

Case study on the substitution of *Lullabies* with fishing and religious songs among Lipovan Russians in Dobruja

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Abstract: *Dobrogea comprises a large number of ethnic communities. The historical and geopolitical circumstances in this region have led, in time, to changes in the status of indigenous ethnic groups from majority to minority (as was the case of Tartars) or from minority to majority (as it happened to Dacoromanians). Along the centuries, various peoples settled in Dobrogea region and, through their culture and level of civilisation, contributed to the forging of a distinct regional identity and specificity. Lullabies constitute a special category within Lipovan folk music. During my field research in Lipovan Russian communities in Dobrogea (2 Mai village in Constanţa County and Jurilovca commune in Tulcea County), I came to the conclusion that, in time, lullabies were substituted by fishing-themed and religion-themed songs. In this paper, I will present two of the songs which made their way into the lullaby repertoire. This phenomenon was made possible by their structural features and performance particularities, which resemble those of lullabies. As they were sung in an intimate family ambiance, with the purpose of putting children to sleep, the substitution was fully accomplished, without any reticence on the part of the community.*

Keywords: *ethnomusicology, lullaby, religious song, fishing song, Lipovan Russians.*

1. Introduction

After the 1666-1667 Synod, a secession took place within the Russian Church, resulting in the configuration of a religious community within the orthodox society – the Old Calendarists (Starovers) (Tudose 2015, 12).

Displeased with the reforms imposed by Patriarch Nikon, Starovers were forced to migrate and adapt to harsh, sometimes hostile conditions. According to estimates, over three million Old Calendarists left their native territories (Ipatiov, 2001, 29). Persecuted and forced into exile, they scattered over Poland, Moldavia or the Ottoman Empire, in Bugeac and in Dobrogea. They preferred those parts of Dobrogea which were under Ottoman rule, as Turkish authorities placed no restrictions on their faith and allowed them to perpetuate a way of life which was in accordance with their traditions and main occupations.

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Once settled in Moldavia and Dobrogea, they would become known under the ethnonym *Lipovans* or *Lipovan Russians*, names which seal their origin. Originally from the Dnieper, Volga and Don river areas, Lipovan Russians were able to continue practising their main occupation, namely fishing (Tiuliumeanu 2015, 121).

Living in an environment where other languages are spoken, this ethnic group identifies itself by its language, traditions and customs, which have been carefully preserved for over three and a half centuries (Tudose 2015, 15).

They represent a less numerous population, which is particularly conservative and has been taking great care to preserve all that defines its cultural identity. A religious people par excellence, always known as Old Calendar orthodox Christians, they manifested themselves as a closed society, founded on the main dogmas of the Russian Church, in all aspects of daily life. And so, they have remained to this day. Cultural influences and borrowings from cohabiting ethnic groups have been rigorously adapted to their own cultural specificity, as their religion limited their exchanges with other communities. The most influences came to them from Dacoromanians, the majority ethnic group, a fact mainly determined by the latter's Christian orthodox religion.

The Lipovan Russians' compact settlements in Dobrogea villages facilitated the preservation and conveyance of their language, cultural heritage and way of life to the new generations. Their main occupations were determined by the proximity of water, so that Lipovan Russian men are mostly fishermen, carpenters or 'marangoz' – boat builders.

2. Lipovan Russians in 2 Mai and Jurilovca – historico-geographical key points

In Constanța County, in the close vicinity of Mangalia town, lies the village of 2 Mai. Dacoromanian shepherds, Greek fishermen and Tartar horse breeders lived in the village. From the people I interviewed I learned that Skoptsy Russians took refuge in our country at the beginning of the 19th century. They were the members of a religious minority persecuted by Tsarist authorities in Russia. They were forced to leave their native lands and settled on Romanian territory, in towns or villages in Dobrogea and Moldavia. Later on, towards the end of the 19th century, some of the Skoptsy settled in 2 Mai village.

My research revealed that Skoptsy Russians were part of a religious sect which imposed genital mutilation to women and men. This was a form of spiritual purification and ensured protection against carnal desires and adultery, turning them into veritable martyrs. They usually resorted to this practice after a son was born, who would carry on the family name. They gave up such customs around the middle of the past century, so that this religious minority disappeared from our country.

Once they renounced mutilation, the Skoptsy became close to Lipovans, who were a stronger presence from a numerical point of view. The integration and

assimilation of the Skoptsy by Lipovans represented a gradual phenomenon; consequently, young people today call themselves Lipovan Russians, while the elderly speak of their origins blurred by the mists of time, providing precious information, which they themselves heard as children. Such information is given in a concise form, the lack of details inciting the listener's imagination.

Nowadays, the descendants of the Skoptsy are considered members of the Lipovan Russian community. They have all kept and passed on the religion, culture and traditions of their group to younger generations. They promote the image of the traditional Lipovan village at national and international festivals, through a repertoire of songs and dances, through costumes and crafts. Highlighting these identity-defining practices ensures their uniqueness in a heterogeneous space.

Jurilovca commune is located in Tulcea County. It was founded by Lipovan Russians who took up fishing as their main occupation. The people I interviewed recounted that there used to be two distinct categories of fishermen in the commune: sea fishermen and fresh water fishermen.

The community meticulously preserved priceless treasures of national Russian culture: old manuscripts and printed works, ancient Byzantine-style icons, cloth samples, applied art, the architecture of houses, folk customs and traditions, folklore etc. (JORA, 2014, 71).

3. *Litaet smei* / *The dragon is flying* - formal and structural analysis

The song called *Litaet smei* is originally a religious song, performed by the community on Saint George's day, April 23rd. In Christian icons, Saint George is shown riding a horse and holding a spear in his hand, while the dragon lies dead at the horse's feet. There is a legend in the Christian religion according to which Saint George killed a dragon which had attacked a young maiden. This legend is also the starting point of the construction of the dramatic text of the song.

Литает змей / *The dragon is flying*

Source: Claudia David
(50 years old, born in Constanța)

Литет зме - й По в се - му све - ту

Пи - да - ет зме - й И всех лю - дей

Литает змей По в сему свету, Пидает змей И всех людей.	The dragon is flying Over the whole world, The dragon is eating The whole world.
Как пришла Царица, Да Царя Ивана Хоть сам Царь иди, Чи царевну поведи. - Сам Царь я не пайду. И Царевну не пушю! - Надевайка ты моя Смертевную платье, Да иди ты Ана, Змею на сидение.	When his turn came, Tsar Ivan had to decide If to go himself, or send the Tsarina. - I, as the Tsar, shall not go. Nor shall I let the Tsarina! - Daughter Ana, put on Your funeral garbs, And go yourself, Ana, And sacrifice yourself to the dragon.
Надевала Ана Смертевную платье, И пошла Ана Змею на сидение.	Ana put on Her funeral garbs, And so went Ana To sacrifice herself to the dragon.

The poetic text is built around a fantasy theme and features the Russian kingdom, over which a Zmeu/Dragon flies, attacking and eating everyone, until the Tsar's family is the only one left on Earth. As the Tsar and Tsarina are about to be eaten next, they refuse to let that happen and send their only daughter for the Zmeu/Dragon to feed on.

One noteworthy aspect regarding the structure of the stanzas has to do with the number of lines in the third stanza, which lies at the middle of the poem. This stanza is made of only two lines, which are doubled by repetition. This concise and categorical manner of rendering the Tsar and Tsarina's refusal generates the most dramatic moment in the poem. After this stanza, the organization of the poetic text returns to its initial pattern, namely four-line stanzas, the last two lines of which are repeated.

The text features the following compositional procedures and expressive means: explanatory parallelism, the repetition of lines in the melodic stanza, metaphors. The pattern of the lines is pentasyllabic, acatalectic, which points to the archaic character of the poem.

The features which facilitated the inclusion of this religious song in the lullaby category are the following: the slow tempo, of 60 M.M. the quarter, a simple melodic line, with no dynamic elements, the giusto-syllabic rhythm. The sense of pendulation, created by the alternation between pyrrhic and iambic feet, instils a rocking motion into the song and creates an atmosphere conducive to sleep.

The melody has a sinuous profile in its first melodic row and a mainly descending one in the second. This is recognizable in the song, from the very incipit of the second stanza.

The poetic text has a distinct configuration: the first and the final two stanzas are made of four lines each, while the third stanza consists of two lines. One might point out that the poetic text has two symmetrical sections. The four-line stanzas, grouped by twos, are expanded by the repetition of the last two lines. The two lines of the third stanza are repeated, thus making it four lines long. The poetic-musical stanza is expanded by the repetition of the last two lines. The rhyme of the lines results from the symmetrical combinations of the last feet which connect the lines between them, according to the following pattern: 1+2 and 3+4. The poem line-musical row relationship determines the coincidence between the dimension of the melodic row and that of the pentasyllabic poem line.

The melody is structured based on varying melodico-rhythmic cells. The rhythm is giusto-syllabic, and the shape of the melodic stanza is fixed, of a binary AB type.

The mode is a diatonic hexachord of the minor-mode type: Re1-Mi1-Fa1-Sol1-La1-Si1. The sounds of the minor diatonic tetratony, which lay at the foundation of the song's mode, stand out from the very beginning: Mi1-Sol1-La1-Si1; they can be construed as pillar-sounds in the melody.

The Fa1 sound appears in the melodico-rhythmic cells of the second melodic row only twice, which reveals that it originated in a *pien*. The Re1 sound, heard only once, at the end of the second melodic row, is the gravest sound of the mode and plays the part of a subtone.

The ambitus, a major sixth, of the type Re1-Si1, defines the structure of the melody. The melodic formulae which make up the melodic phrases follow the pattern of intervals of major third, perfect fourth and fifth, which are favoured by the Russian language.

The profile of the first melodic row is crenellated, while that of the second melodic row is descending.

The inner cadenza is realized on the first step of the mode, by means of the minor third relation and the final cadenza is also realized on the first step of the mode, by means of the minor second relation.

4. *Vdoli pa moriu* / *Along the sea* - formal and structural analysis

The song called *Vdoli pa moriu* is originally a fishing song. The poetic text, consisting of nine stanzas, features a moving scene which Lipovan Russians can witness on the waters surrounding them. The lyrics capture a moment in the existence of the Delta ecosystem, when a swan and her cygnets are attacked by a hawk.

Вдоль по морю / Along the sea

Source: Georgiana Maria Chiriță
(19 years old, born in Jurilovca)

Lento ♩ = 60

Вдо - ль по мо - рю, вдо - ль по
мо - рю Вдоль по мо - рю, си - не - му
Вдоль по мо - рю, си - не - му

Вдоль по морю, вдоль по морю,
Вдоль по морю, синему,
Вдоль по морю, синему.

Along the sea, along the sea,
Along the sea, the blue sea,
Along the sea, the blue sea.

Плыла лебедь, плыла лебедь,
Плыла лебедь с лебедятами,
Плыла лебедь с лебедятами.

A swan is swimming, a swan is swimming,
A swan is swimming, with its cygnets,
A swan is swimming, with its cygnets.

Со малыми, со малыми,
Со малыми со дитятами,
Со малыми со дитятами.

With the little ones, with the little ones,
With the little ones, with her babies,
With the little ones, with her babies.

Плывшись она, плывшись она,
Плывшись она встрепенулася,
Плывшись она встрепенулася.

Swimming on, swimming on,
Swimming on, surprised,
Swimming on, surprised.

Под ней вода, под ней вода,
Под ней вода всколыхнулася,
Под ней вода всколыхнулася.

That the water underneath her,
That underneath her, the water is stirring,
That underneath her, the water is stirring.

Отколь взялся, отколь взялся,
Отколь взялся тот ясён сокол,
Отколь взялся тот ясён сокол.
Уж он побил, уж он побил,

Suddenly, out of nowhere, suddenly, out of nowhere,
Suddenly, out of nowhere, a great hawk appears,
Suddenly, out of nowhere, a great hawk appears.
Already striking, already striking,

Уж он побил лебедь белую, Already striking, the white swan,
Уж он побил лебедь белую. Already striking, the white swan.

Он и пух пустил, он и пух пустил, Tearing off all her feathers, tearing off all her feathers,
Он пух пусил да под небесью, Tearing off all her feathers, casting them into the sky,
Он пух пусил да под небесью. Casting them into the sky.

Вдоль по морю, вдоль по морю, Along the sea, along the sea,
Вдоль по морю, синему. Along the sea, the blue sea.

The features which facilitated the inclusion of this fishing song among lullabies are the following: the slow tempo, of 60 M.M. the quarter, a simple melodic line, with no dynamic elements, the giusto-syllabic rhythm. The alternation between pyrrhic and iambic feet results in a rocking motion, which puts the child to sleep.

The melody has a sinuous profile in the first melodic row and a mainly descending one in the second.

The poetic text resorts to the following compositional procedures and expressive means: explanatory parallelism, the repetition of lines in the melodic stanza, parallelistic repetition.

The poetic-musical stanza is created by the repetition of the last two lines. The rhyme results from the symmetrical combinations of the last feet which connect the lines between them. The poem line-musical row relationship determines the coincidence between the dimension of the melodic row and that of the pentasyllabic poem line.

The structure of the melody is as follows: based on identical melodico-rhythmic cells in the first phrase and on varying melodico-rhythmic cells in the second one. The rhythm is giusto-syllabic, and the shape of the melodic stanza is fixed, of a binary AB type.

The mode is a diatonic hexachord of the minor-mode type: Mi1-Fa#1-Sol1-La1-Si1-Do2. The sounds of the minor diatonic pentachord which gave birth to the song's mode stand out from the very beginning: Mi1-Fa#1-Sol1-La1-Si1. These sounds can be construed as pillar-sounds in the melody. As the Do2 sound appears only once, one may regard it as originally playing the role of a *pien*.

The ambitus, a minor ninth, of the type si-Do2, defines the structure of the melody. The melodic formulae which make up the melodic phrases follow the pattern of intervals of minor third, perfect fourth and fifth, which are favoured by the Russian language.

The profile of the first melodic row is crenellated, while that of the second melodic row is descending.

The inner cadenza is realized on the first step of the mode, by means of the major second relation. The final cadenza is also realized on the first step of the mode, by means of a leap of perfect fourth.

5. Conclusions

Sung in an intimate context, lullabies are some of the traditional creations capable of creating psychophysiological states meant to induce sleep in children who listen to them (OPREA, 2002, 287).

The analysis of the two songs, which originally belonged to other categories, revealed the following characteristics, which allowed them to be included among lullabies:

- The slow tempo, of 60 M.M. the quarter.
- The persistence of minor third, perfect fourth and major second interval relations.
- The evolution of modes from primary modes of 4-5 sounds.
- The descending trajectory of musical cells.
- The alternation of iambic and pyrrhic feet.
- The giusto-syllabic rhythm, which contributes to the creation of a psychological state conducive to falling asleep.
- The musical stanza made of 2 musical rows running freely.

One may claim that traditional Lipovan Russian lullabies manifest themselves as a living system, adaptable to everything that the cultural evolution of society entails. Having a precise function in the life of any community, lullabies remain unique, permeable creations, capable of revitalizing themselves and of standing out, either through metamorphosis, or through substitution.

6. References

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