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"THE MIGHTY DNIPRO ROARS AND BELLOWS". A JOURNEY THROUGHOUT THE CENTURIES OF UKRAINIANS' RESISTANCE: ON THE SONG PERFORMANCE FROM THE RECORDINGS OF UKRAINIANS BY THE ROYAL PRUSSIAN PHONOGRAPHIC COMMISSION (1915–1919)

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The article, which is based on the archival materials, discovered by the author in two Berlin archives, namely Berliner Phonogramm-Archiv and Lautarchiv der Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin dedicated to a composition "Reve Ta Stohne Dnipr Shyrokyj" ("The Mighty Dnipro Roars and Bellows") by T. Shevchenko and D. Kryzhanivskyj that has supported Ukrainians throughout the centuries, and has itself undergone significant transformations in the sense of their meanings and musical implementations. For the first time in Ukrainian musicology, two historical audio recordings made by the members of the Royal Prussian Phonographic Commission (1915–1919) in two WWI Prisoner-Of-War camps in Germany from Ukrainians, are being presented and analyzed in this article.

On the basis of the abovementioned recordings the article aims to reflect on the question of the cultural memory and the continuity of the composition through the centuries of Ukrainians' resistance. It raises the question of what makes people not to forget this composition (especially keeping in mind how quickly many modern compositions appear and disappear) and moreover – to return to it in the most tremendous time for the nation throughout the generations? The second question is what is the potential of this song that has people transform it into the symbol of unbreakable will and strength, into an embodiment of history, perseverance and resistance?

The article also deals with the modern interpretations of the song from the perspective of the power and ability of music to inscribe a nation into a particular historical moment thus making it part of a global history. It raises the questions about the potential of music to narrate a nation and to become a source of true historical information. The article pays special attention to the characteristic elements of the composition endured through the generations as well as to what transformations have happened during the long period of the song's performing in and beyond Ukraine.

Keywords: "Reve ta Stohne Dnipr Shyrokyj", Royal Prussian Phonographic Commission, POW camps in Germany, Taras Shevchenko, Ukrainian nation and resistance, Ukrainian music, archival materials.

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Problem Statement. In her interview in the very beginning of the current war of russia against Ukraine Maria Sonevytsky – an American ethnomusicologist of Ukrainian origin from Bard College – was asked by the journalist Sonia Gaind-Krishnan why should we be thinking about music right now in the face of these awful atrocities that are going on? To this question Maria said that: "The most important reason is because the lie upon which this full-scale invasion is based is the idea that Ukraine doesn't have a history or a culture of its own, a lie that can be traced to the 18th century and maybe earlier" [6, p. 11]. Maria's answer was consonant with many other Ukrainians and Ukrainian musicians who on the stages, at homes, in undergrounds, subways or between battles on the frontlines continued and still continue to sing songs tested by centuries-long tradition.

As it is known, the current war against Ukraine is a consequence of a long history that goes back hundreds of years. Its main aim is the desire of the Muscovy and its successors – the Russian empire, the Soviet Union and the Russian Federation that for many centuries have constantly invaded Ukrainian lands, repressed and killed Ukrainian people to prevent with all possible methods, the establishment and development of the independent Ukrainian state.

It is also the reason *why* the songs that are currently the most popular and powerful in Ukraine and abroad were written in much earlier periods of Ukrainian history and are being revitalized today with the same sense but with the new power. Time is passing, performers are changing, but the topic of constant danger and aggression from the eastern neighbor of Ukraine stays with the people of different regions of Ukraine throughout the many centuries of its history and is reflected in the rich musical repertoire of Ukrainian nation. As an example of such serves one of the most significant songs for Ukrainian nation during many years of its resistance, one of Ukrainians' unofficial anthems – *"Reve ta Stohne Dnipr Shyrokyi"* ("The Mighty Dnipro Roars and Bellows"), which was led to music by D. Kryzhanivskyi to the intro of one of the early poems written by the champion of Ukrainian nation, a poet, philosopher and artist Taras Shevchenko. The texts of this song sanctified by tradition had and still has a deeply dramatic, disturbing, but also in a way a consoling effect as Ukrainians sense the experience of the centuries solidified in it.

Analysis of Recent Research and Publications. Reflecting on the continuity of the chosen composition, one can find many argumentative conclusions of Phil Bohlman in his text "The Nation in Songs" towards the idea of power and ability of music to inscribe a nation into a particular historical moment and its potential to narrate the nation [5, p. 249]. Thus, discussing the musical genres that have this ability the author argues that there are such genres of national music that "preceded the nation as 'narrative', for they told stories about the past. Those stories, often passed orally from singer to singer and from community to community, were also part of a much larger historical complex, within which the threads of nascent national identity were woven together to form the whole that unified people in the early stages of nationhood" [5, p. 253].

Since the song discussed 'lived through' many revolutions and wars since its origin at the end of the 19th century in the history of Ukrainian nation (including the current war), it is worth to refer to the research by Svanibor Pettan "Music, Politics, and War in Croatia in the 1990s", who reflects on the various aspects and paradigms

of the music in the turbulent stages of a nation, namely, mentions that "music serves a variety of functions in the political and war contexts…". Among them Pettan distinguishes function of encouragement – of those fighting on the front lines and other civilians [17, p. 13].

The paradigms of the origin and long-term continuity of a few significant for the Ukrainian nation song compositions discusses in his one of the most recent monographs published in the second year of the war (2023), under the title "From the Musical History of [Ukrainian] Liberation Songs (1654–1923)" Ukrainian ethnomusicologist Bohdan Lukaniuk [13]. In this symbolic for Ukraine work the author explores older and newer compositions, both in terms of them appearing during the last three centuries (1654–1923) and their musical and lyrical styles. He talks about the origin, evolution and phenomena of the popularity of the compositions discussed, which make a solid basis for the exploring the song about the turbulent river of Ukraine "The Mighty Dnipro Roars and Bellows", which survived the two world wars, Holodomor of Ukrainian people in 1930s, occupations of the lands where it originated from, and now it accompanies the Ukrainian people in another fight against evil.

Purpose of the Study. On the basis of two historical recordings of the song obtained by the author of the article in the Berliner Phonogramm-Archiv and Lautarchiv der Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin [1; 4] as well as one of the most known and most recent modern interpretations of the song (2022) by Ukrainian singer and folklorist Maria Kvitka [12], article aims: first, to explore what makes people not to forget this composition (especially keeping in mind how quickly many modern compositions appear and disappear) and moreover – to return to it in the most tremendous time for the nation throughout the generations? Connected to that, second: to study what is the potential of this song that has people transform it into the symbols of unbreakable will and strength, in other words – under what circumstances comes the spike, if using biological terms, where is the slightest line, limit, border which transforms its potential into an action, and, thus, into an embodiment of history, perseverance and resistance? And, since durability of the composition is rather significant, the third: to determine what characteristic elements of the composition endured through the generations and what transformations have happened during the long period of the song's performing in and beyond Ukraine?

Main Research Findings. One of the famous rock musicians, namely Bruce Springsteen ones said that: "A good song takes on more meaning as the years pass by" [7, p. 192]. These words could be suitably applicable to the characteristic feature of the object of this study, led exactly hundred years before the Chornobyl catastrophe in 1886 by Danylo Kryzhanivskyi to the introductory section of the early poems of Shevchenko "Bewitched" – "The Mighty Dnipro Roars and Bellows", since it not only took more meaning as time went by but has also deepened its initial historical motif of the courage and readiness to cheer up its exhausted land, which is metaphorically represented as a wide agitated river.

The quality of timelessness and relevance of the song was especially noticed by the author of this work while working with the materials in the Phonogramm archive and Lautarchiv in Berlin 2022 and, after many years of knowing, singing and hearing the song about the Mighty Dnipro from the Ukrainian Radio station as its

musical call sign or from the bell tower of the Greek Church in Kontraktova Square in Kyiv, hearing the such well known and familiar and at the same time still so undiscovered to its full extent song, this time performed by the WWI prisoners of Ukrainian origin recruited in the beginning of the 20th century to the Russian imperial army from the Central and Eastern Ukrainian lands, and recorded by the outstanding German scholars as part of the extraordinary project of the Royal Prussian Commission in two prisoner-of-war camps in Germany in 1915–1917.

As it is known, at the dawn of Ethnomusicology Germany held an advanced position in the realm of collecting, cataloguing, and analyzing the data in the field [11, p. 74], but the scale of this endeavor and the methods and means of its implementation were impressive even for the experienced German scholars in the field of studying the world's musical phenomena. Around thirty scholars participated in the project [14, p. 18], including ethnologists, linguists, music researchers, anthropologists, as well as photographers, mold makers, and auxiliary staff who worked directly in prisoner-of-war camps. The interdisciplinary nature and comprehensive research were the main defining characteristics of this project. In addition to sound recordings of language dialects and musical repertoires captured using the phonograph and gramophone, there were also other materials made, that included the accompanying photographs, anthropometric measurements and plaster casts, as well as the verbal descriptions of both sessions conducted and information gathered from informants, performed repertoire and musical instruments. The song texts of recorded works were presented in their original language and sometimes translated. The Commission was headed by Carl Stumpf, the founder of the Berlin Phonogram Archive. His "right hand" in the project was his younger colleague, Georg Schünemann, who was brought in as an expert in the field of musicology at Stumpf's request [9, p. 181]. As a result of the intensive work of collectors and researchers during these years, 1020 recordings on 885 wax cylinders [19, p. 146] and 1651 recordings on gramophone were amassed from the representatives of various ethnicities who ended up in German prisoner-of-war camps [9, p.181].

Ukrainians, who constituted one of the largest ethnic groups among prisoners, were recorded by the members of the Commission in 11 camps, as shown in the results of the first phase of the research [10, p. 141], and performed various genres of Ukrainian oral and written musical tradition [10, p. 126–127], 125 in total (as is known for now). Among them there is only one of all the songs recorded by the Commission that was sung twice by different performers in different camps and it is the song about agitated Dnipro River.

An example of the small group singing the song with the accompaniment of a guitar, represents the recording made during the session in the Döberitz camp in 1915 from a group of three people, namely Azariy Sokolyk, Serhiy Ivanov and Arkadiy Nekrasov [3; 4]. The place of origin of the first performer, A. Sokolyk, was Cherkasy which is not far from the native land of the song's lyrics author Taras Shevchenko, where the song was well known and functioning in both written and folk traditions. The version performed for the collectors in Döberitz camp sung in a very slow tempo in which the performers "cherish" every phrase and quite often during the singing make *ritenuto* and *fermata* on the climactic notes and at the end of the phrases. The way this song is performed in Döberitz camp reminds more of a

romance style which is even more emphasized by the guitar accompaniment, quite a typical instrument for the accompaniment of this genre type.

The other recording of this significant in Ukraine composition was made in Göttingen camp in between 1915–1918. It represents quite a different to the previously discussed ensemble performing style – a solo version of the composition *acapella* performed by Fedir Neno from Mykolayiv of Kherson oblast' [1; 2]. The way the performer sings this song differs as well by the severe character and shorter phrases, though two versions of the song recorded in the project still alike by the slow tempo and largely prolongated the climactic notes of the phrases, which in both cases emphasize the importance of the song's content.

Despite the differences of these two recordings their very presence in the camp cultural space emphasizes the importance of this repertoire for the prisoners no matter what their circumstances and objectively available tools in the camps for the performance, and, most probably, the popularity of the composition. The recordings of the composition are also important in the context of the discourses about the preparation and the procedure of the sessions. As Sebastian Klotz rightly notes in his preface to the CD "Crimean Tatars' Recordings in German POW Camps, 1916–1918": "We know little about how the prisoners looked at this: were they forced to perform? Was it a welcome change to camp routine? Were they offered a reward or any other compensation? Could they turn down the order to speak or sing? How many test runs were made? Could the prisoners ask for another session if they were unsatisfied with the outcome?" [8, p. 37]. In addition to all these and many others questions towards the preparations and the procedure of the sessions, one of special importance for this article – the motives of choosing repertoire for the recording sessions, that is, *who* had the right to choose the repertoire and *why* the certain compositions were chosen. These crucial for the understanding the interrelations of the prisoners and collectors should be studied during the next stages of the research, based on the protocols of the sessions and parallels with the recording of the representatives of other ethnicities.

These two versions of the song that caught author's attention in 2022 while discovering in Berlin archives the Commissions' materials that were created in the beginning of the Great War, were enhanced in the same 2022[1] by a contrasting, but at the same time similarly remarkable – new example of the song's interpretation that was performed in the beginning of the russian war against Ukraine – in the first months of the full-scale invasion – and broadcasted from the subway station "Maydan Nezalezhnosti" in Kyiv by the young vocalist and folklorist Maria Kvitka at the Ukrainian version of *The Voice* (ukr. *Holos Krayiny*) [12]. The newest folk interpretation of the song had brought the victory to the young female performer at the competition and again reflected the mood of millions of her compatriots. Maria sang the song in the so-called white-voice manner typical for the region from where the song originated. Her "white" and clear voice was supplemented by her white cloth as well. Similarly to the historic recordings mentioned above, she interpreted song in a very slow tempo, underlying every note of the melody, almost reciting

[1] November, the 20th, 2022.

every syllable and especially in the very beginning of the composition when on the background of choir *mormorando* and after her wordless short phrase of emotional *duma*-alike introduction, the singer starts the first verse of the composition on the one upper octave note repeating it three time instead of usual for the composed version melodic outline of the tonic triad.

Reflecting on those three interpretations of the song I am compelled to think of when and how 'the spike' happened that transformed this, fairly typical for a Romanticism, description of landscape in the early Shevchenko's ballad, though written so affectionately by the young poet towards his native land while he was still a serf, into a powerful anthem of the Ukrainian resilience? Whether it is a hidden description of the parallel reality of the imperial society – when in the background of the peaceful moonlight and still grove there was the anxious river that awakened and called to resist? Maybe this allegory was understandable for the authorities of the Russian empire where the young poet was taken from his motherland as a small boy, and led to the first arrest of the poet in 1847? Or maybe it was the main character of the ballad – a woman who, because of the cheating of her beloved man, has lost her hold on reality and became a sleepwalker – that is associated with the ever-suffering and so often deceived native land of the poet? Or the significance of Shevchenko in general was that which transformed the potential into an action and his romantic miniature into the call for freedom?

We don't know for sure what exactly inspired the young and modest teacher from the Steppe Ukraine D. Kryzhanivskyi, who has been composing mostly romances while studying in Odessa during the 1870–1880s and later teaching languages in Bolhrad, to turn to this very verse by Shevchenko[2], but from the very first ascending passage of the melody in its original version as well as other wide intervals in the melody later, one can grasp on the one hand – the breadth of the Ukrainian steppes, where both the composer and the poet originated from, the richness and depth of the black soil of their native land and the power of Dnipro river, and on the other – a call to awaken. The music, besides the meaning and symbolism of the verbal text itself, empowered these first lines of the ballad "Bewitched" about a mad and abandoned woman with another connotation and transformed it into a national mission with the energy of a powerful and unstoppable river.

The idea of unity and significance of the wholeness in song compositions and the correlation of the melody and lyrics was quite often discussed among scholars and musicians. The explanation of the sense of the link of those two components, their interdependence, so to say, one can find in a very fruitful and poetically fitting expression of the exquisite songwriter, the author of India's national anthem Rabindranath Tagore. One of his thoughts on this matter is that "the ideal song is a perfect marriage of lyric and melody, where they go hand in hand" [15, p. 8].

[2] Mysechko A. who wrote about the circumstances of writing and popularization of the song claims that the author of the composition D. Kryzhanivskyj was an active member of the Ukrainian circle in Odessa where he liked to listen to and to sing Ukrainian traditional songs as well as compose his musical works in this style. He also was inspired by Ukrainian theatrical groups touring in Odessa, especially by M. Kropyvnytskyj to whom later Kryzhanivskyj dedicated his song about the agitated river Dnipro [16, p. 32].

Thus, the unity of the poetry and music in this composition gave a new life to this song which has existed now for centuries in many stylistic and performative interpretations. In the course of its functioning one of the phenomena of the composition is its transition mostly to the oral culture[3]. It can be proved not only by the above mentioned folk version performed by Maria Kvitka (and many other versions in rock or other styles that exist), but also by its presence in the category "folk songs" in many popular editions of the Ukrainian songs, especially those dedicated to showcase a selection of the most representative and loved songs that can be performed under different circumstances[4]. It leads us to the dilemma of the correctness of the identification of the song from the point of view of its authorship – on one hand, and on the other – gives us a much deeper understanding of the significance of this composition classified as the folk song not "by mistake" but rather as one in which the ideas of the authors and the people merged together and the composer was not just forgotten but rather consonant with the needs and feelings of the society and, thus, glorified by such anonymity. It also should be mentioned that besides the consonant with the society meaning and symbolism of the composition that influenced its transformation, it was also caused from the very beginning of its creation by the long-term prohibition of its publication as both a poetic and later as a sung composition (which in turn stimulated its oral functioning). No less importance and symbolism for the future of the composition had its very first public performance in Odessa theatre in 1871 during the tour of Marko Kropyvnytskyi – one of the founders of the first professional Ukrainian theatre "The Rus'ka Besida Theatre", writer, dramaturg, composer, theatre actor and director, who, regardless of the imperial control, started to sing this song from the stage and was supported by an eager audience that responded to this message by getting up from their seats and singing along by heart [16, p. 33].

Conclusion. Though the song discussed in the research was written many years ago, it can transport us back to a very precise historical moment, people or stage in Ukrainian history, it also represents the one and only theme, which has transformed through the centuries into a big wound of the nation that continues to sing its history through it.

In this history the song about troubled Dnipro river occupies a very special place, since as Phil Bohlman noted "music lends itself to genres that not only invent and construct meanings for the nation, but also multiply and deconstruct those meanings". And this deconstruction, I consider, is another powerful potential of music transformed into action that leads Ukraine and Ukrainians from local to global, from past to the future through turbulent present.

The composition discussed in the article is at present considered one of the symbols of Ukrainian liberation and perseverance, but also a callback to the same

[3] There are examples of the field recordings of the song which functions in the area of the oral culture in different regions of Ukraine. One of such examples is noted in the collections of songs created to the lyrics written by T. Shevchenko, in which one of the versions of the song was recorded in Klishchyntsi village in Poltava oblast' [18, p. 376].

[4] The same feature of the song mentions in his article A. Mysechko discussing the issue of authorship of the song [16, p. 31].

and only wish of the nation throughout the centuries – to be a free, flourishing and independent country. That is why one of the most important messages that the people of Ukraine (and beyond) project, while singing this song again and again in their various formats, is to finally break the 'spiral of time' and to enjoy singing this composition as one of the anthems of the dream victory.

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“РЕВЕ ТА СТОГНЕ ДНІПР ШИРОКИЙ”. ПОДОРОЖ КРІЗЬ ВІКИ УКРАЇНСЬКОГО ОПОРУ: ВИКОНАННЯ ПІСНІ У ЗАПИСАХ УКРАЇНЦІВ КОРОЛІВСЬКОЮ ПРУССЬКОЮ ФОНОГРАФІЧНОЮ КОМІСІЄЮ (1915–1919)

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Стаття базується на архівних матеріалах, виявлених та опрацьованих авторкою у двох берлінських архівах, зокрема Berliner Phonogramm-Archiv (Берлінський фонограмархів) та Lautarchiv der Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin (фоноархів Університету Гумбольдтів), і присвячена твору на слова Тараса Шевченка “Реве та стогне Дніпр широкий” та музику Д. Крижанівського. Ця пісня підтримувала українців крізь віки та, водночас, сама зазнала трансформацій смислів та варіантів музичного втілення. Вперше в українській музикології та етномузикології наведено та проаналізовано два історичні записи, зроблені Королівською прусською фонографічною комісією (1915–1919) від українських військовополонених у двох таборах у Німеччині в період Першої світової війни. На підставі зазначених записів метою статті є розгляд питання культурної пам’яті та тривалості функціонування цієї композиції у різні періоди української боротьби. Порушено питання того, що не дає людям забути цю композицію (особливо те, як швидко виникають та зникають сучасні пісні) і, більше того, повертатись до неї у найбільш драматичні для нації часи протягом багатьох поколінь? Другим питанням є те, що закладене у цій пісні такого, що дає змогу перетворити її на символ незламної волі і сили, втілення історії, непохитності та опору? У статті також йдеться про одну із сучасних інтерпретацій пісні з перспективи її спроможності вписати націю в певний історичний момент і так зробити її частиною глобальної історії. Це піднімає питання про здатність музики розповідати історію нації та ставати джерелом історичної інформації. Приділено увагу характерним елементам композиції, що збереглися упродовж століть, а також тим змінам, які відбулись у процесі тривалого функціонування пісні в Україні та за її межами.

Ключові слова: “Реве та стогне Дніпр широкий”, Королівська прусська фонографічна комісія, табори для військовополонених Першої світової війни у Німеччині, Тарас Шевченко, українська нація та боротьба, українська музика, архівні матеріали.

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