

# An Udmurt Exceptional Performer, *Dzhakapay*

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**Abstract:** This article concentrates on the phenomenon of the individual in the ethnic culture of the Udmurt, bearing in mind that this has never been attempted before. This is a proper framework to analyse Ol'ga Solov'yova's (1932–2018) personality, who was famous among the people as *Dzhaky / Dzhakapay / Dzhaky apay* (lit: Aunt Jay). A whole range of reasons justifies scientific interest in her: her huge repertoire of songs and rituals, her ability to improvise freely within her local tradition, her unique musical and auditory skills.

The analysis of *Dzhakapay's* character allows us to connect the songs of her repertoire and her fate. Many non-ritual songs are in fact autobiographical narratives, dedicated to reflexions on an unhappy fate, on being an orphan. A considerable number of songs in her repertoire belong to the category of so-called personal songs (in Russian: *imennyye pesni*, 'name songs'), which represent a kind of personal memoir in musical form. Another unique feature of this performer's art is her knowledge of songs from neighbouring villages in their original language (Russian, Mari, Tatar) and their translation into Udmurt.

Her knowledge of the local traditional rituals made her very important to the local community, in which she was deeply respected. Until the last day of her life, she followed the ontological positions, the rules

of behaviour, the canons of ritual and singing performance elaborated by tradition, and attempted to instil them into the people surrounding her. This awakened her genuine interest in the social and scientific milieu. And today, when she is no longer among us, her name is attached to many very different projects.

**Keywords:** biography, individual, performer's character, singing repertoire, Udmurt, tradition

*Dzhakapayez bure vayysa no s'ulmys' tau karysa*  
Remembering *Dzhakapay* and thanking her  
from the heart

In every people's culture, there are individuals who distinguish themselves because of their creative potential and their charisma. Often they have deeply individual signatures in performance and are able to accumulate and transmit the cultural heritage of their people. Therefore, "it is important to approach folk culture through the world of its makers, persons, individuals, creators" (Romodin 2009: 9). As Romodin justly observes, only by going back to the human, subjective principle (unlike the formal and theoretic investigation of folklore units) can we see the living, intrinsic and fundamental component of ethnic culture (ibid.). Moreover, "the interest towards the human being as a subject of cultural tradition can be seen as one of the expressive trends emerging in today's humanities" (Lichnost'... 2014: 5).

Recent investigations have revealed that in tradition there are different types of folk musician (balanced, expressively unbalanced, mixed (transitional) (Romodin 2009)), different manifestations of individuality in folk musical culture (Zhulanova 2014), as well as different modes in narrative tradition (Alpatov 2014). There have also been very convincing investigations into other cultures (for example Juha Pentikäinen 1971; Pino 2000). We must acknowledge that in Udmurt ethnomusicology and folkloristics, there has yet been no special research dedicated to the creative individual in

traditional culture. We can mention only research by Svetlana Starodubtseva “Oh, My Poor Grieving Heart” (songs from Natalia Vlasova’s repertoire)” (Starodubtseva 1999). This article attempts partly to fill this gap.

Thus, our attention concentrates on the main features of one of the brightest and most charismatic personalities in Udmurt traditional culture, Ol’ga Nikolaevna Solov’yova (1932–2018), called *Dzhakapay*. This choice is justified by the fact that, firstly, *Dzhakapay* demonstrated a colossal knowledge of folklore and ethnographic material from her tradition. In addition, both of the article’s authors are well acquainted with her and for some years visited her regularly. This allowed them to observe her in everyday life, to participate in ritual action, and to interview her repeatedly, recording in writing her comments across the years.

## Childhood, family

*Dzhakapay* was born in 1932 in Karamas-Pel’ga (Udm. Ud’d’ad’i), Kiyasovo district in Udmurtia, where she is best known under the name *Dzhaky* / *Dzhakapay* / *Dzhaky apay* (lit: Aunt Jay). She received this ornithomorphic name at birth, according to an old Udmurt tradition in which children received bird, animal and plant names because of frequent child mortality and long-term child illness. According to *Dzhakapay*, several children in her family died one after another, after which her parents gave her the name of the jay, *Dzhaky*.

In 1942, when she was ten, she and her three-year-old brother were orphaned when her father was killed at the front and her mother died suddenly. The children managed to avoid the orphanage and lived instead with their grandfather at his home.

These were difficult years for them and they were obliged to go about the village asking the villagers for food; they never had good clothes at this time. Sometimes the local kolkhoz helped and gave

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them half a *pud*<sup>1</sup> of flour from the mutual aid fund. The assistance given by the villagers themselves was irreplaceable and *Dzhakapay* frequently thanked them in her songs.



Photo 1. *Dzhakapay* – Ol'ga Solov'yova.  
Photo from the Solov'yov family archive.

As she remembered, on one of the hungry war days she decided to kill herself. However, an extraordinary event happened, and became a turning point in her fate:

Once I woke up early in the morning and I went out into the yard... My brother is small, my grandfather old. Then grandfather also died. We have no food, no clothes. The weather is windy. The neighbouring birch bends in different directions. To this day, I see this birch as my guardian angel. "Should I already die? What should I do?" I break down and weep. Then the birch seemed to answer me: "Do not die! Look at me: I bend down to the earth, and then I stand up, I straighten myself". At the same moment, without my noticing it, my brother came to me and said with tears in his eyes: "Sister, do not die! I shall never more weep or ask for food". These words remained in my heart for all my life.



Photo 2. *Dzhakapay* with her brother Semyon, 1954. Photo from the Solov'yov family archive.

Because of the difficult circumstances of her life, *Dzhakapay* could not receive a full formal education, completing only four classes. But she promised herself that she would educate her brother Semyon Nikolaevich Utekhin. Semyon did indeed finish high school and went to university, to the Izhevsk Agricultural Institute (now the Izhevsk State Agricultural Academy).

*Dzhakapay* married a man from the same village, a widower with six children. She did not have any children herself but raised her husband's children as her own. In addition, she took under her wing two of her brother-in-law's children who had become orphans.

She started her working life at the local kolkhoz, named Harvest (in Russian: *urozhay*, later renamed Lenin). She worked as a postman at the Karamas-Pel'ga liaison office receiving recognition for her work and her achievements: she was awarded the People's Friendship order and the medals For Labour Valour and Veteran of Labour. In 2005, she was awarded the title Kiyasovo District Citizen of Honour and in 2008 was given the Recognition award for her contribution to the development of folk art, bestowed by the government of the Udmurt Republic.

## **Singing art and folk wisdom**

In *Dzhakapay*'s hard fate, performing songs became her salvation. Through songs, she sang and shared her experiences, her concerns, her sorrows and her joys. This phenomenon reflects the Udmurt traditional psychology. Expressing emotions and thoughts through music is for the Udmurt a communicative channel that brings powerful cathartic and psychotherapeutic effects. In the psychology of the Udmurt, this is explained, according to ethnomusicologist Irina Nurieva, as a stereotypical Udmurt feature: "According to the rules of communication, the Udmurt, introverts by nature, are not allowed to express their emotions openly and loudly, to weep one's eyes out, to laugh loudly, to gesticulate widely" (Nurieva 2014: 206). Performing

songs allows the Udmurt to express, to let out their inner state. These words are confirmed by what *Dzhakapay* herself says about singing:

I had not much experience of evening gatherings and fun-making. Partly I heard how my friends come back with songs from evening gatherings. But I composed songs in solitude, and I sang in my head. I even had no clothes to be in company. That's why I was very ashamed.... If I had not sung all this in my songs, I suppose I would not be alive with all the sorrows and hardness of life.

Many songs reflected her fate. In particular, she described the difficult period of her life in an autobiographical text using the tune from an Udmurt folksong. This song is close to the Udmurt lyric songs, reflecting on a sorrowful and unhappy fate. One of the main motifs expressing this state of mind is that of the orphan, who from a young age must go about among the people to earn herself a piece of bread to survive:

♩ = 96

Пи - чи дь-рись туж се - кьт но у - ль-нь мон(ы) кь - ли но.

Пи - чи - и - сен(ы) туж се - кь-тэсь кьль-ё-сыз(ы) мон(ы) кь - ль-ли.

Пи - чи - и - сен(ы) туж се - кьт но кьл(ы)-ё-сыз мон(ы) кь - ль-ли.

Ки-ям пу-й, ой, ку - ты-са гурть-ёс - тй но мон(ы) вет-лй.

Нянь(ы) па - лэсь-ёс ку - ры - лы-са у - но пол(ы) мон(ы) тэль(ы)-мь-ри.

Нянь(ы) па - лэсь-ёс ку - ры - лы-са у - но пол(ы) мон(ы) тэль(ы)-мь-ри.

<i>Pichi dyris' tuzh s'ekyt no</i>	From childhood it is very hard, and
<i>Ulyny mon(y) kyl'i no.</i>	I had to live, and.
<i>Pichiis'en(y) tuzh s'ekytes'</i>	From childhood, very hard
<i>Kyl'yosyz(y) mon(y) kylyli.</i>	Words, yes, I heard.
<i>Pichiis'en(y) tuzh s'ekyt no</i>	From childhood, very hard
<i>Kyl(y)yosyz mon(y) kylyli.</i>	Words, yes, I heard.
<i>Kiyam puyy, oy, kutysa,</i>	Taking in my hand, oh, a bag,
<i>Gurt'yosti no mon vetli.</i>	I went, yes, around the villages.
<i>N'an'(y) pales'yos kurylysa,</i>	Asking for crusts of bread,
<i>Uno pol(y) mon(y) tel'(y)myri.</i>	Many times I begged.
<i>N'an'(y) pales'yos kurylysa,</i>	Asking for crusts of bread,
<i>Uno pol(y) mon(y) tel'(y)myri.</i>	Many times I begged.
<i>Bör(y)dis'ko no tshushis'kis'ko</i>	I weep and I dry my tears
<i>Töd'y vekchi kyshetam.</i>	With my thin white scarf.
<i>Mal(y)pas'kis'ko no paymis'ko</i>	I think and I wonder
<i>Yrylen chidamezly.</i>	About the patience of my head
<i>Malpas'kis'ko no paymis'ko,</i>	I think and I wonder
<i>Yrylen chidamezly.</i>	About the patience of my head <sup>2</sup> .
	(Kyrzh'as'... 1995)

Frequently *Dzhakapay* used her songs to thank the people of her village because they did not allow her to quit the village, her father's house and her kin:



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$\text{♩} = 120$

Зеч мурт- лэн но жёк съö- раз пук- сён дыр(ы)-ям,  
гурт ка- лы- ке- лы та- у ка- рись- ко.  
Гурт ка- лы- ке- лы та- у ка- рись- ко.  
Да-но Уд- дя- ди ка- лы- ке- ным вал(ы)-че  
бы- дэс- тй мон(ы) та шу- до йыр- ме.  
Бы- дэс- тй мон(ы) та шу- до йыр- ме.

[...]

[...]

*Dzh'ech murtlen no dzhök s'öraz* When I sit down at good people's  
*puks'on dyr(y)yam,* tables,

*Gurt kalykely tau karis'ko.* I thank the people of my village.  
*Gurt kalykely tau karis'ko.* I thank the people of my village.

*Dano Ud'd'ad'i kalykenym* With venerable people of  
*val(y)che* Karamas-Pel'ga,  
*Bydesti mon(y)ta shudo yyr(y)me.* I have raised my happy head.  
*Bydesti mon(y)ta shudo yyr(y)me.* I have raised my happy head.  
(Kyrldzh'as'... 1995)

*Dzhakapay* knew and performed a huge corpus of so-called name songs, i.e. personal songs. The main distinguishing feature here is the presence in the title of the performer's name. For example, *Pis'eg Luker'yapaylen gurez*, 'Aunt Pisleg (lit: Tit) Luker'ya's Tune', and *Girgalen gurez*, 'Girga's Tune', etc. (For more details, see Pchelovodova 2013.) For *Dzhakapay*, these tunes were a kind of memory of each person, encompassed in the form of musical song. She knew the story of each of these songs perfectly and could speak in detail about the former performers. Often, when singing, she interrupted the song with a surge of emotion and tears, reliving the situations the song talked about and remembering the original performer.

Some of these name songs were published as performed both solo by *Dzhakapay*, and with a folklore ensemble, in the collection *Songs of the Southern Udmurt*, which is dedicated to the singing folklore of Kiyasovo district of the Udmurt Republic (Pchelovodova, Anisimov 2020):

- *Kaylo Petyr agaylen gurez* – Uncle Kaylo Petyr's Tune/Song,
- *Sof'yapaylen kyrdzh'an gurez* – Aunt Sofia's Tune/Song (this tune was sung by a woman called Sofia when she said farewell to the people of her village on her way to the frontline during the Second World War),
- *Terentey Pakapaylen Ud'd'ad'i gurtles' mözmon gurez* – Aunt Terentey Paka's Tune/Song. Aunt Terentey Paki was homesick for her village Karamas-Pel'ga (Ol'ga Solov'yova heard this tune from a woman called Paki, who had married into the Lyali family (Alnashi district), when once she came back to meet her kin, performing this song to express her yearning for her native village),
- *Dulam Palagey apaylen gurez* – Aunt Dulam Palagey's Tune/Song,

- *Pad'ey apaylen gurez* – Aunt Pad'ea's Tune/Song,
- *Kuz' Ondrey agaylen gurez* – Uncle Kuz' Ondrey's Tune/Song (Solov'yova first heard this song from a villager from Staraya Sal'ya at the funeral of his sixteen-year-old daughter who had drowned in the river).

Other songs close to these are those called 'village tunes', characterised by geographical names. Thus, from *Dzhakapay's* repertoire, we have recorded *Ud'd'ad'i gur*, Karamas-Pel'ga's Tune; *L'al'iis' vayem gur*, A Tune Brought Back from Lyali; *Sal'l'a gur*, Staraya Sal'ya's Tune; and *Böd'yalas' vayem gur*, A Tune Brought Back from Varkled-Bod'ya. According to *Dzhakapay*, she had heard these tunes, or they had been heard by the Ud'd'ad'i people, in these villages. For example, she had never heard the Karamas-Pel'ga tune in other villages.

Another interesting text is one of the songs from Varkled-Bod'ya. Here, in addition to the loaning, we observe a kind of 'authorisation' process. The text evokes the names of people connected to the tune and from whom the singer heard the songs:

*Oy, ta gur(y)vos kin'(y)len ke no shuylidy,* Oh, whose tunes are these, if you ask, yes,

*Okt'abyris' Tymyr(y)shalen, oy, gur'yosyz.* These tunes belong to Tymyrshi from Oktyabr'.

*Okt'abyris' Tymyr(y)shalen, oy, gur'yosyz.* These tunes belong to Tymyrshi from Oktyabr'.

*Okt'abyris' Tymyr(y)shalen(y) gurez övöl ta,* This tune does not belong to Tymyrshi from Oktyabr',

*D'em(y)yan gyne kudomylen, oy, gur'yosyz.* These tunes belong only to Dem'yan, the in-law.

*D'em(y)yan gyne kudomylen, oy, gur'yosyz.* These tunes belong only to Dem'yan, the in-law.

*D'em'yan gyne kudolen gurez övöl ta,* It does not belong only to Dem'yan, the in-law,

*Choko gyne Vas'agaylen, oy, gur'yosyz.* These are only Choko's and uncle Vasi's tunes.

*Choko gyne Vas'agaylen, oy, gur'yosyz.* These are only Choko's and uncle Vasi's tunes.

(Pchelovodova, Anisimov 2020: 328)

Among the people of Karamas-Pel'ga there is today a tune considered to belong to *Dzhakapay*, called *Dzhakapay's Tune*, *Dzhakapaylen gurez*.

In conversation, when she was asked “Do you compose your songs yourself?” *Dzhakapay* almost always answered: “No. I live from what exists. Before me the people composed so many beautiful and warm songs.” Knowing her great talent, the authors of this article understand that on the one hand, this is a manifestation of an Udmurt woman's modesty, while on the other hand it reflects the understanding of her intimate involvement with the tradition in which she lived. She had no difficulties remembering a song after only one hearing, which confirms her exceptional musical and auditory abilities. Several times we witnessed, how *Dzhakapay* could easily and organically include in a song any text about emotions, the moment in which we were living, her inner state, memories of her own life, etc. Improvisation for her was not something complicated – on the contrary, as she said: “All I want to say, I express it all through singing. I do not like to talk much.” We have a good example of this with the song she performed on a TV show called *Kyrdzh'as'*

*lul-s'ulem* (The Singing Soul), recorded by GTRK Udmurtia<sup>3</sup>. In this song, *Dzhakapay* used poetic motifs with different content, close to her life situation. We must also emphasise that singing, in the Udmurt culture, foretells a sad fate. Researchers have justly observed the ambiguous Udmurt attitude towards the art of singing: the people who know songs and have nice, strong voices are deeply respected in village society, but these performers are also understood to be unhappy people (Nurieva 1999: 87–88). This is despite the fact that *Dzhakapay* herself asserted it was singing and song that helped her survive the most difficult situations in her life:

$\text{♩} = 108$

Ню-лэс ду-рын у-чъ чър(ь)-дэ, чър(ь)-дэмь-яз пьд-ло пь-ре.

Мъ-нам(ь) та у-лон азь-ё-сь у-лэм(ь)-ям(ь) шуг-ль къ-ле.

Тб-дъ луд-кеч, тб-дъ луд-кеч тэль-ль бь-дэ тэль(ь)-мь-ре(й).

Тй-ни(й)о-зь(й) (й)ик тэль(ь)-мь-рын къ-лиз, лэ-ся, та йь-рь.

Тй-ни(й)о-зь(й) (й)ик тэль(ь)-мь-рын къ-лиз, лэ-ся, та йь-рь(й).

У-чъ чър(ь)-дон а-ра-ма-ёс ми-лем(ь)-ль туж ки-дэ-кн.

Ум(ь) къ-лйсь-ке(й), ум(ь) къ-лйсь-ке чър(ь)-дэ-лэм но куа-ра-зэ.

Ум(ь) къ-лйсь-ке(й), ум(ь) къ-лйсь-ке чър(ь)-дэ-лэм но куа-ра-зэ(й).

*N'ules duryn utshy chyr(y)de,  
Chyr(y)dem'yaz  
pydlo pyre.  
Mynam(y) ta ulon az'yosy  
Ulem(y)yam(y)  
shugly kyle.*

By the forest a nightingale sings,  
As far as he sang, he flew deep  
into the forest.  
This is my fate  
Throughout my life, it becomes  
hard and harder.

*Töd'y ludkech, töd'y ludkech  
Tel'ly byde tel'(y)myre(y).  
Tin'i (y)oz'y (y)ik tel'(y)myryn  
Kyl'iz, les'a, ta yyry.  
Tin'i (y)oz'y (y)ik tel'(y)myryn  
Kyl'iz, les'a, ta yyry(y).*

White rabbit, white rabbit  
All the forest is grieving.  
And thus grieving  
Seemingly remains my fate.  
And thus grieving  
Seemingly remains my fate.

*Utshy chyr(y)don  
aramayos  
Mil'em(y)ly tuzh kid'okyn.  
Um(y) kylis'ke(y), um(y) kylis'ke  
Chyr(y)dylem no kuaraze.  
Um(y) kylis'ke(y), um(y) kylis'ke  
Chyr(y)dylem no kuaraze(y).*

The groves where the  
nightingale sings,  
Are very far from us  
We do not hear, we do not hear,  
His voice nor his singing.  
We do not hear, we do not hear,  
His voice nor his singing.

*Anay-atay(y)tem nyl(y)piyed  
Uy no nunal(y) tel'y(y)myre(y).  
Kylis' övöl, kylis' övöl(y)  
Tel'(y)myrem no kuaraze.  
Kylis' övöl(y), kylis' övöl  
Tel'(y)myrem no kuaraze(y).*

The children without parents  
Grieve day and night.  
Nobody hears, nobody hears  
Their voice and their grieving.  
Nobody hears, nobody hears  
Their voice and their grieving.

*Pichi(y)is'en  
usto lui  
Kyr(y)dzh'any no verany(y).  
Kemalas'en todmo luiz,  
Tatshe shudtem lueme(y).*

From my childhood I became  
skilled  
In singing and storytelling.  
It has long been known  
That I lament, unhappy,

*Kemalas'en(y) todmo luiz,*  
*Tatshe shudtem lueme(y).*

It has long been known  
That I lament, unhappy.

*Usto shuo,*  
*usto shuo,*  
*Kyr(y)dzh'any no verany(y).*  
*Usto luod,*  
*usto luod,*  
*Kaygu pyr(y)ti potid ke.*  
*Usto luod,*  
*usto luod(y),*  
*Kaygu pyr(y)ti potid ke.*

She is skilled, they say,  
skilled, they say  
In singing and storytelling.  
You will be skilled,  
you will be skilled,  
If you go through sorrow.  
You will be skilled,  
you will be skilled,  
If you go through sorrow.  
(Kyr dzh'as'... 1995)

Among her fellow villagers, *Dzhakapay* was renowned for her deep knowledge, and performances, of a large number of songs, not only Udmurt but also belonging to neighbouring peoples. Kiyasovo district is characterised by its multi-ethnic population. Here in addition to Udmurts there are Russians, Tatars and Maris. Working as a mail carrier gave her the opportunity to get acquainted with the languages of these people, and later with their singing traditions. Her further interethnic communication and interrelations offered her a wide life experience, and an interethnic heritage. She performed the songs in their original form, in Russian, Tatar and Mari, as well as in Udmurt translation. She has become a unique repository of these songs from the Udmurt's regional neighbours. Thus, for example, she had in her personal repertoire songs from the neighbouring Russian village Starozaychikovo (Kiyasovo district, now disappeared). In 2015 *Dzhakapay* accompanied Anna Mishina (then a doctoral student at Tartu University, Estonia) on her expedition to the Mari village of Unur-Kiyasovo, in the Kiyasovo district (6 km from Karamas-Pel'ga). Here a significant event occurred: the local Mari were in pain, or did not wish to remember

their tunes, but when *Dzhakapay* herself started singing them she ‘provoked’ them to perform their own songs<sup>4</sup>.

Her way of actively learning the repertoires of others was also manifest during her journeys to other regions and countries for festivals. She brought back other communities’ songs and performed them in her own community, in their original language as well as, sometimes, in Udmurt translation. How surprised were Hungarian, Finn, and Estonian scholars and students to hear her singing their own songs in their own languages.

*Dzhakapay* not only sang traditional songs, but also had in her repertoire contemporary Udmurt variety songs, thus considerably widening her musical treasure. After performing traditional songs at holiday and cultural events, she could easily change to variety songs. She was proudly in awe of the work of amateur composer Nikolai Utkin, from her village, whose songs she sang with pleasure. The opposite also happened with songs from her personal repertoire entering the variety stage. For example, Tatiana Ishmatova and Aleksandr Katkov proposed a new version of the song *Zarn’i shundy dzhuzhaloz*, ‘The Golden Sun Rises’, of Mari origin. In a duet with Alyona Timerkhanova, Nikolai Anisimov included in his stage repertoire the dancing tune from Karamas-Pel’ga *Ud’d’ad’i takmak”yos*, ‘Karamas-Pel’ga Chastushki’. The AR-GOD project (Estonia) produced a CD that includes some songs recorded by *Dzhakapay*<sup>5</sup> from different periods: *Utchyyed chirdoz*, ‘The Nightingale Chirps’; *Ekton gur*, ‘Dancing Tune’ (Karamas-Pel’ga); *Kuno gur*, ‘Guest Welcoming Tune’.

From our perspective, *Dzhakapay* is one of the rare Udmurt who has retained the archaic way of performing ritual tunes, as she observed herself: “As I sing, nobody sings now”. This reality reflects the particular attitude of the performer towards Udmurt musical heritage, i.e. understanding the sacred significance of the old ritual tunes and the importance of maintaining the archaic mode of performance. Here we see the important role of a single individual as keeper and performer of cultural heritage.



In Udmurt singing tradition there is a particular timbre, quality of voice, for the calendar tunes. The first to have considered this problem is Irina Nurieva, relying on the singing tradition of the Western (Transvyatka) Udmurts (Nurieva 1999: 83–84). About *Dzhakapay's* way of performing, we note her powerful transmission of sound, the singing of long musical sentences in one breath. The sound nevertheless is not loud, but is very assertive: one feels the tension in the vocal chords. *Dzhakapay* has retained the typical archaic intonation of the unclear third. There is another feature in *Dzhakapay's* interpretation that we must comment on: the monotony of her performance, a kind of detachment, which allows for a meditative state of mind. Sadly, today this form of singing within the traditional culture has been lost and is only reconstructed by student ensembles in the Republic Musical College and the Udmurt State University.



Photo 3. The *ypr-pyd s'oton* commemorative ritual (the giving of the head and legs (of the sacrificial animal)). Photo by Nikolai Anisimov, 2017.

As an example, let us present the Tune of the Great Day, performed in 1993 by *Dzhakapay, Bydzh'ynnal gur*:

$\text{♩} = 72$

А - рен (ь) гь - нэ(й), па - лэн уг (ь) возь-мал-лям Бьд-эьн-нал(ь)-мь(й).  
 Тун - нэ(й) гь - нэ(й) ну - на - лын, ой, со ву - из.  
 Тун - нэ(й) гь - нэ(й) ну - на - лын, ой, со ву - из.  
 Ой, тй - ле - лын (ь) ми - ле - мьз Инь(ь)-мар(ь)-мь(й) сь - ть - лэм.  
 Ча - ле(й) а - ли вал(ь)-с гь - нэ, ой, у - ло - ме(й).  
 Ча - ле(й) а - ли вал(ь)-с гь - нэ, ой, у - ло - ме(й).  
 Ми пь - рись-ком (ь) тй до - рь(й) юм(ь)-шан но(й), ой, ся - (й)шн.  
 Ми пь - ре - мись вожь - ёс - тэс, ой, эн(ь) ва - с.  
 Ми пь - ре - мись вожь - ёс - тэс, ой, эн(ь) ва - с.

*Aren(y) gyne(y), palen ug(y)*  
*Voz'mal'l'am Bydydzh'ynnal(y)*  
*my(y).*

Only in autumn<sup>6</sup>, half [a year] I mean  
 We have waited for our Great Day.

*Tunne(y) gyne(y) nunalyn, oy,*  
*so vuiz.*

Only on today's day, oh, he has come.

*Tunne(y) gyne(y) nunalyn, oy,*  
*so vuiz.*

Only on today's day, oh, he has come.

<i>Oy, til'edyn(y) mil'emyz</i>	Oh, to us and to you our <i>In'mar</i> <sup>7</sup>
<i>In'(y)mar'(y)my(y) s'otylem.</i>	has given,
<i>Chal'e(y) al'i val(y)che gyne, oy,</i>	Come on, let us live only together.
<i>ulome(y).</i>	
<i>Chal'e(y) al'i val(y)che gyne, oy,</i>	Come on, let us live only together.
<i>ulome(y).</i>	

<i>Mi pyris'kom(y) ti dory(y)</i>	When celebrating,
<i>yum(y)shan no(y), oy, s'a(y)in.</i>	we enter your place,
<i>Mi pyremis' voz'h'yostes, oy,</i>	Because we entered, oh, do not
<i>en(y) vaye.</i>	bear a grudge.
<i>Mi pyremis' voz'h'yostes, oy,</i>	Because we entered, oh, do not
<i>en(y) vaye.</i>	bear a grudge.

<i>Achid(y) gyne kashamer,</i>	Only you with nice cashmere,
<i>vinayed(y) kal'am(y)per.</i>	your aniseed alcohol,
<i>Tynes'tyd(y) bon ud(y) yuy(y),</i>	If you do not drink it at home,
<i>kin'(y)les' yuod?</i>	where shall you drink it?
<i>Tynes'tyd(y) bon ud(y) yuy(y),</i>	If you do not drink it at home,
<i>kin'(y)les' yuod?</i>	where shall you drink it?
	(Mardzh'an 1993)

*Dzhakapay* was not only a precious performer, she was also a keeper of folk wisdom. It is no coincidence that in her village she was jokingly called 'the computer'. This is certainly due to the personal interest she had in her native culture. Until the final day of her life, she respected and implemented traditional ontology, behaviour rules, canons of ritual and song performance, etc. – an approach that has been lost by the younger generations in the village. This explains her importance to the local community and the authority she had in it. People went to her for advice and help in the organisation of ritual ceremonies, as well as with different

personal questions. For example, in 2017, when a family performed the commemorative *yir-pyd s'oton* ritual, 'the giving of the head and legs' (of a sacrificial animal), *Dzhakapay* became angry with those who conversed while the participants in the ritual sang, calling the culprits to join the singing as it befitted the ritual situation. Rimma Lopatina, who organised this ritual, continuously consulted her on the actions of ritual scenarios, the implementation of rules, the uttering of formulas, the preparation of paraphernalia, etc.

*Dzhakapay* transmitted her knowledge and skills over long years through her participation in the *Invozho* local folklore ensemble at the Karamas-Pel'ga culture house. The ensemble's repertoire contains a good amount of songs generously shared by *Dzhakapay* on the basis of her memory and personal experience. She sang as a soloist as well as a member of the group. As a member of the group, she participated in many festivals, competitions and events at different levels, visiting many regions of Russia as well as some foreign countries. According to the ensemble's leader, Nadezhda Pakhomova, she was a kind of scientific adviser in their creative work, especially when they were preparing ritual stage reconstructions and singing ritual songs.<sup>8</sup>

In her last years, *Dzhakapay* was troubled by people 'chattering' a lot and singing less. She saw that life had become more sorrowful every year because tradition was disappearing and people had begun to live in isolation, lacking collective solidarity.

Another reason for the trouble she felt was the amount of knowledge that she did not want to take to her grave with her. Therefore, she started writing her memoirs in some notebooks. However, illness overtook her, which was reflected in the illegible handwriting, and some sentences remain unfinished. Now, these writings are kept by her kin. She dedicated a letter to one of the authors of this article, Nikolai Anisimov, in which she gives him her blessing and shares with him the text of one of her songs, asking him to perform it according to his wishes:

*Ulmo s'as'ka vakyte  
Ton lykto, shuid, doram.  
Mon voz'may, kuaz'ed sakte,  
Ton öd vu, öd vu doram.*

When the apple trees bloom  
You said you shall come to me.  
I waited, dawn came [already],  
You did not come, you did not  
come to me.

*Puki sad pölyn ognam,  
Kytyn ke argan shude.  
Nyl kuara shuldyr  
kyrdzh'a,  
Tugane soly yurtte.*

I sat in the garden alone,  
Somewhere the accordion plays.  
The maidenly voice sings  
beautifully,  
My beloved helps her.

*Puki sad pölyn ognam,  
Utshy gurez  
kylzysa.  
Lyktemde voz'may,  
Az'am s'as'ka kuz'ym  
das'asa.*

I sat in the garden alone,  
Listening to the nightingale  
singing.  
I awaited your coming,  
Preparing in front of me a gift  
of flowers.

*Mone pöyad shuysa,  
S'ulemam dzhozhan kendzhiz.  
Sadys'potid myn'asa,  
Verano kyly vuniz.*

Because you deceived me,  
Grief inflamed my heart.  
You left the garden smiling,  
I forgot the words I had ready  
for you.

*Pripev:  
L'ömpu s'as'ka, l'ömpu s'as'ka,  
Maly-o ton töldzh'is'kod?  
Tulys kuaz'ez, yaratonez  
Pös' s'ulemme kel'tis'kod.*

Refrain:  
Wild cherry bloom, wild  
cherry bloom,  
Why did you fly away?  
Spring time, love,  
You leave them in my hot heart.  
(From Nikolai Anisimov's  
personal archive)

## A precious informant

*Dzhakapay* was a priceless informant for many Russian and foreign scholars and students, and this is reflected in their scientific publications. For instance, Valentina Makarova, who graduated from the Faculty of Udmurt Philology (today the Institute of Udmurt Philology, Finno-Ugristics and Journalism at the Udmurt State University) defended her graduation thesis titled “*Muz’yem kol’osa, s’ulem piyala... Dzhakapaylen cheberlyko kylos portretez*” (“The Earth is a Ring, the Heart is Glass: A Portrait of Aunt Jay’s Creativity), in which she presents *Dzhakapay*’s role as a unique creative personality in Udmurt culture (Makarova 2007). She summarised her conclusions thus: in *Dzhakapay*’s repertoire, there are mainly songs that are reflections on life and people, and fewer songs about love, as they are directly connected with the singer’s fate. Identifying poetic motifs in her songs (about lost youth, unhappy fate, separation), Makarova observes that one of the main themes is Solov’yova’s gratefulness towards her fellow villagers for helping her at difficult moments. She makes interesting comments about a very widespread motif in *Dzhakapay*’s songs, that of the birch. It is *Dzhakapay*’s favourite tree, one, as we mentioned above, that played an important role in her life.

In 2010 *Dzhakapay* participated in Ekaterina Samodelko (Danilova)’s graduation concert for the students of the Folk Choir (today Music and Stage Arts) at the Institute of Arts and Design at the Udmurt State University.

For those students who became professional performers, *Dzhakapay* was an unofficial teacher in the skill of singing folk songs. In 2011, she was invited as a guest of honour, in the capacity of member of the *Invozho* folklore ensemble, to Maria Korepanova’s first concert, which took place on the stage of the Udmurt Republic State National Theatre.



Photo 4. *Dzhakapay* performs for Estonian scholars 2005.  
Photo Eva Toulouze.

The Udmurt folklorist, doctor and professor Tatiana Vladykina dedicated her monograph *Udmurt Folklore: Problems of Genre Evolution and Systematics* (“Udmurtskiy fol’klor: problemy zhanrovoy evolyutsii i sistematiki” (Vladykina 1997) to Solv’yova and those who know the Udmurt folk traditions: “*Dzhaky apayly no tros-tros muket*”*yosyzly, kin ut’iz no ut’e na udmurt kalykmyles’ viz’nodze no kinen shud us’iz mynym pumis’kyny, – ybyrtysa*” (“To Aunt Dzhaky and many, many others who preserved and go on preserving our Udmurt people’s folk wisdom and whom I had the chance to meet – with my deep respect.”) (Vladykina 1997: 3).

In recent years the authors of this article also turned to her performing skills and deep knowledge. Thus, *Dzhakapay* was of great assistance when they gathered material for the *Songs of the Southern Udmurt* collection, dedicated to the non-ritual musical folklore of Kiyasovo district Udmurts (Pchelovodova, Anisimov 2020).

Thirty-two of the songs are recorded in her interpretation, either solo or with an ensemble:

- state radio and television channel Udmurtia (Documentary films: *Mardzh'an* ('Pearl') 1993; *Kyrdzh'as' lul-s'ulem* ('Singing Soul') 1995; *Ut'is'* ('The Keeper') 2014;
- state radio and television channel Sankt-Petersburg (Letters from the Province, cycle of television programmes);
- in 2005 local TV in Riga filmed the Baltic Festival, in which the Karamas-Pel'ga folk ensemble took part;
- First Channel (participation in the Minute of Glory television show with the *Invozho* folk ensemble, 2010).



Photo 5. The authors of the article meet *Dzhakapay*, 2013.  
Photo Denis Kornilov.



Photo 6. *Dzhakapay* in 2016.  
Photo Nikolai Anisimov.



### **In place of a conclusion**

*Dzhakapay's* demise on June 26th 2018 represented a great loss to the Udmurt culture. Much of her knowledge remained unrecorded, and what is recorded has not yet found a researcher so that it can enrich Udmurt science and culture. However, we may now assert with confidence that even the first research into the creative expression of an individual using *Dzhakapay* as an example and following her interaction with the canons of culture, illuminates how mechanisms of the collective and the individual function in the folklore tradition. Most precious are *Dzhakapay's* comments

about cultural processes, as collective knowledge is often spread through the personal discourse of the singer or storyteller.

We plan several projects connected with *Dzhakapay*'s unique personality:

- The young Udmurt cameraman Denis Kornilov, junior researcher at the Udmurt Research Institute, is preparing a film about her;
- Singer Dr. Maria Korepanova is preparing an album of songs sung by *Dzhakapay* both in her personal interpretation and in cooperation with other musicians;
- The authors of the article plan a separate book dedicated to her singing creation;
- In Karamas-Pel'ga, her son-in-law is reconstructing her native home so that it can function as a house museum in memory of *Dzhakapay*.

## Notes

<sup>1</sup> Around 8 kg.

<sup>2</sup> Here and throughout, the Russian translations of the Udmurt texts are by the authors of the article. The English translations are made by the article's translator.

<sup>3</sup> State radio and television channel.

<sup>4</sup> Oral information from Anna Mishina, 2019.

<sup>5</sup> The AR-GOD project (Estonia) includes Udmurt and Estonian musicians Maria Korepanova, Nikolai Anisimov and Toivo Sõmer. The group was created in 2014. The characteristic of their performance is a combination of traditional Udmurt and Besserman songs accompanied by ethnic musical instruments.

<sup>6</sup> According to Udmurt scholars, the word *ar*, which in modern Udmurt means "year" (as calendar year), comes from the Permian \**ar* "autumn" and in its very first meaning is to be found, for example, in calendar and ritual songs (Vladykina, Glukhova 2011: 1415). "In the coincidence of the concepts of autumn and year, the Udmurt folklorists perceive the great importance of the autumn and winter period, probably in connection with the archaic calculation of time, when the new year started in Autumn" (Anisimov 2017: 102).

<sup>7</sup> *In'mar* – theonym of the supreme God living in heaven.

<sup>8</sup> Oral information by N. Pakhomova, 2019.

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