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Cultural Heritage in States of Transition: Authorities, Entrepreneurs, and Sound Archives in Ukraine

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Abstract

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Since Ukraine's independence, a burgeoning private sector has been increasingly encroaching in cultural spaces that previously were conceived of as "property of the state." This dissertation is an ethnographic account of how objects of cultural heritage are being re-configured within the new post-Soviet economy. Specifically, it focuses on sound archive field recordings of traditional music and how they are being transformed into cultural commodities. Regarding the jurisdiction of culture -- who controls cultural heritage and how it is used to represent ethnic and national identity -- my research shows how these boundaries are increasingly being negotiated within structures of social, cultural and political power. Thus, culture becomes a contested object between competing ideological systems: cultural heritage as a means to salvage and reconstruct repressed histories and to revive former national traditions, on the one hand, and cultural heritage as a creative, future-oriented force to construct new identities in growing consumer marketplaces.
Acknowledgements

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This project took me away from loved ones for extended periods of time. I am especially indebted to my family, who supported this crazy idea to study sound archives in Ukraine. I thank my father and mother for their unconditional love and support though these years. They taught me to be proud of my ethnic heritage. I also thank my mother- and father-in-laws for their enthusiastic support. Their selfless sacrifice will never be forgotten.

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Introduction

Projecting the Field

During the summer of 2002, I participated in a joint folk expedition along the Ukrainian-Belorussian border with several Ukrainian ethnomusicologists, folklorists, and recording engineers from a state-supported sound archive and a privately owned recording studio. Our objective was to record folk music for a compact disc featuring traditional Ukrainian music. In one remote area, we asked a folk singer to perform the traditional songs from her native village. To our surprise, the singer declined the request. Apparently, a contractual agreement between this woman and a private company in faraway Kyiv prohibited the villager from publicly singing folk songs without its prior consent. We had no other recourse than to emphasize our collective association with the state archives. The singer eventually acquiesced to our pleas for cooperation and we recorded her songs without reflecting too much on this incident. However, I realized later that this episode was not some random misunderstanding between ethnographer and informant. Rather, it reflected more far-reaching cultural and social transformations that are prevalent today in many post-socialist countries like Ukraine.

This dissertation examines how objects of cultural heritage are being re-configured within the new post-Soviet economy. Specifically, I focus on folk songs and how they are being transformed into cultural commodities. Many social transformations in post-socialist countries are driven by public policies that promote nation-building agendas and by free market reforms that are sanctioned by international financial and cultural institutions. Since Ukraine’s independence in 1991, a burgeoning private sector
has been encroaching increasingly in cultural spaces that previously were conceived of as "property of the state." As described above, new questions regarding the jurisdiction of culture -- who controls cultural heritage and how it is used to represent ethnic and national identity -- are being negotiated within structures of social, cultural and political power. Thus, culture has become a contested object between competing ideological systems: cultural heritage as a means to salvage and reconstruct repressed histories and to revive former national traditions, on the one hand; and cultural heritage as a creative, future-oriented force to construct wholly new identities in growing consumer marketplaces, on the other.

Current research on cultural heritage collections especially in post-socialist countries increasingly examines the effects of transition from the perspective of global and institutional processes. For example, there exists a rich body of work that studies the political, technological, and legal challenges experienced in many modern memory institutions and archives in the former Soviet states (Burds 2006; Galili 2006; Lapin 2006; Smith 2006). Cultural anthropologists have been interested in the ongoing reconfigurations or cycles of transitions of ethnic identities prior to and after the breakup of the Soviet Union (Grant 1995). In my initial study of these issues, three areas of scholarship provided a framework for studying cultural artifacts such as field recordings and the generation of new discourse of the post-Soviet realities, which relate to the re-emergence of the nation-state after the fall of the Soviet Union (e.g., Szporluk 1997; Burawoy and Verdery 1999). The first is the national archive as a site of cultural memory and its political significance in the larger notion of a world cultural heritage (Marcus 1998; Brown and Brown 1998). The second set of research examines the circulation of
cultural heritage in the form of indigenous art in free markets (Marcus and Meyers 1995),
current intellectual property laws and the institutional recognition of indigenous cultures
(Seeger 2005); and important developments in international heritage protection
movements (Brown 2003). Finally, I examine how new paradigms of governance
regulate the complicated cultural, political, and economic relationships between the
nation-state and its citizenry especially after traumatic disaster like the Chernobyl nuclear
accident (Anderson 1993; Petryna 2002). These areas create the foundation for my
ethnographic fieldwork in Ukraine and provided a methodological framework and lead to
more careful study of the symptoms of reflexive modernization at the levels of
institutional and individual practices (Beck, Giddens, Lash 1994).

The questions my study explores fall into three interrelated categories, which
observe the long-standing historical relationship between property and culture in Soviet
and post-Soviet Ukraine:

1) Definitions of cultural property: How can the state’s concept of ‘public’ and
‘private’ property relate to ideas of cultural heritage? Have definitions of “culture as
public property” changed since 1991?

2) Cultural boundaries: How and by whom are domains of cultural heritage within the
public and private sectors delineated? How have recent state’s policies and free market
reforms restricted/accelerated the appropriation and use of “culture as public property”
within these sectors?
3) **Intellectual property**: How does “culture as public property” become “intellectual property” in re-configured public and private sectors? Where do activities related to cultural heritage intersect in the public and private sectors?

Thanks to a grant from the U.S. Fulbright Program, I was able to spend nine months completing my fieldwork in Ukraine between the years 2005-2006. During this time abroad, I sought established experts, who worked in topical areas concerning native and indigenous cultures. The field sites of my investigation included numerous state-sponsored institutions and sound archives located in the vicinity of four major metropolitan centers of Ukraine: Lviv, Kharkiv, Kyiv, and Odessa.

Supported by the same government agencies during the Soviet and post-Soviet periods, many of these organizations have been involved in multi-year programs to study Ukrainian folk traditions in their respective localities. In some cases, their research programs have functioned for several decades. The primary sites of my research included the following institutions:

- **The Scientific Laboratory of Music Ethnology in Lviv.** For the past ten years, this archive has been collecting folk songs for the creation of an atlas of folk music genres and dialects in Western Ukraine.

- **The Laboratory of Folk Music in Kharkiv.** Located in the Northeast Ukraine, this archive studies the effect migration along the Russian and Ukrainian border has on folk music traditions.
• The Kharkiv State Academy of Culture, Department of Musical Arts, Laboratory of folklore and ethnography of Sloboba Ukraine – this department houses several sound archives of folk music traditions of Kharkiv Oblast and surrounding areas.

• The Scientific Laboratory of Music Ethnology in Kyiv. Among it projects, this archive has focused primarily on populated regions near Ukraine’s capital affected by the Chernobyl nuclear accident and the northern parts of Ukraine bordering Russia and Belarus.

Aside from their similarities in government support, these sound archives function independently of one another and adhere to scholarly traditions and interests that reflect regional, social and historical developments.

In addition to my fieldwork in Ukraine, I also participated in an 8-week internship at the Library of Congress’s American Folklife Center [AFC] during the summer of 2004. There I helped complete a finding aid for a special collection of early Ukrainian field recordings, which were on loan from a state-sponsored sound archive in Ukraine.¹ This was one of many collaborative projects between the United States and former countries of the Soviet Union hosted by the Library of the Congress. This project was particularly interesting, because it started while the Soviet Union still existed, and continued long after it collapsed. This internship provided insight into complicated issues surrounding the formation of newly acquired collections at the Library of Congress and how international projects such as this one highlight national and international perspectives of

¹ A copy of the latest draft of this finding aid can be found in the appendix of this dissertation. Many thanks to Ann Hoog from the American Folklife Center for granting permission to include this document with the thesis.
cultural heritage issues especially in the areas of technology, access, and intellectual property.² For example, these legacy recordings from the sound archive were considered national heritage treasures and required special permission at the highest level of government to leave the country.

My study of these research sites and others associated with them granted me direct access to experts and authorities, who address the issues of cultural heritage in their day-to-day research. Local and regional sound archives in Ukraine do not represent typical state archives found in the West. They represent specific type of Soviet enterprise. Unlike the archives in neighboring Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Hungary, which were involved in nation-building agendas before and after the Second World War,³ these local archives were mostly directed by civic-minded individuals, whose projects were driven in what I would consider an entrepreneurial spirit.

Although my previous training in ethnomusicology at one of the aforementioned Ukrainian institutions (Lviv Music Academy) allowed me to conduct research alongside these authorities as an expert, it is important to emphasize that my study focused not on the folk music, but rather on the experts studying the folk music. Ultimately, I was interested in discerning how the everyday scientific research practice of studying cultural heritage – as it relates to folk music research – is influenced by social, political and economic constraints applied at local, national, and international levels. Similarly, the

methodological objective was to gain access to those sites, where decision-making processes could be observed directly. Designing an informed project with my collaborators around these particular issues and their disciplinary interests would contribute to a deeper sensitivity of the ongoing transformational processes affecting the notion of cultural heritage in each of the respective archives.

Cultural heritage is a modern concept that was introduced by a consortia of governments to protect cultural objects especially during armed conflicts. The definition of cultural has evolved to encompass practices and traditions representing cultural heritage beyond the common three categories (i.e., monuments, groups of buildings, and sites). A brief compendium of declarations and conventions reflect this tendency:

- 1954 Convention for the Protection of Cultural Property in the Event of Armed Conflict
- 1972 Convention Concerning the Protection of World Cultural and Natural Heritage
- 1989 Recommendation on the Safeguarding of Traditional Cultural and Folklore
- 1993 Living Human Treasure
- 1998 Proclamation of Masterpieces of the Oral and Intangible Heritage of Humanity
- 2001 Masterpieces of the Oral and Intangible Heritage of Humanity
- 2001 Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity
- 2003 Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage
- 2008 UNESCO Intangible Cultural Heritage Lists

The most recent conventions specifically regarding the protection of intangible cultural heritage has considerable improvements from the 1972 World Heritage Convention’s normative definition of cultural heritage. As Francioni and Lenzerini note:

A distinctive feature of the approach of the 2003 Convention to the definition of cultural heritage is its identification of the value of such heritage on the basis of its character for the community concerned, without any reference to its universality or its significance across national boundaries[...]. Another principle purpose of the 2003 Convention is to
safeguard continuously evolving and sometimes ephemeral knowledge, practices, and processes rather than to protect products. Thus, the notion of authenticity as applied to tangible cultural heritage does not have much relevance for the identification and safeguarding of intangible cultural heritage. (Francioni and Lenzerini 2008: 42)

Cultural heritage can be viewed as a set of basic characteristics not necessarily object-oriented, but associative to the practice of creating cultural heritage objects. Nevertheless, heritage lists are still being compiled by each of the signatory nations using specific selection criteria. Gillman, for example, argues that heritage cannot be considered a basic good. Rather it should be viewed as a way in which individuals perceive themselves in a set of "basic values" to include liberty and opportunity, self-respect, etc. It is all about the "well-being of individuals" reflected in multi-heritages: "Heritages (or cultures) are ways of thinking and talking about communities of people in space and time, related by shared practices, conventions and norms." (Gilman 2010: 21)

In the Ukrainian context, we find a similar situation with the actors involved in creating collections of folk heritage since the late 19th century. For over a century, scholars, researchers, and community activists have been engaged in fieldwork projects to document oral histories in Ukraine using various media technologies (e.g., photo, audio, video). These collections serve educational and research organizations and increasingly inform many scholarly disciplines.

However, the historical and organizational development of these collections – usually housed in sub-departments within educational and research institutions – have stalled any coordinated effort to develop a national strategy to care for these specialized
collections. In spite of their historical and cultural significance, these collections exist outside the purview of the state archives network. A lack of state support has forced many archives to seek alternative sources of funding from organizations that do not always share the interests of the archive and its collections. Moreover, the institutions that house these collections must conserve existing resources to continue their research programs sometimes to the detriment of their funds. I was reminded of this state of affairs during my visit to M. Rylskyi Institute of Art Studies, Folkloristics, and Ethnology in Kyiv. At one time, this research institute had (and probably still has) the largest collection of field recordings in Ukraine. During the Soviet period, it served the state by providing the cultural support for its immense Soviet cultural enterprise. It coordinated many local and regional folk heritage programming in each of the oblast centers. Now staffed by only one part-time employee, today this renowned sound archive practically ceases to function as it did before the break-up of the Soviet Union.

Funding has not been the only problem facing these local sound archives in Ukraine. There also exists a dearth of information about these archives, their collections, and their research at the local, national and international levels. For example, not one sound archive from Ukraine was listed in the recent comprehensive survey of European sound archives conducted by the Training for Audiovisual Preservation in Europe group. Similarly, many sound archives in Ukraine exist as silos of information, which is not

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4 Neighboring countries of Ukraine, including those within and outside the European Union were far better represented: Poland (63), Russian Federation (14), Hungary (5), Slovak Republic (4), Romania (3), Turkey (1) were better represented. See: Edwin Klijn, and Yola de Lusenet. 2008. Tracking the reel world. European Commission on Preservation and Access Retrieved (http://www.tape-online.net/docs/tracking_the_reel_world.pdf).
publicly available except through a handful of specialists. As sub-departments within cash-strapped organizations, the institutions that house these folk heritage collections are finding it even more difficult to serve their patron base more effectively.

To counteract some of these issues described above, several specialists, archivists and ethnographers were determined to develop a support network for these institutions with folk heritage collections. A program called Networking Cultural Heritage Collections in Ukraine was developed and initiated in 2006. The program consisted of a series of events that were organized to raise awareness about particular issues, to share best practices, and to find ways to overcome many new challenges in the midst of economic and social change.

As mentioned above, the institution of folk song sound archives in Ukraine is one of the many sites of cultural heritage, where I explore this uncertain transitory state of culture being “betwixt and between.” Due to their peculiar institutional status as a vidomcha ustanova or “reporting institution,” they lack the overall protection, funding, and support provided other state-sponsored archives. This could be one explanation why my study of sound archives revealed such a variety of archival practices and experiences. With very few exceptions, there exists neither a systematic nor a standardized method in the management of field recordings. Similarly, the political, cultural, and economic status of folklorists – the authorities of cultural heritage at the center of my study – reveals yet another unsavory reality. Conservatories, where many of folklorists and ethnomusicologists are employed, dismiss the contributions of these professionals. As

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5 For more information about the program, visit: www.folk.org.ua.
6 The term “reporting institution” is often used to describe departments or laboratories, which receive funding from a centralized entity, like the Ministry of Culture.
described pithily in the following anecdote: *A composer knows how to write melodies, a theorist can harmonize melodies, but the folklorist is trained to do neither.*

In spite of the success in promoting cultural heritage in national and international arenas, there is some reluctance by administrators to accept the study of folk music even within the classically oriented music programs of the state’s five music academies. This ambivalence towards the discipline could explain why research laboratories and their sound archives are located in the least desirable archival spaces of a building, such as a leaky basement near noisy practice rooms or in an attic space above a concert hall.

This dissertation is about archives-in-formation, which describes the practices and politics of archive construction and use. The study follows an already well-established genre of ethnographies of post-socialist societies like the former Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, which examine the impact of the intense political, social and economic change on the everyday experiences of individuals. The word “transition” referenced in the dissertation’s title is critiqued and eschewed by contemporary cultural anthropologists, who find greater acceptance of the less evolutionary-driven term such as “transformation.” However, the origins of term “transition” can be traced further back to the non-violent break-up of the Soviet Union. Political scientist Taras Kuzio has theorized that Ukraine, unlike countries in Latin America and southern Europe, has experienced its fair share of *transitions* in multiple areas social and political life in what

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has been termed a *quadruple transition*, that is, politically (democratization), economically (marketization), administratively (statehood), and culturally (nationhood). Thus, I use the term “transition” with a bit of irony reflecting the ethnographic present of my fieldwork in Ukraine, which follows the momentous events surrounding the election of pro-Western Ukrainian president Viktor Yushchenko. The ascendency of this new political regime represented an important symbolic victory for neoliberal, democratic policies promoted by the West. However, on the day I arrived to Kyiv in September 2005, the movement to reform the Ukrainian government was beginning to lose its legitimacy. The Orange Revolution coalition was quickly unraveling: then prime minister of Ukraine, Yulia Tyoschenko, was forcefully ousted. Ukrainians were frustrated and disappointed. Aside from this ironic use of the term, there is also the obvious reference to the idea of “liminality” presented in Victor Turner’s classic work on ritual, which resonates closely with the theme of change: how do archives form in countries (or organizations) experiencing constant states of transition? When does a collection become the archive?

The entrepreneur and enterprise culture in Ukraine enters the dissertation prominently after 1991. However, these actors certainly existed well before this time in

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8 Taras Kuzio, “Transition in Post-Communist States: Triple or Quadruple?,” Politics 21, no. 3 (September 1, 2001): 168-177 (cited in Hrytsenko 2007: 98)
other sectors.\textsuperscript{11} The word \textit{антиренер} \textit{(or antpreprener)} in Ukrainian -- understandably a cognate from the French -- starkly differs from the English-American usage of the term as an “intermediator between capital and labor” or risk-taker.\textsuperscript{12} Rather it is defined in Ukrainian as an impresario or someone who heads a circus or theater production.\textsuperscript{13} The latter usage of the term entrepreneur is apropos to the economic, political and cultural tension found between the organizations in the public and private sectors.

A note about the fieldwork: there were unusual challenges related to the study of archives during the time I visited Ukraine. For example, many of the state archives which had materials germane to the historical development of sound archives in Ukraine were closed to the public for an extended period of time. The revelation of organized thefts of historic documents brought historical scholarship to a standstill. Then Prime Minister of Ukraine Viktor Yanukovich presented the head archivist in Kyiv a bundle of personal letters written by Ukraine’s first president Mykhailo Khrushchevsky. The letters according to the Prime Minister, who is also a collector of antiquities, were purchased in a Parisian book store. They turned out be a missing collection of letters from another archive in Western Ukraine. As a result of the discovery of the theft, all the archives were ordered closed for an audit for an unspecified period of time. Many of the archival materials I needed concerning the formation of sound archives in Ukraine were located in

\textsuperscript{13} Dictionary of foreign words. O.S. Mel'nychuk, ed. Ukrainian Soviet Encyclopedia. Ukrainian Academy of Sciences, Kyiv, 1974, p. 34.
these archives affected by the closure. My project suddenly became less about going to the archives and more about recreating archive practice through as oral history project of sound archive.

Another ironic twist to my research is the fact that I never request a field recording in these archives, which baffled my hosts. Former teachers and colleagues in Ukraine questioned this approach to studying the sound archive in Ukraine. Some were confounded that I would use their opinions and those of professors as the foundation of my research. When I suggested that my methodology is no different than an ethnomusicologist conducting fieldwork in a village and interviewing a folk singer, the comparison became too personal: "You can't use a scholar's opinion, especially that particular scholar's opinion as the basis of your research" or "You just can't do that...it's not right...their opinions will skew your findings..." This may be the case.

An additional challenge was the methodology of collaboration I chose to incorporate into my study. I travelled to Ukraine with a collaborative project in mind. The idea was to first create a virtual sound archive, to which participating local archives would contribute examples of field recordings from their respective collections. This newly created archive was to function as a kind of virtual commons. The great plan was to invite the original network of four sound archives, which emerged as another voice of dissent at the end of the 1980s. They argued collectively for the re-establishment of a scientific, comparative approach to the study of folk music.14

project conducted at Rice University in 2003-2004, I was hoping to incorporate a similar approach to study sound archives in Ukraine. My attempts to introduce civil discourse between the participating experts and authorities using the Internet failed. I soon understood that archives are not simply ideal technological invention. Rather they are social constructs, which reflect the realities of everyday practice. What did result from this sincere attempt, however, was increased interest among many individuals, who began to share information about their collections and their processes. Thus, an applied aspect of my fieldwork was the development of a project to create a forum for sound archives throughout Ukraine to share best practices.

A word about the translations and transcriptions. All English translation of the Ukrainian texts are mine. Sometime I adhere to a literal translation of the Ukrainian text to show the logical structure of the thought. These translations may sometimes be awkward to read. Transliteration of the Ukrainian names rely and titles are transliterated using Scientific (ISO / R 9:1968). This standard originated in 1968 as an adaptation of the traditional scientific transliteration of the International Organization for Standardization ISO. I chose this code because it is easy to transliterate back into the original Cyrillic.

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15 The project I was involved in was called the Ethics and Politics of Information Technologies. Chris Kelty and Hannah Landecker were the primary investigators of this project. For more information about the project, visit the website: http://kelty.org/epit/

Chapter 1

Fieldwork in the age of Ruslana

Ukrainian pop star and Eurovision laureate Ruslana entered the auditorium as folksinger extraordinaire Nina Matvienko was ending her presentation about the importance of saving sound archives in Ukraine. It was an awkward moment. All eyes moved away from Nina and were thrust upon the rock-star-turned-politician, as she scrambled to find a seat at the front of the room. It was probably awkward for Ruslana as well. The folksinger paused for a moment and then broke into song:
Without missing a beat, the audience consisting of folklorists, ethnomusicologists, record producers, museum curators, folksong collectors, archivists, intellectual property lawyers -- practically everyone in the auditorium -- began to harmonize along as the folk singer's descant hovered above the droning rumble. The singer improvised a well-known rendition of a folk song "Where there is harmony in the family." It is also one of the last arias performed by Petro in the final act of the folk inspired opera "Natalka Poltavka" composed by the late 19th century composer Mykola Lysenko.

Soon thereafter, I introduced Ruslana as a long-time acquaintance from the days when we both studied at the Mykola Lysenko State Conservatory in Lviv. I intimated that
her early interest in folk music like mine must have started during her student days of collecting folk music in the 1990s. Ruslana disagreed with this suggestion and stated matter-of-factly that her appreciation for folk music and its significance in her own artistic achievements started much later — long after she graduated from the conservatory: "I did fieldwork and collected folk melodies simply to fulfill a requirement to graduate with a degree in music."

Ruslana graduated from the Lviv Conservatory in the mid-1990s with a degree in choral conducting. As a performer majoring in conducting, she probably attended a handful of courses in folk music analysis. Fieldwork was a requirement for all undergraduate music students. Students were supposed to travel solo to a remote village and interview anyone, who had some knowledge of folk singing. After their return from the village, these recordings were deposited into the department archives, where the student-collector had to transcribe their interviews.

Ruslana also supplemented her music education with ancillary subjects, which would later prove pivotal in defining the professional trajectory of her music career. She studied composition, voice, and conducting with some of the most distinguished composers and musicians at the conservatory. They included such luminaries as Myroslav Skoryk and the late Mykola Kolessa. It was during this time when Ruslana and I were first acquainted, when I too was a student at the conservatory. Eventually, she found time to learn English. Between her music tours and her studies, we regularly scheduled English lessons during the school semester. At that time, her desire to learn English was driven by a personal goal to visit an uncle in the United States and to work as an up-and-coming performer for Disney.
She continued: "Mij konsultant ... my consultant, another student friend of mine, was really the one, who had the connection to folk music. We travelled a lot together during my student days. Of course, I needed to fulfill a course requirement. Folk music was necessary to develop my fakh (or craft) as a choir conductor. After graduation, my friend just kept pushing me to do more and more folk expeditions. Eventually we travelled to the Carpathian mountains."

Ruslana represented the up-and-coming generation of artists, whose ideas about culture and its role in society departed from the stereotypic notions of folk music as constitutive of some national identity. After 1991, she began to participate actively in the Ukrainian music scene by participating in many of the prestigious national music festivals such as Chervona Ruta (1993), the All-Ukrainian Festival of Popular and Rock Music “Taras Bul’ba” (1993), and Slovianskyj Bazar [Slavic Bazaar] (1996). She won most of the major song competitions at these festivals. Eventually she would achieve her greatest international achievement with a victory in Istanbul at the 2004 Eurovision song contest.17

Ruslana also had a professional presence on the local FM airwaves. Her cultured, conservatory-trained voice was familiar to many radio listeners in Lviv. She worked at a privately owned radio station where she composed jingles and other forms of commercial music. Later, she would establish with her soon-to-be husband Oleksandr Ksenofontov

17 The Eurovision song competition is an annual multi-national competition, which was established in 1956. Member countries of the European Broadcasting Union send a representative to this competition, which viewer participate by “televoting” their favorite performances. Ruslana’s victory in 2004 joins a coterie of well-known victors like ABBA (1974) and Celine Dion (1988). See Bohlman, Philip. Music of European Nationalism: Cultural Identity and Modern History, ABC-CLIO world music series; (Santa Barbara, Calif.: ABC-CLIO, 2004.)
the radio recording studio “Luksen,” which produced some of the most memorable radio spots for new arrivals to Ukraine like Coca Cola Global, Oriflame Cosmetics, and Stimorol and others rising business interests in a burgeoning free market Ukraine. State-owned radio stations could not compete with the musical talent, recording technology, and news programming offered by the privately owned station at the time.

In contrast to Ruslana the rock star, the folksinger Nina Matvienko, was an iconic representative of an earlier time before the breakup of the Soviet Union. Nina’s professional career coincided with a return to the tenets of Leninism’s “socialism and compassion toward the working people.” These ideals were the foundation of musical art representing socialist realism, which “develops on the basis of party-ness and folkishness. Its ideational direction, its humaneness, are in stark contrast to the decadent culture of the contemporary capitalist world.”¹⁸ Nina was born into a large family, which lived in a village in central Ukraine (Zhytomyr Oblast). There she learned the folk traditions of the region before joining the national folk choir. A product of the Soviet musical system, Nina soon rose through the ranks and became the leading soloist for renowned folk music choirs such as the Ukrainian State Folk Choir named after Hryhory Veriovka. Her immense talent sustained her national and international reputation as the voice of Ukraine well into the post-Soviet era. In 2006, then President Viktor Yushchenko bestowed upon her the highest honor in Ukraine – Hero of Ukraine – for her contribution in promoting Ukrainian national culture at home and abroad.

¹⁸ Greeting from the Party’s Central Committee to the Composers’ Union (quoted in Schwarz, 1983: 504)
Yet Nina's powerful folk voice, so prominently displayed during the conference, would not satisfy the folklore purists attending the event. A coalition of ethnographers and folklorists mostly headquartered in Kyiv were especially critical of staged performances of folk singing. They represented a growing movement throughout Ukraine of young professionals, who devoted their time and creative energies to the ideas and precepts of avtentyka. Avtentyka is a genre of folk music performance, which stresses an authentic, natural style of singing. Armed with better recording technologies, these conservatory-trained ethnographers would seek out the most representative singers and instrumentalists, who exhibited the most pure form of folk music making. In addition to performing at alternative music festivals, sometimes they would congregate in public spaces – on the streets, near a church, or in the park – where they could perform alternative forms of folk music in a style reminiscent of what their grandmothers and great grandmothers would have sung. Many avtentyka performers stressed a humane mission in their objectives to educate and awaken some genetic memory in the form of “kolys tak bulo…” [“the way it once was”]. There was an ecological foundation in their argument: “Our food chain has been poisoned by years of aggressive fertilization, which altered the natural taste of food. Music is the same. The Soviet Union introduced “sharyvarstvo” [sartorial fakery] as the highest cultural achievement. Today people just don’t know what sounds authentic anymore. We need to relearn these older ways and return to a time, when there was a natural balance between culture and life.”

These groups of ethnographers were also the most active folk song collectors. They recorded the songs, transcribed them, and eventually would learn them by rote for programs featuring ritual re-enactments. Field recordings, which were archived and used
by researchers and scholars for musical analysis, became the ideal source for informing a proper folk performance. The essence of this performance style contrasts the basic forms of “cultured singing,” which was promoted in many professional and amateur choir groups during the Soviet period. This newer generation of urban-turned-village culture bearers sought to reverse the forced domestication and homogenization practiced in Soviet culture. This movement originated in the early 1970s in Russia, and was eventually emulated in Ukraine.19

It was therefore surprising to learn that representatives of the avtentyka camp would object to Ruslana’s use of original folk songs as raw material for her own artistic, commercial projects. Ruslana’s use of recorded folk music in her videos and songs reminded them how 19th century composers tainted culture with their folk arrangements. In their view, folk music remained the handmaiden for cultivated national musical styles.

Nevertheless, Ruslana’s creative enterprise and the work of the avtentyka camps are strikingly similar in how they legitimate their programs through fieldwork. However, Ruslana’s business-like approach to collecting music has upset the delicate balance between the urban folklorists and their rural informants. A lecture I presented at the northwest Ukrainian town of Rivne in early 2006 can serve as a case-in-point. During my presentation, I raised the social aspects of sound archives in Ukraine and how musicians are using archives to help sustain their professions. The mere mention of Ruslana’s name elicited tirades from local ethnographers: "She's putting us folklorists out of a job...we just can't afford to pay our informants like she does." Ruslana's approach to fieldwork in

19 For a fascinating historical account on the origins of the revival movement in Russia, see: Laura J Olson, Performing Russia: Folk Revival and Russian Identity. (London; New York: Routledge Curzon, 2004), pp. 68-105.
these over-studied ethnographic areas was disturbing the equilibrium of an established practice between ethnographers and their informants. Often ethnographers would arrive to a village, locate their singer, and record the songs from an culture bearer and depart without any form of compensation. Sometimes these relationships would develop into long term collaborations. Other times, an ethnographer may bring luxury items from the city such as cigarettes, coffee, and chocolates. Whatever the case, Ruslana’s method of recording folk music and the cash she used to compensate the singers and instrumentalists seemed too impersonal, calculating, and pragmatic. Ruslana’s activities were legal, of course. However, what was at stake was the traditional rapport between the folklorist-researcher and the culture-bearers, which was now in jeopardy of being heisted by this new capitalist economic regime. Folklorists suggested a crisis had emerged in the field since Ruslana started recording folk songs professionally. Informants across Ukraine were now expected to be compensated handsomely for their singing. "They just won't perform for us or our students anymore," said one disgruntled ethnographer.

To further this argument was the bad press Ruslana received while preparing for a new ethnographic project called the *Wild Dances Project*. Ruslana’s new project featured the highlanders of the Carpathian Mountains. Her unexpected victory in Istanbul at the 2004 Eurovision contest brought into focus a tiny slice of Ukrainian ethnic heritage, which propelled this young nation of Ukraine and its musical heritage into the European limelight. Ruslana commented on several occasions on the challenges of

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20 Forty years earlier the same publicity and renown was extended to Soviet Armenian director Sergei Parajanov for his rendition of a love story based on the folklife motives of the same Hutsul ethnic group in the film *Tini zabutykh predkiv* [Shadows of Forgotten Ancestors]. The film and its director received numerous awards at international film
winning the Eurovision contest. In her view, Ukraine’s cultural heritage remained relatively unknown beyond its former Soviet borders. The problem of promoting Ukraine and its ethnic heritage beyond its borders was related to the issues of access to Ukraine’s sound archives. As noted by Ruslana at the seminar on Networking Cultural Heritage Collections in Ukraine: “The sound archives have folk song recordings on audio tape. But if we touch these recordings, they will disintegrate... We also have recordings of ancient folk songs on wax cylinders. But they are impossible to hear. I soon imagined a whole series of recordings of traditional music from this region I am really enamored with. This is my region! Eventually I thought going into politics would help address this problem. 21 It’s my wish that these materials not remain specialized just for us, but that our generation would be enamored by these collections as I am enamored with them. I want this to be a cult-like experience for them. I want them to travel to the Carpathian Mountains, as I traveled with a small recording studio and a video camera. I do not want these songs to remain only in museums, or for us to simply archive them. We shouldn’t just name them archives. They should become alive, so that this culture continues to develop.” 22

In this short commentary on the state of affairs of folk music in Ukraine, Ruslana summarizes the issues concerning her ideal relationship with folk heritage. As a performer not necessarily associated with any group of researchers and their esoteric study of folk songs, Ruslana articulates a populist view that folk heritage has the potential

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21 Ruslana became a deputy in the Higher Council of Ukraine with Viktor Yushchenko’s party “Nasha Ukrayina” or “Our Ukraine.”
22 Recorded during a presentation at the seminar “Networking Cultural Heritage Collections in Ukraine” on June 8, 2006.
to change people's lives in reviving and redefining a nation's identity through its association with its native heritage (Gillman 2010: 21). If Ruslana's comments were rephrased into a question, it could be posed as: what alternative cultural spaces could Ukraine and its citizens occupy with unfettered access to its cultural heritage?

Ruslana's project is reminiscent of a Herderian program, which de-emphasizes European homogeneity by reiterating the cultural, collective distinctiveness of a nation. She continued to report from her interaction with Europeans: “When Europe discovers a folk song, it’s a holiday. No ancient culture has the right to disappear off the face of the earth.” The sentiments being expressed not only in Ukraine, but in many corners of the former Soviet Union, describe cyclical forms of modernization experienced by indigenous groups as part of the larger Soviet experiment (Grant, 1995) and are indicative of larger cultural processes occurring in a post-traditional environment (Giddens, 1994).

Her critique of the limited use of folk heritage in the everyday experience of Ukrainians is not the fault of its citizens. Rather it resides in the way folk heritage has been conceived of in Ukraine within the existing institutional structures such as the state archives, museums, and even its conservatories. In Ruslana's view, these institutions are no longer able to fulfill a perceived demand for a native culture. By extension, her remarks admonish the state's role in inhibiting access to an individual's culture.

These discussions and others that will follow in this chapter fall in line with what Charles Taylor considers one of modernity's malaises – the stress of individualism. In Modern Social Imaginaries, Taylor outlines modernity's condition through a series of concepts based on notions of moral order and social imaginaries. They reveal the collective and social practices of a society. In Taylor's account, modern moral order is a
performative process by which people as members of a social collective reaffirm their rights and obligations to one another. Social imaginaries are an extension of this notion of a moral order based on relationships, which work themselves out within a social existence. Following Taylor, I incorporate three analytic categories that define this collective agency in the Ukrainian experience: the emergence of the modern citizen-state, the formation of public opinion, and the market. In other words: what it is like to collect folk music in the age of Ruslana.

Fieldwork as an expression of the folk

Since Ukraine's independence, folk music has slowly re-emerged at the forefront of a national revival that was only experienced more recently in the mid-1960s during a period of Soviet ideological thaw. It has not been limited to just Ukrainian ethnic groups, but encompassed a wide spectrum of group and national minorities in Ukraine. Within a ten-year period, privately owned performing arts organizations have for practical purposes established themselves as the main promoters of the aforementioned avtentyka. In addition to sponsoring numerous ethnographic and folk related concerts, they continue to sponsor large-scale ethnographic recording projects that emphasize recordings of folk music made in field conditions -- "the village" -- in geographic areas where these forms are performed and have existed for several generations. This is not a unique phenomenon. This realignment of conditions -- ideological, economic, institutional, historical and
technological – influences what should be considered normative forms of ethnic identity.\textsuperscript{23}

Earlier in this chapter I mentioned the practice of conducting fieldwork as the process by which these actors – their scholarly, scientific and artistic enterprises of its participants – legitimized their enterprise. Public perception of “what is fieldwork?” is summed up in the seemingly generic term \textit{ekspedytsia} or expedition. The term raises many curious associations and social stereotypes. Folklorists and others who document oral histories often find themselves the subject of anecdotes with mixed characterizations and stereotypes. Consider the following anecdote:

Two older men are sitting on the bench outside a home in a very remote village. They hear a helicopter flying overhead. The one man smoking a pipe says to the other – “soon there will be drinking, debauchery, and other sorts of wildness.” After a pause, the other responds -- yeah, and they call this \textit{an expedition}.”

The theme of the expedition also has a cult-like allure in Soviet films such as \textit{Kavkažskaya plennitsa, ili Novye priklyucheniya Shurika} [Kidnapping Caucassian Style, or Shurik's New Adventures (1967)]. \textit{The Adventures of Shurik} is an example often cited in conversation, and compared to the everyday practice of folklorists. The hapless young out-of-touch ethnographer wanders from village to village collecting Georgian customs and toasts. His fieldwork of everyday Georgian life is intertwined with the vagaries of local authorities.

However, the role of fieldwork practice in shaping ideas about discovering one’s ethnic identity is not new. It has been a recurring theme since late 19th century. This enterprise has always served to mobilize patriotic individuals to seek out and salvage one’s ethnic heritage. The folk revival movement has historical precedent which spans the 20th century and hearkens back to earlier attempts to energize public awareness about cultural heritage. Its success as a movement however lies in the ability to ally itself with certain types of institutions to sustain itself beyond enthusiasm, which hardly occurred in the past. The institution of the sound archive as a scientific institution (in some areas) – its ascendency prior to the break-up of the Soviet Union – has played an important role in re-locating ethnic identity within the norms of what public perception regards as authentic as opposed to what is regarded popularly as kitsch.

Searching for a lost world – introducing Ruslana the Ethnographer

“Znayiu ja” [“I know”] was one of the first videos Ruslana produced from the Hutsul project. The video opens with a nocturnal scene of Ruslana, sitting in front of a laptop, in the mountains, next to a “vatra” or camp fire. She queries the computer in cyrillic: "Hutsulia." Hutsulshchyna is the land in the Carpathian mountains where the ethnic group Hutsuls live. The computer responds in English "searching the lost world." After a moment of what is portrayed as eternity and (a bit of impatience on Ruslana’s part, in spite of her satellite connection to the Internet), the singer types in frantically "znayiu ja" or “I know.”

Ruslana is suddenly transported through distinct folkloric scene of out-of-focus pandemonium. Alpine horn players display their alpine-like horn instruments (trembita), while a breeze fans the mountainside. It is both bucolic and timeless:
"It seems that all secrets are known. However, one wants to believe, that at the top there are lost worlds. And to find them, you must alone embark on a journey. I know that high in the mountains, a trembita wakes up the wind. I know the mountains. It’s a world that touches the sun. I know people there, so high up, that they are almost under the sky. They know the secrets. If you climb onto the mountaintop, you too will know, what I know. And this gives freedom."24

Ruslana reappears “naturalized,” emphasizing the untainted beauty of nature. Images of rushing water, milk flowing in the river stream, and an embroidered towel canvass her lyrics. The rhythm accelerates as more authentic folk sounding instruments join the ensemble. Tsymbaly or dulcimers adorn the Hutsul soundscape. Now riding horseback on mountain trails, Ruslana is greeted by folk musicians, round dances, and older women doing village-like chores. The Hutsuls are dressed in authentic, ethnic costumes. Ruslana drives from the scene through the mountains in her Hummer.

Background about the Hutsul project reveals how Ruslana could have been inspired by the ideas of ethnographic practice. As indicated above, a Ukrainian ethnomusicologist from a folk music sound archive collaborated with the popular singer. Zipping through dilapidated roads in the singer’s Mercedes, the two young women were visiting villages to record folk music from the mountain region. Ruslana relied on her consultant to identify well-known singers and instrumentalists living in the area. In addition to this fieldwork experience, they attend several folk music festivals organized throughout the region.

24 From the introduction of the song Znayu Ya (I know). The song’s video was released in movie theaters in 2001. It was released on the album Wild Dances in 2003.
Ruslana the heroine embodies various ethnographic roles in the video to establish what James Clifford has described as *ethnographic authority*. Some scenes show the singer conducting different modes of fieldwork from scientific observer to participant-observer. She is also establishing rapport with her informants and gaining the right kind of "experience" from her interaction with the people. As Clifford relates: "Experience evokes a participatory presence, a sensitive contact with the world to be understood, a rapport with its people, a concreteness of perception. And experience suggests also a cumulative, deepening knowledge (Clifford: 1983, 130)." Thus, Ruslana the ethnographer's use of new approaches has the effect of rediscovering discarded ethnographic practices in which ethnography is a "matter of strategic choices." It is a form of "inventive syncretism."

Ruslana became an instant celebrity after she received first prize at the Eurovision song contest in Istanbul for her performance of *Wild Dances*. The song's international success was the culmination of three years work that began with similar collaborative fieldwork projects as the one described above. This model of collaboration seemed to work very well for all parties involved: the singer needed to find examples of authentic forms of folk music for the next cutting-edge album; and the ethnomusicologist, trained in locating, identifying specific folk genres, could provide the expertise to help the singer realize her project. Eventually, the singer would donate copies of these field recordings to the local sound archive.

However, when Ruslana's album "Wild Dances" was released, official letters of protest from the Carpathian regional council were sent to the Ukrainian parliament in Kyiv. In an astonishing request, the highlander council representing the Hutsul ethnic
group requested that compact discs produced by Ruslana be removed from record stores. The council protested the use of the word “wild” in the title of the album “Wild Dances.” From the perspective of the Hutsul council, Ruslana’s use of term “dykyj” or “wild” was tantamount to defamation. The controversy became a cause célèbre in Ukrainian and Russian mass media. In a letter written to the editor of a local Ukrainian paper, one council leader made the argument that the use of the word “wild” in the album’s title would be detrimental to its ethnic heritage.25

As one of its council members wrote in the local paper: “The entire community of Hutsulshchyna [Hutsul lands] condemns Ruslana Lyzhychko’s creative ‘program’ ‘Wild Dances’, which references Hutsul dancing as being ‘wild’...] the deputies of the Verkhovyna regional council consider the naming of the entire ethnic group of Ukrainian-Hutsuls’ dancing as ‘wild’ to be outside the ethical and moral realm of civility [...] Ruslana’s suggestion formulates a kind of inferiority of the Hutsul sub-ethnic group as a whole.”26

In a response to this letter and this campaign of protest, which, incidentally, included several replies from various members of Ruslana’s press agency, vehemently downplayed this connection (I’m certain that they didn’t mind the free publicity!). Ruslana’s producer responded with the following:

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“With regard to the title ‘Wild Dances’, there is absolutely no connection with the Hutsul or his culture. This name communicates our condition of the present, a condition, when we wrote the music and produced our show.”

He continues by saying:

“[During the course of this project] …we were overwhelmed emotionally by the WILD nature, that we saw, when we were lifted up by helicopters above the Carpathians. We were affected by the WILD strength of people, who live in the mountains[...], we are learning of the WILD thirst found in its people...”27

This metaphorical turn to nature underscores the misrecognition and resignification of cultural signs. The Hutsul council member’s reflection follows a quasi-cultural argument, which places the word “dykyj” as antithetical to the notion of “kulturnyj,” which is roughly translated as cultured or refined, however in a broader sense. The record producer, on the other hand, uses of the word “dykyj” to describe a kind of visceral feeling that overcomes him.

Despite the public relation team’s attempt to resignify the term “dykyj”, which might have insulted older Hutsuls, the “wild” formulation has figured well with the younger generation of Hutsuls. Unlike the elders of the Verkhovyna regional council, the Hutsul youth do not find the term offensive and even identify with its visceral connotations; they have been especially vocal in their support of the performer’s use of the term to represent Hutsul culture as a whole.

Much of Ruslana’s success exhibited in her Hutsul project can be traced to her work with the Laboratory of Music Ethnology located in the Western Ukrainian city of Lviv. This is a department in the Lviv State Music Academy, which has undergone

considerable restructuring within the last two decades. It has grown from a small department into a prominent research lab. As related in the beginning of the chapter, she worked closely with one of its researchers. Later this collaboration included several expeditions, which took place in the Carpathian mountains and became the ethnographic foundation for Ruslana’s Hutsul project.

The transformation from the *folklornyj kabinet* or office of folklore to the Laboratory of Music Ethnology\(^{28}\) after Ukraine’s independence was a significant development in Ukrainian folk music studies. The terms “problem” and “laboratory” which were officially designated by the Ministry of Culture in the early 1990s still hearken back to the bygone days of a scientifically-structured Soviet bureaucratic system. The founding of the laboratory marked a normative shift within the discipline of folklore studies, which was earlier viewed within the academic curriculum as an ancillary activity designed for students to learn more about local cultural heritage. Researchers, who worked with Ruslana, played an important role in identifying the folk musicians of local tradition. Some authorities in the discipline openly voiced their opposition to these forms of collaboration simply for the fact that their training were being misguided by commercial objectives, and not for the sake of advancing the scientific study of folk music.

Trained ethnomusicologists began exploring alternative forms of collaboration, which could supplement their incomes. The word “khaltura” was often used in this context. The word *khaltura* is a slang term for moonlighting and has existed since Soviet times.

\(^{28}\) Its full name was the Problem Scientific Laboratory of Music Ethnology.
The term has had wide circulation in countries of the former Soviet Union and also outside its border (e.g., Poland, Bulgaria). Israeli philosopher Avishai Margalit, traces the origin of the word to a 19th century Russian revolutionary, who in his attempts to assassinate the Czar, would often inflict casualties on innocent victims. Margalit uses the term to reflect on the social conditions in Israel:

“reveals a deep anxiety in Israeli consciousness – the fear that everything we do is a khaltura.” Khaltura is the Israeli word for moonlighting. It comes from Russian, apparently from the name of a revolutionary named Khalturin, whose every attempt at assassination ended in amateurish failure. Many Israelis, in my impression, fear that Israeli culture, the child of Zionist revolution, is a culture of khaltura – of amateurs dressed up as professionals. Amateurs have the charm of spontaneity and an ability to improvise, and they sometimes even attain amazing achievements. But these achievements are sporadic, and the drop-offs in performance can be great and painful. Professionalism raises the general level of performance (Margalit 1998: 8).²⁹

In Ukraine, khaltura is used in different contexts, which typically describe the conditions of inferior work, or work that is undertaken just for the sake of earning cash on the side. In musical circles, for example, when a conservatory-trained musician has been hired to play at a wedding, musicians would often refer to this kind of work as khaltura. Similarly, within the folk music laboratory, the term khaltura can be directed towards the better understanding of folk music. The use of the word in everyday speech closely follows the musician’s use of the term by describing a type of work that doesn’t correspond normatively to one’s training. In other words, a professional boundary delineates what activities would be deemed acceptable.

The term often is closely related to a cultural disconnect between generations of accepted norms and proper behavior. For example, the older generation of researchers at

the laboratory considers the kind of collaborative work that the ethnomusicologist and the singer were engaged in as a form of *khaltura*. Yet, like the Hutsul youth, many of whom supported Ruslana's use of the word "wild", the younger generation of ethnomusicologists would argue that this form of collaboration with singers like Ruslana is a way to use one's training to promote authentic forms of folk music. Furthermore, the younger generation of ethnomusicologists still provides a professional service that is representative of their training. The older generation of ethnomusicologists, on the other hand, would disagree. They would describe the professional ethnomusicologist's function as a way to gain deeper knowledge about the folk music tradition, rather than use specialized training to popularize folk music. The divergence of attitudes found within a group can be represented according to one's professional affiliation and generation.

The example shows how Ruslana's willingness to participate in the folk-in-the-making process undermines older cultural paradigms and introduces new ones that are not necessarily germane to the field. The controversies associated with Ruslana's participation at a particular moment of Ukraine's historic, political and cultural development reveal deep-seated anxieties in the discipline. They confirm a categorical shift found within traditional modes of discourse about cultural heritage. Now we will examine how cultural heritage objects -- the folksongs and their associated rituals -- are affected in new economic and political regimes.
Chapter 2

Beyond Traditional Borders

As objects of cultural heritage, field recordings of traditional music have garnered significant interest among ethnomusicologists in the West. Professional associations such as the International Council for Traditional Music have been especially proactive in exploring the moral and ethical issues regarding the complicated role ethnographers and their specialized collections of recorded traditional music play as mediators of cultural heritage. There is consensus among many ethnomusicologists that mass media technologies (e.g., record, audio tape, compact disc, or more recently the Internet) increase the possibility that unique sometimes sacred recordings of traditional music will eventually find their way outside academic circles into the mainstream. As discussed in the previous chapter, Ruslana’s role and influence in this process could be especially key to expanding the popular reach of a local folk song tradition.

These recordings of traditional songs “fortunate” enough to become popular outside their native culture are often the product of creative collective processes. Although ethnomusicologists recognize collective forms of ownership as a moral right, current international copyright laws only recognize the creative act of individuals (i.e., an


author). With limited protection, folk songs remain vulnerable cultural heritage objects to powerful business interests. As one record producer in Ukraine, discussing their company’s national project to release a series of field recordings of Ukrainian traditional music, said to me: “If you could copyright a folksong, who would you pay the royalties to? Can you imagine how hard it would be to prove ownership? We would never be able to release a single disc of traditional music.” While the cost for releasing a compact disc of field recordings using this low-overhead model is negligible, there exists a real potential for a folk song to become the next international musical hit. The payout of this success would overlook the rightful collective owners of this song, and benefit the other undeserving collective of arrangers, composer and record company executives. This model shows the asymmetry of power, which forms between two economic regimes. The group, whose rich musical tradition continues to be utilized for these creative purposes, remains undercompensated or not compensated at all. Sound archives in the West are particularly sensitive to the issues of providing access to its field recordings and following copyright procedures with their donors. As curators of cultural heritage objects, sound archives implement policies and controls that limit the circulation of these materials only to their reading rooms.

32 See for example, Hugo Zemp’s article outline a personal experience working with the recording industry: Zemp, Hugo. 1996. “The/An Ethnomusicologist and the Record Business.” 36-56.


34 I am reminded by a personal experience of locating the oldest known recording of the Carol of the Bells at the Library of Congress. Having located one recording, I requested a
Many of these issues stated above describe a common problem associated with the phenomenon of *deterritorialization*, that is, the process by which objects lose their moorings with a particular site and identity as they migrate and circulate beyond the economic and political regimes of their place of origin. Folk songs, like any other form of oral tradition, circulate freely locally. Sometimes, if certain conditions are just right, they will move beyond the local and into regional and into supra-regional areas. Songs are transformed during this process: migrating melodies are adopted with new lyrics; borrowed melodies, reflecting the local musical tastes of their new heirs, are performed according to local custom; or they are adopted to sustain local economic and cultural activity. Traditional wedding musicians, whom I have interviewed about their repertoire, have admitted that they will learn or "steal" songs from other bands in order to remain culturally relevant within the community.

This chapter will focus on two distinct Ukrainian caroling traditions "vertep" and "shchedruvannia" that continue to be practiced in both Ukraine and Diaspora communities. I chose these traditions to describe how following and comparing the circulation of these particular cultural objects can provide a macro perspective in the complex transformative processes described above.

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Although they share a common mission of announcing "good news" (i.e., the birth of Christ or the coming of spring), their development as folk traditions diverge as they begin to modernize and accumulate new identities outside their native environment. By genealogically tracing the accumulation of these new cultural signs and signifiers, I hope to show how deterritorialization can transform or limit their current forms of practice.

The concept of deterritorialization is a major theme found in the works of many of the social thinkers and is often used to describe a range of social processes related to commodification processes in capitalist regimes. The term suggests an on-going migratory process of social and cultural practices from a point of origin to other living spaces or territories (de Certeau: 1984, 93-95). Deterritorialization also connotes powerful machine-like processes of de-coding and re-coding, which occur during clashes and conquests of competing cultures (Deleuze and Guattari: 1983/1998, 222-224). The notion of deterritorialization also poses an interesting challenge for the observer, not in identifying how ideas and cultures begin to migrate and later transform and hybridize into new ones, but rather in discerning how the process by which such objects of culture - such as ideas or traditions - originally produced in places of origin and development are reproduced within deterritorialized contexts (Appadurai: 1994, 328-329). Like the duplicating role of mirrors in Dutch paintings, the contents of their representation are "decomposed and recomposed according to different laws" within these new environments (Foucault: 1994, 7). These reproduced objects - reflections of originals -- must conform to conventions and rules that exist within these "multiple worlds" in order for them to thrive. Survival is now intrinsically tied to re-formulation -- the accumulation
of new signifiers and eventual supplanting of original signifiers – that may ultimately lead to a process of simulation and the production of a simulacrum (Baudrillard:1995, 6). Just as deterritorialization is important in driving this “precession of the simulacra”, reterritorialization\textsuperscript{37} has to occur in order to complete this modeling process of the “hyper real” within the new environment.

In the case of the Ukrainian caroling, I will show how two traditions have undergone a process of deterritorialization and simulation. However, due to historical and social circumstances, each tradition demonstrates a different modeling process that has allowed it to reterritorialize itself and continue to function outside its place of origin. Until the early 20\textsuperscript{th} century, the caroling traditions “vertep” and “shchedruvannia” shared a common historical development and geographic circulation as relatively localized rituals performed during the winter holiday season.\textsuperscript{38} Although the vertep is a more recent caroling tradition than shchedruvannia,\textsuperscript{39} each tradition has been observed recently across most ethnic Ukrainian territories during the 18\textsuperscript{th} and 19\textsuperscript{th} centuries. The difference between the two traditions, however, lies in the ritual’s original function and its representation within the social environment.

The vertep or Christmas play is a re-enactment of the nativity. It is performed today in both city and village environments in Ukraine as well as Ukrainian communities in the Diaspora. The play had its earliest beginnings as a folk tradition that became an

\textsuperscript{37} An alternative term “indigenization” is suggested by Arjun Appadurai also suggests a process in which cultural absorption or reterritorialization occurs.

\textsuperscript{38} A broad, popularized overview of Ukrainian winter traditions can be found on the Ukrainian Diaspora web portal http://www.brama.com/art/christmas.html

\textsuperscript{39} Shchedruvannia and their carols are said to pre-date the introduction of Christianity into the region (988 AD)
important event during the Christmas holidays for villagers and city-dwellers alike.\textsuperscript{40} Over time, it began to develop a secular-comic dimension to offset the more serious, sacred aspects of the play.\textsuperscript{41} The play developed into two specific genres: 1) as a puppet theater in East Ukraine, 2) as a theatrical performance with live actors (usually young men) in what is now West Ukraine.\textsuperscript{42} The wandering theater troupes would perform the nativity by proclaiming Christ’s birth and singing both religious carols and popular folk songs.\textsuperscript{43}

Unlike the Vertep, which has a strong association with the Christmas season,\textsuperscript{44} “shchudruvannia” or well-wishing is a caroling tradition that takes place two weeks after Christmas during the eve of the Feast of the Epiphany (January 18). This evening in the vernacular is known as “shchedryj vechir” or bountiful evening. A whole class of secular carols called “shchedrivky” is sung during the darkest time of the year (after the winter solstice). Without any reference to the Christ child, these carols serve as a magical chant to “call out” the spring from its slumber. Young girls, whose ages could range between 5-12, would walk in small groups from farmstead to farmstead throughout the winter night.

\textsuperscript{40} Several scholars have traced the Christmas play’s origins back to 17\textsuperscript{th} century theology students of the Kyivan Academy. While traveling to their home villages, these students would recount Christ’s birth for attentive villagers and receive some form of remuneration (e.g., food or lodging) for their efforts.

\textsuperscript{41} Besides such personalities like Herod, Three Wise Men, the Holy Family, Death, and the Devil, there were also stereotypical depictions of a local tavern owner, the Pole, Zaporizhian Cossack, Muscovite, Gypsy, Priest, an old man and his wife -- characters and personalities that were historically and socially relevant to the region.

\textsuperscript{42} Since the end of the 18\textsuperscript{th} century up until 1945, Eastern and Western territories of Ukraine were under different imperial control. Eastern territories were under Czarist Empire (since 1654), while Western areas were controlled by the Habsburgs.

\textsuperscript{43} In Western Ukrainian regions, the Vertep only portrayed the nativity scene without reference to the historical characters of East Ukrainian areas.

\textsuperscript{44} Ukrainian orthodox and Byzantine (Greek) Catholic churches in Ukraine follow the Julian calendar. Vertep is usually performed within the first three days of Christmas (Jan 7, 8, and 9).
and carol the host and hostess and their children. They address their well-wishing songs to the whole family and present them with scenarios of good fortune and bountiful harvests in the New Year.

Folk traditions in general become very popular during the 19th century especially among intellectuals, who seek to identify themselves more closely with the native culture (Subtelny:1988, 228-229). While the caroling traditions continue to flourish in village settings, they also begin to appear in many urban spheres and circles, including schools and professional theaters. The vertep becomes so popular throughout metropolitan areas that performances in the city are very common in the 19th century. Nikolai Gogol, a writer of Ukrainian descent, who wrote short stories in Russian, published a two-volume collection of stories in 1831/32 called "Evenings Near the Village of Dikanka" incorporating folk traditions of an East Ukrainian village into the plot of his narratives. One famous tale from the collection “The Night before Christmas” is based on characters of the village Christmas play. Verteps, however, like other activities that had any reference to Ukrainian language or culture, are subject to Czarist censorship in the mid-to late-19th century (e.g., the Ems Ukaz of 1876); public performances of plays including the Vertep are systematically banned.45 Shchedruvannia also has its share of problems: the Orthodox Church makes a concerted, but unsuccessful effort to completely eradicate the practice of these “pagan rituals” and “devil games” among their constituencies (Hlushko:1991, 6-7).

45 Western Ukraine under the Habsburgs did not endure the same harsh form of censorship.
In the mid-19th century, both caroling traditions show greater signs of
deterritorialization as they begin to accumulate new cultural signifiers that extend beyond
their original function of proclaiming seasonal glad-tidings. In the case of
“shchedruvannia”, the carols themselves - “shchedrivky” – crossover from the realm of
the folk and into the social sciences and become objects of ethnographic interest to folk
song collectors and ethnologists. Ethnographers and linguists begin to study the
“shchedrivky” songs and discern key cultural attributes that delineate Ukrainian ethnicity.
With its poetic text structure and distinct melody specific to the autochthonous, ethnic
cultures, “shchedrivky” are used to differentiate Ukrainians from the colonizing Russians
and Poles. Shchedrivky become a source of cultural evidence for ethnographers,
historians, linguists, and political scientists that drives national sentiment among
Ukrainian intellectuals (Kolessa:1983, 48-50).46

After the Soviet Union consolidates its power in the early half of the twentieth
century, caroling traditions again become the target of censorship; their prohibition
gradually symbolizes perpetual repression of the population.47 Because of its
improvisatory nature and the possibility of criticism directed towards soviet officials (as
well as religious references to the nativity), the folk Christmas play is deemed threatening
to the government. The vertep is banned not only in the city, but also throughout the
countryside. Nevertheless, Christmas plays continue to be performed surreptitiously in

46 Interestingly, villagers in Ukraine never associated themselves with the national
movement, but have been systematically labeled as “Ukrainians” by all sides to incite
resistance among the populace. In West Ukraine, for example, my informants told me
that prior to WWII they called themselves “rusyny” or ruthenians and not Ukrainians.
47 There are several versions of the same story that relate how several people singing
Ukrainian Christmas carols in a village home after the WWII are shot dead by NKVD
agents.
both villages and cities across Soviet Ukraine, especially in the Western regions. During this period, the vertep accumulates new signifiers symbolizing a form of resistance to the oppressive soviet regime. One informant in his mid-70s, whom I interviewed in a village not far from Lviv, told the story of his participation in a Christmas play with a group of boys during the Stalinist years. Instead of “helping people find the long road to Bethlehem”, they often had to hide in the snow from hawkish authorities.\textsuperscript{48} Another individual, the son of a well-known documentary film maker from Kyiv, related to me the complicated process of performing the vertep in the republic’s capital at the height of Brezhnev’s reign: a group of unsuspicious carolers would enter an apartment, change into their costumes in the apartment’s entrance hall, perform their Christmas play for the hosting family very quietly (so the neighbors could not hear), change back into their street clothes in the corridor, and leave the premises unnoticed.

The vertep in today’s Ukraine especially following the breakup of the Soviet Union became an instant symbol of national sovereignty and cultural identity. For example, my first real experience with traditional Ukrainian caroling occurred on January 7th, 1993, while living in Lviv, a large city in Western Ukraine. It was Christmas day and I was heading towards the city’s center trying to walk off the previous night’s traditional 12-course Christmas Eve dinner. After the meal, the host’s family and I sang a few traditional Ukrainian carols around the table. This tradition did not differ too much from the caroling experiences I had grown up within my parents’ home in Houston. My hosts, however, tried to explain that this Christmas was indeed very different, especially the last two holiday seasons since Ukraine’s independence. Before, no one caroled openly (even

\textsuperscript{48} Based on an interview in the village Boratyn in Lviv oblast, Ukraine, conducted between 1997-1998.
at home) because the KGB could arrest you and you could risk losing your job, or worse, go to prison. “People caroled anyway, but very, very quietly and in their closets”.

As I crisscrossed the streets into Lviv’s downtown area early that Christmas morning, I saw a very unusual spectacle: several groups of people dressed up as biblical characters were walking in the streets and caroling among themselves. This was the "Vertep" I had always read and dreamed about witnessing. The characters were improvising and re-enacting Christ's birth by reciting poetry and singing carols among themselves. But they were not performing for the people on the streets. They were caroling to other Vertep groups like themselves. It reminded me of a mass demonstration of Christmas revelers; it was like a caroling competition. There were Vertep performances throughout the city, in the villages, in schools, in concert halls and theaters. Choral groups not performing Christmas plays had Vertep personalities emblazoned on their posters as a symbol of wandering minstrels during the Christmas concert season.

Two years later on Christmas day, I went to the same downtown area in Lviv and could barely find one vertep troupe in the streets. How did they disappear? My host family thought that the serious economic downturn in Ukraine dampened the spirits of holiday season and taken away the enjoyment of performing the play in the streets.

Several years afterwards in 1997, I spent my first Christmas back in Houston since returning from Lviv. My parents received an invitation by mail to come and visit the Ukrainian Church Hall for a pre-Christmas celebration. A program was enclosed and there was going to be a "vertep" given by children of the Ukrainian School. It was one of the first Christmas play performances in Houston in a very long time. It seemed that the
newly arrived immigrants from Ukraine actively sought to produce this vertep for their adopted Diaspora community. The performance took place on a small stage that overlooked eager parents and relatives. The play was completely scripted and all the songs and poems regarding Christ's birth were recited by memory. Moved by the performance, the audience gave the children a large round of applause.

The two examples above show how the vertep has undergone a process of deterritorialization and simulation within urban settings in native Ukraine and its Diaspora. In its original signification, the vertep is a Christmas play that venerates the birth of Christ in the Ukrainian countryside. Later, it begins to accrue new forms of national identity by including regional characters into its narrative as a commentary of the current social conditions. The process of deterritorialization of the vertep as it moves from the village countryside into urban centers accelerates the re-signification of the vertep as a cultural tradition that is closely associated with Ukrainian national movement. As a cultural icon, the folk play begins to assume different guises for different social agents and modes of production. For example, during the repressive Czarist and Soviet years, the Christmas play becomes a symbol of resistance. The accelerated proliferation of play performances that I describe in the city almost after Ukraine’s independence as well as the play’s unexpected demise indicates this principle of equivalence that Baudrillard describes as the “radical negation of the sign as value”. The play at the time of Ukraine’s independence no longer carries the original signification of the adulation of the Christ child, but rather it becomes a symbol of national identity and resistance. After Ukraine’s independence, the play no longer serves the purpose of sustaining either transfigured simulations – resistance and identity. The performers want to show off their
resistance, but there is no longer a cause! Hence there is a sudden lack of interest among
the people in performing the vertep in the streets several years after attaining
independence.⁴⁹ Acculturation or “indigenization” in this new urban setting does not
occur for the play because it had become a simulacrum for resistance and independence.⁵⁰

A comparison of the vertep experience in Lviv with the one in Houston is also
interesting because it depicts how the processes of de/reterritorialization and simulation
of folk traditions are apparent between both the performers and their audience. The
deterritorialization of the play is obvious at different levels of identity and function.
Newly arrived immigrants from Ukraine bring with them a folk tradition to the United
States that is representative of their national identity and decide to produce a folk
Christmas play for their host community. Unlike the tradition in Lviv, where verteps are
performed on Christmas day, the play in Houston is performed on stage several weeks
before Christmas. Although the vertep retains its original signification of venerating the
re-enactment of the nativity, it has disposed of its “nomadic” attribute. Arriving to the
venue to “witness” the vertep, the audience itself has undergone a transformation - a
process of deterritorialization - and has assumed the nomadic signification of the former.

The role and function of the vertep and its audience have been reversed.

⁴⁹ In 1995, a national conference and festival called “Koliada” was organized in Rivne,
Ukraine, several weeks after Christmas and that invited folk Vertep troupes from all over
Ukraine to participate in the festival. Performances were judged and based on the
scenarios and performances, the best plays received quite a lot of prestige and press,
which translated into sponsorships by local industry such as the local brewery or milk
products factory. Ironically, the festival promoted for several years that this conference
would increase awareness about this national tradition as well as to stimulate interest
among the young adults in this Ukrainian art form. Nothing resulted specifically from this
festival.
⁵⁰ The Vertep is still performed in the villages and has never lost its original signification
of venerating the birth of the Christ child. It began as a folk tradition and remains one to
this day.
While the Ukrainian folk Christmas play has experienced a deterritorialization and reterritorialization within the Diaspora, shchedruvannia and, more specifically, the shchedrivka melody has undergone a complete de-coding and re-coding that has allowed it to function and circulate in the West. In the early 20th century, one of Ukraine’s most distinguished composers of choir music, Mykola Leontovych, uses a shchedrivky melody that he either hears and records during a personal folk music expedition or finds in one of the many anthologies that featured Ukrainian folk songs. Interestingly, these choral work, like the others he composes (not arranged!) using folk melody is choir works, are performed regularly in schools as well as public settings throughout Ukraine.

During Ukraine’s brief independence in 1918 the government of the Ukrainian National Republic sends as its goodwill ambassador a choir called the Ukrainian Republican Capella Choir, which visits many major cities in Europe, United States and Canada. Among the songs the choir toured with was Leontovych’s shchedrivka composition. This work draws special attention by music critics, audience members, and especially an American music teacher, Peter Wilhousky, who in essence takes Leontovych’s composition and writes new English lyrics and re-christens it as the Carol of the Bells.

Transformed from a simple 4-note folk melody into one of the most widely heard holiday songs of the Christmas holiday season, the Carol of the Bells is the product of many complex historical and cultural processes and, of course, quite a bit of good fortune. At each step of its existence and transformation, the folk song has overcome all odds of becoming extinct (a fate that is met by most folk songs) and has served multiple purposes in its adopted culture. The 4-note melody thrives thanks to many of the modern
institutions that were created within the last 150 years. From a village setting where the song was created, accepted and transmitted orally from generation to generation, the ethnographic societies specializing in collecting folk songs, the establishment of professional music schools, government cultural agencies, to mass media and large commercial institutions, each entity has played an important role in keeping this folk song, especially here in the United States, in constant circulation.

In order for the folk song carol to begin its nomadic wanderings across the border, it had to be modernized. The composition by Leontovych took part of the song’s original lyrics and placed them within a temporal framework that contained a beginning and an end. As the carol becomes an icon in Ukraine, it migrates into new network systems of exchange. The carol’s first phase of signification would be its Anglicization. Let us compare the lyrics of the original carol with the one that Peter Wilhousky created:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Shchedryk - Original lyrics</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Shchedryk, shchedryk, shchedrivochka</td>
<td>Bounty bounty, bountifulness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pryletila lastivochka</td>
<td>A swallow flew in</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stala sobi shchebetaty</td>
<td>It stood and started to sing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hospodaria vyklykaty</td>
<td>And call out to the landlord:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vyjdy vyjdy hospodariu</td>
<td>Come out, come out, landlord</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Podyvysis na kosharu</td>
<td>Look at the sheep-fold</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tam ovechky pokotylys</td>
<td>There the sheep that are being spawned</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A jahnochky narodylys</td>
<td>Lambs are being born</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V tebe tovar ves khoroshiyj</td>
<td>You have valuable goods</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Budesh maty mirku hroshej</td>
<td>You’ll have some money</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Knoch ne hroshi to polova</td>
<td>If not money, then offspring</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V tebe khinka chornobrova</td>
<td>You have a beautiful dark-browed wife</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Carol of the Bells –                                 |                                                 |
| Lyrics by P Wilhousky                                 |                                                 |
| Hark! how the bells                                   | O how happy are their tones                      |
|                                                      | Gaily they ring                                 |
Sweet silver bells
All seem to say,
"Throw cares away."
Christmas is here
Bringing good cheer
To young and old
Meek and the bold
Ding, dong, ding, dong
That is their song
With joyful ring
All caroling

One seems to hear
Words of good cheer
From ev'rywhere
Filling the air

In the original carol, there is no mention of Christmas; rather the themes expressed are agrarian and symbolic with references to spring (swallow). In the second rendition, the symbols of a cheerful, happy Christmas are replete in the new song lyrics. This transformation and or decoding of this carol begin with its lyrics and provide the audience a reference from which to reflect throughout the holiday season.

Leontovych’s composition – its melodic structure and form – has also been preserved in many of the variations of this work here in the U.S. However, they differ significantly in the composer’s original a capella arrangement. In one example, by a Ukrainian women’s choir of recent Ukrainian immigrant in the 1960’s, the performance
of the carol is slower, more solemn.\textsuperscript{51} It differs significantly from interpretations by American choirs, which are faster, more festive.\textsuperscript{52}

Today Leontovych's \textit{Carol of the Bells} continues to occupy different realms of cultural activity in Ukraine and in the West. In its native Ukraine, the composition is not performed as frequently during the winter holiday season as it is here in the United States. Interestingly, it serves other purposes that differ from its original function to bring good cheer in the New Year. Because of its dynamic and expressive qualities, the work is used mostly in pedagogical lessons for teaching choral conducting at Ukrainian music schools.\textsuperscript{53} Ukrainian composers have turned to Leontovych's piece and its 4-note melodic motive as a challenge to "modernize" further its sound by incorporating sophisticated harmonies and timbral arrangements that earlier during the Soviet period would seem unfathomable. During the Soviet Union period of paranoia, \textit{Carol of the Bells} remains one of the few Ukrainian works published in music anthologies (Shreier-Tkachenko: 232). It was a "safe" piece to publish that both presented a specific narrative to the development of Ukrainian contemporary music and at the same time relegating its status to the folk.

Outside Ukraine's borders, there exist very interesting and culturally distinct arrangements of \textit{Carol of the Bells} in many different countries around the world. Like the

\textsuperscript{51} \textit{Shchedryk} -- Kapelya Bandurystok "CYMA", Detroit, Petro Potapenko, director (sometime in the 1960s)
\textsuperscript{53} From my own personal experience at the Lviv conservatory, Leontovych's composition was the first work I learned while studying conducting. Ukrainian composers often cite this work from the perspective of compositional mastery of motivic material and compare it to such masterpieces like Beethoven's 5\textsuperscript{th} symphony, which also uses a 4-note motive as the foundational basis of the work). Recently, to the chagrin of traditionalists,
typical folk song that transforms itself during the process of oral transmission, Leontovych’s composition on the 4-note melody has been re-configured, re-formulated, re-orchestrated, re-harmonized, re-arranged, and re-stylized to suit the tastes of the adopted host culture and has been popularized within a multitude of ethnic circles. Rock bands, like the Trans-Siberian Orchestra has made their fantasy-laden rendition of Carol of the Bell the centerpiece of their rock-n-roll performances. In a traditional arrangement for symphony orchestra performed by the New York Philharmonic, the music has been liberated from the text, however in the back of most of the listener’s mind, one hears the westernized lyrics with its references to the Christmas holiday season.  

The music from Leontovych’s composition relies on a 4-note repetitive melody that sustains throughout the work. Other composers in the West have also used this style of composition using this 4-note shchedrivka melody to build whole improvisations. Musical elements of Leontovych’s work are retained throughout most of these improvisations, like in the more famous example of this style on a recording by George Winston. An alternative to this mode of production is found in a freer, fantasy-like performance by Michael Jones, who uses the 4-notes as “code” with almost no reference to Leontovych’s composition. In his interpretation, we sense a truly significant transformation at the musical and rhythmic level. In the original choral work, the 4-

55 Carol of the Bells (A Nineteenth Century Ukrainian carol) – George Winston, keyboards, on December, c.1982, Windham Hill Records WH-1025
56 See: Carol of the Bells – Michael Jones, piano, on Solstice, c.1985, Narada Productions N-61008.
melodic motive consists of two 2-note groups, as opposed to the 3-note grouping found in the instrumental works.

Re-orchestrating Leontovych’s choral composition using other instrumentation is also common for this particular work. Even jazz musicians have used Leonotych’s composition as generative material for their improvisatory explorations. The composition’s 4-note structure also lends itself well to interesting technological arrangements. In the Ukrainian Diaspora, artists have tried to re-interpret the original work using sophisticated machines to bring out the symbolism of the original folk lyrics. Other examples are complete electronic re-orchestrations of the work (e.g., the most well-}

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57 See: Carol of the Bells – David Benoit, piano (with Grant Geissman, guitar, Bob Feldman, electric bass, Tony Morales, drums) on A GRP Christmas Collection, c.1988, GR-9574 "Written by Peter J. Wilhousky" Arranged by David Benoit.
known by the famous Trans-Siberian Orchestra\textsuperscript{58} and incorporate other carols (i.e., “We Three Kings”) into their arrangement. One composition that is particularly interesting is performed by the Mannheim Steamrollers. They re-incorporate the synthesized voice of the westernized lyrics into their sophisticated composition (Ex 7).

The West’s creative and commercial pre-occupation with the song representing the winter shopping season has also helped introduce and propagate the song as cultural icon of the holiday season. The folk song melody from the Carol of the Bells represents a deterritorialization through its accelerated commodification. Although the song retains its seasonal quality, it has nevertheless been extracted out of its original cultural, historic, social context and, subsequently, has been commercialized. It has permeated our sound culture and is also heard in shopping malls and stores during the Christmas shopping season and TV advertisements\textsuperscript{59}. A popular version has been featured in blockbuster movies like Home Alone. Even the jewelry industry uses the 4-note repetitive motive from the Carol of the Bells as its theme song that embodies a feeling of urgency and perpetual giving in the holiday season.

This chapter examined two traditional Ukrainian caroling traditions and followed their development in both their native environment and abroad in the Diaspora. In tracing how these folk practices changed over time in the conditions they operated, I show the processes of their transformation.

\textsuperscript{58} See: “Christmas Eve/Sarajevo” 12-24 (Instrumental) - Trans-Siberian Orchestra, on Christmas Eve and other stories, (Paul O’Neill, Robert Kinkel and Jon Oliva) Atlantic Recording Corporation for the US and WEA International Inc., compilation c. 1996, Lava Records, 92736- Note: The song “Christmas Eve/Sarajevo 12-24” was first released on the Savatage rock opera, Dead Winter Dead

\textsuperscript{59} I would typically hear the first use of Carol of the Bells used in a commercial on a major network in November before Thanksgiving.
In the case of the folk Christmas play, there occurred a layering of identities associated with the historical and social development of the region. Over time these practices and functions had undergone a process of deterritorialization. When conditions changed, such as the immediate independence of Ukraine, a whole tradition died out in an urban setting because it no longer served the function of its predecessor — a form of resistance and ethnic identity. The play in the Diaspora, on the other hand, continues to be performed within its new host environment. However, it has lost its primary signifiers: its veneration of the Christ child and its nomadic function to spread the “good news”.

The *Carol of the Bells* joins another long list of examples of how folk melodies from one particular area can traverse large distances through large geographic and political boundaries and become a culturally accepted in its host culture. Its success is manifested in the way several processes of decoding and recoding, which occurred in the new economic regimes, which these cultural heritage objects circulated within and outside Ukraine’s borders. The carol, for example, serves a pedagogical function in the music establishment in Ukraine. Meanwhile the same carol through its deterritorialization and successful reterritorialization (Westernization) has become the source of myriads of compositional arrangements and, thus, has acquired the status of cultural icon in the West.
Chapter 3

Collections in Capitalism

Some purloined letters

On the outskirts of the Western Ukrainian city of Lviv, an important fall meeting of Ukrainian and Russian archivists took place at Hotel Hetman less than 100 meters from the apartment complex where I was living during my first leg of fieldwork in 2005. It was hard to surmise exactly what was discussed at this meeting. Local papers reported a few days after the fact that no one could have possibly known about this extraordinary meeting of the state archives. The topics may have ranged from increasing access to special collections for foreign researchers to study collections to facilitating greater cooperation between the national archives to share historical records from the Soviet period. What dignitaries attending this meeting probably did notice were the throngs of people amassing in front of the hotel and brandishing signs outside the venue: “We cannot tolerate the persecution of innocent Ukrainian scholars” and “Shame to the archive mafia” and other such pronouncements of civil discontent.

Organizers of the meeting downplayed the protests and emphasized the need for future cooperation between Russian and Ukrainian archives. Nevertheless, the timing of the meeting could not have come at a more opportune time as recent revelations of corruption at the state archives was all over the media. The public’s attention was transfixed on the recent wave of thefts, which plagued one of the most distinguished archives in Ukraine – The Central State Historical Archives of Ukraine in Lviv. An
undisclosed number of documents were reported missing during a routine review of several special funds and collections in the archive.

Throughout Ukraine's recent history, any reports of thefts, fires, and other forms of desecration always sowed ideas of conspiracy in the minds of patriotic Ukrainians, who presumed sinister motives by its occupiers (i.e., the Russians or Poles). The extensive theft at this particular archive remained a prominent news item for several months and soon extended well beyond the confines of the archives' reading rooms. Investigators began rounding up just about anyone, who had visited the archives within the last several years. Literally hundreds of scholars and researchers were summoned and questioned about the nature of their research to ascertain any connection to the recent thefts.

The investigation proved to be public relations nightmare for the state archives and its administration. Employees and administrators of the archives were unable to thwart even the slightest suspicion of the role they played in selling-off artifacts representing the nation's cultural heritage. In effect, the magnitude of the crime reinforced growing public discontent with the state's inability to protect its history.

Discovery of the thefts began ceremoniously several months earlier at another archive in the state capital of Kyiv, far away from where the thefts were first reported. Then presidential candidate and acting Prime Minister Viktor Yanukovich, a noted collector of antiquities, arranged a national media press conference and photo-op event to present a special "gift to the Ukrainian people." The head archivist in Kyiv accepted a plain folder filled with original papers and letters by some of Ukraine's most venerated
public figures including Ukraine's first president Mykhailo Hrushevskyi (1866-1934). Yanukovich was proud of his acquisition. It was reported that the Prime Minister made a “duty free” purchase of these original papers from a French bookseller. The acquisition only cost him less than fifty “zelenykh” or greenbacks during one of his many trips to the European Union.

Archivists around Ukraine were immediately tipped-off by the dubious origins of the papers. The insignificant celebratory event suddenly reignited a larger national discussion on the state of culture heritage in Ukraine. Artifacts and documents from several archives including the Lviv’s Historical Archive were beginning to turn up with greater frequency on the Ukrainian black market. The thefts fueled even more speculation of the existence of an organized crime ring in the nation’s most venerated institutions. The crisis raised questions about the legitimacy and authority of the Ukrainian government and its ability to secure the nation’s history. Aside from the incredibly high dollar value, the thefts at the archives symbolized even greater social discontent at the national level.

The scandal, referred to in the media as the “arkhivna sprava” or the “archive affair,” brought about an immediate directive from the State Archives commission to close public access to affected state archives for an undetermined period of time to allow archivists to review their collections. Native and foreign scholars, who had planned to

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60 The total dollar amount loss reported just at the historical archives in Lviv totaled tens of millions of dollars.
conduct research at Ukrainian archives during this audit, were subsequently turned away.\textsuperscript{61}

The scandal became a veritable issue for the newly elected Ukrainian president Viktor Yushchenko, who inherited the scandal from the previous administration. His campaign speeches underscored a new approach to governance, which would emphasize greater transparency in the decision making processes. However, these unfortunate incidents at the archives were followed by conspiratorial accusations and the existence of a fifth column within the organization. Several nationalist organizations equated the theft as an extension of corruption from the previous governing administration. One of the representatives from the civil society association \textit{PORA (It’s Time)} stated bluntly: “The “archives affair” is one of those manifestations of \textit{kuchnism},\textsuperscript{62} which organizations like ours have been fighting against since the very beginning. When the theft of national heritage by its leaders is supported by a passive law enforcement, which in turn is determined to place all blame on innocent people, and at the same time continues to say there are no problems. This abuse of power is no longer is simply a professional matter for historians, but is relevant to the entire community.”\textsuperscript{63}

\textsuperscript{61} In some instances, the archives did allow scholars to visit their reading rooms. However they were only given access to the collections’ findings aids. My research too was affected by these sudden closures. These developments did not bode well for others who relied on primary sources. To my dismay, I learned from several non-Ukrainian scholars used special connections with the directors at these affected institutions were still able to access these collections in spite of the restriction. My Ukrainian colleagues were enraged by this inequality among local scholars, who were left standing literally outside the walls of the archive protesting the decision in the gray autumn air.

\textsuperscript{62} Leonid Kuchma was the second democratically elected president of Ukraine, who served between 1994-2005.

\textsuperscript{63} \textit{PORA} is a civil society watchdog organization created in 2004 to monitor the abuses of power by the Ukrainian president’s political circle of associates. These investigations
Calls for resignations at the highest levels of the archive administration were being made in newspaper op-ed pieces and open letters to the editors. The issue had also been raised by critics representing the older generation of activists like the seshtydesiatnykyk or the sixtiers, who equated the theft of archives as an aggressive assault by current anti-Ukrainian, pro-Russian government policies similar to those experienced in Ukraine between the 1960s and 1980s. Another group of influential scholars found the theft and the poor handling of its investigation indicative of more fundamental problems found within state archives and the nation since Ukraine’s independence. They believed that the archive as it currently exists can no longer perform its basic custodial function of preserving historical and cultural heritage due to the social and economic transformations, which have been taken place since 1991. These institutions and their processes, the historians believe, must be reformed to reflect a growing need for greater access and transparency.

The first to experience the burden of these thefts were of course the archives’ employees and its patrons. As noted above, most state archives were closed indefinitely until a thorough audit of its collections was completed. This meant the archives’ funds would be inaccessible by researchers for several months. Similarly, the employees, who first reported to the authorities that their collections had missing materials, were placed on administrative leave due to negligence. Whistle-blowers and critics of the archives’ management were also silenced by being place on administrative leave. With so little information reported about the full extent of the theft by the archives and the questions included several high-profile cases such as the murder of online journalist Georghi Gongadze, who reported regularly on the corruption in the Kuchma government administration.
they raised (e.g., by whom the thefts were committed, how long have these archives had being pillaged), the archives were engulfed by a full-scale public affairs crisis, which continued to feed upon itself (as seen with the protests at the Hotel Hetman). The director and her employees admitted that it would be difficult to determine what was stolen at the archives, how much of it was stolen, how it was stolen, or even how long the thefts had taken place. The archives lacked a complete inventory of what was in collection. These facts sustained an overall feeling of helplessness, which resonated with the general state of affairs throughout all sectors of society since the dissolution of the Soviet Union.

The closed meeting at the Hetman Hotel helped set off a series of events, which resulted with even greater criticism placed at the president’s desk of newly elected Victor Yushchenko’s, whose campaigns included greater transparency and openness in governance. However, as one individual commented wryly to me: “until things truly change where Ukrainians can truly be stewards of their own culture, and disregard the long-time tradition of finding solutions through “kum-partia” [“godfather party”], things will just remain unchanged.”

The Wealth of a Nation

In his comprehensive work *Capital*, Marx begins his analysis of the commodity-form with a conclusion: the wealth of all societies engaged in the capitalist mode of production is reflected by “an immense collection of commodities.” (Marx 1990:125) Marx’s analysis is based on the premise that capital has an internal dynamic that is responsible for the social historic processes leading up to the rise of industrial capitalism in the mid-19th century. As a social historic account of the commodity-form, Marx
situates his analysis within the social malaise of the period, which is fraught with general
discontent of the laborer, the length of the working day, unfavorable work and living
conditions, and the rise of unemployment. This chapter will examine a moment of
transition: the emergence of hybrid forms of capitalism in post-soviet Ukraine since its
independence.

The irony of Ukraine’s transition at least in terms of Marx’s evolutionary account
is that a socialist system hastily introduced in the early part of the 20th century is now
reversing itself and re-engaging a free market system. The social paradigm that a
government requires complete control of its economy in order to provide for the welfare
of its citizens cannot be applied to an independent nation-state like Ukraine. Indeed, the
social protections that the previous Soviet system offered its citizens no longer hold true
with the current economic, political and social system. Plagued by constant emigration,
an increasingly aging population, and a negative birthrate, today’s Ukraine is prefacing
capitalism’s crisis even before capitalism has been fully implemented. As one
consequence, its citizens live in a social environment that is structuring itself in ways that
have few analogies in the West.

Enough time has passed since the introduction of a free market system into the
former Soviet republics to examine the social and historic processes being unfolded. Like
Marx’s historical and cultural account of capitalism, this chapter shares the same goal of
examining the social repercussions of the radical economic transformations that have
gripped Ukraine for the past 20 years. However, this chapter will begin with more modest
goals of identifying some of the key factors in the process of this economic transition and
their effects on cultural heritage. In order to analyze the current economic and social
conditions in Ukraine, I address the question of social imaginaries: specifically, how the
market system, citizen-state, and the public sphere interact with one another to create a
form of capitalism specific to Ukraine’s social and historical development. Similarly, I
will examine how existing forms of exchange fundamentally affect the way entrepreneurs
are adapting to the risks associated with the free market system.

1. The Social Imaginaries

In *Modern Social Imaginaries*, Charles Taylor introduces in his discussion on
modernity the concepts of moral order and social imaginaries, which underlie the social
practices of a society. Moral order is a performative process by which people as members
of a social collective reaffirm their rights and obligations to one another. Social
imaginaries are an extension of this notion of moral order in how the resulting
relationships work themselves out within this social realm. Taylor examines three types
of collective agency in Western terms: the emergence of the modern citizen-state, the
formation of public opinion or the public sphere, and the market. These three forms of
social imaginary reinforce one another and are performatively created. In other words,
they are forms of social reflexivity such that the larger collective agency is seen as
created directly by the actions of the social participants. Another important feature is that
these social imaginaries reveal the performative state of a kind of social “contract”
between the social participants. Social imaginary necessitates a collective performativity,
which is implicit in the forms to create a larger social totality in, for example, the public
sphere, the citizen state, and the market.
Taylor reformulates Juergen Habermas’s concept of the public sphere, which describes the emergence of public opinion within “new elements of the new commercial relationships: the traffic in commodities and news created by early capitalist long-distance trade.” (Habermas 1989: 15) What is peculiar about this particular facet of the social imaginary is that people are allowed to assemble freely and to formulate and express their opinions without coercion within a political environment. These discussions become part of a national conversation that provides legitimacy to the governing powers.

The creation of the modern citizen state is another form of the social imaginary. Taylor bases his argument here on Benedict Andersen’s work *Imagined Communities* (Anderson, 1993: 36). This form relies on the idea that people are engaged in a certain type of collective activity, for example the reading of a novel or newspaper, by which they imagine themselves connected to other people doing the same activity. The emergence of an imagined community occurs through the dissemination of *print capitalism*, which allows for the development of a common identification across different communities. In this case, the individual’s act of reading a novel or newspaper is aggregated into a larger whole, which is an act shared by a multitude of strangers.

Finally, there is the development of the market, through which the conception of moral order is formulated in order to produce a mutual benefit, strong economy, and stability for individuals. The market also acts as an exchange of collective and performative promises. Smith’s notion of the “hidden hand” describes how each individual acts in self-interest that eventually provides a mutual benefit for the whole. Marx reintroduces this idea of a self-regulating economy as a social totality.
Heilbroner offers in his book *The Nature and Logic of Capitalism* an alternative perspective of capitalism as an analysis of the social system. Capitalism is part of a social and historic development that creates institutional structures, which have an inherent ability to re-create itself ceaselessly. Heilbroner defines capitalism as “the use of wealth in various concrete forms, not as an end in itself, but as a means for gathering more wealth.” (Heilbroner 1985: 35) Like Marx’s assessment, capitalism is a dynamic system of perpetual processes of conversion, These processes encompass productive labor and drive an ever-expansive system of extraction, dominance, and power.

2. **Collections before the fall**

Ian paused a moment and continued the story of his run in with the state authorities. In the 1970s, Ian was at the height of what he euphemistically called a kind of "professional hobby." He was in the business of selling recordings on audio cassette tapes of Western music.

Ian’s day-job was at the conservatory, where he worked as a sound technician in the recording studio. He regularly set aside some time to sit at his table typing out lists of song titles on paper inserts he would later enclose with the audio cassettes he prepared from the latest batch of vinyl records he received from overseas.

He was not exactly moonlighting, but he did use his job as a "krysha" or institutional cover for his non-job related projects. Without this cover, he would be limited in what he would be able to accomplish. The job offered security from scrutiny. I asked Ian how he characterized his line of work: was it simply a business proposition for
him or did he have a sincere interest in the music. It was a little bit of both. He called it a
biznes-khobi or business-hobby: "Without the business side, there would be no hobby;
without this sincere interest in the music, there would be no business." He talked about
how others tried to pursue happiness by providing the same service he did. Business that
run on enthusiasm are destined to fail is what he suggested.

He characterized his role not as a salesman – connecting the right customer with
the product offerings. Rather, he viewed himself as an educator and cultural enlightener.
He was cosmopolitan in his outlook. He frequently made suggestions to his patrons (often
repeat customers) what they should listen to. However, he was not dogmatic. He met with
them, determined what they like, and based on their tastes, suggested music from his
collection. This was the 1970s, when the Soviet state allowed certain ideologically
compatible forms of music to its citizens:

"I had people who wanted an entire album copied from beginning to end. These
were the real die-hard fans of music. Others counted on me to make the musical
suggestions for them.

He created anthologies of recordings, which were numbered consecutively. If they
liked a particular compilation, he would offer them another with similar genres and
styles. If he liked a particular customer, he would sometimes offer them music from his
personal favorites – "music that I truly liked to listen to."

Ian's patrons received a good deal. He charged his clients not by the song or by
type of music being offer. He based his prices on the "generation" of the recording. First
generation recordings were audio tape recordings, which were dubbed directly off the
record. The asking price for first generation recordings were higher than second
generation recordings, that is, cassette recordings, which were re-recorded from reel-to-reel masters. His rationale for the two-tiered pricing was defensible: more time was required for the former process, which also degraded the quality of the album. This pricing scheme somewhat revealed his work process. When he received a new shipment of records, the first order of business was to create a reel-to-reel master of the entire album.

Ian’s patrons would have access to some of the hottest acts in jazz and rock-n-roll, and eventually in Italian popular music. He admitted that jazz was an elite art form and not for everyone. However, he liked it and sought albums actively in addition to other more popular genres. He remembered holding his first Western pressed album of "Aretochka" or Aretha Franklin.

Ian attributes the success of his business was the quality of recording equipment. Over time acquired the best quality professional recording equipment available. He corresponded regularly with distributors, and equipment folks alike: “I lived at the post-office. The folks there knew me so well that they set up a corner in the office with supplies of twine, and paper."

Ian had clientele across the entire Soviet Union as far as Kamchatka. After learning how he charged clients for the recordings, I asked how people say from the Far East would remunerate him for the recordings.

"Selling recordings was a tricky business at the time. Although a person could send bank orders (perekazy), it was just too risky. It would have raised suspicion with the authorities. Instead my customers would send me things, like a box of candy, or articles of clothing, with some rubles attached somewhere or sewn into the seam. One of the most
interesting methods of payments I ever received was found in a package of taranka or
dried fish, with rubles found in the gut of the fish. People found really creative ways to
hide money."

Ian was also large-scale distributor of Italian popular music. By his own account,
he believed he was the only one in the entire Soviet Union, who supplied Italian popular
music. To have this distinction was not easy. It surprised me, when Ian mentioned that he
worked within the acceptable boundaries of the legal system. He relied too much on
official state-sponsored distribution networks -- primarily the Soviet post office system --
to receive packages of his albums, and send audio recordings to his clientele. At times, he
even challenged the authorities and custom agents to explain why some albums were
delivered, and others were withheld.

Ian’s sound archive was located in his two-bedroom apartment. It consisted of a
several walls of reel-to-reel tapes and albums. These collections would eventually fill an
entire room.

His patrons would knock at his apartment door at all hours of the night, including
the uninvited. “It is funny -- he joked ironically -- when they coordinated the raid on all
the folks selling recordings in our town, they came to my home with a zhyhuli (a small
sedan) to confiscate my reel-to-reel collection. They had to come back a second time with
several larger vehicles.”

Ian also had to work creatively to build his collection. It was in his words a
"tvorchyj protses" or creative process. He learned about new acts and musical genres by
listening to illicit radio broadcasts from the West -- as many other did during this period.
Programs from organizations like Radio Svoboda or Radio Freedom, or Voice of
America, and other similar broadcasts were never completed blocked for long periods of time, because their broadcast frequencies were always changing.

These radio shows informed Ian and others of the recent artistic releases. Based on these newscasts, he would explore further how to obtain this music and share with his friends. The problem at least in the beginning was growing his collection of Western music. It was not straightforward: Where would he find these albums? Whom would he ask to purchase them on his behalf? How would he pay for it? There existed casual groups of music aficionados, with whom Ian would just hang out with. Over time he would learn and hone the skills needed to turn his hobby into a successful business. His greatest asset was his employment at the conservatory. Trained as an engineer at the Lviv Polytechnic Institute, Ian had the credentials to explore this line of work for professional development. As the conservatory's sound engineer, he could provide justification for his extracurricular music activities.

Nevertheless, Ian had a larger problem already alluded to in developing this professional hobby: how was he going to pay for albums imported from the West. Demand never abated for such albums in the Soviet Union, because they were not readily available. Due to the risk associated with acquiring unsanctioned commodities of the West like blue jeans and albums of popular music, they were considered as symbols of status. This was reflected in the price of these items. For example, an authentic Western-pressed album could cost as much as a three-months salary. There
were risks associated with these types of transactions, which usually involved hard
currency.64

He explained that he was always on the lookout for certain commodities, which:
1) were either abundant and easy to purchase in the Soviet Union, and 2) of equal or
greater demand in the United States, which he could send legally through Soviet customs
to the U.S. He recalls the time when he walked into the neighborhood grocery store and
found the shelves almost completely empty of basic food necessities, except for Cuban
cigars:

"There was a time when Cuba and the Soviet Union were really, really close. I
mean for all the oil we gave this tiny country, they would return us the favor with these
fat smelly cigars. No one would smoke these here. There was no tradition of smoking
cigars at least in Lviv. Store shelves had nothing: no bread, no butter, nothing except
these stinkin' cigars. So I discovered very quickly from my friends overseas that there was
a real demand for Cuban cigars in the United States."

Ian started sending wish lists of albums to his friends in the U.S.; they would in
turn purchase these albums and send them as parcels of ten albums to his post office box.
In exchange, he would send boxes and boxes of Cuban cigars. By comparing the lists of
requests he sent to his American acquaintances and the parcels he received, Ian
discovered that some albums were being confiscated at the border crossing.

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64 Ian mentioned just a few examples in the course of our conversations of how Western
tourists would be approached by ordinary people asking them to either to purchase items
in the few hard-currency stores on their behalf or inquire about things they may have to
sell. If caught by the authorities, these individuals could lose their jobs or worse,
imprisoned for illicit activities.
"I know there existed a definitive list of albums or names of groups or something like that, which were supposedly considered too controversial by Soviet authorities, and therefore banned. I never saw this list, but every time I corresponded with these customs folks, they never would divulge what was on this list. Tell me, for example, I've always wanted to know about groups like Kiss or AC/DC. I always wanted to know what these groups represent. Can you tell me? The custom folks never did."

Ian's "business-hobby" ended with the fall of the Soviet Union. He had a hard time competing with the new reigning technology of compact discs. He sold most of his record collection, but kept few favorites. I asked him what followed his business-hobby of selling records in 1991. "I started to sell high-end folk art" - he responded nonchalantly.

Ian's experience with his business-hobby during the Soviet period can be analyzed through Marx's theory of capital.

Marx outlines two archetype forms for the circulation of capital: C-M-C and M-C-M'. In the first form the individual is selling in order to buy; in the second, the opposite is expressed; the individual buys in order to sell for a profit. Since money here is the universal equivalent, the goal as expressed in the latter is no longer a use-value, but an exchange value, in which a continuous process of valorization occurs (Marx 1990: 252).

The problem is how does valorization or surplus value manifest itself when two commodities are engaged in exchange? Circulation for Marx is a paradox: "[capital] must have its origin both in circulation and not in circulation." (Marx 1990: 268) In order to
extract value, the producer must find a commodity, whose use-value is also the source of value. The abundance of Cuban cigars found in the grocery stores of Ukraine served this purpose for Ian.

As related earlier in his analysis, Marx finds this special commodity within labor itself, or labor-power, as the source of surplus value. Labor-power is expressed as a dual entity in relation to the commodity and the social relation. It is both the necessary amount of labor-time to produce a commodity and also a commodity that allows for the subsistence of the property-less laborer (Marx 1990: 274). There must be certain conditions present in order for labor-power to become a commodity and be traded: 1) there must be a market for this commodity; 2) the laborer must be able to sell his labor; 3) the laborer must be offered a means for production.

Thus, surplus value is produced by the difference between amount of abstract labor time invested within the commodity by the laborer and the total amount of costs producing the commodity (fixed costs, raw materials, and wage labor). For Ian the fixed costs were buying Cigars at fixed state prices, the cost of postage.

Surplus value can be increased via the extension of the working day (absolute surplus value) and during a process of increasing productivity, for example, through re-training and improved technology (relative surplus value). Marx discerns that in order for capitalism to work effectively, a society must recognize the market as a legal entity. This market is made up of individual acts of buying and selling that create a totality.

In spite of his collection being confiscated by state authorities, Ian was still able to work legally through his official capacity, which reflected his professional training. It
was not illegal to receive albums from the West. It was illegal to engage in commerce. The customs people would not be to suspect that Ian was trading records for tobacco. These linkages were not apparent by the state. As a savvy entrepreneur, Ian was able to work the system -- so to speak -- to his advantage, provide a service/commodity people lacked, and sustain his business-hobby.

3. The Citizen State
The breakup of the Soviet Union created unprecedented social and systemic changes in the way people conducted their daily lives. Soviet citizens experienced a "planned" life that can best be characterized as stationary, stable, and regimented. Several events, however, upended these social practices and its citizens were left to depend on themselves. The most enduring moment of change was the Chernobyl nuclear disaster, which occurred at a time when the Soviet Union was most susceptible politically and economically with its reform programs of "perestroika" (restructuring) and "glasnost" (openness).

These programs along with the unforeseen social after-effects of the nuclear accident and the devaluation of the Soviet currency created conditions of risk that could not have been foreseen by any of the state planners. The breakup of the Soviet Union was not the result of an unsuccessfully organized coup to topple a liberal soviet regime. Rather, it seems to have been a calculated move by the most elite class of the "nomenclatura" (key administrators, directors, politburo members, military, KGB) to minimize the state's risk of experiencing dramatic systemic change that could result in catastrophic failure. The former republics, which inherited this colossal bureaucratic
infrastructure (and leaving it intact), helped mitigate this potential disaster by softening the risk of a continuing downward economic spiral.

The independence of Ukraine and later the introduction of a free market system came at a crucial time in Ukrainian statehood when national consciousness was cresting against the repressive measures of the Soviet government. Ukrainian citizens voluntarily and overwhelmingly chose to break away from the Soviet Union. A peaceful, overwhelmingly democratic transition occurred in December 1991, several months after the failed coup. A new, officially independent state of Ukraine emerged. The vote for independence was a grand performative event shaped by the ecological disaster of Chernobyl, the economic and political reforms introduced by Soviet administrators in the late 1980s.

In 1992, I was teaching English in a recently opened-to-foreigners city of Sumy in East Ukraine. Then president elect, Leonid Kravchuk, who often was characterized as a “khytryj lys” or the “cunning fox”, moved away from the significant reforms he had promised and collaborated more closely with the socialists and communist factions of the government, who stifled many of the privatization programs. Other programs such as the introduction of a new transition currency (known as “coupons”) to replace the Soviet ruble failed miserably. In the summer of 1992, one US dollar was trading for 25 coupons; by 1996 the US dollar was trading for almost 200,000 coupons. The effects of hyperinflation affected all spheres of everyday life.\footnote{Take for example a commodity like bottled water. Water came in glass bottles that were traded in for a deposit. If the glass bottles were kept for a week or longer during this period of hyperinflation, the deposit returned was more than the original price of the bottled water. The prices for bottled water could not adjust as quickly to the rate of inflation because its prices were set in advance by the government; however the return-}
these issues with a program based on the ideals of civil society, which hoped to increase productivity, improve standards of living, and economic prosperity through a democratic and law-based society.\(^{66}\)

4. The Public Sphere

The political social sphere is based on the idea of an active collective participation of citizens in a process that repeats itself collectively (i.e., the reading of a newspaper or watching a television program). I want to suggest that the folk song acted as this form of public discourse, which applies to Anderson’s (and later adopted by Taylor’s) notion of “print capitalism.” The folk song not only served as a performative instrument of collectivity, but also disciplined the tradition of documenting, promoting, and disseminating folk heritage in Ukraine.

Although there existed a strong interest in folk music traditions of Slavic cultures, most of the songs books of the 19th century published song texts without musical transcription. Even towards the end of the 19th century, most collections of Ukrainian folk music contained only song lyrics.\(^{67}\) This curious phenomenon suggests possible technical limitations of publishing houses of the day and to the fact that folk music at the time was still viewed as a “literary genre.”\(^{68}\) Nevertheless, musical arrangements of folk music
melodies were beginning to become more prevalent as amateur and professional composers were looking to folk melodies as raw materials for their creative projects. These programs later became part of larger movements among composers to improve the accuracy of musical transcription methods. They also provided ethnographic information about the song's origin. It is important to note that musical transcriptions of melodies and eventually their arrangements were extremely popular in the late 19th century. Music historian Olha Osadtsa writes that many folk melodies were published in journals and newspapers in Transcarpathian region that helped start a folk collection movement throughout the region that undermined to some degree the professionalization of the discipline.69

It is not surprising to note that composers were the first group of musicians to begin a serious study of folk music traditions. This was a general trend that was seen in many East European countries in the 18th and 19th centuries. Ukrainian composer Mykola Lysenko (1842-1912), and later Petro Sokalskyj (1832-1887) addressed the feasibility of documenting and studying folk music for its own sake. Although the motivation for studying folk music was closely associated to the desire to create a national school of composition based on native musical cultures, the folk song was considered as the most valuable cultural asset. The folk song was also rendered as an artistic reflection/representation of the long cultural history of everyday village life and its rituals.

69 Ibid., pp 120-121.
Two main tendencies existed with the use of folk melodies by composers. One group sought to improve folk melodies under the guise of Western civilization by making "vypravlenia" or "corrections" to the folk melodies. The other sought to discern the stylistic laws of folk music and discover the melody's authentic characteristics. The latter approach would be instrumental in developing a national musical style. Petro Sokalskyj represented the latter camp. He was harsh with those composers, who attempted to harmonize or arrange folk melodies without any theoretical knowledge of the melody. Published posthumously, *Rus'ka Narodna Muzyka* or *Rus Folk Music* was a key work in the late 19th century, which offered an alternative methods to understanding and applying the inner-logic of the folk melody to contemporary compositional practice. He critiqued imitators of tradition for adapting folk melodies to Western musical traditions (i.e. harmony and rhythm) and suggested through his writing of finding a natural harmony expressed within the melody itself. Mykola Lysenko, Sokalskyj's contemporary, transcribed the melodies of well-known blind minstrel Ostap Veresai and proceeded to develop better methods of arranging folk melodies based on the free improvisatory

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70 See for example: Kvitka, Klyment. "Angemitonni primitivi i teoriya Sokal's'kogo [Anhemitonic primitives and the theory of Sokalskyj]" Etnografichnij visnik UAN, 1928, Book 6, pp. 67–84


nature of the melody and rhythm. Sokalskyj accomplished this approach in his comparison of Russian and Ukrainian folk music traditions by developing a very sophisticated theory of analysis based on the Greek tetrachord system.

Mykola Lysenko’s contribution to the early development of Ukrainian folk music anthology can also be found in the area of transcribing melodies and their arrangements. In addition to his important work on dumy melodies performed by the bard Ostap Veresai, Lysenko also published a set of songs book transcriptions and arrangements that were highly acclaimed among musicians and folklorists alike by their selection and exquisite arrangements.

Klyment Kvitka’s overview of Lysenko’s contribution to folk music studies critiques a Russian folklorist A. Maslov’s assessment of Lysenko’s folkloristic heritage. Besides advocating a re-read of Lysenko’s selection of the folk songs in the collection, Kvitka outlines the need for properly assessing musical text for scholarly (and scientific) research in the 20th century. He shows how to interpret and re-construct transcriptions of the past century that are based on rules and practices found in Western art music, and how these texts of the past can be utilized within the discipline in the present. Maslov felt that Lysenko’s transcriptions were not suitable for scholarly use in the post-phonograph period, because: 1) his transcriptions lacked the accuracy found in contemporary ones; 2) the melodies that Lysenko transcribed were adapted to Western tastes and norms. However, Kvitka questions what is truly a Ukrainian and European sound, and whether this characteristic is dependent on the performer or on the transcriber, as Maslov states.

Kvitka shows that Lysenko compared to other collectors of the period used various criteria for selecting songs. The composer usually included songs into his song collection for artistic and aesthetic purposes to promote Ukrainian folk songs (or to sell books). Nevertheless, Kvitka showed that Lysenko’s transcriptions, even those arranged for piano, still had significant scholarly interest and foreshadow the research interests of ethnographers and folklorists, especially in the area of recording ritual songs.

5. The Practices of Capitalism

Perhaps the strongest indicator that capitalism was beginning to develop in Ukraine was the sudden appearance after independence of a new class of entrepreneurs. Businesses-type organizations known as “cooperatives” existed in a crude form in the late 1980s under Mikhail Gorbachev’s leadership, which tried to implement legislation to encourage such activity. However, these entities were heavily regulated by the government, which restricted what could be produced and traded. By 1992, there were many different forms of business activity, which flourished in Ukraine after these restrictions were lifted. Individuals who were part of the elite class (in the local and/or national government administrations) initiated the earliest forms of business and succeeded in using a sophisticated bureaucratic network to acquire inefficient factories at the expense of the state.

Although state-subsidized production in all the factories was still in place during the early 1990s, no functioning laws were yet on the books at the time to restrict production and trade with non-governmental entities. Therefore, directors of these
companies took advantage of this new business environment and continued to produce and sell state-subsidized commodities while creating lucrative business partnerships, especially with companies in the West. Since the Soviet Union no longer existed, the problem became one of surplus, which often found refuge in the Swiss bank accounts of these former directors.

In 1992 I volunteered to teach ESL in an eastern Ukrainian city called Sumy. The city before independence was off-limits to foreigners. The students I taught English to were young businessmen between the ages of 35-50. Part of my role as a U.S. cultural ambassador included conducting meetings with high-level city administrators and directors. These “business” meetings were very awkward because the expectations for each side was different. One such meeting occurred in the city administration office with the assistant-mayor of Sumy. This government official, who had an academic background in technology, was pitching a business partnership. A ready-to-be-signed contract was even lying on his desk! To the chagrin of my prospective business partner and, perhaps, to the organizers, the only result of this particular meeting were personal assurances to the sponsors that the information would be forwarded to interested parties in Houston.

The point I want to make with this almost comical situation is that there were many instances during the first years of independence that reflected the kinds of business activity taking place at the highest levels of government. Suffice it to say that the government officials and factory directors, who initially protected the interests of the Soviet state by restricting illicit trade during the previous regime, were later to be the first to head the pack of entrepreneurs. Their former positions in government became a real-world advantage in legitimizing their own business activity. As described in Heilbroner's
account of the dominant class, these re-formulated businessmen would in turn use their influence again to create an ideology in the new Ukrainian government administration to secure their elite position in society and restrict free competition.

In the summer of 1995, I joined an Internet start-up company called SDA Technologies. In my search to find an Internet Service Provider [ISP] I was referred by a friend to the director of this company, Yaroslav. The office of his small company was located in one of the headquarter buildings of a large political party called “RUKH” (literally meaning “movement” in Ukrainian) adjacent to the Higher Music Institute, where I was studying. After visiting his office, the director directed me to an ISP he used in his business. Through Yaroslav’s referral I was able get this service for “free”.

Yaroslav founded his company in September 1991. He first sold an electronic relay service that used email to transmit messages overseas. He later developed a business based on the unpredictability of exchange rates of the “coupon” within the city limits. It was a simple procedure, but one that was labor intensive. It required daily phone calls to over one-hundred currency exchange booths around town. He convinced several privately-owned banks to subscribe to this information. The rates of exchange for US dollars fluctuated immensely throughout the city. This kind of field information helped banks determine their exchange rates. Later he provided this information on the Internet in the form of a weekly digest.74

Throughout the years of developing his business, Yaroslav’s company had many challenges especially with office space. Because most of the property was still state-owned, Yaroslav had to rely on his contacts within political organizations like RUKH to

74 See for example: http://www.lviv.uar.net/~sdatech/ufm/eng.html
sublet space. When his contacts at the organization were no longer in power, Yaroslav was again looking for office space. Fortunately, Yaroslav also had close connections within the Ukrainian Republican Party (URP) and again was provided with some office space.

What Yaroslav used to get this space and other services was a system called "blat". "Blat" is a system of informal exchanges and favors that gave an individual access to scarce resources or limited services. It’s a system that developed under the Soviet regime during times of chronic shortages. Another important social feature or requirement of this system of exchange is that the items and services are acquired for free, that is without any exchange of money. Of course this term "free" is used within a defined context, because an individual who successfully uses the "blat" system to gain access to scarce goods and services presumably also has ties to a different set of relationships where such other resources can be acquired. The key within this system is found in the knowledge of networks of agency. Thus, many social relationships are based on individuals having "blat" or direct access to individuals with power and influence who can help expedite a solution quickly and efficiently.

"Blais" are also transferable and they expand exponentially. For example, the director of the company, whom I approached for Internet access, had acquaintances working at the ISP. Through his referral or "blat", he arranged for me to get email service at no cost. Such incidences about "blat" abound in the daily lives of Ukrainians and show how a system of exchange based on the Soviet model of regulating access to scarce resources have been appropriated and applied to the private sector during a period of transition into a free-market system.
For a small privately owned company like SDA Technologies, "blat" played an integral role in its very existence (i.e., access to very limited office space in Lviv and other related services).

Another form of "blat" is its commodified version or the bribe. As the system of "blat" integrates itself more into the social organization of the private sector, it becomes important to have as many connections as possible to improve the chances of survival. Under Soviet Law, bribery was a crime, which could be punished by demotion or firing. Although the bribery system always had existed, individuals in very high places were wary of conducting business in this form. Under the Ukrainian system, a bribe ("vziatka") like "blat" part of everyday life especially in social interactions that determine the future status of an individual or an organization, for example, bribing bureaucrats to ignore recently enacted laws that possibly have been broken.

The Ukrainian taxman perhaps reaps the largest amount of unofficial monies through the bribery-blat system of any government official. Unannounced bi-annual or more frequent visits by the tax assessor are certain to bring a company down. The Ukrainian tax laws are a bane to private business. So numerous and ambiguous are these laws that they pose the greatest and gravest challenge to the small private enterprise in Ukraine. Frequent visits by the tax collector often meant it’s time to “pay up” if the company wanted to avoid the consequences of a thorough audit. In the case of SDA Technologies, the company had 8 employees on staff, of which half were employed to do the company’s accounting. After all the taxes had been calculated and paid out, the company made only $0.10 on the dollar -- the tax rate almost approached 90%. Although
SDA had a dedicated team of accountants watching the books, there were times when a bribe or small gift would ease the inspection process.

Conclusion

This chapter examined the cultural dimensions of radical economic transformations that have been occurring in Ukraine since its peaceful secession from the Soviet Union in 1991. It tried to focus on the conditions that allowed capitalism to emerge and how the citizens are adapting to these changes during this period of economic transition. Using examples related to ideas of multi-heritages as an expression of the well-being of an individual, (Gilman 2010: 21) I show using Taylor’s notion of modern social imaginaries, Marx’s analysis of capital, and Heilbroner’s formulation of ideology, how new systems of social interaction are manifested, expressed, and developed.
On March 4, 1994 an agreement was signed between the United States and Ukraine outlining how each government will protect cultural heritage of its national minorities. This agreement was particularly timely as countries of the former Soviet Union began to establish their national agendas as they move forward with democratic and economic reforms. The tenor of this agreement was outline as such:

"Each Party will take appropriate steps to protect and preserve the cultural heritage of all national, religious, or ethnic groups." 75

With reference to the 1972 Convention for the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage, cultural heritage used the agreement was defined as "places of worship, sites of historical significance, monuments, cemeteries, and memorials to the dead, as well as related archival materials." (Ukraine, U.S. Dept. of State 1994: 3)

In particular, the agreement made explicit the United States' desire to ensure that Ukraine will continue to preserve the cultural heritage especially of the victims of genocide during the Second World War. The agreement also outlined steps that each country will "ensure that there is no discrimination, in form or in fact, against the cultural

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heritage of any groups or against the nationals of the other Party in the scope and application of its laws."

Almost 10 years after this law was enacted, Ukrainian documentary film director Sergey Bukovsky was commissioned to produce the first full-length documentary on the Holocaust in Ukraine called *Nazvy Svoje Imia* or *Spell Your Name*. Bukovsky's creative examination of survivors' testimonies from the Shoah Visual History Archive (SVHA) shows how archives are increasingly being used to cope with inherited *national* tragedies and begin a process of reconciliation. Here I apply Charles Taylor's analytic categories of moral order that underlie the notion of the social imaginary as a collective performative shared by specific constituents of the nation-state. In other words: "how people imagine their social existence, how they fit together with others, how things go on between them and their fellows." (Taylor 2002: 106) Bukovsky foregrounds an ethnographic method to explore shared historical and cultural experience within emerging post-Soviet civil societies. His documentary introduces the ethnographer's frame of reference as a method to begin to address the anxieties associated with the topic of the Holocaust, which has long remained taboo within the formation of a Ukrainian national consciousness.

The Shoah Visual History Archive is a repository containing testimonies of the life experience of ordinary people, who lived through the horrible events known today as the Holocaust. The archive was started by American film director Steven Spielberg in 1994 after the directing the film *Schindler's List*. A world-wide effort was initiated to record the testimonies of Holocaust survivors, death-camp liberators, and other groups affected by horror of the period. Among 52000 video interviews that were completed over a five-
year period in the mid-1990s, Ukraine has after the United States the highest number of interviews of Holocaust survivors represented in the archive – 3433.76

My experience with the Shoah Visual History Archive began in the fall of 2003. Rice was one of several higher education institutions collaborating with other universities to co-host the enormous digital archive. Using powerful university servers, this archive streamed out digital video to its subscribers. At the time, a pilot study was being initiated in collaboration with several departments at Rice including the Department of Anthropology. Students and scholars alike were given access to these video testimonies via a broadband network connection on campus.

My scholarly interest was associated with earlier fieldwork I conducted in Western Ukraine, a geographic area shared by many ethnic groups including Germans, Jews, Poles, and Ukrainians in villages between the towns of Brody and Zolochiv.77 Historically, these villages (about 50 in all) had served as the ancestral homes of these various national minorities. I conducted fieldwork in this area during the 1990s. During interviews, there were numerous references describing the vibrant interethnic communities in these rural settings. However, due to the events associated with the Second World War, most Poles, Jews, and a significant number of Ukrainian families (Rusyny or Ruthenians as they referred to themselves) were forced to leave these areas. Many native Ukrainians return to their ancestral homes after World War II. Many Poles and Jews, however, emigrated permanently. The Shoah Archive was yet another resource

76 For interview totals from other countries, see http://college.usc.edu/vhi/collectingtestimoniesworldwide/
77 Both towns are located in Lviv Oblast.
of testimonies, which could provide additional insight to this complicated historical period.78

As I watched these testimonies on the computer monitor, I unwittingly found myself creating a barrier between the experiences I was listening to and the ones I began to re-narrate, especially those I collected in Western Ukraine. Although I understood the words and stories of these individuals—whether on the screen of a video interview or its transcript—they remained for me simply impressions. I began to think about the question: how can we begin to merge these barriers between the experiences we study in an archive like the Shoah Archive and the survivors’ very personal experience? If “studying” the testimonies of survivors is our only way to recreate such tragedies of the past, what knowledge do exist, which can be imparted to future generations?

Ultimately, I found myself with the problem of recreating these events by resurrecting the memory of the lives of individuals. They all share fateful turns of events that allowed them to provide testimonies for future generations. Attempts are undertaken to salvage or rescue cultural heritage from oblivion through memories and make sense for ourselves of a historical event that should never have happened. In spite of the fact that human tragedies prior to and since the Holocaust have not diminished either in size and/or scope, the testimonies found in the SVHA simply become a way to become privy to the horrific experiences of ordinary individuals. These individuals have been provided an opportunity to share their story and open a window into the memories of everyday suffering experienced during and after the Holocaust.

78 Western Ukraine during the Interwar period was part of Poland’s newly-configured eastern front.
Memory institutions like the Shoah Foundation have made it possible to access such testimonies within a very structured framework. However, they nevertheless pose a problem of limiting our understanding of these experiences. In an address at Rice University several years ago, Douglas Greenberg, the executive director of the Shoah Foundation, related in his lecture the limits of our understanding of the Holocaust even with this incredibly large archive of testimonies. One survivor's tale he recalls is the incredible luck that can only be known in hindsight. In this particular example, the survivor Henry saves himself from death because he knew how to play the harmonica: “Henry once told me: if you want to understand the Holocaust, you will not understand it by hearing me. The only ones who truly understood it are dead. The victims knew what the survivors will never understand, and their voices will never be heard.”

Thus, one of the tasks of this exploration is to understand how archival recordings such as survivors’ testimonies of the Shoah are being used to impart these experiences, and discern how such experiences are incorporated into subsequent narratives that describe events of the past – for example, the differentiation between being a witness of the archive, the retelling of stories found within the archive, and actually being there.

We spell our name in the beginning

There is an ethnographic, almost anthropological quality about Sergey Bukovsky’s most recent film about the Holocaust in Ukraine Nazvy svoye im’ja or Spell

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79 Lecture delivered by Doug Greenberg, President and CEO, Shoah Foundation, entitled “Henry's Harmonica: Memory and History in a Genocidal World” on February 10, 2005 at Rice University.
Your Name.\textsuperscript{80} While grappling with the complex events of the Holocaust, the director examines the process ("the long journey") of making the documentary about the Holocaust the fulcrum to pry deeper, more reflexively through the complicated period of a shared Ukrainian-Jewish history. Interestingly, the viewer (hljadach) of the film becomes a complicit eyewitness of Bukovsky's process of making a documentary about the making of the film, while the director himself remains simply an eyewitness of the process of re-creating the archive of the Shoah.

It is hard to even begin to appreciate the challenges of creating a documentary film about the Holocaust in Ukraine. Except for a few notable examples of artistic works from the Soviet period (e.g., Dmitri Shostakovich's use of Yevgeny Yevtushenko's poem Babi yar in his Thirteenth symphony),\textsuperscript{31} there existed no tradition as found in the West about openly engaging the theme of the Holocaust in Soviet and, for that matter, post-Soviet Ukraine. Alvin Rosenfeld shows how the Shoah accommodates "historical memory to contemporary political needs:"

Each national cinema exhibits its own modes of representation as they have evolved from cultural tradition. When images and narratives are shared by both memory and cinema, the mode of past representation -- in terms of stylistic decisions -- is not simply a matter of aesthetic choice; it also implies a claim to being the proper approach of representation and hence the appropriation of memory. (Rosenfeld 1997: 39)

However, the tragic events surrounding the Holocaust for all practical purposes have not been fully addressed in any public discussion. This is not the only historical tragedy that has been overlooked. Since Ukraine's independence, even topics about the Holodomor

\textsuperscript{80} Bukovsky, Sergey. 2006. Spell Your Name. USC Shoah Foundation Institute.
(The Great Famine of 1932-1933) and Ukrainian Resurgent Army remain controversial. The Holocaust in Ukraine and, specifically, the fate of Jews during Second World War in the territories of contemporary Ukraine remains, if not taboo, a topic not wholly addressed.

As related above, my own research and field work of folk traditions in the Western Ukraine eventually led me to the SVHA. Interviews with individuals growing up before WWII revealed references of a vibrant Jewish cultural life in villages and rural areas. However, these discussion were almost absent from any engage public discussion. Large towns like Brody and Zolochiv had significant Jewish and Polish populations until the Second World War. My interest in the Shoah archive came later after conducting fieldwork in villages of Lviv Oblast, where there were many villages with significant interethnic compositions. Interview after interview, there were indirect references of Ukrainian and Jewish families interacting in informal and formal gatherings especially during seasonal holidays (e.g., caroling) and family celebrations (e.g., Jewish and Ukrainian musicians playing at weddings). The Shoah archive did in fact contain almost two dozen interviews of individuals, who grew up in this geographic area. Their descriptions of growing up during the Interwar period (1919-1939) confirm similar experiences I collected from my fieldwork.

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82 My field work in the region occurred between 1994 – 1999, which also coincides with the period that ethnographers working with the Shoah project were conducting their interviews with survivors in Ukraine.
83 A future study is planned to compare how the descriptions of survivors of the Holocaust interviewed in Ukraine relate to the description of Jewish survivors from the same region, who emigrated to the United States.
While studying Bukovsky's documentary and his utilization of survivors' testimonies from the Shoah archive, I began to consider what would be an appropriate creative use of these interviews. How would the director's cinematographic repertoire be used to depict these tragic events in a way that contemporary Ukrainian audiences would be able to connect with a shared past and collective memory? (Baer 2001: 496)

Sergey Bukovsky's film *Spell Your Name* was premiered in Ukraine's capital Kyiv in the fall of 2006. Information about the upcoming premiere was already circulating in the mass media. The film was co-produced by Ukrainian businessman, philanthropist, and sponsor Victor Pinchuk, and film director and founder of the Survivors of the Shoah Visual History Foundation, Steven Spielberg. The autumn premiere of the film was itself major news in Ukraine. It was attended by prominent Ukrainian politicians, businessmen and artists including Ukrainian presidents Victor Yushchenko and Leonid Kuchma. Steven Spielberg, for whom the travel to Ukraine marked the first time he had visited the land of his ancestors, also attended the debut. The film was later broadcast on national TV several months later on May 8 on Den pobedy or V-day.

While a thorough analysis of the film has been explored in several reviews in Ukrainian news publications, this chapter will examine the influence of the archive on

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84 Although Sergey's Bukovsky's film Spell your name has premiered in several countries in Europe, it is still not available for wide viewing in the United States.
85 Spielberg's grandparents came from the southern port city of Odessa
86 See for example the article in the Ukrayinska Pravda: http://www.pravda.com.ua/articles/4b1a9bfe7f3e/, which discusses the viewer experience of watching the film.
the form and development of the documentary as well as the director's use of the survivors' testimonies to recreate a collective experience of this tragedy in the present.

"When I sat on the train, I didn't know how this journey through time and space would end," spoken hesitatingly by the director to a series of sound bites from survivors' testimonies. The brief episode was followed by interviewers asking the survivors to "spell your name." There are antiphonal responses of letters spelled out, punctuated by accented pauses. There is defiant confidence in their voices.

The film opens with a scene of a common reference point and metaphor of daily existence in the post-Soviet realities -- the long train ride. The scene suddenly moves to some apartment in Ukraine -- perhaps the director's. It is lined with computer workstations and a number of young women. They are the director's assistants watching their computer screens and listening to something through their headphones. At the same time, they are transcribing the shared experience of listening along to the survivors' testimonies from the Shoah archive. The faces of the students transcribers move in and out as the actual interview with a survivor is being conducted. And we are subsequently introduced to several interviewees: they describe their youth, what Jewish life was like prior to the war, and how their stories begin to change for the worse. The camera pans an open courtyard outside the apartment window. The season is winter.

The director provides more insight that this film will be less about numbers and statistics, as most Soviet citizens are accustomed to: "We lived in a country where everything was counted in millions." Bukovsky provides a social commentary on the Soviet state's preoccupation with generalities. He offers one simple example: the address
on an envelope to a friend, in which traditionally one lists first the country, then the city and oblast, street number and name, and finally, the name of the individuals.

Sergey Bukovsky is considered one of the premiere Ukrainian directors of documentaries. Early in his career, the director had the reputation of challenging the dominant ideological line of the times by critiquing the human condition through an expression of visual poetry. He was especially fond of depicting the failings of government institutions. This was no accident. The documentary film industry in Ukraine always had difficulty resolving the issue of funding. After Ukraine’s independence, budgets were cut even further. Documentary film making also had an image problem primarily as an ideological tool of the Communist party. Since 1991, Bukovsky led a creative campaign to rehabilitate the documentary film from these associations with the past regime. For example, Bukovsky tackled complicated historical periods in Ukraine's recent past, notably the Second World War. His dramaturgical process seems unrelentingly objective by featuring competing perspectives of a complicated and tragic story of Ukrainians fighting one another for the same cause, but with different goals: the first--independence from Imperialist Russia, the latter from fascist Germany. As in the case of his multi-series documentary Vijna. Ukrayins’kyj rakhunok or War. The Ukrainian cost, Bukovsky was not about to convince eighty-year-old men who was the victor in this war. Nevertheless he felt is especially important to show the younger generation for whom and for what ideas these men of war were fighting.

In a sense this particular proposed balance of perspective epitomizes what is more important for Bukovsky as seen in his attempts to describe the lives of ordinary people.
When another interviewer from the Ukrainian daily newspaper asks him, what is pravda or truth in a movie, which can be rephrased as, what is authentic, the director responds: “it is when tragedy befalls the heroes. When you begin to sympathize with them, worry with them… If in a series about war, everyone is somehow affected, whether on the left or on the right, then this will be truth.” [CITATION]

It is these qualities of not emphasizing one particular side of the story, and his highly acclaimed technical abilities to realize these intentions, which probably were important reasons for Pinchuk and Spielberg to select Bukovsky for this project. His approach to this subject matter and the individuals depicted are hinted at in the interview techniques and presentations in earlier films. For him the hero has an everyman quality that an Ukrainian, post-Soviet audience member can easily associate and sympathize with and, simultaneously, collectively worry about their fate. It is the combination of the director’s ethos and his sincere human interest in their aspirations that he finds this motif the basis of his creative process in the documentary film.

“For me, it seems that the goal of documentary films and acted films (ігрове кіно) -- you shouldn’t differentiate them in this respect -- lies in how your attempts to return to the person that quality, that which was taken from them before -- their self-respect. At least this should be done within the framework of a film” [CITATION]

Furthermore, the emphasis on the lives of everyday individuals, which the audience can more easily identify with:

“A normal person. Not an incomplete person. Not a marginal person. But a normal human being, who wants something from this life. Who aspires to something, a goal-oriented individual. A person, who asks questions of being, not simply about one's well-being...This is what I find interesting for me to film and show." [CITATION]
What differentiates Bukovsky’s previous work from his current projects (since completing the project *Spell Your Name*, Bukovsky has just completed a documentary about the Ukrainian genocide of 1932-33) is his reliance on the archive. *Spell Your Name* mimics to a greater degree the structure and form of interviews found in the SHVA. Anyone who has listened to the testimonies in SVHA will discern a definite form and overarching structure of the interview – especially dictated by its chronology and organization. It develops from the earliest memories of childhood to a catharsis of survival. Interviewees talk about the cultural life prior to the world war, questions about Jewish cultural life, and often ethnic relations, as well as facts about family members. Bukovsky follows this pattern throughout the film with some adjustments - beginning with impressions and memory of a vibrant Jewish cultural life, later to be shattered by German occupation, stories of survival and courage of their rescuers.

The genesis of the idea to create a documentary film about the Holocaust came while Pinchuk was visiting with Spielberg on the movie set of *War of the Worlds*. The project was conceived not only as a production of a documentary film, but as a larger, more sustainable project to raise awareness of the events of the past. In addition to the film, a textbook *Na zustrich pamiati (In Meeting With Memory)*, prepared for middle school students has since been produced. Currently, themes from the film *Spell Your Name* are being introduced in history lessons as part of school curriculum.

The herculean task of cataloging these interviews recently became a reality thanks to several technological solutions that have helped to improve access to the archive's testimonies. The interviews Video segments of each interview are coded by themes and
keywords, thanks to the uniformity of the interview structure. Interviewees were provided special instructions on how to conduct the interview as well as set of questions which emphasize chronological sequences of a person's biography beginning with Jewish cultural life and events leading up to the war. This structure allows for multiple uses of the archive. For example, as described above, I used research of cultural heritage, specifically music traditions in village in Eastern Galicia, the archive provides a thorough account of Jewish cultural life and ethnic relations during Interwar years.

I provide this basic background information about the archive simply to illustrate that the dramatic structure of the film Spell Your Name closely follows the interview format of survivor testimonies. This allows the director to introduce several survivors and enhance the story with additional perspective from the same time frame (e.g., pre-war period).

Within the documentary, the narratives are ordered in this way from various points of view. In many cases, Bukovsky interrupts these stories and reincorporates them within a contemporary setting in which this exploration takes place, the making of a documentary film. What is relevant and effective in my view is the way in which the director narrates what is happening to him while considering these experiences, without the viewer (audience) ever viewing his face, and juxtaposing his commentaries with the three contemporary heroes of the film -- his three assistants, who are transcribing the interviews throughout the film's narrative. The audience watches how these young urban women react to these stories they are transcribing. Some react to the humor of the storyteller describing his childhood, others are obviously reacting to the experience of the
horror described. The film sequences provide an opportunity for the viewer/audience to sympathize with these young women who are listening and transcribing these testimonies.

There are examples of how in a contemporary Ukraine, there can still lie dormant deep-rooted prejudice regarding how, for example, Jews as an ethnic group differ from other people in the holiday caroling festivities associated with Malanka. What is interesting to note is the director’s incorporation of recent folk celebration of Malanka or the feast day of St. Melania- a winter tradition observed in many parts of Western Ukraine on New Year’s eve on January 13 (Julian calendar). Bukovsky filmed the celebration in the Carpathian mountains. A group of musicians and carolers dress up as characters such as death, the goat, Melania, Cossacks, and the Jew. They act out the stereotypical roles – from a boisterous Cossack, and a light-hearted Melania (who is cross-dressing male), and the bearded, deal-making Jew -- according to suggested rural, but native worldviews. Although hyper-dramatized, Bukovsky plays with this idea of stereotypes as forming the basis of prejudice from the native's performance of acting out these roles. Juxtaposing these categories in contemporary footage -- the folk tradition, the assistants' intimate thoughts of working with these materials, and the survivors' testimonies -- provides a powerful montage.

Even the use and reuse of archival materials such as a folk song to fall into this category of conflicting categories of original and subsequent intention. Bukovsky's film uses music sparsely throughout the film. Most of musical settings rely on natural sounds that are found in the settings in which the interviews take place. There are sparse musical
references in some of the more poetic interludes between chronological sequences of the testimonies. One that struck me as particularly interesting was the use of field recordings that were collected on wax cylinder recordings at the beginning of the 20th century. This is a remarkable use of field sound recordings, which initially were collected at the height of Jewish musical life in Ukraine. In this case, the collection has an interesting history: it was discovered in the basements of Ukraine's Vernadsky National Library in Kyiv after Ukraine's independence. None of the folk song collectors would ever have imagined that their sound recordings of Jewish folk tunes would be used in a documentary film about the Holocaust in Ukraine almost a century later.

Still, Bukovsky extends this episode to explore the assistants' thought processes and how the testimonies are challenging their own worldview in spite of the fact that the events described occurred in the distant past. For example, what could be interpreted as an awkward set of questions and answers becomes a light-hearted humorous exchange even during the most difficult parts of the testimonies (at least this is how the audience reacted at the film's premiere, which was described in a review (CITATION)). One of the assistants states that for her "there is no difference in being a Russian, Ukrainian or a Jew..." When the director asks: "Would you want to be a Jew?" She pauses and clarifies the question innocently – "then or now...no..."

Throughout the film, Bukovsky incorporates the structure of the interview, which begins with the interviewer and interviewee's names. However, it is interesting to note that in most cases, the survivors are never introduced in the film with their place of origin or where these individuals experienced their youth during the war. This suggests that
Bukovsky views acts of evil as not measured or determined as geographic points on a map. Rather, he underscores that they can occur anywhere – in a city, small town, or village.

He also sets up the viewer for the climax of the film, at which he tries to locate the exact location of Babyn Yar. Throughout the film he is searching the answer to this question by always trying to locate the expert-historian to define the boundaries of where the executions took place. It turns out that there are boundaries, but they have been breached by an underground metro and shopping mall.

The ethnographic reach of the archive

There has been a resurgence of Jewish culture and community as well as other national minorities since Ukraine's independence. As Bukovsky recently admitted in an interview about promoting the film and now the educational component of the film in the same areas where the winter ritual Malanka was filmed, which is to introduce the film and address the complicated issues of ethnic tolerance and reconciliation, the film and interviews have turned skeptical audiences - in this case Ukrainian teachers -- to question their own views regarding the events of the Holocaust.

"We arrived in Ivano-Frankivsk oblast (Western Ukraine) for the showing of my film [Spell Your Name] and almost forty unbelievably aggressively poised instructors, suggesting, that you will again show us something about Jews? However, after the viewing of the film, the situation changed dramatically. The effect was equally deep and absolute throughout." [CITATION]
In conclusion, I show the degree to which Ukrainian documentary film maker Sergey Bukovsky has been influenced by the archive of survivors' testimonies in the process of creating shared experience. As an eyewitness of the archive, Bukovsky incorporates the interview form into his film to create a montage of perspectives that enables the collective experience through the use of testimonies. The various reflexive approaches introduced throughout the film – the use of the three assistants to moderate audience experience, the incorporation of shared cultural and traditional experience (e.g., Malanka) or the director's outside commentaries on what is occurring – show the potential of sharing past experience in the form of testimonies and engaging the social imaginary of modern audiences.
Chapter 5
A Field Entry

As an entry into the ethnographic project to study cultural heritage in states of transition, I begin to explore the process of re-imagining the archive through the common processes of creating the finding aid and its relationship to the archive. I start by enlisting the help of the desiring subject – the intern. I interpret the intern as an extension of Claude Lev-Strauss’s figure of the bricoleur. We can follow the intern’s experience of “learning the ropes” in the archives as a way to discern the formation of informed practice. The bricoleur adapts and experiments with diverse collections of objects and ideas or “bricolage” for problem solving in spite of the fact that the skills required to complete the task may be unrelated. In particular, Levi-Strauss introduces the prevalence of different modes of thought including the notion of mythical thought, which acts as a springboard for developing a framework for uncovering a genuine intellectual pursuit. The archivist’s gaze is the juxtaposition of dual modes of thought, which oscillate between observation and reflexivity:

The characteristic feature of mythical thought is that it expresses itself by means of a heterogeneous repertoire which, even if extensive, is nevertheless limited. It has to use this repertoire, however, whatever the task in hand because it has nothing else at its disposal. Mythical thought is therefore a kind of intellectual 'bricolage' - which explains the relation, which can be perceived between the two.” (Levi-Strauss 1966: 17)
Mythical thought in other words is characterized by a creative ability to re-order disparate, yet distinct items within a collection. This mobilization of objects for a given purpose is directed through a defined selection process informed both by personal and social norms. 87

The entry

During the summer of 2004 I was invited to conduct a six-week internship at the American Folklife Center at the Library of Congress (hereafter abbreviated AFC) and develop a finding aid for a collection of early field recordings of traditional music from Ukraine. 88 In the early 1990s, the Maksym Ryl’s’kyi Institute of Fine Arts, Folkloristics and Ethnography [hereafter IMFE] 89 based in Ukraine’s capital Kyiv had lent approximately 200 Edison wax cylinders the Library of Congress for duplication. Since its inception, this particular collaborative project was reported widely in the media.

87 Levi-Strauss distinguishes two modes of thought that underlie the pursuit of knowledge for its own sake and the production of a mental repositories: 1) memory that is influenced by sensible perception and imagination; 2) memory that lacks the senses. The role of myths within this discussion provides some understanding the dynamic process in the way memory is “preserved to the present time, the remains of methods of observation and reflection...precisely adapted to discoveries of a certain type.” (Levi-Strauss 1966: 16) Levi-Strauss characterizes this form of knowledge as a science of the concrete, which is akin to discoveries made though modern science. How is the process of knowledge from the concrete to myths defined? It is a constant process of encoding, decoding and recoding that is contingent on social conditions. Myths always deal with the resolution of paradoxes at the organizational level of societies and provide a systematization of experience and rationalization of practice through their ritualization.


89 In Ukrainian: Institut mystetstvoznawstva, folklorystyky, ta etnohrafiyi im. Maksyma Ryl’s’koho or the Maksym Ryl’s’kyi Institute of Fine Arts, Folkloristics and Ethnography Інститут мистецтвознавства, фольклористики та етнографії ім. М.Т. Рильського (IMFeE /м. М. Т. Рильського ор
especially the Library of Congress bulletin, the Ukrainian Diaspora, including several nationally televised reports prepared by the Voice of America.\textsuperscript{90} The project became a symbol of goodwill for all participants (scholars, archivists, the archive, foundations, and sponsoring agencies) in both countries, who together overcame the enormous bureaucratic and logistical hurdles of securing and transporting large shipment containers of fragile artifacts overseas. This project was initiated during the height of social, political and economic turmoil experienced throughout the Soviet Union. The establishment of the independent state of Ukraine boded well for this project between the AFC and LC and the future of sound archives in Ukraine. One of the most interesting developments regarding this particular endeavor between the two institutions was a flurry of public discussion among Ukrainian cultural heritage specialists regarding the establishment of a national sound archive in Ukraine.\textsuperscript{91}

This was not the first time that the idea of establishing a national sound archives had been raised in Ukraine. Almost 70 years earlier, similar calls for the creation of a state archive in Kyiv were being discussed after the establishment of Office of Music Ethnography at then the recently renamed All-Ukrainian Ukrainian Academy of Sciences. The level of scholarly achievement attained by a handful of specialists working in the newly established Ukrainian Republic in 1917 and the systematic accumulation of field recordings now in its possession was unmatched even by their colleagues in the


\textsuperscript{91} See, for example, Lykhach, Lidiya. "Natsional'nyj arkhiv zvukozapysu Ukrayiny." Rodovid 7, 1994: pp. 3-8
north. These discussions of establishing a central repository or state archive of folk music were the focus of moral, scholarly, and scientific initiatives, which helped coordinate Republic-wide projects within Ukraine’s newly defined administrative borders and later extended beyond geographic and ethnographic boundaries. A wholly different approach was being proposed upon Ukraine’s citizenry that emphasized public and civil discourse in the representative national languages. This environment differed significantly from the previous restrictive policies experienced throughout Russia’s Tsarist rule. Therefore these efforts were strongly aligned with the creation of national and democratic institutions.\footnote{Kvita, Klyment. “Potreby v spravi doslidzhennya narodn'oyi muzyky na Ukrayini.” Muzyka 2-3, 1925: 67-73, 115-121.}

However, these democratic initiatives as seen through the maturation of Ukrainian folkloristics as a discipline within the academic, scientific and social spheres during the Interwar period (1920s-1930s) in reality reflect a broken time line. As Ukrainian ethnomusicologist Olena Murzina noted in a recent address: 

In the late 1920s and through all 1930s the political situation in the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic changed dramatically. National culture and rural life from then on became a field of state policy. Scientific ideas suffered the same control. In the 1920s social range of investigations was a positive feature of ethnology, but in the 1930s this direction gained signs of class and an ideological nature.\footnote{Olena Murzina, “Ukrainian Ethnomusicology Between Two World Wars: Kyiv Ethnological Institutions,” (presented at the 2008 ICTM World Conference, Vienna, Austria). It is interesting to note that the director of the The Office of Musical Ethnography, Klyment Kvita, who was the architect of its prototype sound archive was later forced to “emigrate” to Moscow, where he directed the folklore section of the scientific research Institute at the Moscow Conservatory. He succeeded with government support...}
This period of intense scientific scholarship, public outreach through education, and grand projects to study the cultural heritage of national minorities on Ukrainian lands, as well as the range of social and academic institutions being formed during the 1920s were suddenly obliterated by the Stalin’s reign of terror. The Ukrainian republic never successfully established a national sound archive, which fast forwards us to the present.

In spite of the great opportunities presenting themselves at least in the beginning of a free, independent Ukraine – financial, technical, scholarly and moral support from sponsors and scholars throughout Ukraine and the Ukrainian Diaspora in North America - the attempts to establish a national sound archive the mid-1990s experienced the same unfortunate fate as earlier in the century. Public discussion about this possibility suddenly became muted. Key people involved in facilitating the collaborative institutional project on the Ukrainian side were summarily dismissed. American goodwill reported so widely in the Ukrainian national media fell short of the expectations of participating Ukrainian entities. Institutional relations soured.

95 It is interesting to note that no scholarly work in the discipline appeared in the Ukrainian language for almost a twenty year period after these purges (Krawchiw 1963).

96 In addition to the wax cylinders collection at the IMFE, other significant wax cylinder collections in Kyiv – the Jewish cultural heritage collection at the Vernadsky national library -- and in Lviv -- the collections of Osyp Rozdol’s'kyj at the Lviv State Conservatory, as well as the private field recording collection of Filaret Kolessa -- were being sought after by other notable sound archives including the Vienna Phonogramm Archive, as well as the American Folklife Center at the Library of Congress.

Within this context of the progressive democratic developments in post-Soviet republics, it is interesting to note how the collaborative project to create a shared archive – or in this case to duplicate the collection – reminds us of the failure of another project: the establishment of national sound archive in Ukraine. It supports the hypothesis suggested by Jacques Derrida in his seminal work Archive Fever, which contends that the archive is a space that requires state intervention and control. Thus, the results are eerily reminiscent of previous attempts to create the state archive. It reveals an opposite -- a process of forgetting.

Standardizing forms of practice

The finding aid serve a dual purpose. It can be thought of first as a special tool for outsiders (i.e., patrons) to look inside collections and facilitate the discovery of content. Second, it serves an administrative role for the archive: as a public record to demonstrate intellectual control over the materials in its possession. In her thorough essay on archival technologies, Elizabeth Yakel points out how the finding aid is a fluid tool, which negotiates the internal and external processes of accessing retrievable items. Recently archives throughout the United States have been standardizing the process of describing their collection. However, the finding aid represents a significant moment in the creative act of the archive, which reflects localized disciplinary traditions and

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practices within the institution. Thus an interesting tension reveals itself throughout this process of implementing change from the outside.

During the first days of my internship, my supervisors introduced me to several experts and specialists at the Center (e.g., the archivist, reference and folklife specialists, the processing archivist) – key actors in the formation of archival practice. I realized only later that their indirect involvement in the process of creating the finding aid for the Ukrainian wax cylinder collection was actually far more pronounced than I perceived at the time. For example, I was provided a finding aid template. It lacked content, but contained the skeleton of various fields and rubrics, which allowed me to note information about the collection as they became known to me. I recall the complexity of the document shattering my original thought of a finding aid as a simple a registry of objects and materials in the collection. This naïve view was influenced by my experience creating lists, which showed the arrangement of a collection. I erroneously interpreted this technique of listing collection's contents as the finding aid itself.

At the time I was conducting my internship at the American Folklife Center, discussions on standardization practices of describing archive collections were being addressed by archive institutions in the US. The practice of creating finding aid was developed at archives to overcome the inability to codify non-traditional media using Library standards of description within the archival environment. New standards were
being adopted at both the international and national levels. However, major policies were being developed and implemented regarding descriptive instruments of access. 99

The techniques of creating the finding aid and describing collections were also changing during the time of my internship. This could be discerned even in the large number of terms used among the reference librarians and archivists to describe the finding aid tool. For example, at the time of my internship the terms finding aid, collection guide, search tool were used interchangeably in the reading room, among the archivists, and in print. 100 In the second edition of the ISAD(G): General International Standard Archival Description published by the International council on archives in 2000, the normative term used is finding aid as "the broadest term to cover any description or means of reference made or received by an archives service in the course of establishing administrative or intellectual control over archival material." The terms collection guide or search tool are not listed, at least in the English version of the

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99 This was certainly noticed a difference after completing my internship. I requested a copy of the finding aid I helped develop several years later from the reference librarian, who supervised my work at the center in 2004. Noticeable revisions were made to the original finding aid, and they were not simple edits: the finding aids form of representation changed dramatically. Opposed to the discrete elements and fields, the revisions showed greater nesting of categories within larger categories and heading. There was less redundancy in the descriptive fields. At the time, I recall that I was struggling with ways to represent the same information within the finding aid. There was no longer: 1) a table of contents prefaced the finding aid; 2) The collection summary contained fewer elements, no longer were there fields such as biographical notes, institutional history, contents, summary. 3) the heading Collection became Institutional history; 4) Scope and content, which was relegated to the end of the original finding aid, had a more prominent status at the beginning of the revised edition; 5) Acquisition heading included Provenance and Processing History narratives from the original copy; 6) The container list remained the same, except for additions of new materials and objects found after my internship. In general the newer finding aid had more field to include narratives about the collection. It was a more tightly constructed form, with far fewer disparate elements found in the original collection guide.

100 (See Folklife Newsletter, Summer, 2004. Summer Interns)
document. However, it is interesting to note the variety of ways "the broadest term of description" is interpreted in other languages. For example, among Slavic languages, the term in fact incorporates search into its description: in Ukrainian, the term used is пошукові засоби (poshukovi zasoby), which literally translates as "search tools" in the plural, which is similar in the Czech usage: Vyhledávací pomůcka (pomůcka k vyhledávání), search tool or (tool used for searching). It is interesting to note the difference in Polish and Serbian uses of the term: in Polish: archiwalna pomoc informacyjna, literally archival assistance information, and in Serbian - информативно средство (informativno sredstvo), or informative tool. In the Romance languages, the emphasis too is on searching: for example, in French instrument de recherche – instrument of searching. Perhaps the German usage is most closely aligned with the English with die Findhilfsmittel – finding-help medium or instruments or research tools.\footnote{Further analysis of this term and other technical archival notions (for example provenance), which go beyond the scope of this discussion, may reveal interesting correlations to cultural and institutional norms of archival practices and how information about collections is represented.}

At the time of my internship new standards of describing collections were being adopted at the AFC. I assumed that the finding aid template I was using to describe the collection was a standard document at the Library of Congress, like the cards found in so many card catalogs around the United States. In fact, the finding aid at the Center was also undergoing structural changes -- as was the field itself. In March 2004, a few months prior to my Internship, the Society for American Archivists approved and later adopted a new set of "neutral" rules for archive processing and description in Describing Archives: A Content Standard – DACS for short, which replaced another standard adopted by the
professional organization: *Archives, personal papers, and manuscripts: a cataloging manual for archival repositories, historical societies, and manuscript libraries (APPM)*. The former guide utilized the standards found in the *Anglo-American Cataloguing Rules (AACR2)*, specifically chapter 4, which addresses description rules for manuscripts. *DACS*, on the other hand, offered and adopted standards recently (in 1999) by the International Council on Archives, published in the *ISAD(G): General International Standard Archival Description* by the International Council on Archives (2000). The two documents accent differences of description practices found in libraries and archives, specifically items and objects not typically handled by the former.

Libraries leveraged their prolonged experience with bibliographic description, which became more standardized with the adoption of MARC standards or *M*achine *R*eadable Cataloguing initiated the Library of Congress, whose development in the 1960s enabled standardized bibliographic information to be shared between institutions. This eventually attracted many institutions and the development of large consortia, like the Online Computer Library Center (OCLC). However, they could not account for the various non-biblio-objects and media, etc starting to accumulate in archives. *DACS* addressed these and other issues, which along the incorporation of XML mark-up language used in *Encoded Archival Description* or EAD significantly impacted the work processes of archival institutions. In effect, these new technological and practical developments as they relate to the objects found in these institutions differentiated the archive from the library.

For the library, MARC became the standard tool, which supported bibliographic description at the level of granularity (the "buckets") as they apply to publications and
manuscripts. For the archive, DACS and EAD allowed for the specificity at the container level – the objects found in archive collections – to be itemized accordingly.

Although DACS and EAD have allowed for the sharing of finding aids at the state and regional levels, there still does not exist a national repository of finding aids in the United States, like say the Archive Hub in Great Britain, which was started in the late 1990s.\textsuperscript{102} It is important to note that collection description practices are still specific to the local institution and not standardized nationally. They do not exist necessarily in EAD format and can be on anything specific.

In spite of different practices and more neutral rules introduced in archival description, the function of the finding aid throughout these periods of transformation in practice has remained consistent in previous and current usage. Later publication of DACS defines the finding aid as: "a representation of, or a means to have access to, archival materials made or received by a repository in the course of establishing administrative or intellectual control over the archival materials."

Finding aids as the practice of archiving is changing. The archives rely considerably on archive description practices, which are embodied in the finding aid itself. Although efforts by international organizations like the International Council on Archives have adopted new practices that have enabled archives to apply these practices to their special collections. There are techniques, controlled vocabularies, and other ways of describing the multitude of formats and objects at the level of the item found in the archive that are not typically handled in a library collection of books and manuscripts.

\textsuperscript{102} See for example: http://www.archiveshub.ac.uk/
The other point is that a finding aid is not necessarily electronic (though these new guidelines introduced make this transition from paper search aids to electronic ones). They can be anything inscribed on a type of media, even a cocktail napkin, which will describe the contents of a collection and its relationship to the archive. Recent standards have significantly altered the way finding aids are composed. They are now conceived as multi-tiered, multi-leveled description, which establish administrative and institutional control. Behind this opaque document of rules and practices stands the archivist and institution, which make these collections more accessible to the public. Before jumping head-first into an ethnographic discourse on the creation of finding aid in a specialized collection at the Library of Congress’s American Folklife Center, it is necessary to discuss the development of the finding aid within the US sound archives. The following sections describe an ethnographic perspective of the finding aid with respect to this very special collection of wax cylinders, and how this peculiar document represents the collection itself.

Finding sound in sound archives

When folklorist William Hugh Jansen toured several dozen US sound archives and institutions in the 1950s, he found a common problem. It was one of the first efforts to collect information about archival practices at folk song sound archives. His impressions of this tour are found in the inaugural journal Folklore and Folk Music Archivist [FFMA]:

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No greater chaos can be imagined than that which prevails among the various set-ups which are, or might be, termed folk archives in the United States. At least such is the impression gained by one tourist who inspected more or less intensively some twenty American archives for periods ranging from a few hours to six weeks. Yet that same tourist realized that within each archive there exists its own particular, not to say peculiar, kind of order that makes reason to at least its director and/or founder.103

The author penned this description of cultural heritage sound archives in the introduction of one of the first journals devoted solely to the study of folk music archives. Ironically, this quote, even with the temporal hindsight of half a century, seems even more relevant today as archives begin to crossover the threshold into a Digital Age. The quote also underscores the more significant point that archives are not simply collections of stuff that have been brought together haphazardly or by chance. They are collections that are constantly made and re-made everyday via parallel life-cycles of individuals, amateurs and professionals alike, and the collected sound artifacts. In spite of the availability of information about a collection, whether a digital catalogue and/or finding aid, making collections usable and accessible requires social, historical, technological and cultural components to work concurrently.

This brief overview shows the complicated issue of making collections publically known. They arise from discussions that took place at conferences in the early 1950s (Four Symposia), and resumed afterwards in journal publications throughout the 1960s like the Folklore and Folk Music Archivist. Typically, these tools represented in systems of classification that were being created and adopted in developing disciplines like

folklore studies. This particular issue is still discussed frequently among professionals. For example, at the world conference of the International Council for Traditional Music [ICTM] regional and international digitization projects, like DISMARC [Discovering Music Archives], which strive to create universal databases of existing collections of European Union archives, have evoked heated discussion on what constitutes a useful search tool for sound collections. Is the digital database a tool to find, or a tool to access materials within the archive. The predominant questions are: how do you promote the content of your collections? Are there unified systems of classification?

In the 1950s, a Committee on Archiving was established to identify sound archives in the United States and understand the range of systems of classifications used. There was a lack of agreement on the common principles and practices that should be adopted at these institutions. It was concluded that any adoption of a common system would result in "destructive adaptation" of any of the participating institutions. Wayne State University, which at the time was the testing institutions for archival and processing systems of its collection of traditional music, introduced a decimal division system. Others shared their own specialized systems often based upon accepted practices and authority figures in academic circles. These systems categorized folk songs and other lore collections based on criteria of geographic origins, function, structure, etc. For example Robert F. Spencer's *An Ethno-Atlas* was adopted by Alan Merriam's Laboratory of Comparative Musicology at Northwestern University; George Murdock's *Outline of World Cultures*, which was prepared for the *Human Relations Area Files*, was incorporated by Indiana University Archives of Folk and Primitive Music; Stith Thompson's Tale and Motif numbers from The Motif-Index of Folk Literature was
promoted by academics as the system to be used as part of the archival process. Whatever the case, consensus on the archiving process to allow the contents of any archive to be shared with collectors and scholars remained tenuous. However, in an article about the Indiana University Archives of Folk and Primitive Music, the author was actually one of the earliest proponents of cataloguing and indexing the archive on the level of the collection, which he defines as "a group of recordings of any size received at one time from the same source." (List 1959: 1) This had several benefits, especially making the collection's provenance clear and resolving issues of ownership, access, and copyright.

An outsider looking in

When I arrived at the American Folklife Center in 2004 to develop the finding aid for a collection of early field recording, I was eager to complete this aid and share my experience with friends abroad. Acquaintances in Ukraine, who learned about my internship at the AFC, similarly shared in my excitement, but were mystified by the absence of any news of the completion of the duplication project between the LC and the IMFE, which had occurred more than a decade earlier. Moreover, many Ukrainian folklorists and ethnomusicologists were absolutely convinced that representatives and archivists at the IMFE privatized the collection and sold it to the West.

The archive is an institution that embodies a culture of permanence and to some degree eternal truth. Recent studies on the development and adoption of certain archival practices and technologies of representation suggest however that the archive during (and even after) its formation remains a fluid process informed by political and sociological
As sites of domiciliation, the archive undergoes processes through which it negotiates notions of what is implicitly public and what remains explicitly private as it migrates from one institutional form to another (e.g., the family archive into museum).

I adopt Bruno Latour's and Steve Woolgar's notion of the *observer* in their classic work *Laboratory Life*, which provides a useful methodological principle of understanding how the subject can be unobtrusively situated among the experts and the uninitiated. This back-stage pass to sites of practice allows the subject to refrain from adopting the taken-for-granted human and technological practices observed in shared sites of experience. The argument underscores that this observer possesses a wider field of vision -- one that extends outside privileged spaces of knowledge -- than say, a trained scientist, as a vehicle to understand the cultural processes as defined through everyday practice. 105

This analogy is extended further in this chapter by incorporating another archetypal insider, participant observer -- the intern. The intern represents another ethnographic technique of observation from the contemporary anthropological toolkit as strategically situating the uninitiated into the mundane everyday practices of authorities and experts. This technique is realized in anthropological literature, which has garnered

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interesting insider, often personal perspectives on institutional practices. Aside from the potential for essentialism of cultural forms suggested from direct comparison, the approach offers the possibility that the intern as the give-and-take observer can also be informed during a period of apprenticeship as part of self-discovery by situating the subject with previous practical experience within new cultural and institutional forms of practice. The professional stakes also seem higher than traditional participant-observer accounts of social and cultural contingencies.

While documenting this experience through a journal and later interviewing individuals directly involved in the institutional collaborative project, I later surmised many interesting parallels to the generative ideas being formulated in Ukraine during the 1920s and reformulated in the 1990s of creating a national sound archive in Ukraine. As the Ukrainian wax cylinder collection was being duplicated in Washington D.C., and the collaboration between the two institutions was promoted in various media outlets, a multitude of historical, political and disciplinary narratives began to emerge at the national and international levels regarding wax cylinder collections and the future of sound archives in Ukraine. These discussions gravitated between revisionist historical tendencies, filling in historical “blank spots,” reinterpreting historical periods without the weight of ideological legitimization, and calls for reform of academic disciplines. Beyond the discussions about the feasibility of establishing a national sound archive, the collaboration between the IMFE and the AFC enabled public discussion of these issues

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regarding the sound archive as representative of national will and the democratic transformations occurring throughout Ukraine.

However, as a cultural artifact, the finding aid also posed some methodological challenges as a document used to study and elucidate cultural and institutional practices within a large professional organization. As already indicated, the practice of creating the finding aid eludes interpretation. It is a descriptive enterprise. This remained one of the challenges I experienced in developing the finding aid for the collection. There was a tendency to place stronger emphasis on the cultural aspects and political contexts of the archives' formation, rather than emphasize the ideal archival form of representation. Thus, reflecting upon this experience outlined in my journal, I began to think about the categories of knowledge formation and representation regarding such archival collections. Specifically, how does the idea of emergence, which motivates an interpretive process of surmising forms of interaction between actors, objects, and institutions within the networked spaces they inhabit, relate to the archival activity of mergence – a self-awareness process of compiling information about the things in a collection.

On the first day of my internship I was shown several boxes of “stuff” that had accumulated throughout the six-year collaborative project. The project was promoted by Ukrainians and Americans alike as the most significant cultural heritage collaborative project in the last 70 years. Information about the contents of the wax cylinder

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collection and its provenance remained incomplete. As I began to undertake the task of sorting through boxes of administrative records, correspondence, and sound engineering scripts, it occurred to me that my project required a reconstruction of events by former participants of the project. Initially, I explored these narratives from an American perspective for the purposes of completing a kind of historical outline, which describes the institutional collaboration between the American Folklife Center and the Rylsky Institute.

This process of creating this institutional history of the project for the sake of informing its contents became a kind of para-ethnographic venture into the archive.108 On the one hand, I was learning firsthand how to process an archival collection and describing its contents; and on the other, interviewing seasoned specialists, who were directly involved in the successful completion of the project. It turned out that the development of a finding aid for this particular collection became an interesting ethnographic and analytic tool, which enabled me to probe more deeply into the historical, operational and procedural accounts of creating an archive at a cultural heritage institution like the American Folklife Center.

As stated above, the activities of recreating the collection’s history, identity, and its provenance – from historical origins, first encounter with employees at the Library of Congress, and what was accomplished in the process, and by which key actors. In order to gather this information, there were leads, hunches, and additional leads which brought the objects, the technologies used to create these objects, and the authorities, who told

stories of their involvement. It was in fact re-engaging expired nodes of a complex network of actors, objects, and narratives.

Archival praxis: sites of discipline

The primary objective of my internship was to create a finding aid for early field recordings of folk music from Ukraine. During this period, I participated in the day-to-day activities in the AFC’s reading room that went well beyond the singular activity of arranging a collection. It included collaborating with specialists and experts, who interacted in different and meaningful ways to make the archives more accessible. Even during this relatively short period of work at the center, I observed the extent of collaboration between the other departments and divisions within the Library as well as state agencies that support its mission as an institution of national memory. Even as the eager intern, I was privy to visits by dignitaries to the center, and was even involved in documenting this and other special events for the Center, providing yet another form of legitimization for the institution.

Similarly, the internship program was flexible enough to allow interns -- there were four other summer interns -- to explore the other reading rooms and divisions in the Library. I used this opportunity to continue research on a pet project – tracing the origins of the Ukrainian holiday folk tune of Mykola Leontovych’s Shchedryk or Carol of the Bells in the US and its musical development by exploring one of the world’s largest commercial recording and radio broadcast repositories. Thus, during this six-week period I experienced two different work perspectives at the Library of Congress: as an insider –
the intern working with an archival collection, and as an independent researcher – searching for clues to the development of a now American holiday tune. My status as an intern certainly influenced my ability to become better acquainted and circulate with the staff at the AFC, and with the staff in other divisions. For example, specialists from the AFC and the Motion Picture, Broadcasting and Recorded Sound Division (M/B/RS) often worked together in projects, including the Ukrainian wax cylinder collection – helped achieve a kind-of special guest status. Nevertheless, the experiences as intern and researcher were different: in the former, I had complete access to the archive’s collection and relied on my supervisors to direct my research; in the latter, I was always working with a reference librarian, who assisted patrons in the location of rare materials in their collection.

Perhaps one of the fascinating aspects of my work with the Ukrainian wax cylinder collection was the process of bringing together and re-engaging major participants in this international collaborative project – at least initially from the American side – for the purposes of completing some of the institutional histories of the project. A year later, I would travel to Ukraine and meet with participants of the project from the Ukrainian side. Part of the work in creating the finding aid was to gather sufficient information to provide background and context regarding the project. In some ways, the narrative resembled the personal accounts of the collection’s formation at the American Folklife Center. In the field’s parlance, I was creating the collection’s provenance – its historical origins, and how it came to be at the Library of Congress, and what happened in the process, and who were the key actors. In order to gather this
information, I contacted former directors and contractors who had worked with this collection of wax cylinders.

Some background information on how my work on this collection unexpectedly inspired subsequent events during my internship is worth providing. I lived with in-laws in Harpers Ferry, West Virginia, the site of so many important historic events, which led to the dramatic social upheaval and the American Civil War. The daily 90-minute commute between Harper's Ferry and Washington D.C. availed me the solitary moment to recollect my thoughts in copious field notes. Several significant national holidays took place during this period: Memorial Day, Independence Day, as well as several unplanned events – the state funeral of former president Ronald Reagan, and related to this the forced, frantic evacuation of the State Capital on June, when Kentucky Gov. Ernie Fletcher’s airplane entered restricted airspace on his way to the funeral – heightening the feeling of insecurity.

A significant number of people living in Harpers Ferry were civil servants, who like me took the train ride into Washington D.C. Thus the train rides between Harper’s Ferry from DC were often entertaining. Open discussions of and speculation about current political strategies by these same civil servants of things going on in Washington DC day in and out made the train ride just that bit more speculative. For example, the Iraq war was on the minds of many: one particularly heated discussion erupted between two retired officers, who were talking about the war in Iraq and the possibilities of reinstituting the draft to build the military back up to prior to the end of the cold war.
While working at the American Folklife Center Reading Room, the archive staff encouraged the interns to explore as many collections as we could. While working with the collection to create a finding aid, I also had the privilege of reviewing all the transactional recordings including personal, internal, and institutional correspondences regarding the project to duplicate the wax cylinder collection. This information found in the letters revealed the political and technical complexity of initiating the project. The correspondences and minutes describe what was “talked about” as the collection was being transported, processed, duplicated and eventually returned. At each phase of the project, there were critical moments, when institutions considered difficult decisions.

Events overseas influenced by the political and economic instability in newly independent Ukraine also impacted the development of the project as well as the expectations. Some information found in correspondence ultimately would be deemed too sensitive to be “served” out to the public. It was an interesting process of balancing what facts about the project should be made public and what should be discarded. The protection of the privacy of participants involved was regarded as a top priority during this process of creating the finding aid. It also challenged my ethnographic sensibilities. The most interesting stories, often unsaid, but buried in between the lines of correspondence, revealed the contexts within normative institutional practices and decisions would take place. These moments were observed not only while processing collections, but also in the reading room. A reference librarian conversing casually on the telephone with a researcher would never divulge information about the contents of a collection until it is understood what the researcher is looking for.
The internship and work with the Ukrainian collection also provided a context to interview individuals involved with this particular collection. The process revived the internal network of actors and institutions involved in the duplication of the wax cylinder collection. Subsequent interviews with current directors and division heads of the archive revealed how the AFC had evolved as a service oriented institution. Similarly, the completion of the finding aid and an informal presentation about the cylinder collection organized by a cataloger of Ukrainian descent showed how these networks within the LC extend beyond their institutional wall. A journalist from the VOA attended the event and created a news segment about the collection for Ukrainian audiences abroad.

Finally, the collaborative project follows a time-line that coincides with my research and studies in Ukraine. Although I had no idea at the time that a collaborative project was taking place between the IMFE and the LC’s AFC, I did find interesting parallels between the issues, which were being discussed between the participants in the project and the events occurring in Ukraine at the time. I also found myself referenced in this collection: contact information, etc., which someone, somehow had passed on to the AFC, where it was archived in a folder in 1995 in spite of the fact that I had no direct involvement with the project at the time.

Trained to look neutral

The only thing that seemed permanent in the American Folklife Center was the large song card catalogue, which itemized its song collection up to about the mid-1950s. The reference specialists wanted to preserve it. Funded by the WPA, the card catalogue
still contained valuable information about folk songs, and categorized them by geographic regions, song title, author/performer, subject, etc.

My first days at the AFC were daunting. Meetings with the reference specialists and archivists began to orientate the tasks at hand especially as they related to organizing the papers of the Ukrainian wax cylinder archive. The training was not formal, but it seemed to accompany every step of the work I completed throughout the internship. It was a give-and-take type of scenario. This method of interaction provided a quick study of the local archival practices at the AFC. For example, the archivists think in broad categories as they work with the collection. They break the collection down into smaller groups and categories in order to ease the way researchers search and retrieve information from the collection. The key to proper collection processing is to understand how the collection organizes itself. The content drives the processing and referencing part of the collection. The initial activity of processing may include something as ordinary as rehousing materials in the collection, refashioning the materials into subfolders. (See LOC/Folklife Guideline for processing and preservation).

After several days into the internship, I had completed my review of the collection contents and developed a strategy to begin the rearrangement of the materials. I met with the supervisors to review the plan with them. Archivists avoid detailing the contents of a collection. They advised me much to my chagrin not to go into a lot of detail, because "that remains the role of researcher." Neither the archivist nor the archive has the resources to go into the kind of detail I was proposing. For example, I wanted to index all the institutional correspondence regarding the collection (date, addressee, and categorize its content by type or keyword). What was proposed instead is that I should
house all the correspondence in one or several folders, which would be catalogued without specific detail. During this discussion, a question was raised whether I had found any "sensitive" materials in the archive. I considered at least one letter to be of a sensitive nature. My supervisors suggested consulting with veteran archivists, who usually remember the details of a project. In this case, a "restriction-to-circulation" status was placed on the item, limiting its access. However, what emerged from the consultation with the archivist was a discussion of how institutions like the AFC make every effort to protect the legitimacy of their authority. Apparently, there could have been many misunderstandings during the course of the collaboration, and the possibility of bad publicity for the LC in Ukraine. The archivist underscored the importance of institutional prestige when undertaking international collaborative projects. In their mind, "all bases" need to be covered at the conclusion of the collaboration. In the case of the Ukrainian wax cylinder project, this included the main sponsors, the private individuals, the lending institution, and the divisions within the Library, during the entire process. The AFC mediated the multiple responsibilities and managed expectations as best it could.

At the time that the Ukrainian wax cylinder project was being considered as the next duplication project, the LC was completing its largest project ever: the Federal Cylinder Project. This project was one the AFC's important ongoing projects to compile and duplicate existing wax cylinder collections in the United States. The AFC director at the time, Alan Jabbour, had initiated the project. The AFC was created in 1976, and the Archive of Folk Song joined it in 1978 from the LC's Music Division. The Federal Cylinder Project was a spinoff of what the Center had been doing since the early 1940s: preservation, duplication, combined with cataloguing practices. The cylinder project
encompassed a larger collection and greater attention to detail in form of cataloguing than in previous periods. The project had considerable support until it ran out of money in 1989. Only 4 or 5 volumes were completed; the rest, simply remained unprocessed due to insufficient funding.

Besides identifying existing collections devoted to Native American communities, there were many problems associated with storing and processing the collection. Prior to coming to the LC, the wax cylinders were scattered throughout the country, often in less than ideal storage conditions. Often the main task was simply identifying what was recorded on the cylinders from the tops of cylinder containers or other registries.

The common question asked of the Federal Cylinder Project raised by a newcomer to the AFC: what if communities, where recordings were originally made, requested a copy of the recording? Would the LC provide them the copy? Although there is equal access to the collection, and anyone can come and listen, it requires special permissions from the communities to provide copies, as well as a cost associated with the duplication. They can request copies, but need to pay the operating costs for making copies, which at the time was $150 /hour. Small grants were required to fund such projects. What is not very well-known outside the Library: the LC sound laboratory receives no state funding. They recover operating costs from the duplication requests made through LC. Descendants cannot simply get a copy of the songs in the AFC collection. Even collectors who have donated their collections to the Center are required to go through the same process.
I had developed a "skeleton guide" of the collection. By the archivist's own assessment of the collection, the Ukrainian Wax Cylinder project was on the border of being a small-sized to medium-sized collection. Since the collection was small enough that a detailed inventory of the items of the collection was possible within the remaining time of collection, I was discouraged because it was not necessary. The recommendation was to not create a catalogue of the contents in the collection, but rather a collection guide for the researcher. With the skeleton guide in hand, duplicates were culled from the collection. Copies of transcriptions on European-sized A4-format paper needed to be recopied onto acid-free standard letter-size paper as part of the preservation practice.

Space was very limited in the reading room. Before the anticipated move to a larger space planned later in 2004, interns often shared the workspaces of the archivists and reference specialists. The work environment was as fluid as the collections moving around the LC. Sometimes I located myself in alternative work space in order to accommodate the other interns occupying the same space.

On one occasion, the closeness of proximity revealed interesting dynamics between the archivists and the patrons of the archive. It revealed the idea that public access at public institutions is regulated by the archivist, who mediates the relation between the private information of the archive and the public. During the phone conversation, the archivist was always questioning the intent of the researcher: how did they hear about the collection and papers in this particular archive, which was still not completely processed, nor were revisions to the finding aid reflecting this type of information. The scholar wanted to see a box of letters that may have been processed. When requests are made to review correspondence or other materials, the
scholar/researcher will be given a box and s/he can go through it without difficulty. As mentioned above, letters considered too private would remain inaccessible by the public. In this case, however, the addition the collection was so new, and the contents unfamiliar to the archivist; the archivist thus had to peruse the letters during the phone conversation.

I asked what criteria archivists follow to help determine whether information in a document like a letter is sensitive and should not be released to the public. The response sounded familiar from my work with the wax cylinder collection: it all depended on context. Are the people and/or their descendents still living, and how would the information affect the present or even the future? There was even reluctance on the archivist’s part to make this kind of assessment as to what should become public, and what should remain private.

Archival topographies: sites of inscription

This section examines the process by which the finding aid description was completed and how working with the collection, the sound recordings, and other information sources revealed new vistas of archival discourse. First, I begin by examining the sites of discipline where the collection undergoes transformation by the institution’s authorities – its re-inscription onto more contemporary media. This discussion highlights the idea of duplication as a critical historical development in archive formation. I discuss this from the perspective of the Ukrainian Office of Musical Ethnography, the first attempt to establish a national archive. Archive formation among the principal actors in
the 1920s was promoted within larger transnational discussions of the sound archive, their role in the discipline of ethnomusicology, and its relationship to the nation-state.

I recount the collaboration between two actors of the duplication process, which took place in the Library of Congress' Motion Picture, Broadcasting and Recorded Sound (MBRS) Division under the direction of the late sound engineer John Howell. Later I examine how another intern, Daria Nebesh, worked with the sound engineer to frame the cultural artifacts within AFC practice. Here I examine this archival practice of inscription as a form of mnemonic technique used in both oral and literate cultures to sustain memory – memoria in praxis. However, during periods of transition – for example, from field recording to archival record, technology also undergoes a process of contextualization, where the symbols of the “text” are present but their meaning lost because there is no way to recover the original narrative or memory. Mary Carruthers examines how writing served as a mnemonic device for memory in medieval society. Examining two prevalent models memory during the Medieval period: 1) memory as an inscription of the wax tablet and 2) memory as a storehouse, Carruthers is concerned with the role of memory in creative activities in so-called “memorial cultures.” (Carruthers, 2008: 193) What characterizes the practice of imparting knowledge of this period is the transition of an oral practice to a written one. Memory was used to sustain communities. Despite the early introduction of writing, these cultures continued to rely on sharing mnemonic systems for remembering and creating knowledge. Among the many rhetorical techniques practiced by educated individuals of the period was to break down memories into discernable units that could easily be reordered. Thus, education was a process of constructing experience out of these units of knowledge, which required a heuristic
method for retrieving, constructing memory. In other words, memory was the practice of a mnemonic technology. Whoever possessed knowledge of this form of shorthand was able to excel in the ability to share memories within established communities. Thus the book, like the wax cylinders in the collection, is representative of social institutions, which serve as a mnemonic to reinforce memories of these communities.

A book is not necessarily the same thing as a text. "Texts" are the material out of which human beings make "literature". For us, texts only come in books, and so the distinction between the two is blurred and even lost. But, in memorial cultural, a "book" is only one way among several to remember a "text", to provision and cue one’s memory with "dicta et facta memorabilia." (Carruthers 2008: 9)

However, the problem with such works is the context of their production. Carruthers states further that: "Memoria refers not to how something is communicated, but to what happens once one has received it, to the interactive process of familiarizing -- or textualizing -- which occurs between oneself and others' words in memory." (Carruthers 2008: 14)

Memoria as praxis becomes unintelligible when creative works (e.g., medieval books) are taken out of their historical and social framework. In other words, the mnemonic technologies were used to help sustain these communities by creating a shorthand for recoding and decoding knowledge that reinforces memories. These technologies disappeared or broke down (in Carruther’s account) when societies became literate. Ancient texts can no longer sustain this memory within a contemporary context.

**Duplication of the archive in the sound lab**
Only a few days after my internship had ended, I contacted John Howell, one of the primary participants assigned to work on the Ukrainian wax cylinder project. John was the primary sound engineer involved in transferring the recordings from wax cylinder to contemporary recordings media. What intrigued me most about John Howell were the numerous logs that he compiled to describe the physical condition of each of the 200+ Ukrainian cylinders.

Howell spoke about his experience working under another sound engineer John Carneal and how this particular collaboration prepared him to work with the cylinder collection from Ukraine. He recalled the range of challenges working with these cylinders, which hampered the ideal production of sound quality.

The process was tedious on several levels. First, John did not know the Ukrainian language. He also was not familiar with the song tradition. He worked with recordings, which used different phonograph machines to make the recordings. For example, Howell surmised that the phonographs used by Ukrainian ethnographers in the early 20th century were spring driven units. He based this assumption on the way recordings would change speed during playback. The recordings also represented how these machines were idiosyncratic and non-standard in the way they recorded sound on the wax media. Edison phonographs were already being phased out during the 1920s, when most of the recordings in the Ryl’s’kyi collection were made.

John Howell was always on the lookout for modern tools to cope with recurring problems found on the ancient cylinder recordings. It many ways, our discussion of the process and the solutions to common problems in the laboratory is reminiscent of the
already mentioned notion of the *bricoleur* or the tinkerer. John used a souped-up wax cylinder player with a DC motor, which he was able to regulate in real time. When he sensed that the recording was accelerating – a phenomenon that occurs when the spring on a spring-driven phonograph loses tension – he would decrease the voltage to slow the circulating mandrel.

Joe Hickerson, who at the time was the director of Folk Song at the Library of Congress, recalls when some of the first known field recordings made by linguist J Walter Fewkes of the Passamaquoddy Indians were being transferred onto magnetic tape. Joe discussed the important role sound engineers performed in the process of establishing institutional legitimacy and authority while working with these legacy recordings. Joe relates the sound engineer’s enthusiasm for working with the earliest recording: “This is the first one on which you can actually see some information.’ I mean these engineers, they can look and say: ‘that is singing, that is going to be talking.’ They can practically hear [the cylinder] by looking at the grooves, and…the snake dance song and singing. You could just see the needle going over when he starts singing -- loud and clear. And it sort of phases out with cracks. Then Bob [Carneal] says spontaneously: ‘That is about the best 1890 cylinder I’ve ever heard. That was great!’”

The science behind restoring and playing back the cylinder resembled more of an art form than techno-science. It reflected the application of common-sense practice and lacked some established standard in the profession. The sound engineer kept a constant list of variables in mind as he examined the cylinder; noting its imperfections.
When I asked John how he evaluated the cylinders and recordings, he often relied on a sense of intuition. During close examination of the cylinder, he tried to imagine the mind-set of the ethnographer in fieldwork conditions. Imaging the on-site recording engineer, John would surmise how the ethnographer was adapting to the limits and faults of a defective cylinder in the 1920s. What did he have to do to capture the best sound quality? During this process, it was the sound engineer’s job to understand “what the ethnographer was thinking during the recording process." Defects were common with particular types of cylinders. Since the supply of cylinders in Ukraine was limited, ethnographers often reused the cylinders. They sometimes re-record over a previous recording by applying a special shaving tool to scrape off the previous recordings. This process often exposed faults, cracks underneath the surface of the cylinder. Sometimes the observant ethnographer/phonograph operator would start the recording in the middle of the cylinder to avoid these fault lines. The color of the cylinder also made a difference in the quality of the recording: generally, the lighter cylinders were smooth, the darker ones rough.

The sound engineer’s notes also resembled an autopsy report of cultural artifacts. Howell used strong magnification to examine the grooves of the cylinder. With a trained eye, he could determine the modulation of the recording based on this initial inspection, which would alter the way he would align the needle. He also avoided the "dragging" or the rumble of the unpleasant bass sound often reproduced during playback of legacy recordings. John also had an array of common tools he implemented in the process of preparing cylinders for playback. Some of them were dental tools to fill in non-fill
bubbles in the cylinder construction cavities. A paint-roller-like instrument, which was "kind to the surface," would clean the groves inch-by-inch. The work was tedious.

Sound engineers are also matter-of-fact people. The transfer process was very thorough and reflected a layer of complexity in reporting which is akin to archeologists reporting the conditions or provenance of their artifacts. The process through which these cylinders were being examined and identified was being recorded at the same time that cylinders were being loaded onto the cylinder machine and the needle dropped on the etched part of the recording.

**Framing culture in the archive**

When the Library of Congress received the Ukrainian wax cylinder collection, it received the cylinders with only partial information about the collection being loaned to them. In effect, the American Folklife Center had to create a new archive for the duplication process. This was not first time the LOC had experience with incomplete information regarding collections from other institutions. The Federal Cylinder project mentioned earlier consolidated known collections from around the country and had a similar challenge to reassemble information and create an archive based on the sound artifacts.

The first task to documenting this collection included photocopying all the cylinders boxes and inserts. Since the cylinder collection was only on loan from the Ryl’s’kyi, the AFC was especially careful to document the collection in order to satisfy the requirements of the lending institution. At the time, an intern named Daria Nebesh
joined the wax cylinder project. She relied on a growing accumulation of information in the form of photocopies and photographs and slips of paper. Daria shared her first impressions of being introduced to the Ryl’s’kyi wax cylinder collection. Similar to my experience with the materials in the collection, Daria was first introduced to the collection of notes, logs, and photocopies. The archivist who conducted the original examination of the collection was simply relieved to have a person, who understood the culture, language and musical tradition: "now, we have finally someone who can decipher this!" Throughout the collaborative process between the Ryl’s’kyi Institute and the Library of Congress, Daria worked with traces of information that had been collected during the initial inspection of the cylinders. Information about the collection was very limited. It included only pieces of paper that were found inside the cylinder boxes. There were no registers or catalogs to describe the contents of the collection. The initial process of arranging the collection was to duplicate the cylinder containers, the notes, and other information about the collection. She collated and organized these notices and linked them up with the sound recordings that had already been duplicated earlier.

The compilation of this information was crucial to the success of the duplication process. Daria’s collaboration with the sound engineer would provide even richer description of the recordings. She noted a kind of professional rapport that complemented the other forms of knowledge that began to emerge in the process of collaboration. Daria recalls: “I listened to the recording – and would tell John what it was. He's the man in terms of the physical preservation, and the physical understanding of it. The physical understanding was fascinating for him – the music was essentially foreign. It was nice to
sit down and listen to these recordings with him. He would hear things that I wouldn't hear, and I would pick up other things.”

The result of the collaboration was an enormous collection of scripts and sound engineer logs, which would later be incorporated into the recording master. As mentioned earlier, every cylinder in the two-hundred-plus cylinder collection received a thorough assessment by the sound engineer. Each cylinder had multiple playbacks. The weight of the tone arm would be adjusted or the speed of the cylinder would be increased to regulate the sound.

In spite of being a legacy technology, the phonograph influenced the collaborative process, and how the content of the recordings – the process how they were made – were influenced by the form of reproduction. As Daria noted:

This technology was very new to me. I was there in the sound booth to listen more to the content. I trusted John's expertise. He would show examples from other collections: a good cylinder and a bad one; what held up, what hasn't held up. While playing them for me, he would give me little lessons about them each time.

Another key practice Daria adopted from the AFC was providing recording commentaries on each selection. This practice was first implemented during the Federal Cylinder project. Daria compiled these scripts, narrated them, along with John's audio assessment in the final edited master copies of the cylinders. The process of completing the commentaries also included a Ukrainian translation, which created an interesting dramaturgical development for the recording itself. A framing of institutions and authority encapsulated each recording. As an example, here is a recording of a keening song, recorded in the mid-1920s by Volodymyr Kharkiv.
TRANSCRIPTION:
(0:00) Intern's voice (Daria Nebesh) Thirty-five slash ninety [omitted tape number 10 as indicated in Ukrainian]
(0:04) Тридцять-пять риска девятисяять, стрічка число десять (my translation: Thirty-five dash ninety.)
(0:10) (Archivist's Ukrainian translation of sound engineer's comment) Цей валик має дві тріщини при половині валика та вибойн на лівій кінці, але це не є у награний частині (my translation: this cylinder has two cracks in the middle of the cylinder and chips on the left side, but not on playable part)
(0:20) Жіночий сольсопів, Івга Грищенко, Голосіння за братом
(0:30) Female Solo singing, Iivha Hrishchenko, Keening for deceased brother
(0:39) Sound engineer's comments (John Howell): this cylinder has two cracks, both extending about half-way across the surface, and it has a chip out of the left end, which is not in the playing surface.
(1:00) drops the phonograph arm -- sound of rotating cylinder (~5 seconds):
(1:06) Pitch-pipe F# sliding up to G (~390 kHz)
(1:08) Ethnographer's introduction (probably Volodymyr Kharkiv) of folk singer in Ukrainian: "Голосіння співає Івга Грищенко [Keening song sung by Yivha Hrishchenko]"
(1:16 - 3:27) Singer begins to perform keening song

Note the order of the presentation:

• The archivist provides a location of the recording through the indexical numbering system adopted by the Ryl's'kyi Institute or its predecessors, the Office of Musical Ethnography, indicates the series on the tape (here tape 10), and includes a Ukrainian translation of the sound engineer's comments).
• The sound engineer provides his comments on the condition of the cylinder during the initial examination including places on the cylinder, where there are some information gaps.
• A pitch pipe, perhaps blown by the ethnographer, who is conducting the recording session or an assistant.
• The ethnographer introduces the genre and the name of the performer
• The performer sings the keening song
This brief example shows a framing of archival practices and how the archival process is being formed during the collaborative process. One discerns a pattern of authorities being enunciated on the basis of enlarging polycentric circle of technical authority – the sound engineer – administrative and linguistic authority – the intern, cultural authority – the ethnographer, and the culture bearer – the singer. In effect, administrative and intellectual control was being established at various time periods referencing different relationship between the objects of study, and objects of preservation.

The Ukrainian wax cylinder collection at the LC represents an archive-in-formation. While arranging the collection, I located several folders containing photocopies of the cylinder tops describing the contents of the cylinders, the notes found inside the cylinders, photographs of the cylinders, as well as the sound engineer’s assessment of each cylinder. They show the following: not only was the sound collection was being duplicated, but a new archive was being formed based on the duplicates themselves. These were legitimate copies of the collection. The formation of this archive of duplicates was being legitimized by the authorities and the practices they embodied within the disciplined workspaces of the archive.

Due to this coordinated effort, the duplicates would supplant the original collection of cylinders. As reflected in the previous section, the arrangement between the LC and the Ryl’s’kyi Institute underscored an uncommon practice with these media -- the lending institution wanted its cylinders back. As the collection of cylinders was being duplicated, a new archive practice was being formed around the idea that the duplicates would become the foundation of a new archive at the LC.
Chapter 6
Voices from America

Made in U(S)A: Notes on the wax cylinder collections from Ukraine 1898 – 1947

Information regarding the whereabouts of wax cylinder field recordings in Ukraine had increased considerably several years prior to the fall of the Soviet Union in part due to the collaborative project between the American Folklife Center at the Library of Congress and the Ryl’s’kyi Institute [IMFE]. Many of these forms of collaboration came about during the intense democratic and economic reforms of the late 1980s, which culminated in fall of the Soviet Union’s totalitarian system. As more scholars and institutions outside the Iron Curtain began to make overtures to the Soviet Republics, these institutions were more receptive to open their archives to the West.

This influence could be sensed at the very least at the administrative levels of cultural institutions like the IMFE. During the height of Soviet control of information -- at least outside traditional places where outsiders and foreigners interacted with Soviets like Leningrad and Moscow -- archives restricted access to its collections only to its most senior researchers. Individuals, with whom I had the opportunity to interview, and who started their careers working within institutions with significant cultural heritage collections noted the implementation of strategic plans to prepare for the use of these collections or at the very least for inspection from outside scholars and institutions -- evidence of a direct effect of the new state policies of glasnost or openness (vidkrytist’ in Ukrainian) taking hold in cultural institutions in outlying republics like Ukraine.
Ethnomusicologists during the period leading up to reforms in the Soviet period had very limited access to these collections.

Thus, when an American ethnomusicologist by the name of William Noll ("Beel Noll" as he is known among Ukrainian folklorists) came to Ukraine in 1989 at the height of these reforms to explore research topics on blind minstrel musicians, he probably learned about the wax cylinder collections at the various institutions he visited or by word of mouth. His participation in conferences in the early 1990s gave him access to many of the gatekeepers of these collections, which were not very well publicized, if at all.

Noll had prior experience working with wax cylinder collections in Poland, where he also arranged several duplication projects of cylinder collections with the Library of Congress. However, information about cylinder collections in Ukraine was not readily available. At the time of Bill's first visit, the LC was winding down its own ambitious Federal Cylinder's project. Eventually, administrators at both institutions would be convinced to undertake the duplication of 200+ cylinders. No one had ever suspected at the time that within a short period, the Soviet Union would collapse, creating independent states like Ukraine. The real opportunity for collaboration between institutions in Ukraine and the West availed itself thanks to these formative talks and proposals for institutional collaboration. Noll's interest spread to other institutions, which were known to have collections, and a concerted effort was underway to duplicate all the known collections in Ukraine.

The result of this increased interest of legacy recordings and fieldwork activity from this period had a tremendous impact on ethnomusicological studies in Ukraine. The
focus on the wax cylinder collections, especially the recordings of the blind minstrels, influenced a period of historical re-examination around the period during which these recordings were made: the performers, collectors, and the institutions. It also brought together specialists, who interacted informally with one another to discuss the feasibility of establishing a national sound archive in Ukraine. American radio journalist Stepan Maksymiuk, who at one time worked at Radio Svoboda [Radio Freedom], had accumulated a large collection of interviews of dissidents from the Soviet period and amassed the earliest commercial recordings made in Ukraine. At the time, discussion about the creation of a national sound archive or repository began to circulate in various news publications and journals as a response to Masymiuk's offer to help organize such an institution in Ukraine. The IMFE was regarded as the primary candidate for the establishment of such an institution. Not only did it have a significant collection of field recordings such as those from the Kabinet Muzychnyi Etnografiyi (the Office of Musical Ethnography) being duplicated at the Library of Congress, which was en route to the LC for restoration and reduplication. It also had in its possession more than 50 years of institutional field recordings from its organized field work expeditions and other acquisitions. Thus the project with the Library of Congress poised the IMFE to become this national repository.

There remained challenges: space for one. The IMFE did not possess the type of facility that would adequately house these collections. The newly formed Ukrainian government was seeking stability during the harshest economic downturns in modern history due to hyperinflation, the dismantling of large industrial complexes, and public
discontent. The main state complex to be affected by these changes in a free market environment was the state-sponsored culture industry.

Aside from discussion about sound archives and national repositories, the wax cylinder project at the LC renewed discourse about the historical fate of the blind minstrels or kobzary. What also significantly resulted in scholarly circles in Ukraine was a return to the theme of bards, minstrels and the period of Stalin's repression, which is symbolized in the event called Holodomor or the Great Famine. The field recordings on wax cylinders from this period provided the context of their creation and the tragic loss of these musicians became an emergent form as a result of the increased interest in the collection and its contents. However, the wax cylinders themselves were considered so unusable by their keepers that they were relegated to the status of reluctant objects. Space had always been an issue for these larger collections, and some had the misfortune of being stored in very poor conditions. Most ethnomusicologists of the Soviet period considered these legacy recordings simply as trite objects of the past with absolutely no scholarly value.

Nevertheless several attempts were made by folklorists to rescue these collections and even to transfer them to more contemporary media. At the Lviv Conservatory, the Problem Laboratory of Music Ethnology argued to have the collection moved from the basement of the Conservatory to the Laboratory on the third floor. Eventually the laboratory found an original phonograph player (still working!) and dubbed the recordings onto audio tape. At the time, the newly founded cultural journal Rodovid, for example, began a series of stories about this period of Ukrainian history and the blind minstrels, the collaborative project between Ukraine and the United States. Other
publications followed and soon the period when the phonograph was incorporated into the main stream of folkloric activity between 1897 and 1947 generated intense interest among folklorists trying to revive the discipline, as well as reorient, and re-imagine Ukrainian folkloristics during the European projects of the past. This intense interest generated criticism among Ukrainian-centric folklorists for its heavy-handedness in this Europeanization project of the discipline.

Some of these narratives follow patterns of development, which attempt to show in greater detail the significance of their accomplishments by providing historical context for their actions as opposed to the historical serendipity. During the Soviet period, the introduction of the phonograph and accomplishments by Ukrainian folklorists before 1917 were often relegated to footnote status in Soviet historical narratives of the period. For example, Oleksij Pravdiuk's work *Ukrainian Folkloristics* shows this pattern in practice and emphasizes the activities of Russian folklorists as opposed to the major accomplishments made by Ukrainian ethnomusicologists.

**Archival transfigurations: sites of representation**

Outside the really inaccessible spaces of the archive, where old field recordings have remained tucked away, the unmooring of the Ukrainian wax cylinder collection from its home at the Ryl’s’kyi Institute actually had an emergent life form of its own -- at least in the beginning. As related earlier, information about the project -- the objects in the collection, the musicians and singers, whose voices were captured on the wax cylinders, and the ethno-historical culture they represented, and the primary actors, who
became mediators between the Ukrainian and American institutions -- was widespread. Research on lost traditions and the Interwar period in Ukraine soon burgeoned when word about the Ryl’s’kyi wax cylinder collection and the collaborative duplication project at the LC became known. The collection had an enabling effect for other conversations to join into the mix of earlier conversations that could not have occurred earlier.

New actors, institutions, collections and collectors came into the fold, and began to interact outside the scope of the LC's collaborative project, which was regarded as a strong indicator of the coming of age of democratic tendencies -- free of the center's supervision and paternal guidance. As social and intellectual conditions enabled these discussions, soon other collections of wax cylinders, like the recent discovery of a large collection of Jewish recordings thought to be lost or destroyed during cycles of civil turbulence, or commercial pressings of older recordings, and dissident recordings from broadcast of Liberty Europe, eventually surfaced.

In each case, an emphasis was made on the promise of making these collections -- the sounds inscribed in the wax cylinders -- publically available. These efforts not only chronicled the collaborative work between the AFC and the IMFE, but also provided a historical voice revealing the period when these recordings were made, specifically that of the instrumentalists and singers, who perished during the Stalinist regime in the 1930s. Interestingly, what is absent from this discussion is information about the fate of the original archive, which had housed these collections before they were absorbed by the creation of new state institutions. Many key figures during this turbulent period of the 1930s left Kyiv and soon found themselves in Moscow doing the same thing. However,
Field notes: the last entry

The VOA journalist came into the AFC reading room. I jokingly asked him how he got through security with his large duffle bag -- intimating the inconvenience endured almost every morning of my internship coming to the Center. "Oh, they're used to me now..." A young, amiable man in his early thirties rolled his portable studio set into the reading room.

We had scheduled a follow-up interview on the Ukrainian wax cylinder collection at the American Folklife Center. It was the last day of my internship and I was anxious to finish everything I had planned regrettably for the final days. I still had several meetings and interviews lined up with LC employees. It was the "snowball" effect of doing fieldwork. The longer you stay in a place, the more time is required to follow up on earlier conversations or end cordially the new relationships that were never fully formed.

There were many ancillary activities related to my internship of completing the draft of the finding aid, now called the Ryl’s’kyi Ukrainian Wax Cylinder collection. This meeting with the VOA was an exciting last minute development. A day before, I participated in a brownbag event about the collection at the LC’s European room. The same VOA journalist attended the event and requested a follow-up interview about the collection. He wanted to do a story on the wax cylinder collection in time for the upcoming anniversary of Ukrainian independence. Now in the AFC’s reading room, the journalist wanted to "see" this collection. He was disappointed to learn that the wax
cylinders themselves were no longer at the Library of Congress. They were already back in Kyiv at the Ryl’s’kyi Institute.

In the meantime, Zorislav still insisted on seeing this collection of sound recordings at the Library of Congress. Together we walked into "belly" of the Jefferson building, where the center stores many of its sound archives. Copies of the wax cylinder recordings from the Ryl’s’kyj Institute were stored in a climate-controlled room. Before we crossed the threshold, Zorislav placed a wireless lapel microphone. He follows me into the tiny rectangular room with camera in hand. He gave me a moment to compose myself. Under the dim flicker of the fluorescent light, he directed me to introduce the wax cylinder recordings to an imaginary Ukrainian television audience. The recordings from the collection were on a shelf neatly arranged in plastic box containers. I still remember vividly the careful instruction he gave me to pull out one of the cases of the shelf and to display its contents. The case pops open, and I begin this introduction -- pointing to the contents of the case. Stuttering a bit, I struggle trying to adequately translate from English into Ukrainian the technical terms for reel-to-reel tape – bobiny – and digital recordings – tsyfrovyj zapysy. Here's our collection -- Os' tut nasha kolektsia!

When the taping was over, we returned upstairs to the AFC's reading room. The VOA journalist begins to set up his camera at the large table, arranging the lighting and large white umbrella. We start to explore the collection of boxes and folders together. The donning of white gloves, the careful handling of rare artifacts, and concentrated expression on my face were part of this performance. He fits the lapel microphone near my collar and proceeds with the interview.
This was the first experience of being interviewed. The journalist started asking a series of general questions, such as: “How did you become interested in folk music, where did you study music, and how did you learn about this particular collection?” and then he asked: “What were your impressions of the music?” ...Ah, the music...how ironic...I didn't expect a question like this...what can I say about the music? I could say a lot about the collection, but nothing about the music! In the process of interviewing the individuals involved in the wax cylinder project, reading correspondence, arranging the content, and understanding the complexity of bringing a collection of wax cylinders from Ukraine to the US, I wasn't sure what I could say about the collection. The finding aid and the process of creating the finding aid relegated all these impressions, my orientations, into bare facts about the size of the collection, linear feet of boxes, the number of folders, and subject headings. I was after the incredible stories, which described the creation of this collection and the messiness of collaboration with another archive’s collection. Because of the time constraint of arranging and creating a finding aid, the music was a secondary concern for me, in spite of the fact that I had processed the collection, arranged the materials, inventoried the content, and became familiar with all the correspondence, and the nuances of this international project. The journalist pressed on: What was the impact of the music on you, can you talk about the tragic history of these performers featured in these recording?
Hier spricht eine Stimme aus Amerika…

Мой украинский голос инициировал коллекцию Рыл'ського Института украинской восковой цилиндрической коллекции. Телевизионные зрители по всей Украине увидели первую вспышку их культурного наследия коллекции, которая теперь выставлена на display at the Library of Congress's American Folklife Center благодаря институту истины и демократии — Службам Америки.

Сопровождая журналиста VOA, я последовала своему решительному подходу к полкам, где ряд катушек и цифровых магнитофонов были расположены идеально, создавая коридор интимности между телезрителем, интернами и коллекцией.

Отдыхая, корреспондент наблюдал за движением и взглядал на другие коллекции, которые пленяли чувства и был посвящен в историю работы архивистов. Очень привилегированное видение осуществляется: камера смотрела в один из многочисленных пластиковых контейнеров, аккуратно снятых с полки. Культура уловлена и объектом на магнитофонной ленте.

109 Announcer William Harlan Hale opening VOA's first broadcast in Europe in Feb 24, 1942.

See: http://author.voanews.com/english/about/beginning-of-an-american-voice.cfm
This past summer an American of Ukrainian descent, and graduate student at Rice University in Houston, Anthony Potoczniak systematized a collection of recordings.

A close-up with a label:

Anthony Potoczniak
Anthropologist

Followed by an impression in the form of a sound bite:

"The most interesting aspect for me overall was to hear these sounds, the ancient sounds of these kobzari and lirnyky (NB.minstrels, who perform on the kobza/bandura and the hurdy-gurdy, respectively). They are truly unique and remarkable examples of Ukrainian folklore."

A biographical context delineates a story of my own connection to the collection:

Anthony became interested in Ukrainian folklore after he studied at the State Conservatory in Lviv. When he learned about the six-week internship to organize the Ukrainian collection, he eagerly applied for the assignment.

Eagerness in the form of impressionistic video footage of a presentation delivered by the intern about the cylinder project ... draws the television viewer out of the archive's privileged space into the collection's public life. A collage of perspectives representing a multitude of serious interest and fulfilled desires: more close-up shots of contemplative faces of audience members, an assemblage of technologies and props -- a large screen monitor, a wax cylinder, a boom box, and the computer -- accentuate the worldliness of their collection.
The scene transitions out into the space of techno-science -- the AFC's sound laboratory – the place of origination. Here the center's sound technician demonstrates how a wax cylinder is inserted into the mandrel of the souped-up Ediphone cylinder machine. The phonograph arm wired with its own circuitry delivers signals of life to an even larger machine measuring the cylinder's pulse on its LED meter.

In the beginning of the 1990s, the Maksym Ryl's'kyi Institute lent the Library of Congress close to 200 wax cylinders, which were copied, restored, and returned back to Ukraine. Anthony created a pokazhchyk [finding aid] of the collection so that visitors of the Library could access it. The collection is unique, because it preserves recordings of singers, minstrels and lirnyky, an art form, which was forbidden during Stalin's regime. These performers were summarily executed en masse. The recordings were made in the beginning of the Twentieth century between 1908 and the 1930s. Ethnographers during the period used a machine similar to the here at the Library of Congress in the United States. The voices of the people and their names are preserved on many of these recordings. Here is an example of a keening song -- a rare musical art form:

The needle is dropped and voices of the past are resurrected. Another voiceover -- a male voice -- booms over the circularity of scratchiness overheard on the cylinder's playback:

"Голосіння" співає Івга Хрищенко:
[Keening song sung by Yivha Khryschenko.]

A heart-wrenching performance is given by a woman to her deceased brother:

Ти мій братику, ти мій ріднеський
Ти мій братику, ти голубий сизокрилий
І відкіля тебе, мій братику, дожидати
Відкіля тебе виглядати чи далекого краю, чи з зеленого гаю
[TRANSLATION: You brother of mine, you relative of mine...
You brother of mine, you blue, grey-winged]
And from where, brother of mine, should I wait for you
And from where should I look for you, from a far off land, or from a green grove...]

Viewers in Ukraine are reassured. The camera follows the intern into another public space -- the archive’s reading room, where white gloves are shown carefully handling archival documents from the collection.

*The wax recording technology did not allow for making quality recordings. The media quickly deteriorated. However, these recordings do provide the possibility of hearing voices of the past. Anthony Potoczniak speaks about how his work on the collection changed his own understanding of the violent history of his ancestor's homeland.*

"It changed in the following way: now we have something to compare with, how it once existed. And now that we know this history, this horrible history, of what happened with the minstrels and lirnyky."

Meanwhile back ...the next scene should be more familiar to audiences in Ukraine. The large bronze-cast sign announces one of Ukraine’s most recognizable cultural institutions:

Академії наук України [тризуб]
Інститут мистецтвознавства фольклору та етнографії
ім. М.Т.Рильського
Academy of Sciences (trident sign)
Institute of Art, Folklore and Ethnography
named after M.T. Ryl’s’kyi

*At the Maksym Ryl’s’kyi Institute senior researcher and folklorist of the Institute Halyna Dovzhenok is thankful to the Americans for their effort. This undertaking to duplicate the collection at the beginning of the 1990s in Ukraine would have been impossible.*

A few wax cylinders are assembled on a long conference tables -- some with and some without their lids. Resembling sail boats, the topless cylinder boxes have pieces of stationary paper inserted into their hollow centers. These are handwritten notes --
probably prepared by the archivist for the interview. The hand-written notes too are
uniform and precise as to the musical contents on the cylinders, for example:

Валик 23
1930 р лірник
[illegible] Гончар
Харківщина
Дума про Марію Богуславську
Зап. В.Харків

Cylinder 23
1930 Limyk (Hurdy-gurdy)
[illegible] Honchar
Kharkiv region
Duma about Maria Bohuslavska
Recorded by V.Kharkiv

*A close-up of Halyna Dovzhenok commenting on the collaboration:*

Галина Довженок

Керівник наукового-архіву Інституту ім. М.Т.Рильського

*Halyna Dovzhenok*

Head of the Scientific archive of the M.T. Ryl's'kyi Institute

"If this project hadn't been realized, we wouldn't have been able to hear the living sounds
of the voices of these minstrels. Although this material at the time had been processed by
those who recorded them, that is, there are musical transcriptions, and the recordings
were completely studied. *We wouldn't have been able to hear the voices of those who*
collected them. We had never heard them before, and now we can hear them. However, we can't say that the quality of the sound is ideal, because it is not possible to eliminate all the defects."

The archivist at the Institute is observed handling these original cylinders. Her hand motions a circle around the other holding a cylinder. It is obvious now to viewers - in the context of previous video footage of the Ediphone - that this circular movement shows how a phonograph inscribes sound onto the cylinder.

The project cost Americans close to 100 thousand dollars, part of which was covered by the Library, and other parts from donations of foundations known in the Ukrainian Diaspora like the Yasinsky-Murowany foundation, Renaissance foundation, and Ukrainian Science Institute of Harvard University. It is also interesting that one of the sponsor of the project was also one of the founding members of the rock group Grateful Dead.

Halyna Dovzhenok responds to the existence of the Ukrainian collection in the musical archive of the Library of Congress as having immense meaning for the dissemination of Ukrainian culture in the West. The Library of Congress in the United States is the largest in the world.

Halyna Dovzhenok speaks authoritatively: "This is an introduction to Ukraine, an introduction to its musical tradition, a tradition, which has ended its existence, its natural existence. This is without a doubt a large contribution to information about Ukraine."

Soon this collection of wax cylinder recordings, which has survived Stalin's extermination of the minstrel art form, and the Second World War, will be preserved and become accessible to the general public of patrons of the Library of Congress after many years of restoration. Now from audio tape, or laser disc one can hear the original bearers of an extinct, specifically Ukrainian art form.

A compact disc is inserted into a CD player, and the sound of a click, and then a hurdy-gurdy begins to sound with a song sung by limyk. Archival images of these extinct minstrels holding their instruments -- bandury and kobzars -- advance as the song continues to play in the background.
Comparing notes

This fascinating account about the Ukrainian wax cylinder collection at the Library of Congress’s American Folklife Center demonstrates several perspectives also described in the process of creating the finding aid for this collection. This is no accident. In preparing for the television report, the VOA reporter asked for copy of the drafted finding aid as well as the audio files used during the brownbag presentation at the European Room in the Library of Congress (see previous section entitled “The Last Entry”). The journalistic report exemplifies the different political, temporal, historic, geographic, cultural and technological spaces this particular wax cylinder collection occupies in the contemporary world.

Demonstrating the contrapuntal voices of the journalist’s reporting, different themes and perspective are highlighted. The left column represents the perspective of the American Folklife Center; and in the right column, the Ukrainian perspective:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>American Folklife Center</th>
<th>Ryl’s’kyi Institute</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>American intern of Ukrainian descent (anthropologist)</td>
<td>Ukrainian researcher and folklorist (archivist)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Long tradition of collaboration with institutions in Ukraine (not noted in the program, but introduced by the show’s host).</td>
<td>Duplication impossible to do in Ukraine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Many sponsors and noted institutions involved. Library of Congress, foundations, Harvard University, even a legendary rock group, the Grateful Dead.</td>
<td>Assistance was needed to enable us to hear the voices</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The sound archive represented as new technology (audio tape and digital recordings) neatly organized neatly in a privileged space</td>
<td>The sound archive represented with older technology (a few original wax cylinders) disordered on a conference table.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The collection’s public space: the collection is viewed to an audience</td>
<td>The collection’s public space: the collection is viewed in an empty conference room.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>----------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Technologies demonstrated: to playback the cylinders (a supped-up phonograph playing a cylinder)</td>
<td>Technologies demonstrated: archivist holding a cylinder; circular motion as substitute for phonograph</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intern’s assessment: organized a collection for public access, wonderful examples of folk tradition, the sounds changed his world view, understands the tragic history of these performers in Ukraine</td>
<td>Archivist’s assessment: thankful for the collaboration, subpar sound quality, the work on the recordings have been completed by Ukrainian specialists; we can hear the actual voices of the ethnographers.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Effect on Intern working on the collection: tragic history, forceful extermination of the song tradition</td>
<td>Effect on Archivist able to hear the collection: important contribution to understanding tradition, which experienced natural passing</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There is an interesting pattern emerging in the VOA’s specific form of reporting about the collection. Again the journalist relied on the finding aid to provide the background and context for the collection. However, the juxtaposition of images, spaces, technologies, practices and commentaries by representatives of each institution make a larger statement about the status of the collection itself. There exist two different wax cylinder collections: one in the American Folklife Center, and another at the Ryl’s’kyi Institute in Ukraine. Although the content of these collections is the same, the presentation of their form is different.
Chapter 7

Networking Cultural Heritage Collections

Thinking Globally

The historical development of cultural heritage collections was one of featured themes at the 2008 International Council for Traditional Music World Conference, which took place in Vienna, Austria. Topics discussed at many panels and workshops included the role of sound archives within the discipline and its impact on local communities were well represented at conference proceedings. However, most of the discussion surrounding the audiovisual archive gravitated towards the reinvention of the archive as a means to improve access to existing collections.

Represented at this conference were several prominent institutions including the oldest known sound archive – the Phonogrammarchiv (Vienna, Austria). The American Folklife Center at the Library of Congress (Washington, D.C.), the Archive of Sound at Indiana University (Bloomington, Indiana), the Archives and Research Center for Ethnomusicology (Gurgaon, India), and many others were present at the meetings. The conference also featured several national and international digital archives projects.

Current efforts to bring together archives collections hearkens back to the objectives and goals, which defined founding of the discipline - to create an all-encompassing repository of folk songs for comparative musicology. Many ethnomusicological archives continue to follow this archetypal model of the discipline to
what is akin to creating digital card catalogs. Similarly, sound archives are currently exploring available communicative technologies to harness the collective knowledge of its constituents (i.e., archivists, specialists, and patrons) and transform the ethnomusicological archive into a resource for stimulating dialogic commentaries of existing collections. In turn, these patrons of the future will help archives process the large number of collections still waiting their turn to be "discovered."

The current model followed by many of the digitization projects presented at the conference underscores in general a deep-seated image problem of the archive as an outdated institution in the 21st century. Digital technology in the context of the audiovisual archive will become transformational as more individuals rely on these technologies in informing their research.

During the seven-day conference, almost twenty papers were presented that directly touched on issues of preservation and access to ethnographic collections, as well as the regulation of their intellectual property. Similarly, several sessions featured international and national archive projects, as well as workshops on sound recording technology.

One of the highlights of my visit to Vienna was an invitation by the director of the Vienna Phonogrammarchiv, Dieter Schuller, to tour the oldest sound archive in the world. Not less important were informal meetings with an up-and-coming generation of European archivists and ethnomusicologists, who are working tirelessly to find new ways to collaborate with institutions to make unique field recordings and collections available to the larger public. In spite of these efforts and the presence of internationally renowned
institutions at this forum, many curators of these cultural heritage collections shared public concern about the future of their archives. They find themselves in more precarious financial and ideological battles with government administrations and agencies.

Dissatisfaction with government ambivalence to address real problems facing repositories of "intangible culture" resounded in many discussions and tinged the overall tone of the conference. One panel discussion in particular left an indelible impression of how susceptible ethnographic collections are to complete destruction especially in periods of instability and strife.

During a question-and-answer session at a special plenary session, one participant responsible for curating the national sound archive in Iraq expressed her ongoing frustration with UNESCO's investigations of the annihilation of its national sound archive during the invasion by Allied forces of her country in 2003. Her request for an "official reason" of how and why this national archive was destroyed would be used to complete a history of this archive -- its formation and end. A poignant reminder of the vulnerability of archives, the story shows overtly the realpolitik cultural heritage collections regularly contend with at home and abroad. Audiovisual archives are assigned lower priority than institutions of material culture, such as museums.

Nevertheless, the conference did provide an important venue for experts to exchange professional practices of ethnomusicological archive. Thematically, the conference presentations on sound archives fell into three broad categories addressing technological, theoretical, and practical aspects of the archive.
In the area of technology, the Vienna Phonoarchivum hosted a workshop entitled "Alternative solutions in modern field recording technology" by sound engineer Nadja Wallaszkovits. Her session examined the most advanced technological developments in sound recording with an overview of the professional digital products available to ethnographers to conduct fieldwork. In particular Ms. Wallaszkovits's discussion emphasized the requirements of special organizational care of digital sound files, which pose a problem for long term storage and management. Ironically, optical media such as CD/DVD-R, have more limited shelf life than other more traditional legacy formats and pose a real risk to archives in their preservation efforts. Another aspect of the discussion was the importance of using proper microphone equipment to capture ideal sound information during fieldwork. This discussion really exemplified the extent to which the Vienna archive has focused its greatest effort of creating sound artifacts, which could inform future ethnomusicological studies. Even its current effort to digitize sound recordings places emphasis on capturing sound at the highest sampling rate possible (even beyond human perception), noting that background, ambient noise of field recordings may eventually inform important research in the future. Compressed formats, such mp3, pose a great risk of losing this background information and are not acceptable archival formats.

Several theoretical papers focused on issues related to copyright and the use of archives in ethnomusicological research. As an organization, ICTM has worked closely with UNESCO to expand the protection of indigenous knowledge to include collective

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110 The session was entitled: From R-DAT to hard disk recording: alternative solutions in modern field recording technology.
expressions of cultural heritage. Two papers were featured in the panel Archive and Copyright. Canadian specialist Beverly Diamond presented a paper on “An ethnography of copyright,” which examined her most recent collaborative work with Native Americans in Canada, and the challenges related to producing a textbook with musical examples on an accompanying compact disc. Her presentation outlined the complicated political process through which she had to negotiate with indigenous groups in order to obtain consent to publish recordings of sacred dance and music repertoire. The other panel paper, presented by ethnomusicologists Carolyn Landau, featured a first hand account of how the British archives impact Diasporic communities in Great Britain.

These papers complemented the presentation given later by Berlin’s archives specialist Suzanne Ziegler, who gave an overview of her recent new catalog of wax cylinder recordings and how this process of preparing the work helped locate lost cylinders. Discussion about what information about an archive collection should be published revealed the complicated decisions archives have to make in making these recordings or even information about these collections publicly available. On the one hand, making this information available would ease the burden of reference librarians helping patrons locate these materials. On the other, an online publication of a catalog or finding aid for an archive without sufficient technical and human resources to handle potentially a large number of concurrent requests to listen or view materials in their reading/listening rooms would challenge an already overtaxed staff. The discussion showed that archives have an intricate balancing act they must maneuver in any decision-making process: where is the “tipping point” when they can no longer serve their patron
effectively or at what point can the archive no longer process collections fast enough to meet public demand.

Several panels and papers explored national and international archive's digital projects. The national projects included a presentation by ethnomusicologist Panikos Giorgoudes (Cyprus), who oversees the online project *Uniting Through Traditional Music* (http://www.uttm.org). His online project gives access to examples of Cyprian folk music, which can be searched by genre (e.g., ensemble, vocal), and geographic area. His paper "The development of online music archives and the social meaning of their establishment: The case of Cyprus" examined the process by which he was able to unite several different archives in Cyprus and demonstrates samples of their recordings online. Finally, a paper was delivered by the Ukrainian delegation on the project Networking Cultural Heritage Collections in Ukraine, which outlined the strategy of building a network of archives and experts.

**Digital Archives Projects**

Two large digital archives projects stood out at the ICTM conference: one European called DISMARC, the other American -- EVIA. These projects share similarities in that they are well funded with institutional and governmental grant support. Nevertheless, both share the same concern with sustaining their projects into the future. Aside from these similarities, the projects differ principally in their concepts of organization, work process, and the types of ethnographic data they compile.
DISMARC – EU Project

The roundtable on the DISMARC project was a fascinating two-hour presentation of the ongoing European digital archive's initiative, which raised fundamental questions about how to compile, represent, and access information about existing sound collections found throughout large archives in Europe. The discussion about the program raised several issues common to other digital initiatives: how to make the content of archives accessible through the Internet. Three presentations about the project were delivered by Tommy Sjoberg (Sweden), Maurice Mengel (Berlin) and Ewa Dahlig-Turek (Poland). Afterwards, a panel of seven experts commented on the project and answered prepared questions posed by the panel moderator, Maurice Mengel.

DISMARC’s (or DIScovering Music ARChives) mission is to raise awareness about existing collections of "underexposed European cultural, scientific and scholarly music audio." Overall, its strategy is to develop a stronger "pan-European archive infrastructure." This project is one of many of the European Union's i2010 Digital Libraries Initiative, which is developing the means to deliver content, including music, to The European Library. The project proposes to incorporate information into a centralized database about existing collections from participating archives and map this information to a central store, where it can be accessed and searched by individuals through the Internet.

Tommy Sjöberg of the Center for Swedish Folk Music and Jazz Research (Stockholm, Sweden) opened the session by introducing the DISMARC project and describing the role current ethnomusicology can play in the development of audiovisual
archives and, vice versa, how the archive has the potential to help the discipline. His remarks focused on the overall benefits of creating a common database store of information for archives located in the European Union. Similarly, his points also underscored the challenges facing the project in addressing issues of cataloguing collections from archives with different archival methods, traditions, and languages.

Maurice Mengel of the Ethnological Museum (Berlin, Germany) gave an overview of how DISMARC works to describe the collections participating in the project. His remarks were technical in nature addressing the day-to-day activities within the archive (e.g., cataloguing, preservation and access). One of the program's objectives is to develop tools for the archivist that could potentially offset the archivist's workload and handle increased requests for materials by patrons - a problem common to many understaffed archives. DISMARC's datastore structure is based on an adapted form of Dublin Core's xml format. The most promising contribution to this project could be the creation of a multi-language searchable database of all participating archives. Currently, the major languages of the EU are being used including German, English, French, Spanish as well as Polish, with the possibility of adding Russian. At the same time, he also addressed the problems of creating a catalog using controlled vocabulary in the different languages.

Finally, Ewa Dahlig of The Institute of Art of the Polish Academy of Sciences (or ISPAN) completed the panel's formal presentations with a case study of how DISMARC has helped ISPAN's sound archive organize its early collections. Her paper, "East European Archive in a Pan-European Project," recounted Poland's effort to rebuild the
Warsaw archives after WWII. ISPAN's participation in the DISMARC project focuses on this period of rebuilding the collection initiated. Reminding the panel of Marian and Jadwiga Sobieski's initiative of rebuilding the collections after the war in the 1950s, Dr. Dahlig spoke about the effort to input information from the original index cards describing this collection into the DISMARC database. To accomplish this task, brigades of secretaries and administrators from the Institute were employed to complete this effort. Approximately 80,000 records had been created in the database. Dahlig also suggested that participation in a collaborative project like DISMARC has helped ISPAN gain greater prestige within the Ministry of Sciences, which funds the organization.

**EVIA – US Project**

The EVIA Digital Archive (Ethnomusicological Video for Instruction and Analysis) is a joint project initiated in 2001 by the Indiana University and University of Michigan. The impetus of the project came from a need to preserve video of ethnographic field recordings, which are deteriorating at an accelerated rate – even more than audio recordings.

Unlike DISMARC, which focuses on institutional collections, EVIA focuses on ethnographic field recordings of individual collectors. After being selected to participate in the program, the ethnographer collaborates with a team of cataloguers and technologists to digitize and annotate their field recordings. The EVIA workshop at the ICTM conference included presentations by Ruth Stone, the co-principal investigator and initiator of the project, and Alan Burdette, the project's executive director. Stone described the overall strategy of the project. Burdette gave technical information about the project and concluded his presentation with a demonstration of the program by
showing features of the site including how participants annotate a video excerpt and how to search sections of video in the EVIA archive. When asked why they considered only video at this time, Burdette responded by stating that “video is the most complicated of formats for preservation and for description. Once these problems are worked out, other media would be easier to incorporate." EVIA is currently considering several financial models of delivering content to interested users -- mostly academic institutions -- similar to the popular scholarly journal service and archive JSTOR.

Aside from the technical achievements of the project, perhaps the most interesting question of the project is the process by which participants can contribute content to the digital archive and the existing mechanisms of quality control. Every year EVIA announces a call for depositors, where individuals with ethnographic video submit approximately ten hours of the original, unedited video. These submissions are peer-reviewed. If accepted, the individuals are invited to the Summer Institute, where they work for two weeks with catalogers and technologists and begin annotating their video submission. After this intense period of training at the Institute, the participants continue to work on their videos. In addition to the workshop, participants receive an honorarium to complete the project within a one-year period. At the time of the conference, the archive had approximately three hundred hours of annotated materials in its digital collection. They are seeking to have representation from more regions of the world. Currently there are no video excerpts from Ukraine or other countries of the former Soviet Union.

Analysis of Issues
Fundamental problems do remain in the digital archives projects. We can examine these problems from three different angles: financial, technological, and psychological.

In the financial category, digitization projects of this scope require substantial seed money to procure and develop technology. EVIA, for example, has had two full-time programmers on staff for at least three years. Additional finances have also helped with the establishment of a training program for participants as well as establish a program of compensation or honoraria for participants. This has enjoyed the benefit of overcoming the obstacle of active professional participation that guarantees the high quality data entry and description. This approach has been argued in the past that research grants for individual ethnographic projects should include time and funding as a part of the grant project. At the same time, a project like DISMARC would expect a project of this kind to last about 10 years, rather than the two it had scoped out. It again showed how closely tied such projects are tied to funding cycles.

In spite of the fact that the two projects share similarities in that they are very well funded, they are both concerned about sustaining their projects into the future. Sustainability is the most common issue facing multi-phase projects, which are hampered by the availability of grants. From my impression, EVIA is currently in a better position to support itself as it looks at various models of delivering its content for a subscription basis. They also have the advantage of working in an institution, which already has a rich collection of audio and video. Currently they have approximately 250 hours of annotated, searchable video. They have also been able to insure that the ethnographic materials retain a consistent level of ethnographic quality by incorporating peer review at various
stages of the process. Their program also anticipates incentives for participants to learn to use the software to mark-up their materials and complete their project. A workshop with trained specialists and technologists is organized annually for the participants to help ensure that the content will meet professional standards.

While the EVIA project is already in its implementation phase, the DISMARC project is still organizing its work around interested institutions throughout the EU to share information about their collections. The focus of the DISMARC project is the audio collection, rather than video. The sheer volume of audio recordings is very daunting – the compilation of a simple registry of what materials exist is in itself a very difficult task. Similarly, who are the customers that will use these collections? Should the online archive be for the specialists only, or should it be tailored for the general public. How popular and useful could a sound archive be if it allowed unrestricted online access to its collections?

This brings us to the third and final point: psychology. This is embodied in the basic question of how the archive will retain the ability to control its content once it is accessible via the Internet. The question is indicative of existing attitudes in archival traditions often delineated by a conservative generation of archivists. While a new group of specialists usually representing a younger generation are emerging to encourage open access to content, how will these attitudes influence institutions that have different archival traditions and policies towards sharing content or giving public access to its collections.
The shear breadth and complexity of bringing archives and collections with different archival traditions together to create a common multilingual catalog did raise long discussions about the feasibility of such a project. No concrete solution was offered by the project's working group present at the panel discussion. It showed how difficult (compared to the American project) it is to find consensus among various institutions that reside in different geographic, political and linguistic regions.

Cataloguing is also a cornerstone for the project, which was collectively acknowledged as the real issue. Although there was consensus on the panel and among audience members about the benefits of creating a shared catalogue, discussion ensued about how this catalogue would actually work. From this technological point of view, a discussion ensued about the feasibility of having two separate databases: one for internal use, the other for the external, centralized, common catalog. Which fields should be included in this common catalogue? The other is the fact that the DISMARC project is including both commercially available ethnographic recordings as well as unique field recordings. Each type of recording requires a different approach in archival description, but they are treated differently as objects of intellectual property. Broadcasting institutions already have a controlled vocabulary for their commercial recordings that is industry wide. The complication is how to find consensus in developing a controlled vocabulary, which is still being developed in each of the disciplines involved (folkloristics, ethnomusicology, etc.). The addition of a multilingual component is also problematic and will become more complex in the future as the project expands to other regions and countries of the European Union and neighboring states like Russian and Ukraine. In contrast, the EVIA project currently is working with cataloguers from the
Library of Congress, who are collaborating on creating a controlled vocabulary. Most of the participating institutions are from Germany; a few are non-Germanic, such as Hungary, England and Poland.

Overall recommendations from the panel participants and the audience members included the real need to create a general catalog and inventory of what collections exists, what ethnographic groups are represented, and where these collections are housed. While this discussion raised many pertinent issues which fall into the general categories, they are also present in the project that is being developed in Ukraine. Developing a common searchable database remains a great challenge. There exist so many traditions of describing collections and each archive. Each archive follows principles of organizing its collections, which often reflects specific demands of the discipline within the context of cultural, historical and professional development of the institution.

Another formidable problem is the handling of publication rights and rights attached to the holdings -- a sentiment shared by many during the later discussion. Tommy Sjorberg, for example, stated that many archives are reluctant to publish recordings on the Internet, and currently DISMARC is working on a solution to allow these recordings to be accessible. It was not clear from the original project abstract what role DISMARC will play in making content available outside the archival institution. The question was raised by several audience members of whether DISMARC was in the process of developing a European Union registry of sound recordings or whether its role is to provide content as well. The participants of the project are still grappling with the project’s true objectives. The roundtable strongly stated that archives in general should
refrain from considering delivering content from their collection, because there remain too many unanswered questions.

**Acting Locally: Cultural Heritage from the Bottom Up**

I found myself at the bottom of one of Kyiv's most cultural streets -- Andriyivskyj Uzviz. This long and steeply wound, cobblestone street connects the hilly part of Stare misto or The Old City with Podil or “The Bottom,” which lies along on the expansive banks of the Dnipro river. Reminiscent of Russian aristocratic life of the late 19th century, the street is lined by two- and three- story buildings – its façade partially revealing Kyiv's vibrant art culture. Museums and art galleries occupy the first floor of these awesome structures. On any typical weekend, Andriyivsky uzviz resembles a carnival or bazaar with public displays of culture: from Ukrainian folk ensembles decked out in ethnic costumes to tourists posing near bronze statues of well-known actors playing memorable roles from the film *Za dvoma zatsiamy (Betwixt two rabbits)*, a period piece describing the awkward mix of aristocratic life and rural backwardness under Tsarist rule. Most scenes of the film take place on this site.

Newlyweds congregate to pose in front of the Andriyivsky sobor – the church after which the street is named. One Friday afternoon, a young couple approached me and asked if I could take a picture with the camera hanging around my neck. A museum dedicated to Russian writer Mykhayil Bulgakov – also a popular draw – is located in the place where the writer lived during the first years after the Bolshevik revolution.
Everyone walked on the left side of the street. Starting from the top and working your way down, you would pass one vendor after another: arts-and-crafts stalls, antique embroideries, and lots of kitsch. You would also notice a living artist hanging-out: elbows perched on a windowsill, gazing occasionally at onlookers, usually a cigarette in hand, and mutely observing curiously a passer-by casually eyeing the paintings draped on the stucco wall underneath the window frame. These vendors, the artists, their studio, and their goods would draw immense crowds of locals and tourists alike, who would flock to this street making it practically impassable on weekends. Starting at the bottom of this well-known street seemed as the perfect metaphor for process of working my way to the top. But here I was now – starting at the top with a President’s charitable organization.

I circled around a few buildings near the end of the street trying to find an address on a street of Soviet-style office buildings, a line of demarcation from the 19th century air of the touristy upper section. I wasn't accustomed to seeing the street so deserted. Unlike the previous times I visited, the street was completely deserted. Maybe this was typical of the street during the week? As I entered the grounds of a non-descript building and approached its entrance, a tiny voice maybe tinged with a little perturbation resonated through the crackling intercom: "Da?!" – the tone of voice resembled a typical greeting during a phone call. I interpreted the greeting as a kind of shorthand for asking my name and the nature of business.

A brief dialogue ensued, but the point of the exchange was simply this: "I came to see the Director. We scheduled a meeting at this time...." A momentary pause gave way to the door buzzing me through. As I walked through a corridor, I concentrated on the only
thing that seemed recognizably civilized: the building's gatekeeper -- and presumed greeter. An older gentleman was sitting nonchalantly at a bar-like stool, which lay next to several black-and-white monitors depicting the gate I went through just moments ago and some empty streets. He didn't ask for any identification, but started a casual conversation and suddenly remarked on my last name -- an experience familiar to me especially at such bureaucratic crossings: "There was once this famous soccer player with the same last name as yours."

Relishing this recognition: "Yeah, he's an uncle." He nodded: "Where is he now?" As I blurted something, he looked away and picked up the phone -- maybe he was calling the director's secretary: "Kharasho" Russian for "Okay". He turned to me and instructed me to go down the steps and wait in the anteroom. "Just wait a bit outside the door and someone will come out to get you." On the way to the waiting room hung a few pictures of the president's wife, Kateryna Yushchenko, in various poses with regular people: children offering ritual bread and salt, most in ethnic dress.

But which door was it? There were at three unmarked doors, all of them shut closed. I wore the only official looking thing I had -- a blue blazer and khaki pants -- and carried with me a large blue portfolio. The "paradnyj odiah" or literally "parade uniform" belied the usual role I assumed throughout the year researching folk song sound archives. No longer carrying an ordinary-looking day-pack-ful of recording equipment -- camera, flash recorder, and microphone -- I assumed the unusual function of impresario. Or was it unusual? The stakes seemed much higher now with the project in full swing and a
 seminar looming just a few weeks away. No longer was I gathering information about sound archives, but managing the promotion of a national cultural project.

Behind one of these doors was the man in charge of the President's "Ukraine 3000" fund: a thousand years of cultural funding for projects such as ours. I was here to help, and I arranged my facial expression to suit the occasion. I was no supplicant. Relieved to have a moment to myself, I fixed my tie, dusted off the blazer, and looked particularly close at the shoes to make sure the subway ride and afterwards the 1/2-kilometer trek from the bus station did not dimish their shine. I had perspired a bit from the stroll. My attention was now consumed by a few thumb strokes to put my cell phone into silent mode. I knew my papers were in order.

The door on the left swung open and a husky man also in a business suit greeted me. I was surprised to see an open office with four or five other desks occupied. No one looked up until I murmured in Ukrainian: "Dobryjden" or good morning. They tore their gaze from the computer monitors, smiled politely, and then resumed being preoccupied. There were no complicated introductions. An efficient business-like exchange ensued. The large man questioned my name: "[You are] Anton?" I nodded, to which he matter-of-factly responded: "[This is] Oleksa". An earnest handshake led to a casual gesture to an empty chair. As I approached the desk I was awestruck by out-of-proportion things in the corner of this room: an over-sized map of Ukraine affixed to the wall behind the lilliputian desk.

Oleksij was the director of President Victor Yushchenko's charitable fund "Ukraine 3000". The Ukraine 3000 International Charitable Foundation was a non-
governmental charitable organization founded in 2001 in preparation for the next millennium. “Slukhayiu vas! (You have my attention).” I began in earnest with a more substantive introduction and recounted how I got to this office. He began to listen politely and I started to discuss my project and the upcoming seminar. My approach, I thought, was quite informal in spite of our formal appearances across one another. We were both in coat and tie. I imagined consciously the others in the room listening to our conversation: a discussion between these two individuals — practically equals — facing one another. On one side, the millennial curator of Ukrainian culture, and across the divide, an American envoy, whose stated mission was to search the cellars of every institute and private collector in Ukraine for phonographic field recordings.

The familiar approach seemed to work at least in the beginning. We found a common language that found helpless bureaucrats worrying more about pressing issues of today than to completely understand the importance or uniqueness of authentic folk song field work collections. At key moments, I took out props from my blue portfolio: elegant color laser printouts of the project, the website, a tentative guest list of people planning to attend the seminar.

“Who is the webmaster?” as he looked up, incredulously implying “Did you really create this?!” I responded. “Just Me?! Really, I only know how to collect folk songs. We have a professional working with us...a web architect who is managing this portion of the project.”

I summarized the nine months of fieldwork – what I learned from studying all these archives, something like: “There are many unknown collections of traditional music
archives in Ukraine just waiting to be rediscovered. However, due to the lack of proper professional care and funding, these collections were at risk of being completely lost..." I continued by laying out the range of common problems. Problems -- like the inadequate communication, insufficient collaboration, and fear of sharing knowledge, not to mention deficient funding by the government ministries. I suggested that a forum like the seminar we were organizing could be a good starting point to address some of these issues.

Oleksyj perused the guest list and asked whether all these individuals would be part of this forum. He continued: "You probably know there are other key players in this area and without them, you will find it hard to promote your cause. You really should try to include them in this process." He began to list other individuals who might help in this effort. Soon the discussion turned to music celebrities. We soon began sparring about which celebrity would be a more appropriate “symbolic” figure for the event we were planning. Should it be Oleh Skrypka – rocker from the group VV and founder of the folk festival Krayina Mryj or Country of Dreams? or should it be Ruslana, the singer from Lviv, who won the Eurovision song contest in 2005? Both are strong advocates of folk music. Both also openly appropriate elements of folk music in their own creative projects. The Ukraine 3000 director thought Skrypka had more symbolic capital. Ruslana, as it turns out, would participate in the end.

As I narrated the places I visited and challenges facing these archives and my theoretical-turned-applied research to help create a grassroots network of experts from local and regional sound archives, I became consumed by this enormous map of Ukraine behind my interlocutor. My eyes involuntarily started to follow the areas I had visited.
The project began to resemble more like a battle plan or -- maybe in the director's mind -- a sequence of invasions, which started out in the rural areas in Ukraine, slowly working their way to key metropolitan centers, encircling the nation's capital and finally ending up at this very desk.

At some point the director must have been smirking introspectively as I described my role as that of a zviazkovij or messenger that was assigned to me by my hosts early in my fieldwork. As I traveled between these archives my hosts relied on me to courier books, manuscripts, articles, recordings, and any other news about current research projects at their institutes. Zviazkovij was a term used in the context of WWII and often applied to an itinerant individual, usually a local person in the village, who knew all the hidden paths and hideouts in the forest, where the underground resistance would stake out during their extended fight with the enemy-- in this case the Red Army. Zviazkovijs were local heroes during the war, but soon after became the scourge of their own land. As a victorious army recaptured and reoccupied territories, they were summarily rounded up, later found guilty of collaboration, and sentenced to decades of hard labor in the Siberian Gulag in places like Mahagdan. The awkward slip of the tongue began to unravel the smooth conversation.

I soon surmised the intensity of Oleksa's body language as he huddled over his tiny desk, hands clasped. Oleksa was a large man sharing some resemblance -- at least in stature -- to Vitalij and Vladimir Klitschko, the Ukrainian professional boxing duo. He must have known before I walked through the door that I was seeking some kind of support -- although I came to him through a referral in Lviv. What was he thinking? This
is not yet another Patricia Kennedy Grimsted reincarnation, the American who made a career studying Russian and Soviet Archives?

At the end of our conversation, I asked if the “Ukraine 3000” could assist with the project and the organization of the seminar. Maybe the President’s wife would like to attend the opening of the seminar, I intimated? Oleksa laughed at the suggestion: "We can help you by promoting your event in our news bulletin. Send us something in writing in the next few days, and we'll publish it on our announcement page."

I left the office and building unceremoniously. The gatekeeper at the front wished me well and asked me to pass on his greetings to my uncle, the soccer player. All was calm on Andrijivsky uzviz and the buildings looked as indistinct as I came to know them and the streets still remained empty.

Preserving our folk heritage (On page 7 of Ukrayinskyj muzej – Informatsijnyj biuletin (Ukrainian museum - Informational bulletin) No. 3 (10), May 2006 (translated from the Ukrainian))

The Fulbright Program for Academic Exchange along with the US Embassy's Department of Press, Education and Culture is organizing a seminar "Networking Cultural Heritage Collections in Ukraine" (Kyiv, 8-9 June 2006).

The objective of the seminar is to formulate discussion of possibilities regarding the effective functioning of budgeted and non-government-sponsored sound archives of folkloric heritage in Ukraine. The following themes are proposed for the framework of this event:

- Technical aspects of preserving archives;
- Catalogization and perspectives of creating a unified, database of cultural heritage collections of Ukraine;
- Securing support of special projects;
- Cultural heritage field recordings and the problem of intellectual property;
- Access to budgeted and private archives of folkloric heritage;
Given the extreme current situation, the following fact can illustrate that point that a significant portion of unique folkloric sound recordings are preserved today on technically antiquated audio cassettes and reel-to-reel tape.

The main objective of this meeting is to create a forum, which will allow specialists to share [exchange] experience regarding their ethnographic collections, and also collectively formulate the main problems and determine strategies for preserving archives of cultural heritage and safeguarding access to them.

Over twenty experts representing cultural institutions and organizations from various regions of Ukraine and beyond its borders, which professionally work in the area of Ukrainian folkloristics have been invited to participate in the seminar.

The findings of the seminar will be published in a special publication, and also published on the website portal www.folk.org.ua. As a way to promote the work of the seminar, leading Ukrainian and world mass media information organizations will also be present.

"Ukraine 3000" published information about the up-coming seminar in its bulletin. To my surprise, the process was very efficient. The posting was submitted to the foundation via email on 5/17 a day after our meeting, and the hard-copy bulletin was sent out to its mailing list on 5/26. Both the announcement and the bulletin were also posted on the foundation’s website.

However, as soon as the announcement was sent out by email, one of the project collaborators, Yaroslav, had noticed that the electronic submission contained inaccurate information. The first listed “main” contact phone number was incorrect – its first digits after the area code were reversed. The simple, but significant mistake was overlooked when we were proofreading the announcement text online.
At the time, Yaroslav was in Lviv, and I was working in Kyiv. Just a few hours before the announcement was sent via email to Oleksyj, Yaroslav and I were finalizing the wording of the announcement:

5/17/2006

6:45 AM me: howdy
Yaroslav: :)  
me: how are you feeling? 
6:46 AM Yaroslav: +-
   me: working too hard:) 
Yaroslav: правлю вам анонсa [correcting your announcement]
6:50 AM me: you perfectionist:)

Throughout the project and the organization of the seminar, I relied on a large number of individuals like Yaroslav to edit and correct any official correspondence and communications with individuals whom I didn’t know personally, but met during meetings. In fact, this was an important process for me not only in understanding the Ukrainian sensibilities of communicating information through style and tone, but it also showed the limits my usually American, direct, deliberate, and sometimes business-like approach.

There was no set time frame how or when our collaboration on these types of tasks would take place: our conversations could have started off very early in the morning as in the case of preparing the announcement for Ukraine 3000, during the day, or even late at night. These work sessions were often spontaneous, depending if we were online at the same time usually when his work day ended and mine began. Yaroslav was a
veritable owl — working late in the night into the early morning. Rarely did our work schedules coincide. My routine two months to the seminar — seemingly a little more Western in the eyes of my Ukrainian hosts — usually included getting up early in the morning, jogging through favorite areas of the neighborhood, and meetings with key informants. In Kyiv, I lived only a few blocks away from Olympic stadium, where I would often go to jog. The same handful of people would greet me on the track and field. Without fail I saw the same two men argue openly in Russian about the political situation in the Ukrainian parliament as I whisked past their slower, but deliberate stride. We never introduced one another, but judging from their conversations and brand name jogging suits, they were probably people whom I would like to interact with early in the morning while jogging.

Yaroslav, on the other hand, had the tendency to work non-stop until his tasks were completed. This time I caught him online still working on some of his web projects.

Later in the conversation:

Yaroslav: упс - ще не поїхало - не натиснув гудзичка.. [oops, it still hasn’t gone yet — didn’t click on the button]
антоній - телефон? який? [antonyj, telephone number? which one?]
me: відпочинь трохи... [rest a little…] який телефон [which telephone number]

Yaroslav: в тебе в анонсі фігурує київстарівський.. [in your announcement the Kyivstar number is listed]
може unlimited? ^) [maybe [we should try] the unlimited? ]

7:06 AM me: так, бо це сталий номер. як ти мислиш? [yes, because this is the permanent number. How are you thinking?]
Yaroslav: давай два [let’s try two]
me: може дійсно краще два номери. [maybe truly it is better with two numbers]
Yaroslav: не будеш мусіти постійно носитися з двома дзвонилками [then you won’t have to continually be carrying with two ringers (slang for mobile phones) ]
Surprisingly, these forms of collaboration involved individuals who were not folklorists, archivists or even ethnomusicologists. Rather, I relied on the feedback from outsiders. Perhaps, the main reason for this was that most folklorists and ethnomusicologists with whom I worked throughout the year had only limited access to the Internet. With only a few weeks before the seminar, timeliness in responding to emails in a style that was acceptable among my peers would become a crucial factor. I wanted to create the right impression at least within the context of correspondence.

As seen in this exchange with Yaroslav regarding a follow-up letter to Oleksa regarding our first meeting (described elsewhere). I wanted to thank Oleksij for the meeting:

«Пане Олексію, дуже приємно було з Вами сьогодні зустрітися. Радий, що проект "Створення мережі архівів культурної спадщини" викликав у Вас зацікавлення....[Mr. Oleskij, it was very nice to meet with you today. I'm glad, that the project “Networking cultural heritage collections in Ukraine” interested you... we anticipate that the seminar will become raise awareness, and bring about beneficial collaboration between archives in Ukraine and beyond its borders.]

Yaroslav suggested to change the style and tone of the letter, but then balked at my formal constructions:

“the letter writer sounds too “official” – (ні каріть! ) it doesn’t cut the mustard, the censor has blocked it :)” After subsequent exchanges with Yaroslav, the announcement about the seminar was sent out along with this rather laconic expression of thanks:
“Mr Olekciu, it was very nice to meet with you today. Sending you the short announcement for your bulletin about the Seminar. Thank you, that you proposed to publish this information about it.”

The journalist, computer programmer, librarian, and later psychologist, whom I asked to proofread the various surveys, letters of introduction, letters of invitation, and seminar program were the main source of input. Without these collaborators, the impact of this effort to bring together these experts would have been far less effective. In many cases, the individuals with whom I worked, built upon the ideas outlined in my crude mix of American utilitarianism and Ukrainian utopianism, and introduced improved modes of arguments.

The effect was resounding, and the collaboration with these non-folklorists did get the attention of the my target constituent – the folklorists. My mentor from Lviv, for example, began to comment openly in a phone conversation in mid-April: “Listen, Antony, I’m getting phone calls from quite of few people, asking me: who is this American? and what you are up to with this project? It is interesting that I had to vouch for you.”

In a sense, I was relying on these outsiders to gain greater authority among the main participants of the project. I wanted to be “as one of them” with these initial communications. From my perspective, this served as a tool to convince the folklorists to warm up to the idea of coming together and doing something together, as well as respond positively to the project.
Thus, the challenge for the group of collaborators was to find a language that was not too technical, and a message which would stress the humanitarian and moral issues regarding these collection. The “salvage-ethnography” trope, for example, would be one that folklorists would identify with directly with their own efforts to document and preserve the same oral traditions. Ukrainian folklorists as early as Volodymyr Hnatiuk in Ukraine have been saying this since the early 1900s. This would be one common thread of concern to help promote this project, to initiate a call to action. However, we didn’t want to limit it simply to the overarching idea of a “salvage ethnography program” either. Rather, an idea was introduced: how do we get these recordings out to the public? How to make them more accessible?

The details of the seminar were still in the works. The logistics of sending out invitations, reserving hotels, catering, and other organizational aspects were still unclear. A greater priority for me was getting the right mix of people. I found myself speaking with experts outside the discipline -- convincing them that folk song field recordings and archives also apply to their field – while balancing this group with a range of experts in the discipline, who shared a concern, but lacked an interest to work together. Thus, I was beginning to envision what the right mix of specialists from each group, and the multiple ways they would interact with these materials.

As the project expanded from the usual coterie of folklorists, who were tethered to their institutions and unable to collaborate because of their geographic distances, there were other groups of specialists in Kyiv specifically, who find interest in the plight of these unique field recordings housed in haphazard conditions. My meetings several
weeks before the seminar were focused on these individuals outside of the archive: the journalist, the lawyers, the sound technician, computer programmer, and entrepreneurs, who were also interested in working with field recordings of traditional music. But first, the message had to be created.

The Survey

A few weeks before my meeting with Oleksa took place at the Ukraine 3000 fund, I began to develop a survey for archives and private collectors. I was constantly frustrated during the fieldwork that no directory of folklorists and institutions existed. Often I relied on contacting people, who would refer me to other individuals. Thus part of the project was to survey cultural heritage collections. As a resource, I already had a list of ethnomusicologists and institutions, but these were part of my field notes and in the directory of my personal cell phone.

The simple survey I envisioned could not be distributed without some explanation as to why this effort is being organized and for what purpose. Already, people were questioning the motives behind the project. The letter of introduction was a key element not only in the process of introducing the survey, but in coalescing key attributes of the project defined by historical accomplishments of the field (e.g., lots of field recordings) to contemporary realities (e.g., that are in need for better care); from social commentary (e.g., unique recordings known by local scholars) to earnest suggestions (e.g., share your information), etc.

The same collaborative process of proofreading and brainstorming was adopted with the development of the survey for archives Ukraine. The accompanying letter of
introduction, just a few weeks before the seminar had officially begun, would serve as a promotional piece for the project.

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LETTER of INTRODUCTION (accompanying the survey)

Dear colleagues,

Throughout the last century researchers, scientists, and social activists have been involved in a variety of fieldwork research projects documenting cultural heritage in Ukraine. These multimedia collections consisting of audio and photo/video archives have become important resources for teaching and unique factological sources to many humanitarian and scientific disciplines.

However, the historical and organizational development of many of these unknown archives to a certain degree limits the current effort to secure on a national level the preservation of these collections for future generations of researchers and supporters. Information about the existence of these oral history collections is limited and not accessible. They are usually known known to a small circle of specialists. Because of the lack of necessary funding to these archives with unique cultural heritage collections of Ukraine it has become harder to develop their programs within these budgetary organizations, and to serve their patrons on an appropriate, professional level.

Therefore it’s unfortunate to state the fact that at this time a significant portion of these collections is under serious threat of accelerated deterioration, and possibly, irreversible loss – including the lack of professional information about the contemporary means of their adequate preservation, and also of course the systematic application of these methods.

In order to avoid the negative impact of “forced localization” of information, and to open some type of dialogue between the archives throughout Ukraine, we propose the following project Networking cultural heritage collections in Ukraine, which was started by Ukrainian and American scholars. This project is being organized under the auspices of the Fulbright Academic Exchange Program – an American organization, which allows scholars to exchange professional experience on an international level.

One of the primary goals of the seminar is to create a National forum of specialists to direct discussion of the most important questions, which pertain to the activities of cultural heritage collections in Ukraine. Specifically, questions regarding the preservation collections, access to them, regulation of the question of intellectual property, and also how to find additional funding and support for these project, etc.
To help collect information about the status of these cultural heritage collections, a survey of these collections is being initiated. The objective of this survey is to aggregate basic information about the funds and collections of cultural heritage— institutions as well as private collectors in Ukraine. We ask your consideration in the wide circulation of this letter and survey among all interested participants.

The results of this question will be provided in a separate publication, and also in a special Internet website, devoted to the activities of these funds in Ukraine. The completion of this survey we ask to complete by 5/31/2006 and sent to the following address, indicated on the survey.

During the process of developing the survey in mid-March, I began to waiver over soliciting the assistance of folklorists, not because of convenience, but over the range of disagreement about how to conduct a survey and the questions that should be asked. For example, among ethnographers who specialize in Ukrainian Folklife, questions were raised about surveying the recordings of national minorities, or geographic areas outside Ukraine's administrative borders. Other folklorists working in the capital, whom I asked to proofread the survey, suggested a question to the effect: whether the respondents would approve of their collection being "taken care of" by the national archives of Ukraine. After additional consultation, this last question was left out, because it seemed to suggest a type of "nationalization" of regional and private collections, which could affect how the respondents, especially private collectors, would interpret the motives behind the survey. However, the questions asking the representation of national minorities and geographic areas outside Ukraine's border remained.

As the survey developed, some discussion focused on the kind of information, and the ease by which respondents would be able to complete the survey. During my
interviews with other folklorists, I discovered other attempts had been made to survey
cultural heritage collections in the 1970s, 1980s, 1990s, and more recently early 2000s.
The only existing published survey of archives of field recordings was found in a
specialized journal of folk music documentation practices of regional archives at the
various music conservatories, which incidentally became the basis of my field research
project in Ukraine. In each of the other cases, the results were never published nor the
results accessible by other folklorists.

One common feature of the failed attempts to survey sound archives in Ukraine
was the complexity of the process and the breadth of information requested of
institutions. Perhaps this is reminiscent of ethnomusicology's early attempt to survey
living minstrel musicians in the 1920s. Klyment Kvitka's now famous 100+ page
questionnaire of instrumentalists was sent out to administrative centers and cultural
centers throughout Soviet Ukraine. No response is known to have been received.
Although the purpose of Kvitka's survey and questionnaire extended beyond the creation
of a registry of a dwindling number of minstrels. There was also a pedagogical
component that was motivated by the strategy to create a grassroots network of folklorists
and enthusiasts to assist in collecting information about these musician's repertoire while
concurrently recording their daily practices as part of their profession. The 1990s project
didn't succeed, however for alternative reasons. The author survey sought to collect
information from every institution and private collector in Ukraine. The result was in fact
a large collection of data on several key archives, but the author felt the sample too
incomplete to publish. Its questionnaire was also too detailed.
The last known survey was initiated by a museum in Kyiv. It had difficulty getting sufficient responses from outside its metropolitan area. Like the first, the results were never published or made accessible. Thus, with these considerations and lessons learned, the survey was developed to collect very basic information about the institution and its collection. The primary goal was to create a directory based on the information collected and make it accessible to the public at large. How this information would be collected and how it would be formatted still remained undetermined. The development of a website was budgeted in the project, however no steps were taken to create the site. Nevertheless, the most important feature in creating any network of institutions and organizations would be their contact information. I asked Yaroslav to assist with the formatting of the survey. I was living in Kharkiv (East Ukraine) at the time, and Yaroslav in Lviv (West Ukraine). Again we would be collaborating online. I was working at an Internet café in Kharkiv, while Yaroslav was in his home office in Lviv. There was some sense of urgency in completing the survey within a few days. I was preparing to travel to Donetsk for a conference, and thought this would be a good opportunity to promote the project and handout the survey. Yaroslav was not a big Microsoft user. He worked mostly with Linux, and when it came to formatting the document and printing, I experienced problems having the survey printed. I also wanted to include the Fulbright office letterhead, which was a word document. The result of the effort became a one page survey on two sides of A4-format paper. Several considerations were taken into account, but the most important was the ability to photocopy and distribute a page to as many people as possible. The accompanying letter was also formatted to fit on one page.
The survey consisted of two sections with a total of ten questions. The first half of the bipartite survey asked about the archive itself and its collection. The second regarded the institution and its collectors. The questions and responses were formatted in a way that required very little interpretation from the respondent. Basically we designed it so that only check marks and inserting figures (e.g., such as number of hours) to describe their collection. Questions asked about the size of the collection, its date range, type of materials, national groups represented in the collection, its geographic representation and distribution, the status of the collections catalogization, and who the main patrons are of the collection. The survey was designed to place check marks by the main categories, along with a “other” comment field.

The accompanying letter also relied on the help of other participants. Yaroslav and a librarian Nina provided input on the letter particularly how I formulated the original argument for completing the survey. Notice the emphasis on how “easy” it is to complete the survey, compared with the actual letter that was sent with the survey:

“Please peruse the survey that is included with this letter. The objective of this survey is the collection of information about existing funds and collections of cultural heritage both at institutions, as well as at private collections in Ukraine. The survey is not too complicated, and requires no more than 10 minutes to complete. More importantly, please pass this survey along to the proper individuals. Thus, we ask that you photocopy this survey and give to the proper individual for it completion. We ask, that the completed survey would be sent by 30th of May 2006.”
Yaroslav as well as a coterie of other professionals played an important role in the process of formulating the main arguments of the projects (e.g., let's save the collections) and its desired results (e.g., let's save them together by creating this forum), and as our collaboration evolved, soon ideas began to emerge that would take the seminar beyond the usual institutions and actors.
In Lieu of a Conclusion

Here I would like to share some of the accomplishments and strategies of the latest project "Networking Cultural Heritage Collections in Ukraine," which were introduced during the Ukrainian delegation's panel at the 2008 ICTM World Conference. The presentation was adapted to address some of the issues raised in panels described in the previous chapter. However, it is understandable that many of the issues discussed in the these other projects are specific to the realities of the European Union and the United States and may not apply currently to problems experienced in post-Soviet countries like Ukraine.

The project to network cultural heritage collections in Ukraine shares many of the objectives of other ethnomusicological digital archives projects such as DISMARC and EVIA in that it strived to develop a process of collaboration to compile information about existing archives and collections. The initial point of entry for the Ukrainian project had been to identify and locate archives in Ukraine and to survey their collections. Second, it solicited experts from many different fields, who could comment professionally on related issues of preservation, access and intellectual property. The national seminar in Kyiv "Networking cultural heritage collections in Ukraine" was the first step in bringing together specialists from all parts of Ukraine to discuss not only their collections, but also allowed specialists in each of these organizations to share best practices developed locally in their archives with a national forum. Finally, it created channels of communication through the development of a website portal – www.folk.org.ua – to help promote information about these collections.
The development of a website is still an ongoing process. It has been the driving force behind further development of the project. The website www.folk.org.ua was created to raise awareness about the existence of these archives, identify the content of their collections, and their activities. In addition to the online publication of a directory of these archives, the website also features a portal section, where institutions are publishing descriptions about their activities and collections. A significant contribution to the website is the audio library, in which participating archives and collectors have shared samples of their field recordings. Some of these field recordings, such as those recorded on Edison wax cylinders, were made available publicly for the very first time. Subsequently, a web forum was created after the ICTM conference, where participants are able to share information pertinent to the discipline that can be readily accessed by the public.

The Ukrainian project has made significant progress in areas that will help promote cultural heritage collections in Ukraine. The Ukrainian project has accomplished the most important task of identifying and surveying most of the major institutional collections in Ukraine. Thanks to a survey conducted in the spring of 2006 and published on the project website, preliminary results show some important facts, which will help develop further a national program to preserve the collection for long term preservation and storage. According to the archives, which participated in the survey, there exists approximately 5,200 hours of audio and 320 hours of video field recordings in approximately 30 institutions. The institutions and private collectors that shared data about their ethnographic collections also indicated general regional and ethnic representation of their collections. Although not exhaustive, the survey results can now
become the cornerstone for planning preservation projects, anticipate resources, and the costs needed to digitize the entire corpus of ethnographic field recordings in Ukraine.

Our presentation suggested possible solutions for accomplishing the tasks of networking the cultural heritage collections in Ukraine and overcoming hurdles mentioned above. A working model developed by Yaroslav Davydovsky describes how the archive, as part of the archivist's everyday practice, would be responsible for processing, organizing, cataloguing, and granting access to field recordings in their collection. The electronic catalog would be created for the archive's internal use and could also be made accessible via the Internet through a web portal like www.folk.org.ua. This database would be accessible to archivists and patrons alike, who could be able to search the archive's sound or video library. Access to any part of the collection would be regulated at the archival level. It is possible that participating archives could provide copies their digital collection offsite for safe-keeping and long term storage. The result would no longer resemble an archive but a kind of digital library.

It is possible that future information technologies will provide solutions to these problems. Additional tools must be developed to overcome the financial burden. In other words, a project should incorporate an effective and efficient work process that is a technological extension of the work process of the archive itself. This is where technology can play an important part of incorporating the everyday practice of creating the archive. Although the Ukrainian project has tools for individuals and institutions to share information as well as contribute sample recordings to the portal's audio library, it
still has to work out this seamless integration of the archive's catalog into a centralized database.

This dissertation summarizes some of the preliminary findings of studying institutions of cultural heritage such as the sound archive. The next phase of this project will be to work with Ukrainian policy makers to begin developing laws, which will protect the status of sound recordings in Ukraine. Due to the relatively small size of these collections found throughout Ukraine, and the level of documentation, it is feasible that a comprehensive program could be developed to address the moral and ethical concerns of the folk singer, archivists, and the researcher. Much work remains in this area.
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Appendix A
**DRAFT**

THE RYL'S'KYI INSTITUTE UKRAINIAN CYLINDER COLLECTION

AFC 1992/005

Prepared by Anthony Potoczniaik and Ann Hoog
August 2007

Library of Congress
American Folklife Center
Archive of Folk Culture
Washington, D.C.
COLLECTION SUMMARY
Collection Number: AFC 1992/005
Title: The Ryl's'kyi Institute Ukrainian Cylinder Collection
Repository: Archive of Folk Culture, American Folklife Center, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.
Bulk Dates: ca. 1908-1930
Extent (original): 7 linear inches of manuscripts (1 1/2 boxes), 84 sound recordings, 64 graphic materials (2 folders), 2 videocassettes, 4 items of electronic media.
Creator: Instytut mystetstvoznavstva, fol'kloru ta etnohrafic; im. M.T. Ryl's'koho [M.T. Ryl's'kyi Institute of Art, Folklore Studies and Ethnology], Kiev, Ukraine
Languages: English, Ukrainian
Abstract: The collection is comprised of ethnographic materials collected in the early twentieth century (ca. 1908-1930s) by Ukrainian ethnologists and documents oral traditions, folk songs, and folk music of several ethnic regions in present day Ukraine.

SCOPE AND CONTENT
The collection materials in the Ryl's'kyi Institute Ukrainian Cylinder Collection fall into two broad categories: 1) The ethnographic materials including sound recordings, music transcriptions, photographic images, cylinder notes, and 2) Publicity materials (news releases, announcements, presentation flyers, and various clippings that promoted the collection in the U.S. and Ukraine).

The ethnographic materials were collected during the early twentieth century (ca. 1908-1930s) by Ukrainian folklorists and musicologists, and include Ukrainian folk music traditions from various regions of Ukraine including the Kharkiv (Kharkov) region in what was then Soviet Ukraine and the Carpathian region of Eastern Galicia in Interwar Poland (1919-1939). These regions are now part of present day Ukraine.

The collection is primarily comprised of field recordings on wax cylinders held by the Ryl's'kyi Institute of Art, Folklore Studies and Ethnology (Kiev, Ukraine). There are approximately 400 individual song and instrumental compositions representing several genres and performance styles specific to Ukraine, including bardic traditions (secular and religious songs), seasonal ritual folk songs (winter carols, spring songs), life-cycle rituals (weddings, funerals, etc.), as well as ballads, and instrumental and ensemble compositions. Of significant note are recordings of blind minstrels (e.g., "kobzari," limyky) probably made during the late 1920s and early 1930s before Stalinist purges, which destroyed the musicians and their distinct performance practices as well as the lives of many of the ethnographers who collected these song traditions.

The collection also includes musical transcriptions of some of the recordings made by folklorists of the period as well as accompanying ethnographic photographs of performers and their instruments dating from the turn of the 20th Century and from 1960. Additional documentation includes photocopies of slips of paper that were in the cylinder containers, many of which identify the contents of the cylinder.
Other photographs document Joseph Hickerson's trip to Ukraine and the Ryl's'kyi Institute in March 1994. Two videos, produced in 1994, promoting the institutional collaboration between the Ryl's'kyi Institute and the Library are also included in the collection.

INSTITUTIONAL HISTORY

The Maksym T. Ryl's'kyi Institute of Art, Folklore Studies and Ethnology traces its history back to increased scholarly interest in oral traditions in the early twentieth century. In 1920, the Ethnographic Commission was created and played an integral role in the development of Ukrainian ethnographic and folklore studies. The effort to collect materials related to cultural heritage and traditions in Ukrainian territories was especially productive during the years 1925-1930. The first state-sponsored ethnographic institution in the National Academy of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic was the Department (Kabinet) of Anthropology and Ethnology named after Fedir (Khvedir) Vovk, founded in 1922. Considerable research in ethnomusicology based on systematic fieldwork in the region using more advanced technologies (e.g., Edison phonograph) was conducted by this department under the direction of Klyment V. Kvitka. A similar effort was underway in Eastern Galicia during the same period, conducted by Ukrainian folklorists and ethnographers. Several ethnographers, including Volodymir Kharkiv (whose musical transcriptions of Ukrainian bards are included in the collection), were very active in collecting oral histories and folk songs during the 1930s, prior to the repressive policies by Joseph Stalin's administration in Soviet Ukraine. Intermittent ethnographic work resumed in 1936 when the Institute of Ukrainian Folklore was established.

The name of the Institute was changed several times. Maksym T. Ryl's'kyi, who was appointed its director in 1942, headed the Institute of Folk Arts Studies for more than 20 years. Under his directorship, the Institute (since 1944 – The Institute of Art Studies, Folklore and Ethnography) became a national research center in the studies of culture and art in Ukraine. The Institute was named after M.T. Ryl's'kyi in 1965. Its current name – M.T. Ryl's'kyi Institute of Art, Folklore Studies and Ethnology – was given in 1994. The Institute currently has several departments: Fine Arts Studies, Ethnic Arts and Culture Studies, Cinema and Theatre Studies, Folklore Studies, Studies of Arts and Folk Culture of Foreign Countries, Ethnology Center, Manuscript Fund, and Academic Library. The Institute also has branches in Khmelnitsky, Mykolaiv, Slovyansk, and Odessa.

SELECTED SEARCH TERMS

Any Ukrainian adjectival qualifiers listed below refer to materials in the Ukrainian language. Information in square brackets indicates the Ukrainian form of the word and, at times, a further explanation of the term.

This collection guide adapts the use of diacritic marks with the following scheme:

\[ a \]
Subjects/Genres
Ballads, Ukrainian [Ballady]
Bandura music
Bards and bardism
Beggars—Songs and music [Zhebrannia]
Blind musicians—Songs and music
Blind poets—Songs and music
Brigands and robbers—Songs and music
Carols, Ukrainian [Koli'adky]
Christmas music
Dance music [Kozachok]
Dumy, Ukrainian
Ensemble singing
Epic poetry, Ukrainian
Folk music
Folk poetry, Ukrainian
Gardening—Songs and music [Do polennia, weeding songs]
Hurdy-gurdy music
Hymns, Ukrainian
Instrumental ensembles
Instrumental music
Instytut mystetystvoznavstva, folkloru ta etnohrafic; im. M.T. Ryl's'koho
Laments [Holosinni'a] Musicians—Social conditions
Psalms (Music) [Psal'my]
Rites and ceremonies
Ritual singing*
Salt industry and trade—Songs and music [Chumats'ki]
Spring—Songs and music [Vesni'ankyi, spring carols]
Thieves—Songs and music
Wedding music [Ladkannya, Kolomyi-ky]
Working class—Music
Working class—Songs and music
Work songs [Strokars'ka]

Locations
Carpathian Mountains region
Galicia, Eastern (Ukraine)
Imperial Russia*
Kharkiv (Ukraine)
Kiev (Ukraine)
Ukraine
Ukraine, Eastern*
Ukraine, Soviet*
Ukraine, Western

Groups
Bandurists [Bandurysty]
Flute players [Sopilkar]
Guild musicians*
Hurdy-gurdy players* [Lirnyky]
Hutsuls
Kobza players* [Kobzary]
Pipes players* [Dudar]
Minstrels
Poles
Ruthenians
Ukrainians

Musical Instruments
Bandura
Cimbalom [Tsymbaly]
Drum
Flute [Sopilka or Dudna, hand-carved Ukrainian wooden flute]
Hurdy-gurdy [Lira]
Pipe (Musical instrument)
Kobza
Violin

ARRANGEMENT
Item numbers for the recordings, photos and electronic media were assigned by the American Folklife Center (AFC) and the Motion Picture, Broadcasting, and Recorded Sound division (M/B/RS) (sound recordings only). AFC's duplicates of the original ethnographic materials consist of photocopies of manuscript materials, tape copies, and photographic copy negatives.

Manuscript materials have been organized into the following sub-series: song inventories, song transcriptions, cylinder notes, engineer notes, publicity, published materials, and miscellaneous materials.

For the sound recordings, two preservation sets of recordings were made by AFC. The first set was transferred directly to 37 10-inch reel-to-reel tapes. The second set was transferred to U-Matic DAT tapes and include explanatory announcements in English and Ukrainian prior to each recording. Both sets were assigned the same numbers (SR01-SR37) because the recordings are the same; only the addition of announcements make them different. Reference copies are of the edited versions (with announcements).
Photographs are grouped into two sub-series: historical, ethnographic images from the Ryl's'kyi Institute and images taken during Joseph Hickerson's trip to Ukraine in 1992.

ACCESS

Listening and viewing access to the collection is unrestricted. Listening copies of the recordings are available in the Folklife Reading Room.

Restrictions may apply concerning the use, duplication, or publication of these and other items in this collection. Consult a reference librarian in the Folklife Reading Room for specific information. Audio duplication for distribution or commercial use must be cleared through the Ryl's'kyi Institute.

An Excel spreadsheet of the sound recordings and their musical content (song title, genre, performer's name, instrumentation, etc.), including the bilingual catalog, is available on one 3.5 inch computer disk. A printout is also included in Folder 2 of the collection.

ACQUISITION

The Ryl's'kyi Institute of Art, Folklore Studies and Ethnology (Kiev, Ukraine) loaned a collection of approximately 200 wax cylinders to the American Folklife Center for preservation duplication between 1990 and 1995. This institutional collaboration was initiated by two specialists: William Noll, then a research fellow at the Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute who was conducting fieldwork on bardic traditions in East Poland and Soviet Ukraine; and Valentina Borysenko, then chief archivist at the Ryl's'kyi Institute. As early as 1989, Noll informed Joseph C. Hickerson, Head of Acquisitions, American Folklife Center, about the existence of several wax cylinder collections in Soviet Ukraine of early 20th Century field recordings. Subsequently, the Library of Congress actively pursued the preservation project with several institutions, including the Ryl's'kyi Institute, following the breakup of the Soviet Union and the creation of an independent Ukrainian state.

The Ukrainian Wax Cylinder Project relied on collaboration among several divisions within the Library of Congress for duplication and processing including the M/B/RS (John Howell), European Division (Bohdan Yasinsky), The Exchange and Gift Division, Collection Policy Office, Collection Development Office, and AFC (Joseph C. Hickerson, Judith Gray, Daria Lassowsky Nebesh). Several outside organizations and agencies provided startup funding and promotion of the duplication process, including the Center for the Study of Oral History and Culture (Kiev, Ukraine), Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute, Maria Yasinysky Murowany Foundation, Rex Foundation, Soros Foundation, the Ukrainian Embassy in Washington D.C., and the United States Information Agency (USIA) during the period 1992 to 1994.

The cylinders arrived at the Library of Congress in several shipments between 1990 and 1993.
The 212 cylinders that were restored and duplicated by AFC represent a portion of the complete collection of wax cylinders at the Ryl's'kyi Institute, which is estimated to number between 300-400 cylinders. The collection also includes photographic images and music transcriptions, which were loaned and duplicated by AFC with the first shipment of cylinders in 1992.

Several public events were organized at the Library of Congress and at the Ryl's'kyi Institute between 1992 and 1994 to promote the restoration of the collection and institutional collaboration. Documentation of some of these events is located in Folders 17-18 in the collection.

The collection of wax cylinders was returned by courier in two large shipments to the lending institution in 1994 and 1995. One additional shipment of two cylinders that required significant restoration was later returned to Ukraine. A final shipment of master sound copies on DAT cassettes was sent from the Library of Congress to the Ryl's'kyi Institute in 1998.

Throughout the project's duration (1990-1998), the wax cylinder collection was processed and duplicated concurrently by AFC and M/B/RS. Judith Gray did the initial examination and documentation of the cylinders' condition and accompanying information as shipments were being received. Photocopies were made of musical transcriptions, ethnographic photographs, and notations on the cylinder boxes and lids as well as of handwritten notes occasionally enclosed with the cylinders, describing the song title, genre, and performer. The transfer of field recordings from wax cylinders onto 10-inch analog preservation tapes and digital formats was completed by special-formats recording engineer John Howell. Between 1994 and 1997, Daria Lassowsky Nebesh worked on the collection as an intern and as a contractor during the final phases of the duplication process. During the creation of master recordings for the collection, Nebesh created a bilingual catalog (English and Ukrainian) that provides a comprehensive inventory of the wax cylinders and includes the announcements of the sound engineer that prefaced the recording of each cylinder. She also prepared a preliminary index of the cylinders' musical content. In 1997, Nebesh made Ukrainian voice announcements for the master duplicate transfers for the Ryl's'kyi Institute. Processing of the collection was conducted in summer 2004 by intern Anthony Potoczniak and was completed by Ann Hoog in August 2007.

In a July 2004 interview, William Noll suggested there is a strong possibility that other materials describing the collection exist. Copies of scholarly materials related to the Ukrainian cylinder collection (e.g., unpublished manuscripts, published articles) may be located in another division of the Library of Congress (e.g., European Reading Room) or may still remain at the Ryl's'kyi Institute. Further investigation and oral histories with past participants of the collaborative project at AFC and the Ryl's'kyi Institute would be needed to determine the existence of such materials.

PREFERRED CITATION

Ryl's'kyi Institute Ukrainian Cylinder Collection, Archive of Folk Culture, American Folklife
Center, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

**RELATED MATERIALS**

The original collection and a copy of DAT cassettes of Ukrainian cylinders is housed at the Instytut mystetstvoznavstva, folkloru ta etnohraficz im. M.T. Ryl's'koho [M.T. Ryl's'kyi Institute of Art, Folklore Studies and Ethnology] in Kiev, Ukraine.

Address: 4 Hrushevsky St., 01001, Kiev-1, Ukraine
Phone: (044) 228 3454
E-mail: imfe@ukr.net, etnolog@etnolog.kiev.ua

A finding aid to other Ukrainian-related materials in the Archive Folk Culture is available from the Folklife Reading Room.

**COLLECTION CONCORDANCE BY FORMAT**

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<td>M/B/RS</td>
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CONTAINER LIST

Series I: Manuscripts
Box 1

Folder 1  Collection Guide
          15 pages.

Folder 2  Song Inventory
          Includes song titles in English and Ukrainian, names of performers when
          known, song genre, musical instruments, and gender of singer. (This is a
          printout of CF03 [Box 2, folder 25]). 22 pages.

          Glossary
          Definitions of musical terms found in the collection. 3 pages.

          Ukrainian Wax Cylinders: Notes
          Summary of the information contained on small pieces of paper that
          accompanied that wax cylinders. In Ukrainian with English translations.
          32 pages.

Folder 3  Ukrainian Wax Cylinders: Announcements
          Script for English and Ukrainian announcements made on the Library's
          copies of the Ukrainian wax cylinders. 30 pages.

Folder 4  Transcriptions (1/4)
          Made by Volodymir Kharkiv and others in the early 1930s. Transcriptions
          are mostly of two genres, dumy and psalm'y; musicians are mostly lirnyky
          players recorded in eastern Ukraine in the province of Kharkiv. 41 pages.

Folder 5  Transcriptions (2/4)
          Made by Volodymir Kharkiv and others in the early 1930s. Transcriptions
          are mostly of two genres, dumy and psalm'y; musicians are mostly lirnyky
          players recorded in eastern Ukraine in the province of Kharkiv. 34 pages.

Folder 6  Transcriptions (3/4)
          Made by Volodymir Kharkiv and others in the early 1930s. Transcriptions
          are mostly of two genres, dumy and psalm'y; musicians are mostly lirnyky
          players recorded in eastern Ukraine in the province of Kharkiv. 38 pages.

Folder 7  Transcriptions (4/4)
          Made by Volodymir Kharkiv and others in the early 1930s. Transcriptions
          are mostly of two genres, dumy and psalm'y; musicians are mostly lirnyky
          players recorded in eastern Ukraine in the province of Kharkiv. 30 pages.
Folder 8  Cylinder Notes, Sample Batch
See Folder 2 for transcriptions and translations of these notes. 53 pages.

Folder 9  Cylinder Notes, First Batch
See Folder 2 for transcriptions and translations of these notes. 39 pages.

Folder 10 Cylinder Notes, Second Batch (1/2)
See Folder 2 for transcriptions and translations of these notes. 62 pages.

Folder 11 Cylinder Notes, Second Batch (2/2)
See Folder 2 for transcriptions and translations of these notes. 23 pages.

Folder 12 Cylinder Notes, Third Batch (1/2)
See Folder 2 for transcriptions and translations of these notes. 52 pages.

Folder 13 Cylinder Notes, Third Batch (2/2)
See Folder 2 for transcriptions and translations of these notes. 25 pages.

Folder 14 Cylinder Notes, Addendum
See Folder 2 for transcriptions and translations of these notes. 58 pages.

Folder 15 Engineer's Notes (1/2)
John Howell's notes from the transfer of the cylinders. 51 pages.

Folder 16 Engineer's Notes (2/2)
John Howell's notes from the transfer of the cylinders. 37 pages.

Box 2
Folder 17 Publicity – LC
News releases, articles from LC publications, flyers. 54 pages.

Folder 18 Publicity – Non-LC
News releases, articles. Some in Ukrainian. 38 pages.

Folder 19 Scholarly Articles


Folder 20 One issue of *Rodovid*, #6, 1993.
Entire issue on Ukrainian blind bards [in Ukrainian]. 126 pages.

Folder 21
Selected articles from issues of *Rodovid*.
70 pages.

Folder 22
Miscellaneous materials
Cardboard pages from a shipment of cylinders and/or their documentation.
3 pages.

**Series II: Sound Recordings**

**Box 3**

SR38-SR46
Audio samples and announcements
9 audiocassettes.

**Series III: Graphic Images**

**Box 2**

Folder 23
Negatives, Project-Related: PH01-PH40
Photos taken from Joseph Hickerson's trip to Ukraine, June 1992. 38
black and white 35mm negatives; 2 color prints (3 ½" x 5" and 4" x 6").

Folder 24
Negatives, Ethnography: PH41-PH47
Blind bards and instruments. 7 copy negatives (4" x 5").

Negatives, Ethnography: PH48-PH54
Weddings from 1956-1959, 1964. From the Ryl's'kyi Institute Archives
Collection of Ivan Prokopiv, Vol. 14-3, pp. 492-. 7 copy negatives
(4" x 5").

Negatives, Ethnography: PH55-PH64
Ukrainian traditions, rituals, costumes, architecture, etc.
From the collection of the Art Museum of Poltava, 1897-1907.
10 copy negatives (4" x 5").

**Series IV: Moving Images**

**MV01**
USIA: The television and film service (60 minutes). Raw footage used in
"Window on America" (Show #89), which was aired on September 17,
1994. Produced by Slavko Nowytski. VHS.

**MV02**
USIA: "Window on America" (Show #89). Air date September 17, 1994.
Produced by Slavko Nowytski. VHS.

**MV03**
Global Library Project: "Cross Cultural Communication." VHS.
### Series V: Electronic Media

#### Box 2

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Code</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tr>
<td>CF01</td>
<td>Ukrainian Wax Cylinders notes and announcements</td>
<td>3.5-inch computer disk.</td>
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<tr>
<td>CF02</td>
<td>Ukrainian Wax Cylinders notes and announcements (backup)</td>
<td>3.5-inch computer disk.</td>
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<td>CF03</td>
<td>Excel spreadsheet of sound recording inventory</td>
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<tr>
<td>CF04</td>
<td>Excel spreadsheet of sound recordings inventory (backup)</td>
<td>3.5-inch computer disk.</td>
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</table>
Appendix A: Performers

**Singers**
- Dymydenko, Doki^a
- Hrishchenko, I–va
- Lukashenko, Varvara I^avdokha
- Lukashenko, Il'ko
- Malynka, Marii^a
- Polukash, Did (Grandpa)
- Shevchenko, Hryhoryi~
- Shevchenkova, Marii^a
- Sokhot'ska, Ms.
- Zryt's'kyi–, Andryi~

Female singer

Male singer

Female singer

Male singer

Female singer

Female singer

Male singer

Female singer

Male singer

Female singer

Male singer

Male singer

Instrumentalists
- Bernat'skyi, Ivan
- Boi–ko, Kornylo
- Dovhan', Petro
- Dovhan', Vasyl'
- Honchar, Larion
- Khrystenko, Kobzar
- Kolisnyk, Nestir
- Makar, Kobzar
- Movchan, Ihor
- Oblichenko, Hryts'ko
- Perepeli'uk, Kobzar
- Poklad, Nazar
- Popovych, Oleksii
- Semenyshyn, Ivan
- Veseliy, Salyvon

Hurdy-gurdy player [lirnyk]
Flute player [sopilkar]
Flute player [sopilkar]
Flute player [sopilkar]
Hurdy-gurdy player [lirnyk]
Bandurist [banduryst]
Hurdy-gurdy player [lirnyk]
Bandurist [banduryst]
Bandurist [banduryst]
Hurdy-gurdy player [lirnyk]
Bandurist [banduryst]
Hurdy-gurdy player [lirnyk]
Pipes player [dudar]
Hurdy-gurdy player [lirnyk]