to the Russian people as a titular ethnic group. See *Ibid.*, 120.

these make-believe displays.⁴⁴ Colonial people were involved in the exhibition, but instead of being the subjects on display, they participated as traders and artisans with products. A further step towards removing exoticism from Asian Russia was made in the 1900 Paris World's Fair. Although Russian eastern borderlands were used to display Russian imperial accomplishments, and some representatives from Russian Turkestan were brought to the Fair, exoticism was not part of the presentation.⁴⁵ Only one bilingual Sart rug weaver and a minor colonial official recruited from the Turkestan population, both of whom spoke perfect Russian, were brought to the Fair. A proposal from one Sart merchant to bring an ensemble of twelve musicians and whirling dervishes to the Expo was turned down by the members of a committee in charge of the preparations for the World's Fair. As Brower noted, all these choices point to Russian officials' determination Russian government officials to present Russia as a Western empire; "its special claim to attention [...] was its capacity to absorb and transform on civilized terms distant lands and diverse people."⁴⁶

In a similar spirit, the first ethnographic concert presented Russia's Asian peoples as domesticated others. In spite of a few exoticizing moments added by Klenovskii, Asian music (Kyrgyz and Sart songs) was arranged in a standard European way: besides the harmonic language that does not exceed the norms of nineteenth-century western-European harmony, the songs are accompanied with European instruments (piano or

⁴⁴ Daniel Brower, *Turkestan and the Fate of the Russian Empire* (London & New York: Routledge Curzon, 2003), 85.

⁴⁵ Visitors could board a railroad dining car and watch a diorama that unfolded the scenes of an imaginary railroad journey from Moscow to Peking outside their windows, all in a half-hour. Turkestan Hall presented giant murals of scenes of Central Asian Mountains and deserts. See Brower, 85-86.

⁴⁶ Brower, 86.

orchestra). Even the songs' texts were translated into Russian and distributed to the audience. The accessibility of Asian tunes, which inevitably resulted in the stigmatization of their musical language, nevertheless had a positive impact on the studies of Russian *inorodtsy*.

Ultimately, the MEK achieved its prime goal, articulated by Ianchuk in his "Introductory note," to stimulate interest in folk music by means of "popularization" of some "models of folk music art" [*obraztsy narodnogo muzykal'nogo tvorchestva*].⁴⁷ Many common people (teachers, priests, and amateur musicians) living in or traveling to Russia's remote regions became involved in collecting songs from Asian people and sending materials, including amateur transcriptions and the first sound recordings, to MEK.⁴⁸ Some of these amateur transcriptions were even published on the pages of respected Russian musical journals. For instance, the Russian priest P. Tikhov from Perovsk transcribed a number of songs from Central Asia, which were published in 1910 in *Muzyka i zhizn'* with his report explaining the context in which this music was performed.⁴⁹ Thus, MEK gave any educated Russian citizen the opportunity to participate in the collective creation of Russian history and society by gathering specimens of Russian (or non-Russian) musical tradition.

⁴⁷ See his "Vstupitel'naia zapiska ob izuchenii narodnoi pesni i muzyki i o deiatel'nosti MEK," in *Trudy* (1906), 1:6.

⁴⁸ To help people to understand what material should be gathered and how to do it, the members of MEK created a special "Program of collecting folk music and other music-ethnographic materials," which was published in 1901 first in *Etnograficheskoe obozrenie* and then as a special reprint.

⁴⁹ See P. Tikhov, "Muzyka Turkestanskikh kirgizov," *Muzyka i zhizn'* 4 (1910): 9-14. Other instances include transcriptions of Kalmyk songs by a certain S. Kalashnikov from Astrakhan', and the recordings of Sart songs by doctor Rabotnov from Tashkent. See the protocols of MEK meetings in *Trudy* (1906), "Protokoly zasedanii Muzykal'no-etnograficheskoi komissii, 1901-1906," 1: 31; and *Trudy* (1911), "Protokoly zasedanii Muzykal'no-etnograficheskoi komissii, 1906-1911," 2: 21, 23.

This might be the reason why the ethnographic concert practice supervised by the members of MEK did not stop until World War I. Significantly, out of ten Ethnographic concerts held in Moscow between 1901 and 1911 no less than seven adhered to a similar layout: Russian/Slavic folksongs presented in the first part were followed by the performance of the music of Russian *inorodtsy* in the second.⁵⁰ Such a concert presentation, as I have already noted, was considered essential in helping to embrace the idea of Russia as a multiethnic state. Furthermore, for the wider public and Russian officials, these concerts could signify the empire's determination to take possession of the culture of its newly acquired Asian subjects.

2. Musical Realization of Ethnographic Sources: Alexander Grechaninov's

Arrangements of Tatar, Bashkir, and Teptiar' Songs

Context

The ethnographic concerts were not only the window on Russia's eastern territories and possessions, but also an important source of information that shaped listeners' attitudes toward their "little brothers." From the early nineteenth century on, Russian writers discussed the culture of *inorodtsy* in different terms: certain social patterns were considered signs of advanced cultural development, while others of lower levels of civilization. I will argue that the musical treatment of Asian folksongs by the

⁵⁰ See concerts from 2 through 7 and 10 in **Appendix 2**, and in the "Programs of Ethnographic Concerts," in *Trudy* (1906), 1:72-77, and *Trudy* (1911), 2:31-32. Not all the concerts by MEK had the same kind of program: three concerts presented exclusively Slavic music. See "Programmy etnograficheskikh kontsertov, ustroennykh Etnograficheskim otdelom i Muzykal'no-etnograficheskoi komissiei OLEAE, v Moskve, v 1893-1906 gg.," in *Trudy* (1906), 1: 71-77; and *Trudy*, "Programmy etnograficheskikh kontsertov i lektsii ustraevaemykh Muzykal'no-etnograficheskoi komissiei," 2: 28-34.

members of MEK is evidence of a cultural hierarchy between these peoples. Informed by nineteenth-century ethnographies, Russian composers could not help but continue perpetuating cultural stereotypes in music by assigning more sophisticated musical arrangements to people who were considered culturally advanced and composing “primitive” arrangements for those at the periphery of civilization. Alexander Grechaninov’s arrangements of Tatar, Bashkir, and Teptiar’ songs are a case in point.⁵¹ Performed at the third, fourth, and tenth ethnographic concerts and published in the fourth volume of *Trudy Muzykal’no-Etnograficheskoi Komissii* in 1913, Grechaninov’s arrangements clearly reveal how music ethnographies shaped his attitude towards *inorodtsy* culture and influenced his compositional choices. The musical language that Grechaninov assigned to each cultural group becomes a marker of cultural distinction: the Tatar songs are distinguished by harmonic sophistication and refined chromaticism (which is by no means characteristic of Tatar music), while the music of the Teptiar’ people is furnished with a rather “barbaric” accompaniment (discussed below), at least from the nineteenth-century European point of view. Grechaninov’s arrangement of Bashkir songs also reflected nineteenth-century Russian music ethnography that assigned a special niche for this people: that of the “noble savages.”

Grechaninov took all of the songs he arranged from an ethnographic report by S.G. Rybakov, *Muzyka i pesni ural’skikh musul’man s ocherkom ikh byta* [Music and

⁵¹ As a member of MEK, Russian composer Alexander Grechaninov was assigned to arrange melodies of Turkic peoples living in Russia. On the life and works of A. T. Grechaninov, see Alexandre Gretchaninoff, *My Life*, introduction and translation by Nicolas Slonimsky (New York: Voleman-Ross Co., Inc., 1952); Iu. Aleksandrov, “K 100-letiiu so dnia rozhdeniia A.T. Grechaninova. Stranitsy zhizni,” *Sovetskaia muzyka* 10 (1964): 59-69; Iurii Paisov, *Alexander Grechaninov. Zhizn’ i tvorchestvo* [Alexander Grechaninov. Life and Works] (Moscow: Kompozitor, 2004).

Songs of Ural Muslims with an Essay on their Way of Life], published in St. Petersburg in 1897 as the eighth part of *Mémoires de l'Académie des sciences de St.-Pétersbourg* [*Zapiski Imperatorskoi Akademii Nauk*]. Rybakov's research covered the songs of three Asian peoples (Tatar, Bashkir, and Teptiar'), the contexts of their performance, ethnographic details on their lifestyles, their music practices, as well as the biographies of *inorodtsy* musicians. It should be noted that, in the general description of different ethnic groups, Rybakov's ethnography followed the tradition established by other nineteenth-century writings.

Tatar Song

Of all the Asians, the Tatars were usually considered the most educated and culturally advanced people. Many ethnographers, including Rybakov, supported this conjecture by noting the close proximity of their urban dwellings to the Russians. And yet (somewhat ironically), ethnographers also praised the Tatars' ability to preserve their "ethnic distinctiveness" [*plemennaiia individual'nost'*] despite living with Russians for three hundred years. Ethnographers who lived among the Tatars (Fuks and Rybakov) stressed the cleanliness and neatness of a Tatar's house and garments.⁵² In spite of their religiosity, the Tatars were regarded as an open-minded people who were able to survive and function properly within and outside the Russian economic system (many other Russian *inorodtsy*, it seemed, did not possess this ability). In the book *Narody Rossii*, the

⁵² See Karl Fuks, *Kazanskie tatary* [*Kazan Tatars*] (Kazan, 1844), 22-30; Rybakov, *Muzyka i pesni Ural'skikh musul'man*, 8-9.

Tatars are said to be “gifted people, lavishly endowed by nature in all respects.”⁵³

Although some ethnographies mention Tatar slyness and reluctance to work hard in the fields, the reader usually gets the impression that the Tatars were economically and culturally advanced Asians.

According to Rybakov, the music of the Tatars had less interesting melodic lines than Bashkir songs. However, the Tatar melodies had an

inherent character of *ancientness*: if one analyzes their scales, one discovers ancient Greek, or so-called Church, pentatonic, or so-called “Chinese,” or, of you will, the scales from the epoch of fourth and fifth, determined as ancient by Sokal’skii in his *Russkaia narodnaia muzyka*.⁵⁴ Tatar melodies in general do not fit into a common European harmonization.⁵⁵

Although Rybakov argued that Tatar songs did not fit European harmonizations, Grechaninov found simple harmonic realizations for his arrangements. For instance, he supplied the second Tatar song with a simple harmonic progression that tonicizes the chord on the second scale degree only once (see **Example 6.4**, m. 4). Such a simple harmonic progression might be explained by the original Tatar melody that maintains a pentatonic structure throughout the tune and implies simplicity of harmony.

⁵³ “narod sposobnyi, shchedro nadelennyi prirodoi vo vseh otnosheniakh.” See *Narody Rossii. Etnograficheskie ocherki. Izdanie zhurnala “Priroda i liudi”* [*Peoples of Russia. Ethnographic Essays. Publication of the Journal “Nature and People”*] (St. Petersburg: Tip. Tovarishchestva “Obshchestvennaia pol’za,” 1879), 2: 5. Published in 1879-1880, this book discusses over twenty different types of Russia’s *inorodtsy*, and includes some drawings. It can be regarded as an ethnographic dictionary *sui generis* that provides official information on the people living in Russia, their beliefs and religious practices, customs and morals, as well as their cultural development as measured against the Russians.

⁵⁴ Discussed in detail in the previous chapter.

⁵⁵ “tatarskim melodiiam prisushch kharakter *drevnosti*: esli vsmotret’sia v sostav ikh zvukoriadov, to v poslednikh mozno otkryt’ prisutstvie drevnegrecheskikh ili tak nazyvaemykh tserkovnykh ladov, piatitonnoi, tak nazyvaemoi kitaiskoi gammy, sledy, esli ugodno, epokh kvarty i kvinty, kakie ustanavlivaet dlia drevne-narodnykh pesen Sokal’skii v sochinenii ‘Russkaia narodnaia muzyka’ in t.p. Tatarskie melodii voobshche malo podkhodyat pod obychnuiu evropeiskuiu garmonizatsiiu.” See Rybakov, 67.

Example 6.4 Tatar Song no. 2 from *Trudy* arranged by A. Grechaninov

Moderato (u poco rubato)

System 1:

Voice: *mf* Су са - ган ук - сак та дай

Piano: *mf espressivo*

Chords: I, ii7, V7

System 2:

Voice: су - лар кай - дай Дарь - я су - нун,

Piano:

Chords: I, IV, vii⁴/₂, V7, ii(e-minor)

System 3:

Voice: Дарь - я су - нун ай - ес - ип - та ни фай - да.

Piano:

Chords: V7, I6, IV, ii, I6/4, V7, I

Despite the simple harmony and melody, Grechaninov coloured the tune with a chromatic accompaniment, which for a nineteenth-century European listener might have sounded rather sophisticated. The melodic line in the right hand is not only highly

ornamented, but also forms a contrapuntal line to the vocal melody. What is more, this contrapuntal line eventually subdivides into two and then three lines forming a multi-layered texture near the end of the song. Thus, Grechaninov transformed a simple Tatar tune into a sophisticated song with a contrapuntal line that conveyed a certain European refinement to say the least. A comparison with Grechaninov's arrangements Bashkir and Teptiar' songs will reveal his tendency to use more complicated musical language for the Tatar songs.

Bashkir Song

Unlike Tatars living in urban areas, the nomadic Bashkirs were usually portrayed as people who stayed close to nature and, as a result, were sensitive to its beauty.⁵⁶ Russian ethnographic descriptions of Bashkirs promoted an idealized image of "noble savages" uncorrupted by education and society, people who had a "free and untrammelled life in the open air" [*privol'noe zhitie na lone prirody*] and were nourished by nature [*dary prirody*]. Disinterested [*beskorystnye*] and naïve in nature, Bashkirs were perceived as different from the Tatars in many respects. Even though they also adhered to the Muslim faith, Bashkirs were considered much less religious and without prejudice toward those of non-Muslim faith. This particular characteristic made the Bashkirs more flexible in their self-definition [*samosoznaniia*] and therefore more easily influenced by

⁵⁶ Rybakov, 38. As Charles Steinwedel pointed out, although the population of the Ural region of Ufa neither spoke Russian nor was Orthodox, the region increasingly became seen as European. See Charles Steinwedel, "How Bashkiria Became Part of European Russia?" in *Russian Empire: Space, People, Power, 1700-1930*, Jane Burbank, Mark von Hagen, and Anatolyi Remnev, eds. (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2007), 94-124.

the Russians. In his description of Bashkirs, Rybakov underlines the softness and naturally humanistic character of this people at the expense of essentializing and denigrating all other Asian peoples: at the expense of essentializing and denigrating other Asian peoples: “the Asian despotism is absolutely absent [in their character].”⁵⁷ Furthermore, Bashkirs never expressed dry or hostile feelings towards any other cultural group and had an especially high esteem for the Russians, claiming that “us and you gods and tsar are the same.”⁵⁸ Accordingly, said Rybakov, the music of such “children of nature” “breathes with a kind of special breadth and scope” [*dyshat’ kakoi-to osobennoi shir’iu i razmashistost’iu*], as well as being remarkable for its wealth of fantasy [*bogatstvo fantazii*]; it has more “flight” of thought [*bol’she poleta*], “effectiveness [*effektivnost’*], and apparent melodiousness.”⁵⁹

Rybakov’s detailed description of Bashkir melodies shares certain features with Grechaninov’s arrangements, which suggests that they provided a guideline for the composer. All the elements of performance on Bashkir flute (*kurai*), as described by Rybakov, can be found in Grechaninov’s instrumental arrangements. First, Rybakov observed the predominance of high voices among Bashkirs. This influences the register of their songs, the majority of which are sung/played in a high register. Second, according to Rybakov, Bashkir musicians would prolong the initial note, as if it had a fermata. Beginning a song in such a manner, Rybakov discovered, allowed the musicians to establish the correct note for the song’s tonic: after matching the first note played by

⁵⁷ “V nikh sovershenno otsutstvuet aziatskaia zhestokost’.” See Rybakov, 32.

⁵⁸ “Nasha vasha odin Bog i odin tsar’.” Ibid., 36.

⁵⁹ Ibid., 121, 114, 111.

the flute, a musician would begin by singing a gradually descending melody until he reached a perfect fifth below the first note. In doing this he established the scale he would use for the melody. Third, Rybakov described the *kurai* as an instrument with a very soft sound, which can easily be muffled or dampened by a crowd. All three instrumental tunes arranged by Grechaninov also have very soft dynamics ranging from *mezzo forte* to *ppp*. Fourth, according to Rybakov, instrumental melodies were almost always accompanied by a guttural sound a pure fifth below (mentioned above), “like a pedal point.”⁶⁰ In all of his arrangements of Bashkir music Grechaninov used this pedal, sometimes even throughout an entire tune. One of Grechaninov’s instrumental arrangements (no. 3) presents all of the elements described by Rybakov (**Example 6.5**).

The accompaniment opens with a C-major chord played in a high register. The fifth of the chord is played by the solo instrument and also highlighted by the right hand of the piano accompaniment. The melodic lines in the accompaniment and in the solo instrument gradually descend until a perfect fifth in the lower octave is reached by the left hand (m.7). The c-g drone remains in the left hand until the end of the tune. Grechaninov includes an important performance indication under the first note of the tune “*grazioso* (with certain freedom)” [*s nekotroi svobodoi*]. This remark, which is absent in the original Rybakov collection, reveals Grechaninov’s careful reading of Rybakov’s

⁶⁰ Ibid., 114.

book in which the quality of free performance of Bashkir music is repeatedly mentioned.⁶¹ It is clear that Grechaninov was accurate, if not meticulous, in reading and

Example 6.5 Bashkir Song no. 3 from *Trudy* arranged by A. Grechaninov

Voice

grazioso
(s nekotoroj svobodoi)

8va---

Piano

mf

Poco meno mosso ed in tempo

Pno.

8va---

p

dim.

ppp

⁶¹ Another musical element that brings this out is the frequent changes of meter: after four measures in 5/4, the meter changes into 4/4 for three measures, then one measure in 2/4 is followed by 4/4 at the end. Grechaninov's metrical layout of this song corresponds to Rybakov's. See Rybakov, 125.

interpreting the ethnographer's commentaries. Even so, Grechaninov could not resist adding one distinct musical element not mentioned by Rybakov: an echo effect (found in four out of six of his Bashkir arrangements).⁶²

Teptiar Song

The Teptiar song sharply contrasts the Tatar and Bashkir arrangements, with its clumsy harmonic progression and endless repetitions that could have appeared rather “primitive.” Not surprisingly, nineteenth-century descriptions of Teptiar people (including Rybakov's ethnography) are mostly unflattering: according to these sources, the Teptiar had no original culture and were situated at a lower economic and cultural level of development among the other “Tatar” peoples.⁶³ Rybakov even claimed that the Teptiars never produced their own culture or music: everything that they practiced was borrowed either from the Bashkirs or from the Russians.⁶⁴ Their moral behaviour was even less attractive, since they had a reputation as horse stealers and predators living at others' expense.⁶⁵ Rybakov's description of Teptiar music is extremely laconic, not chary of words. He stated simply that when he heard the Teptiar songs he did not find them particularly interesting from a melodic point of view.⁶⁶

⁶² See *Trudy* (1913), 4: 68, 69, 70, and 72.

⁶³ Rybakov, 38-43; *Narody Rossii*, 2: 128-34.

⁶⁴ Rybakov points out that the Teptiar' people borrowed the violin, balalaika, and accordion from the Russians. See Rybakov, 198. Although Rybakov's view on Teptiar' people was later criticized on the pages of the journal *Izvestiia Kazanskogo Obshchestva Arkheologii, Istorii i Etnografii*, his views on Teptiar' music were perpetuated in Grechaninov's arrangement. For the critique of Rybakov's book, see G.N. Akhmarov, “Teptiari i ikh proiskhozhdenie,” *IKOAE* 33 (1907): 230-364; here 341.

⁶⁵ Rybakov, 42.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 198.

The melodic line of the Teptiar' song, as it appears in Rybakov's collection, has a simple and clear structure: the G-major opening becomes reinterpreted as the dominant to C-major in measure 8, which then resolves to this tonic in the following measure with the repetition of C (see **Example 6.6**).⁶⁷ Instead of using the two chords outlined in the melody, Grechaninov continually sustains a *g-d* (*g-e*) drone in the piano accompaniment. When the melody starts to resolve to C-major, the same is expected in the harmony (because of the V_7 in m. 8), but the composer strikes with a chord on G (*g-d-a* played in the left hand and *c-f-c* in the right) that does not resemble any chords of "civilized" classical (or even Romantic) Western harmony.⁶⁸ Furthermore, despite the definite melodic ending on C, a G-major tonic is played in the accompaniment at the very end of the first and the second verses. The lack of resolution into C-major (which is replaced by the unusual chord on G), the *g-d* drone, and the contradiction between the melody and harmony creates the effect of an "uneasy," awkward and clumsy harmonic progression that turns around G and does not "progress." In Russian music the chord found in m. 10 is not new: Borodin's final movement of his second symphony opens with a very similar chord in B-major. Rimsky-Korsakov called this chord "Borodinian epic parallel seconds" and referred to it as a characteristic element of the Kuchka style that distinguished Russian music from other Western European musical traditions.⁶⁹ It is noteworthy that

⁶⁷ The original tune in Rybakov's collection is transcribed a perfect fifth down and starts on *e* instead of *b*. See Rybakov, 207.

⁶⁸ This chord resembles a dominant eleventh chord with a suspension to the third (which is not resolved) or a dominant thirteenth chord without a third.

⁶⁹ See V.V. Yastrebtsev, *Reminiscences of Rimsky-Korsakov*, entry for 21 April 1894, 74.

Cui mentioned this primitive sound quality in his discussion of Borodin's second symphony.⁷⁰ Even if he did not talk about this chord in particular, he described the

Example 6.6 Teptiar Song from *Trudy* arranged by A. Greachninov

Vivo

The musical score is for a song titled "Teptiar Song" from the opera "Trudy", arranged by A. Greachninov. It is marked "Vivo" and is in 2/4 time. The score consists of three systems. The first system shows the beginning of the piece, with a Voice part and a Piano (Pno.) part. The Voice part has lyrics in Russian. The Piano part includes dynamic markings like *mf* and *cresc.*. The second system continues the piece, with a Voice part and a Piano part. The Voice part has lyrics in Russian. The Piano part includes dynamic markings like *ff* and *cresc.*. The third system shows the end of the piece, with a Voice part and a Piano part. The Voice part has lyrics in Russian. The Piano part includes dynamic markings like *sf* and *mf*.

⁷⁰ Ts. Cui, "The Popular Russian Symphonic Concert (Borodin's Second Symphony... and Tchaikovsky's *The Tempest*," in *Russians on Russian Music, 1830-1880. An Anthology*, Stuart Campbell, ed. and trans., (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 276-79.

symphony as being “permeated by traits of Russian nationalism, but the nationalism of remote times; Rus’ is perceptible in this symphony, but primitive pagan Rus’.”⁷¹ The last observation about the “pagan Rus’” is of special interest: in one of the popular ethnographies of the time there is an indication that some Teptiars still practiced paganism.⁷² Thus, paganism was something that united Russians in the past and Teptiars in the present. Many Russians believed in the universal pattern of human development (from barbarian culture to civilization) and considered backwardness a temporal condition from which any people can and should be liberated. Thus, Grechaninov might have selected musical elements associated with Russia’s remote past in order to create a cultural connection with Russian Asian subjects. The “barbaric” chords effectively place the Teptiar people at the primitive stage of development all the while associating them with the Russian past.⁷³

The Russian-Asian relation does not stop here: another element in this song references Russian culture. Out of seven Teptiar songs from Rybakov’s collection, Grechaninov chose the one that was clearly influenced by Russian folksong. The text in

⁷¹ Ts. Cui, “The Popular Russian Symphonic Concert,” 276. Throughout his essay on Borodin’s symphony Cui stresses the quality of sound that Borodin creates as “unconquerable, elemental power [...] not clothed in the balanced, serene forms of western harmonization.” Ibid., 276-277.

⁷² See *Narody Rossii*, 2: 128-34.

⁷³ It could be also argued that the musical elements used by Grechaninov in the arrangement of this song – such as simplicity of thematic material combined with discordant harmony, repetition, and the prominence of rhythm – foreshadow elements used in the avant-garde movement – primitivism. However, it would have been erroneous to place Grechaninov among the avant-garde composers since, first, he is known for writing music in the best tradition of the Kuchka composers (between 1890 and 1896 he studied with Rimsky-Korsakov), and, second, in his memoirs Grechaninov expressed negativity toward modern art. See Iu. Aleksandrov, “K 100-letiiu so dnia rozhdeniia A.T. Grechaninova,” *Sovetskaia muzyka* 10 (1964): 59-69.

the refrain: “A-du-dia za-liu-li” is reminiscent of the typical Russian interjections “Ai-du-du” and “Ai-liu-li” widely used in the Russian folksong repertoire.

“Merging with a Higher Nation”

Grechaninov’s focus on the songs that demonstrate Russian influence was probably not coincidental, but rather related to Rybakov’s ethnography. In his *Muzyka i pesni ural’skikh musul’man* Rybakov emphasized the fact that under the influence of “approaching” [*nadvigaiushcheisia*] Russian culture, some Tatar or Asian songs lost their original texts, and entire refrains were replaced with broken Russian.⁷⁴ Thus, the *inorodtsy* songs demonstrate the tendency of “merging with the higher nation” and this, according to Rybakov, was an “inevitable and desirable” fact. The effect of Asians living in close proximity with the “ruling nation” led to the “natural and gradual establishment of Russian culture in this entire *inorodtsy*’s region.”⁷⁵ Interestingly, in his description of Russian elements in Asian culture, Rybakov never used the term “Russification” [*russifikatsiia*], which would have a disciplinary connotation.⁷⁶ Instead, the milder terms “cultural rapprochement” or “merging” and “fusion” [*sliianie*] are used. He insisted on the peaceful and natural influence of the Russian “elemental power” [*stikhiia*], on Asian

⁷⁴ Rybakov, *Muzyka i pesni*, 66 and 236. See also Rybakov’s article “Russkie vliianiia v muzykal’nom tvorchestve nagaibakov, kreshchennykh tatar Orenburgskoi gubernii,” *Russian Musical Newspaper* 11 (1896): 1343-54.

⁷⁵ Rybakov, *Muzyka i pesni*, 43.

⁷⁶ I follow here the usage of the term by Hans Rogger, in *Russia in the Age of Modernization and Revolution, 1881-1917* (London: Longman, 1983), 183.

culture, and the importance of establishing mutual trust and a peaceful relationship between the Russians and *inorodtsy*.⁷⁷

If the Russian influence is embedded in the original text of this Teptiar song, Grechaninov deliberately supplemented another arrangement with Russian elements.⁷⁸ In the arrangement of one Bashkir tune, Grechaninov used a technique of musical development known as a “changing-background variation” or, in Russian, simply a “Glinka variation.” In Russian/Soviet literature this type of music form is associated with an essentially Russian style.⁷⁹ The idea behind Glinka’s variation is the repetition of an *unchanging* melody played against varied harmonies and texture. Frolova-Walker has argued that claims for this musical device originating from Russian folk practice have absolutely no basis. However, the myth of Glinka’s variation supposedly manifesting the Russian soul has persisted in Russian literature since the nineteenth century and its use suggests a strong presence of Russianness attributed by the composer.

Grechaninov uses the “Glinka variation” as a main musical device: he repeats the original Bashkir eight-measure tune from Rybakov’s ethnography three times without changing a single note. The accompaniment is coloured by different harmonisations (first diatonic, then chromatic) and textures (from simple homophonic to more dense polyphonic accompaniment with a chromatic counterpoint in the middle voice). Thus, Grechaninov’s arrangement of the Bashkir song using Glinka’s variation technique

⁷⁷ Rybakov, *Muzyka i pesni*, 43. Meanwhile, Rybakov suggests that Russians should not exercise a “forced influence [on *inorodtsy*] for its mercenary ends,” as the “natural and gradual establishment of Russian culture” will eventually take place.

⁷⁸ See *Trudy* (1913), 4: 70-71.

⁷⁹ See, for instance, V. Protopopov’s *Variatsii v russkoi klassicheskoi opere* [*Variations in Russian Classical Opera*] (Moscow: Gos.Muz.Izdat, 1957). For more detailed information on the historiography of “Glinka variations,” see Frolova-Walker, *Russian Music and Nationalism*, 113-114.

suggests the phenomenon of cultural appropriation and assimilation of *inorodtsy* music, observed earlier by Rybakov.⁸⁰

Therefore, Grechaninov's arrangements of Asian songs performed at the concerts organized by the Music Ethnographic Committee were informed by late nineteenth-century Russian literature, which suggested a cultural hierarchy among the subjugated peoples. It also exemplifies an artistic reading of the Tatar, Bashkir, and Teptiar' melodies transcribed by Rybakov and presents a reduced, domesticated and stigmatized image of Russia's Asian others.

3. Taranchi Songs in *Trudy* and Their Historical Context

Context

A cursory look at the arrangements published by MEK in *Opyty khudozhestvennoi obrabotki narodnykh pesen* reveals an interesting distribution of melodies representing different peoples of the Russian empire. Of more than one hundred and thirty arrangements, more than one third of the repertoire (forty-eight arrangements) belongs to the Russians (including Great, Little, and Belo Russians). Less than one third of the arrangements (thirty-nine songs and dances) present peoples from the Caucasus (Georgians, Armenians, Circassians, Chechens, Ossetians, and other peoples). Only fifteen arrangements (around 11%) present the music of peoples from Russia's Asia: six

⁸⁰ A few voices in the nineteenth century also raised the issue of the Russians' assimilative tendencies. N. Kharuzin, for instance, pointed out that they not only forced the assimilation of the *inorodtsy* into Russian culture, but also themselves assimilated certain elements (such as language and food) from their Asian neighbours. See N. Kharuzin, "K voprosu ob assimiliatsionnoi sposobnosti russkogo naroda [Towards the Issue of Assimilative Ability of the Russian People]," *Etnograficheskoe obozrenie* 4 (1894): 43-78.

Bashkir melodies (including three songs and three instrumental melodies, one Teptiar song arranged by Grechaninov), four Tatar songs (arranged by A.T. Grechaninov, A.L. Maslov, and M.E. Slavianskii), and four Taranchi songs (arranged by R.M. Glière and Iu.S. Sakhnovskii). Numerous ethnographic publications had familiarized the Russian public with the Bashkir and Tatar peoples. However, two other Asian groups – the Taranchi and Teptiar – were hardly known. The Teptiar was a small ethnic group, the very name of which was under question, as many ethnographers considered them part of other larger groups (Tatars or Bashkirs).⁸¹ Taranchi was another subgroup of a larger ethnicity called Uighurs (also spelled as Uyghurs) living on the Russian border with China.⁸² Why were Russian composers interested in these small ethnic groups, while overlooking other more prominent Russian *inorodtsy*?⁸³ Grechaninov's arrangement of Teptiar' songs can easily be explained: the composer used Rybakov's original ethnography (which included the discussion of three ethnic groups, the Bashkirs, Tatars, and Teptiar's) as a reference. Grechaninov likely arranged the melodies of all three peoples to create an artistic counterpart to Rybakov's comparative study.

⁸¹ Rybakov, *Muzyka i pesni*, 40; Akhmarov, "Teptiari i ikh proiskhozhdenie," *Narody Rossii*, 2:128.

⁸² The link between Taranchi and Uighur people was well-known since Chokan Valikhanov's trip to Kashgaria in 1858-59. Ch. Valikhanov, *Sobranie sochinenii v 5-ti tomakh* (Alma-Ata : Izd-vo Akademii nauk Kazakhskoi SSSR, 1961-1972), 2: 62. After Valikhanov, many other Russian writers pointed out that Taranchi were the Uighurs brought to the Ili region from Kashgaria. See A. N. Kuropatkin, *Kashgariia. Istoriko-geograficheskii ocherk strany, ee voennye sily, promyshlennost' i torgovlia* (St. Petersburg: izdanie IRGO, 1879), 95; V.V. Radlov, *Iz Sibiri. Stranitsy dnevnika* (Moscow: Nauka, 1989), 101; and others.

⁸³ In the early 1860s, when Radlov traveled to the Ili region, he counted about 8 000 Taranchi families. See Radlov, *Iz Sibiri*, 100. In his music ethnography of the Ural Muslims, Rybakov assessed about 8 000 Teptiar' people living in Ural. Rybakov, *Muzyka i pesni*, 38.

History of Russian-Taranchi Relations

To understand why Russian composers became interested in Taranchi songs, it is necessary to address some political, historical, and cultural issues. One of the primary reasons for including Taranchi music in the ethnographic concerts lies in the ideological work of these concerts in representing a growing nation through the music of Russian Imperial subjects, especially those living on the borders. Since many Russian readers believed that Taranchi represented newly acquired Asian people whose destiny recently fell into the hands of the Russian empire, it was essential to include them in the concerts (and subsequent score publications).

Taranchi (translated from Manchu as “farmer” or “plowman”) were the Uighurs living in Kulja and other regions in northwestern China, which in nineteenth-century literature was also called “Kashgaria,” “Eastern Turkestan,” or “Uighuristan.”⁸⁴ In the mid-1860s, many Manchu-controlled regions, including Kulja, were under the mass insurrections of Dungans (or Hui), supported by fellow Muslim Uighurs/Taranchi people. Although having some interest in the area, Russia did not interfere with Chinese internal affairs.⁸⁵ As a result of Russia’s neutrality, three new Muslim states emerged: the

⁸⁴ Most Russian sources pointed out that the Taranchi were peaceful people brought by the Chinese from Eastern Turkestan (cities such as Turfan, Aksu, and Kashghar) to the Ili valley, in order to develop agriculture and farming. Valikhanov, 2: 61-62; Radlov, *Iz Sibiri*, 515; V.E. Paisel’, *Materialy dlia antropologii Taranchei* [Materials for the Anthropology on Taranchi People] (St. Petersburg: Tip. Otdeleniia Korn. Zhandrm., 1897), 6; Pantusov, *Svedeniia o Kul'dzhinskoi raione za 1871-1877 gody* (Kazan: Tip. Universiteta, 1881), 12. Kuropatkin claimed that they were the participants of the 1765 rebellion in Uch-Turfan, whom Chinese sent on exile to the Western borders to provide the Chinese army with food. See Kuropatkin, *Kashgaria*, 100.

⁸⁵ Chinese authorities asked Russian officials numerous times to send military forces to repress the uprising, but because Russian officials were not sure about the strength of the Muslim army, they preferred to keep out of the conflict. See D. Issiyev, *Uighurskoe gosudarstvo Yettishahar* (Moscow: Nauka, 1981); V. Moiseev, *Rossia i Kitai v Tsentral’noi Azii* (Barnaul: Az Buka, 2003), 98-115.

Taranchi-Dungan Sultanate in the Ili region, the state of Yettishahar in Kashgaria, and the Union of Dungan cities in Urumchi and Manas. In 1871, the Russians became concerned with the decline of their authority in Central Asia and China and sought to “establish peace and security” along the Central Asian frontiers. They thus decided to eliminate the Kulja Sultanat and ended up controlling the region of Kulja for ten years, in part due to concerns that the Muslim insurgents would seek British military support and eventually incite uprisings in Russian Turkestan.⁸⁶

Many Russian officials had little interest in returning this wealthy region to China, and numerous articles supporting continued Russian presence in the region appeared in Russian periodicals.⁸⁷ Most articles described how the local population suffered under the “yoke of Chinese oppressors” and how this land flourished under “Russian protection.”⁸⁸ Indeed, Russian’s reorganization of the taxation system that helped the citizens of Kulja recover their material welfare, along with the opening of the people’s [*narodnyi*] Russian-Taranchi school and a public hospital, demonstrated Russia’s interest in establishing friendly relations with the native population. Bending to Chinese diplomatic pressure, the Russians withdrew from Kulja in 1881 and signed a treaty that let the people choose to either stay in the region or cross the border to live in

⁸⁶ The Russians had initially planned to give the territory back to China as soon as the Chinese army brought sufficient military support to control the region. See D. Issiyev, *Uighurskoe Gosudarstvo Yettishar*, 34-48.

⁸⁷ One categorical opinion on the importance of keeping the Kulja within the Russian borders was articulated by Severtsov on the eve of the withdrawal of Russian troops. See N. Severtsov, “Zametka o nashikh Sredneaziatskikh vladeniakh,” in *Slovo: nauchnyi, literaturnyi i politicheskii zhurnal* (August, 1880): 96-103.

⁸⁸ Pantusov, *Svedeniia o Kul'dzhinskoi raione*; N. Severtsov, “Zametka o nashikh Sredneaziatskikh vladeniakh”: 100; Radlov, “Naselenie Iliiskoi doliny,” in *Iz Sibiri*, 511-531; N. Prjeval'sky, *From Kulja across the Tian Shan to Lob-Nor*; translated by E. Delmar Morgan, with introduction by Sir T. Douglas Forsyth (London: Sampson Low, Marston, Searle & Rivington, 1879), 33.

Russian Turkestan. Frightened by the recent mass extermination of people in Yettishahar, Kulja's Muslim population (including 75,000 Taranchi, 27,000 Kirgiz (Kazakhs), and 5,000 Dungans) rushed to the Russian borders.⁸⁹ The Taranchi, having embraced Russian citizenship, thus represented a new Asian group of *inorodtsy* that the Russian empire saved from possible extermination in China.

Why Taranchi?

A number of writings by Russian explorers, anthropologists, and linguists justified the inclusion of these new lands and peoples living on Chinese borders, often by emphasizing the similarities between the Russians and Taranchi/Uighurs. Of particular importance was the issue of racial identity. The sedentary people of Kashgaria, for example, were described as having Aryan origins; such statements could have encouraged Russian readers to believe that the new imperial conquests would simply connect their ancestral lands with those of their Aryan brothers.⁹⁰ As I discussed in the

⁸⁹ In the second half of the 1870s, Chinese sent punitive force to Yettishar and exterminated approximately half of the population. Moiseev, 207. According to Moiseev, out of 132 000 people of Kulja, about 107 000 left for Russia. See Ibid.

⁹⁰ For instance, in 1876, A.N. Kuropatkin, a colonel of the General Staff and a member of IRGO who served at the embassy in Kashgaria, stated: "Eastern Turkestan was originally populated with people of the Aryan race." A.N. Kuropatkin, *Kashgariia*, 74. Kuropatkin was awarded with a Small Gold Medal from RGO. See Kliashtorny and Kolesnikov, *Vostochnyi Turkestan glazami russkikh puteshestvennikov* (Alma-Ata: Nauka, 1988), 64. Besides Kuropatkin, other Russian explorers, such as Nikolai Prjevalsky and Mikhail Pevtsov, and anthropologists, such as Vladimir Paisel', claimed the Aryan origin of people living in Kashgaria. See N. Prejevalsky, *From Kulja*, 65; M.V. Pevtsov, *Journey to Kashgariya and Kun-Lun*, pp. 133-134; V.E. Paisel', *Materialy dlia antropologii Taranchei*, 17. In other articles, Russian writers tried to explain how and when the white race appeared in Central Asia and whether it continued to exist among the local population. For instance, Grum-Grzhimailo in his article "The Blond Race in Central Asia" [*Belokuraia rasa v Srednei Azii*] speculated about the remnants of the white race among the Uighurs. G.E. Grum-Grzhimailo, "Belokuraia rasa v Srednei Azii," *ZIRGOOE* 34 (1909): 166-67. The theory that Eastern Turkestan was originally inhabited by people representing the white race [*indo-evropeiskaia rasa*] was still

previous chapter, many educated Russians believed in Russia's historic relation with the Aryan race through the Scythians who came from Central Asia. The empire's expansionist ideology, hence, was legitimized: by moving further into Asia, Russia simply returned to their original lands.⁹¹

Russian researchers also emphasized certain characteristics of Taranchi peoples that were associated with Iranian (pure Aryan) social and cultural principles: agriculture, egalitarianism, and fraternity.⁹² Every publication that mentioned the Taranchi people pointed out their exceptional ability to transform the dry and barren Central Asian land into a blooming garden.⁹³ Furthermore, the Russians usually attributed mostly positive moral characteristics to the Uighur/Taranchi people. Valikhanov, one of the first travelers to Kashgaria, observed that people of Turkestan

have many excellent principles [*mnogo prekrassnykh nachal*], which are absent in other Muslim peoples... [they are] kind, sociable, cordial, hard-working, and extraordinarily courteous [*Khashgartsy kharaktera dobrogo, obshchitel'nogo, radushny, trudoliubivy i do krainosti vezhlivy*].⁹⁴

Pevtsov, who traveled to Kashgar two decades later, remarked that the “Kashgarian people are noted for their mild disposition, honesty, hospitality, and

alive in Russian literature at the end of the twentieth century. See B.A. Litvinskii, ed., *Vostochnyi Turkestan v drevnem i rannem srednevekov'e* (Moscow: Nauka, 1988), 12, 15.

⁹¹ See Chapter Five of this dissertation.

⁹² For more on the birth and development of Russian Aryanism throughout the nineteenth century, see Marlène Laruelle, *Mythe aryen et rêve impérial dans la Russie du XIXe siècle. Mondes Russes: Etats, sociétés, nations* (Paris: CNRS Editions, 2005), 84-87.

⁹³ See Valikhanov, 2: 282; Prjeval'sky, 33; Radlov, 525; Paisel, 18. A. Vinogradskii, for instance, in his description of the Taranchi claims, that “in fruit-farming...they [Taranchi] in Semirech'e were far advanced beyond Russian peasants.” Vinogradskii, A.V., “Taranchi,” *Estestvoznaniye i geografiya: nauchno-populiarnyi i pedagogicheskii zhurnal* 9 (1907): 50.

⁹⁴ Valikhanov, 2: 347.

helpfulness,” and drew particular attention to the relative absence of crime, which he felt further proved their moral purity.⁹⁵

Russian readers would have paid particular attention to comments regarding the Uighurs’ religious practices; in most writings, the Uighurs/Taranchi were characterized as fairly moderate Muslims. According to Valikhanov, the “advantageous position of women in the house and social life” proved their “religious moderation” [*vygodnoe polozhenie zhenshchin v domashnem i obshchestvennom bytu*].⁹⁶ Women were not only allowed to go outside with uncovered faces, but could also participate in meetings with men, and even divorce their husbands. Mikhail Pevtsov also noted that the Kashgarians were not inclined to

religious fanaticism. They are not hostile toward believers of other faiths, in particular toward Christians. And toward the Russians, they have a certain sympathy, thanks to the good fame that has spread about us everywhere in Kashgaria by our subjects.⁹⁷

Some Russian researchers explained this unusual tolerance toward Christians by pointing to the fact that Uighurs practiced Christianity and Buddhism. The link between Uighurs and Nestorian Christianity appealed particularly to Russian orientalists and

⁹⁵ Pevtsov, 152-153. Grum-Grzhimailo after his trip to Turfan also noticed “modesty..., [which] transgresses into downtroddenness” [*zabitost*]. See Grum-Grzhimailo, *Opisanie puteshestviia*, 231. Radlov also described the Taranchi of Ili region as “candour” and “diligent” [*dobrodushnyi i trudoliubivyi*]. See Radlov, *Iz Sibiri*, 525. Even after the Muslim uprising in Kulja, the Russian general-governor of Turkestan Kaufmann described Taranchi as “weak and peaceful” [*slabye i mirnye*]. See citation in Moiseev, *Rossiiia v Tsentral’noi Azii*, 105.

⁹⁶ Valikhanov, 2: 348. Similar statements on men’s and women’s equal rights are found in G.E. Grum-Grzhimailo, *Opisanie puteshestviia v Zapadnyi Kitai*, vol. 1 (Moscow: Gos.Izdat.Geogr.Lit., 1948), 242; Pevtsov, *Puteshestvie*, 170 (in Russian edition 1895).

⁹⁷ Pevtsov, 153.

explorers, as well as the general population.⁹⁸ Nikolai Pantusov, who discovered Christian-Nestorian cemeteries with gravestone inscriptions in Semirech'e and the city of Almalyk, was appointed a corresponding member of *IIAK (Izvestia Imperatorskoi Archeologicheskoi Komissii)*.⁹⁹ The articles he published in Russian periodicals from the early 1870s through the 1910s became a true revelation for Russian orientalists and inspired an entire generation of studies on Christian Asia.¹⁰⁰ Overall, these nineteenth-century Russian writings gave their readers the impression that Uighurs were subjects worthy of imperial attention not only on account of their moral qualities, but also because they once shared two important identity traits – Aryan race and Christian religion.

⁹⁸ Paisel, 19, 23. As discussed in the Introduction, the term “orientalism” (“vostokovedenie”) has a different connotation in the Russian context since it refers exclusively to oriental studies and thus can be considered distinct from Said’s politically charged and negative definition. The word “orientalist,” by extension, was used to describe professionals studying the society and culture of the Asian peoples. To make this distinction in my research, orientalism with a lower case “o” has a neutral connotation, while “Orientalism” with the uppercase “O” carries negative connotations, as per Said’s critique.

⁹⁹ See Lunin, *Sredniaia Aziia v dorevoliutsionnom i sovetskom vostokovedenii* (Tashkent: Nauka, 1965), 130. By the end of the 1880s the Oriental Committee of Moscow Archaeological Society possessed more than two hundred Nestorian gravestones from Semirech'e. See *Istoriia otechestvennogo vostokovedeniia* (Moscow: Vostochnaia literatura, 1997), 98.

¹⁰⁰ N. Pantusov’s works on Christianity in Central Asia include: “Sledy khristianstva v Turkestane,” *Turkestanskii vedomosti* 44 (1873); “Khristianskoe kladbishche bliz Pishpeka v Chuiskoi doline,” *ZVORAO* 1 (1886): 74-83; “Nadgrobye khristianskie pamiatniki v Almalyke” (1902), *PTKLA* 7 (1902): 52-54; “O nestorianskom kladbishche (bliz ozera Issyk-Kul’),” *ZVORAO* 18 (1908): xv; “Gorod Almalyk i mazar-Tugluk-Timur-khana,” in *Kaufmanskii sbornik* (Moscow, 1910): 161-75. Other central works on Christianity in Central Asia include: V.V. Bardol’d, “O khristianstve v Turkestane v domongol’skii period,” *ZVORAO* 8 (1894): 1-32; S.E. Malov, “Ob izuchenii nestorianskikh nadpisei,” in *Pamiatniki drevnetiurkskoi pis’mennosti Mongolii i Kirgizii* (Moscow and Leningrad: Izdat ANSSSR, 1959), 75-86. On discoveries of Christian subjects in Eastern Turkestan, see B.A. Litvinskii, ed., *Vostochnyi Turkestan v drevnosti i rannem srednevekov’e. Etnos, iazyki, religii* (Moscow: Nauka, 1992), 533-49. Christianity in Central Asia, see Nikitin, A.B., “Khristianstvo v Tsentral’noi Azii,” in *Vostochnyi Turkestan i Srednaia Aziia. Istoriia, kul’tura, svyazi*, B.A. Litvinskii, ed. (Moscow: Nauka, 1984), 121-37.

Nikolai Pantusov and His Transcriptions of Taranchi Songs in Trudy

These transcriptions of Taranchi songs became available in 1890 with the publication of a groundbreaking article by Nikolai Pantusov on Taranchi songs in the journal *Zapiski IRGO (Otdel Etnografii)* [*Notes of Russian Imperial Geographic Society (Ethnographic Department)*].¹⁰¹ In the article, which took up the journal's entire volume, the author not only presented transcriptions of nine Uighur songs with original texts and Russian translations of forty-six other songs, but also provided drawings of Uighur musical instruments (by one Uighur artist) with a description of the context in which they were used. The article also included the description of a traditional wedding (along with the texts and transcription of one song-cycle), a Muslim festivity, *koliada* (a New Year celebration), and the supplication of a blind man.

Since Pantusov was not a professionally trained musician, he did not leave any precise description of the sound, as Rybakov did. Even so, his comments provided the Russian reader with a detailed picture of Uighur music and musicians. Pantusov noted the huge popularity of music practice, particularly among the Taranchi female population: almost all the women could play an instrument, while about half of the men played an instrument.¹⁰² (Apparently, there was no special professional caste of musicians.) To support his statement about the musicality of people living in Eastern Turkestan, Pantusov cited ancient Chinese, European (Marco Polo), and Arabic sources that

¹⁰¹ See N.N. Pantusov, "Taranchinskiia pesni [Taranchi Songs]," *ZIRGO po otdeleniiu etnografii* 17, no. 1 (1890).

¹⁰² Pantusov's explanation of this widespread music practice among the women propagates stereotypical views of oriental women. He claimed that, as many did not work very much, women learned to play instruments mostly out of idleness, to fill hours of leisure time, and for entertainment. *Ibid.*, p. xii.

affirmed the high social status of music.¹⁰³ He thus concluded: “all Central Asians, one can state, are philharmonic people [*narod filarmonicheskii*], loving music, particularly the Taranchi and Kashgarians. There is a *duta* in almost every house in Kashgaria.”¹⁰⁴

Concerning musical practice itself, Pantusov noted that all songs were performed in unison with an instrument that added improvisations on the melody. This continual improvisation made it very difficult for him to transcribe the songs. Nonetheless, Pantusov transcribed them and, for the first time, attempted to classify all Taranchi music genres, subdividing the songs into seven categories: *bylinas* and legends about epic heroes or saintly people; historical songs (*koshak*) about events related to the Taranchi people in the remote and recent past;¹⁰⁵ love songs (erotic songs), songs of praise, and sad songs that are sung in different gatherings; wedding songs; healing songs [*lechebnye*]; songs of calendars and beggars-cripples; and Kolyada.¹⁰⁶

In one of the passages Pantusov revealed an interest in the Taranchis’ ability to assimilate new culture. He stated that although the Taranchis adopted a few musical instruments and melodies from the Chinese people “during their long despotic domination in the Ili region,”¹⁰⁷ they did not assimilate any Russian tunes and

¹⁰³ Pantusov, “Taranchinskie pesni,” xii-xiv.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid., xii.

¹⁰⁵ Pantusov probably meant *dastans*, not *koshak*, since *koshak* is a genre of folksong with rather simple meter and structure (quatrain), while *dastans*, or historical songs, are more sophisticated metrically and structurally. On Uighur *dastan* music, see T. Alibakiyeva, *Uigurskie istoricheskie pesni* [*Uighur Historical Songs*] (Moscow: Sovetskii kompozitor, 1986).

¹⁰⁶ Pantusov stated that there was no other type of music, thus completely disregarding a huge repertoire of workers’ [*trudovye*] songs, women’s (domestic) songs, as well as Muqams, which included purely instrumental sections, solo-singing, choir performance and dance music. The latter omission likely resulted from the social context in which the Muqams were performed, which would not have been possible to create in Pantusov’s presence.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid., xvii-xviii.

instruments. Instead, they began creating songs with texts devoted to recent events, including the Chinese government's takeover of the Ili region and the mass migration of Uighurs to Russian territory.¹⁰⁸ Furthermore, instead of condemning the colonizers, some Taranchi songs praised representatives of Russian administration, including Nikolai Pantusov, General Fride, and the "White Tsar," for brining prosperity to the land and peoples.¹⁰⁹ Thus, some Taranchi songs reflected a favorable attitude towards Russian officials, revealing an unusually friendly relationship between the imperial power and its colonized peoples.

Glière's and Sakhnovskii's Arrangements of Taranchi Songs

Reinhold Glière

The texts and melodies of the songs that Reinhold Moritsevich Glière (1874-1956) and Iurii Sergeevich Sakhnovskii (1866-1930) arranged for the MEK concerts were published in two of Pantusov's articles. The Russian texts of three of Glière's songs were published in 1890 in *Zapiski IRGO po otdeleniiu etnografii*, while the transcriptions of all the Taranchi songs were published later, in 1896, in *Izvestiia Kazanskogo Obshchestva Archeologii, Istorii i Etnografii*. In addition, in 1909 Pantusov published

¹⁰⁸ Ibid., xvi.

¹⁰⁹ Songs praising Pantusov, General Fride and the Tsar were published in N. Katanov's article on new Uighur songs. See F. Katanov, "Novye pesni Taranchei, pereselentsev iz Iliiskogo kraia," in *Izvestiia Kazanskogo Obshchestva arkheologii, istorii, i etnografii*, 22, no. 5 (Kazan, 1909): 303-14; here 312-13. In 1881 General Fride was a governor of Semirech'e and a Committeer of the transfer of the Ili region to China, while Pantusov was a director of the governor's chancellery on the Kulja matters [*pravitel' kantseliarii gubernatora po Kul'dzhinskim delam*]. As Soviet historian B. Lunin points out, the relationship between Pantusov and the local Kulja population was based on mutual respect: "contemporary noticed Pantusov's genuine interest in life and customs of Semirech'e peoples, his close communication with them, and that local populace held him in considerable respect." See B.V. Lunin, *Sredniaia Aziia v dorevoliutsionnom i sovetskom vostokovedenii* (Tashkent: Nauka, 1965), 128.

fairytale, proverbs and sayings, riddles, incantations, and verses about the resettlement of Uighurs in Semirech'e, which shed light on the history of some of the song texts published in earlier articles.¹¹⁰ One such example is the song called "Nozgum" ("Tender" – a female name), which Reinhold Glière arranged for the tenth ethnographic concert held on January 16, 1911, in the New Auditorium of the Moscow Polytechnic Museum (see Appendix 2).

The story of Nozgum dates back to the 1826-1828 Uighur rebellion in Kashgar against the Qing empire. When the leader of the rebellion, Djahangir-Khodja, was captured, all the men were killed and the women were given as wives to the Dzungar and Kalmyk peoples (nomadic people living in Kashgaria) who helped the Qing army crush the rebellion. A woman named Nozgum managed to escape twice, but when she was captured a third time, she was publicly decapitated.¹¹¹ She was believed to have written several songs about her misfortune; the last song was composed on the eve of her execution. In a 1909 article, Pantusov published a Russian translation of all Nozgum's songs, transcribed by an Uighur poet Bilal Nazim.¹¹²

Despite the availability of literature on Uighurs, it seems that Glière did not read these sources; nor was he interested in Uighur history or culture in general. In his arrangements he made a number of errors that would have been obvious for those who

¹¹⁰ Pantusov N. N. "Obraztsy taranchinskoi narodnoi literatury, sobrannye i perevedennye N. N. Pantusovym" [Texts of the Uighur Folk Literature, Collected and Translated by N. N. Pantusov], in *Izvestiia Kazanskogo Obshchestva Arkheologii, Istorii i Etnografii* [Proceedings of the Kazan Society of Archaeology, History and Ethnography], vol. XXV, Issue 2-4 (Kazan: University press, 1909). For the numerous publications of Taranchi literary works Pantusov was awarded with a Small Gold Medal from IRGO. See B.V. Lunin, *Sredniaia Aziia*, 128-131.

¹¹¹ See T. Alibakiyeva, *Uigurskie istoricheskie pesni*, 4; Pantusov, "Povest' o Nozgum," *Izvestiia Obshchestva Arkheologii, istorii i etnografii* 25, nos. 2-4, 49-60.

¹¹² See Pantusov, "Povest' o Nozgum."

had read the nineteenth-century ethnographies. Besides his inaccuracies in copying Pantusov's original transliteration of Uighur texts, Glière mixed up the very name of one song he arranged: instead of "Nozgum" he called the song "Gozgum." This is especially strange because his acquaintances [or colleagues] always described him as very meticulous and accurate. Glière also made a grave mistake in the commentary he provided for the song: he claimed that the song's name originated from the name of a woman, who, "during the internal strife," ran from Kashghar to the Ili region. However, in Pantusov's commentary he clearly stated that the war was not "internal" but between Djegangir-Khoja (a leader of the 1826 Uighur rebellion) and the Chinese. Although Pantusov's later article on Uighur literature described the story of Nozgum and Djegangir-Khoja in detail, Glière most probably had not read it. Thus, because the composer did not know who Djegangir-Khoja was, he assumed that a war in Central Asia must have been an internal conflict, not an uncompromising struggle between two peoples who were linguistically, religiously, and culturally distinct from each other.

Like all other composers who arranged the songs for the ethnographic concerts, Glière did not change the original "Nozgum" melody (except for one note in m. 3) (**Example 6.7**). The accompaniment that he added transmits the worried and anxious feelings of the woman being pursued through continued sixteenth-note motion that stops only in last two phrases. The harmonic progression involves only four chords: the minor tonic (mm. 1, 5, 6), the minor subdominant (mm. 2, 3) the major dominant (mm. 2-3), and the major subdominant eleventh chord (mm. 4, 5, 6; in m. 4 presented as a half-diminished chord on the natural sixth scale degree). The major subdominant harmony introduces a Dorian colour to the song, which is not implied in the original melody: the

melodic minor of the melody's upper tetrachord (the last two phrases) could have been harmonized in different ways (not necessarily as a major subdominant).

Interestingly, the generation before Glière associated the Dorian mode with Russianness in music. In a letter to Stasov, the leader of the Russian nationalistic school of music, Mili Balakirev, called the Dorian mode simply the "Russian minor scale."¹¹³ However, when Balakirev later traveled to the Caucasus, he also "discovered" Dorian in the music of peoples living there and used it in the piano interlude for his "Georgian Song," discussed in Chapter Four. At the end of the nineteenth century, it seems that Dorian mode was not attached to any particular ethnic group or region since, besides Balakirev and Glière, Russian composers also used it in arrangements of Russian as well as oriental/Asian tunes. This tradition of replacing the natural minor with the Dorian mode continued in the Soviet period. As Frolova-Walker points out, the Dorian mode replaced the characteristic harmonies of the minor mode to distinguish between the earlier "supposedly artificial folksong harmonizations" with "the supposedly natural or authentic harmonizations" in Balakirev's style.¹¹⁴

It seems that Glière and Sakhnovskii were particularly attracted to the Dorian mode when they arranged the Taranchi songs. Three out of four arrangements published in *Trudy* are coloured with the Dorian mode, despite the fact that out of thirty-seven songs transcribed by Pantusov only five are clearly Dorian.¹¹⁵ For Glière and

¹¹³ M.A. Balakirev and V.V. Stasov, *Perepiska*, vol. 1 (1970), 114-15.

¹¹⁴ Frolova-Walker, *Russian Music and Nationalism*, 324-25.

¹¹⁵ Besides Dorian, Pantusov's transcription of Taranchi songs contains a wide variety of tunes in different modes, including Mixolydian, Aeolian, Ionian, and tunes with mixed modes.

Sakhnovskii, the usage of the Dorian mode likely performed two functions: on the one hand it suggested the “authenticity” of the original tunes, and on the other hand it implied

Example 6.7 Taranchi Song “Gozgum” from *Trudy* arranged by Glière

The musical score is arranged in three systems. The first system shows the beginning of the piece with a *mf* piano accompaniment and a *ff* vocal entry. The second system continues the piano accompaniment with a *p* dynamic and includes the vocal line. The third system concludes the piece with a *dim.* and *rit.* marking in the piano part and a *m.g.* marking in the vocal part.

System 1:

Voice: *mf* То - ве-лер я - тур - кам как - та *ff* Аи - й! — Эй! Гоз - гу - ма

Piano: *mf*

System 2:

Voice: А - й! — Эй! Гоз - гу - ма! Бир а - чам бар - каи - ман - те.

Pno.: *p*

System 3:

Voice: А - й! Эй! Гоз - гу - ма! Ай - Эй Гоз - гу - ма!

Pno.: *m.g.*, *dim.*, *rit.*

the similarity between Russian and Asian music. In the context of Asian/Aryan movement, discussed in Chapter Five, the theory of the similarity between Russian and Eastern cultures, which attracted many late nineteenth-century Russian literati, might also

have influenced Glière's and Sakhnovskii's choice in arrangement of the Taranchi songs in the Dorian mode.

Besides demonstrating his interest in the Dorian mode, the arrangement of another Taranchi song, "Guby tvoi – sakhar, podruzhka," reveals Glière's awareness of another important issue in Russian music of the period (**Example 6.8**). The leading note had become a point of contention. As Frolova-Walker observes, the undesirable presence of the leading note in Russian folk music was either denied (despite all the contrary evidence) or deliberately neglected. Although we cannot be sure that the choice of a Taranchi melody without a leading note might have been deliberate, his careful avoidance of a major dominant chord during a cadence was certainly a move calculated to avoid a leading note in the accompaniment.

In her book on Russian nationalism, Frolova-Walker demonstrates how Balakirev, Tchaikovsky, and composers of the Kuchka circle established the tradition of getting rid of a dominant function in minor-mode songs by placing a minor triad on the fifth degree. In the 1860s and 1870s they not only avoided songs with prominent leading notes but also sometimes even flattened these notes when they occurred.¹¹⁶ The post-Kuchka generation of Russian musicians not only maintained this tradition but also extended it through the systematic elimination of leading notes in Russian folksongs. They believed that the presence of leading notes in Russian folksongs was a sign of corruption coming from Western or Eastern musical traditions. As a result, Russian music theorist and folksong collector Iulii Mel'gunov removed all leading notes from his collection of

¹¹⁶ See *Ibid.*, 165-73.

Russian songs, while Evgeniia Lineva, who made pioneering phonograph recordings of folksongs, also “corrected” some of her songs by getting rid of the leading notes so that melodies appear “purer.”¹¹⁷

Another particular feature of the song is its harmonic progression. If one cuts the doublings of notes in the middle voice, Glière’s arrangement of “Guby tvoi” would look like a student’s exercise written for a harmony class (**Example 6.9**). Almost all of the voice-leading restrictions are observed: voices move smoothly, and leaps in the upper voice are counterbalanced with movements in the opposite directions in the lower voice. Strikingly, the chords are all in root position. It seems that Glière imposed some compositional restrictions in his arrangement. Indeed, it is possible that he used one of the theories of Russian folksong arrangement by Yurii Arnol’d published in 1906 in the very first volume of *Trudy* [Works] of Music-Ethnography Committee.¹¹⁸ According to Iurii Arnol’s’s tendentious theory, in the arrangement of a Russian folksong one should only use triads that form a perfect fifth, since “ancient music did not know any other chords” and the bass voice in “ancient music, hence, the Church and folk singing as well” exclusively held the “main note” (the root of a chord).¹¹⁹ As I mentioned earlier, the chords in Glière’s arrangement of “Guby tvoi” are all in root position. Arnol’d also believed that the outer voices should move in directions opposite to each other. He explained his theory in a rather perplexing manner:

¹¹⁷ Ibid., 244-51.

¹¹⁸ See Iu. Arnol’d, “Po povodu garmonizatsii odnoi russkoi pesni,” *Trudy muzykal’no-etnograficheskoi komissii*, 1 (1906): 437-40. As an active member, Glière would certainly have been aware of the Committee’s publications and Arnol’d’s theory in particular.

¹¹⁹ Ibid., 438, 439.

The taste, of course (that comes from the sense of balance), in general prefers the opposite motion of the voices, and particularly the outer ones, and in these cases, it would require this kind of method to recover the balance in the voices' movements.¹²⁰

Anyone who had this sense of taste, according to Arnol'd, would consequently observe this rule. Glière also seemed unwilling to break this rule, and it is probably the easiest rule to remember, as this is a basic principle of voice-leading.

Arnol'd's theory of harmonization was probably not the only model for Glière's arrangement of "Guby tvoi." The accompaniment strikingly resembles that of Bizet's *mélodie* "Adieux de l'hôtesse arabe," which was published in the Russian musical journal *Nuvelist* in 1902 as an abridged piano piece called *Chanson Arabe. Mavritanskaia pesn'* [*Chanson Arabe. Mauritanian song*] (compare **Examples 6.8** and **6.10**).¹²¹ This *mélodie* musically represents Muslim Others living in the French colonies. Glière, who was looking for a model to represent Russia's Muslim Others, might have considered Bizet's treatment of the Arabic melody especially interesting given that the abridged Russian version of Bizet's *Chanson arabe* often uses the chords in root position. The compositional choices presented in *Chanson arabe* might have held particular appeal for Glière, as they "proved" the correctness of Arnol'd's harmonization theory. Thus, in order to represent Russia's newly acquired oriental Others Glière combined two seemingly incompatible models of representation: Russian (harmonic progression) and

¹²⁰ "Vkus zhe, konechno (kak istekaiushchii iz chuvstva ravnovesiia), voobshche predpochitaet protivodvizhenie golosov, a v osobennosti krainikh, --i v podobnykh sluchaiakh potrebuetsia podobnogo sredstva dlia vosstanovleniia ravnovesiia v dvizheniiakh golosov." Ibid., 439.

¹²¹ See *Nuvelist* 63 (1902): 149-51.

French (accompaniment), suggesting a connection between Russian and French oriental subjects.

Example 6.8 Taranchi Song “Guby tvoi – sakhar, podruzhka” from *Trudy* arranged by Glière, mm.1-10

Moderato (♩ = 102)

Voice

Ко - юб кюль бол - ма - гай эр - дим, ко - юб кюль бол - ма -

Piano

mf

Pno.

гай эр - дим, Я - ниб от бол - ма - гай эр - дим. Я - ниб от бол - ма - гай эр - дим.

Example 6.9 A harmonic reduction of Glière’s Taranchi song “Guby tvoi –sakhar, podruzhka”

i i IV i IV i v I IV III I iii vi I iii vi ii V(v) i vi iii vi I iii vi ii V(v) I

Example 6.10 Bizet, *Chanson Arabe. Mavritanskaia pesn'*, mm. 1-8 (from *Nuvellist LXIII*)

The musical score for Example 6.10 is a piano accompaniment for Bizet's *Chanson Arabe. Mavritanskaia pesn'*, measures 1-8. It is in 2/4 time and marked *Andantino*. The score is divided into two systems. The first system (measures 1-4) is marked *p* (piano) and *sostenuto molto*. The second system (measures 5-8) is marked *semplice*. The score features a mix of chords and moving lines in both hands, with some measures containing a 'Leo.' marking and others a '*'.

Glière's arrangement of the third Taranchi song "Bozhestvo – podruga moia" is even less connected to the oriental world. The opening gesture in the accompaniment is rather conventional: it is based on a chord without a third with the soprano voice touching a lower neighbouring note and moving back to the fifth of the chord (**Example 6.11**). The same gesture is found in other arrangements from the same volume of *Trudy*. For example, Grechaninov's introduction to the arrangement of Bashkir song "Mynazhat – obrashchenie k Bogu" is also based on an open chord with the soprano voice touching the lower neighbour note (**Example 6.12**). Likewise, Mitrofan Slavinskii's arrangement of Great Russian song "Ne spasibo te Igumnu" (**Example 6.13**) opens with a sustained open fifth with the soprano moving to a lower neighbour note.

Example 6.11 Taranchi Song “Bozhestvo – podrugа moia” from *Trudy* arranged by Glière, mm. 1-8

Allegretto (♩ = 83)

Piano accompaniment (Pno.)

p

Аа-ла я - ри - м хі - я - лин - гиз

Ан - джан - ча - - а борк - му - у ве и э - й!

natural dominant chord

Example 6.12 Bashkir song “Mynazhat – obrashchenie k Bogu” from *Trudy* arranged by Grechaninov, mm. 1-2

Moderato
religioso

Piano accompaniment (Pno.)

mf

Example 6.13 Russian song “Ne spasibo te Igumnu” from *Trudy* arranged by Mitrofan Slavinskii, mm. 1-2



Example 6.14 Balakirev, “Ia liubila ego,” mm. 6-8

The accompaniment to the second phrase of the song (mm. 6-8) is based on a typical harmonic progression for the music of the Kuchka composers: the middle voice marks a slow, chromatic descent from the first to the fifth scale degree, while the bass holds a tonic pedal (**Example 6.11**, mm. 4-8). As shown in **Example 6.14**, Balakirev’s art song “Ia liubila ego” is a good model for this progression. The exact same descending chromatic movement in the middle voice (sometimes with the omission of a leading note) can be found in other art songs by Mili Balakirev (“Kogda volnuetsia zhelteliushchaia niva,” mm. 5-8, “Ty plenitel’noi negi polna,” mm. 28-31), Nikolai Rimsky-Korsakov (“Chto v imeni tebe moem?” mm. 5-8), Segei Rachmaninov (“Ne poi, krasavitsa,” mm. 1-3), Alexander Dargomyzhsky (“Sleza,” throughout), Petr Tchaikovsky (“My sideli s

toboi,” throughout), and many other nineteenth-century Russian art songs. Thus, Glière’s arrangements of three Taranchi songs do not suggest any *couleur locale* that would point out their particular Central Asian origin; instead, these newly acquired Asian people are incorporated within a Russian musical vocabulary.

Iurii Sakhnovskii

Sakhnovskii’s approach to the arrangement of a Taranchi song differs slightly from that of Glière: he uses conventional models from the Russian musical literature on oriental subjects (**Example 6.15**). The piano accompaniment in the first half of the Taranchi song resembles the opening of Mizgir’s arioso from the third act of Rimsky-Korsakov’s opera *Snegurochka* (**Example 6.16**). In this arioso Mizgir tries to lure Snegurochka by promising to give her the largest pearl “worthy of a half of kingdom” found in the warm sea of the Ormuz Island in the Persian Gulf. Both Rimsky-Korsakov’s and Sakhnovskii’s accompaniments begin with a chord with an open fifth that touches an upper neighbour note on the first sub-beat of the first beat, presenting a similar pulsation rhythmic pattern.¹²² The syncopation in the right hand of Sakhnovskii’s arrangement resembles the opening of Dargomyzhsky’s art song “O deva-roza, ia v okovakh,” discussed in Chapter Three (see **Example 3.18**).

¹²² A similar accompaniment is also found in the opening of Aliab’ev’s art song “Luch nadezhdy.”

Example 6.15 Taranchi Song “Giuli-guncha” from *Trudy* arranged by Sakhnovskii, mm. 1-5

Andantino $\text{♩} = 48$

p

Voice

Гю - ли гун - ча, ва - ай! Гю - ли гун - ча -

Piano

p

m.d. *m.d.* *sempre*

Example 6.16 Rimsky-Korsakov, Mizgir’s Arioso (act III), from opera *Snegurochka*, mm. 1-6

Andantino. $\text{♩} = 52$.

p

На теп - лом, си -

Andantino.
pizz.

p

- нем мо - ре, — у о - стро-ва Гур-мы - за, —

Example 6.17 Taranchi Song “Giuli-guncha” arranged by Sakhnovskii, mm. 19-22

Я - ним - да ту - ран бар дэм а - я - я - рэй А мэ - нин кен - лум,

Pno. *arpeggiando sempre*

Example 6.18 Anton Rubinshtein, “Nas po odnoi doroge sud’ba s toboi vedet,” op. 34, no. 6, mm. 1-4

Voice *Moderato*

Piano *Moderato pp*

Нас по од-ной до - ро - ге

To highlight the climax of the Taranchi song, Sakhnovskii changed the accompaniment from a static repetition of a drone on *d* to a more dynamic harmonic progression and added more active gestures in the left hand (**Example 6.17**). Here Sakhnovskii drew on an accompaniment that was usually used by Russian composers to portray an oriental/Asian land: for example, the beginning of the “Circassian Song” from the third act of Cesar Cui’s opera *The Prisoner of the Caucasus*, Anton Rubinshtein’s setting of Mirza Shaffi’s “Nas po odnoi doroge sud’ba s toboi vedet” [The Destiny Drives us on the Same Path] from the Persian Cycle of songs (**Example 6.18**), and Nikolai Klenovskii’s arrangement of a Kyrgyz song “A liak uter budun’ia” from the first

ethnographic concert, discussed earlier. Thus, unlike Glière, Sakhnovskii relied on the Russian vocal music tradition that evoked Asian/oriental Others in his arrangement of the Taranchi song. Both composers, however, used a musical vocabulary familiar to the Russian public, which had nothing to do with Asian music. Consequently, the arrangements of Taranchi songs by both Glière and Sakhnovskii contradicted the statement made in the Introduction to the publication of one hundred thirty-three arrangements of folksongs, published under a self-defensive title “Experiments in Artistic Arrangement of Folksongs” [*Opyty khudozhestvennoi obrabotki narodnykh pesen*]:

When the public “Ethnographic Concerts” were being prepared using the folksongs of different peoples, the Committee allowed ... freer artistic arrangement of folk melodies, accompanied them with harmonization, which, nonetheless, sought to capture [*uderzhat*'] a certain flavour of a given ethnic group [*dannaia narodnost*'].¹²³

4. Ethnographic Concerts: Commercializing the Exotic

The preservation and presentation of a “certain flavour” of different ethnic groups in Ethnographic Concerts perhaps sounded better in theory than it did in practice. At the beginning of the twentieth century, the concerts’ organizers had to face strong competition with a great variety of other commercial concerts, such as the ones organized by Agrenev-Slaviankii. After the fifth Ethnographic Concert, which brought financial losses totalling twelve rubles, the battle for the public’s attention began. From the sixth concert on, the programs included numbers performed on different musical instruments to

¹²³ “Pri ustroistve riada publicnykh ‘Etnograficheskikh Konsertov’ iz pesen raznykh narodnostei, Komissiiia dopuskala ... bolee svobodnuiu khudozhestvennuiu obrabotku narodnykh melodii, soprovozhdaia ikh garmonizatsiei, imevshei, odnako, tsel’iu uderzhat’ izvestnyi kolorit dannoi narodnosti.” See N. Ianchuk, A. Kastal’skii, D. Arakchiev, “Ot Muzykal’no-Etnograficheskoi Komissii,” *Trudy* (1913), 4: iii.

create a new, more distinct, and “exotic” sound. Some folk instruments – new to the Russian public – from the different ethnic groups were introduced: Chuvash *gusli*, Georgian *zurna*, *daira*, and *doli*, and Russian and Little Russian *gusli*, *rozhok*, *sopilka*, and *svirel’*. However, the authenticity of sound presented in the concerts could – and should – be definitely contested: some Asian melodies of one ethnic group were performed on instruments from another ethnic group (e.g. a Cheremis melody played on Chuvash *gusli* or Kumyk *lezginka* performed on a Georgian instrument *salamuri*).

To add more scientific and serious flavour to the Ethnographic Concerts, the organizers decided to introduce a new form of a concert – a concert-lecture, which sought to shed light on certain aspects of folk life. They also agreed on the importance of attracting professional performers (including opera singers, such as Olenina d’Algeim and Fedor Shaliapin) to present folksongs. These drastic changes soon paid off. The concert-lecture on “Russian folk music and its significance in science,” prepared by Russian linguist Fedor Evgen’evich Korsh, brought a profit of 240 rubles and the seventh ethnographic concert brought a net income of 102 rubles.¹²⁴

Thus, the necessity to survive tough competition from other concerts influenced the program and the sound of the Ethnographic Concerts and, to the certain extent, commercialized the ethnographic material. Here the analogy with world music is apt. As Simon Frith observes in his research on production and consumption of World Music, the genre is marketed as music that promises original and “authentic” experience, and as an obscure and significant artefact collected by expert ethnomusicologists. And in the

¹²⁴ See “Protokoly zasedanii MEK za 1901-1906 gody” [Minutes from the Meetings of MEK (1901-1906)]: no. 27 (on 6 March, 1904) and no. 43 (on 9 March, 1906), *Trudy* (1906), 1: 32, 56.

“context of denunciation of Western pop artifice and decadence,” the declared authenticity of music presented under the category of world music itself becomes exotic.¹²⁵ Similarly, in the context of the late nineteenth-century discourse on the corruption of Russian folksong by the urban popular songs, evoked at the beginning of this chapter, and in the context of the claims that the Ethnographic Concerts meant to present original material in artistic form, it might be suggested that the Ethnographic Concerts exoticized not only the music imported from Russia’s different (and sometimes very remote) regions, but also Russian folk music itself.

Conclusion

The Ethnographic Concerts, organized as public events imbued with the authority of science by the Music-Ethnography Committee, represented a sort of museum collection that showcased lands and peoples of empire.¹²⁶ They displayed simultaneously exoticized and domesticated, united yet culturally different subjects in an artistic form that was clearly translated into the language of the dominant culture. As any collection, the concerts appropriated and recontextualized the cultures presented, embodying hierarchies of values established in the ethnographic literature and shaping both the perception of and responses to the subjects living in the Russian empire.¹²⁷ Even though

¹²⁵ Simon Frith, “The Discourse of World Music,” in *Western Music and Its Others*, Georgina Born and David Hesmondhalgh, eds. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000), 308.

¹²⁶ Here I follow James Clifford’s interpretation of ethnography as a modality of collection: “To see ethnography as a form of culture collecting (not, of course, the *only* way to see it) highlights the ways that diverse experiences and facts are selected, gathered, detached from their original temporal occasions, and given enduring value in a new arrangement.” See Clifford, *The Predicament of Culture*, 231.

¹²⁷ The stereotypes about Central Asia are proven to be alive even today. In her recent book on private collections of Russian Turkestan, Svetlana Gorshenina insensitively states: “The geopolitical situation in

ethnographers and musicians did not necessarily have an overt political agenda for social or cultural change in the lives of Russia's subjects, their studies and works (such as arrangements of folk tunes) were often commensurate with colonial interests and contributed to the perpetuation of cultural values assigned by the colonizer to the colonized. As Susan Stewart shows in her book *On Longing*, the collections create the "illusion of adequate representation of a world by first cutting objects out of specific contexts ... and making them "stand for" abstract wholes."¹²⁸ The further movement of classification and displaying the object outside its context overrides specific histories of the object's production and distorts the identity of what the object used to present. Furthermore, as James Clifford suggests, collecting and display is a "crucial process of Western identity formation," since it is related to the notion that "this gathering involves, the accumulation of possessions, the idea that identity is a kind of wealth (of objects, knowledge, memories, experience)."¹²⁹ Thus, the Ethnographic Concerts reveal how modern art participated in the formation and revision of Russian self-identity and highlight the complex dialogue inherent in the relationship between art, society, and state.

the region is largely responsible for its backwardness." See S. Gorshenina, *The Private Collections of Russian Turkestan in the Second Half of the 19th and Early 20th Century* (Berlin: Klaus Schwarz Verlag, 2004), 9.

¹²⁸ Stewart, *On Longing Narratives of the Miniature, the Gigantic, the Souvenir, the Collection* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1984), cited from James Clifford, *The Predicament of Culture. Twentieth-Century Ethnography, Literature, and Art* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, and London: Harvard University Press, 1988), 220.

¹²⁹ Clifford, *The Predicament of Culture*, 218.

CONCLUSION

In a 1944 article on Russian music about peoples and countries abroad, the famous Soviet musicologist Boris Asaf'ev stated:

The current renaissance of oriental national cultures [...] has its roots in lofty artistic interest,¹ where Russian composers-classicists, especially those from the Balakirev circle, have revealed in their works the music of the oriental peoples. And not as an object of mere curiosity...²

After the 1917 Revolution, Russian/Soviet musicians went from complete denial of the Mighty Five (the Kuchka) composers' tradition of folksong treatment to completely embracing it.³ After Stalin's 1934 directive to create music "national in form and socialist in content," Kuchka-style arrangements and stylization of folksong became the only desirable compositional approach to ensure that the music compositions would not be carelessly discarded, or, worse, draw severe criticism from the Party.⁴ The incorporation of folk music became one of the most important compositional devices that had to be applied not only to Russian but also to non-Russian music culture.

¹ Here Asaf'ev probably refers to the music recently written by Soviet composers of Russian and non-Russian origin, such as Reinhold Glière, Alexander Spendiarov, Z.P. Paliashvili, Aram Khachaturian, Miaskovskii, and even Sergei Prokof'ev—all of whom, according to Asaf'ev, continued writing in the best traditions of Oriental music established by the Russian classical composers, such as Glinka, Rimsky-Korsakov, and Tanev. See B. V. Asaf'ev, "O chuzhikh stranakh i liudiakh," in *Izbrannye trudy* vol. 4 (Moscow: Izdat. AN SSSR, 1955), 122-43.

² "Nastupivshee seichas vozrozhdenie vostochnykh natsional'nykh kul'tur imeet v riade iavlenii korni v vysokom khudozhestvennom interese, kotoryi russkie kompozitory-klassiki i osobenno balakirevtsy obnaruzhili v svoem tvorchestve k muzyke narodov Vostoka. I ne kak k chemu-to, lish liubopytstva dostoinomu..." See *Ibid.*, 142.

³ Frolova-Walker, *Russian Music and Nationalism*, 307-20.

⁴ *Ibid.*

Consequently, the search for the national roots in folk music pursued by nineteenth-century composers gained momentum with Stalinist cultural policy.

A number of resources, events, and institutions sought to inspire the creation of national music: many composers were sent to regional centers where they were to immerse themselves in the native culture so as to reproduce the “authentic,” non-formalistic nature of each particular “nationality.”⁵ Other composers remained in urban centers and enjoyed the public performance of non-Russian musicians in concerts, which continued in a similar format to those ethnographic concerts discussed in Chapter Six. Olympiads, radio festivals, *Dekadas* (or a 10-day festival) of different “national” arts in Moscow and other major cities of the Soviet Union all strove to present the multinational and multicultural nature of the Soviet Republic. 1936 was a particularly eventful year as several Soviet Republics (Azerbaijan, Georgia, Armenia, Kyrgyzstan, Kazakhstan) were elevated from the status of Autonomous Regions (Transcaucasian SFSR, Kyrgyz, and Turkestan ASSR respectively). The spring of 1936 was marked by the broadcast of the first All-Soviet Radio festival. As the foremost contemporary music journal *Sovetskaia muzyka* [Soviet Music], or *SM*, stated, the cultural-political aim of this festival was “to demonstrate the cultural advances in the arts of the peoples of our Union” [*pokazatel’ moguchego rosta iskusstva narodov nashego soiuz*] as well as to display a “vivid and multicolored picture of artistic life ... [and] the inexhaustible wealth of folk art” [*neischerpaemye bogatstva narodnogo tvorchestva*].

⁵ In the Soviet Union, the definition of “nationality,” as provided by Stalin, included the ideas of common culture, language, economic life, and territory, and implied a fixed identification, which is inherited like skin colour. See Joseph Stalin, *Marxism and the National Question* (New York: International Publishers, 1942).

Music and the artistic word that had been broadcasted... spoke of the happy and cultured life of brotherly peoples, who are building Socialism under the direction of the Lenin-Stalin Party.⁶

Later in the spring, *Dekadas* of Kazakh art were held in Moscow and presented Kazakh traditional performers as well as two newly-composed Kazakh operas (*Kyz Zhybek* and *Zhalbyr*) by the Russian composer Evgenii Grigor'evich Brusilovskii.⁷ The so-called Azerbaijan State Oriental Orchestra went on tour in Moscow and Leningrad, performing traditional Azeri music in forty-one concerts within the span of six weeks.⁸ In the summer of 1936, the All-Soviet Committee on Arts organized the All-Soviet Olympiad of professional and amateur choirs, inviting twenty-nine choirs representing nineteen "nationalities" and ethnic groups from all over the Soviet Union.⁹ About 1,500 participants, including one thousand from the periphery, traveled great distances to Moscow to perform.¹⁰ The epitome of this event was the performance of a "multinational" choir on the closing day on a huge open stage in the Green Theater of the Moscow Gorky Central Park of Culture and Leisure.

The stage along with the spirally meandered paths is full of men and women singers. On the bottom settled the choirs from labour unions, manufacturers, Community Centers, and music institutes of higher education. They are in modern costumes. Higher, in the center, lined up a

⁶ "muzyka i khudozhestvennoe slovo, zvuchavshee v efire ... govorili o schastlivoi i kul'turnoi zhizni bratskikh narodov, stroiashchikh sotsializm pod rukovodstvom partii Lenina-Stalina." *SM* 8 (1936): 33.

⁷ Brusilovskii's *Kyz-Zhybek* and other operas were written on the basis of Kazakh folksongs and instrumental pieces, which the composer reportedly collected over two years. See *SM* 7 (1936): 53. A short biography of Brusilovskii is found in *Sovetskaia entsyklopediia* 1:584.

⁸ See *SM* 6(1936): 71-72.

⁹ M.F. Leonova, "Samodeiatel'nost'," *Muzykal'naia entsiklopediia*, 4:835. The repertoire of most choirs included the arrangements of folksongs from the region that the choir represented and so-called "mass songs," or the Soviet propaganda songs that were intended to be performed and distributed among the "broad masses." On the "Mass song" see *Sovetskaia entsyklopediia* 3: 476-77.

¹⁰ See *SM* 8 (1936): 45.

picturesque group of Dagestan [singers]: the men in Circassian coats [*cherkeska*], the women in long, wavy silk dresses. At the top is a no less picturesque group: Russians, Chuvashes, Mari, and other ethnic groups [*natsional'nost'*] in their traditional costumes. All this is variegated [*pestryi*], joyous, and vivid.¹¹

It is not difficult to see that the idea of featuring different ethnic groups of one multinational country in a single concert replicates that of the pre-revolutionary ethnographic concerts discussed in Chapter Six. Similar to the concerts organized by MEK at the turn of the century, the Olympiad presented a multitude of diverse nationalities living happily under the same banner. Simultaneously exoticized (in traditional costumes) and domesticated (singing in Russian), the united choir from all Soviet Republics aimed to express a unified feeling in the language that by the mid-1930s was understandable to the majority of Soviet citizens.¹²

The public concerts and the Kuchka approach to the treatment of folk material were not the only vestiges of the *ancien régime*. Collection, transcription, and preservation of ethnographic material gained unprecedented importance in the Soviet period. Instead of being undertaken only by certain individuals (imperial bureaucrats, such as Levshin, or military officials, such as Rittikh, discussed in Chapter Two), the collection and

¹¹ “Estrada i spiral’no v’iushchiesia vverkh dorozhki, po zelenomu kholmu, zapolneny pevtsami i pevitsami. Vnizu raspolozhilis’ khory profsoiuzov, fabrik, Domov kul’tury, muzyakl’nykh vuzov. Oni — v sovremennykh kostiumakh. Vyshe, v tsentre, zhivopisnoi gruppoi vystroilis’ dagestantsy: muzhchiny —v cherkesskakh, zhenshchiny —v dlinnykh, volnistykh shelkovykh plat’iakh. Naverkhu, --ne menee zhivopisnaia gruppa: russkie, chuvashi, mariitsy, i mnogie drugie natsional’nosti v svoikh kostiumakh... Vsie eto pestro, zhizneradostno, iarko.” K Kuznetsov, “Vsesoiuznaia khorovaia olimpiada,” *SM* 8 (1936): 45.

¹² One of the song performed by the choir was a partisan song “Po dolinam i po vzgor’iam.” *SM* 8 (1936): 45.

transcription of music from different ethnic groups also became a concern for larger organizations financially dependent on the Communist Party.¹³

What is more, the discourse on Aryanism and Russia's relation to the East (discussed in Chapter Five) that seemed to disappear in Russia after the 1917 Revolution persisted within the Russian émigré community in Paris and gained fresh momentum among the circle of Eurasianists.¹⁴ Thus, the legacy of Imperial Russia, with its truly sophisticated patterns of political and cultural relations with the East, survived the 1917 Revolution and continued to exist in the Soviet period.¹⁵

Although the form of the oriental studies might have changed somewhat, the substance and approach to the Other in many cases remained the same. The Orientalist clichés, such as oriental belligerence, susceptibility to pleasure and laziness, discussed in Chapters One and Three, stubbornly remained. Boris Asaf'ev, who condemned the pre-revolutionary writings on the Orient and claimed that only Soviet composers could

¹³ On the control of different organizations in the Soviet period see Marina Frolova-Walker and Jonathan Walker, *Music and Soviet Power: 1917-1932* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2012).

¹⁴ On Eurasianism, see Marlène Laruelle, *L'idéologie eurasiste russe ou comment penser l'empire* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 1999); Slawomir Mazurek, "Russian Eurasianism – Historiosophy and Ideology," *Studies in East European Thought* 54, nos. 1-2 (2002): 105-23; Mark Bassin, "Classical Eurasianism and the Geopolitics of Russian Identity," *Ab Imperio* 2 (2003): 257-67; Sokolov, S.M., *Filosofiia russkogo zarubezh'ia: Evraziistvo* (Ulan-Ude: VSGTU, 2003).

¹⁵ As a member of ethnic minority group born and raised in Alma-Ata (Kazakhstan) under the Soviet rule, I myself was simultaneously a witness and a subject of cultural policies towards the minority groups. My mother, an accomplished music ethnographer, several times participated in ethnographic concerts as a specialist and performer of Uighur music. The so-called All-Soviet Committee on the Folk Music Art (or simply Ethnographic Committee) that organized these concerts (between 1972 and 1991) also sponsored ethnographic fieldwork, conferences, seminars, lectures, and recordings of different Soviet "nationalities," emulating the activity of the Music-Ethnography Committee in pre-1917 revolutionary Russia. The only difference in the charter of the Soviet Ethnographic Committee was that it aimed not only to introduce to the Russian public the music culture of empire's multiethnic subjects, but also to coordinate an activity and function of other ethnographic committees throughout the Soviet Union. See *Informatsionnoe pis'mo* 6-7 (Moscow: Soiuz kompozitorov SSSR, Komissii muzyki narodov SSSR, 1976), 1.

properly understand the subject, falls back into the familiar Orientalist trap at the end of his article on Russian music about foreign countries and peoples:

Again stern [*surovyi*] impressions. Steppe. Space. The regular tread of camels, and in the air a Russian drawn-out song is ringing ("In the Steppes of Central Asia" by Borodin). The steps become more severe and more rigid: these are the hordes of conquerors; this is a torrid, flaming, colourful, willful and determinedly belligerent song of Olofer from "Judith" by Serov.¹⁶

In another, no less revealing, passage from Asaf'ev, the author brings up not only the stereotype of oriental stagnancy that Russians projected on the East, but also claims that it is related to the Russian character:

It is impossible not to pause upon the "motives of Orientalism" and the influence of the "sleeping" contemplative East on Russian music. Even with such men as Balakirev and Rimsky-Korsakov, so active in life, there manifested itself, creatively, a leaning towards a hedonistic perception of life and towards a suggestive nirvana, a painless languid parting from life, etc. [...] But the East, as a mighty stimulus, and its social importance in Russian artistic and especially musical culture, is far more complex. Here are intertwined "motives" that are exotic, colonial and political, ethnographical and musical [...]. Psychological factors also play an important role, not only personal, but national, insofar as the Russians were by nature somewhat addicted to inertia and a contemplative *dolce far niente* - traits that were nurtured by visions of a sleeping immovable East.¹⁷

Leaving aside Asaf'ev's judgement of the sluggish East and its daunting parallel with Russia, one should accept the author's observation of the complexity of the Eastern

¹⁶ "Opiat' surovyie vpechatleniia. Step'. Prostranstva. Mernyi shag verbludov, i zvenit, rassilaia's' v vozdukhe, russkaia protiazhaia pesnia ("V Srednei Azii" Borodina). Shagi surovey i zhestche: to polchishcha zhadnykh zavoevatelei, to zharkaia, plamennaia, koloritnaia, volei i reshimost'iu napoennaia voinstvennaia pesn' Oloferna is "Iudifi" Serova." See Asaf'ev, "O chuzhikh stranakh i liudiakh" vol. 4, 143.

¹⁷ B.V. Asaf'ev, *Russian Music from the Beginning of the Nineteenth Century*, translated from the Russian by Alfred J. Swan (Michigan: Ann Arbor, 1953), 158-59.

topic as utterly accurate; indeed, Russian O/orientalism cannot be ultimately understood in isolation from more general political-epistemological debates about writing and representation of oriental Others. As I discussed in the Introduction, Russia's dual position vis-à-vis its western neighbours as a nation that embraced Western civilization as a standard to follow, while remaining the Eastern Other in the eyes of European nations, shaped its double identity.¹⁸

As the cultural context discussed in the first part of the dissertation reveals, nineteenth-century Russia faced a number of internal and external conflicts, which influenced popular and ethnographic representations of Russia's eastern and southern neighbours. The popular image of the oriental Other in folksong collections printed throughout the nineteenth century clearly conveyed a message of Easterners' hostility and belligerence. What is more, the negative representation of oriental Others helped to veil the heterogeneity of Russian society as well as continued conflicts based on differences of class, gender, and religion. Displacing the Russian-Russian conflict onto the Russian-Oriental struggle furthermore helped to promote Russia's ideology of expansion and to legitimize wars with its eastern and southern neighbours. The ethnic stereotyping of bloodthirsty Chechens, militant Turks, and barbarian Tatars inscribed in the Russian popular language of folksongs, *bylinas* or historical songs more often than not was dictated by intensifying nationalist and imperial concerns for which the very existence of a negative Other helped to define a positive and united Self.

¹⁸ As one proverb attributed to Napoleon Bonaparte says: "Grattez le russe et vous trouverez le tartare!" [Scratch a Russian, find a Tatar!]

Denial and denigration of oriental Others was not dominant in all nineteenth-century literature. Although most publications aimed at a wide readership seemed to denigrate oriental culture and emphasize the difference between the Other and the Self, some ethnographic sources revealed a positive attitude towards the newly-acquired eastern neighbours and highlighted the similarities between Russian and Asian cultures. Such a wide range of attitudes and representation of the Other were likely related to the agencies that commissioned the ethnographic research. As I demonstrated in Chapter Two, the ethnographies written by Russian officials and military agents who served at the eastern borders of Russian empire clearly follow paternalistic and colonial patterns in discussion of Asian culture and music; by contrast, the writings of Russian orientologists, or scholars of oriental studies, such as Alexander Middendorff and Kapellmeister August Eichhorn demonstrate considerable appreciation for and high esteem of the culture of Russia's Siberian *inorodtsy* and peoples living in Russian Turkestan. Thus, I argued that the possibility of reciprocity between the colonizers and the colonized did exist, although the power relations were never equal.

In the second part of the dissertation I scrutinized the relationship between Russia and the Orient through two individual cases. In Chapter Three I addressed the life and art songs of an early nineteenth-century Russian composer, Alexander Aliab'ev. I compared Aliab'ev's representation of oriental peoples (particularly the Caucasians) with early nineteenth-century Russian Romantic representation of the Caucasian mountaineers in so-called Decembrist literature. I suggested that the feelings of political resistance against the tsarist authorities that were generated among the Russian aristocracy became veiled in literature as an "oriental style," and shaped Aliab'ev's view of the Orient. Because of

Aliab'ev's association with rebellious Decembrists, in addition to being falsely accused of murder and forced into long exile on the Asian borders of Russian empire, he was able to incorporate and musically transmit the ideas of Decembrist literature while, at the same time, absorbing some elements of Asian music. He thus created a new musical language of the Oriental Other that I call a "Decembrist orientalism." By associating the subjugated mountaineers, who fought against Russian military forces for the natural rights of freedom, with the Decembrists, who also aspired for liberation from tsarist autocracy, Aliab'ev "confused" the perception of the Other and the Self and revealed his favourable attitude towards the rebellious spirit of the Caucasian mountaineers.

Another case study presented in Chapter Four demonstrated a certain "confusion" in representations of the oriental Other and the Russian Self among the members of the Balakirev circle. Balakirev's closest friend and the ideological inspiration for the incorporation of Asian/Eastern elements in Russian culture (and music in particular), Vladimir Stasov believed in theory of Russia's close historical and cultural relationships with Asia and identified "the Oriental element" as an important feature of Russian music; however, he never explained how the Kuchka composers created what he called "the unique forms of the East." I suggested that Milii Balakirev and other members of the Mighty Five approached oriental subjects in their art songs in two ways. The first, which I call the "ethnographic approach," reflects the popular 1860s spirit of "going to the people" or the spirit of gathering folk material from peasants. This approach raised awareness and interest in first-hand knowledge not only about Russian, but also about non-Russian cultures of the multiethnic empire. The second approach, which I call "westernized," can be described as a borrowing and incorporation of Western oriental

musical gestures, as well as tunes from Western collections of oriental songs. I argued that Balakirev encouraged an ethnographic approach and shared original musical material that he brought back from his trips to the Caucasus. Furthermore, Balakirev's deep respect and infatuation with the Caucasus, as well as his transcriptions of Caucasian tunes, helped him to create a fair representation of some Caucasian peoples and, most important, to establish the oriental style that later became the foundation for Russian musical representations, not only of the Other, but also of the Self.

At the end of the nineteenth century the theories that argued for Russia's close cultural relationship with Asia were no longer novel. The last two chapters addressed different music theory treatises as well as ethnographic concerts that underlined the idea of Russian/Asian cultural proximity. My analysis of Russian music theory treatises revealed that many Russian music theorists believed that some Asian/Aryan musical elements constituted an essential part of Russian musical identity. In Chapter Five I situated the writings of three Russian theorists (Sokal'skii, Famintsyn, and Petr), who claimed there was a link between Russian and Asian cultures, in the context of late nineteenth-century ideological movements – Aryanism and the *vostochniki* [*Easterners* or *Asianists*] movement – that possibly influenced their ideas. The popularity of Asian and Aryan cultures in Russia, however, had its dark side: the myth of a Russian musical identity closely affiliated with the Asian or Aryan culture also helped to preserve Russia's place in Europe and feed its national pride. “Finding” a Russian Asian or Aryan cultural heritage served the Empire's expansionist ends in Central Asia at the end of the nineteenth century and validated the colonial actions in the Far East at the beginning of the twentieth century. Furthermore, my analysis of Russian sources that discuss Russian and Asian musical

instruments showed that despite the high esteem of *ancient* Asian culture, the view of the *modern* Asia, or orient in general, was not free from cultural stereotypes. As many Russian works on musical instruments suggested, some of which included visual representations of Asian musical practices, Russians followed European categorization of instruments and values attached to each instrumental group, which implied the notion of western superiority and oriental inferiority. However, a few sources dealing with Russian, Asian, and oriental instruments (Maslov and Petukhov) revealed high esteem for Asian modern culture and their irrelevance to colonial discourse and Russia's position of power in the East.

The final chapter also underlined the readiness of many Russians to embrace and incorporate Asian culture. However, the musical material that I considered in this chapter (arrangements of Asian melodies by Russian composers) clearly showed the tendency toward appropriation and recontextualization of Asian culture within a narrative of Russian domination. The analysis of the arrangements of Asian songs performed at ethnographic concerts organized by the Music-Ethnography Commission revealed that these concerts promoted an image of Russia as a united state; the eastern Other became important only because of Russia's broader effort of national self-definition as a multiethnic state. Thus, by the end of the nineteenth century the Russian attitude toward its oriental neighbours could be divided into two opposing types. The proponents of Asian culture and history supported the idea of cultural preservation and did their best to collect cultural artifacts, gather musical examples, and promote the national pride of ethnic minorities. The proponents of imperial practices, however, not only often expressed their negative attitude of their "under-developed" eastern subjects but also embraced the idea of

their linguistic and cultural assimilation and promulgated the policy of *Russification* of Russia's ethnic minorities.

Throughout the dissertation I demonstrated the complexity of the colonizer-colonized relationship in Russia. For almost every case of negative attitudes and representations of the Other I have counterbalanced with examples of a positive approach, sincere appreciation, and even attraction to Asian culture. By virtue of being Other in the eyes of European nations and being aware of its own hybridity as a nation, some Russian writers resisted the colonial discourse vis-à-vis the conquered peoples. Therefore, Russian O/orientalism in music originated in, developed, and was influenced by the intricate pattern in the development of Russian politics in the East as well as the West, the development of different ideological currents, change and transformation in social and cultural life. Since Russia not only *faced* both West and East, but also *embodied* the West in its eastern domains and the East in its western frontiers, Russian composers constantly negotiated sometimes apparent, sometimes imagined discord between the two sides of Russia's identity and created their own unique pattern of representation of the Other and the Self.

APPENDIX A

INCOMPLETE LIST OF FOLKSONG COLLECTIONS PUBLISHED IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

- Abramychev, N. *Sobraniie russkikh narodnykh pesen. Zapisal s narodnogo napeva i pereložhil na odin golos s akkompānimentom fortepiano* [A Collection of Russian Folksongs Transcribed from Folk Tunes and Arranged for Voice and Piano Accompaniment by N. Abramychev]. St. Petersburg: M. Vasil'ev, 1879.
- Andreev, A. *Karmannyi pesennik ili sobranie noveishikh kupletov iz oper i vodevilei* [A Pocket Songbook or a Collection of the Newest Couplets from Operas and Vaudevilles]. Moscow: tip. Smirnova, 1847.
- Balakirev, M.A. *Sbornik russkikh narodnykh pesen* [A Collection of Russian Folksongs]. St. Petersburg: Jogansen, 1866.
- Chulkov, Mikhail Dmitrievich. *Sobranie raznykh pesen*. [A Collection of Different Songs]. St. Petersburg: Tip. Imperatorskoi Akademii Nauk, 1913.
- Danilov, Kirsha. *Drevnie rossiiskie stikhotvoreniia sobrannye Kirsheiu Danilovym*. Edited by A.P. Evgen'eva and B.N. Putilov. Moscow: Nauka, 1977.
- Famintsyn, Alexander. *Russkii detskii pesennik* [A Russian Children's Songbook]. Leipzig: tip. Berr and Hermann, 1875.
- Iakushkin, P. *Narodnye russkie pesni iz sobraniia P. Iakushkina* [Russian Folksongs from P. Iakushin's Collection]. St. Petersburg: tip. Kraevskogo, 1865.
- Il'in, V. *Karmannyi pesennik ili sobranie noveishikh romansov, ballad, i pesen* [A Pocket Songbook, or A Collection for the Newest Art Songs, Ballads, and Songs]. Moscow: M. Smirnova, 1856.
- Kalatilin, A. *Vseobshchii pesennik ili polnoe sobranie luchshikh vsiakogo roda pesen* [A General Songbook, or Complete Collection of the Best and Different Kinds of Songs]. Moscow: I. Ivanov-Smirnov, 1843.
- Kireevskii, P.V. *Pesni sobrannye P.V. Kireevskim* [Songs Collected by P.V. Kireevskii]. Moscow: Obshchestvo liubitelei rossiiskoi slovesnosti, 1872.
- Khudiakov, I.A. *Sbornik velikorusskikh narodnykh istoricheskikh pesen* [A Collection of Great Russian Historical Folksongs]. Moscow: tip. N. Ernsta, 1860.
- Lopatin, N.M. *Polnyi narodnyi pesennik soderzhashchii v sebe luchshie starinnye i noveishie pesni* [A Complete Songbook Containing the Best Old and New Songs]. Moscow: I.D. Sytina, 1885.
- L'vov, Nikolai and Ivan Prach, *Sobraniie narodnykh russkikh pesen s ikh golosami na muzyku položhil Ivan Prach* [A Collection of Russian Songs with Their Voices Arranged by Ivan Prach]. St. Petersburg: Gornoe uchilishche, 1790.
- ____. *A Collection of Russian Folksongs*. Edited by Malcolm Hamrick Brown. With an introduction and appendixes by Margarita Mazo. Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1987.
- Maksimov, M. *Narodnyi russkii pesennik soderzhashchii v sebe: pesni, romansy i kuplety iz oper i vodevilei liubimyykh v narode v dvukh chastiakh* [A People's Russian Songbook That Includes Favorite Songs, Art Songs, and Couplets from Operas and Vaudevilles, in Two Volumes]. Moscow: tip. V. Got'e, 1852.
- Matveev. *Polnyi russkii pesennik ili sobranie vsekh upotrebitel'nykh russkikh pesen s pribavleniem tsyganskikh, malorossiiskikh, kupletov, noveishikh oper i vodevilei*

- [*A Complete Russian Songbook, or A Collection of All Common Russian Songs with an Addition of Gypsy and Little Russian Couplets, the Newest Operas and Vaudevilles*]. Moscow: tip. S. Popova, 1858.
- Natiev, D. *Kavkazskii voennii pesennik* [A Caucasian Military Songbook]. St. Petersburg: tip. Trenke and Fiusno, 1895.
- Nikulin, Alexander. *Sbornik pesen sostavlennyi Alexandrom Nikulinym, odobrennyi Uchenym Komitetom Narodnogo Prosvyashcheniia dlia upotrebleniia v shkolakh Vilenskogo Uchebnogo Okruga* [A Collection of Songs Compiled by Alexander Nikulin, Approved by Academic Committee of Public Education]. 3rd edition. Vil'na: tip. A.G. Syrkina, 1881.
- Polnyi russkii pesennik soderzhashchii v sebe bollee 300 russkikh, malorossiiskikh, tsyganskikh, voennykh pesen, romansov, shansonnet i kupletov* [A Complete Songbook That Includes More Than 300 Russian, Little Russian, Gypsy, Military Songs, Art Songs, Chansons, and Couplets]. Moscow: tip. S. Orlova, 1876.
- Polnyi pesennik: Dragotsennyi podarok liubiteliu peniia. Sbranie pesen noveishikh, narodnykh cherkesskikh, tsyganskikh, gruzinskikh i soldatskikh, razlichnykh romansov, komicheskikh kupletov, operetok, shansonetok, iumoristicheskikh i satiricheskikh stikhotvorenii liubimykh sovremennykh avtorov: Pushkina, Nekrasova, Beranzhe, Kol'tsova, Lermontova i proch. Sostavlen Kruzhkom liubitelei peniia.* [A Complete Songbook: A Valuable Gift to Song Lovers. A Collection of the Newest Songs, Circassian Folksongs, Gypsy, Georgian and Soldier Songs, Different Art Songs, Comic Couplets, Operettas, Chansons, Humorous and Satiric Poetry by the Favourite Contemporary Authors: Pushkin, Nekrasov, Béranger, Kol'tsov, Lermontov and Others. Compiled by the Society of Song Lovers]. Moscow, 1882.
- Rimsky-Korsakov, Nikolai. *Sbornik russkikh narodnykh pesen: op 24*, 1876. St. Petersburg: Bessel, 1877.
- Rybnikov, P.N. *Pesni sobrannye P. N. Rybnikovym: v trekh tomakh* [Songs Collected by P.N. Rybnikov in Three Volumes]. Moscow: Tip. A. Semena, 1861-67.
- Shtein, P.V. *Russkie narodnye pesni sobrannye Shteinom* [Russian Folksongs Collected by Shtein]. Moscow: Moscow University, 1877.
- Stakhovich, Mikhail. *Sbranie russkikh narodnykh pesen dlia fortepiano i semistrunnoi gitary. Tekst i melodii sobral i muzyku arranzhiroval Mikhail Stakhovich* [A Collection of Russian Folksongs for Piano and Seven-String Guitar. Texts and Melodies Are Collected and Arranged by Mikhail Stakhovich]. St. Petersburg and Moscow: M. Bernard, 1851-1854.
- Trutovskii, Vasilii Fedorovich. *Sbranie russkikh prostykh pesen s notami v chetyrekh chastiakh* [A Collection of Simple Russian Songs with Transcriptions in Four Volumes]. St. Petersburg, 1776-1795.
- Varentsov, V. *Sbornik pesen Samarskogo kraia* [A Collection of Songs from the Samar Region]. St. Petersburg: tip. Baksta, 1862.

APPENDIX B

Programs of the Ethnographic Concerts

Organized by Ethnographic Department and Music-Ethnographic Committee of IOLEAE, in Moscow, 1893-1906.

CONCERT I.

(March 11, 1893, in the Grand Hall of Russian Noble Meeting, with the participation of the opera artists, choir, and opera orchestra, under the direction of N.S. Klenovskii).

PART I (Slavic)**A) Overture “Russia,” symphonic poem by M.A. Balakirev (orchestra)****B) Great Russian Songs**

1. Na rodimuiu storonku (choir with orch.)	} from Iu.N. Mel'gunov's collection
2. Na zare bylo, na zoren'ke (choir with orch.)	
3. Ia stradiu, mil ne znaet (soprano with orch.)	
4. Vozle rechki na luzhechke (choir with orch.)	
5. Uzh ty, Sema, Simen (choir with orch.) from Lopatin and Prokunin's collection	

C) Belo Russian Songs

6. Liatseli gusi s Dnepra (soprano with orch.) (from collection of M-me Zin. Radchenko)
7. Oi, kalina-malina (tenor, choir, and orch.) (from N.A Ianchuk's transcriptions)
8. Akh, nema ledu (soprano s orch.) (from collection of Z. Radchenko)
9. Chom vy, kopopel'ki (choir and orch.) (from collection of Z. Radchenko)

D) Little Russian Songs

10. Da kudy yidesh, Iavtushe? (soprano with orch.) (from the collection of N.V. Lisenko)
11. Oi nastupae chornaia khmara (Choir with orch.) (from the transcriptions of N.A. Ianchuk)
12. Oi, u stenu krynychenka (baritone with fortepiano) (from the collection of N.V. Lisenko)
13. A vzhe vesna, a vzhe krasna (Choir with orch.) (from the transcriptions of N.A. Ianchuk)

E) Bulgarian Songs

14. Velko	} Transcriptions and harmonizations by N.S. Klenovskii (tenor and Piano)
15. Stoian	

F) Polish Songs

16. Z tamtej strony jezioreczka (tenor, choir, orchestra). From collection of Kol'berg and Noskovskii
17. Wezmę ja kontusz (tenor, orchestra). From transcriptions of N.A. Ianchuk
18. Kai się działy one lata (Choir and orchestra). From collection of Kol'berg and Noskovskii

PART II (Non-Russian, or *Inorodchekii*)**A) Instead of overture, "Tatar dances" by P.I. Blaramberg (orchestra)****B) Lithuanian Songs**

19. Kad ash taviias noreiiau (tenor and orch.)
20. Mamuzhite sianolite (soprano and orch.)
21. Ana puse mareliu (soprano and orch.)
22. O tai divai (soprano and orch.)

All four numbers from the collection of Bartsch

C) Georgian Songs

23. Kuchkha Bedniero. –24. Odelia. –25. Gul'nara (tenor and choir) Transcriptions of N. Klenovskii

D) Armenian Song

26. Krunk (Zhuravl') (tenor and orch.). Transcription by N.S. Klenovskii

E) Chuvash Song

27. Per kheri mana (soprano and orch.) From collection of V. Moshkov

F) Kyrgyz Songs

28. Aliak uter budun'ia (soprano and orch.)
29. Ai astynda ber dzholduz (Choir and orch.)

From *Ethnographic Review*, book III

G) Sart Songs

30. Karalasam kuryn maidy (soprano and orch.)
- From the same source

H) New Greek Songs

31. Is tu kózmu to taksidi (soprano and piano)
32. Kharó to 'kin' to stóma (soprano and piano)

From the collection of Bourgault-Ducoudray

At the end, the choir and orchestra performed a Finale "Glory" from *Svetlana* by N.S. Klenovskii.

All folksongs, except for nos. 12, 31, 32 were performed as artistic arrangements [*khudozhestvennaia obrabotka*] by N.S. Klenovskii. They are published with texts (*inorodets* songs with Russian translations) by Iurgenson under the title *Pervyi Etnograficheskii Kontsert N.S. Klenovskogo* [The First Ethnographic Concert by N.S. Klenovskii], M. 1894.

CONCERT II.

(11 March, 1901, in the auditorium of the Historic Museum, with the participation of soloists, men's amateur choir under the direction of D.I. Arakchiev, and women's choir under the direction of V.S. Kalinnikov).

PART I

A) Great Russian Songs

1. Pominal'nyi stikh (baritone). From Philopov's collection, arranged by N.A. Rimsky-Korsakov.
 2. *Bylina* "Korolevichi iz Krakova" (soprano).
 3. *Bylina* "Vasilii Okul'evich" (baritone).
 4. Historic Song "Kostriuk" (baritone).
 5. Wedding Song "Vinogradie" (soprano and Clarinet).
 6. Wedding Song "Est' na gorke derevtso" (Women's choir).
 7. Khorovodnaia "Utushnaka" (Women's choir).
- Nos. 2-7 from the collection of Petersburg Song Committee, transcribed by G.O. Diutsh, arranged by M.A. Balakirev
8. "U vorot, vorot batiushkinykh" (Mixed choir).
 9. "Ty vzoidi, solntse krasnoe" (Mixed choir).

Nos. 8-9 are arranged by Musorgsky

B) Little Russian Songs

10. Spiritual Song about the Last Judgment (baritone). Transcribed by N.A. Ianchuk, arranged by Klenovskii.
 11. Duma pro Paliia ta Mazepu (baritone). From the collection of N.V. Lisenko.
 12. Song of "Chaban" (shepherd's song for baritone). Transcription by N.A. Ianchuk, arrangement by A.L. Maslov.
 13. "Oi po gorakh, po dolinakh." (soprano).
 14. Oi, Gandziu milostiva (soprano).
- Nos. 13-14 are from the collection of N.V. Lisenko

C) Belo Russian Songs

15. "Oi liatseli gusi," spring song (Sopr.) From the collection of Z. Radchenko, arranged by N. Klenovskii
16. "Da plavau chounochok," Kupala Song (Contre alto). Transcription by N.A. Ianchuk, arrangement by A.L. Maslov.

PART II**D) Polish Songs**

17. Spiritual Verse about Maria Magdalena (soprano). From the collection of Kol'berg, arranged by A.L. Maslov
18. "Wezme ja kontusz," love song (tenor). Transcription by N.A. Ianchuk, arrangement by N.S. Klenovskii
19. "Upadla mi siekireczka," mazurka (soprano). From the collection of Kol'berg, arrangement by V.V. Paskhalo

E) Czech Songs

- 20-22. Three songs from the collection of I. Erben (tenor). Arranged by Martinovskii

F) Lithuanian Songs

- 23-24. Two Songs from the collection of Barch and Nessel'man (soprano, see Concert I)

G) Georgian Songs

- 25-27. Three Songs (soprano). From the collection of M.M. Ippolitov-Ivanov.
- 28-35. Eight Songs (solo and choir): dance, shepherd, haymaking [*pokosnyi*], winnowing [*veial'nyi*], wedding, lullaby, family, and marching [*pokhodnyi*] songs. From collections by Kargateli, Benashvili, Klenovskii, and Arakishvili (Arakchiev)

CONCERT III.

(18 March, 1901, in the auditorium of the Historic Museum, with the participation of soloists and choir under the direction of V.S. Kalinnikov)

PART I**A) Great Russian Songs**

1. Golubinaia kniga (contralto). Transcription by Diutsh, arrangement by Balakirev
2. Lazar' (baritone)
3. Egorii-Khrabryi (baritone). Nos. 2-3 from the collection of T.I. Filipov, arrangement by Rimsky-Korsakov
4. Grishka Otrep'ev, historical [song] (mezzo-soprano). Diutsh's transcr., Balakirev's arr.
5. Van'ka Kliuchnik, historical [song] (mezzo- soprano), N' Ianchuk's transcr., A Maslov's arr.

6. Kostriuk, historical [song] (baritone). Diutsh's transcr., Balakirev's arr.
7. Vladimir kniaz', byl[ina] from Filippov's collection, Rimsky-Korsakov's arr.
8. Wed[ding] lamentation, "Vechor moi kosynku" (Sopr.), from the S Liapunov's collection
9. Wed[ding song], "Vinogradie" (soprano and Clarinet). Diutsh's transcr., Balakirev's arr.
10. "Ia vechor moloda" (contralto). Diutsh's transcr., Liapunov's arr.
11. Lullaby. Dargomyzhsky's transcr., Rimsky-Korsakov's arr.
12. "Na Ivanushke chapan." (Choir with a leader). The Balakirev's collection
13. "Akh ty volia dorogaia" (Choir with a leader). Musorgsky's arr.

B) Belo Russian Songs

14. "Nama liodu," spring [song] (soprano). From Z. Radchenko's collection, N. Klenovskii's arr.
15. "Vol' bushue, vesnu chue" (contralto). N. Ianchuk's transcr., Iu. D. Engel's arr.
16. "Oi u poli zhito" (mezzo- soprano). From Z. Radcheno's collection
17. "Chom vy, konopel'ki" (Choir). From Raschnkos' collection; arranged by N. Klenovskii

C) Little Russian Songs

18. "Oi, plach, dushe grishna," verse (baritone and soprano). From the collection of Kol'berg, N. Klenovskii's arr.
19. "Da zhila sobi udovin'ka" (soprano)
20. "Doshchik kapae dribnen'ko" (soprano)
21. "Oi u luzi chirvona kalina" (2 sopranos) N.A. Ianchuk's transcr., Iu. D. Engel's arr.
22. "A vzhe vesna" (Choir). N.A. Ianchuk's transcr., Iu.D. Engel's arr.

PART II

D) Bulgarian Songs

23. Weddign [song] (contralto). N.A. Ianchuk's transcr., V.V. Paskhalov's arr.
- 24-25. "Velko" and "Stoian" (see Concert I)

E) Turko-Tatar Songs

- 26-27. Tatar love and dance [songs] (soprano)
- 28-29. Bashkir family [bytovaia] [song] (tenor)
- 30-32. Bashkir family [bytovaia] [song] (mezzo-soprano)
- 33-34. Bashkir tunes without words (Clarinet)
- Nos. 26-34 from the collections of S.G. Rybakov, arranged by A.T. Grechaninov
35. Kyrgyz song for a baritone. Transcribed and arranged by A.T. Grechaninov
36. Kyrgyz song (soprano)
37. Sart song (soprano)
38. Chuvash song (soprano)
- Nos. 26-38 from N.S. Klenovskii's collection (see Concert I)

F) Jewish Songs

39-41. Three songs (Sopr.): wedding, love, and lullaby

42-44. Three songs (baritone): prayer, family, and comic

Nos. 39-44 from the transcriptions by Ginzburg, arranged by Iu. D. Engel

G) Armenian songs

45. "Krunk" (Crane). From the collection of N.S. Klenovskii

46. Song of the wanderer (tenor). Transcription by V. Nanaz'ian

47-51. Five songs from the soloist and a choir (long-drawn-out, famliy, koliada, wedding, and dance [songs]). Arr. by M. Ekmalian, Iu. Engel, and L. Nazar'ian.

CONCERT IV

(Nov. 29, 1901, in the Small Conservatoire Hall, with the participation of soloists and choirs: united amateur choir of the lovers of ethnography [soedinennyi etnograficheskii khor liubitelei i khor Vspomogat. Obshchestva Kupech. Prikazchikov] and the choir of the Adjunct Society of Merchant Clerks under the direction of V.S. Kalinnikov, student-technologists' choir under the direction of A.A. Il'inskii and the choir of Lettish Choir Society under the direction of Ia. P. Rempeter).

PART I**A) Great Russian Songs**

1. Kaliki perekhozhie (à capella choir). From the collection from Nekrasov and Istomin, arranged by A.T. Greachninov

2. Zazdravnaia (à capella choir). From the collection of Filippov, arranged by Rimsky-Korsakov

3. Kniaz' Vladimir i ego synov'ia

4. Kniaz' Mikhailo Skopin.

Nos. 3-4 from new Bolomor'e transcriptions by A. Maslov and A. Markov, arranged by A.A. Il'inskii (for tenor and soprano)

5. Egorii Khrabryi.

6. Churilo Plenkovich

Nos. 5-6 from Belomor'e transcriptions by A. Maslov and A. Markov, arr. by Maslov and Il'inskii (for baritone)

7. Wedding "Iz-za lesu"

8. Velichal'naia "Kak za rechkoiu"

Nos. 7-8 from Rimsky-Korsakov's collection (women's choir)

9. Long-Drawn-out song "Akh talan li moi."

10. Brigandish song "Ty vzoidi, solntse krasnoe"

Nos. 9-10 from Rimsky-Korsakov's collection (men's choir)

11. Love song "Uzh kak po mostu."

12. Lullaby

Nos. 11-12 from the collection of A.K. Liadov (soprano)

13. Khorovodnaia "Vzoidi solntse, ne nizko –vysoko"

14. Troitskaia "Ai vo pole lipen'ka."
Nos. 13-14 from Rimsky-Korsakov's collection (mixed choir)

B) Little Russian Songs

15. Vesnianka "Cherez nashe sel'tse." From transcriptions of N.Ia. Ianchuk, arr. by S.I. Taneev (soprano)
16. "Dvorianka," from the repertoire of Ost. Beresaia, arr. by I.A. Kotov (tenor and soprano)
17. "Chumak," from the collection of Gulak-Artemovskii, arr. by I.A. Kotov (women's choir)
18. "Tuman iarom," long-drawn-out [song], from collection of N.V. Lisenka (Men's choir)

PART II

A) Polish Songs

- 19-20. Two love [songs] from the collection of O. Kol'berg. arr. by I. Il'inskii (mezzo-soprano)
21. Kuiaviak, from the collection of N.S. Klenovskii (men's choir)

B) Lettish Songs

- 22-23. Two love [songs] from the collection of I. Vitol (mezzo-soprano)
24-25. Two chorus [songs] from the repertoire of the Lettish Singing Society (mixed choir)

C) Jewish Songs

26. A love song – 27. A song without words. Transcription and arrangement by Iu. D. Engel (Sopr.)
28. A song of a cabman. Transcription and arrangement by Iu.D. Engel (for baritone)
29. Prayer. Transcription and arrangement by Iu.D. Engel (baritone and choir)

D) Bashkir Songs

- 30-32. Three songs from the collection of S.G. Rybakov arranged by A.T. Grechaninov (tenor)

E) Tatar Songs

- 33-34. A love song and a song of everyday life [*bytovaia*] from the collection of S.G. Rybakov, arranged by A.T. Grechaninov (for a contralto)
35. A chorus [song] from the collection of S.G. Rybakov, arranged by A.T. Grechaninov (men's choir)

CONCERT V

(January 30, 1902, in the Romanov's Hall, with the participation of soloists and two choirs: Ethnographic amateur choir under the direction of A.V. Nikol'skii and Georgian choir under the direction of D.I. Arakchiev).

PART I

A) Great Russian Songs

1. "Kak vo gorode stal' nokievskom," *bylina* (baritone) from the collection of N.A. Rimsky-Korsakov
2. "Boi Dobryni s tatarinom," *bylina* (soprano) from the Belomore transcriptions of A. Markov and A. Maslov, arranged by B.B. Pakhalov
3. "Brat'ia-razboiniki," *bylina* from the transcriptions by A.L. Maslov (soprano and tenor), arranged by A.A. Il'inskii
4. "Golubinaia kniga" (baritone), from the collection of N.A. Rimsky-Korsakov
5. "Zvonili Zvony" (women's choir), from the collection of N.A. Rimsky-Korsakov
6. Wedding lamentation (soprano) from the collection of V.M. Orlov
7. "Stroil malen'kii palaty" (choir), drawn-out song, from the collection of V.M. Orlov

B) Belo Russian Songs

8. "Dubrovchka Zelenaia" spring [song] (contralto), from the collection of P.V. Shein
9. Lullaby, from the collection of Zin. Radchenko (arranged by A.T. Grechaninov)

C) Little Russian Songs

10. "A v Erusalymi," *koliadka*, from the collection of N.A. Ianchuk (mixed choir), arranged by Iu. Engel
11. "Oi, ram na morizhku," *vesnianka*, from the collection of Rubets (Sopr. and the women's choir)
12. "Teche voda z-pid kamenia," historical [song], from the collection of N.V. Lisenko
13. "Ne lai mene, moia maty" (women's choir), from the collection of N.Ia. Ianchuk, arranged by Iu.D. Ingel.
14. "Karmeliuk," historical [song] (men's choir), from the transcriptions of Iu.D. Engel

PART II

A) Lettish Songs

15. "Po pudima kruma," a love [song], from the collection of Baranovskii
16. "Berneli mana," a love [song], from the collection of Baranovskii
17. "Treie goidzhu," a wedding [song], from the collection of Iushkevich (all for soprano), arranged by V.V. Paskhalov

B) Finish Songs

18. "Kalevala" (1st runa), from transcriptions of I. Kron, arranged by N.S. Potolovskii (baritone)
19. "Ele sure Suomen tutte," from the collection of Hägg (contralto)
20. "Tuoltana kulu kar'ian kelot," from the collection of Hägg (contralto)
21. "Lauletamme nuoret," from transcriptions by I. Kron, arranged by N.S. Potolovskii (soprano)

C) Votiak Song

22. From the transcriptions of Vikhman, arranged by Iu. S. Sakhnovskii (baritone)

D) Taranchi Songs

- 23-24. Love [songs] from the collection of N. Pantusov, arranged by Iu. S. Sakhnovskii (soprano)

E) Georgian Songs

(from transcriptions of D.I. Arakchiev)

25. "Odila murman," everyday song [*bytovaia*] (for solo tenor and choir)
26. "Dila nanina," dancing [song] (for solo tenor and choir)
27. "Akh mnvarev," urban song (mezzo-soprano)
28. "Chemo tano," urban song (mezzo-soprano)
29. "Urmuli," village [song] (tenor)
30. "Mogitsera tsavikitkhe," urban [song] (mezzo-soprano)
31. "Chona," Easter hymn (tenor with a choir)
32. "Avdek tsaveli," everyday song [*bytovaia*] (tenor with a choir).

CONCERT VI

(April 20, 1902, in the auditorium of the History Museum, with the participation of soloists and choir, and instrumental numbers)

PART I (Vocal)

A) Great Russian Songs

1. Carollers song "Daladyn'," from the collection of Rimsky-Korsakov, arranged by I.A. Kotov (Mixed choir)
2. "Lalar'," from the transcriptions of A.L. Maslov (soprano and baritone with the accompaniment of lira)

3. "Vasilei Kisarinskii," from the transcriptions of A. Maslov, arranged by A. Il'inskii (for baritone)
4. Wedding [sogn] "Kak u molodtsa v tri riada kudri zavivalisia," from the transcriptions made in Perm' by I.S. Tezavrovskii (women's choir)
5. Drawn-out song [protiazhaia] "Ne kukui kukushechka," from the transcriptions of I. Tezavrovskii (soprano accompanied by Oboe and Clarinet)
6. Don Gulebnaia "Uzh ty pole," from the transcriptions of A.M. Listopadov (men's choir)
7. Everyday song [bytovaia]: a) "Uzh ty zimushka," from Balakirev's collection; b) "Step' Mozdokskaia," from the collection of Filippov, arranged by Rimsky-Korsakov
8. Round song [khorovodnaia] "Kak po berezhku po krutomu," from A. Liadov's collection (mixed choir)
9. Chastaia "Dulia-tonkopriazha," from V.M. Orlov's collection (mixed choir)

B) Little Russian Songs

10. Historical [song] "Oi. Ishli nashi slavnia zaporozhtsi," from N. Ianchuk's transcriptions, arranged by Iu. Engel' (men's choir)
11. Zhinocha "Svity, misitsiu," from N. Ianchuk's transcriptions, arranged by N. Klenovskii (soprano)
12. Divocha "Da tuman iarom," from N. Lisenko's collection
13. P'anitska "Iak poikhan mii milen'kii," from N. Lisenko's collection
14. Gurtova "Maty moia, matusen'ko," from N. Ianchuk's collection, arranged by Iu. Engel' (mixed choir)

C) Caucasian Songs

15. Armenia song from the collection of Egiazarian
16. Kumyk everyday song [bytovaia] "Gogmna bavlar," transcribed by D. Arakchiev
17. Circassian everyday song "Vorira," transcribed by D. Arakchiev
18. Georgian-Svaneti songs "Kaisan kiniani," from the collection of Tentsov
19. Georgian-Mingreli song "Vo domtskvili," from the collection of Grozdov
20. Georgian-Gurian sogn "Mze shina," transcribed by D. Arakchiev

PART II (Instrumental)

A) Russian Melodies

1. *Bylina* "Vasilii Okul'evich," from Balakirev's collection (performed on *gusli*)
2. Wedding song "Kak vo sadu vinograda kust," from A. Liadov's collection (performed on *gusli*)
3. Wedding "Ne bylo vetru," from Balakirev's collection (performed on *cvirel'*)

B) Little Russian Melodies

4. Verse "Nema v sviti pravdy" (performed on *lira*)
5. Two shepherd's tunes for *sopilka*, from the transcriptions of N.A. Ianchuk

C) Polish and Bulgarian Melodies

- 6-7. Two Polish tunes played on a pipe, from the transcriptions of N.A. Ianchuk
- 8-9. Two Bulgarian melodies for “diplia” (a double reed pipe), from transcriptions of M.P. Tikhominova

D) Jewish Melodies

- 10-12. Three melodies for a violin, with piano accompaniment

E) Caucasian Melodies

- 13-15. Lezhinka: a) Georgian, b) Kumyk, and c) Ossetinian. Transcriptions by D. Arakchieva (performed on *salamuri*, with an accompaniment of the drum instruments *daira* and *doli*)
- 16. A Georgian dance “davhuri,” transcribed by D. Arakchiev (performed on *zurna* accompanied by *doli*)

F) Sart Melodies

- 17-19. Three melodies from the collection of Pantusov, arranged by Iu. Sakhnovskii (performed on English Horn)

G) Cheremis Melodies

- 20-21. Two melodies performed on Chuvash *gusli*

H) Moldavian Melodies

- 22. A melody for a violin with piano
- 23. A melody for a violin, accompanied by clarinet, trumpet, cello, and tamburine

CONCERT VII

(March 03, 1906, in the auditorium of the Historical Museum, with the participation of the soloists, men’s choir, a *gusli* player, and a *lira* player)

PART I

A) Great Russian Songs

- 1. “Nochki temnyia,” round [song] from the collection of M.E. Piatnitsikii and V.V. Paskhalov
- 2. “Za rekoi, za bystroï,” round [song] by Musorgsky
- 3. “Bylina o Kostriuke,” transcription and arrangement by A. Maslov (baritone)
- 4. “Luchina,” from the collection of E.E. Lineva (trio: two sopranos and alto)
- 5. “Na zore bylo, na zoren’ke,” from the collection of Iu. N Mel’gunov (tenor)

6. a) "Kak po moriu sinemu"
 b) "Uzh kak po mostu, po kalinovomu"
 c) "Ty poli, moia korovushka, domoi"
 d) "Vdol' da po rechen'ke"
 (Tunes without words, performed on *gusli*)
7. "Chto zapil, zagulial," from the collection of M. Piatnitskii and V. Paskhalov
 (soprano and tenor)
8. "Psal'ma" (spiritual verse), from transcriptions by D. Arakchiev (tenor with *lira*)

B) Little Russian Songs

9. "Da tuman iarom," from the collection of N. V. Lisenko (soprano)
10. "Iak poikhav mii milen'kii," from the collection of N. V. Lisenko (soprano)
11. "Duma," from the collection of N. V. Lisenko (tenor with *lira*)
12. "Oi piidu i po had lugom," transcribed by N. Ianchuk (tenor with *lira*)
13. "Oi tam za Dunaem," from the collection of N. V. Lisenko (men's choir)
14. "Oi shcho to za shum uchinivsia," from the collection of N. V. Lisenko (men's choir)

PART II

A) Polish Songs

15. "Wezme ja kontusz," from the collection of N. Klenovskogo (tenor)
16. "Upadla mi siekireczka," from the collection of Kol'berg, arranged by V. Paskhalov
 (soprano)

B) Non-Russian [*inorodcheskii*] Songs

- 17 – 18. Two Armenian Songs by Korganov
19. Tatar Song "Takmak," from the collection of S. Rybakov, arranged by Grechninov
20. Bashkir Song "Zhinyl' Byi," from the collection of S. Rybakov, arranged by Grechninov (tenor)
- 21-23. Georgian Songs: a) a love song, b) a lullaby, transcribed and arranged by D. Arakchiev (soprano), c) "Megrulada," love song transcribed and arranged by D. Arakchiev (soprano and a choir)

CONCERT VIII

(Sunday, February 11, 1907; in the big hall of the Russian Noble Assembly)

PART I

A) Great Russian Songs

1. "Komu povem pechal moi," spiritual verse from the Northern Caucasus, transcription of D. Arakchiev (for tenor, soprano, and bass, with *lira*)

2. Commemoration verse [*pominal'nyi stikh*] from Tver' gubernia, by Rimsky-Korsakov (tenor and mezzo-soprano)
3. "Stroil malen'kii palaty," drawn-out song, Tambov gubernia, from the collection of V. Orlov (mixed choir)
4. "Vzoidi, vzoidi, solntse," Moscow gubernia, by Rimsky-Korsakov (mixed choir)
5. "Ia poidu li moloden'ka," wedding [song], Riazan' gubernia, by A. Liudov (mixed choir)
6. "Kak pod lesom," round [song], Nizhegorodskii gubernia, by Balakirev (*rozhok* with piano)
7. "Chto tsveli v pole tsvetiki," love [song], Moscow gubernia, by Rimsky-Korsakov (*rozhok* with piano)
8. "Iz-za lesu," wedding [song], Smolensk gubernia, from Rimsky-Korsakov's collection (mixed choir)
9. "Akh talan li moi," transcription of Prach, from Rimsky-Korsakov's collection (mixed choir)
10. "Zapletisia pleten'," spring [song]
11. Four melodies for *gusli*, performed by *gusliar* F.A. Kislov
12. "Uzh ty pole moe," drawn-out [song], Nizhegorodskii gubernia, from Balakirev's collection (soprano)
13. "Melodka, melodka, veselaia," Nizhegorodskii gubernia, from Balakirev's collection (soprano)
14. "Ty reka l' moia," wedding [song], Olonets gubernia, from Balakirev's collection (tenor)
15. "Na Ivenushke chapan," wedding-comic [song], from Balakirev's collection (tenor)
16. "Proshchai, devki," recruiting [song], Vladimir gubernia, from Mel'gunov's collection (baritone)
17. "Temnaia nochka," drawn-out [song], Voronezh gubernia, V.E. Piatnitskii's transcription (tenor and baritone)
18. "Uzh vy vetry," Voronezh, for two voices, from the collection of Piatnitskii and Paskhalov (tenor and baritone)
19. "Poseiali devki len'," round [song], Nizhegorodskii gubernia, by Grechaninov (mezzo-soprano)
20. "Zaigrai moia volynka," satirical [song], Tamborskaia gubernia, by Balakirev (soprano with harp)
21. "U vorot batiushkinykh," round [song], Nizhegorodskii gubernia, by Balakirev (baritone with choir)
22. "Ekhn, da uzh vy, nochki," drawn-out [song], Voronezh gubernia, from the collection of Piatnitskii and Paskhalov (baritone with choir)
23. "Dunia tonkopriakha," satirical [song], Tamborskii gubernia, from V. Orlov's collection (mixed choir)

B) Belo Russian Songs

1. Two spring melodies (from the transcriptions of N.A. Ianchuk), arranged by S.I. Taneev (Oboe and harp)
2. "V boru sosenska," seesaw [*kachel'naia*] song, for two choirs, arranged by N. Ianchuk, from the collection of Radchenko (choir)
3. "Chom vy, konopel'ki," round [song], arranged by N. Klenovskii, from the collection of Radchenko (choir)
4. "Kupala na Ivana," from the manuscript collection of N. Ianchuk (choir)

C) Little Russian Songs

1. "Osada Pocheva turkami," duma, from N.V. Lisenko's collection (tenor with *lira*)
2. "Begstvo trekh brat'ev iz Azova," duma by V. Shevchenko (tenor with *lira*)
3. "Oi chumache, chumache," everyday [*bytovaia*], from N.A. Ianchuk's collection (tenor and choir)
4. "Iarom, Iarom pshenichen'ka," from N.A. Ianchuk's collection (tenor and choir)
5. "Oi shcho bo to za voron," Cossack [song], from N.V. Lisenko's collection (contralto)
6. "Da tuman iarom," love [song], from N.V. Lisenko's collection (contralto)
7. "Gore mini na chuzhine," family [song], from N.V. Lisenko's collection (contralto)
8. "Oi nen'ko, zatsvilo serden'ko," from N.V. Lisenko's collection (contralto)
9. "Oi moroze, morozen'ko," historical [song], transcription of V. Shevchenko (with *bandura*)
10. "Gei u stepu krynychen'ka," Tchoomak [song], from Lisenko's collection (tenor)
11. "Oi po gori chaban," transcription of N.A. Ianchuk, arrangement by A.L. Maslov (tenor)
12. "Oi izrada kari ochi," love [song], from Lisenkos' collection (mezzo-soprano)
13. "Tak poikhav mii milen'kii," satirical [song], from Lisenko's collection (mezzo-soprano)
14. "Chi ty milyi pylom prinav," love [song], from Lisenko's collection (soprano)
15. "Da kudy idesh, Iavtushe," satirical, arranged by N. Klenovskii (soprano)
16. "Kotilasias zoria," love [song], transcription of V. Shevchenko (tenor and baritone)
17. "Kupala," transcription of V. Shevchenko (tenor with *bandura*)
18. "Tuman iarom," drove [song], from N.V. Lisenko's collection (choir)
19. "Karmeliuk," brigandish [song], transcription and arrangement by Iu. D. Engel' (choir)
20. "A vzhe vesna," transcription of N.A. Ianchuk, arranged by N.S. Klenovskii (choir)

CONCERT IX

(December 12, 1907, in the auditorium of the Historical Museum)

Introductory lecture by A.L. Maslov "About the Influence of Folk Music on the Works of Russian Composers" [O vliianii narodnoi muzyki na tvorchestvo russkikh kompozitorov]

Concert performance

Part I

- 1-2. *Byliny*: "Solovei Budimirovich," arranged by Rimsky-Korsakov; "Il'ia Muromets," arranged by A. Liadov
- 3-4. Spiritual verses: "Kniga golubinaia," arranged by Rimsky-Korsakov; "Egorii Khrabryi," arranged by A. Maslov
5. Drawn-out [song] "Gory," from V. Prokunin's collection (choir)
6. Workers' [song] "Ei dubinushka," a new transcription by D. Arakchiev (choir)
7. Barge Hauler's [song] "Ei ukhnem," from M. Balakirev's collection (performed on *gusli*)
8. Dance [song] "Kamarinskaia" (performed on *gusli*)
9. Shepherds' tunes, a new transcription by D. Arakchiev (performed on oboe)

10. Koliadka “Vinogradie,” arranged by A. Il’inskii
11. Dance [song] “Poidu li, vyidu l’ ia,” arranged by A. Liadov
12. Koliadka “Tausen’,” arranged for a choir by I. Nekrasov
13. Comic [song] “Lisitsa i petukh,” transcribed by I. Tezarovskii
14. Wedding-comic [song] “Na Ivanushke chapan,” arranged by Balakirev
15. Round [song] “Zvala-zvala devushka,” arranged by A. Liadov
16. Lyrical [song] “To ne iastreb sovykalsia,” arranged by Rimsky-Korsakov
17. Everyday [song] “Luchina,” from Mel’gunov’s collection
18. Street [song] “Pod iablon’koiu zelenoiu,” from Balakirev’s collection (performed on cymbals)
19. Round [song] “Ei Ivan, ty Ivan,” from Rimsky-Korsakov’s collection (performed on cymbals)
20. Round [song] “Ai vo pole lipen’ka,” arranged by Rimsky-Korsakov for a choir

Part II (folk tunes in the works of Russian composers)

M.P. Musorgsky (1836-1881)

- Marfa’s song “Iskhodila mladeshen’ka,” from opera *Khovanshchina*
- Girl’s Choir “Plyvet lebedushka,” from opera *Khovanshchina*
- “Spes’” (art song)
- “Pirushka” (art song)

P.I. Blaramberg (1841-1906)

- Women’s choir “Okh, boiaryshnia, svet Liudmilushka,” from opera *Tushintsy*

N.A. Rimsky-Korsakov (1844-1908)

- Lullaby, from opera *Sadko*
- Marfa’s aria, from *Tsarskaia nevesta*
- Liubasha’s aria, from *Tsarskaia nevesta*
- Sadko’s aria, from *Sadko*
- “Zapad gasnet v dali” (art song)

A.P. Borodin (1834-1887)

- “Pesnia temnogo lesa” (art song, performed by a choir)
- Serf’s choir “Okh, ne buinyi veter,” from opera *Prince Igor* (performed by a choir)

CONCERT X

(January 16, 1911, in the new auditorium Polytechnic Museum)

PART I

A) Great Russian Songs

1. M. Slavinskii, “Sobiraites’, bratsy-rebiatushki,” recruitment [song] (baritone)
2. » “Oi Ivan-to, ty Ivan,” dance [song] (mezzo-soprano)
3. A. Maslov, “Van’ka-kliuchnik,” historical [song] (mezzo-soprano)
4. D. Arakchiev, two shepherd’s tunes (oboe and piano)
5. A. Kastal’skii, “Podui, podui, nepogodushka” (baritone accompanied by oboe and piano)

6. A. Olenin, “Golub’,” wedding [song] (women’s choir)

B) Belo Russian Songs

7. A. Grechninov, “Lullaby” (soprano)
8. A. Maslov, “Il’ia Muromets,” *bylina* (tenor)

C) Little Russian Songs

9. M. Slavinskii, “Oi skazhi, serdtse, pravdu” (contralto)
10. » “Oi siv pugach na magile,” historical [song] (baritone)
11. » “Shchedrivka” (soprano)
12. P. Kotov, “Chumak,” comic (soprano)
13. » “Ta tuman iarom,” everyday [song] (men’s choir)
14. M. Slavinskii, “Oi i shli nashi zaporozhtsi” (choir)
15. Iu. Engel’, “Ne lai mene, moia maty” (mixed choir)

D) Polish Songs

16. A. Il’inskii, wedding [song] (soprano)
17. V. Paskhalov, Mazurka (soprano)
18-19. G. Pakhul’skii. Two Polish songs from piano: a) harvester song, b) beggars’ song

E) Jewish Songs

- 20-21. Iu. Engel’: a) wedding, b) love (tenor and soprano)

F) Lettish Songs

- 22-23. a) “Ligo,” ritual [song] in three variants; b) everyday song, choir (from Tsimze’s collection)

PART II

A) Caucasian Songs

24. D. Arakchiev. **Georgian:** a melody of a cello with piano
25. » » » “Urmuli” (tenor)
26. » » » “Do vstrechi s toboi” (tenor)
27. » » » “Devitsa krasavitsa” (tenor)
28. » » » “Solntse,” lullaby (soprano)
29. » » » **Armenian:** “Dzhan maral, dzhan,” love (tenor)
30. » » » “Zim gylkhin” (tenor)
31. » » » **Ossetinian:** “Tate,” brigands’ [song] (tenor)
32. » » » **Circassian:** “Vorira” (oboe and piano)

B) Turkic-Tatar Songs

33. D. Arakchiev. **Turkish Songs** : “Sharky adzhem ashirap” (soprano)
34. » » » “Uskiudala,” love [song] (tenor)
35. A. Grechaninov, **Tatar Song** (mezzo-soprano)
36. » » » Bashkir Song for a flute and piano
37. R. Glière, **Taranchi Songs**, “Gosgum,” [Tender] (tenor)
38. » » » “Guby tvoi sakhar, podruzhka” (tenor)
39. Iu. Sakhnovskii, **Taranchi Song** “Giuli guncha” (soprano)

C) Songs of Different Peoples

40. M. Slavinskii. **Greek Song** “A Kiss” (soprano)
41. » » » **Persian melody** for cello and piano
42. » » » **Aleut Song**, for a flute and piano
43. » » » **Chinese Ballade**, for a piano
44. » » » **Scottish Song**, for a piano
45. » » » **Irish dance**, for a violin and piano
46. » » » **Moldavian dance** “Dzhog,” for oboe and piano
47. » » » **Rumanian melody** (military), for a violin and piano

Concert–lecture by E.E. Lineva

(November 29, 1907)

“Russian Folk Song”

I. Lecture

II. Musical Illustration

(performed by the artists and choir)

1. Great Russian Songs

1. Oi, matushka, chto vo pole pyl’no (Prach)
2. Podui, podui, nepogodushka (Balakirev)
3. Vy, molodchiki moloden’kie (Prokunin)
4. Zapletisia, pleten’ (Rimsky-Korsakov)
5. Pole chistoe; 5 variants (Prach, Balakirev, Prokunin, Liadov, and Lineva in 3 voices with a preservation of folk voice-leading)
6. Ne odna vo pole dorozhen’ka (Lineva)
7. Zalanaia roshcha (Mel’gunov, arranged by Balakirev)
8. Ia kachu, kachu (Listopadov)

2. Little Russian Songs

1. Ta vzhe tretii vechir (Edlichki)
2. Podui, podui, nepogodushka (Balakirev)
3. Petrivka
4. Nos. 2-3 are for two voices; learned by ear by performers Mrs. Denisova and Mrs. Okhrimovich)
5. Oi u sadochku (Edlichki)
6. Oi u Luzi ta pri berezi (Lisenko)
7. Grechaniki (Edlichki)

Folk-Artistic Concert [*Narodno-Khudozhestvennyi Kontsert*]*

(Auditorium of Historical Museum, April 28, 1906)

Folk songs in artistic arrangements by Russian composers

For the benefit of the fund for building a monument to the member of the Society – Iu. N. Mel'gunov (in Moscow)

PART I

1. Great Russian Songs:
 - a. "Nochka," from the collection of Iu. Mel'gunov, performed by the mixed choir
 - b. "Van'ka-kliuchnik," from the collection of Rimsky-Korsakov
 - c. "Veterochki," Voronezh gubernia, from the collection of Piatkitskii and Paskhalov
 - d. "Luchina," Voronezh gubernia, transcribed by E.E. Lineva (solo with a choir)
 - e. "Ai u sadochku"
 - f. "Ia kachu, kachu"

Nos. e. and f. are songs from the Don region, transcribed by A.M. Listopadov, for a mixed choir

2. "Ia li v poke da ne travushka byla," song by Tchaikovsky
3. Children songs arranged by A.T. Grechaninov:
 - a. "Ai doo-doo"; b. "Vesna"; c. "Ten'-ten'" for a choir
4. Liubasha's Song from Rimsky-Korsakov's *Tsar's Bride*
5. Lullaby from *Tsar' Saltan* by Rimsky-Korsakov (women's choir)
6. "Za rechen'koi iar khmel'," song by A.T. Grechaninov (mixed choir)

PART II

1. Little Russian Folksongs:
 - a. "Mala nichka Petrivochka"
 - b. "Pod nas sadom stezhechka"
- a. and b. transcribed by E.E. Lineva from women's choir

- c. “Oi ziidy, ziidy, izsnyi mesiatsiu”
- d. “Iak poikhav mii milen’kii”
- c. and d. from the collection of Lisenko
- 2. Two numbers from *Zaporozhets za Dunaem* by Gulag-Artemovskii
 - a. “Angel nochi nad zemleiu” (tenor)
 - b. “Oi kazala mini maty”
- 3. Evreiiskie pesni:
 - a. Molitvennaia
 - b. Kolybel’naia (Engel)
- 4. Duo from opera *Uriel Akosta* by V. Serova
- 5. Georgain songs, transcribed and arranged by D.I. Arakchiev
 - a. “Orovela,” workers’ [song]
 - b. “Kokobo vardo,” love [song]
- 6. Two art songs by Arakchiev:
 - a. “From Hafiz”
 - b. “Na kholmakh Gruzii”
- 7. Song of Polovtsian maidens from *Prince Igor* by Borodin

* This concert was cancelled because of the social unrest.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Primary Sources

I. Periodicals and Journals:

Artist. Teatral'nyi, muzykal'nyi i khudozhestvennyi zhurnal (1889-1895)

Aziatskii muzykal'nai zhurnal (1816-1818)

Aziatskii vestnik (1825-1827)

Beseda (1871-1872)

Etnograficheskii sbornik (1853-1862)

Ethnographicheskoe obozreniie (EO) (1898-1917)

Izvestiia Kazanskogo Obshchestva Arkheologii, Istorii i Etnographii (IKOAIE) (1878-1917)

Lastochka: zhurnal dlia dam i devits (1859-1860)

Maiak (1840-1917)

Molva. Supplement to Teleskop (1854-1857)

Muzyka i zhizn' (1908-1919)

Muzykal'nyi sezon (1869-1871)

Nuvellist. Muzykal'nyi zhurnal dlia fortepiano (1842-1906)

Nuvellist. Literaturnoe pribavlenie (1844-1874)

Rodina (1879-1882)

Russkaia beseda (1856-1860)

Russkaia mysl'. Zhurnal nauchnyi, literaturnyi i politicheskii (1880-1891)

Russkaia starina (1888-1917)

Russkii vestnik (1856-1906)

Sbornik materialov dlia mestnostei i plemen Kavkaza (1881-1917)

Severnyi vestnik (1889-1917)

Slovo. Nauchnyi, literaturnyi i politicheskii zhurnal (1877-1917)

Syn Otechestva (1830-1852; 1856-1860)

Trudy Imperatorskogo vol'nogo ekonomicheskogo obshchestva (1842-1894)

Vestnik Evropy (VE) (1865-1876)

Zapiski Imperatorskogo Russkogo Geograficheskogo Obshchestva (ZIRGO) (1850-1891)

Zapiski Imperatorskogo Russkogo Geograficheskogo Obshchestva po otdeleniiu etnografii (ZIRGOOE) (1867-1916)

Zapiski Vostochnogo Otdeleniia Russkogo Arkheologicheskogo Obshchestva (ZVROAO) (1886-1908)

Zhivopisnoe obozreniie. Ezhenedel'nyi illiustrirovannyi zhurnal (1872-1880)

Zhurnal ministerstva narodnogo prosviashcheniia (1834-1917)

Newspapers:

Illiustratsiia (1864-1917)

Mirskoe slovo (1863-1879)

Moskovskie vedomosti (1890-1900)

Muzykal'noe obozrenie (1885-1888)

Russkaia muzykal'naia gazeta (RMG) (1894-1917)

Kavkas (1835-1859)

Teatr i iskusstvo (1897-1918)

Turkestanskii vedomosti (1874-1916)

II. Books and articles:

Afganskoe razgranichenie. Peregovory mezhdru Rossiei i Velikobritaniei 1872-1885

[*Afghan Border: Negotiations between Russia and Great Britain, 1872-1885*]. St. Petersburg, 1886.

Asaf'ev, B.V. *Russian Music from the Beginning of the Nineteenth Century*. Translated from the Russian by Alfred J. Swan. Michigan: Ann Arbor, 1953.

____. *Izbrannye trudy [Collected Works]*. 4 vols. Moscow: Izdat. AN SSSR, 1955.

Balakirev, M.A. and V.V. Stasov. *Perepiska [Correspondence]*. Edited by A.S.

Liapunova. 2 vols. Moscow: Muzyka, 1970.

Belinsky, Vissarion G. *Polnoe sobranie sochinenii [Complete Works]*. Moscow: Izdat. AN SSSR, 1953-1959.

Berlin, Ya. *Men'shie brat'ia v sem'e narodov. Ocherki byta i nraov dikarei [Little Brothers in the Family of Nations: Essays on the Ways of Life and Customs of the Savages]*. Moscow: tip. K.L. Men'shova, 1906.

- Bourgault-Ducoudray, Louis-Albert. *Trente melodies populaire de Grèce et d'Orient*. Paris: Henry Lemoine, 1876.
- Brockhauz, F.A. and Efron, I.A. *Entsiklopedicheskii slovar'* [Encyclopaedic Dictionary]. 35 vols. Leipzig and St. Petersburg, 1890-1906.
- Campbell, Stuart, ed. and trans. *Russians on Russian Music, 1830-1880: An Anthology*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994.
- Christianowitsch, Alexandre. *Esquisse historique de la musique arabe aux temps anciens avec dessins d'instruments et 40 mélodies notées et harmonisées par Christianowitsch*. Cologne: Librairie du M. Dumont Schauberg, 1863.
- Cui, Cesar. *Izbrannye pis'ma* [Selected Letters]. Leningrad: Gos.Muz.Izdat., 1955.
- _____. *Putevye zametki inzhenera ofitsera na teatre voennykh deistvii v evropeiskoi Turtsii* [Travel Notes by Ingeneering Officer on the Site of Military Action in European Turkey]. Saint Petersburg: Tip. Dep. Udelov, 1878.
- _____. "Ocherk razvitiia 'romansa' v Rossii [An Essay on the Development of Art Song in Russia]." *Artist* 45 (Jan. 1895): 7-13; 46 (Feb. 1895): 5-16.
- Dal', Vladimir I. *Tolkovyi slovar' zhivogo velikorusskogo iazyka* [Explanatory Dictionary of the Great Living Russian Language]. 4 vols. St. Petersburg: Obshchestvo liubitelei rossiiskoi slovesnosti, 1863-1866.
- Dargomyzhsky, Alexander S. *Avtobiografiia. Pis'ma. Vospominaniia sovremennikov* [Autobiography, Letters, Memoirs of the Contemporaries]. Peterburg: Gos.Izdat., 1921.
- _____. *Izbrannye pis'ma* [Selected Letters]. Moscow: Muzgiz, 1952.
- Eichhorn, August and Djani-Zade, Tamila. "Dnevnik voennogo kapel'meistera Avgusta Eichhorna. Istoricheskii dokument po izucheniiu kul'tury Russkogo Turkestana" [A Diary of the Military Kapellmeister, August Eichhorn. A Historic Document on the Study of the Culture of Russian Turkestan]. In *Trudy Gosudarstvennogo Tsentral'nogo Muzeia Muzykal'noi Kul'tury Imeni M.I. Glinki. Al'manakh*, edited by M. Rakhamnova, vol. 1, 87-120. Moscow: Kompozitor, 1999.
- _____. *Polnaia kollektsiia muzykal'nykh instrumentov narodov Tsentral'noi Azii* [A Complete Collection of Musical Instruments of Central Asian Peoples]. St. Petersburg, 1885.

- Famintsyn, Alexander. *Drevniaia indo-kitaiskaia gamma v Azii i Evrope* [Ancient Hindu-Chinese Scale in Asia and Europe]. St. Petersburg: tip. Iu. Schtaufa, 1889.
- _____. *Domra i skhodnye ei muzykal'nye instrumenty russkogo naroda* [The Domra and Related Musical Instruments of the Russian People]. St. Petersburg: tip. E. Arnol'da, 1891.
- Fétis, F.J. "Sur un nouveau mode de classification des races humaines d'après leurs systemes musicaux." *Bulletins de la Société D'Antropologie*, t. II, Sér. II (1867): 134-43.
- _____. *Histoire générale de la musique depuis les temps les plus anciens jusqu'à nos jours*, Vol. 2. Paris: Typographie Firmin Didot, 1869.
- Findeizen, Nikolai Fedorovich. *History of Music in Russia from Antiquity to 1800* [Ocherki po istorii muzyki v Rossii]. Translated by Samuel William Pring, edited and annotated by Miloš Velimirović and Claudia R. Jensen. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2008.
- Fuks, Karl. *Kazanskie tatary* [Kazan Tatars]. Kazan, 1844.
- Gorchakov, Alexander Mikhailovich. *Tsirkuliarnaia nota velikim derzhavam* [To the Great Powers]. St. Petersburg, 1864.
- Gretchaninoff, Alexandre. *My Life*. Introduction and translation by Nicolas Slonimsky. New York: Voleman-Ross Co., 1952.
- Grum-Grzhimailo, G.E. *Opisanie puteshestviia v Zapadnyi Kitai* [Description of Travel to the Western Region]. Vol. 1. Moscow: Gos.Izdat. Geograf. Lit., 1948.
- Gubarevich-Radobyl'skii, A. *Ekonomicheskii ocherk Bukhary i Tunisa* [An Economic Essay about Bukhara and Tunis]. St. Petersburg: tip. V. Kirshbauma, 1905.
- Guthrie, Matthieu. *Dissertations sur les antiquités de Russie*. St. Petersburg: Imprimerie du Corps Impérial des Cadets Nobles, 1795.
- Helmholtz, Herman von. *Die Lehre von den Tonempfindungen als physiologische Grundlage für die Theorie der Musik*. Braunschweig: F. Vieweg und Sohn, 1863.
- Ippolitov-Ivanov, M.M. *50 let russkoi muzyki v moikh vospominaniakh* [Fifty Years of Russian Music in My Memoires]. Moscow: Gos.Muz.Izdat, 1934.
- Kamenev, I.A. *Solistka Ego Velichestva Mariia Ivanovna Gorlenko-Dolina* [The Soloist of His Majesty, Maria Ivanovna Gorlenko-Dolina]. St-Petersburg: Trud, 1912.

- Karenin, V. ed. *Perepiska M.A. Balakireva s V.V. Stasovym* [Correspondence between M.A. Balakirev and V.V. Stasov]. 2 vols. Moscow: Muzgiz, 1935.
- Karnovich, E.P. *Rodovye prozvaniiia i tituly v Rossii* [Ancestral Names and Titles in Russia]. St. Petersburg: tip. A.S. Suvorina, 1886.
- Katkov, M.N. *Sobranie peredovykh statei Moskovskikh vedomostei 1867 goda* [A Collection of Editorials from the Moscow Bulletin of 1867]. Moscow, 1897.
- Kazantsev, Il'ia. *Opisaniie kirgiz-kaisak* [A Description of Kirgiz-Kaisaks]. St. Petersburg: Obshchestvennaia pol'za, 1867.
- Kharadzhayev, D.A. *Mariupol' i ego okrestnosti* [Mariupol' and its Vicinity]. Mariupol': tip. A.A. Frantova, 1891.
- Kiesewetter, R.G. *Die Musik der Araber, nach Originalquellen Dargestellt*. Leipzig: Breitkopf und Härtel, 1842.
- Kuropatkin, A.N. *Kashgariia. Istoriko-geograficheskii ocherk strany, ee voennye sily, promyshlennost' i torgovlia* [Kashgaria. Historic-Geographic Essay of the Country, its Military Power, Manufacturing, and Trade]. St. Petersburg: izdanie IRGO, 1879.
- Küchelbecker, V.K. *Puteshestvie, dnevnik, stat'i* [Travels, Diary, Articles]. Leningrad: Nauka, 1979.
- Laroche, Hermann. *Izbrannye stat'i* [Collected Works]. 5 vols. Leningrad: Muzyka, 1974-1978.
- Lermontov, Mikhail. *Sochineniia* [Works]. Edited by I.S. Chistova. 2 vols. Moscow: Khudozhestvennaia literatura, 1988.
- Levshin, Aleksei. *Opisanie kirgiz-kazach'ikh ili kirgiz-kaisakskikh ord i stepei* [A Description of Kirgiz-Cossack or Kirgiz-Kaisak Hordes and Steppes]. St. Petersburg: tip. Karla Kraiia, 1832.
- Liapunov, S.M. ed. *Perepiska M.A. Balakireva s P.I. Tchaikovskim* [Correspondence between M.A. Balakirev and P.I. Tchaikovsky]. St. Petersburg: Iu.G. Tsimmerman, 1912.
- Lykoshin, General N.S. "Opisaniie besporiadkov vyzvannykh naborom rabochikh v Samarkandskoi oblasti" [A Description of Disorders Caused by the Conscription of Workers in Samarkand Region]. In *Vosstanie 1916 goda v Sdernei Azii i*

- Kazakhstane. Sbornik dokumentov [The Revolt of 1916 in Central Asian and Kazakhstan: A Collection of Documents]*. Edited by A.V. Piaskovskii. Moscow: AN SSSR, 1960.
- Mitsikova, Kitai, ego zhiteli, nrawy, obychai, prosvyashchenie [*China, Its Inhabitants, Customs, and Education*]. St. Petersburg: Imperatorskaia Akademiia Nauk, 1840.
- Narody Rossii. Etnograficheskie ocherki. Izdanie zhurnala "Priroda i liudi" [Peoples of Russia. Ethnographic Essays. Publication of the Journal "Nature and People"]*. 2 vols. St. Petersburg: Tip. Tovarishchestva "Obshchestvennaia pol'za," 1879.
- Nashi sosedi v Srednei Azii. Khiva i Turkmeniia [Our Neighbours in Central Asia: Khiva and Turkmenia]*. St. Petersburg: Obshchestvennaia pol'za, 1873.
- Paisel', V.E. *Materialy dlia antropologii Taranchei [Materials for the Anthropology on Taranchi People]*. St. Petersburg: Tip. Otdeleniia Korn. Zhandrm., 1897.
- Pantusov, Nikolai. *Svedeniia o Kul'dzhinskom raione za 1871-1877 gody [Information about the Kulja Region]*. Kazan: Tip. Universiteta, 1881.
- _____. "Nadgrobnnye khristianskie pamiatniki v Almalyke" [*Christian Gravestones in Almalyk*]. *Protokoly Turkestanskogo Kruzhka Liubitelei Arkheologii* 7 (1902): 52-54.
- _____. "Gorod Almalyk i mazar-Tugluk-Timur-khana" [*The City of Almalyk and the Mazar of Tugluk-Timur-Khan*]. In *Kaufmanskii sbornik: izdannyyi v pamiat' 25 let istekshikh so dnia smerti pokoritelia i ustroitelia Turkestanskogo Kraia, Generala-Ad'iutanta, K.P.von Kaufman I-go [Kaufman Collection: Published in the Memory of 25 years from the Death of the Conqueror and Organizer of the Turkestan Region, Governor-General K.P. von Kaufman I]*, 161-75. Moscow: tip. Lit. Tov-va N. Kushnerev, 1910.
- Pashino, P.I. *Turkestanskii krai v 1866 godu. Putevye zametki [Turkestan Region in 1866: Travel Notes]*. St. Petersburg: tip. Tiblena, 1868.
- Petukhov, M. *Narodnye instrumenty Spb-oi konservatorii [Folk Instruments at the St.-Petersburg Conservatoire]*. St. Petersburg: tip. Imperskoi Akademii Nauk, 1884.
- Pevtsov, M.V. *Journey to Kashgariya and Kun-Lun'*. Washington: Joint Publications Research Service, 1967.

- Prjevalsky, Nikolai. *From Kulja across the Tian Shan to Lob-Nor* [*Ot Kul'dji za Tian' Shan' i na Lob-Nor*]. Translated by E. Delmar Morgan. With an introduction by Sir T. Douglas Forsyth. London: Sampson Low, Marston, Searle & Rivington, 1879.
- Pushkin, Alexander. *Collected Narrative and Lyrical Poems*. English translations in the original prosody by Walter Arndt. Ann Arbor, MI: Ardis Publishers, 1983.
- _____. *The Complete Works of Alexander Pushkin*. 15 vols. Norfolk, Idyllwild: Milner and Co., 1999-2003.
- _____. *Polnoe sobranie sochinenii v dvadtsati tomakh* [*Complete Works in Twenty Volumes*]. Edited by V.E. Vatsuro et al. St. Petersburg: Nauka, 1999-.
- _____. *Slovar' iazyka Pushkina* [*A Dictionary of Pushkin's Language*]. 4 vols. Moscow: Gos. Izdat. Inostrannykh i Natsional'nykh Slovari, 1956-1961.
- Pypin, A.N. *Istoriia russkoi etnografii* [*A History of Russian Ethnography*]. St. Petersburg: tip. Stasiulevicha, 1890-1891.
- Radlov, V.V. "Naselenie Iliiskoi doliny" [Ili Valley Populace]. In *Iz Sibiri. Stranitsy dnevnika* [*From Siberia. Pages from a Diary*], 511-31. Moscow: Nauka, 1989.
- Richter, Laurence R. *Selected Nineteenth-Century Russian Song Texts*. New York: Leyerle Publications, 2005.
- Rittikh, A.F. *Materialy dlia etnografii Rossii. Kazanskaia Gubernia* [*Materials for Russian Ethnography: Kazan Province*]. Kazan: Imperatorskii Kazanskii Universitet, 1870.
- _____. *Chetyre lektsii po russkoi etnografii* [*Four Lectures on Russian Ethnography*]. St. Petersburg: tip. V.V. Komarov, 1895.
- Rimsky-Korsakov, Nikolai. *Polnoe Sobranie Sochinenii: Literaturnye proizvedeniia i perepiska* [*Complete Works: Literary Works and Correspondance*]. Vol. 5. Moscow: Gos. Muz. Izdat., 1966.
- _____. *My Musical Life*. Translated from the revised second Russian edition by Judah A. Joffe. New York: Tutor Publishing Co., 1936.
- Rousseau, Jean-Jacques *Discours sur l'origine et les fondements de l'inégalité parmi les hommes. Discours sur les sciences et les arts*. Paris: GF Flammarion, 1992.

- Rybakov, S.G. *Muzyka i pesni ural'skikh musul'man s ocherkom ikh byta* [The Music and Songs of Ural Muslims with an Essay on Their Way of Life]. St. Petersburg: tip. Imperatorskoi Akademii Nauk, 1897.
- Savitskii, Petr, et al. *Exodus to the East: Forebodings and Events: An Affirmation of the Eurasians*. Edited and translated by Ilya Vinkovetskii. Idyllwild, California: Charles Schlacks, Jr. Publisher, 1996. Originally published as *Iskhod k Vostoku. Predchuvstviia i sversheniia. Utverzhdenie evraziitsev*. Sofia: Balkan, 1921.
- Sboev, Vasilii. *Issledovaniia ob inorodtsakh kazanskoi guberni* [Studies on the Inorodtsy of the Kazan Region]. Kazan: tip. Dubrovina, 1856.
- Schrenck, Leopold von. *The Peoples of the Amur Region*. St. Petersburg, 1881-1895. Translated from the German by Alois Hagler. New Heaven, Conn.: Human Relations Area Files, 1964.
- Skrine, F.H. and E. Denison Ross. *The Heart of Asia: A History of Russian Turkestan and the Central Asian Khanates from the Earliest Times*. London: Methuen and Co., 1899.
- Sokal'skii, Petr P. *Russkaia narodnaia muzyka Velikorusaskaia i malorusaskaia v ee stroenii melodicheskom i ritmicheskom i otlichii ee ot osnov sovremennoi garmonicheskoi muzyki* [Great and Little Russian Folk Music and Its Melodic and Rhythmic Structure and Its Difference from the Basics of Contemporary Harmonic Music]. Khar'kov: tip. Adol'fa Darre, 1888.
- Stafford, William C. *A History of Music*. Edinburgh, Constable, and London: Hurst, Chance, 1830.
- Stalin, Joseph. *Marxism and the National Question*. New York: International Publishers, 1942.
- Stasov, V.V. *Stat'i o muzyke* [Essays on Music]. Moscow, 1978.
- _____. *Sobranie sochinenii V.V. Stasova 1847-1886*. St. Petersburg: Tipografiia M.M. Stasiulevicha, 1894.
- Super, A. *La chapelle impériale russe. La chapelle de M.D. Slaviansky d'Agrenéff. Esquisse historique et critique sur la question de la musique à l'église*. Paris: Pisquoin, 1886.

- Tchaikovsky, P.I. *Muzykal'nye fel'etony i zametki Petra Ili'cha Tchaikovskogo, 1868-1876: s prilozheniem portreta, avtobiograficheskogo opisaniia puteshestviia za granitseiu v 1888 godu i predisloviia G.A. Larosha* [Musical Feuilletons and Notes by Petr Tchaikovsky, 1868-1876, with the Portrait, Autobiographical Description of the Travel Abroad in 1888 with an Introduction by G.A. Laroche]. Moscow: Tip. Iakovleva, 1898.
- _____. *P. Tchaikovsky o Rossii i russkoi muzyke. Izbrannye otryvki iz pisem i statei* [Tchaikovsky on Russia and Russian Music: Selected Passages from Letters and Essays]. Edited by I.F. Kunina. Moscow: Gos.Muz-Izdat., 1961.
- Terent'ev, M.A. *Rosssiia i Angliia v bor'be za rynki* [Russia and England in the Struggle for a Market]. St. Petersburg: Tip. P.P. Merkul'eva, 1876.
- Trubetskoi, Nikolai. "O turanskom elemente v russkoi kul'ture" [About Turanian Element in Russian Culture]. In *Evraziiskii vremennik* [Eurasian Chronicle], vol. 4. Edited by Petr Savitskii, P.P. Subchinskii, and N.S. Trubetskoi, 351-377. Berlin: Evraziiskoe knigoizdatel'stvo, 1925.
- _____. "The Upper and Lower Stories of Russian Culture (The Ethnic Basis of Russian Culture)." In *Iskhod k Vostoku. Predchuvstviia i sversheniia* [Exodus to the East. Forebodings and Events. An Affirmation of the Eurasians]. Edited by Ilya Venkovetskii and Charles Schlacks, 80-94. Idyllwild: Charles Schlacks, Jr., Publisher, 1996.
- Trudy muzykal'no-etnograficheskoi komissii sostoiaushchei pri etnograficheskom otdele Imperatorskogo Obshchestva Liubitelei Estesstvoznaniia, Antropologii, i Etnografii* [Proceedings of Music-Ethnographic Committee under the Auspices of the Imperial Society of Lovers of Natural Science, Anthropology and Ethnography]. Vols. 1-4. Moscow: [s.n.], 1906-1913.
- Turkestanskii krai. Sbornik materialov dlia istorii ego zavoevaniia. 1865 god* [Turkestan Region. Collected Materials for the History of its Conquest. The Year 1865]. Tashkent: tip. Shtaba Turkestanskogo okruga, 1914.
- Turkestanskii Al'bom. Po rasporiazheniiu turkestanskago general-gubernatora general-ad'iutanta K. P. fon Kaufmana 1-go. Chast' etnograficheskai: tuzemnoe naselenie v russkikh vladieniakh Srednei Azii. Sostavil A. L. Kun. 1871-1872 g.*

- [*Turkestan Album. By order of the Turkestan Governor-General, Adjutant-General K.P. von Kaufman I. The Ethnographical Part: Native populations in the Russian possessions of Central Asia. Compiled by A.L. Kun. 1871-1872. Lithographed by the Military Topographical Department of the Turkestan Military District*]. St. Petersburg: Printing-house of K. Zameslovsky, permitted by the Censor, 6 November 1872.
- Tomlinson, T.H. "An Account of the Music of Savage Nations (From T.H. Tomlinson's Lectures of Music)." *Musical World* 31 (1853): 481-82.
- Ukhtomskii, Kniaz Esper Esperovich. *Travels in the East of His Imperial Majesty Czar Nicholas II of Russia, when Cesarewitch 1890-1891*. 2 vols. Westminster: Constable, 1900.
- Uvarov, S.S. *Projet d'une académie asiatique*. St. Petersburg, 1810.
- Valikhanov, Chokan. *Sobranie sochinenii v 5-ti tomakh* [Collected Works in 5 Volumes]. Alma-Ata: Izd-vo Akademii nauk Kazakhskoi SSSR, 1961-1972.
- Valuev, P.A. *Dnevnik P.A. Valueva, Ministra vnutrennikh del* [Dairy of P.A. Valuev, the Minister of Internal Affairs]. Edited by M. G. Vandalkovskaia and K. M. Platonova. Moscow: AN SSSR, 1961.
- Vamberi, Armin. *Sketches of Central Asia: Additional Chapters on my Travels, Adventures, and on the Ethnology of Central Asia*. London, 1868.
- Vinogradskii, A.V., "Taranchi." *Estestvoznanie i geografiia: nauchno-populiarnyi i pedagogicheskii zhurnal* 9 (1907): 45-62.
- Vladimirskii, Aleksei. "O zakonakh muzykal'noi garmonii i natsional'nykh muzykal'nykh instrumentakh dostavlennykh na etnograficheskuiu vystavku" [About the Laws of Music Harmony and Traditional Musical Instruments Brought for the Ethnographic Exhibition]." *Sbornik antropologicheskikh i etnograficheskikh statei o Rossii i stranakh ei prinadlezhashchikh, izdavaemyi V.A. Dashkovym, kn. 1* [Collection of Anthropolical and Ethnographic Articles about Russia and Its Lands, Published by V.A. Dashkov vol. 1] 152-68. Moscow: v Univer. tip., 1868.

- Wallaschek, Richard. *Primitive Music: An Inquiry into the Origin and Development of the Music, Songs, Instruments, Dances, and Pantomimes of Savage Races*. London and New York: Longmans, Green, 1893.
- Westphal, R.G. "O russkoi narodnoi pesne" [On Russian Folk Song]. *Russkii vestnik* 143, no. 9 (Sept. 1879): 111-54.
- Yastrebtsev, A.A. *Reminiscences of Rimsky-Korsakov*. Edited and translated by Florence Jonas. New York: Columbia University Press, 1985.
- Zhdanov, V.A. and Zhegin, N.T., eds. *P.I. Tchaikovsky. Perepiska s von N.F. Meck [P.I. Tchaikovsky. Correspondance with von N.F. Meck]*. 2 vols. Moscow: Academia, 1935.

III. Scores:

- Aliab'ev, Alexander. *Romansy i pesni. Polnoe sobranie dlia golosa v soprovozhdenii fortepiano* [Art Song and Songs. Collected Edition for Voice and Piano]. Moscow: Muzyka, 1974.
- Balakirev, Mili. *Romansy i pesni* [Art Songs and Songs]. Moscow: Muzgiz, 1937.
- Borodin, Alexander. *Kniaz' Igor'. Opera v chetyriekh deistviiakh s prologom. Pereložhenie dlia peniia i fortepiano* [Prince Igor. Opera in Four Acts with an Prologue. Vocal Score]. Moscow: Muzyka, 2003.
- _____. *12 Songs for Voice and Piano*. New York: International Music Co., 1994.
- Cui, Cesar. *7 romansov s soprovozhdenii fortepiano* [Seven Art Songs with Piano Accompaniment]. Leipzig: Belyaev, 1895.
- _____. *Cinq melodies pour chant et piano par Cesar Cui, op. 54*. Leipzig: Belyaev, 1896.
- _____. *Vingt poemes de Jean Richepin, op. 44*. Paris: Heugel, 1890.
- _____. *Arii i stseny is oper dlia golosa v soprovozhdenii fortepiano* [Arias and Scenes from Operas for Voice with Piano Accompaniment]. Moscow: Muzyka, 1983.
- Dargomyzhsky, Alexander. *Polnoe sobranie romansov i pesen* [Collected Edition of Art Songs and Songs]. Moscow, Leningrad: Gos. Muz. Izdat., 1947-1971.

- _____. *Ponoe sobranie vokal'nykh ansamblei i khorov* [Complete Works of Vocal Ensembles and Choirs]. Moscow-Leningrad: Gos.Muz.Izdat., 1950.
- Glazunov, Alexander. *Romansy* [Art Songs]. Moscow: Muzgiz, 1954.
- _____. *Izbrannye romansy dlia 1-go i 2-kh golovov s fortepiano* [Collected Art Songs for One and Two Voices with Piano Accompaniment]. Moscow-Leningrad: Muzyka, 1966.
- Grechaninov, Alexander. *Tatarskie i Bashkirskie Pesni, op. 25* [Tatar and Bashkir Songs, op. 25]. Leipzig: Beliaeff, 1901.
- Glinka, Mikhail. *Polnoe sobranie sochinenii* [Complete Works]. Vol. 10. Moscow: Gos.Muz.Izdat., 1962.
- Kisilev, V. and S. Popov, eds. *Puskin v romansakh i pesniakh ego sovremennikov* [Pushkin in Art Songs and Songs of his Contemporaries]. Moscow: Muzgiz, 1936.
- Klenovskii, Nikolai. *Sbornik narodnykh pesen: etnograficheskii kontsert russkikh i drugikh narodnostei s perevodom na russkii iazyk* [A Collection of Folksongs: Ethnographic Concert of Russian and Non-Russian Peoples with Russian Translation], 4th edition. Moscow: Muzykal'nyi sektor, 1926.
- Liadov, Anatolii. *Romansy i pesni* [Art Songs and Songs]. St. Petersburg: Bessel', 1876.
- Liapunov, Sergei. *Romansy i pesni dlia odnogo golosa s soprovozhdeniem fortepiano, Op. 14, no. 4* [Art Songs and Songs for One Voice with Piano Accompaniment]. Leipzig, St. Petersburg, Moscow, London: Jul. Heinr.Zimmerman.
- Maximovich, M. *Golosa ukrainskikh pesen* [The Voices of Ukrainian Songs], ed. B. Steinpress. Moscow: Gos. Muz. Izdat., 1961.
- Mussorgsky, Modest. *Complete Works*. Edited by Pavel Lamm. Moscow and Leningrad: Gos.Muz.Izdat, 1928-1939.
- Rimsky-Korsakov, Nikolai. *Complete Works*. Vol. 45. Moscow and Leningrad: Muzgiz-Muzyka, 1946.
- Rubinstein, Anton. *Persidskie Pesni, op. 34* [Persian Songs, op. 34]. Moscow: P.Jurgenson, [1882?].

Secondary sources:

Books

- Adams, H. and L. Searle, eds. *Critical Theory Since 1965*. Tallahassee: University Press of Florida, 1986.
- Alibakiyeva, Tamara. *Uigurskie istoricheskie pesni [Uighur Historical Songs]*. Moscow: Sovetskii kompozitor, 1986.
- _____. *On ikki muqam [Twelve Muqams]*. Alma-Ata: Oner, 1988.
- _____. *The Uighur Muqam. Historical and Theoretical Problems*. PhD diss., Moscow Conservatoire. Moscow, 1991.
- Allworth, Edward, ed. *Central Asia: 120 Years of Russian Rule*. Durham and London: Duke University Press, 1989.
- Al-Tae, Nasser. *Representation of the Orient in Western Music: Violence and Sensuality*. Farnham and Burlington: Ashgate, 2010.
- Ames Eric, Marcia Klotz, and Lora Wildenthal, eds. *Germany's Colonial Pasts*. Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 2005.
- Anderson, Benedict. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. London: Verso, 1983.
- Andreev, Iu.A. ed. *Russkaia istoricheskaia pesnia [Russian Historical Song]*. Leningrad: Sovetskii pisatel', 1990.
- Andreev-Krivic, S.A. *Lermontov. Voprosy tvorchestva i biografii [Lermontov. The Issues of Works and Biography]*. Moscow: Izd. AN SSSR, 1954.
- Austin, Paul. *The Exotic Prisoner in Russian Romanticism*. New York: Peter Lang, 1997.
- Avrich, Paul. *Russian Rebels, 1600-1800*. New York and London: W.W. Norton, 1972.
- Babulin, I.B. *Kniaz' Semen Pozharskii i Konotopskaia bitva [Prince Semen Pozharskii and the Battle at the Konotop]*. St. Petersburg: Russkaia simfoniia, 2009.
- Baddeley, John F. *The Russian Conquest of the Caucasus*. London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1908.
- Bailey, James, and Tatiana Ivanova, trans., intro., and commentary. *An Anthology of Russian Folk Epics*. Armonk, N.Y. and London: M.E. Sharpe, 1998.

- Barooshian, Vahan D. V.V. *Vereshchagin: Artist at War*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1993.
- Barratt, G. R. V. *Voices in Exile: The Decembrist Memoirs*. Montreal and London: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1974.
- Bartol'd, Vasilii Vladimirovich. *Istoriia izuchenii Vostoka v Evrope i Rossii: lektsii chitannye v universitete i v leningradskom institute zhivyykh vostochnykh iazykov* [*The History of Oriental Study in Europe and Russia: Lectures Read at the University and at the Leningrad Institute of Living Oriental Languages*]. Leningrad: Tov. Alekseeva, 1925.
- Baskakov, Nikolai. *Russkie familii tiurkского proiskhozhdeniia* [*Russian Family Names of Turkic Origin*]. Moscow: Nauka, 1979.
- Bassin, Mark. *Imperial Visions: Nationalist Imagination and Geographical Expansion in the Russian Far East, 1840-1865*. Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999.
- Baycroft, Timothy and Mark Hewitson, eds. *What is a Nation? Europe 1789-1914*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006.
- Becker, Seymour. *Russia's Protectorates in Central Asia: Bukhara and Khiva, 1865-1924*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1968.
- Belen'kaia, I. *Temy Ispanii i Vostoka v Russkoi kamerno-vokal'noi lirike 19 veka: k probleme 'svoego' i 'chuzhogo'* [*Spanish and Oriental Subjects in Russian Nineteenth-Century Vocal Music: Towards the Issue of the 'Self' and 'Other'*]. Vladivostok: Khabarovsk Institute of Arts and Culture, 2004.
- Bel'chikov, N.F., Gorodetskii, B.P., Tomashevskii, B.V. eds. *Lermontov: Sochineniia v shesti tomakh* [*Lermontov: Works in Six Volumes*]. Moscow and Leningrad: AN SSSR, 1954-57.
- Beliaev, Viktor M., *Central Asian Music: Essays in the History of the Music of the Peoples of the USSR*. Edited and annotated by Mark Slobin. Translated from the Russian by Mark and Greta Slobin. Middletown: Wesleyan University Press, 1975.
- _____, ed. *Muzykal'naia fol'kloristika v Uzbekistane (pervye zapisi): Avgust Eichhorn: muzykal'no-etnograficheskie materialy*. Tashkent: Izdat. A.N.UzSSR, 1963.

- Belkin, D. I., et al. *Tvorchestvo Pushkina i zarubezhnyi Vostok [Pushkin's Works and Foreign Orient]*. Moskva: Nauka, 1991.
- Bellman, Jonathan. *The Style Hongrois in the Music of Western Europe*.
Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1993.
- _____, ed. *The Exotic in Western Music*. Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1998.
- Bernandt, G.B. and Yampol'skii, I.M. *Kto pisal o muzyke [Who Wrote on Music]*.
Moscow: Sovetskii kompozitor, 1979.
- Blaut, J.M. *The Colonizer's Model of the World: Geographical Diffusionism and Eurocentric History*. New York: The Guilford Press, 1993.
- Bliev, Mark and Vladimir Degoev. *Kavkazskaia voina [War in the Caucasus]*. Moscow: Roset, 1994.
- Bol'shakov, L. *Otechestvu dragie imena. Triptikh o dekabristakh na Urale [The Fatherland's Dear Names. A Triptych about the Decembrists in Ural]*.
Cheliabinsk: Iuzhno-Ural'skoe knizhnoe izdatel'stvo, 1975.
- Born, Georgina and David Hesmondhalgh, eds. *Western Music and Its Others*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000.
- Broms, Henry. *Two Studies in the Relations of Hafiz and the West*. Helsinki: *Studia Orientalia* 39, 1968.
- Brower, Daniel. *Turkestan and the Fate of the Russian Empire*. London and New York: Routledge Curzon, 2003.
- _____, and Edward J. Lazzerini, eds. *Russia's Orient, Imperial Borderlands and Peoples, 1700-1917*. Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1997.
- Brown, Julie, ed. *Western Music and Race*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007.
- Brown, M., ed. *Mussorgsky: In Memoriam, 1881-1981*. Ann Arbor, Michigan: UMI Research Press, 1982.
- Browning, R. *Maqam: Music of the Islamic World and Its Influences*. New York: The Alternative Museum, 1984.
- Bubnov, Iu. N. *Vrerossiiskaia promyshlennaia i khudozhestvennaia vystavka 1896 goda v Nizhnem Novgorode. K 100-letiiu so dnia otkrytiia [1896 All-Russian Industrial*

- and Art Exhibition in Nizhnii Novgorod. Towards the Centenary of the Opening*]. Nizhnii Novgorod: Dekom, 1996.
- Burbank, Jane and David Ransel, eds. *Imperial Russia: New Histories for the Empire*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1998.
- Burbank Jane, Mark von Hagen, and Anatolyi Remnev, eds. *Russian Empire: Space, People, Power, 1700-1930*. Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2007.
- Bushmin, A.S. et al., eds. *“Ikh vechen s vol’nost’iu soiuz”: Literaturnaia kritika i publitsistika dekabristov* [“*Their Union with Freedom is Eternal*”: *Decembrist Literary Critique and Journalism*]. Moscow: Sovremennik, 1983.
- Cherkassii, L.E. et al., eds. *Vostochnye Motivy. Stikhotvoreniia i Poëmy*. Moskva: Nauka, 1985.
- Chkhivadze, G. *Osnovnye tipy gruzinskogo mnogogolosii* [Major Types of Georgian Polyphony]. Moscow, 1964.
- Clayton, Martin and Zon, Bennett, eds. *Music and Orientalism in the British Empire, 1780s-1940s: Portrayal of the East*. Aldershot and Burlington: Ashgate, 2007.
- Clifford, James and George E. Marcus. *Writing Culture: The Poetics and Politics of Ethnography*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986.
- _____. *The Predicament of Culture: Twentieth-Century Ethnography, Literature, and Art*. Cambridge, Mass. and London: Harvard University Press, 1988.
- Crews, Robert D. *For Prophet and Tsar’: Islam and Empire in Russia and Central Asia*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2006.
- Crummy, Robert O. *The Old Believers and The World of Antichrist: The Vyg Community and the Russian State, 1694-1855*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1970.
- Curtiss, John Selton. *Russia’s Crimean War*. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1979.
- David-Fox, Michael, P. Holquist, and A. Martin, eds. *Orientalism and Empire in Russia*. Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press, 2006.
- Del Giudice, Luisa and G. Porter. *Imagined States: Nationalism, Utopia, and Longing in Oral Cultures*. Logan: Utah State University Press, 2001.

- Demin, Lev. *S mol'bertom po zemnomu sharu: Mir glazami V.V. Vereshchagina* [With an *Easel Around the Globe: The World Through the Eyes of V.V. Vereshchagin*]. Moscow: Mysl', 1991.
- Dianin, S.A. *Borodin*. Translated by Robert Lord. London and New York: Oxford University Press, 1963.
- Dobrokhoto, B. *Alexander Aliab'ev. Tvoercheskii put'* [Alexander Aliab'ev: *Creating Development*]. Moscow: Muzyka, 1966.
- Dobrovol'skii, B.M. and V.V. Korguzalov. *Byliny. Russkii muzykal'nyi epos* [Bylinas. *Russian Muzical Epos*]. Moscow: Sovetskii kompozitor, 1981.
- Dokusov, A.M. et al., eds. *Mikhail Iur'evich Lermontov. Sbornik statei i materialov*. Stavropol': Stavropol'skoe knizhnoe izdatel'stvo, 1960.
- Domanovskii, L.V., O.B. Alekseeva, E.S. Litvin, eds. *Istoricheskie pesni XIX veka* [Nineteenth-Century Historical Songs]. Leningrad: Nauka, 1973.
- Esipova, M.V., ed. *Moskovskaia konservatoriia ot istokov do nashikh dnei. 1866–2006. Biograficheskii entsiklopedicheskii slovar'* [Moscow Consertavoire from its *Origins to Our Days, 1866-2006. Biographic Encyclopedic Dictionary*]. Moscow: Mosk.Gos.Konservatoriia Im. P.I. Tchaikovskogo, 2007.
- Etkind, Alexander. *Internal Colonization: Russia's Imperial Experience*. Cambridge: Polity Press, 2011.
- Evtukhov, Catherine, Boris Gasparov, Alexander Ospovat, and Mark Von Hagen, eds. *Kazan, Moscow, St. Petersburg: Multiple Faces of the Russian Empire*. Moscow: O.G.I., 1997.
- Fairbank, John King. *The Cambridge History of China. Vol. 10, Late Ch'ing 1800-1911, part 1*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978.
- Fedorov, V.A. *Dekabristy i ikh vremia* [Decembrists and Their Time]. Moscow: Izdat. Moscow University, 1992.
- _____. *Istoriia Rossii 1861-1917* [History of Russia, 1861-1917]. Moscow: Vysshaia shkola, 2003.
- Fedorovskii, N.G., ed. *V Poiskakh svoego puti: Rossiia mezhdu Evropoi i Aziei. Khrestomatiia po istorii russkoi obshchestvennoi mysli* [Searching for One's

- Path: Russia between Europe and Asia. A Reader of the History of Russian Social Thought*]. Moscow: Logos, 2004.
- Frid, E. et al., eds. *Milii Alekseevich Balakirev: Letopis' zhizni i tvorchestva* [Milii Alekseevich Balakirev: Chronicle of His Life and Works]. Leningrad: Muzyka, 1967.
- Frolova-Walker, Marina. *Russian Music and Nationalism: From Glinka to Stalin*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2007.
- ___ and Jonathan Walker. *Music and Soviet Power: 1917-1932*. Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2012.
- Gaidenkov, N.M., ed. *Russkiiie poety XIX veka* [19th-Century Russian Poets]. Moscow: Gos.Uchebno-pedagogicheskoe izdat. Min.Prosviashcheniia, 1958.
- Galuzo, P.G. *Turkestan –coloniia (Ocherk istorii Turkestana ot zavoevaniia russkimi do revoliutsii 1917 goda)* [Turkestan: A Colony (An Essay on the History of Turkestan from Its Conquest by Russians to the 1917 Revolution)]. Tashkent: Gos.Izdat. Uz.SSR, 1935.
- Gammer, M. *Muslim Resistance to the Tsar: Shamil and the Conquest of Chechnia and Dagestan*. London: Frank Cass, 1994.
- Geraci, Robert P. *Window on the East: National and Imperial Identities in Late Tsarist Russia*. Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2001.
- Gnevusheva, E.I. *Zabytyi puteshestvennik: zhizn' i puteshestviia Petra Ivanovicha Pashino* [A Forgotten Traveler: Life and Travels of Petr Ivanovich Pashino]. Moscow: Izdat Gos. Izdat. Gografi. Lit-ry, 1958.
- Golovinskii, G. L. *Musorgsky i fol'klor* [Musorgsky and Folklore]. Moscow: Muzyka, 1994.
- Gordeeva, E.M. *Kompozitory moguchei kuchki* [The Composers of the Mighty Handful]. Moscow: Muzyka, 1986.
- Gorshenina, Svetlana. *The Private Collections of Russian Turkestan in the Second Half of the 19th and Early 20th Century*. Berlin: Klaus Schwarz Verlag, 2004.
- Gukovskii, G.A. *Pushkin i russkie romantiki* [Pushkin and Russian Romanticists]. Moskva: Intrada, 1995.

- Gusev, Viktor. *Iz istorii russkoi narodnoi poezii. Russkii fol'klor* [From the History of Folk Poetry. Russian Folklore]. Leningrad: Nauka, 1971.
- Gvosdev, Nicolas. *Imperial Policies and Perspectives towards Georgia, 1760-1819*. New York: St. Martin's Press (in association with St. Antony's College, Oxford), 2000.
- Halperin, Charles J. *The Tatar Yoke: The Image of the Mongols in Medieval Russia*. Bloomington: Indiana University, 2009.
- Hegel, G. W. F. *Phenomenology of Spirit*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977.
- Hobsbawm, Eric J. *Nations and Nationalism since 1780: Program, Myth, Reality*. Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990.
- Hodge, Thomas P. *A Double Garland: Poetry and Art Song in Early-Nineteenth-Century Russia*. Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 2000.
- Honigmann, John Joseph. *The Development of Anthropological Ideas*. Homewood: Dorsey, 1976.
- Hopkirk, Peter. *The Great Game: On Secret Service in High Asia*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001.
- Hunczak, Taras, ed. *Russian Imperialism From Ivan the Great to the Revolution*. New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1974.
- Hurewitz, J.C. *The Middle East and North Africa in World Politics: A Documentary Record*. 2nd edition. 2 vols. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1975.
- Ibragimov, O. *The Fergano-Tashkent Makoms with in the Context of Makamat*. Tashkent, 1991.
- Il'inskii, A.A., and G. Pakhul'skii. *Biografii kompositorov s IV-XX veka s portretami* [Biographies of Composers from the Fourth to the Twentieth Century with Portraits]. Moscow: Izd. K.A. Durnovo, 1904.
- Informatsionnoe pis'mo 6-7* [Informational Letter]. Moscow: Soiuz kompozitorov SSSR, Komissiia muzyki narodov SSSR, 1976.
- Issiyev, Daut. *Uighurskoe gosudarstvo Yettishahar* [Uighur State Yettishahar]. Moscow: Nauka, 1981.
- Ivanov, S. N. N. F. Katanov (1862–1922): *Ocherk zhizni i deiatel'nosti* [N.F. Katanov (1862-1922): An Essay on Life and Works]. Moscow and Leningrad, 1962.
- Jacobson, Roman. *Selected Writings*. The Hague and Paris: Mouton, 1966.

- Jersild, Austin. *Orientalism and Empire: North Caucasus Mountain Peoples and the Georgian Frontier, 1845-1917*. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2002.
- Johnson, Robert. *Spying for Empire: the Great Game in Central and South Asia, 1757-1947*. London: Greenhill Books, 2006.
- Kandinskii, A. *Istoriia russkoi muzyki II [History of Russian Music II]*. Moscow: Muzyka, 1979.
- Kappeler, Andreas. *Russland erste Naionalitäten. Das Zarenreich und die Völker der Mittleren Wolga vom 16. bis 19. Jahrhundert*. Cologne and Vienna: Böhlau, 1981.
- _____. *The Russian Empire: A Multiethnic History*. Translated by Alfred Clayton. Harlow: Longman, 2001.
- Karomatov, F.M., and D.A. Rashidova, eds. *Makomy, mugamy i sovremennoe kompozitorskoe tvorchestvo [Makoms, Mugams and Contemporary Composition]*. Tashkent: Izd.literatury i iskusstva im. Gafura Guliyama, 1978.
- Karysheva, T. P. *Sokal'skii. Zhizn' i tvorchestvo [P. Sokal'skii. His Life and Works]*. Moscow: Sovetskii kompozitor, 1984.
- Keldysh, Iurii, and Vasilii Iakovlev, eds. *M.P. Musorgsky: k piatidesiatiletiiu so dnia smerti, 1881-1931. Stat'i i materialy [M.P. Musorgsky: To the Fiftieth Anniversary since the Death, 1881-1931. Papers and Materials]*. Moscow: Gos. Muz.Izdat, 1932.
- _____. *Istoriia russkoi muzyki [History of Russian Music]*. 3 vols. Moscow, Leningrad: Gos.Muz.Izdat, 1947-1954.
- Keldysh, Iurii et al., eds. *V. Muzykal'naia entsiklopediia*. Moscow: Sovetskaia entsiklopediia, 1973-1982.
- Keldysh, Iurii et al., eds. *Istoriia russkoi muzyki v desiati tomakh [History of Russian Music in Ten Volumes]*. Moscow: Muzyka, 1983-2011.
- Kershner, L. *Opery Rimskogo-Korsakova. Putevoditel'*. Moscow: Muzyka, 1976.
- Khalfin, N.A. *Politika Rossii v Srednei Azii (1857-1868) [Russian Politics in Central Asia (1857-1868)]*. Moscow: Izdat. vostochnoi literatury, 1960.
- _____. *Prisoedinenie Srednei Azii k Rossii (60-90-e gody XIX veka) [The Annexation of Central Asia to Russia (1860s-1890s)]*. Moscow: Nauka, 1965.

- Khidoiatov, G.A. *Iz istorii anglo-russkikh otnoshenii v Srednei Azii v kontse XIX v. (60-70e gody)* [Towards the History of English- Russian Relationships in Central Asia in the Late Nineteenth Century]. Tashkent: FAN, 1969.
- _____. *Britanskaia expansiia v Srednei Azii* [British Expansion in Central Asia]. Tashkent: FAN, 1981.
- Kliashtornyi, S.G., and A.A. Kolesnikov. *Vostochnyi Turkestan glazami russkikh puteshestvennikov* [East Turkestan Through the Eyes of Russian Travelers]. Alma-Ata: Nauka, 1988.
- Klimovich, L. *Islam v tsarskoi Rossii: Ocherki* [Islam in Tsarist Russia: Essays]. Moscow: Gos. Antireligioznoe izdat., 1936.
- Kim, G.F., and P.M. Shastitko, eds. *Istoriia otechestvennogo vostokovedeniia do serediny XIX veka* [History of Oriental Studies of Our Country before the Mid-Nineteenth Century]. Moscow: Nauka, 1990.
- Kiniapina, N.C., M.M. Bliev, and V.V. Degoev, eds. *Kavkaz i Sredniaia Aziia vo vneshnei politike Rossii: vtoraia polovina XVIII-80-e gody XIX v.* [The Caucasus and Central Asia in Russia's External Affairs: Second Half of the Eighteenth Century-1880s]. Moscow: Izdat. Mosk. Univeristeta, 1984.
- Kisilev , V.A., T.N. Livanova, and V.V. Protopopov, eds. *Pamiati Glinki, 1857-1957: Issledovaniia i materialy* [Commemorating Glinka, 1858-1959: Studies and Materials]. Moscow: Izdat. AN SSSR, 1958.
- Knight, Nathaniel. *Constructing the Science of Nationality: Ethnography in Mid-Nineteenth Century Russia*. PhD diss., Columbia University, 1995.
- Kornilov, Alexander. *Kurs istorii Rossii XIX veka* [The Course of Nineteenth-Century Russian History]. Moscow: Artel, 2004.
- Kozhukhovskaia, A.A., ed. *Istoriia otechestvennogo vostokovedeniia s serediny XIX veka do 1917 goda* [The History of Oriental Studies of Our Country from the Mid-Nineteenth Century until 1917]. Moscow: Vostochnaia literatura, 1997.
- Kremlev, Iu.A, A.S. Liapunova, and E.L. Frid, eds. *Milii Alekseevich Balakirev. Issledovaniia i stat'i* [Milii Alekseevich Balakirev. Studies and Essays]. Leningrad: Gos.Muz.Izdat, 1961.

- ____, eds. *M.A. Balakirev. Vospominaniia i pis'ma* [M.A. Balakirev. *Memoirs and Letters*]. Leningrad: Gosmuzizdat, 1962.
- Kunina, I.F., ed. *P. Tchaikovsky o Rossii i russkoi muzyke* [P. Tchaikovsky on Russia and Russian Music]. Moscow: Gos.Muz.Izdat., 1961.
- Laqueur, Walter. *Russia and Germany: A Century of Conflict*. New Jersey: Little Brown and Co., 1990.
- Laruelle, Marlène. *L'idéologie eurasiste russe ou comment penser l'empire*. Paris: L'Harmattan, 1999.
- ____. *Mythe aryen et rêve impérial dans la Russie du XIX^e siècle*. Paris : C.N.R.S. Éditions, 2005.
- Layton, Susan. *Russian Literature and Empire: The Conquest of the Caucasus from Pushkin to Tolstoy*. Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994.
- Leatherbarrow, William and Derek Offord, eds. *A History of Russian Thought*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010.
- Lebedev, A.K. V.V. *Vereshchagin*. Moscow: Iskusstvo, 1972.
- Leslie, R.E.F. *Reform and Insurrection in Russian Poland, 1856-1865*. London: University of London, Athlone Press, 1963.
- Levin, Sh.M. *Obshchestvennoe dvizhenie v Rossii v 60-70-e gody XIX veka* [Social Movements in Russia in 1860-1870s]. Moscow: Izdat. Sotsial'no-ekonomicheskoi literatury, 1938.
- Lieghton, Lauren G. *Russian Romanticism: Two Essays*. Mouton: The Hague, 1975.
- Lieven, Dominic, ed. *The Cambridge History of Russia. Vol. 2, Imperial Russia, 1689-1917*. Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006.
- Little, Jonathan D. *Literary Sources of Nineteenth-Century Musical Orientalism: The Hypnotic Spell of the Exotic on Music of the Romantic Period*. Lewiston: Edwin Mellen Press, 2011.
- Litvinskii, B.A., ed. *Vostochnyi Turkestan i Srednaia Aziia. Istoriia, kul'tura, sviazi* [Eastern Turkestan and Central Asia. History, Culture, and Contacts]. Moscow: Nauka, 1984.

- _____, ed. *Vostochnyi Turkestan v drevnem i rannem srednevekov'e* [Eastern Turkestan in the Early Middle Ages]. Moscow: Nauka, 1988.
- _____, ed. *Vostochnyi Turkestan v drevnosti i rannem srednevekov'e. Etnos, iazyki, religii* [Eastern Turkestan in the Ancient and Early Middle Ages. Ethnos, Languages, Religions]. Moscow: Nauka, 1992.
- Lobikova, N.M. *Pushkin i Vostok. Ocherki* [Pushkin and the Orient. Essays]. Moskva: Nauka, 1974.
- Lowie, Robert H. *The History of Ethnological Theory*. New York: Rinehart and Company, 1937.
- Lunin, B.V. *Nauchnye obshchestva Turkestana i ikh progressivnaia deiatel'nost'. Konets XIX-nachalo XX veka* [Scientific Societies in Turkestan and their Progressive Impact]. Tashkent: Izd.AN UzSSR, 1962.
- _____. *Sredniaia Aziia v dorevoliutsionnom i sovetskom vostokovedenii* [Central Asia in Pre-Revolutionary and Soviet Orientology]. Tashkent: Nauka, 1965.
- Mabilat, Claire. *Orientalism and Representations of Music in the Nineteenth-Century British Popular Arts*. Aldershot and Burlington: Ashgate, 2008.
- Macfie, Alexander L., ed. *Orientalism: A Reader*. Washington and New York: New York University Press, 2000.
- Maes, Francis. *A History of Russian Music from Kamarinskaya to Babi Yar*. Translated by A.J. and E. Pomerans. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002.
- Maierova, Olga. *From the Shadow of Empire: Defining the Russian Nation through Cultural Mythology, 1855-1870*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2010.
- Malov, S.E. *Pamiatniki drevnetiurkskoi pis'mennosti Mongolii i Kirgizii*. Moscow and Leningrad: Izdat ANSSSR, 1959.
- Masanov, E.A. *Ocherk istorii etnograficheskogo izucheniia kazakhskogo naroda v SSSR* [An Essay on History of Ethnographic Studies of the Kazakh People in the USSR]. Alma-Ata: Nauka, 1966.
- Matyakubov, O. *Khoresm Makoms*. Master's thesis, Tashkent-Leningrad, 1981.
- McClary, Susan. *Georges Bizet: Carmen*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992.
- Miller, Vsevolod F. *Ocherki russkoi narodnoi slovesnosti* [Essays of Russian Folk Literature]. Moscow: I.D. Sytin, 1897-1924.

- Monas, Sidney *The Third Section: Police and Society in Russia under Nicolas I.* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1961.
- Manuilov, V.A. *Roman M.Iu. Lermontova 'Geroi nashego vremeni.' Kommentarii [M.Iu. Lermontov's Novel 'Hero of Our Times.' Commentaries]*. Moscow and Leningrad: Prosveshchenie, 1966.
- Moiseev, V.A. *Rossiia i Kitai v Tsentral'noi Azii i Kitae [Russia in Central Asia and China]*. Barnaul: Az Buka, 2003.
- Moss, Walter G. *A History of Russia*, 2nd edition. London: Anthem, 2002.
- Morrison, Alexander. *Russian Rule in Samarkand 1868-1910: A Comparison with British India*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008.
- Morrison, Simon. *Russian Opera and the Symbolist Movement*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002.
- Naroditskaia, Inna. *Song from the Land of Fire: Azerbaijanian Mugam in the Soviet and Post-Soviet Periods*. New York and London: Routledge, 2003.
- Naroll, Raoul and Frada Naroll, eds. *Main Currents in Cultural Anthropology*. New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1973.
- Nazarov, A.F. *Tsezar' Antonovich Cui*. Moscow: Muzyka, 1989.
- Nikolaev, P.A. et al., eds. *Russkie pisateli 1800-1917. Biograficheskii slovar' [Russian Writers, 1800-1917]*. Moscow: Bol'shaia rossiiskaia entsiklopediia, 1994.
- Norris, Stephen M. and Willard Sunderland, eds. *Russia's People of Empire: Life Stories from Eurasia, 1500 to the Present*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2012.
- Offord, Derek, ed. *The Golden Age of Russian Literature and Thought*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1992.
- Paisov, Iurii. *Alexander Grechaninov. Zhizn' i tvorchestvo [Alexander Grechaninov. Life and Works]*. Moscow: Kompozitor, 2004.
- Pantin, I.K., E.G. Plimak, and V.G. Khoros. *Revoliutsionnaia traditsiia v Rossii: 1783-1883 [Revolutionary Tradition in Russia: 1783-1883]*. Moscow: Mysl', 1986.
- Pasler, Jann. *Composing the Citizen: Music as Public Utility in Third Republic France*. Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 2009.

- Pekelis, M. *Alexander Sergeevich Dargomyzhsky i ego okruzhenie (1858-1869)* [Alexander Sergeevich Dargomyzhsky and His World (1858-1869)]. Moscow: Muzyka, 1983.
- Penny, H. Glenn. *Objects of Culture: Ethnology and Ethnographic Museums in Imperial Germany*. Chapel Hill and London: University of North Carolina Press, 2002.
- Perrie, Maureen, and Dominic Lieven, eds. *The Cambridge History of Russia*. 2 Vols. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006.
- Polunov, Alexander. *Russia in the Nineteenth Century: Autocracy, Reform, and Social Change, 1814-1914*. Translated by Marshall S. Shatz. London and New York: M.E. Sharpe, 2005.
- Popov, A.V. *Lermontov na Kavkaze [Lermontov in the Caucasus]*. Stavropol': Stavropol'skoe knizhnie izdatel'stvo, 1954.
- Protopopov, V. *Variatsii v russkoi klassicheskoi opere [Variations in Russian Classical Opera]*. Moscow: Gos.Muz.Izdat, 1957.
- Quested, R.K.I. *The Expansion of Russia in East Asia, 1857-1860*. Singapore: University of Malaya Press, 1968.
- Radano, Ronald, and Philip V. Bohlman. *Music and the Racial Imagination*. Chicago: Chicago University Press, 2000.
- Radjabov, I. *Makoms*. PhD diss., Tashkent-Leningrad, 1977.
- Ram, Harsha. *The Imperial Sublime: A Russian Poetics of Empire*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2003.
- Riazanovsky, Nikolas V. *Nicholas I and Official Nationality in Russia, 1825-1855*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1959.
- _____. *A History of Russia*, 4th edition. New York: Oxford University Press, 1984.
- Ridenour, Robert. *Nationalism, Modernism, and Personal Rivalry in the Nineteenth-Century Russian Music*. Ann Arbor: Michigan, 1981.
- Rogger, Hans. *Russia in the Age of Modernization and Revolution, 1881-1917*. London: Longman, 1983.
- Sadykova, V. *The Problems of Formation of Structure in Azerbaijani Instrumental Mugam Improvisations*. Master's thesis, Leningrad, 1983.

- Sahadeo, Jeff. *Russian Colonial Society in Tashkent, 1865-1923*. Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2007.
- Sahni, Kaplana. *Crucifying the Orient: Russian Orientalism and the Colonization of Caucasus and Central Asia*. Oslo: The Institute for Comparative Research in Human Culture, 1997.
- Said, Edward W. *Orientalism*. New York: Vintage Books, 1978.
- _____. *Culture and Imperialism*. London: Vintage, 1994.
- Samson, Jim. *The Late Romantic Era: From the Mid-Nineteenth Century to World War I*, ed. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall, 1991.
- Sandler, Stephanie. *Distant Pleasures: Alexander Pushkin and the Writing of Exile*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1989.
- Schimmelpenninck van der Oye, David. *Toward the Rising Sun: Russian Ideologies of Empire and the Path to War with Japan*. DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 2001.
- _____. *Russian Orientalism: Asia in the Russian Mind from Peter the Great to the Emigration*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010.
- Semenov, L.P. *Lermontov i fol'klor Kavkaza* [Lermontov and the Caucasian Folklore]. Piatigorsk: Ordjonikidzevskoe kraevoe izdatel'stvo, 1941.
- Shaduri, Vano. *Dekabristskaia literatura i gruzinskaia obshchestvennost'* [Decembrist Literature and the Georgian Society]. Tbilisi: Zaria Vostoka, 1958.
- Shchegolev, P.E. *Iz zhizni i tvorchestva Pushkina* [From Pushkin's Life and Works]. Moscow: Gos.Izdat Khud. Lit., 1931.
- Shcherbakova, T.A. *Tsyganskoe muzykal'noe ispolnitel'stvo i tvorchestvo v Rossii* [Gypsy Music Performance and Creative Works in Russia]. Moscow: Muzyka, 1984.
- Shlapentokh, Dmitry, ed. *Russia Between East and West: Scholarly Debates on Eurasianism*. Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2007.
- Slezkine, Yuri. *Arctic Mirrors: Russia and the Small Peoples of the North*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1994.
- Smirnov, Dmitrii Vladimirovich. *Puti Stanovleniia i Razvitiia Otechestvennoi muzykal'noi fol'kloristiki v nachale XX veka: Deyatel'nost' Muzykal'no-etnograficheskoi komissii* [The Ways of the Formation and Development of Our

- Country's Music Folklore at the Beginning of the Twentieth Century: The Activity of Music-Ethnographic Committee*]. Dissertatsiia na soiskanie kandidatskoi stepeni. Moscow: MGK im. Chaikovskogo, 2000.
- Smith, W. D. *Politics and the Science of Culture in Germany, 1840-1920*. New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press. 1991.
- Sokolov, F.V. V.V. *Andreev i ego orkestr* [*Andreev and His Orchestra*]. Leningrad: Gos.Muz.Izdat., 1962.
- Sokolov, S.M. *Filosofiia russkogo zarubezh'ia: Evraziistvo* [*The Russian-Language Philosophy Abroad: Eurasianism*]. Ulan-Ude: VSGTU, 2003.
- Sokolova, V.K. *Russkie istorichekie predaniia* [*Russian Historical Legends*]. Moscow: Nauka, 1970.
- Squire, P.S. *The Third Department: The Establishment and Practices of the Political Police in the Russia of Nicolas I*. London: Cambridge University Press, 1968.
- Stavrou, T., ed. *Art and Culture in Nineteenth-Century Russia*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1983.
- Steinpress, B. *Aliab'ev v izgnanii* [*Ali'ab'ev in Exile*]. Moscow: Gos.Muz.Izdat, 1959.
- Stepaniants, M.T., ed. *Sravnitel'naia filosofiia*. Moscow: Vostochnaia literatura, 2000.
- Stewart, Susan. *On Longing Narratives of the Miniature, the Gigantic, the Souvenir, the Collection*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1984.
- Stocking, George W. *Victorian Anthropology*. New York: Free Press, 1987.
- _____. *Colonial Situations: Essays on the Contextualization of Ethnographic Knowledge*. London: University of Wisconsin Press, 1991.
- Sukhova, N.G., and E. Tammiksaar. *Alexander Fedorovich Middendorf* [*Alexander Theodor von Middendorff*]. Moskva: Nauka, 2005.
- Taruskin, Richard. *Defining Russia Musically: Historical and Hermeneutical Essays*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1997.
- Thompson, Ewa M. *Imperial Knowledge: Russian Literature and Colonialism*. Westport and London: Greenwood Press, 2000.
- Tokarev, S.A. *Istoriia russkoi etnografii (dooktiabr'skii period)* [*A History of Russian Ethnography (Pre-October Period)*]. Moscow: Nauka, 1966.

- Tolz, Vera. *'Russia's Own Orient': The Politics of Identity and Oriental Studies in the Late Imperial and Early Soviet Periods*. Modern European History. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011.
- _____. *Russia: Inventing the Nation*. London: Arnold/Hodder Headline Group, 2001.
- Trebinjac, Sabine. *Le pouvoir en chantant. L'art de fabriquer une musique chinoise*. Nanterre: Société d'ethnologie, 2000.
- Troitskii, N.A. *Rossiiia v 19 veke [Russia in the Nineteenth Century]*. Moscow: Vysshaia Shkola, 2003.
- Tumarkin, D.D. *Repressirovannye etnografy [Repressed Ethnographers]*. Moscow: Vostochnaia literatura RAN, 1999.
- Vasil'kov, IA.V., and M.IU. Sorokina, eds. *Liudi i sud'by. Bibliograficheskii slovar' vostokovedov-zhertv politicheskogo terrora v Sovetsii period (1917-1991)*. St. Petersburg: Petersburgskoe vostokovedenie, 2003.
- Vasina-Grossman, V. A. *Russkii klassicheskii romans XIX veka [Nineteenth-Century Russian Classical Art song]*. Moscow: Izat Akademii Nauk, 1956.
- Verhoeven, Claudia. *The Odd Man Karakozov: Imperial Russia, Modernity, and the Birth of Terrorism*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 2009.
- Voorheis, Richard. *The Perception of Asiatic Nomads in Medieval Russia: Folklore, History, and Historiography*. PhD diss., Indiana University, 1982.
- Vucinich, Wayne S., ed. *Russia and Asia. Essays of the Influence of Russia on the Asian Peoples*. Stanford: Hoover Institution Press Stanford University, 1972.
- Walicki, Andrej. *Philosophy and Romantic Nationalism: The Case of Poland*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982.
- Wesseling, H.L. *Imperialism and Colonialism: Essays on the History of European Expansion*. London: Greenwood Press, 1997.
- Williams, P. and L. Chrisman, eds. *Colonial Discourse and Post-Colonial Theory: A Reader*. New York and London: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1994.
- White, Harry, and Michael Murphy, eds. *Musical Constructions of Nationalism: Essays on the History and Ideology of European Musical Culture, 1800-1945*. Cork, Ireland: Cork University Press, 2001.

- Whittaker, Cynthia N., ed. *Visualizing Russia: Fedor Solntsev and Crafting a National Past*. Boston: Brill Academic Publishers, 2010.
- Young, Robert J.C. *White Mythologies: Writing History and the West*. New York and London: Routledge, 2004.
- Zaitseva, T.A. *Milii Alekseevich Balakirev. Istoki [Milii Alekseevich Balakirev. Origins]*. St. Petersburg: Kanon, 2004.
- Zenkovsky, Serge, ed., trans., and intro. *Medieval Russia's Epics, Chronicles, and Tales*. New York: E.P. Dutton and Co., 1963.
- Zon, Benett. *Representing Non-Western Music in Nineteenth-Century Britain*. Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 2007.
- Zorina, A.P., ed. *A.P. Borodin v vospominaniakh sovremennikov [A.P. Borodin in the Memoirs of His Contemporaries]*. Moscow: Muzyka, 1985.

Articles:

- Adler, G., and Erica Mugglestone. "Guido Adler's "The Scope, Method, and Aim of Musicology" (1885). An English Translation with a Historico-Analytical Commentary by Erica Mugglestone." *Yearbook for Traditional Music* 13 (1981): 1-21.
- Aleksandrov, Iu. "K 100-letiiu so dnia rozhdeniia A.T. Grechaninova. Stranitsy zhizni" [Towards the Centennial of A.T. Grechaninov's Birth]. *Sovetskaia muzyka* 10 (1964): 59-69.
- Badretdinov, Sabirzyan. "Sincere Solders and Naïve Servants." *Transitions* 5, no. 12 (1998): 97-100.
- Balandier, George. "Situation coloniale: approche théoretique." *Cahiers internationaux de sociologie* 11 (1951): 44-79.
- Bassin, Mark. "Russia between Europe and Asia: The Ideological Construction of Geographical Space." *Slavic Review* 50, no. 1 (1991): 1-17.
- _____. "Classical Eurasianism and the Geopolitics of Russian Identity." *Ab Imperio* 2 (2003): 257-67.

- Bellman, Jonathan. "Toward a Lexicon for the *Style Hongrois*." *Journal of Musicology* 9, no. 2 (1991): 214-37.
- _____. "Musical Voyages and Their Baggage: Orientalism in Music and Critical Musicology." *The Musical Quarterly* 94, no. 3 (2011): 417-38.
- Belolipskaia, G.S. "Etnicheskaia i istoriko-etnograficheskaia tematika v astrakhanskoi presse pervoi poloviny XIX veka" [Ethnic and Historic-Ethnographic Subjects in Astrakhan Press in the First Half of the Nineteenth Century]. *Vestnik Stavropol'skogo Gosudarstvennogo Universiteta* 66 (2010): 148-56.
- Bolkhovitinov, N. N. "The Declaration of Independence: A View from Russia." *The Journal of American History* 85, no. 4 (1999): 1392-93.
- Brower, Daniel. "Imperial Russia and its Orient: The Renown of Nikolai Przhevalsky." *Russian Review* 53 (July 1994): 367-81.
- Campbell, Elena. "K voprosu ob Orientalizme v Rossii." *Ab Imperio* 1 (2002): 311-22.
- Cherednichenko, Tat'yana. "Russkaia muzyka i geopolitika [Russian Music and Geopolitics]." *Novyi Mir* 6 (1995): 189-99.
- Djani-Zade, Tamila. "Dnevnik voennogo kapel'meitera Avgusta Eichhorna. Istoricheskii document po izucheniiu kul'tury Russkogo Turkestana" [A Diary of the Military Kappelmeister August Eichhorn. Historical Document for Study the Culture of Russian Turkestan]. In *Trudy Gosudarstvennogo Tsentral'nogo Muzeia Muzykal'noi Kul'tury Imeni M.I. Glinki*, edited by M. Rakhmanova, 82-86. Almanakh, vol. 1. Moscow: Kompozitor, 1999.
- Dmitriadi, Nadezhda B. "K Voprosu o pervoistochnike 'Persidskogo khora' iz opery 'Ruslan i Liudmila' M. I. Glinki. [Towards the Origin of 'Pesian Choir' in 'Ruslan and Liudmila' by M.I. Glinka]." In *Uchenye Zapiski, Seria 13: Istoria i teoriya muzyki*, 49-71. Baku: Konservatoria, 1968.
- _____. "Stilevye osobennosti russkoi muzyki o Vostoke." *Voprosy teorii i estetiki muzyki*, 13 (1974): 106-25.
- Dobrokhotov, B.V. "Narodnye pesni v Zapisiakh i obrabotkakh Aliab'eva." *Voprosy muzykoznaniia* 2 (1955): 387-407.
- Domanovskii, L.V. "Krymskaia voina v russkom narodnom tvorchestve." *Russkii fol'klor* 6 (1961): 245-269.

- During, J. S. Trebinjac. "Introduction au muqam ouïgour." *Papers on Inner Asia* 17 (1991): 1-58.
- Ernst, Carl E. "The Symbolism of Birds and Flight in the Writings of Ruzbihan Baqli." In *The Heritage of Sufism*, edited by Leonard Lewisohn, 353-66. Oxford: One World, 1999.
- Erofeev, I. "A.I. Levshin i ego trud 'Opisanie kirgiz-kazach'ikh ili kirgiz-kaisatskikh ord i stepei." *Levshin A.I. Opisanie kirgiz-kazach'ikh ili kirgiz-kaisatskikh gor i stepei*. Almaty: Sanat, 1996.
- Fehn, Ann C. and Jürgen Thym. "Repetition as Structure in the German *Lied*: The Ghazal." *Comparative Literature* 41 (1989): 33-52.
- Fisher, Alan. W. "Enlightened Despotism and Islam under Catherine II." In *Slavic Review* 27 (1967): 542-553.
- Frolova-Walker, Marina. "On *Ruslan* and Russianness." *Cambridge Opera Journal* 9, no. 1 (1997): 21-45.
- _____. "National in Form, Socialist in Content: Musical Nation-Building in the Soviet Republics." *JAMS* 51 (1998): 331-71.
- _____. "From Modernism to Socialist Realism in Four Years: Myaskovsky and Asafyev." In *Muzikologija* 3 (2003): 199-217.
- _____. "Stalin and the Art of Boredom." *Twentieth-Century Music* 1, no. 1 (2004): 101-24.
- Gal'perin, A.L. "Russkaia istoricheskaja nauka o zarubezhnom Dal'nem Vostoke v XVIII v. –seredine XIX v." *Ocherki po istorii russkogo vostokovedeniia* 2 (1956): 3-35.
- Gramit, David. "Orientalism in the Lied: Schubert's 'Du liebst mich nicht'." *Nineteenth-Century Music* 27 (2003): 97-115.
- Haraszti, Emile. "Fétis fondateur de la musicologie comparée. Son étude sur un nouveau mode de classification des race humaines d'après leurs systemes musicaux. Contribution à l'oeuvre de Fétis." *Acta Musicologica* 4 (1932): 97-103.
- Henze, Paul B. "Fire and Sward in the Caucasus: The 19th-Century Resistance of the North Caucasian Mountaineers." *Central Asian Survey* 2 (July 1983): 5-44.
- Hourani, A. "The Road to Morocco, Review of *Orientalism* by Edward Said." *New York Review of Books* (8 March, 1979): 27-30.

- Iampol'skii, I. "Issledovatel' alzhirskoi muzyki Alexandre Christianowitsch." In *Muzyka narodov Azii i Afriki*, vol. 3, 279-95. Moscow: Sovetskii compositor, 1980.
- Ivanov, Viacheslav. "Zapadno-Vostochnyi Divan." In *Vostochnye Motivy. Stikhotvoreniya i Poëmy*, 464-68. Moskva: Nauka, 1985.
- Karagicheva, Liudmila. "Liubopytnyi dokument russkogo orientalizma [A Curious Document of Russian Orientalism]." *Sovetskaia muzyka* 2 (February 1974): 89-96.
- Knight, Nathaniel. "Grigor'ev in Orenburg 1851-1862: Russian Orientalism in the Service of Empire." *Slavic Review* 59 (2000): 74-100.
- _____. "The Empire on Display: Science, Nationalism and the Challenge of Human Diversity in the All-Russian Ethnographic Exhibition of 1867." Paper presented at the National Council for European and East European Research, August 20, 2001.
- _____. "Ethnicity, Nationality and the Masses: Narodnost and Modernity in Imperial Russia." In *Russian Modernity*, edited by David Hoffmann and Yanni Kotsonis, 41-67. New York: Macmillan/St. Martin's, 1999.
- _____. "Review of Marlene Laruelle's *Mythe aryen et rêve impérial*." *Slavic Review* 66, no. 3 (2007): 556.
- Kolpakova N.P., "Pesennaia komissiiia russkogo geograficheskogo obshchestva." *Russkii fol'klor. Materialy i issledovaniia* 7 (1962): 354-66
- Kondrat'ev, M.G. "Pervoprokhodets" [A Pioneer]. *Muzykal'naia akademiia* 3 (2002): 142-149.
- Kopf, D. "Hermeneutics Versus History." *Journal of Asian Studies* 39, no. 3 (1980): 495-506.
- Laruelle, M. "'The White Tsar': Romantic Imperialism in Russia's Legitimizing of Conquering the Far East." *Acta Slavica Iaponica* 25 (2008): 113-34.
- Locke, Ralph. "Constructing the Oriental 'Other': Saint-Saëns's *Samson et Dalila*." *Cambridge Opera Journal* 3 (1991): 261-302.
- _____. "Beyond the Exotic: How 'Eastern' is Aida?" *Cambridge Opera Journal* 17, no. 2 (2005): 105-39.
- Marcus, Scott L. "Modulation in Arab Music: Documenting Oral Concepts, Performance Rules and Strategies." *Ethnomusicology* 36, no. 2 (1992): 171-95.

- Mazurek, Slawomir. "Russian Eurasianism – Historiosophy and Ideology." *Studies in East European Thought* 54, nos. 1-2 (2002): 105-23.
- McKenzie, Kermit E. "Chokan Valikhanov: Kazakh Princeling and Scholar." *Central Asian Survey* 80, no. 3 (1989): 1-30.
- Morrison, Alexander. "Review of Robert D. Crews, *For the Prophet and Tsar. Islam and Empire in Russian and Central Asia*." *The Slavonic and East European Review* 86, no. 3 (July 2008): 553-57.
- _____. "‘Applied Orientalism’ in British India and Tsarist Turkestan." In *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 51, no. 3 (2009): 619-47.
- Morrison, Simon. "The Semiotics of Symmetry, or Rimsky-Korsakov’s Operatic History Lesson." *Cambridge Opera Journal* 13, no. 3 (2001): 261-93.
- Parakilas, James. "The Soldier and the Exotic: Operatic Variations on a Theme of Racial Encounter." *The Opera Quarterly* 10, no. 2 (1993-1994): 33-56; and 10, no. 3 (1994): 43-69.
- Pasler, Jann. "The Unity of Musical Instruments in the Racial and Colonial Agendas of Late Nineteenth-Century France." *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 129 (2004): 124-176.
- _____. "Theorizing Race in Nineteenth-Century France: Music as Emblem of Identity." *The Musical Quarterly* 89 (2008): 459-504. downloaded from <http://mq.oxfordjournals.org> at McGill University Libraries on August 9, 2010.
- Pekelis, M. "Dva ocherka o Dargomyzhskom. 2. Dargomyzhsky i orientalism [Two Essays on Dargomyzhsky. 2. Dargomyzhsky and Orientalism]." *Sovetskaia muzyka* 2 (1963): 43-50.
- Quraishi, Ibrahim. "Kitezh and the Russian Notion of Oriental Despotism." *The Opera Quarterly* 13, no. 2 (1996-1997): 69-74.
- Rapatskaia, L. A. "Problemy orientalizma v russkoi muzykal’noi kul’ture XVII-XIX vv. [Issues of Orientalism in Russian 18th-19th-Century Musical Culture]." In *Vzaimootnoshekiya narodov Rossii, Sibiri i Stran Vostoka*, 31-35. Moscow: Iskusstvo, 1995.

- Rhineland, L. Hamilton. "Russia's Imperial Policy: The Administration of the Caucasus in the First Half of the Nineteenth Century." *Canadian Slavonic Papers* 17 (1975): 218-35.
- Riggs, Kristy. "Representations of the Orient in Western Music: Violence and Sensuality. By Nasser Al-Tae." *Music Library Association. Notes* (March 2012): 596-99.
- Sahadeo, Jeff. "Visions of Empire: Russia's Place in an Imperial World (Book review)." *Kritika* (March 22, 2010): 381-409.
- Shabshaevich, Elena. "Nikolai Rubinshtein and the Moscow Polytechnic Exhibition in 1872." *Musicus* nos. 3-4 (July-August, 2011): 43-47.
- Scott, Derek. "Orientalism and Musical Style." *The Musical Quarterly* 82, no. 2 (1998): 309-35.
- Shteinpres, B. "U istokov russkogo orientalisa [Towards the Origine of Russian Orientalism]." *Sovetskaia muzyka* 8 (1959): 84-92.
- Slocum, John, W. "Who, and When, Were the *Inorodtsy*? The Evolution of the Category of 'Aliens' in Imperial Russia." *Russian Reviews* 57, no. 2 (1998): 173-90.
- Smirnov, D.V. "Pervye etnograficheskie kontserty v Moskve" [The First Ethnographic Concerts in Moscow]. *Zhivaia starina* 2 (1996): 20-24.
- _____. "Muzykal'no-etnograficheskaia komissiiia" [Music-Ethnographic Committee] In *Traditsii russkoi khudozhestvennoi kul'tury. Mezhvuzovskii sbornik nauchnykh trudov* 3, 213-32. Moscow and Volgograd, 2000.
- Smith, Woodruff D. "Social and Political Origins of German Diffusionist Ethnology." *Journal of the History of the Behavioral Sciences* 14 (1978): 103-12.
- Sokolova, T. I. "U istokov russkogo orientalisa [Towards the Origin of Russian Orientalism]." *Voprosy muzykoznaniia* 3 (1960): 459-86.
- Steinegger, Catherine. "Alexandre Borodine, le plus oriental des compositeurs du Groupe des Cinq." *L'Avant-Scène Opéra* 168 (1995): 99-103.
- Tammiksaar, Erki and Ian R. Stone. "Alexander von Middendorff and His Expedition to Siberia (1842-1845)." *Polar Record* 43, no. 3 (2007): 193-216.
- Taruskin, Richard. "Slava!" *Opera News* 55, no. 9 (19 January 1991): 18-21.
- Tolz, Vera. "Orientalism, Nationalism and Ethnic Diversity in Late Imperial Russia." *The Historical Journal* 48, no. 1 (2005): 127-50.

- ____. "Imperial Scholars and Minority Nationalisms." *Kritika: Explorations in Russian and Eurasian History* 10, no. 2 (2009): 261-90.
- Toner, Peter G. "The Gestation of Cross-Cultural Music Research and the Birth of Ethnomusicology." *Humanities Research* 14, no. 1 (2007): 85-110.
- Vinogradov, Viktor. "Zametki po russkomu muzykal'nomu vostokovedeniiu [Notes on Russian Musical Orientalism]." In *Muzyka narodov Azii i Afriki [Music of the Peoples of Asia and Africa]*, vol. 5. Moscow: Sovetskii compositor, 1987.
- Whittaker, Cynthia H. "The Impact of the Oriental Renaissance in Russia: The Case of Sergej Uvarov." *Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas Neue Folge* 26, no. 4 (1978): 503-24.