Neotraditionalism and Innovations in Kazakh Instruments and Music-Making

Abstract

In the XX and XXI centuries, Kazakh music went through three waves of innovations: first, after centuries of solo-only performance, ensembles and orchestras appeared in the first decades of the Soviet period. Then, ethnographic, iconographic, and archaeological research brought back to life lost or nearly-forgotten instruments in 1970-80s, and in the 2000s new types of ensembles and neo-folk instruments appeared under global influences. All these changes were driven by two opposite tendencies: intensive cross-cultural interaction (primarily on the West-East axis) met the growing interest to the nation’s past. This neotraditional mindset influences, on the one hand, to music instrument-making, on the other hand, to performance practice.

In the first wave, the need for creating the orchestra of Kazakh folk instruments, declared by Akhmet Zhubanov, caused the foundation of the workshop where standardized 
*dombra* (plucked lute chordophone) and 
*qobyz* (bowed lute chordophone) were created together with their modernized cousins (prima, alto and bass versions). During the second wave, such prominent scholars as Bolat Sarybayev turned to the restoration of the lost instruments (*sherter, zhetygen, saz syrmai, percussion* and so on) that were later included in orchestras and ensembles and even institutionalized within the conservatoire’s classes. The third wave is strongly associated with various kinds of popular music. Some ensembles (as *Turan* and *Hassak*) moved toward the World music style, others (as *Aldaspan*) experimented in electronic and rock directions.

So, it is obvious that all three waves are interconnected. Unification and experiments with materials in the early Soviet period, as well as the creation of special workshops and laboratories for folk music, have created a systematic cycle of research and reconstruction.

**Keywords:** neotraditionalism in music, Kazakh music, Kazakh music instruments, modernization of music instruments, reconstruction of music instruments, prima qobyz, sherter, electric dombra.

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Introduction. We often think of neo-traditionalism as a part of post-modernist or even meta-modernist culture, when the turn to the past becomes the turn to the future. At the same time, history, and especially the history of music, is made of multi-aimed moves, summative vectors of which form a movement forward.

Some innovations are justified by restoring a “long-forgotten” tradition, while others by the necessity to modernize national culture. Some of them find a lodgment, and others fade in centuries, leaving just material for archaeological discoveries.

By now, the history of Kazakh instruments has not been written. If we consider those episodes we know, it looks like a story of innovations. Something looking like a lute chordophone has been depicted on the petroglyphs near Almaty and has been brought to the Ykylas Music Museum (see Fig. 1). Then excavations at Scythian and Turkic burials revealed bizarre forms of harps and lutes with elements similar to some modern instruments while, at the same time, looking unlike anything modern. For example, many scholars discussed the construction and possible ways of playing the Scythian harp found on the Pazyryk archaeological site (see [Lawergren; Bassilov]). It is very different from all modern instruments and, at the same time, pretty close in building methods, materials and elements of construction to modern bowed chordophones of Eurasian nomads, like the Kazakh qyl-qobyz.

The histories and geographies of some archaic instruments are waiting to be

Figure 1. Stone with petroglyphs at Ykylas Music Museum in Almaty (Photo by Valeriya Nedlina)
studied. Thus the construction, performance techniques and connections with modern instruments of the lute chordophone from Karakaba (Kazakh Altay) are well described by archaeologists [Samashev] but still weren't discussed by ethnoorganologists. So, it looks like nearly every important historical milestone is marked by innovations in musical instruments.

If we think of transformations of Kazakh instruments in the last hundred years, we'll find that innovations consciously made and precisely aimed, followed ideological shifts and general social transformations. It allows us to suppose that all previous transformations were of the same nature – instruments appeared and changed together with the shifts in mindsets and societal organization. My paper includes results of three research projects on some important trends and phenomena that accompanied tectonic shifts in Kazakh society. These trends appear together with re-establishing the concept of Kazakh nation and identities associated with it. The shifts in the construct of “nation” are always dealing with the past for “modernization” of old traditions to adapt them to the new historical environment.

Neotraditionalism: a definition. The term “neotraditionalism” is closely associated with politics. Thus, Britannica gives the following definition: “Neotraditionalism, in politics, the deliberate revival and revamping of old cultures, practices, and institutions for use in new political contexts and strategies.” [Galvan] The most significant changes in political context for Kazakhstan, as for many other Asian countries, in 20th century were the gradual formation of the national state. It was gradual due to the historic situation: first, the Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic was formed in 1920–1930s within the USSR out of territory of three Kazakh hordes (juz) dependent on the Russian Empire, then in 1991, together with other republics, Kazakhstan received independence.

In his famous book, Benedict Anderson notes: “If nation-states are widely conceded to be 'new' and 'historical,' the nations to which they give political expression always loom out of an immemorial past,’ and, still more important, glide into a limitless future. It is the magic of nationalism to turn chance into destiny.” [Anderson, pp. 11–12] Thus, the dialectics of “new” and “archaic” become the driving force of changes in identities and cultural phenomena, connected with them. In West-and-East cultural interaction, westernization was one of the cores, but not only, trends for a while. Therefore, the “new” is not always “appropriated from the West”.

In his research on Nigerian pop-music, Austin Emielu offers a theory of progressive traditionalism: “While Westernization came essentially through political domination (colonialism), African cultures have been resilient enough to hold on to core values of their traditions and culture, allowing only those aspects of foreign culture and traditions that enhance indigenous practices. Such resistance to total domination created a platform for the modernization of African cultural practices where the core features are African and the periphery is foreign”. [Emielu, p. 222]. It is very close to what I mean under neotraditionalism: modernization that is aimed at contemporary presentation of traditions.
Three waves of reconstructions. Let’s take a closer look at the three ways of reconstructing Kazakh music instruments: first, in the times of Soviet cultural building (1920–1940s); second, coinciding with the growth of national consciousness in the 1970s; and the last one marked the post-global self-presentation of Kazakh artists on the world music stages.

The first wave is associated with Akhmet Zhubanov, a humanist scholar, prominent composer and active leader, whose enthusiasm allowed Kazakh music to move towards a global world of industrial and post-industrial age.

Soviet authorities have formulated the imperative of national culture: national in form, socialist in content. It provided for some differences and features but unification was at the front. Like Russian culture at the turn of 19th and 20th centuries, those nations who hadn’t orchestral traditions were persistently encouraged to develop new forms of collective performance. This led to the urgent need of a standardized music industry including instruments and their manufacturing as well as increasing numbers of performers (and instruments) for philharmonic needs.

Ensemble performance required unified tuning, construction and acoustics. Thus, the Kazakh musical workshop in 1933, on the initiative of Akhmet Zhubanov was created nearly simultaneously with the orchestra of Kazakh folk instruments, still prosperously existing under the name “Kurmanzazy orchestra”. The purpose of the experiments was to enhance the sound and unify the structure and pitch (to create orchestras of folk instruments and to bring the dombra to European-style concert venues). The researcher A. D. Alekseyev writes that to replace the low-tuned domba common among the people (“approximately G3 and C4”), prima, tenor and bass dombra were built with a fixed tuning and chromatic-scale frets (see Fig. 2) [Alekseyev]. Akhmet Zhubanov and the staff of the musical experimental laboratory, trying various materials for the orchestral dombra, put metal strings on it, but the sound did not correspond to the gut strings familiar to the Kazakhs. The sound of nylon fishing line was closer.

Figure 2. In the Kazakh musical workshop of Kaztekhsnab. Left to right: senior master G. Tukhvatulin, craftsmen K. Kassymov and K. Ibraiev manufacturing goby and domba (source: Central State Archive for Film and Photo Documents https://kfdz.kz/)
to them than metal. Therefore, gut strings, due to the complexity of the manufacturing process and fragility, were replaced with thick fishing line (0.7 or 0.8 mm) [Utegaliyeva 2006, p. 96]. All this significantly changed not only the instrument itself, but also its repertoire. Convenience in daily performing practice began to prevail over the authenticity of sound and significantly changed the timbre flavor of modern Kazakh music.

More unified in form and timbre, new *dombras* have shaped the newly established Orchestra of Kazakh folk instruments and influenced other innovations like the *prima dombra* and *prima qobyz*, which were de jure modernized but de facto invented nearly from scratch. Altogether, they formed the new practice of orchestral performance. Thanks to YouTube, it is possible to listen to a short fragment from the rare mid-1940s video of Kurmangazy orchestra’s performance of Akhmet Zhubanov’s song Karlygash. The conductor is Akhmet Zhubanov himself (see Fig. 3).

The ancient bowed chordophone *qobyz* followed the dombra. In our recent research on *qobyz* performance together with my undergraduate student Aida Aidynkyzy, we have found that three modernizations (see Table 1) undertaken during 1930–1950s have influenced a significant shift in performance techniques as well as in the acoustics of instruments and even the prevailing gender of musicians. In fact, now two separate traditions exist: one continuing the playing of the archaic *qobyz* that received the prefix “qyl”, and a newly established one for the *prima qobyz*.

![Table 1. The three modernizations of qobyz](https://youtu.be/dlCpCBy7SiA)

**Table 1. The three modernizations of qobyz**

<table>
<thead>
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<th>1st modernization</th>
<th>1934. Three gut strings, half-open or leather-covered deck</th>
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<td><em>Left:</em> photo of Zharas baksy <em>(shaman’s)</em> nar koby, 18th century.</td>
<td><em>Right:</em> photo of Raushan Nurpeissova’s koby by Aknar Tattibaikzy [Tattibaikzy, p. 89]</td>
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Pershin brought the instrument closer to the Western violin. The most significant feature of it – the flageolet technique of playing – was preserved from archaic qyl-qobyz. The new four metal strings are much thinner and harder than the initial horsehair. They harm the student-musician’s fingers and nails so hard that, according to a joke of prima-qobyz performers, only a girl can endure the pain.

Putting jokes aside, together with Aida, who plays in the Otyrar Sazy folk orchestra, we analyzed how the sound and construction of the modernized instrument influence the performance technique and vice versa. First of all, the timbral qualities of the sound of the prima-qobyz are not similar to those of the qyl-qobyz, the violin or the cello. To demonstrate it, we use spectrograms created with the software SPAX\(^1\) (see Fig. 4–6).

All three samples were specially recorded in the studio of Kurmangazy Kazakh National Conservatoire to provide the same conditions and appropriate noise reduction. The sound waves of the prima-qobyz are not as distorted as those of the qyl-qobyz but still preserve more overtones than the stabilized sound of western bowed instruments, despite the sound itself is a fourth higher than that of a cello we see in Figure 6.

This is due to the strings freely vibrating in the air and due to the construction of the body. On the one hand, it is a disaster for an ensemble performance from a western perspective. Our assistant sound engineer Nikolay Nosenko mentioned that if violins had
such a timbre, the symphonic orchestra wouldn’t sound well. On the other hand, it may be considered a special Kazakh feature, representing a modern version of the ethnic sound ideal.  

The second wave of modernizations. Second birth of the forgotten instruments.

In the 1970s and 1980s, a number of remarkable books were published that prepared a large-scale rethinking of the role of traditional culture, the historical past of the people, and the place of the Kazakhs in the "great fugue of nations." [Wit and Wisdom] Later, this canon of books received the name "Eurasian literature." This refers to the works of writers such as Mukhtar Auyezov, Olzhas Suleymenov, and Chinghiz Aytmatov. The idea of “returning to the roots,” as well as thoughts about the influence of the Turkic peoples on world history and culture, was accepted by the creative intelligentsia.

The remarkable thing is that this paradigm shift in national consciousness was anticipated by significant transformations in folk ensembles caused by the discoveries of the prominent Kazakh scholar Bolat Sarybayev. Looking in all kinds of historical sources – from archaeology to field materials – he reintroduced many nearly forgotten instruments into the culture. The archaic forms of most of them couldn’t match the realities of industrial life, where the loud and well-articulated sound, wide range and unified tuning became important criteria for orchestras and ensembles. Neither could they hope for institutionalization among the resurrected traditions. In response, Sarybayev turned to the same methods as during the first wave of innovations: reconstruction, unification, and inclusion in the orchestra. Nurgissa Tlendiyev was one of the many enthusiasts who implemented these new-old instruments in contemporary concert life and we can listen to the Otyrar Sazy Orchestra – an enlarged version of orchestra compared to Zhubanov’s – performing Makhambet Kui by him under the direction of the author (see Fig. 7).

Kazakhs had musical instruments of all four primary classification groups of the Hornbostel-Sachs system. But not all of them were in equal use throughout the centuries. By the 20th century, living traditions were preserved only for the dombra (plucked lute), qobyz (bowed lute), and sybyzgy (open flute). The last two were fading due to a lack of heirs and external influence even before the Soviet era. It was a new paradigm of cultural heritage that brought many instruments back to life. But was this a real resurrection, a kind of cultural innovation, or even a substitution?

The other case study I performed several years ago [Nedlina] concerned the sherter, recreated by Bolat Sarybayev in the early 1970s. He first found a single picture of the instrument in a book by Polish exile Borislav Zaleski. The instrument built according to this picture wasn’t playable. After receiving some additional

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2 The concept of the ethnic sound ideal was introduced by F. Bose. It is implemented in Kazakh ethnomusicology and broadly discussed by professor Saule Utegaliyeva [Utegaliyeva 2017].
field materials and turning on the imagination, Sarybayev and his fellow craftsmen have rebuilt the sherterte. In fact, it turned out to be a completely new instrument with some ethnic charm but without repertoire. It used to accompany epic telling, but then dombra substituted it for everyday practice. Now performers mostly play transcriptions of dombra kuis along with western music (see Fig. 8–10).

Still, thanks to the nylon or gut strings, composite wood-and-leather deck and dobra-kind plucking technique the sound of the sherterte evokes “nomadic” imagery. There are some samples available on YouTube, for example, the fragment of Oi Tolgau, a popular ancient folk kui common for dombra and transcribed for sherterte (see Fig. 11).

Like the sherterte, the percussion instruments dauylpaz, dabyl, qonyrau, wind instruments kamys syrnay, saz syrnay, and the string instruments adyrna, zhetygen were recreated and reimplemented in culture. Not all of them are institutionalized completely. Sherterte, zhetygen and saz syrnai, together with sybyzgy, are now taught in special classes at Kurmangazy Conservatory and music high schools. In these cases, we may speak of a recreation of living traditions rather than of a restoration, though the mentioned instruments function as secondary compared to dombra and qobyz which are institutionalized in the education system and have continuous history without interruptions.

The third wave of modernizations. The third wave of modernizations is strongly based on the achievements (and misfortunes too) of the first two periods in instruments’
reconstruction. If Soviet ideology was focused on the future and therefore modernization of instruments was considered an improvement, post-Soviet experiments, which were in fact technologically pretty much the same, were based on a different attitude. The new ideological focus on Kazakh nationalism made craftsmen and musicians think of it as a restoration of the lost heritage.

The core driving force of the third wave were young musicians who grew up in post-Soviet realities. The example of their elder colleague, performer and composer Yedil Hussainov, who mastered several instruments and Tuvan throat singing (that, in terms of semiology, is considered by Kazakhs as “our” but a long-ago forgotten practice), inspired them to conduct numerous experiments with instruments. In the 1930s, the Kurmangazy Orchestra appeared because of the aspiration of musicians to have national institutions that looked like their western counterparts. Now the West offered a new model for adaptation: ethnic groups within the world music genre of popular music.

This line of experiments was opened by Turan ensemble in 2006 (see Fig. 12). They were the most fruitful in terms of instruments. I will describe their achievements just briefly because their experiments deserve a special paper. The ethnographic pathos of this ensemble was to present as many nomadic instruments as possible, no matter archaic or renovated. All musicians, first of all, the core members Serik Nurmoldayev, Baurzhan Bekmukhamet and Maksat Medeubek, are multi-instrumentalists. Turan was the first group to perform with the symphonic orchestra: composer Aktoty Raimkulova collaborated with them for two symphonic poems – Dala Syry (The Steppe Song, 2008) and Jamilia (Girl’s name, 2009). They contributed to the implementation in concert practice of rare instruments like the Kazakh kernei, muiz (horn), shinkildek (children’s dombra) as well as instrumental-puppet performance orteke. Describing the instruments of Turan, Megan Rancier wrote:

“Turan’s expression of Kazakh traditional culture and spirituality are probably best represented by the musical instruments that they play. Although each instrument possesses a unique history and set of performance conventions, they are all widely believed to have been used by Kazakh musicians for several centuries. Each musical instrument brings along its own musical and social
history, thereby adding its own layers of historical references and contemporary meanings. In addition, most of these instruments are in themselves potent symbols of Kazakh cultural history and national identity, so that their combined use presents a powerful articulation of where the Kazakhs came from and what Kazakh-ness means in the present day.” [Rancier, p. 219].

The Hassak ensemble has followed this line since 2010. In their video clip (see Fig. 13), we can see and hear the barbat. This instrument never existed in Kazakhstan but is known among Kazakhs and other Turkic-speaking minorities in China as an accompaniment for singing. Kazakhstani craftsmen have constructed their own version—not very precise but, according to Hassak’s leader Yerzhan Zhamenkeyev, very “Kazakh” and appropriate for the ensemble.

Absolutely different, but at the same time, similar in the sense of instrument building, experiments appeared in Kazakh rock music with implementing the electric dombra. In 2011, the debut album of the Aldaspan group was released – the first rock band to use this musical instrument. The idea of creating an electric dombra belongs to the producer and performer Nurzhan Toyshi. According to him, the similarity of dombra motifs with heavy rock guitar riffs served as an impulse [Abisheva, p. 36]. The Moscow-based Shamray Guitars workshop has created three instruments: tenor, baritone, and bass (see Fig. 14).

These pure implementations of the idiom “folklore of the technological era” are interesting in comparison to the acoustic dombra. The spectrogram shows absolutely different timbres of the same 19th century kui Aday by Kurmangazy (see Fig. 15). However, typical guitar effects (like fuzz, overdrive, or distortion) may help to create a denser sound spectrum that sounds closer to the ethnic ideal of the steppe nomadic sound. Moreover, metal strings allow musicians to tune the dombra lower than nylon. Thus, the sound pitch more common for the archaic dombra with gut strings may be...
achieved. “Rocky” sound suits the performance technique of ancient dombra tradition that may be heard in Aldaspan’s debut clip (see Fig. 16).

![Spectrograms](https://example.com/spectrogram.png)

**Figure 15.** Spectrograms (SPAX ©) of the first 10 seconds of Adai kui, performed on electric (a) and acoustic (b) dombras

**Figure 16.** Aldaspan. URL: https://youtu.be/Iv3Xb1SeRiU

**Conclusion.** It is obvious that all three waves are interconnected. Unification and experiments with materials in the early Soviet period, as well as the creation of special workshops and laboratories for folk music, have created a systematic cycle of research and reconstruction. The late-Soviet period added restoration to it, together with the growing attitude toward the nation’s past. Evaluating the results of artistic research by such bands as Turan, Hassak, and Aldaspan, who are well-known and commercially successful in Kazakhstan and other Turkic-speaking regions, I would say that we observe a tradition of innovations in instrument building. The ideas come from past of the ethnic traditions as well as from related nations and ethnic groups.
Today, this work is considered both a restoration of lost or endangered heritage, reimplemented in the culture in its new status, and a modernization of national consciousness, nostalgic for ethnic archaics while at the same time aiming toward the future.

One can suppose that all earlier innovations in instrument-making could be also connected with the significant changes in society, intensification of cross-cultural exchange and shifts in identities. Thus, the Pazyryk harp appeared in the age of intensive migration between Scythian and Turkic populations of Eurasia, ancient Altai warriors-musicians left in the age of creation of Turkic trade empires, and so on. These mutual influences of societal changes and instrument-making are yet to be studied. And the very last thing: looking at the history of Kazakh instruments, one could suppose that literally any instrument-building tradition of any music culture could be considered a history of innovations.
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Қазақ аспап жасау және орындаушылық тәжірибесінде неотрадиционализм және инновация

Аңдатпа


Бірінші толқында Ахмет Жұбанов мәлімдеген қазақ халық аспаптары оркестрін құру қажеттігі шеберхананың құрылуына әкелді. Ол жерде біртұтас домбыра (лютня үшін шертпелі хордофон) мен қобыз (лютня үшін ысқышты хордофон) және оның модернизацияланған аналогтары (прима, альт және бас нұсқалары) жасалды.

Екінші толқында Болат Сарыбаев сияқты көрнекті ғалымдар жоғалған аспаптарды (шертер, жетіген, саз сырнай, соқпалы аспаптар, т. б.) қалпына келтірге бет бұры, олар кейін оркестрлер мен аспаптарға қосылп, тіпті консерватория сыңыптарында институттандырады. Ушінші толқын ұлы аспаптардың танымал музыканттары оркестрлердің жұмыс әр түрлі түрлерімен қосылады. Бейірі аспапкерлер (Turan және Hassak сияқты) World music стиіліне көшті, басқалары (Aldaspan сияқты) электрондіқ және рок бағыттарында әдіследі.

Сонымен, үш толқында бір-бірімен байланысты екеніңіз, Ерте кенестік қезінде материалдармен бірінші өндіріс жасау үшін, жетігі, сәз сырнай, сокпақ және аспаптар, т. б.) қалпына келтіріледі. Бұл бұл, олар кейін оркестрлер мен аспаптарға қосылп, тіпті консерватория сыңыптарында институттандырады. Ушінші толқын ұлы аспаптардың танымал музыканттары оркестрлердің жұмыс әр түрлі түрлерімен қосылады. Бейірі аспапкерлер (Turan және Hassak сияқты) World music стиіліне көшті, басқалары (Aldaspan сияқты) электрондіқ және рок бағыттарында әдіследі.

Тіреқ өтедер: мұзикадағы неотрадиционализм, қазақ мұзикасы, қазақ мұзикалық аспаптары, мұзикалық аспаптарды жаңғырту, мұзикалық аспаптардың реконструкциясы, прима-қобыз, шертер, электрондіқ дәмдор.

Алғыс. Жұмыс BR10164111 «Ұлы даланың мәдени мұрасы және қазақтардың мәдени коды: өркениеттік контекст» бағдарламасына қарсатын қаржылық мүмкіндігін қабылдайды және қазақ халық аспаптары жасау және орындаушылық тәжірибесіндегі неотрадиционализм және инновация.
шілдесінде Ганада ең ірі этномузыкалық форумы – Халықаралық дастурлі музыка кенесінің 47-ші Дүние жүзілік конференциясының (қазіргі Халықаралық музыка және би дәстүрлері жөніндегі кенес) аясында өткен «Бұрынғы және бүгінгі, рухани және дүниелік қайшылықтардың аспаптарының материалдық және мәдени өмірі» дискуссиясының нәтижелерін талқылауға мені ынталандырған әріптестерім Янник Уэй, Манами Сузуки және Эмин Сойдашқа үлкен алғыс айтамын.

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Неотрадиционализм и инновации в казахском инструментостроении и исполнительской практике

В XX и XXI веках казахская музыка прошла три волны инноваций: после тысячелетий сольного исполнения в первые десятилетия советской власти появились ансамбли и оркестры, затем в 1970–80-е этнографические, иконографические и археологические исследования вернули к жизни утраченные или почти забытые инструменты, а в 2000-е годы под глобальным влиянием появились новые виды ансамблей и неофолк-инструментов. Все эти изменения были вызваны двумя противоположными тенденциями: интенсивное межкультурное взаимодействие (прежде всего по оси Запад – Восток) и растущий интерес к прошлому нации. Это неотрадиционное мышление влияет, с одной стороны, на конструкцию музыкальных инструментов, с другой – на исполнительскую практику.

В первую волну необходимость создания оркестра казахских народных инструментов, заявленная Ахметом Жубановым, привела к основанию мастерской, где создавались унифицированные домбра (щипковый хордофон для лютни) и кобыз (смычковый хордофон для лютни) вместе со своими модернизированными собратьями (прима, альтовая и басовая версии). Во время второй волны такие видные ученые, как Болат Сарыбаев, обратились к восстановлению утраченных инструментов (шертер, жетыген, саз сырнай, ударные и др.), которые позже были включены в состав оркестров и ансамблей и даже институционализированы в классах консерватории. Третья волна прочно связана с различными видами популярной музыки. Некоторые ансамбли (как Turan и Hassak) двигались в сторону стиля World music, другие (как Aldaspan) экспериментировали в направлениях электроники и рока.

Итак, очевидно, что все три волны взаимосвязаны. Унификация и эксперименты с материалами в раннесоветский период, а также появление специальных мастерских и лабораторий народной музыки создали систематический цикл исследований и реконструкций.

Ключевые слова: неотрадиционализм в музыке, казахская музыка, казахские музыкальные инструменты, модернизация музыкальных инструментов, реконструкция музыкальных инструментов, прима-кобыз, шертер, электрическая домбра.

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