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DALLAIS Philippe, Stefan WEBER, Caroline BRINER, Joel LIENGME.
2002 "The *Drymba* among the Hutsul in the Ukrainian Carpathians. A recent ethnomusicological survey", VIM (Mt Pleasant, Iowa) 10 : 8-29.

A revised and multimedia French version of this article is available online at :

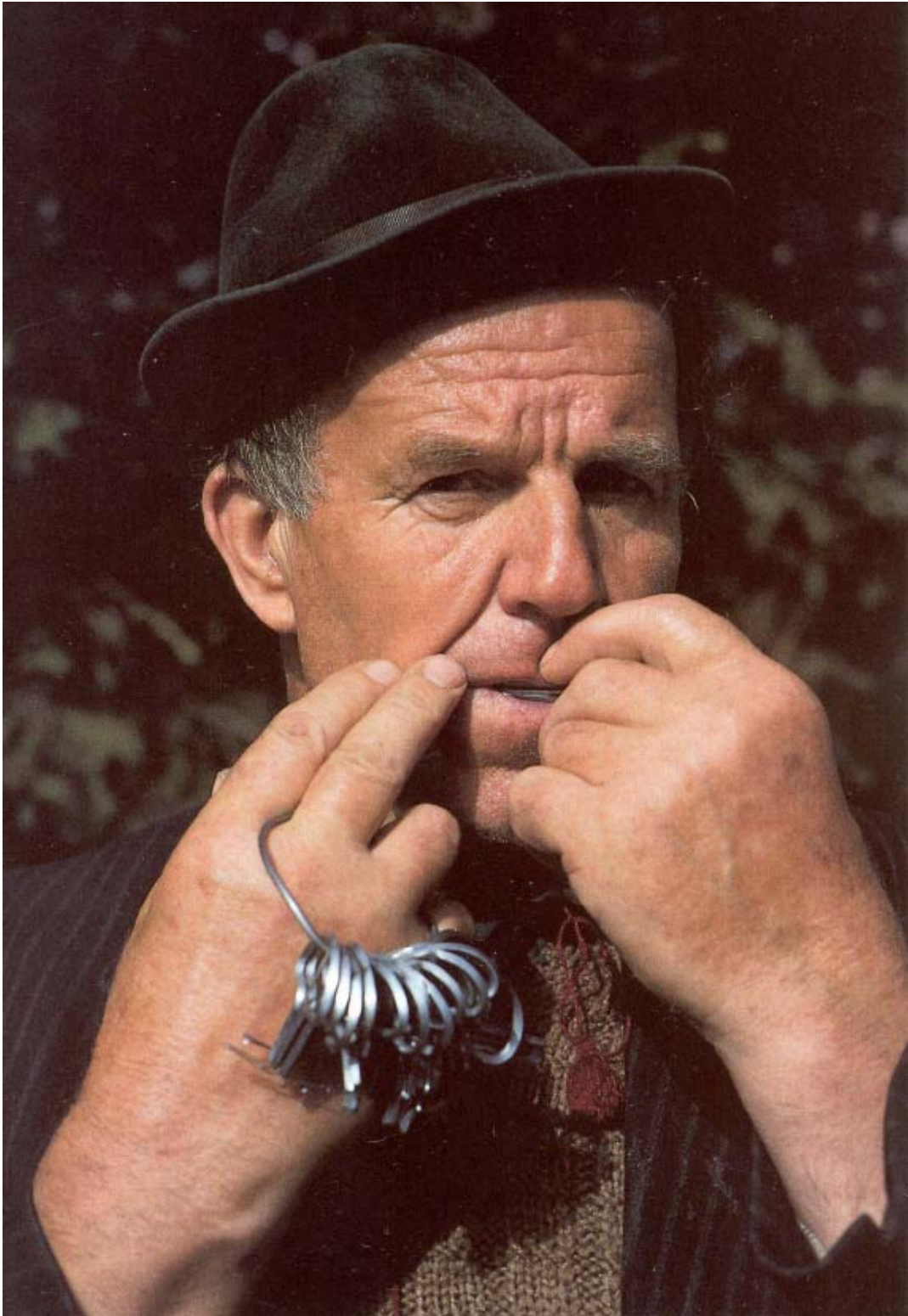
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Philippe Dallais, Stefan Weber, Caroline Briner, Joel Liengme, La guimbarde chez les Hutsuls : investigations ethnomusicologiques sur la drymba dans les Carpatates ukrainiennes. *ethnographiques.org* [en ligne] n°2 (novembre 2002).
<http://www.ethnographiques.org/2002/Dallais,et-al.html>



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THE DRYMBA AMONG THE HUTSUL IN THE UKRAINIAN CARPATHIANS: A RECENT ETHNOMUSICOLOGICAL SURVEY

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(In this article, we will follow VIM's practice, and use the word *trump* when we refer to the instrument in general, and *drymba* when we refer to the Hutsul instrument.)

In Search of Ivan and Marichka

THIS RESEARCH PROJECT basically emerged from a single photograph that Philippe Dallais discovered by chance in spring 1999 when he was glancing through the book of the Polish photographer Andrzej Polec (1997), *Distant Glens and*

Moors: The Hutsuls Today, freshly deposited on a shelf of the Library of the Neuchâtel University Institute of Ethnology. When he saw the photograph of a man playing trump (fig. 1) he immediately felt he had to contact Mr. Polec, who soon responded and confirmed the survival of a local and traditional trump fabrication in the Ukrainian Carpathians. Furthermore, Polec also enthusiastically suggested that we visit the Hutsul people and meet some trump makers. For the general reader of Polec's book this photograph may seem unimposing, but for the trump researcher it brings an unusual confirmation of the very few mentions in the literature that the Hutsul shepherds in the Carpathians were still making and playing the trump, so-called *drymba*, in the 20th century. Invited as a guest lecturer to present the trump at Professor F. Borel's ethnomusicology course, Philippe proposed to create a small team in

Fig. 1 opposite: Village of Kosmach—Dmytro Shatruk selling drymbas in front of the church. Dmytro (1931–1997) was the elder brother of the drymba maker Vasyl Shatruk. Photo: Andrzej Polec 1997, with permission.

order to verify what place the drymba had in contemporary Hutsul society. With the strong support of the Neuchâtel Institute of Ethnology and Museum of Ethnography, we started to organize our research on the Hutsuls and their region.

Soon, we realised that recent documents related to the Hutsul were scarce, and that sources on Ukrainian history were not very informative on this minority. The ethnonym Hutsul already leads to some confusion depending on the sources' language, as they are called Houtsoules or Goutzouls in French, Huculi in Polish, Hutsuly in Ukrainian, Gutsuly in Russian, and they are moreover often referred to only with the more general terms of Rusyns, Carpatho-Rusyns or Ruthenes that define the three Carpathian ethnic groups the Hutsuls, the Boikos, and the Lemkos. In fact, most of the research on the Hutsuls was made by Polish scholars between the two World Wars, during the short time this region became a Polish province (Galicia). Subsequently, the Hutsul region (Hutsulshchyna) belonged to Ukraine and partly to Rumania (fig. 2). In Ukraine, during the Soviet Union period, no foreigners were in principle allowed to visit this remote Carpathian periphery. As is still the case nowadays, the Hutsul were not recognised as a minority, but after the independence of Ukraine in 1991, they were able to claim their identity as did other minorities, which leads to very complex Transcarpathian ethno-nationalist issues.

Overcoming the geopolitical complexity, we started to decipher the Hutsul history and culture, asking ourselves why and how the drymba was still found among the Hutsul and not among their neighbours, according to sources. We assumed that it was important to investigate the musical practices, to identify the Hutsul drymba types and the fabrication process in order to question the origin of the Hutsul drymba, and to confirm if the drymba had become an ethnic identity emblem as for the Yakut in Siberia or the Ainu of Japan, or if it was an old ancestral tradition on the verge of disappearance. The area we were going to visit was precisely where Sergei Paradzhanov (Crane 1997: 132) made his famous film *Shadows of Forgotten Ancestors*



Fig. 2. Map of the area. The dotted line shows the general location of Hutsulshchyna.

tors (Wild Horses of Fire) (1964) inspired by a novel of Mikhail Kotsoubinski. In this Carpathian *Romeo and Juliet*, Paradzhanov shows with an ethnographical accuracy the daily life, rites, and processions of the 19th-century Hutsul society, telling the story of Ivan and Marichka, punctuated by several drymba tunes. The mystical atmosphere in the film excited our imagination and we became impatient to leave for Hutsulshchyna.

Thanks to the help of Polec and his Hutsul friends who contacted

the drymba makers and musicians in advance, we could plan to stay for a short time and to prepare carefully our schedule, ten days from May 19 to 29 2001, as a first prospecting ethnomusicological fieldwork around the town of Kosiv. We rejoined Polec in Poland and then went by car to the Polish-Ukrainian frontier, which we had to cross with a special bus. As soon as we were on the other side of the border, Yllan, the Ukrainian assistant of Polec, drove us to the suburb of Lviv, the capital of the Western part of Ukraine, where we met our host Ivan. The roads got worse and worse as we approached the Carpathians. What was our surprise as we arrived in the small town of Kosiv when Ivan introduced us to his wife, Marichka. This auspicious coincidence was just the first step of our full, nevertheless too short immersion into the Carpathian contemporary world.

From Shepherds to Unrecognised Ethno-National Minority

ALONG WITH THE BOIKOS AND THE LEMKOS, the Hutsul are considered to belong to the Carpatho-Rusyn ethnic group, somehow descendants from Galician and Bukovinian Rusyn who are believed to have colonized the Carpathian mountains beginning in the 6th century. Nowadays, the Carpatho-Rusyn ethnic group is widespread in the Carpathians in the border area crossing the Polish, Slovakian, and Ukrainian boundaries, but communities are to be found in the surrounding countries as well as in the United States where a Rusyn community larger than half a million people settled, approximately half of the total Rusyn population on

the continent.

Between Rusyns—Hutsuls, Lemkos, and Boikos—differences are firstly linguistic and then resulting from the various cultural influences through their history. Their small population size, the lack of a state of their own, and their geographic isolation contributed to the fact that they are still very little known. Their history, origins, and identification are still subject to controversy. Peasant peoples, without any codified language, political power or local intelligentsia able to express a national identity, the process of constructing their national consciousness was particularly complex, and their border situation between various cultures made it even more difficult to understand. Nevertheless, their specific religious membership in the Uniate or Greco-Catholic Church, between Catholicism and Orthodoxy, and their isolation in the Carpathians somehow helped them to preserve original cultural features and to resist assimilation by the various foreign powers that ruled the area.

The land of the Hutsuls or Hutsulshchyna has drawn the attention of many travelers, writers, artists, and scientists. In a natural exotic environment, descriptions of Hutsuls were for a long time mixed with tales and fiction. The distinctive features characterizing Hutsuls crystallized in the 17th and 18th centuries: “authentic” shepherds prompted by a love for their mountains, freedom, and independence.

As a borderline and stateless territory, the Carpathian area and the Hutsul land are characterised by the successive foreign forces that spread their domination. Thus, Hutsulshchyna belonged to the Kiev Empire from the 9th to the 12th century. From the 14th until the end of the 18th century it was part of Poland until its partition in 1772, when the Hutsuls started to be ruled by the Austrian-Hungarian monarchy. By the end of the first World War, Hutsulshchyna was part of the unsuccessful first attempt at creating an independent Ukrainian state, the Eastern Ukrainian Republic. Between the two World Wars, Hutsulshchyna belonged to Poland until the Red Army forces occupied the area in 1945 and made it a part of the Soviet Union. Since its collapse in 1991, Hutsulshchyna is part of the freshly independent Ukraine.

Contrary to the Lemkos and Boikos, who were involved in agriculture beside their pastoral activity, the Hutsuls remained for a long time a shepherd society, and their pastoral way of life preserved them from the serfdom that was widespread among the peasants from neighboring countries. Their isolation helped to develop further specificity that was expressed through their dress, dances, traditions, and idiom. Metalwork, much present among Hutsuls, was apparently developed by the so-called “opryskeny” (noble thieves) and

gypsies. These “opryskeny” were another peculiarity of Hutsulshchyna that enriched folk songs and tales. They were organized bands of various origins that plundered nobles, making incursions into the plains and taking refuge in the mountains; some of them became legendary heroes.

Thanks to its isolation, Hutsulshchyna remained a closed pastoral territory away from the world until the middle of the 19th century. Then, industrialization and agricultural development led to social and cultural mutation. By the end of the 19th century, the deterioration of the economic situation and famine encouraged the emigration process in the direction of the neighboring countries and especially to the United States. The sovietisation of the area after Second World War finished transforming the Hutsul’s socio-cultural landscape.

Today Hutsul society seems little touched by the soviet period; kolkhozes closed, factories are deserted, and pastoral activity is reviving. Hutsuls are especially reputed for their handcrafts, and this occupation forms a big part of their income, which is lower than the Ukrainian average. Almost every family produces some handcrafts for the local and national markets like in Kiev. Besides, the Carpathian mountains have become an appreciated vacation destination for the whole Ukraine, in the past for the whole Soviet Union, in spite of the lack of important touristic infrastructure. These aspects are closely related to the place of the Hutsuls and other Carpatho-Rusyns in the present construction of Ukrainian national identity. In the past, the Carpathian inhabitants were seen as belonging to the Ukrainian ethnoses, as the holders of an untouched ancient Ukrainian culture, and they fully participated in the whole process of Ukrainian national construction. In the context of the recent Ukrainian independence, the Rusyns’ self-determination claims are seen as an obstacle to national unification. In the last census of 1989, the category “Rusyn” did not exist.

The Hutsul who identified themselves as Ukrainians during the Soviet era, are distancing themselves now, and getting closer to their Rusyn-Hutsul identity, although the Hutsul, the Lemkos, and the Boikos have not been able to develop a common Rusyn identity until today. Hutsul are suffering from an insufficient modernization process, which is stagnating in Ukraine; on another side they fear becoming cut off from central Europe by the access of Poland into the European Community.

Today, the descendants of Rusyn immigrants in the United States seem to be involved in a process of rediscovering their origins, and are much present on the Internet through cultural associations. Rusyns in the Carpathians are facing a catastrophic economical situ-

ation, political divergences among communities (especially for the Lemkos), a territorial distribution between several countries, the nonrecognition of their national minority status in Ukraine, and assimilation policies in Slovakia. Nevertheless, if some change for the Carpatho-Rusyns may happen, it will be influenced by the Ukraine state policies, because most of the Carpatho-Rusyns are settled on its territory.

The Drymba and the Hutsuls: An Insight in Technology, Music, and Society

THE CARPATHIAN REGION has the reputation of being an area where the trump is rooted in an old musical tradition and where it is still found and produced in the 21st century, compared to other neighbouring regions where the instrument seems to have disappeared gradually during the 19th century or after the First World War. It is also an edge in the East of Europe, a remote crossroad between East and West, witness of an unusual nation states-building dynamic. The Hutsul, who have been considered as a tribe, as an ethnic group, or as a people, are nowadays one of the last societies in Eastern Europe to produce trumps traditionally and with a limited diffusion. Though we were not able to investigate among the Boikos and the Lemkos where the trump seems present, too, it is worth noting that it is absent nowadays among the so-called Górale, meaning mountaineers in Polish, the neighbouring highlanders of the Tatra mountain range (Poland and Slovakia) who have cultural affinities with the Hutsul. The only neighbouring area where the trump is confirmed to be still in any common use is Rumania. The vernacular term in use today among the Hutsul to designate the trump is *drymba*. During our investigation it happened that a few people said *vargan* (the Russian word for trump) to designate the drymba, but then insisted that drymba was the traditional name for it. We may presume that the Hutsul have been aware for a long time of several other words for trumps, as men sought jobs, or traveled, or were hired as soldiers away from the mountains, as in the novel of Wittlin (1939). Though the etymology of the word drymba is uncertain, Belarus, Ukraine, South Poland, Slovakia, Northeast Hungary, Romania, Moldavia (Vertkov et al. 1987: 40), and even some places in Serbia and Croatia can be proposed to constitute a cluster where the trump is or was designated as *drymba* or corresponding linguistic variants (Bakx 1998: 8–9). Nevertheless, if some further investigation would be necessary in order to confirm if there was a proper ancient term in the Hutsul idiom, the “drymba cluster” proposed here covers to some extent the territories settled by the Carpatho-Rusyns populations and neighbors.

If we would rather support the opinion of Regina Plate (1992: 129) who links the ancient term *trumba/trump* to drymba, the *t* becoming *d*, Galayskaya (1987: 20) suggests on her side that drymba is apparently of Slavic origin and mentions the Ukrainian verb ‘drymbati’ meaning ‘to dance’. She adds that “the drymba was made by village or itinerant smiths for sale at the bazaar” and that it can still be “encountered among the Carpathian shepherds.” Further, she points out that the drymba is “widely distributed” in Moldavia and that “a small ethnic group, the Gagauz [Turkic-speaking Christians] ... are well acquainted with the drymba ... as an accompaniment to a large round-dance for men.” Vertkov (et al. 1987: 40–42, fig. 42) quote drymba for Belarus, where it has been forgotten, and for Ukraine, where the drymba is “still quite widespread at the present time in the Hutsul area, where local blacksmiths make them and where ensembles playing on trumps of different sizes may occasionally be encountered.”

Unfortunately, we must mostly rely on these two sources, and if old and some seldom recent recordings are available, little is known about the place and role of the drymba in the society, its diffusion networks, and even less concerning its manufacture and technocultural aspects. It should be added that the process of apprenticeship of playing and the circumstances of private, recreational, or eventually ritual playing of the drymba is mostly unknown. In this sense, the photograph of Polec is a precious and too rare document that was a useful basis for our methodological approach. As for the visual documentation, we were not yet able to find even a single other photograph showing a Hutsul trump in context, nor any representation anywhere during our fieldwork. At least, the film of Paradzhanov shows very briefly children and adults of both sexes playing drymba. Again, as usual, the trump is almost invisible, in sources and in the field; only in-depth research can hope to bring to light some fragmentary information. Conscious that our fieldwork was too short and that it is too early to propose a clear historic synthesis on the drymba in the Carpathians, we concentrated on the making of the drymba, and on its ambiguity, as it is considered in turn as a musical instrument and as a toy, but also consciously or not as an identity symbol referring at the same time to past and immemorial tradition. One of our hypotheses was that the investigation of the last present-day makers would maybe bring to light some points that would help us understand how and why the drymba was still alive among the Hutsul. But the idea was also that our study could make a contribution to a broader perspective, to understanding trump circulation in Eastern Europe, and the relationship between plains and mountains.

Mainly starting the reeseearch from the makers to the players and the sociocultural representations of the trump, we surveyed the villages surrounding the small town of Kosiv where there stands the College of Decorative and Applied Arts founded in 1939. Its function as the most important educational complex for the youth in the region, and its emphasis on promoting Hutsul craftwork techniques should be underlined. Drymba

making is not taught in the metalwork section and though Hutsul wood carving has had a great reputation since the 18th century, we could not identify a single wooden drymba case. It happened only once at Kosiv that a man showed us several drymbas that he stored in a small wooden box remarkably decorated in the Hutsul fashion.

The drymbas we were able to gather and that we will discuss here are of three main types, two with different bow shapes and one with double

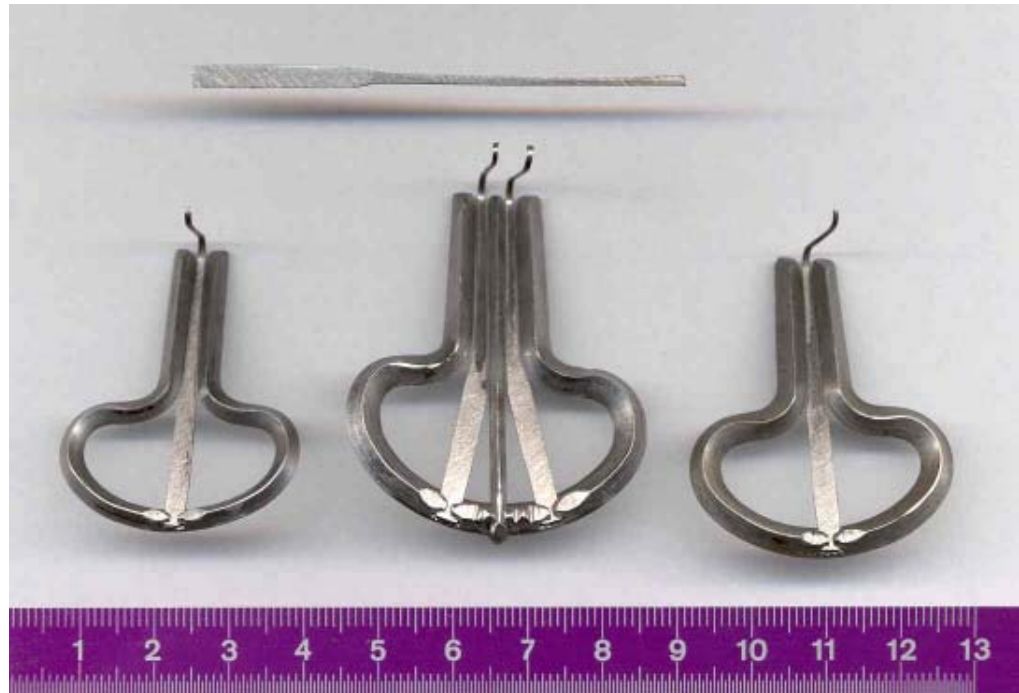


Fig 3. Products of Vasyl Shatruk, winter 2000–2001.

tongues. We could obtain drymbas directly from a maker (fig. 3), from a private owner, and from Kosiv's Saturday bazaar (fig. 4). Thanks to our hosts Ivan and Marichka, we could meet the three last drymba mak-



Fig. 4. Products of an unknown maker obtained at the bazaar of Kosiv.



Fig. 5. The first step in drymba-making—Shatruk holds the iron rod that will become the frame.

ers of the region. We could not confirm if there were other makers farther in the mountains, but according to our information there were none. All are over 60 years old and it seems that nobody will take over from them. We could distinguish four categories of drymba makers and eventually one more among the Ukrainian Diaspora in the United States, Pavlo Danyliv (CYM no date). As quoted above, Galayskaya (1987) mentions village or itinerant smiths and Vertkov (et al. 1987) local blacksmiths, but we could witness only local and domestic production.

The first category approximately fits the description, but we will name it *blacksmith-peasant-musician*. We met Mr. Mykhailo Tavitshuk near the village of Bukovets, and we could visit his small forge where he works from time to time. He is not only the last smith who can produce the large traditional wood drill but he is also reputed as a maker of Hutsul instruments of the trembita, bagpipe, and natural sopilka types (see Mishalow 1999 and Sostak 1995), and as a great musi-



Fig. 6. Shatruk's anvil is a World War I shell casing he got from his father. Here M. Dederchuk, a forester, gathers shells from some old battlefield now in the forest. Photo: Andrzej Polec 1997, p. 127, with permission.

cian. Unfortunately he confessed that he did not like to make drymbas very much and could not even show us one of his own production. The second category is *peasant-smith*; it is how we could characterise Mr. Shatruk who makes drymbas mostly during the winter and works in the fields during the good season. Though Mr. Shatruk knows certainly how to produce drymbas in an old Hutsul fashion, he reached, as we will see, a highly specialised level, using recycled material to produce effectively drymbas of high quality (fig. 3). The third category, which we could call *occasional maker*, is represented by Mr. Nychai, who is a “bioenergetician” as written on his name card dating from the Soviet time, or a traditional Hutsul healer. He is a keeper of the Hutsul mountaineers’ knowledge of medicinal plants and magical practice. According to him, and it seems confirmed if we refer for example to Shatruk’s drymba, the Hutsul traditional drymba is small and melodious; he even added unexpectedly that they are armless and much better for the teeth compared to the larger trumps from elsewhere. He also attributes supernatural power to the drymba (see below). His drymbas seem to have a round cross section in the bow, lozenge or square in the arms, and to be maybe slightly smaller than those of Shatruk. Though we could hear the sound of his drymbas, we were not able to bring back any of them. The last category is the *unknown maker*, represented by the smiling-like curved bow drymba (fig. 4) we could obtain only in the village



Fig. 7. Shaping the iron rod for the frame.



Fig. 8. Shatruk very quickly bends the rod with one pliers.

of Kosiv, at the footsteps of the mountains. They vary in sizes and one frame was made from an iron piece covered by a thin layer of copper. When we showed one of these drymbas to Mr. Shatruk he examined it carefully and declared that the maker was an amateur. The tongue fixation to the bow was in fact performed by several unskilful hammer hits, as a Parkinsonian hand might have done. For many of them the tongue also sometimes touches the frame when being played. According to their patina, all these drymbas look as though they were made several years ago, perhaps in Kosiv. Nevertheless, their frame shape is unique and may result from the maker's fantasy; we cannot yet propose any other explanation, as it is a very isolated and unique find. Each drymba model gathered was deposited at the Neuchâtel Museum of Ethnography and can be consulted on the online database at <http://www.men.ch> (select: consultation des collections - catégories descriptives - guimbarde; it contains several trumpets, and illustrations are being completed).

In trumpet studies, researchers tend to analyze trumpets as a finished instrument and to discuss the taxonomic aspects and musical practices. In our opinion, more careful attention should be paid to the technocultural process of trumpet making in order to revitalize the discussion. We had the great luck that Mr. Shatruk kindly agreed to unveil his drymba making savoir-faire.

Mr. Vasyl Shatruk lives in the village of Brustory, about 20 km up in the mountains from Kosiv. He was born in 1937 in the village of Richka in the Kosiv region, and learned to make drymbas, finger-rings, and other metal wares from his father at the age of twelve (about 1949). His elder brother Dmytro (fig. 1) was a drymba maker, too, but it is not clear if in the Polec photograph he is selling his own production or his brother's drymbas. When we arrived at his house Shatruk declared himself to be quite tired because he worked all day long making hay. He gathered a steel ruler, his tool box with iron rods and his small iron



Figs. 9 and 10. Carefully adjusting the frame and arms with some gentle hammer blows.

anvil (fig. 5–6) and started silently to produce a drymba, being carefully observed by Ivan, his young son, and us. Shatrük's wife, standing in a corner of the small kitchen, could observe the great concentration and attention we paid to her husband, watching, photographing, and filming.

Shatrük carefully hammered the iron rod on his shell anvil in order to shape it into a square or slightly lozenge cross section with sharp edges, and to make it straight. He then polished the rod's four faces on a piece of old sandpaper sheet (fig. 7). He cut the rod to a length of twelve centimeters and started to bend it with only one pair of pliers (fig. 8). This stage of trump making is of prime importance but also the most complex to observe because it goes very fast, as Klier (1956: 73 ; in Fox 1988: 67) observed it in the Austrian village of Molln, where the frames are nowadays formed with machines. Very concentrated, Shatrük bends the iron rod as a routine operation that will definitely shape the drymba's frame. Compared to the technique still but

rarely in use today in Molln, especially by the maker named Wimmer, who produces handmade trumps using one pliers in each hand and twisting the metal at the angle that separates the bow and arms, Shatrük proceeds differently, especially in terms of bending angles. Contrary to Molln style, as shown in Klier (1956: pl. 62; in Fox 1988: 79) or in Dournon-Taurelle & Wright (1978: pl. XIV, 110), after having folded the arms, instead of having a bracket shape, Shatrük makes it with an inner angle, resulting in a different manipulation for curving the bow, which consequently does not have a strict and symmetric D shape or a sharp 90° angle between the bow and arms. But among Wimmer or Shatrük, this operation takes the same time, about thirty seconds. Finally, Shatrük adjusts the frame's shape with soft hammer blows (figs. 9 and 10). For the next step, Shatrük brought a wood block with two nails on the edge that help to maintain the drymba's frame and allow him to saw the notch where the tongue will be placed (compare Dournon-Taurelle & Wright 1978:



Fig. 11. Sawing the tongue's notch into the frame.



Fig. 13. Cutting the tongue out of Shatruk's multi-use steel ruler.



Fig. 12. Determining the length of the tongue.

100, pl. VIII/6). Interestingly, Shatruk doesn't saw a straight notch but makes it trapezoidal, thus rendering the hammering easier to fix the tongue (fig. 11).

Now Shatruk measures the length of the tongue (fig. 12) before extracting it, to our great surprise, from his steel ruler, cutting the fragile tongue with a big chisel (fig. 13)—a ready-made tongue which Shatruk first hammers in order to make it flat (fig. 14) and then shapes with a file (fig. 15), checking several times its thickness and elasticity. The shape of the tongue between its base and the embouchure is very important in terms of flexibility and thus acoustics, but it can also bear an aesthetic touch that can differ depending on the maker or according to tradition or fashion. Shatruk does simply make it larger until a sudden tapering narrows it to fit



Fig. 14, The tongue requires several operations, from hammering to filing.



Fig 16. Fixing the tongue in the notch in the frame.

Fig 15, The very precise filing of the tongue (see Fig. 3, top). It is quite impossible to determine the original source of the tongue's material after this operation.





Fig. 17. The very last operation: bending the trigger and tip.

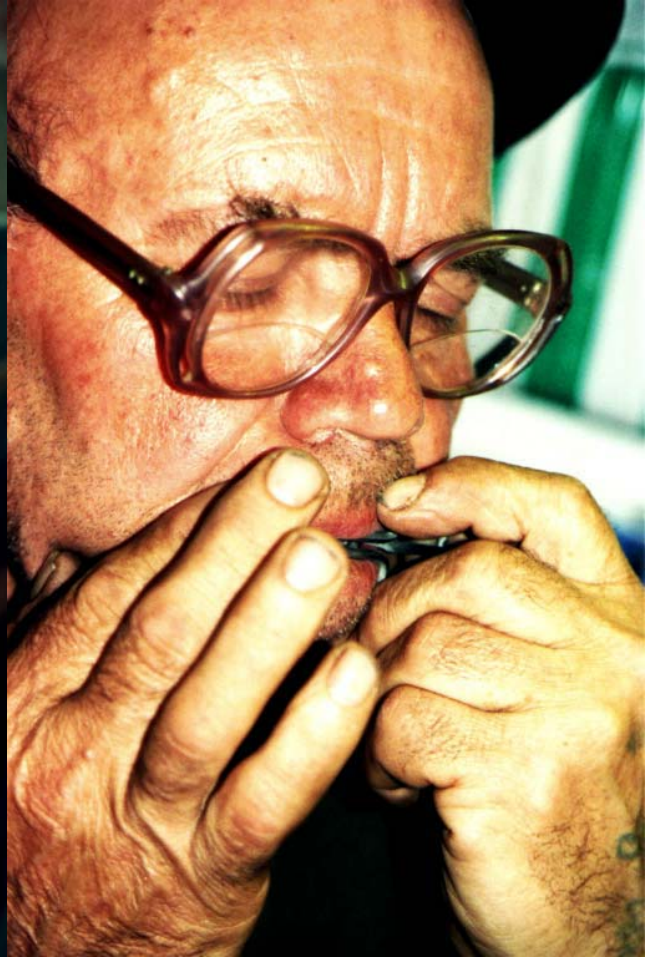


Fig. 18. Shatruck checks the musical possibilities of his instrument.

into the embouchure (fig. 3), unlike the older drymba reproduced in Vertkov (1987: 42) which seems inspired from the old western practice of giving the tongue's base a lozengeoid shape. Very expertly, Shatruck places the ready tongue within the notch of the bow and keeps the tongue adjusted in the middle of the arms with his thumb, after four precise hammer hits, the frame and the tongue become one (fig. 16). The last operations consist in bending the trigger (fig. 17) and the tip or loop, trying out the small and high-pitched drymba (fig. 18), carefully adjusting the tongue if necessary, and subsequently applying a thin coat of oil to protect it from rust. Once finished, Shatruck puts the drymba in a can. In all, it takes about 30 minutes to produce a drymba.

To study the series of operations of Shatruck's drymba making lets us appreciate his know-how and leads to several important observations. We can realize that Shatruck does not need a forge or the use of fire; thus we are far from the 19th century, when most of the makers did forge the trumpets out of raw pieces of

iron (Baillet 1806) and from the description made by Klier (1956) of the very organized and specialized Molln trump-making ateliers. Shatruck adapted himself to modernity and found the way to produce drymbas out of material that costs nothing, in a limited time and with simple tools. Back from our fieldwork, Philippe Dallais sent some drymbas to several trump makers and specialists. The famous Hungarian master Zoltán Szilágyi made the comment that only a few tools were necessary to produce such a well-balanced drymba (personal letter 28.06.2001). But further investigation would be required to know when Shatruck started to use a steel ruler as material for the tongue and to learn more about his father's technique, to compare carefully the know-how of all makers and to find some old Hutsul drymbas, which we were unable to discover either in museums or among old people or the makers themselves. To understand each stage of the drymba-making process teaches us to examine more carefully the trumpets we have in hand in order to read and interpret

the small traces of fabrication that can reconstruct some techno-cultural patterns and the maker's personal touch, is especially worthwhile when analyzing archaeological trumpets. But uncertainty will still remain as to the origin and the exact identification of raw materials. If it is not completely surprising that Shatruck does not apply a mark on his drymba, the most striking features are the shape that reminds one of the "Molln" type, their size, and the double drymba.

Typologically, Shatruck's drymbas could be merged at first glance with a small Austrian or old German trumpet, but a similar type of trumpet has been widespread all over Europe in the past during an extended period. In the absence of old Carpathian drymba discoveries and the fact that the "iron curtain" isolated Ukraine from the West Europe, we can at least conclude that if there was any influence from the outside, it may have happened before the Second World War and that Shatruck developed his own style from the moment he learned from his father until now. The common denominator we could observe is that the Hutsul drymbas tend to be of small size, and we may suppose that this aspect is a kind of archaism conserved in the local making tradition. Vertkov (et al. 1987) mentions that trumpets "of different sizes may occasionally be encountered," but it should be confirmed whether these were made by Hutsul masters. If we agree with the typological development of European trumpets proposed by Gjermund Kolltveit (2000: 391) in which the medieval trumpets with small bow and long arms tend to change into trumpets with a larger and open bow with short arms, we can presume that the Hutsul drymbas as we know them today took shape through the influence of the Austrian trumpets that started to be widely exported to Poland, Ukraine, and Russia at the end of the 18th and during the 19th century. These trumpets or copies of them no doubt reached the Hutsul area, where there was perhaps a local drymba-making tradition, but local smiths adopted their fashionable form, making them small in order to save iron, which seems to have been rare or expensive in the mountains, or according to the size of the cheapest models. But smaller-sized drymbas may also be easier to carry; we can propose as well that a high-pitched sound was especially appreciated. A booklet written in French emphasises the ubiquity of German/Austrian trumpets already during the 18th century, "here is the instrument as the Germans deliver it to us, they are able to furnish it nearly to the whole universe since an immemorial time" (Anonymous 1779: 6; in VIM 2000: 75; "Voilà l'instrument tel que nous le procurent les Allemands, qui depuis un tems immémorial, sont en possession d'en fournir presque l'univers entier"). Perhaps these trumpets made their way to the Hutsul themselves

through ambulant merchants, during seasonal big markets, or were brought back by those who went out of the mountains for trade or labour, or by the famous "opryskan" bandits or even Gypsies. If we do not know exactly how these trumpets reached the Hutsul region, this is a fact that pastoral societies in mountainous areas especially cherished trumpets and that it is often there, as for the Hutsul, that trumpet playing or/and making survive longer compared to the plains. During Summer 2001, Gjermund Kolltveit and Philippe Dallais could identify two identical trumpets dated from the 13th to early 14th century bearing the identical small punch mark at the same place on the back of the bow. One was found in a 1500-meters-high habitat structure in the Swiss Alps and the other on a medieval road in South Germany (Bitterli-Walvogel 1998, Eggenstein 2000). From this new case may rise the hypothesis that mountain people were already a niche market for those who diffused trumpets in the Middle Age. Traded trumpets may have served as models in isolated areas but we can imagine that good tongues may have been difficult to produce; in this perspective Shatruck inventively solved this problem.

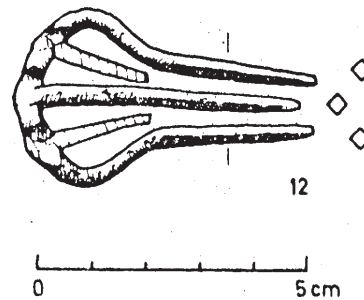


Fig. 19. Double-tongued iron trumpet from Hallwil Castle, Aargau, Switzerland (Meyer and Oesch 1972: 219). Probably dating from the 17th or 18th century, this is one of the oldest of the very few double-tongued trumpets discovered yet in Europe. Difficult to produce, such a trumpet can be made only by a master. Among those of Shatruck, both lamellas are of the same pitch or slightly different.

The Shatruck double-tongued drymba is rather interesting (fig. 3). Little study has been done on double trumpets, and we do not yet know when their production started in Europe. We may suppose that their beginning could be rooted in the 16th or during the 17th century, if not earlier. The first written mention is possibly made by Pierre Trichet around 1640, "there is much more difficulty when the [trumpet's] tongues are multiplied, and there are two or three of them" (Lesure 1956: 245; "il y a bien plus d'artifice et de difficulté lorsque les languettes sont multipliées, et qu'il en a deux ou trois").

Archaeological finds are scarce; in Gjermund Kolltveit's archaeological European trump database, only two exemplars are known out of more than seven hundred finds, one from the Hallwil castle (fig. 19) in Switzerland (Lithberg 1932: pl. 38 K; Meyer & Oesch 1972: 219) and another one from Molln, found in 1976 in front of the house of the trump maker Wimmer (Mohr 1998b: 7, fig. 4-5), the latter dating maybe from the 18th or early 19th century. These two old finds and Shatruk's drymbas share the same characteristics: the size and shape are similar, the tongues are not straight, the notches and bases are set off from the middle arm and become parallel only in the trump's embouchure. Anton Bruhin was astonished too by Shatruk's double drymbas' resemblance with the Hallwil find. In the 19th century, some double trumps produced in England have the tongues parallel to the middle arm and don't belong to this category (Boone 1972: pl. II 5; see also fig. in VIM 1985, 2: 59). In Siberia as well, we can find the Yakut *khomus* with double tongues parallel to the central arm. Let's add the existence of a recent double *Maultrommel* made of one flat piece of metal bearing "Trade Mark Austria PATN A 168/76, ATN 18836-/M" with straight tongues and closed arms, looking like two superposed trumps attached to each other by the bow; one of them was found lying on the street in Neuchâtel city (Switzerland) in 1981 by R. Kaehr, curator at the Neuchâtel Museum of Ethnography (inv. 81.9.1). The instrument proved to be a product of Schwarz, Molln. To these examples we should add another category of multiple-tongued trumps, similar in principle to the above double trumps but different in their structure, having also the tongues parallel to the central arm. The trumps in question were made occasionally in Molln possibly during the end of 19th and early 20th centuries; out of one single rod two frames face each other, each frame bearing one or two tongues, thus one instrument can become a double- or quadruple-tongued trump (Himsl 1939: 97). Interestingly, Zoltán Szilágyi from Hungary makes such a model he baptised *Gemini* (each frame has one tongue). Finally, we should mention that the single-framed double-tongued trumps produce a polyphonic and longer sound effect in comparison with playing with one trump in each hand simultaneously, as each tongue's vibration stirs the other.

No author seems to mention the existence of double drymbas among the Hutsul. Shatruk nevertheless informed us that Hutsul tunes are performed on ordinary as well as on double drymbas, even if such drymbas are not very popular in Hutsulshchyna nowadays. Shatruk definitely did not invent such a model out of his own eccentricity, as he learned to make double drymbas, which requires a high

technical accomplishment, from his father. According to Philippe Dallais, the technocultural characteristics of Shatruk's double drymbas plead in favour and seem to confirm at least an 18th- or early 19th- century influence of Austrian trumps on the Hutsuls' drymba-making tradition.

We could estimate, as we came in May, that Shatruk made during the winter or so about 250 thin-frame drymbas, about 100 thick-frame drymbas, and maybe fewer than 20 double-tongued drymbas. Shatruk said that he usually produces no more than 500 pieces a year. Though he maintains that the income from selling drymbas is small, this number of instruments represents a certain amount of money, as the price of four drymbas is equivalent of one day's normal earnings for a bar waitress in Kolomya. The double drymba costs two and a half times the price of a normal drymba. The economic situation of the present-day Ukraine doesn't allow a great importation of foreign trumps, as in the past when they must have chiefly reached the big cities. When Hutsuls were predominantly shepherds and woodcutters, foreign trumps must have been of great value; such circumstance may have greatly encouraged a cheaper local production for a regional clientele. Maria Himsl (1939: 98) mentions that Austrian trumps could not be exported in Poland between the first and second World Wars according to new trade treaties. As Hutsulshchyna had been mainly located within Galicia, the Polish province of that time, we may think that the drymba-making tradition was revitalized and enjoyed a certain monopoly. This corresponds to the generation of Shatruk's father. For the reasons developed above, we consider that this was not the impulse for the Hutsul trump-making genesis, but that it may have strengthened the production of trumps as a significant source of income. Nevertheless, Shatruk has no well-organized diffusion network for his drymbas, selling them by himself or through people in whom he trusts, to local communities, occasionally at the Kosiv bazaar and during religious gatherings, mainly in Kosmach, Verkhovyna, Kolomya, and even in Lviv. Shatruk takes his drymba sale very seriously, a behavior that emphasizes the drymba as an important source of earnings.

The fact that Hutsul drymbas are rare in museums or private collections in the Western world may not be only because Hutsulshchyna is a remote area, but also one of the effects of the "iron curtain." Though Hutsul drymbas were once influenced by the western types, from 1945 to 1991 and even later some of them could be acquired only by trump enthusiasts and scholars from the former U.S.S.R., or exported only in the eastern direction, to Kiev and from there to Russia proper. As examples of contemporary drymba circulation and

diffusion, one drymba can be found in the Catalogue of the musical instruments collection of the Koizumi Fumio Memorial archives, Faculty of music, Tokyo Geijutsu University: “Russia, L. 4.5 cm, iron; also called *drymba* (Ukraine)” (<http://www.geidai.ac.jp/~odaka/gcat/english/html-text/135.html>). This drymba must have been acquired through a Ukrainian or Russian colleague. Another one (unfortunately not mentioned as “drymba” at the moment we write this article) was received in trade with Valery Bruntsev by Gordon Frazier at the 1991 International Jew’s Harp Congress in Yakutsk (see the American Jew’s Harp Guild “Pictorial Archive” at: http://www.jewsharpguild.org/PA1_100.html). Ukraine’s territory is of course very vast, and there are some other trump traditions different from the Hutsul drymba (mostly forged trumps, see Dournon-Taurelle & Wright 1978: 126–7, fig. 143–144), but we think that it is too early to propose any interpretation of these other styles and their absence of influence on the known Hutsul drymba.

Today, the future of the traditional drymba is endangered; no young master seems to take over, and modernity brings new preoccupations to the Hutsul youth. But we can assume that if young makers will start to make drymbas, they may this time be influenced for example by the doromb of Zoltán Szilágyi, thus the next generation of drymbas won’t have necessarily the same shape as what we can call the traditional drymba type. But traditional shapes sometimes survive longer, as in Sardinia, where Molln trumps painted in black, imitating the local raw iron aspect, are sold in parallel to the forged large-bow Sardinian trumps. We think that it is too early to discuss here in detail the music played with the drymba, as it would be necessary to listen to well-documented old and recent recordings to which we had unfortunately no access and that may exist in Kiev, Lviv, and elsewhere. Nevertheless, we could observe that Hutsul players in solo or chorus use mostly their index finger in an inward (centripetal) direction, and that improvisation and Hutsul airs were the common themes. If we were quite frustrated because we could not gather much information from the oral tradition, we were able to survey several manifestations of the drymba and how it was kept in memory among people in Hutsulschyna.

Permanence, Survival, or Progressive Disappearance of the Hutsul Drymba?

OUR MAIN GOAL was a global investigation of the drymba and to answer the question if the drymba did participate in “Hutsulness.” The following accounts from our fieldwork can provide a good image of how the Hutsul drymba is kept in memory and practice. When we arrived in Warsaw, Polec welcomed us into

his house and we started to talk about the Hutsul he visited since Ukrainian independence in 1991. For him, the poor economic situation of Ukraine especially affected the Hutsul region, which lacks governmental development projects, but also affected Hutsul traditions, because it was hard for most Hutsul people to keep their culture, to produce or acquire such traditional items as musical instruments, etc. According to his appreciation, real Hutsul music ensembles are infrequent nowadays in the mountains, and musicians are playing modern instruments, with a lack of authenticity. Andrzej Polec confessed that he did not see drymbas many times and that he bought one at the Kosiv bazaar, which he showed us (same as fig. 4). The only anecdote he added was that one of his old Hutsul friends used to play drymba in his garden at the end of the day, listening and imitating the sounds of nature; Polec insisted on his mystical behavior.

In Kosiv, we started to be very busy from the first day. Ivan drove us to his native village Brustory where the drymba maker Vasyl Shatruk lives. We arrived around ten o’clock in the morning and stopped in a small grocery equipped with some tables where four young men of about twenty years old soon invited us to drink some vodka. Joël showed them a Szilágyi trump that he had brought with him and asked them some questions about it. To our great surprise, they barely knew the instrument and didn’t know how to play. During the conversation, we could observe their teeth which were sadly damaged—if they weren’t rotten and eaten away, they were substitute teeth in gold. Very weak and unstable, this dentistry situation would surely make the use of the drymba difficult, even impossible. The first testimony we collected among the young generation was not brilliant and raised several interrogations. They were born in the small village where a maker lives, and they did not know what a drymba was. Outside, a man in his mid-sixties did confirm to us that he could play drymba in his youth, but that it was impossible now because of his golden incisors. Our host Ivan, who is about forty-five years old, knew Shatruk but never learned to play drymba. The drymba seemed to have jumped one or two generations. Later we had our first meeting with Mr. Shatruk in his modest house and discovered his double-tongued drymba, which contrasted with the situation we just witnessed.

On the way back to Kosiv, Ivan, who was by turns our interpreter and driver, took us to one of his friends who could play trembita, the famous long straight horn with sharp sounds. Though we can find this type of horn elsewhere in the Carpathians, the trembita is considered by the Hutsul as their own characteristic instrument par excellence. It was used as a communication

instrument in pastoral daily life and also on particular occasions, such as the funerals in the film of Paradzhanov. The man who was about fifty years old couldn't play drymba, but his mother, who meanwhile went out in the garden because of the uproar of the trembitas, told us that she used to play the trump in her youth, but that she had certainly forgotten. However, she asked for one drymba and played for a short time (fig. 20), it was laborious because all of her teeth were in gold, but we could confirm that she must have been very well acquainted with the drymba.



Fig. 20. The old woman who couldn't resist playing the drymba once more. Photo: Caroline Briner.

The day after, we had an appointment near Verchovyna at the Yaseniv village school founded in 1882, where some young students had prepared a concert of folkloric music for us, including drymba. Waiting for the children until they finished dressing in traditional costumes and tuning their instruments, the teachers gave us some information about the school. The concert took place in a small room that serves as

exhibition hall for the handcrafted works of the students. The young musicians were directed by their music professor and performed a Hutsul air, an introduction with trembita, and then started with the violins, the flute (sopilka), the accordion, the "tsymbali" (cymbalum), and a bass drum surmounted by a cymbal for the rhythm. The second part of the concert was performed by seven young girls and a young man directed by Mykhailo Nychai, the practitioner of natural medicine and master of white and black magic who figures on the cover of Polec's book. He teaches drymba at the school, competitively with the other music professor and certainly less frequently, but is also a drymba maker, as we learned later.

Mr. Nychai set out his musicians in an arc of a circle and lent to each of them the precious instrument before taking place in front of the group. Then, having also a drymba and stamping the rhythm with his right foot, he began a harmonious melody which the children repeated in chorus together with him, doing so several times for about ten minutes. Unfortunately, Nychai decided they would play only one piece and he took back the drymbas from the young skillful players and put them in his pocket. He had to leave and we could only interview him for a short time. He could recognize without difficulty Shatruck's drymba when we showed him one. When he saw a Szilágyi trump that was of big size, he tried it and told us very honestly that the Hutsul drymbas were the best because their small size gave them a sweet tonality and prevented the teeth being damaged. But he went further and insisted that the drymba has magical and therapeutic virtues. He repeated us in substance what he told Berdnyk (1999), "there is magic in the music that you make with this drymba, the sounds produced by drymba can heal both body and soul, they can bewitch, they can tame a beast. They are like musical incantations." When we asked him about visiting his place and his drymba workshop, he refused by telling us it was too early and that we should come back in two months. The drymba study suddenly turned into an initiatory stage and we certainly have to come back in order to exchange more with Nychai on the unexpected Hutsul "shamanistic" drymba practices. Before Nychai disappeared, we offered him a Hmong brass trump (idioglott) which Shatruck rejected politely. He really appreciated its sound, at least it was small and teeth were out of concern.

Later, we spent some time in Verchovyna and could walk through the bazaar in the hope of seeing some drymbas on sale. Our survey was unlucky, but when we asked an old lady selling different kinds of raw tobacco, she borrowed a drymba from us and played a little while with great amusement, as if she had not had



Fig. 21. Mykhailo Tavitshuk, in traditional costume, plays a drymba made by Vasyl Shatruk.

this opportunity for a long time. Before giving us back the drymba, she wiped it on the back of her sleeve, a typical trump player's gesture.

Our following destination was the small village of Bukovets. After we parked the car, we walked two kilometers before reaching the house of Mykhailo Tavitshuk, the third drymba maker we met, described as belonging to our first category, which we defined as blacksmith-peasant-musician. He was repairing an enclosure but warmly welcomed us into his house after he changed his daily working clothes for his traditional Hutsul dress. Mr. Tavitshuk is a great musician; he traveled in Ukraine and abroad with his group composed of his family members. He has a gift for music but also for the making of instruments. He's among the last few who can make a trembita according to the customs, using wood cut out by lightning (see Sostak 1995). As a multi-instrumentalist he played for us, and of course drymba (fig. 21). During our conversation,

we suddenly could hear a hollow drymba melody as if a group of people was playing outside the house. The sound was coming from near the window, but it was from a hidden small old radio. Fascinatingly, a radio station, based in Kolomya or Ivano-Frankisk, was broadcasting drymba music so hard to find live in the mountains.

Another day, Ivan drove us to Kolomya, an urban center of Hutsul culture, where some folkloric music groups are based. Our plan was to visit the Museum of Hutsul Folk Art, founded in 1934 out of an Ukrainian intelligentsia project dating back to the end of the 19th century. The collections come from Ukrainian collectors' donations, but Hutsul contemporary craft is also represented. The display is really rich in textile work covered by really impressive geometric and colorful embroidered designs. Only two recent drymbas similar to Shatruk's ones are exhibited, but we couldn't make certain if the museum stored some more drymbas, especially ancient models. Not far away stands the Museum "Pisanka" (Museum of Easter adorned eggs), a huge authentic architectural decorated egg. The receptionist became literally fascinated by Shatruk's drymba and was persuaded that it was an exotic object. The young woman would never have thought that the instrument could come from the mountains of her own area. We also experimented with a public approach; Joël played in the street and we observed the reactions; several people became interested and a young guy wished to buy one drymba, but when he learned Shatruk's price he judged it too expensive. As we are sure that we obtained Shatruk's drymbas at the local price, this may confirm that indigenous drymbas remain costly even in Kolomya. It seems evident that the drymba exerts an attraction on the people who know the instrument. This method appeared to be valuable, and further research can be done in the mountain bazaars and in Kolomya, coupled with systematic recordings and film of those who can play in order to compare the melodies and gather wider information.

Unexpectedly, we had the opportunity to spend a few hours at the Kosiv Gymnasium during graduation day. The children were dressed for the occasion and killed time on the playground where we were free to discuss with them. No one knew the drymba but all of them wanted to learn to play. We had to satisfy their infatuation, which soon turned into fever for some of them (fig. 22). Later, all of a sudden, the handicraft teacher, wearing a traditional Hutsul large belt, took us into the school atelier where we could have some rest. There, the children learned Hutsul woodworking and mainly produced decorated boxes with engravings. The children were looking inside from the window. The



Fig. 22. One of the most skillful new drymba players of Kosiv Gymnaaium.

teacher showed us his drymba (fig. 4) and started to play several very rhythmic and melodious pieces. Once more, we could observe that young generations were not in contact with the drymba. At least Ivan had learned drymba during our stay; he proudly showed his drymba to everybody and already started to teach his son.

The present preliminary panorama of the drymba's presence in Hutsushchyna revealed that most of the young people don't know the instrument. On the other hand, the adults from forty or fifty years old knew it from their youth and were still able to play. If we cannot say that the drymba is disappearing, we must acknowledge that some generations had no or little access to the instrument, and it is hard to interpret this phenomenon yet. One of the factors could be found in a possible rarefaction of the production from the sixties followed by some socioeconomic change. Nevertheless, in the Kolomya Museum or in Mikhaylo Dideshyn's small museum in the village of Kosmach (see Polec 1997: 120–121), the drymba participates fully in the representation of the Hutsul traditional society of the past, and even if it is discreetly shown, the drymba remains an indispensable object to mirror Hutsul culture. Moreover, drymba music is diffused through the radio, maybe more often since 1991, emphasizing the drymba's existence and providing many opportunities to hear its sound. Though many people have maybe never seen the instrument, the sound and the image of drymba has, to our opinion, not the same connotation for the Hutsul living in the mountains and

those settled in lowlands, for whom the drymba seems to represent an exotic or nostalgic and authentic ancestral instrument. Somehow in the same way Paradzhanov's film is not really famous among the Hutsul we met in the mountains, who regretfully mentioned the old icons he borrowed from them for ever; his film receives more attention outside of the mountains as a credible reconstitution of the ideal Hutsul society. If Ukrainians apparently perceive the drymba as an ethnic folk instrument and use it in a different context (we found for example a tape

issued in Kiev of a comic playing drymba as an interlude between his jokes), the drymba is mostly played during Hutsul folk music festivals or concerts, which participate in the maintenance and the revival of Hutsul contemporary identity.

Discussion

TO BE HUTSUL TODAY firstly depends on self-identification. Nowadays, the external sign for recognizing a Hutsul person is mostly through the colorful embroidered shirt, collar and front, which is wore daily under ordinary cloth by some old people or by many people of every generation during important occasions, as weddings, religious celebration, etc. In Kosiv Gymnasium, when we asked a twelve-year-old boy if he was Hutsul, he answered "not before, but in the Ivano-Frankisk Oblast ("Prefecture"), now we are all Hutsul, and the real Hutsul live in the mountains." In the mountains, the traditional lifestyle, knowledge, and ability to produce authentic Hutsul craftwork are seen as a sign of Hutsul identity. Our host Maria was convinced that Hutsul ethnicity could be maintained thanks to folk craft and art, and that the Kosiv College of Decorative and Applied Arts is playing a key role in preserving Hutsul cultural knowledge. Most of the American Carpatho-Rusyn tend to idealize the Hutsul situation in Ukraine which is perceived as changeless and immemorial, but modernity and new economic patterns are influencing the young generations, and the next ten years may bring more change than during the whole 20th century.

Of course, this introductory approach to the Hutsul society and drymba should be completed by a longer fieldwork and research in museums' written, audio, and photographic archive materials especially in Vienna, Krakov, Lviv, Kiev, and St. Petersburg. Furthermore, there are some Hutsul communities in neighbouring countries, especially in Rumania. We also can assume that the drymba is still in use among other Carpatho-Rusyn groups in the Carpathians or by urban Carpatho-Rusyn who settled permanently or as migrant workers in such cities as Ivano-Frankisk, Lviv, Kiev, etc. Moreover, it would be necessary to evaluate more carefully the situation of the Hutsul people in the 19th century, during the Polish time, and during the Soviet period. Nevertheless, we think that the research among the Hutsul communities living in the Carpathians is absolutely crucial, as the drymba is still played, produced, and remains in the collective memory. If the image of the drymba may differ from the mountains to the plains, we have now a concrete framework for pursuing the research and enlarging the studied area to other parts and peoples in the Carpathians, in the direction of Huzhhorod, Rumania, and Moldavia, in order to develop a comparative approach.

Unfortunately, we lack old instruments and only archaeological discoveries will be able to provide concrete information to understand when the drymba reached the Carpathians, and the evolution of drymba types until the 20th century. If much information is yet missing, thanks to a careful observation of the drymbas encountered during our fieldwork we may already propose a draft model for the presence of the drymba among the Hutsul. Until now, it is regrettably not fully demonstrated that trumps existed already during the iron age and Antiquity, and the oldest well-dated trumps discovered in Europe belong to the 12th century. They are found from Scandinavia to France and we cannot explain clearly yet when and how this instrument reached Europe or if there was an indigenous tradition going back to Antiquity. In the Eastern direction, a forged trump dated from the 9th or 10th century was found in a site from Moldavia (Crane 1972: 22), and we have some other early dates, for instance in Bashkortostan (8th–9th) and Japan (10th). As Kolltveit and Dallais (unpublished yet) could show that at the end of the 13th century trumps were already travelling through a long distance and penetrated well up in the mountains, we may accept that the Hutsuls' ancestors could already have been in possession of trumps at this time. If one day such an ancient trump is discovered in the Carpathians it may provide very interesting information, as we could see if the trump is coming from an Eastern or Western direction.

We can say with assurance that the drymbas we discovered are influenced by the Western part of Europe and more precisely Austria, where a guild of trump makers existed already in the second half of the 17th century (Mohr 1998a). Historical data, the small size, and particularly Shatruck's double drymbas plead in favour of ascertaining that this influence on the local production started at least at the end of the 18th century, with the characteristic of shaping the drymba's frame by cold bending and not forging. If we support the continuity model from this time until now, we don't deny the fact that some fluctuation in shapes and size might have occurred occasionally (see fig. 4). The Carpathian kind of trump before this influence is unknown yet and we do not know if there was a continuity with just a technocultural change, or if the Austrian trumps (or copies of them) encouraged a resurgence of drymba making. On the other hand, little is known to us on the metal-working tradition in the Carpathians in the Middle Ages and later, or for the role of Gypsies in producing and diffusing trumps (see for example Sárosi 1966: 24). The fact is that Hutsul shepherds, women, and children must have played the drymba for more than two centuries, but it is perhaps the first time that drymba jumped some generations as we could point it out.

How long will Shatruck still produce drymbas, and will drymba-making be taken over, and by whom? But the same question can be asked for the "baranchyki," these amazing small figures made of mature and cooked cheese, plastic-looking and seemingly out of a prehistoric terracotta model (Polec 1997: 112). Interestingly, drymbas and "baranchyki" are still produced in Brustory, but they don't belong to the category of Hutsul great folk art like embroidery, weaving, woodcarving, or egg decoration. Both may not belong to highly acknowledged Hutsul art but remain strong emblems of the tradition. Presently, the drymba market in the mountain seems endangered, but the drymba could well become soon a more developed export and maybe revitalized. The drymba, though apparently absent visually and physically among the majority of contemporary Hutsul, is still remembered by many members of the generations over forty years old. More unexpected was the drymba music diffused on radio. The Ukrainian government promoted folk music ensembles in the early 1950s, and it is probable that the drymba switched gradually from the daily life play to folk music ensembles, musicians, and amateurs. There must be a great amount of recordings, and these musicians are perhaps some of the best customers of Shatruck's drymbas, buying them indirectly. This is one of the tracks that should be followed in further research, as filming and recording people who are able to play,

and in the same time investigating how the drymba was learned, kept and considered on a private level. As for the mystic and magical dimension attributed to the drymba by Nychai, this should be carefully examined.

Among musical instruments, the trembita horn is the leading symbol of Hutsulness. Like the Swiss alphorn, which was revitalized at the end of the 20th century, when even a telescopic alphorn in synthetic material was invented, the trembita is still alive, even if its expensive price compared to a drymba is more affordable for foreigners than for local people. Trembita and drymba were considered as traditional and very representative Ukrainian folk instruments during the communist era, as they appeared on a Soviet Union postage stamp in 1989, issued in the same time with three other stamps of U.S.S.R. nationalities musical instruments (Ebato 1993: 19; Crane 1996: 10, 2000: 51). Since 1991, Trembita and drymba became Hutsul again, as we can also observe a resurgence of forbidden religious practices. If mountains or remote areas seem to be often a factor of preservation of trump musical and making traditions, above the income it may provide, the trump is always polysemic and mirrors the ethnic identity cohesion or recomposition.

To conclude, in Hutsulshchyna we are witnesses today to a simultaneous rapid development of the remaining traditions, and the modernity, as for example at the wedding party we had the chance to attend for a while. In an isolated farm near the village of Kosmach, a traditional four-musician ensemble started to play each time a new guest arrived, and received some cash deposited on the cymbalum. But under the tent where the meal was going to be served two young men superbly equipped, each with a new electronic keyboard well amplified, were going to loudly entertain the assembly. Once both groups played at the same time, it resulted a strange fusion of sounds. Nevertheless, Hutsulshchyna is still very isolated from the Western world compared to the Polish Górale of Zakopane where an ensemble of traditional folk music recorded in the 90s some CDs with the Twinkle Brothers, a reggae group from London. As Polec declared with humour, in the mountains everything is possible. If the drymba is on the verge of a revival, its use and shape may become more diverse.

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Acknowledgements to Andrzej Polec who made our project become reality, and for his permission to use some of his photographs, to Ivan and Marichka, Mr. Shatruck and all our Hutsul friends for their great help and warm welcome, to the Neuchâtel University Institute of Ethnology, the Neuchâtel Museum of Ethnography, Les Amis du Musée d'Ethnographie for their support, to Frederick Crane, Gjermund Kolltveit, and to our private sponsors in Neuchâtel city: Photo Américain, Photovision, Cighélio, and Organica. Except as noted, all photos are by Philippe Dallais.

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