

**CHAPTER 11**  
**MUSICAL AND INSTRUMENTAL REALITIES**  
**IN THE TREATISE “THE MUSICAL GRAMMAR”**  
**BY MYKOLA DYLETYSKYI 1723:**  
**ETHNIC IDENTIFICATION OF MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS**

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**INTRODUCTION**

*(Discussion regarding the background of “The Musical Grammar” by Mykola Dyletskyi)*

Mykola Dyletskyi’s “The Musical Grammar” (herein after – The Grammar) is a well-known musical-theoretical treatise devoted to the art of choral (partesny) singing. The manuscript was created in the city of Vilna (1675)<sup>479</sup> to satisfy the needs of choristers and singers of the Byzantine Catholic Church, later it was distributed in several author’s copies and numerous lists by singing centres of the Orthodox Moscow Empire, where M. Dyletskyi moved in search of a sustainable position. “The Grammar” of 1723 is one of the later copies, done in St. Petersburg. In Ukraine, this copy is considered an autograph because it has the *MP* mark (*manu propria* – in holograph). Accordingly, Ukrainian scholars have clarified the years of M. Dyletskyi’s life (about 1650 – after 1723). Scholars in the Russian Federation and Belarus (Vladimir Protopopov, Irina Gerasimova, Larisa Kostyukovets, etc.) hold their own opinion, according to which M. Dyletskyi lived and died much earlier (about 1630 – about 1690) and could not have written a copy of “The Grammar” in 1723 in holograph. As a result, a copyist (or several copyists) copied it from an earlier manuscript, and copied the *MP* sign along with other text. Today, the Andrei Mykola Dyletskyi’s “The Musical Grammar” (herein after – The Grammar) is a well-known musical-theoretical treatise devoted to the art of choral (partesny) singing. The manuscript was created in the city of Vilna (1675) to satisfy the needs of choristers and singers of the Byzantine Catholic Church, later it was

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<sup>479</sup> The pages of the manuscript “The Musical Grammar” contain information that it first got to Kyiv, where it was bought in 1763 by a resident of the village of Zhovtantsi (near Lviv) Samuel

distributed in several author's copies and numerous lists by singing centres of the Orthodox Moscow Empire, where M. Dyletskyi moved in search of a sustainable position. "The Grammar" of 1723 is one of the later copies, done in St. Petersburg. In Ukraine, this copy is considered an autograph because it has the MP mark (*manu propria* – in holograph). Accordingly, Ukrainian scholars have clarified the years of M. Dyletskyi's life (about 1650 – after 1723). Scholars in the Russian Federation and Belarus (Vladimir Protopopov, Irina Gerasimova, Larisa Kostyukovets, etc.) hold their own opinion, according to which M. Dyletskyi lived and died much earlier (about 1630 – about 1690) and could not have written a copy of "The Grammar" in 1723 in holograph. As a result, a copyist (or several copyists) copied it from an earlier manuscript, and copied the MP sign along with other text. Today, the Andrei The "The Grammar" 1723 facsimile copy with an introductory article and comments by the Ukrainian scholar Oleksandra Tsalai-Yakymenko was published in Kyiv in 1970 <sup>480</sup>. The researcher worked with this document for many years and during the preparation for the publication consulted with well-known Ukrainian historians, archeographers, art critics and local historians.

The "The Grammar" 1723 publication served as one of the sources to study *partesny* singing and M. Dyletskyi's creative work in Ukraine. Shortly after, a well-known Ukrainian music media *evalexpert* Nina Gerasimova-Persydskya released her works largely inspired by this publication <sup>481</sup>. However, O. Tsalai-Yakymenko's publication provoked strong opposition from Russian musicologists represented by V. Protopopov, who reacted negatively to O. Tsalai-Yakymenko's conclusions regarding this artefact's scientific attribution. This prompted him to publish a facsimile copy of another manuscript of "A Musical Grammar", written in Muscovy in 1679, with a translation, and descriptions of all the copies, with detailed commentary, and research (1979) <sup>482</sup>. In this edition, the scientist found a

<sup>480</sup>Dyletskyi M. "The Musical Grammar": Photocopy of the manuscript of 1723/preparation for publication, transcription and commentary by O. Tsalai-Yakymenko. Kyiv: Musical Ukraine, 1970. XCIV + 109 p.

<sup>481</sup> Gerasymova-Persydskya N.O. Choral concert in Ukraine of the XVII-XVIII centuries. Kyiv: Musical Ukraine, 1978. 181 p. Mykola Dyletskyi. Choral works. Kyiv: Musical Ukraine, 1981. 251 p.

<sup>482</sup> Dyletskyi N. The idea of musical grammar/publication, translation, research and comments by VI. Protopopova. Series "Monuments of Russian musical art". Issue. 7. Moscow: Music, 1979. 639 p.

large number of errors in the text and musical examples of the manuscript “The Grammar” of 1723, which were not indicated by O. Tsalai-Yakymenko. This gave him reason to conclude that the copyist was not a musician<sup>483</sup>. O. Tsalai-Yakymenko, in turn, found no few errors in the musical examples of “The Grammar” published by V. Protopopov, which is undoubtedly considered an autograph. The scholar finally argued the validity of her conclusions about “The Grammar” 1723 by M. Dyletskyi in the monograph “The Kyiv School of Music in the XVII century”<sup>484</sup>, which was defended by her as a doctoral dissertation. “The Grammar” of 1723 publication at that time was finally included as the material for studying “Polyphonic (part) church music” as a topic in the “History of Ukrainian Music” discipline, instructed currently at higher music educational institutions of Ukraine<sup>485</sup>.

The discussion regarding the manuscript “The Grammar” of 1723 continued in the late 2000s with publications by the Russian researcher of Belarusian origin I. Gerasimova<sup>486</sup>. The author uncovered six different handwritings and numerous errors in the spelling of Polish and Russian words, based on which she stressed that M. Dyletskyi could not have copied this holograph, because he knew his text well and could not make such mistakes, and as a result the manuscript itself is “a copy of the earlier autograph of the Vilnius theorist, which was not preserved”<sup>487</sup>.

### 11.1. Musical instruments in the M. Dyletskyi’s “*The Musical Grammar*” text

All the previously mentioned editions of M. Dyletskyi’s “The Grammar” text point to musical instruments that were common in the everyday life and professional activities of contemporary musicians – performing instrumentalists, choristers, singers, voice instructors (didascals). While mentioning musical instruments, Dyletskyi tries to explain one or another rule, or gives certain academic and performance advice. In one case, these

<sup>483</sup> *ibid.* P. 474–480.

<sup>484</sup> Tsalai-Yakymenko O.S. *Kyiv School of Music in the XVII century*. Lviv: Shevchenko Scientific Society in Lviv, 2002. 499 p.

<sup>485</sup> Korniy L. *History of Ukrainian music. Part 1: From ancient times to the middle of the XVIII century*. Kyiv – Kharkiv – New York: M.P. Kots Publishing House, 1996. 314 p.

<sup>486</sup> Gerasymova I.V. *Nikolay Dyletskyi: the creative path of the composer of the XVII century*: Abstract. diss. ... cand. art history: 17.00.02. Moscow: RAM n.a. Gnesins, 2010. 19 p.

<sup>487</sup> *ibid.*

explanations are based on associative links with the sound of a particular musical instrument, in another – involve the direct use of an instrument in the educational process.

The organ (sometimes portative) is most frequently mentioned instrument, and organists – the most frequently mentioned musicians<sup>488</sup>. Dyletskyi refers to the organ and organ fingerboard while explaining some rules of music theory (scale, the “circle of fifths”, triad structure, chromatism for motion, etc.). He writes about Roman Catholic organists, pointing out sources of material for partesny works, how to distribute chord tones between the choral parts and correctly write the accidentals of the choral bass part. He mentions organ tablature (score), when explaining the principles of combining choral parts<sup>489</sup>. A large number of such references may indicate that Dyletskyi possessed the art of playing the organ and believed that a musician who could not play the organ would not be able to compose music competently<sup>490</sup>.

In addition to organ, the text of “The Grammar” mentions other musical instruments: strings (violins, psaltery, gusli, harps, lyres), wind – trumpet, reed-pipes (bagpipes – *I.Z.*), drums (tympani). Here are some examples. When writing about the composition of a choral (part) work with no text incorporating the *atextalis* (*regula atextalis*) rule, Dyletskyi points out that such writing can be used “for violins and other various instruments”<sup>491</sup>. In “The Grammar” text of 1679, Dyletskyi added several other musical instruments, the harp and lyre, as well as gusli and organ, to explain the *regula atextalis*<sup>492</sup>. He mentions the *tympani* and *gusli* in the context of the Old Testament, quoting King David: “Like David, accept the psalm and give the tympani, the psaltery is consistent with gusli”<sup>493</sup>. Advice to

<sup>488</sup> Ivan Kuzminskyi points to the significant influence of organ practice on the work of M. Dyletskyi and, perhaps, on the part polyphony in general. See: Kuzminskyi I. Lviv manuscript “The Musical Grammar”: a source of knowledge of performance theory and practice of part creativity by Mykola Dyletskyi: a collection of research works. Research Bulletin of NMAU named after P. I. Tchaikovskyi. 2 sec. Part 1. Kyiv, 2009. Issue. 88. P. 202.

<sup>489</sup> Dyletskyi M. “The Musical Grammar”, sheet V (4), LVII (55), LXI (59), LXII (60), LXIV (62), LXVI (63-64), LXVIII (65), LXXIII (69), LXXXIV (79, quote), XCI (83) etc.

<sup>490</sup> *ibid.* Sheet LXVIII, P. 65.

<sup>491</sup> *ibid.* Sheet XXXIII, P. 32.

<sup>492</sup> Dyletskyi N. “The idea of musical grammar”, P. 282.

<sup>493</sup> *ibid.* This expression can be found in Slavic book laminated miniatures of the XIII century and means reading psalms (Psalms) accompanied by gusli.

include these instruments is given in the explanation of what should the singing in praise of the Blessed Virgin look like<sup>494</sup>. Explaining how to write a bass part, Dyletskyi cites the well-known musical instrument reed-pipe (Ukr. *duda* = *bagpipe* – *I.Z.*)<sup>495</sup>, whose longest pipe produces a sustained bourdon sound. This instrument gave the name to the pipe rule (“*reguladudalis*”), which the author explained in detail in one of “The Grammar” sections, when the “bass is on its own basis (bourdon), while other voices concertize (i.e. carry the melody – *I.Z.*)<sup>496</sup>. Researchers of the modern Ukrainian and Belarusian scientific communities L. Kostiukovets and I. Kuzminskyi have previously turned their attention to this rule<sup>497</sup>.

Dyletskyi mentions the trumpet and some other musical instruments when he explains the difference between a singer who sings a melody without words and an instrumentalist who plays it on instruments – trumpet, cornet, trombone (*puzan*), organ, *gusli*, harp, lyre<sup>498</sup>. As follows from the descriptions and explanations given in “The Grammar” text, M. Dyletskyi was well acquainted with the listed instruments, understood the specifics of their sound, their capabilities and functions.

In fact, all the musical instruments mentioned by M. Dyletskyi were used in everyday life and professional performing practice, representing its various spheres. Violins were part of secular music tradition, the reed-pipe (*bagpipe*) was an instrument of urban and rural musical life, trumpets, cornets were signal instruments of the palace, city (tower) and military music. The organ was a cult instrument of the Roman Catholic and Protestant Churches, and after the Union of Lublin (1569) – the Byzantine Catholic Church for some time.

<sup>494</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>495</sup> Dyletskyi M. “The Musical Grammar”, sheet XXIX.

<sup>496</sup> “The idea of musical grammar”.

<sup>497</sup> Kostiukovets L. Once again about the cant of Nikolay Diletsky. URL: <https://elib.bsu.by/bit-stream/123456789/103280/1/%D0%9B%D0%B0%D1%80%D0%B8%D1%81%D0%B0%20%D0%9A%D0%BE%D1%81%D1%82%D1%8E%D0%BA%D0%BE%D0%B2%D0%B5%D1%86%20%D0%95%D1%89%D0%B5%20%D1%80%D0%B0%D0%B7%20%D0%BE%20%D0%BA%D0%B0%D0%BD%D1%82%D0%B5%20%D0%9D%D0%B8%D0%BA%D0%BE%D0%BB%D0%B0%D1%8F%20%D0%94%D1%8B%D0%BB%D0%B5%D1%86%D0%BA%D0%BE%D0%B3%D0%BE.pdf> [11]; Kuzminskyi I. Lviv Manuscript “The Musical Grammar”: a source of knowledge of performance theory and practice of party creativity of Mykola Dyletskyi. Research Bulletin of NMAU named after P.I. Tchaikovsky. Sec.2, Part 1. Kyiv, 2009. Issue. 88.

<sup>498</sup> Diletsky N. Idea of musical grammar.

Quite interesting is the fact that in his choral (*partesny*) works M. Dyletskyi reflects the sound of the musical instruments mentioned in “The Grammar”. Using “*regula dudalis*”, the author tries to combine the voices in the choral score in such a way as to reproduce the sound of the reed-pipe bass, which holds the main tone for a long time. According to the author of “The Grammar”, the specifics of the reproduction of such a sound in choral music is to rhythmize one or, more often, two bass parts to pronounce the syllables of the text, and in the exchange of musical material <sup>499</sup>. This is how one of M. Dyletskyi’s newly discovered four-part concertos “Let the Trumpets Sound” («Да возгласят трубы») begins, written for two descants and two basses <sup>500</sup>. Against the background of a sustained bass, rhythmic zing the main tone “g” <sup>501</sup>, the parts of two descants have first one-bar, and then half-bar melodic phrases with strictly adhered principle of voice exchange. There is an auditory effect of constant verse two-part texture <sup>502</sup>, where the melody is doubled in the lower voice by a third. In combination with the two bass voices, the constant sound of the tonic is obvious (see Example 1).

The composer could continue developing the initial musical phrase, as in everyday music-making with reed-pipe (*bagpipe*), however, the rules of writing a choral (*partesny*) work, especially a link to the word, make the author cease the repetition and move on to the next structure. It also simulates the sound of instrumental bass, but not dual, but rather an organ sound. This occurs in the part of the second bass voice, movingly sung in the low register under the so-called rule of excellence (Example 2).

According to this initial fragment text, which deals with symbolic biblical trumpets “Let the trumpets of the theologians sound” («І проголосять труби богословців» / «Да возгласят трубы богословцев»), M. Dyletskyi resorts to imitating the sounds of solemn trumpet fanfares, but not biblical, rather quite real – with dotted rhythms in parts of two descants, whose vibrant voices are close to that of the trumpet. In bars 8–14, the initial structure is repeated a fourth higher, and a higher tessitura enhances the effect of simulating pipe signals.

<sup>499</sup> Dyletskyi M. “The Musical Grammar”, sheet XXIX.

<sup>500</sup> The score of the Concert was kindly provided by the researcher of choral music of the Slavic Baroque Dr. Olga Shumilina.

<sup>501</sup> Tonality of the Concerto – *G-dur*.

<sup>502</sup> Band polyphony is a type of polyphonic performance that involves the parallel sounding of voices.



The image shows a musical score for four parts: two vocal staves (Soprano and Bass) and two instrumental staves (likely Trumpets). The lyrics are in Ukrainian. The vocal parts have lyrics: "тру - бы, тру - бы, тру - бы, тру - бы бо - го - слов - цев". The instrumental parts have lyrics: "тру - бы, тру - бы, тру - бы, тру - бы".

**Example 3.**

**M. Dyletskyi. Partesny concerto “Let the trumpets sound”, bars 31–32.**

There are many such examples in M. Dyletskyi’s concerts. They indicate that the composer was well aware of the specifics of contemporary instruments sound and reproduced it in his choral compositions *Capella*.

Given the large number of musical instruments mentioned in the text of “The Grammar”, it would be appropriate to present their images on the pages of the treatise, but they are missing. From among all the available manuscripts and preserved copies, “The Grammar” of 1723 is the only manuscript source containing images of musical instruments. Why did they have no chance to be depicted in the manuscripts and copies of “The Grammar” by Dyletskyi created in Muscovy in the last quarter of the XVII century? Why did they appear in the manuscript of 1723?

**11.2. The images of musical instruments**

**in “The Musical Grammar” of 1723: ethnicity identification**

The title and reverse pages of the Lviv manuscript of “The Grammar” of 1723 are decorated with musical and instrumental “themes”. The manuscript and illustrative material were created in St. Petersburg – the new capital of Muscovy, founded by Tsar Peter I, construction of which at that time had just begun (1703). This is clearly indicated by the text on the title page, which is written in Chancery Slavonic or old Ruthenian (Ukrainian) literary



language, and according to Dyletskyi himself – “to our thinking» or “in a colloquial manner”<sup>503</sup>.

The title page is decorated with a two-tiered composition (Figure 1 a) with a text in the lower tier, in the portal, between two columns connected by an arch with images of King David and Archangel Gabriel. The text contains information that “The Grammar” was written originally in Vilno and contained musical examples. In Smolensk in 1677, the author translated it himself from Polish into Church Slavonic. It further follows from the text that on 12 October 1723, it was rewritten in St. Petersburg. This text is largely incomprehensible and requires further careful study.

A number of questions arise from the said text and decoration of the title page. Is it possible that there was a drawing on the title page of the original of “The Grammar” manuscript? If so, could it have been copied from the engraving of some famous master and what master?

The idea of the image is permeated with Jesuit symbols. In the upper tier, surrounded by clouds, two angels are depicted holding a wreath decorated with a crown (Figure 1 a). A Jesuit symbol inside the wreath – IHS sign with a Catholic cross over the letter “H”, as well as a heart with four arrows. According to brief biographical information given by Dyletskyi himself in the text of “Ideas of The Musical Grammar” (1679), we learn that he was a student of the Vilnius Jesuit Academy, and later became a teacher. It is also known that he first wrote a treatise in Polish (according to K. Estreicher – in 1675)<sup>504</sup>, which he translated into the “Slovenian dialect” (i.e. the Church Slavonic language – *I.Z.*) in Smolensk (1677)<sup>505</sup>.

The title page of the St. Petersburg’s manuscript could have been copied from the Vilnius grammar, where placement of such symbols was logical, as it was intended for teaching students of the Vilnius Jesuit Academy. This suggests that its original copy, not preserved in our time, could have

<sup>503</sup> This language was widely used by Russian (i.e. Ukrainian and Belarusian) ethnic groups in the Polish-Lithuanian state not only in everyday life. Prior to the signing of the Union of Lublin (1569), it officially had state status.

<sup>504</sup> K. Estreicher is a Polish bibliographer who pointed out the existence of the Polish-language manuscript of the Vilnius “The Musical Grammar” by Dyletskyi, which arose, apparently, under the influence of the Latin music textbook of the teacher of rhetoric and music of the Vilnius Jesuit Academy Sigismund Lauksmin (1597/8 – 1670) “*Arset Praxis Musica*”, first published in Vilnius in 1667.

<sup>505</sup> Gerasimova I.V. Nikolay Diletsky: the creative path of a composer of the XVII century: Abstract dissertation. ... Cand. art history: 17.00.02. Moscow: Russian Academy of Music named after the Gnesins, 2010.

still existed at the time of the St. Petersburg's copy creation. *The general appearance of the drawing suggests that it is compositionally reminiscent of engravings from the title pages of the Western European Christian sacred books* (for example, the Latin Bible of 1592). To confirm (or refute) this assumption, two questions require clarification. First: *who* of the engravers (and later copyists) and *where* was able to create the engraving that served as the basis for the drawing contained in the title page? Second: musical and instrumental realities of which country could this engraving (and drawing on its motives) reflect?



**Figure 1 a, b**

- a – the title sheet of “The Musical Grammar” of 1723 by M. Dyletskyi,
- b – The King David’s Psalter (fragment of the title sheet)

Sources: a – “The Musical Grammar” of 1723 by M. Dyletskyi. Title sheet’s reverse side, b: – *ibid* (fragment). Andrei Sheptytskyi’s National Museum in Lviv.

As mentioned above, none of “The Grammar” copies have images of musical instruments on their title pages. How did it happen that they appeared in the manuscript of 1723? Jesuit symbols on the title page of “The Grammar”, and the musical instrument depicted on it similar to the psalteries of Latin Europe with a vertical arrangement of strings, and confirm the thesis that the *original version of the title page of “The Grammar” could have been created in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth*, heir of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, Russia and Samogitia.

In XVI–XVII centuries, the art of engraving actively developed and spread to the lands of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, and later in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. In XVII century, several engraving schools existed. Oleksandr Tarasevych (1640–1727), an outstanding engraver and etching artist, was the founder of the Vilnius school. His school was well known in the Slavic world and beyond. According to D. Rovinskyi, O. Tarasevych was a subject of The Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and never left its territory<sup>506</sup>. It is known that in 1672–1688 he lived and worked in Glupsk (modern Belarus) and Vilna (after 1788 until the end of his life – in Kyiv) and had close ties with Ukrainian cultural figures (who “relocated” to Vilno after the destruction of Kyiv by Muscovite troops), in particular, possibly with M. Dyletskyi. At first glance, these circumstances of the engraver’s life are consistent with the assumption made by O. Tsalai-Yakymenko that O. Tarasevych could have been the author of the engraving on the title page of “The Grammar” of 1723. However, my careful study of the stylistic features of the artist’s work, as well as the fact that the title page of “The Grammar” and its back *are not the prints from engravings, but drawn by hand, with brush and pen*<sup>507</sup>, it can be argued that the title page was *redrawn by an amateur artist in 1723 in St. Petersburg, probably using some unknown original*. This is further evidenced by a rather arbitrary interpretation of the reproduced Jesuit symbols, for example, a wreath instead of a sun disk, four arrows (instead of three), the nature of the drawing of the characters’ clothes and other details of the composition. The original of the Vilnius “The Grammar” could have got to St. Petersburg

<sup>506</sup> Rovinsky D.A. A detailed dictionary of engravers of the XVI – XIX cent. St. Petersburg: Printing house of the Imperial Academy of Sciences, 1895. P. 982.

<sup>507</sup> This information was provided by Dr. Svitlana Zinchenko, Ukrainian historian and art critic, senior researcher at the Andrei Sheptytskyi National Museum in Lviv.

from the territory of The Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, or it could have been brought either by Dyletskyi <sup>508</sup> himself, or by one of the Ukrainian singers who worked in the city's choirs. Already after arrival to St. Petersburg, a two-tiered composition on the back of the title page had the landscape of St. Petersburg overlooking the Neva and Vasyliivsky Island added to the image of the Holy Trinity and the ensemble of angels which was common for the Western European art. Moreover, it is noticeable that the two upper tiers of the composition (which may have been on the previous original) are clearly separated by a zigzag-like line from the lower (already completed in St. Petersburg) tier, which reproduces the St. Petersburg landscape.

It is obvious that the existing practice of copying textbooks at that time was caused by the educational needs of singing students (cantors). Let us remind that before getting from Kyiv to Lviv, the manuscript of "The Grammar" was owned by a student-composer Pankratiev <sup>509</sup>, i.e. a musician who needed this textbook to study the art of composition. The assumption that the amateur artist designed the title page on arbitrarily combined motifs of Tarasevych's engravings suggests that the musical instrument in the hands of King David will provide a response to the question: the musical and instrumental realities of which country in the last quarter of the XVII century he reflects – the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth <sup>510</sup> or Muscovy.

It should be noted that O. Tarasevych in his engravings quite realistically reflected the musical instruments of his time, which existed in the urban culture of the Western Europe and the Commonwealth, including the lutes, trumpets, cornets, as well as medieval harps (for instance, the engraving of "King David" 1677). This further confirms the assumption that the amateur artist, who had redrawn the title page, could have borrowed from the original engravings by O. Tarasevych only compositional details, and supplementing them with his own, in particular, perhaps, more famous and closer to him musical instruments. To justify this opinion, let us consider in more detail the stringed instrument in the hands of King David.

<sup>508</sup> if the years of his life can be ascertained.

<sup>509</sup> Dyletsky M. "Musical Grammar"... P. 89

<sup>510</sup> In the federal lands of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania in the XV century Russian (Belarusian and Ukrainian) lands, accounted for 90 percent of its territory, and the Ukrainian and Belarusian ethnic groups in relation to the Lithuanian – 92 percent of its population. The state language – Ruthenian (Old Ukrainian). The inhabitants of the Muscovy at that time were called Muscovites, not Russians. This trend took place in the XVI century. See: Yakovenko N. Essay on the history of medieval and early modern Ukraine. Ed. 3, revised and expanded. Kyiv: Critique, 2006. P. 140.

The king is depicted with a vertically held eleven-stringed instrument in the form of an elongated rectangular trapezoid with strings of different lengths, which is of the psaltery type (Figure 1 a, b). In contrast to the synchronous images of the psaltery appearing in Western European iconography, it has a specific shape sounding body in the form of a rectangular trapezoid with an elongated acute angle at the top (Figure 1 b). The study of the Western European iconography of psalteries revealed a variety of their forms – triangular, rectangular, figured trapezoid and others that prevailed in the Latin-speaking Europe (Figure 2). *We have not found a close analogue among Latin iconographic sources.* To clarify the ethnic origin of the instrument, it is necessary to refer to the historically earlier and synchronous analogues that existed among the instruments of the Slavic community during the XII–XVIII centuries.

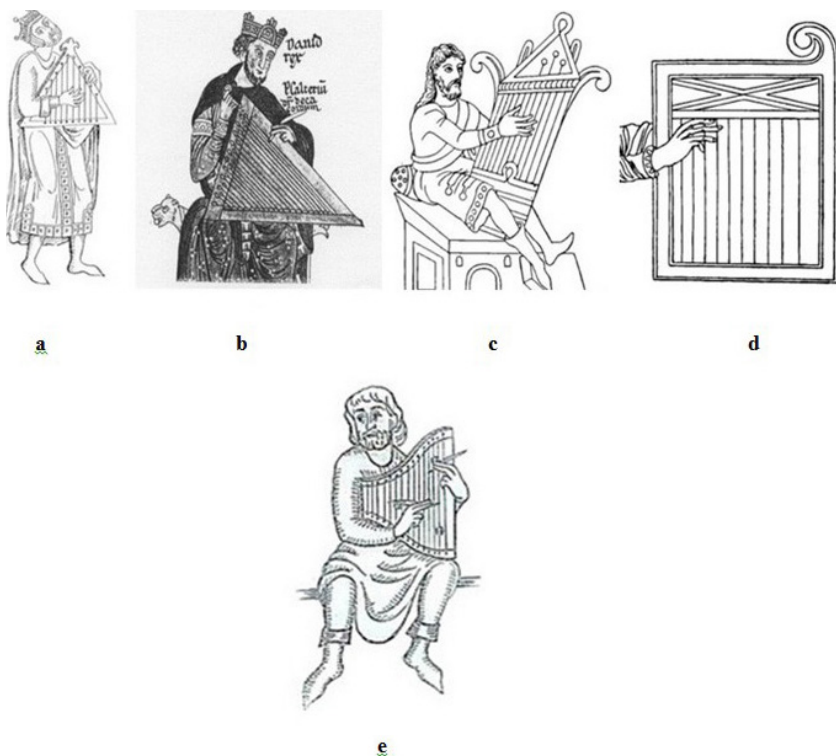
The oldest images close in form to it are two images preserved on a bowl from Berezov of the XII century (Figure 3 b), with the plot of a feasting queen surrounded by servants, musicians, acrobats and dancers, and the Czech Latin Bible of the first half of the XV century<sup>511</sup> (Figure 3 c). Similar in shape, but a larger psaltery, depicted on the subject of princely life – earpicks, found by archaeologists in Novohrudok (XI–XII centuries)<sup>512</sup> – the city of Polotsk Principality, which was part of Kyivan Rus at that time<sup>513</sup>.

A question may arise as to why exactly these instruments have been chosen for comparison. Most likely, one should think that the instruments depicted on Berezov's cup are part of the Slavic community. Researchers have not yet determined the ethnicity of the musicians depicted on it. According to a number of features (the clothes of musicians with long sleeves, a trapezoidal shape of the psaltery with an acute angle, which is similar to gusli image on ancient Slavic bracelets of the XII century), it can be stated that exactly *Slavic musicians* are depicted here. A mention by Konstantin Bahrianorodnyi about Slavic musicians at the court of the Byzantine emperor can serve as further evidence: "On public holidays, the administrator must <...> order the Slavs involved in instrumental music,

<sup>511</sup> Buchner A. Hudební nástroje odpravě kukdnešu Praha: Orbis, 1956. il. 133.

<sup>512</sup> Since 1240, Novohrudok was the first capital of the Lithuanian state, where the residence of the metropolitans of Kyiv, Halych and all of Russia was located.

<sup>513</sup> Zinkiv I. Bandura as a historical phenomenon: monograph. Kyiv: IMFE, 2013. P. 360.



**Figure 2 a, b, c, d, e – medieval Western European psalteries**

a, b – triangular, c, d – rectangular, e – trapezoid

Sources: a – Zinkiv I. *Bandura as a historical phenomenon: monograph*. Kyiv: IMFE, 2013, p. 356; b – Panum H. *Middelalder enstrengt instrumenter og deres forløbere oldtiden*, 1915. p. 137, fig. 141; c – Panum H. *Middelalderens ...*, p. 141, fig. 149; d – Famintsyn A.S. *Saltimbanco in Russia*. St. Petersburg: Aletya, 1995, c. 253, fig. 19; e – Szydłowska-Cegłowa B. *Z. Staropolskie nazewnictwo instrumentów muzycznych*. Wrocław: i.j. Ossolineum, 1977, s. 78, fig. 19.

to come to the theatre”<sup>514</sup>. In his time, Roman Hruber called on scholars to focus on the role of Slavs in Byzantine culture and study their influence on it since the early Middle Ages.

<sup>514</sup> Rozov N.N. Musical instruments and ensembles in miniatures of the Khludov Psalter. Old Russian art. Problems and attributions [Ed., Int. Art. O.I. Podobedova]. Moscow: Nauka, 1977. P. 91.





**Figure 3 a, b, c, d**

- a – David’s psalter from the title sheet of M. Dyletskyi’s “The Musical Grammar” of 1723;  
 b – a psalter depicted on a bowl from Berezov of the XII century,  
 c – a psalter from the Czech Latin Bible of the first half of the XV century,  
 d – David’s psalter in the initial letter “V” from the French Bible of the late XIII century

*Sources: a – psaltery from “The Musical Grammar” by M. Dyletskyi in 1723; b – Darkievich V.P. Secular art of Byzantium: Works of Byzantine artistic craft in Eastern Europe of X–XIII centuries. Moscow: Iskusstvo, 1975, p. 86. fig. 118. Musician with psaltery; c – Buchner, A. Hudební Nástroje Od Pravěku k dnešku. Praha: Orbis, 1956, fig. (obr.) 133; d – Emdler, Ildico. Music in painting. Music as symbol in Renaissance and Baroque painting. Budapest: CorvinaKiado, 1984, fig. 2. King David Playing the Harp*

This type of psaltery existed not only among the Eastern, but also among the Western Slavs, as evidenced by Czech iconographic sources<sup>515</sup>. It is depicted in the Czech Latin Bible of the first half of the XV century and in its shape is also similar to the psaltery from “The Grammar” of 1723. The upper, unilaterally narrowed part of the sounding body of the Czech instrument, similar to the psaltery from “The Grammar”, ends with a volute. Czech instruments of the first half of the XIV century included also another type of a psaltery, the “bohemian wing” (*alabohemica*), which is reproduced in the Velyslav’s Bible (1340)<sup>516</sup>. Unique images of psalteries from “The Grammar” and the Czech Latin Bible of the XV century may

<sup>515</sup> It is known that Rome began to fight with the Czech Orthodox Church in the XI century.

<sup>516</sup> Buchner A. Musikinstrumente von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart. Prague: Artia, 1971. il. 47, 58.

indicate its *ancient Slavic roots*. This instrument may have existed in the Bohemian and Moravian lands, possibly from the time of Great Moravia, to the period of Latinization of Orthodox Czech culture (i.e. until the XI century). Such a unique psaltery, which no longer occurs in the iconography of medieval France, is depicted in the hands of King David in the initial letter “B” from the French Bible of the late XIII century (Figure 3 d), which is stored in the library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences (Budapest)<sup>517</sup>. Its shape is identical to the Byzantine (Slavic) and Czech images of the psalteries, which are also chronologically proximal. Note that we have not yet found in French medieval iconography the psalteries of such a shape. Perhaps, the traces of this instrument should be sought in an earlier period in the history of early medieval France, which at that time was under a certain influence of Byzantine culture.

Two more images of the psalteries have been preserved, which are synchronous with the instrument presented on the title of “The Grammar” and which originate from the territory of Ukraine. One of these is placed on the title page of the Sosnytskyi Irmologion of the end of the XVII century. (Figure 4 a, b), the second one – on the folk mural “Cossack-bandurist”, which dates the middle of the XVIII century<sup>518</sup> (Figure 4 c).

The drawing from the Sosnytskyi Irmologion of the end of the XVII century, which originates from the Chernihiv region (Figure 4 a, b)<sup>519</sup>, shows an instrument with ten strings, which is placed next to King David. The sharp corner in the upper, one-sidedly narrowed part of the body, similar to the psaltery from “The Grammar” and the Czech Latin Bible of the XV century, has a figured ending in the form of a volutare. The lower part of the body and its lateral outlines form a rectangle at the base. The sounding box of the instrument is obviously shallow,

<sup>517</sup> Emdler I. Music in painting. Music as symbol in Renaissance and Baroque painting. Budapest: Korfina Kiadó, 1984. Plate 2.

<sup>518</sup> The fresco depicts a Cossack bandura player playing in a Jewish tavern. The practice of involving Ukrainian kobzar-bandurists to perform in taverns persisted in the early XX century. In a letter to M. Polotai dated 6 April 1972, O. Korniiievskiy mentions Leib, innkeeper in the town of Mena, Chernihiv region, who hired Ukrainian bandura players to promote income from his drinking establishments (“attracting drunkards”). See: “V rokotanni-rydanni bandur: coll. of art. and mat. [Author-emphasis. M. Shudria, V. Nechepa]. Kyiv: MAUP, 2006. P. 131.

<sup>519</sup> Yasinovskiy Yu. Byzantine hymnography and church monody in the Ukrainian reception of early modern times [Ed. K. Hannik, Ya. Isaievych]. Lviv: I. Krypiakievych Institute of Ukrainian Studies of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine, 2011. P. 314.



located parallel to the surface of the soundboard. The upper ends of the strings are fixed in descending order along the upper oblique edge of the body.

A certain synchronicity of both instruments images gives grounds to assert their real existence in the musical life of Ukraine in the Baroque Era. This can be confirmed by a unique image of a similar in shape, design and chronologically proximal instrument of folk mural of the mid-XVIII century, which was named “Cossack-bandurist” (Figure 4 c) and stored in the State Museum of Ukrainian Fine Arts (Kyiv, Ukraine). In a folk fresco depicting a Cossack-bandurist (bandura player) playing in a Jewish tavern, researchers considered only an instrument in the hands of a Cossack (kobza-bandura). However, no-one paid attention to the stringed musical instrument hanging on the tavern wall. Moreover, although the image of its upper part is missing, it is difficult to overlook that its shape is very reminiscent of the type of psaltery, which is similar to the instrument depicted in “The Musical Grammar” 1723 and on the title of Sosnytskyi Irmologion. The peculiar form of the psaltery – a rectangular trapezoid with a sharp upper corner – is not attested either in Western European nor Russian iconography or in the traditional instruments of the Russians. There were three forms of zither-like instruments (gusli) in Muscovy: wing-shaped, helmet-shaped (triangular) and isosceles trapezoid (table-shaped gusli) <sup>520</sup>. The performers kept all these varieties, in contrast to the Ukrainian vertically held instruments of the Baroque Era, on their knees, horizontally, which was a characteristic feature of the Russian folk instrumental tradition, formed under the influence of the Finno-Ugric and Turko-Tatar cultural community <sup>521</sup>.

A question may arise: why should the discussed instrument be considered Ukrainian ones, and not Jewish, since it is depicted in a tavern. Does it belong to the variety of percussion zithers–cimbalom, or plucked instruments such as zither-psaltery? It should be noted that in the Jewish folk-instrumental practice of the XVII–XIX centuries, not only in Ukraine, but also in other Eastern European countries (Poland, Belarus, Romania, etc.), there were no instruments that performers could play by plucking strings. Instead, the Jews used another type of zither-shaped instrument,

<sup>520</sup> Zinkiv I. *Bandura as a historical phenomenon: monograph*. Kyiv: IMFE, 2013. P. 114.

<sup>521</sup> *ibid.*, P. 114, 143.



a



b



c



d

**Figure 4 a, b, c, d**

- a, b – zither-shaped psaltery near King David  
 from Sosnytskyi Irmologion of the XVII century,  
 c – psaltery from the folk mural “Cossak-bandura-player”  
 of XVIII century,  
 d – Jewish musician playing the cymbalom.

Sources: a, b – lithography from “Sosnytskyi Irmologion” XVII c.; c – popular fresco “Kossak-Bandyrist”. State Museum of Ukrainian Fine Arts; d – Painting by an unknown author of the XIX century. Funds of the Lviv Historical Museum (Ukraine).

the cimbalom (hammer dulcimer), which in various national traditions had a well-established characteristic shape of an isosceles trapezoid and was played using sticks (Figure 4 d).

This fact is important for the identification of the type of instrument as a psaltery that in the XVII-XVIII centuries it was a common practice to involve Ukrainian musicians to perform in Jewish taverns, which existed in Ukraine through to the early XX century. Bandura player and craftsman Oleksandr Korniiievskiy mentioned the innkeeper Leib from the city of Mena (Chernihiv region, Ukraine), who hired Ukrainian bandura players to perform in order to promote pending in his drinking establishments (“*attracting drunkards*”) <sup>522</sup>. It is possible that at that time not only kobzar-bandurists performed in taverns, but also performers on zither-shaped psalteries (that is, vertically held instruments). For these reasons, this instrument probably decorated the exterior of the tavern.

It is obvious that the instrument of interest could be mentioned under the name “gusli” in written sources of the Zaporozhian Cossack host. The paintings on the murals were created synchronously with the illustrations of Dyletskyi’s “The Grammar”, and the detailed description (as well as the image) of the gusli of the Cossackera was not preserved in any sources from that time. In these terms, Aleksandr Rigelman’s testimony is important, that in the XVIII century the Ukrainians “*preferred performing on the gusli*” <sup>523</sup>, the appearance and type of which and the method of holding have not yet been established. Mykola Lysenko, the founder of the Ukrainian organology, who had the opportunity to watch as a child an old Zaporizhzhia priest playing gusli, also left us no information about instrument’s appearance, mode of play and manner of holding <sup>524</sup>. The placement of the psaltery on the mural, created by a folk painter who was not influenced by the traditions of professional art, confirms the idea of the psalteries existence among the instruments played in Ukraine in the XVIII century (according to O. Rigelman, gusli) in the form of a rectangular trapezoid with an acute angle.

<sup>522</sup> “V rokotanni-rydanni bandur”. P. 131.

<sup>523</sup> Rigelman O.I. Chronicle story about Little Russia and its people and Cossacks in general. Kyiv: Lybid, 1994. (1894). P. 768.

<sup>524</sup> Lysenko M.V. Folk musical instruments in Ukraine/Ed., Foreword and notes by M. Shchokol. Kyiv: Art, 1955. P. 46.

Note that the painter who painted the psaltery on the title of “The Grammar” by M. Dyletskyi, should have seen it in the realities of folk life, otherwise he would have depicted King David with a harp or psalteries of other shapes, which were typical for Western European sources, or with other varieties of stringed instruments. Thus, *the shape of the instrument in this case allows asserting more confidently its probable ethnicity as an artefact of the Ukrainian musical culture.*

Another important issue is the *establishing the name* of the instrument, which could confirm its Ukrainian genesis. A possible way to establish it is to involve folklore sources of the time. Until now, no one paid attention to the fact that Ukrainian folk songs mention *gusli*, which were not preserved in the folk instruments of the XIX century. M. Lysenko and H. Khotkevych once drew attention to this fact <sup>525</sup>.

Comparing approximately synchronous images from “The Grammar”, Sosnytskyi Irmologion and mural “Cossack-bandurist”, as well as with written sources of the XVI – early XVII centuries, which mention then Ukrainian stringed instruments, we can note polysemy in the use of instruments. Lavrentii Zyzaniy’s Lexis (1596) explains the term “gusli” through three different instruments – as “harp, lute, violin”, i.e. it is interpreted as a general concept of “stringed musical instrument”. Pamvo Berynda’s Slavic-Ruthenian Lexicon (1627) indicates: “gusli – harp, zither” (i.e. psalter, gusla – *I.Z.*) <sup>526</sup>. Such polysemy testifies to the current level of knowledge regarding the development of musical instruments – in ancient Ukrainian dictionaries the same term denoted different types of stringed instruments. *Actually, the Ukrainian psaltery of the Baroque Era, the image of which was preserved for us by Dyletskyi’s “The Grammar”, could be hidden under the general name of “gusla”.* Thus, we can assume that the painter, who created a drawing based on engravings by O. Tarasevych for the title of The Grammar, could reproduce a *zither-shaped instrument – psaltery/gusli of the vertical mode of holding*, which was common in the musical life of Ukraine in the XVII – first half of XVIII centuries.

<sup>525</sup> Khotkevych H. Musical instruments of the Ukrainian people [Introd. art. I. Matsiiievskiy]. Kharkiv: Foundation for National and Cultural Initiatives named after Hnat Khotkevych, 2002. [Reprint. ed.]. P. 50, 56].

<sup>526</sup> Pamvo Berynda’s Slavic-Russian Lexicon/Introd. art. V.V. Nimchuk. Kyiv: Publishing House of the USSR Academy of Sciences, 1961. P. 27, 28.

The back of the title page of the Lviv Manuscript of “The Grammar” by M. Dyletskyi (1723) depicts a three-tiered composition, in the middle tier of which there is an angelic choir, the sound of which accompanies the performance of an instrumental ensemble of lute, tenor viola *dagamba* and two wind instruments. The pattern is so conditional that the outlines of the instruments make it difficult to determine accurately the structural details of strings and types of wind instruments. Yet some of these give reason for further discussion in more detail.

One of the performing angels holds a lute in its hands with a rather large body and a long neck with a bent head (Figure 5 a). It is difficult to determine the depth of the body of this instrument, whether it was a cup-shaped (like a lute) or flatter (like the instruments that conditioned the formation of the Ukrainian zither-shaped bandura instrument). In addition, not typical for large lutes mode of instrument holding observed – almost vertical (!), fingerboard up, and most importantly – a long stand provided to fix the lower ends of the strings across the entire fingerboard, similar to the Ukrainian kobza with melodic strings or bandura. The instrument in its shape, size and a manner of holding partially resembles the bandura, depicted in Karion Istomin’s ABC-book (1694)<sup>527</sup>, as well as a lute-shaped instrument in a drawing from the manuscript “Panegyric Olympus with the Muses” (1730). The instrument depicted in “The Grammar”, which could be rarely found in iconographic sources, can be considered *one of the oldest images of the Ukrainian bandura* of the Baroque Era.

Hnat Khotkevych believed that the Western European tenor *viola da gamba* was co-opted into traditional Ukrainian instruments almost unchanged. The image from Dyletskyi’s “The Grammar” is quite conditional (Figure 5 b). Three strings are clearly traced, not four as typical of these instruments. The conventionality of the drawing does not make it possible to determine whether the European *viola da gamba* or *basolia* – Ukrainian folk instrument, is depicted here. Given the reproduction of the lute of vertical mode of holding, not typical of the Western European tradition of playing lute instruments, we can assume that the strings and wind instruments<sup>528</sup> depicted on the back of the title page of “The Grammar”

<sup>527</sup> Karion Istomin (1640-1722) studied at the Mohyla Academy in Kyiv.

<sup>528</sup> Regarding the two wind instruments depicted in the middle tier of the engraving as part of the ensemble of angels, we cannot say anything definite, since the conventionality of image does not allow establishing their type and design features.



**Figure 5 a, b**

- a – title sheet’s reverse side of “The Musical Grammar” of 1723  
by M. Dyletskyi,  
b – lute (bandura) and viola da gamba (basolia)  
from a fragment of the composition middle tier

*Sources: a – the reverse side of title sheet “The Musical Grammar” of 1723 by M. Dyletskyi, b – its fragment.*

may represent a typical ensemble of Ukrainian musical life of the XVII and first half of the XVIII centuries, known from other iconographic sources. In particular, there is written evidence of an ensemble consisting of string and wind instruments, which performed at the wedding of Tymosh – the son of the famous Ukrainian Hetman Bohdan Khmelnytskyi, which included a basolia<sup>529</sup>. Thus, the earliest mention of this instrument used in Cossack everyday life, dates back to the middle of the XVII century.

<sup>529</sup> Cherkaskyi L. Ukrainian folk musical instruments. Kyiv: Technology, 2003. P. 169.

### CONCLUSIONS

Analysis of the peculiarities of the drawing on the title page of “The Musical Grammar” 1723, shows that a stringed musical instrument does not belong to the Western European culture, but has analogues in the Slavic (old Ukrainian) community, starting from the Middle Ages to the XVIII century.

A thorough study of the title and back sheets showed that the title page were drawn based on the compositional motifs of numerous engravings by O. Tarasevych, and an amateur artist created the drawing based on these motifs. The person (Ukrainian singer-cantor) who has redrawn the title page supplemented these motifs with a musical instrument well known in Ukrainian traditional culture.

The Vilno original could have been brought to St. Petersburg with one of the Ukrainian cantor singers who worked (or studied) in St. Petersburg at that time, and could have been copied there by an amateur artist manually. That was also when the image was supplemented with the St. Petersburg’s landscape on the back of the title page under two-tier composition framed by a zigzag line with Western European symbols of the Holy Trinity and an ensemble of musical angels.

A comparative analysis of the peculiarities of the psaltery shape from “The Musical Grammar” with iconographic samples of the forms of Western European medieval psalteries revealed significant differences between them. Instead, its comparison with samples of Eastern and Western Slavic instruments of the same type became the basis for the conclusion about the *ethnic identity of the psaltery depicted in The Musical Grammar*. The analysed Slavic analogues of the XVII – first half of the XVIII centuries testified to the longevity of this type of instrument in the Ukrainian lands and allowed establishing its old Ukrainian origin.

The image of a lute-like instrument in the “ensemble of performing angels” on the back of the title page of “The Musical Grammar” has atypical for the Western European lutes features – too large body and vertical mode of holding (fingerboard up). This suggests that the person who painted this composition was related to the Ukrainian musical-ensemble of popular tradition of the XVII – first decades of the XVIII centuries and was well acquainted with Ukrainian lute and zither-like instruments, including the bandura, which the performers held upright during performance.



Consideration of the musical and instrumental realities of M. Dyletskyi's "The Musical Grammar" of 1723 may give impetus to an in-depth study of this cultural artefact, which belongs to many nations of the Eastern Europe who once lived in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania (later The Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth) and Muscovy. It expands the prospects for further research of iconographic sources of Slavic instruments of the Baroque Era in terms of studying European musical and instrumental culture.

The article describes the discussion among East Slavic researchers regarding the appearance of the manuscript "The Musical Grammar" by M. Dyletskyi in 1723. Mentions in its text of musical instruments and imitation of their sound nature in the newly found composer's choral concerto "Let the trumpets sound" have been analyzed. The musical instruments have been considered for the first time depicted on the title sheet of the manuscript in terms of similar Slavic and Western European instruments of the XII–XVIII centuries, an attempt has been made to establish their ethnicity.

### ABSTRACT

The article describes the discussion among East Slavic researchers regarding the appearance of the manuscript "The Musical Grammar" by M. Dyletskyi in 1723. Mentions in its text of musical instruments and imitation of their sound nature in the newly found composer's choral concerto "Let the trumpets sound" have been analyzed. The musical instruments have been considered for the first time depicted on the title sheet of the manuscript in terms of similar Slavic and Western European instruments of the XII–XVIII centuries, an attempt has been made to establish their ethnicity.

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