IGNAZIO MACCHIARELLA (ED)

MULTIPART MUSIC

A SPECIFIC MODE OF MUSICAL THINKING, EXPRESSIVE BEHAVIOUR AND SOUND

nota

International Council for Traditional Music

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Ignazio Macchiarella

Introduction

Multipart music really is a fascinating and complex phenomenon.[1] Actually, it is a specific "mode of musical thinking, expressive behaviour and sound". It means that multipart musics have a distinctive typicalness within the general music making sphere: to qualify this typicalness is the main aim of our Study Group.

Of course it is a huge field of research, since a very large part of the musics of the world are the result of combinations of different sound emissions produced by different peoples: suffice to consider that most of the unceasing music flow broadcast by the mass media might be enrolled in the phenomenon. Far from any attempt at an inventory, the ethnomusicological approach deals with the typicality of collective music making, i.e. the basic behavioural mechanisms that are carried out when people sing/play together. Beyond differences between musical outcomes and cultural peculiarity, it is a question of a qualification of distinctive elements within the boundless multipart music phenomena, in order to outline basic traits of a specific music making concept. Often, multipart music is considered mainly (or totally) as 'musical outcomes' or mere 'musical textures', i.e. as a compilation of 'musical objects' (actually, a controversial concept – cf. Turino 2008: p. 24) or as overlapping between depersonalized melodic lines or musical materials. Based on a largely reductionist approach to music, many analyses try to explain multipart music in terms of structural elements alone: intervals, melodic behaviours, interlocks among sounds, harmonies, and so forth.

Since we are ethnomusicologists, we believe that music has to be personalized; in fact to humanize music makings is the main feature of our approach to music study. In such a direction, I would concisely propose some general items for our Study Group's discussions, pivoted on a basic point: *to study multipart music means to focus on what individuals do when they sing/play together in organized ways*.

Towards field focalization

At first, multipart musics could be defined as coordinated behaviours proposing to reach predicted, identified and recognized musical outcomes that are previously imagined and idealized, and then evaluated and debated by performers and listeners within the same community.

Indeed, all music might be considered 'multipart', since all music (or almost all music) is a social act ("a social experience" in Blacking's terms), i.e. it comes from inter-actions between at least two parts: performer and listener, and we know how relevant the influence of the listeners' presence is on music outcomes. The concept of multipart

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1 In this volume (and in our Study Group's works – see www.multipartmusic.org) we use the term 'multipart music' but not *polyphony* (or polyvocality or others). The terms are not synonymous, since *multipart music* intends to neutrally suggest the co-presence of *parts* (considered in a wider sense as *roles* in a music-making perspective, i.e. considering the human participation), avoiding the historical-cultural connotations of *polyphony* which immediately refer to the 'disembodied sound' combinations of the Western art-music perspective. In such a frame, the term polyphony has its historical motivations, so within this volume it will be used by authors dealing with topics concerning ancient written sources.

music literally concerns the performance side and the actions carried out by the sound producers: so we concentrate on this. However, contributions by listeners must not be conceptually disregarded in any case.

Ad escludendum

At first, multipart music might roughly be defined as what *is not* monophonic music or monody produced by only one performer. It also means excluding the cases when two or more persons sing/play the same sound sequences (singing/playing in unison) because it implies their claim to being a sort of 'unique collective entity'. In these cases the individual chooses to avoid his/her singularity, to melt into the joint unison, strengthening an image of an undifferentiated multitude.

Then, the minimum condition of multipart music is the co-presence of at least *two persons producing deliberately differentiated but coordinated sound sequences on the basis of shared rules*.

Nevertheless, during the performative processes, the unison is often not really perfect: small lags, fortuitous overlapping among different sounds, uncertainty in tuning and rhythmic stressing etc. are quite common. These should not be considered as multipart music since they lack intentionality - for instance, the cases of approximations, losses of homorhythmicity, etc., which are quite frequent in practices of the basically singing in unison of groups of football fans, at politic demonstrations (Ayats 2002), during Catholic devotional practice and so on.

On the other hand, a lack in perfect unison is intentionally pursued by performers: for instance, this happens during performances of Berber *ahidous* (Lortat-Jacob 1980: pp. 29-ff) or Baptist congregational lining out (Titon 2009: pp. 109- ff), or in many diversified phenomena of the so-called heterophonies (see further the papers by Pärtlas, Bouët, Ferran). These intentional unperfect music synchronisms are fully part of the expressions of multipart music, although they were pivoted on one (more or less schematic) single melodic line: what counts is the intentionality of the performers to differentiate their music emissions according to expected performative behaviour.[2]

Of course, the boundary between intentionality and unintentionality could be almost ephemeral and impossible to fix: however, it is not relevant to deal with this point here, and I postpone it to a future specific treatment. For the moment, I would stress that the *will to produce differentiated sound emissions is the basic pre-requisite of any multipart music beyond any type of music materials* (also short sequences made on a few sounds might be used).

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2 Inter alia, on the fleeting border of the multipart music concept, within the uncertain frame of intentional and unintentional differentiation in collective music emissions, there are music ambits with sorts of complementary parts, i.e. with parts that may or may not be present during the performative act, depending on the circumstances: I am thinking, for instance, of football fans' slogans that may or may not include drums or instrumental parts, sometimes almost elaborated and rhythmically autonomous from the basically unison vocal emission.

Then, the co-presence of at least two intentionally perceived different sound emissions is the first step of multipart music definition. This co-presence does not just happen: it is not randomness since it needs specific requisites and coordination. Of course, every practice has its set of rules (that is, music-behavioural rules) which are shared and mastered by the performers (and also recognized by the listeners of the same communities).[3]

Since the definition concerns the music making, the concept of multipart music assumes co-operation among different individual music behaviours: so *multipart music is anyway a combined action of two or more persons*. It means excluding the cases of a single performer playing a polyphonic instrument, or singing self -accompanying his/her song instrumentally (although combinations of two or more persons playing polyphonic instruments are included in the concept – see further).

Sound identities

The intentional and organized co-presence distinguishes the concept of multipart music as specific human combined activity with peculiar symbolic contents and values. It means that every multipart practice could be interpreted as a conscious interaction between different individual sound identities since, in a literal sense, during the performance the music coincides with the people who give life to it. In fact, music is not a disembodied product but grants the manifestation of individual existences; since it is achieved by human bodies, music has a 'bodily dimension' whose traits lie in the absolutely distinctive way of moving the body in order to make music. Every performer has their specific and unrepeatable music quality (their specific vocal timbre, their instrumental touch, their blowing technique, etc.) that they put into play with other individual qualities on the basis of a shared music grammar: so, after all, any multipart music is an interaction between sound bodies. Controlling the sonic space is a way of expressing an individual identity

On these bases, sound overlappings have an iconic worth since they could be read as representations of both inter-individual and collective relationships. Overlapping music rules come from shared behaviours that give information on patterns of interaction within the groups and within societies at large (see later).

In the light of these observations, the basic concept of 'part' could be defined as an *intentionally distinct and coordinated participation in a collective musical production.*

As a textural layer (Wade 2009), a part could vary lying along a continuum, at one end of which there is a single repeated sound while at the other, an articulated sequence of different sounds constituting what we generally call a 'melodic line'. Various cataloguings of typologies of sound sequences are synthesized in renowned useful taxonomical schemes, like those of Arom et al., 2005 and Agamennone-Facci-Giannattasio 1996.

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3 Within the concrete act of performance, it is possible to find episodes of complementarity of parts - i.e. additions or subtractions of parts and so forth: I do not consider them here, deferring to specific research.

They are basic analytical tools, mainly for musicological approaches *strictu sensu,* which could be extended to the perspective of the study of music behaviours.

At the moment, I wish to underline that any type and number of musical elements could be one part; furthermore, this could be characterized by particular timbres (or vocal colour) and/or rhythmic formulas and so forth.

As far as there is an affirmation of an autonomous sound sequence, *every part displays a specific sound identity that keeps its independence within contexts of more or less dense interactions and complex plural interdependence*. During a performance, the most schematic part also searches for and maintains its own distinctiveness.

Coordinated actions, combined emissions

Multipart music calls for specific prerequisites from those who practise it (and also from those who listen to it).

The basic requisite is the *availability to make music with others* which means working together and accepting close proximity with others, sharing time and space, and so on. This requisite reveals the quality of interpersonal relationships and models them at the same time. According to a widespread popular belief, it is impossible to make music with someone with whom there is a personal conflict. According to local social conventions, friendly relations or private rivalry (between individuals and groups) could be represented and developed by means of shared multipart practice.

Generally, co-participation in the same simultaneous emission determines special solidarities among the performers: these relationships may be developed within social organizational structures such as workers' associations, religious congregations, peer or political groups and so forth. On the other hand, the shared passion for a particular multipart practice determines the rise of organized musical groups (choirs, quartets, ensembles and so on) generating peculiar mutual ties and solidarities beyond social (ethnic-religious, generational, etc.) boundaries that have a crucial relevance in the daily life of the musical protagonists (and may influence audience orientation).

Another basic requisite is the *availability to listen to the others* in order to learn how to join and to fit within the combined emission. Multipart music needs special listening skills: each performer has to contemporarily listen to his/her own emission and to the one of the people close to him/her, in order to judge the suitability of both his/her sound production and the collective performance. Inside a performing group there is a complex transmitter-receiver situation with many directional sound sources, dominated by airborne sounds with a component of bone-conducted sound (Teenström- Karna 2002). Each performer has to concentrate on singing their part (thinking horizontally) while at the same time hearing the interlocking of parts (vertical suitability). This listening capability is a culturally learned behaviour which is more or less developed according to different performative patterns.

Then, practicing multipart music entails *the acceptance of the constraints of one's own music emission*. Like any kind of music, multipart music does not allow real music freedom. Differently from other kinds of music, it submits to two different and parallel

orders of restriction: it immediately (as a coordinated action and simultaneous emission) undergoes constraints due to the collective musical cooperation (each sound has to fit adequately with the other ones); then there are the different social-contextual constraints that vary according to the different musical scenarios, rooted in the judgments of the audience – namely other performers and listeners – about the correspondence of the single music outcome with the collective belief system, aesthetic evaluations, social validations, appropriateness of the performance and so forth.

Different concrete roles

There are hierarchies and complex relationships among the parts that are extremely different according to the different musical scenarios and local practices, which are often not easy to define in terms of musical behaviours – as well as there are multipart musics escaping clear categorization as music textures (Agamennone 1996/b).

Not all the performative roles are considered as being of equal importance. There are essential or main roles, second leads or complementary roles, unessential or subordinate ones, and so on. Roughly, the variety of combinations among parts can be represented as lying along a continuum, at one end of which there is a clear distinction between a leader part and one or more accompanying parts, while at the other, we have the co-presence of two or more equivalent parts. For interpretations of multipart music as a social act, this variability has a crucial iconic importance. The different relevance of the performative roles may be interpreted as the projection of organizational patterns of the society expressing them, in the wake of the conception of music as a synthesis of cognitive processes which are present in culture and in the human body, rooted in John Blacking's works (see Blacking 1973 and 1995; see also Reily 2006)

However, this kind of representation must not induce a mechanical connection between certain music features and (abstract) social models, avoiding identifying an "explanation with normative statistical correlations or causal analysis" (Feld 1984: p. 404) – as has occurred in the recent history of our discipline, for instance in the *Cantometric* project (Lomax 1976). It needs to consider "the situated meanings of sound patterns in the intersubjective created world of actors and actions" (Feld 1984: p. 404): special research must be developed with this aim, focusing on specific music scenarios, namely, concrete persons and their reciprocal relationships.

A matter of leadership

A lot of multipart music practices are pivoted on a main part. The singing model with accompaniment is perhaps the most common pattern, having an indefinite and almost illimitable variability. Usually, the main part allows the leader the opportunity to widely express his/her musical individuality, with the feeling of putting something of him/herself into the performance: in fact, it has a (more or less) large margin of variation without ignoring the other parts in any case. The accompanying parts are essentially subordinated to the leader's musical choices but actively contribute to the

entire music result. According to the specific performative pattern, music creativities may occur in any of these parts, often including a large component of flexibility and adaptability. Even the apparently simplest accompanying part – such as a single drone on one sustained pitch – implies music choices: for instance, as far as the timbre within a possible scale of nuances is selected or admitted in a music scenario. Accepting to perform an accompanying part involves both the agreement of a hierarchical idea of music and the acceptance of a leader's role ascribed to somebody else. Through music making, culturally situated hierarchies are performed and eventually negotiated.

In some way, a singer/player who usually performs a leader's role in a multipart music enjoys special consideration and a good reputation within the ordinary social relationships of his/her group. Of course, they have to be gifted with appropriate music competencies and skills; but music aptitudes are not enough by themselves; what is basilar is the performer's personality.

To lead a multipart performance means to lead a group of people in a collective and coordinated action and consequently, not all the members of a group are capable (or considered capable) of carrying out this task. A kind of leadership quality is however required to maintain the musical group (and must be recognized by all the performers); an attitude concerning interpersonal relations that the music performance confirms and depicts. Furthermore, there are music scenarios pivoted on the predominance of a leader part where personal charismatic qualities are determinant for the guidance of both the performance and the music group, beyond music endowments (for instance, see the complex dynamics within the instrumental ensembles analysed in Bouët - Lortat Jacob – Radulescu 2002).

Other multipart practices provide two or more leader parts which could cooperate or compete among them, while other mechanisms put complex interactions into play, through which single voices dispute the music leadership of a collective performance, symbolizing rivalries between individuals and groups within a society (see, for instance, the two different competitive systems of the multipart singing analyzed respectively in Sassu 1978 Casteret 2012). Responsorial structure variants provide for articulated interplay between one or more solo parts and choral elaborations (cf. Gourlay 1978) and so forth.

Otherwise, within the history of the so-called Western art music, the basis of developments of hierarchical overlapping parts could be "best understood as expressions of cognitive processes that may be observed to operate in the formation of other structures" (Blacking 1974: p. 24). So for instance, in the XVIIIth century, the development of the idea of a soloist concert (one *solo* against *tutti*) was emblematic of the achievement of a sense of individuality in the economic processes of the society of this epoch. Suggestions like this were developed in an organic anthropological approach to written Western music sources.

Homophonies

Due to mass media dissemination, Western popular music, the most widespread pat-

tern today, is surely conceived as a single melody with an accompaniment (or 'backing') by functional chords, according to general Western harmonic principles. This melody-accompaniment dualism is the common basis for constructing musical meaning: the foreground/background relationships propose a clear distinction between the individual and the rest of the social reality that has immediate iconic contents referring to social experiences.

As music texture, this practice is often defined with the term homophony (literally 'the same voice') – although this notion has no clearly defined boundaries and works especially well in the sphere of tonal harmony.

As we know all too well, this pattern is based on the Western concept of implied harmony; a background chord sequence from which important tones of melody are drawn. In this sense, it is considered as a sort of extension of monody, i.e. the widest practice of performing a single melody. Of course, melody and harmony are mutually joined together and have strong reciprocal constraints.

From a music making point of view, the notion of homophony seems far too reductionistic and deterministic: notwithstanding the relatively rigorous musical constraints, performances of single melodies accompanied by functional chords could be articulated in different separate parts, i.e. with intentional distinctive (and creative!) participation (suffice to think of the almost infinite possibilities for arranging collective accompaniments of the melody of any 'famous song' within scenarios of non-professional music entertainment and how any concrete choice involves different role-games).

Of course, as ethnomusicologists, we are particularly interested in extra-Western-academic musical practices, but ideologically we cannot exclude any kind of music from our perspective. Furthermore, fundamental contributions come from collaboration with specialists in popular music studies,[4] so that research on music making of the so-called homophonic music could lead to really interesting and useful results for our general studies on multipart music. Other very relevant contributions come from the music cognition investigations that are well developed in the interpretations of Western harmony (for instance, Patel 2008, Parncutt 1989).

Images of equality

Several multipart music mechanisms sketch out an idea of a kind of 'music democracy' which is organized in equipollent parts 'dialoguing among themselves', i.e. in sound identities that interact reciprocally. Of course, this equipollence is not a matter of quantity of notes, but concerns the quality of intentionality and participation in the music making.

In the Western history of art music, this is chiefly portrayed by the common idea of a string quartet (mainly a kind of quartet writing emblematized by the Beethovenian

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4 Collaboration of this kind has been started in Italy: Rigolli-Scaldaferri eds 2010; AA.VV 2007; cf. also Camara de Landa 2004: pp. 283-329.

ones) as an erudite conversation between four equal players. Otherwise, in jazz music, different mechanisms allow the interplay of various instrumental parts with (more or less) similar music relevance, which sometimes alternate with an 'improvised' *solo* section where a performer is playing alone or with a background accompaniment from the others. Usually, in this kind of section, while showing his/her peculiar identity, the single musician tries to push him/herself in order to produce 'something musically new', which commonly means original (or supposedly original) melodic (and/or rhythmic–harmonic) developments (cf. Sparti 2007).

Other widely participated orally transmitted multipart musics are pivoted on the iteration of contrasting rhythmic phrases occurring simultaneously, through which relations among social groups are represented (see for instance Locke 1992, or Agawu 1995).

Within traditional multipart singing, interactions between parts with (more or less) equivalent relevance could determine very 'exclusive typologies' of music making. They are normally performed within particular cultural contexts by very specialized groups that have been trained through a peculiar *iter* of musical apprenticeship, including the acceptance of unwritten rules of social life settled by local customs. When each part is performed by a single voice, the interplay of the parts has a complex iconic value, which is so dense as to represent the relationship among the performers within the social life of the village: "The individual singer (...) is valued both for his voice and for his behaviour. At any rate singing is but the acoustical form of a moral quality" (Lortat-Jacob 2011: p. 30). Every singer aims to sign his performance by means of peculiar vocal elements (often minimal expressive nuances) and this kind of signature is recognized and discussed (appreciated or criticized) by both the other singers and the specialized listeners. Through conscious and minutely controlled vocal emissions, the quality of the performance is the quality of interaction among unique musical personalities: performances represent and develop the intensity of the relations among the participants, including very personal challenges and rivalry (see for instance, Lortat-Jacob 1998; Macchiarella 2009).

Music spaces

Just as any musical practice, multipart music takes shape in locations or spaces that are both physical places and socio-cultural constructs (Giuriati 2010). Of course, context has a key relevance for multipart music making as well as the typology of performative acts.

A useful distinction is proposed by Thomas Turino between *participatory performance* - in which there is a non performer-audience distinction, "only participant and potential participant performing different roles" and *presentational performance* - in which one group of people "prepare and provide music for another group, the audience, who do not participate in making the music". In the former, "music making leads to a special kind of concentration on the other people (...) (and every participant) is interacting with/ through sound and motion"; in the latter, "musicians must provide a perfor-

mance that sustains the interest of an audience (...) (and it) has its own responsibility of granting more or less attention to the performance depending on the genre frame" (Turino 2008: pp. 26-52).

Inter-dependent identities brought into play

As I have underlined in the previous references to multipart patterns, each vocal or instrumental part could be performed by a different number of music makers. In fact, *a distinction among the rendition of different parts is fundamental* for our purposes.

A basic bi-polarization is immediate: at one pole, there are interlocks among individual performances of single parts (i.e. each textural layer is performed by one voice or one instrument);[5] at the other, there are combination patterns between redoubled parts, since two or more persons sing (or play) synchronically (or aim to do so, more or less rigorously) the same sound sequences, thereby giving less (or no) relevance to their single individualities as performers. There is no clear hiatus between the two poles, and one can find a large range of possibilities, including patterns with one or more individual renditions combined with redoubled parts. Besides, according to different scenarios, the same multipart pattern could also be performed by both individual and/or collective renditions: this variability gives meaning and value to the performative act with specific social contexts, both in participatory and presentational performances (see, for instance, the case in Macchiarella 2009: pp. 52-60).[6]

Small groups

As I have already pointed out, multipart musics pivoted on the individual performance of single parts constitute very complex and often unpredictable performative mechanisms. Each performance is a kind of 'musical adventure' whose outcome is really impossible to predict. Every participant brings him/herself into play, 'signing' and personalizing his/her emission, laying him/herself open to evaluation by other performers and the audience. Everyone's contribution is valued and considered essential for a performance. And there is also a large component of personal responsibility because of eventual individual mistakes which could compromise the entire performance, which means altering or damaging the participation and contribution of other performers. This eventuality is strongly feared within all different contextual

5 At the moment we could consider the use of monophonic or polyphonic instruments as equivalent: it identifies the single personality of the player in a distinctive participation towards a combined emission: the matter needs opportune development.

6 In presentational contexts (for instance on the stages of the '*world music stream*'), performances of multipart patterns by individual rendition of the parts often lose their fundamental unpredictable character, being very predictable 'concert music' (Lortat-Jacob 2000). The specific influence of auditory feedback on multipart music performance is a very interesting issue for future research (cf. also Turino 2008: pp. 23-60).

scenarios, particularly, both on the stage and within ritual or festive ceremonies. It determines performance anxiety (the so-called 'stage fright') which could compromise the musical outcome. It "is a common problem among both amateur and professional musicians. It afflicts individuals who are generally prone to anxiety, particularly in situations of public exposure and competitive scrutiny, and so is best understood as a form of social phobia (a fear of humiliation)." (Wilson – Roland 2002: p. 47).

As a rule, the practices of individual renditions of a single part give birth to small musical groups, both in professional and amateur music making spheres. "Playing in small groups seems to provide for many people the perfect balance, musically speaking; between, on the one hand, the cultivation of an individual music voice and, on the other, the integration of this voice with other similar voices for the purpose of musical production."(Cottrell 2004: p. 83). Each musician impresses the group with his or her identity, trying to blend in with the ensemble.

Generally, a music group is an unusual type of social group whose interactions involve a deep degree of intimacy and 'connivance' not equalled by other kinds of groups. This is particularly true for small groups, both in professional and non-professional music making. So the inner dynamics of any small musical group are very important in multipart music studies as "such groups can be seen as nodal points within the larger social matrix; they are among the most significant places at which social and musical interaction takes place, ideas exchanged, gossip and news disseminated, work discussed and so on. It is through the navigation of this matrix (...) that musicians in part construct their self-conception" (Cottrell 2004: pp. 83-84). In professional groups, personal disagreements and incompatibilities might be masked, although relation clashes might arise over a period of time. This is not possible in a non-professional frame where personal relationships are the basis of common music making, which could eventually manifest in music outcomes (Lortat-Jacob 2006). Often, these small groups are directly linked with community institutions, such as – in the Catholic world – the religious confraternities, mediating their symbolic and "identity-making character" with them (Macchiarella 2009).

Harmonious images

Redoubling part structures have so much to do with an emblematic image of 'collective harmony' among peoples, without contrasts. Each member hears his/her own sound together with other sound unisons, trying to achieve synchrony on the same tones of his/her part. Usually, there are very large ensembles where individual contributions are hard to identify and the musical responsibilities of part renditions are shared among more persons (inter alia, which mitigates 'stage fright'). Within professional music making, large ensembles might give rise to a sort of frustration because many performers believe their musical individuality is not adequately valorised, having no recognizable impact on the final product (Cottrell 2004: pp. 104-111).

Otherwise, in non-professional music making, the social experience of being a member of a large ensemble is extremely widespread and many people obtain satisfaction

from giving up their music individuality. For instance, singing in a choir is a pastime shared by a lot of men and women of all ages, since singing in unison a vocal part in harmony with others is a enjoyable low cost practice which demands very little time and not many capabilities or dedication to the task (for instance, see Macchiarella 2004). Such music ensembles are clearly hierarchical structures as they need an 'external device' to work, namely, the role of the choir conductor. Sometimes in collaboration with a delegation of choristers, the conductor is responsible for both musical choices and the social behaviour of the group. The rehearsals have a decisive relevance for the elaboration of the distinctive sounds of each chorus, developing specific ideas of music creativity.

The redoubling of parts annuls the representation of individual relations within the groups; instead, interactions and comparisons (including rivalry and challenges) are collectively conceived among the choruses. This is particularly true within traditional participative frames, where large multipart ensembles are very relevant identity making mechanisms (see for instance, Pistrick 2008 and Ahmedaja 2008).

During performances of the redoubling part pattern, everyone is welcome to sing or play and the main goal is to involve the maximum number of people in collective emissions. Individual comparisons, conflicts or rivalry are not revealed and also individual desires to be the centre of attention are banned (for instance, if someone sings at a high volume or embellishes their singing/playing too much). The quality of the performance is valued by how participants homogeneously feel community sentiments.

Inclusive and exclusive music making

Typically, the performers of a kind of multipart music are relatively similar in their level of musical competence and technical capabilities, as well as in their capability to discuss and debate about music performance.

This is particularly true in the cases of multipart practices in *numerus clausus*, that is to say, the practices mastered by very specialized groups selected through special lengthy periods of music training. This selection is not merely a technical matter, but includes the observance of some specific behavioural rules fixed by the local musical scenarios: a good vocal endowment or skilful techniques are not enough to be accepted as a member of a performer group.

Symbolically, multipart music is a game of manifestations of interdependent identities: the search and affirmations of autonomous sound sequences operate by means of a very particular (maybe paradoxical for some aspects) process of inclusion/exclusion. Each sequence of sounds includes one or more voices, excluding the others, while it needs the strongest interaction with the other sequences (and voices) to manifest itself. It is a special declension of the 'inclusion/exclusion' mechanism of identity construction that marks diversities in a frame of strict cooperation. In multipart structures, individual or redoubled (multiple) identities are not lost but revivified through contact with others. The organization in parts gives evidence of how individuals or groups use music in the symbolic construction of boundaries between him/her/them-

selves and other individuals/groups.

The concept could then find a relevant application to the metaphorical representation of an equilibrium in a community, proceeding from the unity of several groups and individualities.

Music creativity

Like any kind of music, multipart music offers a wide range of limited and controlled music creativity. Generally, music creativity is having the opportunity to express one's own individuality with the feeling that one is putting something of oneself into the performance. Broadly speaking, to perform music is a creative act by itself since it is never a mere repetition of something: in this sense, the maintenance of autonomous emission is basically an expression of creativity.

Consciously, the idea of creativity is shown by means of multifaceted intertwining between collective and individual inventiveness requiring 'cooperative mediations' among the performers that differ so much with each music scenario. Very often, this inventiveness provides for choices of performative traits from among an open sphere of expressive virtualities and possibilities – which could mean musical micro-elements, nuances, interpretative shades, etc. The evaluation of this inventiveness requires a special attitude from the audience.[7] During the performance, singers and players are guided by awareness of usage procedures and techniques and by their 'musicality'.

As we know, musicality is a very controversial concept. It involves producing music performances that are qualitatively validated by audiences. But musicality has so much to do with passion and emotion, since music is the commonsense medium *par excellence* of feeling and all things personal. Multipart music offers an extreme emotional intensity rising from the performative proximity with others – i.e. with other individual passions and emotions. Often, singers and instrumental players deal with 'special vibrations', 'particular sensations', 'the feeling of actually being part of collective entities', 'the feeling of merging with the others', etc. Being within a group, one has the sensation of being at the very centre of music as a resonant experience. This feeling is often emblematized by the word 'amalgam': the search for a peculiar and distinctive amalgam is the topic of many multipart music practices (and of related discourses). Symbolically, it means *a combination between the maintenance of individual distinctiveness and mutual melting.*

Performative acts rising from different traces

Like all music, multipart music performances are constructed starting from traces, roughly varying from prescriptive written scores to mnemonic and potential forms (something like a plot). More or less, each performer has a predictable representa-

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7 Often, within traditional frames the audience is composed of other potential performers .

tion of his/her own part and a comprehensive image of the frame of combined music production.

Scores and other kinds of music representations (fixations) give a unitary frame of the musical outcome, and they usually involve the occurrence of a conductor or specialized teaching. Oral mnemonic traces are shared among the performers (and community listeners) and work as single lines mastered by individual persons, who come together in the *hic et nunc* of the performance: every line is not rigid, but adjusts to the other ones in a flexible way. Thus, it is not an 'inner score' but a sort of growing relational sequence of sounds that only exist in connection with others (in fact, above all, the singers of orally transmitted multipart music are incapable of executing their part correctly in the absence of the other parts).

As ethnomusicologists, we are more interested in oral transmission processes; at the same time, our distinctive scholarly feature is the focus on music performance: so studies of performances founded on written sources could be interesting and useful. In this sense I agree with Stephen Cottrell when he says that 'the musical notation which underpins performance events in the Western art tradition is as much (and perhaps more) a text in the Geertzian sense, as something ethnomusicologists might pore over *in situ* to discover local meanings (...) Musical texts become sites through which social relationships are negotiated' (Cottrell 2004: p. 91).

However, nowadays, hi-fi sounds give articulated depictions of aural pathways beyond the traditional processes of written/oral transmission, and this influences the mental elaboration by any performers, developing new habits that we do not know very well. The pervasive diffusion of instruments for sound recording and reproduction has radically changed (and is still continuously changing) our concept of music. Any supposed purity of means of musical transmission has failed, and the (widely unknown) processes of 'secondary orality' influence every music making. At every level, professional and non-professional and so forth, all contemporary musicians live their music practice in terms of deliberateness and self-consciousness, the main characteristics offered by 'secondary orality' (Ong 1992:136 ff). The continuous re-listening to a recording gives 'original detailed knowledge' of a single performance that could be memorized in its elemental components, including small nuances of every part – a process that calls for deeper studies also because of its influence on contemporary music making, determining an appreciable transformation in almost all the multipart practice frames.

We have so much to do …

The previous points delineate a currently huge musical field, and, of course, my previous disorganized notes do not exhaust the quantity of items connected with such a vast phenomenon. Multipart music is an extremely large phenomenon that is impossible to circumscribe – and which is continually in transformation (like all music) so that we can imagine that now, other 'new' (in inverted commas) ones are rising somewhere else. So I think that our task is not to aim at the 'impossible mission' of

tracing the (imaginary) boundaries of the object of our study, but to try to define and characterize its deep essence as a human action, which means combinations of intentional and distinctive sounds performed by individuals and groups.

Studies on sound overlapping (musical structures *strictu sensu*) have to join most incisively with interpretations of behaviour, collective representations, performative mechanisms and so on, and our Study Group could be a concrete landmark in such a perspective. A fundamental contribution will arrive from a tight collaboration with local singers and musicians, also in scholarly discussion processes (particularly the 'dialogic approaches' such as the ones in Feld 1987 and Macchiarella 2009).

Since music is a process (and not an object), multipart music is a very meaningful process extolling interpersonal relationships. In the light of the previous notes, I summarize a first attempt at a general definition of multipart music:

Any music behavior producing at least two intentional sound sequences, regulated by specific overlapping rules, each of which is performed by both one single person or more persons in unison, who maintain a distinctiveness of their own, within contexts of strict interactions and interpersonal relationships.

Multipart music making between Spain and Latin America:
some considerations related to the theoretical proposals of Ignazio Macchiarella

Enrique Cámara de Landa

Introduction

Introduction

The illuminating paper written by Ignazio Macchiarella as a theoretical frame for the First Meeting of the ICTM Study Group on Multipart Music not only constituted a consistent answer to the invitation made by the chair of the group, Ardian Ahmedaja, to "extend our views on multipart music traditions worldwide, by means of research, documentation, interdisciplinary and cross-cultural study",[1] but it also contained a high degree of heuristic value, since its statements and proposals stimulated many reflections on the specificities of this kind of musical behaviour and its many challenges to ethnomusicological theory. Even if I have never studied orally transmitted multipart music in detail, I should like to propose some considerations related both to the ideas launched by Macchiarella in this paper and to some musical traditions in Spanish-speaking countries that could be considered as multipart repertoires or genres. First of all, I shall present the musical cases and then I will try to connect their observation to Macchiarella's ideas.

Some Genres and repertoires

To my knowledge, there are only two monographic musicological publications on repertoires and genres of orally transmitted multipart music to be found today in Spain: an article written by Jaume Ayats and Silvia Martínez (2008),[2] and a book published by Miguel Ángel Berlanga (2009) with a group of young researchers under his direction. The musical practices studied by Martínez and Ayats are alive on the Spanish Mediterranean coast, in the Balearic Islands, the Basque Country, Navarra, and Cádiz. Berlanga's work deals with the religious repertory song from different places in Andalucía during Holy Week (*Miserere* and *Stabat Mater* being the most relevant, but not the only ones: *Via Crucis*, *romances, pregones*, and *saetas* are some of the others).

Two remarks should be made before going further. The first is that neither these scholars nor I have focused on the practice of singing in parallel thirds, which is to be found throughout the country and in Latin America too (even if this interval is often present in the traditions studied). The second one regards the fact that they have only focused on polyphonies produced exclusively by voices. I will mostly do the same, with one exception: in the second part of this text I will say a few words about some heterophonic and polyphonic musical genres in Spain which are produced with voices and musical instruments together.

As a general rule, we do not find orally transmitted multipart vocal music in Spanish

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1 See the chronicle of the Study Group on Multipart Music in http://www.multipartmusic.org/multipartmusic/node/7

2 Other references are quoted in this text: an article from Ayats on heterophony in the Spanish region of Osona, the annotations made by Vicent Torrent and Josemi Sánchez to some sound anthologies which contain the *Cant de l'aurora* musical genre, and those made by Manuel García Matos to a large sound anthology of traditional music in Spain.

speaking countries of Latin America, except for two musical and literary genres: one is the Venezuelan-Colombian *tono de velorio* and the other is the Mexican *canción cardenche.* The *tono de velorio* is practised in some regions of Venezuela and the plains of Colombia, and is constituted by three main subgenres: *velorios de muertos* (vigil for the deceased) *velorios de angelitos* (vigil for children) *and velorios de santos* (vigil for Saints).

The main motivation for organizing *tonos de velorio* is "keeping a promise" to a Saint for having received a favour. This event takes place through meetings in which people keep singing and dancing the whole night long. The *tonos de velorio* are performed in three parts a cappella or with the accompaniment of a pair of shaken idiophones called *maracas* and one of the following instruments: a little guitar called *cuatro* (because it has four strings), a *bandola*, and a six string guitar. Since it starts the song and plays the role of leader, the intermediate voice of the three part polyphony is called *guía* -the Spanish word for "guide"- or *alante* (which in Spanish means "in front of"). After the *guía* begins the song, next to start is the person who sings the second part -called *falsa*, *contralto* or *media falsa*- who produces the highest pitch sounds. The last part in the order of appearance is the *inferior*, *tenor* or *tenorete*, singing the lowest sounds.

I shall not go into detail here on the way these parts function in the *tonos de velorio*, since they have been studied by the Argentine ethnomusicologist Isabel Aretz and her husband, the Venezuelan Luis Felipe Ramón y Rivera. The recordings they made of this genre are kept in the FUNDEF Sound Archives (*Fundación de Etnomusicología y Folklore*), once called INIDEF (*Instituto Interamericano de Etnomusicología y Folklore*) and located in Caracas. Today, the Venezuelan María Teresa Hernández Escalona is carrying out research on the *cantauría* (one of the names given to the meetings for singing *tonos de velorio* in some of her country's regions) for her PhD thesis to be defended at the University of Valladolid.[3] Since the expression *canción cardenche* is composed of the Spanish words *canción* ("song") and *cardencha* (a kind of plant which has many thorns), performers refer to its name as a metaphor for a song that, after being heard for the first time, "penetrates into your body and into your soul in such a way that nothing will ever be able to take it away from you anymore"[4]. *Canción cardenche* also receives the names of *canción de basurero* -"song of the dump"-, since it was sometimes sung close to these places, and *canción de borrachitos* -"songs of drunkards"-, since alcohol is consumed during these performances. Today, *canción cardenche* is practiced in the Mexican region of La Laguna (in the states of Durango and Coahuila) and is said to be in the throes of disappearing. It is performed a cappella by men singing in three -sometimes four- parts (here once again we find one person for each part). We have news of this type of song from the end of the Nineteenth century onwards. People use *canto cardenche* for singing about the strain of working in bad

3 The Argentine musicologist Elena Hermo told me that she recorded *Tonos de Velorio* during her fieldwork in the area.

4 Montserrat Palacios, personal communication.

Figure 1 - Musical transcription of a tono de velorio made by Luis Felipe Ramón y Rivera and published in his book *La Música folklórica de Venezuela* (1969, Caracas, Monte Avila).

Figure 2 - Musical transcription of the Canción cardenche *Ojitos negros* made by Montserrat Palacios and included in her PhD thesis (in preparation).

conditions, injustice, and other themes (not always sad, sometimes happy). The three voices have specific names:

- *Primera* or *fundamental*, performed by the leader of the group (who is the only one who needs to know the whole repertoire of texts),
- *Primera de arrastre* (which means the first who drags) or *marrana* ("female pig"), singing in low sounds and providing the grounding for the others, and
- *Contralta* or *requinto*, who sings in a very high register, with their tensed throat muscles expressing the dramatic content of the song.

The scholars who have studied the *canción cardenche* point out the relevance of the singers' personal emotional engagement in this genre, and the importance of the production of silence for expressive goals: very long and unexpected pauses in the musical discourse are present here. The *canción cardenche* has been described by Thomas Stanford and is now being studied by Monsterrat Palacios from Mexico, who has started to

work on her PhD thesis at the University of Valladolid (see figure 2).[5]
Both the *tono de velorio* and the *canción cardenche* are characterized by the simultaneous singing of more than one melody. Further research will probably complete this first survey of orally transmitted multi-part singing in Latin American speaking countries.

Some considerations

The idea of proposing "Multipart music as a specific mode of musical thinking, expressive behavior and sound" as a title for the symposium in Sardinia reminds us that, just as for every kind of musical phenomenon, multipart music can be regarded from a triple perspective: as an object, as a process, and as a consideration.[6] The third element -considerations- will occupy this second part of the present text. If we decide to follow Macchiarella's proposal regarding the possibility of including the cases of multipart music -or polyphony- produced simultaneously by voices and musical instruments within our observation domain, we shall see how the range of possibilities and cases grow. Since in Spanish speaking countries, many genres and repertoires are performed by producing "mixed polyphony" (vocal and instrumental together), it would be not possible -or even pertinent- to give detailed descriptions here. Instead, I find it more suitable, for an introductory text like this, to consider some general cases. The first one is that in which a person sings one melody and simultaneously produces a variation of it on a musical instrument (i.e. the rabel in Cantabria and the North of Castile, which is mostly played by men, even if nowadays some women are starting to perform with this rubbed chordophone).[7]

From the point of view of communicative behaviour (or the "communicative intention"), we could consider this kind of performance as a case of self-communication (if he or she is singing and playing alone), or as a communication to others (if there is someone listening to him or her). This alternative reminds us that sometimes the listener is exclusively the performer, so the two components of the musical event (performer-listener) are in coincidence. I wonder whether it would be pertinent to consider the heterophony produced by the same person singing and playing the rabel as a case of polyphony, as this could be the case for many other similar cases of musical performance. This situation was excluded from Macchiarella's consideration of multi-

5 Some short examples of *Cancion cardenche* can be heard in the video documentary on Internet (www.youtube.com/watch?v=IQOhTcyXV8A), last consultation: 28 august 2011.

6 See Cámara de Landa 2002 for the application of this triple perspective to the phenomenon of hybridization in music.

7 The musical transcription included here has been taken from the PhD defended by Susana Moreno at the University of Valladolid and published in 2008. Many other examples can be seen in this electronic publication and in Moreno 2011.

Figure 3 - Musical transcription of the *a Jota a lo ligero* made by Susana Moreno Fernàndez in her PhD thesis

part phenomena as the combined action of two or more persons (p. 11), but relating to statements concerning the co-presence of at least two persons (p. 10). we could perhaps consider the case of a single musician simultaneously producing two different sequences of sounds with the intention of doing so –in other words, consciously- and through the application of some music behavioural rules. This inclusion should derive in a reformulation of the last part of this statement: "So, the minimum condition of multipart music is the co-presence of at least two persons producing deliberately dissimilar but coordinate sound sequences on the basis of shared rules" (see p. 10), since we would be considering the mixed polyphony produced by only one person. This is a different situation from that tackled by Macchiarella in his consideration on the unintentional heterophony produced by "fortuitous overlapping" between two or more

persons (p. 10). Of course, everyone can notice the difference between polyphonic -or multipart- music as a music produced by one person with a polyphonic instrument on one side and that produced by two or more persons singing or playing on the other one. From the social and behavioural point of view, the difference exists and it can be relevant; but, if we consider the whole phenomenon (ideas + musical production + behaviour), perhaps we could include both cases in our target group of studies.

Furthermore, there are some performance practices that have been considered by scholars as monodic, even if they sometimes include the simultaneous production of different melodic lines. I am thinking, as an example, of the *Ronda de coplas* and the *ronda de bagualas* (literary and musical structures sung by a group of persons in a circle in the Northwest of Argentina), a genre which I studied for my PhD thesis many years ago.[8] Even if the participants of these *rondas* follow the leaders who propose the texts to be sung (a role that can be assumed by everyone in every moment), each one uses a different sequence of pitches, respecting a rhythmic structure which is fixed and is never changed. Frequently, some pitch coincidences are produced at special points of the structure; but in other places of the melody people sing different pitches. This means that different sound sequences are co-present: the participants have the intention of singing "the same thing" as a whole, but they produce a special kind of heterophony which is intentional only in part. Still, this is not the same case pointed out by Macchiarella in his statement regarding football, politics or Catholic meetings (p. 10), since in the *rondas,* the participants want to sing the same text with the same rhythmic structure but they do not have the intention of singing the same sequence of pitches. They are aware of this rule, and at the same time they consider themselves to be singing the same "tonada" (a polysemic word that in this case indicates an almost regular sequence of pitches). This fact (which perhaps could be partially related to the "participatory discrepancies" pointed out by Charles Keil and Steve Feld - cfr. Keil 1987 - Feld 1988) could be seen as a contradiction by outsiders, but it is an ambivalent phenomenon that carries pertinence from the *emic* perspective. Even if the triads are not heard in this "clean" way in most of the types of baguala, the intention of the participants in a *ronda* is to sing only the three pitches of the tritonic system, as we can see in the transcription in figure 4.

In many places in Latin America, orally transmitted traditional music is often performed by groups of people through the means of coordinating their musical competences in order to produce concrete results. The range of possibilities reaches a large continuum which has at one extreme, the singing of monodies or the performing of parallel homorhythmic polyphonies with the accompaniment of instruments (like the chordophones which play harmonic and rhythmic roles -guitars, harps, charangos and so on-, or some others -violins, trumpets, etc.- producing heterophonies or parallelisms), while at the other, we find different forms of polyphony combined in many

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8 Cfr. Cámara de Landa 1999 - in which I include some cases of polyphony in the collective singing of *bagualas*-, 2001 and 2006.

Figure 4 - Ronda of bagualas (Cámara de Landa 1999)

ways. Let us consider two examples:

The first one is a group of musical genres performed by the *sikuris*[9] in the Andean areas of Perú and other South-American countries, in which the phenomenon of "thinking horizontally" can be a collective and shared behaviour (for example, when each of the melodies that conform the production of a homorhythmic polyphony is made with a hoquetus technique by the combination of two musicians, each one blowing on a Pan flute that produces only half of the complete musical scale).[10] This way of complementary musical production of a single "melody" could be seen as an example of the situation related as a "growing relational sequence of sounds that exist only in connection with others": this interesting idea which Macchiarella proposes in his statement on p. 21 should be accepted in its broad sense, since in the case of Cuzco *sikuris,* the lines are adjusting their binary complementary roles in a flexible way only in part (that is, for some of the instruments which produce the homorhythmic polyphony), while the hoquetus technique adopted for producing each of the melodies requires the respect

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9 *Sikuri* is the person who plays the Pan flute called *siku* in some Andean areas of Perú, Bolivia, Argentina and Chile. The pieces played by groups of *sikuris* are sometimes called *sikureadas.*

10 See http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ql8TlAebJ_Y

of rigid codes. The "reality" of music performance very often exceeds the most extreme and subtle theoretical elaborations, and this is the case, since two kinds of musical behaviour are coalescent in the production of a musical piece. Furthermore, even if Macchiarella's pertinent observation regarding the impossibility felt by the musicians of executing their part correctly in the absence of other parts, could be applicable to this hoquetus technique (not related to the construction of polyphony, but to only one part), the fact that this is produced by instruments goes beyond this limitation, since one musician can put the two parts of a *siku* together and play the complete melody alternating the blowing on these two rows.[11]

At the same time, this way of producing music could be considered as a case of intra-cultural communication, since an audience is not necessary in this case of participatory performance (Turino 2008). Here we can refer to Macchiarella's statement on sound identity (p. 12) and relate it to this case considering the dialectic between searching for and maintaining one's own distinctiveness and, at the same time, the intention of reaching a sound fusion with the others.

Some other components of this musical practice can be related to different semantic issues, like the performing of pieces that are considered as an emblem of cultural identity, the searching for social ties through the homogeneous unity of musical style produced by participating in binary complementary roles, or the competition between people from different neighborhoods and using the performance of music to express their "feeling of belonging" connected with local-social identity. This was the case of the groups of *sikuris* who play their Pan flutes during the procession for the Holy Virgin of Punta Corral in Tilcara (in the North-western Argentine province of Jujuy), before the recent initiative –taken by local organizers- of ending these disputes between different places of belonging through the unification of the different ensembles and the forming of "the world's largest *banda de sikuris*".[12]

The second example I wish to quote here is the traditional Venezuelan Christmas song *Corre Caballito* performed by the Serenata Guayanesa group, since it shows us one of the several cases of cross-cultural communication through the use of mass-media to be found on the Internet.[13] Here we can consider many aspects, such as the musical structure (in which different forms of multipart production are combined), the new styles derived from the making of arrangements which imitate instrumental polyphony (sometimes blending oral, written and multimedia ways of learning, teaching and producing music), the semantic changes caused when musicians perform on stage (in

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11 An example of this technique can be seen in a video placed on YouTube, in which Aníbal Quispe (from the Los Chacras 2 group) plays *Guanuqueando,* a melody by the Argentine composer Ricardo Vilca, on a two-row siku,. http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=BSpW43ebXK0, consulted on September 8th 2011.

12 See: http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=l9OqTukVfKY , consulted on September 11th 2011.

13 http://neburi.wordpress.com/2009/01/03/corre-caballito-serenata-guayanesa/ , consulted on September 8th 2011.

the open air or in theatres), or in the media (radio, television), and so on. The detailed consideration of these aspects would evoke several kinds of questions that exceed the goal of the proposals made by Macchiarella's text, and they should be the content of future research. Instead, we could try here to extend the statement on -"single melody accompanied by functional chords"(p. 15) to the cases in which a melody is accompanied by an instrument which simultaneously provides the harmony and the rhythmic basis (a double function often assumed in Spanish speaking countries by the strumming of chordophones like the guitar, the *cuatro*, and so on, mainly for the accompaniment of dances). Sometimes (and this is the case of the example quoted here), some of the voices imitate the sound of the instruments with this double function, and this does not prevent real instruments from being played at the same time.

In Spain many musical repertoires of vocal and instrumental polyphony are to be found. As an example, I quote here The *Animeros of Caravaca de la Cruz*, ensembles of musicians who belong to a tradition of religious brotherhoods in the Spanish South-Eastern region (Murcia, Eastern Andalucía and the South-East of Castilla-La Mancha). These groups collected resources for the souls in Purgatory at Christmas time, by playing and singing. After decades of inactivity, a revival was started about 30 years ago throughout South-East Spain, following the model proposed by the main group (*The Animeros of Caravaca*). In his PhD thesis to be defended soon at the University of Valladolid, Julio Guillén proposes the musical transcription and analysis of this instrumental ensemble, conformed by 5 and 6 stringed or double-stringed guitars, bandurrias, lutes, a violin, a tambourine called *pandereta*, cymbals, aerophones like the flute and clarinet… and one person singing melismatic melodies with a harsh-sounding voice. The violin, flute and plucked string instruments perform variations of the sung melody, producing a rich heterophony.

Many other considerations came to my mind when relating Macchiarella's proposals to the cases of traditional multipart music produced in Spain and Latin America, such as the following ones:

-"Solidarity among the performers" (p. 12): everyone could find many examples, like those of the *comparsas* (groups of musicians performing in Latin American countries during Carnival festivities - see Restelli 2006), *sikuris* and other Andean Pan flute ensembles, *rondas de coplas*, and many other groups and circumstances in which musical activity is related to family, friends, or neighbourhood networks.

-"Centre of music as resonant experience" (p. 21): the sound quality of *cajas* (frame drums with a tense string across one of the skins) performed during a *ronda de coplas* can be considered as a strong and powerful element of resonant musical and individual/social experience (Cámara de Landa 2006).

- In many multipart music genres there are specific roles and hierarchies (p. 13) . We could perhaps extend this useful concept to the ensembles which produce multipart music through respecting different vocal and instrumental parts and/or functions: i.e., in the world of *conjuntos folklóricos* –folk music ensembles- in Latin America, where the roles and hierarchies are present in both vocal and instrumen-

Figure 5 - Musical transcription of a *malagueña* (a musical genre related to the Andalusian *fandango*) performed by voice, violin and guitar. Guillén, Julio, *Los animeros de Caravaca de la Cruz: Música, ritual, fiesta y revival en la Sierra de* Segura, PhD thesis in preparation.

tal participants, often connected to functions (guitar, main violin, *segundeador*,[14] *bombo*,[15] accordion, harp, trumpet, and so on). The musical function of the guitar, for example, could be the same both in a mariachi and in a South American ensemble, but the musical leadership of the group is not the same: for example, it is often performed by the trumpets in the mariachi and by the violins or the guitar in a *conjunto*. The guitar gives the harmonic-rhythmic base in both cases, but the leadership of musical conduction changes from the mariachi to the *conjunto*. Another parameter to be considered is the performance of the main musical part: in some ensembles, it is always held by the same person, while in others it can be performed alternatively by all the musicians of the group.

Just two more considerations will put a necessary end to this text (which could still be prolonged, since Macchiarella's text gives us food for thought and discussion for every case). The first consideration concerns the oral-written relationship: even if in some paradigmatic cases there is a clear difference between the use of written music in some groups and the procedures of oral transmission in some others, this dichotomy is not often useful, since sometimes both are present in the same group. Furthermore, the addition of a third element can be suggested: the multimedia source. It might be useful to remember that sometimes not all the participants of a single musical group use the same kind of source. Conversely, it may sometimes happen that one single participant makes use of more than one source (the reader is invited to find examples of both cases). The second final comment is that, even if the statement on p. 21 can easily be accepted ("each performer has a predictable representation of his own part and a comprehensive image of the frame of combined music production"), this could be applied in a flexible or broad way to some special cases, since in some music genres and repertoires (i.e. those played by *sikuris*) the musician has a comprehensive image of the melody from which he is playing only some notes (remember the hoquetus technique). Once again, the reality of musical performance challenges the theoretical elaborations without invalidating them.

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14 The musician who plays the "second voice" in a traditional music group.

15 Argentine tubular drum.

Early sound documents of multipart music:
concepts and historical context, analysis and interpretation

Gerda Lechleitner - Nona Lomidze

Historical Perspectives

Introduction

Eckehard Pistrick (2008) pointed out that "music-making and particularly singing can attain different meanings". Such meanings are visible in performances taking place at a specific time, in a unique place and in particular social surroundings. Using sound documents admittedly made by others over a long time ago, this paper attempts to show "emotion" and "representation" in the course of multipart singing by explaining the historical context, the former technical possibilities, the goals of the researchers, and the results of transcriptions. The "multipart singing" topic has been of long-lasting interest, and already attracted early (comparative) musicologists in Berlin, e.g. E. M. von Hornbostel, C. Stumpf or M. Schneider (cf. Ziegler 2008).

The Vienna Phonogrammarchiv, in contrast to the Berlin Phonogrammarchiv, did not focus on ethnomusicological recordings alone, but also on language recordings, on acoustical phenomena such as people or animal cries, environmental sounds, etc. Consequently, the idea was to run a research sound archive dedicated to sound recordings which were made in the course of any research project. Today we characterise our archive as a multidisciplinary one, negating regional borders.

With that characterisation in mind, it seems worthwhile to have a look at the historical collections and find out how important recordings with multipart singing or instrumental playing are. Running through the catalogue demonstrates that this genre is less represented in the collections than solo music. The question now is: why is this so and why, nevertheless, were some recordings with multipart music made, for what purpose and under which circumstances.

The transcriptions and subsequent interpretations are based on various types of multipart music recorded at the dawn of sound documentation. The transcriptions are not detailed but should give an illustrative overview of the respective structure, mainly in order to underline perception and comparison. The examples include songs only sung by men, only by women, by mixed ensembles and by a choir accompanied by instruments.

The Vienna Phonogrammarchiv

Led by the idea of using the invention of sound recording in the course of scientific work, Sigmund Exner and other members of the former Imperial Academy of Sciences pleaded for the founding of some kind of phonographic archive. Sound documents would represent the present but would be preserved for posterity, for future research allowing diachronic observations. The founders had three domains in mind, namely languages, music and so-called voice portraits (Exner 1900). The connecting thread between the disciplines was to have a basis for analysing the manner of speaking or making music, which means measuring rhythm, accents, and to some extent also timbre. The idea was to find out the functioning of speaking and making music by means of a sound recording.

As the archive was founded without any existing collection, the founders suggested giving researchers recording equipment to take with them on their expeditions.

These researchers – irrespective of their main discipline – were instructed in how to handle the machine and make the necessary documentation. As the goal was to collect languages and music from all over the world, these expeditions, supported by the academy itself or associated institutions, offered the best opportunity for such an undertaking; consequently, the holdings were extended by receiving recordings from all over the world.

Although the Vienna Phonogrammarchiv invented the "Archivphonograph", a machine using Edison's vertical cut method but on discs instead of cylinders, the technical restrictions, mainly the problem of the horn, were the same as with the Edison cylinder recorder. Multipart music demands more than one performer, therefore the common horn was too small to catch more than one or two voices. It could be that researchers at the very beginning of recording expeditions refused to record multipart music for this technical reason.

The collections

In contrast to other archives the Phonogrammarchiv's collection policy, as already mentioned, was open with reference to contents and regions. There was no plan to collect only in one region, or to concentrate on one genre, one instrument or one performance style, etc. But for a scholar wishing to cooperate with the archive, it was (and still is) necessary to show a research programme and concept before being able to borrow the recording equipment and later deposit the recordings for archiving. When we now search for historical multipart music recordings we have to take into account these historical premises. Most of the former researchers were anthropologists, ethnologists or linguists who, by chance or even out of personal interest, also recorded music, even multipart music. Although Paul Kretschmer, a linguist who conducted one of the first expeditions in 1901, stated that the recording machine would be indispensable for song recordings (Exner 1902: p. 27), the historical collections, generally, show a large percentage of language recordings instead of music.

Many researchers were in contact with both archives, in Berlin and Vienna, and, when dealing with music, they were in contact with Hornbostel. So it happened that they used an Edison machine for music recordings, and the Archivphonograph for language recordings. The cylinder recordings were archived in Berlin, the others in Vienna. We know about such splitting of the Pöch, Trebitsch, Dirr, and Idelsohn collections. Now one might think that there are no music recordings in the Vienna Phonogrammarchiv – this is not the case. But such background information is necessary to understand the shape of the collections. When researchers needed help and information concerning music they discussed such questions with Hornbostel, he was the specialist and accepted scientist in that field (cf. Archive documents from the Berlin Phonogramm-Archiv, Lechleitner 2002: pp. 176-177).

The examples were chosen in respect of the technical challenge (the first recordings and the best in terms of sound quality) and in respect of the question of why the multipart singing had been recorded. The "why"-questions concern representation, aesthetics, specific content, remarkable concepts, and social relevance.

a. The first recording:

We owe the first recording to Rudolf Pöch, a pioneer in "modern" field research (as well as recording equipment, he also took with him a photo and a film camera), who experimented and finally used his creativity to enlarge the horn in the course of choral singing. And he was successful – his recordings of choral singing in Papua New Guinea in 1904 are the very first multipart music recordings in the Phonogrammarchiv. Maybe his achievement boosted the other researchers' activities, and thus recordings with more than one performer were made time and time again. Pöch documented the technical realisation of that first recording of multipart singing as follows (protocol Ph 509): "Since the horn proved to be too small for the recording of songs of an entire chorus of about a dozen people, it was patched. As the material most similar to the existing papier-mâché horn, several layers of brown wrapping paper were glued together with arrowroot and used as patches. In this way, the horn became around 60 cm longer." (Niles 2000: p. 60)

b. The "best" recording (within the historical collections).

A Slovakian soldier song, made during WWI (in December 1916 in Szászváros in Hungary, recorded by Leo Hajek, and featuring a choir and a brass band simultaneously), seems to hold this position. This recording took place "indoors" thus using the advantage of the acoustics of a room (like a studio) and, moreover, the cooperation of professional musicians.

c. "Why"-questions:

I) Representation: Rudolf Pöch's expedition to Papua New Guinea (1904-1906).
It was during his expedition to PNG that for the first time Pöch took recording equipment with him. Having studied medicine but then becoming very interested in anthropology and ethnology, Pöch devoted his work to persons of short stature who in his mind represented an "archaic physical and cultural condition of mankind" (Voget 1975: p. 353 in Niles 2000: p. 26). As was typical of his time, he was fascinated by many subjects, such as archaeology, ethnography, anthropology, geology and biology besides languages and music making. During his field research he made 94 sound recordings. From today's point of view, one could characterise Pöch's collection as a documentation of what happened around him. He recorded traditional groups living in the area of his main concern, but he also recorded people from other parts of the country, and he recorded people of different professions and social classes. His sound collection includes language recordings, songs sung solo, in small groups and choirs, and various musical instruments (such as slit-drum signals, flutes, panpipes or

Jew's harps).

The example is a recording made on the 12th of November 1905 in Cape Nelson. It is a chorus song for dance, sung by Baifa men with a drum. The recording is a repeat of the recording made before, but this time Pöch photographed the recording situation. As explained in Pöch's documentation, the lyrics are limited to one word "Arinamburo" (pronounced "Alinamuro" by others). He describes the Baifa people as those who live inland of the coast on the Musa River, the northeast coast of the former British New Guinea. The reason why they travelled some days to reach Cape Nelson was the large dance celebration, gathering more than 700 participants from different regions, held in honour of King Edward VII's birthday. The Resident Magistrate, Guy Owen Manning, commented: "many natives from different groups assembled at the station for an exhibition of dancing before His Excellency. It was the first occasion on which many of them had seen each other, and the gathering has had excellent result." (Manning 1905: p. 44 in Niles 2000: p. 103). It has to be said, that it was a European, the Resident Magistrate Guy Owen Manning, who had sent invitations to many tribes around the whole political district. Pöch saw this great dance festival as a very good chance for making sound recordings, and observed that the people came in their original costumes and they also danced and made music in their original manner. He also stated that dancing and singing always went together, and said that he did not find any song without dance. In the course of these dances all performers were singing, therefore Pöch arranged a choral recording positioning the performers around the horn. He made sure that the loud and good voices and the occasional precentor had the best positions in front of the horn. The same considerations were necessary in the case of the drummer to be heard on the recording (Pöch 1907: pp. 802-803). Thus Pöch arranged the recording like a sound master, to reach a "perfect" sound from his personal impression. Sometimes he also played back the recordings to the performers. If he did play these choral recordings, he would also have received the feed-back of the singers as to whether they agreed with his mastering.

The transcription, as mentioned above, does not show the details but an overview with regard to fundamental observations, such as the structure and characteristics of the dynamic and agogic process. This recording shows an interesting discovery, an early example of improvisation. Unfortunately recording time was limited at the beginning of sound recordings – it was not possible to make a recording longer than 1 ½ to 2 minutes – and therefore the song does not exist *in extenso*; but 14 repetitions are on the disc. What is noteworthy is that Pöch's observation on the dancing movements during the singing perfectly fits the sound of the recording.

The improvisation could be described as follows: a fixed rhythmic framework by the drum is the basis for the interleaving of middle (drone-like) and main voices above; because of the improvisational character different harmonies occur at various moments. Each part ends in unison.

Dynamic changes can be observed, maybe caused by the movements during singing, i.e. being closer to or more distant from the horn.

A short interpretation resulting from Pöch's notes and other reports can be given in

Figure 1 - Transcription of the first two phrases of the Chorus song for dance, Baifa men with drum (Ph 524, OEAW PHA CD 9/2: 17)

respect of the "meaning" of this performance: The singers travelled from afar, they were called to represent themselves in front of an authority, and in front of others. This situation might be compared with a folk song competition or festival today. Also similar to current situations, an outsider, a European researcher, wanted to "preserve" their performance acoustically and visually. Moreover, one of them, who had already distinguished himself as a valuable assistant, played an important role in the frame – he handled the recording machine. It was the place (where the event took place and where they had to go) and the situation (an outstanding get-together on a distinct date and with a specific social-hierarchic shape where they presented themselves with great ceremony) which were important and constitutive factors for the performers and the community.

II) Aesthetics: Rudolf Pöch's Kalahari recordings (1908).
Pöch's Kalahari recordings offer another insight in the discussion of multipart singing. They are important not so much because of the technical challenge – Pöch already had his skills – but because of their content. As Kubik (2003: pp. 20-21) could show, it was possible to find specific polyphony after Pöch as well. Pöch's recordings may well represent the oldest sound documents of polyphony of the Khoisan-speaking peoples in the south-west of Africa, but on several expeditions during the second half of the XXᵗʰ century, it was possible to document these styles of music once more.
The songs are characterised as follows (protocol Ph 757): "Women's singing and handclapping accompanying men's dance: All bushmen dances that I have so far witnessed in Oas and Zachas on the western edge of the Kalahari, in the Gobabis district, are introduced and accompanied by such or similar singing. The women form a quadrant, with the babies, whom they never put away, in the awa cloth on their backs, lap their flat hands and start singing. Then, gradually, the men appear, many with dance rattles on their ankles, starting their dance rows, one after the other. The women, making up the orchestra, clap and continue to sing, even if one or the other dances towards the men, which is part of the dance figure. In none of the Bushmen songs do I hear any words. Usually the following sounds are sung: *hua-ho-he* or *hoe-hohe*" (Lechleitner 2003: p.37).
The recordings all comprise vocal polyphonies developing over one or two fundamentals in the harmonic range. In the course of the CD publication the suggestive influence, which the reading of music exerts on listening, was considered. Therefore it was decided not to include any transcription but to offer the listener the adventure of

Figure 2 - Chorus song for dance, Baifa men with drum, recorded in Cape Nelson, British [Papua] New Guinea, on 12 November 1905 by Rudolf Pöch; (Ph 524,OEAW PHA CD9/2: 17) Photo by R. Pöch.

experiencing his or her own aural impression. "Musical listening is creative listening; the listener's subjectivity is no disturbing factor, but a driving power", as Allgayer-Kaufmann (2003: p. 23) concluded. Thus, these historical recordings stand for a long-term concept and specific aesthetics in the sound of Khoisan polyphony, transmitted by the performers and observed by the listeners.

III) Specific content: Rudolf Trebitsch's recordings from Greenland (1906).
In 1906 the Phonogrammarchiv sent out an expedition to West Greenland. The purpose of the expedition was to record songs, stories and legends and to collect ethnographic and natural science objects for what is today the Natural History Museum, Vienna (Stiassny 1908: p. 323). The example chosen from this collection shows the influence of missionary work but also the resistance of the proselytes. Only with the aid of local helpers was Trebitsch able to document the drum-song tradition. The tradition says that women and men would sing and form a circle around a dancer and drummer, most often a man. The performance is called *suakattarneq* and is known from old drawings and descriptions dating back to the time of the first missionaries in the XVIIIth century. The missionaries strongly opposed any kind of drum singing and would punish a drum singer by destroying his drum and excluding him from Holy Communion. The authorities succeeded in drawing the population's interest away from traditional cultural values. At the beginning of the XXth century, as Hauser

(2003: p. 19) noted, one could only find remnants of traditional singing in the most remote trading posts, and the population only dared to perform and enjoy the old songs at night and in the catechist's absence. So, drum singing was a kind of hidden tradition. When the expedition arrived, the local population at first refused to sing, but then were convinced to perform such songs for scientific purposes. Finally three women sang while three men accompanied them with rhythmic cries of ho-ho-ho, probably instead of the original drum accompaniment.

In contrast to the already presented examples, men and women are singing together on this occasion. The lower voice is sung by men, they imitate the drum, which was confiscated by the missionaries. The recording comprises three songs – this is typical of Trebitsch, who was very economically minded and seemed to have been bent on getting as much out of his field recordings, namely as huge a repertory as possible. Therefore he asked them to sing only one stanza, then switched off the machine and started again for the next item, and so on.

The words of the men are "ho-ho-ho" and form the rhythm. The women mostly sing "ajajajaja". The first song comprises a distinct melody with a distinct rhythm and consists of two parts; it is thus the longest of the three songs, and – compared to the others – the singing sounds smoother, somewhat unsettled.

The second item could be seen as a variant of the first, with slight changes in rhythm and melody.

The men's "ho-ho-ho" shows another rhythm in this second song; the rhythmic pattern sounds louder, maybe they were a little bit more in the foreground. The melody sung by the women is different from that of the previous song. The last, third song appears to be more aggressive; the singers increase the tempo and use smaller intervals. Could those attributes show some impatience? Or was it Trebitsch, who asked the singers to change their positions and to sing louder?

The recording situation of these drum songs would not be accepted from today's point of view; the performers were forced to sing these songs, and at the same time the original context was suppressed. Taking a photo of this forbidden multipart singing was an even more disrespectful action. But as Hauser pointed out, these recordings are unique and thus represent the only recordings of *suakattarneq* (Hauser 2003: p. 19). From today's point of view, researchers could be satisfied to have a historical example of that tradition, a voice of yesteryear. Probably these songs greatly articulate the origin and the belonging of the respective performers and thus become socially meaningful, although the performers in 1906 were pushed to do so and did not sing voluntarily.
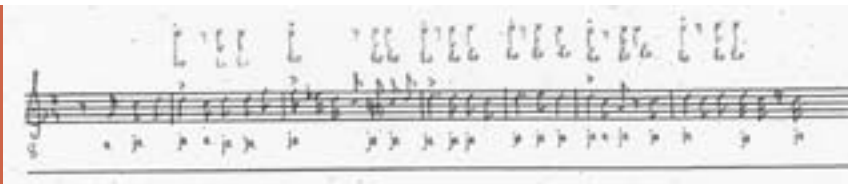

Figure 3 - Transcription of the beginning of the first song of three songs (drum songs), sung by three women and three men (Ph 593, OEAW PHA CD 13/2: 15)

Figure 4 - Women and men singing drum songs, recorded in Umanatsiak [Uummannatsiaq] on 23 July 1906 by Gustav Stiasny (Ph 593, OEAW PHA CD 13/ 2: 15)

IV) Remarkable concept: Robert Lach's analytical recordings

Lach is the only musicologist among the authors of the recordings presented here. He therefore had another approach, a musicological one: he asked for recordings (he was technically supported by Rudolph Pöch) which functioned as the basis for his transcriptions in respect of his analytical studies. Lach was in charge of the project to record songs of Russian prisoners of war (in camps during WWI) and carried out his musicological research in three camps (Eger, Reichenberg and Theresienstadt) from 1916 onwards. Finally, he published his famous volumes "Songs of Russian Prisoners of War" from 1917 till 1952. Lach's recording project differed from a "standard" field research situation; in his interest for the so-called "Randvölker" who were supposed to die out, Lach followed the "salvage paradigm" of the late XIXth and early XXth centuries (cf. Lange 2010) and worked with an explorative method, contrary to the documentation method. Following his articles, it turned out that it was not the sound recordings as such which were the basis for Lach's results, but rather his months of work with the performers who sang for him and whose melodies he wrote down to discover the most outstanding, the most typical, the most interesting kind of songs (Lach 1928: p. 5). These results were the determining factor in considering which performer singing which song should be recorded; in fact, the recording took place at a later date. Nevertheless, Lach pointed out how important the recordings would
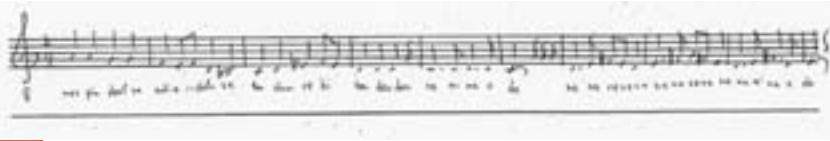
Figure 5 - Wedding song maspindzelsa mchiarulsa, first voice, Levarsi Mamaladze, recorded in Eger on August 27, 1916 by Hans Pollak, (Ph 2752).

Figure 6 - Wedding song maspindzelsa mchiarulsa, second voice, Meliton Mamaladze, recorded in Eger on August 27, 1916 by Hans Pollak, (Ph 2753).

Figure 7 - Wedding song maspindzelsa mchiarulsa, third voice, Kirile Achaladze, recorded in Eger on August 27, 1916 by Hans Pollak, (Ph 2754).

be to prove his transcriptions and to ensure a better understanding of his conclusions (Lach 1931: pp. 3-4).

In this context an example of Georgian polyphony has been chosen; since Lach made this analytical recording – first for three voices, followed by each singer singing his part on his own and finally all together again – this sample seems to be of high interest. The first and second voices are sung alone, in different pitch and in another mode (the first *flat (b)*, the second *sharp (#)*). If the second voice had started with *f* instead of *f sharp*, they would have fitted together much more. But Georgians never sing a song in the same way, a fact also Lach had become aware of. As the singers in their solo versions were unable to control each other, this recording shows each voice in its individual improvised shape, without a shared starting pitch. This is the reason why the modes do not fit together. If the single recordings had been put together, some chaos would have arisen. But if the small ornaments/melismas had been discarded from these solo versions and adjusted in pitch, the result could have been rather good. However, if the singers had sung together as usual, they would have used their own ornaments which perfectly fit their interpretation.

Lach seems to be the first musicologist to have made a so-called analytical recording. He mentioned how difficult it was to transcribe Georgian polyphony as the voices

merge a lot. Therefore Lach asked the singers to sing their parts alone after having recorded the multipart version. Pöch (cf. Exner - Pöch 1905: p. 901, Pöch 1907: p. 807), on the other hand, made some more recordings of one and the same multipart song, mostly because of technical shortcomings; for a "good" recording, he stressed the importance of positioning the singers in different formations. Lach, from his point of view, only described the annoying situation that none of his performers was able to repeat one line or the other in the same way (Lechleitner 2009: pp. 72-73). Today's explanation could be that Lach did not check his method against the complete version, after having recorded the particular voices.

V) Social belonging: Soldier Songs of the Austro-Hungarian Army (1916)
This collection of soldier songs owes its existence to the former Ministry of War. In November 1915 this ministry turned to the Phonogrammarchiv asking whether a collection of such songs already existed. Since this was not the case, it was decided to start the project of collecting soldier songs. Leo Hajek, assistant since 1912, was chosen to carry out the project. As Hajek (1916: pp. 82ff.) wrote in his report, the commanding officers of the relevant battalions were informed and asked to select qualified singers. Hajek had an advanced recording instrument at his disposal, the Archiv-Phonograph Type IV, which was lighter still than the types before and, above all, easier to handle. He was very skilful in grouping a choir and a regimental band before the horn so that even songs with brass accompaniment can be clearly heard.
Soldier songs are characteristic of the history of song and music tradition in general and have a markedly one-dimensional function. Such music has always been manipulative because of its disciplining, socialising and psychological effects. In that sense, Vladimir Karbusicky referred to the "instrumentalization" of man in soldier songs. Besides the lyrics, the music intensified these contents by means of rhythmical, metrical, and melodic formulas and by a choral style of performance, attributes which characterise these songs as markers for a certain social belonging (Elschek 2000).

Conclusion
As can be shown, the historical collections of the Phonogrammarchiv comprise various forms of multipart music recorded in different parts of the world. Although technical restrictions caused a smaller output of multipart music than solo music, the preserved, documented and made available recordings represent interesting examples of various patterns of expressive behaviour and perception, sound concepts and emotional dimensions which could be studied diachronically, i.e. in comparison with examples from today.

Multipart music practices in historical perspective
recording versus notation

Susanne Ziegler

Historical Perspectives

Introduction

Historical recordings of multipart music are of special interest for the study of multipart music today.[1] At the beginning of the XXth century the phonograph was often used for recording multipart music, and Erich M. von Hornbostel (1877–1935), director of the Berlin Phonogramm-Archiv from 1905 to 1933, as well as other ethnomusicologists working for the archive tried to transcribe the music which has been recorded by using the phonographic technique.[2]

Therefore, the source material available for historical studies of multipart music is twofold: on the one hand, we have the wax cylinder recordings, the sound, which is now available again after a long time-span of silence, and, on the other, we have written material, the transcriptions based upon these recordings.

The focus of this paper is comparing historical sound recordings with the respective notation. In relation to the topic of the conference I shall discuss the following questions:

- Do historical recordings on wax cylinders give any information on multipart practices in the past? And are the multipart practices possibly reflected in the notation?
- Was it then possible for the researcher /transcriber, mostly Hornbostel himself, to identify the different voices?
- Does the notation reflect the historical performance of multipart music?
- What was achieved by recording multipart music in the early years of the XXth century, what is lacking, and what can we learn from these recordings?

In order to answer these questions I shall start first with a report about the problems of recording multipart music on the basis of the available written sources. In the second part, I shall give some examples comparing the recordings with the respective transcriptions, and then conclude with a summary.

Multipart music and the early recordings of the Phonogramm-Archiv

a) Recording multipart music on the phonograph

The main concern of the Berlin Phonogramm-Archiv, namely Carl Stumpf and Erich Moritz von Hornbostel was the study of the different musical cultures of the world in historical as well as in regional perspectives. In close cooperation with the Berlin Museum of Ethnology and its then director Felix von Luschan, expeditions as well as private researchers were provided with phonographic equipment and asked to record whatever music would be found. They also received recommendations and instruc-

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1 A first overview on polyphony in historical recordings of the Berlin Phonogramm-Archiv was given by the author at the Third International Symposium on Traditional Polyphony in Georgia in 2006 (Ziegler 2008).

2 For more information on Hornbostel and the early years of the Berlin Phonogramm-Archiv, see Ziegler 1998. An overview on the history of the Berlin Phonogramm-Archiv, the wax cylinder collections and their collectors can be found in Ziegler 2006.

Figure 1 - Singer in front of the horn of the phonograph, Kohl-Larsen expedition to East Africa, 1934-36. Photo: P. Berger.

tions for handling the machine.[3] The recording procedure was as follows: the phonograph was set up in front of the musician(s) or singer(s) and turned on.

The sound on the wax cylinders, which is today audible, depends on the technique which was applied when the recording was made. Due to the acoustic limitations of the phonographic technique, it is no surprise that among the numerous examples of the Phonogramm-Archiv recordings, vocal solos prevail because they were the easiest to record. Multipart singing was not expected to occur outside Europe, but, surprisingly, examples of vocal and instrumental multipart music that were different from European multipart music were found in Africa and in Oceania, and accordingly, collectors reported that they had difficulties in recording several musicians/singers at the same time. Thus, Hornbostel tried to improve the quality of multipart music recordings, as explained in the recommendations given to researchers in 1908:

"Pieces of music, in which several persons do not sing together in unison, should be recorded

3 The first edition of the "Guidelines for collectors" was published by Felix von Luschan in 1899; in cooperation with von Hornbostel, who came to Berlin in 1901, the section on music was enlarged and improved in the following editions (Luschan 3rd ed. 1904, 5th ed. 1908).

not only with the ensemble, but also with the individual voices separately, and in such a way that each voice is directed into the horn, the others in the background; thereby all singers are involved and by changing places for every recording another voice stands in the foreground."[4]

But in practice this instruction was difficult to follow, and several collectors reported about their difficulties in recording to Hornbostel. For example Pater Meinulf Küsters (1890–1947), a missionary in service of the Societas Verbi Divini in South and East Africa, writes in one of his letters that he had recorded a choir of about 50 people, but no trace of polyphony was to be heard in the phonographic recording:

"Perhaps you could have a larger recording horn made for me, for with the small horn the singers have to draw so near that actually only the few who sing directly into the horn are heard. I once had up to 50 persons singing, but of course all I heard was a soft humming in the back. However, since the songs are often sung in multipart practice, it would be most important if the chorus could be clearly heard."[5]

If the collector was interested in bringing back good recordings, he managed to get better results, either by expanding the horn of the phonograph[6] or by recording in a special way according to the recommendations.
From correspondence with collectors from all over the world Hornbostel gained much insight into recording practices in the field. In order to have good results, he even suggested manipulating recording and replacing the chorus with one or two singers:

"Of especial importance would be multipart songs, these are mostly a main singer and a chorus, whereby the chorus in front of the phonograph horn can be replaced by one or at the most two singers.... Thereby the sources of sound must always be directly in front of the opening of the horn, since every sound to the side of the horn is lost."[7]

4 „Von Musikstücken, bei denen mehrere zusammen nicht unison musizieren, sind außer dem Ensemble auch die Einzelstimmen, jede für sich, aufzunehmen, und zwar in der Weise, dass die eigene Stimme unmittelbar vor dem Trichter, die anderen im Hintergrund aufgestellt werden, so dass bei jeder Aufnahme zwar alle mitwirken, aber durch den jedesmaligen Platzwechsel immer eine andere Stimme in den Vordergrund tritt." From: Felix von Luschan's/ Erich von Hornbostel's „Anleitung für ethnologische Beobachtungen und Sammlungen in Afrika und Ozeanien." Königliches Museum für Völkerkunde in Berlin. Abschnitt L. Musik. 1908:2.

5 "... Vielleicht ist es Ihnen möglich, mir ... einen grösseren Aufnahmetrichter anfertigen zu lassen, denn mit dem kleinen Trichter muss man die Leute so nahe herantreten lassen, daß eigentlich nur die wenigen, die unmittelbar in den Trichter hineinsingen, zu Gehör kommen. Ich habe seinerzeit bis zu 50 Personen singen lassen, ohne freilich mehr als ein leises Untergeräusch feststellen zu können. Da aber die Lieder oft mehrstimmig sind, wäre gerade von Wichtigkeit, daß der Chor zur Geltung käme…". Letter of Pater Meinulf Küsters from Lugarawa, Tanzania, 16 July 1934, to the then director of the Phonogramm-Archiv, Marius Schneider.

6 Cf. the famous photo of Rudolf Pöch recording in New Guinea in 1904 (photograph of the Vienna Phonogrammarchiv, see above p. 48, figure 2 of Lechleitner's essay)

7 "Besonders wichtig wären mehrstimmige Gesänge; meist handelt es sich um Vorsänger

However, we may well assume that due to technical inefficiencies in several cases, multipart music was not recorded at all or only in a reduced version.

There is yet another reason for the lack of examples of multipart music. The European understanding of what multipart music is, was different from the understanding in other music cultures of the world, and multipart singing was probably not recorded (1) because of the ignorance of the collector, or (2) due to a misunderstanding or inappropriate interpretation of the music performed. In the Phonogramm-Archiv's correspondence, it was also mentioned that a group of people wanted to sing together at the same time, but the collector said, "No, please sing one after the other". Thus, perhaps important examples of multipart music were neglected in this way and are therefore absent in the collections of the Berlin Phonogramm-Archiv.

b) Theoretical discussion of multipart music

According to the great value and importance of multipart music in European art music, it was not expected to find any forms of multipart music outside of Europe. Instead, any form of multipart music that sounded strange to the ear of European researchers was handled as "an absolute accident":

..."Regarding multipart music I would like to add a few remarks, for it is possible that in any case its performance is indeed not an absolute accident...."[8]

However, sound documents from Africa and Oceania, which were recorded in the early XXth century and given to the archive, documented forms of multipart music which were different from European functional harmony and by no means to be treated as accidents.

The phenomenon of multipart music outside Europe was observed and discussed in case studies, but it took quite a long time before a theoretical discussion started. The discussion was dominated by the assumption that "... all these forms of multi-part music [...] are clearly different in principle from our harmony, which is based on the consonance of simultaneously sounded tones." (Hornbostel 1905).[9]

A first summary of his observations on extra-European multipart music was given by Hornbostel at the 3. Conference of the International Musicological Society in Vienna

und Chor, wobei sich der Chor vor dem Phonographentrichter durch einen oder allenfalls zwei Sänger ersetzen lässt. ... Die Schallquellen müssen aber immer unmittelbar vor der Trichteröffnung sein, alles was neben dem Trichter erklingt, geht verloren." Letter of Erich von Hornbostel, 21 March 1928, to Mr. Marcel Borle, Paris.

8 „Hinsichtlich Mehrstimmigkeit möchte ich noch einige Bemerkungen hinzufügen, da es jedenfalls möglich ist, daß ihr Auftreten doch kein absoluter Unfall ist. ..." Letter of Gunnar Landtman from Mawatta, New Guinea, 27 September 1911, to Erich von Hornbostel.

9 „... alle diese Formen von Mehrstimmigkeit sind [...] offenbar prinzipiell verschieden von unserer Harmonie, die auf die Konsonanz des Zusammenklanges gegründet ist." (Hornbostel 1905, cited after Hornbostel 1975:262).

1909 in a paper entitled "Über Mehrstimmigkeit in der außereuropäischen Musik" [On polyphony in extra-European music], where he also demonstrated several sound examples on the phonograph (Hornbostel 1909a). Without any introduction or discussion Hornbostel posed the question about the origin of multipart music, as a logical consequence following the question on the origin of music.

In contrast to the pure one voice ("reine Einstimmigkeit") which he calls "Homophonie" Hornbostel discerns two different kinds of multipart music, which are based on two different mental attitudes: "Harmonie" (harmony) preserves the melody in all its entireties, but provides the melody in fuller chords. Instead, the term "Polyphonie" (polyphony), according to Hornbostel, should be restricted to several melodies, which are more or less separate from one another, but sounding simultaneously. The aim and purpose of this article is clearly defined: it is based on the assumption that extra-European polyphony is equivalent to the different early stages of European medieval polyphony.

Once this topic had been stated, all the other articles that followed fell within the same slot, for example Carl Stumpf in his publication "Anfänge der Musik" [Origins of Music] (Stumpf 1911). Stumpf enlarges Hornbostel's two categories and defines three more categories between Homophonie and Polyphonie, "Organum" meaning parallel cords in octaves, fifths, and fourths as basic, thirds, sixths, seconds only if the interval is not changed according to the scale, "Bordun", meaning one or more tones (one or more chords) sustained during the whole piece or constantly changing (ostinato), "Heterophonie" meaning the simultaneous performance of several variants of the same theme. All the 5 cited categories are understood as stages of polyphony, culminating in the European functional harmony. This understanding is continuously repeated in Hornbostel's articles; it was discussed by other scholars as well and became the starting point for Marius Schneider's book "Geschichte der Mehrstimmigkeit" [History of polyphony] of 1934/1935. Schneider however combines the categories with melody and tonality, resulting in four circles: 1. Primitive cultures in South Asia and South America, 2. Southasia, Oceania, 3. Samoa, 4. Africa. His basic principle is: "Die Form der Melodik bestimmt die Harmonik" [the melodic form determines the harmony]. I do not want to go further into the theoretical discussion here, but instead address the recording itself. [10]

Recording and Notation

After having made his recordings, the collector was asked to send the wax cylinders back to the Phonogramm-Archiv as soon as possible, where they were galvanised and copied; this was necessary for making transcriptions.[11]

10 The theoretical discussion continues until today and is one of the main concerns of the ICTM Study Group on Multipart music.

11 For the technique of galvanising and copying wax cylinders see Ziegler 2006:29ff. and

Hornbostel – later addressed as armchair ethnomusicologist – transcribed and analysed the material collected by others. In one of his letters to Franz Thorbecke (1875–1945), a geographer who spent several years in the Cameroons and collected valuable material, Hornbostel wrote that from his experience "for a collection of 50 wax cylinders one year of extensive work is needed in order to transcribe and analyse the material in a proper way, because every time one has to learn a new tonal language...".[12] Thus, the wax cylinders with the recorded music were Hornbostel's only source; in most cases he did not have any further information or only basic information on how the music was performed. There were hardly any descriptions of the musical practices; Hornbostel could only transcribe what he heard on the cylinder. Besides lacking sound quality, the recordings most often lacked a specific recording technique which would allow the identification of the different voices. Therefore in his transcriptions there is no clear indication who is singing the respective notes. The only information is whether a solo or a chorus (the group) is singing. He paid attention first of all to the harmonies, but had difficulties following the melody of single voices. In this context it is interesting to observe that Hornbostel distinguished between an upper and a lower voice. According to the perception of European harmony, the main voice was supposed to be the upper voice, but this was not always the case in other musical cultures. So Hornbostel added comments on the functions of the different voices, but only on the basis of the recording, not on the basis of field work or even interviews. Unfortunately the collectors were mostly not educated in music; therefore they did not pay attention to any details of multipart music practices. Again a quote from a letter:

..."In your letter you note that multipart music is among some of the boys songs from Kiwai. I did not experience this myself, I remember only that when reproducing at least one song (I can not remember the song now) I with a certain regret heard that the melody from the phonograph did not sound exactly as usual, namely that one or perhaps more of the higher notes of the leading strong voices were either missing or modified; however (as far as I can remember) one could hear the right melody if one listened carefully to one of the weaker voices. My thought was that the boys had started singing too high so that not all of them caught the next notes. I am more or less convinced that these boys unconsciously were singing multipart; they learn their songs only through hearing them from the older boys – the taibubu songs and dances are mainly those of adolescent boys – the younger boys are not taught this kind of singing."[13]

Wiedmann 2000.

12 Letter of Erich von Hornbostel, 27 September 1916, to Franz Thorbecke.

13 „In Ihrem Briefe bemerken Sie, daß Mehrstimmigkeit bei manchen der Knabengesänge aus Kiwai auftritt. Dieser Umstand kam mir damals nicht vor, ich erinnere mich nur dass ich beim Reproduzieren wenigstens eines Gesanges (ich erinnere mich nicht jetzt welcher es war), mit einem gewissen Bedauern hörte daß die Melodie nicht aus dem Phonographen ganz genau so lautete wie gewöhnlich, namentlich daß ein oder vielleicht mehrere hohen Töne der leitenden, stärkeren Stimmen entweder ausblieben oder modifiziert waren, doch konnte man (soweit ich mich erinnere) die richtige Melodie hören wenn man aufmerksam einer der schwächeren Stimmen folgte. Mein Gedanke war, daß die Knaben zu hoch ange-

Figure 2 - Wax cyl. Coll Weule Ostafrika 1906, cyl. 42=54, dance song „Ndono" recorded by Karl Weule in East Africa in 1906, transcription by Erich von Hornbostel, published in Hornbostel (1909b: Nr.7) (Listen to audio example 01).

MULTIPART MUSIC: A SPECIFIC MODE OF MUSICAL THINKING, EXPRESSIVE BEHAVIOUR AND SOUND

However, in the course of time Hornbostel learned much about the different musical cultures and advised the collectors to write down all details and to ask about the background of the music as well. So the transcription is always related to the quality of the recording and dependent upon the collectors' information.

Sound examples and their transcriptions

Most of the multipart music examples in the Berlin Phonogramm-Archiv were recorded outside Europe. After having digitised the majority of the wax cylinders, we are now able to present the sound examples of multipart music together with the respective published musical notations.

Three examples will now be given, which were recorded at different places and at different times, one example is from Africa, one from Melanesia and one from Europe.

1 - Among the first examples of multipart music are recordings made by ethnologist Karl Weule (1864–1926) in East Africa 1906. The collector did not comment on multipart music, but said that he enjoyed it when his employees sang in the evening, and this song was declared as his favorite song (Weule 1909:474). In his article "Wanyamwezi-Gesänge", published in the journal "Anthropos" in 1909, Hornbostel discusses these recordings on the basis of his transcription (see figure 2). Hornbostel stresses the "complex rhythmical structure and the 'seltsame' (strange) Art der Mehrstimmigkeit" as the main characteristics of the Wanyamwezi-songs (Hornbostel 1909b: 797f.).

Hornbostel's transcription (cf. figure 2) shows the whole piece, some parts in abbreviated form. There is a clear distinction between solo voice and chorus. In his analysis Hornbostel clearly states that the main voice is the lower one, and the upper one – which is less audible – accompanies the main voice in parallel fifths and octaves. Hornbostel observed an astonishing similarity between East-African and mediaeval European multipart music: he states: " [...] ... the harmonies of the Wanyamwezi songs correspond surprisingly with the kind of polyphony, which was used in Europe not today, but 1000 years ago."[14]

fangen hatten, so daß nicht alle die nächsten Töne mitmachen konnten. Ich bin ziemlich überzeugt daß diese Knaben wenigstens nicht bewußt, absichtlich, mehrstimming sangen, sie lernen ihre Gesänge nur indem sie die Älteren hören – die Taibubu Gesänge und Tänze gehören vorzugsweise den erwachsenen Jungen – in dieser Art von Gesang, jedenfalls, findet kein anderer Unterricht statt." Letter of Gunnar Landtman from Mawatta, New Guinea, 27 September 1911, to Erich von Hornbostel.

14 „ …speziell die Harmonien des Wanyamwezi-Gesanges entsprechen in überraschender Weise der Art der Mehrstimmigkeit, wie sie in Europa nicht heute, sondern vor etwa 1000 Jahren üblich war." Hornbostel 1909b:1038.

Figure 3 - Wax cyl. Coll. Ernst Frizzi Salomon Islands 1911, cyl. 32 „tobereke", recorded in Koromida (Nasioi), transcription by Erich M. von Hornbostel, published in Hornbostel 1912, ex. 38 (<u>listen to audio example 02</u>).

(Hornbostel 1909b:1038). This is the first evidence that Hornbostel reflected upon African multipart music, which later became one of his favourite topics (Hornbostel 1913; 1920; 1928).

2 - Different forms of multipart music were also recorded in Oceania, namely on the Salomon Islands in Melanesia. Hornbostel's observations and transcriptions of multipart music from Melanesia are based on Richard Thurnwald's (1869–1954) and Ernst Frizzi's (1880–?) extensive wax cylinder collections, recorded 1906–1909 and 1911 respectively. Already in a preliminary report Hornbostel states different kinds of polyphony, some of them resembling yodels of the Alps, others, namely dance songs from Baluan (Admirality Islands), proceed in parallel seconds and also finish with this interval (Hornbostel 1910:141). In a more extensive article, included in Thurnwald's report on his research on the Salomon-Islands and the Bismarck-Archipel, Hornbostel paid special attention to multipart music with panpipes and singing (Hornbostel 1912). He was surprised by the variety and "the high standard" of the multipart music found there.

In his transcription of the "tobereke" song on cyl. 32 from the Frizzi collection (cf. figure 3) , sung by three voices, he wrote every voice in a single system. In this case it was his aim to show the independent melodies, not the resulting harmony. In the introduction Hornbostel mentions that the collector has made extraordinary recordings, not only because of the good quality, but also because several melodies were recorded several times and even the single voices in the case of multipart songs. So, it was of course easier to separate the melodies of the three voices from one another.

Even if the transcription does not render the whole piece from the beginning

Figure 4 - wax cyl. Coll. Jón Leifs Iceland 1928, cyl. 52, Zwiegesang transcription by
E. von Hornbostel, published in Hornbostel 1930 (listen to audio example 03).

to the end, we must acknowledge the high quality and the truth of Hornbostel's transcription.

3 - The Icelandic musician and composer Jón Leifs (1899–1968) at the end of the 1920s recorded the last traces of Icelandic "Tvísöngvar" ("Zwiegesänge" [Twopart songs]) with a phonograph which he borrowed from the Berlin Phonogramm-Archiv. Leifs himself published his fieldwork in German journals, first in a musicological journal (Leifs 1929), and later in a journal for friends of Iceland (Leifs 1931). He reported that he succeeded in making phonographic recordings of the "tvísöngvar", but had great difficulties in finding persons, who knew the tradition well. His interests were more of an artistic nature, rather than scientific. Hornbostel, on the contrary, was fascinated and very soon published a scientific paper on these Icelandic twopart songs including transcriptions (Hornbostel 1930). Already when applying for money for Leifs' expedition, Hornbostel argued that

"For our comparative studies on the evolution of multipart music, phonographic recordings of Icelandic folk music are of special importance. We have evidence that the oldest form of mediaeval multipart music, the organum in parallel fifths of the VI – X.

centuries is preserved in this music. Such songs are likely to be found only in the most remote and inaccessible places of the island..."[15]

From Leif's first report, we learn about the circumstances and difficulties of recording this nearly extinct type of music (Leifs 1929). It was only found in Northwest Iceland, and very few elderly people were still able to sing such songs. Hornbostel discusses the specific way of singing the "tvísöngvar" and considers the parallel fifths as their main characteristic (1930: p. 294). Two men are singing together, first in unison, and only towards the end of the song in parallel fifths. Hornbostel's (cf. figure 4) covers the whole song with an indication of variants in the different stanzas (Hornbostel 1930). However, Hornbostel again had difficulties in identifying the single voices, since crossing of the basic (lower) and upper voice (accompanying in fifths) was one of the remarkable features of "tvísöngvar".[16]

Meanwhile these examples have gained importance throughout Europe, mainly among musicologists, because of their affiliation with mediaeval music. As we know today, Leif's recordings are the last evidence of this singing, however not performed by specialists, and therefore they could hardly reflect the practice of multipart singing which must have been flourishing before the songs were recorded on wax cylinders.

15 „Für unsere vergleichenden Studien über die Entwicklung der Mehrstimmigkeit wären phonographische Aufnahmen von isländischer Volksmusik von besonderer Wichtigkeit. In dieser hat sich nämlich, glaubhaften Berichten zufolge, die älteste Form der abendländischen Mehrstimmigkeit, das Organum in Quintenparallelen des VI. – X. Jahrhunderts lebendig erhalten. Freilich dürften solche Gesänge nur noch in den entlegenen und schwer zugänglichen Teilen der Insel zu finden sein....“ From a letter of Erich von Hornbostel, 4 June 1928 to Dr. F. Schmidt-Ott, at that time president of the Notgemeinschaft der Deutschen Wissenschaft, seeking financial support for travel.

16 Cf. his remark in footnote no. 22: "Aus den Phonogrammen ist die Kreuzung infolge der gleichen Stärke und Färbung beider Stimmen nicht sicher (und meist überhaupt nicht) herauszuhören" (Hornbostel 1930:307).

Summary

What can we learn from the examples?

Historical recordings, especially the ones made on wax cylinders with an Edison phonograph – as is the case in the Berlin Phonogramm-Archiv – suffer from various deficits. So, first of all, we should neglect the disadvantages of the recording itself, such as surface noise, the short time of the recording, or the lack of possibility for multichannel recording.

Trying to answer the question whether historical recordings on wax cylinders provide information on multipart practices in the past, we have to answer: generally no, with a very few exceptions. We have only little or no information about multipart music practices from the collector, and we do not know whether the music recorded on the phonograph was reflective of the usual way of singing. Details about multipart music were not asked. However, when fieldwork changed, more information was also given by the collector.

And our question as to whether multipart practices are possibly reflected in the notation?

We have gained insight in Hornbostel's way of transcribing music from wax cylinders. Since he was not the collector of the recordings, he did not know about the multipart practices and therefore concentrated on the pure sound alone. All simultaneous sounding tones were therefore written in the European way, as harmonies. This is not only evident from the transcription, but was also confirmed in the accompanying theoretical discussion separating harmony from polyphony as different multipart music practices. However, when Hornbostel became more familiar with the different kinds of multipart music in the world, he also distinguished them in his transcriptions, as we see in the case of the Melanesian examples (figure 3). Unfortunately, Hornbostel did not transcribe as much as he could have, partly because of his illness, but also because of the growing amount and diversity of the collected material.

An extensive study of multipart music on the basis of transcriptions was undertaken in the early 1930s by Marius Schneider. Also Marius Schneider did not make any field recordings himself and the method of transcribing was the same as Hornbostel's, but even less significant, since Schneider transcribed only those parts of the music in which multipart passages appeared.[17]

Nevertheless, all kinds of multipart music were seen and written down, as viewed through European eyes and against the background of European mediaeval music. Due to the difficulties of recording and transcribing, notations of multipart music recorded on wax cylinders are not found very often. In view of the topic of this conference, we must state that multipart music has been performed in several areas

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17 Schneider's way of transcribing Caucasian polyphony is discussed at length in Ziegler/Traub 1990.

of the world, since we have historical sound documents. But we may assume that the notation of these recordings is hardly reflective of the actual performance. The diversity of multipart music in the world was greater than expected and extended beyond the European-centred understanding of multipart music by far. And we regret that even multipart music as found in European folk music was not recorded earlier. To answer to questions such as:

- were the music practices as recorded 100 years ago, the same as today?

or

- did something change between the earliest recordings and today?

We do not have appropriate material at hand. What we do know is that some of the multipart music practices have disappeared in the meantime, while others have been preserved. Therefore I would even today repeat what Hornbostel already requested in 1905: it is high time for recording before everything disappears!

"As once and even more today, Music has to be involved in people and God":
Liszt's sacred music for extra-liturgical occasions

Rossana Dalmonte

Historical Perspectives

Different types of sacred music in Nineteenth Century music

The XIXth century was the period in which Sacred Music revealed the distinct characters of its twofold function far more clearly than in any other epoch: on the one hand, it includes pieces destined for the prestigious occasions of the official Church, pieces written for great vocal and instrumental ensembles and also to be executed in the theatre; on the other, it comprises everyday church music, developed throughout the entire century in Latin as well as in German countries. Between the XVIIIth and the XIXth century the great Masters only composed music of the first type: Cimarosa, Anfossi, Paer, Rossini in Italy; Salieri in Vienna; in Paris, Cherubini wrote music for the Church mostly in the style of Italian operatic music; some years later Berlioz translated the French symphonic tradition into his sacred music and Mendelssohn that of the German romantic generation. The 'grammar' on the base of which this music was written, comprises the set of rules followed by the composers and accepted by the listeners throughout Europe as the best ones for creating and enjoying 'good' music.[1]

On the contrary, every-day sacred music does not recognise a particular and general 'grammar', because different ritual situations cause the music to acquire different formal physiognomy: not only can the language change, but also the musical models on which each piece can be elaborated.

Liszt's sacred music shows two distinct characters: on the one hand, compositions like the *Graner Messe* (1855), the *Ungarische Krönungmesse* (1867) and the two great Oratorios, the *Saint Elisabeth* (1865) and *Christus* (1873), the genre in which he left the mark of his genius; on the other, his project elaborated in the early Thirties and developed throughout the course of his long life. He wrote good but simple music in order to elevate and dignify the repertoire of amateur choral ensembles and of master-organists of the little churches in towns and in the country. He was convinced that this was his task as an artist and as a Catholic.

The expressions "elevate" and "dignify" should not shock today's ethnomusicologist: in the mid XIXth century there was no clear consciousness of the artistic aspects of the oral tradition, and – moreover – not all the music sung outside of official occasions was 'pure' traditional music. It often included pieces taken from the cultured tradition, but made simpler and therefore easier to be executed, in texture and in rhythm; it was often possible to perceive the presence of some Gregorian melody therein, taken from the *Liber Usualis* and tonally harmonized, and all too often, it was possible to find some traces of Italian opera most welcome even to the people from the country (Macchiarella 2003). The global level of this repertoire, measured against the standard of the 'high grammar' was clearly rather low. Therefore Liszt intended to "elevate" and "dignify" it.

It is easy to hypothesize that Liszt could have gained large experience in this music during his trips throughout Europe, but in fact we have no real evidence of what kind

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1 For the concept of "grammar" as a complete code for writing and listening to music in a precise epoch, see Baroni- Dalmonte -Jacoboni 1999.

of repertoire he was acquainted with.

In the Eighties, two scholars studied the huge repertoire of multipart sacred popular music and maintained that "it is possible to distinguish therein, two fundamental types of musical interpretation of the sacred texts, different in form, in style and even in morphology: one composed for the common parish choirs and the other for specialised ensembles from the Brotherhoods or amongst their descendants" (Arcangeli-Sassu 1987, p. 13 my translation).

This distinction takes into account the different technical level of the singers; but another distinction can be made on the basis of the destination and use of the pieces: on the one hand, songs for Church liturgical rites, on the other, those for extra-liturgical, non sacramental occasions, carried out with or without the presence of a priest. In the latter kind of songs, as time went by, traces of different traditions – sacred and profane, cultivated and popular – accumulated following the tastes and the needs of a village (or a region) through very complicated processes of elaboration, which have only recently begun to be studied systematically.

In the above quoted article, Arcangeli and Sassu state that it is worth concentrating one's attention upon this repertoire because "it is the point of convergence, tension and contamination of the strongest characters of the ethnic musical culture with the more sophisticated parameters of the written tradition, sacred as well as secular" (*ibidem*). The multipart praxis, to which the present Conference is devoted, is one of the aspects which most clearly reveals these contamination processes, as Macchiarella (1995) maintains in his famous book on *falsobordone*.

Liszt writing "for the people and for God" produced highly contaminated music, although we do not know at what level of consciousness. In his large production of this kind, we find pieces intended for the Church and for trained, even if not professional, ensembles, among these the *Männerchormesse* (1848), the *Missa Choralis* (1862) and the *Requiem* (1868) should be quoted. The simple setting (male or mixed choir and organ) and the simple leading voice aim at a large target and at a clear comprehension of the text. But he also wrote a lot of music to be performed outside of the Church, without any accompaniment or with that of a little harmonium (and sometimes also with a side drum and timpani), to be sung by everybody (but sometimes with special soloist parts), in honour of a local Saint or on religious events in the Christian Church calendar.

We must remember various versions of the prayers *Ave Maria* and *Pater noster*, the *Via Crucis*, the collection of *Septem Sacramenta,* many *Motets, Hymns* and *Psalms*, published in the V volume of the first *Opera omnia,* where they are called "Church and spiritual songs". Liszt intended the target of these songs to be as large as the members of the Catholic Church. He himself informs us of his intentions in his letters written over almost half a century, from the time of his first visit to Rome (1839) till the end of his life (1886), with a slowing down during his virtuoso-years and the first period in Weimar, when he was mainly concerned with composing piano and symphonic music respectively.

The letters, of course, do not give exact details of either what his plan for reforming

Church music really was, or which models he chose for each single composition. A young French researcher collected the most important passages in these letters and commented on them in his PhD thesis (Dufetel 2008, pp. 115-300). According to the letters, Liszt did not intend the simple setting and the easiness of performance as a 'lowering' compared with his production for 'official occasions', but rather as a means of attaining a different, possibly 'higher' goal: to write music "for the people and for God". In fact to reach this goal, Liszt also undertook very serious studies in the ancient manuscripts of Gregorian monody, as well as in Renaissance polyphony. He got in touch with the Caecilian Movement, which disseminated its proposition of 'new' sacred music from Regensburg (Altenburg 1995), and with the Fathers of Solèsmes, who were extremely concerned with the edition of ancient 'Gregorian' monodies.

In his relationships with such important scholars, the letters testify that he does not assume a subordinate position; he is not a man begging for help. On the contrary, he is looking for something that they- the scholars - were unable to give him, and they in turn, were not capable of understanding his plan. Solèsmes' team wanted to restore the ancient melodies in order to make them into an unchangeable monument; the Caecilians wanted a Palestrinian-Renaissance; Liszt, on the contrary, tried to take possession of the same ancient sources, in order to infuse them in the active cycle of the living praxis as authentic material bearing traces of old and pure Christianity. What he wrote "for the people and for God" was not inferior to what he wrote for the Pope, for a King or for the consecration of an important Basilica, it was 'different'. The former kinds of pieces were meant to be a personal interpretation of the late Romantic musical style; the latter, an attempt to translate the character of the Catholic Church's universality into music.

The "universal character" of this music also comes from another source. When Liszt wrote *On the religious music of the future* (1835) from which the quotation in the title is taken, he lived in Paris under the direct influence of 'heretic apostles' like Saint-Simon, Père Enfantine, Ballanche and Lamennais, who were very critical of church hierarchy and its superficial brilliance. However, he had also absorbed - through books and personal acquaintances – that trait of German Romanticism expressed by the religion of Nature, which intended People as its own direct emanation. For Liszt, the idea of Nature is opposed to artefacts, and the idea of People is opposed to that of vicious Beings, and both were very close to the idea of the religion of the ancient 'pure' Catholic Church, as – in his opinion - expressed in music by the Gregorian monody and Palestrinian polyphony. In this context, music had to become a direct means of communication between the singers, the assembly and God, a "universal" means of communication beyond fashions and stylistic trends.

Liszt's "Pater noster"

A very clear example of this last type of sacred music are the various versions of the *Pater noster*, possibly the first piece of the repertory which interests us. Following the

Figure 1 - F. Liszt, *Pater Noster*, 1842(?)

most recent catalogues, the first version was published in Vienna in 1846 by Hasling; a piece for the piano was published as n. 5 of the *Harmonies poétiques et religieuses* collection in the same year, and by the same publisher. This looks very much like a transcription of a choral piece (Liszt 1997, p. XV) allowing us to assume that the *Pater noster* for voices was written first, possibly in 1842 or 1844.

The first version as a choral setting is for male voices (2 T and 2 B) and is conserved in two very similar versions: one a cappella[2] and the other with an organ.[3] The number of bars is slightly different (53 and 57 respectively) because the phrase "sicut et nos dimittimus debitoribus nostris" in the first version is in 4/4, and in the second in ¾ meter. Both meters alternate in both pieces.

Each phrase (corresponding to a versicle or a half versicle) is divided from the next one by rests, and some are divided by a double line.

We do not know if this *Pater Noster* entered into the repertoire of any church or of any choral group, nor if – in this case – it was modified by the singers. Neither do we know of any possible modifications nor if it met the needs and the tastes of any 'real' Catholic community. We just know – in a subliminal manner – that the scholars' opinion was negative. In fact this piece – like many similar ones and by the same author - was not written following the rules of one of the accepted grammars: it was not in the style of the ancient monody, nor in that of the Palestrinian polyphony. This *Pater Noster* was written following a new, complex grammar, which they – the scholars – refused to understand.

And what about the 'people'? Perhaps people accepted this *Pater Noster* and in singing it, modified Liszt's writing, so that today we possibly sing an 'anonymous' version of *Pater Noster* that corresponds to one of the later versions of the Lisztian piece without knowing its origins. The morphology of the piece allows such a hypothesis.

The melody is in the upper voice and is taken from the three forms of *Pater noster* present in the *Liber usualis*, under A, B and C, with a prevalence of A in the setting by Liszt. The presence of phrases taken from the three forms of the psalmody and the fact that some phrases do not exactly reproduce the model are important signs of the "popular" origin of the piece: in my opinion, it may be possible to consider it as a 'local' version of the psalmody that Liszt was acquainted with.

The harmonisation does not look like a 'normal' harmonisation of the plain Chant, as proposed by many Methods at that time, for instance the *Traité théorique et pratique de l'accompagnement du plain-chant* by Liszt's friend D'Ortigue; it is not like a Palestrinian setting (in the style of the *Improperi*, for instance, as the Caecilian Movement would have suggested); it does not sound like a piece in late-Romantic style, giving the nature of a quotation to the Gregorian melody: our *Pater noster* is an integrated mixture of all these traits, something 'new' in itself, simple but noble and rich. Poly-

2 Published by Leslie Howard in the "Liszt Society Journal" 2004, pp. 50-51, with the title: *Pater noster II,* Searle catalogue number : S 21i *(d'après la Psalmodie de l'Église)*

3 Published in the GA, vol. V, pp. 106-107.

modality and chromatic passages are not consistent with the 'classic' polyphonic tradition, but they do not sound 'strange' because they are given a structural function: they are 'something else' in comparison with a normal harmonisation of the Gregorian melody, but here they are assumed structurally as part of a new context. Such traits are meant neither as a revival of the ancient polyphony, nor as a stamp of alterity in the late-Romantic tonal language, like a possible quotation: they are meant as the musical expression of spiritual content, which everybody could understand in a rational way or in a subliminal manner.

The first phrase is in a scale with *finalis* C, the second has the *finalis* B, and the third the *finalis* A flat; you can note the soft slipping by degree into a major third. But on the words "Fiat voluntas tua", we find an impressive passage F into mode A. A double line with corona (b. 23) divides the first part of the piece from the second part, which is an enlarged reprise of the first one.

The third part is clearly divided from the previous ones, because the phrase "et ne nos inducas in tentationem" (bb. 39-42) is sung by a soloist before the choir repeats it harmonically. The clear a-a'-b form shows minimal changes in comparison with the psalmody of the official liturgy.

Liszt wrote many settings of the *Pater noster*: they number largely in his list of works, and their time sequence has not exactly been established. There are versions for mixed voices, with or without an organ, in different modes, with or without linear movements of the parts (but a real contrapuntal elaboration is nowhere to be found) and overall the Gregorian and 'popular' matrix tends to appear very clearly.

If we compare the first 'popular' version with the piece inserted in the *Christus* oratorio, a great concert piece, we note many melodic similarities, but also a tendency to sonic expansion (2 S, Alto, 2 T. e 2 B), as well as a tendency to expansion in the horizontal dimension: 173 bars compared with the 53 in the first version. This major length is not due to embellishments, but to repetitions of lines or parts of lines sung by different sections of the choir, which gives the piece its timbral richness. In this piece the mixture of styles disappears, the tonality is clear: A flat prevails (the tonality of love in many pieces by Liszt), but the memory of the Gregorian melody is vivid, perceivable everywhere and integrated into a new context, neither ornamentation, nor a revival. He wrote to Mme Jessie Laussot – a choir conductor in Florence- from Rome, May 24, 1867: " [...] dans le *Pater Noster* je n'ai fait que moduler et developer quelque peu [...] l'intonation grégorienne telle qu'elle se chante dans toutes nos églises [and here he writes down the first versicle, following intonation A of the psalmody] en suivant pour chaque verset l'intonation traditionelle." (La Mara 1893, pp. 98-99).
Lina Ramann, Liszt's first and most famous biographer, writes on this piece:

"in this *Pater noster* you see the Beatitudes transformed into prayer, the overcoming of all differences and their arriving to Universal [...] the most complete union of confessional and national differences; the union of polyphonic and homophonic style, from the Gregorian choral onwards, union of lyric precision and dramatic fluency. It is not the prayer of individuals, but the humanity's voice calling God [...] What is popular is also Universal" (Ramann 1874, pp. 106, 111).

If Lina Ramann's opinion really reflects the reviewers' contemporary judgment, this means that Liszt only partially reached his goal: he was refused by the scholars when he tried to write a prayer in the style of his Romantic idea of People, and he was praised when he once again approached the grammar of the cultivated sacred music of his time.

But perhaps the first *Pater Noster* is still alive in some simplified version and the piece in the *Christus* Oratorium is, today, becoming something like a museum piece. We know how the latter sounds, and we also know how Liszt imagined the former, but we do *not* know what kind of music was born from Liszt's intentions and the living praxis of some (possible) Catholic communities.

Of course I am not claiming that Liszt's first *Pater noster* was a piece of ethnic music. I just hope to have highlighted some traits that it shares with the extra-liturgical popular music of the time: the intention of the composer, the target for which it was composed, and the mixture of styles in its language. But I know that this is not enough: in fact, the music event is a complex phenomenon in which sonority is just one component. The situation in which the event takes place, the functions it carries out, the aims it seeks, the emotions it generates, the judgments it arouses, the memories it recalls, are equally important components: the concreteness of all these components indicates the distance between the piece by Liszt and a song of a Sardinian Brotherhood.

Ad Infinitum.
Polyphonic practices and theological discussions in Ars Nova's time*

Vasco Zara

Historical Perspectives

Introduction

What is the difference between *polyphony* and *multipart music*? Terminology is the mirror of the mind, and the assumption, or the adoption, of one of the two terms reveals much ado about our view on musical matter than what we are capable of recognizing. And we must prevent that the distance between the two definitions is getting too far to be run through. In my opinion, it is extremely important, in this realm and for this topic, to compare what we still call 'historical musicology' with the ethnomusicological, or generally anthropological, approach. It has often been said that ethnomusicology could be the only general musicology.[1] However, to convey methods, analytical procedures and mental habits in a well established *Wissenschaft* is something rather different.

At the end of the second millennium, Roberto Leydi and Franco Alberto Gallo together tried to define a new approach, which they called *historical ethnomusicology* (an association of terms which was created at the end of the Seventies by Kay Kaufman Shelemay) and which was then assumed as a basis for the discipline by the two Italian scholars.[2] That wording stood for a new field of research which, in the aim of its promoters, should have given "to ethnomusicology [...] a contribution in a vertical sense, providing a useful historical background to musical practises about which we can still gather information, and a horizontal contribution to musicology [...], providing valuable matter for comparing occasions, modes and functions of music making".[3] This was a major change of perspective: from composition to musical hearing. To tell the truth, the term *ethnomusicology* had already been integrated into the historical studies on language: I am referring to the controversial pamphlet by Peter Jeffery, *Re-Envisioning Past Musical Cultures. Ethnomusicology in the Study of*

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1 This is at least what Giorgio Adamo wished at the turn of the last millennium in the double and bilingual issue of *Rivista Italiana di Musicologia* published with the programmatic title: *The musicological disciplines : end-of-century prospects* (see Adamo 2000). But the same wish could be read between the lines of Leydi 1991 (especially pp. 65-128). This consideration merges and becomes explicit in: Bergeron – Bohlman, eds, 1992.

2 The scientific premises of Leydi's and Gallo's approach are contained in Restani 2006. The original definition is in Shelemay 1978. Cfr. also Aubert 2010.

3 " Un nuovo indirizzo di ricerca che si proponga di studiare questo enorme materiale di ogni età e di ogni luogo, potrebbe recare apporti significativi alle discipline esistenti. All'etnomusicologia (considerando il suo inevitabile appiattimento sulla contemporaneità) potrebbe offrire un contributo in senso verticale, fornendo un utile sfondo storico alle pratiche musicali attualmente documentabili. Alla musicologia (considerando l'assoluto isolamento in cui è nata e cresciuta) potrebbe offrire un contributo in senso orizzontale, fornendo un prezioso materiale di comparazione quanto a occasioni, modalità, funzioni del far musica. Ad entrambe le discipline potrebbe offrire il modello di una prospettiva diversa : sia la musicologia che l'etnomusicologia pensano prevalentemente alla composizione della musica, il nuovo indirizzo si occupa invece necessariamente (attraverso le testimonianze letterarie e figurative) dell'ascolto della musica " (Gallo 2010 : p. 9).

Gregorian Chant.[4] Whatever our judgement, this work sanctioned the terminological adoption of an already existing methodological perspective, adopted at least in the works of Solange Corbin, Helmuth Hucke and Leo Treitler.[5] Nowadays, notions like : orality, writing, improvisation, performance, mnemotechnic, and the study of the social and liturgical context are essential tools for research, and unavoidable for the study of Gregorian chant, unless we wish to discredit it.

The adoption of this approach has undoubtedly been favoured by a characteristic presented by this kind of vocal practice (or at least by its modern reception): Gregorian chant is a monodic chant. The discourse about polyphonic practice is different: apart from an interest in the social context of production and reception – a real interest, which is not to be underestimated and which has already reached important results for the comprehension of medieval music's identity – the anthropological approach remains, as underlined by Iain Fenlon, merely superficial.[6] The study of medieval polyphony remains therefore strongly indebted to the 'evolutionist' perspective, which only recently, and not entirely, has given up the idea of considering the polyphonic *organa* of Leoninus and Perotinus as the first witnesses of Western music's written tradition, postponing the primacy to later Renaissance composers.[7] For example, the French polyphony of the Fourteenth Century, better known as *Ars Nova*, is studied in view of just two composers (Philippe de Vitry and, even more, Guillaume de Machaut), and one kind of composition (the motet). Why such an exclusive interest for the motet? Because it is a complex form: it sets more than one text (each voice singing a different one) to music, it uses more than one language (Latin and the vernacular), it covers many functions (sacred, secular) and it is polysemic (numerological, architectural, esoteric, symbolic).[8] In a nutshell: it is an elitist genre, since only the mastery of the

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4 Jeffery 1992. Welcomed by medievalists as "the first medieval ethnomusicology book" (" il primo libro di etnomusicologia medievale " - Gallo 1993: p. 67), this book drew heavy criticism from the Gregorianists, cfr., *inter alia*: Burstyn 1994, Hiley 1994, Nowacky, 1994, Saulnier, 1997, and above all Treitler 1994.

5 Cfr. Corbin 1960 (2000), Hucke 1980, and Treitler 2003. For a synthesis of these different approaches see: Aubert 2010.

6 Cfr. Fenlon 1993: p. 71 : "Ancora una volta, come nel caso degli studi sulla committenza, la novità dell'approccio è più apparente che reale : l'orizzonte si amplia, ma il vecchio modello adleriano rimane".

7 Concerning Leoninus and Perotinus, see the *Prologue* (symbolically titled : *The First Great Dead White Male Composer*) of Busse-Berger 2005. For later composers, especially Dufay as a prototype of early Renaissance composer, see : Moll 1997 and Leech-Wilkinson 2002.

8 See, for instance, Margaret Bent's works on Philippe de Vitry (Bent 1997) or on Guillaume de Machaut (Bent 1991/a; 2003). These essays, by all means, are essential and never lacking in an accurate symbolic interpretation. On the contrary, we notice the absence of an equal consideration for other musical genres, such as the *ballade*, mostly analyzed through its harmonic and contrapunctistic language; see for instance: Fuller 1987 ; Fuller 1998 : pp. 61-86 ; Plumley 1996 ; or Leach 2003. Beyond these authors, there are also those who considered other compositions, but only if they could be susceptible to complex

musical writing technique enables a coherent relation between these elements.[9]

Just as for Leoninus and Perotinus in the Thirteenth Century, Philippe de Vitry and Guillaume de Machaut are practically the only named composers we have for the *Ars Nova*. Thus, continuing mental habits that are linked to the notion of *Werk*, it is to be noted that in both cases the notion of 'writing' is implicit. It is as though the presence and the use of a system of musical notation, capable of representing pitch and rhythm (and thus not neumatic notation, which kept those aleatory parameters) in a codified and arbitrary way, acted unconsciously on the scholar, firstly implying a hierarchical evaluation of musical products; and secondly preventing him/her from borrowing ethnomusicological methods and perspectives, as they have been mainly applied to musical languages that do not use notation, or that consider it only secondary to musical composition.

Those two unavoidable factors – tonality and notation – are the starting point of my question. The Fourteenth Century is the century that saw the assertion of polyphony as the vertical superimposition of consonant and dissonant intervals, managed through a specialized system of notation that intervenes in the process of music writing.[10] Yet, I wish to point out that perhaps other factors, which may appear unrelated to music's semantic field, play a part in our history. In order to focus on them better, I will now briefly deal with the polyphonic practices preceding the Fourteenth Century.

Writing polyphony : a learned polyphony ?

First of all: when does polyphony begin? Liturgical chant is believed - and this opinion is stubbornly reiterated- to be monodic; justly *Cantus planus*. To tell the truth, in the anonymous *Musica Enchiriadis*, a polyphonic practice is defined with two Greek terms, *symphonia* and *diaphonia* :

Nunc id, quod proprie simphoniæ dicuntur et sunt, id est qualiter eædem voces, sese in unum canendo habeant, prosequamur. Hæc namque est, quam diaphoniam cantilenam vel assuete organum nuncupamus. Dicta autem diaphonia, quod non uniformi canore constet, sed concentu concorditer dissono. Quod licet omnium simphoniarum est commune, in diatessaron tamen ac diapente hoc nomen optinuit.

(Now, however, we proceed with what the symphonies are and are properly called, that is, how these same pitches conduct themselves when sung simultaneously. Indeed, this is what we call diaphony, that is, two-voiced song or, customarily, 'organum'. Diaphony is so called because it does not consist in unison singing but in an agreeable combination of different pitches. Although commonly used for all the symphonies, this name applies [properly] to [simultaneous

interpretations, as shown in the above-mentioned terms; see for example: Howlett 2005.

9 For a criticism of such an interpretative model, see Page 1993.

10 See Colette – Popin – Vendrix, 2003. For a historical synthesis of the ongoing processes, see instead: Bent 1991/a; and Busse Berger, 2001.

singing at] the diatessaron and diapente).[11]

It is around 895 AD: the edict of Charlemagne in favour of the *cantus romanus*, prologue to the birth of what we call today the 'Gregorian chant', dates from 780 AD (Boretius 1883: I, p. 61). The first neumatic manuscripts, which witness the birth of musical writing, date from about the Ninth Century AD (Hiley 1993 and 2009). Right at the moment when the musical practice called 'monophonic' comes to life, consolidates and broadens, the speculative theory witnesses its polyphonic dimension. As Richard Taruskin underlines in his characteristic and provocative style :

As we have seen, and as it is important to remember, there has never been a time in the recorded history of European music – or of any music, it seems – when polyphony was unknown. [...] We have evidence of polyphonic performance practice for medieval chant as early as we have written evidence of the chant itself (Taruskin 2010: p. 147).[12]

We need to be careful: the Greek terms *symphonia* and *diaphonia*, adopted in a Latin context, reveal something unusual. To place one voice on top of another at different pitches is only done when the occasion requires it: on Sundays, or in other moments of the liturgical calendar, it is not an everyday custom (Seay 1975: pp. 78-94). It is a kind of acoustic stuffing, a sonorous reinforcement: the leading melody is duplicated at the octave, the fifth or the fourth, the intervals considered to be consonant in those days, both from an acoustic and a philosophical point of view (they are still the Pythagorean intervals of *diapason*, *diapente* and *diatesseron*, resumed by the Fathers of the Church as a mirror of the world's harmony) (Boethius 2004).

The melodic outline of the added voice does not change that of the original melody, called *vox principalis*. It is possible to create a different melodic outline by the *punctus contra punctum* technique, a superimposition of consonant and dissonant intervals ruled by mnemotechniques and improvised during the performance. In this case, however, the added voice moves on a lower pitch, to support the *vox principalis*, without altering its outline (see figure 1).
Polyphony is thus a well known phenomenon: widespread, but not unitary. Until the Thirteenth Century this practice is localized. The continuity from one repertory to

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11 *Musica Enchiriadis*, Caput XIII. *De proprietate Symphoniarum* ; see : Erickson (ed.) 1995. Concerning etymology, cf. : Reckow 1972-1984; and Philipps 1996. For its historical use, see also : Fuller 1981; and, in a much more general way : Tenney 1988.

12 Taruskin distinguishes between "polyphonic composition" and "polyphonic performance practice". In my opinion, such a distinction seems to recall, in a different but no less appropriate way, the distinction highlighted by Gallo between composition and musical listening. But I do not follow Taruskin's argumentations when he claims that " we recognize that monophony is only a style of notation, not necessarily a style of music ": the musical excerpts he reported (*in primis* the ones from *Musica Enchiriadis*) themselves show that the origins of musical notation are also polyphonic (see Taruskin 2010: p. 149).

Ss. Corporis et Sanguinis Christi
Cibavit eos
Antiphona ad Introitum

Figure 1 - Example of diaphonia: *Cibavit eos, Anthiphona ad introitum*

another is difficult to trace back.[13] It is only during the second half of the Thirteenth Century that a centre emerges from the others : the École de Notre-Dame (cf. Roesner 1990). The characteristic of this style is the rhythmic organization of the sonorous material, which was a great novelty, and recognized as such. Thierry d'Amorbach writes : "Et Gallia tamen sibi cantum libens vendicat, Germania vero agente insania repudiat" (" The Gauls are rightly proud of this chant, whereas the Germans stupidly reject it ").[14] Not everyone agrees: John of Salisbury describes them as "lascivious and luxurious voices", similar to the ones of the Sirens, not to the ones of men, thus offending the divine service:

Ipsum quoque cultum religionis incestat quod ante conspectum Domini [...] lascivientis vocis luxu, quadam ostentatione sui, muliebribus modis notularum articulorumque cæsuris, stupentes animulas emollire nituntur. Cum præcinentium et succinentium, concinentium et decinentium, intercinentium et occinentium præmolles modulationes audieris, Sirenarum concentus credas esse, non hominum [...].

(Music sullies the Divine Service, for in the very sight of God [the singer] attempts, with the lewdness of a lascivious singing voice and a singularly foppish manner, to feminize all their spellbound little fans with the girlish way they render the notes and end the phrases. Could you but hear the effete emotions of their before-singing and their after-singing, their singing and their counter-singing, their in-between-singing, and their ill-advised singing, you would think it an ensemble of sirens, not of men [...]) (John of Salisbury, quoted in Busse Berger 2005: pp. 161-162).[15]

13 See for example : Treitler 1964; Karp 1993; Hagg - Huglo 2004.

14 Davril-Donnat 1984, quoted in Gagnepain 1996: p. 17 - English translation, my own

15 Translation in Dalglish 1978: p. 7. I am grateful to Gerald Florian Messner for calling my

Figure 2 - *Benedicamus Domino, from: Florence – Biblioteca Medicea-Laurenziana, Plut. 29.1, f. 41v.* (ed. mod.: Roesner 1987: I, pp. 216-220)

These two divergent opinions do nevertheless witness how the Parisian polyphonic technique was perceived as something exceptional, and not as a natural landing place for a way of singing together perfected day by day. Let us now see the rules of this practice:

    1. The lower voice 'holds' the others from a sonorous and semantic point of view and is therefore called *tenor*.[16]

    2. The melody derives from the Gregorian repertory, which can be modified by the singer in terms of length of the notes, expanded *ad libitum*, to allow the addition

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attention to a similar quote in Elias Salomonis' *Scientia artis musicæ* (c. 1274) concerning a strange practice of the Lombardian lay-man's songs : " Et est sciendum, quod cantus laicorum a natura infixus eisdem ut in pluribus, & instrumentorum ligneorum appetit illud idem, non tamen cantus Lombardorum, qui ululant ad modum luporum. Quod manifeste patet ; nam si unus laicus audiret alium laicum cantre in prima bassa voce, bene saliret recta in tertia, non autem aliquo modo in secunda ; vel e contrario de tertia in prima, sed nunquam in secunda " (see : Messner 2008 ; but the quotation is first cited by Ferand 1939). Nevertheless, his demonstration of an ininterrupted tradition until the current vocal practice in middle Western and central Southern Bulgaria does not convince me. I think that this remark is in the Augustinian tradition, in the order of a general ecclesiastic reproach of polyphony as a medium that confuses God's words and introduces a lascivious character ; for a general inquiry, see Wegman 2005 ; but the same attitude is found in Erasmus, cf. : Margolin 1965 and Zara 2008.

16 On the role of the *tenor*, see Smith 1966.

of the other voices (up to three). This voice supports the others, and in so doing, holds to the theological prescription: "Solus Deus creat, creatura non potest creare" (Augustin w.d.).[17] The added voices do not sing words but only the syllable expanded by the lower voice: when the latter changes, the others follow.

3. It is the *organum* technique. When the other voice also moves with a different ternary division of time, then it is called *discantus*. This change, however, always respects the triple metre. Of course, every voice can use different rhythmic patterns (constituted by one or more long values, and one or more breve values, for example: *longa-brevis*, and *brevis-brevis-longa*), but in any case, the voices will finally meet together (see figure 2).[18]

What is the reason for this rhythmic organization? The ternary principle has been linked to respect for the dogma of the Christian Trinity, which, by the way, was also recognized by the next century's theoreticians as the basis of the time division.[19] The distinction between *longa* and *brevis* has instead been traced back to the Greek and Roman metric system, which divided the syllables into *longa* and *brevis*.[20] This rhetorical correspondence was, however, only clarified at the beginning of the 14th Century by Walter Odington in his *Summa de Speculatione Musicæ* : that is to say, more than a century after the development of this technique (Odington 1970).[21] Since the gap is conspicuous, it is legitimate to ask oneself if this referring to the ancient practice of authoritative but belated rhetoric, were not an attempt to dignify a repertory, a form, in a decadent phase. Moreover, musical notation, at least until Odington's time, exactly carries out the deed of safekeeping what is going to be lost.

Until recent times, the repertoire of the École de Notre-Dame has always been regarded as a form of learned polyphony.[22] Both because it was written, and because – as we have already pointed out – the names of its composers, Leoninus and Perotinus, were

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17 For the musical context see Ostrem 2007.

18 On *organum* practice, despite an abundant literature, see : Waite 1952; Roesner 1979 and 1982; Yudkin 1983.

19 Cf. Jehan des Murs in his *Notitia Artis Musicæ* (c. 1319), Liber II, Caput II. *De numeri ternari perfectione* : "Quod autem in ternario quiescat omnis perfectio, patet ex multis veresimilibus coniecturis. In Deo enim, qui perfectissimus est, unitas est in substantia, trinitas in personis ; est igitur trinus unus et unus trinus. Maxima ergo convenientia est unitatis ad trinitatem" see : De Murs 2000 : p. 76.

20 Cf.: Waite 1954 ; Flotzinger, 1972; and Treitler 1979. For a general synthesis, see also : Gallo, 1985: pp. 1-17.

21 This chronological gap justifies my personal hesitancy, together with other kinds of reservations, to accept Guillaume Gross' theory, according to which Notre-Dame *organa* are structured through the employment of figures of speech; see: Gross 2007 ; thesis already discussed in Gross 2006 and reiterated in Gross 2008.

22 See for example : Lera 1989, whose interpretation was totally disregarded by further investigations.

preserved.[23] These two characteristics have been read as the forerunners of the learned Western tradition, symbolized by the solitary individual, who in a contemplative silence creates a work of art especially if in a written and therefore immutable form. To be honest, chronology allows us to catch a glimpse of a rather different scenario: the oldest and nearest testimony to the *Magnus Liber Organi*, the source where the polyphonic material of the two *magistri* is collected, dates to c. 1245.[24] Nearly one century after the birth of the repertoire, the need to fix it begins to be felt, and this through the bias of a musical notation that will be theorized and codified in only around 1260 by Johannes de Garlandia (probably a scribe), to be used by university students who needed to learn this technique (Roesner 1982 and 2001). The 'modal notation' – this is the name given by historians – thus perpetuates the role and function of the neumatic notation: neither conceived as an aid to composition, nor developed in order to be read by singers, but as a way of preserving and handing down a repertory and only in the second place, as a means of learning it (see Roesner 1987: pp. lvii-xcix). Two major authors have completely changed the evolutionist perspective based on written and notated tradition: Craig Wright and Anna Maria Busse Berger showed that polyphonic compositions are not the result of a solitary creative act, but rather of a collective improvisation that has its foundations in those ternary rhythmic patterns, qualitatively understood as mnemonic formulas.[25]

Margot Fassler has moreover added a new hypothesis, complementing those already mentioned, about its Parisian exclusiveness (which, I insist, was perceived by contemporary people as an exception - Fassler 1987 and 1993). The starting point is the production of sequences in the Parisian Monastery of Saint Victor. The monastery and the cathedral were very close to one other, and an exchange of cantors and teachers seems to have occurred, thus producing a circulation of knowledge. According to one theory, sequences were textual additions to melismas which were too long and

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23 See *supra*, n. 7. These names are quoted and linked to specific compositions by an English student (theorist/scholar/clerk?), afterwards called Anonymous IV by musicologists (since his work was the fourth anonymous treatise published in the first volume of De Coussemaker 1864-76), after 1280 (recent studies argue for probably early XIVth Century – see *infra*, n. 37) ; see: Reckow 1967, I: p. 46 : " Et nota, quod magister Leoninus, secundum quod dicebatur, fuit optimus organista, qui fecit magnum librum organi de gradali et antifonario pro servitio divino multiplicando. Et fuit in usu usque ad tempus Perotini Magni, qui abbreviavit eundem et fecit clausulas sive puncta plurima meliora, quoniam optimus discantor erat, et melior quam Leoninus erat. Sed hoc non est dicendum de subtilitate organi etc. Ipse vero magister Perotinus fecit quadruple optima sicut Viderunt, Sederunt, cum habundantia colorum armonicæ artis ; similiter et tripla plurima nobilissima sicut Alleluia Posui adiutorium, Nativitas etc. Fecit etiam triplices conductus ut Salvatoris hodie et duplice conductus sicut Dum sigillum summi patris ac etiam simplices conductus cum pluribus aliis sicut Beata viscera etc. ". For the real participation of Leoninus as one of the authors of the *Magnus Liber Organi*, see: Roesner 2001.

24 See Roesner 1976; Everist 1990 and Balzer 2008.

25 Cf. Wright 1986 and 1989 ; Busse Berger 1996, 1998 and 2005.

difficult to memorize.[26] Adam of Saint Victor, one of the prominent figures of this musical and poetical production, largely used the ternary rhythmic structure *longa-brevis*. This hypothesis also points out a plausible meaning of the Notre-Dame polyphony. The poetic phenomenon of the sequences, just as that of the tropes (one of its developments) finds its roots in the practice of the *glossa*, the commentary on a text. The polyphonic adding of the *organa*, which only expands the sacred text's syllables, can thus be brought back to the same source: the melodic improvisation of the added voices does not modify the initial melodic profile, but rather expands it; it is a commentary. Each syllable-sound is ornamented, explored, 'exploded', but at the same time it is unchangeable, as it is the foundation of the piece, and also because it is the word of God. It should then be noted that the superimposition is not vertical, but horizontal: it is the superimposition of different lines of melodic improvisation, unified by a rhythmic ternary principle, and not a harmonic improvisation which places the dynamic tension in the interval.

Something different happens in the polyphony of the Fourteenth Century, influenced by – if not to say determined by – the use of notation. As we have already said, the most representative form of this style is the motet, where two or more texts are sung simultaneously. According to Margaret Bent, the simultaneous manipulation of several words, often also in different languages, forces the composer to an extreme synchronous control, which he is capable of obtaining only by a steady precision in the subdivision of temporal values, leading to the refinement of the system of musical notation (Bent 1991). The theoretical requirements – as Dorit Tanay has significantly showed – are to be found in the Aristotelian *renovatio scientis*, which worked as a fundamental impulse for all the fields of knowledge during the XIVth Century (Tanay 1999).[27]

The compositional technique is the same as the *organum*. In the words of Egidius de Murino (c. 1350) :

Primo accipe tenorem alicuius antiphone vel responsorii vel alterius cantus de antiphonario et debent verba concordare cum materia de qua vis facere motetum (First take the Tenor from some antiphon or responsory or another chant from the antiphonal, and the words should concord with the matter of which you wish to make the motet) (quoted in De Coussemaker 1864-76: III, p. 124; cf. : Clark 1996).

The composer, searching the liturgical repertoire, chooses a melody, which he finds interesting because of: 1. its words, which are the starting point for the elaboration of new texts; and 2. its melodic intervals, which are the starting point for the elaboration of the other voices. However, unlike the *organum*, the primary material – which is

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26 For the origins of sequence phenomenon, see : Husmann 1954; Dronke 1965; and Corcker 1973. For a new interpretation, cf. also : Haug 2008.

27 For a wider investigation on the historical context, also with a particular reference to the musical environment, see also Bianchi- Randi 1990.

sacred – is not left unaltered: the composer only uses a fragment of it, a maximum of one or two words (see for example the textual polyphony in Guillaume de Machaut's motet 10, and the semantic and musical intertextuality he created starting from the Gradual excerpt *Obediens usque ad mortem)* (see figure 3).[28]

This fragment, altered in its rhythmic and temporal values, becomes the cell that, reiterated by means of proportional or cancrizan procedures, determines the whole piece.[29] At this point new voices can be added. *Cantus firmus* is the new name of the lower voice: it now has nothing more to do with the temporal expansion of a single sound of the melody, since it is now the creation of an autonomous cell, both from a rhythmic and a melodic point of view. What allows such a substantial modification of something that was formerly accounted for intangible? In my opinion, the theological discussions about the divine infinity can help our understanding of the cultural context that hosts these changes.[30]

Ad infinitum

The divine infinity, unlike its eternity, is not a classical attribute of the God of the monotheistic religions. In the Christian world, the debate on the divine infinity clearly emerges during the second half of the Thirteenth Century. Among the many factors, one can enumerate the speculations about the beatific vision, the Occamist controversies about the *potentia Dei absoluta*, the struggle against the Cathar heresy. One can say that the attribution of infinity to God is the result of a long cultural process.[31] Infinity has always coincided with the *horror vacui*. In the Greek world, as described by Paolo Zellini: "the unlimited appears as a negative and fading principle, as to obstruct the order imposed by the limit means to bring back reality to a shapeless

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28 For the semantic relationship between *cantus firmus* and other poems in the Machaut motets, see for a first approach : Robertson 2002. For motet 10 in particular, see : Brownlee 2005; and Mercier – Roux – Vermeulen– Verpiot 2008.

29 The theoreticians of the 14th Century used the terms *talea* and *color*; see for instance: Jehan des Murs, *Libellus Cantus Mensurabilis* (c. 1330-35), Caput XII. *De colore* : " Unde color in musica vocatur similium figurarum unius processus pluries repetita positio in eodem cantu. Pro quo nota, quod nonnulli cantores ponunt differentiam inter colorem et tallam : nam vocant colorem, quando repetuntur eedem voces, tallam vero, quando repetuntur similes figure et sic fiunt deversarum voces " (De Murs 2000: p. 220). Afterwards the musicologists adopted the neologism *Isorhythm*, coined by Ludwig 1903-04. Nowadays this term is widely called into question: Bent 2008. For a close examination of the modular procedure behind this compositional process, see Zara forthcoming.

30 These topics have already been argued (but with a specific focus on Nicolas Oresme's theoretical writings) in: Zara 2007. My acknowledgement to Ignazio Macchiarella for allowing me the opportunity to re-utilize some already published material.

31 Cf. : Dondaine 1952; Zellini 1980 ; Sweeney 1992; Sweeney 1992; Davenport 1999; Côté 2002 and Biard- Celeyrette eds. 2005)

Figure 3 - Guillaume de Machaut, *Motet 10: from cantus planus to cantus firmus' talea*

and disorganized state, where each and every thing loses the chance to be recognized as a concrete being and the events appear to be unpredictable and subject to an illogic evolution" (Zellini 1980: p. 15).[32] The Bible inherits this way of thinking: the world, in Alexandre Koyré's words, is a " closed world " (Koyre 1957). In the Book of *Genesis,* God separates light and darkness, sky and water, earth and sea (*Genesis*, 1, 1-10). The creative act is an action which imposes limits, and by so doing, gives a meaning to the shapeless mass. This concept underwent important changes during the Fourteenth Century. The writings of Nicole Oresme, Charles V's astrologer, depict more than others the cultural climate of those years, also in musical matters (Zara 2007, with bibliography). During his youth, Oresme had been a student of two of the leading figures of the *Ars Nova*: Jehan des Murs, the music theoretician, and Philippe de Vitry, to whom Oresme dedicated one of his major works, the *Algorismus proportionum*, in which he calls him the "new Pythagoras".[33] Besides, Oresme is the first to identify the extra-cosmic void with the divine infinity (Kirschner 2000).[34] Infinity is now added to eternity. If the former is the extension of the presence of God in time, the latter is the extension of the shape of God in space. In the polyphonic practice, the extension of the *cantus firmus* is obtained by way of geometric extension (the measurable sound's values), and spatial extension (the vertical addition of voices and melodies). Is it possible to suppose a relation between these two elements? Can one consider the polyphony of the Fourteenth Century as a kind of (vertical) break of the limit implied in the role and nature of the *cantus firmus*? (A limit that one can still well perceive in the polyphony of the École de Notre-Dame, presenting the expansion of horizontal lines, which have the function of a commentary to a sound which 'holds' – *tenor* – the foundations of the additions).

It is already known that the *scientia musica* was closely related to the firmament: the harmony of the spheres is a demonstration thereof.[35] Besides, not only the movements, but also the distances between the planets are measured by means of music intervals. The first testimony of the wording *cantus firmus* is to be found in an astrological

32 " [L'illimitato] appare come principio negativo e dissolvente, perché ostacolare l'ordine imposto dal limite significa evidentemente ricondurre la realtà a uno stato informe e disorganizzato, ove ogni cosa perde la sua riconoscibilità come ente concreto e gli eventi appaiono slegati, imprevedibili e suscettibili di un'evoluzione priva di logica " (English translation, my own). See also : Sorel 2006.

33 See : Grant 1965 and the new critical discussion in Rommevaux forthcoming. It has been hypothesized that a teacher-pupil relationship occurred between Vitry and Oresme, but there have been no further validations or confutations; see: Gushee 1998: p. 370.

34 As regards the topic of the extra-cosmic void and the similar one of nothingness, see: Lenzi - Maierù (eds) 2009 ; and Biard – Rommevaux (eds) 2011.

35 Literature about the Harmony of the Spheres is extensive. Here I prefer to refer to the 'classics': Spitzer 1963 ; Meyer - Baer 1970; Walker 1978: pp. 1-13; James 1995; and Cristiani - Panti - Perillo (eds) 2007. For a specific focus, instead, I refer to: Stabile 2001; Ilnitchi 2002; Rankin 2005/a and 2005/b.

Figure 4 - Score layout from *Magnus Liber Organi: three voices organa (Tenor / Duplum / Triplum)*

treatise, the *Liber Introductorius* written by Michael Scot in c. 1230:

Et sic dicitur cantus firmus et nomen assupsit a firmamento celi [...]. Patet autem hoc per cantum organi, qui cum vox firme sonet nec vage motum faciat sive reddat, omnes voces soni mutabiles arsis et thesis sibi finaliter referunt. (as the celestial system as a sky which is motionless, called *firmamentum* with respect to the other skies which are mobile, so in polyphony there is one voice which does not move, called *cantus firmus* with respect to the others which move)[36]

In the *organum*, the added voices are related to the one that 'holds': the limit is clear, we find ourselves in a closed system. According to Nancy van Deusen (1995: p. 172), in the following century, Robert Grosseteste figures out a different metaphor and in his commentary to the Book of *Genesis,* he describes the firmament with the "categories of polyphonic music such as 'organum' and the motet", stratified on three levels (the three usual voices: *superiora*, *in medio-tenor*, *in inferiora*), but above all: "ex aliqua preiacenti materia facta sunt".[37]

36 Munich, Staatsbibliothek, Clm 10268, ff. 38 r.a. : 42 r.b. ; see: Gallo 1973: p. 8.

37 Nevertheless, it is difficult to agree with the author when she identifies the Anonymous IV with Robert Grosseteste (see above, footnote n. 23). This hypothesis has been contradicted in later research, see: Haines 2006.

Figure 5 - *Nos qui vivimus,* sequence from *Scholica Enchiriadis, ca. 850*
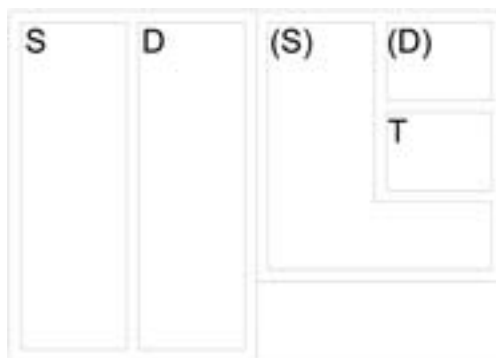
Figure 6 - Score layout from a standard three voices motet Tenor / Duplum / Superius (based on *Guillaume de Machaut Motet 9*)

These are the same words used by the theoreticians of the Fourteenth Century who were aware of the changes that were taking place. Johannes de Grocheio, writing at the beginning of the century, puts forward the distinction, hereafter reiterated, between ordering on an ancient *cantus* (*tenor* or *cantus firmus*), and "componere [...] secundum voluntatem artificis":

Dico autem 'ordinare' quoniam in motellis et organo tenor ex cantu antiquo est et prius compositus, sed ab artifice per modum et rectam mensuram amplius determinatur. Et dico 'componere' quoniam in conductibus tenor totaliter de novo fit et secundum voluntatem artificis modificatur et durat. (I say 'lay out' because in motets and organum the tenor is derived from an old melody and is pre-composed, but it is given further definition with mode and correct measure by the composer. I say 'compose', because in conducti the tenor is created entirely ; it is modified, and its extent is set, according to the wish of the composer).[38]

These are the same terms that qualify creation. Thomas Aquinas writes: "creare est ex

38 Cf. Rohloff 1972: p. 146 ; and the new translation made in Page 1993/b: p. 39.

nihilo aliquid facere" ("to create is to make something from nothing").[39] But what for the theologian is the expression of a divine faculty (the faculty of giving limits), for the theoretician becomes "composing in accordance with the will of the artist", a human faculty. Grocheio makes the notion of "limit" signify "ordering". Ordering means measuring; measuring (putting limits) means creating, and creating means "transforming a confused movement into a rhythmic and measurable movement" (Von Dechend 1973: pp. 366 and 369). And this is exactly composing in the *cantu antiquo*. It is important to recognize the difference, because for the first time, from a theoretical point of view, the power of creating *ex-nihilo* is attributed to men. In the XIVth Century, this means, not only putting no limits, but breaking a limit (infinity as *horror vacui*, the alteration of the *cantus firmus* until its complete withdrawal). The same infinity which comes back in the speculations of Johan des Murs, according to whom, the temporal division of music values could be continued *ad infinitum*.[40]

Conclusion

Even the visual aspect of the polyphonic superimposition of voices witnesses a change in its perception between the Thirteenth and the Fourteenth Centuries. Let us compare two manuscripts and the disposition of the voices in an *organum* and a motet. In the first one, the musical systems are placed one on top of the other as in modern sheets of music (see figure 4).

The loss of space is noteworthy (one and only one sound at the lower voice), but the perception of the vertical simultaneity is immediate. This is one of the first attempts to show polyphonic verticality (if you look at the very first one in the *Scolica Enchiriadis* – a contemporary commentary to the *Musica Enchiriadis,* ca. 850 – the perception does not change) (see figure 5).[41]
In the second one, the motet, the voices are arranged side by side in columns (see figure 6).

Besides the philological considerations (these manuscripts are not conceived for

39 Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologica*, I, 45.2 (English translation : Aquinas w.d.); see *supra*, n. 17.

40 Jehan des Murs, *Notitia Artis Musicæ*, Liber II, Caput II. *De numeri ternari perfectione* : "Est enim unum, cum sit continuum, non solum iterum in ternarios sed in infinitum partibilis incessanter. Quoniam ergo vox tempore mensurata unionem duarum formarum, naturalis scilicet et mathematicæ, comprehendit, licet quod ratione alterius fractio non cessaret, tamen propter aliam vocis divisionem necessarium est alicubi terminari. Nam sicut omnium natura constantium positus est terminus et ratio magnitudinis et augmenti sic parvitatis et diminuti. Demonstrant enim naturales, quod natura ad maximum et minimum terminatur " (De Murs 2000 : pp. 76-79). See : Tanay 1999.

41 Taruskin 2010: p. 149; see *supra*, n. 12.

performance as already discussed), it is to be noted that exactly where – in the motet – there is a greater need of synchronicity, the latter is not visually realized. Until now historians have not been able to explain this change satisfactorily, and neither can I. However, I wish to remind you that it was precisely during the Fourteenth Century that temporal perception underwent a major change, passing from what Jacques Le Goff (1960 and 1977) called the time of the church (ruled by the tolling of the bell), to the time of merchants (clock time, the arbitrary and rational division of time). The time of the church is that of prayer: the length of an action is measured through the *oratio* which can be as long as a *Pater noster* or an *Ave Maria* (Crosby 1997). From this point of view, I believe that we should reconsider the common perception according to which musical notation reproduces and shows a temporal *continuum* of subsequent discrete unities. In the Gregorian chant, which is a prayer, time is fixed by its content. Then, perhaps, neumatic writing is not temporal writing, as the length is already established by words. The same happens in the repertoire of the École de Notre-Dame, which is always a sung prayer. But the polyphony of the *Ars Nova* offers a quite different example, and it is perhaps not by chance that the voices are separately positioned, to grant greater temporal control, and dispersed, lacking a centre and tending towards infinity.

These considerations are, of course, not exhaustive. We have not considered the recreational and ludic aspect of the polyphonic canon crossings, carols, or *rondeaux* which should not be underestimated. I simply hope that I have given some solid hints for the consideration of something that, in my point of view, is fundamental: polyphony is not a 'natural' fact, but a cultural product. And as such it undergoes many historical, geographical and anthropological variations.

Polyphony as an Emblem of Concorde in Early Modern Europe

Massimo Privitera

Historical Perspectives

In his introductory paper to this conference, Ignazio Macchiarella has appropriately pointed out that "multipart music offers an extreme emotional intensity, rising from the performative proximity with others – i.e. with other individual passions and emotions". I completely agree with Ignazio, and even if probably every kind of music is interactive, it is true that this dimension stays at the real core of multipart music, and qualifies its nature.

In my paper I will concentrate on some examples of the interactive experience, taken from literature and from the visual arts of the Renaissance – a period in which multipart music has reached one of its highest achievements. All through my paper I will use the term "polyphony" rather than "multipart music", because "polyphony" is historically more appropriate to the period I have chosen. But it is clear to me that what we currently call "Western polyphony" does not at all exhaust the enormous and multifaceted human practice of multipart music.

I have stressed the emotional character of the polyphonic performance because my involvement therein, started after an emotional experience, which happened to me when I was a twenty-year-old student in musicology. At that time my interests were focused on contemporary music, but I was in a deep crisis of intellectual growth. Since I was a kid, I had learned from my father to express myself through music: borrowing Cathy Berberian's words, I felt that music was the air I breathed, the planet I inhabited.[1] But this planet was extremely vast, and now in the words of Ira Gershwin, I felt like "a little lamb who's lost in the wood",[2] full of difficulties in finding my own way.

Then, a friend of mine invited me to share the new experience of joining the University Choir. I was put in the Bass section, to sing a canzonetta for five voices by Giovanni Pizzoni, a composer of the late sixteenth century. As I sang along, I was more and more captured by an unexpected emotion which was very different from other musical emotions I had ever had before. Every voice was singing a line that was different from the others, yet similar at the same time. The words were the same, and the general melodic profile was similar, but each voice had its own character – like the members of a family, who show many strong physical similarities, but who each has their own personality. The different voices blended perfectly with each other, interlacing in an exciting play of questions and answers, of flights and pursuits, all included in a general design which exalted the unity by means of the differences. Some years later I learned that ancient philosophers were well familiar with this special emotion, and that they defined music as *Concordia discors*; that is, the concord of discordant things.

My personal experience of the spirit of Renaissance polyphony has deeply changed my way of thinking and living music, offering me an Ariadne's thread to lead me in my personal quest. After this experience I have been gradually absorbing the philosophy

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1 This phrase comes from a passionate text written by Cathy Berberian shortly before her death, reproduced in Vila 2003. See also Carrie de Swaan's 1994 documentary film *"Music is the air I breathe". A documentary on the singer Cathy Berberian (1925-1983)*.

2 In George and Ira Gershwin's song *Someone to watch over me*.

of polyphony, never ceasing to explore it, both as a musicologist and as a singer, a choral conductor, a composer, an arranger – but also as a man.

In my research I have often wondered how the men and women of the Renaissance lived and expressed their experience of polyphony. Since this experience would have involved so many aspects of their life, it is impossible to give an exhaustive picture of it – at least in the narrow space of this paper. But I wish to share some of my reflections on this topic with you.

The first example I would like to discuss comes from *A plaine and easie introduction to practicall Musicke*, a treatise published by the English composer, Thomas Morley, in 1597. This book, a dialogue, starts with a young man called Philomates seeking out his old master to have music lessons. The evening before, explains Philomates, he had been invited to a dinner with

a number of excellent schollers, (both gentlemen and others:) but all the propose which then was discoursed upon, was Musicke […] I was compelled to discover mine own ignorance, and confesse that I knewe nothing at all in it […]. But I refusing & pretending ignorance, the whole companie condemned mee of discurtesie, being fully persuaded, that I had beene as skilfull in that art, as they tooke mee to be learned in others. But supper being ended, and Musicke bookes, according to the custome being brought to the table: the mistresse of the house presented mee with a part, earnestly requesting mee to sing. But when after manie excuses, I protested unfainedly that I could not: everie one began to wonder. Yea, some whispered to others, demanding how I was brought up: so that upon shame of mine ignorance I go nowe to seeke out mine olde frinde master Gnorimus, to make my selfe his scholler. (Morley 1597: p. 1)

This passage very clearly shows how the performance of polyphonic music could be extremely important for defining the belonging to a community. In this case it is a small bourgeois community of cultivated people, where polyphony is both an elevated intellectual occupation, and a sophisticated game to play after dinner. Somebody, like our Philomates, who is not able to sing with other people, is very badly judged. He can barely claim his place in the community: he is not a real gentleman.

But how would such a musical evening have developed if all the guests had mastered polyphony? Let's turn to an unusual book printed in Venice in 1544: *Dialogo della musica* by the Florentine writer, Anton Francesco Doni. The book is divided into two parts, each one containing a different dialogue: the first one with four interlocutors, all men; the second one with seven interlocutors, six men and a woman. Here they are all skilled in polyphony, and it is therefore possible to observe their interaction through music. How does the evening develop? The first dialogue starts when the interlocutors have just finished dancing, and they wonder how to proceed with the evening. One proposes playing games; another telling short stories; another one singing. But the last one says:

[…] se vi governarete a modo mio cantaremo e novelleremo a un tempo; perché dove altri si passa cantando asciuttamente col dire solo: "diciamolo un'altra volta", "quest'è bello", e simili chiacchiere, noi ci diffonderemo un poco più nel parlare ragionando di poesia, di burle, di novelle

e d'altre dolci fantasiette, come più a sesto ci verrà, e a proposito; e così cibando il corpo d'un dolce riposo, pasceremo l'animo ancora d'una soave dolcezza, anzi d'un cibo divino. (Doni, quoted in Monterosso Vachelli 1969: p. 102)[3]
[if you follow my advice, we will sing and tell stories at the same time; because where other people simply sing, saying just: "let's sing it once again", "this is nice", and similar chats, we will go further, talking about poetry, jokes, stories and other sweet fancies, according to our fantasy; and so, while nourishing our bodies with sweet repose, we will also feed our souls with a soft sweetness, indeed, with a divine food.]

Throughout the entire dialogue, the interlocutors sing madrigals, chosen to express their amorous feelings. At the very beginning one says to another: "I want that first madrigal we sing to be one of yours, written in praise of Candia [your mistress]". After the performance, they sometimes repeat the piece, but they always make commentaries on the texts and take them as a starting point to talk about their own pains of love, or to tell amusing stories.

Therefore, the role played here by polyphony is first of all a way of selecting the members of the company: not only must you be learned, know poetry and the philosophy of love, but you must also be able to sing polyphony without the help of an instrument. Moreover, the performance of polyphony sets the right key for discussion, because poetry is much more expressive when it is sung than when it is just read. By performing polyphony, each interlocutor puts himself deeply inside the affect; he becomes part of the affect itself. For this reason, when the performance is finished, the performer feels a kind of melancholy, a nostalgia for the sonorous enchantment which had fully captured his affection while singing, and that has abruptly vanished with the end of the performance.[4] As we have seen, in the words of the interlocutor, there are two ways to react to this feeling: either to repeat the same song, again enjoying the secrets of its beauty (and this is quite an emotional reaction), or to discuss it, to capture its essence through words (and this is a more rational reaction).

This latter reaction is well represented in a picture by Sebastiano Florigerio, a Venetian painter who died around the middle of the XVIth. This picture, which has been dated to about 1550, shows us at the center a charming young woman sitting at the table, encircled by seven men, three of them in the foreground. Another woman, high up on the left, watches the scene from the edge of the painting, covering her mouth with a

scarf. It is amazing how the composition of this picture closely recalls the interlocutors of Doni's second dialogue – even if I have found no evidence to connect the book to the picture. The picture is known by the title of "Concert"; but it is evident that its characters are not singing. Their mouths are closed and, moreover, they are all reading and pointing to a single book. In the XVIth century, polyphony was written down and printed in separate partbooks, each one for a different voice. Here, the open book is for the Alto; we can also see another book beneath it, but it is closed. Therefore, the music has already been sung, and the picture shows us the moment in which the woman and the three men in the foreground are discussing a passage of the text they are pointing to.[5]

We can find a variant of this situation, more concerning sounding music, in an engraving of 1568 from *Eygentliche Beschribung aller Stände auff Erden, hoher und nidriger, geistlicher und weltlicher, aller Künsten, Handwercken und Händeln Durch d. weitberümpten Hans Sachsen gantz fleissig beschrieben u. in teutsche Reim en gefasset*.[6] Here we see three couples of lovers sitting at a table with partbooks to sing music for four voices that, as the poem tells us, lovely concord to each other in the same way the lovers concord to each other.

In another picture we can observe the moment of a 'real' polyphonic performance. It is by the Ferrarese painter Lorenzo Costa, and dates back to about 1490.[7] It depicts a charming interior in a bourgeois home, where a young lady and two young men are singing together. This picture is also commonly referred to as a "Concert scene", but I do not think that "concert" is the right definition for this situation, which seems to me more an informal meeting of friends than a public exhibition. In any case, it is clear that the three friends are performing a frottola, the secular genre of polyphonic music which flourished from about 1470 to 1530 in the cities of the Po valley, mainly Ferrara, Mantua, Bologna and Modena. The frottole were compositions for four voices, which could be performed in many ways. All four voices could be sung, normally sustained by one or more instruments. But the frottole also circulated in versions where only the soprano voice was sung, while the tenor and bass were played on an instrument, normally the lute. In this case the alto voice was omitted, since it was the least

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5 See the picture, with analytical description, in http://fe.fondazionezeri.unibo.it/ catalogo/scheda.jsp?decorator=layout&apply=true&tipo_scheda=OA&id =36808&titolo=Florigerio+Sebastiano+%2C+Concerto. An interesting literature deals with this picture and its musical meaning: see Poz 1987, p. 395 and foot notes; Slim 1989, with bibliography. The more recent study is Shephard 2010. I have discussed this topic in the paper *"Le jardin d'Eros et Harmonie" Visite à un musée imaginaire,* for the conference *Monde(s) en mouvement*, Limoges, October 2009 (in press).

6 The complete engravings of this book can be seen in http://commons.wikimedia. org/wiki/Category:De_St%C3%A4nde_1568_Amman_Sachs

7 See the picture reproduced in http://www.forumtime.it/Forum/lofiversion/ index.php/t8186.html

Die Singer.

Gut Gesang habn wir hie notirt/
Das in vier Stim̄ gesungen wirdt/
Tenor/ Discant /Alt vnd der Baß/
Mit schön hösslichen Text dermaß/
So lieblich zusammen concordirt/
Vnd also vbersüß sonirt/
Daß sich ein Hertz erhebt dar von/
Das Gesang erfund Amphion.

important in the polyphonic texture. But frottole could be performed in other ways, according to who was available at the moment to sing and play them. In our picture the young lady is obviously singing the soprano part; the young man on the right must be singing a high part – the tenor – considering the signs of effort clearly visible on his face, as well as his physique. On the contrary, the young man in the middle has the typical attitude and build of a bass. His central position in the foreground confirms that he is the structural pillar of the trio: his voice is the foundation of the polyphonic building, and his instrument provides a worthy support to the voices. Moreover, it is evident that he has the affectionate respect of his two friends, and the tender way the young lady leans her arm on his shoulder reveals an intimacy tinged with love.

I believe this picture wonderfully expresses the dynamics in a group singing polyphony, as Ignazio Macchiarella outlined in his introductory paper. There is a recognized leader, but every one is conscious that the enchanted palace which is polyphony when performed, is as fragile as a house of cards, and that its life depends on each individual contribution. Every singer must be extremely concentrated if he does not want to spoil this transparent building, and bring it to ruin.

I shall finish my paper with two examples which transpose the ideal of polyphony from everyday life to a dimension of abstract perfection.

The first example is again a picture, by an Italian anonymous author, dating to the first half of the XVIth century, now at the Bourges' Museum of Decorative Arts. It is actually a pair of pictures, which apparently had been conceived as a whole. Both the pictures show scenes of music *en plein air*: the one on the left wholly instrumental, the other one wholly vocal. The man is evidently the conductor, but it is remarkable that the three young ladies are, like him, able to both sing and play.

The vocal group is very close to the idea of polyphony we are discussing. The four singers are arranged in a circle, each one with a partbook.[8] They are depicted in the act of singing, with the conductor beating time. None of them is particularly highlighted: if each one is wearing clothes of different colors it is not to underline their differences, but rather to present a symphony of colors to the audience, which symbolizes the symphony of sounds. Their harmony is projected toward the harmony of nature: a sweet and harmonic composition of the murmuring brook, the trembling trees, and the singing birds (upon the tree on the left).

Polyphony and the perfection of nature and of the universe will also be addressed in my last example with which I shall conclude my paper. It comes from the most influential music theorist of the XVIth century: Gioseffo Zarlino. In the third part of his *Istitutioni Harmoniche* (1558 – III, 58) Zarlino speaks about the different nature of the four parts that compose polyphony: Bass, Tenor, Alto and Canto. Since they "contain all the perfection of harmony", musicians define them as "elemental", because every well balanced musical body is composed of these four voices, just as every body

8 See a reproduction of the picture in http://www.henriiv.culture.fr/en/ uc/03_02_06?version=accessible

in the universe is composed of the four elements: earth, water, air and fire. Zarlino establishes a correspondence between the voices and the elements. The Bass "holds the lowest place of the composition", and because of its slow and reduced movements, close to silence, it very much accords with the Earth "which, by its nature, is immobile and cannot produce any sound". On the contrary, the Soprano, producing high and fast sounds which rapidly capture the listener, contains within itself "the nature of fire, which is not only acute, but also rapid and active in itself". The inner voices, Alto and Tenor, "because of the temperament of their movements" resemble the two middle elements - that is, respectively, Air and Water.

Plato, in his dialogue *Thimaeus* (80b), had said that "Music represents divine harmony by means of mortal movements". A thousand years later Zarlino draws on this idea, but represents it in a new perspective, based on polyphony, which was unknown to Plato. Thus, polyphonic music becomes, in the Renaissance, a metaphor of supreme harmony: the harmony of love, the harmony of the universe – the harmony of God.

The concepts of "part" and "multipart music" for the Maale of Southern Ethiopia[1]

Hugo Ferran

Theory and Concepts

Recent studies on African counterpoint have demonstrated the need to make a clear distinction between the Outsider's *perception* and the Insider's *conception* of plurivocality. The ethnomusicologists Susanne Fürniss and Emmanuelle Olivier have contributed remarkably to this clarification in a single collaborative essay, published in two somewhat different versions, one French (1997) the other English (1999). In both versions they started by pointing out, like several researchers before them,[2] that the contrapuntal music of the Ju|'hoansi Bushmen living in Namibia and the Aka Pygmies based in Central Africa sounds strikingly similar to an outsider's ear. The authors then decided to undertake a comparative study in order to establish whether a detailed musical analysis would confirm this impression. This approach revealed that despite their apparent acoustic proximity, the Aka and Ju|'hoansi counterpoints proceed from two different indigenous conceptions. While on the Aka side plurivocality is based upon four constituent parts, for the Ju|'hoansi, counterpoint is generated by a single melodic line, usually performed simultaneously (with variations) in three tessituras. Plurivocality is thus conceptualized differently by the two groups:

For the Aka this is a real polyphonic notion, since the very source of their music consists of several parts. For the Ju|'hoansi, on the other hand, the basis of counterpoint is a monodic idea which is manifested in a plurivocal manner (Fürniss - Olivier 1999: p. 131).

This observation has led the authors to the following fascinating conclusion: the two contrapuntal traditions must be regarded as diametrically opposed, because "for the Aka, counterpoint is the starting point, while for the Ju|'hoansi it is the outcome" (*ibid.*). In this perspective, I propose to examine how the Maale people of Southern Ethiopia, whom I have been studying since 2001, conceive their own contrapuntal music. The present article wonders whether the Maale conception of counterpoint is similar to or different from the sub-Saharan African ones I have just talked about. In order to answer this question I have tested, in the Maale field, the operationality of the method developed by Simha Arom (1976) in Central Africa and extended over the last forty years to other African regions by his students, who became his colleagues[3]. This experimentation, which is based on intensive fieldwork and on a deep musical analysis, has revealed some limitations of the methodology and the necessity to adapt it to the Maale music. By providing several extensions to the method, the present article aims to enable the understanding of an original Ethiopian conception of plurivocality which has never been studied before.

2 Grimaud - Rouget (1956), Grimaud (1960), Lomax (1959 ; 1962), Grauer (1965), Lomax et al. (1968), Frisbie (1971), Sallée (1976) and Arom (1991 ; 1994a).

3 Like for instance Vincent Dehoux (1986), Nathalie Fernando (2011), Susanne Fürniss (1993 ; 1999), Sylvie Le Bomin (2000), Fabrice Marandola (2003), Emmanuelle Olivier (1995), Luciana Penna (2008), Olivier Tourny (2010) and Polo Vallejo (2008).

	Populations	Ethnomusicologists
Central African Republic	Banda Linda	Simha Arom
	Ngbaka	Simha Arom
	Aka	Simha Arom, Susanne Fürniss
	Gbaya	Vincent Dehoux
	Banda Gbambiya	Sylvie Le Bomin
	Gbeya	Sylvie Le Bomin
Cameroon	Baka	Susanne Fürniss
	Ouldeme	Nathalie Fernando, Fabrice Marandola
	Mofou	Nathalie Fernando
	Tupuri	Nathalie Fernando
	Bedzan	Fabrice Marandola
Gabon	Tsogho	Sylvie Le Bomin
	Bateke	Sylvie Le Bomin
Tanzania	Wagogo	Polo Vallejo

Figure 1 – Geographic distribution of the widespread African conception of counterpoint

A widespread conception of counterpoint in Africa

Since the 1970s, Simha Arom and his colleagues have shown that the contrapuntal music we can find in the Central African Republic, Cameroon, Gabon and Tanzania is often based on a common conception. The following table (figure 1) gives a non-exhaustive list of the African populations who share this conception and indicates the name of the ethnomusicologists who have shed light on it.

According to these researchers, the contrapuntal music observed in the above-mentioned African regions is always cyclic, isoperiodic and made up of at least two constituent parts. Each of these parts has its own name and is subject to variation. But beyond variation, certain degrees of the part are systematically repeated from cycle to cycle. This is the case, for example, with the *dieyi* part of the Aka Pygmies' song called *Kokoyandongo* (figure 2). Since all variations of this part share a "minimal melodic pattern" the part can be qualified as "*ostinato* with variations". According to Simha Arom (1994: p. 70) and his colleagues, this melodic *ostinato* is a mental reference or model that the musicians keep in mind throughout the performance to produce the different variations of the part. In this perspective the piece has a contrapuntal model which results from the overlapping of all its melodic parts (figure 3).

Figure 2 – Melodic *ostinato* of the *Diyei* Part of the Aka song *Kokoyandongo*.[4]

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4 Inspired by Fürniss - Olivier 1997: p. 26, fig. 7.

Two main methods are usually used by these ethnomusicologists to discover the melodic patterns of the constituent parts and of the contrapuntal model of the piece. The first one requires the use of paradigmatic transcription. The second one consists in asking the musicians to simplify their parts as much as possible during the recording[5] (Arom 1976 and Olivier 1995). Simha Arom (1976; 1985) showed that the very simple melodies which are then played by the musicians are considered by the researcher as the model of the parts. He also demonstrated that the piece has a contrapuntal model which results from the superimposition of these very simple melodies (Arom *ibid.*). In order to check the validity of this hypothesis, Simha Arom selected musicians who did not participate in the recording session and asked them to listen to this contrapuntal model. If the informants recognize the piece just by listening to this model, then it means that the model contains sufficient information for identification and that it serves as a mental reference for the performers (Arom 1994b: pp. 70-71).

Figure 3 – Contrapuntal model of the song *Kokoyandongo.*[6]

Despite the similarities of the contrapuntal conceptions identified in Africa, the Aka case differs from the others on a specific point. In the Aka vocal counterpoint, the singers often change their part throughout the performance. This situation led Susanne Fürniss (1993, 1999, 2006, 2007: pp. 37-38 and pp. 71-73) to re-examine the concept of "constituent part". If the Aka singers freely move from one part to another, they must have an additional model in mind that compiles together all the constituent parts of the piece. The resulting mental reference, which the author calls *substratum*, then consists in a "succession of a given combination of tones in given positions of the cycle" (Fürniss 2006: p. 188). For instance, the compilation of all the constituent parts of the *Kokoyandongo* song gives rise to a succession of one, two and three note simultaneities, aligned with each of 16 beats of the cycle (figure 4). This resulting pattern is supposed to serve as a mental model for the Aka singers while playing the *Kokoyandongo* song, insofar as they can choose different melodies among those contained in this plurivocal model.[7] To summarize, except for the *substratum* concept

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5 The performers of the vocal parts were also asked to close their mouth while singing to limit variation due to lyrics.

6 Inspired by Fürniss - Olivier 1997: p. 24, figure 4.

7 In an article published in two somewhat different versions, the first in French (1993)

Fig.4 – Compilation of the melodic parts of *Kokoyandongo*

which seems to be specific to Aka music,[8] the conception we can find in many African regions is characterized by a multipart organization in which each part has its own essential melodic pattern.

The research I conducted on the contrapuntal music of the Maale people in Southern Ethiopia has led me to wonder whether their music is built on an equivalent conception. The goal of this article is to demonstrate that the Maale conception of counterpoint is not only different from, but in some respects diametrically opposed to the one described above, albeit in a different way from the Bushmen's one. My assumption is that the Maale contrapuntal pieces are made up of at least two constituent parts and that the variations of each part are not generated by a *melodic pattern* but by a *plurivocal model* which contains all the potential variations of the part. I will then attempt to demonstrate that such a "matrix" serves as a mental reference for the musicians, insofar as the performers can choose different melodic lines from the ones contained in the plurivocal model. The validity of this hypothesis will be tested by using interactive experimentation inspired by the cognitive sciences. But first let me very briefly introduce the Maale people and their music.

The Maale of Southern Ethiopia

The Maale people are located in Southern Ethiopia, at about 500 km south of Addis Ababa (figure 5). Their territory is made up of a mountainous core surrounded by a belt of lowlands (figure 6). The Maale are agro-pastoralists, but agriculture is dominant in the mountainous areas, while livestock raising is more important in the lowlands. Linguists classify the Maale language in the South Ometo group of the Omotic family (figure 7). According to the last census of 2008, the Maale language is spoken by more than 75,000 speakers (CSA 2009). With a very fast growing population

the second in English (2006), Susanne Fürniss based her demonstration on another song called *Dìkòbò dámù dá sòmbé*. But according to the author this song is an example of how all Aka music functions in the same way and "has its origin in a vertical, contrapuntal conception" (Fürniss 2006: p. 194). We can thus infer the substratum of the *Kokoyandongo* song from its contrapuntal model. According to Susanne Fürniss (2006: p. 194), the solo performance of each Aka song is also grounded in the same substratum on which the polyphonic performances are based.

8 Although this concept was created by S. Fürniss and though this notion is not verbalized by the Aka themselves, Victor Grauer (2009: p. 400) rightly pointed out that the *substratum* is nevertheless culturally relevant and every Aka musician must, at some level, be aware of it.

(new estimations say even 90,000) the Maale are the second largest ethnic group of the South Omo region, an area that is known for its cultural diversity and often called a mosaic of cultures.

Figure 5 – Map of Ethiopia.[9]

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9 Inspired by www.jeuneafrique.com
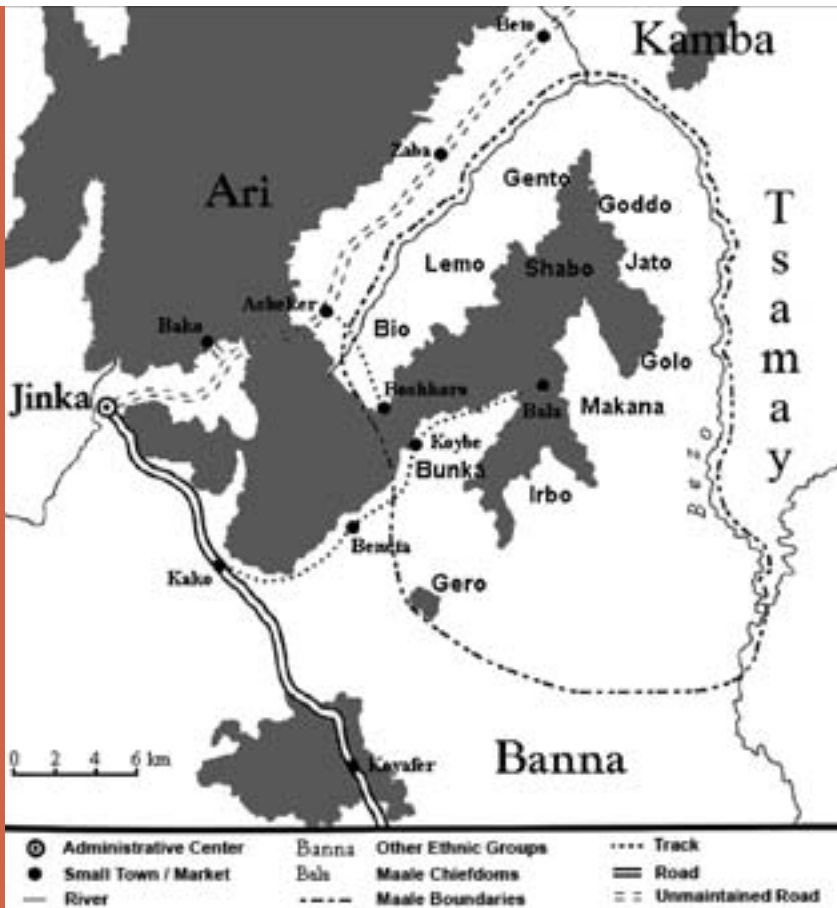
Figure 6 – The Maale territory.[10]

Today the Maale society is composed of five religious communities. Acting for the preservation of traditional ancestor worship and patrilinear organization, the Maale Traditionalists represent half of the population and live together with the Evangelists, Orthodox, Muslims and *Azazo*.[11] All the Maale communities are organized patrilinearily and settle patrilocally. Although polygamous marriages are common among the Traditionalists, the Evangelists (who today make up nearly half of the population), Orthodox, Muslims and the *Azazo* are only monogamous. The Maale were converted

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10 Inspired by Donham 1999: p. Xiii, map 3.

11 The Maale *Azazo* ('commanders') practice a mixed religion between Ancestor worship and Evangelism.

to Evangelism starting from the 1960s. Especially during the last decade conversions to Evangelism have increased. The Orthodox Church and Muslims have not tried to convert the Maale. Since 2007 the Maale have had their own administrative region. Parallel to the governmental administration, the traditional political organization is still partly intact. Leaders hold both political and ritual office and still carry out some rituals for the fertility of their area and are still asked by some inhabitants for advice and mediation.
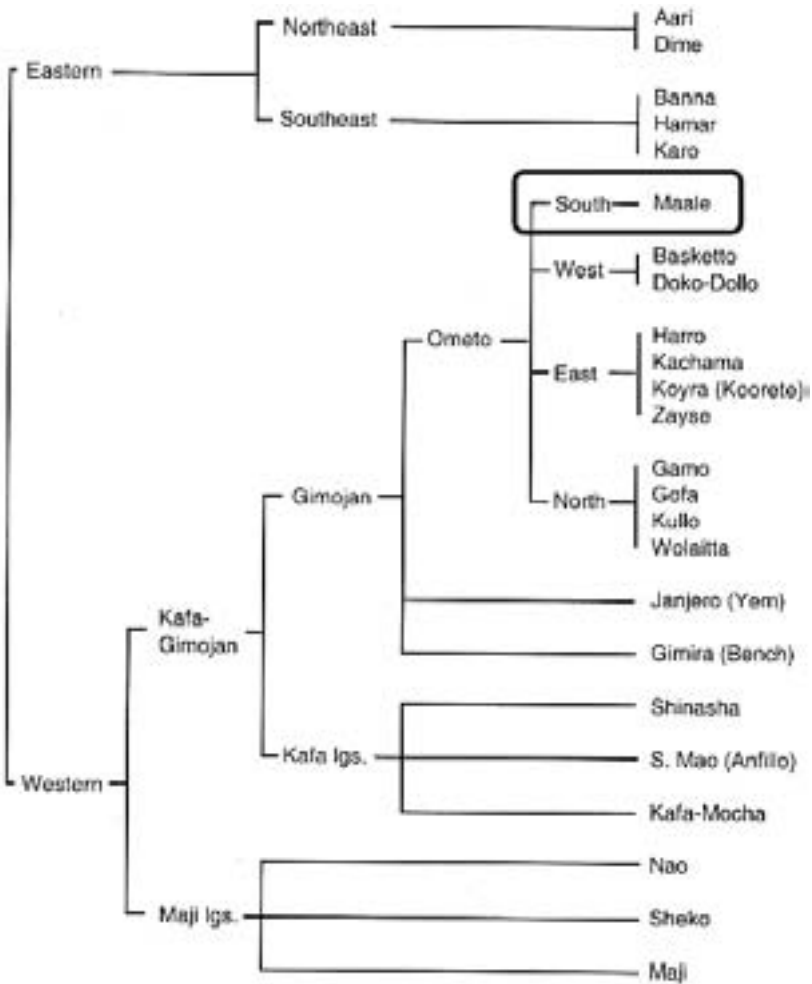
Figure 7 – The Omotic Languages.[12]

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12 Inspired by Amha 2001: p. 5.

Figure 8 – Maale singer

Figure .9 – Flutists playing together (*pele*)

Figure 10 – Flute orchestra (*pele*)

Each Maale religious community plays its own musical repertoire. Thus in Maale society music acts as a religious marker. Although Maale traditional music is mainly vocal and polyphonic, the Maale also use some instruments. A flute orchestra (*pele*), lyres (*golo*), single flutes (*nay malkiti*) and blocks of wood (*gaylo*) are played in every non funeral context (*amali*), while drums (*darbo*) and trumps (*zayo*) are only used to accompany vocal music in funeral circumstances (*yeepi*). There are no music specialists or professional musicians, except for the tanners (*manzi*) who are the only ones who play the drums during funerals.

In my PhD thesis (Ferran 2010), I attempted to demonstrate how important the role of the Maale music is within the framework of ancestor worship. After having shown that this worship organizes the Maale society into internally ranked patrilineages, I demonstrated how the well-being of the ancestors within each lineage depends on the *offerings* (food, libations...) of their descendants, while the well-being of the latter depends on the *blessings* of their ancestors. Lineages can thus be seen as the channels through which offerings and blessings are carried out. In the context of this reciprocal exchange, it emerged that the music performed by the lineage juniors (*kelto*) is culturally considered as offerings to their ancestors (*ts'oso*) and lineage elders (*toidio*). Conversely, the collective prayers (*ots'o*) led by the *toidio* soloists appeared as blessings to their lineage juniors. The fieldwork inquiry then revealed that to be successful, each musical offering of the juniors is intended to simultaneously express (*ershane*, literally 'make known') four types of information. This is validated by the fact that the Maale listeners are always able to recognize the context (funeral, non funeral, mourning), the circumstance (entertainment, wedding, first funerals...) and the social position

Figure 11 – Lyre (*golo*)

Figure 12 – Single flute (*nay malkiti*)

Figure 13 – Blocks of wood (*gaylo*)

(hero, grand-father, lineage elder…) of the givers and receivers of the offering. While some pieces of information are verbally expressed by the lyrics, the ethnomusicological analysis showed that the music, the dance and the performers' status also convey, but each in its own way, details about the type of offering. In this sense, Maale music can be regarded as part of a verbal and non-verbal communication system which expresses and implements ancestor worship, social organization and ritual time.

The Maale conception of counterpoint

Let us now consider the Maale conception of counterpoint. In order to illustrate my argument, I will proceed to the analysis of one contrapuntal song called *Alelo*. For this purpose I will start using the method that Simha Arom (1976; 1985; 1991) has developed in the domain of recording, transcription, modelization and validation. After having shown the limitations of this method, I will provide some methodological extensions at different steps of the analysis aimed at understanding how the Maale conceive plurivocality. Because Arom's approach advocates an analysis based on transcription and a musical notation founded on recording, the first step of my own analysis will thus focus on recording.

Recording. Every ethnomusicologist has experienced difficulty and sometimes even found it impossible to transcribe the voices of several people singing together in a stereo recording. To solve this problem Simha Arom (1976) has developed a *re-recording*

Figure 14 – Drum (*darbe*)

Figure 15 – Trump (*zaye*)

method. More recently, some researchers have used multi-tracks recordings in the field (Arom - Fernando - Marandola 2003). I personally opted for recording Maale singers with an eight-track recorder (figure 16). The equipment I used was purchased with the support of the UNESCO/Government of Norway Funds-in-Trust project "Traditional Music, Dance and Instruments of Ethiopia: a systematic survey", supervised by Olivier Tourny. It includes the following components:

The figure below shows the multitrack recording device and the connections. The recording technique is explained in the Cubase Manual and changes from one software

a Robin Subaru RGX 2900 electrical generator

a MGE UPS Pulsar Extreme 700 C voltage regulator (490 Watt - 700 VA)

a five outlet MGE UPS Protection Box 5 Tel @ + TV surge block

an eight track Presonus FirePod Firewire interface

a PC Hewlett Packard Pavilion dv1000 laptop

eight Apex 270 microphone headsets

a Cubase SX3 multitrack software
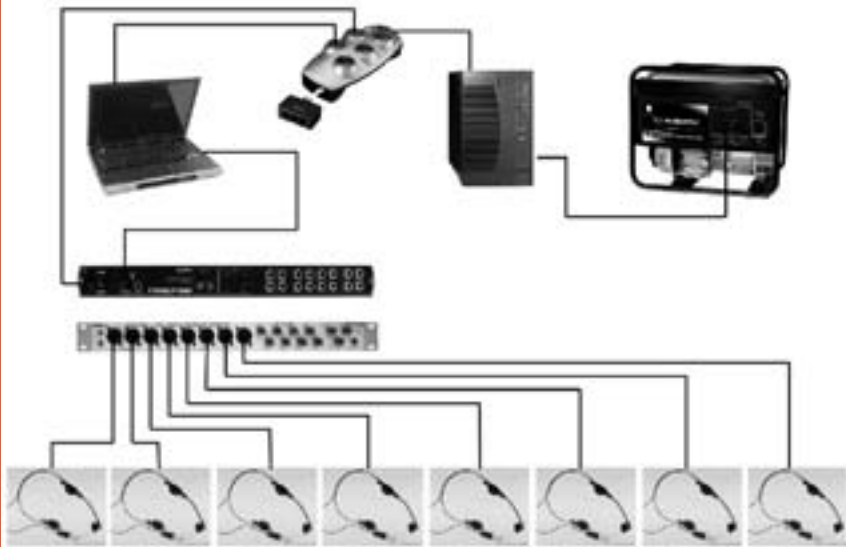
Figure 16 – Multipart recording (or *home studio*)

Figure 17 – Cubase multitrack software

Figure 18 – Preliminary Transcription

version to another. Note that during recording, the volume of each microphone can be changed in two ways: with the eight interface volume controllers or with those of the Cubase software.

The multi-track software I used for this purpose gives the opportunity to listen to the recorded tracks separately or all together (figure 17). It is then easy to transcribe each track in relation to the others. The figure below gives an overview of the distribution of the melodic lines on the screen in WAV format. It is also possible to record additional tracks, if the number of tracks to be recorded is greater than eight. Finally, it is easy to rework the sound of each track, such as increasing or decreasing the volume of a track, even after recording.

Transcription

Preliminary transcription. The resulting transcription (figure 18) gives us several pieces of information about the song *Alelo*.

First of all, we can observe that the singers use the following unhemitonic pentatonic scale: F#, A, B, D, E. Secondly, we can assume from reading this score that the song *Alelo* is made up of as many parts as there are recorded tracks. But according to the informants, the eight recorded tracks proceed from only four constituent parts: two soloist parts (called *densitsi* and *ekitsi*), one choir (called *soritsi*) and one rhythmic part (called *gaylo*, which is the name of the instrument used to play this part and which consists of two blocks of wood knocked together). The field inquiry also revealed that, unlike the Aka multipart pieces, the Maale singers rarely change their part during the performance.
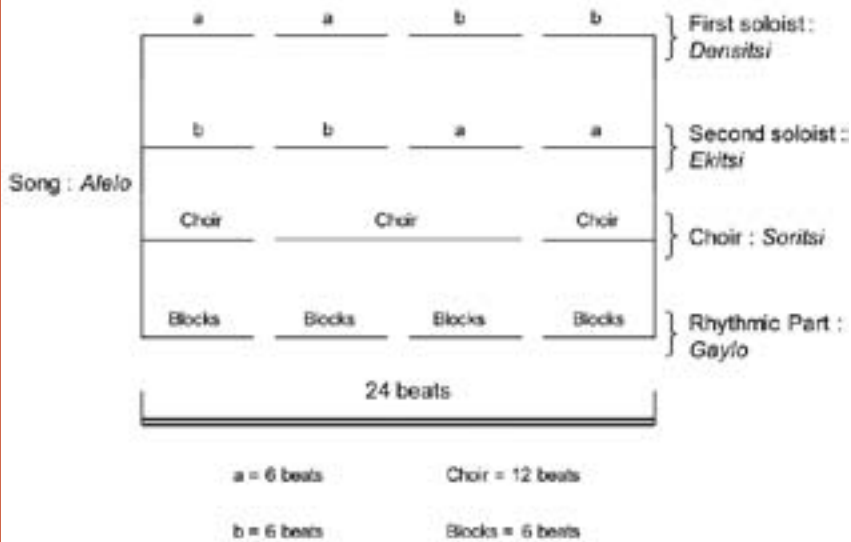
Figure 19 – Metrics and periodicity of the song *Alelo*

Soloist Parts:
densitsi ('raise') ----------------------> Female singer (track 1)
ekitsi ('take') ----------------------> Male singer (track 2)

Choir:
soritsi ('answer', 'approve') -------> Female and Male singers (tracks 3 to 8)

Rhythmic Part:
gaylo ('blocks of wood') ----------> Played by the female singer of track 1

Thirdly, the preliminary transcription gives us the opportunity to understand the metrics and the periodicity of the song *Alelo*. In Figure 19, we can see that the period of *Alelo* is based on 24 binary beats. This long cycle is one of the two soloist parts. In fact, the terms *densitsi* and *ekitsi* designate the same part sung in canon.[13] Founded over 24 beats, this part is divided into 4 sequences of 6 beats (*aa* and *bb*). When the first soloist (*densitsi*) sings the sequences *aa*, the second (*ekitsi*) sings the sequences *bb*, and *vice versa*.[14] The long cycle of the piece is also divided into two periods of 12 beats (which is the choir period) and into four periods of 6 beats (which is the period of the wood blocks).

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13 This is a canon for two voices, in so far as the Maale informants consider it is the same part, which has different starting points and which is randomly varied by the two performers.

14 This musical principle is called *Stimmtausch* in German language.
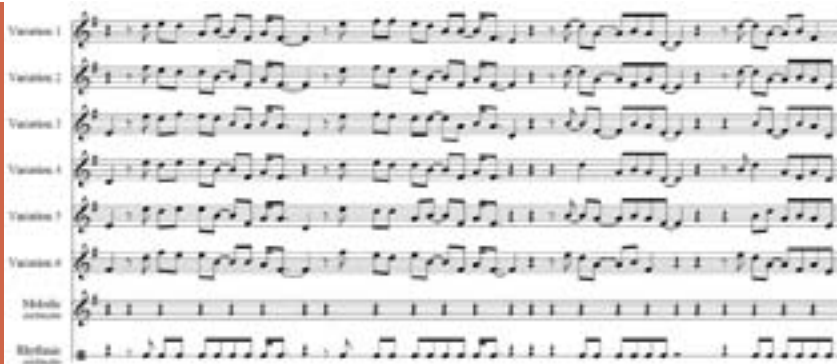
Figure 20 – Melodic and rhythmic *ostinati* of the *Densitsi* part of the song *Alelo*

Figure 21 – Minimal melodic variation sung by a first singer

Figure 22 – Minimal melodic variation sung by a second singer

Paradigmatic transcription. In order to discover the model of the *densitsi* part of *Alelo*, I transcribed all the collected variations of this part in the same paradigm (figure 20). But as we can see in the score, I was facing a problem. Indeed the variations of the part have no melodic pattern in common. They share a rhythmic pattern, but this pattern was not recognized by the musicians when I made them listen to it (by beating my hands or the woodblocks).

Amazed by this result, I organized a multi-track recording session where I asked the musicians to simplify this part as much as possible. The goal was to find the melodic pattern which underlies it. But instead of getting a single melody, I got several ones: almost one per singer. For instance, the two melodic versions above (figure 21 and 22) were collected with this method, by asking them to whistle or to sing without lyrics (mouth closed). Even if the collected melodies are similar, they do not share a common melodic *ostinato*.

Given the absence of a minimal melodic model, we can make two hypotheses:
    1. There is no model
    2. There is another type of model.

Figure 23 – Plurivocal model of the *Densitsi* part of the song *Alelo*

My assumption is that the variations of the part are not generated by a *melodic* model, but by a *plurivocal* one. To confirm this hypothesis, I reversed the approach followed by Simha Arom and his colleagues. Instead of looking for degrees that are systematically at the same position in all the variations of the part, I looked for degrees which, at each position, appear in at least one variation. For example, at the first position of figure 20, D, E and F# appear in at least one variation of the *densitsi* part. So I reported the cluster formed by these three degrees on a new staff (figure 23). Then I repeated the process for each position of the cycle. This results in a cyclic succession of chords or clusters, which compiles together all the collected variations of the *densitsi* part.[15]

My hypothesis is that the resulting plurivocal pattern serves as a model for the singers. Indeed, the performers of the part seem free to choose between several degrees located at the same position. This choice appears to be random. Moreover, some positions look optional. We can see, for example, that the first position is not always played: it is possible to have a rest here. Conversely some positions seem mandatory. For instance, at the fourth position, it is apparently mandatory to sing something: the singers are free to choose between the three degrees located at this position. In order to distinguish the optional and the mandatory positions I represented the clusters with different colors: grey for the optional ones, and black for the mandatory ones.

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15 Although this succession of clusters is similar in some respect to the *substratum* developed in the Aka context by Susanne Fürniss (1993: p. 117; 2006: p. 189), it differs in several aspects. Firstly, it compiles together all the variants of one part, while the substratum is the compilation of all the melodic parts of one piece. Secondly, it includes the rhythmic dimension, unlike the substratum which consists in a succession of chords without rhythm..

Figure 24 – Validation of the plurivocal model of the *Densitsi* part

Validation of the *Densitsi* model

To validate this hypothesis, I created several variations from this model which I did not collect in the field. For example, the musicians I recorded did not play the variation above (figure 24), but it is potentially contained in the model, if you choose E at the first position, F# at the next position, and so on. I repeated the process several times and obtained several non-collected variations. Then, I recorded myself with the eight-track recorder while singing closed mouth and I made several musicians listen to these variations. All of them recognized the *densitsi* part of the song *Alelo*. This result thus reinforced the veracity of the model. But to be absolutely sure of its validity, I submitted additional variations not contained in the model to the informants. They systematically rejected these propositions: the more different from the model, the more important the reaction. Therefore this double experiment provides information on the existence of limits, and proves that the model which emerged from the analysis is used as a *matrix* by the performers to generate several variations of the same part.

Modelization of the song *Alelo*

I repeated the analytical process for each constituent part. First, I looked for the invariant degrees of each part. This approach led me to discover the following minimal model (figure 25). I made the informants listen to this model but they did not recognize the song *Alelo*. Thus this result invalidates the minimal model we can find in other African regions.

Then by adopting the second approach described above, I discovered another type of model (figure 26). I attempted to confirm the validity of this plurivocal model by generating variations that I did not collect in the field (figure 27). Once again, I recorded myself with the eight-track recorder while singing closed mouth and I made several informants listen to these variations. They all easily recognized the song *Alelo*. I also created variants that were not contained in the model. Each time, the informants did not recognize the *Alelo* song and were all the more amazed as the variants differed from the model. We can thus conclude that the plurivocal model serves as a mental reference for the listeners during identification and for the singers during performance.

According to the typology established by Bernard Lortat-Jacob (1987; 2007), the essential melodic pattern discovered in several African regions consists in a "minimal model" (1987: p. 48), or "lowest common denominator" (Lortat-Jacob 2007: p. 674)

Figure 25 – Minimal model of the song *Alelo*

Figure 26 – Plurivocal model of the song *Alelo*

Figure 27 – Validation of the plurivocal model of *Alelo*

which is common to all the variations of the part. In contrast the plurivocal pattern I revealed in the Maale context represents a type of "maximal model" (*ibid.*), or "greatest common divisor" (*ibid.*), i.e. the sum of all the variants of one part. In its principle the plurivocal model is similar to the one developed by Svend Nielsen (1982) while analyzing Icelandic Epic songs.

In this framework one might wonder what status to give to the plurivocal model. Of course it is primarily a graphical representation. In his well-known article, Charles Seeger (1958) made a distinction between *prescriptive* and *descriptive* transcriptions. With the Maale example, I have introduced a third type of musical notation, which is beyond such typology. Since the plurivocal model encompasses all potential variations of a part in a single scheme, we can predict the variants to be performed by the musicians. Thus this representation is not only both *prescriptive* and *descriptive*, but it is also and above all *predictive*.

Given these considerations it is questionable whether this model is not just a mere

scientific artifact. Considering the fact that it is obtained on the basis of cultural consensus and moreover has been validated by the informants, we can certainly state that the plurivocal model has a real cognitive basis. As Jean Molino (1995: p. 202) pointed out regarding the model reconstructed by Simha Arom, it is clear that we are far from knowing how the different types of models are embodied in the mind of the musicians and what kind of "mental objects" (Changeux 1983) they are. Nevertheless it remains that the plurivocal model reveals the cognitive abilities of the Maale musicians. This is a specific type of "mental model" (Johnson-Laird 1983), to which the musicians refer to guide their actions, including the performance and recognition of the parts and multipart pieces. The plurivocal model provides a certain freedom to the performers and listeners while constraining their actions. As long as the performers do not transgress the limits imposed by the model, the performance is correct and recognizable. Beyond this line, they make a mistake that is somehow immediately signaled by the musicians (it is rare indeed that the error stays undetected). Breaking the rules means finally taking the risk of distorting the part or piece and making it unrecognizable.

Conclusion

The Maale conception of counterpoint differs in several respects from the ones which have been identified in other African regions. In both cases, we are dealing with "*ostinati* with variations". The contrapuntal pieces are always cyclic and based on the principle of varied repetition of the same musical material. All of them are also made up of at least two constituent parts, except for the Ju|'hoansi ones which are founded on a single melodic part, performed simultaneously in three tessituras. The main difference between the Maale conception of plurivocality and the widespread one in Africa concerns the type of cognitive models used by the musicians. In Central Africa, Cameroon, Gabon and Tanzania, the variations of the constituent parts proceed from a simple melodic pattern, while in Maale, this model is not melodic but plurivocal. The last differentiation operates at the performance level. Because the Aka singers often change their part throughout the performance, they have an additional model in mind which compiles together all the melodic parts of the contrapuntal piece. In conclusion we are dealing with four African conceptions of counterpoint, which can be summarized in the table below (figure 28).

Given these results it becomes necessary to re-examine our (so-called universal) musicological categories. Most of the existing classifications of polyphonic techniques bear upon descriptive and outsiders' standpoints (Léothaud *et al.* 1996, Arom *et al.* 2007). But in the present state of ethnomusicological knowledge, the taking into account of the vernacular conceptions of plurivocality for the construction of typologies is a major challenge in advancing theories on multipart music, in particular, and on universal musicology, in general.

Common features:	« Ostinati with variations » : the contrapuntal pieces are always cyclic and based on the varied repetition of the same musical material			
	In Ju|'hoansi:	**In Central Africa, Cameroon, Gabon and Tanzania:**		**In Maale:**
Number of parts:	Only 1 part	At least 2 parts		At least 2 parts
Model of the part:	Melodic	Melodic		Plurivocal
Model of the piece:	Melodic (one melodic part)	Contrapuntal (superposition of melodic parts)		Contrapuntal (superposition of plurivocal parts)
			In Aka:	
Mode of performance:	The melody is simultaneously performed (with variations) in 3 tessituras	Musicians rarely change part during performance	Musicians often change part during performance	Musicians rarely change part during performance
Additional model:	None	None	Plurivocal substratum of the piece	None

Figure 28 – Four African conceptions of counterpoint

As a perspective, it would be very instructive to consider each type of model in the long-run, with the aim of getting a better understanding of the vernacular conceptions of multipart music. The models change over time and the analysis has to shed light on this internal dynamic. By considering the process of composition, improvisation, adaptation, borrowing, appropriation (and so forth) we could increase our understanding and better describe the transformations of the models over time. Last but not least, the ethnomusicologists working on modelization have not focussed enough on the dialectic between collective and individual models. From my point of view, there is much to be learnt from studying these issues.

Musical thinking and sonic realization in vocal heterophony.
The case of the wedding songs of the Russian-Belarusian Borderland
tradition

Žanna Pärtlas

Theory and Concepts

Heterophony is one of the most intriguing and tricky topics for ethnomusicological investigation, especially if the researcher intends to describe this phenomenon at the theoretical level. The problems start with the very notion of 'heterophony' itself, and in attempting to resolve them the researcher is faced with the ambiguity of such basic terms as polyphony, monophony, unison, etc. The reason why heterophonic music is especially difficult to describe using standard European terminology is that the phenomenon of heterophony, being intrinsically connected with oral and collective music creation, has no direct analogies in Western written music.

The original meaning of the ancient Greek term 'heterophony', revived by Carl Stumpf in 1901, is unclear. At the same time, almost all authors admit that its new usage is also unsatisfactory – the term 'heterophony' is usually characterized as being "uncertain" or "vague", a "catchall", etc. Although the term 'heterophony' has been in use by ethnomusicologists for more than a century, new attempts to find a better definition for it are still appearing. This paper makes its own contribution to this topic by means of both theoretical discussion and a case study, the latter in the form of an analysis of the heterophonic songs of the Russian-Belarusian borderland tradition.

The concept of heterophony raises many issues, some of which will be discussed here. First of all, there is the question of how broad or narrow the definition of heterophony should be. The broadest definitions of polyphony and heterophony proposed by Sachs (1962) coincide with each other:

The word polyphony marks the performance and perception of more than one note at a time (Sachs 1962: p. 175);

...heterophony is in every composition in which 'other notes' are heard at the same time, including a simple drone with a melody, but also including modern polyphony and harmony (Sachs 1962: p. 190)[1]

There are also many narrower definitions that describe one ethnic tradition or a group of them. Such definitions may be very precise in terms of the respective musical styles to which they refer, but their cross-cultural use is rather more limited. The most common definition of heterophony – "the simultaneous variation of the same melody" (cf. Stumpf 1901, Hornbostel 1909, Sachs 1962, Cooke 1980, Nettl 1983, etc.) – is quite concrete and, at the same time, can be applied to many different musical styles; however, it remains incomplete in that too many essential questions are left unresolved.

Possible meanings of "simultaneous variation"

Let us examine what a "simultaneous variation" can mean. In connection with the

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[1] It must be mentioned, that Sachs himself did not approve the use of the term 'heterophony' with such a wide meaning.

word 'variation', a question arises about *the 'theme' of the variations*. What is the theme of heterophonic variations, and where is it to be found? Does it sound simultaneously with its variations? Or is it a pre-existing melody, on which musicians create the variations? The answer to these questions would also explain *the functional interrelations between the voices*: Are they equivalent melodic lines or subordinated polyphonic parts, one of which is a main melody, the 'theme', while the others are dependent parts, 'variations'?

With regard to Russian (and more broadly East Slavic) vocal heterophony, which is the main subject of research in this paper, we can assert that all variants of the song tune are functionally equal and homogeneous and no single one of them can be considered as the 'theme'. Izaly Zemtsovsky describes the variation process in Russian folk songs as "variations without a theme" (Zemtsovsky 1980: p. 38). At the same time, however, other musical styles based on different principles are also characterized as 'heterophony'. One example could be the North Indian melodic accompaniment known as *sangat*. According to the description by John Napier (2006), in this kind of performance the melodic line of the singer-soloist can be understood as a 'theme' to which the accompanist adds a more or less differentiated variation almost simultaneously with the soloist's part. Curt Sachs describes a similar practice in Japanese music: "the accompanying instrument follows the singer in free variation at the respectful distance of an eight-note without disturbing or confusing the listener with its random con- and dissonances" (Sachs 1962: p. 187).

Rudolf Brandl (2008) recently gave a general definition of heterophony without specifying on which kind of music it is based:

Heterophony, too, is a two-dimensional cognitive structuring of the audible image in which, by means of rules, an *exclusively horizontal allocation* of sounds and noises in additional parts to a melody-line takes place. *There is no vertical rule for the connection with the basis melody*. [...] Heterophonic parts are seen as *equivalent-alternative forms of the basis melody* (*heterophony of variants*). (Brandl 2008: p. 288)

As we can understand from this definition, heterophony can also be described as the simultaneous performance of the "basis melody" and "equivalent-alternative" variations. Such a definition seems to be a little inconsistent, as textural elements with a different functional status, "basis melody" and "additional parts" or variations, are asserted to be "equivalent-alternative" to each other. Without knowing the musical styles on which this definition is based, it is difficult to decide what the author had in mind with "basis melody" and the equivalence of variations, but we can conclude that the definition under consideration is not so general as it is intended to be.

Another question frequently discussed with regard to heterophony concerns the *consciousness of the variation process*. Curt Sachs (1957 and 1962) made a distinction between "unconscious" and "conscious" heterophony. As an example of unconscious heterophony Sachs suggests congregational singing in church, which "would be unbearable if intention and attention were focused on satisfactory sense perception, meaning, on art" (Sachs 1962: p. 186). Conscious heterophony, on the other hand,

emerges when "a single voice or instrument is being accompanied", for example in the ancient epic poetry of Europe, Asia, and Africa (Sachs 1962: p. 186). According to Sachs' description, "as a rule, the singing voice delivers its melody in a simple, almost sober form, while the accompanying instrument presents the same melody profusely embroidered and dissolved in florid coloraturas" (Sachs 1962: p. 187). Although in these cases "vertical hearing must be discounted almost completely", as in the case of congregational singing mentioned above, Sachs evaluates such heterophony as a positive phenomenon, because "strict coincidence would seem artificial, empty, and dead" (Sachs 1962: pp. 187, 186).

In his article in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart* (1957) Sachs characterised unconscious heterophony as "negative" and conscious heterophony as "positive". Such an evaluation of heterophonic phenomena is rooted in the essentially ethnocentric belief that the level of control over the musical process determines the quality of the musical result, that real mastery means an awareness of every smallest detail of musical performance. It seems that this assumption still exists among ethnomusicologists, though it is no longer acceptable to evaluate any style of traditional music negatively. Thus investigations into the "unconscious" elements of musical performance can be somewhat 'risky' (not least because of the possible reactions of the bearers of tradition), and the very term of 'heterophony' is sometimes perceived as having negative connotations.

Peter Cooke (1980) avoids evaluations of the musical results of heterophony and in this context uses words with slightly different meanings: "accidental" and "deliberate". John Napier (2006) wittily notes that heterophony can be unintentional but conscious, if the reason for variation lies in the skills of the musicians involved. He also mentions the expression "a planless plan" by Alan Lomax (1976), which probably refers to the contrary situation – heterophony that is intentional (planned) but not clearly conscious.

There is also the question of *the variation techniques* that are relevant to heterophony. While some authors speak about "equivalent-alternative forms" of the melody (Brandl 2008: p. 288, *Narodnoye* 2005: pp. 495-496), others describe specific methods such as ornamentation, simplification, shortening, etc. (Sachs 1962, Cook 1980, Napier 2006). Even the seemingly simple notion of *simultaneity* can be called into question, as Napier shows by examining what "as soon as possible" means in North Indian *sangat* (Napier 2006: pp. 94-95). And, finally, there is the question regarding the existence of *vertical coordination between the variations*. Usually, the answer to this question is negative (i.e. there is none, as in the definition by Brandl cited above), but in the present paper I intend to show that this issue merits more thorough investigation.

Questions of Terminology: 'Polyphony', 'Monophony', 'Multipart' and 'Multivoiced' Music

One further topic needs to be touched on before I can start with my case study. This is the problem of terminology, and relates to terms such as 'polyphony', 'monophony',

'multipart' and 'multivoiced' music. Heterophony is often considered as a border area between monophony and polyphony.[2] Sometimes heterophony is named the primary form of polyphony (e.g. Harlap 1972: p. 25, Alekseyev 1986: p. 16); less often it is called the primary form of monophony. It is now generally acknowledged that there are many transitional and intermediate forms between monophony and polyphony. Ernst Emsheimer remarks in this connection: "The frontiers between monophonic and polyphonic are sometimes rather shifting. What one will enthusiastically designate as polyphony is definitely denied as such by others" (Emsheimer 1991: p. 277). Heterophonic music usually belongs to this intermediate area, and this is why it is treated by researchers in many different ways. Whether heterophony is interpreted as belonging to polyphony or monophony depends on how these terms are understood. Are they two kinds of musical thinking, i.e. notions belonging to the level of conceptualisation, or just two types of musical texture, i.e. notions at the level of sound? This issue was widely debated in Russian-language ethnomusicology and music theory during the 1970s and 1980s (Bershadskaja 1985, Harlap 1972, Skrebkov 1973, Galitskaya 1981, Alekseyev 1986). The most coherent position on this topic is proposed by Tatyana Bershadskaya, who makes a clear distinction between level of musical thinking and its realisation. With regard to musical texture she distinguishes three general principles of musical thinking (*музыкальные склады*), monodic, polyphonic (in the sense of Sachs' "horizontal polyphony"), and harmonic, all of which can be realised in multiple forms of musical texture (Bershadskaya 1978: pp. 11-12). She draws attention to the fact that the appearance of musical texture can differ from and even oppose the principles that give rise to it, e.g. polyphonic thinking can be realised in a chordal texture, harmonic thinking in a monophonic texture, and monophonic thinking in a polyphonic (multilinear) texture, as is often the case with heterophony (Bershadskaya 1978: pp. 12-14).

Even if we were able to reach an agreement regarding the usage of the terms 'polyphony' and 'monophony', both of which have a very long history and a variety of different meanings, one further problem would still remain. This is the need for a neutral term designating all kinds of "simultaneous otherness" in musical texture. Since in English there is no such neutral term as *Mehrstimmigkeit* in German or *многоголосие* in Russian, new terms had to be invented, such as 'multipart', 'multivoiced' and 'plurivocal' music.

In this paper, the terms 'multipart' and 'multivoiced' will be used, taking into account the difference between the notions 'part' and 'voice'. If we understand the word 'part' as a functionally differentiated layer of musical texture and 'voice' as an individual melodic line, it becomes obvious that the notion 'multipart' belongs to the level of conceptualisation and 'multivoiced' to the level of sound. Thus the word 'multivoiced' can be used as a neutral term, the meaning of which is equivalent to the broadest defi-

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2 Here I use the term 'polyphony' in its broadest sense, which, according to Sachs, includes both "horizontal polyphony" (counterpoint) and "vertical polyphony" (harmony) (Sachs 1962: p. 175).

nition of polyphony, i.e. "the performance [...] of more than one note at a time" (Sachs 1962: p. 175), and can describe the sonic realization (in other words, the 'texture') of various types of musical thinking. The term 'multipart' music implies the performers' intentional division into functionally different 'parts', the names of which are usually reflected in folk terminology.

It is well-known that in traditional music the number of 'voices' is often greater than the number of 'parts'. For example, in traditional South-Russian and Mordovian multipart songs we can find as many different melodic lines ('voices') as singers participating in the performance, but only two or three functionally different parts which are recognised by the singers and have traditional names (for the score notations see *Pamyatniki* 1981, 1984, 1988 and *Russkiye* 1979). In heterophony, the difference between 'multipart' and 'multivoiced', between 'part' and 'voice', manifests itself most clearly. Applying these terms to unintentional vocal heterophony (including Russian heterophonic songs, which are the main research subject in this paper), we can say that this is *one-part music realised in a multivoiced texture*.

Heterophony in the Wedding Songs of the Russian-Belarusian Borderland Tradition

There are a number of different classifications of Russian multivoiced singing. Izaly Zemtsovsky describes five types: monodic ("a wide unison"), heterophony, drone, two-part and three-part singing (Zemtsovsky 2000: p. 757). The most recent classification distinguishes only two main types – one-part singing (*функциональное одного-лосие*), i.e. heterophony, and two-part singing (*функциональное двухголосие*) (*Narod-noye* 2005: pp. 495-496). I will not discuss here which classification is preferable, but only mention that, according to the latter, the notion of 'one-part singing' (heterophony) embraces all song styles that are understood by traditional singers as "singing in one voice" (*пение на один голос*). Interestingly, in the Russian folk song tradition this "singing in one voice" (heterophony) appears in 5 types of multivoiced texture: (1) monodic heterophony; (2) one-register variant heterophony; (3) two-register variant heterophony; (4) differentiated heterophony; (5) *бурдонная диафония* (Jevgeny Gippius's term, which I would translate in this context as 'drone-like diaphony') (*Narod-noye* 2005: 496-497).

Here the term 'monodic heterophony' designates a texture close to unison (so-called 'wide unison'). 'Two-register variant heterophony' means the duplication of the melody, sung by women in the chest register and, an octave above, in the head register. In 'differentiated heterophony' there are some elements of functional differentiation between voices, which are partly recognised by the singers. The 'drone-like diaphony' (a more exact definition would be 'drone-like heterophony') sounds like two-part singing with a bourdon, although, none of the singers consistently sings a bourdon. It is interesting that although the last two types of heterophony sound to outsiders like developed polyphony, they are understood by carriers of tradition as "singing in one voice", which is the usual folk description for all types of heterophony.

The heterophonic song style investigated in this paper, the ritual songs of the Russian-

Belarusian borderland tradition, represents one-register variant heterophony. It is the form of heterophony where heterophonic divergences occur quite often, but unison still prevails. The tradition of the Russian-Belarusian borderland, also called *Poozerje* (*Поозерье*),[3] is very suitable for exploring the ancient phenomenon of heterophony. In this region the older song genres, especially calendar and wedding songs, are well preserved and even today can still be found in their traditional ritual context. The specific ritual manner of singing (a loud, intensive chest voice) also dominates in the non-ritual repertoire, and heterophony is practically the only form of collective singing. The tunes of ritual songs can be sung with many different texts, which provide the opportunity to record and analyse each tune in numerous variants.

The present research is based on the materials of the expeditions of the Rimsky-Korsakov Music College (Saint-Petersburg) that took place between 1982 and 1991 under the direction of Yelena Razumovskaya and with the participation of the author. Sixty-four multitrack recordings[4] of vocal groups from 5 villages (Bulavkino and Rogatki villages of the Kunya district of the Pskov region; Verhovye, Matyuhi, and Krutoye villages of the Velizh district of the Smolensk region) were analysed. All singers are local natives, who were born between 1913 and 1936. There were also field experiments involving the formation of different groups from the same singers and recording the same repertoire as solo performances. The musical material includes about 20 different tune types, some of which are presented in numerous performances. The most widespread wedding tune type was analysed in 22 ensemble and 53 solo performances (Audio examples 1 and 2 provide two local versions of this tune). Figure 1 provides the score notation of this tune. Usually the multivoiced texture occurs mainly in the cadences, but in this example it also occurs at the beginning of the strophe.

The three main questions I tried to clarify in my research were as follows. Firstly, what does 'melodic variation' mean in the song tradition under consideration? Secondly, is there any conscious or unconscious coordination between the singers in choosing melodic variants? And thirdly, is there any regularity in the vertical structure of the heterophonic songs and, if there is, what is its nature?

Several analytical procedures were carried out to answer these questions. First of all, I tried to reveal the 'fund of melodic variants' belonging to each singer and each local tradition. Then I compared the choice of melodic variants made by each singer while singing in different groups and solo. I also analysed the occurrence of vertical intervals and clarified whether this changed during performance. Finally I tried to determine the structurally important vertical sonorities and to reveal the regularities in their occurrence. Evidently, all these procedures require detailed explanations, which are not

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3 This ethnographic region includes the Usvyaty and Kunya districts of the Pskov region and the adjoining territories of the Smolensk and Tver regions of Russia and the Verhnedvinsk district of the Vitebsk region of Belorussia.

4 Actually these recordings were made using several tape-recorders so that each singer would have her own microphone.

Figure 1 - The most widespread wedding tune (the variant from Verhovye village of the Velizh district in the Smolensk region of Russia, 1990).

possible within the framework of this paper. Therefore I will only give a very brief description of these and then focus on the results, discussion and conclusions.

a) The technique of melodic variation.

There are an infinite number of melodic variants of the whole song tune. Thus, in order to find a fund of melodic variants the structural levels of variation should be identified. The main criterion for defining such levels is the possibility of using the melodic variant of the segment independently from the adjacent segments. In the song style under consideration three levels of melodic variation were found: (1) the level of the rhythmic unit of the tune (the eighth notes in the music transcriptions); (2) the level of the unit of 'syllabic rhythm'; and (3) the level of the 'melodic syntagma' (*мелодическая синтагма*) corresponding to the two-accent segment of the verse ("*ка́к на мо́рe*", "*на студёной воде́*").[5] The main level of melodic variation is that of the unit of syllabic rhythm. This notion is one of the most important categories of the 'structural-typological method' (*структурно-типологический метод*) of music analysis widely used in Russian-language ethnomusicology. The unit of syllabic rhythm, a 'syllable-note' (*слогонота*), is the sum of durations of all notes corresponding to one syllable of text (for an example of the syllabic rhythm model see Figure 2).[6]

On this basis, tables of the tunes' melodic micro-variants were compiled for each singer and each local tradition. The table for the local tradition of the Verhovye village is provided in Figure 3. The numerals above the staff designate the numbers of the variation segments, i.e. syllable-notes. The more frequently used variants are located in the upper part of the table. A comparison of the tables made for each singer and the whole villages has shown that in each local tradition there is a common fund of melodic vari-

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5 In Figure 2 the commas above the staff designate the boundaries between 'melodic syntagmas'.

6 Sometimes the modelling of syllabic rhythm requires reducing the overabundant elements of the text (Banin 1983).

Figure 2 - The same wedding tune type (the solo variant sung by Markiyanova N.D. from Bulavkino village of the Kunya district in the Pskov region of Russia, 1987) and the model of its syllabic rhythm.

ants used by all singers with some individual preferences.

b) The choice of melodic variants

We then investigated whether the choice of melodic variants made by each singer changes while singing in different groups and solo. The main result was negative, i.e. individual preferences in the choice of melodic variants remained the same in all cases. The make-up of the singing group and the melodic variants chosen by other singers did not influence the individual choice of melodic variants. If the simultaneous variations gave a dissonant result, nobody tried to 'correct' it by using another melodic variant in subsequent strophes. This result confirms that singers do not coordinate with each other, but merely perform their versions of the tune.

c) Regularities in the vertical structure of the songs

To answer the third research question, i.e. the question about the regularities in the vertical structure of the songs, I first calculated the occurrence of unisons, seconds, and thirds (wider harmonic intervals very seldom occur) in several performances. The unisons, as expected, dominated significantly; however, the occurrence of seconds and thirds did not differ noticeably, a result which contests the widespread opinion that heterophonic music is mostly dissonant. Despite the results of these calculations and general expectations as to the lack of vertical regularities in heterophony, I also tried to find such regularities at a higher structural level – the level of structural sonorities, i.e. sonorities composed of the structural notes of the melody. To avoid subjectivity in my analysis, I determined the structurally important notes of the melody on the basis of the melodic variations that actually exist. This means that I searched for the variations where the syllable-notes were performed as one note (or 'almost one note') and, although the whole strophe can never be performed in this manner, the large

Figure 3 - The 'fund of melodic variants' of the wedding tune at the level of syllabic rhythm for Verhovye village (Velizh district of the Smolensk region of Russia).

amount of material analysed allowed me to find such micro-variants for the majority of syllable-notes in different performances.

Surprisingly, the schemes consisting of the structural notes of the tunes revealed a predominantly tertian vertical structure in the multivoiced texture. From the schemes for the wedding tune referred to above (figure 4) one can see that most of the structural sonorities are intervals of a third. This means that scale notes with the interval of a third between them are interchangeable in melodic variations. It is also possible to substitute any scale note with the tonic (the note G in the schemes and notations) and with the fifth above or the fourth below the tonic (the note D).

The tertian vertical structure and the special role of the tonic and the fifth scale degree would be ordinary findings in some Russian two-part singing styles; in heterophony, however, it raises questions because, as already mentioned, a thorough analysis of many performances clearly shows that the singers do nothing to achieve any vertical quality in the sound of the songs.

The logical explanation of this paradox is that the regularities found in the vertical structure of the heterophonic songs result from the principles of melodic variation. It seems that the theoretical basis of this phenomenon could be the theory of "tertian

Figure 4 - The schemes of structural sonorities for the wedding tune: a) Velizh district of the Smolensk region; b) Kunya district of the Pskov region

induction" (*теория терцовой индукции*) of the Russian music theorist Lev Mazel (1972). Mazel, who was not satisfied with the common explanation for tertian chord structure in tonal music by acoustic factors alone, added a functional explanation, which takes the melodic functions of the scale notes into account. Since the notes placed next but one to each other in the scale, both have a melodic tendency to go to the same scale degree located between them, they have a similar melodic function (for instance, the upper and lower neighboring tones of the same scale note). In music based on diatonic scales, such notes comprise the interval of the third (therefore Mazel calls this phenomenon "tertian induction"). This theory also provides a satisfactory explanation for the so-called "method of overjumping" (*Überspringverfahren*) discovered by Gerhard Kubik (1968) in the multipart music of Central and East Africa. According to *Überspringverfahren* the vertical sonorities are composed of the notes placed next but one in the scale, which gives a different harmonic result in different types of scale (Kubik described this principle in diatonic and pentatonic music and also in music based on the overtone series). In any case, it should be underlined here that revealing some order in the harmonic structure of music does not necessarily imply that conscious or unconscious vertical regulation actually takes place. Behind these 'vertical' regularities there could be a horizontal logic of melodic variation that creates a quasi-harmonic result.

Discussion and Conclusions

To return to the question of the terminology and classification of multivoiced (plurivocal) music, the following scheme could be proposed (see Figure 5). The music conceived by performers as one-part or multipart can take different forms of sonic realization, i.e. different musical textures. It is generally known that both main types of multipart music, polyphonic and harmonic, can be realized in a one-voiced (monophonic) texture (as is the case when we speak about monophonic fragments of tonal music which contain implicit polyphony or harmony). Conversely, the opposite situation, when one-part music is realized in a multivoiced texture, is also possible, and we name this phenomenon 'heterophony' (see the thicker arrow in the scheme).

The main criteria for defining music as one-part or multipart are the performers' comments and folk terminology, which usually reflect functional differences between the

parts. The song styles characterised by the bearers of tradition as "singing in one voice" (e.g. the songs examined in the present research) are certainly examples of one-part music, irrespective of how many heterophonic divergences occur in the musical texture.

It would be very convenient to limit the meaning of the term 'heterophony' to this type of music, but in this case other kinds of 'simultaneous variation', which are usually characterised as 'heterophony', would remain unaccounted for. Practices such as the above-mentioned North Indian and Japanese melodic accompaniments or Indonesian gamelan are of a different nature at a conceptual level. The functional differences between the parts of the gamelan orchestra's instruments and the subordination of the accompaniment to the soloist's part make such music essentially multipart, irrespective of how close to or how far from unison, the sonic realization may be. If we decide to include all kinds of 'simultaneous variation' in the domain of heterophony, we should search for the broad common ground that would justify such a conglomeration.

The principle of 'simultaneous variation' alone is not sufficient, because this can also be the basis for developed and thoroughly regulated polyphonic music such as Russian *подголосочная полифония* (literally 'the polyphony of supporting voices'). Some authors even characterise the entire Russian multivoiced singing traditions as 'variant heterophony' (Jordania 1988: p. 27), but I find the definition 'variant polyphony' preferable for *подголосочная полифония* (Emsheimer 1991: p. 279), as this allows us to differentiate between the latter and the various forms of Russian one-part singing named 'heterophony' by local researchers.

The second specific feature of heterophony is the lack of control over the vertical aspect of the sonic realization. This is possible in a situation in which the performers' attitude toward musical texture has a neutral, primarily indiscrete character. They simply lack the concept of unison, and their aural control is directed only to achieving a common tonality. This neutral attitude toward musical texture does not necessarily imply an unconsciousness on the part of singers or musicians of the very fact of the ex-
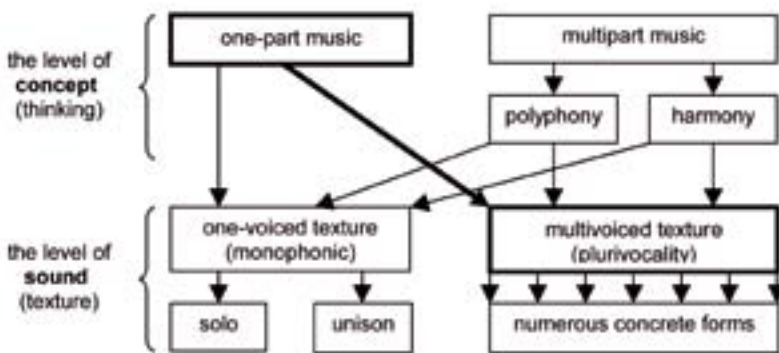

Figure 5 - Musical thinking and its realization at the level of texture. The case of heterophony is shown by thicker lines

istence of multivoiced divergences in the musical texture. Heterophony in its different forms can be unconscious and unintentional or conscious but unintentional, as well as both conscious and intentional; it is, however, always uncontrolled with respect to its vertical structure.

The lack of 'vertical control' does not exclude the possibility of the existence of some vertical rules in the heterophonic texture. Theoretically, these rules could be connected with the unconscious adjusting of individual melodic variants by performers. Another possibility, which is found in the song style analysed in this paper, is the origin of vertical regularities from the horizontal logic of melody. In fact, the sonic effect of every kind of multivoiced music is always dependent on the basic sound material of the music, i.e. on the musical scale. More specific vertical regularities can emerge as a result of the specific techniques of melodic variation.

It can be presumed that the specific sound of a multivoiced texture in every concrete musical style becomes a 'sonic ideal' for the bearers of the respective tradition. If the aural expectations are not fulfilled for some reason (e.g. if an unexpected unison or too dense a multivoiced texture emerges), it must cause some dissatisfaction in the traditional performers and listeners. However, psychologically speaking, the vertical aspect of heterophonic music is traditionally something for 'hearing' rather than for 'listening', i.e. it can be passively perceived, but it is not the object of a "concentrated, goal oriented interest in noticing what is sounding" (Günther 2007: p. 10).

In conclusion, my suggestion regarding the definition of the term 'heterophony' is that this term may be used to define *different types of multivoiced music, both one-part and multipart, which come into being as through the process of simultaneous variation of the same melody under conditions of a neutral attitude of performers toward texture.*

Heterophony leads necessarily to a much less rudimentary polyphony than the hocket:

listening to recordings of Macedo-Roumanian (Gramoshtenes of Roumanian Dobrogea) and Xhosa (South Africa) plurivocal songs

Jacques Bouët

Theory and Concepts

A recent musical encyclopedia (though compiled in a praiseworthy open-minded attitude towards multicultural pluralism) has just published a typology of eight "polyphonic techniques" including the hocket and heterophony. However, the authors specify that "of the eight techniques listed, seven are systematically organized along a vertical axis [...]. The one exception is heterophony: because this does not appear systematically simultaneous, it is not strictly speaking a polyphonic technique " (Arom et alter 2007).

We discuss here whether such an underestimation of the polyphonic potential of heterophony is consistent with reality.

Two statements can be made straight away:

1) Nothing justifies the assertion that heterophony necessarily means no vertical organization at all.

2) The hocket, founded on alternance and discontinuity, excludes by definition any simultaneousness in diphony, triad, or chords of four or more notes, and this makes it clearly inferior to heterophony for potential polyphony. Is the term polyphony really justified in such a case ? This seems very doubtful.

Thus the blacklisting of heterophony covertly practiced in the universal typology of the polyphonic techniques mentioned is totally unjustified. Deluded by the famous names of adherents to this principle, generations of credulous young readers will believe what they read without question and so this untruth is very likely to be perpetuated ad infinitum as gospel truth. This is why it is essential to give more convincing arguments to persuade those people who are still reluctant to consider heterophony as a polyphonic process in its own right, to change their mind.

a) In its basic form the hocket is fundamentally monolinear. Many American Indian populations use alternating hockets without the slightest bilinear intention. The coupling of two Pan pipes in hocket, as found in several Bolivian peoples (and elsewhere) is practiced in strict monody: there is absolutely no intention to produce two independent parts, but one single melodic line which can only be created in relay by two people.

b) Doubling the hocket into two distinct parts is only possible if the alternance of pitch is combined with opposing timbres and/or registers, the yodel and vocal-instrumental mixing being the best known prototypes of this particular type of hocket. But we insist on the fact that this form of hocket as it stands, has very reduced polyphonic potential as it cannot of course give simultaneous sound superpositions like diphony, triads, or chords of four or more notes. The polyphonic handicap is exacerbated by the bilinear hocket excluding triads which are unanimously considered as the starting point for any attempt at harmony.

Of course the objection which will be made here is that some hocket music seems indisputably to belong to polyphony. However, this is a complete and utter illusion since in reality, the polyphonic organization of such music is not due to the actual hocket, but to the concomitant use of other coordinating processes which have no direct link with the hocket.

No diphonic, triadic or polyphonic superpositions can be attributed to the hocket.

They are due to responsorial or antiphonic time lags. These time lags first bring about diphonic, triadic and true polyphonic overlapping. Other harmonic enrichments which may appear in the course of performance are essentially due to heterophonic variants.

As long as the hocket remains separate from such pluripart means of performance, it will have poor polyphonic potential, much less so than heterophony which can in addition combine with the hocket to produce vertical enrichments.

Thus if the basic procedures of plurilinear assembling had to be classed according to monody which is taken as the zero degree for polyphony, the basic hocket (fundamentally monolinear) would be placed exactly on zero degrees just like solo monody. The doubled hocket which has polyphonic potential equivalent to that of homophony (or even less) would be placed a little above the zero degrees. On the other hand, different heterophonic forms which can give simultaneous diphonic and triadic chords could be placed unrestrictedly several degrees above zero.

In any case, it is clear that heterophony leads to more developed polyphony than the double hocket.

Besides the theoretical arguments presented above, the potential of heterophony can be confirmed by listening to two different musical samples:

  1) Firstly, a plurivocal music native to a Macedonian people who come from the Gramosh Mountains (the Pindar Range in Greece), some of whom have been colonized in Romanian Dobrogea

  2) Secondly, the magnificent responsorial songs of Xhosa women recorded in South Africa in the 1990s.

For the Gramoshtene plurivocal music, we will concentrate on the antiphonic choruses which strike up spontaneously at the celebration of the bride's departure: on one side are the bridegroom's relatives led by his father (called the "great father-in-law"), and on the other, the bride's relatives led by her father (the "small father-in-law"). The number of participants varies but there can be quite a lot, several dozen people in each antiphonal group.

The vigorous syllabic scansion of the verses sung and various conventional syllabic sound markers suffice to endow the whole with a rhythmic coherence which encourages a quite systematic polyphonic enrichment growing in scale at moments of climax. The words of the song progress by octosyllabic distiches. It is to be noted that the eighth syllable of a sung octosyllable can always be apocoped and that non-rhythmic syllabic sound markers can be interjected even if they cut a word in two.

Haide
Ni-a lâv-da-râ/MOI/s'nâ mu-sa-ta
Av-dâ nu-na nu-na mea-

The interjection *Haide* and the syllable *moi* are non-rhythmic syllabic sound markers well known in Balkan plurivocal music.

Haide is used to start off the leader who encourages other participants to join in;

MOI, systematically interjected between the fourth and fifth syllable (even if it means cutting a lexeme in two) marks the moment when participants can join in.

The first line of the distich carrying the exchanges between guests changes at every repeat, but the second line constituting a refrain of the distich is repeated the same way every time.

The mass of each choir sings the main melody in *recto-tono* homorhythm.

The participants can be content with the vertical harmony in its basic state (unison, octaves) but at moments of climax those who are most involved in the ceremony will enrich it according to their emotional state.

In this sense, the polyphonic enrichment created is quite intentional. Though this intention is quite different from that of a composer writing a polyphonic work, we are nevertheless really confronted with ritual behavior and emotional states which create rhythm based polyphony. Thus, either the principal melody stays homophonic (simple *recto-tono* unison) if no enterprising soloist feels like demonstrating his present emotional state; or heterophonic variants can split the unison into at least two distinct parts.

> a) The first part which is sung by the mass of the choir in *recto-tono* unison;
> b) The second part which is separated quite systematically at the first or final line by recurring heterophonic variants.

The vertical enrichment thus obtained is firstly essentially diphonic.

But above the two-part *ostinato* of the choir, the leader of each antiphonic group (where other participants can join in or take someone's place) keeps singing ostentatious heterophonic variants which are richer and contain short melismatic variations. All this can extend the vertical enrichment to and beyond the triad.

Dave Dargie's work on the responsorial choruses of the Xhosa women of South Africa amply demonstrates that it is above all heterophony, which gives vertical enrichment :

"There is a kind of unspoken rule for the songs which have many parts : do not sing the same as your neighbour. If there are 50 or even more perfomers, each may be doing something different from everybody else, either by singing a different overlapping part, or singing a harmony part. Some will also use *umgqokolo* overtone singing [...]. The resultant for many songs is a wonderful curtain of sound. The onlooker may be hard put to distinguish the texts – and of course with many songs, when the dance is hot and the singers are really going at it, they may substitute vocables for the texts" (Dargie 2004: p. 18).

The basic horizontal (scalar) and vertical material (diphonic consonances, triads, chords of four or more sounds) is provided by the musical bow of two fundamental notes which usually guide the music by giving a two-part *ostinato* (the two fundamental notes in the bass and the chosen harmonics in the treble).

The chanted pulse combined with rhythmic body movements gives a stricter structure encouraging vertical coherence.

The different melodic lines interweaving when the responsorial performance gets louder are all heterophonic variants of the *ostinato*.

In general, two responding voices are first added to the *ostinato*. Then when the re-

sponse becomes louder, any number of other voices can join in, but these are merely heterophonic derivations from the original two. Here again, the vertical enrichment is essentially due to spontaneous heterophonic behaviour and to the responsorial time lag (which is structural), both of which create rich overlapping.

This can all be clearly heard in the recordings. Such examples could be multiplied ad infinitum.

In conclusion, it must be remembered that Javanese music - often attributed to hocket heterophony by quite a few specialists – was considered by Debussy (1987) as a sort of learned polyphony compared to which "Palestrina is mere child's play". Debussy's jest clearly shows how unjustified it is to underestimate heterophony. It is perfectly adapted to performance situations in oral tradition. Where there is no written composition, heterophony deserves unqualified consideration as one of the most productive of polyphonic techniques.

Social factor in traditional polyphony:
Definition, creation, and performance

Joseph Jordania

Theory and Concepts

I hope no one will argue against the fact that vocal polyphony is as much a social phenomenon as musical. In spite of this, we often neglect this consideration when we try to analyze vocal polyphonic traditions. This text is written to fill in for this unjustified neglect and to discuss the importance of the social factor in (1) defining the phenomenon of polyphony, in (2) analyzing the peculiarities of the process of creation of traditional polyphonic compositions, and also in (3) understanding the performance process in a traditional society with vocal polyphonic traditions.

Before I discuss the importance of the social factor in the definition, creation and performance of traditional polyphony, let me say a few words on terminology, or how we denote the phenomenon of singing in different parts. Unfortunately, as in many other spheres, ethnomusicology does not have a set of commonly accepted terms regarding polyphony that everyone can easily understand without much cross-cultural misunderstanding. Defining the phenomenon of singing in different parts is one of such problems.

"Polyphony" or Multi-Part Singing"?

Quite a few different terms have been used in ethnomusicology to denote the phenomenon of singing in more than one part. "Polyphony" seems to be the most widely used term, although not universally accepted. "Multi-part music" (or "multi-part singing") is arguably the next most popular English term used widely in ethnomusicological publications. For example, the name of our study group is "Study Group on Multipart Music". Apart from "polyphony" and "multi-part music" the terms "polyvocality", "plurivocality" and "multiphony" have also made appearances. All these terms generally denote the same phenomenon and could be used as the uniting word for this phenomenon.

Let us pay attention to the most popular term – polyphony. Traditionally it has been used with two meanings - general (or wide) and narrow. "Those ethnomusicologists who accept the very general etymological meaning of the term often tend to call all multi-part music, whether vocal or instrumental, 'polyphonic' even if there is no obvious organization. In itself, the concept of polyphony thus embraces procedures as diverse as heterophony, *organum*, homophony, drone-based music, parallelism or overlapping. The shared characteristics of all these procedures is that they all relate to multipart phenomena" wrote Simha Arom more than two decades ago (Arom 1985: p. 34). In its "narrow" meaning, as we remember, the term "polyphony" means a specific type of multipart texture, where each part is melodically independent.

In search of the alternative term, we could also use the term "multi-part music". This word has not been so "contaminated" by extensive use in musicology and ethnomusicology and could make a good alternative for the term "polyphony".

To find the most convenient term, we should know what we need this term for. I suggest that we need a uniting term, the one to conveniently use as the "family name" for all the members of the extended "polyphonic family". This term in its broadest meaning should unite a whole set of types and subtypes of this "family".

In comparing these terms, we should note that both terms ("polyphony" and "multi-part singing") actually mean the same (the first one in a long ago dead ancient Greek language, and another in a very much alive and most widespread contemporary English). At the same time it is important to remember that in the one case we have a one word-term ("polyphony") and in the other, a complex three-word-combination to denote the same phenomenon ("multi-part singing"). I think this simple fact works in favor of the practical use of the one-word-term "polyphony". When I imagine myself (or my colleagues) using the term "multi-part singing" to denote the styles and sub-types of polyphony (for example, "heterophonic multi-part singing", "drone multi-part singing", "canonic multi-part singing" or "pedal drone multi-part singing"), I feel there will be a certain resistance in implementing this kind of terminology. On the other hand, using the one-word term "polyphony" instead of "multi-part singing" seems to me a more practical option. Combinations like "heterophonic polyphony", "drone polyphony" or "canonic polyphony" are obviously more compact and convenient. As for the "narrow" use of the term polyphony, when all the parts of the texture are melodically independent, I suggest using the well-known term "contrapuntal polyphony."

So, without insisting that this is the only correct way of naming this phenomenon and the members of the polyphonic "family", including all its types and sub-types, for the sake of practicality I suggest that my colleagues use the term "polyphony". I shall also be using the term "polyphony" in this article. This was an intro to my article. Now let me address the importance of the social factor in polyphony.

Social Factor in the Definition of Traditional Polyphony

The traditional definition of polyphony only takes the musical factor into account (see, for example: "polyphony is a musical texture consisting of two or more pitches sounding at the same time", Kauffman 1968: p. 3). This definition might be fully justified when we have to deal with professional, classical music, but when we are dealing with traditional music, we give serious consideration to the social factor.

If we agree, that singing in traditional society has both musical and social aspects, then we should also agree that in the definition of polyphony we must use two fundamentally important factors: *musical* and *social*. According to the musical factor, polyphony is a musical texture where singers sing at least two different pitches, and according to the social factor, polyphony is a form of musical communication which involves the interaction of two or more singers.

Here we need to take important considerations into account. We know that a group of singers does not always sing in different parts. When a group of singers are all singing the same melody together, this is musically speaking monophony, but according to the social factor this is "social polyphony" (or rather many individuals are socially interacting via shared musical sounds and rhythms).

The variety of world singing styles does not stop here. Apart from group singing in unison or in different parts, there is also a style where one person produces two

different pitches at the same time. This singing style, known under different terms as overtone singing, throat singing, and khoomei, presents the unique musical style where according to the musical factor it is polyphony, but according to the social factor, this is not polyphony (this is social monophony).

Let me formulate the four possible combinations of polyphonic styles according to musical and social factors:

(1) social monophony and musical monophony: this is a case when one singer is singing a melody; this is true monophony, both socially and musically. We can call this style simply "monophony."

(2) social polyphony and musical monophony: in this case a group of singers are singing the same melody in unison (let us also remember that defining unison, particularly in traditional music, is not so easy). We can call this "social polyphony."

(3) social monophony and musical polyphony: this is a case of overtone singing, where one person is producing two melodic parts. We can call the style "social monophony."

(4) social polyphony and musical polyphony: in this case a group of singers are singing in different parts. This is true polyphony, both musically and socially.

So, I suggest using the term 'polyphony' with regard only to those singing styles, where polyphony is present according to both musical and social factors. In other cases, when there is a mixture of different musical and social factors, I suggest using the terms "social polyphony" (in the case of unison singing), or "social monophony" (in the case of overtone singing).

If we look at singing styles all over the world, we can see that social polyphony has a much wider distribution in the world than musical polyphony. According to my available information, there is hardly a traditional culture in the world where there are no instances of people singing together in groups. Even in the most monophonic cultures there are genres where singers perform together in groups (in unison), or sing alternating with each other.

Social Factor in Creation of Traditional Polyphonic Compositions

The process of creation of new compositions in professional music has been studied considering the example of many professional composers, whereas the creation process of new compositions in traditional music has mostly been neglected. To understand how different these two creative models work, let me first give a couple of examples of how polyphonic compositions are created in traditional society.

In his insightful paper, delivered at the 1966 IFMC conference, dedicated partly to the problems of traditional polyphony, Nicholas England provides a description of the process of creating a new song by San (Bushmen) women. According to his words, creating a new composition, San women work together: "The medicine men (and rarely women with reputed medicine powers) compose these songs. At least, they are the purveyors of these songs to the human level, for it is god himself ... who really gives the song to the medicine men, along with the concomitant medicines, during

Figure 1 - Basic melody composed by Medicine Man (from England 1967:61)

the times of trance or of nocturnal dreams. After such a theophanous experience, the Medicine Man will bring back the song to the women of his community. It will be in a basic form; for example, see the following melody (figure 1):

After hearing the initial melody from the "Medicine Man",

"...the women will rehearse the song, elaborating the basic melody according to their usual polyphonic habits: they will insert tones, shorten and prolong rhythm values, etc, until they arrive at a melody (or melodies) that pleases them and the Medicine Man composer... Thereafter, in full performance of the song, the women might add extensions in order to weld the many, many repetitions of the musical period into a tighter whole, or they might make deletions that will change the emphasis or direction of the melodic lines" (England 1967: p. 61).

Another case of creating a polyphonic composition in a group comes from my native Georgia. In the Gurian traditional singer Vazha Gogoladze's words, composing a new song could happen around a table at night, among singers who are friends. "They would take some food and wine with them, but not much, because they mostly wanted to enjoy singing, not drinking. Then someone might have an idea for a song, so he would sing a new phrase. The others would join in, trying to harmonize and to continue the musical idea. Sometimes they would stop singing and start discussing what was the best way to continue a song and go into another section of it. This process could go on well into the morning hours, and as a result they would have a new song or a new version of an old song, to sing publicly for the next public gathering" (personal communication from 5 August, 2003). According to folklore tradition, a famous Gurian song with the bass voice starting a song, virtuoso yodeling and amazing contrapuntal mastery "Adila", was created as a result of one such "musical night", and was first perfected by dawn ("Adila" literally means "here is the morning"). Have a look at the first part of the song (figure 2).

These two examples of creating polyphonic compositions in two very different cultures (San and Georgian) are good examples of the importance of the social factor in creating new polyphonic compositions. In both cases the process of creation of a new composition was a social endeavor. If we compare this process with the process of creating a polyphonic composition by a professional European composer, specializing in writing polyphonic music (for example, J.S.Bach), the difference is obvious: in the first case we have a creative process taking place in one person's brain, while in the other, the creative process is taking place in the social-musical interaction of several individuals, several brains.

Acknowledging the crucial difference between these two models of music composing, I should like to propose the existence of two music-composing models: (1) individual

Figure 2 - *Adila.* **Gurian trio song (first half) (Transcribed by Nino Tsitsishvili)**

(we could call it "mono-brain") and (2) group (or "multi-brain") models. These two different music-composing models fundamentally affect both the composing process and the final product.

As professional composition is entirely constructed by an individual, the composing process is very much "authoritarian". This could be the reason why professional polyphonic compositions contain so much imitation, strict parallelisms, and are generally more vertically organized. On the other hand, in traditional society, when two or more creative talents are trying to put their individual creative power to work for the shared composition, the process has more "democratic" features. This is why traditional compositions are usually less based on imitation, and are more melodically (rather than harmonically) organized.

The same kind of "multi-brain" model of composition can be used in other popular genres of contemporary music, where the composition is formed from the collaboration of more than one composer. The creative collaboration of John Lennon and Paul McCartney is a classic example.

The Beatles were a wonderful example of group creative activity. There was no clear leader, or even a main singer in the group. Most importantly for our topic, writing music for John Lennon and Paul McCartney, particularly in the first period of their partnership, was very much a shared creative act. Paul describes their process of writing a song in the following way: "We would sit down with nothing and two guitars, which was like working with a mirror. I could see what was he doing, and he could see me. We got ideas from each other. In fact, it was better than in a mirror because if he plunking away in D, I could see where his fingers might go and then I could suggest something. So that was like writing from the ground up. 'She loves you", "From me to you", "This Boy" were all written that way, as were most of the earlier songs" (Smith 1989: p. 201). The Lennon-McCartney composing model was obviously a "group model" of music writing, widely employed in traditional polyphonic cultures, and very different from the "individual" model employed by professional composers.

This early period of intense use of the "group model of composition" resulted in some very interesting and unusual voice leading by the Beatles. Their song from the first single, "Love me do", is a good example of this kind of unusual harmonizing:

The combination of the fifths, thirds and sixth, with the melodies moving sometimes in parallel motion and sometimes against each other, would probably have never been written if this was just the brainchild of a single composer.

Writing music as a creative communication was apparently particularly important for Paul McCartney. During his post-Beatles years McCartney wrote songs together with different musicians (Danny Lane, Eric Stewart, Elvis Costello, Stevie Wonder and Michael Jackson. See Coleman 1995: pp. 127-128).

I suggest that one of the central factors that contributed to the break-up of The Beatles was Paul McCartney's inner creative conflict. On the one hand, Paul always relished and greatly enjoyed the "group model" of songwriting with very open creative communication, but on the other hand, his perfectionist attitude towards the final product was taking over and he did not allow his songwriting partners too much creative

Figure 3 - Love me do, vocal harmonies

freedom. In a 2006 TV interview with Parkinson, Paul McCartney was talking about playing almost all the instruments on his last album, as a means of having more creative control on the final production: "I was actually all geared up to play with my band, but he [the producer] said: 'I'd like to try something different. I want you to play a lot of instruments'. So he got me drumming a bit, which I *love* to do. And I thought of it afterwards... usually I write a song, I bring it to the studio, and then, the drummer, kind of takes over and he writes the drum part, whereas if I play it, I'm still sort of composing, I'm still writing the guitar, the base, the drum..." (cf. the transcription of the TV interview with Paul McCartney on the Parkinson Show in 2006 : http://www.beatlelinks. net/forums/showthread.php?t=25069)

I think that during his long and extremely successful career as a songwriter, Paul McCartney made a turn from the initial group-based (or traditional, "multi-brain") performing model, used by the young Beatles, to the solo, "single-brain" professional model.

Any traditional composition, as a rule, bears traces of numerous creative personalities from the past. The reason for this is that the song is a result of a group activity, a result of the traditional, collective, "poly-brain" model of creation of musical composition. As we can see, social interaction is crucial not only for the definition of polyphony and monophony, but in the process of creation of traditional polyphonic compositions.

Social Factor in Performance in Traditional Societies

I remember very well when my parents took me to my first classical music concert. They explained to me how to behave during the concert, told me to sit quietly and listen to the music, not to talk, or make a noise, and to clap only after the musical piece had already finished. I tried to follow these rules although this was not always easy. Quite a few years later I attended my first jazz performance and was surprised to see listeners were often clapping while the musicians were still playing. This was something new and unusual for me. Still a few more years later, during a traditional village wedding in my native Georgia, I noticed that everyone was participating in the singing of the table song. At that moment I did not pay much attention to these important differences in the music performance process of different musical styles. For me these

were completely different musical styles, different sounds, different feelings, different audiences; in short everything was different, so it was somehow natural to have differently behaving listeners as well.

Much later, after I became a professional ethnomusicologist, I noticed that it was not only the different behaviour of listeners that was intriguing. To my surprise, I realized later, that there were no listeners at all at the Georgian traditional wedding. I mean "real" listeners, or the audience, those who only listen, without joining in the performance. As for a person raised in a city, the "normal" performance process comprised two equally important elements: performers and audience.

Later I came to realize that different styles of music differ from each other not only by the music (sound) itself, but by the social context of how the musical activity is organized. Interaction between the performers and the audience is a crucial element of the social aspect of musical activity. In some styles of music, the gap between the performers and the audience is huge. European classical music is possibly the best example of such musical style. Listeners are supposed to sit absolutely quietly during the whole time the music is sounding. Actually, they must sometimes remain silent even when the music is not sounding. For example, after the first, or the second part of the symphony, during the break, listeners are not supposed to clap. So if you are attending a concert of symphonic music, you need to know exactly how many parts are in the symphony if you do not want to embarrass yourself by unexpectedly clapping. (Or, if you are not sure, follow the wise advice of concert goers – start clapping only after others have started clapping.)

In other styles of music, the gap between the performers and the audience is not so wide, although the division of society into two classes (performers and listeners) is still obvious. Jazz is in this category. Not to clap after a musician has finished improvising is almost as rude for jazz listeners as clapping after the first part of a classical symphony. Many monophonic cultures are also in this category: there is a soloist (or a relatively small group of professional or semi-professional performers), and the rest of the people present are listeners. But listeners here are not as passive as the listeners at the classical music concert. Very much like in the jazz sessions, listeners in traditional societies actively encourage performers after each display of their mastery, so there is some interaction between performers and the audience.

Cultures with rich traditions of vocal polyphony belong to a different category. The matter is not how big or small the gap between the performers and listeners is or how the listeners behave. There is no audience at all, as everyone is involved in the performance. Therefore everyone is a performer and a listener at the same time. If you go to the Georgian long banquet-style table sessions, or attend a village celebration in Polynesia or sub-Saharan Africa, you may see that often everyone is involved in the performance.

Where does this "universal participation" model come from? Could this be a later phenomenon in the development of musical culture, or something coming from the depths of history? And what was the reason behind the creation of this kind of all-

inclusive performance model?

I do not want to go into the historical research for the origins of the choral singing tradition. I devoted a book "Who asked the first question? The origins of human choral singing, intelligence, language and speech" (which is freely available on the internet) to this problem, as well as some other publications (Jordania 2009; 2010). I only want to state, that according to my models of the origins of traditional polyphony, existing polyphonic traditions are survivals of a very ancient practice, not the result of the late cultural development of the initial monophony. The factual basis behind this model comprises the historical dynamics of the development of vocal polyphony in traditional music and the geographic distribution of the polyphonic traditions. The recorded sources directly show that the general dynamics of the history of vocal polyphony are gradual disappearance.

Geographic distribution of the regions of vocal polyphony is remarkably consistent with the pattern of distribution of more archaic phenomena: polyphony mostly exists today in many isolated regions of the world. The actual regions of the distribution of vocal polyphony also show a remarkable coincidence with geographic environments, typical of the isolation and survival of the relict phenomena (hard to access mountain ranges, islands, large forest massifs and swampy regions).

Thus, the old model of the origins of polyphony, as a logical result of the late cultural development of monophonic musical culture, is not supported by the existing evidence, and therefore must be rejected.

The idea that the isolated islands of vocal polyphony (particularly in Europe) are a survival of the earlier wider practice is by no means new in ethnomusicology (see, for example, Rihtman 1958; Collaer 1960; Kaufman 1968; Emsheimer 1964: p. 44; Lomax 1971: p. 236; Messner 1980). This is what Albert Lloyd wrote in 1961: "Certainly, comparing these [Albanian polyphonic] forms with those of Yugoslavia, Bulgaria and northern Greece, one has the impression that Albania has developed part-singing to a far higher degree. Or should one say: has *preserved* it better? For it is possible, even probable, that at one time various polyphonic forms abounded all over the southern Balkans and perhaps far beyond it, that have since dwindled or disappeared. Albanian country communities are more isolated and culturally more conservative than those of Bulgaria, say" (Lloyd 1961: p. 145).

Here I must also mention a very interesting source- a critical view on the origins of southern European polyphonic traditions (Brandl 2008). Rudolf Brandl suggested that the type of polyphony based on drone and dissonant intervals (Brandl mentions this style with the German term *schwebungsdiaphonie*) might originate from the sounds of church bells and instrumental forms of polyphony and its vocal form could only be a century, or even just a few decades old (Brandl 2008: p. 290). This very interesting suggestion has several problems. First of all, it fails to explain why the polyphonic traditions in Europe have such a geographic pattern of distribution, concentrated in isolated and relict areas, a pattern that is widely known to be connected to archaic phenomena. As a matter of fact, Brandl does not even mention the pattern

of geographic distribution of vocal polyphony in Europe in his discussion.

Furthermore, the absence of data on "roughness-diaphony" from 18th-19th century travellers in the Balkans and Georgia (which is used by Brandl as the proof of the absence of roughness-diaphony in this period, Brandl, 2008: p. 282), does not mean the absence of polyphony. I can point to a very recent research article dedicated solely to the musical traditions of Vietnamese minorities, written for the *Garland Encyclopedia of World Music* by a professional ethnomusicologist, where there is not a single word about vocal polyphony among Vietnamese minorities (Nguyen 2002). According to this article, written by an expert on Vietnamese traditional music, we should definitely conclude that there is no vocal polyphony in Vietnam, although the recordings on a CD *Vietnam: Music of the Montagnards* (released by CNR & Musee de l'home, 2741088.88, editor Hugo Zemp) present many wonderful examples of roughness-diaphony from the North Vietnam minorities. There are many other cases of neglect of the presence of polyphony in the writings of professional ethnomusicologists. An article on Basque traditional music does not mention the presence of polyphonic traditions among the Basques (Laborde 2000), an article on Ukrainian traditional music does not mention the very interesting drone polyphonic traditions in the Ukraine (Noll 2002), and there is no mention of the presence of vocal polyphony in several articles about South Indian tribal cultures (as a matter of fact, the words "polyphony" and "multi-part music" are absent in a very detailed index of the publication).

If we take these writings at face value (particularly as they are all written by internationally recognized experts of these musical traditions for the best currently available ethnomusicological encyclopedic publications), we should conclude that by the beginning of the XXIth century there were no vocal polyphonic traditions among Vietnamese minorities, Basques, the peoples of Southern India, nor any drone polyphony in the Ukraine as well.

I believe it is unrealistic to expect a mention of the specific traditions of drone vocal polyphony with dissonant intervals from non-professional travellers who had spent a few weeks in a new country, whereas even professional ethnomusicologists with an expert knowledge of a culture (and often natives of these cultures) fail to mention the presence of vocal polyphony in specially written musicological articles.

Therefore, I propose that vocal polyphony is a very ancient phenomenon, which is gradually disappearing all over the world. As a result, I suggest that the universal social participation in the performance of polyphonic composition is an initial characteristic of musical cultures. I suggest that the appearance of the "audience" category was a much later event in the history of human musical culture. This is the reason why social participation, or singing in groups is one of the strongest musical universals.

Conclusions

This article was dedicated to the importance of the social factor in different aspects of polyphonic singing in traditional societies. After analyzing this problem from different points of view, we came to the conclusion that the social factor is crucial for the

definition of polyphonic styles, for the process of composing new traditional poly-phonic compositions, and for the process of the performance of polyphonic composi-tions. Music is as much a musical phenomenon as a social phenomenon. The social nature of traditional societies is hardly demonstrated more vividly anywhere else than in traditional societies, during singing together by groups of people. Singing together in groups is possibly the best way to unite members of the group in order for all the members of a cultural group to feel a collective identity.

Styles of chant and styles of life:
synchronous changes in Cogne, a village in the western Alps (Italy)

Mauro Balma

Making Multipart Music: Case Studies

1. A glance at life and work

Cogne is an Italian municipality situated in the southern area of the Valle d'Aosta region (western Alps) at 1,500 metres above sea level. In its territory lies part of the National Park of Gran Paradiso, founded in 1922. It has about 1,500 inhabitants divided between the main town (*Veulla*) and five foremost hamlets: Epinel, Crétaz, Gimillan, Valnontey, and Lillaz. The most spoken languages are Franco-Provençal (*patois*) and Italian. French, whose utilisation was strongly opposed during the Fascist period, is known by many people but is not spoken in daily life. Nevertheless, the best of the repertoire is almost all in French.

I think we need to begin this report by looking at the changes in these life styles, which have interfered with singing occasions.

The number of people with a higher education has increased among the younger generations, who either look for a job outside, or work for family firms, which have abandoned any kind of farming based activities, now entrusted to immigrant cattle farmers or shepherds (Glarey 2000: p. 31). The hard life of a shepherd is no longer considered suitable work by the young people of Cogne.[1] In this area today, there are just three mountain pastures, only reachable on foot, where during the summer months, dairy cattle are put out to pasture and where different types of cheese are made, such as *fontina* in particular. The circulation of cattle is forbidden by law in the main town of Cogne: the two working cattle sheds are at the village borders.[2]

The most important activity of mining stopped thirty years ago. The mines provided work for the inhabitants of Cogne and also a number of immigrants (Foretier - Gerbore - Vassoney 1990: p. 19).[3] Partly due to the closure of the mines, people have been driven towards activities ever more related to tourism and the service industry. In the meantime, the fabric of the city has greatly changed, easily seen when we compare old photos with present shots of the same places.

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1 "The mountain pastures of Valle d'Aosta are the highest in Europe and they mainly extend beyond 1800 metres, reaching and sometimes surpassing 2800 metres of altitude. [...] A wild mountain which sees the most part of pasture develops beyond the tree-lined, often very near the cold glaciers." (Glarey 2000: p.9)

2 To highlight the contrast between the present days and the past it is incisive to report what Mario Jeantet (02/01/03), Cogne's famed accordion player, told me: "I remember I had a toy trumpet, I was eleven or twelve, those years in '50-'51. They were the last years they put out their sheep: all the sheep, there were one hundred and fifty sheep. I remember I left from the end of the village with a friend of mine; we played this trumpet and people carried out their sheep, because maybe one family had two, others three, four sheep and I arrived as far as the top of the village. Then we took them down to the pastures of Sant'Orso as long as there was grass."

3 Giese already noticed: "The production activity of Cogne is based on the mine which today employs 300 foreign workers alone [...] and on cattle breeding. Agriculture functions only in a second-rate role" (Giese 1941: p. 89). As regards the story of the mine and in particular the figure of Franz Elter, its manager for many years, see AMC ed. 2009.

As well shown by one of Wilhelm Giese's studies (Giese 1941) in 1938, houses were still mostly preserved in terms of their typologies and housing functions relative to sheep farming and dairy producing. People over seventy still remember that they sang and danced in a room called *lou beu* (stable), usually divided into two parts by a partition (AMC 1997: pp. 102-110). Today there are very few of these traditional houses left : almost all of them have been changed and rebuilt to adapt to new housing needs or to be used as accommodation facilities for tourists.[4]

2. Singing Occasions

Before the changes I have mentioned, singing filled the air of Cogne and its hamlets. On Sundays after Mass, singing was extremely common especially among men. Everybody sang in the morning when they worked in the stables and then also in the evening at home, or in other people's houses, especially when there was a vigil.

In the open air, singing accompanied work linked to the maintenance of the streams to irrigate the fields (*ru*), during haymaking (*fare i fieni*) and during the ascent of the cows to pasture in June (*vétéya*) and during their descent downstream in September (*devétéya*).[5] They also sang a lot during Carnival and the conscripts' festivals falling during the same period.

Miners sang as well, though less ornate and wider spread singing, since many of them came from outside Cogne; in particular they sang during the Feast of Saint Barbara, their patron saint.

In the religious context there was singing aloud (*pièn tzèn*) probably at Cogne too; this was singing based on Gregorian chants and with the *faux bourdon* technique, once widespread in the Valle d'Aosta.[6] Other singing was struck up during the month of May in honour of Holy Mary: in particular the *Mystères* at Epinel and the *canteucou* at Gimillan. Further on, we shall see which of these kinds of singing have remained and at what level.

Styles of singing and styles of life

1. Henriette Guichardaz "La Piérótta" and the singers of Gimillan

Enrichetta Guichardaz (1890-1967) and the singers of Gimillan, Cogne's highest

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4 The development of tourism at Cogne dates back to at least halfway through the nineteenth century; the first onrush was made by mountain climbers in particular: cf. Caniggia 2000: pp. 27-30.

5 These two beautiful words are typical of Cogne: the arrival of cows is equivalent to "dressing" the mountain and their departure to "undressing": these words can also be used for a person. The most customary words in the Valley are *inarpa* e *désarpa*.

6 This fact is confirmed by the finding of a *tübo*, an instrument suitable for boosting the voice of the bass, in a no longer existing chapel close to the hamlet of Moline. An example of this type of chant is in the Arcangeli, Leydi, Morelli, Sassu 1987 LP box, record A no. 1. About f*aux bourdon* see Lagner 1989.

hamlet, can hark back to the singing of ancient times, one of Cogne's "strong signs", characterized by *retòn*. For this reason her grandson, Agostino Guichardaz, reminded me of this during a conversation.[7] She was from Cogne, but her contacts with Gimillan were very strong, both for singing and carnivals. Her singing was free, rich in expressive ornaments; namely those *appoggiature* (*retòn*) which dilate time, inserted at particular points of the singing, never exactly in the same way. In 1956, Sergio Liberovic recorded Enrichetta's performances with two of her nephews.

<u>Listen to example No. 1</u> – *La marieta ha quindes an* - Henriette Guichardaz *La Piérótta*, Cyprien Gérard *Pyèn (Póou) de Guitserdòn*, Marie Gérard. Reg. Sergio Liberovici. Cogne, 21/03/56, in Balma, Mauro and Giorgio Vassoney eds. 2009. *Musiche tradizionali della Val di Cogne (Valle d'Aosta). Le registrazioni di Sergio Liberovici (1956).* Roma, Squilibri.

The singers of Gimillan are documented in the same series of tape recordings. The last ones, when they were about twenty, always sang in a group with two voices, occasionally they divided into three to create a (usually dominant)chord: there was (and there still is now when you sing in this style) a first solo voice (*lou prèmié*) and a group of voices which perform the second one (*lou sècòn*).[8] *Dans Paris il y avait une barbière* is one of the best known traditional songs from Cogne. It is performed by two voices: I shall come back to it later..

<u>Listen to example No. 2</u> – *Dans Paris il y avait une barbière* - Eufrosina Burland *Foudjine*, Alice Burland, Elvina Foretier, Teresina Glarey, Anita, Ernestina, Jolanda e Rina Guichardaz, Ida Grappein, reg. Sergio Liberovici, Gimillan (Cogne), 23/03/56, in Balma, Mauro and Giorgio Vassoney, cit.

2 Reine Bibois and her musician children

Reine Bibois (1894-1976) is a key personage in the cultural world of Cogne (cf. Roullet 2004: pp. 5-26) when oral history is transformed and mixed up with the written one. She studies French which she considers the noble mother tongue of the Valle d'Aosta.[9] Besides her love for this language, at a certain point she becomes fond of *pat-*

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7 "I remember these details, my granny who arrived, took people home, and there, of course, every moment was good for singing. For example we clubbed in the square, she struck up something, people huddled round and everybody sung in the middle of the road; it was normal here at Cogne. It is a thing nobody did any longer, hardly ever. Then there were the girls of Gimillan, above all in spring. They went out in the valley up there the *tchoù di prèire*, the "priests' compound", perhaps they had a property, I think that was the origin, and they stayed there and sang." (Conversation with Agostino Guichardaz, 13/02/09)

8 As regards the styles of singing of *Piérótta* and the women of Gimillan see: Balma - Vassoney 2009: pp. 52-68. A singing style like this played today only at Gimillan is attested by some of the recordings performed by Alan Lomax at Lillaz in 1954, where female voices are still protagonist.

9 "For my mother French was a very important thing; mum suffered a lot when the war arrived – Mussolini cut us off we went to school and we did not learn *oui* in French, let's just

ois (more correctly *patoué* in the diction of Cogne) of which she becomes an expert; in her hand it turns into a literary language passing from the oral register to the written one: it was the first time this happened in Cogne.

Later, some of Reine's children, who had learnt a bit of music, start to play together and in 1946 they begin performing in a pub, the *Dopolavoro*, using a piano, accordion, saxophone, trumpet and drums. They play *ballo liscio* (ballroom dancing: polka, mazurka and waltz) also singing the songs they listen to on the radio; they go into Aosta to buy short scores of the latest tunes, which are then arranged by Cesare Bibois in particular. Their activity will keep on going until the Seventies.

We can see that life and music begin to change immediately after the Second World War with perfect timing; in fact, the repertory the Bibois sang and played requires: a knowledge of musical writing even if at an elementary level; a rigid concept of measure and rhythm tied together essentially with dance; a clear urban style voice. This is in contrast with tradition, especially with regard to singing. Reine's children say that their mother "*andava per conto suo, non sapeva tenere il tempo*" [she sang on her own, she couldn't keep time] (Balma - Vassoney 2009: pp. 70-74); actually, she sang *roba vecchia in francese* [old things in French] still following a breath inside the singing, an expansible time according to expression, breath, emotion. In my opinion this is an important moment of contact between styles of singing and styles of life, thanks to the achievement of a way of singing inspired by a "new" repertory destined to leave a deep sign. Some vocal performances recorded by Alan Lomax at Cogne in 1954 have similar features (cf. the Plastino 2004 CD).

3 "Lou Costume de Cogne" and "Lou Tintamaro de Cogne"; renewed or lost tradition?

Mario Jeantet, today Tintamaro's oldest accordionist, referring to the origin of the group, remembers that it was founded in 1957, but a traditional group dressed in folk costume had already performed in Rome and Florence during the fascist epoch.[10]

It is clear that the group's birth, named *Lou costume de Cogne*, had been promoted by the *Opera Nazionale Dopolavoro* which decided to take folk groups from Italian regions to Rome in January 1930 to celebrate the wedding of Prince Umberto of Savoia.[11] Lots of colour, little content but, above all, the removal of the problems and

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say, it was really forbidden. After, my mum, we were in wartime, wanted to teach us a bit of French and she had taken two boys from abroad: *Papicco*, an accordion player and another guy. So she said 'Well, let's have French lessons in the evening', After four days she risked being handcuffed. An agent for the council arrived and told her 'Mrs Bibois we know you teach French, you absolutely can't. I can handcuff you.' But mum answered 'Don't worry. I'll stop. I've lots of children, I'll stop and that's all. Be quiet.'" (Conversation with Agnese Bibois, 01/05/10)

10 Conversation with Mario Jeantet, 03/01/02.

11 The initiative had been anticipated by a "meeting" in Venice in 1928, and was to repeated by a similar event in Florence in 1930.

sorrows of the rural world.

The group founded in 1957, whose internal organisation was better than the previous one, was put into the hands of the aforementioned Cesare Bibois, the accordionist and pianist of the group which used to performed ballroom dancing music. So the two things merge and the group sing *in musica* that is using choral harmonization, also relying on the extremely skilled guidance of the Canon, Jean Domaine, a legendary figure for choirs in the Valle d'Aosta (cf. Cerruti 2008). Generally, having clever maestros who put voices in order is appreciated, because it is considered a means to improvement, to setting oneself at a "high" level: all too often, it is hard to persuade traditional choristers that in actual fact they are really maestros![12]

Here I should like to point out some social and musical aspects of style (leaving aside now the instrumental pieces played by the drums of Cogne (cf. Lagnier 1989/a) and the accordions and those performed by costumed dancers - choristers with sobre choreographies). Certainly *la Corale* (as the group is often significantly called) has helped to make the inhabitants of Cogne themselves re-appreciate some pieces of the singing repertory and it has influenced the youngest ones, functioning as a gathering place. From a musical point of view, *Lou Tintamaro* adopts a harmonized repertory usually in four voices "*dove si ricerca e si apprezza il rispetto della partitura: dalla 'reinvenzione' permanente del canto, con variazioni e interpretazioni personali, si passa al processo di riproduzione fedele di una parte trascritta.*" [where respecting the score is researched and appreciated: from the permanent 're-invention' of singing, with personal modifications and interpretations, to the faithful process of reproduction of a transcribed part."] (Guichardaz 2007: p. 168)

Moreover, the choral concept actually prevents the continuation of the *a retòn* singing tradition which requires variable tempos and spaces, and the solo/tutti relationship between first and second voices, in spite of some efforts to introduce a few passages

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12 But not always, as we can see in the following conversation: "I was born at Gimillan, and I stayed in Gimillan and Cogne until I was fourteen, then I left and went to Milan to study and to Turin, I stayed away a lot and then I came back. I always heard singing and I always had a particular sensibility about this singing, above all when they sang in the open air, I liked it very much. I learnt listening to my mum, I learnt listening to my aunt. I stayed for a year with *Tintamaro*, but in reality, I personally never liked institutionalized folk music. What I like is singing in a spontaneous way and singing when you want to, because I think singing is just that. Then I was part of *Lou Tintamaro*, then of the church choir too and so on, but I never loved it; it seemed to me to be governed by rules… compelled that is. Instead, I really liked singing with my mum, with my aunt, with the other people because it seemed to me that I could express my personality, my character better like that. […] I owe Charruaz a lot because he taught us at school, I recognize him as my teacher. […] But here it just boils down to a discussion about folk music, that is about how we sing now. Then he wanted to import *réton* inside *Lou Tintamaro*; well, he did right because those songs wouldn't be handed down, probably – who knows… I know them because I sang them with my mum… But I didn't see myself in them: when we sang *Papillon volage*, and there were also people who sang very well, I felt it wasn't what I meant and I didn't like it." (Conversation with Patrizia Glarey, 26/05/10)

which might recall the genre.[13] Emmanuelle Olivier (1992: p. 128) had already noticed that this kind of performance is only conserved on the cover.[14] With respect to the necessity of a choral performance, singing, even when it is gathered in encoded performances with its *retòn*, is spoiled with embellishments and reduced to an "acceptable" line. What is absolutely not acceptable is a declaration like the following:

"... nel riproporre brani tratti dalla tradizione locale, i maestri che hanno diretto il coro, in special modo qualcuno, hanno spesso dovuto provvedere ad autentiche azioni di maquillage degli stessi [...] i direttori di coro, nel cercare di riproporre canti con un'adeguata linea melodica, dovevano, talvolta, adoperarsi pesantemente tanti erano gli abbellimenti, improvvisazioni e variazioni intervenuti..." [... re-presenting pieces from local tradition, the maestros, who used to conduct the choir, especially one or two in particular, have had to carry out a veritable covering-up action for these pieces [...] trying to re-present songs with a suitable melodic line, sometimes the choir conductors had to do their best, since so many embellishments, improvisations and variations had intervened...] (Guichardaz 2006: p. 172)

In this way, the pulp is removed to save only the core of the musical fruit.[15] We can notice that even "historical" maestros like Cesare Charruaz did not agree with the above assertions, even though he did adopt this practice in his many arrangements. However, the vocal performance does not abandon singing at the top of one's voice, even if it is no longer that *plein voix* (full voice) to which the old choristers refer. In fact, the almost steady presence of the accordion, which helps voices, introduces a constant rhythmic element unrelated to the *retòn* tradition,[16] but also present in the

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13 "In the matter of voices, I tried to enhance the leader voice, the so called *"prèmié"*, and all that the famous *"retòn"* involves […] to give the possibility to the leader voice, usually the most "beautiful" of the chorus, tenor or soprano, to preen and to make musical flourishes which determine the characteristic way of singing." (Cesare Charruaz, director of *Tintamaro,* see Guichardaz 2006: p. 110)

14 When in local discography we speak of works as being a "research CD", it stops at the repertoire, overlooking the way of singing, which is often more important, since each singing is more or less the same in different places though sung in different styles.

15 This fact has also given rise to particular singing situations, like the one remembered by Nadia Guichardaz, growing up among *retòn* and then active in *Tintamaro*: "I was always charmed by this singing and I had difficulty in doing *retòn*: evidently I wasn't inclined and with my mother I found it very hard to learn them. When I entered in the "Chorale" there were no *rèton*, they were introduced later. I only produced this *retòn* which was really inapt. But can you realize? I had so much trouble in learning *rèton* and then… At first, when I was in the choir in 1978, *retòn* were not welcome, do you see." (Conversation with Nadia Guichardaz, 29/05/10)

16 "Perhaps it was the accompaniment of the accordion that marked [the *Tintamaro* singing]; several of the musical pieces I remember having sung, when I was in *Tintamaro*, were accompanied, there were a few songs *a cappella* – and this was already a difference because I think no other group had an accompaniment of this type. However, it was not invented and added but also when we sang outside, the accordion accompanied our singing." (Conversation with Giorgio Vassoney, 28/05/10. Vassoney was part of *Tintamaro* from 1976 until

singing of spontaneous gatherings in Cogne.[17] When we come across some passages of this kind, it seems so shrivelled up in writing and in the choral performance.

Listen to example No. 3 – *Partons chères compagnons - Lou Tintamaro de Cogne*, CD *Mélodies retrouvées*, SMC Ivrea, A0711, 2007.

However, we have to remember that some songs are stylistically close to the *retòn* style: e.g. *La barbière* found on the 1998 *Pin Pin* CD. Not by chance, the choral composition is peachy: the group is only composed of women, namely without the men's participation that characterized *Tintamaro*. It clearly refers to the women's Gimillan songs, but here the *retòn* are larger, since they are part of the melody: they lack the typical concision of the traditional patterns. Furthermore, although there is a sequence of variable meters, the *tactus* always remains during the performance.[18]

Listen to example No. 4 – *La barbière - Lou Tintamaro de Cogne*, CD *Pin Pin*, SMC Ivrea, MP 9802, 1998.

Sounds and silences in current roads

"*Lo strano che trovo è che adesso non ti viene più la voglia di aprire bocca per cantare. Io lavoravo tutto il giorno e cantavo tutto il giorno, adesso non canta più nessuno. Qualsiasi momento era buono per cantare, il divertimento era quello. Una volta cantavamo, sono arrivati i carabinieri e ci hanno denunciati tutti per schiamazzi notturni. E quelli che erano intorno, aprivano le finestre e ci dicevano: Non cantate più?*" [I think it is strange that today you do not feel like opening your mouth to sing. I worked and I sang all day long, today nobody sings any longer. Every moment was good for singing, that was our way of having fun. Once while we were singing, the police arrived and we were all accused of kicking up a row at night. And people around us were opening their windows and asking: Aren't you going to sing anymore?[19]

This observation comes from an old chorister from Cogne. Many of Cogne's old chor-

1990)

17 "*Get de Capotta* (Giuseppe Gerard) had his bar there in the square, la Fiaschetta (now Bar Liconi) and he always kept his accordion in the window and after Mass on Sunday, we went and sang a song before coming home and eating. If it was a bit bigger feast, *Papicco* also went home and got his accordion." (Conversation with Adolfo Abram, 27/12/08)

18 As regards *La Barbière,* Nelly Berard, a singer with a very beautiful voice, remembers (11/07/10): "All the same I was the one who started off in *Barbiera*; we sang it without any choral direction; the choirmaster gave us indications of what the time might be, but all in all we were free enough, he let us express ourselves freely." The fact that Charruaz, the choirmaster, did not conduct the singing, explains the expressiveness and the *ariosità* of the version to which Nelly alludes, definitely freer than the one on the *Pin Pin* CD, made several years after, under the direction of Myriam Brocard.

19 Conversation with Adolfo Abram, 27/12/08

isters point out that today, singing occasions are completely aimed at *Tintamaro* performances and, for several years, have been supported by a group of children called the *Tintamaro enfants*. Two voices singing with *retòn* are confined to special domestic occasions, informal moments or performed following particular requests like a scholars' invitation to record a performance:[20]

<u>Listen to example No. 5</u> *Partons partons* - Alice e Eufrosina Burland, Alice e Elena Foretier, Emma e Teresina Glarey, reg. Mauro Balma, Gimillan (Cogne), 02/07/06, in Balma, Mauro and Giorgio Vassoney eds. 2007, *Valle d'Aosta Gimillan di Cogne Canti suoni e filastrocche*, *Les Dzemeillanéire tzanton*, NOTA CD 613, Udine.

The *Veillà*, which is a recollection of old peasant crafts and customs with a tourist background, has essentially also allowed old chants to be performed again, such as *Te Deum* sung in *faux-bourdon* (cf. Lagnier 1989/b) in the chapel of *Sonveulla* at Cogne in 2004, the *à retòn* chants at Gimillan in 2009 and the *Mystères* resumed at Epinel in 2010 and re-enacted once a week during the month of May. 1943 saw the end of the traditional two part performance of the *Mystères* taking place every day in May. Nowadays, there is a revivalist performance in three parts, on the model fixed by Cesare Charruaz which adds a very discrete bass part to the traditional two part pattern.

<u>Listen to example No. 6</u> *Premier Mystéro* - Renata Perrod, Laura Abram, Susanna Abram, Michela Perrod, Luciana Perrod, Monica Cuaz , reg. Mauro Balma, Epinel (Cogne), 10/06/10.

Another occasion for singing freely in the old manner was the presentation of a book (Balma – Vassoney 2009) including an anthology of the recordings made by Sergio Liberovich in Cogne. During this very particular event, after the official speeches, there was a great number of very free and informal performances. They were extremely interesting because they showed a blend between the first three female voices of the *a retòn* and other female and (mainly) male parts performing in the *Tintamaro* style.

<u>Listen to example No. 7</u> Excerpt from *Papillon volage*, Mario Jeantet, fisarmonica; cantori non identificati, reg. Mauro Balma e Carlo Rossi, Cogne, 24/07/09.

Nowadays, every evening in May at Gimillan , a group of women normally perform the *canteucou* (Marian praises). It is rigorously performed in a two part style, with the *lou prèmié* solo accompanied by the *lou sècòn* sung by a women's group. In the past, a

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20 Among these kinds of singing, I remember the ones following the presentation of the *Les Dzemeillanéire tzanton* CD (Balma - Vassoney 2007) at Cogne and the CD book *Musiche tradizionali della Val di Cogne* (Balma - Vassoney 2009). Also the production of the *Le Dzemeillanéire tzanton* CD (Balma - Vassoney 2007) proves that it is not dead. It had six pairs of sisters as protagonists, some of whom were the lead singers in Liberovici's 1956 recordings.

different song was performed every evening; today some songs are performed several times during the month.

The vocal practice linked to the conscripts' festival, which took place between Epinel and Cogne, has completely fallen into disuse. The "conscripts" (in the strict sense of the word) do not exist any more because military service is no longer compulsory. At present, there are groups of young men and women born in the same year, who sing and play the drums, with the intention of following old rituals, but often these young people come from the valley and have no roots in Cogne.

Towards the future with a question

From what I have written above, we can gather that some elements of tradition remain in Cogne, as also happens in other places after all, but they have entered into a one might say "levelled" context, more suited to the tastes of common listeners (but also those of local cantors) and are less musically interesting. "Strong signs" are succumbing more and more. Thus the question arises: do we have to resign ourselves to considering traditional singing from an anthropological point of view, as absolutely linked to a kind of life that has almost completely vanished, and which will then die with it? Or, regarding it as music in the first place, should we wonder whether to ask the repertory keepers if they think it right to re-present it through a group of good and still young voices? When I asked those people, who had experienced both *retòn* and *Tintamaro*, I received various answers: I am not interested – I had never thought of it, but it could be interesting – I had thought of it and so I'd like to try it out – I don't know, singing might not be spontaneous anymore – What can we do? A school of *retòn*? (said ironically).

Why not? I say. Singing was "spontaneous" in gathering situations, of course, not in learning. A "school" did exist before, but it was "in the field" and today, of course, it should be organized in a different way. The several and well known events which provided experience in this direction have allowed us to listen to traditional singing in suitable situations and were also able to permit a "concert" performance too. Perhaps these performances will not have the strength of the one that is currently "in function", but it is worth a try in my opinion.

Ojkanje - the (multipart) musical system of the Dalmatian hinterland;

the social and emotional dimensions of the performance practices

Joško Ćaleta

Making Multipart Music: Case Studies

I found the inspiration for this article in my recent work regarding the question of registration of intangible heritage. The Croatian Ministry of Culture Commission decided to propose some specific music phenomena to UNESCO's *Urgent safeguarding list* of intangible heritage,[1] the list newly established by the UNESCO *Intergovernmental Committee for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage*.[2] *Ojkanje* was selected as a Croatian proposition for the UNESCO list and I was assigned to coordinate all the requested specifics - to meet the needs of an intricate bureaucratic procedure that includes pages of likewise official questions. I accepted the assignment, furtively hoping that official cultural political efforts would finally recognize the significance of the musical tradition and initiate a new cycle of life for this musical phenomenon.[3]

Ojkanje is a generic term for the type of archaic singing that characterizes a specific way of voice shaking achieved through a distinctive technique of singing 'from the throat'.[4] The term *ojkanje* also refers to the musical system of archaic (*starovinski, starinski*), traditional singing and playing of the Croatian Dinaric regions (Dobronić 1915, Bezić 1967-68, Ćaleta 2002). Various musical styles and genres of differently inherent *ojkanje* singing are distributed throughout the region. *Ojkanje* is a fairly live tradition in the regions of the Dalmatian hinterland - Ravni Kotari, Bukovica, Dalmatinska Zagora, Kninska, Sinjska, Imotska Krajina, Zabiokovlje i Radobilja. The peripheral regions such as Konavle, Župa Dubrovačka or Dubrovačko Primorje have mostly abandoned the old traditional types of singing and have adopted the new, tonal, multi-part types of singing such as *klapa-singing*. The situation is similar in the

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1 *The List of Intangible Cultural Heritage in Need of Urgent Safeguarding* is a "list of cultural elements whose viability is at risk despite the efforts of the communities and groups that practice them" http://www.unesco.org/new/en/media-services/single-view/news/four_cultural_elements_from_china_and_croatia_in_need_of_urgent_safeguarding_unesco_committee_decides/ (03.01. 2011.)

2 The *Convention for the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage*, was adopted in 2003 and ratified by 132 States. The main ideas of the program are cultural diversity, the authority of communities and groups in defining their heritage, the processual nature of heritage, and intercultural dialogue. The convention promotes "the safeguarding of elements such as oral traditions and expressions, performing arts, social practices, rituals and festive events, knowledge and practices concerning nature and the universe and traditional craftsmanship". (ibid.)

3 As stressed by Regina Bendix (1997: p. 259), despite democratic intentions, "the paradox inheres in using the governmental funding apparatus devised by hegemonic majority culture programs to promote minority voices. The funding apparatus will always generate mechanisms of judgment […] that discriminate on the basis of the taste and ideology, thus again reinstating judgmental criteria over folk materials."

4 In *ojkanje*, the acoustic effects are probably implemented synergetically by various respiratory, phonatory and articulatory settings, namely a high subglottal pressure, a long closed phase of the vocal folds, a raised larynx and a wide opening of the jaw. All these contribute to perceived loudness. (Kovačić - Boersma 2005: pp. 16-17)

regions around the Velebit mountain, Lika and Kordun where this type of singing is rarely found today. The above mentioned regions also belong to the Dinaric ethnographic area. It is interesting to mention that the Karlovac region, a Central Croatian region peripheral to the Dinaric region, has recently been showing an increase in the popularity of traditional *ojkanje* singing (*rozganje*), which points to a possible revitalization of this type of singing even in the areas where the tradition no longer exists.

One of the first detailed descriptions of the performance of *ojkanje* (the musical tradition of Dalmatian Hinterlanders – Morlachs) was given by Alberto Fortis' *Viaggio in Dalmazia* [Traveling Across Dalmatia] in the chapter *Manners of the Morlacchi,* dating from 1774. It was followed by Ivan Lovric's *Biljeske o putu po Dalmaciji opata Alberta Fortisa* [Notes on the Journey Across Dalmatia by the Abbot Alberto Fortis] dating from 1776. Both travelogues contained detailed descriptions of the life of the Morlachs and were translated into several European languages. This *barbarian* people was described with terms such as *natural*, *untouched by civilization and unspoiled*, *old*, *original*, *uneducated* and *inverted*, *hospitable*, *warm*, *fond of weapons*, *fatalistically oriented* and *superstitious*.[5]

Father Alberto Fortis, in his 1771-1774 travelogue on Dalmatia (*Viaggio di Dalmazia*) in the chapter describing the life of the Morlachs, gave a very concrete description of the specific type of singing:

When a Morlach travels, especially at night or through mountain wasteland, he sings on the heroic deeds of the past of the Slavic kings and aristocrats or of some tragic events. Should it happen that another traveler roams the peaks of a neighboring hill, he will repeat the line sung by the first singer and this intermittent singing lasts until the distance separates their voices. The long 'howling' is actually a long tone 'o' with the sudden change in the height of the tone and it always precedes the lyrics; the words forming the lyrical line are sung swiftly, without changing the tone's height, which happens at the last syllable and the line ends with long 'howling' in the form of a thriller, raised when the singer takes in breath (Bezić 1967-68: p. 180).

The most common finds in these works are descriptions of singing and situations in which there is singing. All the authors emphasized the attitude of the Morlachs towards singing, which they practiced with enthusiasm:

they sing when they travel, eat, work or speak, you can always hear them singing... traveling by day, and particularly at night, all the Morlachs always sing, but when there are a lot of them together, they usually sing alternately (Lovrić 1948: p. 65).

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5 Writings dealing with the Morlachs presented to Europe by Fortis and Lovric are a mixture of literary, scientific-documentary and journalist texts. The materials themselves can be grouped into several units: psychological and physical features of the Morlachs, language and oral culture of the Morlachs, everyday life of the Morlacchi and highway robbing (*hajdučija*). The description given here belongs to the psychological and physical features of the Morlachs (Gulin 1997: p. 84).

As a man whose origins were in these areas, Lovric showed a meticulous approach to the singing and music-making of the Morlachs, also describing the behavior of listeners during the performance and their attitude to other musics:

Their ears - as regards harmony - are organized in such a way that in order to feel comfortable with music they need sound such as that which they have become accustomed to by habit, and this habit has become part of their nature. And the truth of this can be seen in the fact that Italian music of the highest level is boring to them, in just the same way that Morlach music is boring to Italians (Lovrić 1948: p. 194).[6]

The term *ojkanje* was defined by Antun Dobronić in his article "'Ojkanje': A Contribution to the Study of Genesis of our Folk Song" (Dobronić 1915). The basis of the term was a shaking technique on the syllabus "oj" as well as the name of the local genre *ojkavica*.[7] According to Dobronić, *ojkanje* (*oykanje*) is the "*music language*" in which "there is no sign of clearly defined intervals" differing from urban music with its "embryonic nature and amorphisms" (Dobronić 1915: p. 2). Dobronić regarded *ojkanje* as "untempered singing", suggesting that this manner of singing was "the most primitive phase of *our* [Croatian] music art" (Dobronić 1915: pp. 3, 25). Dobronić points out that all the songs begin and close with a section in which the musical tones are vocalized exclusively on the word oj (o'i) which constitutes the *ojkanje* in the stricter meaning of the term. He also emphasized that the text of any folk-song whatsoever, may be sung to the medial section of the *ojkanje* (Dobronić 1926: pp. 60-62). For Dobronić, this music has nothing whatsoever to do with any *system* – "it is tune existing in a primal stage of its evolution" (Dobronić 1926: p. 61). He explains the *oj* section of the *ojkanje* as a survival of those primal tune fragments which were the original source of all musical systems, and which have disappeared among most civilized nations as completely as among the majority of the Slavic peoples.
Ojkanje is regularly performed a capella, in solo individual and dialogical performances or more frequently, by a lead singer accompanied by one or more singers whose voices, at the moment of shaking, produce a longer, accompanying tone. Genres of solo *ojkanje* singing *putničko, kiridžijsko* (traveler's, horsemen's singing'), *samačko* (sol-

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6 Italian music in this context primarily relates to the music practice among the local population of the coastal region, called *Boduli* by the Morlachs (*bodolo*, from the Italian Venetian dialect, meaning islander or insular). *Vlaji* and *Boduli* differ in both their way of life and their music-making. The music of the coastal region and islands is characterized by three or four part singing (known as a *klapa* singing), wider melody *ambitus* with tempered intervals, intervals of major and minor thirds or sixths, usually sung in the homophonic forms. The music in the hinterland is entirely different from that of the neighboring Mediterranean coastal towns according to its most recognizable musical characteristics as well as in its situations and ways of performing, and the ways in which it is perceived by the local population.

7 According to Dobronić, "Slavonic folk-song, despite its individual diversity, harks back to one and the same source …the most primitive are unquestionably those known as the *ojkanje* and the *treskanje* melodies". (Dobronić 1926: p. 60)

itary singing), or *rozganje* are more frequent than *ustresalica* (shaking singing) or *po svajski* (wedding singing) from the Konavle, Župa and Primorje regions around the town of Dubrovnik, rare reminiscences of past times.

Two-part *ojkanje* singing existing in larger areas has been preserved in different musical genres, some of which present the dominant type of traditional singing in the respective regions. This refers to the *ojkalica*, *ojkanje* genre between the rivers of Krka and Cetina (regions of Drniška krajina, the hinterland of the towns of Šibenik, Kijevo and Vrlika). In the Ravni Kotari and Bukovica regions, the traditional vocal style in which *ojkanje* singing is the dominant element is called *orzenje* (*orcenje*, *orcanje* or *groktanje* among the Orthodox population). In the region of Cetinska krajina, beneath the mountains of Svilaja and Moseč, this type of singing, when performed by men is called *treskavica* (or nowadays *starovinsko* – the "old" singing), and when performed by women *vojkavica* (Bezić 1967-68: p. 176). The same name, *treskavica,* is used in the hinterland of Trogir and Kaštela (or *grgešanje* in Grebaštica), while in northern Poljica, skillful singers still sing the two-part *kiridžijsko pjevanje* (horsemen singing). Most of the above mentioned genres are characterized by lasting as long as the lead singer can hold his/her breath. The lead singer usually sings the first line himself/herself (*inicij*), and in the second line is accompanied by a group of singers singing the text or just a vowel (dark 'e' or open 'o'), supplemented with a characteristic thriller, similar to vibrato, sung with a full voice on the syllables voj or hoj in order to achieve 'the perfect effect of acoustic unity'.

The specificity of this system, described in literature as *a style of narrow intervals* (Bezić 1981: p. 33), *untempered singing* or *the most primitive phase of Croatian music* (Dobronić 1915: pp. 3, 25), can be observed on diverse levels. In this case, I am interested in music practice, which comprehends music in both the performing and the social context. Music practice represents not only organized sound but also the level of the music phenomenon as a system made up of the following components: the music model, the manner of performance, the context of the conception and use of music, performers, the context of music-making, and the mode of its reception and evaluation (Baumann 1989: p. 82). Practice is a respective category whose "other pole is a global, abstract entity, most frequently referred to as a system" (Ceribašić 1997: p. 7).[8] The basis of this musical system, i.e. the mechanisms on which this musical system is built, are unconventional (marginal) as compared to the musical systems based on West European musical tradition. Color, texture, group performance (dominant in respect to individual), the stability of non-beat tonal relationships, the elements that form the basis of this system, are completely different from their counterparts in West European musical harmony. Musical characteristics of styles and genres are recognizable through the melodies with a small, limited number of tones. Intervals do not

8 The modern understanding of the theory of practice is unified in acceptance of all three sides of the theoretical triangle: society is a system; the system is powerfully restrictive; and the system can be created and deconstructed by human action and interaction (Ortner 1994: p. 402).

match the standard intervals either by their size or by their function. The melodies are based on limited, mostly chromatic tonal scales, with intervals which do not match standard musical intervals. The majority of styles and genres has major second as a dominant interval, most of the time in the final, the cadenza tone, is treated as a consonant interval.[9] The local population uses local terminology to distinguish the specific characteristics of the singing. Local terminology is known to the singers best familiar with the forms they practice themselves or actively listen to, as well as the forms from the peripheral regions they are in contact with. The terms they use mostly describe the activity occurring during the singing itself. Verbs like *goniti, orcati, kockati, groktati, grgašati, krećati, tresti, ustresati, otezati, priginjati, sijecati, jecati, vatati, nazivati...* refer to different techniques and procedures which the unaccustomed listener's ear can hardly differentiate, as they can have difficulties in recognizing numerous variations between melodies inside a single genre. Despite the fact that for an unaccustomed ear, the audio image of this type of music creates an impression of sameness and repetition, there is a large number of various forms which make up specific genres and styles in different localities. Songs differ in texts but not in music form. Singing of a new text (in decasyllabic couplets) to the same or a similar music form is regarded as a new song. It is also possible to perform one and the same song (with the same text) several times with variations of the music form and the textual model, as well as the tone relations. This leads one to think that the function of the tones in relation to one another cannot be precisely explained as part of the enclosed music system, without reference to the structure of the pertaining social and cultural system (Blacking 1974: p. 75).

The influence of 'Western' culture – civilization and the system of values – seems to prevent this musical tradition from living its full existence. Changes are obvious in the selection of the musical styles. The concept of a structured musical piece adopted from the West has resulted in the disappearance of the open-ended and improvisational genres; the concept of the organized singing group substitutes informal music-making as well as the disappearance of the solo singing genres. Not so long ago, people used this type of singing as a means of everyday communication (calling out for someone by voice shaking), while doing their everyday jobs or traveling by horse in caravans, as entertainment around the open fire during long winter nights or as a way to pass time while watching over grazing cattle.

The Performance Practice

The basic way in which this musical genre is presented and explained is the perfor-

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9 "Noise" for the outsiders, is described in literature as a *roughness-diap*hony (Schwebungs-diaphonie). "Since 1909 (Kuba), the Schwebungsdiaphonie (roughness-diaphony) has been labeled either *archaic multipart style* or 'archetype of polyphony' (Adler, v. Hornbostel, Kunst, Schneider, Wiora) which in turn led to nationalist hypotheses that claim the *origin* of this concept for the own ethnic group." (Brandl 2008: p. 281)

mance itself. The performance is the final result of the learning process - listening to and imitating their predecessors. The concept of performance does not entail a process of prior practice and coordination. Each performance has just that character and it can be adjudged as being good or inferior (*tanko* [too thin], *višje* [high], *ne slaže* [out of sync]). Performance requires a certain attitude, position and order among the singers, many of whom cover one ear with their hand as they sing. Both singers and listeners, who usually concur in their opinions of the performance, evaluate the performance. All of them aspire to a preconceived harmony, equally enjoying their particular functions - the singer is pleased to be able to enjoy his own singing, just like the listener does, who actively listens and evaluates the performance. One of the pre-conditions for a good performance is loud singing which requires a certain physical effort, which is exceptionally pleasing to both singers and audience. Loud and often incomprehensible singing in high registers reminds the "passive listener" of plain noise. Outsiders – "passive listeners" – usually describe the simultaneous performance of several vocal (instrumental) performances tolerated by both singers and listeners as "noise". The fact is that this singing invokes opposing reactions - from extremely pleasant to extremely unpleasant. To many urban-dwellers this singing is "coarse" and "discordant", reminiscent of "shouting and yelling", and in many instances it is not treated as music at all. Such an attitude towards this music creates (and is created by) a series of cultural stereotypes. The entrenched opinion is that everyone who lives or originates from this region knows how to sing in this way, that is, engages in this type of singing. The insults to which they are exposed because of their origins range from the verbal - with an imitation of howling - to the visual - covering the ear and part of the face with the palm, in this way imitating the typical performance pose of the singers from the Dalmatian Hinterland. The overall stance of society was similar: it tried to neglect "these artifacts in order to replace them with 'more cultivated' patterns of interpretation of national music, composing new forms in an 'elaborated' way" (Petrović 1995: p. 61). Performance is the symbol of life of certain genres. Those which are not performed are destined to oblivion, not because there is no one who can perform them, but because they are not attractive enough for the audience. In this way, a number of genres of solo singing have disappeared. Some of the older genres, for example *treskavica* in the region of Sinjska Krajina or Dalmatinska Zagora, are called *starovinski*, which marks them as something that still exists but is no longer in the limelight; they are usually performed only by older people and therefore are not attractive enough for the 'contemporary' performance, which will probably cause them to disappear in the near future. Today this practice is most commonly performed at different public events in the local communities. The carriers of this tradition are numerous newly established folklore groups.

Since the mid 1990s, after the Homeland War ended in Croatia, the atmosphere of national revival has yielded a significant increase in the number of organized folklore groups, especially in regions directly affected by the war. Singers and players in the local communities who participate in cultural activities, especially at various festivals, are organized in societies called *Kulturno-Umjetnička Društva* (cultural-artistic

societies) [abbreviation - KUD]; there are hundreds of KUDs all over Croatia. For example, in the Ravni Kotari region in Zadar County there was not a single organized village KUD before the war, while today there are about seventy of them. Their agenda is to preserve and/or revive old repertoire and performing styles typical of their immediate community.[10] However, it is important to mention that the tradition of amateur organizations presenting rural traditions is much older. Among the "significant changes" which have marked European traditional musics since the 1950s, namely "festivalization, orientation toward public performance, professionalization, internationalization, institutionalization, and mediaization" (Ronström - Malm 2000: p. 149), processes of festivalization and the related institutionalization of traditional musics and musicians have an unquestionable primacy in Croatia. Since the 1930s, the production of folklore festivals - the most important site for the application of ethnomusicological, ethnochoreological, folkloristic, and ethnological scholarship in Croatia – has played a major role in the canonization of traditional music, that is in configuring particular genres and styles as legitimate traditions, and in distinguishing particular performers as legitimate bearers of tradition. In Croatia, the beginnings of this tradition were linked to the first half of the 20th century and the period between the two World Wars. The Croatian Peasant Party, motivated by the contemporary disputes between the members of Croatian political intelligence, founded a cultural, educational and charitable organization, the Peasant Union. In the period between the two World Wars, the Peasant Union organised folklore festivals at which, during the 1920s and especially from the 1930s onwards, rural traditions (music, dance, folk costumes, playing traditional instruments) were presented. The above mentioned *ojkanje* singing genres were frequently performed in these first festivals because, already at this time, they were considered valuable examples of the old archaic culture which had to be preserved and emphasized in every possible way. These organized groups, founded in many villages at this period have, in some regions, preserved their continuity up to the present day and today remain the main carriers of their rural tradition and identity, representing their villages at numerous folklore festivals in Croatia and around the world. In their local setting, in cooperation with the local tourist offices, these groups are the main initiators and organizers of village cultural life in general. Through KUD activities, people socialize, use their free time meaningfully, and nurture social connections in the community.

Safeguarding one's own (local) cultural identity is usually stated as a main purpose of the KUDs' existence. One of the common KUD activities is the production of audio and video recording of their own repertoires. The production methods of these

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10 The majority of the population in the above mentioned regions are Croats of the Roman-Catholic faith, even though there are some villages where the population is mixed or villages populated exclusively by the Orthodox population. Irrespective of the confessional background of the inhabitants, *ojkanje* singing is a joint tradition of the people inhabiting these regions. In this case, the music is not determined by ethnicity or by nationally 'pure' identity, but is a unique characteristic of the Dinaric area.

sound and visual recordings are interesting. Technicians from local radio stations are the most common sound recording engineers and producers. All of the material may be recorded in one session, while at other times it is compiled from different performances (e.g. local radio, festivals). The resultant "master" is usually multiplied on writable CDs, on the cover of which goes either a photograph of KUD members dressed in folk costume, a local church, or a characteristic local landscape. Photos, the name of the KUD, the name of the village and the list of tracks are often the only data on the CD. The older layers of the tradition, such as *ojkanje*, usually take just a marginal part on their recordings. The recorded repertoire varies from renditions of specific local traditions to renditions of popular traditional songs that members of KUDs typically sing at after-parties - informal social gatherings with other folklore friends after having completed an official stage performance. Very rarely do such releases manage to step out of their local bounds. Perhaps the most distinguished example of a CD that did, is *Žegar živi* (2008), which features traditional music of the Serbian minority community of Žegar in the Dalmatian Hinterland. *Žegar živi* entered the international world music charts of Europe and was featured in magazines such as *fRoots* and *Songlines*. The reason this CD was so successful - as opposed to dozens of others with a similar musical sound and approach but local in scope - is most likely due to its international distribution and its publisher's and British co-producer's contacts, as well as the unique story of its artists, refugee Serbs repatriated to Croatia.

The regular meetings/rehearsals where they practice their repertoire are usually associated with eating and drinking as forms of social exchange. Rehearsed programs are performed at numerous local, regional or state folklore festivals. Performing offers opportunities to visit new places, and in turn, KUDs frequently host groups from elsewhere, both of which inspire KUD members to participate regularly in activities. Contemporary KUDs usually make their own flags, informative leaflets and brochures about their locality, region and KUD activities, as well as occasional souvenirs. More and more, CDs and DVDs are among the products that KUDs give as gifts to their guests or offer for sale.

Owing to the modes of public presentation of folklore heritage established at the beginning of the XXth century, the Croatian public managed to acquire a certain positive attitude towards archaic forms which presented the local tradition. As a result of these public performances, some forms of singing have managed to extend their life span. Many festivals organized today at the local, regional or state level are trying to promote the same values in their programs. One of the more important festivals which helps promote this type of singing is entitled the Folklore Festival of Dalmatia titled *Na Neretvu misečina pala*, which has been held in the town of Metković since 1984. The festival gathers numerous folklore groups and ensembles from Dalmatian local communities (the islands, coastline and Dalmatian hinterland), and reveals the differences in traditional music, dance, folk costumes and customs. After the performances, the experts in different aspects of traditional culture organize discussions. The prize for the best groups is participation in the larger regional and state festivals. The most prestigious of all festivals is the *International folklore festival* in Zagreb with thematic

concerts featuring traditional music and dance. This attempt to encourage folklore groups to participate in the festivals involves a number of experts. Through regular monitoring of the groups, conducting research and the preparation of ever novel festival programs emphasizing the differences in the traditional heritage of respective villages, the prerequisites are created for the protection, preservation, revitalization and, if necessary, reconstruction of intangible heritage. Besides the festival in Metković, it is important to emphasize many county folklore festivals organized in these regions (Šibenik, Muć, Polača, Otočac, Ogulin, Cetingrad). In the past few years, the local tourist offices have also recognized the importance of intangible traditional culture and have themselves become initiators of some of the festivals of traditional singers, especially those targeted at foreign tourists.

Safeguarding the Tradition

The main reason for proposing the urgent protection of this musical phenomenon is the current break in the chain of transmission of this knowledge to new generations. In the past, *ojkanje* was learned as a part of the oral (local) tradition. The younger generations used to, through listening to and imitating the elders, adopt, perform and improve the tradition and they transmit it to new generations. Living conditions of have never changed faster or have never been more far-reaching in the Dalmatian Hinterland than now and, although the dynamics of cultural, social and political processes are historically positive as never before, the ability of people to handle all these changes is limited both institutionally and individually. Today's carriers of tradition are mostly older people who are carrying specific styles of singing to their graves. The globalized and standardized way of life in rural regions prevents the younger generations from learning this type of singing actively, as an integral part of their lives. Media (audio and video) and organized folklore groups are today becoming the methods and places in which the contemporary generations have the possibility to acquire knowledge of this style of singing. Long term education of the leaders and organizers of folklore groups, especially from the regions in which *ojkanje* is part of the tradition, would contribute to the survival of musical phenomena for the future generations.

Entering the *ojkanje* singing onto *The List of Intangible Cultural Heritage in Need of Urgent Safeguarding* will create preconditions for ensuring visibility and awareness at the national and international level. In particular, this act recognizes the effort and merit of the community that preserved the tradition and increases their self-respect and dignity, which greatly contributes to a fruitful level of further preservation of the tradition in the context of the increased advance of globalization processes. The inscription of the element on the UNESCO list, apart from the creativity and awareness of the responsibility and preservation of tradition, also speaks of the level of spiritual and social culture of a society today. At this level, dialogue and respect among communities, groups and individuals are ensured. Since they are a testimony of past musical preferences and ways of life that managed (if only on the margins) to survive, despite today's predominance of tempered major-minor tonal systems and relatively simple

forms and metro-rhythmical patterns, the tradition and its bearers share the fate of other forms of traditional culture endangered by the processes of modernization and globalization. One can say that this music, along with the dialect, is a cultural dimension that has maintained its specific regional identity for centuries. Many performers are completely aware of their inheritance of a specific, archaic and artistically very valuable culture. *Ojkanje* singing, composed of different archaic sub-styles, represents an "island" of cultural diversity, and is among rare living examples of the oldest layers of European music.

All the UNESCO forms have been filled out with the information about *ojkanje* and we are now patiently waiting for the voting results. This "game" has started to look more and more like the Eurovision song contest. Recognition would bring a better future for the destiny of the archaic singing. The next step will be monitoring the reaction of the singers, for do not forget – they are the main actors in this story.[11]

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11 In the meantime, UNESCO *Intergovernmental Committee for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage* put *ojkanje* on the *List of Intangible Cultural Heritage in Need of Urgent Safeguarding* (Nairobi, Kenya, November 15th 2010). The inscription was followed by the growth of interest for the tradition in the media and in the public in general, which in return has empowered the practicing communities to start elaborating new initiatives on how to safeguard, promote and develop the tradition. In such an atmosphere, they have enthusiastically participated in this nomination.

Multipart singing in Latera:
musical behaviour and sense of belonging

Fulvia Caruso

Making Multipart Music: Case Studies

Thanks to the *Museo della terra* (Museum of the Earth) in Latera, a small town in the province of Viterbo,[1] where I worked first as a researcher and then as the director, I was able to conduct in-depth research for almost ten years.[2] My work for the Museum led me to investigate many different aspects of the culture of Latera and this allowed me to cross-reference the information on the local musical culture with a great deal of other data. The mere fact of having investigated so many different matters allowed me to gain a better understanding of the musical practice and ideas of the town's inhabitants. In fact the processes of activation of people's memories, the organization of their verbal communications and their *venuta a cadenza*[3] (coming to cadence) are rarely predictable, and the attempt to extrapolate a single element from a specific and distinct network of culture rarely leads to a genuine understanding of the situation in its entirety.

Also musical culture, even though it is often bound up with the specific aspects of its performance, needs to be extrapolated from its concrete manifestations in order to become known to anyone who is outside. Someone once said that music is always more than just music, and I totally agree with this (cfr. Lortat-Jacob 2010). Understanding what is meant by music, sound, performance, and exactly how a given piece should be executed, does not only consist in performances themselves, but also in what may be said about them, as well as various discourses that only indirectly concern the subject of music. For example, a great deal of detailed information on the everyday practice of music in Latera came to me through research into the local people's perception of the landscape. An understanding of things therefore came to me slowly and gradually, with some pieces being added to the puzzle only after many years had passed.

The Cagliari Symposium offered me the opportunity to reflect more deeply on an important aspect of musical practice in Latera: multipart singing and the specific ways in which it is performed. This is not with the aim of presenting particularly distinctive or previously unknown data, which is in fact absent in Latera compared to the broader Italian scene, but rather to reflect more deeply upon our work as musical ethnographers, especially in today's context of transformation, which is being accelerated by depopulation and globalization. I should therefore like to present a picture consisting partly of the local people's ideas regarding music, which now live on mostly in the memories of elderly people who do not practice this music anymore, and partly of the current musical situation, through the analysis of the music that I have recorded and compared with previous recordings.

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1 Latera is a small town in central Italy, north Lazio, near the regions of Tuscany and Umbria. It is 45 km from Viterbo and 120 km from Rome. From 1271 until the unity of Italy it was always a part of the Papal States.

2 From 2001 to 2003 I did fieldwork as the basis for the renewal of the museum layout, and then as director of the Museum from 2003 until 2009. During this period I did extensive fieldwork on various different topics with the help of anthropology students from La Sapienza University of Rome.

3 For a definition of *venuta a cadenza* (coming to cadence) see Milillo 1983.

The approximately nine hundred inhabitants of Latera today are mostly elderly and the young people have rarely maintained any continuity with the culture of their forefathers. The practice of music, as in many other Italian provinces, is very limited, and has been reduced to various ritual events, religious or otherwise, and some public occasions. The disappearance of occasions at which people gathered for activities of communal work or the like, has in fact resulted in the disappearance or transformation of multipart singing repertoires, in particular for which these occasions were an indispensable condition (Macchiarella 1996: p. 234). It is therefore only where community gatherings still persist in Latera that one finds the performance of music in general and multipart vocal music in particular. These are religious celebrations such as those for Holy Week, the feasts of St. Isidoro and St. Angelo, and various celebrations of the Madonna. During the year there are also a few non-religious rituals such as the *Befanata* and the *Scampanata*.

During the Holy Week procession there is music played by the town band alone, as well as the unaccompanied chants of the men's confraternities and women's devotional songs (Caruso 2010). The other processions of the year are generally accompanied by the town band, while, during the celebrations for the Madonna, only the devotional songs dedicated to her are executed by both men and women together. During the *befanata* on January 6th (the day of the Epiphany, represented in Italy by an old witch called the *Befana*), two specific songs are performed around the town, accompanied by various instruments, mostly played by the town band (Caruso 2011). Finally in the St. Andrew's *scampanata* on the night of November 30th, the children drag various metal objects around the streets of the town, making as much noise as possible (on this ritual see Caruso 2007).

Latera è un paese forte con la 'musica' e con il canto, hanno un buon orecchio (Latera is a strong town for 'music' and song, where the people have a good ear)

Latera is still generally considered to be inhabited by people with a good aptitude for music. "*People always used to sing: it was another world*"[4] are words that I have heard from many people. The people sang on all kinds of occasions: on the road leading to the fields, during agricultural work, in houses, during collective work, at the inn, and in every kind of religious function.[5]

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4 I have chosen not to cite the exact source for each quotation, to avoid encumbering the text. All these interviews were made between 2008 and 2010 and the respondents are: Pina and Giulio Magalotti, Pietro and Giuseppe Moretti, Livia Fiorucci, Oliena Ginanneschi, Don Roberto, Dario Tramontana, Gino Bonelli, Maria Evangelista, Felice Cinque, Maddalena Ginanneschi, Anna Ginanneschi, Angelo Tramontana, Giovanni Luca, Mafalda Onori, Maria Canepuccia, Maria Assunta Magalotti, Giuseppa Giannarini, and Oliva Iacarelli.

5 Instruments, except those of the band, had a decidedly secondary role in Latera. My conversations revealed that there were some instrumental performers, and even an ac-

In 1886 Marsiliani, the only written source we have for the musical past of Latera, wrote that men and women sang at almost every moment of the day in Latera, so that the valleys echoed with their voices and that they used song to express their thoughts and feelings, often communicating at a great distance (Marsiliani 1886). He collected many texts of these songs: *stornelli*[6], *rispetti* (short lyrical songs), *canti a dispetto* (songs of protest or defiance), serenade, and 'a passagallo' arias. Unfortunately, the scholar did not put any melodies on paper, nor did he make any mention of the way they were performed.

"*Latera is a town with a strong tradition of 'music' and song, where the people have a good ear.*" The people of Latera never tire of expressing words to this effect, meaning not only that they have a good ear for music and good intonation, but also a particularly proficient and competent faculty of listening (in the sense of Murray Schafer's sound landscape) which is now being lost. The people's identification with singing marks the town out from other neighbouring towns: "*The people of Grotte and of Gradoli cannot sing! Even the worst singer of Latera sings better than them.*"

"*Uno partiva e tutti dietro!*" ("One started and everyone else followed")

But how did they sing? As regards the songs and chants that are still performed (those related to Holy Week) we know that they are multipart: the women's repertoires have two voices in succession and running parallel at a distance of a third; those for men have a *primo* (a "first" voice) singing the melody, a choir of *secondi* (seconds) singing a second voice entering in succession a third below, and two or three children, defined as *terzini* (thirds) who sing the melody of the *secondi* an octave higher.

As regards the other songs, unrelated to devotional practice, there are no traces in the rare existing studies in this field[7] and it has therefore become a widespread belief among scholars that the only multipart vocal music repertoires in the Tuscia area (the area around Lake Bolsena and the borders of the regions of Lazio, Umbria and Tuscany) were those of Holy Week.[8]

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cordion teacher in the town. The instruments most often referred to are the guitar and the accordion, which accompanied the voice in the serenade, but they are mentioned in a casual way, showing that any instrumental music that was not for the band was not considered to be very important.

6 Short lyrical songs of 3 or 4 hendecasyllablic verses.

7 Besides the previously mentioned Marsiliani, Gigi Zanazzo (1910) and Luigi Cimarra (1999) published texts on the area.

8 See Leydi 1993: p. 21 "in northern Lazio [...] the modalities of profane singing are exclusively monophonic or connected to archaic poly-vocal forms [...] without a relationship to the modalities of the religious repertoire." (my translation). According to Arcangeli 1992: p. 10 "These are the only examples of poly-vocal songs from the oral tradition now present in the Viterbo area" (my translation). The problem is twofold: on the one hand, much research in the past, in this area as well as in many other places, focused on documenting the reper-

In the Romantic period there was an almost exclusive interest in the repertoires of *stornelli* and serenades, perhaps because it was easier to simply transcribe the texts, which were the only factor taken into account. Many of the subsequent studies of this zone (and others outside it) were based on archival recordings made by going from village to village and from house to house, asking people to sing, outside the context of any real performances. I myself have operated in the same way, taking it for granted that the contexts for singing no longer existed. This meant that the songs that I recorded, like most of those that had been collected previously, were sung to me with a solo voice. This way of collecting songs, when it is not accompanied by explanations of how they are performed, has nevertheless proved to be totally misleading (usually only the "context" is mentioned, specifying only from whom, to whom, where and when the song was learned by the singer).

Only when I persisted in the practice of documentation and in-depth discussion with the people of Latera, did a fact emerge that they took for granted: people hardly ever used to sing these songs alone, as it was not considered to be "bello" (this word has a wide variety of meanings ranging from beautiful, lovely and wonderful to good, nice or amusing, although in this context the aesthetic aspect of the word is no doubt more pertinent). Thanks to meticulous and precise research, a repertoire of secular multipart singing emerged that is now rarely executed and that is separated from its original context, which was related to working environments or to serenading or drinking in the wineries and cellars. As these are practices that have disappeared I was only able to document the ballads of storytellers and the songs of the *Alpini* (the Italian Alpine troops).

The first of these date back to the nineteen-twenties. They have been memorized and executed with melodic and rhythmic variations that are sometimes quite substantial, depending on the context – whether it be in the fields or in the wineries – mainly in multipart form, with two and sometimes three voices. The songs of the *Alpini* entered the repertoire of Latera, thanks to those villagers who had participated in the Great War and who sang them for decades at every veterans' gathering organized in the town, so that these songs were soon fixed in the memory of all the villagers. But another source for learning them was the commercial versions of these songs that appeared in the sixties and seventies, such as Gigliola Cinquetti's 1972 record *Su e giù per le montagne* (Up and down the mountains).

In fact, following the end of World War II, the diffusion of recordings on vinyl disc or on the radio (although there was only one in the town at that time) meant that modern songs quickly supplanted the previous forms of singing in Latera. The beautiful lyrics of these songs were very striking, and they told touching stories, or described romantic, passionate and dramatic events and scenes, as in *Ciliegi e rose* ("Cherries and Roses", Luciano Tajoli, 1951), *Grazie dei fior* ("Thank you for the flowers", Nilla

toires but not on the practices of performance and on the other hand, there was a lack of attention to the multipart singing repertoires. Regarding the lack of attention to multipart singing repertoires in Italian ethnomusicological studies, see Macchiarella 2006: p. 205.

Pizzi, 1951) and later songs such as *Fiume Amaro* ("Bitter River". Iva Zanicchi, 1970). In Latera all of these songs were, and still are, usually performed with two voices, one male and one female (or with two mixed voices) as the contexts of performance involved both men and women. This entailed a simple polyphony with two or three voices in succession, running parallel to each other at a distance of a third and with cadences of a 3rd or an octave. In a certain sense they were "Laterized", since they were executed in the same way as all the other local songs.

It should, in fact, be pointed out that in Latera, except for some rare cases, there was a constant habit of multi-voice singing, whatever the repertoire was. The exception to this rule, apart from the solo performance of serenades and *stornelli*, consisted of people who were particularly keen on singing, and who sang on non-community occasions. For the women, this was while tending to the family garden or the house, while the men did not sing so much while working in the family gardens or vineyards, usually done alone, but more often at the tavern or winery with their friends.

It is interesting to note that in both of these contexts (women at home and men at the tavern) there was an act of communication. In fact, in the case of singing in the garden or vineyard, everyone I interviewed frequently stressed that their voice could be heard from there all the way to the village, and when talking of singing in the house they say: "*our houses used to be open*" (meaning that they usually kept their doors and windows open, so that their neighbours could easily hear them). Naturally the inn or tavern is a stage *par excellence*, although the men do not specify this. Therefore the statements of the people of Latera indicate that the fact that other people could hear them was necessary, so that they too participated, simply by listening to the songs. This is clearly connected to the importance they gave to singing collectively, rather than individually, so that this principle also includes performances that are typically for a solo voice (or accompanied by instruments) such as *stornelli* and serenades, which by their nature are always performed for and offered to someone who is present. Otherwise usually "*uno partiva e tutti dietro!*" ("one started and everyone else followed!").

"Ma lì prima quando si cantava era una società! Si cantava sempre in branco, era bello." ("But when people sang it used to be a society! We always sang together, it was really beautiful")

During a recent chat about Latera, one of the town's inhabitants said to me enthusiastically: "*But when people sang it used to be a society! We always sang together, it was really beautiful.*" I feel that this phrase is emblematic and that it explains two fundamental elements that emerged from the interviews: being a "society" thanks to song, and the "beauty" of singing together.[9] Being a society through singing involves the presence of someone who listens (as already said, people in Latera never sang just for themselves)

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9 As regards the role of multipart singing in socializing, see Agamennone, 2006: pp. 46-51, and in an opposite sense, see Sassu 1978.

as well as the performance of songs in a group with two or three voices, as explained above, without necessarily making any distinction between men and women, who could sing either of the melodic lines on the basis of their own vocal register and the pitch of their voice (perhaps even moving between them during the performance).

It is perhaps no coincidence that the songs were only sung in two parts (occasionally with a third part an octave higher than the second part) in groups, which is a type of performance that involves no competition but rather a need to listen to the other singers in order to integrate the voices. In addition, the verb used for the action of the lower voice is *assecondare* (to back up, to support, to comply, to go along with or to follow). This term derives from the name given to the second voice, but it also indicates a function of the second voice in supporting and reinforcing the first, while at the same time relying upon it. This way of singing allowed everyone to participate, even if they did not have the necessary technical skills or an exact knowledge of the words and melodies of the songs.

Indeed I have often found that those who were accustomed to *assecondare* were often unable to remember the exact words and melodies of the songs. "*Era bello prima che si cantava sempre. È bello se si canta in tanti*" ("It was fun in the past when we always sang. It is beautiful if many people sing together") as another person said to me, expressing the sense of singing together as a form of socialization in addition to the emotional ties with (or simply the nostalgia for) a dramatic past that, although dominated by hunger and hard work, was always youthful and imbued with strong community values. In fact, when the people of Latera talk about multipart singing in contexts unconnected to religious rituals, they always end up talking about how people used to be more united and how everyone was more willing to help others, despite the harshness of their working life and precarious economic conditions. The practice of singing also alleviated fatigue and eased the weight on people's minds: "*Era fatica, non c'era da mangiare ma si campava anche cantando.*" ("It was hard work, there was nothing to eat but people survived also by singing"). And: "*Quando lavoravamo che cascavamo dalla fatica ci mettevamo a cantare e passava tutto*" ("When we were working and dropping from fatigue, we'd start to sing and everything went away.")

At the same time multipart singing allowed men and women to be together and get more intimate. "*Si cantava uomini e donne insieme*" ("Men and women sang together") is a phrase repeated by everyone several times. This was a desirable condition, since apart from while walking on the road to the fields and on a few other occasions, until the nineteen-sixties men and women were still always kept separate, or at a distance (even from their fiancés or fiancées!) and unmarried young women were hardly ever left alone. Singing was therefore important to encourage one another to be strong by joining forces in just two voices, without giving particular emphasis to what was being sung: "*Cantavamo quello che capitava, quello che ci veniva in mente, quasi tutto*". ("We sang whatever came about, whatever we could think of, almost everything"). The beauty of singing together was thus not due to the choice of specific songs or the difficulties of executing them.

"Noi si cantava tutti a orecchio. Cantavamo come veniva" ("We sang it all by ear. We sang as it came to us")

It was not important in Latera to have a voice that was educated or formed by practice, but simply to take part. "*A Latera sono tutti canterini*" ("Everyone is into singing in Latera") as the villagers say. This is true, but if you ask them directly how they sang, they quickly belittle themselves, saying that they have not studied music, and that they cannot really sing: "*Si canta come si sa cantare*" ("People sing however they can."). And yet they do have an unspoken aesthetic idea of singing and the right way to sing. This fact emerges when they reflect on the subject with me, and they begin to compare their performances in the past with those of the present, "*tempi di prima cantavamo meglio*" ("in the past we sang better"). In fact, various statements indicate that the way people approached singing was very different in the past and their sense of involvement was different, both on an emotional and a technical level. Both of these factors are related, in my opinion, to the socializing function of singing together.

Here are a few typical Latereis phrases referring to their singing habits: "*quanto cantavano bene, così fitte le voci...*"; "*Se cantava de core*"; "*sono meno spiegate adesso, sono più moderate*" ("how well they sang, with their voices so close together..."; "we sang from our hearts" "now they don't sing so much at the top of their voices, they are more moderate"). These people therefore feel that in a good performance, the voices must merge with each other and they must express or convey emotion. Of course, one has to be in tune and have a pleasant voice, and one's voice has to be strong and bright: "*Per essere bella la voce si deve sentire*" ("To be beautiful one's voice has to be heard"). By "*bella*" the Latereis evidently mean full and loud, and this entails singing "*de core*" (from the heart or in a heartfelt way) and with passion.

This fact explains the choice of the new songs that have been memorized over time (they are complete stories, telling of tragic events and true feelings) and it also explains the strong persistence of para-liturgical songs and chants among women working in the fields, which enabled them to express their religious devotion; for example when they went to "*fare terra nera*" (literally "to make black earth") i.e. to weed the wheat fields in January. It is no coincidence that the people of Latera remember many ancient ballads that tell of extraordinary events in people's lives: dramatic and emblematic stories that move the listener and stir up the emotions, in a sort of collective catharsis. The same applies to the more modern songs that have become part of their repertoire, which tell of love and suffering, with which the people of Latera could empathize. All of these songs allowed them to express emotions that were otherwise constrained by social conventions - as regards the intimate sentiments and love - and work restrictions, which made it impossible to express open disagreement with their employer (the inhabitants of Latera were all agricultural labourers, since almost all of the land was the property of only two families, who dictated the rules for everyone else).

Sound hierarchies

But in order to do all this - socializing, relieving one's fatigue, expressing one's emotions and singing *de core* - was it really necessary to sing with two voices? Would it not have worked just as well if everyone had sung the same part (although maybe at an octave between the men and the women)? The conversations I had on the subject of singing multipart songs and chants revealed the existence of a whole musical hierarchy that is still universally agreed upon and which appeared initially in people's particular expressions and brief statements, and then became clearer as I asked more specific questions about it.

When they speak of singing for many voices, everyone's model of reference is that of the chants of the men's confraternities performed in Holy Week. It is only for this repertoire, for example, that a terminology has been developed to describe the positioning of the voices. By using any one of these chants as an example, the people are able to explain how they used to sing. They give less importance to secular songs, while they have a great respect for devotional songs or chants and those who sing them.

The term "musica" (music) normally refers in Latera (as in many other parts of Italy) to the repertoire of a band, while the term "polifonia" (polyphony) is only used for the chants of the men's confraternities. At the apex of vocal expressiveness are the chants that the confraternities performed during the Good Friday procession, followed by those that the women sang during the procession on the night between Thursday and Friday (this procession is known as *La Desolata*), and then all the other songs.

Secular singing is not considered to be beautiful, but its value lies in the possibility it provides for socialization and emotional expression. The devotional songs for women are beautiful because they express the highest of emotions, those that are connected to faith. The chants of the confraternities should also express emotion ("*Sì Lisandro era tutta un'altra cosa, ci metteva il core!*" - "Yes, Lisandro was something else. He put his heart into it!"). But they are enveloped in an aura of deeper importance, referring to a different, almost mythical, space and time. This is certainly due to their greater complexity. In fact, while the people normally learned to sing by ear, while singing in the fields, at home and in church, there was a structured learning process for the chants of Holy Week: children with the potential to be *terzini* went to the Prior's house where he instructed them for several months. They were then screened by the *primo*, who gave them further instruction, and the choir began rehearsals on the day after the Epiphany (January 6th). All of this involved a great commitment.[10]

This was due to several reasons, such as the fact that these chants are sung in Latin and the execution of the music has to be flawless. In addition, the performance is complicated by the fact that there are no precise indications or objective references to a specific metre and tempo for singing them. The *primo* must be able to confidently sing

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10 The rehearsal of songs performed by the children who took part in the procession on Friday dressed as angels began just 20 days before Easter, usually supervised by a devout woman, recognized as an expert singer. On the role of women as vocal leaders and bearers of musical culture, see Agamennone 1988.

an appropriate opening note of every verse and make his voice resonate loudly, while the *secondi* have to precisely *assecondare* (go along with) the tempo of the *primo* and blend perfectly with it, combining with it in a satisfying union. The same applies to the *terzini*, who must also be careful not to sing so loud as to cover the other voices. But the great importance attributed to these chants is no doubt due to their antiquity and perhaps also the recent interest shown in them by ethnomusicologists.

Ruralization or specialization?

In 1984, Pietro Arcangeli, assisted by an ethnomusicologist from the Province of Viterbo's *Centre for Cataloging Cultural Heritage* , recorded the chants of Latera during the Good Friday procession. He made a long-playing record[11] of three of them and invited the singers to participate in the concerts and events organized for the European Year of Music, which was being held that same year. These chants were duly performed and recorded in Venice and were included in the 4-LP box-set *Canti liturgici di tradizione orale*, released in 1987 by Arcangeli, Leydi, Morelli and Sassu.[12] The chants of both these recordings are the *Christus*, the *Miserere* and the *Stabat Mater*.

The booklets published with these recordings reveal the connection between the paraliturgical repertoires of the oral tradition and the world of high culture, as well as their connection with an ancient tradition. As regards the repertoire of Latera, Arcangeli points out how exceptional the presence of the *Christus* and the *Stabat Mater* is. In fact there is very little evidence of the first chant in contexts such as these, while the latter is normally reserved for women. All of this scholarly interest deeply impressed the people of Latera and filled them with pride.

Arcangeli (1993) also puts forward the hypothesis that in Italy, liturgical songs and chants of the oral tradition were first created as monophonic in medieval times, becoming polyphonic much later, perhaps starting in the late XIVth in the period of the Counter-Reformation, as happened elsewhere.[13] He also states that "the processional-

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11 Arcangeli 1989 (see discography) tracks: A/5 Stabat Mater (verse "O quam tristi et afflitta"), B/7 *Christus factus est* (all) and B/8 *Miserere* (verses "Tibi soli" e "Amplius"). Arcangeli explains that wind and rain made it difficult to record the chants, but that it is good "*to reproduce some of the charm of the surrounding sounds and noises (including the band, in the distance)*".

12 Arcangeli-Leydi-Morelli- Sassu 1987 (see discography). The songs of Latera are on disc 2, side B, tracks 4, 5 and 6 of the 4 disc LP *Canti liturgici di tradizione orale* (Liturgical chants of the oral tradition), which is the first comprehensive collection of this repertoire in Italy. A language criterion was used in the selection of the chants and songs, since only those performed in Latin were chosen.

13 Arcangeli 1993 also stated that the confraternities appropriated and adapted these chants following the Council of Trent (1545-1563) which required churches to simplify the rites and therefore eliminate professional singers. According to Roberto Leydi: "In the XVI-I[th] we find the confraternities in the forefront of the 'spectacularization' of liturgical and

penitential rite of the confraternities [...]suffered a progressive 'ruralization', and that the transformation of the confraternal repertoire of song into its current polyvocal, polyphonic and folkloristic form, must have begun in this transition" (Arcangeli 1989: p. 6). But was this really the case?

On the one hand, the fact that all songs and chants in Latera are performed by *assecondando* (going along with or backing up) could lead one to believe that Arcangeli is right and that at an unknown past time the inhabitants of Latera adapted the confraternal chants to a local and "rural" polyphonic singing style. Not for 4 voices, as in many other places, but for three voices, with the addition of the *terzini* an octave higher than the second voice (i.e. at a distance of a fifth from the first). It is nevertheless the case that this way of singing is very widespread throughout Italy, and it is not really typical of this particular repertoire or this specific area of Italy.

On the other hand for the people of Latera, the confraternal chants are considered to be the most important kind of singing, representing the song *par excellence*. It seems likely that this has always been the case, so perhaps what happened was that the most prestigious singing style, that of the confraternities, was established first, and that it influenced the way people sang on all other occasions.

In the confraternal chants there is not a dominant or preeminent voice, but an inseparable unified block consisting of two melodic lines, which are spontaneously arranged during each performance in a direct and simultaneous relationship, in the form of a polyphonic linear-horizontal superimposition (Agamennone 1988: pp. 455-456). In secular singing there is instead a kind of continuity with the ancient practice of combining two vocal parts *ex improviso* (as in the medieval liturgical songs - see Leydi, 1973: p. 12-18). A leading and conducting melodic line is indeed to be found (comparable to the tenor, or the *cantus prius factus* which is a determinant factor in cultured polyphony), which is joined by the second voice, often improvised according to the usual practice of singing a third below. As I have already mentioned, I noted in several interviews that those who sing the second voice often do not know the melody of the first voice, but they improvise while following the first voice.

It is also for this reason that the confraternal chants have a lot more embellishments, a more varied range of cadenzas, a freer articulation of the first part (so that sometimes while the *secondi* and the *terzini* stay on one note, the *primo* embellishes the melody by moving to adjacent notes). These features are still partially present in women's devotional songs and chants but are totally absent from the performances of secular songs. Nevertheless, I believe that secular performances are not the result of pure improvisation, so much as a specialization in the doubling of the melody acquired through the

especially para-liturgical rites, as evidenced by an extensive documentation which is also iconographic. It is probably in this period that the singing practice of many confraternities developed, which has survived until today, even where the old confraternal functions are finished and have fallen out of use."(Leydi 1993: p. 23 - my translation)

confraternal practice, since there were once three choirs in the town (one for each confraternity), each of which had a lot of members. However, I have observed that over the last five years in the different performances of the confraternal chants and in the discussions about them, the idea that this form of chant is fixed and unchangeable and must always be repeated in the same way, has gradually increased. This could derive from the growing attention that it has received in recent years, all of which has also led to an increasingly rigid execution of these chants. In fact, the analysis of the three chants of the confraternities (*Christus*, *Miserere* and *Stabat Mater*) reveals a number of melodic and rhythmic formulas that are frequently repeated at different points of the chant (see figures 1 and 2).

I think that the formulas illustrated in the figures 1 and 2 represent the basic minimum units of formalization that can be combined in different ways according to the rite, as pointed out by Macchiarella in the context of the confraternal Sicilian repertoire (Macchiarella 1995: p. 44).

Arcangeli affirms that "The para-liturgical repertoire of the oral tradition is to be studied not as a place of contiguity, but rather as a lively meeting point of sometimes contradictory dynamics of exchange between folkloristic modes and cultured stylistic features." (Arcangeli 1898: p. 5 – my translation).

I fear that we will never know what the exact process might have been, both due to the lack of documentary material and the impossibility of discovering it from interviews with the local people. This is not only because of the remote time when these processes took place, but also because the people's discourses lose all objectivity, due to everyone's desire to locate these chants in a semi-mythical time and space: the older people because of their nostalgia for their youth, and the younger people because of their desire to present this kind of song as a local heritage. It thus seems to me to be more fruitful to examine the present dynamics, and especially the by now well-established process of addition of a new symbolic meaning to an aspect of a shared heritage or of a "patrimonialization", which is apparent both from the analysis of the local musical practice itself and from the observation of various other elements.

The process of "patrimonialization"

Let us therefore examine Arcangeli's recordings. On the first occasion in 1984 we can hear both the singers of the Confraternity of the *Santissimo Sacramento* (the Holy Sacrament) also simply called the "Santissimo" and those of the Confraternity of the *Santo Rosario* (the Holy Rosary), also known as "the Confraternity of the Madonna", while those of the Confraternity of the *Misericordia* are absent, since they have not performed since the late fifties.[14] The second recording is of a single choir of all three

14 Communication from Ludovico Adamini, August 8th 2010,

Figure 1 - Miserere 2010, transcription by Fulvia Caruso. The formulas in question are enclosed IED

Figure 2 - Stabat Mater 2010. Transcription by Fulvia Caruso. the formulas in question are enclosed in red

confraternities. In fact starting from the time of the 1984 Venice concert, this unified choir of the confraternities, with two voices, would sing in the town's processions.

This choir was put together by Ludovico Adamini, the Prior of the Confraternity of the *Santissimo Sacramento*, on the occasion of the Venice concert (which was to be the first in a series of concerts that are still continuing). This was because many of the singers refused to perform the Holy Week chants for a concert, making it necessary to incorporate the few that were left and to recruit some talented singers, who were not members of the confraternities but who were immediately enrolled into each of the three existing confraternities in equal numbers. Also the *primo*, the principal and fundamental role, had to be replaced, since neither the *primo* of the *Madonna* nor that of the *Santissimo* wished to take part in the concert. The creation of a single choir also forced a decision as to how to sing the three chants, as each confraternity had their own particular variant.[15]

For the concert in Venice they decided to perform the versions of the Confraternity of the *Santissimo*, since as Arcangeli has said they were the most beautiful.[16] From then on they stuck to this choice also in their processions, with the exception of the *Christus* performed at the Station of Calvary,[17] for which the Confraternity of the *Madonna's* version was used until a few years ago.

The creation of a single choir, also existing after the occasion of the concert, was dictated by the fact that "The confraternities had completely disappeared and for a period only that of the 'Madonna' sang and that was because Uncle Giovanni was still there. The tone of the *Christus* of the Confraternity of the '*Santissimo*' was recovered thanks to Macariuccio, because he had been away from Latera for some years and on his return, he remembered that the version of the Confraternity of the *Santissimo Sacramento* was different and he reintroduced it."[18]

At present however, the *Christus* version of the Confraternity of the *Madonna* is no longer performed, and since Arcangeli only recorded the versions of the Confraternity of the *Santissimo Sacramento*, it has almost been lost. The Choir sings it rarely, and only during rehearsals. The Confraternity of the *Misericordia's* version has now

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15 The musical analysis of the versions recorded by Arcangeli and myself shows how in all three songs there are variations of three respective original versions, which have undergone changes due to the fact that the choirs learned and performed their songs separately, transmitting them from mouth to ear within each confraternity.

16 Communication from Gino Monelli, August 21th 2010

17 The *Christus* is performed three times: in the church at the start of the procession, at the Station of Calvary (towards the end of the procession), and finally again in the church. It is always performed while standing still. At one time, the first of these performances was sung by the choir of the Confraternity of *Santissimo*, the second by the Choir of the Confraternity of the *Madonna*, and the third by the Choir of the Confraternity of the *Misericordia*.

18 Communication from Giuseppe Moretti, September 9th, 2010 – my translation.

Figure 3 - The certificate of a member of the choir.

Figure 4 - Christus 1985 in Arcangeli's transcription

been lost forever.[19]

Arcangeli's attention and the invitations from various organizations for the Confraternities of Latera's Choir to perform in many concerts over the years have certainly contributed to a process of 'patrimonialization' based upon this repertoire. Over a four year period I was gradually able to reconstruct this process. It took me such a long time because the Lateresi tended to diminish the fact of having created a single choir and of the conflicts within the choirs deriving from the decision to start performing in concerts (and therefore outside the traditional ritual occasions), and they certainly omitted to say that it was created from scratch for the occasion of the Venice concert . Those who assert the beauty and superiority of the confraternal chant fail to mention that in the sixties and seventies, this tradition was already in the process of being lost; that the version of the *Santissimo* was only recovered thanks to Macariuccio when he returned from abroad; that the versions of the Confraternity of the *Misericordia* were lost at the end of the fifties when everyone who knew the chants had died, while those of the *Madonna* were lost when those who were left, decided to create a single choir. No-one mentions the changes in the versions and performances,[20] unless I insist on this point and even then only in an incomplete and fragmentary way. Without going into the details of the policies implemented by the members of the different fraternities, two concrete examples will suffice for us to understand the process of 'patrimonialization': the position of the choir within the Good Friday procession and the introduction of a certificate for every choir member.

Whereas at one time, the three choirs were placed at a certain distance from each other in the procession- at the front, the middle and the rear - so that even though each performance was separate, the procession was completely enfolded by their singing, nowadays, the organizers place the Choir in the middle, following the people dressed up to represent the different characters of the Passion of Christ and before the part of the procession consisting of the religious institutions, namely the parish priest and the other priests, the choirboys, the members of the confraternities bearing Christ's coffin, the statue of the Madonna and various sacred objects and religious regalia. The Choir thus acts as a sort of bridge between the civil and the religious spheres, as it embodies and fuses the two main reasons why the Lateresi take part in the procession: religious devotion and the sense of belonging to their town. In fact the people representing

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19 After several entreaties I was able to record the Confraternity of the Madonna's version of the *Christus* during a rehearsal of the Choir in 2009 and in 2010, a fragment of the *Miserere* of the Confraternity of the *Misericordia* Choir performed by Gino Bonelli, who had learned it a few years earlier from Felice D'Ercoli, the oldest member of the choir who only remembered the beginning of the song, but did not want to teach it to the Choir for reasons connected to local village politics. I had to promise Gino that I would not publish it.

20 Until the end of the nineteen-fifties, for example, while singing the *Miserere* and the *Christus* the *primo* alternated a sung verse with a verse read out loud. Today, the verses that used to be read have simply been deleted.

the town and its involvement who participate in the first part of the procession – the majority, since almost everyone in Latera wants to participate in the parade, whereas the confraternities have few members – express both their faith and their intention to show how good the Lateresi are at organizing processions and getting involved. On the other hand, the members of the confraternities who carry Christ's coffin and all the religious paraphernalia express their faith in a more direct way.

The certificate was introduced due to the need to give importance to the singers. It states the mission of the choir, which clearly has a 'patrimonializing' intention, emphasizing the antiquity of the chants and the role of the Choir in preserving them and making them known. The certificate reads as follows:

"This Choir was founded on October 5th 1985 with the aim of making known and giving value to the historical-musical **heritage** of the traditional **medieval** liturgy of Latera, the **pride of the whole community**". (my translation)

I believe that this process of 'patrimonialization' can also be detected in the comparative musical analysis of the performances recorded by Arcangeli and those recorded by myself.

Christus

Of the Christus we can compare online the version of the Confraternity of the *Santissimo*, the only one that is still performed. A comparison of the versions of 1985 and 2010 shows that the *'tactus'* and the vocal qualities have been changed (see figures 4 and 5).

Miserere

The change in the vocal qualities is even more evident in a comparison of the different versions of the *Miserere*, as can be seen in the spectrogram of the incipit of the verse "Amplius" in figure 6.

The spectrum of the voices in the 1985 version (on the left of the figure 6) shows a more concentrated intensity, while in the 2010 execution, the intensity is more distributed over all of the harmonics.

Stabat Mater

As can be seen in the transcription of Stabat Mater 1985 (figure 7) and of the Miserere 1985 (figure 8) and 2010 (figure 1), the tempo was much freer and more elastic in 1985. With respect to my transcribed 2010 version (cf. figure 2) the embellishments are not always in the same places and in general, the 2010 version of Stabat Mater has

Figure 5. Christus 2010, transcription by Fulvia Caruso

fewer embellishments.[21]

In their notes dedicated to the liturgical chants of the oral tradition, both Arcangeli and Leydi emphasized the vocal expansion that characterizes the chants of southern-central Italy, which are quite unlike the repertoires of northern Italy. Arcangeli indi-

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21 It should also be stressed that *Stabat Mater* always has more embellishments than *Miserere* and *Christus*.
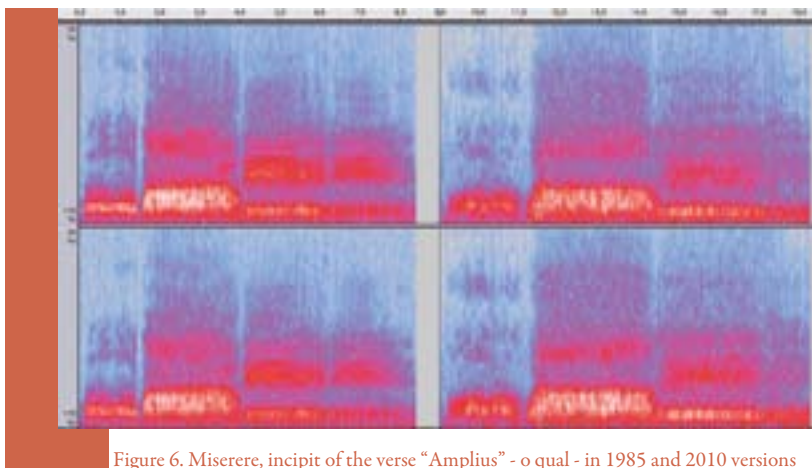
Figure 6. Miserere, incipit of the verse "Amplius" - o qual - in 1985 and 2010 versions

Figure 7. Stabat Mater 1985. Transcription by Piero Arcangeli

cates certain "timbric-executive qualities" as being characteristically "Mediterranean" and "Southern" (Arcangeli 1993: p. 10), while for Leydi, the salient quality of these chants is the "tendency towards a 'sonic expansion', which is not only 'vertical' (involving the participation of many voices and an attempt to attain a great intensity and almost always a strong volume of sound), but also 'horizontal'" which is often not expressed by a preference for slow and very slow tempos, so much as in "slow roulades on single syllables (and often repeats) which on the one hand literally 'destroy' the verbal text (which becomes a support for the 'sound'), while on the other hand, lead to the

Figure 8 - Miserere 1985, transcription by Piero Arcangeli.

enunciation of even one verse to extraordinary lengths." (Leydi 1987: p. 21)

In Latera, vertical density is ensured by the presence of the *terzini* but even more by the presence of so many men singing one voice (*secondi*), while the horizontal expansion is ensured by the choice of long tempos, emphasis on individual syllables with embellishments and slow roulades and a significant presence of *portamenti* so as to create a continuous "carpet of sound". All of these devices and features are more present in current performances than in those of the past. The *portamenti* are more frequent, often the three voices move together in short passages on a higher note (while in the past only the *primo* used to do so, while the others handling a unique note), some phrases are emphasized (such as "misericordia" in the *Miserere*). Anything that can make the performance even more "solemn" is employed, as can be seen in the comparison between Arcangeli's *Miserere* transcription and mine of the 2010 performance.

I therefore think I can safely say that the importance attributed to these chants by the older Lateresi has been increased among young people thanks to a process of 'patrimonialization' of the chants. This may also be the reason why the changes made to the ritual performances are not mentioned, for the sake of maintaining a sense of historical continuity, as the singers' certificate tends to indicate. In the midst of its ongoing disintegration, the society and culture of Latera has thus found a reference point in the chants of the confraternities, which is not merely invented or created from scratch, but which is based on a recognition of their importance that already exists. This is therefore a case of 'patrimonialization' which maintains a genuine connection with a real tradition in the past.

Proof of this is the fact that the songs for solo voices, such as the *stornelli*, have even disappeared from the local people's memories (in fact only one person was even able to remember a fragment, either of the texts or of the melodies), multi-voice secular songs are no longer performed in Latera and hardly anyone still remembers them, and also the women's devotional chants, which were considered less important, have practically disappeared (they are now performed by a few women helped by some men)[22] and have gradually been replaced by the male confraternal chants during the procession of the *Desolata*.

A further testimony to the process of 'patrimonialization' in Latera is the desire to exclude women from the confraternities and the later single Choir of the confraternities, even though women have always had a significant social role in Latera. This kind of exclusion has always been practiced, except for a few rare exceptions. For example on one occasion in the fifties, the *primo* of the Confraternity of the *Misericordia* choir fell ill and his daughter, who had learned the songs thanks to having heard her father

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22 In the summer of 2010, after various attempts over a number of years, I managed to hear and record three of these songs, the ones which everyone considered to be the most beautiful, performed by some elderly women. In my report for the Cagliari Symposium I had the opportunity to play a recording of them, but I have chosen to omit them here.

teaching them to the *terzini* at the family home, sang in his place with her face hidden by the hood of the confraternal habit. Also in the nineties, due to the lack of boys willing to sing as *terzini,* a few girls were involved, again with their faces hidden by the hood of their habit. In both cases the experiment to include women failed because so many of the local people disapproved of the idea. They preferred to let the versions of the *Miserere,* the *Stabat Mater*, and the *Christus* as sung by the Confraternity of the *Misericordia* die out and do without *terzini* for ten years, rather than depart from the rule that women should be excluded from such practices.

Choir of the confraternities in procession, Holy Friday 2005 (by Aldo Pancrazi)

Choir of the Confraternities in church, end of the Holy Friday procession 2005 (by Aldo Pancrazi)

Characters of te Holy Friday procession 2005 (by Aldo Pancrazi)

Specific features of performing Lithuanian polyphonic songs – sutartinės:

singing as birdsong

Daiva Račiūnaitė-Vyčinienė

Making Multipart Music: Case Studies

Sutartinės have certain characteristic features: intervals of the second, complementary rhythmic structures, parallel melodic and textual lines (meaningful text and refrains), abundant refrains consisting of vocables (*sadūno*; *dautuvo*; *rititatoj*; *tūto*; *tatato* and others). Fanfare motifs are the basis of many *sutartinė* melodies.

At the beginning of the XXth century when the collective *sutartinė* singing tradition had started to wane in rural Lithuania, we find these descriptions of the singing practice:

"Sutartines gieda arba tūtuoja. Sakydavo: kaip gražiai tūtuoja. Tūtuoja kaip gulbės." (Sutartinės are sung as hymns or tooted. They used to say: 'How beautifully they toot. They toot like swans') (Paliulis 1959: p. 328);

"Trejinė. Kaip ir gulbės tūtuodavām." (The 'threesome.' We tooted like the swans) (Slaviūnas 1958: p.660, rec. 1939);

"Keturinės dainos – senybinės. Aš, Rimšės parapijoj augdama, jau negirdėjau keturinių giedant, tik mes su motina giedodavom, tai žmonės labai klausydavo. Daina – kaip gervių gargėjimas." (Keturinės - 'Foursome' - songs are old. I never heard the 'foursomes' sung while I was growing up in Rimšė Parish. Only my mother and I sang them and when we did, people would really listen. The song was like the garbling of cranes) (Slaviūnas 1958: p. 734, rec. 1939).

It has often been thought that descriptions of *sutartinė* singing, such as *kaip gulbė tūtuoja* (like the tooting of a swan), *kaip gervės gargsi* (the song is like the croaking of cranes) were merely metaphors reflecting the singers' appreciation of these birds – both for their appearance and for the sounds they emit. In this paper, I attempt to reveal a more direct link between *sutartinės* and birdsong. I believe that the comparisons with *sutartinės* are not inadvertent.

Figure 1 - Sutartinės Singers from Rokiškis(Zenonas 1958: p. 224)

The variety of swan that breeds in Lithuania (*Cygnus Cygnus*, Whooper Swan) is heard at a great distance and is reminiscent of trumpeting (incidentally, Eurasian swans are akin to American Trumpeter Swans – *Cygnus buccinators*). The sounds of Whooper Swans suggest the trumpet-like inflections typical of *sutartinės* and their intense production approximates the aesthetic of *sutartinės* articulation. It is less likely but possible, that the singers may also have been imitating the sounds of the smaller Tundra Swan (*Cygnus columbianus*), which produces a penetrating sound similar to that of the Whooper Swan, but less reminiscent of trumpeting; describable as a melodic gaggle. After examining recordings of birdsongs, we can state that the articulation of *sutartinės* and swan songs have in common not only the trumpet-like melodic motifs, but also sharp, accented attacks on single repeated pitches or on several different pitches. Commonalities between *sutartinė* singing and swan song are also expressed in the folk usage term *tūtavimas* (verbal n; inf. *Tūtuoti* 'to toot') 'tooting.' In Lithuanian traditional culture, the word has many different meanings in addition to the ones already mentioned. The term deserves further discussion, which I would now like to present. *Tūtavimas* 'tooting' (a verbal noun with the same root as the verb *tūtuoti / tutuoti* (inf.) 'to toot') in Lithuanian multi-voiced musical tradition means both blowing (piping, trumpeting) on *ragai* 'horns' or *daydytė* – long wooden trumpets (or on *skudučiai* – Lithuanian multi-part whistles), and the singing (as well as dancing) of *sutartinės*. The standard Lithuanian dictionary (see http://lkz.mch.mii.lt) provides as many as eight meanings for the verb *tūtuoti*:

> 1. "Continuous shrieking, trumpeting (describing swans, cranes and geese)": *Tik senės žąsys ir žąsinai tūtuodavo kaip klarnetai.* (Only the old geese and ganders tooted like clarinets) (Antanas Miškinis); ‖ "to croak, hoot, pipe (describing frogs, bees and such)": *Varlės vandenyje tūtúoja balsu.*" (Frogs in the water toot in full voice.) ‖ "to give a piercing signal, to beep (as with an automobile)"; ‖ "to whistle, bluster (describing wind)."

Figure 3 - Players from Savučiai Village (Photo from Stasys Paliulis' personal archive)

2. "To cry out (regarding the hoopoe bird – *Upupa epops*)" : *Tututis tutúoja* (The *tututis* is tooting);

3. "Gurgle, bubble, putter (describing beer)": *Butelėlis striukakaklis jau nebetutuoja* (The short necked bottle no longer bubbles) (folksong citation from Niemi – Sabaliauskas 1912: p. 486);

4. "To pipe, to trumpet": *Skudučiais, sakydavo, ir groja, ir tūtúoja* (They used to say that they play or toot the *skudučiai*); *Turit trūbomis trūbyti (tūtuoti)* (You must toot on the trumpets); ‖ "To produce a continuous, melodious sound (on a musical instrument)";

5. "To sing (*sutartinės*)": *Kada užeidavo an seilės, tai ir tūtuodavom* (We would toot when the mood would strike);

6. "To wail (vocally)";

7. "To drink": *Gersim tūtúosim, niekam neduosim* (We will drink, guzzle, and share with no one) (from a folk song) ‖ "carouse, raucously revel": *Gerai klega, turbūt, seniai jau tūtuoja* (There's quite a clatter, they've probably been swigging for some time.)

8. "To slowly, laboriously barely amble, to lop about": A riddle: "Four are ambling and the fifth one sweeps" (A horse's legs and tail)."

In addition to the word *tūtuoti* we should also add other verbs with the same root: *ati/tūtúoti* "to approach slowly, laboriously": *Atitūtāvo kaip žąsys po lietaus* (They ambled up like geese after a rainstorm); *ištūtúoti*: 1. *išdūduoti*; 2. "to sing *sutartinės* for some time"; 3. "consume": *Greit visą bačkelę ištūtuōs* (Soon they'll guzzle the entire barrel); *nu/tūtúoti*: 1. "to fly away or depart while tooting"; 2. "to laboriously ramble away"; 3. "to work laboriously": *Kolei, būdavo, rugių lauką nutūtúoji – ir sutemsta* (It was quite

a job to work that field of rye); *pa/tūtúoti*: 1. "to trumpet"; 2. "to signal by tooting"; 3. "to have a hard life, to tire"; *par/tūtúoti*: 1. "to return while tooting": *Žąselės ir gulbelės tuojau partūtuos* (The geese and the swans will soon toot their way home); 2. "to arduously return"; *pra/tūtúoti*: 1. "to pass the time carousing and reveling" 2. "to guzzle away, to spend": *Tiek pinigų paėmei ir teip greit pratūtavaĩ* (You took so much money and you blew it away); *pri/tūtúoti*: 1. "to toot to fulfillment"; 2. "to drink to fulfillment": *Pritūtavo pieno ir miega kap suvystytas* (He drank the milk until he was full and is sleeping like a baby); 3. "lo load up, accumulate"; *su/tūtúoti*: 1. "to begin calling, trumpeting, tooting": *Ir atskrido pulkas gulbių, gražiai sutūtāvo* (A flock of swans appeared and trumpeted beautifully); 2. "to trumpet"; 3. "to signal by tooting"; 4. figuratively: "to agree, to be in harmony" : *Jie teip ir sustūtāvo* (And so they found harmony with one another); 5. "to drink up": *Vaikas pusbonkį pieno sutūtāvo* (The child guzzled half the bottle of milk); *už/tūtúoti*: 1. "to begin tooting, trumpeting": *Toli užtūtavo gervės* (The cranes began tooting from afar); 2. "to begin piping": *Išeidavom į kiemą ir užtutuodavom „Untytę* (We would go into the yard and begin piping *Untytė* - the title of a polyphonic piece – D. R.-V.]; 3. figuratively "to court bad luck": *Visą vakarą juokėsi, kol nelaimę užsitūtavo* (They cackled all night until they brought ill fortune on themselves.)

It is quite clear that the dominant meanings of the verb *tūtuoti* are: "to call continuously," "to pipe," "to hoot," "to give a signal," "to trumpet" "to sing *sutartinės*," etc. Most are associated with the emission of some kind of continuous sound. Interestingly, various forms of the word *tūtuoti* or *tūta* (with the root *tūt-* or *tut-*) are encountered as stable refrains:

- *tūta* (Slaviūnas 1958: no. 42, 613; 1959: no. 1625); *tuta* (Slaviūnas 1958: no. 325; 1959 no. 1267, 1660); *tūta tūta* (Slaviūnas 1958: no. 126, 592); *tuta tuta* (Slaviūnas 1958: no. 284; 1959: no. 1174); *lioj tūta* (Slaviūnas 1958: no. 125); *tyti tuta* (Slaviūnas 1958: p. 589); *tūta metūta* (Slaviūnas 1958: no. 588);

- *rima tūto* (Slaviūnas 1958: no. 163); *rimo tūto* (Slaviūnas 1958: no. 1587); *rimo tuta* (Slaviūnas 1958: no. 164); *rima tuta* (Slaviūnas 1958: no. 165); *rymo tūto* (Slaviūnas 1958: no. 487);

- *tūto* (Slaviūnas 1958: no. 124, 308, 590, 590, 613; 1959: no. 1397, 1607, 1651, 1675); *tūto tūto* (Slaviūnas 1958: no. 798); *tuto* (Slaviūnas 1958: no. 324); *tuto tuto* (Slaviūnas 1959: no. 1212, 1398, 1600); *ei tūto* (Slaviūnas 1958: no. 589, 590); *tūtoj* (Slaviūnas 1959: no. 1290); *tūto tatato* (Slaviūnas 1958: no. 1626); *tuto tuto tūto* (Slaviūnas 1958: no. 574); *vai čiūto tūto* (Slaviūnas 1958: no. 889);

- *tūto tūtava* (Slaviūnas 1958: no. 23); *tūtā tūtava* (Slaviūnas 1958: no. 510, 569, 574, 591); *tūto tūto tūtava* (Slaviūnas 1958: no. 569, 698);

- *tūto, be tūto, tuto (tūto)* (Slaviūnas 1958: no. 323, 325); *tūto, (j)ei tūto, tūto* (Slaviūnas 1958: no. 330a, b); *tūto be tūto* (Slaviūnas 1958: no. 649); *tūto, tūto, tūto, be tūto* (Slaviūnas 1958: no. 649);

- *tūto lylio tūto* (Slaviūnas 1958: no. 571, 1657); *tūto lylia* (Slaviūnas 1958: no. 712, 1658); *tūto lylio* (Slaviūnas 1959: no. 1656, 1657); *tūtoi, tūto, lilitėla* (Slaviūnas 1959: no. 1657); *tūto tūto, tūto lylio* (Slaviūnas 1958: no. 1233, 1437); *tuto*

lilia (Slaviūnas 1958: no. 1178); *tūtava lyliava* (Slaviūnas 1958: no. 712); *ei tūto, tūtoj, ei lylio, lylioi* (Slaviūnas 1958: no. 1299); *tūto tūto tūtovo, lylio* (Slaviūnas 1959: no. 1445); *tūtā, tūtava, lylia* (Slaviūnas 1959: no. 1659); *oi lylia, tūtoj, liliū-la, tūtoj* (Slaviūnas 1959: no. 1473);

- *tutu* (Slaviūnas 1958: no. 576); *tūtū* (Slaviūnas 1958: no. 577); *tutū* (Slaviūnas 1958: no. 613); *tota tutu, tutu totata* (Slaviūnas 1958: no. 614); *tutū tatā* (Slaviūnas 1958: no. 1213);

- *tutai tutai* (Slaviūnas 1958: no. 359); *tutai, tutaitai* (Slaviūnas 1958: no. 665);

- *tūto, tatatoj, bita ratutoj* (Slaviūnas 1958: no. 650); *tūta, tutoj, bite batutoj* (Slaviūnas 1958: no. 651); *tūto, tutoi, bite batuto* (Slaviūnas 1958: no. 652); *tūta, ratuota* (Slaviūnas 1959: no. 1333); *tūta, tūta, bitera tūta* (Slaviūnas 1959: no. 1457);

- *tūto tūto tūto valijo* (Slaviūnas 1959: no. 1264); *tūtavo valijō* (Slaviūnas 1959: no. 1264);

- *tūto kadijo* (Slaviūnas 1959: no. 1467);

- *toto leila, ladūto tūto* (Slaviūnas 1958: no. 869); *laduto tuto* (Slaviūnas 1959: no. 1336, 1338); *ladūto dūto* (Slaviūnas 1959: no. 1337);

- *letuto* (Slaviūnas 1959: no. 1278); *tutūto lylio* (Slaviūnas 1959: no. 1342); *tatateli tutela* (Slaviūnas 1959: no. 1407);

- *sadūto tūto(j)* (Slaviūnas 1959: no. 1442, 1618, 1619, 1622, 1682); *tūto(j) sadūto* (Slaviūnas 1959: no. 1442, 1531, 1545, 1618, 1619, 1622, 1682); *sadutyte tūto* (Slaviūnas 1959: no. 1531); *sadutoj, oi tuta* (Slaviūnas 1959: no. 1545); *eigi tūto, tūto, sadūto tūto* (Slaviūnas 1959: no. 1621); *tūtoi tatatoi* (Slaviūnas 1959: no. 1623); *tūta tatatoi lylio* (Slaviūnas 1959: no. 1623);

- *tūta tūtela, tūta tūta* (Slaviūnas 1958: no. 42); *tuta, tutela tuta* (Slaviūnas 1958: no. 183); *tuta tutela* (Slaviūnas 1959: no. 1381);

- *oi tūta, oi tūta* (Slaviūnas 1958: no. 828); *ai tuto, be tuto* (Slaviūnas 1958: no. 827); *oi tuta, oi tuta, tūtala, tuta* (Slaviūnas 1958: no. 114); *oi tūta, oi tūta, oi tutela, tūta* (Slaviūnas 1958: no. 256); *oi tūto, oi tūtele* (Slaviūnas 1959: no. 1378); *ei tutala, tūtovo* (Slaviūnas 1959: no. 1474); *ai tuto, ai tutala* (Slaviūnas 1959: no. 1385); *jei tuteł, tūto* (Slaviūnas 1959: no. 1478); *ai tuto* (Slaviūnas 1959: no. 1574, 1576); *ei tuta* (Slaviūnas 1959: no. 1575); *oi tūta, oi tūta, oi tutela, tūto* (Slaviūnas 1959: no. 1583); *jei tūto* (Slaviūnas 1959: no.1615);

- *šalavilėli, tūto, palavijėli, tūto* (Slaviūnas 1959: no. 1615); *šalavilėli, ai tūta, palavijėli, ai tūta* (Slaviūnas 1959: no. 1617);

- *lingo, lingo, lingo tūto, tūto, tūto* (Slaviūnas 1959: no. 1503) and so on.

On the one hand, these related imitative words may have emulated the sounds produced by wind instruments – long wooden trumpets (horns, *daudytės*) and *skudučiai*. (incidentally, *tūta* is a folk name for a shepherd's chalumeau or a simple whistle).[1] On

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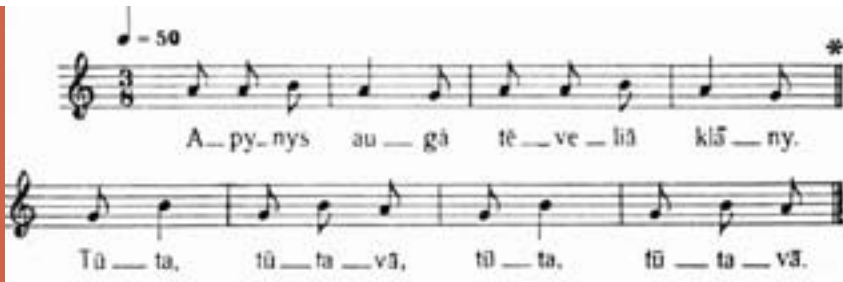1 This is evidenced by the poetic text of a *sutartinė*, which makes mention of trumpeting

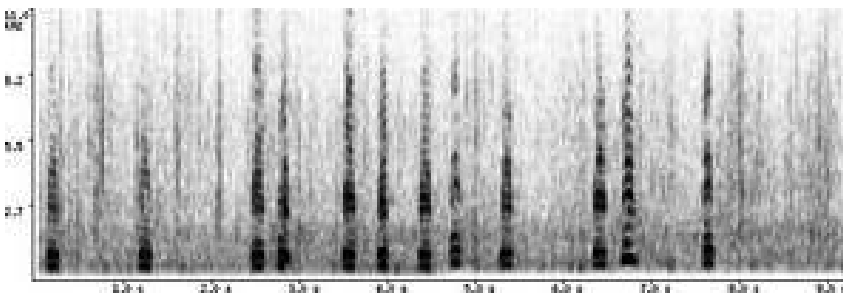*Figure 4 - Sutartinė "Apynys auga"*

Figure 5 - The Sonogram of the Whooper Swan Voice

the other hand, "tooting" is undoubtedly "borrowed" from swans and cranes. This is evidenced by the *sutartinė Apynys auga*, containing the refrain *tūta tūtava*, and a description of the singing *kaip ir gulbės tūtuodavām* (we tooted like the swans):

Apynys auga (Hops are growing)
Tėvelia klany, (In father's barn)
Tūtā tūtāva,
Tūtā tūtāva...

In this case the similarity to the swan call is provided by accenting the vowel *a*, and the highlighted iambic formula(*tū-ta*).

We might presume that birdcalls were a primary source for not only the vocal, but also the instrumental polyphonic *sutartinė* tradition. It is well known that in many languages the names of birds are derived by imitating their calls.[2] In Lithuanian, ex-

on golden horns.

2 For example in the Nivkh language (Nivkhs – a Paleo-Asian nation living on Sakhalin Island and the Lower Amur River region, belonging to the Tungusic-Manchu family of languages) the names for seagull, spotted redshank, swan, goose, cuckoo, and owl are all onomatopoeic in origin (Крейнович 1973: p. 105).

Figure 6 - *Kukutis* (*Upupa epops*) (http://www.efoto.lt/user/naturalis)

amples of such onomatopoeic names might be *dudutis* (hoopoe bird; synonyms: *tututis*, *kukutis*, *lukutis*, *luputis* and so on). It emanates from a birdsong motif consisting of three repeated pitches with interruptions. These are expressed by imitative syllables *du-du-du* (hence *dudutis*), *tu-tu-tu* (*tututis*), and so on, and are encountered in small forms of verbal folklore, such as birdcall imitations, i.e. the hoopoe bird:

Petrai, Petrai, (Peter, Peter) *tu tu tu,*
Žmonės aria, (People are plowing) *tu tu tu,*
Ir akėja, (As well as harrowing) *tu tu tu,*
Darže sėja, (Seeding the garden) *tu tu tu,*
O tu drybsai, (But you are loafing) *tu tu tu.*

In ethological legends explaining various episodes of the world creation process, the reasons that caused certain types of animals to utter sensible words are dealt with rather exhaustively (Kadžytė, s.d.)
A hoopoe borrowed three grains from a corncrake, but failed to pay back the debt in

full. Hence, they have not stopped arguing to this day:

The corncrake shouts:

Trys, trys, trys! ('Three, three, three!').

The hoopoe insists:

Du, du , du! ('Two, two, two!').

Tutūtis (the hoopoe bird) is the name of a polyphonic composition for the *skudučiai* (panpipes), which is well loved by people from Biržai (incidentally, one of the many names for this multiple-piped instrument is *tūtuoklės*, apparently because the sound is produced by tooting – imitating birds. Also, the timbre of *skudučiai* can be thought to imitate birdcalls).

Typologizing pipes or flutes with birdsongs is encountered not only in Lithuania.[3] Russians say, "As the lapwing sings *kugu, kugu*, so does the *kugikalki*" (Руднева 1975: p. 141). Referring to analogous Komi pipes – *kuima čipsany* – it was said, "Voice like a crossbill's, voiceful like swans" (Žarskienė 1993: p. 21). Notably, in the Perm region the Komi panpipes *jus' pölian* (swan pipes) were once made from swan feathers. They were said to sound much better than pipes made from grasses (Жуланова 1997: p. 158). This piece is named for the bird, just as others are, such as *Untytė* (Wood Duck – *Anas boschas*) (in dialect) or *Intakas* (Northern Wheatear – *Oenanthe oenanthe*) (in dialect). Just as in other instrumental compositions, many of the parts are based on similar onomatopoeic words and the instruments used to play the pieces were given appropriate names. For example, in the environs of Salamiestis, the following names are known for sets of *skudučiai*: 1. *tututūtututis* (*tututis* - Hoopoe bird); 2. *Tūtutututis*; 3. *kvepas* (*dūchas, ūchas*)[4]; 4. *untutas*, (Drake - dialect); 5. *untyta* (Duck - dialect)*,* and the like (Stasys 1959: p. 413).

Some of the rhythmic formulas of these polyphonic compositions are directly related to their "precursor" – the live bird. For example, compare the dominant rhythmic formulas of "Tututis" and "Untytė" (figure 7) with the hoopoe (*Upupa epops*) birdsong (figure 8, 9). It consists of motives ♪ ♪ ♪ [5] or ♪ ♪ [6], each of which is repeated separately numerous times with interruptions. (it bears repeating that the polyphonic music performed on *skudučiai* consists of constant repetition of a single motif in each part.)

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3 The etymology of the word *dūdelė* (pipe) points to parallels with Old Czech *dud*, Polish, Czech *dudek*, Slovak *dudok* – "hoopoe"; Old Czech *dudu* – "the call of hoopoe"; The Latvian vernacular. *dūdina* (dove) is of similar origin, Kazakh *duadak* (great bustard) etc. The similarity of sound-imitating names in many languages confirms the connection between simple whistles and birdcalls (imitations). (*Apanavičius* 1992: p. 10).

4 *Kvepas* – verbal name, from the verb *kvėpuoti* 'to breathe'.

5 Rec. Matthias Feuersenger XC49881 (http://www.xeno-canto.org/species. php?query=sp:6016.00).

6 Rec. David Edwards XC24556 (http://www.xeno-canto.org/species. php?query=sp:6016.00)

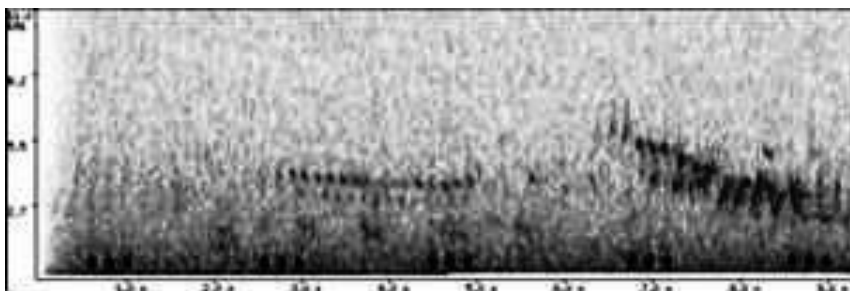Figure 7 - The Formulaes of the "*Tututis*" ("*Untytė*")
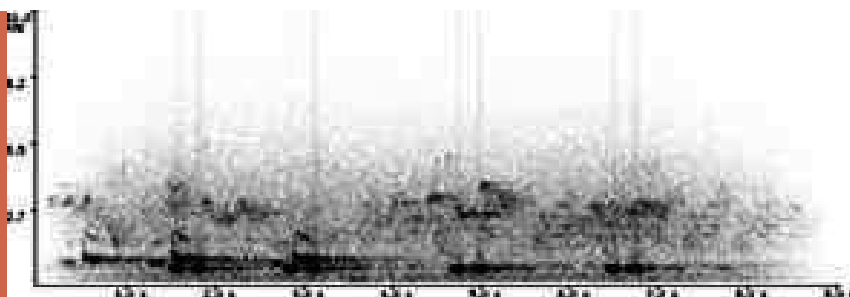

Figure 8 - Speech of the Hoopoe: *"tu tu tu"*

Figure 9 - Speech of the Hoopoe: *"tu tu"*

In the score of a composition for *skudučiai,* these varied rhythmic-tonal motifs are seemingly joined into one longer motive, which in this and many other instrumental polyphonic pieces becomes a very stable rhythmic formula (see figure 10).

This excerpt demonstrates how natural birdsongs are coordinated rhythmically and tonally, and eventually become music – a complex polyphonic structure. Yet the primary source – the birdsong is not forgotten. Performers on the *skudučiai* memorized the intricate polyphonic pieces through a system of "oral notation" using onomato-

Figure 10 - "*Tututis*" from Bakšėnai Village ("*Tututis*" from Bakšėnai village ; Stasys 1959: no. 123–124).

poeic bird song imitations that "encoded" the rhythmic-articulation formulas.

Another clear example of birdsong acoustic acculturation is the polyphonic piece *Intakas*. *Inta(u)kas* – this is the onomatopoeic folk version of the name for the wheatear (*Oenanthe oenanthe*).

The name reflects the bird's high-pitched peeping – *hweet* (in Lithuanian high pitches are best expressed using the vowel *i,* pronounced *ee*), constantly interchanged with the lower-pitched chatter – *chack-chack* (which is represented by syllables with unvoiced consonants – *ta*, *ka*), see sonogram.[7]

Hence, we have the onomatopoeic name of a bird – *in-ta(u)-kas*, which becomes a stable rhythmic formula *ti ti ta* in this piece for *skudučiai*.[8]

My digression to instrumental pieces for the *skudučiai* was not happenstance. There is a very close connection between playing the *skudučiai* and singing *sutartinės*. As mentioned previously, both singing and playing this type of music were called *tūtavimas* (tooting). Singing and playing *skudučiai* involves the same articulation. It was said that the *sutartinės* "have to be sung in a *skudučiai* (panpipe) sounding voice"; "'that ain't the sound of *skudučiai*,' people would say when we wouldn't come together" (Paliulis 1959: no. 1179). Accordingly, the connection between *skudučiai* and the birdsongs

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7 Rec. Ante Strand XC30443 (http://www.xeno-canto.org/browse. php?query=Oenanthe%20oenanthe&pagenumber=&order=taxonomy&view=3)

8 Tututis" from Baksenai village (Paliulis 1959: pp 123-124, no. 90).

Figure 11 - The Wheatear (*Oenanthe oenanthe*) Photo by P. Hackett http://www.birdforum.net/opus/Northern_Wheatear.
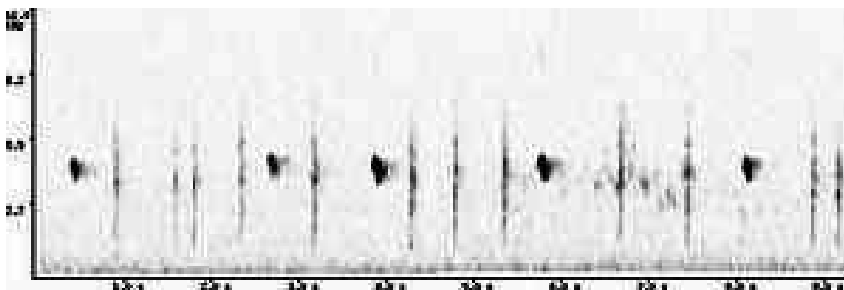

Figure 12 - The Sonogram of the Wheatear Voice

that I describe is inseparable from the singing of *sutartinės*.

Naturally, when examining *sutartinės* – a complex, syncretic system of polyphonic music, – you should not expect precise bird imitations. In Lithuanian folklore I distinguish several types of bird imitations: *nonverbal-naturalistic*, which are almost indistinguishable from those emitted by birds (produced by the masked human voice or by instruments – with hunting whistles, birch bark, a tree leaf, grass, etc.); *verbal-semantic*, use of certain imitative syllables (words) that replicate certain intonations and rhythms that are characteristic of the birdsong. They are interpreted as the "language" of birds – certain-phonetic-lexical sets related to beliefs, admonitions, etc. Next are *symbolic* ones – universally accepted imitative syllables that are understood to be the symbolic "language" of a certain bird: cuckoo – *coo-cooo*; rooster – *kakarykoo*; *kakariekoo,* and so on; geese – *ga-ga*; *gir-gir*; ducks – *kree-kree*; *kreepoo-kropoo* and others. Symbolic imitative syllables are common in children's songs and stories with sung inserts (as a refrain – an unwavering formula); the intonations of the speech and music are usually far-removed from real birdcalls and are closer to customary singing.

I would also designate *skudučiai* music to be examples of such well-established rhyth-

Figure 13 - "Intakas" from Šalniai Village

mic-articulation structures (musical "symbols") as well as some vocal *sutartinės* that contain the refrains *kakariekoo* (the rooster's "language")*, kudi-kudi, kud-kaka* (a chicken's "language") and so on.

We find symbolic rooster imitations using the traditional imitative syllables ka-kariekoo in several sutartinės (Paliulis 1959: no. 351,352, 1402). These are not the natural incantations of a rooster, which would include an imitative ascending thrust to the accented final syllable (kakariek*oo*, kakaryk*oh*). Compare this to verbal-semantic imitations of a rooster ("*Kakalys grūd*" and "*Kakariko*").

The connection of the vocal sutartinės rooster imitations to natural birdcalls might be the arched or broken melodic line (this is characteristic of refrains in sung story inserts), as seen in Kena ti gaideliai (Whose roosters are these) (Slaviūnas 1958: no. 351):

Figure 14. The Imitation of the Rooster "*Kakalys grūd*".[9]

Figure 15. The Imitation of the Rooster "*Kakariko*"[10]

9 Sung by L. Bajoraitė, b. 1891 Kaunas. Rec. Juškaitė 1980 (LTR 6070(79))

10 Sung by Ona Bluzmienė (*Linelius roviau, dainavau*: p. 207).

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Nevertheless, we cannot label vocal *sutartinės* as birdcall imitations. The aforementioned descriptions by the singers alluding to the connection between singing and birds are to be considered allusions, linking the singing of *sutartinės* not only with specific birdcalls (characteristic rhythmic-articulation motifs), but also with their behavior, socialization, various beliefs, mythological images, etc. It is not surprising that the singers' allusions were focused on grand and voiceful birds such as Whooper Swans and the Common Crane (*Grus grus*).

The connection between singing and cranes is worthy of special attention, in my opin-

Figure 16 - The Imitation of the Rooster in *Sutartinė* "Kena ti gaideliai"

ion. The crane is a large, long-necked, long-legged, graceful, elegantly colored bird. The penetrating tooting of cranes, flying in triangular flocks is a typical feature of autumn, embedded in our memories since childhood.

Cranes took their name from their particular call, for they whoop using that sound. The Latin word *grus* and the English word *crane* are cognates as Klein explains: crane, from Middle English *crane*, *crone*, Middle High German *krone*, Old English *cranoc*, *cornoc*, German *Kranich*, crane, and cognate with Greek *geranos*, Cornish, Welsh, Breton *garan*, crane, Latin *grus*, crane, from the Indo-European imitative base **gere-*, to utter a hoarse cry (Wright 2008).

Figure 17 - Common Cranes (Photo by Mindaugas Urbonas http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Common_Crane-Mindaugas_Urbonas-1.jpg)

Note that a group of cranes can be described by many collective nouns, including a "construction", "dance", "sedge", "siege", and "swoop" of cranes.[11] During the migrations, the bird showing the way at the head of the V-shaped flock has only the unlimited horizon in front of him. From time to time, the bird in the lead gives up his place to another and takes a more modest rank in the flock.[12] The Ancients saw a great sense of responsibility and an obvious symbol of democracy in this game.[13]

This transfer of function to another bird can be associated with the canonic principle of singing *sutartinės* (and to some extent the playing of *skudučiai*): the lead singer "passes on" her piece of the melody to another, who temporarily becomes the lead singer, passing the melody to yet another. Meanwhile the lead singer can rest.[14]

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11 http://identify.whatbird.com/obj/968/overview/Common_Crane.aspx

12 The one leading the flock chides with its voice, but, when it begins to grow hoarse, another crane takes its place (Wright 2008).

13 http://www.oiseaux-birds.com/article-common-cranes.html Text and photographs by Nicole Bouglouan.

14 Notably, evidence of canons – chasing, learning from an "elder", imitation, and so on are found in many traditions and function as an organizing device for the separate voices of polyphonic music, i.e. for harmonization between the voices. (For further discussion, see:
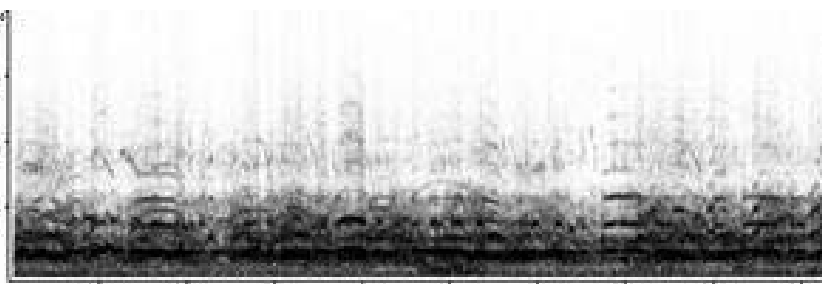
Figure 18 (Bougloan http://www.oiseaux-birds.com/article-common-cranes.html Text and photographs by Nicole Bouglouan.)[15]

We can find more points of departure for *sutartinė* singers in the behavior and calling of cranes. This description of crane flight is a good example.

The advancing flock is noisy, the calls are heard from far away. The cranes go from one point to another in short flights and always while calling. When they are on the ground, they call in a different way, like an alarm call – two notes, with a lower second note. The return to the roost uses the same call that is used in the morning. The cranes that are already on the ground call, and those that arrive – answer.

Upon reading this description we are tempted to make assumptions about the possibility of antiphonal singing occurring in nature ("foursome" *sutartinės*?) and singing at the interval of the second (the benchmark of beautiful *sutartinės*, as described by the oldest singers – the origin of consonance).

At the risk of sounding naïve or forthright (after all, Common Cranes are found not only in Lithuania, but they breed in Europe and in the northern marshes of Asia) the question "Is Polyphonic Singing a Uniquely Human Phenomenon?" remains pertinent to this day.[16]

As is known, the crane cock and hen emit differing sounds. The cock's mating call is a very loud, periodically repeated *krrroo*. The hen answers the cock in a similar, but lower-pitched call. These communicative whooping calls are usually heard in flight: *kroo-kroo-kroo*. (see sonogram, Figure 19)[17]

The singers of ancient times may have associated the differing calls of cocks and hens with singing *sutartinės* by separating them into two independent melodic parts that

Račiūnaitė-Vyčinienė 2001).

15 Rec. Ante Strand XC28066 (http://www.xeno-canto.org/europe/species.php?species_nr2=511.10).

16 This is one of the topics that was repeatedly suggested at the International Symposium on Traditional Polyphony in Tbilisi (Georgia).

17 Rec. Matthias Feuersenger XC48092 (http://www.xeno-canto.org/europe/species.php?species_nr2=511.10)
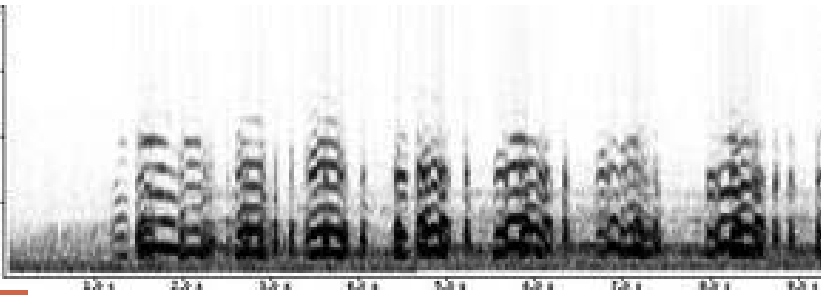
Figure 19 - The Sonogram of the Calling of Common Cranes

harmonized in bitonal fashion. (Of note is the rather successful imitation of the short, descending melodic motifs in the clatter of cranes found in a sutartinė describing a crane: *Lioj, lylia, ka gervela* – Slaviūnas 1959: no. 109a).

Finally, I would like to draw attention to another aspect that points to deep-seeded, etymological connections between the tooting of cranes and *sutartinės* (the root verb *sutarti* means 'to be in accord' and 'to agree') – that is *agreement*. Keep in mind that one of the meanings of the verb *sutūtúoti* is "to agree, to harmonize" (figuratively). Festus, the grammarian, was of the opinion that the word *congruous* and similar derivatives are from *grues*, from the Latin *grus* (Valpy 1828: sub voce), crane apparently from the sound of their calls which formed the root of the word 'congruence', from Latin *congruus*, from *congruere*, "to agree". This word reflects the highly coordinated and cooperative behavior typical of cranes. Cranes disperse when searching for food, when nesting, and they congregate when flying or migrating. The word *congruent* comes from the Indo-European root **ghreu-* 'to rub, grind'[18].

In the *sutartinė* tradition, collective singing (and performing on *skudučiai*) has been compared to the beautiful songs of birds (swans, cranes), as well as to chaotic clacking (i.e., hens).[19] The expression "*kaip vištos kudakuoja*" (cackling like hens) on the one hand, reflects the main characteristics of performing *sutartinės*: quick "scampering" from one pitch to another, accenting separate voices (some *sutartinės* are called "*kapotinės*" – choppers.),[20] as well as distinct melodies and texts sounding at the same time: *Trijos. Kaip ir vištos ir kudoja,*[21] ([...] The threesomes. They cackle like the hens);

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18 Pokorny 2. ghreu- 460; cit. from Wright 2008 (http://www.constellationsof-words.com/Constellations/Grus.html).

19 The Yakut expression "the gaggle of geese and ducks" means the indecipherable clatter of a large group of people or speaking a foreign language (Романова 2000).

20 There are several sutartinės that stress the connection between singing and the cackle of hens. The refrains are onomatopoeic imitations of hens: "*kudy kudy, kudy kaka*" and so on.

21 Pandėlys, rec. S. Paliulis 1936 Slaviūnas 1959: no. 233

Figure 20 - Sutartinė *"Lioj, lylia, ka gervela"*

Ar linus rauna, tai ir kudoja[22] (Whenever they pull flax, they cackle); *Tos trijõs, keturiõs, kai iš tolo klausais, tai kaip vištos kudoja (*The threesomes, the foursomes, when you listen from a distance, it's like hens cackling); *Kai sutarydavo, regis, tai pagražu būdavo. Mano eilioj nebelabai begiedodavo*[23] (When they came together, it was beautiful. But in my time they didn't sing them much anymore).

On the other hand, the XXth century brought a change in the aesthetic sense. People began poking fun at these singers. "When they were teased for clucking like chickens, they'd sing as one" explained E. Janavičienė (born in 1841). Stasys Paliulis wrote that there had even been a special parody created, making fun of the "clucking" by the singers. The women would engage in a dialogue, as though they might be chickens, and would "cluck" a song: "*čia tavo, čia mano, sudėsim abieju – bus tik mūsų dviejų*" (this yours, this mine, put 'em together, it will belong to us two). The singer E. Bratėnaitė (born in 1852) described the events: "This was the way the fellers sang, laughing at the gals, who were singing the *sutartinės*".[24]

In Southern Russia those who did not know how to play the *kugikli* (Russian panflutes) were told by the women: "*как лягушки в богне [болоте], так и вы граете*" (You play like frogs in a pond).[25] We are to understand that in the Russian tradition, the disconnected croaking of frogs describes incompetent playing on the *kugikli*. Remember that Lithuanians called the springtime croaking of frogs *tūtavimas* – i.e. the same word that described swan and crane calls, trumpeting and the singing of

22 Sung by E. Savickienė. Rec. S. Paliulis 1937 Slaviūnas 1958: no 261.

23 Sung by Kotryna Rasimavičienė-Veščiūtė, b. 1856 m. Suvaizdžiai village, Pandėlys county. Rec. Stasys Paliulis 1936 (Paliulis 1959: no. 268).

24 Sung by Kotryna Rasimavičienė-Veščiūtė, b. 1856 m. Suvaizdžiai village, Pandėlys county. Rec. Stasys Paliulis 1936 (Paliulis 1959: no 268)

25 According to *kugikli* researcher O. Veličkina, this saying can be compared to an ironic text in a sung dance refrain: "*Ты, лягушка, лягушкина мать, научи меня в кугиклы играть!*" (You frog, mother of frogs, teach me to play on the *kugikli*!) (Величкина 2005: p. 166).

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Figure 21 - "Clucking" – a Parody of the Sutartinės Singing

sutartinės. However, in the *sutartinė* tradition, singing or blowing on instruments is not compared to frogs. Apparently, the "tooting" of frogs is relegated to nature, while the rhythmic, more coordinated singing by birds is considered closer to polyphonic music, i.e. to culture.

Consequently, in the singers' minds *sutartinės*, despite their close connection to bird-song, are not representative of nature, but of culture. This is also evidenced by the as-piration to equate singing with playing instruments. Playing instruments is perceived as a "higher" form of making music, something towards which the singers strove. The frequent expression *grote groti* (to sing *sutartinės* as if they were being played) illus-trates this. [*Seniau sutartines giedodavo, kaip grote grodavo, linus raudamos.* (In older times, the *sutartinės* were sung as if they were being played),[26] *Sakydavo moterys: pa-giedosim kokią sutartinę. Kaip grote grodavo jos visos keturios. Bakšėnuos šokdavo gro-tines.* (The women would say, 'we'll sing a sutartinė.' It was as if all four of them were playing)].[27] Singing was compared to playing on the *skudučiai* [*labai gražu būdavo, kaip skudučiai* (it used to be very beautiful, like *skudučiai*.),[28] *reikia, kad sutartinės skudučiuotųsi* (Sutartinės should sound like the making of *skudučiai* music)[29] and so on].

Or they would simply compare it to *music*. Frequently the collective singing of sutartinės was called "music" when everyone harmonized well. [*Pasiutpolkė.* (Crazy polka) *Tekstas: Ciūta ciutoj, ciūta ciutoj*"; *eidami ratu aplink, sukasi gyvai, rankom pliauškindami ir dainuodami kas tik kokiu balsu gali: storu ar plonu ar kitonišku. Išeina gyva ir graži tartum koki muzika -* LTR 2071(166). (Text: *Ciūta ciutoj, ciūta ciutoj*; briskly going round in a circle, clapping hands and singing in any voice they could: deep or thin, or some other way. The result is lively and beautiful, as if it were music); *Dainuodavo mergaitės arba moterys suvėjimuose, o jeigu galėdavo įsitraukti vyrą kokį vieną ar du, kurie tik kartodavo „sorbinto" storais balsais, tai būdavę gana gražu, lyg*

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26 Sung by Vasiliauskas, b. 1847 Bakšėnai vill., Salamiestis region, Biržai county. Rec. S. Paliulis 1932 (Paliulis 1959: no 119).

27 Sung by Jurgis Borisas, b. 1866 Bakšėnai vill., Salamiestis reg., Vabalninkas county. Rec. S. Paliulis 1932 (Paliulis 1959: no. 5).

28 Paliulis 1959: no. 291.

29 Slaviūnas 1959: no 1179.

Figure 22 - Skudučiai Players from Jasiškiai Village (Photo by Petras Ločeris (from Stasys Paliulis personal archive)

koki muzika" LTR 2071(88) (the girls and women would sing at get-togethers. If they could, they would include a man or two who just repeated the refrain "*sorbinto*" in deep voices. That was quite beautiful, like music.)].

Music for the rural resident of Lithuania (at least in the XXth century) was most often associated with various sonorous, harmonious, often melodious expressions. In various regions of Lithuania, *muzika* or *muzikėlė* referred to a violin, a button accordion, or the musician himself. For example, in Žemaitija (the Lowlands) the fiddler was called *muzikėlė* (Kirdienė 2000: p. 40). Notably, the term *muzika* (music) referred to European instruments, while archaic instruments such as *skudučiai* and wooden trumpets were not called *muzika*.[30] This may signify that they, like the *sutartinės* had not yet alienated themselves from nature –it marks the transformation of elements and sounds of nature into an aesthetic (musical) endeavor; the transition from nature to culture.

We might claim that comparisons of the singing to birds in the sutartinė tradition

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30 Also, interestingly, in Russian traditional culture the word "music" usually means a typically purchased musical instrument (a button accordion or a balalaika). This is evidenced by sayings popular among village musicians: "*играть на музыке*" , "to play on the music", "*гармонь да скрипка – самая сильная музыка*" "*The button accordion and the fiddle – this is the best music*" and others. Meanwhile, traditional instruments made by the musicians with minimal investment and having no commercial value are relegated to the category of "music" with reservations. (Величкина 2005: p. 161).

is less related to imitation (i.e. the reflection of nature) but embodies a generalized view of specific birds, their behavior and the concept of polyphonic music (i.e. the second world of culture).[31] The duality of *nature/culture* is also seen in the use of the word *giesmė* (hymn) to describe *sutartinės*. In Lithuanian *giesmė* refers to bird song, *sutartinės* and sacred music, as well as the performance of sacred music,[32] thereby expressing respect for all of the noted expressions.

It would seem that the sounds emitted by the abovementioned birds have directly influenced the articulation, sound-production aesthetic (probably the melodic contour, the metrorhythms) in *sutartinės* while their models of behavior formed the basis for polyphonic music. Much more research in conjunction with ornithologists is needed to substantiate this postulation. Perhaps studies of animal duets and choruses could provide an evolutionary model for our understanding of the origins of vocal polyphony.

Translated from Lithuanian by *Emilija Sakadolskis*

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31 The appearance of culture is the act of expanding natural boundaries and possibilities; the creation of something that supersedes nature.

32 In some languages, the words "magic" and "song" (especially "bird song") are marked by the same word. In Germanic languages, the word "magic" is marked by the word "galdr" which comes from the verb *galan* 'to sing', especially 'to sing a bird song' (Элиаде 1998).

Styles of the iso-based multipart singing (IMUS) of south Albania, north Epirus and among the Arbëresh of Italy

Eno Koço

Making Multipart Music: Case Studies

The Early Growth of IMUS

The North Epirote songs are an exceptional phenomenon within the Greek repertoire in that they feature this strange polyphony, this triphony to be precise, which is a characteristic of the men's songs from the Cham people recorded by Mr and Mrs Stockmann. We can therefore be certain that the above actually originated from Albania and were adopted by the Greeks, given that both peoples had lived for long periods in close cultural symbiosis. Having established the Albanian origin of this rhythmic type of Epirote songs we will naturally assume a similar infiltration in the case of the 5/8 rhythm of Peloponnesian dances. It is said, in fact, that at a certain period, at the end of the XIV th century in particular, significant Albanian settlements came to populate the Peloponnesus. Compared with the refugee songs of North Epirus, those of the Peloponnesus testify assimilation of the local repertoire: the pentatonism was superseded by heptatonism and the tyrant of the Greek song, the iambic verse of fifteen-syllables, replaced the eight-syllable with the seven-syllable trochaic verse. [. . .]

We believe we have demonstrated that, based on its structure, this song is, in fact, alien to Greece, despite that during the centuries it was progressively and perfectly Hellenised. (Baud-Bovy 1972: pp. 159 and 161).

It is not easy to provide evidence on when and how the iso(n) started to be used in multipart singing, since it has been and still is transmitted orally and the participants of this singing have never used notation for practicing it. The oral tradition of IMUS of the South West Balkans, which includes Albanians, Greeks and also the Aromanian/Vlachs, has a self-contained regional style; it was associated with indoor group singing as well as outdoor, and developed contemporaneously among agro-pastoral communities of mountainous regions of the South West Balkans. Up to the present, it has seemed to preserve archaic traditional forms of practice.

The iso(n), as an additional element to the chant, has been orally transmitted and integrated into both univocal Byzantine monody and the South West Balkan oral traditions of multipart pentatonic singing. It is a practice that has significant analogies with other music practices of the world, suggesting that it is not an isolated phenomenon. Its penetration into liturgical singing and secular multipart singing used in the South West Balkans, with its function as a sustained final in relation to the melody, strongly suggest its occurrence roughly at the same period, the Late Medieval, although it cannot be excluded that the drone used in multipart unaccompanied singing may have started earlier. Nevertheless, further investigation is needed into the possibility of the use of the ison when no written records support its existence.

In the South West Balkans, the pentatonic element would play a decisive role in the formation of a modal system within which multipart singing was nurtured. One could assume that the melodic unhemitonic pentatonic nucleus produced the foundation, not only for multipart singing, but also for the single melodic line singing (monodic) of the South West Balkans.

As much as we surmise, South West Balkan pentatonic singing (i.e., the unhemitonic pentatonic modal structures) was characterised by that simplicity which typifies the archaic cultures, together with their use of smaller and larger intervals and was not as intricate as it gradually became over the course of time. In my view, the partitioning of

a single unhemitonic pentatonic tune into two, three and four parts, in addition to the iso, was a long process developed by the local people who defined and named the role of each part while mastering the singing in a quite complex form. The intervallic relationship of the two-, three- or four-parts produces a unique form of harmony "where each melodic line is governed by linear rather than harmonic principles" (Manuel 1989: p. 71). Oscillations between the iso and the major or minor seconds, sometimes in a form of microtonal intervals, create peculiar dissonances around the iso sound. Furthermore, each of the voice parts in a vertical form finds itself in a relationship with one or two other vertical lines in a cluster of rough dissonances built upon the iso.

In multipart unaccompanied singing, the drone/iso serves as a tonal basis over which two or three parts or soloists interact with each other. It is "a sign that [the singers] actually do enjoy 'being together', evoking the charms of solidarity in an extraordinarily effective way. The performance has in fact as much to do with ethical concerns as with aesthetic ones. For in this practice of strictly oral tradition, singing is a collective moral responsibility to work out a sound form in the close company of a select group of friends" (Lortat-Jacob 2004).

As a whole IMUS shows some very specific features: on the one hand it uses microtonal intervals (which are extensively employed also in the Neo-Byzantine chant) and, on the other, pentatonic systems; on top of the above combinations the drone is added, which makes this type of singing quite complex and extravert. The multipart songs *with iso* (in Albanian *me iso*, in Greek *ισοκράτημα και ισοκράτες*) constitute the basis of this category of vocal organization and the voices of the solo singers over the drone/iso, which, as mentioned above, are perceived in a horizontal rather than in a vertical modal relationship, and tend to develop (in some cases more than others) independently of each other. The iso remains a constant reference sound.

The South West Balkan region evolved distinctive styles of its own, which were shaped by modal structures of a pentatonic spectrum of a relatively narrow range. Established as a result of the ancient trade routes in this geographical fringe area of the South West Balkans, an iso/drone evolved alongside the multipart pentatonic singing structures, creating a more advanced musical architecture of this type of singing. The gradual IMUS formation belongs to a local, South West Balkan process. The oral traditions of IMUS are identified by the local pastoral traditions of the indigenous populations and in some places by many archaic practices and customs preserved with care and fanaticism, also favoured by the surrounding mountainous terrain, which has isolated the region to some extent from external influences.

Analyzing the emission of the IMUS of the South West Balkan area, I would put its nucleus as the focal point of the unaccompanied multipart singing, in the regions inhabited by the former Chaonian, Molossian and Thesprotian peoples, all of whom are the most famous among the tribes of Epirus. The IMUS epicentre seems to be located south of the Vjosa river in the area identified later by the Romans as Epirus Vetus, from where its waves widen in concentric circles in other directions, to the late Roman province of Epirus Nova. The latter province encompasses the northern and eastern part of the Epirus Vetus, where different ethnic populations used to live in mutual

partnership. This research does not attempt to prove, at this stage, any chronological link or analogy of styles between the music that was practiced in the Epiri (Vetus and Nova) during the late Roman and post-Roman period and that of the specific pentatonic musical systems or IMUS of South West Balkans. Nor would it put emphasis on each denomination's population that best preserved these archaic traditional forms of practice, a factor that seems to have had little relevance during Late Antiquity.

However, is it not fascinating that these possibly archaic multipart styles are still preserved and can roughly and symbolically define the ex-Roman Epiri borders, and that this musical culture today presents a distinctive voice in the Balkans and serves as a melting pot for the ethnicities that lived and still live in these areas?

Almost all the areas noted above practised IMUS, however, the Toskëri and Labëri regions, as well as those of the Greek-speaking and Aromanian-speaking geographical areas, share the same way of singing, but apart from the language they differ in some specific, clearly identified styles and features. This type of group singing of multi-ethnic origin was probably well formed during the Byzantine period (before the fall of Constantinople in 1453) and coexisted as a secular tradition and way of life within the general Byzantine culture.

With the passage of time, the new stylistic shadings and variety of types of the iso singing became more representative of various ethnic populations. The IMUS as a whole preserved its own idiomatic and structural characteristics, which made it distinguishable not only from other areas of the Balkans, but were also an identifying factor of its uniqueness: it was of an unhemitonic pentatonic spectrum and its inclination developed towards a stronger secular character. In his numerous publications, Lloyd, despite his audacious proposals, is inclined to make various hypotheses and persists that:

Albania has developed part-singing to a far higher degree. Or should one say: has *preserved* it better? For it is possible, even probable, that at far beyond it, that have since dwindled or disappeared. Albanian country communities are more isolated and culturally more conservative than those of Bulgaria, say. . . . But is it not possible that both these types [two-part and three-part singing] may be survivals of an ancient (pre-Slav and pre-Bulgar) polyphony that was once in general use throughout the whole Illyrian territory, a polyphony whose forms have best survived in the areas of least change, such as south Albania and the remoter parts of Macedonia? This kind of polyphony does not seem to be a part of Slav heritage: northern Slavs do not have it, while southern Slavs share it with non-Slavic peoples such as Albanians and north Greeks (and Cretans?). An interesting task lies ahead: to map the geographical distribution of the various kinds of vocal drone-polyphony – or its instrumental versions, for that matter (Lloyd 1961: p. 145).

On this basis one might think that the different stylistic approaches developed along with the self-consciousness of populations, their languages and later on, religions. The iso itself also acquired various shapes and local configurations, but it may be said, that it remained a unifying factor of the multipart traditions and styles of singing within their inherent ethnic and geographical differences.

According to the studies of the Albanian scholars, two distinctive styles emerged as

the most prominent: the Lab and the Tosk. However, apart from these distinctive styles, there are other regional styles, which represent in a way some considerable differences between the various styles of the IMUS. Greeks and Aromanians, outside and inside the present borders of Albania, also practice IMUS and although the singing is related to the Tosk or Lab groups, it cannot only be categorised as such, since the above designations belong to the Albanian ethnic groups alone.

The present writer, observing the existence of different theoretical and practical approaches to the IMUS regional classifications, believes that for musicological purposes (and not for any other reason), a different way of viewing regional divisions would be more suitable. Preferably, the toponyms of rivers and city names (i.e., the Vjosa, Shkumbin and Kalamas rivers, or the towns of Gjirokastër and Përmet), rather than villages, which are of recent date and changeable settlement, should mainly define the geographical boundaries of different ethnic regions since they seem to be more appropriate for delineating the musical zones.

The studies of Hahn, Çabej, Valentini, Hammond, Zojzi and others on the division of ethnic zones and the distribution of the Albanian population, as well as other ethnic populations in the South West Balkan area, have been truly taken into consideration. From my observations, Hahn's and Çabej's approach seems to have predominated until the present day. However, reading Hahn's work I have noticed that he in turn, often referred to William Leake's reports of his travels in Northern Greece in 1805 and 1806 (Leake 1835). Since Leake is a primary source, I too have preferred to refer to his assessment on the division of ethnic zones and the distribution of populations in the ex-Roman Epiri (Vetus and Nova) borders. This zone has a characteristic assemblage of many common features, such as musical dialects, customs and consciousness of ethnicity and even traditional dresses of the populations who practiced the IMUS and other modal pentatonic styles.

The Dissemination of the IMUS

The IMUS repertory is characterised by the music-making of Albanian speakers, as well as some other ethnic communities such as north Greeks (Epirots), Aromanian/Vlachs and, to a lesser degree, Slavs. Within *Toskëri*,[1] the land of the Tosk Albanian-speaking populations, there are other ethnic populations and dialects living in such areas as *Myzeqe, Toskëri, Labëri, Bregu i Detit* and *Çamëri*, within and beyond the present Albanian territory. The extra-boundary styles such as those of the Pogoni, Vlach and Cham areas on both the Greek and Albanian sides of the border, will also be integrated into the main body of the IMUS.

Each of these southern ethnic dialects use their own regional IMUS styles, however, they exhibit strong parallels with each other. Most of the non-Albanian communities

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1 In a wider sense, the whole land, *Toskëria*, is inhabited by Albanians south of the river Shkumbin. In a narrow sense, the *Tosk* or *Tosks*, are the main south-eastern ethnic group of Albania.

resemble that of Albanian Lab singing, while the Cham, Aromanian/Vlach and South Western Macedonian communities resemble the Tosk style. The Greek scholar, Peristeris observes the same styles from the Greek standpoint, stressing that the Albanian population of the Dropulli district sing the local songs the same way as the Greeks.[2] In Greece, according to Nitsiakos and Mantzos,

the polyphonic singing tradition constitutes a cultural characteristic shared by the populations inhabiting this border zone on both sides. Although for Greece it constitutes a rather marginal cultural trait, limited to a small geographic area, for Albania it represents a tradition characterising a large part of the population, the Tosks inhabiting the territory south of the river Shkumbin (Nitsiakos - Mantzos 2003: p. 198).

However, it is not just the numerical fact of the Albanian "part-singing" practitioners that identifies this regional musical culture, but it is the consciousness and inherited tradition which make the southerners feel that they belong to that part of humankind where the part-song has become a living necessity. The repertoire inherited from the part-singers' parents is a testimony of life and historical events. The way I view this type of part-singing is that no matter to which ethnic group one belongs, Albanian, Greek or Aromanian/Vlach, the populations who lived in this part of the South West Balkans practiced the same basic structure of IMUS, with two or three soloists and the group of iso holders. Collective singing is probably the most representative feature of the rural and urban populations of south Albania, north Greece, up to the Republic of Macedonia (FYROM), whereas solo singing is limited to a few genres such as laments and lullabies. This geographical area's collective singing is both polyphonic and heterophonic, accompanied by a choral iso(n) and where the solo introduction of each new musical phrase appears in the context of group singing with neatly precise roles.

IMUS Terminology, Structure, Expressive Devices and Styles

The IMUS of this region is organised in two, three and four voices. The Tosk, Cham and Myzeqe songs consist of two and three voices, whereas in the Lab, Himarë and some Greek speaking areas, there are two, three and four voices. The south group singing can also be divided into two main types: vocal polyphonic singing with an iso (drone) and vocal polyphonic singing without an iso. The Tosk and the Lab group singing, as the most representative ethnic groups, have their similarities and differenc-

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2 Dealing with the polyphonic songs of North Epirus, Peristeris (1964) underlines that similar singing like that of north Greece and south Albania can be encountered in other Mediterranean regions, such as Istria, Dalmatia, Republic of Macedonia (FYROM), Bosnia, and all the way up to the Caucasus in Georgia and Armenia. Subsequently, he makes two interesting observations: "Some of their musical elements, such as the Ison or the Ghyristis melody on the tonic and subtonic, are also found in Byzantine church music which leads to another question: could these local folk songs have been influenced by Byzantine music in those countries where Byzantine civilisation had flourished?" (Peristeris 1964: p. 52)

es in group formation, terminology, formal structure, the function of each soloist part and the vocal styles. The semicircle placing, a horseshoe formation, with the two or three soloists standing in the middle and the Iso singers on the outside, as if shoulder to shoulder, plays an important role in this kind of singing and makes a more compact fusion.

Local terminology referring to the vocal parts provides a description of each individual voice and the geographic names of the ethnic groups. The first soloist is the singer who leads the song, among the Tosks he/she is called *hedhës*, which means that he/she "throws the voice", while among the Labs *marrës*, the voice who "takes it"; this part chiefly employs the upper register of the voice. In Greek, the same term with the same function is called *parties* and in Vlach *atselu tsi u lia* or *lia cânticlu*. The second part (voice) or the second soloist who occupies the lower register, is called *prerës* among the Tosks, he/she who "cuts it", or *pritës*, who "waits for it", while among Labs he/she is called *kthyes*, who "answers it"; this in Greek is *giristis* or *klostis* and in Vlach *atselu tsi u tali*. There is a third voice (in the case of a three-part singing with iso) and the Labs call this *hedhësi*, which means "throws it"; then comes the iso voice, that of the chorus, which "makes" the drone (*bën iso*) or *mbajnë zënë*, "hold the voice" among the Tosks,[3] *ia mbush*, "fills it", among the Labs,[4] *ison* among the Greek speaking people and *isu* in Vlach. Sugarman asserts that in

the Prespa community[5] is the only one to my knowledge that uses the verb *rënkoj* for the drone. In the Berat district, singers evidently use the Turkish word *kaba*, which often indicates a melody performed in a low register, while some singers in the Korçë district use the verb *zjejnë* ("to boil"). Slavic families who formerly lived in the Kastoria district along the Albanian border, however, and who sing a similar type of three-voiced polyphony, say that those who perform the drone line *grčat* or *grtat* ("groan"; cf. *rënkojnë*). They thus call their three-voiced songs *grteni pesni*, an equivalent of *këngë me të rënkuar* (Sugarman 1997: p. 71).

The first soloist (*marrës*) occupies mostly the upper modal range and the second soloist (*kthyes*) replies in a lower range, usually based on the fifth degree of the mode (a fourth down). The opening of the song exposes the modal mood with its characteristic pentatonic tune and prepares either the main theme or the entire melody. It is the *kthyes* (the second soloist) who enters with a cadential formula (just before the *marrës* concludes his opening melodic exposition) and creates a sort of polyphonic effect. Both melodic parts make use of melodic motifs or melodic stereotype formulae and singing style. In the case of the three-part songs with iso, as in the Lab and Himariot

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3 Tosk, is in a narrow sense, the southeast ethnic group of Albania; in a wider sense, the whole land (*Toskëria*) inhabited by Albanians south of the river Shkumbin.

4 Labs are one of the main ethnic groups in southeast Albania (*Labëria*).

5 An Albanian-speaking minority live in the region around Lake Prespa, in the South West of the Republic of Macedonia (FYROM Jane Sugarman has conducted field research into the music of the Prespa community.

types, the third soloist/part sings only a few syllables and creates a rhythmic and harmonic pedal. In the majority of cases, the top voice/part shows the entire text, whereas the second voice (soloist) uses only a part of it. In Toskëri, no less than five singers to "hold" the iso are preferred, in Labëri, seven or nine. The Chams differ from the Tosks mainly in that they start their iso at the same time as, or even before the solo voice begins.

Each vocal polyphonic line (two or three of them) develops horizontally through many variants of melodic formulae in a consonant way. Conversely, each of these lines in a vertical form finds itself in a relationship with one or two other vertical lines in a cluster of often quite rough dissonances, built upon the iso. An IMUS, comprised of several voices, is "harmonised" in a modal and linear form over an iso and serves as a tonal basis. Each melodic phrase (of the first or second soloist) overlaps or alternates with one other and together with the third soloist (who sings only a few syllables) create harmonic and rhythmic complexities backed by the vocal iso. The latter employs a staggered breathing technique in order to maintain continuity of the sound. In the Tosk style, found in the areas of Myzeqe, Toskëri, adjacent areas of the Republic of Macedonia (FYROM) as well as in the Cham style found in the Greek Epirus, the iso is a continued drone sung most often to a single vowel sound (non-syllabic) and is articulated on the "e" vowel of a nasal tone. In the Lab style, two or three solo voices sing their text over the drone in a homophonic manner and articulate the iso on the same vowel "e", however, the drone is syllabic and very dense, "impenetrable", as their singers say.

In order to understand the *structure* of the songs, it is important to observe the melodic structures of the soloists. According to E. Stockmann who has closely studied these songs, "the structure of the solo parts differs considerably according to the different ways of performing the drone, but there is also great variety of structure within the two drone types especially in the pedal style widespread among all ethnic groups" (D. Stockmann - E. Stockmann 1980: p. 198). The formal structure of these songs has a more free and melismatic delivery of the melodic phrase of various lengths, at times with partial repetition among the Tosks and Chams; whereas a quite strict rhythmical flow of metrical organization and regular musical units usually corresponding to the verse line, is more characteristic of the Labs.

The *expressive devices* create a great deal of variety in the singing styles of the Lab, Tosk, Cham and Myzeqe regions; there are points where they meet and clearly show the features of the IMUS, as there are also points where they differ in creating distinctive variations. Of course, there are no absolute distinctions between these approaches and some overlap is inevitable. Although an array of the essential elements contributes to the establishment of a given region's over-all music style, there are, nevertheless, several local musical idioms and vocal techniques such as ornamentation, use of microtonal intervals, free rhythmic patterns, falsetto register, staggered breathing, slides and imitation of the environmental bell-ringing of sheep. These are well defined as stylistic variations and can be identified with specific ethnic zones. The distinct sound of the IMUS echoes the local, regional and even external associations of complex modal

idioms. The diversity of singing styles characterised by a kind of "horizontality", a broad range marked with ornamental embellishments of the melodic lines, slides, free rhythm and consonant harmonies are typical among the Tosks, Chams and Myzeqars. On the other hand, vigorously oscillating melodies, featuring a pronounced vibrato or "trembling" effects, and characterised by a kind of "verticality" with quite sharp rhythmic accents, a flow of dissonances surrounding the Iso and a more limited melodic activity, are more typical among the Labs. Another characteristic feature of vocal styles is that each vocal line has its own distinctive timbre, a vibrant voice-production of an archaic character generating some characteristic clashes of overtones.

The clear gender distinctions connected with the vocal multipart singing styles used to be the prerogative of only men and for centuries, mixed groups remained an exception. However, it seems that in the second half of the XXth century both men and women started to perform together as mixed groups. As part of a recent folklore, nowadays these mixed groups are more common. In such cases, if the main tune is sung by a woman, the second voice is sung by a man and the third (as in the case of three-part Lab and Himarë songs with iso) again by a woman (or a man), and men and women sing the iso together.

However, the "young men's" styles are very much cultivated on their own; it can be said that an agile tempo and animated temperament is felt among these styles. Solo singers notably sing with considerable strength and volume.

The IMUS Styles

The highly characteristic IMUS styles of present-day areas of south Albania, north Epirus and parts of Macedonia, with their melodic iso(n) types and structures, distinct unhemitonic pentatonic modes, musical and poetic metres, traditions and dialects, vividly distinguish them from the monophonic and monodic styles of Central and North Albania as well as mainland regions of Greece such as east Macedonia, Thessaly and Thrace.

The majority of notated examples given in this paper are based on different Albanian publications and transcribed by Albanian scholars. The notated versions simply give a general skeleton and an approximate picture of the song. Transcriptions of this kind, given the limitations of our musical notation system, cannot truly represent the group performance since the conventional notation system does not fulfil all the demands of clearly conveying the rhythmic and stylistic freedom, intervals (microtones), nuances and other expressive devices and, in particular, the development of the improvised contrapuntal voices which is the distinguishing feature of the IMUS.

The Lab IMUS Styles

According to the geographical definition, the Lab IMUS is found in South West Albania, in the region extending west of the river Vjosë and south to the river *Pavel*. The main concentration of Lab singing is in the regions of *Kurvelesh* and *Lumi i Vlorës*

and in the prominent rural communities of Bënçë, Vranisht, Dukat, Tërbaç and Kuç. Himarë also goes with the rest of Labëria based on ethnic-Albanian musical roots.

The Lab IMUS is generally of a syllabic and rigid melodic structure supporting a homophonic texture and the iso/drone group pronounces the same text words as the leading singer in rhythm, however, without clearly articulated syllables. The rhythmic pulse and restricted improvisation are interwoven with dissonant harmonies and idiomatic embellishments. A distinctive characteristic difference between the Lab and the Tosk iso group is that, while the former generally sings the text in a rhythmical and heterophonic form, the latter sustains the melody on a vowel "e". As Kruta states,

> there are two ways that the bourdon is developed in the three or four-parts of Lab polyphony: the chorus (*mbushësat* [fillers]), fully and rhythmically accentuate the verse line, the same way as the two or three solo singers. Another more common way is when the bourdon/group using an unstressed rhythm only hums or mutters the words of the verse line (Kruta 1991: pp. 54-55).

From the formal structure point of view, the Lab songs are distinguished from their IMUS neighbours by their short phrases, narrow range and a more recitative form of melodic formulae. The melody of the first soloist part (*marrës*) usually comprises three notes, the tonic, its minor third and the fourth within a pentatonic context. The second soloist part (*kthyes*), as a rule, extends the range between the sub-tonic and the fourth below the iso note, completing together with the *marrës* a whole pentatonic unhemitonic scale. The iso feature plays an organisational role rather than a participatory one, as in the Tosk, Cham and Myzeqe versions; it organizes the phrase and calculates the pause before the main tune starts again; it adds to the precise timing while allowing the first soloist (*marrës*) and second soloist (*kthyes*) to be clearly heard. The iso part requires several people to create more density in order to "hold" the singing, but the right balance has to be always checked in order to achieve the best resonance required. During several centuries of its practice, the Lab style developed in various aesthetic aspects and, from my observations on the evolution of this style, adapted its character from an earlier conventional "pastoral idiom" to an "epic feeling"; from a sustained iso to a rhythmic and syllabic one; from a subtle holding iso to a dense and compact one; from a free musical metre to a more strict, rigid and pulsating one; from a relatively free structure to a solid one.

"Tregon Gego Valideja" (*Gego Valideja's narration*; Notated Example 1) is a Lab song from the village of Dukat. It is a typical example of this style characterised by its architectonic structure, which involves the strict division of four-bar phrases into short musical sections. The iso part, together with the second bouncing solo voice within the pentatonic spectrum, and the third solo voice which sings the same iso part but an octave higher, would start after the introduction of the *taker* ("marrës"), as an answering strophe. In this particular case the first phrase consists of an eight-syllabic verse line and the second of a seven, in the same way as it was introduced by the solo phrase of the *taker* (the eighth syllable is either replaced by a quaver rest or is prolonged as a note value). The vocal range above the iso of the leading singer is only a fifth, but it is the second soloist who extends the range to a perfect fourth below the iso note. A

Figure 1 - Tregon Gego Valideja (Gego Valideja's narration)

sort of bimodal harmony between the first and second voice parts and peculiar dissonances around the iso sound occur. All vocal parts move as one in a heterophonic, vertical form, rather than linear, horizontal motion.

There is another Lab song, "Nëntëmbëdhjetë janari" (*The Nineteenth of January*; see figure 2), which shows a rigid rhythmic pattern reinforced by a binary metre, syllabic iso and limited variations in pitch and shade. It was collected and transcribed by Beniamin Kruta, but not in a complete form, however, the characteristic features of the Lab song such as the pulsating rhythmic and melodic structures are clearly apparent.

The Gjirokastër IMUS Styles

The town of Gjirokastër is right at the centre of a geographical area surrounded by Lab and non-Lab populations, ethnic Albanians, ethnic Greeks and some ethnic Vlachs. It represents its own culture and singing style and is also nourished by the Lab singing of

Figure 2 - Nëntëmbëdhjetë janari (The Nineteenth of January)

the north-western part of Gjirokastër, as well as the singing of different ethnic groups from other surrounding mountainous and lowland regions, such as Lunxhëri, Zagori, Odrie, Upper and Lower Dropull, and Pogoni, the latter two being Greek-speaking areas. Talking to Bajo, a *marrës* soloist singer, from Lazarat,[6] and Panajot, an ethnic Greek of Albanian nationality, they both came to an agreement that "the region of Gjirokastër is a musical area which stands on its own and that their IMUS is probably closer to the Tosks rather than the Labs; Delvina, further south, is different and is closer to the Labs".[7]

The Gjirokastër IMUS is considered to be calm, horizontal and less rhythmic than "proper" Lab singing. "The nurturing of the rural songs surrounding Gjirokastër, from

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6 An Albanian populated village three kilometres from the town of Gjirokastër.

7 Personal communication, Gjirokastër, April 2007.

Figure 3 - Këmb' o këb pse m'u pretë (why my feet got so weak)

where the Gjirokastër urban songs originate, has grown together with the development of its inhabitants" (Tole 2001: p. 129). Being calm and less rhythmic in expression does not necessarily mean that it lacks weight and depth. On the contrary, these songs are known for their profound, elegiac and epic expression. The Gjirokastër "old men's" (*pleqërishte*) style of IMUS differs from the "young men's" (*djemurishte*) style or the "women's" (*grarishte*) style and is sung with a strenuous tone showing a sustained and wordless iso; see "Këmb' o këmbë pse m'u pretë" (*Why My Feet Got So Weak*; see figure 3).

In discussing the Gjirokastër "old men's" style, Shupo notes that "the fourth voice usually holds an *ostinato* pedal on the 3rd (pentatonic) degree" (Shupo 1997: p. 416). In other instances when the Gjirokastër singing is shared with the typical Lab form, a rhythmic or syllabic iso is sung to the text-words; see "Ku je rritur, je bër' kaqe" (*Where Have You Grown Up So Much*; see figure 4). It should be mentioned that the use of the interjected syllables and the rhythmic iso is an expression of a mutual relationship between the performance of the Gjirokastër IMUS styles and the Lab IMUS styles.

Greek-speaking populations within Albania, particularly those who live in the area south of Gjirokastër, form a minority who are strongly linked with their domestic language, religious traditions and, to a certain degree, Greek consciousness. In the Pogoni area (Upper and Lower) or Paleo-Pogoni (as the people call it) to the east of Gjirokastër (situated between Albania and Greece, and in the villages of Poliçan and Sopik in particular where Albanians, Vlachs and Greek speaking ethnic groups live), although the language of daily use is Greek, the IMUS has striking similarities with that of the Lab and Gjirokastër styles sung in Albanian (see figure 5, from Kosta Loli's transcription of the song "Ψες εχόρευαν εδώ", (Pses echoreyan edho; *Last Night They Danced Here*).

The stylistic IMUS differences between various Albanian ethnic populations, as well as the Greek and Vlach ethnic groups of Southern Albania and northern Greece, are also explained by various demographic changes in the spreading of the Lab ethnic populations towards the South East, which had a substantial influence on the development of the IMUS features. Pogoni singing, however, differs from Lab in tessitura and tone colour; the tessitura, in particular, is higher and gives the singing a strong lyrical character. The Pogoni IMUS is better preserved and developed on the Albanian side of the border, whereas in Dhrimadhes and beyond, on the Greek side of the frontier, IMUS gradually vanishes. In Dropull (a Greek-speaking area) over the last twenty years or so, the penetration of the *Saze* instrumental groups, which are by now also incorporated into the IMUS, has changed to a certain extent, the more traditional practice of singing, namely that of not being accompanied by instruments, the doubling of human voices and their functions (*marrës*, *kthyes* and iso) with instruments acting in the same role have almost become the norm.

The Himarë IMUS Styles

Some of the people in the Himarë region prefer to be recognised as belonging to the

Figure 4 - Ku je rritur, je bër' kaque (Where have you grown up so much)

Bregu i Detit (Coastline) region, however, due to the geographical affinities with the Lab people, their IMUS is quite similar to the Lab singing style, or it may be the other way round, with some specific stylistic differences. Three villages of the Himarë coastal region, including the Himarë centre itself, are bilingual, Albanian and Greek. The Himarë people nowadays sing in both languages, although the dialectal continuum suggests an uninterrupted flow of Albanian-speaking elements. The distinctive trait of the Himarë IMUS is its lyrical expression; the melodic layers of the solo voices are sonorous, smooth and wave-like, closer to the linear development of the Gjirokastër IMUS. The lyrical feature is perhaps the most distinctive mark between the Himarë and the Lab IMUS; the latter is characterised by its density and epic expression. The pulsating rhythm of the third voice, *hedhësi* (thrower), which often moves together with the iso in an interval of a third, as a kind of double iso, is a relatively new variation of this style attributed to Neço Muko, who with his group twice recorded a selection of Himarë songs in Paris in the 1930s.[8] This manner of singing with the addition of a kind of tremolo idiomatic shade effect in the third voice became known as *avaz*

8 Neço Muko (1899-1934) was from Himarë, in the south of Albania. His contribution to the creation of lyric songs in *internationalised* traditions and principally to the stylisation of the four-part Himariote polyphonic folk songs took Albanian song in a new direction.

Figure 5 - Pses ehorevan edho (Last night they danced here)

himariot (a Himarë tune). From a performance point of view, the similarities to Lab singing, such as the bouncy rhythm of the iso, as well as parallels between Himarë and Gjirokastër in the use of the third part/voice, *hedhësi*, are a distinct feature of both areas. As far as the type is concerned, the affinity between the Himarë and the Lab style consists in the musical language, i.e. melodic organisation, formal structure and pentatonic spectrum.

Do këndoj po m'u zu grika (*I'll Sing, But My Throat Won't Let Me*; see figure 6) is one of the well-known Himarë songs placed in a relatively high tessitura and marked by a rhythmic intensity and energetic voice production of a mainly syllabic iso. The permanent *tremolando* effect in the third voice (the *hedhës*) and its performing role, as a second iso (on a third above the drone), are the most distinctive features of the Himarë singing.

The other Himarë song, *Vajz' e bukur-o* (*Beautiful Girl*) or better known as *Katina ni-na-nina*, see figure 7, is recorded by three singers, Koço Çakalli (*marrës/taker*), Neço Muko (*kthyes/answerer*) and Mitro Rumbo (iso). This recording, among many others, was made for Pathé in France in 1929.

It is interesting to note how much the interpretation of the Himarë song changed

Figure 6 - Do këndoj po m'u zu grika (I'll sing, but my throat won't let me)

Figure 7 - Vajz' e bukur-o (Beautiful girl)

during a relatively short time, between the pre-World War II period and the second half of the XXth century. If one wants to compare the different periods of these song interpretations, it is not difficult to observe that during the totalitarian period of the second half of the XXth century, the singing became more and more forceful, exultant and influential and went higher in pitch for the simple reason of conveying more powerful, national and "socialist" feelings. Borrowing epic and heroic features from the neighbouring Lab singing, the Himarë approach deviated slightly from its lyrical, sonorous and wave-like nature.

The present generation of the Himarë IMUS, in general, and the group led by Katina Bejleri, in particular, tend to strengthen their styles even more towards a lyrical and smoother nature and make the iso sound with less density. This way the group does

not comprise more than five people altogether, three soloists and only two iso singers. Bejleri asserts that "I am keen to produce a sweet and lyrical tone rather than generate a dynamic and epic expression."

There is another style of singing, which remarkably encompasses the features of both Himarë and Lab styles, that is the Piluri IMUS. Although the Piluri village is geographically closer to the Himarë centre (Piluri is often depicted as the "Himarë balcony" from where the Ionian Sea and Himarë village can be viewed), its current IMUS style is much closer to the Lab singing. The Piluri IMUS is marked by a rhythmic intensity, energetic voice production and iso density. The iso itself is mostly hummed by slightly pronouncing the text syllables rather than holding a constant sound to the vowel "e". If in the 1930s it was Neço Muko who left a vivid mark on Himarë singing, nearly fifty years later, it was Lefter Çipa[9] who almost did the same for Piluri singing. Çipa is not a singer as Muko was, he is a poet and from this standpoint, he has orally arranged many Piluri songs. His sensuous poetic lines are generally considered the finest and most evocative in Albanian traditional poetry. Conversely, his oral (not-written down) songs reveal another facet of his creative ingenuity: strength, dynamism and devotion. Çipa's postulate is: "If the Himarë song has a special relationship with the sea, the Piluri song, due to the altitude, has a relationship with the wind."[10]

The Tosk IMUS Styles

Tosk song-texts are described by Çabej to be of "soft lyricism", "heart-felt", as well as at times "epic". The melodic lines display a larger range than those of the Lab IMUS, but hardly more than an octave. The solo lines are highly articulated and are of an expansive nature. The melody develops in a supple and broad legato line supported by regional idiomatic expressive devices such as slides and embellishments, while its musical metre tends to be a free or melismatic one. The three-part Tosk IMUS is found in the South East of Albania, in the region extending east of the river Vjosë to Slav Macedonia and the Greek province of Macedonia (north of the lake Ohër and east of the lake Prespë).

The iso is held to the vowel sound "e" and is non-syllabic, conversely, it is a continuous and sustained feature over long phrases and usually does not apply ornamentation. The iso comes in shortly after the lead singer and the second soloist (countermelody, *kthyes*) and uses staggered breathing to constantly hold the droning sound; it has to be loud, although it requires less people than in the Lab singing. The Tosk three-part singing areas of the Korçë region, its surrounding villages and also the neighbouring regions of Skrapar, Kolonjë, Devoll, Pogradec, the Përmet region and others all have their own characteristics, but the most distinctive one is that some of the songs

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9 The poet Lefter Çipa was born in Piluri, Himarë in 1942.

10 Personal communication with Alexander Çipa (Lefter Çipa's son), May 2010.

are accompanied by an instrumental ensemble called *Saze*. The Pogradec songs, for example, are depicted as graceful and cheerful, those of Devoll, Kolonjë and Skrapar are characterised by an improvisatory and virtuoso style, while the Myzeqe IMUS is distinguished by a gentler mode of singing and the Cham songs are distinguished by a passionate and sometimes nostalgic feeling. *Pse m'i mban sytë në mbërdhe* (*Why You Keep Your Eyes Down*; see figure 8) is a Tosk song from the Skrapar area.

The multipart singing of this region is unaccompanied, just like the Lab, Gjirokastër and Himarë IMUS, but its line-up structure is a three-part and not a four-part one; two leading voices and the iso. The first and second soloists during their continuous interaction above the drone tend to gravitate towards the iso ground, where a sustained tone, the third voice or the iso, is held on an uninterrupted vowel sound "e". The iso does not break off until both soloists have completed their melodic phrase which in turn is closely associated with the corresponding verse line. Demir Zyko is a well-known singer, who not only has strengthened the performance style of the Skrapar region, but has also created his own approach to the IMUS. As a leading voice, the

Figure 8 - Pse m'I mban sytënëmbëdhe (Why you keep your eyes down)

hedhës usually starts his songs with a long exposition depicting a highly ornamented and a longish <u>melodic phrase in an emphatic and emotional way</u>. The second soloist part (in Zyko's version) starts a little lower in pitch but after a while reaches the same level as the first and both solo voices interact. The iso members support the soloists with a scarcely perceptible use of staggered breathing.

The other Tosk song *Shoqe, do t'u them një fjalë* (*My Girlfriends, I'll Tell You Something*; see figure 9) is a women's song from Lubonjë, in the Korçë area. It is based on an unhemitonic pentatonic mode with its ambitus of one octave and the consonant harmonies dominating throughout the song's modal language. At the very end of the song in the second voice, a group of notes appear which go down to a fourth below

Figure 9 - Shoqe, do t'u them një fjalë (My girl mates, I'll tell you a word)

the iso using idiomatic descending slides to represent the sound of a bagpipe slowly deflating.

Looking at the notation of figure 9, one may assume that the leading voices[11] are melodically restrained and strictly divided in bar-lines of the rigid 3/8 metre, however, the transcription of this song, as with many other transcriptions of this kind, cannot faithfully represent the real performance which is, in fact, characterised by a much freer treatment of time values.

The Gramsh region in Central Albania (Toskëria region) is particularly renowned for its repertoire of *muzikë me fyej* (music for shepherds' flutes). There is a characteristic ensemble with *fyej* (shepherds' flutes) consisting of some ten players or more who perform specific unaccompanied multipart music of the Gramsh area. This ensemble with *fyej* comprises instruments of different sizes, among which the most characteristic is the *kavall*, a long shepherd's flute in the alto register. The unaccompanied multipart song, *Kush të nisi të bëri pyll* (Who Made You to Blossom) (see figure 10) shows the same multipart pentatonic music with iso, but in a vocal form.

The leading melodic role during the whole song is taken by the first voice; the second solo voice enters a few bars later and then a constantly held sound of the iso is introduced on the vowel "e". The song is a classical type in the women's repertoire of this genre, where the second voice is modally interdependent with melodic phrases of the leading voice and only slightly independent in contour and rhythm.

Më ra shamia në llucë (My Handkerchief Fell in Mud) (see figure 11) is a song from Përmet, sung by a women's group. It is a multipart pentatonic song in a narrow range; its ambitus does not exceed a fourth.

Being a humorous text, it consists of several couplets in an almost declamatory style and the musical structure corresponds most closely to the textual one. Since the text needs to be evidently heard and in this case is in the second voice, the sung line develops in this voice, while the other two parts play the iso role. The tendency for legato singing, the use of expressive idiomatic *portamenti*, the consonant produced harmonies, a combination of chest and sometimes head voice register alongside the nuances of the local Tosk dialect, give a specific flavour to the traditional singing performance of the Përmet area.

The Myzeqe IMUS Styles

The Myzeqe IMUS, which in most studies is grouped as an integral part of the Tosk IMUS, is characterised by a broad melodic structure of the two solo parts and sounds quite different from the same melodic solo lines of the Lab song. As in the Tosk IMUS in general with its quality of a more expansive verse line (six-foot instead of a four-foot as among the Labs), the Myzeqe solo melodic lines put the emphasis on expression

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11 The Tosk version for the denomination of the soloist parts is also: *ia thotë* (says) for the leading voice and *ia mban* (holds) for the second soloist.

Figure 10 - Kush të nisi, të bëri pyll (Who made you blossom)

and shaping as well as trying to expand them and give an emotional and sometimes, a lamenting character. The iso is a continuous and sustained one over long sections and strongly matches the spoken dialect, especially the distinctive quality of the local open vowel "e". Although it may sound as if the melodic structure is in the character of a free metre, it is of a well-organised metric structure of either simple or compound musical metres. Shupo notes that in the men's songs of Myzeqe "the second voice creates a second figured pedal together with the iso of the third voice in a minor third, major second or major third relationship" (Shupo 1997: p. 444).

The song *O qo an' e lumit* (*This Side of the River*; see figure 12) shows some of the characteristic features of Myzeqe IMUS; the compound metre 7/8 gives the song mensural proportions so that the time value notes cannot be treated as free as in the other southeastern parts of Toskëria. The performance style of this song tends to offer a serene and pastoral atmosphere where, as the text says, "this side of the river, there are many nightingales". The "figured pedal of the second voice", as has been pointed out by Shupo, is seen in several segments of the song in its minor third relationship

Figure 11 - Më ra shamia në llucë (My handkerchief fell in mud)

with the iso part. It is worth pointing out, however, that there are other Myzeqe songs, which tend to be closer to a freer rendering of singing that has more affinity with the South-eastern part of Toskëri and when transcribing, a staffless system for these types of songs would be more appropriate.

Figure 12 - O qo an'e lumit (This side of the river)

The Cham (Çam) IMUS Styles

It is an interesting fact that the songs of the Çams, of the southern edge of Albania, are similar to that of the Tosk(s). [...] This concordance can be challenged because today the Tosk and Çam do not live next to each other. However, this argument is historically demolished because in a certain period of Albanian history the Lab tribes were brought into the middle as a partition (wedge), and would have, therefore, divided an ancient unit into two parts. Thus, we can observe how traditional songs are even able to throw light on the history of our tribes (Çabej 1975: p. 129).

The IMUS of Chameria (Alb. Çamëria) has close similarities and carries the main features and structures of the Tosk singing; such similarities are also found among the Vlachs situated in the south of Albania and Greek Epirus. Chams (Alb. *Çam-s*) who live in Albanian territory sing their songs in Albanian, but in the past they used to sing in their dialect which is very distinctive even among the Albanians. The same songs are now sung in Greek by the Orthodox Chams, who, at the present time, call themselves Thesprotian Orthodox, Greek Orthodox or Epirot Orthodox and are not

keen to be recognised as Chams or as understanding or speaking Albanian. However, the songs are the same. It should be stressed that despite the fact that the Cham songs in Thesprotia are not nowadays sung in Albanian (since Albanian is not being taught anymore and the language is rapidly dying out), they were preserved with great care in the Albanian areas where the Cham people resided. On the one hand, they may have lost a little from the spoken dialect of Chameria, but, on the other, they were cultivated in the same pot where different approaches and styles of the Albanian IMUS were practiced.

The composition of the Cham men's IMUS is usually the same as the Tosks, a three-part singing: two solo parts and the iso group. The sustained sound of the iso is sung, as with the Tosks, to the vowel "e". A branch of the Cham IMUS is characterised by its rhapsodising style, which may last up to 30 minutes. Among these, the more lyrical ones are usually sung in a head voice and in a relatively high pitch that clearly makes a distinction between the Lab and Himarë singing. According to Shaban Zeneli (a Cham, born and brought up in Fier), although the Cham IMUS is known to be in three parts, there are cases when extra parts are improvised, a third and a fourth part, which can be named as *marrës* (the taker), *kthyes* (answerer), *pritës* (who "waits for it"), *hedhës* (thrower) and then the iso.[12] The Cham and the Tosk iso have many stylistic features in common, but in some cases the former differs from the Tosk in that they start their iso at the same time as, or even before, the solo melody (*marrës*) begins. This order is not common among the Tosks, Labs and Myzeqe people.

A detailed examination of the Cham songs was carried out by Doris & Erich Stockmann who initially collected them in Albania in the 1950s, which they then transcribed and published as a study in Germany in 1960. The title of their research "Die Vokale Bordun-Mehrstimmigkeit in Südalbanien" was translated into Albanian in the 1960s. It is not only a detailed technical report of Erich Stockmann's expedition or an "exquisite hors d'oeuvre", as Lloyd put it, but also shows some of the wealth of regional variation to be found in the unaccompanied multipart singing of a musical culture which developed outside its birthplace. Bernard Lortat-Jacob dealing with the multipart music of south Albania, as well as with the investigation of the Cham singing styles in its birthplace, Chameria (Greek: Τσαμουριά/Tsamouriá), underlines the point by asserting that "some expressive devices of the Cham repertoire could be quite

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12 Zeneli points out that "our Çam song is more open, the vibrations of the voice are required like light waves. The songs of elegiac type, those, which show history, as well as those of a lamenting nature, should not be sung in a chest voice; the lyrical song should be sung in a high register, there are no lyrical songs which can be sung 'down'. All our songs are dance-songs. The Çamëri and Myzeqe songs are the same. I believe that, Çamëria, Mallakstër, a little of Përmet, all the Korçë zone up to Macedonia and then descending to Myzeqe, are all one song with slight nuances for each zone. The Labs are completely different. Last year, in 2006, when I was visiting the Greek Çamëri, the people over there told me in that it is the dialect that is missing in my Çam singing. I do not speak like them now, that's why I do not sing completely like them". Shaban Zeneli, personal communication, April 2007.

recent, such as the famous song "Çelo Mezani" introduced by Refat Sulejmani. This kind of expressivity, based on nostalgia and tears of sadness, has appeared to be a canonical way of singing in the Cham style. Therefore, there is a kind of 're-invention' of tradition synonymous with a "complication" of a historical course".[13]

Ra dielli në malë (*The Sun is Rising on the Mountain*; see figure 13) is one of several songs analysed in the Stockmanns' survey and, among the other notated examples, I have included it here to show how their field research examination was transformed into a meticulous analysis accompanied by transcriptions of small details.

The Aromanian/Vlach IMUS Styles

It is not my intention to give priority to the Aromanian or Vlach IMUS styles compared to other styles discussed here, however, since this ethnic group has been little researched in Albania, a broader discussion of the Aromanian/Vlach historic and linguistic particulars, terminology and musical culture, is needed for the sake of clarification of some facts.

Historical facts: There are many theories that explain the origins of the Aromanian/Vlachs: in Romania they are considered to be the descendants of the Roman colonists mixed with Romanised Daco-Thracian people living in the Roman Dacia area. After the Slavic invasions these peoples were split into two branches, Romanians and Aromanians; the latter migrated to south of the Danube River. In Greece, they are believed to be descended from a local Greek population that was Latinised immediately following the Roman conquest of Greece, or later, during the first centuries of the Byzantine Empire when Latin continued to be the official language.[14] In fact, the area of origin of the early Aromanians, who were Romanic peoples and spoke a Romanian or Romance language, is what used to be the epicentre of the territories of present-day Albania and beyond, south-eastwards. The Aromanian/Vlachs were originally mixtures of different indigenous tribes, who during Roman times dwelled in south Illyria and lived in symbiosis with the autochthonous Albanian-speakers populace. Then, they were gradually fragmented and dispersed all over the Balkans. Being transhumant shepherds, they expanded over a vast area south of the lower Danube during the Slavic invasions.

The Aromanians or Vlachs are still living in ethnic areas in their original homeland throughout the Balkan region, especially in Northern Greece, Albania, Macedonia, as well as in Eastern Serbia, Northeast Bulgaria, Croatia and Romania (mostly in Dobrogea). Although they were generally known to be transhumant stateless herders, towards the mid-XVIIIth century some Aromanian/Vlach settlements such as Voskopoja

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13 Personal communication, 26 November 2009.

14 The Romanian-Greek polarization seems to be counter-productive by not only fragmenting the Vlachs, but also exposing the fact that their elite, locally and regionally, is still too weak for self-organization

Figure 13 - Ra dielli në malë (the sun is rising on the mountain)

(Moschopolis), Shipska, Grabova, Nica, Llënga, Gradishta, Gramoshtea, Linotopea, Nikolica, Vithkuqi became more prosperous and a powerful merchant class emerged through its trade routes of international connections leading to Venice, Austria, Istanbul and several other main centres of Europe. Around twenty four churches, a printing press and Academy, as well as other social-professional institutions such as businesses (*esnafè*), "Poor's Depository" (*Kassa ton Phtohon*) and an "Orphanotrophy" were built in Voskopoja and a cultural effervescence arose in this city. However, this was a brief period of time and Voskopoja was plundered and finally destroyed probably by the local people, and its inhabitants fled the place and migrated in all

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directions by establishing several other settlements. Wherever the Aromanian/Vlachs settled in today's Albania, they continued to share space and institutional order with the Albanian-speaking society, while at the same time maintaining their cultural identities, communal and spiritual life. The Aromanian/Vlachs were also integrated into other Balkan societies by preserving the legacy of Eastern Orthodox Christianity as the mainstream religion, and vernacular based on the ancient Romanian origin.

Foreign travellers who visited Albania in the XVIIIth, XIXth and XXth centuries, such as Leake, Spencer, Tozer, Hammond and others, expressed their astonishment when they met ethnic groups in some villages that spoke a particular language, different from the local one, or maybe closer to their own language, an impression that they fixed in their own books.[15]

Linguistic Facts: The Aromanian/Vlach language is an eastern variant of Vulgar Latin (the spoken form of non-Classical Latin) or to put it simply, a Provincial Latin. Linguistic research has shown some evidence that the Romanian/Vlach language originated from a substratum that is shared in common with Albanian (spoken in Southern Illyria) before these two languages began to be distinguished from each other. While the Vlachs were thoroughly Latinised during the centuries of Roman domination, the Albanian language also received the influence of Latin from early times. "Then, we suppose, pre-Rumanian moved north of the Danube and merged with a Daco-Romance dialect, which contained Thracian elements ... Old loans in Rumanian from Albanian and shared Albanian-Rumanian developments from Latin point to an eastern origin. But the nomadic habits of the Vlachs and the herding culture of the Albanians would have brought them into contact for perhaps long periods in the past" (Hamp 1963: p. 3). There is substantial evidence to suggest that it was in the XIth century AD that the Vlach language split into the present-day Romanian and Aromanian: Romanian, which was used in Romania, was developed by its peoples dwelling in the lands north of the lower Danube, while the Aromanian used in the Southwest Balkans continued its development separately; both languages are still understandable to each other. The Romanian and Aromanian languages show evidence of having followed the whole evolution of spoken Latin that belonged to the Eastern Roman Empire until the Slavic invasions in the VIIth century AD. From ancient times to the present

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15 Travelling in Albania in 1850, Edmund Spencer wrote about his impressions of his one night stay in Kuchova, a small village at that time not far from the town of Berat: "As the shades of evening approached we got to the village of Kouschova, inhabited by a tribe of Wallachians [...] This good people, who always regard a Frank from a similarity of language, as their compatriot, hospitably provided me with abundance of provisions. How singular is the tenacity with which man adheres to the language and the customs of his race. Although centuries upon centuries have passed since these people have been the slaves of successive tyrants, still they are enabled to hold converse with the stranger in the bold, graphic language of ancient Rome; and truly, Pope Michaeli in his long flowing robes, full patriarchal beard, hooked nose, strongly marked features, majestic person, and fiery eye, was not an unworthy representative of a people who were once the lords of the world" (Spencer 1851: p. 150)

day both branches of the Vlach language, Romanian and Aromanian, have continued to exist. Yet, if during the second millennium AD Romanian flourished in the land of today's Romania as the language of the illuminists, universities, scholars and writers, Aromanian, although it is still spoken in the original homeland of the Vlach peoples has remained less developed, in the form of a spoken dialect. However, it should be stressed that the earliest known examples of written Aromanian were manuscripts of the Patriarch Photius dating from around 860-870 AD, and manuscripts written by St. Naum of Ohrid at about the same time. In the early XVIIIth century several liturgical books in Aromanian, written in the Greek alphabet, began to be published and at the beginning of the XIXth century other materials appeared, written in the Latin alphabet. In the 1980s a new Aromanian spelling system began to emerge and has been adopted in most countries where Aromanian is spoken. The new system, which eliminates all the accented letters, with the exception of "ã", was proposed by four Aromanian writers and first published in 1985.

Terminological Facts: According to the geographic area covered by the Balkan ethnic group map, the Aromanians are dispersed as ethnic islands among other populations. They are grouped into those concentrated around the Pindus Mountains (in the Southwest of Macedonia, north Greek Epirus and western Thessaly); those found around the town of Farsala (Pharsala) in Greece, called *Farshãrots*; those concentrated in the east of the Gramos Mountains (*Gramosteans*); and those spread out in Albania mainly among the Tosks, with its people called by non-Albanians as *Farsherots* or *Frasherots*.

As can be seen, some confusion regarding the term *Farsherots* (*Farshãrots*) has arisen. However, in Albania the former and present Provincial Latin-speaking people are usually known as Vlachs of the Korçë, Kolonjë, Leskovik and Pogradec areas, as Vlachs of Myzeqe, as well as Vlachs of the Gjirokastër, Sarandë and Vlorë regions. It should be pointed out that among the scholars of different views and approaches, there are at least two different interpretations of the Aromanian modern spelling term, *Farshãrot*: one, proposed, in my view, by the Greek scholars, who associate this denomination with the town Farsala (Pharsala) that represents the Aromanian-speaking population concentrated in the south of Epirus, in Aetolia-Acarnania, an area known in the Middle Ages as Small Wallachia. The other interpretation is proposed, in my view, by authors of the Aromanian/Romanian inclination (they use the Romanian spelling *Fãrşerot*) in order to differentiate it from those Aromanian/Vlachs of Greek affiliation.[16]

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16 Until recently I have defended the view that the term *Farsherot* (Rom. *F r erot*) is associated with the Farsala (Pharsala) area in Thessaly, Greece, and that some ethnomusicologists have mistakenly misinterpreted this term by thinking that it comes from the Albanian village of Frashër, north of Përmet. But, reading the diaries kept by Hammond in 1930, I extracted the following revelation which I found fascinating, which did not sweep away the confusion: "The Bouii are a cluster of Vlach tribes, one of which gave up the nomadic life many generations ago and settled down in southern Thessaly, where their descendents live today. They are called the Frasheriote Vlachs, a name that recalls their

Some groups who practice traditional singing, apart from Aromanian, in Greek and Slavic are called "Vlach", while those who practice it in Albania, apart from the denomination "Vlach", "Aromanian" are also knowned. The primary origin of the word "Vlach" is Germanic and was applied to the Celtic tribes, meaning that it survives today in the English name of Wales. From the Germanic tribes this term was transferred to the Slavs that used it in specific reference to the Romanic peoples, including Italians, French and Latin-speaking Balkan tribes. The Slavs passed this word on to Greek - βλάχοι. *Vlach* also had the meaning of "shepherd", due to the fact that almost all Aromanian/Vlachs were herd-breeders. Albanians also call the Aromanian/Vlachs "çoban", borrowed from Ottoman Turkish (چوبان), meaning "shepherd". Greeks also call the Aromanian/Vlachs *chobani* (τσομπάνοι). In Serbia and Macedonia, they are generally known as *Vlasi* or *Tsintsari*; in English they are identified as Vlachs, in German as *Wlachen* or *Walachen* and in French as *Valaques*. In Albania Aromanian/Vlachs call themselves *Armānji* or *Rrāmānji* and their language *Armāneashti* (Armāneashce, Rrāmāneasht) or *limbā Armāneascā*. In the last thirty years or so, many more Vlachs in Albania have preferred to be called Aromanians.

Musical Tradition: Pandi Bello gives his account of the dissemination, styles and inclinations of the Aromanian/Vlach traditional singing in the Southwest Balkans. According to him, the three main branches and dialects of the Aromanian people in the Southwest Balkans are the *Farshārot*, the Pindean and the Gramoshtean. Between them they have more common elements than differences. Byzantine ecclesiastical music is another strong bond between the Aromanian/Vlachs and the other Southwest Balkan peoples. "The Aromanian folklore is primarily vocal, *sui generis* vocal" – states Bello (Bello 1996, 8).

It can be said that there are two types of Aromanian singing (although this division cannot be rigidly applied): the monodic singing, which is practiced among the Aromanian/Vlachs of Pindus and neighbouring areas, and the multipart singing, which is widespread among the Aromanian/Vlachs of Albania and Aromanian/Vlachs of Greece. The Gramostean Aromanians, who are situated in the north and between the Pindean and the Aromanian/Vlachs of Albania, have developed a two-part heterophonic singing as well as a monodic one, a kind of a mediatory musical practice between the other two. Since the topic of this research is the vocal iso(n) in multipart

origin in Southern Albania; for Frater or Frashari (both forms are current) is an area northwest of Permet. It is very probable that the heart of Wallachia in the twelfth century was in the highlands by Lake Malik and Lake Prespa; for tradition associated the wealth of the Vlachs with two towns just the west of Lake Malik called Voscop ("shepherd's town") and Moskopol ("cowherd's town"). When the crusaders of the First Crusade passed through the Vlach area on their way from "Adernobilis" (Hadrianopolis) in the valley of southern Drin to Kastoria in Macedonia, they must have been surprised to hear a form of Latin spoken as vernacular in these remote mountains (Hammond 1983: p. 38). Does the above quoted examination on the Frasheriote (Farsherot) Vlachs reflect reality? Nevertheless, despite the latter vague term, in this study I prefer to call this population either with a more traditional denomination, Vlach, with relatively recent denomination in Albania, Aromanian.

singing, it will focus on the Aromanian/Vlachs of Albania and Vlach singing of Epirus, Greece.

In the Albanian territory the Aromanian/Vlach IMUS generally used to be practiced in the Albanian language. The same can be said for the IMUS practiced in the Greek territory. Recently the Aromanian/Vlach IMUS of these territories has been practiced in Aromanian, as well as in Albanian and Greek. Although many of the Aromanian/Vlach iso-based multipart songs have not survived because of their difficult social and territorial circumstances, it seems that a revival of multipart singing has started with the aim of making known, not only the language, but also their specific pastoral style of singing. The Aromanian/Vlach IMUS very often bear a resemblance to the different ethnic areas where they used to dwell for longer periods of time, however, also trying to preserve their own singing tradition. Agreeing with the idea that a "musical style seems more tied to locale than to ethnicity" (Rice 1987: p. 190), the viewpoint that the Aromanian people have also contributed to the dissemination of the IMUS has to be supported. Their form of living as wandering shepherds in a comparatively great territory played an important role as mediatory practitioners of the IMUS by giving and taking from the different ethnic populations. Çabej points out that "the wealth that the Aromanians and Albanians possess in their proverbs deriving from the shepherd's way of life, is linked, I think, with the pastoral life of these two peoples" (Çabej 1975: p. 119).

The Aromanian/Vlach IMUS generally occurs as a three-part type, as in the Tosk style. The iso does not break off during the melodic phrases. It pauses briefly only after a complete melodic improvisation and ornamental section led by both soloists, in order to make room for them (the solo voices) to re-enter, alternating and overlapping one after another, as in the first section of the song. A characteristic ending is the descending slide of the iso, from the basic tone to a roughly minor third, which gives a sense, as Sokoli depicts these sorts of slides, of the "sound of bagpipe deflating" (Sokoli 1965: p. 134).

The Aromanians of Dobrogea, mentioned above, owe their IMUS style to the Albanian Tosk populations from which they came. Constantin Secară[17] explaining the affinity and "relations between the Aromanians and Albanians" in the field of multipart singing states:

The Fărșerot repertoire consists mainly of *cǎntiți di padi* [polyphonic songs], called also as songs with 'e'. The simple, pre-pentatonic structures and the *giusto* syllabic system are dominant. Nonetheless, the polyphonic pattern is spectacular. Two performers develop the discourse in the form of a dialogue, which is here and there contrapuntal. They are supported by a numerous group singers accompanying them. . . . The sonorous overlapping often creates dissonances, which are also stressed by the intemperate intonation. The powerful emission strengthens the

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17 Constantin Secar , a Romanian musicologist, studied Byzantine music at the National Music University in Bucharest and is a member of staff at the "Constantin Br iloiu" Institute of Ethnography and Folklore

audible image. Taking into consideration the geographical area in which Aromanians lived and the role of the Orthodox Church in defining their identity and culture, the obvious similarity of these songs with the old Byzantine songs is not a coincidence (Secară 2006: p. 131).

Secară's treatment of the IMUS repertoire is quite intriguing and it is not difficult to find analogies between his vision and Baud-Bovy's in his "Essai sur la chanson populaire greque".

Traces of vocal polyphony also exist in the repertoire of another ethnic group who lived in neighbourhood with the Greeks: the Aromanians or Koutsovlachs of Thessaly, Epirus and west Macedonia. As in Romanian song, the trochaic verse – catalectic or not – of six or mainly eight syllables is the most common, but the influence of the Greek song is manifested in the songs of a 15 syllable iambic verse, where the strophe is very often a three-hemistich. Having the opportunity to study 'in situ', the musical language of the Aromanians of that part of Pindus, Thessaly, I found a clearly anhemitonic idiom and in spite of a particular colour of this language which is phonologically so different from the Greek, it does not at all distinguishable from the Greco phones of the region (Baud-Bovy 1983: p. 55).

There is a typical pastoral Aromanian/Vlach style of singing, with the second part falsetto, more or less as in the Andon Poçi village, north of Gjirokastër, which I also found in Kefalovriso, another Aromanian village in Greece.[18] Both villages on both sides of the frontier were set up to make room for the Aromanian people as permanent residents. Since the distinctive feature of the Vlach/Aromanian song consists more in the performing style (in relation to their surrounding Albanian or Greek neighbours) rather than its formal structure, I have preferred to only include audio examples, one from the Andon Poçi village in Albania, Audio Example 7, "A Lass Gazes at the Sea" (Greek "Κοπέλλα αντίκρυ στη θάλασσα", Aromanian "Featã mutreashti napãrti di amari" and Albanian "Vajza që vështron nga deti"), and the other, from the Kefalovriso village in North West Greek Epirus, Audio Example 8, "The First Morning of Anastasia" (Prota diminiatsã a li Anastasii). It is supposed that the people from Andon Poçi have a common origin with the Kefalovrisians and that their IMUS is closer to the Tosk styles, and seems to match, particularly in the way they hold the vowel "e" of the ison; it is an open sound, very characteristic of the Aromanian language's open vowels. Their Aromanian language seems to have influenced the IMUS style by giving emphasis to the vocalization of the words characterized by guttural sounds and extended vowels. Another common feature which characterises both Aromanian villages is the descending glissando through the intervals of a major second and minor third. If in the above example the Andon Poçi IMUS style symbolises the shepherds yelling and shouting at their sheep (although it is the text of a love story!), the Kefalovriso version seems to project a common conversation between the shepherds.

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18 Kefalovriso is an entirely Albanian Vlach village. In most householdes, Vlach is still the dominant language

The IMUS Styles of Greek-Speaking People

Among the Greek-speaking populations of south Albania and Greek Epirus the *isokratima* (drone), as the ethnomusicologist Kosta Loli puts it, appears in various forms and typological structures of the IMUS. One way of ison singing is to continuously hold the tonal basis of the song on the vowel "e" or, according to Loli, change it to "α-ι-ο", depending on the closing verse line at the end of the musical phrase. Another form consists of a syllabic ison, in which case it is the poetical text of the *partis* (taker) that should be followed by the isokratima group (Loli 2006: p. 43). As can be seen from Loli's investigation, both forms are those used in the IMUS practiced in Albania. The Greek-speaking ethnic groups inside the Albanian frontiers have therefore striking similarities with the IMUS used among the Albanian populations, particularly the Labs. Also the Greeks who live in the north of Greek Epirus, bordering Albania, in villages such as Parakalamos, Ktismata and Delvinaki, practise a type of IMUS which is very close to the style of the different Albanian ethnic populations. Researching the Greek IMUS in the north of Epirus in April 2006, I found that the IMUS of the village of Parakalamos, to the north-west of Janina, has a conspicuous correspondence to the IMUS of Myzeqe; it has the same lyrical type of melody, which moves in close and stepwise intervals, but also with skips on fourths. The iso of this particular area is similar not to the Lab but to the Tosk style, an almost uninterrupted open "e" even between the stanzas of the song.

However, in the Pogoni area, as was pointed out earlier, there are striking similarities with the Labs, emphasising in the same way not only the rhythmic intensity of the iso, clashes of major and minor seconds over a syllabic droning and the density of sounds in a narrow range, but also the poetical iambic metre and the 2/4 or 3/8 musical metres. *Alismono Kai Xerome* (*I Forget but Enjoy*; see figure 14) is a song from the Greek Epirus (Ktismata).

The melody of this song is similar to numerous Lab songs in that they both share near identical rhythmic phrases, formal structures and pentatonic gamut. There is another version of this song from the Greek Epirus; it of a monodic nature and accompanied by an instrumental *Koumpaneia/Saze* group containing in itself, however, elements of individual parts of multipart singing but in a linear form. The latter singing and playing version (*Koumpaneia/Saze*) is obviously much closer to the Tosk IMUS of Përmet or Leskovik tradition. The song *Alismono Kai Xerome* is a good example where the Epirus IMUS and monodic singing merge. Was it initially a multipart song adapted to a monodic linear rendering or was it a monodic tune from which other parts were extracted (the taker, answerer and the iso) in order to shape a multipart version of two, three or four voices? This is difficult to assert, however, both versions, multipart and monodic, share similar contrapuntal features of an unhemitonic melodic contour and pentatonic structure. They also demonstrate their differences: in the IMUS version the melody (including the iso) is characterised by a syllabic and accentual form, whereas in the monodic/koumpania version, the melismatic and free rhythmic patterns are developed.

Kosta Loli notes that "going down towards the south of Epirus, the presence of the

Figure 14 - Alismono Kai Xerome (I Forget but Enjoy)

polyphonic song shrinks and gradually gets lost. We do not know about any existence in the old days of polyphonic songs or any polyphonic character in any village around the town of Konica" (Loli 2006: p. 16). Loli also observes that in Pogoni, Prefecture of Janina, or in the villages of the region of Tsamanta, Prefecture of Thesprotia, because of demographic developments, the basic group of the part-singing practitioners has almost been. But Loli also notes that in the region of Dropull in Albania, part-singing is a vital part of local communities and is practised in the families, <u>neighbourhoods and beyond</u>.

In the Greek province of Macedonia, in the town of Kostur/Kastoria, a two-part singing with iso used to be practiced until recently, and there are signs that this process has started to disappear. However, the style of singing of this region is a part of the overall South West Balkan IMUS that has some specific characteristics; the iso enters shortly after the second soloist. According to Nikolai Kaufman,[19] the three-part IMUS of Kostur might have been relocated in this region from Albania.

Arbëresh Traditional Multipart Music

A significant aspect of the development of the south-west Balkan multipart singing is its oral transmission from the Balkan Peninsula to South Italy from the XVth century onwards. By focussing only on "multipart", I hope to isolate a particular aspect of the Arbëresh oral history of the repertory. In Calabria, where the majority of the Arbëresh settled, local people, the Calabrians, practised their own multipart singing. However, the newcomers brought a different kind of musical expression and structure from Albania and Morea. Kruta asserts that "in the new conditions created in the new [Italian] soil, absorption of the more developed forms of polyphony and bourdon occurred; the latter emerged as a voice with an individual function" (Kruta 1991: p. 68). The blending of the Balkan style with the local Calabrian style of multipart singing into a new repertory, a process which lasted hundreds of years, created an Arbëresh/ Calabrian physiognomy by evoking feelings of remoteness and perceiving images of an individual and popular consciousness and imagination. Whatever the origin of the Arbëresh song, whether Albanian, Calabrian or from Basilicata, the present product is a fascinating result; a sensation associated with the vocal production, the Arbëresh language and elements of an accompaniment in the character of a drone; the latter, although a partial one, is a significant element. Both versions of multipart singing can be found, the vocal unaccompanied singing and singing with instrumental accompaniment. The unaccompanied vocal forms, monodic or multipart, seem to have predominance over the instrumental forms; also the womens repertoire is clearly more prominent among the Arbëresh people.

The multipart singing of the Arbëresh community is expressed in at least two typical musical genres: the *Vjersh* or *Vjesh*, a two-part or multipart form (it can also be

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19 Nikolai Kaufman (b. 1925), Bulgarian ethnomusicologist and folklorist.

found in monodic form) and the *ajre* (air), in which forms of drone accompaniment develop. Apart from vocal multipart structures, both genres have in common indications of a drone that sometimes resemble a longer pedal and, at other times, the sporadic nature of a drone/iso feeling. The rapport between the solo singer and the second voice or the group is a model that is reflected in the multipart singing of other civilizations all over the world. However, in Calabria the characteristics of timbre, embellishments, melodic improvisations, oscillating vocal effects and constant reference to the unison foundation tone for the melodic phrases, very much project the spirit of place. The two-part women's songs, some of which use a partial drone, are known for their sheer strength and volume, and for the use of idiomatic expressive devices such as yodelling and bleating. According to Kruta, the connotations of drone, as an accompanying voice or of a holding basic tone, suggest similarities to the present South Albanian iso, a proposal that has been made on justified grounds. "In many Arbëresh two-part songs, sung by two individuals or a group, it has often been observed that one of the two voices, as would usually be the case with the second voice, it is the one that makes sometimes similar movements to a droning sound. At certain places this voice appears as a syllabic bourdon [drone] at the same pitch, at other times tends to avoid uniformity by moving to a major second lower" (Kruta 1991: p. 66-67). Kruta takes the song "Little Konstandin" as an illustration, see figure 15, to demonstrate this particular occurrence.

Discussing both types of the Arbëresh songs, without iso and with iso, Shupo suggests that "despite their Byzantine impact, those with iso show a clear Albanian origin" (Shupo 1997, 471), while Ahmedaja states that "when discussion takes place with regard to Byzantine singing, the Albanian traditional songs as well as those of the Arbëresh should be taken into consideration. Byzantine culture and Orthodox religion have been for them a crucial help in the preservation of a part of their identity in a foreign land where they were forced to emigrate" (Ahmedaja 2003: p. 404).

The *vjersh* are multipart songs of a typical Arbëresh tradition and their texts consist of love songs, of nature and rural life motifs as well as wedding songs. Other recurring themes encountered are the homesickness and longing for the absent motherland, Albania or Morea, over there between the Ionian and Adriatic seas. Epic motifs depicting the figures of Scanderbeg and Constantine, as well as mythic symbols and figurative tongues, filled with nostalgia and love, are among the most powerful oral and written Calabrian popular sung poetry. Many musicologists have interpreted the drone/iso occurrence in Calabria as a suggestion that by losing contact with the south-west Balkans during the course of almost 500 years, the drone has been gradually fragmented and even dissolved. Although the drone/iso of traditional or secular singing evolved in the south-west Balkans, in Mid to Late Medieval Times, it still did not have the necessary time to develop properly. Therefore, the folk traditional drone/iso which came to Calabria from the south-west Balkans as a component of the song was embryonic and remained as such, of course, allowing room for a natural process of transformation. Conversely, during Ottoman times in the south-west Balkans, the drone grew to become an important element of multipart singing and employed a va-

Figure 15 - Alismono qe hjerome (I forget but enjoy)

riety of specific styles of singing. The Arbëresh preserved their traditional music in the same way as they did with their language, religion, icons, Byzantine singing, costumes, dances, weddings and funerals, love songs and para-liturgical songs. Calabria and Sicily were, and still are, transformed into two gigantic museums of enormous values. I am not sure how much of a coincidence it might be, but between the Arbëresh of Calabria and the Tosk and Gjirokastër areas of Albania the multipart singing seems to be related, with some mutual features such as the free melodic and rhythmic styles; also in both places (in Albania in the Tosk more than in the Gjirokastër area), the vocal drone appears to be accommodated in an instrumental variant too. If the Tosk singing is depicted by its lyricism and expansiveness, the Arbëresh traditional singing is described by its sense of nostalgia, evocation and nourished with epic motifs.
In August 2006 in San Demetrio Corone in Calabria, I met Pino Cacozza (Zef Ka-

koca), an Arbëresh poet and singer-song writer, who preferred to regard the Arbëresh traditional culture in the broader spectrum, as a Mediterranean culture. The *vjersh*, according to him, have the atmosphere of Calabria since the songs were born here and the melodic lines were created among the Calabrian people. The Calabrians may have lost some of their vocal traditions but we have preserved ours with more fanaticism, the same as we have done with our culture, songs and literature. Until the early XXth century, the Arberesh did not have any contact with Albania and the interactions were made only with the Calabrian culture and Calabrian people.

The musical language of the Arbëresh profane and para-liturgical traditional music, apart from some periodic pentatonic usage, is mainly adapted to patterns of modal language with simple types of dual and triple musical metre. In the south-west Balkans the pentatonic and modal systems are very much part of the affinity with the rural parts of the region, and perhaps the same affiliation was preserved among the Arbëresh people.

Musical instruments: The *karamunxia*, a kind of bagpipe, made usually by the player himself, is one of the most common instruments used among the Arbëresh people. However, the *surdulina*, a wind instrument, takes a special place; it is practised in the areas where the Arbëresh population lives and it has been suggested that it originated in the south-west Balkans and has common features, especially its loud and noisy sound and buzzing timbre, with instruments which are still in use in Albania. This instrument belongs the family of the Italian *zampognas* (not the one with a bag, more or less similar to bag-pipe), which uses a pair of rough-toned double reeds, two for the chanter and two for the drone. It is the latter element, the drone, which some scholars tend to make suppositions as regardes a probable link with the south-west Balkans. Listening to *surdulina* playing as part of San Paolo's Festival in August 2006, I was impressed by the sheer sound it produced and the cheerful atmosphere it created on this festive day. My momentary impression was as if I was hearing a pair of *surle* players, an instrument that is used mostly in north Albania, above the river Shkumbin.

The Arbëresh people of Sicily sing para-liturgical songs, such as that of St. Lazarus, but their main repertoire and legacy is liturgical. Here the traditional and secular singing may have existed when migrants arrived with their priests to this island, but as the church was the main place where the people gathered and sung, the non-liturgical songs were gradually transformed into para-liturgical ones and intermingled with liturgical singing. At Piana degli Albanesi in Sicily, for instance, an Albanian cultural and ethnic patrimony, which has shown a cultural identity throughout the ages, is still preserved and has to be mentioned in the annual cycle for ritual aspects such as Carnivals and Easter. "Till recent times the Sicilian multipart singing has been neglected, and considered as a modern importation from North Italy. Scholars thought that the authentic traditional vocal music of the Island was the monody" (Macchiarella 2008: p. 142). Macchiarella's study analyses a possible relationship between the present day oral polyphonic practices and the written sources of "an ancient common root, the *falsobordone*, a structure par excellence of the accompanied singing from the South Italian regions" (Macchiarella 2008: p. 142). The ancient traces of *falsobordone* today

could only be found in the form of a melody and drone.

In Sicily and Sardinia local people (i.e. non Arbëresh) had their polyphonic songs; however, the songs that the Arbëresh took with them from Albania and Morea were of different expression and form. The Arbëresh liturgical music and the Arbëresh traditional folk songs have been preserved and sung mostly within the churches but also in the secular form often sharing common stylistic characteristics between them. The most primitive and archaic form of the Sicilian traditional folk music I was able to hear in Palermo, was an ancient style of folk singing formed with two descending tetrachords (mi-re-do-si/la-sol-fa-mi), in the style of a para-liturgical music. The Arbëresh do not sing this way in Sicily. In the Arbëresh towns of Sicily, only two types of music exist: the Byzantine and Paraliturgical.

In the musical tradition of the Albanians of Sicily there are also important devotional and paralitugical repertoires. During the year, on the occasions of several holidays, ancient melodies alternate with more modern ones. The Arbëresh or Sicilian dialect texts alternate with Greek or Latin compositions and these signs of Eastern tradition are interwoven with Western practices. . . . These types of ceremonies are different from Greek and Byzantine rituals and they gradually caught on in past centuries due to the influence of interaction with Sicilian folk culture. In many cases they are traditional dialectal songs of nearby towns translated into Albanian. This repertoire proves how conservative the culture of the Arbëresh minority is. In fact, while in Sicilian communities those songs have been totally forgotten, in Albanian towns in Sicily they are still handed down in the Arbëresh versions (Garofalo 2004: p. 284).

Sopila circular interactions

Giuseppe Massimo Rizzo

Making Multipart Music: Case Studies

Introduction

The island of Krk's making-music is a specific musical context that is part of a larger cultural-musical area encompassing the southern Istrian peninsula and the Croatian Coastal-Mountainous region, related with *na tanko i debelo* bi-vocal singing (figure 3 and audio n. 2). From Božidar Širola's and Ivan Matetić-Ronjgov's speculations on its musical system to Ruža Bonifačić's latest historical and anthropological research, this musical area has been carefully considered and analyzed in several ways.[1]

In my paper I try to suggest a paradigm of the narrative construction of identities, based on the relational and network approach proposed by Margaret Somers (1994) for studying the so-called incoherent, marginal social groups and social actions within the so-called "complex-societies", as a tool for understanding present day musical identity formation. I think this approach may be useful to interpret the making-music within the very small social context of the Island of Krk; my aim is to understand the relational nature of several so-called "traditional" music phenomena, avoiding abstract categories that are often evoked when dealing with musical identities in terms of authenticity, national or regional styles or origins, traditionalism and other similar labels. What I should like to point out is the complex symbolism of the living musical phenomena.[2]

In such a perspective, the bi-part structure of this kind of musicianship is the core value of the social relation of a very large part of the population although it is hierarchically stratified.

The first part of my paper sketches the general framework from all the living narrations of musical tradition that take place on the Island of Krk at the present time: contemporaneously, a real and conceptual field made up of small differentiations among

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1 The bibliography on Istrian and North-Littoral Croatian repertoires and local musical identities is huge. Refer to Bonifačić 2001 for a short but comprehensive academic collection of references. An interesting online comprehensive resource of several audio examples and illustrations of Istrian music (collected by musical genres and localities) is available on Dario Maručić's website (http://www.dariomarusic.com/home.htm). By the way, living traditional musical cultures are increasingly becoming more integrated into the musical contemporaneity of the so-called complex-societies, since they are now practiced at the same time as mainstream music (such as pop, classical or jazz music). On these lines, it is meaningful that during the last decades, semi professional and, eventually, home digital recordings carried out by the most important players have increasingly become very common, bringing about the documentation of the music part of the so-called informant activity. On the other hand, during the last decades these repertoires have been collected in ethnographic collections by folk-tradition connoisseurs living in the studied communities, impliedly trying to freeze living musical practices based upon narrated musical tradition, hence providing models of folklorization (luckily not completely recognized by most of the Island of Krk's *sopila* players).

2 "One way to avoid the hazards of rigidifying aspects of identity into a misleading categorical entity is to incorporate into the core conception of identity the categorically destabilizing dimensions of time, space, and relationality. We can do this by bringing to the study of identity formation the epistemological and ontological challenges of relational and network analysis", (Somers 1994: p. 606).

villages that belong to the same insular and Croatian-Adriatic culture. In the second part, I shall outline the differentiation process throughout the narrations of the music-making: on the wings of the arena of contents, traditions, customs, etc. the villagers are able to interact with each other in order to put different representation of their own idea of musicality on the grounds of symbolic interactions and social life. As an exemplification of this, the third part gives a brief description of a special idea of musicality related to instrumental musical practices in church in the Omišalj parish, which over the last decades has been marginalized since related musical practices and narration implied a lack of prestige in these times. The fourth part draws a parallel between representations of musicality and music-making as a sort of an inextricable social interactional process. The fifth and sixth part describe quite simply how *sopila* interweaving works musicologically. The seventh part gives some examples of how musical-social interplays form musical products – then displayed in formal and informal situations as a paradigm of the so-called "musical traditions" of each village spread around the Island of Krk.

Sets of living cultural identities

From the very first time I had to think about the music culture of the inhabitants on the Island of Krk, I had to face several modelizations of this music in terms of sets of cultural identities. One of the most impressive was by Dr. Zebec in his book about the dance style of the Island of Krk (Zebec 2005). Although its main topic is the island's dance style, this essay investigates the music and the history of the island by emphasizing the dimension of the cultural identity of the isle as a whole, focusing on six/seven different localities and communities spread around the island. In a sort of common background, each community is defined by a peculiar musical and cultural identity, differently characterized by dialect, economy, history, dance and, of course, music. From this point of view, all villages are tied to other ones by common historical roots and general symbolic traits but, at the same time, they are specifically characterized by various kinds of details that cause historical roots and general symbolic traits of the island's culture to be more grounded on each community's territory. So for example, although the *tanac* dance style is the very basic core of the Island of Krk's dance style as a whole, it is widely known that each community has made several efforts to differentiate their own *tanac* style from the other dance styles spread around the same island, by introducing new choreographies, renewing their costumes, making them "more authentic" by applying ethnological expertise and so on.[3]

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3 For example, Damir Kremeni 's contributions to the formation of the Korni (a small village near the city of Krk) folklore group made up of only unmarried villagers. On the Island of Krk, the Korni folklore group tries to compensate for the fact that it has only existed since 2001 with the strong ethnographic expertise of its founder (see Kremeni 2003; and Kremeni 2005: p. 67). See the volumes of *Kr ki Zbornik* journal (published culture after the late 30s) for more examples of this kind of applied ethnology and ethnomusicology in

This process set a dialectic between the construction of the past and the present, of identity and otherness - deeply rooted among living islanders in terms of public negotiation of the state of art of everything involved in the public representation of cultural identity, as dance, of course, is. So in the public space, this kind of process is quite clear and transparent for almost every villager - although spread on different levels of awareness.[4]

Networked narrations of musicality

The construction of musical identities is a similar process considered even stronger but less recognized in the village's public space. In fact the construction of so-called "repertories", "styles" and their emic related esthetics (basically the main core of any "musical identity") is reserved to all the players who are members of a certain community or village.

Basically the music-makers' communities are sub-groups tied by a special solidarity that players figure out as friendship. The sense of belonging is made stronger by a process of challenging more shared narrations (at a certain time) by asymmetric dialectics related to different possible narrations carried out by other music-makers (who, try to strengthen their individual social status in the social area) involved in the musical identity construction-process. These kinds of discussions are peculiar to these sorts of groups and, in a few words, make them unique with respect to the villages' social life. Every villager might discuss almost every topic related to traditions, but music discussion is reserved just for the *sopci* (namely the *sopila* players). This discussion arena sets a symbolically outlined area of expertise, strengthened by the special status of the *sopci* and every *sopila* performance in rituals.[5]

Discussions about music are accessible, understandable and questionable only by some of these music-makers, so although whosoever "puts his fingers" on the traditional oboe of the Island of Krk is supposed to gradually develop his own socially-related discourse on music-making, he must be a well recognized music-and-opinion-maker to be able to seriously compete in the discursive interactional arena. Sometimes it takes a very long time or may fail: in emic terms it depends on how much he is seen

folklore group formation.

4 This statement is strengthened by the fact that each generation has to grow up by passing through dance ritual inculturation processes (see Zebec 2005: pp. 317-322, and Zebec 1995: pp. 201-217)

5 Tradition strictly defined the place and position of the *sopci* – they always were, and have remained, leaders. They are the ones who lead off in the *kolede* processional carol singing customs, and the processions of wedding party members and all the other participants at public occasions. They lead the young couple into the church at weddings, and escort them out of the church after the ceremony on the way to the square or the hall in which the *tanac* is later danced. And when they come to the place where the *tanac* is to be performed, everyone else has to orient himself or herself according to the *sopci*, (Zebec 2005: p. 299)
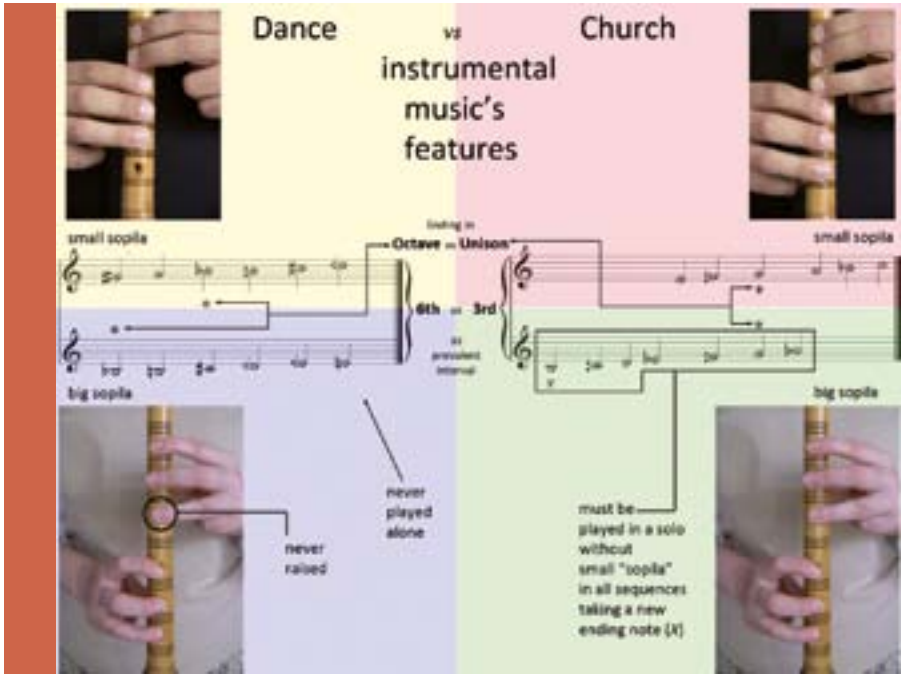
Figure 1 - Comparison chart of main formal characteristics of *sopila* dance music (right) and church instrumental music (left).

to love *sopila* playing, regardless of any supposed problems implied in this kind of social activity.

Discussions on musicality (on "what musicality is") set various narrations of the Island of Krk's hierarchically organized musicality. But not all the things that music players say, earn the same respect and recognition within the various networks of players spread around the Island of Krk's 6 districts. Therefore players' networks arise and they follow this or that narration of musicality (meaning that they actually follow this or that music maker). Some narrations rise above other ones, depending on certain historical and social factors.

Church *sopila* music

A valid example of this subject regards church instrumental music. During the Socialist regime, following a copious and revisionist ethnographic literature of the last twenty years, ethnographic scholarship and expertise was inhibited from dealing with questions related to religion. In this way - according to anthropologists such as Rihtman-Auguštin (2004; see also Čapo Žmegać 1999: pp. 42-44) - only the ethnography and folk tradition related to a romantic innocent rural world was cultivated. Therefore, performing church instrumental music was not a matter of prestige – such

as dance instrumental music, which was considered as genuine and legitimate folklore by the *intelligentsia*– but performing church instrumental music was something decadent.

On the other hand, the Second Vatican Council led to the abolition of Mass performed in the ancient Slavonic language and consequently to the institution of the Croatian language as the official one for Mass and the musical repertory's renewal. Thus, church folk instrumental music and church folk singing was further pushed towards rejection.

Church instrumental music is not only different as regards the performing context: despite the fact that they have the same physical shape, the *sopila* used in these repertories completely differ from the whole conceptual idea behind them: different instrument tuning, different fingering, different repertory, different tone, modality, dimension of attached reeds and so on.

Audio example n.1 contains an instrumental song played following the mainstream theory of dance-music, then a short piece of church instrumental music, namely a sequence called *predslovie*, sampled by a multi-track recording of the last player of his kind.

Figure 2 - Locality chart and assigned relationships: pointed black lines stand for direct repertoire movements, pointed red lines for musical interactions and blunt red arrows indicate general narration on musicality movements. Close lines indicate instrumental style areas.

Narrations on melodic interweaving

While young players further their "career" increasing their experience and knowledge, they participate greatly in the discursive arena, increasing their wealth of concepts and aesthetic-musical values. In this matter, not only do the concepts and aesthetic-musical values of the older players get caught up within their education and vocabulary, but these concepts get personally revised and included in their relational network. In a nutshell, this is a systemic process of the networked narration of musicality.

This is parallel to the actual networked process of interweaving different music-making practices: in other words, the process of diaphony-making is a result of musical interactions between players that come from different experiences, territories, masters, etc. It depends on various variable space-timed life situations.

Thus, narrations may conceptualize music-making differently: it depends on who the music and opinion makers acting in the field actually are. On the other hand, more recognized *sopila* masters may define more relevant areas of influence. For instance, in the Punat area, musical interaction is conceptualized as a sort of "catching each other" interplay, a sort of running after of two performing-interpretations played on the same basic melody, a concept indicated with the reflexive Čakavian verb *čapati se;* in the Jurandvor area, it is seen as a sort of shared spiritual inebriation (*nadahnuće*) that two players transfer to each other in the best performance; instead, in the *Šotovento* area, as a sort of fellowship/fellow-feeling that puts the two players together, allowing them

Figure 3 - Trascription of the *na tanko i debelo* **song "***Zrasal mi je zelen bor***" (musical extract n.2). This song represents a typical use of the instrumental** *sopila* **refrain between two vocal couplets. The last staff transcribes the instrumental section, the first two are the first vocal couplet.**

to securely and accurately make variations and join basic melodies.

However, musical narration is even linked to social contact and movement. So how musical interaction is intended in the Šotovento area is spread more among the younger players of the Jurandvor area (because of the dwindling recognition of its last master). The musical knowledge of the Dobrinj area assimilated the areas of Vrbnik and Malinska-Dubašnica and created a new folklore-style revival in the Njvice area. This was possible just because the leading master of the Dobrinj area gradually increased his power and influence upon these districts.

Knowledge of musical movement follows players' movement. So for example, one of two Punat masters moved his home to Kras, in the very center of the Dobrinj area, and started to transfer his musical knowledge and style to children living in this area. At the same time, there are new multiple contacts between young players from Vrbnik, Omišalj and Kornić, (the latter, a small village close to all the previously mentioned areas).[6]

Sopila instrumental music and na tanko i debelo singing

Whereas in some Istrian instrumental practices, different musical instrument and aspects coming from urban and countryside traditions have been merged in new peculiar instrumental and vocal styles, the Island of Krk's instrumental music-making is still strictly related to *na tanko i debelo* singing, made by two connected inextricable melodies in a diaphonic relationship without the accompaniment of accordions, clarinets, tempered scales and so on. This supposed archaic[7] link between instrumental and vocal practice is shown by the tradition of replaying *na tanko i debelo* songs on *sopila* instruments, sometimes alternating vocal and instrumental sections in the same informal situation as occurs in Dobrinj.

Asymmetries in *sopila* performance

These kinds of instrumental diaphonies may be thought of as outcomes of interweaved melodies taken in the performance by 2 players (called *sopci* because of the

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6 This kind of social phenomena related to the cultural-hegemony gained by some *sopila* masters in the field of certainly is related to the stratified political use of so-called genuine folklore (see Rithman 2004: pp. 63-64) in the process of identity construction: "there were other, more indirect ways in which ethnology has participated in the formation of local, regional and to a certain extent of national identity of the Croats, especially e. g. through the participation of its experts at folklore festivals both in pre- and post-World War II periods. They contributed to the establishment of the canon of authentic folk culture" (apo Žmega 1999: p. 44).

7 Archaism, authenticity and similar concepts are very common among non-academic ethnologists or folklore lovers and promoters operating in the sphere of folklore. They are controversial terms introduced into Croatian ethnology in the first part of the XXth century. For a short review see   apo Žmega 1995 pp. 25-38

Figure 4 - A *korak* played by the Kosić brothers for the Sv.Vid (in the Malinska-Dubašnica area) folklore group's entrance into the village main square in 2006 (**audio n.3**). I have used six-line staves to represent fingering.
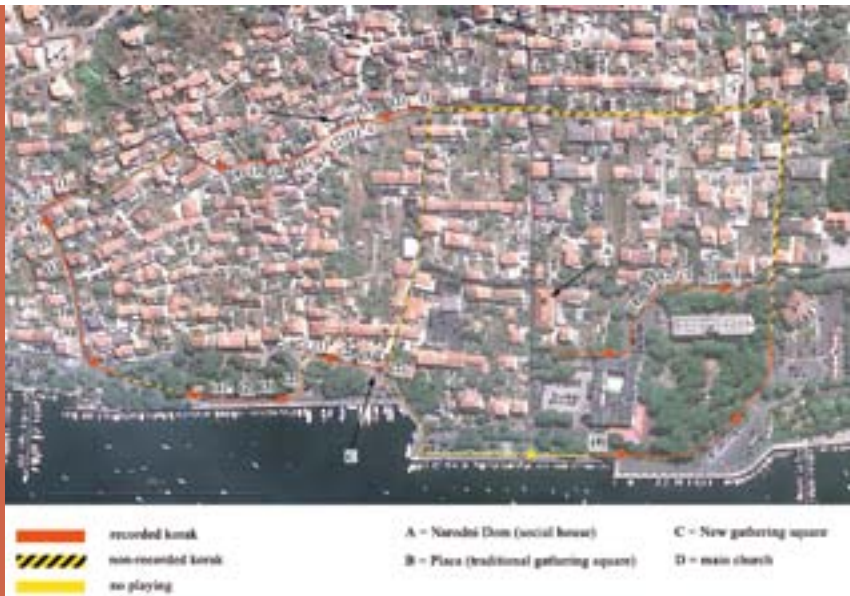
name of their instruments, namely, *sopile, sopele* or *sopil,* a double-reed aerophone) characterized by asymmetric social and musical status. The social status gained in the area of public life is directly related to the musical role taken by players in the performance: despite the fact that in musicological terms none of the melodic lines appears more relevant, each *sopile* performance has to be led (in emic terms has to be "driven", "*vodi*") by one of the players. First of all the leaders have to start the performance by playing the *složit* (figure 4): this is an introducing section meant to trigger off the performance and the dance ritual and to set the speed.

The *Složit* section has several symbolic, cognitive and social implications – these were analyzed in my Doctoral Thesis (Rizzo 2011). Now, it is suffice to say that very small differences in *složit* playing may be used as sorts of tags that make it possible to distinguish between players and their respective affiliations in the public sonic space.

The counterpart of the *složit* section is a shorter ending formula recalling the last part of the introduction (figure 4). The ending formula is strictly performed in the diaphony-making by the leader wherever he finds it appropriate, according to the needs of the performance: for instance a short on-stage performance could last only 2/3 minutes; a long carnival march may last more than 50 minutes

Složit and ending formulas are very important for defining the performance macro-

Figure. 6 - *Korak* played by Teo and Nenad Polonijo from Kornić during a folklore parade in the city of Krk for the Saint Lorenz Fest in August 2006 (**audio n.4**). Section A is repeated several times for about 6 minutes. Section B is made by a repetition of one melodic phrase repeated 4 times. The ending formula is indicated by the letter C. *Složit* has not been reported.

frame. Therefore, the main core of the performance is made by what I call the process of diaphony-making. In this main section the leader had to address the shape of each interweaving diaphony.

These features set *sopila* music-making out as an interesting dynamic system appropriate for deep analysis on musical outcomes, symbolically relevant even today, as a result of inter-individually related interactions. *Sopila* interplays are circular interactions, processed through different systemic dynamics, related to how players' individual musical skill and their capability to engage and develop social relationships in the Island of Krk's time and space, are built into each specific musical performance. According to this model. even the same player may musically interact differently according to each specific relational history he has built with different partners. On the other hand, this kind of systemic dynamics is connected to less musically skilled local networks (in which players usually live) by different kinds of discourses and narrations, and serve as an identity and social sound maker for the XXIth Century insular communities, at local, regional and national level.

Music outcomes as interweaved musical individualities

In order to gain a certain level of knowledge about these very intricate musical-social dynamics, I have chosen to define two models: 1) the "iterative model" and 2) the "formulaic model".

The "iterative model" sets *sopila* performance out as occurring in any brotherhood relationship, from early learning to professional folkloric shows and local ritual performances. The diaphonic phrases are characterized by (a.1) fingering iteration (learned from the same teacher at the same time) which (a.2) become flourished in more skilled pairs. In this case, flourishing is always secured within a stable brother-to-brother relationship. But we should pay attention to the last term because flourishing does not refer to ornamental practice but rather to a peculiar mechanism of melodic juxtaposition. Let us have a look at the Polonijo brothers' musical performance (figure 6): in this kind of formal performance, held during a folkloric situation, the Polonijo just repeat two melodic phrases as learned from their teacher (section A and B, figure 6). In the next situations, performed less formally during the village fest at their village in 2006, they tried some experiments – secured by the interactional and musical iterative model (Figure7). Here, after a couple of repetitions of a *polka* main phrase (section A, figure7) the Polonijos attached different "iterative melodies" (section B, figure7) as a unique performance, according to the usual asymmetric *sopila* setting. This is what I call a "flourished iterative model" which describes a slightly more complex level of circular musical interaction.

The "formulaic model" sets *sopela* performance out as occurring in more dialectic contexts. Formulas are commixtures of sound chunks and fingering schematics, strictly connected to the performance and its symbolic and cognitive dimension. All formulas of fingering schematics are basically chains of 2 basic fingering articulations, indicated with "a" and "b", which point at the fingering movement between contiguous and
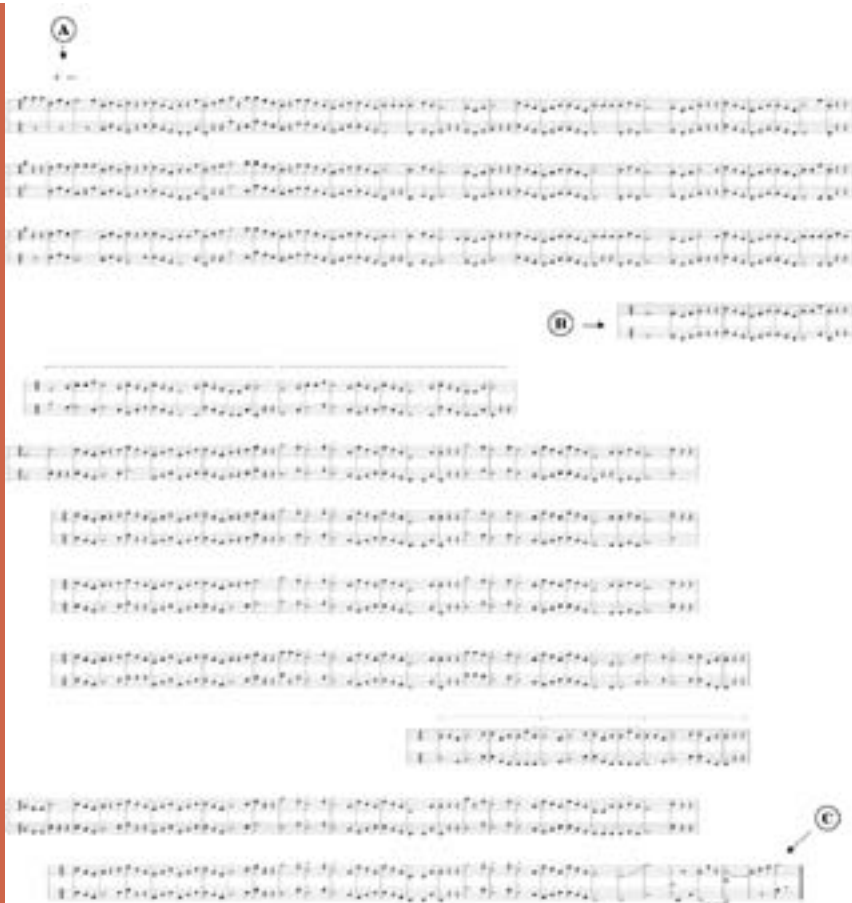
Figure 7 - A *Polka* played by Teo and Nenad Polonijo from Kornić in an informal performance held in their own village during a pop-band concert held for the Saint Jacob Fest in July 2006 (<u>audio n.5</u>). Section A is repeated several times just 3 times. Section B is based upon a juxtaposition of rearticulation of another melodic phrase made in that moment. The ending formula is indicated by the letter C. *Složit* has not been reported.

non-contiguous holes (figure 8).

When *sopela*-players spread out their musical interplays outside the familiar context (for both informal and formal performances) they experience new inter-individually related musical challenges as readjustments of different constructions and articulations or fingering of already known "musical diaphonic chunks": the assimilation of new sounds, tempos, melodies, connections and so on.

In other words, they must re-adapt their own skills in order to engage new diaphonic circular processes. There is no longer any guaranteed context so musical relationships must be negotiated into musical circular interplays as well as into a new emotive and dialectic relation. As a result, musical interplays begin to be founded upon non-strictly

Figure 8 - Exemplification of the concept of melodic-gestural formulas used in sopila playing

Figure 9 This chart represents how musical interaction may change according to the musical relationship quality. The example refers to the same piece of music (a "*korak*") played by the same *mala sopile* player (Ive Kosić from the Šotovento area) in the same year (2006). The first column represents a set of possible formulas that a "*kumpanj*" might use when the leader plays a particular formula; in the second column we indicate what happens when he plays with his brother. It is one case among many others that shows how musical interaction increases in each successive developed relationship, according to the formulaic model, outside the familiar contest.
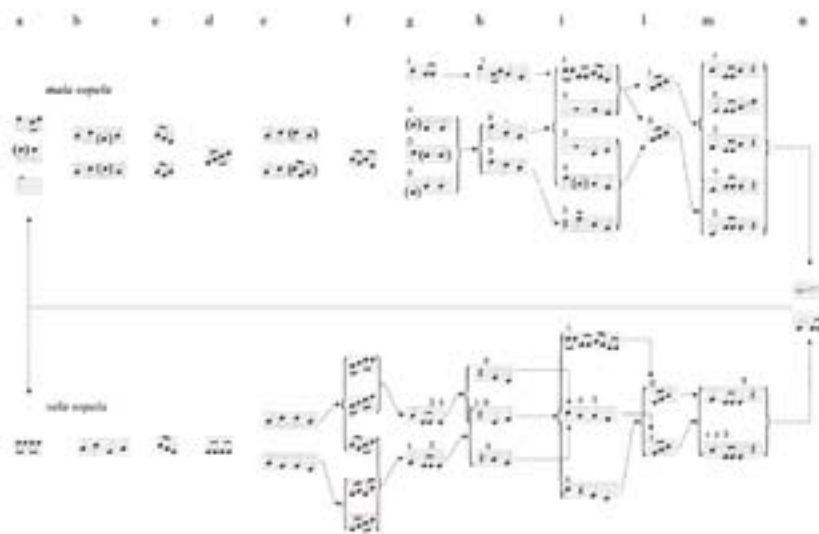
Figure 10 - Diagram of the Punat Carnival March's first section performed by Mariam Orlić-Senkić and his *kumpanj* Franjo Žic in 2008

iterated musical formulas and patterns (figure 9).

Formulaicity implies a more deeply interactive process that directly involves individuals. In dance music, for instance, different melodic-gestural formulas may be differently set up by different contextual and inter-individually oriented interactions.

The first interactional diagram (figure 10) refers to 1 of 8 diaphonic sections, part of a 50-minute march performance held on the Shrove Tuesday of the Punat Carnival in 2008 (figure 5). In this diagram, each leading *mala sopela*'s formulas may be differently melodically joined. At the same time, the follower may respond with different melodic formulas as a sort of counterpoint.

The dance analyzed in figures 11 and 12 is a *veros* from Dobrinj, recorded in 1961, which was performed by the very famous Vinko Trubić Nadaljić.[8] In strict musicological terms, each phrase occurrence seems to be irregular, because of its length. However, it is just the surface of a deeper process since each occurrence is a result of the formulaic interweaved system of horizontal and vertical interconnections.

Markers used in figure 11 and 12 have been regrouped according to their fingering movement (shown in the following tables as small numbers in italics connected by

8 Recorded in 1961, this example came from disco Laade – Laade eds. 1975 (side 2, track 4, available online here: http://www.folkways.si.edu/albumdetails.aspx?itemid=659)

Figure 11 - Veros from Dobrinj. Each color indicates a specific formula. Blank measures indicate pauses or single tones.
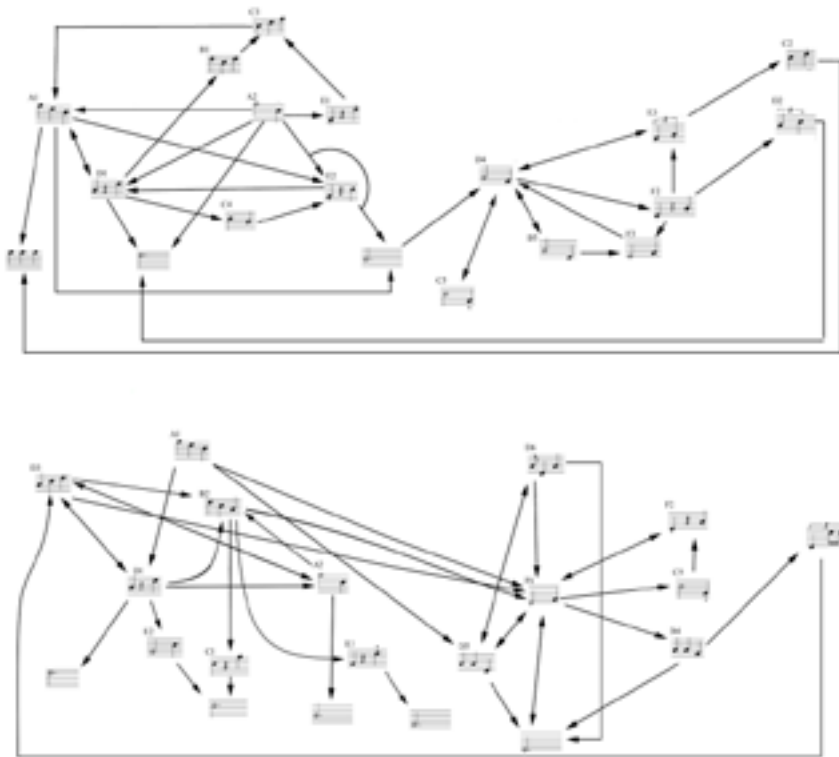
Figure 12 - This interactional diagram shows how melodic formula are horizontally and vertically interconnected. The upper one refers to *mala sopila* performing, the other one to the follower.

arrows). Six macro-groups (A - F) have been set out according to which fingering the formula starts from. Then each group has been split in subgroups (defined by bigger numbers on a grey background) according to next fingerings. So, for example, the fingering movement going from 3 to 2 is defined by the C2 marker (commonly used both by *mala sopila* and *vela sopila* players); therefore if the player starts by covering the third hole in the instrument and goes to the first one then the marker is C1 (formula

Figure 13 - First version of a *polka* (**audio n.6**) from Jurandvor played in November 2008 by two young players, namely Tomislav Šersić and Marin Polonjio, both born in the mid 80s.

Figure 14 - Second version of a *polka* (first part in **audio n.7**) from Jurandvor played in July 2006 by two young players, namely Davor Dujmović and Saša Popović, both born in the early 80s.

used just by *vela sopila* player). These criteria have been adopted for all occurrences. The next 3 examples show 3 different diaphonic-makings of the same polka performed by dissimilar sets of players. On the right, I propose a list of all the melodic formulas
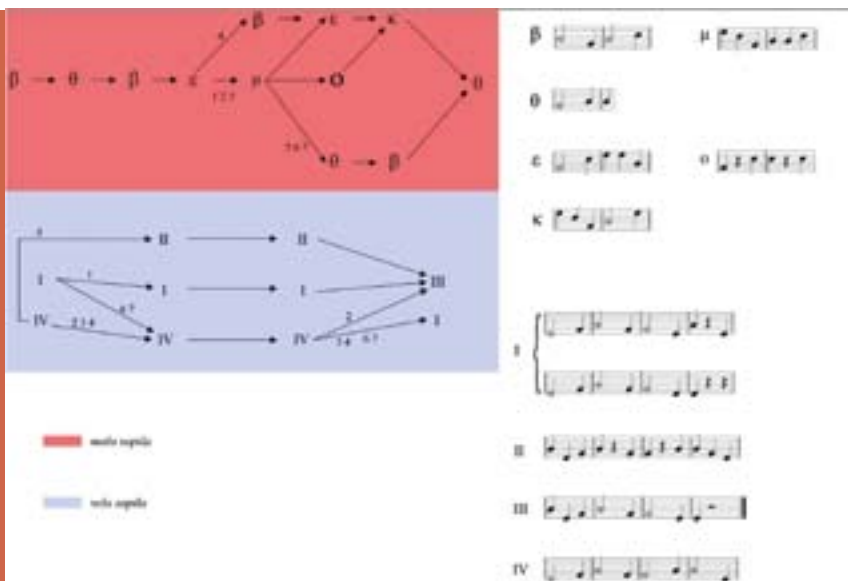
Figure 15 Third version of the same *polka* (first part in **audio n.8**) from Jurandvor played in November 2008 by two old players, namely Žarko Dujmović born in the mid 50s, and Ive Sindičić, born in the 30s.

used by the players and on the left, I draw an interactional diagram regarding how they actually musically interact as they are used. The first diagram (figure 13) shows a very simple interaction based upon the iterative model, and you can see two more complex
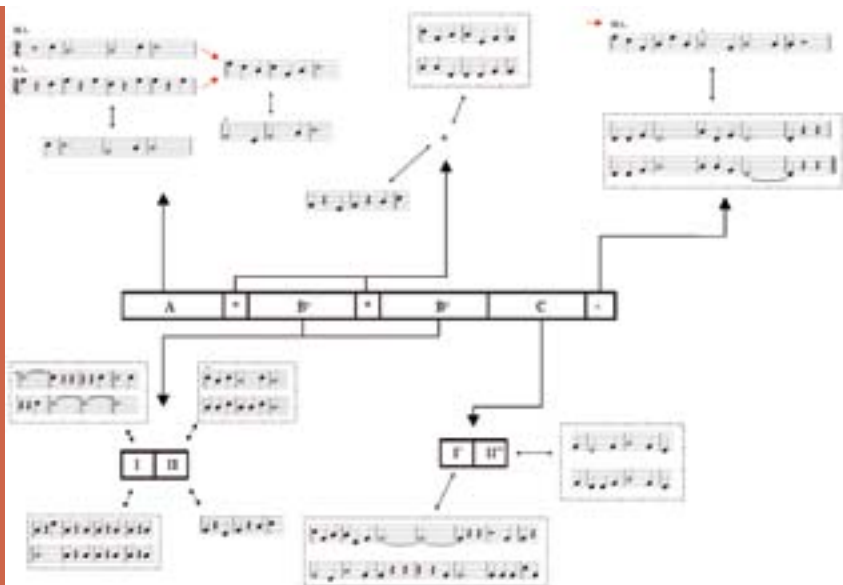
Figure 16 Interactional diagram for another *polka* from Jurandvor (second part of **audio n.**7) played by the same player of figure 13 immediately after the previous one. The *mala sopila* is indicated by the acronym M.L. and formula vertical interconnections by red arrows. In all other cases, all the six-line staves refer to *vela sopila* playing, as well as all the black arrows. Dotted squares indicate groups of formulas that may be played at a certain point of the main melodic segment (indicated by the black square at the center of the diagram).

and different interactions based upon the formulaic model (figures 14-15).

The next two interactional diagrams show the same piece of music (namely a polka from Jurandvor) performed by two different pairs. As you can see, the musical phrase of the *polka* is mainly made of different set of formulas differently interweaved (the black rectangle in figures 16 and 17). The more evident impact of this different interweaving is in the macro-formal aspect: the first performance is made by four sections split in a certain way. The second performance is made by five different sets of formulas split in a quite different way, compared to the previous performance. In the public space, both performances are recognized as the same *polka* from Jurandvor. This we can see in terms of formal difference in the field being seen as a result of social competition between the 2 players who respectively "drive" (*vodi*) the performance.

Conclusion

By analyzing living traditional music and musical identities via the paradigm of networked narration relations, it is possible to avoid labeling musical outcomes in mere geographical terms (musical identity from here or there); on the contrary, it allows
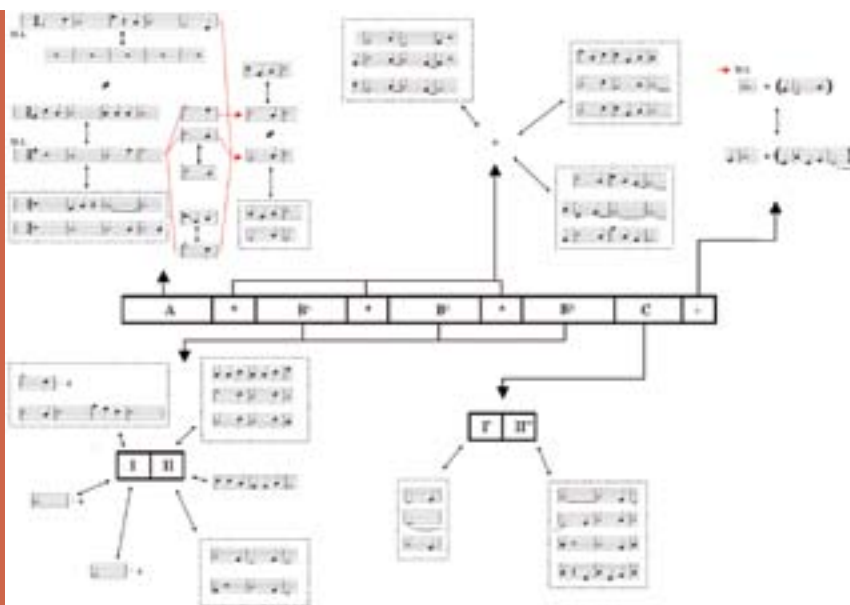
Figure 17 Interactional diagram for another *polka* **from Jurandvor (second part of <u>audio n.8</u>) played by the same player of figure 14 immediately after the previous one.**

actual social-musical process to be traced out more precisely according to well-known ethnographical data. A comparison of interactional diagrams suggests that social musical interactions are kinds of strategies tied to asymmetric power dialectics. Thus players may change their social-musical acting in order to establish what the tradition of a specific village is.

However, despite the soft nature of musical outcome making processes. there are several examples of music-flags used as a sort of hard symbol in order to specifically identify a certain community, village or area of affiliation: despite the fact that these kinds of music-flags have sometimes been recorded in other villages in the past, even far away from the village that they are now supposed to represent. At other times they change or remain the same: e.g. the *mantinjada* of Omišalj has changed very formally over the last 40 years but nevertheless it is still recognized in the sonic public space as a sort of music-flag of the musical identity of the city of Omišalj (figure 18).

These kinds of musical-social phenomena, the relationship between hard identity musical symbols and soft music interaction, are understandable because of the relational nature of music-making and its narrative integration in each village's social life (Rizzo forthcoming).

Figure 18 Two versions of the *mantinjada* of Omišalj: (a) the first played in 1995 by Igor Žuvič and Miko Fabianjć; (b) the second by Tome Lesica and Miko Fabijanić in 1963.

Traces of ison and biphonies in the Byzantine chant of Sicilian Arbëresh

Girolamo Garofalo

Making Multipart Music: Case Studies

The *Arbëresh* of Sicily: Byzantine chant and cultural identity[1]

The Albanians (the *Arbëresh*) constitute the largest linguistic ethnic "minority" in Sicily. The community is made up of around 20,000 people living in 5 towns, all of which are in the province of Palermo. The most important of these villages is Piana degli Albanesi, where the Bishop (whose Greek name is *Eparca*) of the Diocese (the *Eparchia*) of the Albanians of Sicily has his seat, see figure 1.

The cultural identity of the Albanians of Sicily is basically expressed by the language and rites:

1. Arbëresh is currently spoken both as a colloquial language and in religious celebrations;

2. a large part of the Arbëresh people follow Greek-Catholic rites.

In fact however, there are many other elements that mark the richness and complexity of this cultural identity. One fundamental aspect, for example, is the iconographic tradition: from a historical and artistic point of view, the Sicilian-Albanian icons painted in the XVIIth century are especially important (see figures 2, 3 and 4). Another meaningful trait is the traditional female costume (see figure 5). In the rest of Sicily the use of traditional costumes has "disappeared" over the last century or two, whereas in the Arbëresh towns, even nowadays, we can still see women and girls wearing their wonderfully rich costumes for weddings and other festive occasions; this is another feature that clearly stresses the conservative nature of the Sicilian-Albanian culture.

The chant is a fundamental element of the Byzantine Liturgies and Offices (Matins, Vespers, Hours). The origin of the Arbëresh musical tradition traces back to the period between the end of the XVth century, when - after the fall of Constantinople into the hands of the Turks in 1453 - a great exodus of Albanian and Greek populations occurred from Albania and Morea towards Sicily and other southern Italian regions. Since that time the Arbëresh-Byzantine chant has been handed down only orally: therefore in the Mediterranean area, it represents one of the very few "local" Byzantine oral traditions still surviving to the present day. The liturgical repertoire of the Byzantine Diocese (*Eparchia*) of Piana degli Albanesi is very wide and accompanies the entire liturgical year. Weekly celebrations and feast ceremonies, as well as various officiations, are usually adorned with an unceasing flow of melodies. In the Arbëresh-Byzantine rite, the chant is an expression of fundamental importance for the development of Liturgies and Offices and greatly contributes to evoking and reinforcing the dimension of the "sacred". Only secret prayers whispered by the celebrant are recited, as well as the *Holy Father* and the *Credo* repeated by the assembly. At all other moments, every Holy Word always becomes chant, and everything else is sung: from the deacons' short declamatory modulations (*ekfònisis*) to the psalms sung by priests, from the schematic cantillations of Readings and Gospels to the magnificent hymns sung by believers.[2]

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1 For further information about the musical tradition in connection with the cultural identity of the Arbëresh of Sicily, see Garofalo 2004.

2 For a wide excursus on the various aspects of the Byzantine musical tradition of

Figure 1 - Map of the Sicilian-Albanian colonies (from Petrotta 1966: photographic table without page's number).
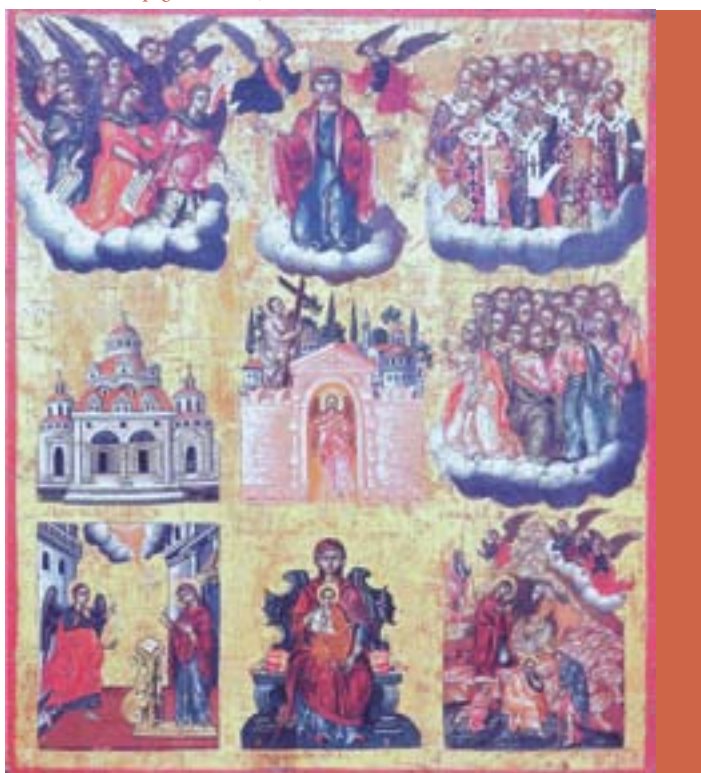
Figure 2 -
Epi si cheri [In you all creation rejoices],
tempera on panel, icon by Leos Moscos (Sicilian-Cretan school) 2nd half of the 17th century, Church of St. Nicholas of Myra, Mezzojuso.

Figure 3 - The *Theotòkos Odigìtria*, tempera on panel, icon by Joannìkios (Sicilian-Cretan school) 2nd half of the 17th century, Chapel of Mary Odigìtria, Piana degli Albanesi.

Figure 4 - *St. Nicholas the Wonder-worker*, tempera on wood, icon of an anonymous of the Sicilian-Cretan school) 2nd half of the 17th century, Church of St. Nicholas of Myra, Mezzojuso.

Figure 5 - Traditional costumes of Piana degli Albanesi photo by G. Garofalo (1993).

The textual aspect: Greek, Arbëresh, Italian

Until a few decades ago, the chants were sung only in Greek. Different translations into Italian and Arbëresh have only recently been used.[3] Believers (who usually do not know Greek) generally read editions in Greek transliterated into Latin characters with a parallel translation into Italian (see figures 6, 7 and 8).

Oral and written heritage

Still today, the chants are generally handed down orally. However, there are several collections of pentagrams transcribed by priests and monks at the beginning of the 1920s. Here I

the Albanians of Sicily (from the history of studies and research to the main musical characteristics of this repertoire) and for an updated bibliography, see Garofalo 2006a and Garofalo 2006b.

3 In this regard, we must especially mention the work of Papàs Gjergji Schirò (1907-1992), who, between 1950 and 1970, when he was Archpriest of the St. Demetrios Cathedral of Piana degli Albanesi, translated almost all the liturgical books from Greek into Arbëresh.

Η ΘΕΙΑ ΛΕΙΤΟΥΡΓΙΑ

ΤΟΥ ΕΝ ΑΓΙΟΙΣ ΠΑΤΡΟΣ ΗΜΩΝ

ΙΩΑΝΝΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΧΡΥΣΟΣΤΟΜΟΥ

'Ο Διάκονος· Εὐλόγησον, δέσποτα.

'Ο 'Ιερεύς, ἐκφώνως, ὑψῶν ἅμα τὸ ἅγιον Εὐαγγέλιον, καὶ ποιῶν δι᾿ αὐτοῦ τύπον σταυροῦ.

Εὐλογημένη ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ Πατρός, καὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ, καὶ τοῦ ᾿Αγίου Πνεύματος, νῦν, καὶ ἀεί, καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων.

'Ο Χορός· ᾿Αμήν.

Εἶτα ὁ Διάκονος λέγει τὰ Εἰρηνικά, ψαλλόντων τῶν δύο Χορῶν ἐναλλὰξ μετὰ πᾶσαν δέησιν τὸ Κύριε, ἐλέησον.

᾿Εν εἰρήνῃ τοῦ Κυρίου δεηθῶμεν.

῾Υπὲρ τῆς ἄνωθεν εἰρήνης, καὶ τῆς σωτηρίας τῶν ψυχῶν ἡμῶν, τοῦ Κυρίου δεηθῶμεν.

῾Υπὲρ τῆς εἰρήνης τοῦ σύμπαντος κόσμου, εὐσταθείας τῶν ἁγίων τοῦ Θεοῦ ᾿Εκκλησιῶν, καὶ τῆς τῶν πάντων ἑνώσεως, τοῦ Κυρίου δεηθῶμεν.

῾Υπὲρ τοῦ ἁγίου οἴκου τούτου, καὶ τῶν μετὰ πίστεως, εὐλαβείας, καὶ φόβου Θεοῦ εἰσιόντων ἐν αὐτῷ, τοῦ Κυρίου δεηθῶμεν.

Figure 6. - The text of the beginning of the Byzantine Mass (the Divine Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom) in Greek, from *I Thia Liturghia tu en Aghiis Patròs Imòn Ioannu tu Chrisostomu*, Grottaferrata, Tipografia del Monastero Esarchico di Grottaferrata, 1960.

Figure 7 - The text of the beginning of the Byzantine Mass (the Divine Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom) in Arbëresh, from *Parkalesitë të të Krështerëvet të vërtetë* [Prayers of true Christians], mimeographed edition [ed. by Papàs Gjergji Schirò], Piana degli Albanesi, without publisher, 1975.

can quote, for instance, the collection written by Papàs Lorenzo Perniciaro from Mez-zojuso, whose critical edition I published myself (see figure 9).[4]

Very few collections have been printed so far (usually in limited editions which are basically unknown). The only one that somehow circulated is *I canti ecclesiastici greco-siculi* [The Greek-Sicilian Ecclesiastic Chants] by layman Francesco Falsone (1936): priests occasionally resort to it whenever they have to face particularly melismatic or rarely sung chants (see figure 10).

4 For more information about these collections, see Garofalo 2006a. For the critical edition of the manuscripts of Papàs Lorenzo Perniciaro, see Garofalo 2001.

Figure 8 - The text of the beginning of the Byzantine Mass (the Divine Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom) in Greek transliterated into Roman types with parallel translation in Italian, from *Prosefchitàrion. Manuale di preghiere per i fedeli di rito bizantino*, ed. by Papàs Damiano Como, Palermo, Associazione cattolica per l'Oriente Cristiano, 1959.

The liturgical musical tradition of the Arbëresh can be considered an "independent" family of the Byzantine chant. It shows many features in common with other better known Byzantine traditions (those of the Orthodox Church of Greece or the Slavic Znamenny chant, for example) but also has specific characteristics.

Figure 9 - A page from the manuscripts of Papàs Lorenzo Perniciaro (published by Garofalo 2001).

The *ison* among the Arbëresh of Sicily

An important feature of the Arbëresh Byzantine chant of Sicily is that the singing style is basically monodic. However, in many circumstances we observe a choir of the faithful and priests sustaining the soloist (in Greek, *protopsaltis*) using the *ison* technique.

Figure 10 - A page from the printed collection of *I canti ecclesiastici greco-siculi* edited by Francesco Falsone (1936).

The *ison* is very widely practised in Byzantine-Greek music: it consists in accompanying the main melody with long notes in the lower register. The *ison* is especially used for particularly complex or melismatic melodies, while it is not usually employed for syllabic or psalmodic styles.

As regards the main characteristics of the Greek-Byzantine chant, here I wish to quote, very synthetically, the following:

      1.   In the Byzantine semiography the musical signs do not indicate the absolute height of the notes to the singer, but rather the intervals that exist between a note and the next. For the singer, therefore, the misinterpretation of a sign com-

promises the interpretation of all subsequent signs, producing substantial errors in the intonation of the melodic development;

2.   Greek-Byzantine music is modal, often chromatic, commonly with frequent use of microtones. In a single chant, moreover, there may be changes in the modes (that is to say *modal modulations*).

With regard to these features, the *ison* accomplishes three functions in the Greek-Byzantine chant:

1.   it creates a background sound that emphasizes the fundamental degrees of the modes and highlights the moments of modulation from one mode to another;

2.   it offers a stable reference point for the singers that helps them to read the musical signs properly and to maintain a good intonation, preventing the pitch from increasing or decreasing during the performance;

3.   it assumes an "aesthetic" value.

On the contrary, the musical tradition of the Arbëresh of Sicily:

1.   is transmitted only through an oral tradition;

2.   is also modal, but uses far fewer chromaticisms, microtones and modal modulations as compared to the Greek-Byzantine one.

Consequently, in the Arbëresh-Byzantine chant the functions of the *ison* are more "essential", as I shall try to explain better later.

In the Greek-Byzantine praxis, although in terms of placement of the degrees, the notes made with the *ison* can often apparently perform similar functions to those of the tonic, subdominant, dominant and submediant, the *ison* does not indeed have any tonal function, but, on the contrary, puts the modal nature of the melody in clear evidence.

In comparison with the Greek-Byzantine style, the Sicilian-Arbëresh *ison* presents quite different features, which we can summarize as follows:

1.   employment of the *ison* is far less frequent than in the Greek tradition;

2.   very often in Sicily, the *ison* is reduced to a single note, the fundamental degree of the mode, which usually coincides with the finalis, held continuously by the chorus from the beginning to the end of the chant: in these cases, therefore, the *ison* consists in a real drone.

To observe these features, listen, for example, to the *Megalinàrion* from the Christmas Matins performed by the Choir of Papadhes from Piana degli Albanesi (audio exemple 1, Megàlinon, psichì mu).[5]

Megàlinon, psichì mu, tin timioteran ke endhoxoteran ton ano Stratevmaton.
Mistìrion xenon orò ke paràdhoxon: uranòn to spìleon; thronon cheruvikòn tin Parthe-
non; tin fatnin chorìon, en o aneklithi o achòritos Christòs o Theòs; on animnundes meg-
alinomen.[6]

Exalt, oh my soul, she who is the most honourable among the heavenly Arrays.
I admire a marvellous and incredible mystery: heaven is the cave; cherubic throne
is the Holy Mary; the fodder-trough is the cradle where Christ, infinite Lord, lays;
whom we magnify by singing hymns.

In this example, we must note that the *ison* sometimes generates an interval of a minor
second with the melody. This is an extremely significant phenomenon. When discuss-
ing Greek-Byzantine chant executive praxis, many Greek scholars complain that in
similar cases the singers (especially the non-professional ones), under the influence of
a "westernizing" taste, sometimes prefer to avoid the "dissonant" interval of the minor
second, making the *ison* descending by a degree, in order to obtain the interval of a
third (see, for instance, Giannelos 1996: p. 215).

I have stressed above that the liturgical chants of the Albanians of Sicily are usually
performed only monodically, without *ison*. The *ison* is mostly reserved for solemn cer-
emonies or special circumstances. In this case, the Choir of the Papadhes of Piana
degli Albanesi performed the *Megalinàrion* with the *ison*, because the recording was
made "in studio" for the publication of a compact disc.

Another interesting example of *ison* performed by the Choir of the Papadhes of Piana
degli Albanesi is the first Ode of the Christmas Kanon: *Christòs ghennate*. Here we
can hear a rather more "dynamic" *ison*, sung on two notes: the first and the seventh
degree of the mode (through – pay attention, please – a major second). Here the *ison*
clearly makes the modal features of the melody evident. You can also observe that, in
correspondence with the three sections of the chant, the Papadhes adopt three differ-
ent modalities of vocal organization:

1.   *solo* voice, without *ison*, for the first part of the Ode;
2.   soloist + ison, for the second part of the Ode;
3.   all the voices (the choir was composed of four singers) *in a perfect homoph-*
ony for the *katavasìa* (i.e., in Byzantine hymnographic terminology, the whole
repetition of a part of the poetic text with a different melody: in this case with a
more rapid rhythm).

It is clear that the Choir of the Papadhes from Piana degli Albanesi adopted all these

6 In this paper all the Greek texts have been transliterated into Latin characters for easier
reading.

musical choices for aesthetic reasons, to make the performance of the chant more "beautiful" and the style more "interesting": once again specifically for a CD (listen to underlined audio example 2).[7]

Christòs ghennate, dhoxàsate; Christòs ex uranòn, apandìsate; Christòs epì ghis, ipsò-thite. Àsate to Kirìo, pasa i ghi, ke en effrosìni animnìsate, lai, oti dhedhòxaste.

Christ is born, give ye glory. Christ comes from heaven, meet ye Him. Christ is on earth, be ye exalted. O all the earth, sing unto the Lord, and sing praises in gladness. O ye people, for He has been glorified.

In the reality of a liturgical celebration in church, the situation is completely different. In the following audio fragment, for example, you can listen to how the Bishop of Piana degli Albanesi actually performed the *Christòs ghennate* at the Matins during Christmas 2008: in a much more sober style and without *ison*. Although this is an aspect that has no specific musical interest, note that the text sung in the *katavasìa* is sung in Arbëresh according to Papàs Gjergji Schirò's version (see figure 11): not so much for a kind of taste for the sake of variation, but rather, to bring the faithful closer to the intense atmosphere of celebration by using their colloquial idiom (listen to underlined audio example 3).[8]

Regarding the *ison* among the Albanians of Sicily, we can make some further remarks:
1.   the *ison* is generally perceived by priests and the faithful as "foreign", far from the oldest and most authentic style of the Arbëresh Byzantine chant. In fact, it is considered a recent innovation (in general Arbëresh, especially priests experienced in singing, think that the *ison* has begun to be used in Sicily over the last 70-80 years);
2.   the *ison*, however, plays an important aesthetic function: helping to make a performance with a more "profound" sound;
3.   this aesthetic function also has interesting symbolic connotations. Although perceived as a "modern" innovation, the *ison* is, paradoxically, considered both an element that adds a "touch of antiquity" to the chants. In fact, the *ison* "evoking" the musical style of Byzantine Greece – and consequently the dimension of a supposed "authentically oriental spirituality" – contributes to stressing (not only for themselves, but also in the eyes of an external observer, such as a group of Roman Catholic faithful or of tourists visiting an Arbëresh church) the specificity of this musical tradition, and, with it, the singularity of the Byzantine rite, of the Arbëresh language and traditions and, more generally, the identity of an entire community;

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7 Performed by the Choir of the Papadhes from Piana degli Albanesi, rec. by G. Garofalo, September 2002. Audio example published in Garofalo 2002 (see discography)

8 The *irmòs* in Greek is sung by Bishop Sotìr Ferrata; the *katavasìa* in Arbëresh is sung by Papàs Eleuthèrios Schiadà, rec. by G. Garofalo, 24 December 2008. Unpublished recording.

ODHA E PARË

Shi' lehet Krishti,lëvdonie
shi' vien nga kjiellia,ju t'e pritëni.
Shi' Krishti mbi dhet:ju ngrëhuni.
Zotit po t'i këndoni jeta e gjithë,
edhe ndë gëzime,zëni kënka,popuj,ju
se u lëvdërua Ai.

(Hristòs jennàte ,doksasate;Hristòs
eks uranòn,apandlsate,Hristòs epi jis,
ipsòthite. Asate to Kjirìo,pasa i ji,
kje en evfrosìni animnlsate lai,òti
dhedhòksaste.)

Figure - 11 The Arbëresh text of *Christòs ghennate from Eortogogji a Libri i Esperinon-jëvet të ditëvet të kremtie të vitit* [Eorthològhion or Book of Vespers of the feast days of the year], mimeographed edition [ed. by Papàs Gjergji Schirò], Piana degli Albanesi, without publisher, 1978: 196.

4.   the *ison* also has the important function of strengthening and promoting social cohesion and participation in the Liturgy. In fact, just like in Greece, the *ison* in Sicily is never used in syllabic chants and psalms, but only for the most complex and melismatic melodies. Apart from some melismatic chants of the fixed parts of the Mass (corresponding to the *Ordinarium* of the Roman Rite), more widely known by all the faithful, we can find the use of the *ison* especially during the Offices: indeed, in the Matins, Hours and Vespers, we can find chants whose performance is particularly difficult. These melodies, which are not well known by the faithful, may be performed only by the most skilled singers: generally the priests themselves. In these cases, the *ison* therefore plays an important social function, because even if the assembly or the choir cannot sing these particularly complex and melismatic chants, through the *ison* they may also contribute to solemnize the holy celebrations by collective singing. In this way, through the *ison* a melismatic chant (which because of its sophistication may be excessively received for its appearance, charm and beauty) does not become a passive experience for the faithful, but returns to be an expression of a communitarian prayer;

5.   particularly for these reasons, the *ison* is primarily reserved for solemn occasions among the Sicilian-Arbëresh.

Compared to the Byzantine chant of Greece, the *ison* represents an aspect of secondary importance in the Arbëresh tradition. Other phenomena, in fact, are the most interesting features of this repertoire. Among these: the orality, the specific characteristics of its modal system (*oktoìchos*), the implicit rules for the improvisation (oral

composition) of the melodies.[9]

However, investigations into the *ison* of the Albanians of Sicily have several reasons of interest. For instance:

1.   they can provide tools for understanding the phenomenon of polyvocal singing [*multipart singing*] in the Balkans (notably in Albania and in Greece);

2.   they can provide important historical information for a survey of the origins of the *ison* in the Byzantine chant (once again with particular reference to Albania and Greece).

These aspects have been the subject of significant studies over the last few years by my friend and colleague, Eno Koco (see his paper *Styles of the iso-based multipart unaccompanied s inging [IMUS] of south Albania and north Epirus* in this same Symposium). Some results have already been published. In my communication, therefore, I shall omit these issues and focus instead on other ones, which are more relevant to this Panel's title (*Discussing written sources*).

Written traces of the Sicilian-Arbëresh *ison*

Among the Arbëresh of Sicily, the *ison* is an "extemporaneous" and improvised practice. As well as for other aspects of this tradition – such as the modal system of the eight tones (the *oktoìchos*) or the implicit rules for formulaic improvisation – no awareness or theory about the *ison* exists, not only amongst the faithful but also among the priests. Therefore we can only observe what happens in the concrete praxis.

On the "written traces" of the *ison* among the Sicilian-Arbëresh, I wish to recall once again that this tradition is handed down orally, and that the few manuscripts I know are all very recent. The most "ancient" or rather the "oldest" date from 1899. Others date from the 1920s and 30s. while other ones are more recent (60s).

In these manuscripts only very few *ison* were signed. Often, someone other than the author put the annotations of the *ison*, exclusively for a performative purpose. This shows that the author of the manuscript (usually a priest who through the transcription of a chant intended to preserve it for posterity) did not consider the *ison* "important" but only a matter of improvisation. In the case of the older manuscripts (1920-1940), the absence of records relating to the *ison* can also be seen as an indication that at that time, the *ison* was *never* executed. At the present time, however, we cannot give a sure answer to this question.

See, with regard to this, the transcription of *Dhefte ìdhomen pistì,* the *kàthisma* of Christmas Matins, made by Bishop Sotìr Ferrara in 1988 (see figure 12).[10] As you can

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9 For these aspects see, once again, Garofalo 2004 and and Garofalo 2006a.

10 Bishop Sotìr Ferrara made this collection of scores (in total 44 pages) when he was the Directory of the Choir (the *Corale San Demetrio*) of the Cathedral of Piana degli Albanesi. It

see, here, the *ison* only consists in a long extension of a single note: a fourth below the keynote of the mode.

It is interesting to listen to how the Choir of the Papadhes of Piana degli Albanesi performs this same chant: once more, on the occasion of a "studio recording", to get a fuller and more solemn sound, the Choir of the Papadhes sings a somewhat less static *ison*: on the first degree and on the fifth lower e (listen to <u>audio example 4</u>, Dhefte ìdhomen pistì).[11]

Dhefte ìdhomen, pistì, pu eghennithi o Christòs: akoluthìsomen lipòn entha odhevi o Astìr metà ton Magon, Anatolìs ton Vasilèon. Àngheli imnusin akatapavstos ekì. Pimenes agravlusin odhìn epàxion: "Dhoxa en ipsistis, lègondes, to sìmeron en to spilèo techthendi ek tis Parthenu ke Theotoku en Vithleèm tis Iudhèas".

O faithful, come and see the place where Christ is born. Together with the Magi, the Kings from the East, let us follow the star wherever it goes. The shepherds keep watch, while Angels majestically sing their hymns of praise, saying: "Glory to the God on High who is born today of the Virgin, in a cave at Bethlehem of Judah".

Biphonies

In the context of liturgical chants, it sometimes happens that the Byzantine chants are performed in two parts, with a prevailing movement of parallel thirds. This executive style is not traditional and has no relation with the technique of the *ison*. This is clearly a recent influence of a mode of multipart singing that comes from popular music, but also from the devotional paraliturgical songs (these songs, often accompanied by the harmonium, date back to the XIXth century).

An example of this kind can be the hymn *O Monoghenìs Iiòs ke Logos* sung after the second antiphon of the Divine Liturgy, in a contextual recording in Piana degli Albanesi's San Demetrio Cathedral (listen to <u>audio example 5, O Monoghenìs</u>).[12]

[Dhoxa Patrì ke Iiò ke Aghìo Pnèvmati, ke nin ke aì ke is tus eonas ton eonon. Amìn.]
O Monoghenìs Iiòs ke Logos tu Theù, athànatos iparchon, ke katadhexàmenos dhià tin imeteran sotirìan sarkothine ek tis aghìas Theotoku ke aiparthenu Marìas, atrèptos enan-thropisas, stavrothìs te, Christè o Theòs, thanato thànaton patisas. Is on tis Aghìas Triàd-hos, sindhoxazòmenos to Patrì ke to Aghìo Pnèvmati, soson imàs.

[Glory to the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, now and forever and to the ages

Dhéfte ídhomen,pisti,• pu eghennithi o Christós;• akoluthísomen lipón •
ánthu odhóvi o Astír • metá ton Mágon,Anatolís • ton Vasiléon.• 'Angheli
imnúsin • akatapávstos ekí.• Pimènes agravlúsin odnín epíxion,• Dhóxa en i-
psistís,légondas,• to simeron en to spiléo techthéndi • ak tis Parthénu •
ke Theotóku • en Vithleém tis Iudhéas.

Figure 12. - The score of *Dhefte ìdhomen pistì* from the collection of transcriptions recorded by the Bishop Sotìr Ferrara (1998: 16).

of ages. Amen.]

Only begotten Son and Word of God, although immortal You humbled Yourself for our salvation, taking flesh from the holy Mother-of-God and ever virgin Mary and, without change, becoming man, Christ, our God, You were crucified but conquered death by death. You are one of the Holy Trinity, glorified with the Father and the Holy Spirit, save us.

Bivocality is very often used in the so-called "short replies" sung during the Mass or the Offices by the faithful: *Amìn* (Amen), *Kirie elèison* (Lord, have mercy), *Si Kìrie* (To Thee, O Lord) and so on. Listen, for instance, to these types of responses during the Little Litany after the second antiphon of the Divine Liturgy in a contextual recording made in the Piana degli Albanesi's San Demetrio Cathedral. Please note that in this case the text of the three petitions of the Litany proclaimed by the Deacon and of the *ekphònisis* pronounced by the concelebrant are in Italian, as happens on some solemn occasions (in this case it was Easter Sunday) in which tourists and believers from other non Sicilian-Arbëresh villages attend the Liturgy (listen to audio example 6).[13]

Little Litany after the second antiphon of the Divine Liturgy
Diacono: *Ancora preghiamo in pace il Signore.*
Popolo: *Kirie elèison.*
Diacono: *Soccorrici, salvaci, abbi pietà di noi e custodiscici, o Dio, con la tua grazia.*

13 Performed by Deacon Paolo Gionfriddo, Papàs Eleftherios Carbone, the choir and faithful of Piana degli Albanesi's San Demetrio Cathedral, rec. by G. Garofalo, Easter Sunday (23 March) 2008. Unpublished recording.

Figure 14 - The the front cover of the harmonized version of the Divine Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom published in New York by Father Gregorio Stassi (1924).

Popolo: Kìrie elèison.
Diacono: Facendo memoria della tuttasanta, immacolata, benedetta, gloriosa Signora nostra, la Madre di Dio e semprevergine Maria, insieme con tutti i Santi, raccomandiamo noi stessi, gli uni gli altri, e tutta la nostra vita a Cristo Dio.
Popolo: Si Kìrie.
Sacerdote: Poiché Tu sei Dio buono e amico degli uomini, e noi rendiamo gloria a Te, Padre, Figlio e Spirito Santo, ora e sempre, e nei secoli dei secoli.
Popolo: Amìn.
Deacon: In peace let us again pray to the Lord.
People: Lord, have mercy.
Deacon: Help us, save us, have mercy upon us, and protect us, o God, by your grace.
People: Lord, have mercy.
Deacon: Remembering our most holy, pure, blessed, and glorious Lady, the Mother of God and ever virgin Mary, with all the Saints, let us commit ourselves and one another and our whole life to Christ our God.
People: To Thee, O Lord.
Priest: For You are a good and loving God, and to You we give glory, to the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, now and forever and to the ages of ages.
People: Amen.

Concerning these "short replies", we can again assume a recent origin, derived from popular music and from the devotional songs. Of this practice, however, there are already many traces in some manuscripts from the beginning of the XXth century. This is the case of an *Amin* recorded in a manuscript book written by Father Lorenzo Perniciaro of Mezzojuso in the 1930s. (see figure 13).[14]
On the bivocality used by the faithful for this type of "short answers" (sometimes, depending on the presence of male voices, we hear not *two* but *three* parties), I will briefly add that such use can also be traced back to a polyphonic version of the traditional Mass of the Arbëresh of Sicily, published by Father Gregorio Stassi[15] in New York in 1924 by Fischer Edition (see figure 14).[16]
The publication was printed in New York, but it was almost inevitable that this harmonized style was widely successful even among many Arbëresh of Sicily. Here you

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14 See the critical edition of Papàs Lorenzo Perniciaro's manuscripts edited by Garofalo 2001.

15 Father Gregorio Stassi, born in Piana degli Albanesi, spent his entire live as a monk in the "San Nilo" Greek Abbey in Grottaferrata, near Rome.

16 See Stassi 1924. The idea to publish a version of the polyphonic Mass with the traditional Byzantine melodies of Sicily came to Father Stassi for this reason: after the First World War, a priest from Piana degli Albanesi founded a Parish of Greek-Byzantine rites in New York to accommodate the many Arbëresh immigrants. With this Mass, harmonized in four parts for the organ by Maestro Carlo Rossini, Father Gregory Stassi intended to encourage the participation of the faithful, making the chant more involving and "more modern".

Figure 15 - A page of the harmonized version of the Divine Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom published in New York by Father Gregorio Stassi (1924).

can see how this type of "short answers" for the Little Litany (the *Piccola Sinapti*) are harmonized in the Liturgy printed in New York (see figure 15). As you can easily observe, the style of the harmonization does not differ either from the one we found in the manuscript of Papàs Lorenzo Perniciaro or from the one still practiced today by the Arbëresh faithful in Piana degli Albanesi.

Triads, trials and triangles:

harmony singing, mobility and social structure in Mozambique

João Soeiro de Carvalho,

Making Multipart Music: Case Studies

This paper emerges as a case-study for the understanding of multipart music in its relation to society and historical processes. It stems from my research in southern Mozambique since 1990 (Carvalho 1999), and includes a diachronic perspective on music performance that goes back to the late nineteenth century. Multipart music is conspicuous in this region, and for the last one hundred and twenty years has been an agent for the occurrence of very significant processes of change and for the establishment of structural trends in the history of labour migrants in Southern Africa. In Mozambique, a kind of multipart singing and dancing was simultaneously a factor and a result of these processes. For this discussion, I shall take into consideration the Mozambican experience and I shall deal with three sets of components: labour migration, the mining industry and urban human settlement, and polyphonic singing.

Labour migration is a feature of social history in Mozambique and other countries of southern Africa. For about one century, millions of African men have undergone severe periods of labour in mines in the Transvaal, a region of the Republic of South Africa which possesses very rich mineral resources, such as a very important part of the world's diamond and gold production. In the process of migration, the miners' villages of origin and departure, the mine workers' compounds and, later, their settlements in large cities, were the steps of a three-phase movement that still characterizes social history in the region.

Young migrant workers come from different parts of southern Africa for an average labour period of eighteen months in the mines. Evident patterns of ethnicity differentiate these groups in the mine compounds; among these, expressive behaviour stands as one of the most conspicuous. *Makwayela*, a particular mode of expressive behaviour, stands out in the case of migrants coming from Mozambique.

A demonstration of musical creativity in south-eastern Africa, *Makwayela* is a music and dance genre; the word can also be applied to the group that performs this genre.[1] It was first noticed by the Portuguese colonial administration in the mid-twentieth century: night meetings for singing and dancing in *bairros* (the cane city) of the capital city Lourenço Marques (nowadays Maputo) were perceived as a potential threat to colonial authority.

Makwayela performing groups include ten to fourteen men, dressed in western suits, singing and dancing in a line known as *kunfola*. Musical instruments are not used; besides singing, only feet stamping is used to produce sound. Men are organized according to their voices, and a hierarchy is recognized among all voices. *Bass, baixos* or *quarta voz* is the lowest voice, and is considered as the vocal part that gives most vitality to performance, the "true content" of performance. It is compared to shouting, with a strong male connotation: men's shouting, *berrar*, is the most common description of this voice.[2] *Tenor* (with the same spelling both in English and in Portuguese),

1 A compact disc is available with examples from different *Makwayela* groups in Maputo; see Carvalho 1998.

2 *Baixo* is supposed to be heard over all other voices; it must be the strongest among the

thina or *tinkhela* in Tsonga, also known as *primeira voz* (the first voice), ranks second in importance. It is described as a thin voice, a "women's voice", although men perform it. *Soprano, second alto* or *segunda voz* is described as a tiny voice, or as *ruído* (noise). Some performers also know it as *fas pathi* (first part), alluding to a Zulu performing genre that uses a similar kind of voice. Finally, *second basso* or *terceira voz*, a relatively low voice, is said to sing below *second alta*.

A typical song in Makwayela includes four sections: *stokhozele, bombing, canção*, and *istep*. The *stokhozele* section, also known as *dar o bomba* (lit. to give the bomb) is considered an introductory section.[3] It is a short section where the *maestro* announces the first few words of the text to the public. In doing so, he uses a melodic formula that functions as an aid for the performers to pick their different tones. This is standard melodic formula, admitting only slight variations; different numbers of text syllables are accommodated to each note, according to text length.[4] After a vocal *shh* or *rrr* section divider, *stokhozele* goes back to the departing tone (I), with one or more reiterations of that note.

Canção is the subsequent section. It follows a short intervention by a soloist, generally known as *chaiman* (from the English chairman), consisting of only one to three words; this intervention works as a section divider, announcing the end of *bombing* and the beginning of *canção. Canção* exhibits more elaborated melodic and harmonic configurations, and displays contrapuntal organizations between one or two soloists who stand against the full four-voice choir. The text presents an idea of *stokhozele* and *bomba* in logical sequence. In the two previous sections, the *maestro* stood in front of the group; just before *canção* starts, however, he joins the line. In a few instances during *canção,* the group abandons its static position (hands crossed behind) and starts a short marching routine from one side of the stage (or ground) to the other. This is called *marcha* (march) and is repeated three to four times. When the fourth or fifth repetition is about to begin, movements change into what characterizes the fourth and last section of *Makwayela*, the *istep*.

The *istep* section features a series of repetitions of the same phrase, with no melodic or harmonic change except for contrapuntal organizations similar to those found in

voices, the base of *Makwayela*. The content of the text must be faithfully rendered and fully perceived by audiences through the *baixo* voice; other voices carry no such responsibility and are allowed many elaborations compromising text intelligibility which *baixos* cannot afford.

3 The word *stokhozele* is used in reference to an expressive mode found in southern Mozambique. It is a kind of oral historical-genealogical poetic narrative, where ascendancy and the life events of a person are narrated in public in a heightened speech mode. This usually happens in moments of ritual transition such as weddings or funerals.

4 Notes always used correspond to I, III and Vth degrees of the scale. Starting in I, it goes to III where some ornaments are performed, falls to V in the octave below, then to I also in the lower octave. Harmonically, these tones make a perfect chord – always corresponding to the beginning of the second section of a piece.

canção. It is characterized by lively gestures and feet stamping, making what is locally known as *dança* (dance). Dance routines may change up to four times during *istep*, thus making a fifth section of the performance. Performers resume the same static position as the beginning, creating a sense of closure.

Body motion routines are distinctive for each section of the *Makwayela* form. In the first section, *stokhozele*, members stay strictly in a straight line, feet apart, hands crossed behind. The *bomba* section follows, with no changes in body position; only their mouths move for the loud singing involved in this part. When *bomba* is over, the *chaiman* rejoins the *kunfola* (the row) and the *marcha* gets started: performers make a 90 degree turn right and march a few steps, coming back and going forth about three times. A fourth time involves special hand gestures, *kuthyia*: left hand below right hand, both horizontal and spaced about one inch apart, at waist level. *Kuthyia* and feet stamping mark the beginning of the *istep* section.

Another main motional component in *Makwayela* is the bodily behaviour of the *chaiman*. This is an important aspect of the organization of the performing group, since it is the differentiating dimension of *chaiman* versus group. *Chaiman* behaviour is known as *estilo* (style), and each *chaiman* develops his own way of *estilar* (to style). *Estilo* is not a part of a composition, since it changes at the *chaiman's* wish. It displays personal strength and conviction by means of several short actions, and verbal or non-verbal expressions. Energetic leg and arm movements, pulling down one's coat, finger snapping, expressions such as "rrrr" or "shhhh", and words like *famba* (let's go) are among the *estilo* repertoire, and show the audience the *chaiman's* energy and expertise even before a single sound is heard from the *kunfola*. *Estilo* makes its appearance at *stokhozele* and *marcha*.

Makwayela is a cross border phenomenon. It developed in the cluster of diverse identities that characterizes labor migration in sub-Saharan Africa. From the observer's standpoint, Makwayela and other expressive modes could even be seen as a pan-sub-Saharan Africanism. However, in a closer look, a multitude of true pixel-nations and their differences emerges. The musical structure of Makwayela also emerged from the myriad of modes of thought that result from this multi-pixel image. Makwayela is an expressive mode that was developed by the Tsonga group of Southern Mozambique – province of Gaza; this group is well represented in the migrant labor population of miners in Transvaal, and is also important in the city of Maputo. Groups are made up of about twelve male singers. There are four to five pre-assigned voices or parts in the performance; these parts are interchangeable according to the musical and social context. A local music theory exists concerning the origin and performance of Makwayela. Records show that it has existed since, at least, the 1940's. The Portuguese colonial authorities forbade it, mainly because it was public and it was sung in Tsonga languages. Makwayela groups perform at weddings, christenings, at every kind of communal celebrations, and also in Makwayela competitions.

The independence of Mozambique in 1975 brought the intellectual elite of the Tsonga to power; soon after, Makwayela was sung at the opening of National Assembly meetings and performed by the members of the assembly themselves. It became the

symbol of the fight against tribal behavior, for the modernization of the country: the new government created a National Festival for Music and Dance, where Makwayela became a mandatory piece for all competitors, no matter their ethnic origin or their regional provenance. Makwayela became a national symbol, as it was used virtually everywhere in the South, and a little all over the country. It also became a fundamental part of state paraphernalia, performed by both party and government members, and by groups whose brilliance added significance to state ceremonies. Makwayela groups were established in their hundreds. There were groups established in every factory - sometimes more than one -, in every company, every market-place, in every agricultural production unit, every hospital, in every state administration department.

Makwayela: the hub triangle

Let me speak about Makwayela as a life-triangle. The process of labor migration, as mentioned before, requires a young African man to find a complex set of solutions for a set of intricate problems. There are long distances to cover (hundreds or – sometimes – thousands of kilometers) between their homesteads and the mines (Wenela barracks): Which way to go? How to get there? Also, a choice must be made as to which mine to aim for. Other problems include how to get documents demonstrating name, ancestry, and the minimum legal age to be accepted for mining (18 years old). The intense flow of migrants for many decades demonstrates that solutions for these problems have been put in place, which operate from generation to generation.

Some Mozambican villages (in the Gaza province) stand out as important centers of labor recruiting. In these villages, recruiting is centered in a *Makwayela* group. *Makwayela* stands as the sonic symbol of migration. Young men become *Makwayela* members even before their initiation school takes place. Most skilled performers are most likely to engage in mining in the first place. In so doing, they embark on their own mining life history. When they come to mining age, they are already members of a true brotherhood that provides the path for their future, that is *Makwayela*. Most of these particular villages were also strongly subject to church music, through the action of protestant missions that settled in their vicinity. These villages are the first vertex of a triangle that determines the migration flow in Mozambique.

The second vertex of this triangle is the mine itself. The young miner follows the path of both his ancestors and his kin. In the mine in Transvaal, he is integrated into the barracks of his own ethnic group (or "tribe", as mining enterprises used to put it). He immediately rejoins *Makwayela*, singing a voice that corresponds to his social status; usually he integrates with a group carrying the same name he knew at home ("The Morning Stars B", e.g., corresponding to the "Estrela da Manhã"). In mine barracks, among the thousands of miners coming from different parts of Southern Africa, *Makwayela* plays different roles. It is an ethnic marker and it is a solidarity network. It is also a tool for the building of social structure in an alien environment, away from home. Here, newcomers have to perform several tasks of a different nature in favor of the older miners. Their integration into *Makwayela* again follows their performing

skills. Also, participating in *Makwayela* brings important social and material privileges.

A contract period in the mine corresponds to 18 months, and supposedly no miner should be authorized to perform two consecutive periods; yet this happens all the time. After a few periods in the mine, a miner goes back to Mozambique. However, he does not rejoin his home village. His experience in the mine has made him an urbanized African, who deserves nothing less than to settle in the capital city, Maputo, the third vertex of the life-triangle for migrants. This resettling process is often conducted through the agency of *Makwayela*. From the mine to the capital-city, the migrant follows the footsteps of his ancestors, and a third group of *Makwayela* is there to aid him in his search for a job and accommodation. In the city, *Makwayela* groups are the bonds of a social network that provides support in every corner of life, including work and accommodation, as already stated, but also in livelihood, medication, security and so on. This network operates across the city, the province of Maputo and the southern part of the province of Gaza.

The performance of *Makwayela* is manifold. Competitions between groups take place at night, in closed gardens; winners of these contests make good money but, above all, they achieve a remarkable social status. Weddings stand among the most important performing occasions for *Makwayela* groups. Here, songs tell the genealogies of both bride and groom, and make statements about acceptable behavior for married couples. Political celebrations also used to rank among performance occasions; however, since the establishment of the Second Republic, *Makwayela* has lost most of its importance in the governmental sphere.

In later life, many men go back to their home villages, where they take care of their small piece of land (*machamba*). There, they help to maintain the *Makwayela* groups that keep the life cycle going. This corresponds to the closure of the triangle.

Makwayela groups in the different places of the migratory path constitute hubs for the strategy of mobility, as they represent conspicuous signs of ethnicity and network knots in the venture of migration. Multipart singing patterns reveal the sonic dimensions of this important historical and social process, and also the steps of the social status of migrants in their life venture.

Trial

For the young labor migrants, daily life in the mines has been described as severe. Hazing and a certain level of brutality is present, particularly in the treatment of young miners: physical and verbal aggression, sexual abuse and work overload are constant, even coming from their fellow-villagers. These are part of the *mteto*, a code of behavior in the mine barracks that obliges young newcomers to submit. They have to undergo a genuine ordeal for a few months. Like in initiation school, the outcome of such a trial is crucial for each young migrant's perspectives of life accomplishment; true rites of passages marking acceptance in the group are performed in mines. It is, thus, important to say that, for decades, the mining experience has complemented boys' initiation

schools. In these rites, *Makwayela* plays a substantial role in the barracks. It helps to ease life for newcomers who, thanks to their performing abilities, can be integrated into the groups.

Miners returning from the Transvaal, known as *magaíças*, get their price. They receive special social recognition of their knowledge: not only do they have money and experience, the knowledge of other languages, a set of goods that could not be bought in any other way (these may include a blanket, a suit, a hat, shoes, a radio-set and often a bicycle or a gramophone), but they are also the most fitted to get the best marriage opportunities – the best brides.

As a result of *mteto*, strong solidarity ties among *magaíças* are built during a stay in the mines for two or more periods, and these ties are bound by the belonging to *Makwayela*. *Makwayela* is at the same time an expressive mode, a solidarity group, an identity marker in a foreign environment, and the complement to initiation schools.

Triads

Makwayela performance follows the rules of triadic harmony. This is not a native African tradition: protestant missionaries have taught it to Southern Africans since the XIXth century. Mission schools had "mission choirs" that, together with African and American dance traditions, gave birth to several expressive modes in the rich and multicultural context of Southern Africa.

Triads rule not only the formal flow of performance, but also the hierarchy and social structure of the group. The performance of social dynamics comes along with the sonic performance. According to local musical knowledge, each voice has a specific musical function and social connotation. For example:

- *Bass*: the voices of the elders, they stand for continuity and stability in the group.
- *Thina* (standing for "tenor"): the "thin" voices that stand for the women, and their ability to move forward.
- The *Alto*: those who are able to keep everybody together.
- The *Guengue*, the voice that has the ability of generating instability and of challenging all the other voices in real time in a public performance. *Guengue* is a kind of clown or jester who stands at the extreme left of the group, a bass voice, and performs body routines different from the other performers, catching the audience's attention and pretending that he is always committing mistakes. He occasionally acts like a drunkard, or as an eccentric who suddenly notices that he is acting wrongly and takes on the movements of his fellows. Laughter is the expected effect, which enhances the audience's reception of the performance.
- *Muthekelele*, someone who performs the *kuthekelele* voice, a short introductory phrase for other musical sections. Similarly he carries out short introductory phrases in other sections of *Makwayela* pieces of repertoire, as well as short solo sections and individual parts against the four-voice background; other members of the group, usually the *principal*, may also perform these parts.

- *Principal* voices are performers who are the oldest in the group; they stand in the centre of each voice-group while performing. Their opinion is respected, after that of the *maestro*.
- The leadership of the group is assigned to the first role, known as *chaiman* or *maestro.* He performs the functions of artistic direction and management of the group; he is often the most competent composer within the group. And, while performing, he is the conductor.

Triadic harmony establishes the path for a series of performing characteristics that have idiomatic meanings for identitarian purposes. The recognition of the uniqueness of these characteristics creates a social functionality: for instance, audiences are able to recognize their ancestry, as well as the ancestry oh others, in these particular sonic constructions.

Conclusion: multipart music and social structure

The conceptualization of multipart music requires not only the understanding of the interaction of musical texts, but also of what is specific to music made by a plurality of musicians, compared to what is not. Musicians in a group, be it small or large, behave in patterns that are musical and social at the same time. The question arises: is there a social analogy to multipart musical modes of organization and vice-versa? Should we ask, as John Blacking might have put it, "How Multipart Musical is Man?"

How much of personal relationships go into multipart music? *Makwayela*, which we have discussed, is a stage of conflict. Conflict between groups that can lead to physical violence, and that often involves the use of witchcraft: to put a spell on a competitor is very common. So common in fact, that group-singers usually put salt in their socks as a preventive measure against spells. Conflict between members of the same group is not overtly demonstrated; however, performers do not make life easy for each other since there is a hierarchy in the group within which everybody needs to step up. In this sense, *Makwayela* multipart music is a social stage where conflict is unavoidable.

Symbolic mediation between music and society, through metaphoric enactment, is conceived to actuate stability and resolution of social forces within a system - local or global. People's reactions to changing contexts are seen as a problem of symbolic mediation in order to re-establish "the coherence of their lived world and to render controllable its process of reproduction" (Comaroff 1985: p. 3). Emphasis is put on communicative processes such as religious group celebrations, song, theatre, dance, which function as a fusion of "pragmatic and communicative dimensions" (*ibidem*). Both group commentary and group action are understood as products of this kind of symbolic mediation. David Coplan's (1985) study on South Africa's black city music and theatre, and Jean Comaroff's (1985) study on the Tshidi of the South Africa-Botswana borderland are examples of the emphasis on social action as a result of metaphoric enactment. Both studies privilege the interaction between two clear-cut analytic universes: a human group and its social environment - colonial or post-colonial.

However, both tend to minimize the large borderlands between the two universes, and to enlighten the role of group-internal social dynamics.

Sub-Saharan ethnomusicology has particularly underlined the dynamics of group performance, and also multipart music, as social action. The study of performance in such a context has been an important tool to empower African societies whose socio-moral integrity "was undermined by the intrusion of the forces of colonial domination and the world market" (Erlmann 1996: p. 161). This is the case with Veit Erlmann's (1996) work "Nightsong", which provides a rich perspective - though necessarily different from my own - on the phenomenon of *Isicathamiya*, a performing practice which can be considered as a stem for Maputo's choral performance. Christopher Waterman (1990) has studied group performance in south-western Nigeria as a creative response to colonialism; David Coplan (1985) explores the history of black performance culture in South Africa as a dynamic force against the harsh background of the apartheid system. As Erlmann puts it, "the victims of these processes perceive the breakdown of their universe as being caused from within the very moral core of their societies" (Erlmann 1996: p. 161). Such an inner view, together with recent post-colonial history, has demonstrated that opposition to discrimination and repression has been but only one aspect of the internal dynamics of expressive modes in Africa south of the Sahara. Multi part choral performance is used to symbolically convey and re-configure a new social setting; it is employed as a strategy for comprehending one's changing environment, and acting successfully upon it, through the manipulation of symbolic alternative systems of values: *Makwayela* performing groups are the most readily available symbols of successful urban adaptation and upward social mobility for a large group of the migrant population. The manipulation of group sound and body motion, where diverse experiences seem to be encoded, emerges as a privileged metaphoric mechanism for social action. These dynamics are best achieved by a multipart expressive mode, as the case of *Makwayela* is able to confirm.

The reciprocity of multipart vocal traditions and socio-cultural structures

Gerald Florian Messner

Making Multipart Music: Case Studies

The three peculiar polyphonic vocal traditions that I have studied in Bulgaria, Indonesia and Papua Niugini have clear socio-cultural implications especially in the case of ritual and customary songs. There is an obvious reciprocity between singing a specific vocal part and the social status that is assigned to it. I have observed this detail in all three cultures under discussion. These three traditions belong to a category of polyphony that I have called Interferential Diaphony. In short: a polyphonic performance practice with an identifiable organisation, requiring a special voice production in order to create distinctive audio adaptational effects, thus increasing the ability to perform narrow and micro intervals vertically as well as horizontally. According to Josef Jordania, all three belong to the category of Drone Polyphony.

First we need to look into what the anthropologist Edward T. Hall calls 'Cultural Time Organization' in these three seemingly completely different cultural regions which exist, geographically, thousands of kilometers apart from each other.

My research revealed that all three cultures adopt what Hall calls Polychronic Time or P-Time. This means: many things are handled and processed simultaneously and the adherence to a linear schedule is loose and easily readjusted in favor of the degree of closeness and importance of relationships (see Hall 1984: pp. 44-58).

While this becomes easily identifiable in many parts of the world, in the Bulgarian village of Bistritsa, on Baluan Island in PNG and amongst the village cultures of Eastern Flores, it still remains an overriding force that seems to operate specifically on a primary subliminal level.

This form of time management is, seemingly, in opposition to Monochronic or M-Time organization in which one thing comes after another, linear schedule plays the dominant role and relationships are subject to it. Most cultures, adopting the so-called industrialised Euro-American modes of operation which are now increasingly globally active, adhere predominantly to M-Time. In reality, of course, P-time and M-time concepts do not represent an exclusive dichotomy and overlapping is common and inevitable. However, complete neglect or unawareness of different systems of time organization do still cause unnecessary stress and misjudgments.

It is, in Hall's opinion, imperative to keep this in mind when working with differently perceived cultural realities on a primary subliminal as well as a secondary liminal cultural level (Hall 1984), because in P-time cultures, various psycho-acoustic features and different concepts of proximity are used and perceived in ways that are at times, for outside observers, most difficult to notice and to access.

For me, it was extremely important to recognise this phenomenon within the framework of the cultures under discussion, as musical functions cannot be easily abstracted from the individual performing them but need to be identified with him/her. This means that the performer, in practice, is most of the time given the name of the function and/or the part he or she is performing. The function of specialised singers or instrumentalists, who have been officially accepted in their position is completely integrated into the socio-cultural fabric. The musical pieces performed by them are sometimes given the same name, particularly in Eastern Flores. It becomes obvious that this makes it very difficult for outsiders to identify the structural elements that

operate on the base of this interactive socio-cultural matrix. Vice versa, it is equally difficult for the individual participants in such a culture to explain their complex concepts to investigators and researchers (very often outsiders) who, relying on their predominantly M-time (mono-chronic time) construct remain unknowingly locked in their own realm of experience. What for the P-Time people seems to be absolutely clear and normal, namely that, function, the performing individual and the performed music are perceived as a unity, can for the outside observer and 'analyst' easily become an incomprehensible entanglement of names, people, functions and music.

The artificial division of process, episode, function and paraphernalia, and the distinction made between performers and onlookers during genuine performances or rituals is unknown in most orally transmitted cultures. All participants have functions that are perceived as being equally valuable for the creation of the event. This does not mean that people are incapable of making distinctions. On the contrary, it shows that they are much more 'in the moment' and thus able to use even altered states of consciousness at will. Strangely enough, this shows that they are very close to our interpretation of contemporary scientific paradigms of reality.

The majority of the songs in the village of Bistritsa in Middle West Bulgaria and in the Eastern Flores villages of Tengahdei, Keka and Riangpuho show either a responsorial or antiphonal performance mode. On Baluan Island in Papua Niugini we encounter responsorial but no explicit antiphonal performance as there is always only one group of mainly two singers. Occasionally, two or three females or males may sing the second part. Both genders perform in groups of predominantly two people, where one of the performers acts as the lead singer. This part is called *isiol* (leading) and the part that follows is called *yaret* (to follow). A distinct exclusive tradition of polyphonic songs exists for both genders but on certain occasions some songs are, nowadays, also sung by a mixed group. This also applies to the East Florinese performances while today in the Bulgarian village of Bistritsa, men sing solo songs and are also the instrumentalists.

The following formations are the most common in the three polyphonic performance traditions that I have studied. They are not exclusive but rather relative and variable: 2 soloists; 2 choral groups; 1 soloist and a choral group or groups and sometimes instrumentalists.

I also observed two to three main categories of polyphonic songs, which in Flores are: 1) Songs of descent (*Opak marang*), 2) Work and recreational songs (*Berasi kremet*); in Bistritsa: 1) Customary songs, 2) Recreational songs; On Baluan island: 1) Male epic songs (*Kolorai*), 2) Female epic songs, work songs for men and women (*Wei'i*), 3) Recreational songs (*Polpolot*).

The village of Bistritsa in Bulgaria

The polyphonic tradition in Bistritsa has been maintained for a considerable time now, by women only. However, I was told that long ago, men may also have sung similar kinds of songs. The distance from Bistritsa to Sofia, the Bulgarian capital, is only 15 km and with industrialisation, the changing job situation used to keep the men more

and more away from the communal and cultural life of the village. They may have stopped performing because this polyphonic tradition requires such a high degree of synchronisation.

The most elaborate songs in Bistritsa are the harvest songs and songs on the way to or from work. They show the following performance structure:
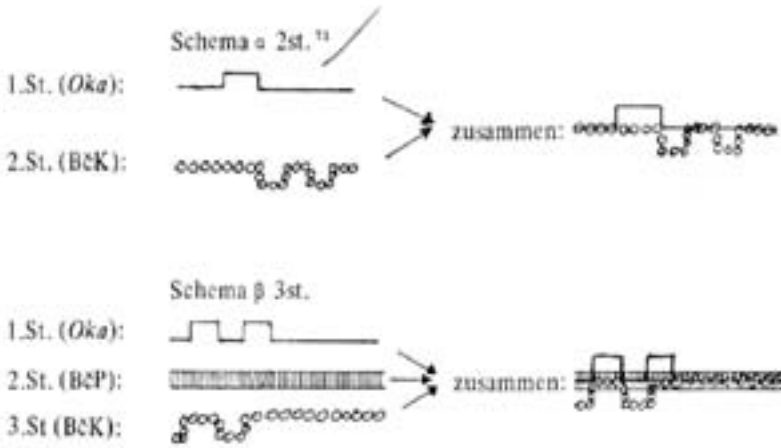
x *zusammen* = together

1st part: *oka* [~to call out] performed by one singer. This is the leading part as it initiates the song.

2nd part: *buchi krivo* [crooked roarer] performed by one singer only. This is the functional part that, besides serving other purposes, signals the conclusion of a song.

3rd part: *buchi pravo* [straight roarer] performed by the collective.

This is a strong central drone representing the ever present tonic as a compact domineering sound matrix that fuses the other two parts. The outsider then hears a rich condensed flow of sound that is internally patterned by much weaker fluctuating solo parts, thus generating the impression that the leading part is crossing the drone. But this is definitely an acoustic illusion as can be proved through an analytical recording condensed in the diagram below. The *oka* part sings right down to the tonic which is the drone pitch and the *buchi krivo* part performs the subtonic interval. The second group shows the same formation:

The only exception is the performance of songs with *tressene* (a throat trill performed by the *oka*). With this particular trill, the *oka* singer crosses the drone and trills fast and repetitively below the tonic. When listening to the songs, they appear to be two part songs but the reality is that there are 3 vocal parts involved.

One of the village women attains the social status of 'revered elder and bearer of the tradition' as an *oka* singer because of her musical talent and associated skills such as perfect knowledge of the song texts, etc.

Group – Structures and Designations in Eastern Flores

In Eastern Flores in Indonesia there still exist more than 20 different musical traditions. The part singing tradition that first roused my attention is practiced mainly in the so- called *Head Region* of Eastern Flores (Messner 1989: pp.3-51). Here, similar to the performance organization in Bistritsa, the number of performed vocal parts in the polyphonic songs is not always identical with the number of objectively perceived musical pitches in simultaneous concords. From a musical point of view, therefore, the two- and three-part organization of the polyphonic song material prevails, although the performers consider some of their songs as being three four or even five part songs since three, four or even five people perform different complementary socio-functional but not necessarily musical parts. Again, as is the case in Bistritsa, the listening outside observer detects mainly two and three vocal parts that occasionally cross each other. Despite this fact, each of the socio-functional parts has been given a distinctive name. Here there are always two groups performing antiphonally as well as responsorially but the antiphony prevails. In the songs of descent, there are three groups involved while two languages are sung. The *opak* or lead singer, who in the past was always a revered elder endowed with magical powers, sings in a very old ritual language that is no longer understood, while the first part in the second group, called *node ana,* is the classifier, the explainer of the epic language of the *opak*. The singer of this part is again a knowledgeable person who, understanding the old ritual language, translates and sings it in today's village vernacular.

Here I can only hint at the truly complex, interactive song cycles and their performance peculiarities in Eastern Flores. In order to give an idea of the multifaceted terminology, I should like to show you this table:

> a. the category of *opak marang* (songs of descent) there are three performing groups involved:
> **1st group: *opak maran(g)***
> 1st part opak
> 2nd part marang
> **2ndgroup: *hode ana***
> 1st part node ana ("classifier", Explainer of the epic language of the opak)
> 2nd part nuku gilik, the ghost or spirit caller (female), performing high trills close to the end of a song
>
> **3rd group: *orong*** (collective, male singers)

The singing order in the performance of *opak* songs is: *opak / maran(g) / nuku / node*

+ *gilik* and *orong*

b. In the category of **berasi** (work) songs there are also three groups involved:
1ˢᵗ group: *hode ana*
1ˢᵗ part node ana (gilik)
2ⁿᵈ part nuku

2ⁿᵈgroup*: tepok*
1ˢᵗ part node (gilik)
2ⁿᵈ part nuku

3ʳᵈ group: *orong* (if involved)
The singing order in the performance of **berasi** songs is: *nuku / node / nuku / node.*

Baluan Island, Manus Province Papua Niugini

The structures on Baluan Island are less complex and the songs are mainly performed by two but, occasionally, more individuals.
The male *kolorai-* as well as the female *wei'i-* and the recreational *polpolot* songs share the same performance structure and part-names. In regard to their musical forms and song texts, however, they are quite different. *Kolorai*s and female epic *wei'i*s are more elaborate and emphatic with emotional epic texts, introduced by preludes and interspersed with interludes performed by a Baluan slit gong ensemble.

1ˢᵗ part of the lead singer**: *isiol*** (to lead)
2ⁿᵈ part: ***yaret*** (to follow)
(Messner, 1989: pp. 17-18, see also Messner 1981: pp. 433-446, and Messner 1998: pp. 603-604).

The singers of the leading part *isiol* as well as the ones of the second part *yaret* of the *Kolorai,* male ritual epic songs, composed to commemorate important people, have a high status within the community and the performers are always respected elders who, despite the adoption of Christianity, are still shamans endowed with magical powers. The same applies to the performers of ritual female epic *weii* songs where the first and second parts have the same names as those of the male songs. *Polpolot,* the recreational songs, can be sung by everybody in groups or alone.
As I have already stated, both in Bistritsa and the Eastern Florenese villages the number of individuals performing different parts with distinct names and the audible parts and intervals noted by outside observers are not identical. All parts that constitute these polyphonic traditions clearly have a complementary socio-functional role besides their structural purpose. Each part indicates an accepted social status within the community that each performer has to exercise and exhibit in a reciprocal manner.
Urs Ramseyer (1970: pp. 58ff) writes as follows:

"Even in the simplest social order equality is never perfect, because always and everywhere individual characteristics and abilities will make themselves felt. Every social structure displays at least an informal specialization and transfers certain economic, political, magical and other applied functions together with the exercising of musical duties and rights to groups and individual persons who distinguish themselves through particular positions within the social order as well as through their abilities and skills."

Further, Ramseyer (1970: p. 72) writes about social status:

"One must not equate every point in the field of social relationships judgmentally with prestige or status. However, if status is seen specifically as a fixed position in a hierarchical social structure, a position that is essentially independent of its particular holder then, indeed, the social prestige of the individual can be directly deduced from the position which he/she holds. One should, in fact, separate prestige that is status based from that, which is status independent and is acquired from the basis of one's own merits."

In regard to the position of the *oka* singer and the male and female lead singers in Flores and also on Baluan island, prestige, both status dependent as well as status independent, as defined by Ramseyer, plays a role. While it is true that the status of an *oka* singer or the singer of *Isiol* (leader) on Baluan island or the *opak* (leader of the first group) and *node ana* (the classifier and interpreter of the ritual language of the opak of the first group) is attained on the basis of one's own merits; this merit can, in our case, only be exhibited within a group as a social act. At the same time, however, this position is anchored within the hierarchic structure of that specific cultural community.

Conclusion

This preliminary account already shows the complexity of multi-part or polyphonic music-making as an interactive function of socio-cultural processes. In the three cultures under discussion, the performers of different parts obtain the right to perform their particular parts with due regard for their musical capabilities but the part itself bestows a noticeable social status on the performer.

The polyphonic performance of plainchant, between history and ethnomusicology

Philippe Canguilhem

Pyrenees an emerging field

The four following articles illustrate some current research that has been ongoing since 2006, when Jaume Ayats discovered, while working in the Catalan Pyrenees, that the polyphonic performance of Vespers on Sundays and feast days existed there at least until the II Vatican council, and that the memory of this tradition was still alive in some villages (Ayats-Martinez 2010 and Ayats-Costal-Gayete 2010). At the same time, I was beginning to undertake research on historical faux-bourdon in France after 1500, a topic that till then had never been considered worthwhile by the musicological community (Canguilhem 2007 and 2010). Our common wish towards a better understanding of these musical phenomena in a triple perspective, historical, ethnomusicological, and practical, gave birth to the FABRICA project in 2008 (FAux-BouRdons, Improvisation et Contrepoint mentAl), which since then has been sponsored by the French Agence Nationale de la Recherche.

As a result, the project involves three different institutions: two Universities on both sides of the Pyrenees (Université de Toulouse le Mirail and Universitat Auto-noma de Barcelona) and an early music group of singers directed by Dominique Vellard (Ensemble Gilles Binchois). This unusual partnership between historical musicologists, ethnomusicologists, and professional musicians would like to facilitate dialogue and collaboration between people who often work on similar or related topics without being able to find a space to exchange ideas, methods, or questions.

The project itself aims to investigate the issue of orality and literacy in musical creation, taking the various traditions of polyphonic performance of plainchant repertory as a case study. As a matter of fact, we know that the majority of polyphonic music that was heard in church from the Middle Ages to the end of the XVIIIth century (and even later) was not sung through a composed score, but resulted from the arrangement of plainchant according to a variety of modes. What gives the project its originality is the fact that we are not confronted with a specific repertoire, but rather with a common practice, namely the various ways plainchant was performed in polyphony. This practice is documented over a very large chrono-logical span, which started when the first faux-bourdon practice was mentioned, towards the middle of the XVth century, and which has lasted until now, with the present research on the Pyrenees singers, who still remember the polyphony they used to regularly sing during Vespers some fifty years ago.

As will be seen below, sacred polyphony in the Pyrenees differs from other similar practices already studied in southern Europe (particularly those of the Mediterranean islands) on some points. One of the most striking of these lies in its social aspect: whereas in Corsica and Sardinia, this particular kind of multipart singing is closely related to the world of confraternities, these are no longer active today on both sides of the Pyrenees, although Jean-Jacques Castéret reminds us that they formed an important part of the social life of the Bigorre and Béarn provinces until the XIXth century. Outside confraternities, multipart singing in Pyrenean churches was either left to specialized singers (called *cantadors* in Catalan, or *chantres* in French) or to the whole congregation, a practice that seems to have been proper to the northern (i.e. French) part of the Pyrenees. In this latter case, even women could participate: this "chant de

fidèles" is investigated in Jean-Christophe Maillard's study.

In his recent and important book, Xavier Bisaro (2010) has shown how the practice of singing plainchant in French rural churches has always been shared between "chantres" and "fidèles", although this division is not so easy to determine, and varies considerably according to place and time. The Pyrenees situation in the XXth century offers a fascinating case-study that awaits to be fully understood.

How do these social gatherings interact with the musical peculiarities of the repertoire? This issue is faced by Jaume Ayats, who tries to understand the relationship between the way the *cantadors* sing the Latin psalms and the time logic of the Vespers ritual. A comparison with, on the one hand, the rhythmic features of the chants sung during the processions and on the other, the Catalan *goigs* that are related to dance, leads him to conclude that a close connection can be found between the rhythmic organization of the music and its function in the ritual. Along the same line, Iris Gayete takes into account the rhythmic complexity of the polyphony sung during Vespers: her careful and detailed analysis of the psalmody helps us to understand how the *cantadors* negotiate the delicate act of singing unmeasured music together.

The last article, by Jean-Jacques Castéret, deals with the complex articulation of orality and literacy which forms the defining characteristic of plainchant polyphonic performance. As a matter of fact, the singers always use a book of plainchant, or at least a Psalter upon which they perform: "faux-bourdon" is the easiest way of "singing upon the book", or "chanter sur le livre", as this practice was called all over Europe from the XVth up to the XIXth century. Sometimes, the books of plainchant do contain some instructions or indications about the way polyphony can be performed. This shorthand notation, vague and inaccurate by its very nature, requires much more than the simple reading of the notes in order to be transformed into an articulated polyphonic psalm or canticle for four voices, and is far from acquiring the status of a 'score'.

This is where historical musicology meets ethnomusicology: religious multipart singing in the Pyrenees is historically documented by a handful of written sources of the XIXth century, sources that can be analyzed and compared with what remains today of the oral tradition. Among such sources, the Lourau manuscript, mixing pieces with parallel fifths and octaves most probably sung by the whole congregation, and more dialogic motets typical of the *chantres,* constitutes a fascinating document that testifies to the stability of musical practice in Béarn over a very long period. How did the singers use the Lourau manuscript? Were they acquainted with musical literacy enough to be able to read it at sight, or at least to learn the music directly from it? And how did they articulate their oral experience, and what name would we give to their improvisational practice with this written document? Some possible answers might be found in the way Pyrenean singers react to this music today. But these questions, as Karol Berger reminded us ten years ago, are not reserved to the singers that used the Lourau manuscript and their descendants: they can also be asked to a much larger group of musical situations that occur in Western music, be they considered 'art music' or 'popular music':

The development of modern European art music would be unthinkable without [a] partial separation of composition and performance in the process of music-making and without the survival of products of composition independent of performance. These are the defining features that distinguish art music from popular music traditions [...] We would get it all wrong, however, if we insisted on too strict a separation of art and popular music. In particular, we should not imagine that the emergence of art music led to a complete disappearance of popular music. Rather, we should think of European music since the thirteenth century as involving a complex interaction between the two, a precarious, highly unstable, ever-changing balancing act. In other words, we should keep in mind that "art music" and "popular music" are no more than heuristically useful ideal types and that much music-making in Europe mixed both types in various proportions . (Berger 2000, p. 118)

This is not the least interest of the music of the *cantadors* and the "chant de fidèles" that resounded until recently in the rural churches of the Pyrenees, which so effectively embody this complex and "ever-changing balancing act", allowing us to reconsider these traditional categories of the musicological discipline.

Western Pyrenean multipart:

a trans-historical approach

Jean-Jacques Castéret

Pyrenees an emerging field

In Gascon and the Basque Pyrenees (Iparralde), multipart singing practice has existed since 'ancient' times and is very much alive today. In a lesser way than some others, this polyphony *a numerus apertus* is not – in reference to Brăiloiu – " a thing achieved " in the image of *res facta* of the contrapuntal intellectual culture, but a thing becoming. A work in progress that the singers construct in both profane (lay) or religious contexts. Therefore "profane polyphonies" or "religious polyphonies" are, strictly speaking, inexistent. Only corresponding repertories and multipart-part know-how exist. Contextual and musical analyses allow the comprehension of models and the conditions of their production, particularly the random aspect of these musical and human constructions (Castéret 2008). In spite of this strong imprint of orality, research reveals, in the lay living contemporaneous to the singers, testimonies of the relations with the written erudite culture to which the discoveries of manuscripts and printed matter from the XIXth century bear witness.

A European procedure?

Relatively isolated from the geographic aspect, the Gascon Pyrenees multipart singing is inscribed moreover in the vast archipelago of polyphonies of southern Europe. It shares common characteristics with a part of these regions, particularly a musical thought qualified by Ignazio Macchiarella for the Italian peninsula, as horizontal or melodic-linear (Macchiarella 1991). The consonant intervals are largely the same. The majority employ the third, albeit in the major, neutral or minor. Other consonant intervals: fourths, fifths, or sixths can, however, appear. In particular – and recurrently – the ambivalence of the third/fourth for the accompaniment of the second chord, as we have pointed out in the Gascon Pyrenees (Castéret 2008).

Emmanuelle Olivier has equally revealed this same ambivalence in the songs "chants en *rèton*" from the Val d'Aosta, pointing out that the fifths are, notably employed "en des positions structurellement importantes, à la fin des segments"[1] (Olivier 1997: p. 89).

We meet up with this same logic in the majority of polyphonic practice in Italy and Austria. This is particularly the case for Corsica which until the 1970s presented a veritable mosaic of practices more or less close to the *paghjella* and even in certain cases, very different; and which mark a clean preference for the fourth in the hierarchal position. Markus Römer presents the consonant of the fourth on the second degree, which he names imperfect chord as in the characteristics of the *paghjella* (Römer 1996: p. 46).

The notion of the *faux-bourdon* in the Pyrenees

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1 "In structurally important positions, at the end of segments".
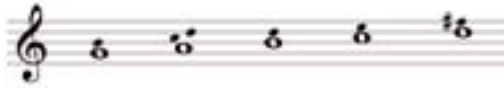
Figure 1 - The high part pyrenean pattern

Figure 2 - Excerpt from multipart performance from Valle D'Aosta.

Cadence corse typique
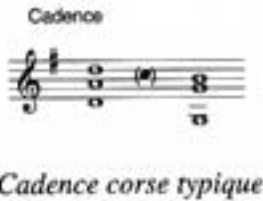
Figure 3 - Multipart cadence from Corsica.

In all evidence, the recurrent use of the consonant fourth in the cadential formulas points to a system. Thus, a common origin can eventually be invoked. Markus Römer, proceeding with a comparison between the orality of Corsican polyphony and manuscripts from the Franciscan tradition, finds numerous common traits revealed – among which the cadential signature (Römer 1996: p. 65)[2] - with the styles and forms of the XVth and XVIth centuries and notably with the technique of *faux-bourdon*. So, if this association is valid, the *faux-bourdon* can also be said to operate in Bearn, which is moreover a procedure largely diffused throughout Christianity by the time of the Counter Reformation.

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2 Römer seems, however, to draw an amalgam between the characteristics of "French" fauxbourdon and the "Italian" *falsobordone*.

The term of *faux-bourdon* also turned up for[3] Emmanuelle Lagnier (Lagnier 1989) in the oral tradition of Val d'Aosta, bearing witness to the knowledge in a recent past, of this procedure or, at the least, of the term in popular practice. Written sources from the XIXth century also give echo in the same way as regards Gascon vocality. Xavier de Cardaillac brought back the anecdote in 1903 that arose in the 1850s, and happened to the priest of Bahus-Soubiran, a small village of the Landes, on the northern frontier of Béarn:

Les paysans de Bahus avaient pris l'habitude d'accompagner les chants du curé en sourdine ou en faux bourdon. A la grand'messe, ce dimanche-là, de la Préface au Sanctus et du Pater au Non sum dignus, ils avaient chantonné plus fort et plus faux que de coutume. Aux dernières oraisons, le cure excédé se retourne : "Habets acabat de m'accoumpagna dab boste musique, qu'en souy bellèu hart ! Avez-vous fini de m'accompagner avec votre musique ; j'en suis bientôt rassasié."[4] (Cardaillac 1903: p. 431).

During a Christmas hymn, collected around 1860 by the Reverend Father Abbadie (1844-1927), director of the school of Bétharram and organist for the sanctuary, the anonymous author – manifestly a well-lettered worthy person or priest, from the XVIIIth or XIXth century – welcomes the birth of Christ and gives voice to animals and insects. Moreover one of the stanzas plays on the homonymy between the name of the insect and the musical faction:

"*Lou grich é tabé la cigalhe,*
Las brespes é lous brouchalous,
Las mousques é la rapatalhe
Déüs mousquits, tabas, parpalhous,
Troupe lyrique
E magnifique
Hasè musique
En faus-bourdous,
Lous us hasen : boum, boum !
Lous aütes : zoum, zoum !" (Ms Abbadie: f°158)[5]

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3 Ignazio Macchiarella communicated this important detail to me. With my thanks.

4 "The peasants of Bahus had acquired the habit of accompanying the priest's chants by singing in sourdine or faburden. At the High Mass, this Sunday, from the Preface of *Sanctus* and the *Pater* and *Non sum dignus*, they had sung louder and more off-key than usual. In his last prayers, the priest, exasperated, turned around: "Habets acabat de m'accoumpagna dab boste musique, qu'en souy bellèu hart ! Have you finished accompanying me with your music, I have had enough." (…) "

5 "The cricket and the cicada / The wasps and the bumblebees / The flies and the jumble / Of mosquitos, gadflies, butterflies / Lyrical troop / And magnificent / Making music / In faburdens / Some making: boum-boum / The others: zoum-zoum". Ms. Abbadie, f° 158, private collection.

The term *sourdine* [mute, sordino], equally remarked in an oral testimony concerning the vocal practice in Salies-de-Béarn and seemingly designating in this case, the bass in multipart singing, is obscure: a song in a half-voice or a musical procedure?

The notion of *faux-bourdon* is, more clearly shown here as witnessed by the treatises and dictionaries of the XVIIIth and XIXth centuries, an improvised polyphony in the sense of the "Chant sur le Livre", without however prejudice towards the musical forms or particular consonant systems. For Jean-Jacques Rousseau in 1768 it is a: "Musique à plusieurs Parties, mais simple & sans mesure, dont les Notes sont presque toutes égales & dont l'Harmonie est toujours syllabique"[6] (Rousseau 1768: p. 216).

In the popular framework of these testimonies, the term of *faux-bourdon* seems to be of a use and sense that are evident for the authors: priests, artisans or local dignitaries of the Gascon countryside, that is to say, the mediators between the popular and the erudite, the written and the oral, but also for their readers. In the case of the Mass at Bahus, the term seems to refer back to old-fashioned practices. Already in 1787, it would seem this way for the Chevalier de Meude-Monpas who described it as a: " Musique qu'on ne chante plus que dans les églises. Le faux-bourdon est simple et sans mesure marquée ; et les notes sont presque toujours syllabiques "[7] (Meude-Monpas 1787: p. 61).

It could be this type of practice that seduced the naturalist Boudon de Saint-Amans on his travels through Gavarnie (High Pyrenees) on a Sunday morning in 1788:

Je vais faire un tour à l'église & me félicite d'y avoir été. C'est une grand' messe que l'on chante, ce sont des paysans qui la chantent, & qui la chantent parfaitement. Je dis parfaitement dans toute la force & l'étendue de l'expression. Jamais dans les chœurs de nos cathédrales, les voix ne sont ni plus justes, ni ne se font entendre avec plus d'ensemble, avec un accord plus soutenu, avec une mélodie plus religieuse & plus touchante.[8] (Boudon de Saint-Amans 1979: p. 174).

A trans-historical approach to multipart singing

The emergence of the notion of *faux-bourdon*, in the history of a popular vocality, leads to a systematic examination of the contemporaneous Pyrenean singers' lexicon. In fact, if the terms high and bass (*haute* et *basse)* dominate the performances to a great extent, others appear at a turn in the conversation or under the fire of question-

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6 "Music in several Parts, simple & without measure in which the Notes are all almost equal & in which the Harmony is always syllabical"

7 "Music that is still only sung in the churches. The faux-bourdon is simple and without marking the measure; and the notes are almost always syllabic."

8 "I went to visit the church & congratulate myself for having been. It was a High Mass being sung, peasants were singing, & singing it perfectly. I say perfectly with the force & range of the expression. Never, in the choirs of our cathedrals, are the voices more just, nor are the voices heard with a better ensemble, with a more sustained harmony, with a more religious & more touching melody ".

ing, particularly from the eldest singers.

La contra (" the counter "), without more precision, literally designates, in a configuration with two parts, the voice disposed against ("contre") the *cantus*, which it generally accompanies in the higher register. When a third voice sporadically appears in a polyphony already composed of a high and a bass, the counter is declined readily in *contrahauta* or, in French, *contrehaute,* that is, in the highest part. It generally appears at the moment in which the group of singers tolerate that one of them breaks away in the high voice, either doubling the bass in the octave, or a counter voice putting his voice in highlight. It can also be produced, in the bass, in a counter-bass (*contrabaisha)* (contrebasse). A *bricolage*, in the anthropological sense of the term, seems to be at work, apparently borrowing from either Latin (*contratenor*) or French (*haute-contre* ou *contre-taille*) knowledgeable terminology.

Purmèra or, in French, *première* sometimes designates, amongst the eldest singers, the high part of the plurivocality, this term being a reference in the meridional Alps and in Savoy (Castéret 2011).

The verb *lolar* signifies 'to flower' or 'to ornate' - *fleurir, orner*. It designates, in the Bigorre, the action of ornamenting the polyphonic parts, a know-how to which the eldest singers gave particular attention and which testifies to the quality of the polyphonic performance. The noun *lòla* (ornament) returns us, in Occitan, to the special lexicon of graphic arts and sculpture (Per Noste 2005 vol. 2: p. 158). This notion is therefore enrolled in a system of ancient specially referenced lexicons, widely known in France and in Europe and in particular here, the medieval musical acceptance of the verb *fleurir*. The c*antus*, the least fixed in local terminology, is sometimes designated by *plain-chant* which in this case, borrows from the church-song lexicon. Similarly, the word *taille* was used by the priest of Orincles (High Pyrenees) who had organised, during the 1930-1940 period, a group of singers for the Mass with hymns in three parts; these same singers equally using the term for their performances in a profane context in the café.

This borrowing clearly underlines the way the pre-classic erudite terminology can, long after having fallen into obsolescence – more than 150 years –, continue to circulate between the elite and the local population. It brings us, moreover, to re-examine the notions of high and bass (de *haute* et de *basse*) trans-historically, comparing the thought commanding the learned multipart organisation during the baroque period and that which we find in contemporaneous popular performances.

In fact a homology, rather a survivor, appears as much in the system of organisation of the different polyphonic parts, as in the identity of the different vocal registers to which this terminology points. In France between the XVIth and the XVIIIth centuries, instrumental and vocal music is organised in four parts, the *taille* corresponding to the *tenor* voice on which the term is imposed by the end of the XVIIIth century. Moreover, each of these polyphonic parts can also be subdivided into two parts, the *taille* being a part *"plus élevée, qu'on appelle Première ou haute-Taille ; l'autre plus basse,*

qu'on appelle Seconde ou basse-Taille " [9] (Rousseau 1768: p. 498). The notion of First (*première*) is thus used in the same manner in written baroque music as in the contemporary oral polyphony: either in the Pyrenees as elsewhere in other polyphonic spaces of the French continent. It would thus seem probable that the very current terms of high and bass (*haute* et *basse*), implicitly point to *haute[-taille]* and *basse[-taille]*. Rousseau elsewhere defines the taille, *as " La Partie qui convient le mieux à la voix d'homme et la plus commune ; ce qui fait qu'on l'appelle aussi Voix humaine par excellence "* [10] (Rousseau 1768: p. 498). Now, this voice that corresponds to the vocal register in the grave and medium of contemporary classification of tenor voice, exactly fits the voice register of what the young generation of Pyrenean singers qualify as the normal or the middle (*normale* ou de *moyenne*). In the same way, the basse-taille, also called *concordant*, is according to Castil-Blaze: "L'espèce de voix qui, formée des notes basses du ténor et des sons aigus de la basse, semble les réunir l'un et l'autre (...) On l'appelle aussi bariton ou basse-taille"[11] (Castil-Blaze 1825: p. 196). Now, the bass register developed by the Pyreneans is not, with a few rare exceptions, that of a deep bass – which one readily calls in this case *contrebasse -*, but rather a bass extension of the middle voice a "basse-taille".

Beyond what is simple terminology, the plurivocal procedures developed in the Pyrenees stem from an identical conception: a melodic-linear thought with resulting harmony according to the expression of Annie Cœurdevey (Cœurdevey 1998: p. 82) or, as Jacques Chailley, points out the "consonant meeting of distinct melodic notes" (Chailley 1960: p. 8) that bring us back to an era of the modal polyphony that took precedence with the apparition of the *organum* until the XVIIth century. Between these two periods, as in the meeting of either learned or oral hypothetical traditions, the appearance of *faux-bourdons*, at the beginning of the XVth century, constitutes a notable bench-mark. This procedure is in fact conceived by Dufay and the other composers of that first generation, as a composition in two parts leaving the possibility of adding a third in improvising in an inferior fourth of the *déchant* (Kauffman 2008: p. 69). Beyond the consonants used, this conception approaches the organisation present in the multipart vocality of the Pyrenees – and of others in France and in southern Europe as, for example, in Liguria – where unanimously, a practice in two parts was created, leaving the third part to appear as a whim of the context: *"quan s'i presta "*. In the same manner, we can point to a symmetry between the most polyphonic religious repertories of the Pyrenees and the written sources of faux-bourdon in the XVIIth and XVIIIth centuries. All seem to be particularly associated with Vespers – prin-

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9 "Higher, that is called First (Première) or upper *Taille*; the other lower that is called Second (Seconde) or lower *Taille*".

10 "The Part that best fits the man's voice and the most common: which means that we call it the Human Voice above all".

11 "The kind of voice which, composed of the bass notes of the tenor and the high notes of the bass, seem to unite the one and the other (…) It is also called baritone or basse-taille".

cipally psalms and the *Magnificat* – although they are rare in the framework of Mass beyond the *Credo* or *O Salutaris hostia* (Kauffman 2008: p. 86).

Regarding cantoral practices in the XIXth century: the Lourau manuscript

A unique witness in the desert of public sources – and to the extent of my knowledge – also private and regional ones, is a very lovely hand written notebook of 12 folios compiling diverse pieces of Latin music gathered together under the title *Motets pour la bénédiction du Saint-Sacrement* possessed by Le Service départemental d'Archives des Pyrénées-Atlantiques (The Archives of the Department of the Atlantic Pyrenees - A.D.P.A.). This notebook came to the A.D.P.A. from a sale in 1981 and belonged to Edouard Warnant (1925-1980), a Belgian- French collector who died in Pau.[12]

It has the notation: "I belong to Jean Lourau of Lasseubetat", a small Béarn village on the hillsides of the vineyards of Jurançon, neighbour to Lasseube where the famous high-counter Pierre Jélyotte (1713-1797) was born. The author was probably a farmer, and landowner, born in 1772 who died a bachelor in 1838 in the house carrying the same name. His family benefited from a particular position in this community of 600 inhabitants since, Pierre Lourau, his younger married brother, lived in the same house, and was, at this date, mayor of the village.

This notebook stands out in its use of notes of neumatic squares and coloured ink to distinguish the polyphonic parts (Figure. 4). It is also decorated with a concatenation of geometrical figures and decorated letters (lettrines) such as in a naïve illumination. This notebook is decorated, "loved", as in the image of the notebooks of songs made in the XXth century by soldiers, by young men and women. The general style, as well as traces of wear and tear, point to current usage and not to a simple anthological compilation. These indications point to a distinct peasant usage, for example, of the manuscript of the " Messe Agatange " conserved at the Bibliothèque Municipale de Toulouse.

In the same bundle of archives, a second manuscript containing eight French and Latin motets, a rough sketch of the *Romance* of Joseph of Méhul and different points of elementary musical theory, is a work by a certain " R. Caillau, teacher ". Dates appear in different places: 13.11.1836 and 1848. Then, the author records a curious epitaph:

Le celebre Jean Lourau [/] git en paix dans son tombeau [/] tandis qu'il vecut sur terre [/] il vecut toujours en guerre [/] chers amis on en parle, a son triste et dernier offisce personne ne le pleura.[13].

The mention of this " last and sad office " the same as Caillau's identity, allows us to approach the function and the profile of Jean Lourau. In fact, at this epoch, the teach-

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12 A.D.P.A. 44 J 52.

13 "The famous Jean Lourau [/] lies in peace in his tomb [/] while he lived on earth [/] he always lived in war [/] dear friends we can speak, for his last and sad office no one will cry".

Figure 4 - Cantate Domino, from the manuscript Lourau

ers were also the church cantors of the village, recruited for their pedagogical and vocal capacity. Lourau was thus Caillau's predecessor: at least in the function of cantor. Moreover, the use of coloured inks in Lourau's notebook, recalls the description of another contemporary notebook, unfortunately lost. It was a notebook belonging to Laurent Arribère Gramon (1798-1870), a famous peasant-singer of Bearn who was equally the author of the very famous song *M'a prés per fantesia.* And Gramont was also the church cantor and mayor of his village. He had been trained in the plain-chant by his teacher as witnessed by the Chanoine Jean-Baptiste Laborde:

Son arrière petit-fils a même conservé un cahier de plain-chant copié et noté de la main de Gramon avec un goût artistique digne des vieux enlumineurs du moyen-âge ; un pittoresque mélange d'encres de diverses couleurs et de dessins variés rendent ce manuscrit plein d'intérêt ".[14] (Laborde 1905: p. 2).

The Lourau manuscript is an extraordinary testimony of the musical universe of a small Pyrenean village at the end of the XVIIIth century or at the beginning of the XIXth, revealing the polyphonic choral practice, at least for the great occasions, because the pieces require two to four singers. The small church has the wooden shank destined to hold the great lectern built into the ramp of the narrow men's tribune. (figure 5) These motets for the benediction of the Holy Sacrament – the identification of the sources are still to be discovered – point to a closing ceremony that follows Vespers and which was developed with the Counter-Reform. There is a notation for a solo voice or alternating sequences of solos and polyphony with two or three parts consigned on the stanzas of four notes. The musical writing is simple, homorythmic and parallel for the most part. Lourau's hand is neat but often approximate in the rhythm. According to the pieces, the figures are varied: awkward squares, rounds and losanges. The hesitations as to the ascenders are often noted. Certain pieces are even incomplete or sometimes, completed 'a posteriori'. On the level of polyphony, three pieces - *Lauda Sion, O bone Jesu, O sacrum convivium* - present an entirely syllabic direction in strict fifth parallels (FIG. 6): example of the survival, at the heart of the church, of the medieval forms known since the IXth century and some gradually from the XVIIIth century or, even in Franciscan manuscripts from the XVIIth and XVIIIth centuries, with traces found in the Bibliothèque provinciale des Franciscains de Corse in Bastia. The question arises if these pieces which are very syllabical, characteristic of the "beaten plain-chant" (*plain-chant battu*), as in the *Lauda Sion,* might have been used on the occasion of the procession of the Fête Dieu, and also sung by the faithful. The other polyphonic pieces are clearly the field of the cantors. The *Cantate domino canticum novum* (figure 1) alternates a solo voice that opens out in a characteristic

14 "His great-grandson had even conserved a song book copied and noted in Gramon's hand with an artistic taste worthy of the old illuminators of the Middle Ages; a picturesque mixture of diverse coloured inks and varied drawings giving this manuscript much interest".

style of the XVIIth and XVIIIth centuries. A duo responds: homophonic and in parallel thirds. The same for the two verses from *O salutaris hostia* that alternate a brief solo utterance with, this time, a three-voice polyphony. The system of consonants used in these duos or trios are very close to, or identical with contemporary models in profane performances, so well matched that in an experience of re-interpretation, in the ANR FABRICA Programme[15], with the Bearn and Bigorre singers, their adhesion was im-

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Figure 6 - *Lauda Sion* from the manuscript

mediate and enthusiastic.

In fact the principal difference resides in the melodic identity of the *cantus* of *O salutaris* – a tri-chord Fa#-Sol-La extremely united in essence – that systematically solicits the leading note/subfinalis, and in which the cadential formulas are always unified at the resolution, which also leads off each polyphonic sequence of this motet. On the other hand, the use of the high fourth and/or the fifth bass as accompaniment for the second chord, notably in the open cadences, are largely in majority here.

It is also interesting to notice that the difficulties Lourau had in the notation of certain rhythmic values, did not stop him in any way from indicating the way the three voices of *O salutaris* should be organised in time: entries with hesitations or anticipations and thus bringing consonants. To accomplish this he slightly staggered – this was a voluntary current practice – the notes on the stanza. Thus, the verse *Uni trinoque domino* is the object of particular attention: a rhetorical game in the grand baroque tradition, musically underlines the doctrine of the Holy Trinity. If the first syllable of the word '*u-ni*' and the last of '*domi-no*', are in unison, a second part appears on the second syllable [*ni*] and a third, in the bass, on the first syllable of *trinoque*, but delayed to be better signalled. In the same way, in the repetition of *trinoque*, the first syllable only appears with the high and the bass which are resolved to three voices in unison, breaking apart again into three distinct parts on the second syllable; then on the third, again in two parts with a lateness on the third bass voice. As follows, each syllable in *domino* is thus unfurled, strung out, then becomes a triad to then fall back into unison. (figure 4)

Generally speaking, the Lourau manuscript constitutes an interesting example of musical notation, both stylistic and rhetorical, witness to a largely-known European practice and of which the oral polyphonies of Mediterranean islands still show traces.

Teacher or geometer?

The Caillau manuscript marks a stylistic evolution concerning the pieces recorded by Lourau. The notations are black and white and round, presented in systems of two to four stanzas of five lines. The musical style is still simple and for the most part parallel and homorythmic but these motets for two, three and four parts are composed in the

program FABRICA.
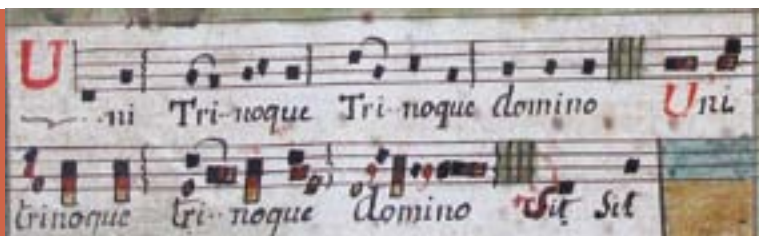
Figure 7 - *Uni trinoque (O Salutaris hostia)* from the manuscript Lourau

style of the choirs of the beginning of the XIXth century, the *Domine salvum fac regem
" Ludovicum Philippum "* underlining the contemporary style and confirming the
circulation of repertories in the Pyrenean countryside. (figure 5)

Another collection – a unique example in its style bought for 4.5 € on a website –
again points to the polyphonic dynamics in a religious context. It concerns five masses
in *" plain chant vocal et musical mesuré "* (plain song and measured music) composed
by a certain " Tujague Expert-géomètre à Tarbes ". Edited by the author at an un-
known date, the career of the lithographer from Tarbes, Joseph Bertrand Abadie de
Sarrancolin (1824-1876) can help us to pinpoint the period between 1848 and 1854,
more precisely between 1848 and 1852 as confirming the *Domine salvum fac "rem pu-
bicam "* present at each Mass. The n° 5 and 6 Masses respectively of " Sainte-Hélène "
and " Napoleonic ", as well as the motets and French hymns are true Bonaparte mani-
fests mourning Napoleon I, whose fate is compared to Christ's sacrifice, and to whom
they appeal for a new member of his family.

On the music level, the compositions are presented in square neumatic notations and
measured. (FIG. 6) In major and without modulation, they use simple harmonics;
in the basic Mass we find alternating solos, united-voice choirs and duos, while the
more elaborate ones present quartets and quintets. Nothing indicates that these were
sung, maybe being incorporated in a personal dynamic, which was at once both po-
litical and eventually touristic – Masses n°2 and 4 entitled 'Pyrenean' and 'Bigourdan'
respectively. However, in the middle of the XIXth century in a small town such as
Tarbes, they point to a popular logic of composition close to what has been identified
in Vesuby (Alpes-Maritimes region) (Foussard 1996). In fact, what is presented is a
production by a non-specialist in an act "of ordinary writing" (Fabre 1993), some-
thing mechanical, without aims – and in any case – without artistic interest. It does,
however, show a production that " sounds " and that is not without remembering the
poetic style – of 'doggerel' " vers de mirlitons " – popular productions of circumstance.

Paths of distribution

These sources are enrolled in a cultural logic that is expressed between oral and writ-
ten culture, learned and popular; a similar logic which musical anthropology research

Figure 8 - *Domine salvum fac regem* from the manuscript Caillau

has revealed in instrumental practices or choreography.[16] Ignazio Macchiarella has, in the same manner, precisely described the polyphonic practices of Sardinia, the complexity of exchanges between written and oral traditions, with a borrowing procedure back and forth, and the manner in which the usage of the *falsobordone* was structured by lay brotherhoods (Macchiarella 1995).

The existence of such brotherhoods was well-known in the Pyrenees until the end of the XIXth century, and they had been particularly developed in the framework of the Counter-Reform, flourishing again after the French Revolution (Soulet 1987: 242). In Béarn alone, 44 could be counted in the XVIIIth century, whose archives are sadly lost. Several sources, however, bear witness to their vocal and musical activities, particularly on the occasion of important manifestations: processions or pilgrimages (Desplat 1992: p. 1169). As the rules stipulate for the *Compagnie des Pénitents bleus* of Pau, on the occasion of the unavoidable procession of Holy Thursday, the brothers are " *revêtus et pieds nus... portant chacun sa torche dévotement et chantant choses de la Passion... "*[17] (Desplat 1992: p. 1168). The bylaws of the *Confrérie de Notre Dame des Agonisants* of Pau mention, in 1810, twelve chorists chanting in double choir and a choir-head, officer of the brotherhood. This latter orders " *le chant et la psalmodie de l'office divin* [et] *doit veiller à bien connoître le talent et le savoir des divers choristes, afin de les distribuer de manière que les deux parties du chœur se correspondent bien, et qu'il y*

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16 The work of Luc Charles-Dominique, Lothaire Mabru, Eric Montbel and, of course, Jean-Michel Guilcher.

17 " Dressed and bare-foot… each one devotedly carrying his torch and chanting things from the Passion… ".

Figure 9 - *Gloria* from the Tujague's "*Messe des Pyrénées*"

ait dans chacune des sujets capables de soutenir le ton "[18] (Cluzeau 1810: p. 33). Others employ a cantor from the 'outside' for the most important ceremonies. The brotherhoods dedicated to the Holy-Sacrament, present in Bearn, are recognized for the distribution in France, notably in the countryside, of motets bearing the same name (Meunier 2004: p. 145). In the Pyrenees, following the example of their Sardinian counterparts, they could also have built transfer institutions, apt for the distribution of certain musical procedures.

Institutions of transfer and mediators

The installation of certain multi-voiced forms, between the oral and the written, could also have operated in the framework of the *pastorales*. In fact, this popular form of great theatre – spoken, sung and danced – performed, already in the XIXth century, before thousands of people, is common in the Basque country, in Bearn and Bigorre in the multi-voiced space of the Pyrenees. Inheritors of the medieval Mystery, these

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18 "The song and the hymn of the divine office [and] should see that he well knows the talent and knowledge of the different chorists, in order to disperse them in a way so that the two parts of the choir are equally good, and that there are in each, subjects capable of keeping the key".

very type-cast coded scenes echo different periods of the History of theatre, notably the Baroque. This kind of theatre, which is still very lively in the Basque province of Soule and was still active in 1946, 1959 and 1997 in the Bearn valley of Barétous, was present until 1914 throughout the whole of the Gascon Pyrenees up to the threshold of Pau and Tarbes.

Beyond a simple diversion, a *pastorale* represents a strong transfer institution. Preparations and rehearsals over several months, mobilise men – and today women - of the same generation constituting, according to Patricia Heiniger-Castéret a collective ritual of passage (Heiniger 1996).

These preparations are directed by a specialist, the *regent* or "instructor" of the *pastorale*. He possesses the integral text (up to six hours of spectacle in the XIXth century) or is the author of the verses, built upon a web of prose stemming from the literature of pedlars. This 'instructor' also directs the actors. He schools them like circus-horses going through their paces; he controls the pace of the declamations and its co-ordination with the evolution of the play in strict choreographic and regimented tradition. He is also a dancing-master and choir-master for the group elements, the voice being central to the ensemble of the *pastorales*, either spoken, sung in solo or in groups. In the testimonies collected about this practice in the XXth century, if the group songs do not become an object of strict parameters, the personality of the 'instructors' captures all attention. Patricia Heiniger-Castéret has underlined their membership in a special socio-professional category: artisans or mediators belonging to the people, with no fixed landed attachments, they are seen to change villages every other or two generations, the non-possession of land being in a certain fashion, compensated by that of the Letter. Two great families particularly stand out. The Gastellu-Sabalot: woodworkers, instructors, song-writers, musicians, who deploy their talents at the edge of the Béarn and the Navarre; and the Palay family: cloth-tailors, instructors, players of musical instruments, song-writers and poets, found at the edge of Bigorre and Béarn. In this Pyrenean society, largely literate since at least the XVIIth century, these veritable *factotems* are distinguished, in fact, by the possession and use of books, moreover, treatises of versification. Therefore, why not works on musical theory, treatises on plain song or manuals of *faux-bourdon*?

Further to the north of the Gascogne, in Roquefort-de-Marsan, in the 'Petites Landes', Castaing describes in *l'Illustration* from August 7, 1847, an '*asoada*' – a raucous representation (charivarique) – a type used by popular authors:

Le cortège ne s'arrête que devant la maison de la victime. Là, quelqu'un de la troupe prononce un superbe discours (...). Un concert de cornes, accompagné d'un roulement continu de chaudrons, célèbre la gloire de l'orateur. Des couplets, composés ad hoc par un poète du cru, sont chantés en chœur et à tue-tête, avec bourdon, fausset... ".[19] (Baudoin 2010).

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19 "Le cortège only stops before the victim's house. There, someone from the troop pronounces a superb discourse (…). A concert of horns, accompanied by a continued roll from the cauldrons, celebrate the glory of the orator. Couplets, composed ad hoc by a recognised

Between the universe of theatre and that of the polyphonic vocals, a paradigm of a popular mediator is sketched where peasants and artisans meet. Profiles emerge, pointing to a certain porosity between these domains. The peasants are at once church cantors and "great singers" of the lay context, as we see in the image of Julien Cabanius, from Faget of Oloron, who, in the fifties, was an animator of dominical gatherings in the café and the artisan of the transmission of vocal practice in the direction of the younger generation. The same could be said in Bigorre for Bernard Miqueu, a cantor in his adolescence, a great singer and principal actor in the *pastorale Despourrii a St-Sabii*. In the XIXth century, Laurent Gramon d'Izeste, was a cantor and song-writer. In Bielle, in the Ossau valley, Monseigneur Paralieu's grand-father was, in the 1850s, a cloth-tailor and cantor. Thus, the artisans could officially combine, up to the arrival of the Third Republic, the functions of school regents and cantor, and thus transmit the principals of vocality to the children. Others are artisans and creators of *pastorales* or even, in the Baretous valley, surveyors and *pastorale*-directors (Heiniger 1996). Now again, could the expert-geometer Tujague perhaps be found in this line of descendants or at least in the same trajectory?

The lexicon of the *pastorale* seems to bear an echo of this overlapping of fields. The *"sujet"* ("subject") which indicates the voice pronouncing the theme, according to the terminology of baroque or pre-classical music, as for example, in the manuscript of the *Messe Agatange*; is equally used in the Gascon and Basque Pyrenees to designate the title-role: at once both the principal person and theme – subject – of the play.

Conclusion

If the polyphonic practice appears in recent history as extra-ordinary, and even more so in its first sense, incredible, to the point that folklorists or travellers could not possible imagine this in the peasant world; its existence is imposed little by little with traces revealed by Pyrenean and beyond that, European history. It would seem to be an ordinary thing – twice over – commonly and anthropologically – in most of the countries in southern Europe. As Peter Jeffery underlines on the historical aspect, polyphony is almost as ancient as musical notation itself (Jeffery 1992), making theories of musicologists who saw an evolution of the monody relative. Similarly, Geraldus Cambrensis records that already in the XIIth century in his *Description of Wales,* ancient polyphonic practices existed to the point that they were perceived as having invented counterpoint (Burstyn 1983: p. 135). More recently the co-existence has been noticed, in Spain or Italy from the XVth and XVIth centuries, of learned polyphonies and those of *"de poco arte"* ("lesser art") (Fiorentino 2008) widely supported by the peasants: co-existence mixed with mutual exchanges until the XIXth century. In the Pyrenees, just as in other oral traditions in which the polyphonic practice is mostly ex-

poet, are declaimed in chorus and at the top of one's voice, with bourdon, falsetto "

pressed in a profane context, if the question of exchanges eventually allows elucidation of formal relations, this will not suffice to explain the reasons for this type of vocality; that seems to stem more from the interrogations of social anthropology*.

*My special thanks go to Cynthia Rogers for her help in translating this text.

The lyrical rhythm that orders the world.

How the rhythmic built the ritual space models in the religious chants of the Pyrenees

Jaume Ayats

Pyrenees an emerging field

The aim of this contribution is very simple: we want to show the connections between the rhythmic structures and the ritual situations in religious chants in the Pyrenees. During our research in the Catalan Pyrenees (2006-2010)[1] we perceived this bond among some specific codes that organise the rhythms and *tempi* of the chants, and the distinct moments and spaces of the religious rituals.

In the Pyrenees, religious chants were chanted in the majority of religious services relatively regularly until the end of the II Vatican Council (1963-1965). Even though these chants had already entered into a process of transformation as from the 1920s and 1930s, they were maintained with a high presence in the majority of small mountain villages until the early 1950s. The consequences of the Spanish Civil War of 1936-1939 and the intense emigration from the 1950s onwards meant that, above all in the 1960s, they entered into an intensive process of oblivion. However, despite everything, part of this repertoire was kept in some villages and some spots on special dates and on special festivals, even until the beginning of the XXIth century. Our research has enabled us to study these chants with a notable solidity, both in the memory and the practical chanting of what is currently the oldest generation.

They are male chants from small mountain villages, where specific men take on a very precise role: *cantadors*. A *cantador* holds the status of the man who sings in the high choir of the church and, at the same time, represents the head of the main households in a village with a fairly egalitarian economy and with commonly shared properties. Simplifying, we could say that the meeting of the *cantadors* coincides with the meeting of the men who, at least until the first third of the 20th century, took the decisions of the community. If we place ourselves in the mid-20th century, the data show us a geographical area that includes a large number of Catalan counties of the Pyrenees,[2] and everything indicates that in the past it covered a much wider territory, spreading both to the south towards the lowlands and in the Aragon and Occitan Pyrenees, and to the east as far as the Mediterranean.

They chant a traditional repertoire related to the liturgy of the Council of Trent, with monodic parts and others where multipart singing may appear of the *faburden* type, very similar in its formal characteristics to the religious multipart singing of the island

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1 The research in the Pyrenees was undertaken within the framework of the *Cants religiosos polifònics a l'Alt Pirineu (Polyphonic religious chants in the high Pyrenees)* project (IPEC Anàlisi 2008-2011 of the Generalitat de Catalunya) and also within the FABRICA projects (of the French ANR undertaken by the Université de Toulouse-Le Mirail with the participation of the Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona). Both projects have been developed from the "Music in Contemporary Societies" (MUSC) research group of the Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona (SGR 2009/227 supported by the Department of Innovation, Universities and Enterprise of the Generalitat de Catalunya). Those working on these projects, as well as the signatory to this document, were Anna Costal, Iris Gayete, Joaquim Rabaseda, Amàlia Atmetlló and Ester Garcia i Llop.

2 Ribagorça, Pallars Jussà, Pallars Sobirà, Alt Urgell, the country of Andorra, Cerdanya (both Spanish and French administration) and Capcir (France), as well as the Val d'Aran, culturally Occitan.

of Corsica, of the Liguria region and generally the chants of the Pyrenean neighbours of Gascoigne (see Ayats - Martínez 2010). No instrument or organ has ever intervened. We should be aware that this involves small villages (no towns) and that the arrival of harmoniums was later, with little or no involvement in this repertoire.

Therefore, they are chants that we can place within the Latin tradition of religious chants. They are similar to those of Corsica, Sardinia and Sicily, but also of Murcia, Valencia and Catalonia, and were performed by the male religious brotherhoods. In other regions of Latin Europe they were organised by specialised precentors. The singularity of the Pyrenean model is that they are performed by the heads of the households, without any direct relationship with a brotherhood.

However, in this document we do not aim to describe the social and musical characteristics of these chants as a whole, but wish to focus on the hypothesis we formulated at the beginning: each ritual situation makes the chants take on specific formal characteristics regarding the rhythmic model. We might even venture to say that the chants organise the whole of the social act rhythmically. To explain this, we have to focus on three central themes: the language of the chants; if they were sung just by the *cantadors* or by everyone; and the temporal or rhythmic logic that they use. Moreover, it is of great interest if they were sung monodically or multipart, even though for the *cantadors,* this aspect was considered as just an embellishment of the chant (as explained in Ayats - Martínez 2010 and also in Ayats - Costal - Gayete 2010).

The second aim of our proposal is that in the future it could be usefully adapted to the religious chants of the whole European Latin area, where religious rituals have maintained a surprisingly high level of coherence for at least four hundred years.

The language of the *cantadors*

In an initial approach, we have already seen that within the religious chants, the chants in Latin correspond to the most important and central moments of the Catholic liturgy, while the chants in Catalan (with partial concurrence of Castilian for over a century) indicate more peripheral moments and an atmosphere of more popular religiousness.

Therefore, the chants of the central rituals of the Catholic liturgy, which have been maintained in the memory of the older generation of these Pyrenean villages, are Mass on the days of the most important festivals of the year (a dozen days called *festanals*), the Offices of Compline and Vespers, and the Holy Week Offices.

This group of chants, as well as being in Latin, have a series of common features:

-       They can only be intoned by priests and *cantadors;* this singular group of between eight and twelve male heads of the household, who in the activity of chanting in the church represent the main families and the nucleus of the village (aspects which we describe in detail in Ayats - Costal - Gayete 2010).
-       They are nearly always chanted from the choir of the church, that is from the high gallery situated opposite the altar; an exclusive place for men, while the

ground floor of the church was the mainly female area.

-      The structure of these chants is free of the presence of a clear beat, within the style of chant called recited or psalmodied.

-      These chants can be sung monodically but in the more solemn and emotive moments, as in the psalms and, above all, the *Magnificat* of Vespers, they become multipart with the deployment of up to three parts or voices (as we have described in Ayats - Martínez 2010).

We find ourselves faced with the fact that these chants are in Latin (apart from the Greek *kyrie eleison* and the Hebrew *amen*) and sung with a psalmodic rhythm compared to other chants, such as those of processions, which may also be in Latin but with a rhythm generally based on the beat. Why do they have a different rhythm and chant space? The answer we have found is based on the liturgical importance of the texts. The texts psalmodied and chanted from the choir correspond to the texts of the canon of the Mass and to texts that form part of the Bible: the psalms and the canticles. They are, therefore, texts that are central to the religion. We could say that they transmit - directly or indirectly - that which is considered the word of God. They are the fundamental texts, inarguable and sacred. When in processions they chant these fundamental texts, the rhythmic model will also be psalmodic (and in the mouth of the *cantadors,* despite the change of physical and liturgical space).

Besides these texts we find the texts chanted in Latin but historically after the Bible and the Mass service. Thus, the hymn that is chanted in the Offices of Compline and Vespers is not performed with the psalmodic rhythmic model, but takes the same measured metric pattern of the procession chants. The texts of these hymns are usually the work of one of whom are known as the Fathers of the church and, historically, we know that they were an innovation of Saint Ambrose of Milan (IV century) in order to involve, at a specific moment in time, the laymen who attended the offices chanted by the religious community. It was an indoctrination strategy in times of bloody doctrinal divergences, making use of a technique that had already been used by the Arians. The hymns are strophic and have verses that always have the same number of syllables, something that enables a melody to be set with an isosyllabic structure and with an equal length to each verse. The psalms, in contrast, have verses of an ever-changing number of syllables, which requires a specific mechanism (analysis of which can be found in Iris Gayete's work published in this same volume) and the resulting length of each verse is always different.

To summarise, we can state that the intoned arrangement of the hymns has been, to a large extent, the basis of all the European chants of the later centuries, with structures in verses and strophes, and a growing tendency towards symmetry in the tune of each verse.

In the Mass for the Dead or Requiem Mass, we once again come across a chant that follows the rhythmic model of the hymns and chants of processions: it is the strophic *Dies Irae* sequence, added to the liturgy in the 13th century.

In synthesis, we can say that the *cantadors* from the choir intoned the offices and Mass

in Latin and with psalmodied rhythm — with the exception of the hymns and the sequence due to the non-biblical origin of these texts. You can listen to a recording of the *Magnificat* from the valleys of Àssua and Batlliu (Pallars Sobirà) in <u>example 1</u>.

The chants that need not be understood and the psalmodied rhythm

The *cantadors* do not understand Latin. Due to its closeness to Catalan (derived from Latin) they can understand some words or vaguely imagine — and sometimes very imaginatively — the meaning of some words, but rarely understand a full phrase. In our research we spoke to them about this aspect and even offered to provide them with the texts of the chants translated into Catalan. The response was kind but very cold: they are not interested in knowing the meaning of the words they chant with such love and emotion. One even stated quite clearly: "If it had to be understood, it wouldn't be in Latin."

This fact leads us to a quite clear and very common reality throughout nearly the whole Mediterranean region: the Holy Word of religious ceremonies is proclaimed in a language that the attending community does not understand, or understands very little. Only the priests and some of the initiated get to understand the meanings, and often only partially. Other people intone them because they have learnt them by heart, often by phonetic and approximated imitation. We have seen this in Corsica, Sardinia and Sicily in relation to the chants in Latin. In Piana degli Albanesi (Sicily), a village of Albanians who moved there in the XVth century, the ritual is chanted in ancient Greek, but they speak Arberesh, Sicilian and Italian. In Alexandria, the Coptic Church uses classical Greek and, at times, classical Arabic, but they speak the modern Arabic of Egyptian society.

Almost everywhere the chants, transmitted to the community with the maximum emotion and which construct a sense of identity, are in an incomprehensible or little understood language. It is the ritual language that is based on an idea of past and endurance. They do not need to be understood, but rather transmit the highest level of belonging to that specific collectiveness. And this is often undertaken through the support of the resources of the chant and by resources derived from the ritual arrangement of other senses: multipart singing, ornamentations, the density of individualities, the resonance of the temple and the emergence of harmonics, the arrangement of the light, smells and bodily contact. It is what in a comparative study between the Brotherhood of Sant Antone (from Calvi, Corsica) and the chants of the Pyrenees, we have defined as the rhetoric of the senses (Ayats - Costal - Gayete - Rabaseda 2011a).

The Catholic Church abandoned this linguistic distance of the ritual in the II Vatican Council. Beyond the considerations of bringing the ritual closer to the people, and leaving aside the positive importance that it had for the social dignifying of Catalan, the Pyrenean *cantadors* were affected. For them it was "more beautiful" when it was in Latin.

In order to understand this value of the language, we can turn to the category of "affective language" developed by Claude Hagège (2006) (even though the concept had

already been put forward by Charles Bailly and specified by Gilles Deleuze, and has recently been applied to the music of Bernard Lortat-Jacob 2010) to define the expression that has a high emotive and identifying content; in contrast to the expression of attributive language — which in our case we could define as descriptive — or, in other words, that which basically provides information. Both forms of language can contribute to a feeling of identity (as we shall see later with the *goigs*, descriptive and affective at the same time). Affective expression acts more profoundly on the emotion that the individual learns on feeling a part of the collective activity.

However, it should also be recorded how during festival times, such as carnival, fragments of these texts in Latin — above all those that the priests proclaim at burials — can be parodied. One example is the half Catalan, half Latin version of the *Libera me* in which singers request to be able to spend their time in the tavern and, after death, eternal life (Ayats - Costal - Gayete 2010: pp. 85-86). The ritual strength of sacred words — incomprehensible and affectively so personal — are transformed into the transgressing request for a life of pleasure.

Our studies have led us to consider that the rhythmic structure of the chants — more specifically, some particular codifications of the rhythmic structure — contribute to confining the categories to which each chant belongs. In a similar way to how in specific African societies (see diverse studies by John Blacking and Simha Arom, among others) each specific formal configuration is (or was) linked to a specific social situation, in the European Latin world, according to our hypothesis, this could also have been the case. And the temporal configuration of the chants was the main indicator, together with the language, the actors and the place.

Within the codification of rhythmic models with this value of determining the ritual centrality, we should firstly place - for being the most central - the enunciation which is usually described as a recited or psalmodied chant. We shall omit a description here, found in the already mentioned work by Gayete. We would point out, however, that it concerns a procedure of rhythmic configuration probably already in use in ancient Jewish psalmody. In the last centuries, this use of a melodic scheme that enables short verses of a diverse number of syllables to be expressed, has come to be considered an ancient structuring, confined to this situation of religious chants (even though there seem to be similar uses in opera recitation and some oral chants, such as flamenco or the chants of agricultural workers in diverse areas of the Mediterranean). It has almost been completely forgotten by academic musical theory over the last two or three centuries. The chants with this structuring or with other similar ones have been qualified as "free rhythm" or "unmeasured rhythm." In actual fact, they obey a series of very strict temporal logics, which, simply, do not fit the unique order of the beat. Very often the question is solved by qualifying them as "spoken rhythm" or "naturalness of speech" and ignoring their study. It should be pointed out that in much multipart singing of the northwest Mediterranean (and especially the extremely well-known ones from the islands of Corsica, Sardinia and Sicily) this temporal aspect has hardly ever been studied, in contrast to the large number of studies that have dealt with harmonic aspects.

Procession Chants

Another group of chants are those related to processions, above all during the Holy Week processions around the streets of the village (you can listen to two recordings in examples 2 and 3), but also in processions inside the church. In the Pyrenees they were chanted especially by the *cantadors*, but other people could also take part, even women, resulting in all probability from the transformations of female participation between the 1920s and 1950s.

They could be in Latin or also in Catalan or Castilian. Diverse indications show that two or three centuries before they were mainly in Latin, even though we have evidence of some in Catalan at least from the 17th century — such as the *Agonies* and the *Set paraules*. The chants in Castilian that have reached us orally resemble compositions, because of the text, closer to the aesthetics of the 19th century.

Even though the majority are chanted in moments of rest — in other words, outside the walking movement of the procession — many of these chants articulate the rhythm over a single pattern that seems suited to the act of walking slowly. Each beat is subdivided into a long value and a short value in a proportion of 2:1 (which we can represent perfectly with a crotchet followed by a quaver). If it is chanted walking, the steps are taken very gently, very often one to each beat, but without a strict correspondence with the instant of articulating the beat (a long way from "marking the beat" of a military parade). The speed of the beat is usually maintained within quite confined margins: generally between 42 and 58 beats per minute, with a high exactitude of always chanting it at the same speed.[3] It is, to our understanding, very interesting that the number of beats that make up a phrase may vary within a chant, with cases of 4, 5, 6 and 7. The usual symmetry of the modern melodic strophism does not therefore always occur.

As we have said, this pattern is also found in the chant of the hymns in the offices of Compline and Vespers, and in the *Dies irae* sequence of the Mass of the Dead, in this case alternating with strophes of binary subdivision (the first one in the voice of the *cantadors* and the other intoned by the priests).

In the processions, especially when it is intoned by the *cantadors*, a homophonic polyphony of two or three voices usually unfolds. The more common texts are *Stabat Mater*, *Crux fidelis*, *Set paraules* and *La passió sagrada*, as well as others more singular to a village, such as *Perdón*. None of them, as you can see, is a text of biblical origin.

In our body of observations this rhythmic pattern is by far the most used in the procession chant. However, it would be a mistake to reduce all the processional chants to this pattern: several of these chants use other structures that, in our consideration, can be grouped into two blocks.

On the one hand, there is the block of texts that come from the psalms or from the

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3 Perhaps it is not an irrelevant detail that the fact of this speed of the beat during the procession is approximately half that of the beat that we were able to observe in the slogans of street demonstrations (Ayats 1992). However, in the equivalent chants of Liguria we observed this same pattern at a much slower speed, between 20 and 30 beats per minute.

Mass. In processions, the penitential text *Miserere,* from psalm 50, is very common, and can be chanted according to the psalmody structure or according to the rhythmic pattern of the procession. We can also hear the *Agnus Dei* chant at the moment of leaving and returning to the church in the Good Friday procession (as occurs in Vilaller, Ribagorça): on this occasion, the rhythmic structure is also that of the psalmody, and not that of the rhythmic pattern of procession. You can hear it recorded in <u>audio example 4</u>. These cases of procession chants intoned with psalmody by the *cantadors* of the village, were also very often chanted in voices, even when groups of women were included, after the 1936-1939 war.

On the other hand, there is the series of procession chants that follow a beat but not with the articulation of the rhythmic pattern described until now. In our observations they are a minority, but do have a notable presence. Looking at the melodic and rhythmic characteristics of these chants, we believe that they are the result of compositions by priests and composers over the last two hundred years which have been incorporated into the processions. They would therefore have been more modern compositions that were not influenced by preceding models, while often maintaining a formulation in multipart singing in three voices that closely follows the more common polyphonic procedures.

The most common texts of the processional chants in Catalan are *La passió sagrada*, *Set paraules* and *Agonies*, all of which have strophes that describe scenes from the Passion of Christ in a very similar way to a narrative ballad. Whereas the Latin *Miserere* and *Agnus* contain imprecations of pardon and are not at all descriptive, in some way — and despite the odd counter-example that could be shown —we usually find two expressive possibilities in the processions, a narrative and an exclamatory one, divided into the two linguistic and two rhythmic possibilities. Therefore, they correspond respectively, to the narrative language and affective language that we have spoken of above.

Goigs

The *goigs* (*gosos* in Sardinia) is a genre of religious chant that comes from the seven medieval *lauda* dedicated to the Blessed Virgin, and took on an important presence in the countries that formed the old Crown of Aragon in the 14th and 15th centuries. The popular strength of this genre was very great and, in a necessarily quick explanation, we can say that it is chanted inside the church at the end of the village Patronal Mass or the Mass of a festival of a highly venerated saint, at the moment when the relics are kissed. It is also chanted in the sanctuaries that mark the territory and, formerly, in other situations such as processions to a sanctuary or at the end of Vespers of a specific festival (see more details in Ayats 2010a). They are always in Catalan (with some examples in Castilian that we can place in the 19th century).

Everyone sings the *goigs,* men and women together, even though the *cantadors* can assume the strophe while the others add the response. They have a rhythm clearly based on beats and proportionality, but very often and above all in those that come from

an old oral tradition, rhythmic patterns are used that surprise the modern ear. The rhythms are arranged in combinations of short and long syllables according to the rhythmic logic of the *giusto* syllabic (which, in line with the proposals of Constantin Brailoiu, were explained in Ayats 2007: pp. 37-38). According to the melody of each *goigs,* and also the solemnity of the moment, they may be monodic or multipart. The rhythmic logic of the *giusto* syllabic is difficult to fit into the beats of modern rhythmic theory, and even today surprises many academically trained musicians. At the same time, we can find bass harmonic patterns in several *goigs* that coincide with certain bass *ostinato* harmonic patterns of the Renaissance dances (as occurs with the more extensive melody of the *Goigs de la Mare de Déu del Roser*).

Other oral *goigs* show rhythmic dance patterns now outside of the *giusto* syllabic, and which very often coincide with dance patterns from between the 16th and 18th centuries. In our analysis we set aside the *goigs* written by educated composers who, from the 18th century until today, working from a text with a poetic structure of *goigs*, have composed music according to the aesthetic of religious music of each period. In other writings (such as Ayats 2007), we demonstrated how the structures of the musical phrases clearly show which *goig* melodies follow the old oral structure.

The *goigs* are a narrative chant that describes in a series of strophes, the life and miracles of a saint or virgin specific to a region, as well as the help that this saint gives to the devotees. After the chant, the priest recites a brief prayer in Latin. We are therefore before a clearly narrative and strophic genre, which takes on all the characteristics of the descriptive chant. Before the Council of Trent the *goigs* were danced, also inside the churches, in a very popular expression of worship.

This is therefore a religious chant very close to the old profane dances, but at the same time it has a great value of identification with the region and the local community and closest family. The *goigs* narrate the life and virtues of a mediating figure between the human and divine worlds. In the same way as the demigods of classical Greece, this figure is the symbolic reference of a village or a series of villages that consider him/her/theirs: he is the ancestor that acts as an intermediary to achieve the favours of a divinity (such as Saint Anthony who has taken on the characteristics of Prometheus, as we were able to study in Artà, Mallorca, in Ayats 2010b). This is why the people address him in their own everyday language and not in the sacred language of the divinities. An important moment in the mediation of this saint or virgin (she is also human and raised to the divine world) is in the passing away, so that frequently, *goigs* referring to the saint are chanted at the end of the funeral of a much-loved person (see an extensive study of the symbolic character of the *goigs* in Courcelles 1992 and 2008).

This precise structure of the *goigs*, strophic, rhythmic and melodic at the same time, is also intoned by other narrative chants relating to the Novenaries of Lent or of All Saints, as is the case of the popular *Lament de les ànimes*, which is chanted in Pallars with an interesting pattern of *giusto* syllabic. You can hear a brief fragment recorded in <u>example 5</u>.

May Chants and *La Desperta*

Outside the three large groups we have described so far, there are only a few more religious chants intoned in the villages of the Pyrenees. Inside the church we are shown the repertoire of the chants of the *Mes de Maria* (month of May dedicated to the Virgin and, symbolically, all virgins) led by women and with texts mainly in Castilian or Latin (such as the numerous *Salve Regina*). In many villages, single young and not so young women (in others also married women) chanted. Due to the characteristics of the ceremony and also for the historical documents, all indications suggest that this is the result of a ritualization most probably dating from the late-19th century, if not the early 20th century. We should recall that the devotion of the Month of May was spread around the Catholic world especially during the 19th century and in particular due to Marist brothers. We find a certain degree of multipart singing in parallel thirds and some similar examples in the *cantadors'* chants in voices, but in this case it is an exclusively female performance. The majority of musical features follow the style of religious compositions from the historical period we have mentioned, in this case already with the more common presence of a harmonium.

We also consider the chants of *la desperta* (young men who wake up the village each morning in Lent, chanting to invite people to recite the rosary in church) with these same characteristics and within a similar historic strata or a little earlier, despite the fact that in this case the devotion was promoted by Dominican friars.

At the first Christmas Mass, there were often chants in Catalan dedicated to the Infant Jesus — some also multipart in the Pyrenean churches — and other popular chants and dances which on that day could be performed exceptionally in the church, in what were called the *llibertats d'orgue* (organ liberties) or, also, in the *llibertats de desembre* (December liberties).

The other religious chants correspond to those that were chanted at home or while doing agricultural work, above all by women, and follow the musical characteristics of narrative ballads, with a notable presence of rhythmic formulations within the *giusto* syllabic model.

On this point, we are now outside of strictly religious rituals and could continue the description of the rhythmic procedures within clearly profane repertoires. This does not form part of the objectives of this paper, but we should like to underline that in the rhythm of the profane dance, a rhythmic logic unfolds that is the basis of all academic rhythmic theory: it is revealing that these so hegemonic logics in modern and contemporary Europe are still almost completely absent from the three groups of religious repertoire that we have dealt with up to now. We should ask ourselves how and why this distribution of rhythmic models, which are progressively spread from the core of the liturgy to the core of the profane dance, comes about, in a compartmentalisation that seems to show the transformation that goes from the oldest rhythmic models to the more "modern" ones. Dance therefore, is the starting point of rhythmic modernity, whereas the central religious rituals are the reference for less danceable models of chant and were documented earlier.

The ordering rhythm

In synthesis, we can sum up our working hypothesis by saying that, in the Pyrenees, each rhythmic model clearly corresponds in marking each situation of the religious chant. Obviously however, the rhythmic model takes on its structuring role when it combines with the other elements that order the situations and the values of each moment or space of the religious ritual. In our analysis, this has been divided into three possibilities.

Thus, when we are faced with the occasion of the central rituals of the liturgy (Mass and the Divine Offices), the following aspects converge in the chant:

-    Text in Latin; the sacred Word of the Bible or of the canon of the Mass; "affective language."
-    Rhythmic model of psalmody.
-    Intoned by the priest and the *cantadors* from the choir (the men who represent the village households).

When we are dealing with processions (and also with the non-sacred texts during the Offices):

-    Text in Latin (and in Catalan in a historic transformation); of official devotion but without the value of the sacred word.
-    Rhythmic pattern of the procession.
-    Intoned by the *cantadors* (and transformation towards the participation of others attending).

Goigs and Novenary chants:

-    Text in Catalan (with some more recent ones in Castilian); narration of the saint as mediator.
-    Rhythmic model of *giusto* syllabic or other dance patterns.
-    Chant of the *cantadors* and the whole community (women included): popular and formerly danceable inside the church.

Therefore, the *cantadors* organised, together with the priest, the chant of the sacred word, the core of the main ceremonies of the liturgy. And they did so from inside the church, from a special place, the raised choir, with a symbolic and affective language, Latin, and with a rhythmic model befitting this repertoire and situation, the chanted procedures of psalmody.

At a second level, in previous centuries the chants of processional space (both inside and outside the church) seem to have been a domain exclusive to the *cantadors*, but now outside the choir. In the last century, these chants have gradually included the sung participation of other sectors, and especially women from the second third of the 20th century. There is also a great presence of Latin when the chants are based on affective language, and Catalan when they are descriptive. As regards rhythm, there is a very high pre-eminence of a unique and singular pattern that we have called the "rhythm of procession."

The *goigs* and the Novenaries — the maximum expression of religiousness considered

popular, on the threshold of a profane repertoire — were already chanted either alternating between the *cantadors* and the response of the whole community, or directly by everyone. They are almost always in Catalan and have a descriptive narrative, very often within the rhythmic logic of *giusto* syllabic, even though other patterns may appear from old dance. However, the rhythms of "modern" dances referring to those that were danced in the modern period of the *cantadors* (like the patterns of the waltz or polka, or other more modern rhythms) are almost never used.

Our model works quite well in the Catalan Pyrenees. It also functions surprisingly well in other places, as we have been able to see in the research undertaken in Calvi (Corsica). Can we extend this model and adapt it to a large part of the traditionally Catholic Mediterranean area? Obviously, a quick application is difficult to show. Nevertheless, if we make some adaptations focused on the singularities of the chants in each region, we can probably offer a new way of approaching the circumstances of ritual activity and the characteristics of the chants. We should always, however, take into account the three central themes of: the language, the actors (with the corresponding criteria of authority and gender), and the models of rhythmic logic.

We have already started making progress in this direction. For example, we have started to include certain Sardinian repertoires of religious polyphonies in our model, and the first results are promising. At the moment though, we must confine ourselves to offering the hypothesis focused in our terrain of study in the Pyrenees, with the hope that it may be useful to other researchers of Latin religious chants.

Religious rituals			Profane rituals
LATIN	LATIN	CATALAN	CATALAN
Central religious rituals (God's worship): - Mass - Offices: Compline - Vespers, & Holy Week, Offices	Other religious rituals: - Processions into the church - Street processions (Holy Week and others) - Chant at the end of the Mass (Goigs) and Lent novenaries		Profane songs - Dance songs - Work songs - Tavern songs - Domestic songs
- Only by men: priest + *cantadors* - In the *choir* (high part of the church opposite to the altar, restricted to men)	- *Cantadors* and answer of whole community	- *Cantadors* and answer of whole community - Or whole community	
- Rhythmic structure: psalmody	- Procession rhythmic pattern: each beat, long value and a short one in proportion 2:1	- Procession rhythmic pattern - Goigs: rhythm based on beats in a ostinato syllabic mechanism (combining short and long syllables) or other dance patterns	- *Giusto* syllabic - Dance patterns
- Monodic and multipart (up to 3 parts) in the most significant moments. Magnificat at the end of Vespers	- Monodic and multipart (up to 3 parts)	- Monodic or multipart (up to 3 parts)	

Religious Traditional Multipart Singing in the Central Pyrenees

Jean-Christophe Maillard

Pyrenees an emerging field

Today, the art of vocal secular multipart singing in the Pyrenees is well known, thanks to its dynamical performative practice, the action of passionate actors, an active generational transmission, and different scientific publications. Recent investigations have been made in a very central region, the Bigorre, a rich country for multipart music studies, just like the nearby regions of Béarn and the Basque Country. Actually, multipart practices seem to have been lost only in the eastern Pyrenean countries, like Comminges and Couserans, but they can still be heard in Cataluña (Ayats – Costal - Gayete 2010).

The Fabrica project[1] gave us the opportunity to go further behind a door which had already been partly opened some years ago, especially by Pascal Caumont, who visited the region and recorded some people singing several pieces from the traditional Latin Catholic repertoire.[2] Jean-Jacques Casteret had also made substantial research in such a direction concentrated in the Béarn and the Basque countries. My personal research is currently in progress. The first results are already promising, but cannot be considered as definitive. Firstly, these partial results seem to concern only the so–called "urgent ethnomusicology", but they can also be considered a stimulus for the invention and the creativity of local people, especially for young singers, since they allow them the possibility of discovering a hidden face of their local tradition.

Multipart music in the Bigorre can be observed from different perspectives, just like many other vocal multipart traditions of southern Europe. Purely musical analysis can be the first. In addition, the social context constitutes the essential reason for the vitality of this particular music making.

Secular repertoires are sung in Occitan and French and have very strong roots. At the same time, traditional religious music sung in the Latin language has been quite forgotten: it seems it remained in practice within church celebrations till the middle of the Sixties. That also means it was given up some forty years ago!

Since then, in the south west of France, many musical traditions have had an important revival: in the case of the Latin repertoire, there was no reason to maintain or save it. If the traditional secular music could have a precise function and/or be a pleasant means of identity for people who claim the Occitan culture, the ancient religious repertoire has no special interest for the present day (and rarer than before) church goers who now sing in French, or rarely in Occitan.

In fact, the Latin religious multipart practice in Bigorre can be considered as one of

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1 Cf. Maillard - Canguilhem 2009. This ANR (Agence Nationale pour la Recherche) project started at the instigation of the Parnasse Musique, LLA Créatis research team, from the Toulouse University (Toulouse II Le Mirail). This large investigation is devoted to the oral practices associating polyphony and plain chant (or different forms of Latin church repertoire), from the XVth century till today. The research field includes different forms of fauxbourdon (oral or written), the study of improvisation methods (chant sur le livre), and different investigations into actual surviving practices.

2 C.D. Polifonia / Pyrénées gasconnes / Béarn - Bigorre : Bas-Adour, INOC 07, Pau : Institut Occitan, 2007.

the most discreet traditions from the region. Casteret and Heiniger (2002) notice that "the Basque sings during the Mass" , but they conclude that there is no equivalent religious practice for the important multipart vocal traditions from the other western Pyrenean countries (Béarn and Bigorre). These negative observations are now questioned thanks to the undertaken research. In Bigorre too, the practice of the church Latin vocal repertoire had a functional role for the liturgy, but it was also an important element for social cohesion. It was also a source of true musical pleasure for most of the informants I was able to meet,.

During my research I met and recorded about twenty people coming from different villages, on the plain or in the mountain. Apparently, there was no geographical reason at the basis of the major or minor conservation of the multipart practices, even though mountain and isolated villages seemed more favourable towards it. The informants learnt this repertoire when they were children; now they are not very old, between 55 and 70 years of age. Their musical practices are various : some of them can be considered as good and famous singers; however they all regularly practice vocal multipart music both as a traditional or church singer, either performing as soloists or as a choir member.

On the basis of our data, it is possible to draw a general picture of this musical practice, also outlining it as it was in the decades following the Second World War. It is also interesting to make some comparisons with other similar traditions, sacred or secular, in several places in southern Europe.

Who sings ? Parishioners and cantors

Despite little alternative information, people can define the practices and their contexts in two different ways. According to the circumstances, or to the local use, the actors can be the full assembly, or a few soloists.

a) The congregation chant (chant de fidèles)

In many cases, the music was sung by the assembly in a multipart way. If we compare this with similar religious repertoires from other countries, which prefer to use soloists or tried singers (*cantadors* in Cataluña, confraternity members in Corsica or Sardinia), this practice seems to be rather original. The configuration of the churches, with their galleries at the end of the nave, seems to be generalized, as we can also notice in a large majority of religious buildings, among others in the south of Europe. This configuration implies a special distribution of the assembly: the ground floor is reserved for children and women. The men stay in the gallery. Sometimes, several men can stay on the ground floor, if they are in mourning, or if the gallery is too small.[3] In this case, women stay on the left and men on the right. Children sit in the front rows of pews. This configuration is very usual in many places in Europe, but in Bigorre, it

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3 For example, in Bénac

helps the multipart practice, as the majority of the informants were able to explain:

As I can remember, the priest launched the melody, and after the voices fixed themselves. That was systematic, just like the secular chant in the pubs: you start with the low and high voices as the melody gets launched. Two, three notes and it's gone. There was a kind of general movement : downstairs, the high voices of the women went up, and upstairs, the men covered all with the low voices, in this very small church, the result was fantastic![4]

The men were upstairs, the women downstairs, but there was no pre-established group. Nobody had to conduct the assembly, but people knew there were good voices in the group, and that X or Y were good singers [...] I remember, in the gallery, René, and downstairs, Maria, his wife [...] some persons were located, everybody knew they were reliable. I remember when it was starting, for example, the Benedictus, you could hear *Be - ne -* [...] *DIC - TUS*, René's voice arrived on the third note. He never began with the first note, which was sung by a person downstairs, one woman, or maybe sometimes the priest.[5]

Spontaneous multipart singing is performed by the whole assembly: this practice looks similar to the current one in the secular context, and confirms the great inclination for multipart music which was already noted in this local tradition. However, the chant in the pubs, the main place for secular music, is reserved for the men, and usually, perhaps till the seventies, the women did not seem to sing a lot in public circumstances. This specificity, as we shall see, is not the only one with this repertoire. The *chant de fidèles* was not sung in all the parishes: the priest often decided and chose the kind of liturgy adapted to his taste and his volition. It was also possible that in some places, good singers were rare. Some informants have spoken about choirs that gathered about twenty singers or more.

The parish priest organized the rehearsals and conducted the singers, during the week, in the presbytery, but during the Mass one person was responsible for starting off the canticles. The choir stayed ahead, on the side of the assembly.[6] We had some rehearsals, but before the important celebrations. The assembly didn't sing. They listened. The choir stayed in the balcony, men and women together. My uncle started the *Sanctus*, and the choir followed.[7]

The presence of a choir implicates a quite different role for the assembly, and shows the responsibility of the priest in this decision. He organizes the rehearsals and chooses the songs. Sometimes, he can be a good musician: Father Carassus, born in Aspin, had been chorus master before being a priest in Ossun. It is also possible to get some

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4 Personal communication from Jean-Louis Lavit, talking about the Mass in Sirex.

5 Personal communication from Nadèta Carita and Teresa Pambrun, about the Mass in Ayros.

6 Personal communication from Bernard Miqueu, about the Mass in Bénac.

7 Personal communication from Jean Lannes, about the Mass in Aucun.

help from learned musicians, educated in the techniques of written music: in Aucun, one singer from the Lourdes choir could sometimes come and was very helpful.[8]

Some nuns, or people from rich families owning a holiday home there, were able to play the harmonium and accompany the singers. Despite everything, the technique and repertoire were preserved: music sung by those parochial choirs were often reduced *chants de fidèles. Sometimes, people sang the upper third, it came in a natural way*.[9] *The men could eventually sing another voice.*[10]

The presence of a choir in a church does not implicate strict rules: the priest only has to choose the repertoire and to verify that the singers know it. The choir can stay in various places: lateral chapels, the balcony, and even sometimes, for some of the singers, behind the altar.[11] The polyphony is not written, and the choir sings in the same way as the assembly in the *chant de fidèles*. However, the difference lies in the social function of the choir: the assembly gets separated into two halves, the singers and the listeners.

b) The cantors

The use of soloists was rather frequent, but in precise circumstances. Actually, many people say there was one cantor in their family, but they are not always able to define his functions. In Bénac, Bernard Miqueu was solicited at the beginning of the Sixties to sing at funerals. There were two people, hidden behind the altar, who sang the funeral Mass, and he remembers he sang the melody, and the other singer sang a second voice. This person, an old man who died a few years ago, had a beautiful voice and knew a large repertoire of church music. Close to Bénac, in Visker, Louis Médaillon tells of how he arrived in this village in 1946. There were two old singers, who knew the Latin repertoire perfectly, and who sang as soloists during the Mass. They stayed in the gallery, with other men who did not sing. The two old men sang in alternation with the maidens who stood downstairs, near Saint Mary's altar. There was no multipart singing. When they got married, the young women stopped singing.

Those two examples can show, once again, that the uses are extremely various. In some places, everybody sings, but in several other places, there can be just one part of the assembly, or only a few soloists who can participate as singers. The multipart practice

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8 Lourdes is located in the middle of the Bigorre, but people living in the neighbourhood of the town and the sanctuaries have different reactions. Some of them often go to several celebrations and pilgrimages, but others are intimidated by their enormous proportions. "Lourdes was not a place made for us. That was immediately so imposing […] with the distance between rural and urban lives […] we preferred the Héas pilgrimage, more popular," says Nadèta Carita, from Ayros - Arbouix (14 km from Lourdes).

9 Personal communication from Thérèse Bougès, about the Mass in Aucun.

10 Personal communication from Marie Tirat, about the Mass in Ossun.

11 In Ossun, the maidens sang and stayed in this place, according to Marie Tirat.

does not seem to exist in some parishes.[12] However, Louis Médaillon, who has lived in Visker since 1946 (cf. supra) is perfectly able to sing one multipart voice when he joins people from other villages: he can even help them when they search for a second or third voice. In addition, he remembers that people sang with two different voices in his native village. In Ayros, in the mid Sixties, the cantors were very unusual: they were three young girls, aged between ten and twelve, who were chosen by the harmonium player, a lady from a rich family owning a holiday home in the village. When this lady was in Ayros, they sang a modern French repertoire. When she was not there, and this often happened, they sang in a traditional multipart French or Latin repertoire way.[13] Many other studies have shown the important social role given to the multipart chant in southern Europe. These different examples can complete the previous observations about the multipart practice in the central Pyrenees: men and women sing together, maidens and children often have an important role for the liturgy, and multipart singing can be optional. As mainly observed in many countries, the alternatives between very close villages can be very important.

Repertoire and characteristics.

a) A very basic French Catholic repertoire.

The informants we met could sing about 25-30 different pieces, but this is just one part of the repertoire. Texts and music, except maybe one or two, are well-known in the Catholic liturgy, especially in France. They can be heard for the Sunday Mass, for Vespers, for funerals or for important feasts, such as Easter or Christmas. One *Tantum ergo* is entitled *from Lourdes*, but it seems to be an exception. The main typically local repertoire are the Occitan canticles which are not part of our study. However, they have been recorded, studied, and compared with the Latin pieces. Those Latin pieces, in fact, constitute a very eclectic corpus : a few Gregorian pieces (some *Kyrie*, *Tantum Ergo*, *Sanctus*, *Stabat Mater*), more modern plain-chants (*Mass Des Anges*, *Royal Mass* by du Mont), several pieces from the XVIth - XVIIIth centuries (*Adeste Fideles*, *O filii et filiæ*), and others sounding-like XIXth century musics (*O salutaris hostia*, *Tantum ergo de Lourdes*). This imported repertoire cannot be called local. However, it gets used in a specific way.

b) Techniques of multipart singing

Latin multipart singing in Bigorre corresponds to the general principles which are

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12 Some tunes, even if the multipart practice is important, are always sung in a monodic way, such as *Salve Regina*, or the very famous *Minuit Chrétiens* by Adolphe Adam, the Christmas song traditionally reserved for a solo male voice.

13 Two of those three little girls are Nadèta Carita and Teresa Pambrun, current famous traditional singers.

observed throughout the Pyrenees, and in other regions of southern Europe, such as Corsica, Sardinia, Sicily and several places in Italy. The original melody is the reference: there can be an upper voice, the *haute*, or a lower one, the *basse*. It is possible to sing the melody with one of those two parts, just like the cantors if they are only two. In case of a larger group, the third one can be added, but this is not an obligation:

They sang with two different voices. They have a good ear ! There is always one second part people usually sing. That was mainly the men, they did that each time that was possible.[14]

There were only two parts. With some musics, people added a bass melody, and in other tunes there was the high one. But there was not three voices, only two... there was often someone who tried to put a third one, but... not too much, that was not general, only a few notes.[15]

I sang the bass (Nadèta Carita), we let Marie-Jo with the melody and you (Teresa Pambrun) sang the high one.[16]

This principle of a two, or three part singing is well known in the central Pyrenees (see among others Casteret 2004: p. 41) and Catalunya (Ayats - Costal - Gayete 2010: pp. 47, 101) and does not need any further comments here.

The nature of the multipart singing is the same as already described with other repertoires: parallel thirds and drones, universal prototypes (Casteret 2008: p. 258), can be heard in two or three part musics. The presence of three voices, including lower and higher parts, adding thirds surrounding the central and original melody, implies the presence of a fifth between *haute* and *basse*: here comes the chords technique, an exclusive three-sound chord use (Lortat-Jacob 1998: p. 154). This harmonization of the 'cantus firmus' with three-note chords in root position (fifth-third) (Macchiarella 2005: p. 36) can be heard in numerous traditions in southern Europe. However, many specificities need to be noticed. First, the obvious non-specialization of many participants, particularly in the *chant de fidèles*.

That was something blurred and diffused, we learned by ear, by impregnation. Nothing was explicit, and people didn't say: Come on, let's learn this'! We were implicated, and it could come.[17]

Each one chose the voice where he was feeling good ... it happened naturally, by ear.[18]

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14 Personal communication from Alexine Saint-Martin, about the Mass in Arbouix.

15 Personal communication from Bernard Miqueu, about the church choir in Bénac.

16 Personal communication from Nadèta Carita, about her soloist practice in Ayros, when she was a young girl.

17 Personal communication from Nadèta Carita.

18 Personal communication from Bernard Miqueu.

The contribution of the whole assembly to the sung liturgy was rather usual, and is typical of the vocal practices in this region. In this way, sacred repertoire joins the secular one. In addition, people estimate that the two universes are very close:

It absolutely sounded like the polyphonic song: Latin, French or Occitan, that was the same.[19]

That was systematic, sounding like what we did just after the Mass with the pub songs, the secular chant: you sing the high and the low as the melody has begun.[20]

However, the structures of the melodies, and the modal constructions are quite different. First of all, we wrote that the repertoire was "imported" (cf. supra). "Imported", in the present case, can also mean "national", but in some exogenic way. The recordings that we made during our enquiries show in an obvious way that the informants sing the Latin repertoire a little timidly. On the other hand, when they sing some Occitan canticles, using a melody sounding like a local secular song, the result is very different: the three voices come easily, people sing fluently, with a full voice. There can be two reasons for this. The first one is easy to understand: the informants try to remember what they sang some forty years ago, and memory can be a little lazy. Another reason can be the general profile of the music. The singers indeed feel that the emission of the *cantus* is a solid basis, as Castéret argues trying to explain the phenomenon. (Castéret, 2008: p. 259 –he actually says "Les chanteurs 'sentent' bien que la facture du cantus est en jeu"). With this imposed repertoire, people need to find solutions, adapting the multipart patterns to any kind of musics: modal, tonal, including modulations, reflecting numerous different styles.

Two versions of the same air, the *O salutaris Hostia*, can show how the multipart music is subject to various changes. The original melody looks clearly tonal, with its modulation to the dominant at the end of the phrase. In this first version, Bernard Miqueu sings the *basse* and is very close to the pattern described by Castéret (2008 : p. 259), especially with those parallel thirds ending the phrase (and ignoring the modulation, unusual in the traditional tunes) (see figure 1).

The second version, with three voices, is maybe more spectacular (see figure 2). The multipart models are still present, but the end of the phrase changes: instead of the parallel thirds between melody and *basse*, the last chord includes fifth and octave and gives a more conclusive character, even though we cannot clearly evocate one "modulation" in the classical meaning. Moreover, this optional version conforms absolutely to the usual models.

In addition, in other tunes sung by the same persons, we can notice multipart constructions that are similar to the previous examples, where the melody could be interpreted as tonal, including modulation. Considering the local pattern, the way of

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19 *Idem*

20 Personal communication from Jean-Louis Lavit.

Figure 1 - *O Salutaris Hostia*, sung by Louis Médaillon (haute or chant) and Bernard Miqueu (Basso). Visker, 2010. 12. 03.

organizing the multipart within the Latin repertoire is an important question for our further research. The local models are obviously external to any idea of savant harmonization; by these means, any kind of melody can be adapted. It can be imagined that the Latin repertoire comes from an external input, and we voluntarily used the terms "imported" and "exogenic" here to underline the differences between this national Catholic and Latin music and the actual traditional repertoire. However, people know the importance of the religious musical practice for the construction of the secular traditions, and in our case, the role of the *fauxbourdon* for the development of traditional multipart singing: this could fertilize orally transmitted multipart music, intended for the accompaniment of the liturgy and various ceremonies, interpreted by "ignoring the musical interval" singers (Macchiarella 2007: pp. 542-543). As a matter of fact, the Latin multiparts that are sung in the two or three voice system used in the central Pyrenees, sound exactly like a *fauxbourdon*, even if it is a particular type of *fauxbourdon* with a local specific style. Close to other types of southern Europe multipart music, this style can easily be compared to rare and precious pieces found in the *Manuscrit Loureau* that belonged to a Pyrenean cantor from the end of the XVIIIth century (Casteret 2008). Further comparisons will be made between our records, and those "missing links" between early and recent practices.

In any case, they let us imagine that the central Pyrenean religious multipart repertoire is maybe the first source of its musical vocal style. The loss of this religious practice has maybe partially canted the nature of the multipart practices in the central Pyrenees. The singers do not always have the same ease while singing the sacred repertoire, in

Figure 2 - *O Salutaris Hostia*, sung by Teresa Pambrun (haute), Jean-Louis Lavit (chant) and Nadèta Carita (basse).

comparison with the secular one: they progressively remember a lost heritage. On the other hand, as they speak about it, its complementarities with the other one clearly appear:

In church, the chant was conducted, he was obliged to obey. In the pub, that could last hours and hours! Singing in church, that was the order, in the pub, that was freedom.[21]

If we estimate that the choirs and the cantors are only variations of a genuine formation, the *chant de fidèles* (and this hypothesis needs to be confirmed), we can also conclude that the musical contribution of the assembly symbolizes the image of this rural society: men, women and children stay in their respective places, however contributing to the social balance. This social distribution is an image of the people of God, but it is also a more "democratic" vision of the society, authorizing women and children to sing in public contexts, in comparison with the pub song reserved for the men alone. Many women were able to tell us of the pleasure they feel singing during the Mass. Many present day informants also told us that this practice, as they were young children, could have evoked future vocations for famous traditional singers.

This religious practice stayed dormant for several decades. It is maybe too early to talk about any re-discovery, or re-birth, but some people from the Bigorre realize how important this heritage can be, and have tried to imagine current/modern uses for it. A regular liturgical practice is of course impossible, and the opinions of the clergy can be extremely varied , but mainly hostile or indifferent. However, some tunes could be sung, in an exceptional way, for ceremonies such as weddings or funerals. The repertoire can also be heard in concerts or CDs. Young singers have even tried to invent "new polyphonies" after several plain chants, with four or even five voices. No doubt that new current/present day/modern functions will be found to let this important facet of the Pyrenean vocal tradition sound again.

21 Personal communication from Jean-Louis Lavit.

Iris Gayete

Pyrenees an emerging field

With this contribution we wish to explain some of the results of the recent research in the Catalan Pyrenees undertaken by the MUSC (Music in Contemporary Societies)[1] research group of the Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona and led by the ethnomusicologist Jaume Ayats. This research has enabled us to study a religious polyphonic chant in Latin and of oral tradition in the Pallars Sobirà county, until now practically unknown. The main aim of this contribution is to explain the description we have previously made of the model of temporal logic that rules the chants of the Vespres de Festanal in Pallars.

This study begins as a result of the hypothesis put forward by Jaume Ayats in his paper within this same volume (see infra, p. 362):

each ritual situation makes the chants take on specific formal characteristics regarding the rhythmic model. We could even venture to say that the chants organise the whole social act rhythmically. To explain this we must focus on three main themes: the language of the chants; if they were chanted by *cantadors* or by everyone; and the temporal or rhythmic logic they employ.

Of the three themes that need to be studied in order to discover the characteristics that define the chants of Pallars and which organise the social act, two of them quickly provide evidence. On the one hand, the language: the chants of Vespers are in Latin. Secondly, who chants? The main actors responsible for chanting the Vespers psalms in Pallars Sobirà were the *cantadors*.[2] The third theme on which we need to concentrate, according to the initial hypothesis, is that of the temporal or rhythmic logic of the chants. The temporal rhythmic of the chants is the central point from which this study will develop. We shall focus on a specific repertoire of the different chants of Pallars Sobirà, the *Vespres de Festanal*, and on this specific temporal theme.

Pallars Sobirà is a high mountain Pyrenean county situated in the northwest part of Catalonia and right in the heart of the Pyrenees. Traditionally it had been a county dedicated above all to survival agriculture and livestock. Today, tourism is one of the main economic sources of the area.

The religious chants of the Pallars Sobirà form part of a very precise distribution of the annual calendar. Until the 1960s, in each village of the Pallars, a group of men

2 In Catalan the word *cantadors* is specific to the region of the Pyrenees and refers to the group of men from the small mountain villages who during the most important festivals of the year accompany the liturgy with chants from the high choir of the church. The term *cantador* is clearly differentiated from the words *cantant* — singer (which refers to a more professionalised side of the act of singing; for example an opera or rock singer) — and *cantaire* — also singer (which refers to a more amateur side of singing; for example, singing in a choral group).

called the *cantadors* went up to the choir[3] of the church to accompany the liturgy with chants on the days of *festanal. Festanal* is the word used by the Pallars locals to name the most outstanding festivals of the year. In total each village had, until around fifty years ago, a minimum of twelve *festanals* per year. At each of the *festanals* the *cantadors* went up to the choir of the church on three occasions:

- Compline. This was celebrated at dusk, on the eve of the feast day, at a time varying from five in the afternoon to after eight in the evening, depending on the time of year.
- The main Mass. This was held on the morning of the feast day, usually at ten.
- Vespers. This began after the midday meal on the feast day, between half past two and four in the afternoon, depending on the village and the time of year.

We will focus on the temporal logic of the Vespers repertoire. The Vespers were one of the liturgical acts where the *cantadors* had a leading role chanting the psalms: *Dixit Dominus, Confitebor, Beatus Vir*, *Laudate Pueri*, *In exitu Israel* and the chant of the *Magnificat*. These psalms are very often multipart singing, whose part structure is not dealt with here.[4]

In our fieldwork we were able to record the psalms of the Vespers. One of the characteristic traits of this repertoire is that the cantadors do not chant it organising the rhythm with a clear pulse, but with the recited flexibility that has often been called, precisely, *salmodiar* (to sing psalms). However, despite the fact that there is no clear proportion of pulse, the *cantadors* perform the chants extremely close together, articulating the syllables at the same time. What, then, is the temporal logic and rhythmic practices that rule these chants?

In recorded <u>example 1</u> we can hear the chant of the *Beatus Vir*; the Vespers Psalm recorded in Enviny in 2006 and performed by the *cantadors* of the Àssua and Batlliu valleys: *Beatus Vir*.

As we can see in this example, there are fragments of the chant in which we do not perceive a proportional measure of pulse but, in contrast, there are other fragments where we can in fact perceive, to a greater or lesser extent, a proportional measure of pulse.

In order to model the temporal logic of these chants we have segmented the psalms from the largest unit to the smallest unit. The largest unit is the psalm. Each psalm is divided into different verses. At the same time the verses are always divided into two hemistiches. We observed that each hemistich is divided into two segments of different temporal characteristics: the recitative or tenor and the clause. Finally, the

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3 In the churches of the Pyrenees, the choir is situated at a higher level or on the first floor in the part opposite the altar (often above the main entrance to the church). The choir is always a wooden structure, like a balcony with turned railings that open out to the nave. Access is via a side stairway, separated from the nave, which in some cases coincides with the entrance to the bell tower, or by a wooden stairway in the nave itself when the church is smaller.

4 And which has been described in Ayats - Martínez 2007 and in Ayats - Costal - Gayete - Rabaseda 2011.
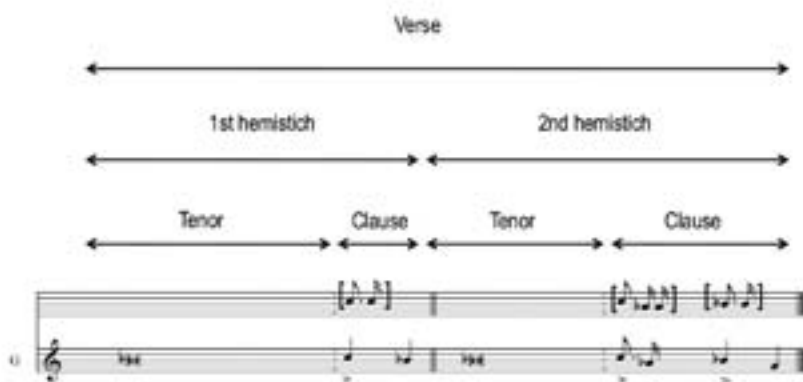
Figure 1

smallest unit we have, and thanks to which we have been able to describe the model of temporal logic of the chants, is the temporal unit of the syllable.

This is an *etic* procedure of segmentation, the aim of which is to formulate possible hypotheses of the functioning of the temporal logic. The *cantadors* do not make all this segmentation clear. They talk of the psalm and the verse but not of the other units into which we have segmented the chants. This can be seen in the example in figure 1. This is the notation of one of the eight melodic outlines that the *cantadors* use to chant the Vespers psalms. This outline corresponds to the verse unit. The double line that we have noted, marks the separation of the two hemistiches of each verse and the discontinuous dividing line shows us the division that we propose between the tenor and the clauses.

As we can see in the example, there is a clear difference between the notation we make of the clauses and the notation of the tenor or recitatives. In fact we need different systems to be able to explain the temporal logic of each part.

The clauses

It is in the clauses that close each hemistich where our hearing leads us to recognise a notable proportionality of pulse and where we can even distinguish accents in the chant (we must take into account that in these types of chants whenever there is a syllable with accent, it will be compulsorily followed by another in a "fallen" position). It is therefore in these segments where we can even venture a possibility of scripting with proportional rhythmic figures.

As we can see in the example, in the first clause there is a single accent and its fall. The general rhythm is of two quarter notes, since the vast majority of the hemistiches are paraoxytones. Nevertheless, in some cases in which the hemistich is proparaoxytones, this is where the small rhythmic variability that we have noted above the pentagram appears. In contrast, in the clause of the second hemistich, there are two accents and

their appropriate falls. In this case the rhythmic variability, which depends on the text, is that which we note above the pentagram. These possibilities of rhythmic variants always fall where there is an accent, and never on the falls of the accents.

As we see below, looking closely at the syllable unit has enabled us to explain the temporality of the chants of the Vespers, which is why we think it is important to stress that the temporal logic of the clauses makes the number of syllables in this part of the chant notably fixed. Each type of clause can have an oscillation of between 2 and 3 syllables at the most. As we will see later, this oscillation is insignificant compared to the variability of the number of syllables in the first part of the hemistich, which we call tenor or the recitative chord.

The tenor or recitatives

In the tenor, the *cantadors* recite the text of each verse intoned from a set height, which academically has been called recitative note. At a rhythmic level, the temporal logic in the tenor is very different from what we have described in the clauses. In these first segments of the hemistiches the number of syllables is highly variable. They are segments that enable the syllabic proliferation. The variability that we have observed oscillates between 0 and 22 syllables.

Unlike the clauses, a temporal structure over proportional pulses is not perceived in
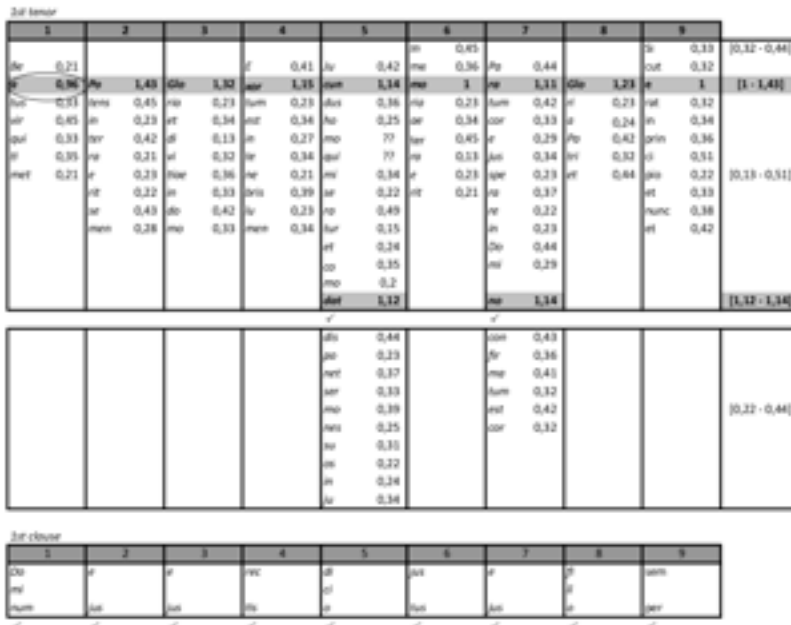
Figure 2

the tenor, and it does not seem that the accents determine the organisation, but they follow a rhythmic model of temporal scansion that has been classified as "unmeasured".

In order to explain the temporal logic of the part of the tenor, we measured the length in seconds of each syllable making them up. Then with the different values obtained, we drew up length tables that enabled us to explain the temporal units of the chants and how they are distributed. The numerical results immediately showed some margins of realisation that enable us to formulate with strong certainty the hypothesis that in the tenor there are two temporal units. According to the data, all the parts of the tenor are structured into two types of syllables: short and long, each confined within a time range and maintaining a clear separation from the other unit.

We show an example of the table of syllable lengths corresponding to the chant of the *Beatus Vir* recorded in 2006.

Figure 2 shows us the table of the syllable lengths of the tenor of the first hemistiches of each verse. As you can see, we have divided the text into syllables and written them vertically so that each column corresponds to a text from the first hemistiches of the psalm. Beside each syllable we have noted down the value of its length in seconds (except in the clauses). The syllables marked in grey correspond to the long units and the syllables that are not highlighted are the short units. In the final column of the tables we have written, in brackets, the margins of realisation of each of the lengths of the syllables. In the table we have also incorporated the text of the clause of the first hemistich separated in syllables. We also show with a P the breaths that the *cantadors* take. As you can see, the tenor of the first hemistich always begins with a long syllable that may be preceded or not, by one or two short syllables before the long one. We could describe it as the first long syllable of the short verse, according to the code of the ecclesiastical Latin rhetoric, which has the possibility of an anacrusis prior to one or two short syllables. If the text of the tenor surpasses a specific number of syllables, the *cantadors* divide the tenor into two segments — like in the first hemistich of the fifth and seventh verse of the example. To do so, they mark the cut with a long syllable, breathe, and restart the text on the same recitative note. In neither of the two cases is the link with the appropriate clause ever made after a breath, but it is linked directly after the tenor. In the psalm *Beatus Vir* which we are using as an example, the specific number of syllables from which the *cantadors* take one or more breaths in the tenor is of 13 syllables. If we count from the first long syllable to the next long syllable of the tenor of this chant, 13 is the maximum number of syllables from which the cantadors make a short pause for breathing.

In illustration 3 we see the tables that correspond to the tenor and the clause of the second hemistich of the psalm *Beatus Vir*. Unlike the first hemistich, the tenor of the second hemistich does not use any long unit unless the chant has a high number of syllables and this involves its segmentation with a breath. When they breathe, they follow the same procedure that we described in the tenor of the first hemistich. In the chant of the *Beatuss Vir* that we use as an example there is no tenor of the second

Figure 3

hemistich with a sufficiently high number of syllables that needs to be segmented with a breath.

After having prepared and analysed the different tables with the measurements of the syllables[5] we can confirm that the recitative rhythmic model of the tenor is based on a system structured in two units, precisely separated from each other according to their length: long syllables and short syllables. These units do not have a set proportion of pulse between them but do have a margin of realisation.

As we can see in the table of lengths which we show as an example, the short unit of the *Beatus Vir* psalm in 2006 has a margin of realisation of between 0.13 and 0.6 seconds and the long unit oscillates between 1 second and 1.43 seconds. As such there is no value in the whole chant that is between the margins of separation of the two units, that is, between 0.6 seconds and 1 second. The same occurs in the other chants of the Vespers psalms but with other values of length. The data show this "grammatical" distribution of the length of the syllables very clearly. Firstly an initial long unit (with the possibility of a prior position of brief "anacruses"), followed by a variable number of short units that lead to a long one (when there is a need to breathe, determined by the number of syllables that must be fitted in) or that lead directly to the closing clause.

Thus, after the formal analysis of the psalms and of the measurements we have taken of all the syllables, we can say in conclusion that: in the chants of the Vespers we observe a mixed temporal logic structured system. On the one hand, a notable proportionality of pulse is perceived in the clauses as well as a distribution in accents which has

5 For each of the Vespers psalms we prepared and analysed the tables of, as a minimum, three different recordings.

enabled a quite exact rhythmic notation to be proposed. On the other hand, in the tenor the temporality is not organised in proportional pulses, but is based on a system of two units of distinct length, with certain margins of realisation. There are two units of syllable length: long and short units.

The small steps we have taken with this piece of work have enabled us to look deeper into the knowledge we have of the temporal organisation model in the chants of the Vespers psalms of the Pallars Sobirà. It has also enabled us to propose a model of analysis and codification of the rhythmic structure of some chants that are rarely observed, as regards their temporal organisation,very often limiting us to describing them as psalmodied, recited or of free rhythm.

**Canto A Tenore and "visibility" - comparing two communities'
styles,** Orgosolo and Bortigali (Sardinia)

Sebastiano Pilosu

Multipart Singing
in Sardinia

At the 2008 Vienna International Symposium European Voices II, Prof. Macchiarella and I dealt with the specific lexicon of the Sardinian *"canto a quattro"*, e.g. four part singing by chording (see Macchiarella-Pilosu 2011). On this occasion we spoke about a system of music making shared by hundreds and hundreds of singers in about seventy villages of Northern-Central Sardinia: a peculiar system that allows quite local specificities to develop as regards both sound patterns and their meaning. We also proposed an overall view of the phenomenon without developing any specific case studies. In the wake of this study, I should like to develop here some aspects of the micro-world of Sardinian multipart singing by chording. In particular, I shall deal with different interpretations of recent (and current) transformations within village vocal multipart practices concerning the relationships between the internal perception and the external "visibility" of the musical expression. Through two case studies, I hope to be able to bring a small contribution to the reflection on our role as researchers and on the impact of our work on the traditional music practice.

Let us introduce you to two communities: Orgosolo and Bortigali. They are two villages which both belong to the province of Nuoro and are about sixty kilometres apart. In both villages, the dominant economic activity is sheep farming. Despite having this basic similarity in the productive structure, the two villages are actually quite different and could be represented as two separate "micro-worlds". This differentiation is clearly identified by Sardinian people, who more in general consider the island as 'a continent' and every village as a 'small nation'. This kind of representation has more or less remote roots and its reasons call for a far deeper analysis than I have time to develop here. What I should like to deal with is a demonstration of this assumed diversity between the two villages through the multipart singing practice.

Two distinctive multipart practices

Multipart singing by chording is spread in both villages: it is rigorously practiced in four parts performed by four male singers (Lortat-Jacob 1994; Macchiarella 2008). In Orgosolo it is called *Cantu A Tenore,* while in Bortigali they call it *Cantu A Cuncordu.* Up to the 1960s, in both Orgosolo and Bortigali (just like in almost all the communities of central Sardinia) this kind of multipart singing was extremely widespread and frequently performed: one can reasonably state that most of the male population of the two villages were active participants.

In Orgosolo, the *A Tenore* practice was (and still is) characterized by the presence of the timbre of guttural voices in the lowest parts of the quartet, the c*ontra* and the *bassu*. There is a clear prevalence of profane songs; a few religious songs are the *gosos*, which consist of multipart performances of devotional texts in the Sardinian language, whereas the local repertory does not include liturgical or para-liturgical songs. In Bortigali, there was and still is significant bi-partition between performances of secular and religious songs which have more or less the same quantitative relevance. The secular performance is characterized by the timbre of guttural voices in the lowest parts (similarly called *contra* and *bassu*), whereas the religious performances (includ-

ing both para-liturgical and devotional texts) adopt natural chest voices in all four parts and are characterized by a soloist incipit sung by the lowest part, the *bassu.*

In Orgosolo, both the profane and religious performances are considered as aspects of the same music making, and the same singers perform both (although, as I have already said, the religious songs have far less relevance). In Bortigali, the religious performance singers have close relationships with the "micro-world" of the local confraternities and are a group of specialized singers who are clearly separate from the secular repertory performance group: the first group (called *su Chidasantinu* – literally the singers of the Holy Week) is smaller than the other. Some of the first group members have a double role, since they also can sing the profane repertoire (once again using guttural timbres) whereas the other singers are not allowed to perform the religious songs.

Before the 'mass media revolution' of the Seventies-Eighties, the multipart practice was an ordinary daily post-working activity; traditional contexts did not contemplate the idea of a public separated from the performer, like the one that has been introduced for quite some time by the mass media.

The presence of both singers and songs within the different moments of community life was taken for granted. People did not have any need to request, publicize or emphasize the singing performances. Multipart singing was completely integrated within the community's "micro-culture", and many of the village's inhabitants were able to understand and share its related values, the specificity of the local sound's aesthetics, the expressive nuances of vocal emissions and so forth. Every village had very relevant specificities that were expressed by the word *traggiu* (or *trazzu*, *moda* etc.), a complex concept concerning both singing style and performance meaning (Macchiarella-Pilosu 2011): more or less every village inhabitant was able to recognize the typical *traggiu* of his/her village even if he was not able to perform it (particularly the women who were not allowed to sing in the public context of social life).

We can imagine that in the past, in both the villages of Bortigali and Orgosolo (just as in any other village where traditional multipart singing was practised) there was a full collective consciousness about how to make music, and this knowledge did not leave the boundaries of any single community because of the limits of the means of communication. Roughly, one knew about the musical style of the nearby villages' multipart practice but what happened in the "musical world" of distant villages was almost always ignored. Let us say that it was simply imagined that things went on as a mirror image.

External influences

Without external influences, music making benefited within the communities and no one felt the need to preserve anything. Things began to change radically when external eyes turned their attention to Sardinian communities, modifying their equilibrium. For what is important here, it is possible to identify a symbolic point of transformation in the interests of the sociologist Franco Cagnetta regarding life in Orgosolo.

As is well known (see Macchiarella 2008), in the 1950s, Cagnetta realized a lengthy field investigation into the phenomenon of banditry, writing long articles in magazines that gave national prominence to some aspects of village social life, with a sort of "exotic" approach, building a romanticized image of bandits within the local shepherds' context. The village's equilibrium was broken. Orgosolo and its inhabitants were immortalized by famous photographers such as Franco Pinna, Pablo Volta and Sheldon M. Machlin. The peak of this interest for Orgosolo culminated in 1961, when a very controversial film by Vittorio De Seta, *Banditi a Orgosolo,* was awarded a prize at the Venice Film Festival. It was an external look in which the inhabitants of Orgosolo slowly learnt to "reflect" themselves for a number of reasons that cannot be dealt with here.

Cagnetta's interest for Orgosolo was wide-ranging. It also included a special regard for the *A Tenore song:* for this purpose, he invited a young Diego Carpitella to study some tape recordings. This inaugurated ethnomusicological research in the village which was to have a special relevance within the local musical practice. Several local repertory documentations were realized and different persons came to the village to listen to the singing and to establish contact with the singers. For the first time in village history, the local singers perceived that their songs could have other dimensions than their own, that their *A Tenore* song could go beyond the boundaries of the community's social life. Thus, the local repertory was exported, which determined a relevant innovation in the performing tradition that would be a model for the other villages' traditions: the creation of permanent groups of *A Tenore* song, namely quartets stably made up of the same singers, each of whom was extremely specialized in the performance of a single vocal part. Whereas in the local tradition, different quartets were "spontaneously" formed according to momentary gatherings of singers, and during contextual performances every singer could virtually join any other singer from the village (even though this depended on personal mutual relationships since, in oral tradition it was – and still is – impossible for two men who do not get on well socially to sing together – see Lortat-Jacob 1996; Macchiarella 2009, Agamennone 2008), due to the needs of exportation processes, a few fixed groups (called simply *Tenore* – singular declination) were little by little specializing in proposing an image of their local repertory outside the village (and often far from Sardinia), within new concert contexts which very soon multipled and differed.

The *A Tenore* song from Orgoloso ceased to be self-referential within the village's social life, and went out to be compared with other musical expressions and to be valued from different parameters than the traditional ones. *A Tenore* groups held many concerts in different situations (including ones in the Italian folk music revival movement – Leydi 1975, etc); they proposed their songs on Radio and TV broadcasts, took part in theatrical pieces (like *Ci ragiono e canto* directed by Dario Fo), made records, and so on.[1] The so called *Tenore Rubanu* (Rubanu was the surname of the leader of the

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1 I am currently working on a book on the history of the *A Tenore* song in Orgosolo, including a chapter on this exportation phenomenon.

permanent group) was the first Sardinian traditional music group to start a long sea-son of experimentation and contamination with other musical languages including jazz (they took part in the work *The new village on the left*, by the international well-known free-jazz musician Marcello Melis, which was recorded in Orgosolo in 1974) and "art-music" (they have one of the main parts in the complex *Requiem. Cantata delle cinque stanze, per due cori orchestra e voci*, by Giovanna Marini, 1986).

On the other hand, as time goes by, different perspectives have been elaborated in the face of the widespread fame of the music practice outside the village: these perspec-tives are very important in the contemporary music practice within Orgosolo. Today's singers are well aware of the high musical and cultural values of their *A Tenore* tradi-tion, which they consider one of the main elements of their community identity. In spite of external suggestions, the numerous attempts to imitate their local repertory, all the musical "mixtures" by the permanent quartets and so on, they believe that their local *traggiu* is actually a direct manifestation of their "authentic local tradition". So they have developed an internal system of preservation in order to protect it, that is, a sort of system of "self-censorship" by means of a constant discussion between the sing-ers about every performance, every recording, every participation at a concert event and so on. Only if they continuously debate about what they do in the musical field, checking every sound outcome - they agree –can they guarantee the continuity of their tradition and the survival of their authentic *traggiu*.

The performers of the first pioneering recordings of the 1950s-1960s became "idols" for today's singers, composing a local pantheon that is unanimously shared. As time goes by, a sort of "mythical aura" has surrounded them, also outside the village, spread-ing traditional music to audiences all over Sardinia, particularly in the villages where there is a music practice similar to that of Orgosolo.

After scientific (anthropological and ethnomusicological) interest, the mass media's focus on traditional musics - in Orgosolo just like everywhere else – has assumed an extremely invasive role in the contemporary scenario. Many journalists' reports are frequently realized in the village, as well as documentaries by free-lance video-makers. However, the village inhabitants - or at least the majority of the singers – seem to be imperviable to this external focus, keeping on with a strong sense of community root-ed in traditional values. On the whole, considering both "historical" documentation and contemporary media production, one can say that Orgosolo's *A Tenore* practice has a very predominant role within Sardinian multipart singing by chording.

What we know today about the music tradition of the village of Bortigali outlines a very different story. We are presently only aware of a single historical recording made by the Sardinian regional studios of the RAI (the Italian broadcasting network) in the early 1960s: namely an *istudiantina*, i.e. a multipart singing form with a secular text. This spool audio recording was part of a series of recordings that were realized in various villages, following a rising popular interest in the Island's traditional music

at this time.[2] Very probably, various anthropological scholars must have also made other visits, but they were almost all sporadic and there is no trace of any continuous field stays like Cagnetta's in Orgosolo. The *istudiantina* recording is the unique sound document which dates from the village until the end of the 1990s and the beginning of the next century (except for any possible new archive discoveries).

Thus, Bortigali's multipart practice has continued for about the last fifty years without any external interest. Its continuity has been quietly integrated into the normal development of village social life, and, when the local church allowed it, the *chidasantinu* accompanied the paraliturgical rites of Holy Week.[3] The construction of the local singers' pantheon has been pivoted on a few great figures of performers who are almost completely unknown beyond the practitioners' 'small world': besides their individual contribution they are celebrated for having had "the courage and the strength" to carry on the singing tradition, even when it was "out of fashion" because of the diffusion of new musical models by the mass media.

Both Sardinian people and foreigners are interested in multipart singing by chording. For them it was (and still is) very easy to be in contact with Orgosolo's *A Tenore* song. At least, everybody knew (and knows) about its existence and many people possessed (and still possess) discs, audio cassettes or (more recently) cds by the main permanent village's *Tenore*. Instead, till recent times, Bortigali's *A Cuncordu* song was unknown outside the village, it was inaudible, because there were no edited recordings and it was never dealt with on regional radio and TV broadcasts (except for the afore-mentioned unique recording, which seems to have only been broadcast a couple of times). Outside of the village it seemed as if this music tradition did not exist!

Sometimes, this external perception also influenced anthropologists and ethnomusicologists who outlined the diffusion of multipart singing excluding Bortigali's practice. Some scholars preferred to go to the villages where previous research had been conducted in order to continue it (or, in some cases, to disprove it). Thus, Orgosolo has continued to be the centre of ethnomusicological interest while Bortigali has remained on the periphery of this attention.

Different local phenomena

During the 1960s, just like everywhere else, Sardinian traditional music passed through

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2 The regional studios of the Rai, in Cagliari, has a very large sound archive including thousands of recordings made in almost every Sardinian villages between the end of the 1940s and the beginning of the 1970s: unfortunately it is impossible to gain access to this archive (see Macchiarella 2005/b)

3 As is known, the presence of traditional singing within church rituals is subject to the approval of the local clergy within very complex dynamics between priests and confraternities (Macchiarella 1995): in the recent history of Bortigali there have been some priests who refused this permission within a very controversial relationship with both the confraternity and the believers.

a serious period of crisis due to the social mutations and the significant emigration of the islanders' men towards North Italy and Northern European countries. In all the villages, the number of singers suffered a strong decline and traditional contexts were modified, in some cases totally disappearing. Music practices no longer seemed able to fulfil their function.

In Bortigali the changes were almost passively received; theoretically, the singers were still very numerous but the occasions to perform notably decreased. Pivoted on the figures of the two brothers, Italo and Gigi Soro, only one group of "aficionados performers" did not give up, upholding the *A Cuncordu* practice and trying to involve their fellow villagers. For many village inhabitants the importance of traditional singing dramatically decreased, so the traditional practice was quite marginalized.[4] Even, in the 1980s, the traditional practice was replaced by a very modern way of singing that was inappropriately also called *su cuncordu*: it was a polyphonic male choir adopting the patterns elaborated in the city of Nuoro in the 1960s, but originally connected with the acculturation processes of the OND (Opera Nazionale Dopolavoro, one of the main political institutions during the fascist period).[5] This new choir tried to occupy all the musical social spaces of the village, bypassing the traditional *cuncordu*. However, the new choral practice did provide the opportunity for collective gathering among a new generation of young men. Little by little, thanks to the obstinacy of the Soro brothers' group, these young singers became aware of the extraneousness of the imported choral pattern, rediscovering the traditional local multipart practice: thus the experience of the modern *a sa Nuorese cuncordu* did not have a "long persistence" in the village ending in around the second half of the 1990s.

In the same years, the general crisis in traditional music did not affect the *A Tenore* song from Orgoloso. The music practice did not undergo any interruptions nor any quantitative diminution, so that it rose up like a sort of paladin of the "Sardinian authentic traditions". Other permanent quartets were founded and even the singing widened its social functions: for instance, it became an instrument to disseminate ideas of political protest against the construction of US military bases in Pratobello, a country area on Orgoloso territory, not far from the village centre. The *A Tenore* performances were the main instrument for spreading socially engaged poetry by local poets, such as Giuseppe Moro and above all the communist militant Peppino Marotto who, with his permanent quartet, spent many years travelling up and down Sardinia and the whole

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4 Recently, an old men from Orgoloso told me that in his opinion, the tradition of the *A Cuncordu* singing no longer existed in Bortigali, because one of his uncles had told him that in the early 1960s he spent a long period in the village but had never heard this kind of music performance.

5 Elaborated in the civic music schools, this kind of new *A Cuncordu* choir – often called *a sa nuoresa* (in the Nuoro style) proposes a mixture between the alpine choir singing pattern and suggestions coming both from "art-music" polyphonies and traditional Sardinian multipart music, for performing texts in the Sardinian languages. It has been an "à la page" phenomenon since about the 1980s and is still practiced in several villages.

Italian peninsula to propose his protest songs, attracting the listeners' attention to the social problems of his native land.

Thus, within the Orgosolo *A Tenore* tradition, the texts assumed a more and more relevant role, and still today the singers of this village are famous both for the particular attention in the choice of texts they perform and for their ability to interpret and emphasize the texts' meanings.

The singers continued to meet within traditional contexts, such as *su tzilleri* (bar), the village square, at gatherings of friends and at banquets during festive periods, and the transmission mechanisms were still lively, so that new generations of singers have followed one another in observance with traditional learning patterns. Proud of their *A Tenore* tradition, the singers have always prevented any attempt to introduce other forms of polyphonic singing into the village. Orgosolo is one of the few villages in central Sardinia that has never had a choir in the Nuoro style like the one I mentioned above. In contrast to this modern choral style, the Orgosolo *traggiu* has been imitated by singers from almost everywhere in Sardinia (including the ones from Bortigali who are well able to sing in the Orgosolo style). The singers (and more in general all the inhabitants) of Orgosolo have never appreciated these imitations and/or the copying of their own *traggiu,* since they are extremely loyal defenders of the local specificities: each group of performers has to sing in the *traggiu* of his own village, avoiding using other singing styles than his own.

Today's music-making

Nowadays in Orgosolo there are a great number of singers, amounting to several hundred (maybe even a thousand within a population of about 8,000 inhabitants) and a lot of recordings provide excellent examples of different interpretations of the local singing style. Each singer tries to personalize his performance in order to try and avoid any banal standardization or reproduction of the idiomatic style of other singers from the village (above all they abhor the idea that a group of singers – or a single singer - could imitate the sound of recording performances by other groups or singers). Of course, the performance practice has inevitably changed over the years and continuously changes due to new life conditions, adapting itself to the mutated tastes of today's singers, and profitably using the different tools that modern life also makes available. But the Orgolese singers wish to oppose these inevitable changes, engaging themselves in a sort of self-defence of their local *traggiu,* trying to protect what they think are the 'pure features' of Orgolese style from external influences and above all from the mixing with other *traggios.* Frequently, they discuss their *traggiu* among themselves and these discussions are often shared with other non-singer members of the community. They carefully listen to the first recordings of the village's groups, in order to identify a list of sound elements they consider as peculiarities of their own traggiu: in so doing, they fix a musical model of a "true and authentic" *A Tenore* song of Orgosolo, whereas the performers of these "old" recordings are the object of a mythopoetic process: they stand out as unreachable models. Of course, it is a sup-

posed fixity, as variability is in every performance and, more or less consciously, each quartet proposes stylemes that enrich the singing. Every stylistic feature is carefully analysed in relation to the shared model and is the topic of very complex discussions. All the singers have to dedicate themselves only in the collective elaboration of this local *traggiu*, otherwise they are not considered real *A Tenore* singers. Criticisms are rarely directly addressed to the performers, but listeners prefer to offer general considerations about how a "true singer or group" from Orgosolo would behave. The opinions of one of the older and much appreciated singers, *tziu* Nicola Pira, gives a clear example of this:

For us the *traggiu* of Orgosolo is at the top of the scale of values; it is possible to sing with people from other villages; sometimes I do so; for me, it is an act of courtesy to others, but they have to adapt to singing the Orgosolo *traggiu*. I am not available to sing *traggios* of other villages than Orgosolo.[6]

According to *tziu* Nicola, if singers from other villages do not follow this rule, it means that they are not proud of their local peculiarities. He also underlines that many singers from other villages are able to sing the Orgosolo's *traggiu,* interpreting it as evident proof of a supposed superiority of his village's *traggiu.* Shared by almost all the local singers, these kinds of opinions are often reiterated for the benefit of younger singers too: they represent the basis of a manifest sense of "music excellence" that singers of Orgosolo openly show off and are a relevant element of every music performance.

In Bortigali, *A Cuncordu* singing has a respectable number of singers (maybe between fifty and a hundred over the various periods, that is, a relevant percentage in a village of around 1,500 inhabitants). During the festivities, particularly within the great feast for the Virgin Mary in September, this kind of singing is always present, so that we may say that it has never had a continuity solution, both in the profane repertoire and in *su Chidasantinu*.

A turning point in the recent history of the musical practice was the first ethnomusicological research that Pietro Sassu began in Bortigali in the second half of the 1990s. For many local singers, this external interest, the guest's authoritativeness, and the attention he paid to the contexts and the traditional songs were a definitive confirmation of the relevant cultural values of their musical practice: it was like an awakening after a long state of numbness. This new interest was also on the basis of the creation of the *Sas 'enas* association which, in recent times, has developed an important role in the new gatherings and the revitalizing of the traditional practice. Mainly, the association represents a collective space for the discussion between old and young singers about their musical practice: they participate in animated meetings which are sometimes quite heated, where the central topic is always the definition of the local *traggiu* and the peculiarities of their *A Cuncordu* singing – both in secular and profane scenarios. Many times especially over the past four years, the association has stimulated

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6 Personal communication from Nicola Pira.

Ignazio Macchiarella and myself to develop ethnomusicological research in the village whose results we shall hopefully present in the near future. In the last few years, different permanent groups have also been finally constituted in Bortigali, in order to answer to the new context's requests: consequently, this local tradition has also been spotlighted by the mass media and the village's groups have taken part in conferences, television broadcasts, concerts in Sardinia and elsewhere.

Over the last few years throughout Sardinia, interest has been renewed, brought about perhaps by the fear of loss. In Bortigali, like in other villages, different initiatives have been undertaken in order to assure the continuity of the tradition: despite their different timings and methods, these initiatives have worked in order to give visibility to the traditions, so that the inaudible songs have also gained volume, confirming the existence of a different village way of life.

A matter of timbre

Timbre is a very representative element of the different performative styles. Some features can be pointed out.

The *traggiu* of Orgosolo is characterized by an "open timbre" that gives a special relevance to the guttural vocal emission by the *bassu*. This voice has a typical scratched, open sound including nasal and head resonances. *Su bassu* is not as deep as it is in other villages of the Barbagia, having a relative rhythmic and timbric vitality so that it is always variable and never monotone. Also Orgosolo's *sa contra* has a relative freedom of movement: it is strongly guttural and its timbre is dense, with deep resonances that are complementary to the ones of *su bassu*. *Sa mesa boghe* is very typical too, characterized by an almost guttural emission that alternates full and warm sounds in the descending melodic motifs and overtone emphasis when melodic motifs are prevalently ascending by means of choked emissions on the vowel "i". Finally, *sa boghe* is characterized by a kind of "swallowed emission" that is immediately recognisable. Generally, the *A Tenore* singers of Orgosolo have developed both a keen sense of melody and a peculiar ability to interpret the literary texts of the song. However, the most important distinctive element is the very large and surprising variability of the *A Tenore* music-making that can be listened to within the village. As permitted by the local *traggiu* pattern, it has a special kind of variability that offers a wide range of possibilities for personalizing the singing. The constant great number of singers has avoided phenomena of standardization for a few interpretative models (as has happened in other villages), which is the real warranty of the vitality of the local *A Tenore* song style.

On the contrary, the *traggiu* of Bortigali has a globally very rich sound. Usually, the singers performing the *bassu* have very robust voices: they use deep guttural resonances and to obtain this, they prefer to use the vowels "o" and above all "a", performing the no-sense syllables that accompany the soloist singing of the *boghe*. *Sa contra* is not so deep as the Orgosolo one: its timbre is rather sharp and "i" and "a" are the favourite vowels of the no-sense syllabes. *Sa mesu boghe* particularly underlines the higher frequencies as it is not very dense and thin. The movements of the three accompanying

parts are very limited, and the repeated notes are usually homorhythmic This feature allows prominence to be given to the rhythmic and melodic development of the *boghe* part: this is particularly true of the more dynamic sections of *sas ziradas a sa sèria*, and more in the *boghe 'e ballu* (dance songs). The melody patterns of both *s'isterrida* and the initial section of *sas ziradas* show a strong influence of the *s'istudiantina* style, i.e. the profane pattern of the confraternity music tradition that is very lively in Bortigali (see Macchiarella 2008). This influence is confirmed during the performance by the relevant frequency of the changes of the pivot note, one degree up and down. The traditional musical practice in the village underwent a long period of crisis around the Sixties-Seventies which greatly reduced the number of singers. Phenomena of standardization occurred, and many of the singers tended towards emulating the style of the quartet led by the most appreciated singer of these decades, Italo Soro (as mentioned before). Many of today's singers declare they were his apprentices. Due to these phenomena, nowadays the last traditional old (about seventy) singers of the village have relevant difficulties in singing with the younger ones: the *traggios* are so different that the youngsters do not recognize how the elders perform the *sa boghe* part and often they are not able to accompany them. This is a sort of paradox, as almost all the younger singers from Bortigali claim their interest in knowing the "old *traggiu*" of the village, but standardization phenomena have been so strong that they have to strive in order to sing with the oldest fellow villagers.

The short presentations of the Orgosolo and Bortigali scenarios are only two of seventy different micro-musical worlds pivoted on the *A Tenore* music-making. I hope my notes have given you an idea of their musical and symbolical complexity.

Rediscovering multipart music tradition:

The case of Nughedu San Nicolò (Sardinia)

Marco Lutzu

Multipart Singing
in Sardinia

> Identity is a symbolic construction whose existence depends mainly on memory. This applies not only to individual identities, but also to community identities.
>
> [Ugo Fabietti]

Over the last decades, anthropological studies have deeply reconsidered the concept of tradition, putting aside dogmatic and atemporal definitions in order to introduce a new reflection about the malleability of this concept (the same happened to concepts such as culture, ethnic groups, etc.). The concepts of tradition and identity are strictly connected, as has been further highlighted by the studies on the different contexts and scenarios in which discourses are increasingly focused on tradition. These studies also deal with negotiation and appropriation dynamics, the exploitable use of this concept as a means to build consensus, to erect barriers, to emphasize distinguishing features, to highlight differences, to fuel local prides, etc. (Hobsbawm - Ranger 1983; Fabietti - Matera 1999). In this perspective, social practices are no longer considered as something whose meaning can be defined beforehand, but they are continuously generated, manipulated, refunctionalized, and reinterpreted. The identity of a people, of an ethnic group, of a region or a village is established, fueled and strenghtened or - sometimes - built or rebuilt through social practices based on memory. Ugo Fabietti considers memory one of the essential components of identity, where memory is defined as "the faculty which allows people to establish a connection between the past and the present" (Fabietti - Matera 1999: p. 16). This Italian anthropologist defines memory as "the social selection of the memory" (Fabietti - Matera 1999: p. 10), and "in the process of identity construction, [...] memory always keeps the same meaning and function: to provide a meaningful picture of its present" (Fabietti - Matera 1999: p. 13).

In the musics usually studied by ethnomusicology, the concept of tradition has always been considered as important as problematic. On the one hand, labelling them as "traditional" gives them some prestige: the discourses made by media, players and ethnomusicologists are not focused on the music itself, considered as a work or a finished object. Rather they concern how deeply it is settled in a specific territory and its connection with the social group that "passed it down". Therefore, that particular music knowledge becomes the "audible" feature of the continuity with the past. On the other hand, the vast majority of our musics are of oral tradition, they are not written, and they are characterized by a certain degree of variability, due to the continuous changes at a socio-economic and historical level, as well as in the musician generations. The ethnomusicologists' experience suggests that choosing to play, revive and refunction a certain type of music does not simply mirror a specific social order or cultural values, but it could be a deliberate action aimed at generating new orders. According to Martin Stokes, "music does not then simply provide a marker in a prestructured social space, but the means by which this space can be transformed" (Stokes 1994: p. 4). Music is a powerful tool able to highlight and help to build cultural identities, it "is

socially meaningful not entirely but largely because it provides means by which people recognize identities and places, and the boundaries which separate them" (Stokes 1994: p. 4). In this respect, memory plays an essential role. Within this theoretical context, I will explain in my paper how the recent rediscovery of a multipart vocal music tradition in Nughedu San Nicolò – a small village in the northern-central part of Sardinia – played an essential role in establishing the local identity.

Identity and memory in multipart Sardinian vocal music

One of the most important musical practices of the Sardinian oral tradition is the four-part vocal music for male voices, very popular in the northern-central part of the island. In Sardinia there is no "pan-Sardinian" musical practice derived from oral tradition, i.e. a musical practice played and popular all over the island.[1] Some repertoires can be found in broad areas and cannot be traced directly back to the tradition of a single village. This is the case of the *launeddas*, the Sardinian triple clarinet, common in the southern part of the island, or of the *cantu a chiterra*, typical of the northern-central areas, or of the different kinds of sung improvised poetry. Four-part vocal music is completely different. Both the practices with guttural voices with a prevailing profane character (known as *cantu a tenore*), and the religious ones linked to brotherhoods, are characterized by the fact that they are peculiar to a single village. Regarding these musical practices, we can assert that every village has its own multipart vocal music, even though they share some features at a performing and musical level. The repertoire of each and every one of the around seventy villages where this type of multipart vocal music is practised, is characterized by distinguishing features regarding the music genres played, the timbre, the melody, the chord sequences, etc. It only takes a few seconds for any aficionado to identify which village that particular type of singing is from. In fact, singers from a specific village would never perform songs from the repertoire of another village in public, as performing your own repertoire adapting it to the style peculiar to another village is strongly criticised behaviour. The years between the post-World War II and the 1980s were particularly important for the recent history of this kind of multipart vocal music. Many were the elements which marked a critical period for multipart vocal music as well as for the other Sardinian musics of oral tradition. Among them, the spread of mass media, such as radio and television, the establishment of cultural and musical models coming from outside the island, the emigration of young Sardinians to Northern Italy and Central Europe, the progressive abandonment of the Sardinian language as the main vehicular language and a cultural policy that, in concert with public opinion, has always considered what was coming from outside the island to be superior. This phenomenon had different results. Although nowadays there are fewer singers and fewer occasions for them to perform

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1 The only exception could be the song of *gosos or gòcius*, hymns of praise dedicated to the saints or to Our Lady, whose practice is well documented from the south to the north of the island.

at, there are some villages in which the present singers have had the chance to learn directly from singers of the "old generation". This is exactly what happened in Santu Lussurgiu. Here is how the present singers of the *Su cuncordu 'e su Rosàriu* ensemble remember 1976, year of their debut, and also a very important one for the history of the multipart vocal music of this village :

There was a lot of indifference at that time: secular songs were successful, and were sung by many people. But sacred songs were not interesting enough, and those who were good at singing secular songs did not want to sing the sacred ones, also because it implied joining the brotherhood. (Macchiarella 2009: p. 142).

The gradual reduction in the number of the singers and problems within the brotherhood were compromising the formation of the quartet to perform during the Holy Week rituals, the most important performance of sacred songs of the year:

We were on the brink of the precipice because we were aware that our musical tradition was disappearing and there was the real risk for the statue of the Christ to go out "a sa muda"[2] [...]. Fortunately we went there to perform, otherwise, if the Christ would have gone out "a sa muda" that year, I don't know how it would have ended, maybe we would have completely lost our tradition of religious songs. (Macchiarella 2009: p. 139).

The quartet which was formed on that occasion had the chance to learn from the senior singers who were still performing in 1976. Today this quartet, together with other singers, performs the *a cuncordu* multipart vocal music in Santu Lussurgiu.
There are also some villages where the present singers learnt to sing chiefly from one person. They are mainly singers who used to perform when they were young, then they stopped. Because of their charisma and their musical skills, when they grew old they became the people in charge of passing down their musical knowledge to the new generation. This is what happened in Bortigali, where Italo Soro was in charge of passing down the repertoire related to the Holy Week to the present generation of singers.[3] Instead, the religious repertoire in Irgoli was passed down to the present singers by *tiu Michelli Musio*. He was the last member of the old chorus, and when he grew old, he used his skills as an organ player developed during the years spent as sacristan, to teach the four parts of the vocal music (Macchiarella 2000). The village of Nughedu San Nicolò has a completely different story.

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2 Literally "*silently*"; the risk for the statue of the Dead Christ to be carried in procession through the streets of the village without being accompanied by the *su cuncordu* multipart vocal music epitomizes that difficult time.

3 For further details, see the intervention by Sebastiano Pilosu.

Rediscovering a polyphonic tradition: the case of Nughedu San Nicolò

Nughedu San Nicolò is a small village with a population of about one thousand inhabitants, located in the Monte Acuto area, a subregion of northern Sardinia. The first written references to the Confraternity of the Holy Cross and the Confraternity of Our Lady of the Rosary of the small village date back to 1707 (Lene 2009). Since then, the brotherhoods have never ceased their activities. However, in the late 40s and early 50s of the XXth century, the two brotherhoods became mute, i.e. they stopped performing multipart vocal music. Although, since they still had a few members, their presence during religious services was guaranteed with continuity, the same did not happen with the singers. It was then that the singing ceased to be practiced. The inhabitants of this small village claim that it was due to the continuous population decline. In fact, according to the records of the brotherhoods (Lene 2009: p. 29), in less than a century the number of members fell from about one hundred people to just a few. Another cause for the disruption of the brotherhood activity – and therefore of multipart vocal music – is considered to be the demolition of the complex of three churches between 1956 and 1962, including the churches of the Holy Cross and of the Rosary, which implied the demolition of the oratories, the sees of the brotherhoods. In the early 90s, a group of young people from the village were eager to rediscover and restore this multipart vocal music, which had unfortunately fallen into disuse. To do so, as usually happens in these cases, they started research by interviewing the elderly people of the village. The main results can be summarized as follows:

- None of the old singers was alive;
- They recorded some old members of the brotherhoods (but not the singers of the old chorus) and some women who remembered the main melodic lines of some songs;
- The finding of a notebook which belonged to *tiu Antoni Franciscu* Campus *"Mannazzeddu"* (1857-1913), in which there were the descriptions of some parts of old rituals and the lyrics of the most important songs;
- A collection of pictures that documents the brotherhoods' activity over the past decades.

Then, they made a request to the singers of Bonnannaro (the nearest village with a still practised similar multipart vocal music technique), in order to learn the fundamentals of the four-part vocal music from them. Thanks to this experience, they started to reharmonize the melodic lines they had recorded in their village. They involved other people and started to practise and improve the multipart vocal music, both by organizing weekly rehearsals and also during informal meetings with their friends, where they spent some of their spare time eating, drinking and singing all together. Some singers joined the two brotherhoods, and some years later, with the priest's permission, they performed during the religious services of the Holy Week rituals as well as in other events (Chelo 2009). After having revitalized the multipart vocal music, this new generation of singers from Nughedu San Nicolò did the same with some old rituals of the Holy Week which, despite having fallen into disuse, were still engraved

in the memories of the elderly people as well as in *tiu Antoni Campus'* notebook. A picture from the 1930s depicts two members of the brotherhood in costume, while they were playing *sos giudeos* (the Jews), i.e. Nicodemus and Joseph of Arimathea, the two Jews that, according to the Holy Scriptures, removed Jesus' body from the Cross.[4] After an intense search, the original costumes were found inside an old trunk stored in the sacristy of the small church of Saint Sebastian. They immediately made a copy of the costumes and since then they have been worn by two members of the brotherhood during Holy Week. Recently, they have also revived the tradition of *sa roda* (the wheel): according to the memories of the elderly people, on Maundy Thursday the faithful used to gather around a wooden wheel where they had painted the pictures of the Passion of Christ. These pictures, lit by a candle, were projected onto a wall. Whilst the faithful were venerating the pictures, the chorus sang some chants. Based on these memories, they also recovered the tradition of *sa roda* and on Maundy Thursday, after the foot washing ritual and a short procession, they reintroduced the veneration of the pictures of the Passion of Christ.

Music as passion, music as identity expression

There are two main elements that led this new generation of singers from Nughedu San Nicolò to start their research. On the one hand, their passion for singing, which in the previous years had led some of them to join one of the polyphonic choirs of the nearby town of Ozieri[5] and also made them keen on the four-part vocal music tradition of those villages where it was still alive (in particular Castelsardo); on the other hand, as mentioned earlier, the fact that the remarkable local distinguishing features of these four-part vocal music techniques give this musical practice a strong identity value. Music as the expression of the local identity is the main key to interpreting the work done by these young people of Nughedu San Nicolò. Recovering their own multipart vocal music repertoire was conceived as a way of combining their passion for singing with the more and more urgent need to reassert their own specificity and the identity of their village.

The re-activation of the memory

The re-construction of the multipart vocal music as an identity element was necessar-

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4 The same happens in many other Sardinian villages, where, during Holy Week, two members of the brotherhood or two children wear decorated garments and enact a series of ritual actions that remember the two Jews.

5 The chorus of Ozieri is an ensemble composed of many singers. It is characterized by the presence of a conductor, the doubling of the parts and a repertoire which includes, above all, songs of which we know the authors of both the music and lyrics. These kinds of polyphonic choirs are very common in Sardinia, and, unlike four-part vocal music, they are considered as "not traditional".

ily bound to the reactivation of the memory, both the memory of the lost melodies and the memory of the occasions and of the role of this type of multipart vocal music in the life of the community. The fact that these new singers of Nughedu San Nicolò contacted first of all the elderly people of the village can be interpreted – according to Assman's model (1997) – as an action aimed at reactivating the "communicative memory" (concerning a recent past and passed down from generation to generation). Because of the reasons mentioned above, this communicative memory lost its natural structure of collective participation by stopping being a shared knowledge to be preserved as a "biographical memory" of the elderly people who, during their youth, had the chance to experience the brotherhoods, their choirs and their music. In those days, the elderly people of Nughedu San Nicolò were the specialized keepers of a recent memory of the village that had lost its nature of shared and participated knowledge in a few decades.

Time and space dimensions

Identity, the sense of community and that of being part of a group is asserted by a sort of "common feeling" which connects people, and, according to Fabietti, operates on two dimensions: time and space (Fabietti - Matera 1999: p. 18). The attempt made by these new singers of Nughedu San Nicolò to rediscover their multipart vocal music from an identity perspective regards both dimensions. It regards the time dimension when they tried to link the past to the present, in order to bridge that generational gap which was inevitably broadening. To do so, they had to rely on the faint memories of the elderly people and on the descriptions of the rituals in which the choir was involved, recorded in *tiu Antoni Campus*' notebook. It regards the space dimension, not only when they compare their multipart vocal music to those of the neighbouring villages, but also when they analyze what happened within their own village. When they compare their multipart music to others, they distinguish it from the polyphonic music of the nearby town of Ozieri (unlike the four-part vocal music which the vast majority of Sardinian people considers modern and "not completely traditional"), as well as from the reportoire of Bonnannaro, which at the beginning was taken as a reference model to learn the harmonization techniques for the four parts. Regarding their own village, they criticized the new church, built to replace the demolished ones. It is considered a scapegoat, i.e. the architectural element that represents in a tangible way the dichotomy between ancient and modern as well as the change in the relationship between the community and the holy place (everytime I meet my friends from Nughedu San Nicolò, they always make a negative comment about the demolition of the churches!). If, as Halbwachs says, memory, considered as the social selection of the memory, needs to be placed and be based on precise space-time coordinates (Halbwachs 1987), the inhabitants of Nughedu San Nicolò perceive the demolition of the three churches as a splitting event for the community. It is seen as the modern that has towered over the past, as something that has completely changed the relationship between the community and its religion, and it is considered both the real and

symbolic cause of the death of their multipart vocal music.

Finding and emphasizing ritual and musical specificities

Apart from the need for having space and time references, many scholars suggest that it is fundamental for the communities to create a memory of the self in order to construct/reconstruct a social memory. To do this, they have to select some elements that distinguish it from other groups, emphasizing in this way their own specificity (Halbwachs 1987, Fabietti - Matera 1999). In Nughedu San Nicolò this happened when, while analyzing the collected data, they decided to give more relevance to those distinguishing features which were also coherent with the reference macrosystem. In this case, the reference systems were, on the one hand, the Holy Week rituals in other Sardinian villages, on the other, the rules underlying the four-part vocal music. Among the Holy Week rituals, we have already mentioned the ceremony of *sa roda* (the wheel), peculiar to Nughedu San Nicolò, but not perceived as alien to the other Sardinian Holy Week rituals. Or, moreover, the recovery, reproduction and refunctioning of the Jews' garments, which can be found in many other villages, although with some differences. Concerning music, the multipart vocal music of Nughedu San Nicolò has some features typical of Sardinian polyphonic religious music: the presence of four male voices, the parts are not doubled, the harmonization techniques are based on the principles of the *falsobordone,*[6] the alternation between the solo voice and the chorus, the prevalence of major, fundamental and inverted chords with the doubling of one of the parts, the usage of an open nasal timbre.[7] The distinguishing features of the typical multipart vocal music of Nughedu San Nicolò had to be identified taking into account the basic principles of this macrosystem. First of all, the melodies which serve as *cantus firmus* are peculiar to the repertoire of Nughedu San Nicolò. They were recorded sung by the elderly when gathering data for the research and they are remarkably different from those of other villages.[8] Thanks to the memories of the elderly, they were able to identify and emphasize in their multipart vocal music some of the features that characterized the performance and the "character" of the multipart vocal music of Nughedu San Nicolò. The most noteworthy one consists in marking the *colpos* in a remarkable way: rather than passing gradually from one to another, the singers of Nughedu San Nicolò mark the passage from a chord to another (both when it changes and when it is repeated) by using the dynamics in a particular way which recalls an effect similar to the *forte-piano*. This feature, together with some

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6 See Macchiarella 1995 for the relationship between falsobordone in written sources of the XVIIth century and the Sardinian multipart music of oral tradition.

7 Mario Franco, one of the singers from Nughedu San Nicolò, states: "We were used to the voice timbre of Ozieri's chorus, and the first thing we were told in Bonnannaro was: in order to sing "a cuncordu" the voice must be *rude!*"

8 For a more detailed analysis of Nughedu's repertoire, see Lutzu 2009.

others, make the multipart vocal music of Nughedu San Nicolò unique compared to the other Sardinian four-part vocal music techniques.

A multipart collective action for a multipart music re-appropriation

The work done by the inhabitants of Nughedu San Nicolò to recover possession of their multipart vocal music has much in common with the nature of the rediscovered multipart music itself. Starting from some distinguishing features of multipart music identified by Ignazio Macchiarella in the essay at the beginning of this book, I am going to make a comparison between the multipart music of Nughedu and the work done to bring it back to life.

According to Macchiarella: "multipart music is anyway a combined action of two or more persons [...] the minimum condition of multipart music is the co-presence of at least two persons producing deliberately dissimilar but coordinate sound's sequences" (p. 10-11).
Similarly, the rediscovery of the multipart music of Nughedu San Nicolò was possible, firstly because some people considered it important, something in which to expend time and energy, and each and everyone of them gave their contribution carrying out different activities in a coordinated way. Some of them were responsible for interviewing the elderly people and collecting pictures; some others, who had already practiced multipart music, were in charge of recreating their own multipart music and teaching it to newcomers; others, who were already members of the brotherhood, analyzed the relationship between multipart music and the brotherhood activity; and so on. Different but coordinated work, aimed at a common result.

According to Macchiarella: "Every part displays a specific "sound identity" that keeps its independence within contexts [...]. During a performance also the simplest or most schematic part searches and maintains its own distinctiveness [...]. There are hierarchies and complex relationships among the parts" (p. 12).
The singers who, after having participated in the reconstruction of the repertoire, today "sign" their *performance* with stylistic features, modulation of their voice or personal melodic profiles (this is particularly true for the solo voice and for *sa mesa 'oghe*, the highest part) are the very same to whom the community of Nughedu San Nicolò gives different roles, sometimes even hierarchically organized, for the recovery of the multipart music tradition. For instance, if Ginetto and Franco are given the credit for being the first ones to take care of the recovery of multipart music, the latter, together with Mario Franco and Francesco, are considered to be in charge of passing down the music knowledge.
In another page of his essay, Macchiarella says: "The basic requisite is the availability to make music with others that means to work together accepting close proximity with the others, sharing time and space, and so on. This requisite shows the interpersonal relationships' quality and, at the same time, it models them [...]. The shared pas-

sion for multipart practice determines the rise of "organized musical groups" (p. 12). Singing together requires and brings to all this, just like the work done by the inhabitants of Nughedu San Nicolò required and brought to all this. Thanks to multipart music, for what it represents and for everything it involves, a group of people from Nughedu San Nicolò worked together, sharing spaces and moments of their lives, inspired only by a passion they had in common and in which they expended energy and time. The research, the weekly rehearsals, the time spent in the brotherhood activities (gathering the palm leaves and tying them for Palm Sunday, participating in the religious services), the teaching multipart music to newcomers, are all activities which contributed to create an ensemble of singers, *su cuncordu de Santu Nigola*, which is first of all a social group. It is an ensemble that bases the quality of its relationships on the rules of multipart music and shares a common target: sharing a musical experience in order to express both the identity of its members and the identity of the community of Nughedu San Nicolò at the same time.

Cal'est su "giustu" / What's the right thing?
Notes on multipart singing in Bosa (Sardinia)

Roberto Milleddu

Multipart Singing
in Sardinia

This paper is based on field work started in 2004 and focused on the dynamics of music making in the community of Bosa, from the viewpoint of a group of singers and enthusiasts belonging to the cultural association "Coro di Bosa" (Milleddu 2011). They practise the tradition of multipart singing named *cantu a traggiu* which is the local variant of similar musical practises spread throughout the North of Sardinia that are "based on vertical musical thinking, this multipart typology pivots upon the sonority of the complete chord, often with the doubling of the key note" (Macchiarella 2008: p. 103).

The context

Bosa is a small town with 8,000 inhabitants on the North-West coast of Sardinia. It has an urban historical tradition, far from the agro-pastoral economy of its region. Bosa has been an important administrative centre and an Episcopal seat. Since the 1960s, a large tourist industry has been developing in the village, concerning its social life and traditional culture, including multipart singing.

Today in Bosa, the local tradition of multipart singing is a musical practice that finds a lot of enthusiasts in the local community. The repertoire is characterized mainly by secular songs (amorous, satirical etc.) and a few sacred pieces, like *Miserere, Stabat Mater* and *Ave Maria* which are normally sung in the Holy Week, or other more recent pieces for the solemn Mass during several religious festivities.

The *cantu a traggiu* represents a strong element of identity: it allows singers to represent their feeling of belonging to their community. Usually, Bosa's singers do not sing songs that belong to other Sardinian village traditions, while the songs in Bosa's style can be heard in informal contexts, all over North Sardinia.

In the past, the multipart singing of Bosa was mostly linked to informal contexts - like gatherings in the taverns (*camasinos*), convivial dinners (*spuntini*); its practice was also a very important collective and formal moment during the Holy Week rituals. Nowadays, these traditional contexts have been expanded to include new contexts during religious and secular feasts within the village or in nearby villages. Bosa's singers perform their songs in concerts, stage performances, radio and television broadcasts in Sardinia, Italy and Europe.

At the same time, new ways of transmission have been developed within cultural associations, together with the traditional learning methods rooted in "from mouth to ear". transmission. Furthermore, specialized groups of singers have been set up, such as the *Coro di Bosa* which, as well as contextual performances, organizes didactic activities and cultural events, also editing self-produced CDs.

Singing "a traggiu"

The *Cantu a traggiu* is performed in four parts which are called, from the lowest: *Bassu*, *Contra*, *Tenore*, *Cuntraltu*. During the performance, the singers stand in a circle

in this order:

<div align="center">

Tenore

Contra   *Cuntraltu*

Bassu

</div>

Normally each vocal part is performed by one singer, but during Holy Week ritual performances the parts are often redoubled. In the *cantu a traggiu* pattern they sing both religious texts (including Mass parts, paraliturgical and devotional texts) and secular texts.

The performance always begins with a soloist segment called *pesàda*, sung by the *tenore* or *bassu* voice. The other parts enter in succession from lowest to highest carrying out the first chord in root position.

This chord is characterized by a relationship of fifty between *Bassu* and *Contra* and of a third between *Tenore* and *Cuntraltu,* while the *Tenore* sings the octave of the *Bassu*'s note. This chordal position is the basis of the musical practice of the *cantu a traggiu* and is seldom left (the same basis is found in other multipart singing practices of Sardinia – see Macchiarella 2008)

Figure 1 – Expert from the transcription of *Deus Ti Salvet Maria*

Transitions from a chord to another are always performed by *glissato* and *portamenti* which have an essential expressive function (see figure 2).

Several sources of the first part of the XXth century testify that Bosa's multipart singing was practiced by different social layers of the urban society. Although it was considered as a sort of prerogative of the lower classes (since it was labeled "folk music"), it was also performed by members of the wealthy class and by the clergy.

Although the practice of multipart singing was shared in the local community, in the 1960s an organized group of singers, known as *Coru Antigu* (the Old Choir)[1] played a very important role in the diffusion of Bosa's style of multipart singing throughout Sardinia: they gave performances on the stages of village feasts in many of the island's

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1 The quartet's members were Simone Sechi, Ferdinando Pischedda, the Ruggiu brothers and Antonio Addis.

Figure 2. A passage of the glissato of the *Cuntraltu* in *Deus ti salvet Maria*

villages and made records for the local market that were also included in bar juke-boxes.

The fast social and cultural changes of the second half of the XXth century brought profound changes also in the singing practice and its reception within the community. The *cantu a traggiu* was progressively marginalized, and started to have a negative connotation as "drunkard's singing".

Performances in bars and taverns were forbidden or considered awkward; the crisis reached its peak between the 1980s and 1990s when a local "Popular Culture Association" tried to rescue it, organizing some activities – some of these with the collaboration of the ethnomusicology professor, Pietro Sassu and his young collaborator Ignazio Macchiarella (see Sassu – Casula 1999). The Association also encouraged didactic initiatives egging on the oldest singers to teach their knowledge to a group of willing young people.

Some innovations inevitably began to be introduced within traditional practices, such as for example, the use of the doubling of the voices both in religious and secular contexts (especially in the latter, the performance was previously in four voices, one for every part); furthermore, the singers chose to wear specific clothes both during concerts on stages and the ritual Holy Week's performances (it was – and still is – a local variant of the Sardinian velvet costume). All the innovations of this period were considered signs of the folkloristic process (with a disparaging meaning) of the music practice.

The beginning of the XXIth century saw the opening of a new phase in music practice transmission: two new stable groups were set up: the *Coro di Bosa* which gathered dozens of singers, and the *Traggiu 'Osinku* made up of a small group. The two groups favoured the "reconsolidation" of the tradition working on the emphasization of its cultural value within the social life of the village. Particularly, the singers of *Coro di Bosa* felt that the traditional singing contexts and traditional backgrounds had changed. They felt the need to recapture the pleasure of singing and staying together, re-discovering collectively shared meanings and social functions of the music practice. They stressed personalizations of every single voice contribution, coming back to the "one voice for one part" traditional practice. Enhancing the interpersonal

MULTIPART MUSIC: A SPECIFIC MODE OF MUSICAL THINKING, EXPRESSIVE BEHAVIOUR AND SOUND

relationships within the Association, promoting the carrying out of frequent convivial gatherings among its members, the *Coro di Bosa* singers have actually worked to give new life to the *cantu a traggiu* within the community. Nowadays, beyond the ritual performance contemplated by the Liturgical year, the *cantu a traggiu* is required by Bosa's inhabitants in correspondence with various public and private occasions (such as funerals, weddings, religious and secular feasts); more in general, it has become a genuine element of identification, representing the small town in official circumstances.

Cal'est su giustu – What is the right thing?

The singers are conscious that their experience is fully part of today's cultural and social dynamics: they make music "here and now"; but in their discussions, the idea of "tradition" – which they conceive as a relationship between the present and a more or less recent past – is an element that causes intense discussion.

The oral memories of the oldest singers – often the object of a rich anecdotage bordering on myth - plus some sound tapes of the 1940s – 1960s and a few written sources have had a real influence on musical practices of today. They are currently developed on two poles:

- Traditional practice, based on (re)singing the 'inherited' repertoire;
- Elaboration of new songs that often answer to precise demands and function (i.e. new religious songs)

Faced with the historical sources that show an essentially different singing (although with a well recognizable musical pattern) and performance style concerning micro variants of the melodic profiles, chord typologies, ornamentations etc., some of Bosa's singers have introduced the concept of the "right thing" (*su giustu*).

The question is: seeing that there are different singing styles "*cal'est su giustu*?" - Which is the correct style we have to sing?

Many present singers state that the performers of the 1960s generation "have corrupted" the "right model", that is to say, the singing styles that we can hear thanks to the sound tapes of the 1940s -1950s. They say: *I vecchi hanno rovinato il canto* (our older singers have spoiled the authentic singing). Thus, they say, today's practice "is wrong" and needs to be restored! According to my field experience, this is an extreme point of view (maybe deceptive), but it has a very relevant influence on the actual practice, representing a basic point in order to understand the actual dynamics of music making in Bosa. I will provide you with a concrete example showing four different versions of the same Stabat Mater (listen to <u>audio exemple no. 1</u>)

Stabat Mater

Within the *cantu a traggiu* practice both *Stabat Mater* and *Miserere* have a special consideration, being at the core of transmission processes from the past generations. Both

songs are performed during the great processions of the Holy Week through the "old town" streets. The *Miserere* always accompanies the simulacrum of the "dead Christ", while the *Stabat* in connected with the *Addolorata (*Our Lady of Sorrow)

The singers perform only two of the twenty stanzas that comprise the medieval liturgical sequence.

Stabat mater dolorosa	Cuius animam gementem
Iuxta crucem lacrymosa	contristatam ed dolentem
dum pendebat filius	pertransivit gladius.

They set each verse as a 'musical unit' (Macchiarella 2008), divided into sub-sections that respect the *traggiu*'s rules seen before. The whole song is performed in the church at the beginning and at the end of the procession; the single verses are sung during stops of the procession (one verse for each stop), giving the time to the rite (Milleddu 2011).

The basic structure of the *Stabat* of Bosa did not substantially change during the second half of the XXth century; however it is possible to identify some transformations at particular points. I have chosen some recordings that show these points:

1) Fragment recorded on April 1950 by Giorgio Nataletti (CNSMP racc.14)
2) Fragment recorded in 1979 (non professional recording)
3) Current version sung in the context of the Holy Week (Good Friday 2009)
4) "Restoration" by the group "Traggiu 'osinku" according to the 1950 model.

This transcription points out the variations of the melodic/chordal profiles in these versions. Some singers claim example n.1 (Nataletti recording) as the *giusto* (right version) of the *Stabat*, whereas the other versions are considered results of a "corruptive process". Thus they propose a sort of restoration of what they think is the "right model" - (see figure n.4). Of course, in a scholarly perspective, versions 2 and 3 are the results of a clear developing process due to oral transmission.

However, the majority of Bosa's singers disagree with the idea that oral tradition is changeable; after all, they say, *su giustu* does not exist, since in every time, each generation and each singer *faghed' su sou*; that is to say, they interpret their performance in an absolutely unique creative way. The plain differences that they identify in the "old" recordings are only a clear confirmation of what they say. Thus, they consider the sound sources as useful sources of inspiration in order to extend their repertoire: they could inspire the creation of "new pieces."

Here I propose a significant example: the reconstruction of the *Capucinesco song Sa linna (the firewood).*

Figure 3 - Paradigmatic transcription of a short section of the *Stabat Mater* showing an exemple of transformation along the decades.

This is an extremely rare source. It belongs to a small collection of music sheets owned by a Bosan lawyer – a member of the so-called *rich man's choir* active in the town in the 1930s – which contains some transcriptions of secular and sacred songs of the *cantu a traggiu* repertoire. Maybe those transcriptions were made by the Canon Francesco Masala (who died in 1925 and was the Bosa Cathedral's organist) and testify the role of the wealthy class and the clergy in the practice and transmission dynamics of multi-part singing in Bosa at the end of the XIXth and the beginning of XXth century.
It seems the transmission of this song was interrupted at the beginning of the XXth

century. Its memory was completely lost among the community's singers. Even the oldest singers, like *tziu* Antoni Addis, do not remember it; although they do know of the existence of the manuscript. The text of this anonymous secular song has been known since 1860 when Giovanni Spano included it in the third volume of his *Canzoni Popolari di Sardegna* (1863-65), (Spano IV, 1999: 189-190). On the basis of this written source, a group of singers from the *Coro di Bosa* group have made a "new" version that is not exactly a performance of the manuscript writing, but adapted to their

Figure 5 - Transcription of a performance of Capucinesco by the Coro di Bosa (August 2010).

current style of singing. The following example shows a performance recorded in Bosa on August 28 2010.[2]

Conclusion

Even if the attitudes I described may be considered contradictory, Bosa's case shows how the singers performing orally transmitted practices also refuse to be considered mere passive interpreters of "Tradition". On the contrary, they show an open idea of the concept of tradition that contemplates not only the possibility to reinvent and re-think it in an active way, but also the chance to discuss the meaning of tradition within the micro-community of singers, each of whom has his own different and contrasting opinions. This "retro-projection" process, so highly estimated by some contemporary

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2 The performers were: Giovanni Carta - *Cuntraltu,* Daniele Urgu – *Tenore*, Gigi Oliva – *Contra e Pesada*, Mario Addis – *Bassu.*

anthropologists (Lencloud 2001: pp. 131 ff.) becomes the key to understanding a very important aspect of the music making of Bosa's singers.

Although they are very proud to be holders of a musical practice of their ancestors, Bosa's singers today want to be protagonists, elaborating and creating new songs and new singing contexts. Thus, they feel that they are close to the "mythical singers" of the past who, at an unspecified moment of their local history, elaborated the musical performative patterns that have come down to them, and of which they feel that they are the "custodians".

In the elaboration of this idea, the relationship between the variability of oral transmission and the authority of magnetic recordings (or of writing) plays an essential role, which I believe is worth further in-depth investigation.

The practice of ornamentation in the multipart vocal music of Southern Sardinia.

A 'bifocal' perspective in ethnomusicological analysis

Paolo Bravi

Multipart Musics in Sardinia

Introduction. A short descriptive survey on the *a mutetus* (multipart) singing poetry

Multipart vocal music has a primary role in Sardinian oral traditions. However, until recently, vocal polyphony was believed a characteristic of musical styles spread only in the northern part of the island (like the four-part *a tenore* singing and the brotherhoods' holy polyphony, see Lortat-Jacob 1996; Lutzu 2003; Macchiarella 2009), while the traditions of the southern part were neglected or ignored in musicological publications. In recent years, the traditions of *a mutetus* and *a versus* extemporary singing poetry, in the Sardinian-campidanese language (i.e. the variety of Sardinian in use in Southern Sardinia) have gained attention and a number of publications of various kinds have been dedicated to the subject (Zedda 2008, Bravi 2010; film Mossa - Trentini 2009).

The *a mutetus* improvised poetry is characterised by an extraordinary metrical complexity and a peculiar way of setting up the contest between the improvising poets (*cantadoris*). Observed from the point of view of the acoustic realization of the poetry in the performance, the *a mutetus* poetry can be seen and described – following the taxonomy proposed in Arom et al. 2005 and focusing on the polyphonic sections of the *a mutetus* singing – as a drone music, performed by more than one person, with a simple and non-continuous drone, with parts of *tuilage* (overlapping) between the voice of the soloist and those of the bi-vocal accompaniment choir (called *bàsciu e contra*), and with parts of counterpoint between the soloist and the voices of the choir, or – following the taxonomy proposed in Agamennone - Facci - Giannattasio 1996 and focusing primarily on the relation between the solo part and accompaniment – it can be considered as a form of melody with vocal accompaniment.[1]

Figure 1 provides a graphical representation of the basic structure of the *a mutetu* singing style. Every section of the singing of the *mutetu* can be divided – for the sake of a synthetic description – into two main parts with a short intermediate section, indicated in the figure by three rounded rectangles. In the first part, the improviser sings without accompaniment a different number of lines (usually 8, 9 or 10 in the first section of the *mutetu*, called *sterrina*; 3 lines in the following sections, called *torradas*). At the end of the monodic part, the improviser's melodic profile reaches the tonal centre in the *tonus finalis* and there is a short *tuilage* between the voice of the soloist and the two voices of the accompanying choir, with the higher voice of the choir (the *contra*) usually preceding the entrance of the lower voice (the *bàsciu*) by a small fraction of a second, respectively in unison with the *tonus finalis* of the poet and one octave lower than it. The last part is polyphonic: the *bàsciu*, with a "guttural" emission of voice,[2] sings a low note with a stable pitch (drone) on a slightly changing

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1 Although the structure of the *a mutetus* singing cannot be recognized in the four exemplar types of melody with vocal accompaniment listed in the "taxonomic table" presented in Agamennone - Facci - Giannattasio 1996: pp. 245-246.

2 The vocal style of the *bàsciu* is analogous to that of the *bassu* in *a tenore* singing. An analysis of this style is in Henrich - Lortat-Jacob - Castellengo - Bailly - Pelorson 2004.
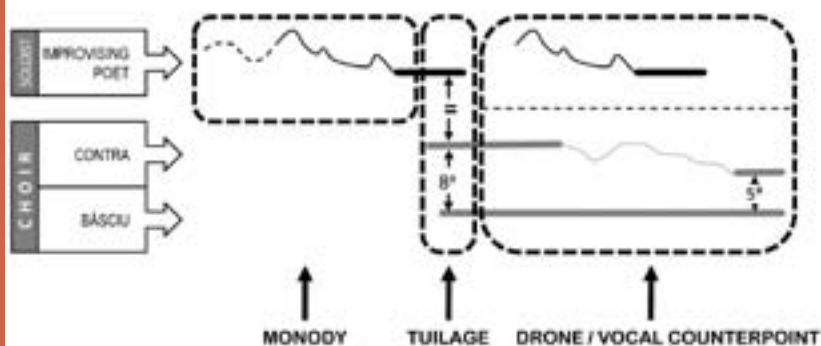
Figure 1. Schematic graphical representation of the basic musical structure of the a mutetus singing style.

vocalic sound; the *contra* makes a variable melodic movement which always ends on a tone one fifth higher than the *bàsciu*, using nonsense syllables; the poet – usually, but not every time (the optional presence of the poet's voice in this polyphonic section is indicated in Figure 1 by a broken line dividing the choir and the soloist) – sings a line which again has the tonal centre as *tonus finalis*.

The essential description of the main structure of the *a mutetu* singing presented here focuses on the musical activity performed in the poetical duels (*cantadas*) in terms of its textural organisation. However, singing in this fashion is clearly far more than this. Grasping it in depth means looking at it not only as an "aseptic" acoustic realization, a pure combination of melodic lines, a disembodied product of abstract musical structures, but even as a particular musical behavior, a social act whose aim is accomplished by means of the combined actions of three performers, each of whom expresses an "intentionally distinct and coordinate participation in a collective musical production", exhibiting a specific "sound identity" and specific relationships and hierarchies (Macchiarella, this volume pag. 11), as well as particular personal relations in their (extra-musical) lives. In the case of the *contra* singer Agostino Valdes, who has had a central role in this research, his relationship with the *bàsciu* singer Gianni Cogoni has been almost life-long – as an accompanying choir in the poetical duels in Southern Sardinia, they have been among the most appreciated and requested duos for decades – and overcomes the scope of their musical activity – Agostino and Gianni are not just friends, but *gopais*, since they are linked by a *compérage* relationship.

Object and method

In the present study, one of the musicological features of the accompaniment has been taken into consideration, i.e. the melodic variation of the *contra* in the multipart sections of the *a mutetus* singing. The topic has been analysed by putting two heuristic procedures in connection, i.e. (i) interviewing Agostino Valdes, one of the most re-

Figure 2. The typical setting of the cantada a mutetus longus, with the bàsciu and contra standing on the left side of the improvising poet (cantadori). From the left in the photo: Eliseo Vargiu (cantadori), Giovanni Cogoni (bàsciu) and Agostino Valdes (contra) during the cantada held for the Festival of Santa Maria in Quartu S. Elena on 5 September 2009. During the poets' first and last turns, the two members of the accompanying choir sing standing up, whereas for the rest of the poetical duel they sing remaining seated.

quested and expert *contra* singers, and eliciting him to give information about the conception and practice of his singing style[3] and (ii) carrying on formal and statistical analysis on a particular performance in which Agostino Valdes was involved along with his constant partner Giovanni Cogoni.

The performance under consideration is the *a mutetus* poetical duel which took place in Assemini, a village in the neighbourhood of Cagliari (Southern Sardinia), on 28 June 2006, during the festival in honour of Saint Peter, with the *cantadoris* (extemporary poets) Ireneo Porceddu, Marco Melis, Antonello Orrù and Roberto Zuncheddu. Firstly, a manual transcription of the basic musical and phonetic characteristics[4] of

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3 The interview was made by the author in Quartu S. Elena (CA), on 7 June 2010. All quotations reported below identified with the acronym AV ([A]gostino [V]aldes) have been extracted from that interview. I am very grateful to Agostino for his kindness and willingness to collaborate in the present research, as well as to my friend and colleague Marco Lutzu for his helpful suggestions, insightful critical remarks and amusing tongue-in-cheek comments on the research project.

4 The musical transcription was carried out in a figured form (Agamennone - Facci - Giannat-

each *contra* intervention was accomplished by means of *Praat* software (Boersma - Weenink 2010) – see Figure 3. Secondly, the data were collected and analysed by means of *R* software (RTDC 2009).
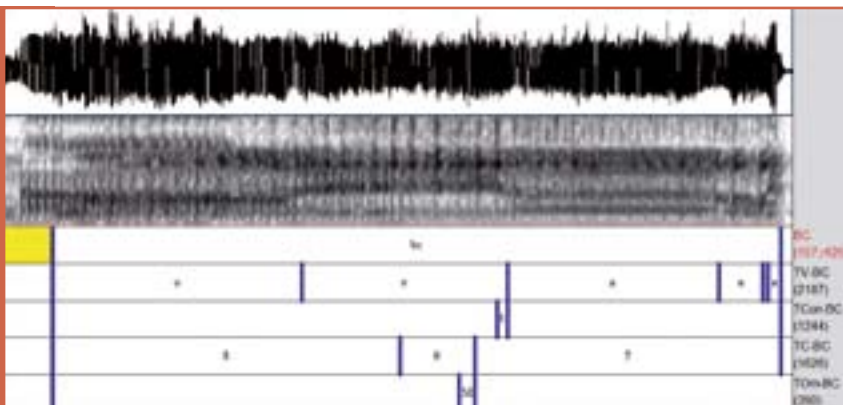
The theoretical foundation of the adopted method is found in Clifford Geertz's pages where the anthropologist, overtaking usual approaches to anthropological analysis defined in terms of inside/outside or phenomenological/objectivist or emic/etic dichotomies, borrows the psychoanalyst Heinz Kohut's distinction between *experience-near* and *experience-distant* concepts[5] and maintains that anthropologically-oriented analysis should "grasp concepts which, for other people, are experience-near, [and] do so well enough to place them in an illuminating connection with those experience-distant concepts that theorists have fashioned" (Geertz 1974: p. 29). In the present case, the latter types of concepts which were used in the analysis come from both the theoretical apparatus of traditional musicology and from other fields of scientific inquiry based on formal procedures and a quantitative approach.[6]

tasio - Giuriati 1991: pp. 260-263); the phonetic transcription was made based on the criteria indicated in Macha - Skarnitzl 2009.

5 "An experience-near concept is, roughly, one which an individual – a patient, a subject, in our case an informant – might himself naturally and effortlessly use to define what he or his fellows see, feel, think, imagine, and so on, and which he would readily understand when similarly applied by others. An experience-distant concept is one which various types of specialists – an analyst, an experimenter, an ethnographer, even a priest or an ideologist – employ to forward their scientific, philosophical, or practical aims" (Geertz 1974: p. 28).

6 The idea that this twofold – or, as pointed out in the title, "bifocal" – approach in the

Discussion

In the following pages, the analysis follows the same pattern in different passages. First, a statement concerning aspects of the *contra* practice and aesthetics extracted from the interview with Agostino Valdes is quoted; then the issue is examined through a formal approach, taking the elected performance as the object of various types of quantitative analysis. The concept of *frorigiu* – i.e. 'embellishment', musical variation – will be the core of the discussion, the key issue around which a number of aspects concerning the musical practice of the accompaniment will be examined.

a) Types, similarity and evolution

Po no essi ripetitiva, sa contra circat de variai. Narendi "variai", nau "afrorigiai", cioè si afrorìgiat su chi est contra de acumpangiamentu. Ecu sa variabilidadi de sa contra: afrorigiai sa contra po no essi monotona e ripetitiva.
(tr.: 'the *contra* seeks variation in order to avoid repeating himself. To vary means to adorn [*afrorigiai*: add grace-notes, embellishments]. *Contra* variability comes from these embellishments made to avoid monotony and repetitiveness') (AV).

Despite the apparent regularity of the *contra* interventions in the *cantadas*, twelve different melodic types are present in the poetical duel examined. Although the twelve types show evident similarities, as Agostino says, they are the outcome of a process of progressive embellishment (*afrorigiamentu*) which aims at giving variety to the accompaniment.

A common way of analysing music similarities and processes of variation in music is the so-called paradigmatic method (Brăiloiu 1982; Ruwet 1972), the heuristic procedure (and/or graphical outcome) of which is a transcription where the elements belonging to the same paradigmatic class are placed in the same vertical position allowing for easier comparison and to effectively display the overall musical structure. In recent times, several methods for measuring musical similarity have been developed, based on a variety of formal criteria and approaches (see Hofmann - Engl 2002; Aloupis 2003). In the present case, a measure based on the edit-distance (also known as Levenshtein distance after its inventor) has been used in order to quantify the extent of similarity between all pairs of melodic profiles (see Table 1).[7]

hereby proposed ethnomusicological analysis is inspired by Geertz's anthropological perspective, has to be taken within the limits of the specific point declared here. In order to avoid any possible miscomprehension and running the risk of some epistemological confusion, I believe it opportune to clarify that this does not mean sharing the theoretical basis and adopting the methodological approach of Geertz's work *in toto*.

7 As outlined in Grachten - Arcos - Lopez de Mantaras 2004: p. 211, "the edit-distance between two sequences is defined as the minimum total cost of transforming one sequence

	865	8675	8765	87675	876785	87678765	876787675	898767865	8987678765	8678987678765	878987678765	8678987678765
865	0	1	1	2	3	5	6	6	7	9	9	10
8675	1	0	2	1	2	4	5	5	6	8	8	9
8765	1	2	0	1	2	4	5	5	6	8	8	9
87675	2	1	1	0	1	3	4	4	5	7	7	8
876785	3	2	2	1	0	2	3	3	4	6	6	7
87678765	5	4	4	3	2	0	1	3	2	6	4	5
876787675	6	5	5	4	3	1	0	4	3	5	5	6
898767865	6	5	5	4	3	3	4	0	1	3	3	4
8987678765	7	6	6	5	4	2	3	1	0	4	2	3
8678987678765	9	8	8	7	6	6	5	3	4	0	2	1
878987678765	9	8	8	7	6	4	5	3	2	2	0	1
8678987678765	10	9	9	8	7	5	6	4	3	1	1	0

Table 1. Distance matrix of the melodic profiles measured through the edit-distance method.

Using Agostino's own terms (see *infra*, par. 3.c), *afrorigiai sa contra* ['to embellish the contra'] is a matter of *fantasia* ['inventiveness']. Can we say something more or something different about the musical process involved in this creative activity? In order to get an insight into the process of *afrorigiamentu*, we can examine the similarities between the twelve types of melodic profile. A formal way of identifying a possible 'path' in the process of *afrorigiamentu* is to seek the shortest way to pass from one melodic type to another one. To that end, a minimum spanning tree[8] based on the distance matrix was first calculated. The identified tree can be musically interpreted in terms of the theory of melody put forward in Baroni - Dalmonte - Jacoboni 1999 as a progressive evolution of the "nuclear scale" by means of various types of melodic figures, like skip figures, inversion figures, voltas, passing tones (see Figure 4).

b) Memorized / improvised types and distribution

Tui candu ti setzis ingunis, a parti cussas duas o tres chi fais poita ca ddas as memorizadas, ma

(the source sequence) into the other (the target sequence), given a set of allowed edit operations and a cost function that defines the cost of each edit operation. The most common set of edit operations contains insertion, deletion, and replacement. Insertion is the operation of adding an element at some point in the target sequence; deletion refers to the removal of an element from the source sequence; replacement is the substitution of an element from the target sequence for an element of the source sequence".

8 For a technical definition and a historical survey on the development related to the research regarding the minimum spanning trees, see Nesetril - Milkova - Neset 2001. Calculations and graphs were accomplished by means of the *R* package *Ape* (Paradis - Claude - Strimmer 2004).
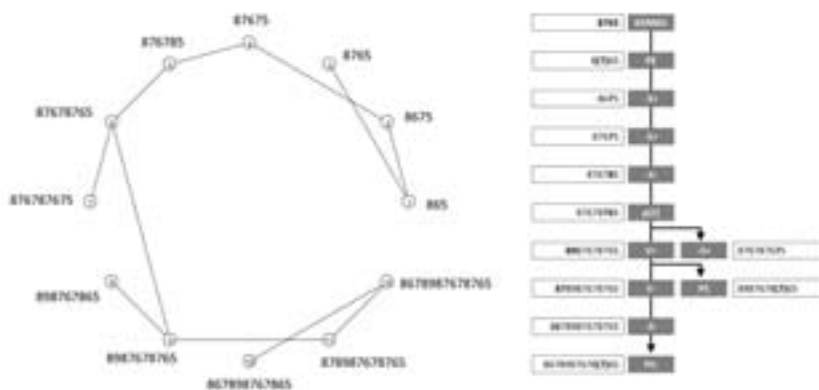
Figure 4. On the left: the minimum spanning tree for the graph based on the distances between each pair of melodic types. On the right: the process of afrorigiamentu seen as the evolution, via progressive additions of melodic figures, of an original nuclear scale.

totus is altras benint ... calincuna bella - poita ndi bessit de custus afrorigiamentus ca no funt mancu totu perfetus, eh! - ddu provas po sa prima borta e su cumpàngiu tuu ti narat: "ah, bellu! torraddu a fai!", poi, mancai abarras duus o tres girus chi no ddu fais e ti ddu scarescis, no t'arregodas prus su passàgiu. E intzandus nd'inventas un'altru. Custu est afrorigiai. Poita ca afrorigiai sempri in su pròpiu modu est una cosa chi po mei, chi seu bintixinc'annus fendi sa contra, est una cosa chi no depit essi

(tr.: 'When you are sitting there, apart from the two or three embellishments which are memorized, all the other ones are improvised. Among those which are improvised, some turn out to be good, some are not so perfect ... Sometimes, you try out an embellishment for the first time and your colleague [the *bàsciu*] tells you: "Ah, beautiful! do it again". Later, perhaps you don't repeat that embellishment for two or three turns, and so you forget the melody [*passàgiu*]. Then, you improvise a different embellishment. This is *afrorigiai* ['to embellish']. As a singer who has been acting as *contra* for 25 years, I think embellishing always the same way should be avoided) (AV).

The number of occurrences of the twelve melodic types is unequal. As Figure 5 shows, some melodic types have a heavy presence during the course of the performance, and consequently may be assumed to be memorized, others are seldom or even used just once (they are indicated as *hapax* [legomena] in the barplot), and are supposedly improvised.

In a different perspective, we can incidentally observe that the melodic type distribution meets – with some approximation – the prediction of Zipf's law concerning the
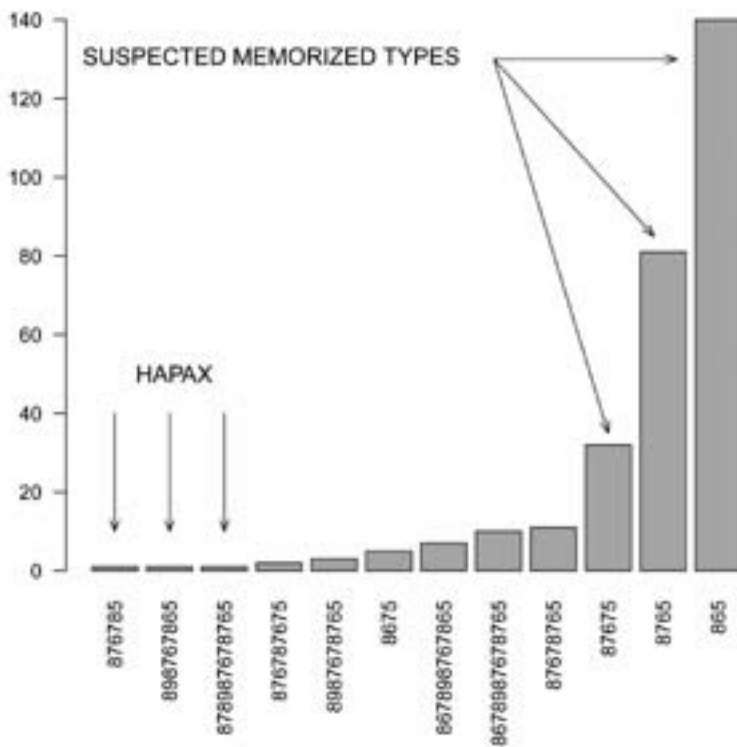
frequency of words in corpora of natural languages (figure 6).[9] However, it is obvious that no generalization on this topic is possible at present, and that it could be useful to compare this distribution with other ones relevant to other contra performances.

c) Melodic creativity and richness

Su forrìgiu de sa contra dipendit sempri de sa fantasia de su chi fait sa contra. Calincunu forrìgiu nc'est chi ddu feus abituali, poita benit beni, sonat beni, e allora ddu feus abituali. O sinunca

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9 According to Zipf's law (Zipf 1935), in any corpus of natural languages the frequency of any word is inversely proportional to its rank in the frequency, that is by taking the natural logarithm of the rank and of the frequency of the words and plotting the data, they should approximately fit a straight line. Zipf distributions have been found in several other areas of social behaviour – for example, recent findings regard web catching strategies (Adamic - Huberman 2002) – as well as other types of phenomena as, for example, city sizes (Soo 2005).
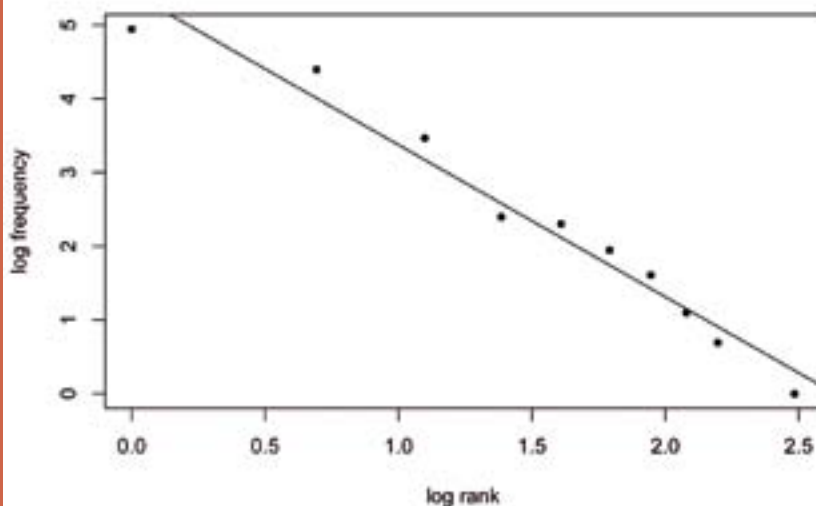
duranti sa cantada, sa fantasia de su chi fait sa contra ddu portat a variai custu froròigiu. [...] Sa magior parti chi si vàriat su froròigiu est pròpiu po no essi ne monotona ne ripetitiva
(tr.: 'The *froròigiu* ['embellishment'] of the *contra* always depends on the *contra*'s *fantasia* ['inventive power']. Some embellishments are common, because they sound good, so the *contra* often repeats them. In other cases, during the poetical duel, the *fantasia* of the *contra* enforces him to vary these embellishments. In most cases, the *contra* varies the embellishments in order to be neither monotone nor repetitive') (AV).

This is Agostino's perspective on the variation of *froròigius* pivots on the concept of *fantasia* ['inventive power']. Some further considerations may be made by means of the observation of the distribution of the melodic types over the course of the performance. The plot in Figure 7 shows the growth curves of each melodic type in the performance. The curves generally rise quite regularly, but there are two noticeable exceptions regarding the melodic types [87675] and [8678987678765]. In these cases, two "breakpoints" appear respectively in the middle and in the final part, where a steeper slope of the curves indicates a more frequent use of the type with respect to the rest of the performance. Perhaps, borrowing (and of course fiercely adapting) the well-known definitions used by art critics to split up and define Pablo Picasso's artistic path, we could make use of these kinds of 'stylistic' phases on the *contra*'s part occurring during the performance to define the central part of the *cantada* as the "87675 period" and the final part as the "8678987678765 period".
In order to get an insight into this process, it is also useful to consider the growth curve of the (melodic) 'vocabulary' over the course of the performance. In this case, we
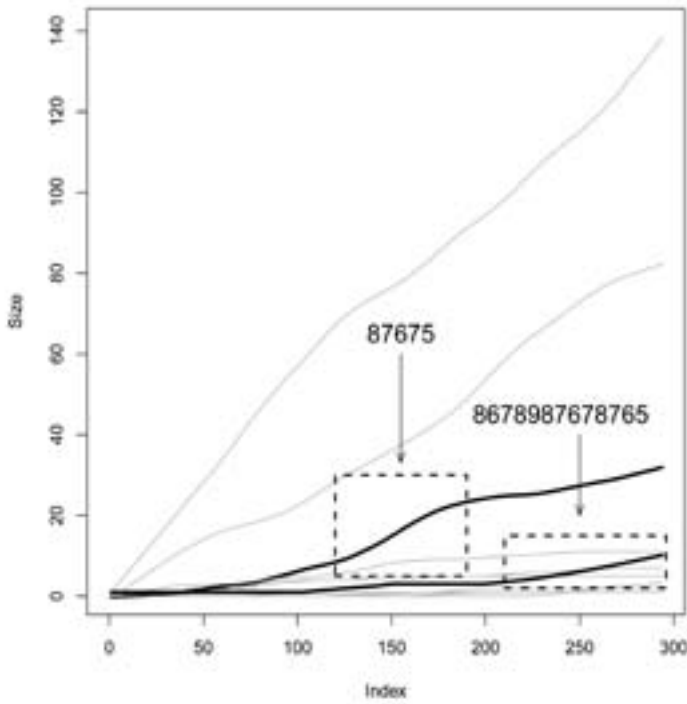
Figure 7. Growth lines (smoothed) of the melodic types in the performance. In black, the lines regarding the [87675] and the [8678987678765] types, with broken-lined rectangles highlighting their steeper slope in the middle and in the final part of the cantada respectively.

can borrow the distinction between *tokens* (in the present case, the number of *contra* interventions) and *types* (in the present case, the number of melodic types) of computational linguistics to see how Agostino's *fantasia* progressively increases the melodic variety during the performance (figure 8). The appearance of unheard melodic types follows a decreasing trend but continues up to the final part of the *cantada*. In other terms, the *contra*'s creative process seems to be "open" – at least to a certain extent – all through the *cantada*.

d) Durational issues

"Candu su mutetu est afrorigiau tendit a essiri legermenti prus longu. Poita ca tui fais s'afrorigiamentu, est craru ca ti richiedit unu pagheddu prus de fiatu, unu pagheddu prus de... allunghiai su chi est contra. No est meda, perou est legermenti prus longa"
(tr.: "When the *mutetu* is embellished, it tends to be a little (not much) longer. The embellishment clearly requires some more breath, some lengthening of the *contra* intervention') (AV).

Figure 9. On the left: distribution of the duration of the contra interventions as the number of notes of the melodic type (regression line added).
On the right: mean and standard deviation (± 1 SD) for the starting, intermediate and end tones of the contra interventions.

Agostino's statement is confirmed by the analysis of the duration of the *contra* interventions in the performance. The left panel of Figure 9 shows that there is a general trend towards the lengthening of the *contra* intervention in correspondence to an increase in the complexity of the melodic profiles (measured by the number of notes which form them), with the exception of the case of the melodic types formed by 5 notes. As can be seen from the right panel in Figure 9, the biggest part of the variance in the duration of the *contra* interventions is related to the central section of the *contra* interventions, i.e. the one where the *frorìgiu* may take place.

"S'afrorìgiu ddu feus in totu sa gara, ma normalmenti ddu feus in is primus tres peis, poita ca is primus tres peis funt sterrina e cubertantza. Dopu s'ascurtanti puru, su mutetu no dd'ascurtat prus poita at intèndiu sa sterrina e sa cubertantza"
(tr.: 'We make embellishments throughout the poetical contest, but usually we make it in the
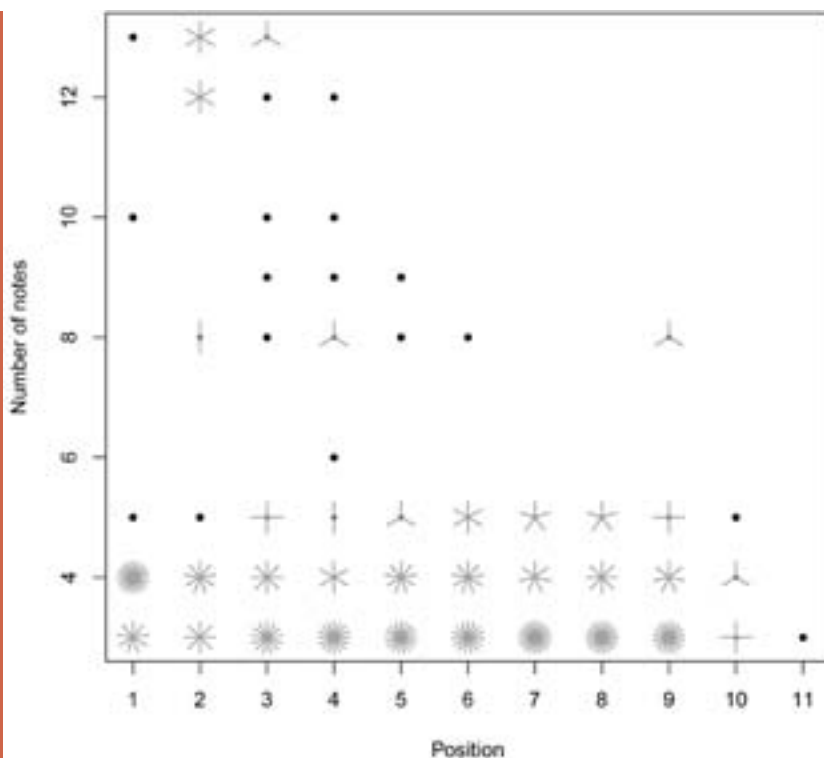
Figure 10. Sunflower plot indicating the distribution of melodic types by their position in the sections of the mutetu.

first three sections (*peis*), because these are *sterrina* and *cubertantza*. Later, the listener does not listen to the *mutetu* any longer, since he has already listened to the *sterrina* and the *cubertantza*') (AV).

As has been previously said, a coarse-grained measure of the complexity of the melodic types, i.e. of the extent of their *afrorigiamentu,* can be obtained via the sum of the number of notes of which they are made up. The sunflower plot[10] in Figure 10 shows that the complexity of the melodic types used in the interventions at the end of the first three parts of the *mutetu* (i.e. the *sterrina* and the first two *torradas*; indicated as position 1-2-3, on the X-axis of the plot) is generally higher than the one of the following interventions (position 4 onwards) . The difference between the two groups,

10 A sunflower plot is a plot where "[m]ultiple points are plotted as 'sunflowers' with multiple leaves ('petals') such that overplotting is visualized instead of accidental and invisible" (R Documentation, in RTDC, 2009).
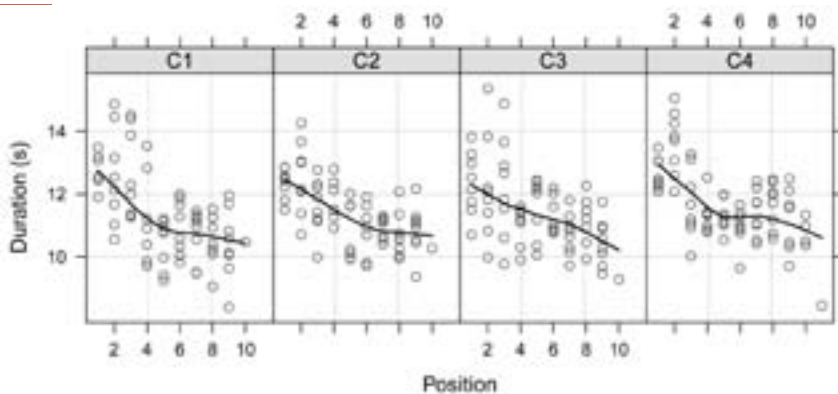
Figure 11. Duration of the contra interventions by position in the mutetu. Each plot and relevant trend line regards one of the four poets (here indicated as "C1", "C2", "C3", "C4").

tested by means of the Wilcoxon rank sum test (with continuity correction), is statistically significant (W=12179, p < .001).

Given the correlation between number of notes and duration of the intervention, we can also face this issue from the temporal perspective. In this case, we can see that the duration of the *contra* interventions has a general trend towards the shortening within each *mutetu* for all four poets (figure 11).

e) Interaction with the poets

"Si issu [su cantadori] fait su mutetu e no fait sa torrada, nosu s'afrorigiamentu ddu feus a su pròpiu, antzis candu issu no fait sa torrada, s'afrorigiamentu benit intèndiu de prus, mentri inveci candu issu fait sa torrada, medas bortas metadi de s'afrorigiamentu benit casi tupau de su chi est boxi sua; mentri inveci candu issu no fait sa torrada, s'afrorigiamentu benit ascurtau de prus"
(tr.: 'When the poet is singing the *mutetu* and doesn't sing the prolectic line (*torrada*), we make the embellishment all the same; rather, when the poet sings the prolectic line, the *contra*'s embellishment is overshadowed by the poet's voice, while when the poet doesn't sing it, the *contra*'s embellishment is more hearable') (AV).

In most cases, during the *contra* interventions the poet sings a line which anticipates the first line of the following section (prolectic line). Since the number of cases in which this does not happen are very few in the examined performance – 11 out of 294 (4%) – Agostino's assertion cannot be adequately tested here. In these eleven cases, the preferred melodic type is [8765], which occurs in 8 cases, but we also note the presence of the most complex type [8678987678765], formed by 13 notes, occurring in this context 2 out of 10 times (perhaps a clue in the direction indicated by Agostino)

PROLECTIC LINE		NUMBER OF NOTES								
		3	4	5	6	8	9	10	12	13
	FALSE	1	8	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
	TRUE	139	78	32	1	11	3	3	8	8

Table 2. Number of occurrences of melodic types by number of notes and presence/absence of the prolectic line.
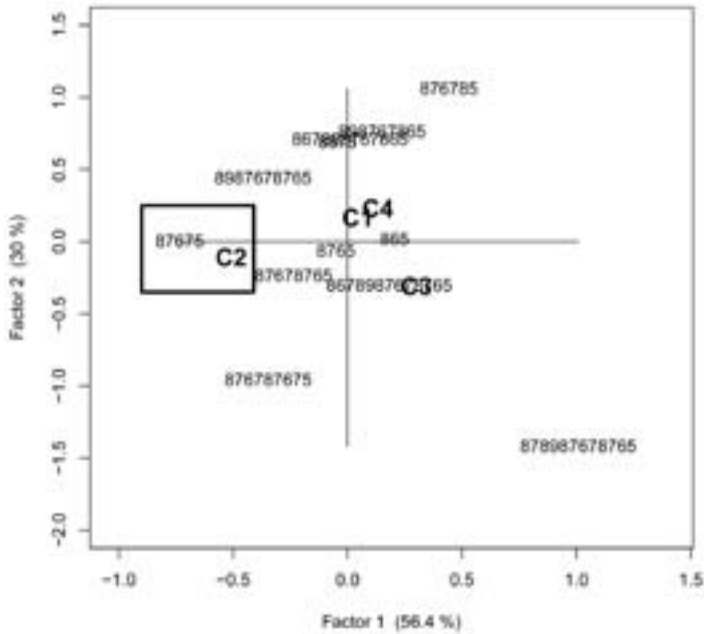
Figure 12. Correspondence plot based on the contingency table in Table 3. A rectangle shows the off-centered position of the melodic type [87675] and of the poet C2 in Factor 1.

– see Table 2.

Calincunu afrorigiamentu podit sutzedit de ddu fai cun d-unu cantadori chi ti ispirat […] Poita nci funt cantadoris chi ti faint mutetus ecelsus, nci funt cantadoris chi ti faint su mutetu giustu po fai su mutetu e basta. O su timbru de sa boxi de su cantadori ti permitit de afrorigiai de prus. Ecu chi sutzedit chi cun d-unu cantadori podis afrorigiai prus de un'altru
(tr.: 'Some embellishments may be made with an improviser who inspires you […] because there are some improvisers who make wonderful *mutetus* and other ones who make the *mutetu* just because they have to do it. Otherwise, it is the timbre of the voice of the improviser that permits you to make more embellishments. So, it happens that with one improviser you can embellish more than with another one') (AV).

	POETS			
MELODIC TYPES	C1	C2	C3	C4
865	39	21	41	39
8675	1	1	0	3
8765	16	22	21	22
87675	8	*17*	2	5
876785	0	0	0	1
87678765	2	4	3	2
876787675	0	1	1	0
898767865	1	0	0	0
8987678765	1	1	0	1
867898767865	3	1	0	3
878987678765	0	0	1	0
8678987678765	2	2	4	2

Table 3. Number of occurrences of the twelve melodic types per poet (in italics the anomalous value relevant to the type [87675] for the poet identified as C2).

The distribution of the melodic types appears quite balanced with respect to the four poets. One exception could be, in this case, the distribution of the melodic type [87675], which is more common for one poet than for the others (see Table 3 – value "17" in italics – and the correspondence analysis[11] two-dimensional plot in Figure 12 – the rectangle highlights the position of the melodic type [87675] and the one of the poet identified as C2, clearly off-centred on the X-axis in the correspondence map, relevant to the first factor, which accounts for 56% of the variance). For that matter, the statistical test used to evaluate the hypothesis that the distribution of the melodic types is not random for the four poets does not reach – despite the presence of this anomalous value – the significance level (χ^2 = 46.47, df = 33, p = 0.06).

Medas bortas capitat, candu su cantadori fait unu mutetu bellu, chi ti sènniat, ti pigat, una borta chi custu mutetu ddu intendis ca est tropu bellu, intzandus ddu afrorigias … poita su mutetu puru candu no est meda bellu est monotonu, inveci candu corpiscit e ti pigat, intzandus scadenas sa fantasia e afrorigias custu mutetu".
 (tr.: 'Sometimes you are struck by the beauty of the poetry while hearing the poet singing his *mutetu*. You think to yourself: "What a beautiful *mutetu*!", and this triggers your *fantasia* ['inventiveness'], so you add embellishments') (AV).

An attempt to give some kind of empirical verification of this observation was made by asking Agostino – during a meeting subsequent to that of the interview – to give two separated "scores" to the *sterrinas* and *cobertantzas* of each *mutetu* (transcribed as verbal text) of the *cantada*[12]. Of course, this type of "analytic" *a posteriori* evaluation

11 Correspondence analysis is a descriptive/exploratory technique which allows the structure of categorical variables included in a table to be explored (see Baayen 2008: pp. 139-146).

12 The topic and the poetical style of the two parts of the *mutetu - sterrina* and *cobertantza* - are strictly distinct (Bravi 2010), so it is worthwhile getting separate scores for each of
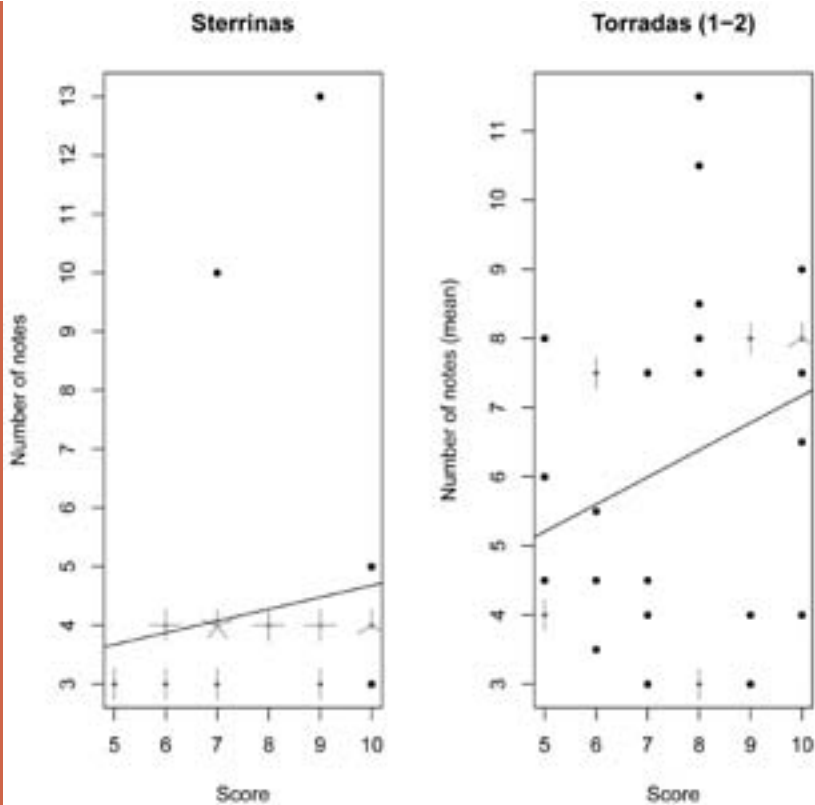
Figure 13. Relation between the level of afrorigiamentu (measured in terms of number of notes) and evaluation of the mutetus (rated on a scale from 1 to 10). The scores relevant to the sterrinas and the cobertantzas (first two torradas) are set apart (left and right panel respectively). Regression lines are added to each plot.

of the quality of the *mutetus* is weakly comparable to the esthetic emotion that could be felt in the midst of the performance. Agostino himself highlighted the relevance of the impact that the view of the faces of the listeners reacting to the delivery of the improvised mutetus always has on his emotional impression during the *cantada*. That being stated and considered, it can nevertheless be observed that some clues in this direction are shown by the two plots in Figure 13, despite the presence of many contradicting data. The graphs show the relationship between the level of *afrorigiamentu* (measured, as mentioned above, via the number of notes of the *contra* interventions) and the evaluation of the poetical quality of the *mutetus* (rated on a scale from 1 to

them.

10 by the *contra* singer). The regression lines added to the plots suggest that a general trend in this direction – more evident in the case of the *cobertantzas* – is present, despite a large amount of variation in the data.

Conclusions and methodological notes

The statements of Agostino Valdes and the analysis of the *cantada* in which he performed together with his peer Giovanni Cogoni have shown that the practice of the accompaniment of extemporary poetry – at least, as it is intended and practiced by Agostino and Giovanni – is currently ruled by some basic principles, which I will try to condense and summarise around four key words:

(i)   *variability*: variation is a necessary and qualifying point for the *contra* singing;

(ii)   *embellishment*: variation is obtained through a progressive adding of *frorìgius*, i.e. melodic figures such as skips, voltas, passing tones etc. to a basic model;

(iii)   *improvisation*: while some variations are common and repeatedly used, others are improvised and seldom appear or are unique in the poetical duel;

(iv)   *empathy and interplay*: besides the essential interplay between the *bàsciu* singer and the *contra* singer, there is a subtler interaction between the accompanying choir and the poet, based both on the characteristics of his singing and on the quality of the poetry that he is improvising.

In this final chapter, I will also try to subject the 'bifocal' method adopted in this paper to a preliminary self-review - thereby fatally biased - by touching on some general issues concerning its scope and by laying bare the extent and the limitations of its applicability. From this self-critical viewpoint, the problem which presents itself as the most challenging is the fact that a great deal of Agostino's knowledge, even if made explicit and thus changed into 'information' (opinions, accounts, theories, descriptions, feelings, judgements, self-representations, etc.) seems hard, ill-advised or completely impossible to be treated with a formal and quantitative approach, as has constantly been the case throughout the present paper. By way of an example, is there any sophisticated technique to reasonably and reliably measure, evaluate or investigate the degree of "fitness", highlighted by Agostino as a crucial point for the quality of the performance (see the following quotation)?

E poi medas bortas, Paolo, dipendit de sa gana puru, eh! Ca cussu est importanti, eh! Torru a fai s'esempru de su giogadori: candu unu est in forma pigat, scartat, andat e sènniat; su pròpiu est in sa contra e su bàsciu. Candu ses in forma t'arrenescit totu, is cosas chi no as mai fatu, chi no as mai provau, t'arrenescint.

(tr.: 'In many cases, Paolo, it depends on your will too! This is important! Let me repeat again the example of the [football] player: when he's fit, he dribbles, goes and scores; the same is for the *contra* and the *bàsciu*. When you're fit, you succeed in doing everything, you succeed in do-

Figure 14 and Figure 15. Giovanni Cogoni and Agostino Valdes (respectively on the left and on the right in both photographs) sing as bàsciu and contra in two different cantadas. Above S. Basilio Festival, Maracalagonis, 1 September 2009; Below: S. Maria festival, Quartu S. E., 5 September 2009.

ing things that you have never done before') (AV).

There are a number of aspects in a performance that seem unlikely to be taken adequately into account within a quantitative approach. The couple of images in Figure 14 may help illustrate the point again. The usual equipment for amplifying the *bàsciu e contra* choir provides just one microphone for both singers, who move their mouth closer to the microphone (and to each other) when they are singing. The figure 14 shows two singers who, despite their engagement in a public and professional activity, exhibit confidence and a positive emotional involvement. Conversely, the presence of two microphones (one for each singer) is uncommon in the *cantadas* technical service and, as the facial expressions and the body language in the figure 15 tell us, the two singers do not seem to be comfortable with this setting, where they are not even afforded eye contact. In this case, the decision to capture each voice separately – while being clearly understandable as regards the sound control of the event on the part of the sound technician – seems to produce a strong emotional unease on the part of the two singers, who are used to singing with their mouths (and heads) in close proximity, almost propping each other up. As Ignazio Macchiarella points out, "multipart music offers an extreme emotional intensity arising from the performative proximity with others – i.e. with other individual passions and emotions" (this volume pp. 18-19), and here the separation imposed by technical needs has an apparent disruptive effect on "the feeling to be actually part of collective entities", "the feeling to merge with the others" (ibid.) of the two singers.

Can we face this aspect of music making by means of the same approach that we have adopted so far? Can we come to grips the way we did in the preceding chapter with this subtle, incorporeal (but actually "weighty") matter and all the intangible, while not necessarily hidden and certainly not secondary aspects related to the psychological and emotional contents of making (multipart) music?

In this case, formal analysis does not seem to be as useful as different kinds of approaches like those based on dialogue, on the intimacy with the music makers, on the elaboration of personal and collective memories.

The same kind of remarks can be made as for what concerns ideals, desires, aspirations – as the one expressed by Agostino in the following quotation – deriving from the fact that in multipart music often "not all the performative roles are considered as being of equal importance" (Macchiarella, this volume pag. 13), as is certainly the case for the *bàsciu* and *contra* accompanists, whose status is definitely subordinated to the one of the poets.

Una cosa chi emu a bolli nai est ca sa contra oi benit considerada unu strumentu... po mei est unu strumentu musicali, chi benit usada de su cantadori cumenti su cantanti de mùsica legera usat unu strumentu – pianoforte, ghitarra ecètera –, mentre prima is cantadoris custa contra no dda teniant in consideratzioni, teniant in consideratzioni sceti su chi cantant issus, sentz'e cumprendi ca sa belesa de sa contra fait figurai su chi est mutetu insoru. Cioè, prus sa contra est afrorigiada e est bella, prus figurat su mutetu. Candu sa boxi de su cantadori est scadenti e su mutetu tenit pagu pasta, si sa contra e su bàsciu tenint una bella impronta e unu bellu afrorigia-

mentu, tendit a figurai su chi est cantadori puru e mutetu puru. Ecu su chi emu a bolli nai, chi sa contra fessit tenta prus in considerazioni

(tr.: 'One thing that I would like to say is that today the *contra* is considered an instrument... In my opinion it is like a musical instrument, which is used by the improviser just as in pop music, the singer uses an instrument – a piano, a guitar etc. –, while before the improvisers didn't take the *contra* into proper consideration, since they took into consideration only what they improvised, not understanding that the beauty of the *contra* also permits their *mutetu* to make a good impression on the listeners. That is, the more the *contra* is embellished and is pleasant, the more the *mutetu* is heightened. When the improviser's voice is shoddy and the mutetu has a poor content, if the *contra* and the *bàsciu* have a good sound and a good embellishment, the improviser and his *mutetu* tend to appear better. This is what I would like to say, that the contra should be taken into greater consideration') (AV).

These points show that analytical tools and statistics are capable of giving answers to some musicological issues relevant to performing actions (in this case, the variation in the *contra* singing style), to confirm or to question the validity of some singers' convictions or statements,[13] to make predictions etc., but seem quite unfit, if left on their own, to provide deep insights into aspects of the performance which deal with emotions, subjective evaluations and motivations, to help catch aesthetic or social values and to minimise eurocentric legacy.

Complementary to this is the fact that there are many musical features which can be investigated only via a formal approach, and to which no effective theoretical or practical contribution can be given from ethnography. There are issues and levels of analysis which cannot realistically be tackled relying upon the knowledge, experience, awareness and self-consciousness of the musicians, however skilled and well-seasoned professionals they might be. In these cases, formal analysis must be self-sufficient and cannot walk in tandem with ethnography.

Hence, if we come back to Clifford Geertz's notions of experience-near and experience-distant concepts, the problem is that the relationship between the two kinds of concept – i.e. in more pragmatic terms, between two research practices with a different epistemological basis, heuristic techniques, instrumental equipment, required skills and know-how – is not defined once and for all:

"Confinement to experience-near concepts leaves an ethnographer awash in immediacies as well as entangled in vernacular. Confinement to experience-distant ones leaves him stranded in abstractions and smothered in jargon. The real question [...] is what roles the two kinds of concepts play in anthropological analysis. To be more exact: How, in each case, should they be

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13 In the fields of anthropology and sociology, a time-honoured and deeply-rooted theoretical reflection has been developed on this topic, which has fostered the onset of a vast literature and has engendered a considerable terminological and conceptual apparatus, focusing on the relations between "conscious" and "unconscious" phenomena (Boas 1911), "attitudes" and "actions" (LaPiere 1934), "jural rules" and "statistical norms" (Leach 1961), models "of" and models "for" (Geertz 1973), "operational", "representational" and "explanatory" models (Caws 1974), etc.

deployed so as to produce an interpretation of the way a people live which is neither impris-oned within their mental horizons, an ethnography of witch-craft as written by a witch, nor systematically deaf to the distinctive tonalities of their existence, an ethnography of witchcraft as written by a geometer?"
(Geertz 1974: p. 29)

In conclusion, the advantages of the methodology applied here, born as an attempt to render Geertz's ideas on the nature of anthropological knowledge in the field of eth-nomusicological analysis, can be summarised into three main points, each supplying answers to typical methodological dilemmas and researchers' demands:

(i) the capability to overcome the classic 'great divide' between *emic* and *etic* approaches (why should we brutally consider etic and emic as two definitely separated, unlinked and unlinkable ways to the knowledge of musicological facts?);

(ii) the offered possibility of by-passing the theoretical bias related to the be-longing of the performers/researchers to one or the other (supposely) 'op-posite' fields (as for my personal case in particular: am I – to deliberately misquote the title of a famous Paul Simon song – "still *etic* after all these years"? i.e. may I consider my point of view on Sardinian genres of sung po-etry as 'external' after a good many years of living in this land and persistent research in this field?);

(iii) a way out for the problem of the knowledge of musical systems which lack any (or have hardly any) kind of theoretical notions (as Udo Will pointed to the question, "What if they say nothing?" (Will 1998). i.e. can we carry on musical analyses doing without, at least to a certain extent, Western concepts and scientific methods, as supporters of 'pure' emic approaches think?).

Based on my experience, I maintain that carrying out the research 'in parallel', con-necting, balancing and comparing what we can grasp and learn through our ethnogra-phy and what emerges from formal analyses, is a powerful and effective way to investi-gate crucial points of musical performances, styles and systems, to bring out aspects of the musical structure which might be likely to pass unnoticed in research relying on a one-sided approach, and to explore the relations of the musical structures with other systems and with the context to which they are bound.

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