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BESLAN G. ASHKHOTOV

Northern-Caucasus State Institute of Arts, Nalchik, Russia ORCID: 0000-0003-0525-8898, bashkhotov@mail.ru

The Shikapshina as a National Symbol of the Culture of the Adyghes (Circassians)*

The article examines the history of the existence of the folk musical chordophone the shikapshina (a group of string necked lutes), its functional role and meaning in the traditional culture of the Adyghes, its revival and the stages of its modernization in the changing sociocultural conditions of the 19th and 20th centuries. In the past the sphere of functioning of the shikapshina in the life and fate of the people was multifaceted. It fulfilled a peculiar function of a communicative channel of inter-generation transmission of the ethnic culture of the people, and the active bearer of folklore traditions, the sage, the poet, the song creator and performer (dzheguaklue) enjoying indisputable authority and genuine love in society, who held the shikapshina in his hand, identified the inherently valued folk culture and its social status. The shikapshina was used both as a solo and an ensemble instrument in the genres of instrumental and dance music, and was also capable of accompanying ritual, epical (Nart), historical-heroic songs; for the most part the shikapshina was concordant with lamentation songs and purifying songs.

Keywords: ethnic culture, the Adyghes (Circassians), musical instruments of the Adyghes, the shikapshina as a type of bowed necked lutes.

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Б. Г. АШХОТОВ

Северо-Кавказский государственный институт искусств г. Нальчик, Россия ORCID: 0000-0003-0525-8898, bashkhotov@mail.ru

Шикапшина как национальный символ культуры адыгов (черкесов)

В статье рассматривается история бытования народного музыкального хордофона шикапшины (группа смычковых шейковых лютней). Показаны функциональная роль и значение инструмента в традиционной культуре адыгов, процесс возрождения и этапы модернизации в меняющихся социокультурных условиях XIX-XX веков. Сфера участия шикапшины в жизни и судьбе народа в прошлом была многогранной. Инструмент являлся своеобразным коммуникативным каналом межпоколенной трансмиссии этнической культуры. Активный носитель фольклорных традиций, мудрец, поэт, песнотворец и исполнитель (джэгуак Іуэ) на шикапшине пользовался в социуме непререкаемым авторитетом и искренней любовью, отождествляя самоценную народную культуру и её общественный статус. Шикапшина применялась как сольно, так и в ансамбле в жанрах инструментальной и танцевальной музыки, могла сопровождать обрядовые, эпические (нартские), историко-героические песни. В большей степени шикапшина созвучна песням-сетованиям и очистительным песням.

Ключевые слова: этническая культура, адыги (черкесы), музыкальные инструменты адыгов, шикапшина как тип смычковых шейковых лютней.

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n the picturesque expanses of the Caucasus, ranging from the Black Sea coasts to the

Caucasus mountains and the basins of the Kuban and Malka Rivers, from the earliest times there have lived a large number of peoples who have spoken different dialects of the same language, and have called themselves the Adyghes. Next to them live the Abkhazians, who similarly to the Adyghes are the indigenous peoples of the Caucasus. According to linguists, the Adyghes and the Abkhazians comprise a single group in terms of their languages - the

Adyghe-Abkhazian group within the overall family of the Caucasian languages. From the times of Ancient Greece, the forefathers of the Adyghes were named in various ways: Maeotae, Sinds, Kerkets, Zikhs and Kasogs. Starting with Herodotus and Strabo, history has preserved information about the places of their abodes and about certain traits of their characters: "When you swim across the Bosphorus, you will find Sinds there..." [7, p. 16], "Kerkets who commit any kind of crime are removed from sacred service" [9, p. 56]. From the times of the late Middle Ages the Adyghes had already been called Circassians, especially in the West, up to the present time. Franciscan monk Wilhelm de Rubrouck testified in 1253: "To the south from us there were

the greatest mountains, on the sides of which, to the direction of the desert, Circassians and Alans live... who confess the Christian belief and up till now struggle against the Tatars..." [6, p. 36]. Towards the end of the Caucasian war in the 1860s 12 Adyghe tribes had remained in the Caucasus (the Kabardinians, Bzhedugs, Temirgoevs, Shapsugs, Abzakhs, Beslanians, etc.). At the present time the Adyghes live dispersed in three administrative territories of the Northern Caucasus: the Kabardino-Balkar Republic (the Karachaevo-Kabardinians). the

Circassian Republic (the Circassians) and the Republic of Adygeia (the Adygeians).



Photo 1. The Aushiger Village (Kabardino-Balkaria), near which is located the grave-mound of the legendary hero of the folk song "Andemirkhan"

significance. These were the Maikop and Koban archeological cultures. the grave mounds of which have preserved the megalithic

The centuries-long history of the Adyghes testifies of the axiological achievements of the

> artifacts from the 3rd to the 1st millennia BC: the monuments (the dolmens); the heroic epos "Narty"; the code of unwritten laws and rules (the common laws adygé habzé); the social institutions (hospitality, patronage, atay, horsemanship, etc.). In the conditions of the lack

people of civilizational

of their own statehood, the latter provided selfregulation and self-development of the people, the territorial integrity and preservation of their culture. The high specimens of civilizational achievements may also include the Kabardinian horse – one of the most ancient breeds (as the result of selection the Anglo-Kabardinian horse received worldwide fame in the 1960s); the special structure of the solo-and-group singing; the cherkesska as an original form of male outer

The present article is devoted to one of the relicts of the Adyghe traditional culture, the shikapshina, presenting a semantic dominant of musical thinking marked by the timbre-intonation model and an

> example of ethnic audition (Izaliy Zemtsovsky), which has become the national symbol of the people.

> The range of musical instruments of the Adyghes was presented by a diversity of musical instruments, including winds, strings and percussion instruments. The origins of some of them are endowed with mythological content. Thus, the heroic epos "Narty" (the 2nd millennium BC) recounts of the birth of the kamyl, presenting a brand of vertical flutes. The protagonist of the epos, the patron of cattle and

Photo 2. The hero of the epos "Narty" Ashamez

forests Ashamez was resting one day, and he woke up from captivating sounds. He saw a broken tree, on which the core of one of the branches was eaten by worms. From the resultant apertures sounds were emitted, which drew Ashamez's attention to a great degree. Having pruned the branch, he adjusted it to the form of a musical instrument, one end of which was painted in white, and the other – in black. When he blew into the white end, all the surrounding things were transfigured, reflecting in the fertility of the land and the increase of offspring of cattle, and when he blew into the other end – it resulted in natural disasters and hunger.



Photo 3. A collection of ancient shikapshinas. National Museum of Regional History (Nalchik)

The names of the musical instruments of the Adyghes in most cases contain the root pshina (pshinė), interpreted by folk terminology as a musical instrument, whereas the specifying word of the variety of instruments indicates either on an important detail of its construction, or on the means of its sound-production, or on its characteristic outer contours. Some of the instruments have indications which disclose the characteristic sound, a means of sound-production or the materials they are manufactured from. For example, the Iepepshiné (the - pshiné for fingers is a plucked string instrument), the pshinedyk'uak'ué (a type of angle harp), the pshinek'eb (the k'eb is a pumpkin, a pshiné of a roundish form), the pkh'etslych (resoundingly hit wooden plates), the k'amyl (kamyl), the bzh'amiy (manufactured from horns of large horned cattle, the bzh'é, i.e. horn), etc.

The gender-based allocation of instrumental performance was determined by the mental particularities of the Adyghe patriarchal society. In this connection in traditional everyday life, as

in the song legacy, the practice of playing musical instruments and the right of its social manifestation was for the most part the prerogative of men. Performance on musical instruments by women was limited to the frameworks of the family circle.

Musical instruments were widely used in many spheres of the Adyghe traditional culture, carrying out soloist and ensemble functions. A mixed ensemble of instruments could be varied and bore the spontaneous character of its contingent. This depended on concrete situations, the time and place of the artistic self-expression, and also on the presence in the singers' ensemble of an experienced instrumentalist skilled at playing any particular instrument and the preservation of any separately taken local tradition. The solo and ensemble instrumental performance practice allowed for the inclusion into the playing of the musicians of unison choral accompaniment in the form of short rhythmicized refrain-like phrases, performed by men, including the instrumentalists themselves.

The distinguishable side of the folk music of the Adyghes is the autonomous coexistence of vocal-choral and instrumental music-making, which predetermines the non-mandatory participation of the instrument in the process of singing. This is chiefly connected with the solo-and-group performance, where in the declamatory melodicism of the soloist the structural-organizing and mode-regulating functions are performed by the bourdon male chorus. The statistical data of the documented specimens of the socially relevant genres (epic, historical-heroic, and lyrical-epic songs) confirm the inclusion of the instrumental stratum, limited to the participation of the shikapshina, in only one fifth of the documented song examples.

At the same time the sound of instruments was frequently used in the solo and polyphonic song genres. In the mythological chants addressed to various benefactors, and also in the ritual songs of the yearly cycles (the shepherds' tunes for bringing out the flock, putting the sheep to sleep, signaling calls of notification, etc.) the instrumental participation, usually on woodwind instruments, has been preserved. In the wedding cycle the song genres were frequently accompanied by playing on string instruments, not to mention the large body of dance melodies.

Instrumental music was used in an extracurricular manner in some genres not typical for it, connected with the process of work, for example, in the songs of plowmen – the *vaklué uered* (*vaklué* – to plow, *uered* – song). Our attention is also drawn by the fact placed on record of accompaniment on the shikapshina in an Arob song. Here the choice of the instrument is not perceived to be an accidental one, since its timbre sound, concordant with the human voice, corresponded with the atmosphere of profound reflection and character of the meditative song of a cattle driver. In this connection a systematic character is assumed by the folk terminology defining the meanings of such songs "dzapé uered" (in Kabardinian: "song on the tip of the tooth") the semantic translation of which is closer to the expression of "song under the tongue."

Along with the songs for curing smallpox, the everyday life of the Adyghes included instrumental tunes employed in folk medicine. In this case the "Shch1opshchak1ué" (Shchapsh) rite acquired a sacred character, when "get-togethers" of youth were organized at the bedstead of the indisposed person, and their functions were directed at the creation of an atmosphere of noisy merriment. For this aims ambivalent humor, songs and dance were brought in. Each person who attended the ritual banged on a sonorous metal object hanging on a door for the sake of frightening away evil spirits. Instrumental tunes, most often performed on the shikapshina, also sounded in the ritual. They carried the function of being timed to each form of doctoring: alleviating pain, removing a bullet, curing fractures and dislocations. The entire complex of diverse actions was directed at truncation of pain and sufferings of a male, the expression of which contradicted his metal behavior.

A preeminent example of the inseparable interaction of solo and group singing with the instrumental accompaniment is presented by the singing procession during the search of a drowned man, the *Psycheg'é* (Cry into the water). Usually the instrumental part was performed by the wind instrument, the *kamyl*. The mythological meaning of the participation of the instrument in this ritual consisted in the fact that when the compound of the vocal-instrumental ensemble approached the place where the drowned man was lying, it was particularly the instrument became silent, as if broken down with grief.

Due to the tendency of broad circulation of the harmonica in the last quarter of the 19th century into the everyday life of many of the peoples of the Caucasus, all the traditional instruments have been brought down to a secondary position, whereas some of them have disappeared irretrievably.

This phenomenon is explained by the physical characteristics of the harmonica – a brilliant and powerful sound, which holds a firm position as an accompanying instrument in folk choreography. However, in the solo and group singing of the Adyghes the harmonica has not taken root. The main reason is provided by the chordal-harmonic texture of the instrument, which contradicts the style of the Adyghe traditional singing. We must also note of such an important factor that the keyboard harmonica has not acquired its own name, so the folk terminology assigned to it the neutral term in the vocabulary of the Adyghe language, *pshina* (the musical instrument).

At that, it must be noted that the instrument, in its origins coming from a different culture, has absorbed in it the national traits of music of the oral tradition of the peoples of the Caucasus, including the special ethno-cultural traits. Thus, the various performance traditions appeared, which has given a concrete name to the instrument – the Kabardinian harmonica, the Ossetian harmonica, the Adygheian harmonica, etc. Despite the rather successful attempts at reviving the traditional musical instruments, up the present time the keyboard harmonica has preserved its active role in the culture of the peoples of the Caucasus.

At the same time, it is important to state that due to the well-known bearers of the folklore tradition especially revered by the people, the shikapshina, which was the closest to the spirit of culture and was a favorite of the people, has not disappeared. They were Elmurza Shaozhev and Khasan Khavpachev (Kabardino-Balkaria), Aslambech and Tembot Chich (Adygeia), Cherim Patov (Karachayevo-Circassia), Ibrahim Dzhamirze and Indris Naguchev (the Krasnodar Region) and Lazar Derbitov (the Stavropol Region). Notwithstanding the complete influence of the harmonica on the musical traditions of the Adyghes, these people and many others were able to transmit to succeeding generations the traditional form of folklore performance on the shikapshina, having left thousands of recordings of enduring value.

Thus, in the Adyghe ethnic culture the predominant position has always been taken by the *shikapshina*, which pertains to a group of bowed stringed necked lutes. This type of instruments is broadly circulated among the peoples of the Northern Caucasus with similar features of construction, manner of performance and expressive capabilities: among the Balkarians and Karachayevians it is the *kyl-kobuz*, among the Abkhazians it is the *a-p'yartsa*,

among the Ossetians it is the *kissyn-fandyr*, and among the Chechens it is the *atukh-pandur*.

The kunatskaya, which was the guest house or guest room, serving also as the arena of demonstration of cultural values, contained an honorary place on which the shikapshina hung, on which not only a guest of the house, but also any chance traveler or fellow-villager could play upon desire. It was the kunatskaya in particular, as one of the sacred spaces of the developmental site of ethnic culture, and the shikapshina with its chamber sound, presenting the aesthetic ideal of the auditory spectrum in the traditional culture of the Adyghes, corresponded to the atmosphere of concentrated solemnity and calm interchange of various types of information. When people entered the kunatskaya, to express their respect to the guest, a friendly atmosphere was established there. At that, epic narrations about glorious heroes were performed, as well as majestic songs about recent historical events and dramatic lamentation songs. This is how the creative act was carried out, which involved the participation of all those present in verbal eloquence and vocal-instrumental and dance performance. In all of these events the shikapshina was involved in the most active participation, accompanying songs or effervescent dance, during the course of which the shikapshina was joined by the percussion instrument, the pkhatsich (a kind of ratchet) and active hand clapping, which created a single energetic space, into which all those present were involved. In other words, in everything which took place in the kunatskaya one of the characteristic features of the social activation of the folk musical instruments in the life of the ethnos was activated.

The shikapshina could be kept in each house, as a particular kind of "visiting card," reflecting the attitude of the master of the house to the values of his culture. Ethnographers assert that the shikapshina was the favorite instrument of the noblemen, and if any one of them was able to play the instrument, his pertaining to this social category was not subjected to any doubt. The English traveler James Bell remembers in his travel notes in the Caucasus how once he came into the house of a well-born person, where he saw an elderly prince teaching his grandson how to play the shikapshina [5, p. 341]. This fact may bear witness that the system of education in the Adyghe society presumed the indispensable ability to play a musical instrument, and particularly the shikapshina.

The Adyghe active bearers of the folk music heritage (the *dzheguaklué*, who are the players,

songwriters and narrators) likewise never parted with it. During its countless travels in settlements, including other ethnic territories, accompanying warriors in their campaigns and being present in various military clashes, the shikapshina hung from their waists, taking the place of their daggers. All the facts and images observed by them were imprinted in the grandiose heroic songs and lamentation songs in honor of the slain heroes, accompanied by this instrument.

A semantic meaning was also present in the raw material from which the shikapshina was made – these were noble species of wood – pear-trees, walnut-trees and maple trees, the structure of which was distinct for the softness of their wood substance, which gave ease both to the work of the master and the supple expressivity of the forms of the details made of it. In olden times preference was given to the pear tree ("the Circassian bergamot"), which contained a special sacred character in itself. In the worldview perceptions of the Adyghes, this tree, in particular, was an object of worship as the Tree of Life, which symbolized fertility and renewal.

Thereby, the like facts from the previous lives of the Adyghes bore witness of the high social status of the shikapshina, which concentrated in itself the value-based content of spiritual heritage - the musical symbol of national culture and pride of the people. In this sense of special interest are the texts of the folk songs, in which the hero in the most dramatic moments of his life finds support and recumbence in the magic power of the folk instrument, capable of cathartic cleansing. Thus, in the lyrical-epical songs ("The Lamentations of Martin the Brave," "The Lamentations of Nartug," etc.) the valiant knight, previously tormented by undeserved accusations in his address, speaks from the first person: "Soon I shall die – I say, – so I am playing the old Adyghe shikapshina."

Frequently in the folk instrumental practice one may encounter attempts at perfection of traditional musical instruments. It is known that Vasily Andreyev perfected the balalaika with the aim of a more effective sound and the inclusion of it into the orbit of ensemble music-making. As a result, the balalaika achieved a high professional level in its development. But, at the same time, the balalaika has left behind it the symbolic sign of belonging to the Russian culture. It is possible to cite the origin of the harmonica in the early 19th century in Germany (one of the hypotheses) as an artificial musical tool and its unprecedented circulation

throughout the entire planet. Notwithstanding the relatively short period of time, it has transformed, due to its functional duties, into the significance of a national instrument, and then, having modernized, has achieved the status of a high class professional instrument. A similar path was also traversed by the Caucasus keyboard harmonica in the culture of most of the peoples of the Caucasus. shikapshina

The Adyghe shikapshina has also been subjected to constructive alterations. Having emerged in the distant past, it functioned for many years as a two-stringed instrument. Sound generation on the shikapshina was carried out by means of an arched bow on extended hairs from horses' tails, which is what directly determined its complexly composite name (shikapshiné: shi – horse, k'é – tail, pshiné – musical instrument). The frequency of the sound oscillations and the timbre coloration of the instrument was formed within its wooden body. However, there may have been other samples as well. Sergei Taneyev, who visited the Caucasus at the end of the 19th century, conveyed the words by the Balkar enlightener Ismail Urusbiyev that "its upper soundboard was previously made of rams' skin, and now it is made of wood" [12, p. 197].

Gradually the hair was replaced by animals' guts, for the sake of achieving a more qualified sound, and this resulted in a brighter and more lucid

sound generation, while the body of the instrument made entirely out of wood of various configuration broadened the acoustical capabilities, and the shikapshina, generally speaking, acquired a more attractive aesthetical appearance. In the 1920s another fact of the alteration of the construction of the shikapshina was placed on record. According to the testimony of the French aristocrat Thebou de Marigny, who served in Russia from 1837 to 1839, writes: "I was a witness to several dances, which were performed accompanied by the sounds of a sort of violin with three strings..." [13, p. 114].

Starting from the 1930s there emerged a more intensive stage of reconstruction of the shikapshina. First Elmurza Shaozhev (1898–1971), a well-known performer on the instrument and preserver of performing traditions, was invited to the republican radio, where an instrumental trio was created. Besides Shaozhev, was comprised

of the legendary musicians, Kuratsa Kashirgov (harmonica) and Tanakhum Ashurov (zurna).

The harmonica and the zurna were distinct for their noticeable dynamic range and a greater range of sound, which extended the capabilities of the shikapshina. For this reason, Shaozhev, having in mind the aim of achieving a harmonious sound balance in the trio, chooses the variety of the three-stringed instrument, thereby having firmly consolidated it in the living folkloristic practice. Subsequently, he was also the initiator of the addition of the fourth string to the instrument. The same period also featured the replacement of gut strings for steel strings, which was carried out by the virtuoso performer on the shikapshina and its manufacturer, Khasan Khavpachev, who has left hundreds of recordings of instrumental music and young students. Such alterations in the construction of the shikapshina have been accepted with good grace by folk musicians, and have been firmly consolidated in the characteristic features of the instrument up to the present day.

V. G. Oiberman, a specialist in musical instruments and their manufacturer worked in Kabardino-Balkaria during the time period from the 1960s to the 1980s, and he had an immense amount of experience of restoration of traditional instruments of the various peoples of Russia. Having studied

archival materials and museum artefacts and, thereby, having prepared a scholarly base, he began to restore the string instruments of the Adyghes, improving their acoustic possibilities. As the result of this longstanding and fruitful work, having made string instruments of diverse sizes, Oiberman was conducive to the establishment of the first national orchestra "Bzh'amiy," as well as other ensembles.

It is also necessary to mention the merits of the remarkable master of manufacture of the shikapshina, performer and pedagogue Zamudin Guchev (Republic of Adygeia), who opened up a museum-workshop.

Adhering to the practice of the past, Guchev has preserved the initial form of the instrument and the traditions of its performance, cultivating the two-stringed shikapshina out of principle. He also founded in the city of Maikop the specialized Republican Children's School for the Arts, where



Photo 4. The outstanding performer on the shikapshina Elmurza Shaozhev (1898–1971)

the musical instruction is carried out solely on the national Adyghe instruments.



Photo 5. Pupils of pedagogue, performer and master Zamudin Guchev (Republican Children's School for the Arts, the city of Maikop)

In 2014 on the base of the fourstringed shikapshina a new variety of the instrument was created, with six strings. A well-directed working name for it was given by composer Jabrail Haupa – the pshynebzykh – a pshina with six voices. The creator of the essentially new instrument was a young musician with a universitylevel education, the well-known performer on the shikapshina, pedagogue and manufacturer of the instrument, Zuber Evazov.

In the conditions of the broad revival of the traditional musical instruments of the Adyghes during the last few decades, the shikapshina has already found its definite niche at the levels of elementary,

intermediate and higher professional education. The lengthy contemplations and artistic search of the young master have brought him to the decisive step of transformation of the shikapshina, which in his opinion meets its present-day needs in both solo and ensemble performance. The pshinabzikh has preserved its hereditary connection with the shikapshina: likewise, it pertains to the family of bowed string instruments, the form of the contact of the instrument with the performer (gripping it between the legs), and the main features of performance are identical in the two instruments. The new qualities of the instrument include: a considerable broadening of the pitch range,

the noticeable range of the resonating body and fingerboard, while its timbre has achieved a softer chest character. The creator of the instrument, Evazov himself says: "...while technical passages can be played much more conveniently on the fourstringed shikapshina, lyrical melodies sound much more expressive on its six-stringed variety."

The pshinabzikh is presently at the stage of its formation, and only time will show what possibilities it is still concealing. Its firm consolidation on various levels of performance, including folk performance practice, will make it possible to clarify the classificatory accessory of the pshinabzikh, which is genetically connected with the shikapshina.

Such is, briefly, the history of the Adyghe shikapshina, its functional role and significance in ethnic culture, its revival and the stages of

> its modernization in the new sociocultural conditions. The most significant ethno-organologist of contemporaneity Igor Matsievsky justly highlights the circulation of the form of bourdon polyphony in the musical thinking of the Caucasus peoples, naming one of the important reasons for such interaction - "the presence of bourdon-based musical instruments (of the type of the shikapshina), undoubtedly, presents a serious generating factor" [8, p. 105].



Photo 6. Zuber Evazov, pedagogue, performer and manufacturer (city of Nalchik)



Photo 7. Pshinabzikh (6-stringed shikapshina. Master Zuber Evazov, the city of Nalchik)



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About the author:

Beslan G. Ashkhotov, Dr.Sci. (Arts), Pro-Rector for Studies, Professor at the Music History and Theory Department, Northern-Caucasus State Institute of Arts (360000, Nalchik, Russia),

ORCID 0000-0003-0525-8898, bashkhotov@mail.ru

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Об авторе:

Ашхотов Беслан Галимович, доктор искусствоведения, проректор по учебной работе, профессор кафедры истории и теории музыки, Северо-Кавказский государственный институт искусств (360000, г. Нальчик, Россия), **ORCID 0000-0003-0525-8898**, bashkhotov@mail.ru

