

ПРОБЛЕМЫ ТРАДИЦИОННОЙ КУЛЬТУРЫ

PROBLEMS OF TRADITIONAL CULTURE



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THE CULTURAL AND HISTORICAL SIGNIFICANCE OF FOLKLORIC FORMS OF SOUND ADVERTISING

(Translated by R. Abraham)

The article is devoted to trading cries as a phenomenon of folk culture. Street vendors' cries, as a way of attracting a customer in a brief period, seem to be a significant indicator of intonation vocabulary in every culture found in a particular space and time. The cries of Paris, the cries of London, as well as the cries of the Russian cities recorded by Russian ethnographers, represent the richest material for studying not only advertising practices, but also the musical and intonational specifics of speech, its phono-semantic capabilities in transmitting emotional meanings through the melody of the spoken text. The author of the article has collected evaluative statements of Russian musicologists-folklorists about the specifics of the transition of melodiously sounded cries into musical speech utterances with special rhythmic and modal features. The analysis of the selected corpus of street vendors' cries allowed the author of the article to

give them a versatile description of them as a socio-cultural and musical phenomenon. The verbal and musical features of trading cries examined in the article reflect such factors as the specifics of national and regional folk cultural traditions, the influence of foreign musical culture, the current market situation and weather conditions. While the attempt to record the intonation and rhythmic structure of the cries does not reflect all the parameters of this phenomenon, it appears to be a noticeable characteristic of the composer's pitch and ability to draw the "sound landscape" of a street as a whole. The fact that many composers and musicologists have tried to record and analyse traders' cries provides us with a context within which they may be regarded as a specific form of folk art.

Key words: Folk oral advertising, folk musical heritage, musical intonation.

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КУЛЬТУРНАЯ И ИСТОРИЧЕСКАЯ ЗНАЧИМОСТЬ ФОЛЬКЛОРНЫХ ФОРМ ЗВУКОВОЙ РЕКЛАМЫ

Статья посвящена крикам торговцев как явлению народной культуры. Крики уличных торговцев как способ привлечь покупателя за

короткий промежуток времени представляются важным показателем интонационного словаря в каждой культуре, существующей в определен-

ном пространстве и времени. «Крики Парижа», «Крики Лондона», равно как и записанные русскими этнографами крики российских городов, представляют богатейший материал для изучения не только рекламных практик, но и музыкально-интонационной специфики речи, ее аудиальных фоносемантических возможностей в передаче эмоциональных смыслов посредством мелодизации проговариваемого текста. Автором статьи собраны оценочные высказывания российских музыковедов-фольклористов о специфике перехода мелодически озвученных выкриков в музыкальные речевые высказывания, обладающие особыми ритмическими и ладовыми чертами. Анализ отобранного корпуса указанных выкриков позволил автору статьи охарактеризовать их как социокультурное и музыкально-бытовое явление. Исследуемые в настоящей статье вербальные и музыкальные особенности криков торговцев характеризуются

воздействием таких факторов, как специфика национальных и региональных народных культурных традиций, влияние зарубежной музыкальной культуры, текущая рыночная ситуация и даже погодные условия. Несмотря на то, что попытки зафиксировать интонацию и ритмическую структуру подобных криков не запечатлевают всех параметров данного явления, они весьма наглядно отражают уровень слуховой культуры данного композитора, его способности к воссозданию «звукового ландшафта» улицы в целом. Многочисленные записи криков торговцев и соответствующие аналитические комментарии, выполненные композиторами и музыковедами, формируют подобающий контекст, в котором данное явление можно рассматривать как особую форму народного искусства.

Ключевые слова: народная устная реклама, народное музыкальное наследие, музыкальная интонация.

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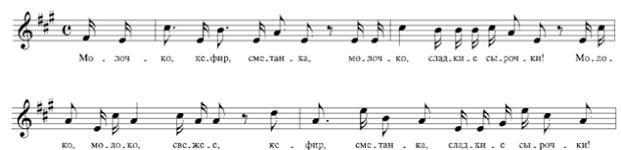


What are they? Songs or simple cries? Or musical recitatives? And do they all deserve attention? Whatever we call it, one thing is certain: such material is new, original and extremely curious, both from a purely scientific, and from a musical point of view.

N. Yanchuk

Folkloric forms of self advertising, which originated at the very earliest stage in trading relations and their development has demonstrated a remarkable resilience, being preserved in our own time in the sphere of retail trade. A recording made by this author of a cry at one of the grocery markets of the city of Rostov-on-Don in December 2002 provides a confirmation of this fact. The fragment provided illustrates the musical pitch of the vocal advertising of milk products. The Russian advertising text translates as: “Milky jelly, yoghurt, sour cream, milky jelly, sweet cottage cheese! Milk, milk, fresh milk, yoghurt, sour cream, sweet cottage cheese!”

Figure 1 Cry by a milk trader, recorded by the author of the article.



Such folkloric forms of advertising have existed in past and present, providing expressive, colourful sound contours of streets, trade fair centres, markets etc. We are dealing with trading cries.

This phenomenon seems to be very important due to its fundamental significance in folk culture. It also demands more attentive examination because its historical and cultural significance is also confirmed by its imprinting on various forms of artistic texts, literary, musical and painterly, which also make it an artistic object. However, to understand to what degree of accuracy the musical features of trading cries are incorporated in the author's texts, it is necessary to define for oneself their musical peculiarities, albeit only in general terms.

As an exclusively oral phenomenon, trading cries are objects of interest to students of folklore and ethno-musicology. However, this interest is rather fragmented in the current state of Russian science, despite the fact that in the investigations a greater musical development is to be noted, particularly in trading cries by comparison with the spheres of any other actual mundane forms of reality. As we have not undertaken to fill in this "white patch", which is impossible within the narrow limits of this article, it is worth pointing out the potential breadth of investigation of the given phenomenon, which organically fits in with the context of problems of the history of folklore forms of musical art and even more widely, with the history of culture. Even M. Bakhtin regarded trading cries as an important part of "mundane and cultural life", which is true not only in relation to medieval and renaissance Europe, but also in relation to Russia, where "ambulatory" (*pochteca*) trade flourished right up to the end of the 19th century. Only at the beginning of the 20th century did its role substantially diminish, as was noticed by N. Yanchuk, one of the first investigators of trading cries in Russia: "By personal observation we note, first of all, that many forms of crafts, linked with street cries, had entirely disappeared, and secondly the further time went on, the less frequently were masters and virtuosi of this art observed" [1, p. 502].

It is worth stressing this last observation, since it is precisely the creative-artistic peculiarities of the activity of street traders which do not simply take it out of the framework of the mundane-routine phenomena of existence, but also made it an attractive object reflected in professional forms of art; painting, literature and music. It is no accident that I. Zemtsovskiy described the phenomenon of the cry as "...a certain independent form of popular creativity, a form of oral verbal-intonation culture, a species of semi-theatrical communication, born of a traditional way of life" [2, p. 107].

Incidentally, the predisposition of the cries to appearance in the form of an aesthetic base, is largely determined precisely by the playful character of the situation of street trade. To attract the attention of the passer-by, to enter into conversation with him, to interest, to flirt, to persuade to buy... All this undoubtedly required talent. We take the liberty to quote Ilya Erenburg: "Traders stand in the streets of Paris, they sell fountain pens, grease for saucepans, ties, soap powder, and sandpaper. These are not simply traders, but above all orators. Many Deputies could learn a thing or two from them. Bad weather and other business chase passers by away. The sellers have to attract them by their rhetoric, they must show some miserable Du Pont, who lives a

bachelor life and who has no saucepan that without that grease he will perish, that without this grease he is not Du Pont, but a nobody, that this grease alone is capable of making his life as pretty as a fairy tale. They scream till they're hoarse, they amuse the crowd with jolly anecdotes and they seduce it with additional poetry. On reach their objective: look Du Pont is already buying the grease. He arrives home and looks around in a panic. What is he going to do with his purchase? Buy a saucepan? Or present this little jar to the wife of the concierge? He is depressed by what has happened, like every man who has felt the magic of art" [3, p. 192].

The role of sound in this art is felt like magic by all musicians, who have had any contact with the matter. Thus, Boris Asafiev posited the presence of "an instinct for oral communication" of street invitations by representatives of "live advertising". I. Zemtsovskiy wrote with greater depth, defining the essence of the musicological problems bound up with the given phenomenon: "The direction of the sound of the cry appears to me to be a characteristic of its essence. It turns out that the intonation of the cry characterises the musical consciousness not only of the traders and artisans, but also of their potential customers and clients, for the cry, as perhaps in no other genre of intonation, is directly calculated on a rapid *reciprocal tie*, on a certain reaction by the receiving "medium" [2, p. 104]. And further, the author comes to the conclusion that interest in the cries is determined, thus, not by an interest in the musical "speech" of the narrow professionally orientated social group, but "appears, in essence, as an interest in a mass musical consciousness" [2, p. 104].

It is suggested, that specifically as a phenomenon of mass consciousness the traders' cry appears to be demanded, from one direction, in the sphere of advertising technologies, conducting "as a weapon" communicative methods worked out in a folklore variant, and from the other, by composers, who were interested in the possibility of the recreation of a popular type of consciousness by means of musical intonation.

In both phenomena the "material substances" of the cries, the word, frequently poetic (so-called trading poetry) and the sound, deliberately thought of as musical. We focus our attention on what it is in the cries that provides a more intensive communicability (in comparison with the spoken word) and in which a special, completely colourful aesthetic of the given phenomenon as a musical one is incorporated. To answer these questions, it is necessary to distinguish a series of crucial particularities of the given "genre".

“Cries are a very ancient genre, so far (as a result of a lack of study) even a mysterious one”, writes A. Nekrylova. “Apparently, cries stand somewhere at the source of the discovery of magic by rhythmically ordered sounds, words, phrases, at the beginning of the emotional recognition of the ranking of sounds of varying height and length” [4, p. 96].

In selecting the oral trading advertisements of the 18th to early 20th centuries there are two variants, cries and catch phrases, the author suggests, and that cries specifically by means of ‘revealing’ to the musical sphere, are to be found between recitative, with various degrees of proximity to conversational chanting “at one pole and to the melodies of popular songs at the other” [4, p. 94]. This intermediate position of cries, between speech and songs is also noted by other investigators. Thus the notes of B. Yavorskiy (1899–1900) contain not merely numerous notational notes of trading cries, but observations are made on the “intonation”, which from verbal speech “carry over to singing musical speech, expressing intonation, based on the tendency of tonal resolution” [5, p. 30].

Significantly later, but specifically in connection with the investigation of ancient unhemitonic scales, the famous investigator of musical folklore, F. Rubtsov, addressed himself to trading cries. Expressing an observation concerning their intermediate position between speech and purely musical phenomena, the investigator notes that “...the intonation of the cries of delivery men seem to us in their nature the closest which underly the majority of calendar cries”, and he confirms this using contrasting examples [6, p. 34–35].

In the notebooks of P. Ryazanov, who taught a course of melodic he had worked out for the Leningrad Conservatoire in the 1930s (1926–1931), there is a note: “Every morning I listen to the cries of wandering salesmen, they interest me from the point of view of the section ‘vocal intonation’ of my course in melodic” [7, p. 60].

Thus, cries are a synthetic phenomenon, that is musical oral. Their specific importance lies in their brevity, determined by the scale of the textual information incorporated in them. This is always drastically concise information about their trade or craft. The briefest case is the limitation of the text to naming the kind of wares (in the nominative case it is “raspberry, raspberry” or in the genitive case “bagels, bagels...”. Other variants are an additional adjective (“mushrooms, white mushrooms!” or “berries, sweet berries!”).

The length of the cry depends at times on the quantity of the varieties of the goods offered, for example: “New potatoes! Green spinach! Fresh cucumbers! Good green gherkins!”. Sometimes

wrapped up in poetic form, the cries preserve the utmost brevity. A typical note made by A. Grechaninov in Kolomna, with the comment: “Bazaar. An old man stands round his kvas stall and bursts out with any old voice:

Fresh kvas!
Very best kvas!
A girl drank it,
And praised it...la...la!

Or
Children`s toys,
Turkish drums!

With the musical peculiarities of the cries, determined by their advertising function, of attracting the attention of the customers, in the first place the dynamics of their volume appear, secondly, their intonation-rhythmical structure. It is natural that the very appearance of musicalised cries, intoned with a precisely fixed high-pitched arrangement of notes, is connected to specifics of the acoustics: the singing voice has a greater audibility range. The situation of the market, the trading square or even a simple street, demands a heightened allocation, therefore, probably also a “cry-y-y-y” [kri-i-i-k], in so far as it foresees a high volume for voice production. In N. Nevstrueva`s notes on the cries of the bagel trader, this property is not only noted with triple fortes in the culminating bars of the cry, but also the following comment: “Sunday bazaar. A fat woman sits on a log behind her stall trying to outshout the noise of the crowd, (with) harmony, jokes and cussing» [1, p. 515].

Figure 2
Bubliki, bubliki, bubliki, bubliki, kanfetki



On the other hand, the distinguishing of this or that cry from the context of its competitors is only possible on the basis of who shouts loudest, but also, as I. Zemtsovskiy observes, by means of the “rarity of the intonation”. A certain contradiction arises: on the one hand, the close relation with the word, as though it predetermines the sequences of the voice behind the phonetic structure of the text, on the other, it demands an unusual intonation, achieved, in general, by its exaggeration. The composer M. Mussorgsky, a remarkably sensitive listener, recorded this unnaturalness and exaggeration; he wrote about it in a letter to V. Stasov on 13 July 1872: “the factory workers wander the streets, whistling or wheezing military marches, even the women who sell berries shout and read out in military style, for example:

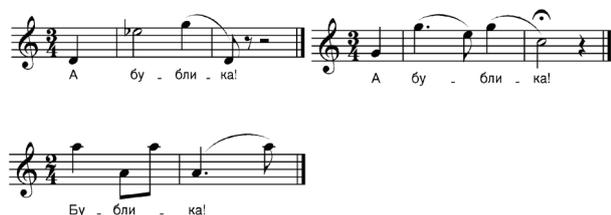


Figure 3

Both a non-Russian seventh and a trumpeting raspberry” [8, p. 221–222].

A. Listopadov, vividly described the Novocherkassk bagel sellers and by calling their cries “crowing”, evidently wanted to underline not only the early hour of their reveille, but also to express a certain unusual quality of their trading appeals. We will produce the comment made and several of Listopadov’s notes: “Early in the morning, shortly after the chickens and cockerels, somewhere on the outskirts of the city, the Novocherkassk bagel sellers climb out of their chicken coops (houses) with their baskets, from which tasty bagels peer out (the same as Moscovite little ram’s horn bagels, but bigger and richer) and begin their ‘crowing’” [1, p. 509]:

Figure 4
A bublika! A bublika! Bublika!



We will pause in more detail over the fact that the “rarity of intonation” observed is achieved all the same, and in connection with that, to the textual-musical nature of the cries. Their brevity as mentioned, connected with the task of focussing attention on the denomination of the wares, and with it their most fundamental characteristics, reinforced by the domination by syllables with the minimal extent of the chanting (normally no more than two sounds). The transition from the vocal recitation of the text to the melodically is accomplished by means of their declamatory nature. This expressive shouting raised to maximum volume, which sharply “draws out”, and concretises the loudness of the profile of the words expressed, at the same time distinguishing them from conversational speech. It is natural that in its sequence of the phonetic structure of the word, this melodic line of the “declaimed” trading cry reflects (and very precisely) some general characteristics, for example,

the raising of the tone on the stressed syllable, the descent at the ends of words, the beginning from a summit-source with the stress on the first syllable and so on.

While withdrawing themselves from the sound contours naturally attached to speech, every ‘performer’ of a trading cry strives to develop a sound “trade mark” of his wares, which would have been strictly individual, if not to say exclusive, which would have guaranteed him exclusiveness from those like him. Exactly therefore, comparing trading cries, dedicated to one nomination of wares and, in connection with that, characterised by a sole (or close) text, we are convinced in their intonation affinity, to the extent that the word lying at the base of the cry has its task intonation “curved”. (Listopadov’s bagel callers are interesting in this connection). On the other hand, it is clear that the desire to give the cry an unusual character is achieved by the exaggeration of what stands out in the word of phonetic relief. The extent of this exaggeration may be various, right up to the seventh which shocked Mussorgsky, and depends rather on non-musical factors – the immediate market situation, the character of the trader and even from the weather.

In the examples produced below, the first is the most intonation-rhythmic natural, since the movement of the voice in the range of the sixth is even possible in the normal flow of speech, here this is more a melodified declaration than a cry. The second example, including intervals of an octave, is more dynamic. But the third is especially “aggressive”, demonstrating a sequential shift of extreme sounds in relation to the central *la* in the range of a ninth, at first minor, but then major [1, p. 509]:

Figure 5
Bublikav



Another, alternative variant for the achievement of “rarity” of cries is a long pause on one tone (as in the chanting of psalms), as in the following note, made by D. Arakcheev in Moscow (1906) [9]:

Figure 6
Svezhaia ryba



A property of the textual-musical form of the cry is its variability, achieved by alterations in the multiple repeats of the name of the wares in question. "The seller does not cry out repeats, but naturally varies his *tune*" [2, p. 105]. This variability literally "suffuses" the tune of the cry, which appears particularly clearly in cries with a more developed text, as in the next note by A. Listopadov, in a preliminary comment: "A handsome man of great height, a jolly joker carries bagels in a basket on his head. He stops, straightening himself out with his left hand, he raises the right hand and begins to conduct himself".

Figure 7
A vot khoroshai...



Let us turn our attention to the fact that in the given example the text is divided in a literal sense into phrases, representing a description of wares and the pronunciation of their names, in this case of bagels. A description of the characteristics of the wares is achieved by the frequently repeated tone *re*. The rhythmic formation of these fragments is variable, which is determined by the alteration of the text. The naming of the wares itself is sharply divided intonationally, these are the vocal intervals in the range of the seventh. The scale-thematic structure of the given cries (see it in full [1, p. 509, example No. 20]): the periodicity, transferring to its progressive reduction in the following proportions: 6+6+4+4+2+1+1. The dynamic growth of expression of a cry, contained within the very structure, though it is achieved, naturally, intuitively. Something else was explicitly achieved, the gradual reduction of the text to the many repetitions of the name with the variably-sequenced movement of the motif with intervals on descending tones.

If the repeated textual-musical phrase of the cry varies with the pace of the development of the trading process, then it is completely natural, that the cry varies as a result of its performance from day to day. An interesting example of such a kind is provided by D. Arakcheev, noting the cries of an apple seller on two days in a row [9]:

Figure 8 *Iablaki, iablaki iablaki...*



Amongst the multitude of causes, determining the inherent variety of the cries (apart from their very belonging to an oral tradition, which assumes it a priori) is the immediate market situation, influencing naturally the mood of the trader, and consequently his intonation. Unique in this respect, is the note made by A. Grechaninov, in following up this dependency. The note was made in the 90s of the 19th century in Tula [1, p. 506]:

Figure 9 (a) *When cucumbers are expensive. Allegretto. In a soft voice. Alto.*



Figure 9 (b) *When cucumbers are cheap. Allegro. In a rough angry voice.*



And so, we direct attention towards several musical features of trading cries. One should not ignore the point that the very fact of their being noted by Russian composers and investigators of folklore of the turn of the 19th century pays witness to their belonging to phenomena of aesthetic significance. Naturally, the notes provided above (even though they are not all those which could be discovered in the papers of the Musical-ethnographic Committee attached to the Imperial Society of Natural science, Anthropology and Ethnography Amateurs), in so far as the cries are a fact of oral tradition to a considerable extent and fixing their intonation is "...entirely conditional, sometimes far from the reality of live intonation, only with difficulty reducible to traditional notation" [2, p. 109].

But that is a hurdle for investigations, for which we need a body of authentic texts (for example, mixed genre and mixed ethnic folklore investigations). Our abstract fully admits the conditionality of fixing the notes, in so far as the very fact of the presence of such notes is a convincing testimony of their musical-aesthetic colouring. Even more besides, the sharp ear of the musician, fixing the exact height of the position of the notes of a cry and the comparison of many of them in a simultaneous

sound in a score, has not simply confirmed the musical character of folkloric proto-advertising forms of trading advertisement, but also conceives of their combination as a form of historical-cultural noise “portrait” of the epoch.

In this connection, a unique note is made by A. Kastalskiy under the rubric: “Extract from a street symphony, created at times at the corner of Great and Middle Kislovka, in Moscow, towards the spring of 1910” [10, p. 8].



Figure 10
Automobile 1, 2, 3 etc.

The score given is a particular kind of acoustic photograph, an imprinted sound portrait of time at a certain geographically indicated point. At the same time, it is an example of a pure conception by a composer of a noisy everyday environment, when a musically “tuned in” consciousness takes these or other sound realities into something whole, possessing both horizontal (melodic) and also vertical (harmonic) co-ordinates. It is evident that even with the uncertainty of live intonation, the taste of the composer selects the agreed frequencies (they in particular are written out textually), which makes it possible to conceive of the whole as music (It is not for nothing that the fragment is labelled a street “symphony” by the author).

Therefore, having examined trading cries, we have outlined their musical characteristics, granting them not just the status of a commercial-applied phenomenon, but also of an artistic one. This is exactly what in the last resort determines the value of the examined sound stratum for the urban everyday culture of the past, of which the polyphony of trading voices was a vivid characteristic sign.

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