European Voices III

The Instrumentation and
Instrumentalization of Sound
Local Multipart Music Practices
in Europe

Ardian Ahmedaja (Ed.)

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In commemoration of Gerlinde Haid

CD-ROM with 65 audio and 32 video examples included

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III. Tradition, Revival, Practice

Foreword

The focused research on Multipart Music in Europe at the Department of Folk Music Research and Ethnomusicology was started in 2003 thanks to the initiative of Ardian Ahmedaja. As he acknowledges in his introduction, his research has been funded since then by the Austrian Science Fund (FWF) and was intensively supported by the former director of the institute, Gerlinde Haid. The accompanying international symposia that were held three times so far had the title European Voices, as did the resulting publications. This is now already the third volume, all of them published in a series of the department *(Schriften zur Volksmusik)*. The department owes this to the indefatigable energy of Ardian Ahmedaja. The initial research focus has grown into an international Research Centre for European Multipart Music which is one of the most prestigious projects of the department at international level.

The ability to attract a considerable number of colleagues to collaborate constantly and actively is a special quality of Ardian Ahmedaja, who has become one of the most respected international experts in the field. The ICTM Study Group on Multipart Music was also established upon his initiative in 2009 and held its first meeting in 2010. The study group has held regular meetings since then, which were always followed by publications.

The research and the publications of Ardian Ahmedaja have considerably broadened the scope of the institute's activities and have intensified its international involvement. As its current director I am very grateful for that.

To complement the advantages concerning the international standing of the department and the relevance of the topic itself, I would like to add some thoughts on methodology and theory, which came to my mind when reading the text. Due to my age and my relatively long professional life in ethnomusicology I have attended quite a number of international ethnomusicological events and have been involved in many activities and joined many international organizations. I have learned about the similarities and differences in regional and national ethnomusicological approaches in different parts of the world. Over many years I discussed the research history of folk music research and ethnomusicology with Gerlinde Haid, due to the special situation of our department, which has both aspects in its name. There does not seem to be a consensus on either the definition of the subject or that of the object of research in our discipline, and there are a lot of conflicting arguments. What I find extraordinary in this volume, however, is the reconciliation of conflicting tendencies in ethnomusicology such as "music in context" versus "music as text" , the "Russian school" of ethnomusicology versus "Western" approaches, "folk music research" versus "ethnomusi-

cology" in the sense of *das Fremde* und *das Eigene* (otherness and the self) (see Grupe 2005) and systematic versus comparative approaches. The book offers a wide range of different methodologies and theories applied to European multipart music, and therefore functions as a convincing argument that complex phenomena need manifold approaches. European multipart music is such a thrilling topic that it can obviously overwhelm conflicts and establish an initiative which leads to the joining of forces. This is something extraordinary which our department first of all owes to Ardian Ahmedaja, and of course to all the colleagues who have contributed to this volume, including such celebrities as Walter Deutsch, the founder of our department and local nestor of folk music research in Austria, and the US-based scholar Philip Bohlman, one of the best-known ethnomusicologist worldwide. In the name of our institute I extend my sincerest thanks to all the people who cooperated so inspiringly in the multipart choir of European voices.

Ursula Hemetek

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Introduction

The understanding of instrumentation in music literature has been closely connected for a longer period with instruments, the potential they offer for musical performance, their sound qualities and fusion possibilities. This has been the case since the first printed handbook on musical instruments *Musica getutscht und ausgezogen* (1511) by Sebastian Virdung. Its aim was the classification of instruments according to the ways of sound production (stringed, wind and percussion instruments).

Among later publications, Michael Praetorius's famous *Syntagma musicum* (1614/15, 1619) should be mentioned. Even today, it is an important reference for the musical performance practice of the time as well as for the construction and classification of musical instruments (particularly the second volume "De Organographia" from 1619).

These and other works are also connected with pedagogical instructions for performance. In addition, instructions on instrumentation can also be found in pedagogical treatises. One of earliest publications in this field is the *Essai de l'instruction à l'usage de ceux, qui composent pour la clarinette et le cor* [An essay of instructions on the use of the clarinet and the horn] by Valentin Roeser (1764). This is perhaps the first publication on instrumentation as a process, without using the term as such. The author specifies possibilities of fusion in chamber music for wind instruments including the clarinet, a relatively young instrument of the time.

According to Giseler (1996, 911) the term *instrumentation* was used for the first time in 1807 as "Instrumentierung" by Heinrich Christoph Koch in his *Kurzgefaßtes Handwörterbuch der Musik für praktische Tonkünstler und für Dilettanten* [A short lexicon of music for practical sound artists and amateurs]. Later it was applied in publications like E.T.A. Hoffmann's renowned review of Beethoven's Fifth Symphony in the *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* (1810) or the *Dictionnaire de musique moderne* (1821) by Castil-Blaze. In this way the use of the term increased continuously in international musical literature.

On the other hand, developments in the field of orchestras, especially from the mid–18th century (Mannheim school) onwards, became the foundation for basic theoretical and practical works on instrumentation. A prominent work is the *Grande traité d'instrumentation et d'orchestration modernes* [Grand treatises of modern instrumentation and orchestration] (1843) by Hector Berlioz, updated in 1905 by Richard Strauss. Among other significant works from the second half of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century, Rimsky-Korsakov's Основы оркестровки [Principles of Orchestration] should be mentioned. It was left unfinished and was published posthumously in 1913 as completed by Maximilian Steinberg. An interesting aspect of these and other

treatises is the parallel use of the terms "instrumentation" and "orchestration", connected primarily with the "Western" symphonic orchestra.

In fact, at the beginning of the 20th century a significant change was taking place in the understanding of instrumentation/orchestration processes. According to Ferruccio Busoni, a leading figure in the musical life of the time, there are two kinds of instrumentation: "absolute orchestration, demanded and required by musical thought and the 'instrumentation' of a piece of music originally conceived in an abstract way or for another instrument. The first is the only true one, the second belongs to 'arrangement' [*die vom musikalischen Gedanken geforderte und vorgeschriebene, absolute Orchestration, und die ‚Instrumentierung' eines ursprünglich nur abstrakt musikalischen oder für ein anderes Instrument gedachten Satzes. Die erste ist allein die echte, die zweite gehört in das ‚Arrangement'*]." (Busoni 1905/1906, 168)

Igor Stravinsky's view of this issue is remarkable. Stravinsky, a pupil of Rimsky-Korsakov, is known for a specific sound and instrumentation style in his works which became internationally known with the premiere of the ballet "The Firebird" in 1910 in Paris. In conversations with Robert Craft, Stravinsky considers the term instrumentation "a gloss". According to his opinion, the term makes out as if music were first composed and then orchestrated (Strawinsky 1961, 182), which makes clear that he considered instrumentation an inseparable part of musical composition.

Local music practices offer excellent examples of this perspective. Among them, multipart music practices are of particular interest. In these practices, the processes of music making and expressive behaviour are based on the intentionally distinct and coordinated participation of the music makers in the performing act by sharing their treasure trove of experiences and cultural affiliations and shaping values.

Surprisingly enough, multipart music practices in Europe have hardly been investigated from the viewpoint of instrumentation. The common sound of an entire ensemble produced through the simultaneous performance of several instruments and/or human voices differs from that which each member of the ensemble produces separately. Furthermore, research on simultaneously played instruments has shown that their sound colours cannot be perceived separately as soon as their formants (peaks in the frequency spectrum of a sound caused by acoustic resonance) overlap (Reuter 1996).

This perspective inevitably leads to questions about the kinds of contacts and discourse of people involved in the processes of music making and music performance. In music making "in company" (Lortart-Jacob 2011), the protagonists have to follow the rules of interaction and create the cohesion of "being together". At the same time, they try to promote their own personal goals. This dichotomy makes the instrumentation and instrumentalization processes more complex. The exploration of this complexity allows us to come closer to the processes of interaction within a musical

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group and its affiliation to the environment. Bernard Lortat-Jacob stated in 2013 that "culture as such … can … be seen as an object of dependence" and "as a drug whose absorption is realized within interacting cells, at the level of villages, groups, friends. What defines the cell is the fact that it exists only in its interactions. Otherwise it dies. A culture is a cellular network and Music is quite an efficient device for its functioning." (Lortat-Jacob 2013, 18)

A significant aspect in the issue of the proximity of the group members in multipart music practices are cases in which the separate performance of single parts turns out to be impossible. An experience during a study trip in southern Albania in 2004 with students from the University of Music and Performing Arts, Vienna may exemplify this. The students wanted to listen to the third soloist separately from the others, because of the specific guttural sound, which is characteristic for the third soloist of multipart songs in the region Labëri. The singer tried several times, but it was not possible for him to sing alone. He said he needed to hear all the group to be able to sing that part. Therefore a middle course was proposed. All the singers tried to sing quietly in the background in order to let him be heard in the foreground.

In addition, from the viewpoint of the instrumentation and instrumentalization of sound, historical developments and connections between singing, instrumental and/or dance practices are important elements. One noteworthy example is that of the *Ländler* in Austria. "A great part of the *Ländler's* music has developed historically from the drone instruments bagpipes and hurdy gurdy to the obligatory two-part music of the violins [*Ein großer Teil der überlieferten Ländlermusik hat sich historisch von den Bordun-instrumenten Dudelsack und Leier zur obligaten zweistimmigen Geigenmusik entwickelt*]." (Deutsch, Eibner, Haid 1985, 128) This kind of two-part music was taken over by wind and brass instruments performed in pairs of fifes (*Seitelpfeifen*), clarinets, or flugelhorns (Deutsch, Eibner, Haid 1985, 128; Deutsch and Gschwantler 1994, 87). Such practices have influenced on their side the multipart singing practice of *yodelling* (Haid 2006; Fink-Mennel 2007, 12; Fink-Mennel 2011). In his contribution for this volume, Walter Deutsch gives further details and reflects about this and other developments.

The results of the analysis of the contributions to this volume show how crucial the instrumentation and instrumentalization of sound are for music-making processes, and their impact on the everyday life of the respective communities. They emphasize the idea that music should be considered more than "an accomplishment in which it would be a pleasure to take one's 'part'…" Instead, "it must be seen as a 'founder' of company, of essential relationships, of necessary company, of social interactions which are constructive, decisive, crucial, etc. The objective of the research thus moves sideways from the objective. The interest here will not be for the produced object [unlike an aesthetic approach], but rather for those who create it [an anthropological approach], …" (Lortat-Jacob 2013, 18)

The dimension of the instrumentation and instrumentalization of sound becomes broader through the powerful allegory of the pilgrim's progress focused on by Philip Bohlman in this volume. The pilgrim's body serves as a metaphor for the vessel that is a musical instrument. The formation of community and *communitas* results from musical instrumentalization. As ontologically and sonically multipart music, the sound of pilgrimage song contains many parts. Through the soteriology of return and revival, the multiple parts of the music of pilgrimage can coalesce via the physical journey itself. The pilgrim's progress then transcendently becomes the instrumentation of the heavenly host.

These issues are reflected in the contributions of this volume from the perspectives of a variety of local musical practices and diverse research traditions, based on the presentations and discussions during the symposium of the same name which took place in Vienna from 26–28 April 2013. The symposium was part of a research project on the subject supported by the Austrian Science Fund (FWF) with the project number P18880-G12. This was the third consecutive research project within the framework of the Research Centre for European Multipart Music, which was established in 2003 at the Department of Folk Music Research and Ethnomusicology of the University of Music and Performing Arts, Vienna as a network of specialists with the goal of moving the subject into the heart of international ethnomusicological research (see Ahmedaja and Haid 2008). The director of the department at that time was Gerlinde Haid. She supported the idea from the beginning and encouraged every step of the research in her wise and inspiring manner. Gerlinde Haid would have participated in the symposium European Voices III, which above all was to be dedicated to her 70th birthday. This was the main reason for it to be held in April. But unfortunately Gerlinde Haid passed away on 29 November 2012. Ursula Hemetek wrote in the obituary: "The people who had the privilege to work with her will be able to draw from her gifts, and she will always be with us in the energy of her fieldwork and her scholarly legacy." (Hemetek 2013) The symposium and the contributions of this volume are a testimony to this legacy.

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This volume is divided into three chapters, each one dedicated to a specific theme. The contributions of the first chapter interpret features of the correlations between *Sound and Society*. They begin with the essay on the pilgrim's progress and the musical instrumentation of the Heavenly Host by Philip Bohlman. Referring to the work of Gerlinde Haid, he writes: "In much of her [Gerlinde Haid's] work, the most powerful allegory for the instrumentation and instrumentalization of sound lay in the pilgrim's progress from the local to the universal." Further on Bohlman extends the view on the

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power of instrumentalization : "With her [Gerlinde Haid's] rich body of research as a point of departure and with my own fieldwork with music and pilgrimage, from Austria to India, I speculate on ways we might think anew – indeed, in the very spirit of revival and soteriology that imbues the music of sacred journey – about the ways the multipart practices of European music lead to the instrumentalization of community."

The next contribution, by Thomas Nußbaumer, is dedicated entirely to the work and legacy of Gerlinde Haid and her long-term project *Musica Alpina*, from the viewpoint of *multipart singing as communication* to the *instrumentalization of sound*. Ian Russell, in his essay, explores the performance of carols as a feature of the seasonal holiday of Christmas in village communities in South Yorkshire and Derbyshire near the industrial city of Sheffield on the eastern edge of the Pennine hills in England. At the centre of his research is the overall sound ideal created by such carolling and the dynamic soundscape that identifies this form of cultural expression.

The next three contributions of the first chapter take us to south-western Europe, namely to Spain, France and Italy. Enrique Cámara de Landa focuses on multipart music practices in the province of Soria in Spain, which have been neglected until now by researchers. In a context of depopulation exacerbated by economic factors, the impact of local musicians on the social fabric of Soria becomes remarkably significant. Jean-Jacques Castéret analyses multipart singing territories, musical logics and self-presentation strategies in different kinds of multipart music instrumentations in south-western France. The contribution also deals with the notion of the "group" from a sociological and artistic perspective as well as the position of the ethnomusicologist as both a person who instrumentalizes and one who is instrumentalized by the field. Finally, Ignazio Macchiarella examines constructions of sound images in multipart singing practices as a result of the coordinated behaviours of singers from his experiences on the islands of Sardinia (Italy) and Corsica (France). This *amalgam* is analysed from the perspectives of formation, listening and the conceptualization of sound, and the construction of group identity, as a combination of the maintenance of individual distinctiveness and mutual merging.

The second chapter of the book is a journey from the Baltic region to Central and Eastern Europe in relation to *Performance as Instrumentation*. In the first contribution, written by Žanna Pärtlas, the concept of the "sound ideal" as a social marker in Seto multipart songs in Estonia is examined. Here the processes of change in the tuning of Seto songs are retraced by means of the acoustic analysis of several multichannel recordings. Daiva Račiūnaitė-Vyčinienė follows with research on the cyclical nature of *sutartinė*s in Lithuania, also taking into account other local traditions. *Sutartinė*s are interpreted here as an expression of principled incompleteness, continuous formation and processuality. In the next contribution, written by Anda Beitāne, the sound of *Medņeva* in north-eastern Latvia and the local multipart singing practice as an instru-

ment of identity are explored. In addition to historical and social contexts and musical analysis, the answers to questions on the mechanisms and strategies of the instrumentation of sound and the way in which they are applied are derived to a considerable extent from the way they are understood by the performers.

While the three above-mentioned contributions mostly deal with vocal music, the following ones are primarily concerned with instrumental music in Central and Eastern Europe. Rudolf Pietsch analyses the phenomenon of "dirty playing" (*schmutziges Spiel*) as the instrumentation of sound in local practices in Austria caused by the formation of intentional and accidental multipartite instrumental music. The latter can occur due to a lack of playing technique or lineup-related factors, or else to intentional emphasis. Lujza Tari's contribution centres on considerations and reflections which oppose the persistent idea of Hungary being a "monophonic nation". She emphasizes ongoing changes in several local practices and repertories through examples of vocal, instrumental and dance music from Hungary and its neighbouring countries. The final contribution of the second chapter of the volume is written by Speranța Rădulescu, who examines the main accompanying instrument and its emblematic sound in the *taraf* ensemble in Romania. In spite of the continuous changes in the composition of the ensemble, not only the sound itself, but also the instrument as such is requested by people in the audience.

The last chapter of the volume is dedicated to *Tradition, Revival and Practice*. Bernard Garaj analyses the sound making of an instrumental band in Slovakia consisting of string instruments and bagpipes. Looking for new instrumentation has been a long process characterized by a specific attitude towards several musical features of the performance of each instrument, the ensemble as a whole, and the vocal parts when songs are performed accompanied by instruments. Ulrich Morgenstern reflects on trends in revivals of European instrumental folk music and tries to compile a typology within this framework. Revivalists' strategies of instrumentation and expressive behaviour are a particular focus here. The book concludes with the spoken text of the lecture on traditional forms of multipart music in Austria by Walter Deutsch. He is the founder of the host institute of *European Voices III*, a figurehead of folk music research in Austria and a hardworking investigator in spite of his 90 years at the time of the symposium.

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The audio (A) and video (V) examples which accompany the contributions cover a wide range of vocal and instrumental musical practices and repertoires of different regions and time periods in Europe. They contain many field recordings, a considerable part of which is being published here for the first time. Explanations on them are

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part of the analysis in the corresponding articles. The reference page number is given in the list of audiovisuals at the end of the book.

* * *

Finally I would also like to thank all of the authors who agreed with the idea and who took upon themselves the exertions of preparing their contributions ; Ursula Hemetek, the current director of the department, who as editor of the series *Schriften zur Volksmusik* provided significant help with the organization of the symposium and this publication ; Hande Sağlam and her team – Lorenz Beyer, Otgonbayar Chuluunbaatar, Cornelius Holzer, Marko Kölbl, Weiya Lin – for the organization of the symposium ; Christian Troger for his technical support during the symposium ; Anda Beitāne, who managed to bring a group of young singers to Vienna to perform internationally unknown music from north-eastern Latvia ; Paolo Vinati for showing his film "The Life of the Song" *(Il sangue nel canto)* about a group of friends who share their passion of singing together in Serle, northern Italy ; Mike Delaney for his tireless commitment during the proof-reading and the translation of Walter Deutsch's lecture's text ; Nadja Wallaszkovits for the signal processing and mastering of the audio examples and Bernhard Graf for the authoring of the video examples and compiling the DVD-ROM ; and everybody else who has accompanied us on the path of European Voices.

<div align="right">Ardian Ahmedaja</div>

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I. SOUND AND SOCIETY

1. Prologue

Philip V. Bohlman

"But Glorious It Was" – The Pilgrim's Progress and the Musical Instrumentation of the Heavenly Host

In memoriam
Gerlinde Haid

ABSTRACT

Music of the sacred journey played a role of particular importance throughout Gerlinde Haid's distinguished career. It guided her as she followed pilgrims and processions through the local expressions of community and faith in rural Austria, and it distinguished the many ways in which folk music from Austria reflected the mobility of music and musicians crossing European borders, musically inscribing the local on the universals of European folk music itself. She recognized that music made the sacred journey possible, indeed, that it was music that instrumentalized the formation of communities of faith that spread symbolically across the landscapes of European history. The music of pilgrimage connected Gerlinde Haid to the local that she followed as a distinguished Austrian folk-music scholar, but it also extended the meaning of sacred music to the universal, which inspired her as her ethnomusicological horizon expanded throughout her career. In much of her work, the most powerful allegory for the instrumentation and instrumentalization of sound lay in the pilgrim's progress from the local to the universal.

   In my contribution to "European Voices III" I honour Gerlinde Haid's commitment to the music of sacred journey, examining the allegorical path of the pilgrim as it shapes the musical complexity of the multipart music that gives meaning to the local community of the faithful and then sounds the very universality of sacred music, especially the traditions of the Abrahamic faiths that provide the sacred connectedness of Europe. With her rich body of research as a point of departure and with my own fieldwork with music and pilgrimage, from Austria to India, I speculate on ways we might think anew – indeed, in the very spirit of revival and soteriology that imbues the music of sacred journey – about the ways the multipart practices of European music lead to the instrumentalization of community. Like John Bunyan in his 1684 *The Pilgrim's Progress*, I ask us to experience the many parts that converge in sacred music as the very realization of the heavenly host:

   "But glorious it was, to see how the Region was filled with Horses and Chariots, with Trumpeters and Pipers, with Singers, and Players on stringed Instruments, to

welcome the Pilgrims as they went up and followed one another in at the beautiful Gate of the City."

> From hence they went on Singing, and they said,
> Behold, how fitly are the Stages set!
> For their Relief, that Pilgrims are become;
> And how they us receive without one let,
> That make the other Life our Mark and Home.
> What Novelties they have, to us they give,
> That we, tho Pilgrims, joyful Lives may live.
> They do upon us too such things bestow,
> That shew we Pilgrims are, where'er we go.

<div align="right">John Bunyan – The Pilgrim's Progress (1678)</div>

Avant propos – The Pilgrim's Vessel – Instrument/Instrumentalization

It is with a passage from John Bunyan's magnificent epic, *The Pilgrim's Progress*, that we witness the instrumentation of the sacred journey of life through song and singing. For Bunyan's pilgrim journeying "from this world to that which is to come," it is song that transforms – that instrumentalizes – the passage from ending to beginning. Alpha follows omega. It is with song that the journey continues, making "the other Life our Mark and Home." – "Behold, how fitly are the Stages set!" The pilgrim herself becomes the instrument, the vessel, which, bestowed with new life, tunes the path before her, "that shew we Pilgrims are, where'er we go."

John Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress* resounds with allegory, and so, too, does my chapter on the instrumentalization of multipart music, which represents the many passages between worlds undertaken by Gerlinde Haid along the course of her life's journey. It is allegory that follows the life of Gerlinde Haid. It is allegory that reflects the ways in which musicians and scholars from throughout the world joined her in the progress and processions that led her on her own personal and professional journeys. It is allegory that resonates for us through the European voices that fill the very pages of the present volume. Rejoicing in the very instrumentalization of European music, these are the voices "that shew we Pilgrims are, where'er we go."

In this chapter, I myself seek to return again to the studies of music and pilgrimage that have filled the many years of my research in Austria. The progress of pilgrims is personal, one of the most significant of all acts of cultural intimacy, both private and public, powerfully so in Austria (for a foundational study of cultural intimacy, see Herzfeld 1997). To a large degree, my journeys with pilgrims began in Austria, but they

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have also continued as I progressed as an ethnomusicologist into new and uncharted sacred worlds (see, e.g. Bohlman 2013a, chapters 4, 5, and 6, and passim). I return to several of these as I pass through the stations that unfold across the pages of the present chapter. The narrative journey of the chapter is one of return, indeed, return to Austria, to Vienna, to the pilgrim's stages and stations that Gerlinde Haid herself so richly envoiced.

Returning as a pilgrim, I seize the opportunity of this chapter to theorize pilgrimage again, primarily the musical instrumentation of sacred community. Pilgrims, even – or especially – ethnomusicologist-pilgrims, search for the moments when music creates commonness and community. It is together that we experience how music endows us with life. In addition to searching for common experiences as ethnomusicologists and musicians, I seek to bring theoretical reflections from religious studies and theology. The primary theological framework in the chapter is soteriology, treated broadly here through its realization of return and revival. The importance of soteriology as a framework here derives not only because of its importance in Christianity, but also because of its presence in other world religions, from the Abrahamic faiths of Islam and Judaism to Asian religions such as Buddhism, Hinduism, and Daoism. A theoretical terminology of reflexivity and return – the "re-" words – deliberately charts the theological narrative in the chapter. The stations that mark the passage through individual sections in the chapter, moreover, form pairs, points of arrival and departure, one station reviving the other.

The Soteriological Moments and Stations of the Pilgrim's Progress:

1 – Be-reshit (In the Beginning)	2 – Remembrance
3 – Resistance	4 – Return
5 – Ritual	5 – Revival
7 – Resistance	8 – Reconciliation
9 – Retreat	10 – Rejoining
11 – Renewal	12 – Revelation
13 – Re-sounding	14 – Resounding (Transcendence)

The soteriological moments that mark the sections/stations of the chapter are musical, and they are made so through the instrumentation and instrumentalization of sound. Instrumentation and instrumentalization offer theoretical concepts in many ways throughout the chapter, not least among them those that reflect the allegory of pilgrimage as it forms counterpoint with the themes of the present volume in the ways that follow:

- The pilgrim's body serves as a metaphor for the vessel that is a musical instrument;
- The formation of community and *communitas* results from musical instrumentalization;
- The musical sound of pilgrimage song contains many parts, that is, as ontologically and sonically multipart music;
- Through the soteriology of return and revival, the multiple parts of the music of pilgrimage can coalesce through the physical journey itself;
- The pilgrim's progress, then, transcendentally becomes the instrumentation of the heavenly host (cf. van Gennep 1961, and Turner and Turner 1978).

The chapter unfolds as stations along the pilgrim's journey, following the metaphorical path of journey marked by the Stations of the Cross, the final stages of the journey for the Catholic pilgrim. The narrative of the chapter, thus, deliberately evokes journey and procession, critical themes and variations in Gerlinde Haid's life and work. Because the chapter relies on the personal experience that underlies the instrumentalization of multipart music, I also draw upon my own work whenever possible, much of it instrumentalized by moments of sojourn in Vienna and Austria. The pilgrim's journey that unfolds across these soteriological moments and ethnomusicological stations will at times move rapidly, at times pause for contemplation of the multipart musics that sound the musical moments of common beginnings and endings, affording the pilgrim the hope and opportunity for sustaining her progress.

Stations 1 and 2 – Be-reshit / Remembrance – Ancestral Journeys

The stations that accompany the sacred journey of the pilgrim follow one another, forever beginning, always returning. This chapter embarks on the journey of reflection on Gerlinde Haid already before the beginning, which is to say, on the path toward beginning. The journey takes shape not in Europe, rather in the formative stages of the Indo-European tradition, which came to be represented in the Sanskrit of Brahmanic Hinduism, especially in the hymns of the *Rig Veda*, which first become attached to written tradition around the first millennium before the Common Era. Vedic hymns remain in oral tradition – unbroken oral tradition – until today. There are many reasons to begin with *Rig Veda*, but primary among them is the way in which Vedic hymns instrumentalize the sounding of the universe. The Vedic hymns give voice to the totality of human experience, before there was human experience itself, and at each return of human experience in new and reiterated transformation. Those who sing the Vedic hymns do so without stopping, assuring us that the universe and human experience therein is always beginning. The songs of creation in the *Rig Veda*

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resonate with the harmony of the universe as they instrumentalize existence, the beginning of everything.

Creation Hymn – Nāsadīya (Rig Veda)

1 There was neither non-existence nor existence then; there was neither the realm of space nor the sky which is beyond. What stirred? Where? In whose protection? Was there water, bottomlessly deep?

2 There was neither death nor immortality then. There was no distinguishing sign of night nor of day. That one breathed, windless, by its own impulse. Other than that there was nothing beyond.

3 Darkness was hidden by darkness in the beginning; with no distinguishing sign, all this was water. The life force that was covered with emptiness, that one arose through the power of heat.

4 Desire came upon that one in the beginning; that was the first seed of mind. Poets seeking in their heart with wisdom found the bond of existence in non-existence. (Doniger O'Flaherty 1981, 25)

It is music – sounded, instrumentalized in the materiality of the universe itself – that becomes the beginnings of human experience for Brahmanic Hinduism in the *Rig Veda* as we witness in the hymns on sacrifice.

The Creation of the Sacrifice (Rig Veda)

1 The sacrifice that is spread out with threads on all sides, drawn tight with a hundred and one divine acts, is woven by these fathers as they come near: "Weave forward, weave backward," they say as they sit by the loom that is stretched tight.

2 The Man stretches the warp and draws the weft; the Man has spread it out upon this dome of the sky. These are the pegs, that are fastened in place; they made the melodies into the shuttles for weaving.

3 What was the original model, and what was the copy, and what was the connection between them? What was the butter, and what the enclosing wood? What was the metre, what was the invocation, and the chant, when all the gods sacrificed the god?

4 The Gāyatrī metre was the yoke-mate of Agni; Savitṛ joined with the Uṣṣṇi metre, and with the Anuṣṭubh metre was Soma that reverberates with the chants. The Bṛhatī metre resonated in the voice of Bṛhaspati …

5 The ritual repetitions harmonized with the chants and with the metres; the seven divine sages harmonized with the original models. When the wise men looked back along the path of those who went before, they took up the reins like charioteers. (Doniger O'Flaherty 1981, 31)

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Figure 1: Baul Musicians. Santiniketan, India.
Photograph by Philip V. Bohlman. January 2010.

In the beginning, *be-reshit* (the Hebrew name of the book of Genesis in the *Torah*), sacrifice was created to engender the possibilities of music and of the sacred voice. In the Abrahamic faiths, it was at the moment of potentially sacrificing his son, Isaac, in the twenty-second chapter of Genesis, that Abraham's hand is redirected by the angel of God to turn instead to the ram, which, once sacrificed, yielded the *shofar*, the instrument of beginnings and endings in the Jewish year, played on the High Holidays of Rosh ha-Shanah and Yom Kippur.

The stations of this instrumentation of sacred time, we realize, are continuously beginning and ending, endowing music with its soteriology. The soteriology of life returns after the end of things through passage to the second station of this chapter, in which we encounter the arrival of pilgrims in modern India. Indian religion – which I use in the singular as the embodiment of the many religions we find in South Asia – is notable for its resilience, the progress made by pilgrims seeking renewal (see Hamilton 2001). In myth it was so – Sri Lanka as the goal of journey in the great Hindu epic, *Ramayana*, no less than the imprint *(sri padi)* many believe to be the Garden of Eden – and it is so in the South Asia of the twenty-first century. Religion is always in the process of becoming, that is, of undergoing renewal. It is hardly surprising that India's pilgrims trace and retrace the stations of this renewal in song.

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Reflecting on my ethnographic journeys I return now to the Bengali lands of northeastern India, where I have travelled in search of those on sacred journey. Even on such sacred journeys at great distance from Europe, the pilgrim is not beyond the resonance of European voices (cf. Chakrabarty 2001). The next station of the chapter is the site of remembering, and we remember now the songs of the sacred journey of the multireligious and heterodox Bauls of Bengal. It was the ways in which their wandering instrumentalized remembering that attracted the Nobel laureate, Rabindranath Tagore (1861–1941), to the songs of the Bauls (see, e.g., the poems and songs in Alam and Chakravarty 2011). The Bauls instrumentalize the ways in which I remember my pilgrim's progress and ethnography in the Bengali lands traversed by the Bauls, to Santiniketan. The Bauls join me – or, rather, I join them – as the journey itself becomes the instrumentation of the station of remembrance and song.

Stations 3 and 4 – Resistance / Return – Mustering the Host as Community

Psalm 137 – "By the Rivers of Babylon"
By the rivers of Babylon, there we sat down,
  yea, we wept when we remembered Zion.
We hanged our harps upon the willows in the midst thereof.
For there they that carried us away captive required of us a song;
  and they that wasted us required of us mirth, saying:
Sing us one of the songs of Zion.
How shall we sing the Lord's song in a strange land? (King James Version)

With Psalm 137, "Super flumina Babilonis" ("An den Wassern zu Babel"), this chapter progresses to the next set of stations. From Beginning and Remembrance we enter the sacred space of Resistance and Return. The instrumentalization of music could not be clearer at these stations of diaspora, exile, and return, so powerfully allegorical that the schism and separation of Mesopotamia *(naharaim)* has come to represent all of Jewish history.

As vivid and direct as allegory is in Psalm 137, the details of the music and the instrumentation of captivity in Babylon are so specific as to leave us no doubt about the action required for the sacred journey of return to Jerusalem. To the question, "how shall we sing the Lord's song in a strange land?", the psalmist answers, "If I forget thee, O Jerusalem, let my right hand forget her cunning." It is the return to song – taking up the harp and raising the voice of song from the tears of remembrance – that instrumentalizes resistance.

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שִׁיר הַמַּעֲלוֹת לְדָוִד[a] 1 122
שָׂמַחְתִּי בְּאֹמְרִים לִי בֵּית יְהוָה נֵלֵךְ׃
עֹמְדוֹת הָיוּ רַגְלֵינוּ[a] בִּשְׁעָרַיִךְ[b] יְרוּשָׁלָ͏ִם׃ 2
יְרוּשָׁלַ͏ִם הַבְּנוּיָה כְּעִיר שֶׁחֻבְּרָה־לָּהּ[b] יַחְדָּו׃ 3
שֶׁשָּׁם[a] עָלוּ שְׁבָטִים שִׁבְטֵי־יָהּ 4
עֵדוּת לְיִשְׂרָאֵל[b] לְהֹדוֹת לְשֵׁם יְהוָה׃
כִּי שָׁמָּה יָשְׁבוּ כִסְאוֹת[a] לְמִשְׁפָּט כִּסְאוֹת לְבֵית דָּוִיד׃ 5
שַׁאֲלוּ שְׁלוֹם יְרוּשָׁלָ͏ִם יִשְׁלָיוּ[a] אֹהֲבָיִךְ[ab]׃ 6
יְהִי־שָׁלוֹם בְּחֵילֵךְ שַׁלְוָה[a] בְּאַרְמְנוֹתָיִךְ׃ 7
לְמַעַן אַחַי וְרֵעָי אֲדַבְּרָה־נָּא שָׁלוֹם בָּךְ׃ 8
לְמַעַן בֵּית־יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ אֲבַקְשָׁה טוֹב לָךְ׃ 9
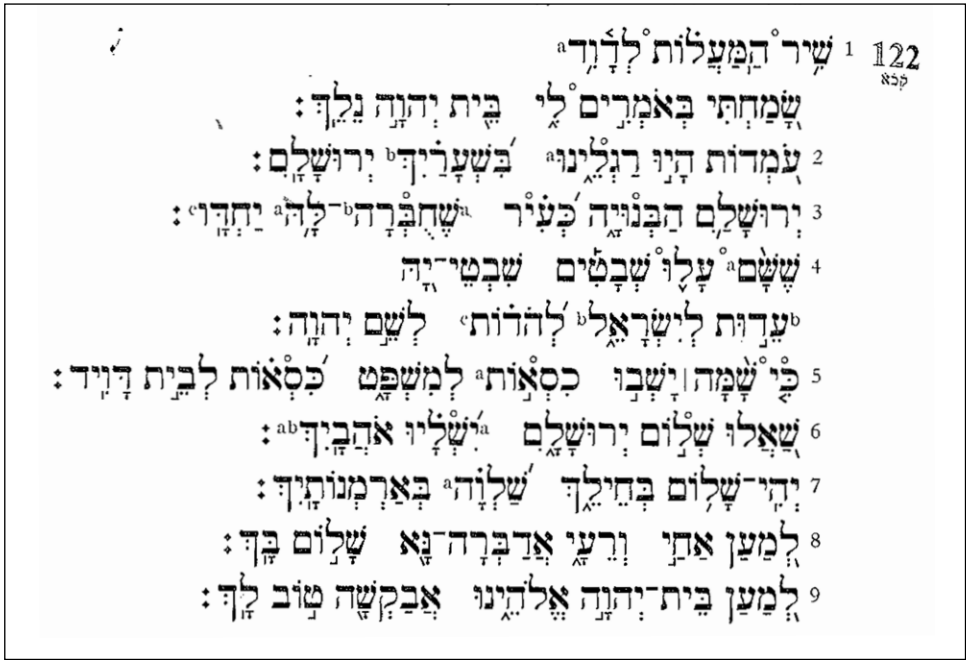
Psalm 122
A Prayer for the Peace of Jerusalem
Shir ha-Ma'alot le-David
A Song of Pilgrimage for David

1 I was glad when they said unto me, Let us go into the house of the Lord.
2 Our feet shall stand within thy gates, O Jerusalem.
3 Jerusalem is builded as a city that is compact together:
4 whither the tribes go up, the tribes of the Lord, unto the testimony of Israel,
  to give thanks unto the name of the Lord.
5 For there are set thrones of judgment, the thrones of the house of David.
6 Pray for the peace of Jerusalem: they shall prosper that love thee.
7 Peace be within thy walls, *and* prosperity within thy palaces.
8 For my brethren and companions' sakes,
  I will now say, Peace *be* within thee.
9 Because of the house of the Lord our God I will seek thy good. (King James Version)

The Psalms, performed musically as antiphonal song and allegorically with the instruments of the Temple orchestra that would be filled with the multiple parts gathered in exile (Psalm 150: 6 – "Let every thing that hath breath praise the Lord"), charts the journey of the pilgrim through history. It is the call to "remember Zion" that we

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hear in Psalm 137 that transforms song to action, and in so doing provides the ritual framework for pilgrimage in Judaism. Both directly and indirectly, the Psalms call the faithful to go on pilgrimage.

Throughout the Jewish liturgical year, holidays transform the history of exile into the call to pilgrimage, returning again and again, from exile, from exodus. There are holidays that are dedicated to pilgrimages – Passover, Shavuot, Sukkoth. The Passover meal, or *seder*, ends with the call: "Be-shanah ha-bah be-Yerushalayim," "Next Year in Jerusalem." Sukkoth, the autumn festival that re-enacts the building of tabernacles to give thanks to God during the exodus from Egypt, physically and musically instrumentalizes sacred journey as ritualized pilgrimage.

Stations 5 and 6 – Ritual / Revival – Performing Past as Present

The call to return is instrumentalized through the rituals that enact and re-enact the sacred journey of the pilgrim. Return brings this chapter, once again, to the stations at which music opens the stage for ritual. And in so doing, it leads to the enactment and re-enactment of ritual at yet another stage, that of revival, and with these stages come the fifth and sixth stations.

It is at these stations that we have moved historically from the sacred landscapes of Asia with which our journey began to the Christian landscapes of Europe that instrumentalize the song of the pilgrim through European voices. The historical *longue durée* of Christianity unfolds as an allegorical journey of revivals. It is hardly surprising, then, that Europe provides one of the most remarkable landscapes for staging revival (Bohlman 2013a). These are the stations that await Europeans as they undertake pilgrimage to Rome, Lourdes, Częstochowa, Fátima, and Mariazell. Not to be forgotten, moreover, is that European pilgrims travel to Jerusalem and to Mecca. Estimates suggest that as many as one of every six Europeans embarks on pilgrimage each year (see Nolan and Nolan 1989). In Austria, this figure is no doubt higher (see Bohlman 2000), which we also know, of course, because of the research in sacred song that Gerlinde Haid pursued throughout her life.

If we combine the theories of ritual and revival, for example, as the anthropologists Edith and Victor Turner did, we recognize the ways in which the pilgrim embarks upon a sacred journey that she undertakes with others (Turner and Turner 1978). The concept of *communitas* was adapted by the Turners from the studies on *rites de passage* by the Belgian anthropologist of religion, Arnold van Gennep (van Gennep 1961). Together with others *in communitas*, that is, as a community in pursuit of common purpose, pilgrims pass through the period of liminality, the threshold or doorstep to the sacred, taking the Latin root, *limen*, literally and figuratively. These pilgrimage

stations of ritual transformation, then, give way to those of return, for it is critical that the pilgrim does return to the everyday.

Once again, it is music that instrumentalizes *communitas* and liminality as ritual and return. Gerlinde Haid fully recognized this process of transforming the individual into the collective, and she wrote about it with particular eloquence in her studies of song and religious procession. The procession of worshippers, unified by song, formed a passage from the everyday to the sacred and then again to the everyday in village Austria (e.g. Haid 1977). Each procession, however, re-enacted the journey through the history of European Christians, reviving that history and giving it instrumental form in song.

In the spirit of the psalmist the multipart songs of European religious communities evoke the ways in which the pilgrim revives history through song. The evocation of community to which I turn here comes not from Austria, but rather from St. Peter, in the Black Forest, where I accompanied a community of Banat German Romanians from throughout Central Europe as they journeyed through their history, singing the "Radnalied," which praised the miracle of the survival of the icon of the Virgin Mary which survived the fire that destroyed their mother church in Radna.

1.	Ein Gruß aus der Ferne von allen gesandt,	Greetings from afar are sent by all,
	ein Gruß dir Maria im heimatlich Land.	a greeting from Mary in the homeland.
	Ich komme, o Mutter der Gnaden zu dir;	I am coming to you, blessed mother;
	ihr Glocken von Radna, o weinet mit mir.	you bells of Radna, O weep with me.
4.	Ich bin hier ein Fremder, versperret die Tür,	I am a foreigner here, the door bars my way,
	die Gräber der Ahnen, dein Gnadenbild hier.	the tombs of the ancestors, your blessed image here.
	Dein Tor steht mir offen, du ladest mich ein,	Your door stands open for me, you invite me in,
	du lässt ja, o Mutter, dein Kind nie allein.	O, Mother, you leave no child alone.

Radnalied / Radna Song. Version of the Sanktanna Gemeinde. Freiburg im Breisgau.
Recorded and transcribed by Philip V. Bohlman, 1993.

Stations 7 and 8 – Resistance/Reconciliation

We approach the next stations with the word *Fremder*, "foreigner," of the "Radnalied" still resonating. It leads us to the stations of "resistance" and "reconciliation," crucial for the larger pilgrimage, but so very transient in European history. Foreignness has been vilified throughout the course of European history, more often than not when Europeans insisted on the sacred character of their history as Christian. As epic – as

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the genre of folk song that most intensely engaged with the Europe's conflict with foreignness – as epic arose in the Common Era around the transition from the first to the second millennium, it was Islam that began to occupy the position of foreignness.

Epic quite literally instrumentalized those who were not European, thus were not Christian. Epic itself, which is to say, the performance and repertory of the epic singer, the battles between Christian Europe and the Muslim Mediterranean reflected conflict and the resistance that formed the multiple parts of a fundamentally narrative genre of European song. In the music, nonetheless, the parts demonstrated a will to be the same and different at the same time. The Cid might have fought against the "Moors" to unify Castile in the eleventh-century *Reconquista*, but he also bore witness to the religious diversity of al-Andalus by himself bearing an Arabic name, derived from "Said."

The epics of the *Kosovo Cycle*, too, took various sides of the conflicts between Serbian and Ottoman forces in 1389. Musically, foreignness was represented as a coexisting, even cohabiting, sameness, particularly in the polyphonic practice of heterophony. In the text below we witness the heterophonic combination of sameness and difference in one of the epics from the *Kosovo Cycle*, transcribed below from a performance by a Montenegrin American *guslar* from Chicago, Boro Roganović:

Шта се б'јели у гори зеленој?	What shines so white there in the green forest?
Ал' је снијег, ал' су лабудови?	Is it white snow or a flock of white swans?
Да је снијег, већ би окопнио,	If it were snow, it would have melted now;
лабудови већ би полетјели.	If it were swans, they would have flown away.
Нит' је снијег, нит' су лабудови,	It is not snow, nor is it the white swans;
него шатор аге Хасан-аге;	it is a tent of Aga Hasan Aga.
он болује од љутијех рана.	He lies there ill with grievous battle wounds.
Облази га мати и сестрица,	Both his mother and his sister are there,
а љубовца од стида не могла.	but not his wife, for she is too ashamed.

Хасанагиница / The Wife of Hassan Aga
Performed by Boro Roganović.
Recording and full transcription in Bohlman and Petković 2012, 331–333, CD tr. 18.
Translated by Nada Petković.

At the stations of resistance and reconciliation, music instrumentalizes politics, historically but also musically. The mobility of folk song, its capacity to challenge borders and call for the European spaces necessary to accommodate foreignness, religions, and communities different from those wielding power, has provided me with the material for my own cabaret at the University of Chicago, the New Budapest Orpheum Society, which I have modelled after Vienna's Budapester Orpheum Gesellschaft. Cabaret, and not in small measure, the traditions of Jewish cabaret from Vienna, instrumental-

ize the potential for music's politics, empowering, at least musically, those deprived of power (e.g. New Budapest Orpheum Society 2002).

Stations 9 and 10 – Retreat / Rejoining

With stations 9 and 10 we arrive at places that remind us of the fragility of the sacred journey, and the dangers that accompany the historical moments we associate with the rise and fall of human societies. At the stations designated as "retreat" and "rejoining," it is history that forces wandering, dispersion and exile. The pilgrim moves beyond the peripheries of the known world. The emigrant at departure becomes the immigrant at arrival, settling in unknown lands. The sound of the immigrant is plaintive, yet consonant because of the community of travellers to which it gives comfort.

The station of retreat is precious for those struggling to survive in a world where the onward journey holds little promise. Research into and performance of the music of the Holocaust forces us and encourages others to witness the journey that retreats into the past as if to forestall the inevitability of the future. How uncanny and tragic is the instrumentalization of music that rose from the devastation of the Holocaust, of the prejudice against and murder of those regarded as different. At the ninth station, the journey slows for a moment, unleashing the creativity of a community formed from despair and desperation, forming the sublime if only for a moment.

Stations 9 and 10 ask us to witness retreat in order to effect rejoining. They ask us to witness the music of Terezín, the concentration camp that historicizes Habsburg and Austrian history at so many levels, named after the great Empress of the early Enlightenment: Theresienstadt, the City of Maria Theresa. Song at this station bears witness to empire and enlightenment, cruelly in each case. It was in Theresienstadt that the great composer of the Holocaust, Viktor Ullmann (1898–1944) transformed a Yiddish lullaby from Poland, "Berejoskele," "The Little Birch" (Figure 2), in the final months before his death, recomposing it for those who would survive, those gathered at the tenth station awaiting the possibility of rejoining.

The stations of Habsburg history are even more poignantly and painfully represented in the final work composed for the stage, the *Kleinbühne*, in the concentration camps, Viktor Ullmann's *Die Weise von Liebe und Tod des Cornets Christoph Rilke*, his setting of Rainer Maria Rilke's prose-poem about the mistaken glories of war. Ullmann's unfolds itself as a series of stations, twelve in all, called "Bilder," *tableaux vivants* like the stations of the cross, realized as a melodrama. Ullmann transforms Rilke's story of the young Austrian who joins his comrades from throughout the empire to battle against another empire in Eastern Europe during the 1660s. The transformation yields a melodrama of sublime beauty and destruction. The instrumentalization of love and death, together, inseparable.

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Figure 2: "Berejoskele" / "The Little Birch" from the collection used by Viktor Ullmann. (Menakhem Kipnis, *Folkslider: Konzert-Repertoire*, Warsaw: Di Welt, n.d. [ca. 1915].)

The final station in Rainer Maria Rilke's *Die Weise von Liebe und Tod des Cornets Christoph Rilke* (1912).

Im nächsten Frühjahr (es kam traurig und kalt) ritt ein Kurier des Freiherrn von Pirovano langsam in Langenau ein. Dort hat er eine alte Frau weinen sehen. ✍

Liebestod – the stations of beginning and ending. As Ullmann reaches the end of Christoph Rilke's seventeenth-century journey, he realizes that his own life's journey is coming to its close: Ten days after he dates the sketches on 27 September 1944 in Theresienstadt, he would be deported to Auschwitz and death at the final station of his life.

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Stations 11 and 12 – Renewal/Revelation

> Martin and Maria met each other in the organ loft, and suddenly Martin knew why Maria could no longer sing. Millions of refugees share this experience each year. … Seeking refuge from all the noise of the light procession in the basilica, Maria found herself before the statue of Mary in the Boys' Chapel, and in a single moment she was able to sing again.
>
> – *Mariazell, Tor zum Frieden*

My journeys as a pilgrim began in Mariazell. It is only fitting, therefore, that the pilgrim's progress that unfolds through this chapter passes through Mariazell, Austria's most revered pilgrimage site, to reflect on sacred music in Austria at the eleventh and twelfth stations, "renewal" and "revelation." The instrumental connection between these two stations is realized through the body, and crucial to that connection is the way in which the music of pilgrimage brings about healing. Singing before the eleventh station, the body is renewed, which in turn leads to the healing that accompanies the revelation at the twelfth station.

Witness Martin and Maria in the allegorical passage that annunciates the sojourn before these stations. The epigrammatic passage above is sounded on an audiocassette for pilgrims, *Mariazell, Tor zum Frieden*. During the years of separation that followed World War II, Maria and Martin had heard nothing from each other. Maria, indeed, had physically lost her voice and her ability to sing. In the space of the organ loft itself – at the site of music in the basilica of Mariazell, in the sacred space that realized her body – Martin experienced revelation in the need to heal the refugees of history, to make their collective body healthy. Maria's revelation was no less powerful, for it took place before the station of renewal, of healing. And her voice, too, was healed: She could sing again.

Figure 3: Organ in the Basilica of Mariazell, Austria. Photograph by Philip V. Bohlman. December 2012.

Stations 13 and 14 – Re-sounding/Resounding – Transcendence

As we arrive at the final stations of our journey, we return to folk music, for it is with folk music that so many European voices sound together. Many parts, many voices, sound together: the *Stimmen der Völker in Liedern*, as Johann Gottfried Herder formulated folk song (Herder 1778/1779; see also Bohlman 2011). Thus resounding, the "voices of the people in song" instrumentalize the transcendence that music unleashes through the multitude of voices we hear in the common experience of European multi-part music that unifies the chapters in the present volume.

The thirteenth station is dedicated to "re-sounding," and we witness here a ballad that appeared in print in about 1600, one of the most pivotal moments in European history, surely also in the history of music. In German-language folk-music scholarship "Graf von Rom" is known as Deutsches Volkslied Nr. 14 from the canon of German-language ballads (Deutsches Volksliedarchiv 1935–). One of the most widely distributed ballads, "Graf von Rom" has generated many variants, which together constitute an expansive and diverse Europeanness and transform "Graf von Rom" into a template for European multi-part music (see Bohlman 2008, xv–xviii; Bohlman and Holzapfel 2001, 99–102).

The variant in Figure 4, nonetheless, plays a particularly important role because of a certain singularity that at even deeper levels yields its multi-part potential. First of all, Figure 4 is the first printed variant of "Graf von Rom," Deutsches Volkslied Nr. 14. Second, the ballad enters European written tradition in Hebrew orthography. Third, close examination of the orthography reveals that it is not Yiddish in any way it might be spoken in the twentieth or twenty-first centuries, rather a version of *Mittelhochdeutsch*, Middle High German. Even the title is somewhat altered: "Ein schen Lid von dem Keneg von Rom," "A Beautiful Song about the King of Rome." Fourth, this variant probably comes from a printer's workshop in northern Italy, today between the Veneto and South Tyrol. In its very materiality, then, this canonical ballad begins its history having gathered many parts and many European voices.

Analysis of the ballad itself confirms a search for the many European voices it gathers. "Graf von Rom" contains what literary scholars call a "captivity narrative," particularly appropriate for this early moment in early modern European history and the Age of Discovery. The "Count of Rome" in the ballad text has embarked on a pilgrimage to the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem, but is captured on his journey and taken to a stronghold held by "heathens" and "pagans," where he is imprisoned. His wife undertakes her own journey to rescue the Count. She succeeds in doing so by disguising herself as a monk and performing on a lute before her husband's captors.

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Figure 4: "Der Graff von Rom" / "The Count of Rome" (ca. 1600). Woodcut and first three verses. (Deutsches Volksliedarchiv, Freiburg im Breisgau)

The king entered
With many knights and servants.
The count's wife had already been greeted
By the sounding of strings.
There she played on the lute,
Her song full of joy.
The heathens announced in full voice
That they had never heard anything better.
So she played on the harp.
And she sang a new song,
Full of courtliness and artistry,
Her song resounded through the palace.

The pagans would release him
Once night had fallen.

English translation of the ballad "Graf von Rom", Deutsches Volkslied Nr. 14 from the canon of German-language ballads (Deutsches Volksliedarchiv 1935–).

If we had not realized the history of this German/Jewish/northern Italian/European ballad before, perhaps from the images of the print's woodcut title page, the path along which this folk song gathered its many parts begins with Psalm 137. In the ballad, the "count" is an allegory for the Jewish people, here, transformed to include the other peoples of the Abrahamic faiths. The count's wife is *Shechina*, the in-dwelling of God and the feminine sacred in Judaism, who symbolically arrives from the diaspora in the synagogue at the beginning of the Sabbath (see Bohlman 2005). The moment of instrumental transformation – when the many peoples, believers and heathens alike, become one – the lute in the wife, Shechina's, hand becomes a harp. Taking the harp from the willow along the rivers of Babylon, the wife "sings a new song, … which resounded throughout the palace." The harp wins the release of the count, and, allegorically, we remember Zion and we remember David, the greatest of all harp players: "By the rivers of Babylon, there we sat down, / yea, we wept when we remembered Zion. / We hanged our harps upon the willows in the midst thereof" (Psalm 137).

The soteriological moment of transcendence when many parts join polyphonically occurs in the intimacy of song, yet it resounds powerfully at the stations of history's sacred journeys. We arrive at the final station in this chapter, re-sounding folk music, which in turn re-sounds European history, the many parts and the many European voices – humble, communal, common, diverse – together seeking the whole. It was the journey through folk music, the constant searching and researching that allowed her to accomplish her own journey to the gate of the city with the heavenly host and that gave transcendent vision to Gerlinde Haid's life and work. The allegorical journey of this chapter ends as it began, with John Bunyan's transcendent vision of the pilgrim's progress, sounded and re-sounded with the music of the multitude.

But glorious it was, to see how the open Region was filled with Horses and Chariots, with Trumpeters and Pipers, with Singers, and Players on stringed Instruments, to welcome the Pilgrims as they went up and followed one another in at the beautiful Gate of the City.
– John Bunyan, *The Pilgrim's Progress*, Part 2 (1678)

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2. Of Alps and Pennines

Thomas Nußbaumer

The Role of Multipart Music and Sounds in Gerlinde Haid's Conception of *Musica Alpina*

ABSTRACT

The initial focus of my thoughts is Gerlinde Haid's CD series *musica alpina* (8 parts, 1993–2009), her research work in the field over decades and her essays on traditional music in the Austrian, Italian, Swiss and French Alps. "Harmony saturated" multipart music, which is said to be ancient, belongs to the features of what we call "Alpine music". Gerlinde Haid investigated all kinds of multipart singing in the Alps, especially the complex and extraordinary ones (e.g. singing in parallel fifths). At the same time she always considered the occasions and contexts of singing and hence the conditions for interesting details of musical performances. In the Alps, Gerlinde Haid discovered many kinds of music which are essential for religious and secular customs. Referring to Alpine customs, their spectrum of musical expression ranges from entertainment music to music intended to influence nature or human fate. Especially interesting in this context are Gerlinde Haid's remarks on primary sound singing. As Gerlinde Haid showed a great deal of interest in all aspects of improvisation, she was able to describe important aspects of improvisation on musical instruments. She was fascinated by the significance and power of instrumental sounds and also tried to construe and systemize the phenomenon of bell sounds and noise within certain Alpine customs.

Introduction

It was not at all an easy task for me to hold a lecture about Gerlinde Haid at a symposium with the sub-title "In commemoration of Gerlinde Haid", on which this contribution is based. We – all of us who knew her – feel her loss far too deeply. We miss her as a colleague we could consult on professional matters and who was tirelessly willing to share her immense knowledge and formidable abilities with others, whether as a co-organizer of field research, symposiums, or co-editor of publications, or of course as a teacher. The loss of Gerlinde Haid as a friend with her inimitable easy-going manner and her unparalleled humour is also felt deeply, and in fact we still can't really get over the fact that she is no longer with us. Just one day before she went into hospital, she stood at the speaker's podium as a lecturer at a symposium for the *Innsbruck Festival of Early Music* and demonstrated once again how easily she could build bridges with

her remarkable intellect: in the case of the Innsbruck symposium, between her own special field of expertise – the history and theory of folk music, which she represented as a university professor – and Baroque art music.

The essential fact was that Gerlinde Haid didn't think in straight-and-narrow categories, but rather in wide ranging associations. Her approach to the themes and problems of music was refreshing, untried and invariably led to new insights, solutions and results. The more difficult the theme was, the more surprising were her answers and approaches. Gerlinde Haid's scientific oeuvre comprises a large number of scholarly pieces on the theme of folk music in Austria and the Alpine regions (see bibliography in Hemetek and Morgenstern 2013, 106–133). Among her favourite subjects, which she took up again and again over the years, were, for example, learning and teaching folk music, the relationship between oral and written traditions and the ways songs are handed down, the history of yodelling and primary tone singing in the Alps, and even something as extensive and all-encompassing as music in the Alps. One thinks here especially of Gerlinde Haid's CD series *Musica Alpina*, but also of her work on methods of music field research, theory of genres in folk music, history of music styles, the interpretation of music collections and musicians' manuscripts (such as the Sonnleithner Collection, the Schmalnauer Collection or the Khals Collection), and, particularly in the final years of her life, music and gender, as well as research into music customs including New Year's and Epiphany singing.

When Ardian Ahmedaja asked me if I would say something about Gerlinde Haid's research at the symposium on "The Instrumentation and Instrumentalization of Sound. Local Multipart Music Cultures and Politics in Europe" to more or less present a tribute to Gerlinde Haid, naturally I hesitated, since Gerlinde Haid hadn't really occupied herself with today's specific subject. Unavoidably, the question comes up of how she would have approached a theme like "The Instrumentation and Instrumentalization of Sound". But before long I threw such thoughts overboard. After all, as already mentioned, Gerlinde Haid's vast store of knowledge was legendary in her area of expertise, and her proposals for solutions were often unconventional and startling. How in the world can one possibly replace those things at this symposium?

When I delved into her various projects, however, I soon discovered that Gerlinde Haid actually did occupy herself with a number of aspects pertaining to this theme. That is when I realized that my task was to talk about that work. Permit me to preface this by saying that Gerlinde Haid's contacts to the *Department of Musical Folklore* at the *Mozarteum University Salzburg* in Innsbruck, where I have worked as her immediate successor since 1995, went on well after she moved to Vienna. Until just before she passed away, we organized and jointly carried out the Innsbruck symposiums on Alpine folk music research which Gerlinde Haid had initially founded together with Josef Sulz; in the same manner we conducted joint field research in western Austria

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and South Tyrol (Nußbaumer 1999; Hochradner, Fink, Nußbaumer 2003). For that reason, I know a bit about her way of thinking; sifting through her publications, I realized that certain themes come to light again and again and are illuminated from a variety of vantage points which are highly suited to the main theme of this symposium. These are questions which Gerlinde Haid posed and discussed repeatedly: How are songs, yodels and pieces of music created in many parts? What role is played by the communication among singers and instrumentalists? What role does improvisation play? For Gerlinde Haid, making music was always an issue of "acting it out", and she saw multipart music largely as a kind of communication among singers and instrumentalists, not merely as imparting information, but on a purely psychological, nearly inner-musical level. And since Gerlinde Haid's greatest love was reserved for *Musica Alpina*, the music of the Alps, that is to say, the folk music of the Alpine regions, I ultimately arrived at the idea of pursuing the role of "instrumentalization" of sounds and their various effects in the realm of Alpine music as the best way to illustrate her research.

Right off the bat, a brief word about the term "Alpine music". It was coined and defined by the German musicologist Walter Wiora (Wiora 1951; see also Suppan 1994). Gerlinde Haid agreed with him completely when she wrote:

The Alps are a pulsating living environment and also an economic region which ever since the mountain tracts were settled have borne the indelible imprint of the culture of mountain farmers, including their high alpine pastures and shepherds. Alpine music is a typical feature of this environment. Its origins lie in music performed outdoors, with alphorns, the clanging of animal herds, ringing bells, cow horns, age-old calls communicating across the landscape (alp calls, alp shouts) and formulaic recitations, calls to prayer, hallelujahs, yodels, archaic songs, calls to lure animals and cow dances all playing a major role. In this context, Wiora speaks of "constructive bonds to nature" in the music, which were "acquired and subsequently lost during the course of history.	*Die Alpen sind ein Lebens- und Wirtschaftsraum, der seit der Zeit seiner Besiedlung von der Bergbauernkultur mit ihrem Alm- und Hirtenwesen geprägt ist. Diesem Lebensraum wird die Alpenmusik als typisch zugeordnet. Sie gilt als Freiluftmusik, in der Alphörner und Herdengeläute, Schellen, Schalmeien, Kuhhörner, urtümliche Verständigungsrufe (Almruf, Almschrei) und Rezitierformeln, Betrufe, Juchzer, Jodler, archaische Liedweisen, Tierlockrufe und Kuhreigen eine große Rolle gespielt haben". Wiora spricht in diesem Zusammenhang von einer „produktiven Naturhaftigkeit" der Musik, die „geschichtlich erworben und verloren" wurde.* (Haid 2002b)

It was precisely this notion that fascinated Gerlinde Haid, who grew up in the Alps and whose father collected the handwritten notes of musicians, including for example the Schmalnauer Manuscript from about 1820 (Haid 1982; Haid 1996b). As a consequence of her marriage to an "Alpine rebel" from the Ötz Valley, Hans Haid, she grew ever closer and more intensely connected to the Alpine epicentre, that "constructive bond with nature" (*produktive Naturhaftigkeit*) in music and its historicity (Wiora

1951, 360). For Gerlinde Haid, folk music was first and foremost "music", and not just a social trellis-work (Eibner, Deutsch, Haid, Thiel 1976, 214). Thus, it was the primal expression of musical-artistic human creativity both past and present. It goes without saying that Gerlinde knew that the term "Alpine music" (*Alpenmusik*) was an artificial construct to a certain extent; after all, the Alps have no core, they extend across seven countries, are inhabited by about 12 million people who, linguistically and culturally speaking, are anything but homogeneous, and furthermore have been subjected to a huge diversity of influences from non-alpine cultures. But nevertheless there are common features within the music styles in the Alps, for example the predominance of major keys, special pitches which lie beyond well-tempered tuning (for example, the alphorn-fa), the significance of ¾ meter, *Ländler* (landler) melody types and non-strophic songs, singing in major thirds in the sense of "Sekundieren" (singing a second part) and "Überschlag" ('turning over', the second part is above the first part) and, last but not least, multipart harmony-saturated singing which can include as many as six different voice parts (Sorce Keller 2006, 9–10).

Gerlinde Haid initially became an internationally recognized expert in the realm of the traditional music of the Alps through the founding, together with Josef Sulz in 1990, of the now biennial symposiums on folk music in the Alps at the Innsbruck Mozarteum; then, from 1993 onwards, together with her husband Hans Haid through the publication of the sensational *Musica Alpina* CD series. The *Musica Alpina* series was published until 2009 in eight parts and includes an unbelievably rich collection of examples of authentic folk music from a variety of Austrian, Swiss, Italian, Slovenian, French and German Alpine regions (Haid and Haid 1993, 1999, 2009; Nußbaumer 2004). Gerlinde Haid gathered traditional music on countless field trips in the Alpine regions, where she was frequently accompanied by Hans Haid, but also in friendly association with such well-known researchers as Brigitte Bachmann-Geiser, Renato Morelli, Julijan Strajnar, Barbara Kostner, Paolo Vinati or Patrick Mazellier, to name but a few. Thanks to her untiring efforts, we now possess an immense store of knowledge about ancient and recent traditions of folk music in the Alps. Gerlinde's attention focused not only on ancient, longstanding traditions, but also integrated the historicity of music, its social components and, above all else, its significance for the music-making individual and his or her listeners in the audience. In *Musica Alpina* in particular, it is apparent that Gerlinde Haid's musical and artistic vantage points combined ethnological, sociological and anthropological ways of looking at things in exemplary fashion, and she handed on this amalgamation to us. For that, we are eternally grateful to her.

With due reference to the theme of this meeting, which was also the wish of Gerlinde Haid, a truly benevolent supporter and catalyst of the *European Voices* project, I would like to focus on four aspects from her oeuvre: 1. multipart singing as communication; 2. older stylistic layers in yodelling in Austria; 3. arrangements of multipart

singing through improvisation; and 4. the instrumentalization of sounds. I will only be able to touch superficially upon these aspects, which Gerlinde concentrated on so profoundly in a number of studies.

1. Multipart Singing as Communication

The recognition that making music together with other people, particularly in the area of non-written traditional music, is an act of communication, of singers and instrumentalists getting together and "speaking" to each other and their audience, was something palpable for Gerlinde Haid, herself an enthusiastic singer, who even played the violin occasionally. Like all ethnomusicologists, she saw herself confronted with the problem that folk music, which is partially improvised, can only be described and explained in a very inadequate fashion by sheet music and customary methods of analysis. What is called for are new approaches to multipart singing and a more profound understanding of how multipart singing actually functions in the moment of the performance. In her essay from 2006, "Mehrstimmiges Singen als Kommunikation – eine Annäherung [Multipart singing as communication – an initial approach]" (Haid 2006a), she points out the continuing lack of research by making the following point:

Folk music research and ethnomusicology in their examinations of multipart singing have begun to grasp the phenomenon of communication, but have rarely addressed it explicitly. The point of departure for a great deal of research into multipart singing is still acoustic recordings as the preferred source of documentation of a finished work. Through such means it is possible to analyze the listening experience […], but not the process through which it was created. In order to grasp that, we need to cross and go beyond the limits of music psychology, music sociology and music anthropology, and for that purpose neither sound recordings nor written notes will suffice as a source. What must be grasped is the playing of roles: what does the lead singer do? How do the other singers react and when? And also: who is the lead singer in terms of his social position in the community? Can he be substituted? Which parts are performed as a solo, and which as a choir? How are the roles played out and developed with regard to age, gender, origins, etc.?

Die Volksmusikforschung und Ethnomusikologie haben bei der Untersuchung der Mehrstimmigkeit diese kommunikativen Prozesse bisher zwar wahrgenommen, aber nur vereinzelt thematisiert. Ausgangspunkt für viele Forschungen zur Mehrstimmigkeit ist nämlich nach wie vor vorzugsweise die Tonaufnahme als Dokumentation des fertigen Werkes. Anhand derer kann man zwar das Hörerlebnis analysieren […], nicht aber den Prozess der Entstehung. Um diesen zu erfassen, müssen die Grenzen zur Musikpsychologie, Musiksoziologie und Musikanthropologie überschritten werden, und es genügen weder Tonaufnahme noch Notenbild als Quellengrundlage, denn es müsste das Rollenspiel erfasst werden: Was tut der Ansänger? Wie und wann reagieren die Mitsänger? Aber auch: Wer ist der Ansänger im Hinblick auf seine soziale Grundlage in der Gemeinschaft? Kann er wechseln? Was ist solistisch, was chorisch besetzt? Wie läuft Rollenspiel im Hinblick auf Alter, Geschlecht, Herkunft usw.? (Haid 2006a, 192)

In Alpine regions in particular, there were forms of multipart singing and music styles to which the standards of artistic choral song did not apply. We might think here of the singing style known as *Tiir* in Premana in Lombardy (Sassu 1978) or of *Trallalero* in Genoa (Balma 2008), or the five-part choral music in Carinthia.

In the region around Brescia, Gerlinde Haid, accompanied by her husband Hans Haid and the ethnomusicologist Paolo Vinati, once had the following experience which she related in the above-mentioned essay in the following words:

On the very first evening we were in a bar with a motley, colourful group of local singers. Not only did the men impress us with their inexhaustible repertoire, their love of singing and their lovely voices, but so did the few women who coincidentally took part on that evening in order to replace the men who were not present (as they had gone to Parma that day to participate in a meeting of Alpini mountain soldiers). It was the women's task to sing the "falsetto" part of the men who were not there that evening; in other words, at the end of the last phrase of a song, to sing the lower part of a two-part voice an octave higher. In Brione on the second evening, the women dominated: four sisters with their female cousins and sisters-in-law joined by just a few men. The women had cooked a meal for the whole choral group, the food was served, everyone ate, chatted, laughed, and in between they sang. The musical principle governing both evenings was identical: one lead singer, male or female, initiated it; following the first phrase, all the others joined in and sang the second part; and at the end one voice sang the "falsetto" part, which incidentally is called the *sopranino* in Brione.

Am ersten Abend fanden wir uns in einer Bar mit einer lokalen, bunt zusammengewürfelten Singrunde, in der uns nicht nur die Männer mit ihrem unerschöpflichen Repertoire, ihrer Singfreude und ihren schönen Stimmen beeindruckten, sondern auch ein paar Frauen, die an diesem Abend nur zufällig dabei waren, um einige abwesende Jungmänner zu ersetzen, die an diesem Tage zu einem Alpini-Treffen nach Parma gefahren waren. Die Aufgabe der Frauen war es, anstelle der verreisten Männer den "Falsetto" zu singen, d. h. am Schluss einer letzten Phrase eines Liedes die untere Stimme des durchwegs zweistimmigen Satzes eine Oktave höher zu verdoppeln. Am zweiten Abend in Brione dominierten die Frauen: vier Schwestern mit ihren Cousinen und Schwägerinnen, denen sich einige Männer zugesellten. Die Frauen hatten für die ganze Runde gekocht, dann wurde serviert, gegessen, getratscht, gelacht und dazwischen gesungen. Das musikalische Prinzip war bei beiden Abenden das gleiche: ein Ansänger – oder eine Ansängerin – begann, nach der ersten Phrase fielen alle anderen ein und sangen die zweite Stimme, und im Schlussteil erhob sich eine Stimme solistisch zum "Falsetto", das in Brione "Sopranino" genannt wird. (Haid 2006a, 189)

In order to bring the whole experience to life and make the *sopranino* understandable, a recording was made of this section by Paolo Vinati. The *sopranino* part is easily recognizable in the excerpt of the musical transcription (see Figure 1 and A 01).

Gerlinde Haid also took careful note of the various roles played by the singers. There was always one sole lead singer, but it was not always the same person. The falsetto, or sopranino, was invariably sung by the same person, the one who was best suited for it. The function of this part consisted of accentuating the final phrase as the high point of each strophe (Haid 2006a, 190–191).

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Figure 1: *La Violetta*.
Transcription by Paolo Vinati (Vinati 2004, 28; see A 01).

In her essay "The role of folk terminology in the research of multipart singing in Austria" which was published in 2011 in *European Voices II*, Gerlinde Haid pinpointed the term "'discursive' multipart singing (discursive in the sense of a conversation going back and forth)" (Haid 2011a, 154). She then proceeded to explain several forms of Alpine multipart singing music in Austria, starting with the two-part song all the way to five-part song in Carinthia; she described the terms used by the singers to mark each individual part or the relationship of the parts to each other while singing as a "distribution of roles" (Haid 2011a, 155–159). Gerlinde Haid made all this especially clear by citing the example of a yodel she herself had recorded at Ramsau am Dachstein, in Styria, Austria, in January 1982, which – with regard to the varying vocal parts – was characterized as a so called "Durcheinand" (muddle) (Haid 2011a, 160). With precise and highly descriptive words, Gerlinde Haid describes how the singers themselves explain or distinguish the individual parts of their singing with words suggestive of a kind of musical communication form: for example, "ansingen" (starting to sing), "drübersingen" (singing over) and "druntersingen" (singing under) (Haid 2011a, 161).

The fact that folk music, and also its performance, are very closely associated with the ability to communicate and get a certain message across was, as already mentioned, an indisputable fundament for Gerlinde Haid; it was something she frequently observed and which fired her imagination. In her splendid essay "Musica Alpina – männliche und weibliche Horizonte" (Musica Alpina – male and female horizons) (Haid 2006b), for instance, she makes new observations with regard to the gender

Figure 2: *Rinegger* (yodel).
Transcription by Gerlinde Haid (Haid 2011a, 160).

distribution of multipart singing in the Alps and explains the predominance of male parts in elaborate multipart songs by the fact that most of them were sung in pubs and inns, and until well into the 20th century, this was the domain of men alone; women were not even permitted on the premises.

A place of communication, stimulation and imagination, and I would even go so far as to say, a reflection of Gerlinde Haid's mind, is her permanent exhibition "Folk Music" in the Kammerhof Museum in the town where she was born, Bad Aussee, where she was also buried, in accordance with her wishes. I am deeply grateful to Gerlinde that she published her concept of this exhibition in our documentation series *Schriften zur musikalischen Ethnologie* in 2011 (Haid 2011b). At the centre of the exhibition is a station labelled "Virtual Pasch". To "pasch" *(paschen)* is the word in the Salzkammergut area for rhythmic hand clapping which accompanies various dance melodies performed by a group of dancers according to certain specific rules. This polyrhythmic clapping is coupled to traditional dances, such as the so-called *Steirer* and the *Landler*, as well as to *Gstanzl-Singen*. Each participant is called a *Pascher* and takes on a certain role: in each measure, the *Vorpascher* claps to the three main beats; the so-called *Zuahipascher*, in other words, "joining-in pascher" performs the follow-up claps in between; and the third *Pascher* known as the *Sexterer* claps only twice per measure, namely once on a main beat and once on an ancillary beat. Each of these roles can of course be taken on by several persons (Haid 2011b, 145–147).

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1st bar

x   #   X   #   x   #

♪   ♪   ♪
  ♪   ♪   ♪
  ♪   ♪

2nd bar

x   #   x   #   x   #

♪   ♪   ♪
       ♪
♪   ♪

3rd bar

x   #   x   #   x   #
♪   ♪   ♪
  ♪   ♪   ♪
  ♪   ♪

4th bar

x   #   x   #   x   #
♪   ♪   ♪
       ♪
  ♪   ♪

5th bar

x   #   x   #   x   #
♪   ♪   ♪
  ♪   ♪   ♪
  ♪   ♪

6th bar

x   #   x   #   x   #
♪   ♪   ♪
       ♪
  ♪   ♪

7th bar

x   #   x   #   x   #
♪   ♪   ♪
  ♪   ♪
  ♪   ♪

8th bar

x   #   x   #   x   #
♪

8th bar, when the Pasch is repeated

x   #   x   #   x   #
♪   ♪   ♪
  ♪   ♪   ♪
  ♪   ♪

FIGURE 3: *Paschen* rhythms (Haid 2011b, 146–147; see V 01).

FIGURE 4: Visitors to the Folk Music exhibition in the Kammerhof Museum in Bad Aussee at the "Virtual Pasch", practising "pasching".
Photograph by Hans Hofer (Haid 2011b, 152).

The amusing part about Gerlinde Haid's "Virtual Pasch" exhibit is that the visitor is invited to clap along with the interactive video wall by selecting one of the three roles to play. If the person gets it right, they are then praised by one of the "Pascher" when it is over; if they make a mistake, however, they are seriously scolded by another "Pascher", a part played by a regional musician who has since passed away. Gerlinde was so kind as to collect the important phases in a short video as an appendix to the publication in 2011 (see Figure 4 and V 01).

2. Older Stylistic Layers in Yodelling

This section is closely associated with Gerlinde Haid's concept of multipart singing as communication. Gerlinde Haid was a researcher who had a lively enough imagination and sufficiently astute logical competence to posit her own historical theories, and that in an area which consists primarily of non-written, orally handed-down folk music for which – compared to art music – we possess only very few written sources. And even though her theories are, in the end, not indisputably proven, they remain cogent enough to stimulate academic discourse. In two essays published in 2006 – "Überlegungen zur Geschichte des Jodelns" (Reflections on the History of Yodelling) (Haid 2006c) and "Yodel from Austria – A Contribution to Early European Polyvocality" (2005) – in very plausible ways she picks up on Wolfgang Sichardt's thesis which posits that there are five historical stylistic layers to be found in Alpine yodels (Sichardt 1939). Gerlinde was particularly interested in the second-oldest layer "Middle Ages type: the technique of voice crossing". In her vast field research activities she recorded a series of yodels which are distinguished by multipart singing in the sense that one original under-voice suddenly runs above the original over-voice and vice versa. By drawing upon linguistic research, according to which the term "yodel" is much more recent than the old German term "jolen", and by thoroughly examining all available old recordings of Austrian yodel songs and ascertaining that the voice-crossing yodels have the fewest consonants, she came to the conclusion that yodels with voice crossings quite possibly go back to a medieval art music form, just as Sichardt had surmised. One of her examples for voice-crossing yodels, which can also be listened to at the "audio station" of her Bad Aussee folk music exhibition, is the yodel *Lära Bred* (Larch board), which exists in many variations and was published as early as 1910 by Konrad Mautner and recorded on tape by Gerlinde Haid in Bad Aussee in 2004. Gerlinde Haid annotates the yodel with the following remark: "In this yodel the path from the subdominant to the tonic is realized in the middle part. This is quite different from all the other variations, and surely reflects a more recent development. [*Bei diesem Jodler wird – im Gegensatz zu allen anderen Varianten*

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Figure 5: *Lära Bred* (yodel).
Transcription by Gerlinde Haid (Haid 2006c, 59; see A 02).

– im Mittelteil der Weg von der IV in die I realisiert, was sicher eine jüngere Entwicklung spiegelt.]" (Haid 2006c, 59)

   What was so remarkable about Gerlinde Haid's work was that she didn't proclaim her conclusions and interpretations didactically with professorial certainty, but reached them taking into consideration the entire complexity of the argued question. Thus, she writes in the end: "Although these yodels probably display characteristics of the era of the Middle Ages and the origins of polyphony, as Sichardt remarked earlier, there is no doubt that they were modernized over the course of time. First of all, they

have been interspersed with the harmonical thinking of the 18th and 19th centuries" (Haid 2005, 276).

At this juncture, I would like to briefly mention that Gerlinde Haid used the term "immanent polyphony" *(immanente Mehrstimmigkeit)* in her well-known essay "Primary Tone Singing in the Alps" (*Primärklangliches Singen in den Alpen*, Haid 2003b) for yodels in three-part breaking melody. By that she meant that by singing in two registers, namely chest and head, multipart sounds are resolved one after the other.

I would also like to mention at this point that Gerlinde Haid wrote a well-known essay entitled "Bordunierende Formen im Ländler" (The Drone Forms in the Landler, Haid 1976). With the help of Heinrich Schenker's so-called "Gestaltanalyse" (Schenkerian analysis) which she mastered perfectly, she developed something akin to "inner-musical" criteria in order to reveal older stylistic layers in *landler* melodies. A major insight of this work is the discovery that there are *landler* melodies capable of bass droning, which also call for bass drone accompaniment. Throughout her life, Gerlinde Haid had the courage to pose such questions, pursue answers and posit possible solutions to them – and all of this in areas where others were afraid to tread, fearful of being categorized as speculators.

3. Arrangements of Multipart Sounds through Improvisation

In 1990, Gerlinde Haid organized and carried out a remarkable symposium in Innsbruck, together with Josef Sulz, Director of the Institute for Musical Folklore at Mozarteum in Innsbruck at that time, entitled "Improvisation in der Volksmusik der Alpenländer" (Improvisation in Alpine Folk Music). This was the first Innsbruck symposium on folk music in the Alps. Gerlinde Haid and Josef Sulz were determined to pay tribute to the fact that the element of improvisation can be seen as a defining characteristic of folk music in general; they wished to establish initial ground rules and principles for this phenomenon in a systematic overview. In her seminal lecture, which was later published under the title "Forms and Possibilities of Music Improvisation in Austrian Folk Music" (*Formen und Möglichkeiten musikalischer Improvisation in der Volksmusik Österreichs*, Haid 1996a), Gerlinde Haid, in an allusion to Jean Düring, distinguishes between various forms of improvisation in a spectrum extending from complete and utter innovation all the way to variation. However, Gerlinde takes it one step further, venturing on a journey into the inner life of improvisation, so to speak, for example in her observations on improvisation in accompanying passages and/or striking sequences on a dulcimer. She writes:

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FIGURE 6: Strike patterns on the dulcimer.
Transcription by Gerlinde Haid (Haid 1996a, 53; see A 03).

In instrumental folk music the improvisational element is somewhat easier to grasp than in vocal music. This is because in instrumental music in a way the skills of the craft are handed down by means of playing instructions, which permit an insight into the "workshop of music composition." Some of these instructions contain clear and unmistakeable clues that the student has to learn at least the basics of improvisation. He learns certain finger positions (on the zither, the harp, the harmonica or the guitar) or sequences of strike patterns (on the dulcimer) which enable him to accompany certain rhythms in accordance with current harmony sequences […]. He is instructed to practise such typical sequences without the help of notes, and in a variety of tonalities.

Bei der instrumentalen Volksmusik ist das improvisatorische Element etwas leichter zu fassen, als bei der vokalen. Denn in der Instrumentalmusik werden quasi handwerkliche Fähigkeiten weitergegeben, und zwar auch mittels Spielanleitungen, und diese gestatten einen Blick in die "Werkstatt des musikalischen Satzes". Einige solcher Anleitungen enthalten deutliche Hinweise darauf, daß der Schüler lernen soll, wenigstens routinemäßig zu improvisieren. Er lernt Griffe (auf der Zither, auf der Harfe, auf der Harmonika, auf der Gitarre) oder Schlagfolgen (auf dem Hackbrett), die ihn befähigen, in bestimmten Rhythmen und nach den gängigen Harmoniefolgen […] zu begleiten. […] Er wird angewiesen, solche typischen Abläufe ohne Notenvorlage zu üben, und zwar in verschiedenen Tonarten. (Haid 1996a, 51)

In order to illustrate this, Gerlinde Haid supplies the example of a Tyrolean dulcimer player who, in the acoustic example (Figure 6, A 03), first plays an orally handed-down sequence of strikes and then performs it together with a harpist. "Even these music sheets," says Gerlinde Haid, "can only provide the basic pattern. Adapting it to the given piece and carrying out the typical ornamentation is solely a matter of the improvisational talents of the musician." (*Auch dieses Notat kann selbstverständlich nur ein Schema sein. Die Anpassung an das jeweilige Stück und das Ausführen der typischen Verzierungen obliegt dem improvisatorischen Talent des Musikanten.* Haid 1996a, 51).

4. The Instrumentalization of Sounds

I have entitled the closing section "The instrumentalization of sounds" in the sense that musical sound can be used to bring about something non-musical. In the same vein, I would like to refer to Gerlinde Haid's dissertation entitled *Das Neujahrssingen in Niederösterreich mit besonderer Berücksichtigung des Piestingtales* (New Year's Day Singing and New Year's Day Songs in Lower Austria with Particular Focus on the Piesting Valley) (Haid 1974). The ability to conduct field research and, in particular, a remarkable persistence and endurance were Gerlinde Haid's great strengths. She conducted a phenomenal number of field research projects and, as far as I can judge, she devoted her first field research projects to documenting New Year's Day singing, not only in Lower Austria, but in the early 1970s also in the Ötz Valley in Tyrol, which was her second home during her entire life. Singing and instrument-playing

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people involved in singing customs (such as New Year's Day singing, Epiphany, May Day singing or pre-Christmas enactments of Mary and Joseph going from house to house asking for lodging) were all subjects of great fascination to Gerlinde. In her final years, she again undertook some field research together with Hans Haid during the Epiphany singing at Heiligenblut in Carinthia, Austria. The sound recordings which were made during the course of this project can be heard on the splendid CD *Musica Alpina VII & VIII* (Haid and Haid 2009, VII, tracks 1–4). This double CD is, incidentally, a treasure trove of multipart singing forms in the Alpine regions, but cannot be discussed in detail here.

Gerlinde Haid's love of ancient musical customs stemmed from her deep-rooted interest in music history and her lively attentiveness to everything which seemed to hearken back to archaic forms of expression. In that vein, in 1987 and 1988 she focused her efforts in particular on the New Year's Day singing in the Upper Vinschgau in South Tyrol, Italy, and was actually able to document a late offshoot of a tradition which has been extinct since the 1990s. Gerlinde Haid was especially fascinated by a New Year's Day song in the tiny village of Planeil. The song begins with an unusual opening formula: "Mia ziachens den Fådn wohl umadums Haus" (We draw the thread all around the house). This is a song of good wishes for the New Year, which in those days was sung on New Year's Eve. The singers, as a rule only young men, wish happiness to come "into the house" and unhappiness to go "out" (Haid 1987a, 436). In numerous verses, they extend their wishes of well-being and happiness to the inhabitants, who are directly addressed. Formulas are used which can also be found in other, older similar wishes of happiness, not only in the Tyrol, but also in other Alpine regions. Gerlinde Haid writes:

Stronger than the notes alone could ever depict, the sound recording radiates the impression of ancient customs. The verses are rhythmically recited from memory by the lead singer and are closely tied to archaic calling-out melodies, the likes of which occur […] among many different peoples (a called third with upper secondary note). The upper secondary note is stretched out each time, and an anticipation of the cadence tone underscores the end of the first line of verse each time, whereupon the crowd joins in in two parts [or three parts]. In contrast, the refrain is sung in rhythm and relatively quickly.

Noch stärker als das Notenbild allein vermittelt die Tonaufnahme den Eindruck des Altartigen. Die Verse werden vom Vorsänger rhythmisch frei rezitiert und sind vollkommen der archaischen Rufmelodik verhaftet, wie sie […] bei vielen Völkern zu finden ist (Rufterz mit oberer Nebennote). Die obere Nebennote wird jedesmal gedehnt; eine Antizipation des Kadenztones unterstreicht jedesmal das Ende der ersten Verszeile, worauf dann die Schar – zweistimmig [bzw. dreistimmig] – einsetzt. Der Refrain wird demgegenüber im Rhythmus und relativ schnell gesungen." (Haid 1987a, 439)

The opening formula may well be attributable, just as Gerlinde Haid assumed, to old modes of belief which can be gleaned from written sources from the early Middle

Ages, the early modern age and from other regions of Europe. There are reports of ritual processions in the Middle Ages in the course of which people sang. Possibly the idea behind it was to erect a kind of "acoustic wall" designed to ward off ill fortune by singing. Earlier in her career, Gerlinde Haid had discovered that New Year's Day singers of the Upper Vinschgau processed around each house (Haid 1987a, 440–441).

There was one other thing she found striking:

The unusual three-part singing, parts of which are in parallel fifths between the lowermost and uppermost voices, was primarily a creation of the singers of the parallel over-voice. The possibility that this is an echo of older types of singing practices which are familiar to us, for example, in the case of the parallel fifths in the so called "Sarner Klöckellied" [a customary song in the Sarn Valley, South Tyrol], cannot be ruled out.

Die eigenartige Dreistimmigkeit, teilweise in parallelen Quinten zwischen der untersten und der obersten Stimme, entstand vor allem durch den Sänger der parallelen Überstimme. Ein Nachklingen älterer Singpraktiken, wie wir sie z. B. von dem in parallelen Quinten gesungenen Sarner Klöckellied kennen, ist nicht auszuschließen. (Haid and Haid 1993, booklet, 146–147)

Figure 7: Planeil. New Year's Song:
"Mia ziachens den Fådn wohl umadums Haus" (We draw the thread all around the house).
Transcription by Gerlinde Haid [with additions by Thomas Nußbaumer] (Haid and Haid 1993, booklet, 144; see A 04).

Gerlinde Haid and I occasionally discussed the concealed fifths in various South Tyrolean songs, as in the case of this song. We debated whether it came about by coincidence or stemmed from an older oral tradition which was handed down. Gerlinde Haid ultimately left the question unanswered, and pointed out to me that such

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archaic-sounding multipart forms of singing as found in German speaking areas in Alpine regions occurred primarily in South Tyrol and not, for example, in Lower Austria.

I would like to close this little tribute to my esteemed teacher and friend Gerlinde Haid with a remark she was fond of uttering whenever she managed to posit a new and exciting thesis. I quote: "At this point, no more than a supposition can be made. Precise comparative research still needs to be done" (*[…] kann hier nur als Vermutung ausgesprochen werden, eine genaue vergleichende Forschung steht noch aus*) (Haid 1987a, 441). And it is in this sense that all of us, in memoriam and in abiding fondness for Gerlinde Haid, will continue our work and our comparative research. In this way, like Gerlinde Haid, we will make our efforts to gain new insights and bring about an honest step forward in ethnomusicology.

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Ian Russell

The Performance Roles and Dynamics of a Christmas Carolling Tradition in the English Pennines

Abstract

For well over two and a half centuries, the performance of distinctive carols has been a feature of the seasonal holiday of Christmas in villages within a thirty-kilometre range of Sheffield in South Yorkshire and Derbyshire, on the eastern edge of the Pennine hills of England. The region comprises some fifty or more significant settlements and associated communities, many of which maintain a vernacular carolling tradition. In contrast to the monodic examples of solo performers recorded in England by folksong collectors in the early part of the twentieth century, the carols and the manner of performance are wholly dependent on group interaction, characterized by part singing and often complex instrumental accompaniment. In this paper, I explore the development of this tradition in terms of musicality, group structure, style and repertoire. I analyse the dynamics of performance that characterize these groups, including the roles of singers and the performance milieux –currently most focus their activities in the village pub rather than the church or chapel. These carols differ in both style and content from the standard repertoire broadcast on the media and promoted by churches and choral institutions. They are performed without formal musical direction by ad hoc groups, largely comprising untrained singers, rather than by choirs and conductors. This paper discusses the overall sound ideal created by such carolling and the dynamic soundscape that identifies this form of cultural expression. The research draws on ethnographic fieldwork undertaken during the past forty years.

Introduction

In this paper I give a short introduction and brief history of the vernacular Christmas carolling tradition that flourishes in village communities near the industrial city of Sheffield, in the Pennine hills of South Yorkshire (see Figure 1). I consider the principal roles within the tradition and the dynamics that have characterized its development. I discuss performances and the nature of the part singing, and identify what makes this particular sound distinctive.
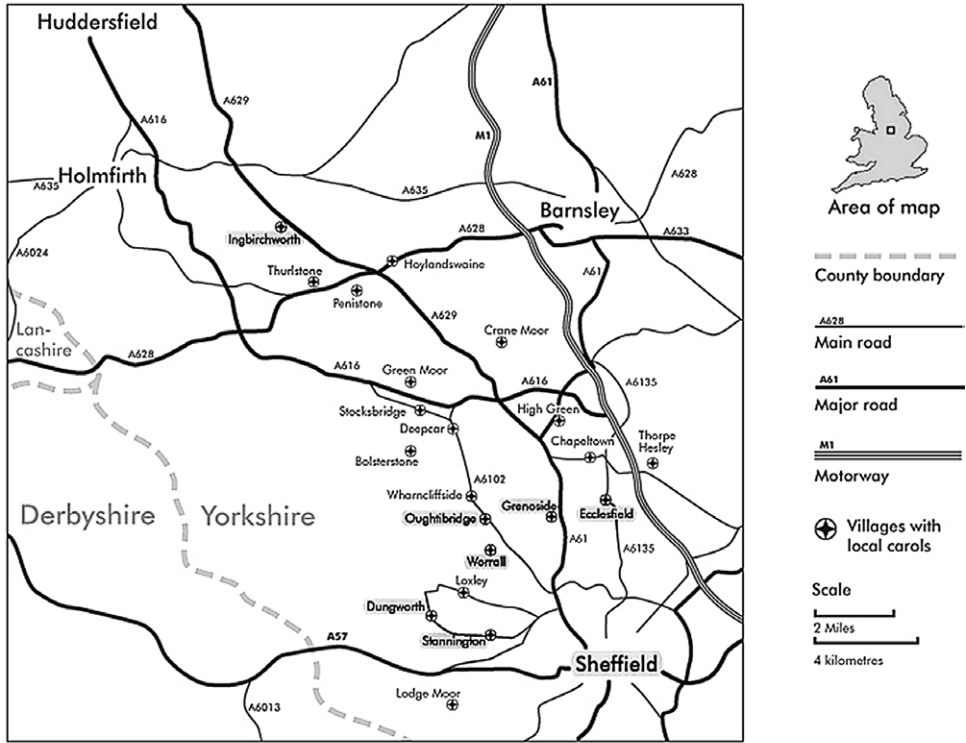
Figure 1: Map of the Sheffield Region Showing the Location of Villages with a Carolling Tradition.
Map by Ian Russell.

The official history and evolution of post-Reformation carolling in England is problematic for several reasons. In the first place, the principal scholarly account (Routley 1958, 159) conveniently brushes past a body of evidence from the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, because it did not fit with the author's ideology or agenda. In the second place, the commentators passed judgement on aesthetic grounds that the music was unworthy of serious consideration. They elevated the discourse on Christmas carols to an elitist level that ignored evidence from the grassroots and was not based on ethnographic data. This situation had been consolidated by the publication of a series of "authoritative" collections of Christmas carols in the late nineteenth century, which restricted their contents to reflect this position (Rimbault [1863]; Husk 1868; Chope 1875; Bramley & Stainer [1878]).

Following the "discoveries" of the early folksong pioneers, the carol collections were widened, but stopped well short of including any reference to the vernacular

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carolling sung in parts (Dearmer, Vaughan Williams, Shaw 1928). Although the early folksong collectors encountered such vernacular carolling traditions, they chose to exclude them as they considered them outside of their remit (Sharp 1907, 100–101; Sharp 1911 preface; Vaughan Williams 1919). This is unsurprising, as they preferred to focus on an earlier form of carolling, monodic, performed solo, and ballad-like in its narrative structure.

Unlike fieldworkers in the USA (notably Jackson 1933; Jackson 1937), the English folksong collectors could not accept group performance and the singing in parts as admissible to their folksong canon. Moreover, they believed that folk song should be anonymous and in the case of many of these vernacular carols, this was demonstrably not the case. Hence in their role as gatekeepers, the early folksong collectors left a significant element of vernacular musical tradition in England unrecorded, undocumented, and underresearched. For the promoters of the folksong movement (Kennedy 1975; Lloyd 1967, 131; Seeger and MacColl 1960), the English village carolling tradition lacked the essential "folk" qualities ("authenticity" and "purity"), and for musicologists, especially scholars of hymnody and psalmody, the tradition fell short in terms of musical "good taste," and it was castigated for failing to conform to western classical rudiments of music, which largely postdate it. Since 1990 there has been some softening of this position, as indicated by the selection made for *The New Oxford Book of Carols* (Keyte and Parrott 1992), which includes among 300 musical examples 15 from the multipart tradition, representing 5%. However, none of these are drawn from oral tradition or vernacular performance. The editors preferred to seek out "original sources" – printed or manuscript. The hegemonic attitude of condescension towards the vernacular tradition persists in the pejorative language chosen to describe such tunes – "corrupt," "debased," "rough," "mutated," "crude" – when the editors might have chosen to discuss the traditionary processes at work as creative and re-creative.

A Brief History of the Musical Tradition

Below is a summary of the key points in the history of this vernacular musical tradition:

- There was a dearth in the variety of sacred music suitable for congregational singing in English parish churches in the 1600s and early 1700s, as a result of the influence of Puritanism. Typically psalm tunes were "lined out" by the parish clerk and sung in monody at a very slow tempo (Temperley 1979, 91–99); the performance was essentially heterophonic in character and probably resembled contemporary Gaelic psalmody (*Gaelic Psalms* 1994). Moreover, Christmas carolling was explicitly forbidden by the Puritans.

- This dearth became transformed from the mid–1700s by a grassroots movement of composition of hymn/psalm tunes. Many key figures were artisans with little or no formal musical training (Gammon 1981, 65–66).
- Their compositions were polyphonic and often featured fuguing sections and melisma (Temperley 1979, 191–96).
- They were influenced by composers of the Baroque movement, notably Handel and Bach.
- The music was performed by bands of church musicians and singers, known as "quires."
- Church interiors were modified to accommodate the performance of such groups, by the erection of a gallery at the west end (Woods 1995, 28–29).
- The heyday of this musical efflorescence was approximately 1760–1820.
- Church hierarchies from the early nineteenth century considered the music to be profane, frivolous, and undermining of authority (Gammon 1981, 72–80).
- From the 1820s onwards under the influence of "high church" reformers, known as Tractarians or the Oxford Movement (Russell 1987, 32–33; Woods 1995, 133–34), the music became subject to disapproval, the quires were sacked and organs installed in place of the instrumentalists. The place of the singers was taken by choirs of boys wearing vestments in imitation of cathedral choirs.
- By the time of the publication of the first mass-produced hymnbook in 1861 (*Hymns Ancient and Modern*), such music had been almost entirely eradicated from the official places of worship (Gammon 1981, 82–84).

However, the singers and instrumentalists did not stop performing this type of music, for which they had great affection and with which they identified. Rather they took it with them into the newly-opened Nonconformist churches (Temperley 1979, 239–42), but more significantly they reserved its use for Christmas as part of the carolling traditions that existed in public and domestic spaces outside of such places of worship, performing it as part of annual village perambulations. Whereas the music in the Nonconformist chapels became supplanted in the 1880–90s by the revivalist gospel hymns of American evangelists, such as Moody and Sankey, within the context of Christmas festivities it thrived and developed as a dynamic, largely autonomous, oral tradition.

Partly as a result of the social disjuncture of two world wars and the consequent loss of life, carolling became mostly confined to two main regions, the Pennines of Derbyshire and South Yorkshire (Russell 2008, 1; Russell 2012, 1), and parts of the South West, especially Cornwall and Somerset (Worden 1971; Court 1996; Patten 2011). Moreover, the main theatre of performance shifted in many cases from the village street to the local village pub. Such carol singing, being outside the control of the official places of worship, consequently became secularised. Moreover, its perform-

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ers were not necessarily regular church or chapel goers. Thus the singing of carols and formal Christian worship were largely separated. Carolling in pubs was (and is) primarily festive, seasonal and unrestrained, emphasizing sociability and conviviality, whereas sacred singing in church was (and is) reverential, deferential and controlled, focusing on worship and prayer.

Interestingly, the notions of heritage and conservation are not primary motives for the carollers, who think instead of obligation to the group and loyalty to the session, coupled with a desire to participate wholeheartedly in and enjoy the singing. Emphasis is placed on those aspects that distinguish it from formal carol singing in church, such that there is: loudness rather than softness; earthiness rather than sweetness; singing competitiveness rather than blending; vocal attack rather than mannered phrasing; diversity rather than conformity; the importance of oral tradition rather than primacy of the text; the blurring of gender conventions regarding the allocation of parts rather than strict adherence; humorous spontaneity rather than sacred dogma; alcoholic indulgence rather than abstinence; and social levelling rather than formal hierarchies.

Carolling in the Pubs

Each pub has its own season and occasion for carolling. One such, the Royal Hotel at Dungworth (see Figures 2a, 2b, 2c), starts on the Sunday after 11 November (Armistice Day, marking the end of the First World War), and finishes on the Sunday after Christmas Day (25 December), thus making seven Sundays, with an additional session on the 26 December (Boxing Day/St Stephen's Day). The session takes place at lunchtime, starting promptly at 1200h and finishing at 1400h, although carolling usually continues after the official finish for about half an hour. By the commencement of the singing, the pub is full to capacity (80–100 people) and everyone has come to participate.

For the past twenty years the carols have been led by the accompanist, Sue Heritage, who plays an electronic organ, with the support from a small number of senior carollers, who cluster around the organ. Although Sue does not actually sing, she selects the repertoire, the order, the pitch and the tempo. Drawing on musical scores, both locally printed and handwritten, she plays an introduction which immediately signals to the carollers her choice, and the pub is brought to order, such that talking stops. Most of the carols are four-line metrical stanzas in common/ballad metre (4, 3, 4, 3) or short metre (4, 4, 4, 4), set to an appropriate tune. In fact, some texts, especially "While Shepherd Watched their Flocks by Night," are set to several tunes. In performance, these texts become more complex through the use of repetition and different entries for the different singing parts, such an example is "Pentonville".

Figure 2a, 2b, 2c: Carol Singing at the Royal
Hotel, Dungworth, near Sheffield. 26 December
2010.
Photographs by Ian Russell.

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"Pentonville", verse 1 (see A 05):

While shepherds watched their flocks by night,
All seated on the ground,
All seated on the ground,
The angel of the Lord came down
And glory shone around,
And glory shone around,
And glory shone around,
And glory shone around.

Accompaniment and the Symphonies

Between each verse of a carol, Sue adopts the custom of playing a short musical passage or interlude, known as a symphony. Such interludes were originally developed as an opportunity for the instrumentalists, usually string or woodwind ensembles, to demonstrate their virtuosity. Nowadays in the pubs, the symphonies allow the singers to have a rest, take refreshment, re-establish pitch and tonality, relish the ingenuity of the accompanist, and enjoy the musicality of the passage both in terms of originality and familiarity. Such symphonies may simply re-state the first or last line of the tune, or they may provide a reworking or variation of the tune, or in some elaborate cases encapsulate a different melodic theme which may complement or contrast with the tune of the carol. Sue interprets such symphonies with a measure of freedom by employing syncopation and by playing them up-tempo. Her style contrasts with other accompanists, such as Barbara Needham at the Traveller's Rest, Oughtibridge (see Figure 3), and Julia Bishop at the Blue Ball, Worrall (see Figure 4), both of whom play the symphonies in fairly strict time.

This is apparent from Julia Bishop's performance of "Old Foster," another setting of "While Shepherd Watched their Flocks by Night."

"Old Foster", verse 1, (see A 06):

While shepherds watched their flocks by night,
All seated on the ground,
The angel of the Lord came down
And glory shone around,
And glory shone around,
And glory shone around,
And glory shone around.

Figure 3: Carol Singing at the Traveller's Rest, Oughtibridge, near Sheffield. 3 December 2011. Photograph by Ian Russell.

Figure 4: Carol Singing at the Blue Ball Inn, Worrall, near Sheffield. 16 December 2012. Photograph by Norma Russell.

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Unaccompanied Sessions

Figure 5: Carol Singing at the Crown and Glove at Stannington, near Sheffield. 20 December 2012. Photograph by Ian Russell.

At the Crown & Glove at Stannington (see Figure 5), the Black Bull at Ecclesfield (see Figure 6), and the George at Upper Denby, the singing is a cappella.

"Hark, Hark!", verse 1 (see A 07):

Hark, hark! what news those angels bring?
Glad tidings of a new-born King,
Glad tidings of a new-born King;
Born of a maid, a virgin pure,
Born without sin from guilt secure,
Born without sin from guilt secure.

Here the leader is responsible for both the choice and order of the carols, and for pitching them. This is particularly crucial as he does so without reference to any external source or point of reference. The name used for such a role is "the striker" (one who strikes up a carol), which probably derives from the striking of a tuning fork. Another term used is "the pitcher" (one who gives the pitch), which similarly suggests the blowing of a pitch pipe. In fact, both methods were in use with the early church

Figure 6: Carol Singing at the Black Bull, Ecclesfield, near Sheffield. 19 December 2013. Photograph by David Robinson (used by permission).

quires, mentioned above. However, such aids are rarely used today in the pubs, and certainly not in the three mentioned above. If the leader is unsure of a pitch, he may check out his proposed pitch with a fellow caroller, who is similarly experienced, as often happens with Des Childs at the Black Bull or Barry Bridgewater at the George. Very occasionally an inappropriate pitch will lead to subsequent censure in the form of a humorous jibe: "We had our bellies to the floor then!" (that is, the pitch was too low – proverbial comment from the late Billy Mills); or, if a pitch was too high, mock gasps of desperation from a male tune singer with his hand to his own throat or a remark about being "with the angels." Very exceptionally a striker will stop the carol after the first line or two, re-pitch and start again. The ability to pitch a carol success-fully and appropriately is considered to be the mark of an accomplished caroller.

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Singing Parts

There are two main singing parts – those who sing the tune, which form the majority of participants (equivalent to sopranos or trebles), and those who sing a bass line. Neither part is gender specific, such that both are sung by female and male voices in different octaves. A local term for the two parts is "firsts" and "seconds," the point being that, when a carol breaks into a fuguing section, the tune singers usually sing first and the bass singers come in second. Between these two parts, a sense of opposition and competitiveness is often apparent, especially when they break apart in the fuguing sections. Predictably such tensions are resolved in the final phrase of a carol tune, which brings the parts together as they progress to the final chord of the keynote.

"Foster", verse 1 (see A 08):

While shepherds watched their flocks by night,
All seated on the ground,
The angel of the Lord came down
And glory shone around,
And glory shone around,
And glory shone around,
And glory shone around.

The experience of the singing at the Royal, the Blue Ball, or the George is often described as extraordinary, especially by first-time visitors or apprentice carollers. The magnitude of the volume of male-dominated voices is almost overwhelming. I have heard fellow carollers comment that their eardrums were "popping," that they could feel the sound vibrating through their bodies, and that they felt the air in the room "bubbling" with the overload of volume. The declamatory nature of the singing is such that it is often impossible to hear your own voice, let alone hear the person next to you or someone talking in your ear. Nonetheless, individual voices are audible at times, especially at the end of musical phrases. Through this shared endeavour and a growing atmosphere of excitement, a momentum is built by the sheer number of voices. The resulting euphoria is given expression by the repeated singing of the last line or section of a carol, such as in "Mount Moriah," demonstrating a reluctance to finish, particularly when there is a feeling that the rendition of the carol has gone exceptionally well.

"Mount Moriah", verse 3 (see A 09):

Glory to God! Let all the earth
Join in the heavenly song,

Join in the heavenly song;
And praise Him for our Saviour's birth
In every land and tongue,
In every land and tongue
In every land and tongue!
And praise Him for our Saviour's birth…
[last section repeated ad lib]

Some of the characteristics that distinguish the carol singers' performance include unconsciously sliding between certain notes, and adding passing notes and vocal embellishments, for example, in the opening line of "Jacob's Well" (Figure 7). Local accent in vernacular speech is clearly in evidence in the singing and no attempt is made by the participants to affect formal Received Pronunciation, as is commonly required by choirs. Vowels in certain diphthongs tend to drift apart and be pronounced as two syllables, which is particularly apparent with words such as "secure," "pure," and "fear".

Figure 7: The Opening Phrase of "Jacob's Well".
Above: as notated in printed collections. See for example *Goddard's Collection of the Old Favourite Christmas Tunes*, compiled by Walter Goddard. Hillsborough, Sheffield: Goddard's Piano Shop, [1946], p. 18.
Below: as sung in oral tradition at the Blue Ball, Worrall (transcription by Ian Russell).

Although there is a clear understanding and agreement in respect of the form of the tune part, this is not necessarily the case with the bass line, such that two bass singers standing side by side may demonstrate significant variation at several points during a particular carol. It should also be noted that the version of a carol performed at one pub may differ to a greater or lesser extent from that sung at another pub, even when they are only a few miles apart.

When many of the carol tunes were created, as distinct from the texts, they had just two singing parts (equivalent to treble and bass) (see Figure 8); in cases where three or four parts were prescribed, they did not necessarily conform to the modern four-part harmonic convention (Soprano, Alto, Tenor, Bass) (Foster, 1817). Thus in a typical three-part configuration, male voices would hold the melody and sing the bass line, whereas female voices would sing a high counter line. As an example of a dynamic oral

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FIGURE 8: Examples of Carols in Two Parts.
"Hail delightful Sacred Morn" by R. Furness and "Hark hark what news the Angels bring," Brightmore-Maltby MS, *c.* 1820, Tideswell, Derbyshire. *Village Carols Archive.*

tradition, phrases from this counter part have, in some localities, been incorporated into the main melody by a process of displacement, as is the case with different versions of "Old Foster." Similarly a phrase from one melody might be incorporated into another. During the twentieth century, several locally published collections of carols prescribed the standard SATB configuration (Morris, 1900; Goddard, 1910; Couldwell, 1965). This is endorsed by contemporary carollers with a background in choral singing, who feel that the configuration of the parts in the vernacular tradition should conform to modern convention. However, in the pubs, it is very rare that such conventional four-part harmony is apparent, although one or two tenor voices are often heard above the melody and the bass line.

Positioning and Layout

The positioning of carol singers in a pub is not only dependent on the layout of the bar room (or rooms) and the furniture, together with the siting of an instrument, if one is used, there are also local conventions regarding sitting and standing, and orientation. For example, at the George in Upper Denby and the Royal at Dungworth most carollers stand, in fact, several tables and stools are removed to allow for this. By contrast, at the Black Bull at Ecclesfield and the Crown and Glove at Stannington, most sing seated. The two arrangements produce a somewhat different sonic ambience, such that in pubs where most people stand there is a directionality to the sound, as most singers focus their gaze and voices towards the leader (accompanist or striker). In a pub where the carollers perform seated around tables, such a focus is not clearly defined and voices project randomly in all directions.

Although there is an absence of formal hierarchies in carol sessions in pubs, informal hierarchies do exist, usually manifested by a singer's proximity to the striker or accompanist. For example, at the Black Bull, the term "top table" is used to denote the table unofficially reserved for the striker and other senior carollers.

Solo Singing

A feature of most carolling sessions in the pubs is the performance of solos. In an average two-hour session at the Blue Ball at Worrall, for example, out of twenty-four carols sung, four or five will be sung by solo singers. Such solo carols may differ in form from the main body of carols, such that the repertoire at the Blue Ball includes a neo-Gothic tale with an element of horror (the Victorian parlour ballad, "The Mistletoe Bough"); a rumbustious song about the coming of Santa Claus's man (originally

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a Sunday School song from the USA, "The Christmas Tree"); a nostalgic song in praise of a scenic valley in the Yorkshire Dales, which makes no reference to Christmas ("Home of the Swale"); and two carols of more modern origins than much of the other repertoire – "A Song for the Time" which dates from the late nineteenth century (attributed to Alfred Gatty and his son, Alfred Scott Gatty, of Ecclesfield), and "Stannington," which was written by Mina Dyson of Stannington after the Second World War. All have one element in common: they take the form of a verse sung by the soloist followed by a chorus in which everyone joins. Unlike the carols sung ensemble, these solo performances are always applauded. Furthermore, there is an acceptance that the same soloist performs the same carol at each weekly session as of right, when called to do so by the accompanist or striker.

"The Christmas Tree", verse 1 (see A 10)

Who comes this way so blithe and gay
Upon the merry Christmas day,
So merrily, so cheerily,
With his big hat and his reindeer sleigh,
With pretty toys for girls and boys,
As pretty as you e'er did see?
Oh, welcome, Santa Claus's man,
Kris Kringle with the Christmas tree.

Dynamics
Stability and Change

The forces of stability and change over the past forty years have been very much in evidence, in terms of context, repertoire and style, and a few of the main factors are given to illustrate this. For example, the carolling in the pubs where singing is practised is considerably stronger than it was in 1970, but the number of pubs in terms of singing venues has reduced significantly.

Whereas the repertoire of the region as a whole is much the same, with one or two additions and one or two losses, within individual venues "new" carols have been learnt. In nearly all cases, such "new" carols have been taken or rather learnt from neighbouring communities. The resulting effect has been that individual repertoires have been enlarged – in the case of the Black Bull, by as many as ten carols. Very occasionally newly composed carols have been introduced but the novelty has worn off very quickly and very few have become established parts of their local tradition.

In terms of style of performance, a simple example from within the village of Stannington will serve. In 1970 the a cappella singers at the Peacock were typically performing their carols at an average tempo of 80 bpm. During Christmas 2012, most carols sung at the Crown and Glove in Stannington were within the range 110–120 bpm. A similar trend has been observed in other parts of South Yorkshire.

"Good News", verse 1 (see A 11)

[Hark, hark! what news] those angels bring?
Glad tidings of a new-born King,
Glad tidings of a new-born King;
Born of a maid, a virgin pure,
Born without sin from guilt secure,
Born without sin from guilt secure.

Another noticeable difference over this period is the growth in the strength of part singing, especially the bass.

Humour

The use of humour provides an important dynamic that helps to make the carolling sessions less intense and to relieve the build-up of tension. Some humorous interchanges are repeated weekly and achieve a ritualistic dimension. A case in point concerns the need to operate the pub effectively during the very crowded carol session. Because the bar staff at the Royal are unable to retrieve used beer glasses during the session, due to lack of access, an appeal is put out to request the carollers to cooperate by passing their empty glasses in the direction of the bar. Almost immediately this prompts a musical reply in the form of a parodic version of the chorus of "Cwm Rhondda" ("Bread of Heaven") to the words:

Pass your glasses, pass your glasses,
Pass your glasses to the bar!
Pass your glasses to the bar!

To which instruction a request is added:
Fill them up again, fill them up again,
Fill them up with decent ale!
Fill them up with decent ale!

An ironic twist is sometimes added, directed at the management of the pub:

> That's impossible, that's impossible,
> That's impossible to do!
> That's impossible to do!

The musical joke achieves the desired effect and raises self-congratulatory smiles among the singers (see A 12).

At the Black Bull in the 1970s when the carolling was led by Ike Baxter, it was customary to sing three short carols near the conclusion of the session. One of these was two verses of a local setting of a hymn, "Jesu, Lover of My Soul," which features a particularly stirring chorus. For this, Ike would rise to his feet and, fully aware of his own comic vulnerability, would conduct the singers to exhort maximum participation. Deservedly, when the hymn was over, the riposte in song from his fellow carollers was to sing to the melody of "Auld Lang Syne:"

> Sit down you fool, sit down you fool,
> Sit down you fool, sit down!
> Sit down you fool, sit down you fool,
> Sit down you fool, sit down!

Over the next decade these three short carols became sung consecutively without a pause, despite an absence of common meaning or theme or melodic commonality, concluding with the musical riposte, "Sit down you fool!". The carol medley subsequently became referred to as "Ritual!". Ever since, these carols have been sung in this form and understood as a cause of amusement, although few carollers have any knowledge of the reason for the riposte.

Participants

The composition of the participants at the main carol sessions in the pubs over the past forty years demonstrates a marked trend. In the early 1970s when I conducted fieldwork in different village pubs in South Yorkshire, the carollers who came from the immediate community would be the largest group and of the remaining carollers very few had travelled more than five miles (8 km). In the contemporary situation, carollers who come from the immediate surrounds (within 8 km) are often in the minority, with some regular singers travelling up to thirty miles or more (50 km) to attend a particular session. Furthermore, some aficionados will regularly attend three or four

different sessions a week. This has meant that the carolling group within a particular venue may only exist for the one specific function and may share no other common interest or concern.

Venues

Vernacular Christmas carolling in the pubs of South Yorkshire has continued to be practised through a period of profound social change and has demonstrated resilience, vitality, and relevance to its supporters. It has been maintained and nurtured through a period in which a considerable number of public houses have been closed or have been changed in character from mainly serving beverages to more diverse functions, particularly serving food and catering for families, such that many have become restaurants in all but name. Many of those that have not followed the restaurant path have developed audiences for watching sport, with the installation of large TV screens and the advertizing of special nights for viewing high profile matches and events. It is inevitable that the number of pubs conducive and welcoming to live music, especially Christmas carolling, has been much reduced.

Communications

By contrast, the growth of communications through print, recorded sound, broadcasting, and more recently, the Internet has served to strengthen the tradition in pubs in which carolling is practised. It is now possible to go to a website that lists all the carol singing sessions and related events, whether in pubs or other venues, stating when and where they will take place, while other websites support knowledge of the repertoire, including text, tunes, and provenance. Moreover, a number of CDs and other recordings have been issued over the past forty years. It is not uncommon to encounter carollers from other parts of the UK and beyond as cultural tourists, spending a week or two in South Yorkshire, expressly to visit as many carolling events as possible.

Choral Interest

Another development during the past twenty years has been the setting up of community choirs: the folk choirs, largely a cappella and "natural voice," perform arrangements of folksongs, often with an international scope; the "West Gallery" choirs specialize in the sacred music of English parish churches, especially hymnody and

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psalmody of the period 1760–1820, referred to above. For both groups, the vernacular carolling tradition, especially from South Yorkshire, has proved a ready source of repertoire. In turn, some leaders and members of these choirs have visited the pub carolling sessions to learn the carols at first hand and have contributed to the success of the sessions. This has created an important interchange, such that a biennial Festival of Village Carols, which was started in 1994, provides a common core of repertoire and features different village traditions, regularly attracting a capacity audience of 400 enthusiasts, singers, and instrumentalists, both from within the South Yorkshire region and beyond.

"Merry Christmas", verse 1 (see A 13):

We singers make bold, as in days of old,
To celebrate Christmas and bring you good cheer;
Glad tidings we bring of Messiah, our King,
So we wish you a merry Christmas,
So we wish you a merry Christmas,
So we wish you a merry Christmas and a happy New Year!

Conclusion

In this paper I have presented a case study of a multipart singing phenomenon, which indicates the complexity of its development and the intricate nature of its practice. I have attempted to concisely exemplify its form, performance, particular qualities, and social milieu, with reference to a specific region of the UK. It is through such studies that we can understand the effects of secularization, institutionalization, acculturation, and revitalization. I have referred to the impact of the multimedia, and of other social, musical, and religious changes in the make-up of the tradition. Needless to say, there are, of course, other significant issues with which I have not engaged here. My own attraction to this field of research has been substantial and enduring (Russell 2006). I warm to the tradition's non-elitist grassroots background; I relish its inclusiveness and participatory nature; I relate to its musicality and secularity; and I am excited by the extent to which it has existed as a subculture, largely hidden from mainstream art music, folk music and sacred singing.

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3. South-Western Europe

Enrique Cámara de Landa

Polyphonic Arrangements for a Monodic Tradition: Rituals and Musical Creativity in Present-Day Soria

Abstract

The Spanish province of Soria is part of the autonomous region of Castilla y León but located in an area which also borders the autonomous region of Aragon. This situation partly determines the local musical style, which is not free of contradictions between the cultural policy of the authorities and the locals' awareness of their traditional musical heritage. In a context of depopulation exacerbated by economic factors, current traditional musical activities in the province of Soria largely spring from the initiative of local musicians operating at various levels (e.g. ritual performances according to the calendar of religious festivals, secular dance animation and folk concerts).

These musicians perform polyphonic arrangements of the traditional repertoire and simultaneously create new musical works which help to change the listening habits of a society accustomed to monody.

In this paper I propose an observation of the determinants, musical practices and the impact of these groups and their activities, as well as the strategies they use to reconcile their aesthetic tastes and artistic creativity with their commitment to respect local tradition. I also propose a consideration of the roles these actors play in the social fabric of Soria and in the representation of local culture at a regional, national, and international level.[1]

Introduction

After several decades of Spain's economic and cultural isolation, a new diplomatic and commercial openness towards other countries emerged during the 1960s. This phenomenon led to a trend of industrial development in urban areas and of the mechanization of agricultural activities in rural areas, one consequence of which was that demand for labour in rural areas dropped, while it increased in the cities.

Because of the migration flows from rural to urban areas, the Province of Soria has undergone a population decline which has yet to be reversed. Some small villages have been abandoned or semi-abandoned because their residents migrated for work reasons to cities like Zaragoza, Barcelona and Madrid.

During summer holidays, the emigrant *sorianos* return to their villages and there is an increase in festive activities. Many local celebrations have been moved to August and, combined with the festivities already taking place in this month, have resulted in making this the busiest period of the year in terms of musical activity.

Musical manifestations associated with religious life are present throughout the province and constitute a high percentage of traditional repertoires. These are complemented by music played at secular celebrations and public concerts for recreational and aesthetic purposes[2].

In Soria, instrumental music is much more frequently performed than vocal music. The most common folk music instrument is a traditional woodwind called the *dulzaina*; in this province those who play it are called *gaiteros* (pipers) even though they do not play the bagpipes, but a kind of oboe (always accompanied by a snare drum called *caja* and sometimes with a bass drum called *bombo*).

During the 1970s, the use of this instrument gradually declined as a result of the aforementioned industrialization and migration processes, but it has made an impressive comeback since the 1980s. This phenomenon, which we cannot deal with at length here, includes performances of the *dulzaina* by Soriano musicians at emblematic international events, such as the 1992 World Fair in Seville[3]. Today, people learn to play the *dulzaina* in the province's public schools, and the number of people who perform it at various occasions continues to grow.

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2 Some traditional/folk music groups in Soria are: *Gaiteros de la Calle Real*; *La zampoña*; *Los gaiteros del Olmo viejo* (*Los gemelos*); *Aires de Soria*; *Gaiteros del Duero*; *Mi desván*; *Los Dueños del Mundo*; *Menaya folk*; *Zafra*; *Bardos, druidas y otras movidas*.

3 Fernando Pérez (*gaitero – dulzaina* player): "Before, there were almost no events with the *dulzaina*, and then suddenly this instrument began to be played at football matches, weddings, baptisms, communions – at any festive event. [*Antes casi no había eventos con la dulzaina; después, de golpe, empezó a ser tocada en partidos de fútbol, bodas, bautismos, comuniones, en todo tipo de fiesta.*]"
Enrique Cámara: How did that happen? Did it suddenly become fashionable? [*¿Cómo pasó esto? ¿Se puso de moda de golpe?*]"
Fernando Pérez Arribas: "Yes, yes, all at once. There was a big drought … and then a big downpour. [*Sí, sí; de golpe. Había una gran sequía… y llegó la gran remojada.*]
Enrique Antón Cabrerizo (*tamborilero* – snare drum player): "We were not able to cope with the demand. Four or five people would call you daily… and it was impossible to answer all the calls. [*De no dar abasto. Te llamaban al día cuatro o cinco… y era imposible.*]" (Pérez Arribas and Cabrerizo 2007)
All statements by local musicians quoted in this article were made to me orally during fieldwork.

The *gaiteros* are once again playing a leading role in Soria's musical traditions. For this reason, I will examine them in the light of the subject of the symposium : polyphonic musical practice ; something which, as we shall see, might seem inappropriate in Castile, a region dominated by monodic musical performance. I will also observe this phenomenon in the light of larger concerns that transcend the issue of the musical texture.

A key word for understanding the current processes by which traditional musical practices in Soria are transforming (in terms of intention, behaviour and results) is the verb "to transcend." If this verb and the noun "transcendence" seem to carry too many philosophical or religious connotations, we can replace them with "overcome/ overcoming" (by which I mean a breaking of barriers, an overcoming of boundaries, a broadening of horizons – intentions and attitudes which are frequently found among musicians).

Let us examine some of the spheres in which *gaiteros* – and the musicians who accompany them – transcend boundaries.

1. Overcoming Rural/Urban, Classical/Traditional, and Anonymous/Author Dichotomies

Today in Soria there is no significant difference in training or praxis between rural-based musicians and residents of the capital of the province. They can all gain access to formal music studies (including those at the university level) and, indeed, many have done so. Moreover, they all have access to new communication technologies, and perform music both in towns and in rural environments, as well as, occasionally, in cities in other parts of the country or even abroad. At least two different *gaiteros* claim the merit of having incorporated solfeggio lessons into their repertoire of processions[4].

Although the *Sanjuaneras* – songs composed during the twentieth century to commemorate the main stages of the festival of San Juan in the city of Soria – have a known author, this repertoire has been incorporated into local traditions of anony-

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4   "I incorporated lesson # 16 of the Solfeggio Method of the *Sociedad Didáctico-Musical Española*, which is in a very suggestive 4/4 meter… I came up with the idea of playing it at the festivals of San Juan, because that was the first time that we had played with *dulzainas*. [*Yo incorporé la lección nº 16 del Método de Solfeo de la Sociedad Didáctico-Musical Española, que está en un compás de 4/4 sugestivo … Se me ocurrió ejecutarla en las fiestas de San Juan porque fue la primera vez que tocamos con dulzainas.*]" (Pérez Arribas 2006) "It was an idea of mine : I adapted a solfeggio lesson to the *dulzainas* played during the procession of the Virgin. [*Fue una idea mía : adapté la lección de solfeo a las dulzainas que tocábamos durante la procesión de la Virgen.*] (Ante Porta Latinam 2006)

mous community origins, thereby acquiring added symbolic resonance. It is performed every year not only at the festival for which it was composed, but also at countless occasions throughout the entire province. Authorship and consciousness of symbolic heritage coincide in this case, as occurs in many other places.

2. Overcoming the Local/Foreign Dichotomy

In a more evident way than in the rest of Castilla y León, the performances in the province of Soria incorporate musical repertoires from the other provinces of the region. In particular, some *jotas* from Segovia (a place with emblematic significance within the framework of *dulzaina* music production) are performed in Soriano localities, even in rituals most closely associated with local identity. Additionally, because Soria borders the region of Aragon, genres which are characteristic of the latter's musical culture are practised along Soria's "frontier" areas.[5]

This phenomenon has been interpreted by some scholars of traditional culture as a sign of asset poverty, when in fact it might be evidence of the contrary. Moreover, it becomes accentuated and transcends national boundaries in the world music produced by local groups, whose members incorporate melodies, rhythms, harmonic progressions, ornaments and performance styles from all over the planet.

This practice, which is usually a free aesthetic choice, forces musicians to constantly develop resources at the international level which allow them to flirt with musical styles, instruments, and music-making purposes of foreign origin while maintaining a link to what is considered to be Soria's musical roots (which, as previously mentioned, sometimes includes musical pieces assimilated from other localities and regions of Spain). This conscious attitude of musicians who are currently active in the sphere of traditional and folk music is a function of the re-creation of tradition.

3. Overcoming Functional Barriers

The use and function of performances by *gaiteros* and their colleagues vary: In addition to music associated with festivals of the liturgical and religious calendar (such as local anthems, processional marches, hymns in homage to the Virgin or the saints, and *jotas* for ritual flag ceremonies), they also perform in traditional festivals of a profane, ritualistic character, such as the *gallofa* (i.e. wandering the streets and stopping

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5   One such case is the Aragonese *jota*, which is a very noticeable part of the musical fabric in Soria's border towns.

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at houses to play music in exchange for money or food) or "*coger el ramo*" ("catch the bouquet", races among men to catch a bouquet of plants).

Gaiteros also perform dance pieces at moments specified by the community (e.g. cocktail hour), including paired-dance genres, such as polkas, mazurkas and tangos. They may also perform at events related to the promotion of tourism (e.g. at pig slaughters sponsored by some restaurants) or at festivities aimed at the resurgence and safeguarding of cultural traditions (e.g., harvest festivals in which attendees can participate in gathering grape clusters and subsequently trampling them with their bare feet). The *dulzaineros* themselves form musical groups that we might call folk, at concerts which are organized during the festivals of individual villages, or even at urban theatres and in other public spaces.[6]

The presence of the *dulzaina* (especially characteristic pieces, but also the performance of non-standard repertoires) is essential during local festivities.

4. Overcoming Ensemble Categories

A typical ensemble consisting of two *dulzainas*, a snare drum and a bass drum plays instrumental music on both ritual-ceremonial occasions and for collective and paired-dance occasions. Sometimes, for the latter purpose (e.g. dancing in the public square), the basic ensemble is supplemented with a keyboard, which mainly supplies harmonies. Folk groups respect the primacy of the *dulzaina* because, among other reasons, it was the *gaiteros* who founded these ensembles; however, this does not keep them from adding a variety of instruments of different origins and traditions.

There is also the case of the *rondallas*, ensembles which include guitars and *bandurrias*[7]. Some of them have been created in retirement homes and are made up of elderly people. Others, such as the choirs *Trovadores de la Paz* and *Coral Villa de Ágreda*, include children as young as nine to young people up to the age of 25 years among the instrumentalists.

Choirs also play an intensive role in the province of Soria. Thus, for example, the *Orquesta y Coro Trovadores de la Paz de Ólvega* was created 45 years ago by Juan Antonio de Mingo Chamorro, who later (around 1998) created the *Orquesta y Coral de la Villa de Ágreda*. Today, both groups are led by the Aragonese Jesús Villaroya Lancis, who

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6 "This is a fundamental part of the festival: the mass, food and music. Without any of these, there's no festival. [Es parte fundamental de la fiesta: misa, mesa y música. Si no, no hay fiesta.]" (Jiménez Hernández 2007)

7 Spanish plucked lute-type instrument with a small, pear-shaped wooden body, a short neck, and a flat back. The *bandurria soprano* has 6 paired courses of strings tuned to G, c♯, f♯, b, e', a'. The *bandurria tenor* is locally called *laúd* (lute) and it is tuned an octave below the *bandurria soprano*.

elaborates the musical arrangements based on the musical capabilities of the musicians. In both ensembles, the choristers are aged between 55 and 70 years and have no formal musical training. The instrumentalists range from children to young adults aged between 9 and 25 years and receive musical training in municipal music schools. The conductor rehearses with the singers and the instrumentalists separately (applying the principle of repetition) and later unites both groups for the final rehearsal. The members of the choir also rehearse each part separately and, although they are unable to read music, use the musical scores as a tool to aid memory, relating the displacement of the notes on the staff to the melodic contour. The choir's repertoire consists of fragments of zarzuela and opera, traditional music of Castile and other regions of Spain and other countries, and religious music and folk songs from different sources.

Jesus Villaroya wrote to me: "Concerts are typically sought after by various associations or councils, but sometimes we organize concerts in order to meet some of our goals, which are to encourage our musicians to have personal experiences that will serve to enrich them as people. We must remember that many of them are children who are of learning age, or looking to promote the group and their village." (Los conciertos son normalmente solicitados por algún tipo de asociación o ayuntamiento, aunque en ocasiones hemos hecho conciertos que nosotros mismos hemos organizado con el fin de cumplir alguno de nuestros objetivos, que serían: propiciar experiencias personales a nuestros componentes, de forma que les sirva para enriquecerse como personas. Hay que recordar que muchos de ellos son niños que están en edades de aprendizaje o buscando una promoción de la agrupación o de la localidad de Ágreda.) (Villarroya Lancis 2013)

Coming back to the instruments, we may use the festival of San Blas in San Leonardo de Yague as an example. There, a *charanga*[8] called *El abuelo* was playing two saxophones, four trumpets and a wheeled drum-set, people of different ages used to play *dulzainas* as solos in pairs or trios, occasionally accompanied by membranophones and struck idiophones, while the Mass was sung in two and three vocal parts accompanied by an electronic keyboard. The ritual *danzas de palos* (stick dances) were performed with accordion music; there was unaccompanied or instrumentally accompanied choral singing as well as a brass band, with some of these instrumental combinations overlapped by the chiming sounds wafting through the air from the belfry.

By playing several instruments of the same or even of different instrument families, individual musicians in these ensembles sometimes try to overcome the tendency of groups to limit each member to one instrument.

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8   Musical ensemble composed by trumpets, saxophones, trombones, snare drum, cylindrical drum and cymbals.

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5. *Overcoming Limitations with Regard to Certain Musical Genres*

In my interview with him, Oscar Jiménez makes reference to some of the occasions on which he and his fellow *gaiteros* play: "In Soria the *gaitero* plays for every occasion: the *diana* (a morning "wake-up call"), at revelries, at cocktail hours, the *pasodoble*, the *baile de la caldereta* (dance of the boiler), at processions, Masses… She/he does everything. [*En Soria el gaitero hace todo: la diana, la juerga, el vermouth, el pasodoble, el baile de la caldereta, la procesión, toca en misa, hace todo lo que se requiera.*]" (Jiménez Hernández 2007)

What is more, they are required to know a vast repertoire encompassing far more than just the music that is considered typical of the area, they must be flexible in developing performance programmes, and they must be able to perform different musical genres on a single occasion. For example, when associations of Soriano emigrants living in different regions of Spain hold meetings, *gaiteros* are asked to play pieces from the participants' adoptive region (e.g. Asturias, the Basque Country, Catalonia, Navarra, Valencia, Galicia, etc.).

Curiosity and a desire to expand the repertoire are necessary qualities which allow these musicians to successfully fulfil the roles they play in society and evade rigid taxonomies about types of music (traditional, scholarly, popular):

People ask us what kind of music we play and we do not know what to tell them: Traditional? Folk? Maybe, but fusion … Celtic? A little, but not only. Renaissance music? Somewhat. Medieval? That, too. I believe music is music. And it is music when it communicates with people. At what age is music considered traditional? What is good or bad? Maybe the *bacalao* [disco music called "cod" in Spain] of our time [will be] considered traditional in 200 years. Where do we start from? From the *gaitero* of 1900? But before that people must have sung as well. (…) Music is a value, a heritage, and to revive it and safeguard it is really fine, but you also have to let it flow where it wants to. Then it doesn't get lost, as long as there are audiences to witness it.

La gente nos pregunta qué música tocamos y no sabes qué decirle: ¿tradicional? ¿folk? Pero fusionado… celta? Un poco, pero tampoco. ¿Renacimiento? Un poco ¿Medieval? También. Creo que la música es música. Y es música cuando comunica a la gente. ¿A partir de dónde se cuenta que es música tradicional? ¿Qué es bueno o malo? A lo mejor el bacalao de ahora dentro de 200 años es música tradicional. ¿Desde dónde se parte? ¿Desde el gaitero de 1900? Pero antes también cantarían. (…). La música es un valor, un patrimonio, y recuperar está muy bien, pero también hay que dejar que la cosa fluya por donde quiera. Siempre que no se pierda, que haya testimonio. (Jiménez Hernández 2007)

In this sense, both musical practice and the conceptualization of it challenge the narrow, selective channels that scholars of traditional musical culture (who, until very recently in Spain, adhered exclusively to orthodox criteria) confine themselves to.

6. Overcoming Roles

Today, people who provide the music at traditional festivals in the province also perform other roles or professions, such as teachers, researchers, managers, etc. Some of them are music teachers at primary- or secondary-school levels, and one of them, Alesander Guzmán, has even developed and carried out a guided research project: his students documented traditional musical expressions from their family environment and neighbourhood using mp3 and mp4 recorders or mobile phones. Later, guided by their teacher, they analysed the pieces, arranged and performed some of them and presented the results of their work on the Internet. Alesander even presented his research findings at a congress of ethnomusicology[9].

Another example: Fernando Peréz designed a project of fieldwork documentation in certain villages of the province, which he then implemented. In September 2007, I travelled with him and one of his musical groups to Bolivia to present the traditional and folk music of Soria at an international festival and to conduct workshops. Raphael, one of the group members, supplements his work as an interpreter by selling and repairing musical instruments, managing a music school which employs the Yamaha pedagogical method, and installing sound systems in theatres and outdoor spaces.

7. Overcoming Written/Oral/Media Source Differences

There are a growing number of musicians who can read scores (with different levels of proficiency) and/or write arrangements of monodic pieces. Sometimes they use tape recorders and computers, too[10].

With the ensemble *Los Gaiteros de la Calle Real* we used to improvise one *tercerona* [melody at an upper or lower third] of the main melody, but the papers [scores] written for *dulzainas* duos from La Rioja, Navarra and Valencia are very well done: there is nothing more to do than to take them and to learn them and study them (…) I stole the repertoire. I was carrying a recording device in my pocket and recorded a tape of what I listened to.

Normalmente cuando los Gaiteros de la Calle Real hacíamos una tercerona de la melodía principal, estaba armonizada de aquella manera. Pero los papeles que hay escritos para dúo de dulzainas en La Rioja, en Navarra y en Valencia están muy bien hechos, no hay más que cogerlos y aprenderlos, y estudiarlos. (…) Se robaba el repertorio. Llevabas grabadora, y grababas una cinta. (Pérez Arribas and Cabrerizo 2007)

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9 We presented a paper together at the *XII Congreso – Conference – SIBE (Sociedad de Etnomusicología) "Sonidos del presente, propuestas de future"* (Cáceres, Spain, 8 – 10 November 2012) with the title: *Iniciación a la investigación guiada sobre patrimonio musical de tradición oral* (Introduction to guided research on oral tradition musical heritage).

10 Alesander, for example, uses a computer to assemble musical parts that he teaches to his students.

8. Overcoming the Limitations of Traditional Monodic Musical Texture

It has always been said that Castilian traditional music is monodic, which is true in general, and Soria does not constitute an exception. Even when polyphonic ensembles like brass bands perform traditional music, the predominant texture is monodic, with hints of harmony in the low register (arpeggiated chords in the tuba) and glimpses of counterpoint in the inner voices (*charangas* usually exhibit a similar polyphonic profile) as can be heard on V 02.

To strict monody and unintended heterophony, diaphony in parallel thirds (typical, for example, of devotional chant performed by female voices in church services and outdoor Holy Week processions) is added. In the second example, a group of women in church sing a devotional song which pre-dates the Second Vatican Council (see V 03).

9. "Polyphonizing" the Monodic Tradition

Let us consider the strategies Soriano musicians use to reconcile their aesthetic tastes and artistic creativity with their commitment to respect local tradition. Other ways to "polyphonize" the monodic tradition include the following:

– Mainly parallel diaphony but with some oblique movements. This happens mostly in *dulzaina* duets. In V 04 one of the musicians plays the melody of a processional march while the other improvises a second voice with frequent intervals of fifth in order to—as he told me—"give a more solemn air to the music." (… *para darle a la música un aire más solemne*.) (Pérez Arribas 2010)
– Imitative unison polyphony. Imitations in unison also constitute a frequent resource among the *gaiteros* in Soria, as we can hear in the fourth example (see V 05). This procedure is also used by the *charangas* in a kind of Spanish parade called the *pasacalles* (as we can observe in V 06).

In V 07, we can hear a fragment of the *paso doble* titled *Pepita Greus* – written by Pérez Choví as an arrangement based on a work by G. Lago – and played by four members (Domingo, Florentino, Aniceto and Claudio) of the *rondalla* based in the *Centro de Día* number 2, a retirement home in Soria. The two *bandurrias* produce counterpoint by alternating phrases, while the guitars play underlying chords based on rhythmic formulas[11].

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11 Homophony: "…One voice leads melodically, being supported by an accompaniment in chordal or a

The traditional *paso doble*, *Adelaida*, which we will hear in V 08, is performed with *gaita de foles* (bagpipe) and flute, supported by a chordal keyboard accompaniment and percussion (although the texture is an accompanied monody).

The same group performs an arrangement of a traditional subject in vocal polyphony, from the introduction to a suite of pastoral dances called *Cocoleocó* in which the performers remotely evoke South African choirs (see V 09). These musicians and some others in Soria perform polyphonic arrangements of the traditional repertoire and simultaneously create new musical works, which helps to change the listening habits of a society accustomed to monody.

"And there was, also, the piano arrangement, about which I once told César: 'Get the piano arrangement and make yourself a duo, or a third voice or some arpeggios – something so that it's not in unison, all right?' We like playing every possible kind of polyphony. [*Y estaba además el arreglo del piano, que yo alguna vez le he dicho a César: 'coge el arreglo del piano y hazte un dúo, o una tercera o unos arpegios, alguna cosa para que no sea a unísono, ¿no?'. Nos gusta tocar haciendo toda la polifonía posible.*]" (Pérez Arribas and Cabrerizo 2007)

A statement by Fernando Pérez Arribas on the *orquestina* – little orchestra – for paired dances reads as follows: "This organist plays bass notes for us with his left hand and makes arpeggios and chords for us with his right hand. Then we keep doing the melody and the second voice as usual, and Enrique, instead of playing the frame drum, plays a small jazz set on multiple percussion: bass drum, snare drum, a cymbal, a charles. [*Este organista con la mano izquierda nos hace bajos y con la derecha nos hace arpegios y acordes. Entonces la melodía y la segunda voz la seguimos haciendo como siempre, y Enrique, en vez de tocar la caja, toca un pequeño juego de jazz, de percusión múltiple: bombo, caja y un plato, un charles.*]" (Pérez Arribas and Cabrerizo 2007)

Many of the mechanisms of the traditional music ensemble are fused with elements more typical of a folk or world music group.

Normally a melody is chosen and we consider whether it can work or not. We tend to discard many because the harmony does not work because of key changes. Since there is no low register in the *dulzaina*, you have to play around a lot with the *tempi*; if you don't have the strong part, you have to replace it with another thing. When you play a 2/4 (*paso doble*, polka) without bass sounds, it remains	*Normalmente se elige una melodía y se ve si puede funcionar. Se desechan muchas porque la armonía no funciona, cambios de tono… Al no llevar bajo tienes que jugar mucho con los tiempos, no tienes la parte fuerte y la tienes que sustituir por otra cosa. Cuando tocas un 2/4 (pasodoble, polca) sin bajo, queda vacío, el guitarra tiene que hacer algo de bajo, aprovechar el grave del cajón o del jembé*

slightly more elaborate style. (…) All the voices move in the same rhythm, thus producing a succession of intervals (in two-part writing or chords [in three or four-part writing]). (…) A more suitable term for this style is homorhythmic. (…) Such music is commonly described as being in chordal style, familiar style, homophonic, isometric, note-against-note, or even harmonic." (Apel 1970, 390)

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empty, the guitar has to do something low, tap the low register of the *cajón* or that of the *jembé* to emphasize what should be the bass (…) It is like playing *dulzaina* with or without drums. If you play the snare drum but there is no big drum, you must find musical resources to replace it in order to support the *gaitero* and to get people dancing.

para acentuar lo que debería ser el bajo. (…) Es como tocar gaiteros con o sin bombo. Si no hay bombo tienes que hacer cosas que lo reemplacen para no volver loco al gaitero y para que la gente pueda bailar. (Jiménez Hernández 2007)

It is in this area of texture enlargement that the performance most closely approaches true polyphony: some of the musicians who play in many different contexts (Alesander, for example) participate in concerts with colleagues from other provinces (in this case: Elias Martinez Muñiz and Carlos Muñiz Porro from Valladolid and Alberto Jambrina from Zamora) together with a musician who only plays on these kind of occasions (José Ignacio Palacios from Soria). Since they interpret both ancient art music and current traditional music, they show versatility with regard to repertoire choices and music genres, as we can hear in V 10, recorded during a concert in the little village of Montejo de Tiernes, province of Soria, on 31 August 2007. This was a concert organized by a cultural association and starring performers who are also scholars of the Spanish tradition. It features their own polyphonic arrangements of traditional monodic melodies.

Another case involves a piece of music with polyphonic texture written by a classically-trained composer, which is performed every year during the main festivity of a village and constitutes one of the climaxes of the local calendar. This is the case of the *Salve* by composer Hilarión Eslava, which is solemnly performed in the town church on the night of 14 August, and which locals eagerly await and listen to with devotion. Some of the performers (mostly instrumentalists) can read music, but most of the singers learn their part by ear.[12] An excerpt can be heard in V 11.

Concluding Remarks

By way of conclusion, I will offer one further example that illustrates the confluence of an ideological framework, the musical praxis of the *gaiteros* and its influence, the strategies they use to reconcile their aesthetic tastes and artistic creativity with their commitment to respect for local tradition, and the ways they transmit both the musical traditions of Soria and their proposals for musical innovation, including the making of polyphonic arrangements from monodic melodies, to their students.

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12 Hilarión Eslava [Burlada (Navarra) 21-X–1807 – Madrid 23-VII–1878]: *Salve*, for choir and orchestra.

In the music school that Alesander Guzmán founded ten years ago, he teaches his students to play the *dulzaina*, aided by colleagues (one of whom teaches students to play the *caja* and the *bombo*). With his top students, Alesander has formed an orchestra of *dulzainas* (an experience that, curiously, another musician carried out in Madrid at the same time, despite the fact that they each worked independently without knowledge of the other's efforts).

In V 12 and V 13 we can hear the two concluding fragments: a *paso doble* called *La chiclanera* in a two-voiced arrangement, and a two-step called *Americana de Arkansas* in an arrangement for four voices.

The problems with producing polyphony with a single instrument (which unlike a brass band does not allow for differences in timbre, and which acoustically operates within a more limited frequency range), are outweighed by the pleasure of forming a polyphonic band with the most characteristic instrument of the province, which is strongly linked to the cultural identity of people in Soria: the *dulzaina*.

Alesander Guzman's orchestra was the first such initiative in Soria. It performs his own two-, three- and four-part polyphonic arrangements. Both the performers and their audience have judged the novelty positively. This has stimulated the creation of new arrangements by Alesander, who acknowledges that when he began this experience he was inspired by the bagpipe bands he used to listen to in Galicia and Asturias, a relatively recent phenomenon in those regions where profound changes in musical tastes and practices are also occurring.

Will the same thing happen in Soria? It is still too early to know. In the future, new musical realities will unfold of their own accord, always changing while defying all attempts to lock them into the narrow limits of scholarly taxonomies.

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Jean-Jacques Castéret

At the Bottom of the Ethnomusicologist's Bin …: Multipart Singing Territories, Musical Logics and Self-Presentation Strategies

Abstract

The beginning of my research in the mid–1990s was marked by a question: is Pyrenean multipart singing a two- or three-part tradition? This third part that gives a lot of sound density to the multipart construction is, moreover, currently at the heart of the aesthetic and political strategies of cultural actors in the region. But isn't it a beautiful dream borrowed from the Mediterranean islands, which are internationally renowned for this?

At the same time, other types of popular multipart performances are much more visible in Pyrenean society. These are the only ones presented in the daily local newspapers. Performed on stage in concerts or villages animations, their predominance and aesthetics disturb the notion of oral tradition. Seen as acculturation, they do not directly affect my research. At worst they seem to represent the threat of the disappearance of the "informal tradition".

After twenty years of ethnomusicological and historical research about Pyrenean multipart music, the puzzle of the Pyrenean field appears as a more subtle reality. My paper will present the different types of multipart instrumentation: processes developed over the centuries in the communities around the musical technique of faux-bourdon (faburden) – in its religious as well as its secular context – and the different musical syncretisms of the last fifty years. This paper will also present the musical and identitarian strategies of the singers, as well as the socio-cultural and political contexts that underlie these instrumentations. Thus, it will deal with the notion of the "group", which is both sociological and artistic; it will investigate the notions of *numerus clausus* and *numerus apertus* performances (Lortat-Jacob) and also the position of the ethnomusicologist as both a person who instrumentalizes and one who is instrumentalized by the field.

Introduction

The beginning of my research in the mid–1990s was marked by a question: is Pyrenean multipart singing a two- or three-part tradition? This third part which gives a lot of sound density to the multipart construction is, moreover, currently at the heart

of the aesthetic and political strategies of cultural actors in the region. But is it a beautiful dream borrowed from the Mediterranean islands (Sardinia, Corsica) with their international fame?

At the same time, other popular multipart music performances are much more visible in Pyrenean society, and are the only ones presented in the local daily newspapers. Performed on stage in concerts or villages, their predominance and aesthetics disturb the notion of oral tradition. Seen as acculturation, they do not interest my research directly. Worst of all, they seem to bear the threat of the disappearance of the "pure and virgin informal tradition", both for a certain vision of ethnomusicology and for local cultural militants.

In fact, the problem in understanding Pyrenean multipart music and, what is more, the "European multipart puzzle" was both the total lack of fieldwork carried out in France in this regard and a lack of visibility regarding practices in Europe. Multipart singing as a type of music making was not yet really a shared academic topic and I wish to pay tribute to Gerlinde Haid, who supported the establishment of the Research Centre for European Multipart Music which has allowed us to gather in Vienna three times since 2005.

Today, after almost twenty years of ethnomusicological and historical research on the Pyrenees and mainland France, multipart singing appears as a more subtle reality. My paper aims to compare different types of multipart music instrumentation: performances that I have studied as a main part of my work, and others exhumed from my "ethnomusicologist's bin".

Aspects of the Tradition

I have already described in several papers the principles of western Pyrenean multipart singing, which is a *numerus apertus* tradition (Lortat-Jacob 2000; Castéret 2002). That is to say that each person present can participate ideally in the performance. So this very lively music making is a *work in progress* which people are continuously constructing depending on the contexts, whether they are religious, festive rituals or celebrations.

A Construction

This polyphony is constructed on a *cantus firmus* by the creation of one high and/or one lower voice using multipart music patterns created from parallel movements or drone processes (Castéret 2008). But the use of these patterns and the quality of the performances depend on contextual parameters: firstly, the musical context, where the

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melodic profile of the cantus allows singing in two or three parts. The use of the patterns also comes from the combination of human parameters: enough good singers to ensure all the parts are sung, and the singers' capacity to coordinate both humanly and musically. Moreover, the quality of the musical performance – we can use the words of Jean-Yves Bosseur, who talks about *multipart texture* (*texture polyphonique*, Bosseur 2001) – depends on the quality of the vocal engagement of every singer and on individual human parameters.

Musical outcomes also differ depending on the situation and social context. They are very different at the beginning (A 14) or at the end of a vocal session with friends; or, to a state of "social over-excitement" as on a feast day. One of the musical differences between these contexts comes from the number of singers. In this *numerus apertus* tradition, the number of the singers ranges from two to five hundred!

In fact, the average value of the staves ranges from two to five or ten. People sing sitting at a table or standing in the pub. They sing face to face or form more or less a circle. This is exactly what happens on the feast day in Laruns, at the covered market, where five hundred people are gathered. This crowd is actually composed of dozens of small entities of singers, each one between two and ten. Each singer and each singer's pool try to be heard, which they succeed in doing via one-upmanship, using a high register and by diversifying and combining the use of the patterns.

The "Royal" Sixth Tone

Multipart performances also exist in religious and liturgical contexts. Today, the same patterns are employed in pubs as in churches, where they are sung by the faithful in the form of hymns (Castéret 2002). But my recent research has revealed a more varied and important multipart practice in church singing before the Second Vatican Council and, moreover, before the French Third Republic (in 1870). This work has revealed the existence of various sources related to popular multipart singing: manuscripts from the 19th century from public or private archives and printed sources edited in different regions of France: faux-bourdon treatises, handbooks or guides for the church cantors and vesperals of the late 18th and the 19th century.

A comparative musical analysis of this old religious practice and contemporary oral performances shows the presence of the same pattern, which is of key importance in France and also in a large part of Europe: the use of the "Royal" sixth tone of the vespers psalmody (Castéret 2012).

In fact, if we compare the sixth tone's faux-bourdon editions in four parts and performances of the contemporary oral tradition in two or three parts, the latter are exactly faux-bourdon with the "haut-dessus" part removed.

These sources show that there was also a specific form of singing in parts that was taking place between the cantor soloist performances and the collective – multipart – singing of the faithful assembly. Thus the "Church lectern space" (Cheyronnaud 2001) was a modulable space (Bisaro 2010). Pyrenean fieldwork has shown, for example, that in small villages until the 1960s, the cantor could be situated in a side chapel and surrounded by seven or eight men of various ages who were famed in the village as singers.

These sources lead us to revisit the separation between secular and religious, popular and scholarly, written and oral, elites and the people, and even more so, to redefine the status of singing and of multipart singing in the value system and cultural representations of Pyrenean society.

Fashion and Ideology
Festivalization

The *Festival de la Chanson Béarnaise de Siros* (the Béarn Song Festival) was created in the small village of Siros in 1967. In less than ten years it has become a true social movement. There were 14000 spectators in 1977, and gradually the singers of almost all the villages of the Béarn have begun to participate.

Thus, in this area, where there were previously only two folklore groups created in the 1930s, 150 groups have appeared in only a few years, and there is also a song creation movement which has produced nearly 500 songs in 40 years.

New aesthetic models related to the modern concept of the show encounter the old polyphonic *habitus*. Each group tends to be distinguished by its costume. The spatialization of singers on stage is adapted to the context and technical constraints. The singers are positioned in a line and now sing facing the public and their microphones.

There has also been a change in the number of singers in a group. Those groups who sing the "old traditional repertoire" can easily reach fifteen singers, while others become real choirs led by musicians or by a conductor.

New musical and multipart forms appear with the songs created: the stanza forms are replaced by verse/chorus forms and the modal multipart patterns are replaced by harmonical ones.

However, the four-mixed-parts choir model is rarely employed. More syncretic forms appear that borrow from light music, folk songs and inherited processes (A 15). Multipart music remains, but it is reduced to two parts. In fact, the festival organization which, on the one hand, encourages creativity, on the other hand fears the modification of inherited multipart music. Refusing urban choir aesthetics, they promote the basic patterns in two parts, whereas fieldwork reveals performances in three parts.

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FIGURE 1: *Los Hardidets de Mazerolles.* Picture from the disc Junquèr d'Oc 33151, 1983.
Fonds Junquèr d'Oc–Joan Moreu de l'InOc Aquitaine. Unknown photographer. Used with permission.

In 1972, the rules of the festival were specified: "Article 9: refusal of performances of more than two parts in order to avoid the production of choral societies and preserve the style that belongs to the songs. [*Article 9: refus des interprétations à plus de 2 voix, ceci afin d'éviter la production des chorales et de conserver aux chansons le style qui leur appartient.*]"[1]

In Bigorre country, the *Hestejada d'Ibòs* sent a letter to each group banning performances of more than two parts.

Music instruments also appeared, such as the guitar (which was not a popular instrument in Béarn until the 1970s) or the chromatic accordion, and later, sometimes, the synthesizer (see Figure 1). Conductors – that is to say people who know a little bit of solfège (sometimes they were the instrumentalists of the group) – participated in the performances as well. They organized the voices as follows: women in the high part and men in the lower part, while in the oral tradition the reverse construction is generally seen (see Figure 2).

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1 Report of the assembly of the Comité du Festival de la Chanson Béarnaise de Siros on 31 July 1972.

Figure 2: The Cardesse's singers at the Siros festival 1996.
Photograph by Jean-Jacques Castéret.

The conductor beats a formatted rhythm that imposes the form of the created song – strictly binary or ternary – and imposes nuances and musical intentions worked out during repetitions before the festival.

In 1972, during the debriefing meeting after the festival, the organizers observed: "An increasing separation into two groups: those who have strong voices and those who modula te. We demand an amendment of the festival rules: the group leaders should not beat time ostensibly. [*De plus en plus une séparation en deux groupes: ceux qui ont des voix fortes et ceux qui modulent. On demande un amendement au règlement : que les chefs de groupe ne battent pas la mesure ostensiblement.*]"[2]

The Multipart Protest Song

The boom years of the Siros Festival also corresponded to the rise of the *Nouvelle Chanson Occitane* – the New Occitan Song (Mazerolle 2009), which is the Occitan parallel of the *Nuova canzone popolare italiana* – as well as the New Catalan Song,

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2   Report of the assembly of the Comité du Festival de la Chanson Béarnaise de Siros on 2 October 1972.

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FIGURE 3: The disc cover *Los Pagalhós cantan lo Biarn* (The Pagalhos sing the Béarn country). Ventadorn / Per noste. 1984.

and of course of the American folk song. It was the musical expression of the baby boomer generation, who rebelled against consumer society and industrialization, promoting a model of society closer to the earth and rurality and defending the Occitan language and culture against the predominance of French imposed by the schools of the French Republic and by post-world war society. This musical movement was to serve as a baseline for the creation of schools, associations, radio stations and newspapers, and, in 1985, for a political party called *Entau País* (For the Country), whose dimensions are strictly local and whose principles are federalist, ecologist, cultural and linguistic.

In 1979, various groups who had been singing since 1973 broke with the Festival, which refused to fund the creation of schools where the language of instruction was Occitan. This funding was seen by the Festival as a "revolutionary tax". In this context, a group of singers was to follow its own individual path. *Los Pagalhós* ("those who are disordered", "those who make a mess") was constituted for the 1973 Siros Festival (see Figure 3). It gradually became the polyphonic embodiment of the Occitan movement and soon met the Corsican Riacquistu. It therefore followed a musical evolution which was more varied than most groups from Béarn, and was open to different international musical trends. Here, three-part singing encounters musical instruments. Their Gascon attitude, more than ever multipart, explores various aesthetics, frequently on the same album: from two- and three-part *a cappella* singing using the local patterns, to the New Song of Quebec (A 16), the Chilean protest song of *Quilapayún*

(A 17) or the Corsican model of *Canta u populu corsu*. In these cases a harmonic-tonal language appears which is, however, a simple, popular one.

In 1992, with the same logic, they formed the core of a collective of fifty singers "assembled for the Land" as is stated by the title of the audiotape recorded to support the election campaign (*Que seram çò qui bastiram* 1992) (A 18). This "multipart vox populi" is one of the steps in an important process of multipart instrumentalization throughout the 1990s.

"The New Age"

In 1988, with the approach of the Bicentenary of the French Revolution, the main actors of the Occitan cultural movement converged with a part of the officials of the Festival de Siros. Together, they set up a linguistic and cultural protest named *Estats Generaus de la lenga* (States-General of the [Occitan] Language). It was with this dynamic that, when the Festival of Siros had become outdated in 1994, those people from the Occitan movement tried to regenerate the practice of multipart singing, traditional music and dance, and sought a positive framework that brings together a variety of people to highlight local folklore.

They chose to produce a *Christmas pastorala*: a great spectacle combining traditional music, song and dance. Many groups and singers from different villages of Béarn, known thanks to the unavoidable Festival of Siros, are involved in the project, and the *pastorala* has been a great popular success for three years (see Figures 4 and 5). Here, the musical process, real musical engineering, is strongly linked to a proselyte strategy. The purpose is clearly to show the vitality of the Occitan culture and language, to socialize them and to put pressure on politicians at the time when this cultural movement requires professional tools dedicated to Occitan.

The aim is, therefore, to attract and at the same time seduce by singing, and to transform the singers into singing masses displaying a vocal typicity which multipart singing facilitates in a masterful way. The Marxist notion of masses is rather clear in the reasoning of the organizers, but other kinds of cultural representations which are much more ancient may also be present. In fact, choral singing was at the heart of political and cultural strategies at the time of the *Revolution Française*, and also, for the opposite reason of popular education and control of the masses (Laborde 2002), in the form of the Orpheonic movement during the 19th century.

Here, among the strategies used, the concept of conviviality is in the spotlight, advocating eating and drinking (the very good white wine from Jurançon!) during rehearsals. This is a way to reaffirm the primacy of the social dimension of multipart singing and its unspectacular "origins". In the same way the organizers refuse to use

Figure 4: The CD cover *Mistèri de Nadau*. 2005. Institut Occitan. Designed by Isabelle Morlaàs-Lurbe.

Figure 5: Mistèri de Nadau first représentation in 1994.
Private collection of Jacques Baudoin. Used with permission.

the word "group". For them, that is related to elements of show and to the vocal forms known at the Festival of Siros. So they break up the formal groups from Siros, mixing singers to form new entities of 15–30 singers. They arrange them in a semi-circle without a conductor … there is only the organizers, who coordinate themselves beat-

ing time with their instruments: the fiddle and the instrumental couple pipe and string tambourine.

Their strategies are guided by romantic theories probably updated by hippie ideology: a very collective/collectivist vision of the people often presented as the "lower classes", without leaders. An innately popular and spontaneous culture: multipart music "springing from the entrails of the people", to use the romantic rhetoric.

Strictly on the vocal level, this *pastorala* wants to be an *in vivo* laboratory around multipart singing that allows it to be renewed with three-part processes, especially mobile drones.

Their work, which is quasi-ethnographic, identified different types of multipart patterns and processes across the Pyrenean multipart area that preparatory experiences had combined, resulting in a rich polyphony, always in three parts: a multipart construction which is a metaphor of a territorial construction and of a "vox populi".

Once again, the production of a third part, central in this project, is not devoid of an ideological basis. For example, one of the organizers draws a parallel between the "*3*ème *voix*" (third part) and the "*3*ème *voie*" (third way) because these words are homonyms in French. The "third way" means a new political deal between communism and liberalism. A new way which was interesting for the cultural militants and which, at that time, François Bayrou, a young Gascon politician, began to follow. He was a member of the French government as the Minister of Education, and in Béarn he was the president of the local assembly and leader of a political party. Since this time he has confirmed this hypercentrical position which is neither right nor left, at the last two French presidential elections in 2007 and 2012.

For the organizers, the "new multipart age" (third part) is combined with a political new age, and all of that supported by an evocation of Christmas! With regard to the musical plan, these "singing masses" are produced by choirs of 15 to 30 people, and in certain cases by all the participants (one hundred singers) singing in three parts, particularly well furnished with basses (A 19).

Instrumentation and Territories

The confrontation of these different histories, the recent rediscovery of multipart music forms at the crossroads of the written and oral, *numerus clausus* and *numerus apertus*, have led me to reconsider the supposed ruptures in the history of polyphony and to compare *territories* – in the meaning of human geography (Di Meo 1996) – and the aesthetics of multipart performances.

The Concept of the Group

Figure 6: The Lourdios's singers at the Siros festival 1971.
Private collection of Jean-Jacques Castéret. Unknown photographer.

It is firstly very interesting to have a look at the concept of the "group" that has been established by the Siros festival and decried in the romantic-hippie vision of the Occitan movement. In fact, the history of the Siros festival perfectly reveals how singing is structured in society and how singers and communities define themselves by collective singing.

For the first years of the festival, Siros' president describes "teams of friends"; that is to say, village singers who were identified in between the festivals, and who were motivated to sing at the festival. But, when these teams had to perform on stage, a name was given to them. This is how the Borce group was born, or the Lourdios one in vallée d'Aspe, the Laruns group or that of Aste-Béon in vallée d'Ossau…

In fact, each group of singers wears its village's colours. But very soon, with the success of the festival, groups began to appear spontaneously. Sometimes several appear in one village, named according to their gender or generational criteria: The X's Group, The Young Men From…, The X Girls… Even the famous Pagalhós were

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presented in the beginning as The Artix's Young (see Figure 6). So even if the name is attributed by the organizing committee or found by the singers themselves, all the groups are named in relation to a place, and finally in relation to the sociological and anthropological meaning of the word "group".

However, in this region marked so late and only slightly by the creation of folkloric shows, a name, a stage performance reported in the local press, sometimes the adoption of a suit or set of clothing, a physical marker of the group identity, ultimately led to the institution of the group of singers. A "semantic shift" – or even, a landslide! – had occurred, from a sociological to an artistic level, by an appearance on stage.

From apertus to clausus: a Vocal Continuum

During the last fifty years, the old multipart music practice has not been replaced by a new one. For a large part of singers, there has not been a change but an extension of the multipart *territory* (Castéret 2010). There are occasional stage performances for most of the groups and recurrent ones for about thirty groups. As a symbol of this vocal continuum, singers perform on stage at the festival and as soon as they have descended from the stage, they go to the great refreshment stall, where the canons of the vocal tradition are expressed.

Nevertheless, areas of singing are redistributed and regrouped as they were in the land consolidation in France from the 1960s to the 1980s. Hence, nowadays, a part of the singing opportunities can be generated by cultural events that open up new informal spaces of conviviality and where multipart can appear as the following: new fairs, festivals, thematic feasts … These events are festive and are meeting opportunities for singers from different villages.

Directly connected with the concepts of the show and the group, a new space has also appeared within villages, in valleys, among friends: the *rehearsal* – in other words the space, the institution of transfer, where a repertoire is worked on. That's a great place in the life of singing. Firstly, because rehearsal is generally "aperitive" and informal. It is self-managed or conducted under the symbolic responsibility of a vocal legitimacy of the group or a local musical one. It is quite different from the rehearsal of a classical choir, symphonic orchestra or a wind band.

In a large part of the groups, singers sit around a table or stand, drinking wine around a plate of cheese or sausage. The French word for *rehearsal* is "*repetition*", and it consists of the repetition of the songs several times. From this viewpoint, rehearsal is a new institution, like a "team club". It becomes a place of male conviviality, and since recently also for women. It is generational or intergenerational, within the village, and in fact it reproduces the same social patterns as in the past. Rehearsal is both

an end in itself in terms of conviviality, and the stimulus to go out in a group: a social group and/or an artistic group.

On a second level, from a strictly musical point of view, it can be the meeting place of multipart music patterns from different sources: inherited, exogenous, from the secondary orality… The group's vocal identity is invented here. For an *a-cappella* group that uses the old patterns, as has generally been the case since the 2000s and for other groups from the 1960s, *repetition* re-explores the musical potential of the "multipart faux-bourdon technique" (Castéret 2012) in company (Lortat-Jacob 2011).

Cluster versus Group

A rehearsal is, in some ways, a concentrated form of multipart history. It rediscovers and re-explores all the musical formulas from the multipart faux-bourdon. The "Church lectern space" resembles it: a collective space made up of *in vivo* performances and probably of repetitive preparations. Conducted by the *schoolmaster* or the Church cantor, the "lectern" is a learning place for faux-bourdons and an intergenerational institution of transfer: a place where multipart processes are transmitted – between orality and writing – and where collective reflexes are forged and reinforced. For example, in a small village where seven or eight men are in a cluster around the Church cantor, they form a group, the village singers' group. They are the pride of the village (Bisaro 2010) and will be able, if necessary, to represent it on a festival stage.

In the village of Faget d'Oloron, for example, it was the cantor who was behind the creation of a village group with the young men with whom he sang every Sunday afternoon in the pub.

The link between the schoolmaster or the cantor and the collective of male competencies that are sometimes associated with it, brings me to reconsider the different forms of multipart instrumentation in profane contexts. Indeed, even if good singers can sing all polyphonic parts, however, more frequently specialists sing these parts. For a group of ten people singing two parts, it is common to find only one singer for the high part; that is to say it is a "monophonic collective" upon which this specialized high voice is placed. This is the case for the majority of the groups which come to the Siros festival.

Regarding the records and photographs of stage performances in the 1970s in the Pyrenees, I have long been associated with a group of ten singers, with only one soloist of the high part. The singers take on a hieratic posture during their performances: Sunday suit, chin up, hands behind them and so on (Figures 7, 8, 9). I interpret this as a form of outdated stiffness which forms part of the "show" they are putting on;

FIGURE 7: The Lourdios's singers on stage in the 1970s. Private collection of Jean-Jacques Castéret. Unknown photographer.

FIGURE 8: The Bielle's singers at the Siros festival in the 1980s.
Fonds Guillaume Mayer de l'InOc Aquitaine. Photograph by Guillaume Mayer. Used with permission.

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FIGURE 9: The Came's singers at the Siros festival in 1996. Photograph by Jean-Jacques Castéret.

that is to say, in my eyes this is the opposite of an "informal tradition" and is probably somewhat exaggerated.

Is it formerly a musical behaviour developed around the lectern? In all instances, the same behaviour in two similar spaces now brings me to consider postures and instrumentation as collective strategies of self-presentation (Bourdieu 2003): precise postures and multipart instrumentation adapted to the context and related to academic references.

In addition, this type of instrumentation reminds me of other European multipart music traditions, such as that of Liguria, for example, where two parallel parts, each one performed by a singer, are sung on a drone performed by all the other singers. This is even more so in Alentejo in Portugal, where a first soloist intones the song followed by a second one, which is placed a third above it, sometimes adding ornaments. The whole choir that continues the cantus introduced by the first soloist then joins them. Pyrenean and Portuguese singers also remind me of the faux-bourdon mentioned by Michael Noone (Noone 1994, 222) at the Escorial during the 16th century when 150 monks sang collectively and only three cantors improvised parts.

In vivo *versus* in vitro *Multipart Singing*

The formation of the group is indeed based on emotional and social criteria, on a network. It is also based on the conscious choice, or not, of complementary vocal skills.

The rehearsal thus explores, in a potentially optimal way, the multipart possibilities in a concentrated space of time: the same opportunities that a random *numerus apertus* will explore during hundreds of performances spread out over time.

Generating this new *numerus clausus* will – possibly – discover them faster. Consciously or not, the formulas will be selected, themselves corresponding to inherited canons suggested by secondary orality, or by exogenous modes. Of course, all of that depends on inherited culture. Here, an ideal sound is imagined, is polished.

The rehearsal work – *in vitro* – also allows a type of instrumentation among the many possibilities from the "*in vivo*" performances to be gradually extricated and then stabilized step by step. Firstly, the generalization of the three-part singing and also, in some cases, the stabilized production of a fourth voice in the high register, called the *contra*, that only great singers can produce, and only in some contexts. This is a part that in fact revives, reconnects with, the four-part faux-bourdon. A context that allows the reproduction of rare processes, like the high drone, only observed in the great communitarian celebrations.

Repetition also develops collective automatisms, and enables sonorities and colours to be revealed and reproduced instinctively. The quest for vocal fusion, which is constantly desired but fleeting, and sought *in vivo* in the human and vocal tension, can be stabilized by the repetition work, by the collaboration of the singers.

In the early 2000s this was the unconscious quest of the work with Balaguèra, the multipart music ensemble that I had created in 1997 with eight friends. A sound quest that seemed obvious, whose ideals had at least four sources: the inner listening to *in vivo* singing, the *Christmas pastorala*, and the sound of two groups of older singers: *Los Pagalhós* and *Los de Laruntz*, but in our case with a staff reduced, "degreased" to nine singers: two high parts, five medium parts and two basses. It was a vision of vocal fusion which was probably too idealized, and which my latest research has slightly relativized. A very homorhythmic type of singing, with very well-linked articulation and a tense vocal conduct reinforced this acoustic quest to obtain perfect sound fullness both in a horizontal and vertical plane (Figure 10). It was a very hedonistic aim to achieve a sound in which each voice has its place. A collective sound that produces harmonics of a certain kind, as I wrote in the booklet: "With the hope of seeing the harmonics, like a heady, feminine perfume, like a beam of light rising above the circle of singers. The voice of angels, as a shepherd once half-jokingly put it." (Balaguèra 2003, 50; see A 20)

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FIGURE 10: The Balaguèra's singers during the recording of the CD *La votz deus anjos*, in 2002. Photograph by Robin Davies, Alpha productions, Paris. Used with permission.

For us it was a kind of sound quintessence which was obviously parallel to the dynamics of our friends, Jurançon winemakers who had been working since the 1990s in the same direction and started to produce very scrumptious wine with a subtle balance between "acidity", "fruit" and "roundness". Its aim was, once again, to ennoble, to give fame to polyphony, to obtain recognition in the local media and beyond, at a time when only the old groups of the Siros festival, obsolete for us, were present; and to give a certain status to multipart singing in public policies.

The Symbolism of the Sound Field

The same dynamic has been present in the whole multipart revival from 1985 to today. All of its protagonists emphasize the point of sound tension obtained *in vivo* when singing reaches its climax. Groups adopt a medium-high pitch for this purpose, causing strained voices and thus increasing the multipart contrast (tension / relaxation) between the two rhythmical elements composing the melodies: short rhythmic values

sequences resolved on a long value (opened or closed/suspensive or conclusive). All of that contributes towards magnifying the vertical dimension of the resolution points. (A 21)

In the whole period, the performance is in three parts and the presence of the bass part is particularly wanted: a logical inclination that musical anthropology interested in the symbolism of the sound field refers to as the notion of *sound perfection* (Charles-Dominique 2006). In the 1980s *Los de Laruntz* were probably the first to accentuate this aspect and additionally to complete the spectrum by the occasional subdivision of parts: by bass enhancement, strengthening, for example doubling the bass in 6th by a "contrabass" in octave from the cantus on the final chords; by adding drones in bass which are considered to be inspired by the Orthodox ison; doubling a high parallel part by a high drone; all these parts explore and saturate the spectrum of the vocal register. Jean-Claude Coudouy, the group leader – he is the village butcher, storyteller and songwriter, but also a former seminarian – was indeed very inspired at that time by Orthodox liturgy, as he explained to me. In this way, multipart music becomes, at least on the cadences, a "scale of voices" launched towards heaven, to employ the beautiful image of Luc Charles-Dominique, who considers this practice to be a metaphorical construction (A 22).

Time elongated – another temporal dimension in which singers enter through singing – is also part of this system, multipart music is a form of compensation of eternity and of the lost paradise.

Conclusion

To conclude, I would like to say that it is not important to know whether this singing tradition is two- or three-part music. Multipart singing must be seen in a different way: as music making whose raw material is drawn in the Pyrenees, France and other places in Europe from a relatively stable stock of processes and musical elements which singers have combined for decades and centuries according to social and human contexts.

In fact, the new musical fashions that were combined with the old local multipart processes in the twentieth century have, of course, impacted polyphonic instrumentation. They either led to syncretic forms that did not last for more than 30 years, or coexisted sometimes during the same event, on the same album, each one representing self-definition modes, self-presentation strategies. However, the new performance contexts have been passed on until today, expanding the experimental fields of possible instrumentation of this type of multipart singing. A continuum exists between *apertus* and *clausus*, *in vivo* and *in vitro*, formal and informal performances, the instrumenta-

tion cursor only moving on this continuum, tending to choose for 20 or 30 years, with the help of secondary orality, the richest and fullest instrumentation – between three and four parts as was the case in the written and oral tradition of the old church faux-bourdon – drawn from an ultimately limited stock.

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Ignazio Macchiarella

It is a Matter of Amalgam

Constructions of Sound Image in Multipart Singing Practices

ABSTRACT

As a result of *coordinated behaviours* aimed at achieving predicted, identified and recognized musical outcomes, multipart performances take particular care about sound quality. In a certain sense, every multipart performance is a question of choices derived from collective negotiations, often concerning even the smaller details of the sound production. Within a group, every singer has the sensation of being at the very centre of the music as a resonant experience. Amalgam is the key word for this feeling: the search for a peculiar and distinctive amalgam is the main goal of many multipart singing practices. Symbolically connected with processes of the construction of group identity, amalgam means *a combination between the maintenance of individual distinctiveness and mutual merging.*

Within presentational music (i.e. performative scenarios involving a group of people clearly providing music for an audience, as in a concert on stage) the care of sound quality has different guidelines. In the non-professional scenario, too, the instrumentation of sound is a relevant resource of music-making processes, with particular aims of stressing cultural representations.

Based on my research experiences in Corsica, Sardinia and other Italian regions, my paper introduces some significant cases dealing with different strategies of sound instrumentation within the dynamics of group relationships of local communities.

Introduction

Listening to music is a way of making music. Maybe we sometimes do not fully consider this evidence which comes from the social nature of music. Far from being considered a passive and mental reception process, listening to music involves cognitive structures in a sort of process of execution, since a person executes the reception, identification and evaluation of sound sequences in his or her own body, so that according to John Blacking "listening to music is a kind of performance" (Blacking, 1995, 231). Then, listening always has been and will continue to be a basic skill at the core of the musical experience. It is a direct route into music making.

While listening carefully to music is the prerequisite for any kind of music making, this prerequisite acquires a particular relevance in the case of multipart music, given that it generates "organic sound" images which are always something more than a simple addition of individual sound emissions. The phenomenon is approached from different perspectives: beyond the analysis of physical-resounding aspects (including the fruitful studies on music cognition, see Patel 2008, Parncutt 1989), it has a "conversational dimension" pivoted on the special listening attitudes of music makers themselves, which I will deal with here according to my personal experiences in field research.

The Force of Listening

In a multipart music group, every singer/musician has the sensation of being at the very centre of the music as a resonant experience. He or she has to be present to listen to the others in order to understand how to join in and fit in within the combined emissions.

As a matter of fact, performing multipart music needs peculiar listening skills: each performer has to contemporaneously listen to their own emission and to those of the people close to them in order to judge the suitability of both the individual 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 sounds. *Inter alia*, the processes of interaction/combination of sounds are definitely perceived in a different way depending on whether one is inside or outside a performing group.

Listening capabilities are culturally learned behaviours which are more or less developed according to different performance practices. All in all, they are complex recognitions of "familiar sounds", giving to both performers and competent audiences the impression of "belonging together".

Within orally transmitted multipart singing, listening capability acquires a specific relevance in the cases of performance mechanisms that have an exclusive character (or multipart practices in *numerus clausus*), and above all in performance mechanisms which consist of a single voice per part.

Mastered by specialized groups which are selected through special lengthy periods of music training, these mechanisms actually require actually peculiar listening capabilities. Lacking an external reference (for instance the conductor of a choir), all of the performers share not only the responsibility for the adequacy of their individual sound emissions, but also (as far as possible – see later in this article) for looking after the "overall assemblage" of sounds. In other words, each singer has to be able to combine the advancement of the individual singing with the perspective of the "compound of

voices". Every collective music production has firstly to achieve predicted, identified and recognized traits. Therefore, the performers have to at least ensure the achievement of basic expectations in terms of voice recognizability and mixture : but – as we shall see – this type of sound control is not enough in itself.

Generally speaking, exclusively orally transmitted multipart singing can be interpreted as "paradoxical practices" aiming to merge various single vocal emissions into one collective "blended voice", deliberately maintaining their recognizable individuality. In fact, they include complex games of both individual and collective personalizations since, on one hand, groups endeavour to elaborate peculiar "blending voices", trying to create a sort of "aural identity" of their own; while on the other hand performers aim to personalize their emissions, adding their signature to their participation in the collective actions by means of specific interpretative elements (including sound nuances, vocal refinement etc.). During the performance, through conscious and minutely controlled vocal emissions, the unique musical personalities of the performers interact in this dual direction, and the quality of the performance is the quality of the temporary interaction between the singers.

But music skills extend beyond the simple production of appropriate sound outcomes at a given moment : they concern the symbolic values of sounds. Individual and collective performance choices are then subject to discussion by both the performers themselves and groups of competent local audiences : established on convenient practices of listening, these discussions become part of the performance mechanism. As a metaphor for the agency of group members, multipart singing involves shared meanings attributed to the mixing between *soundful bodies*, between sounds resonating in and through bodies.

Mysterious Blending

Amalgam is a key word when dealing with the specific processes of sound assemblage within exclusively multipart singing. The search for and affirmation of a peculiar and distinctive amalgam is the main goal of many performances (and of related discourses). Metaphorically, the amalgam is connected with the processes of construction of group identity, springing from peculiar arrangements located between the maintenance of individual distinctiveness and a mutual melting of all the singers : a blending of established individual identities. This is an arrangement that seems to be essentially inexplicable – it is not by chance that singers often characterize it with adjectives like "magical", "mysterious", "inscrutable" and so forth.

Amalgam is a virtual concept which is frequently discussed but does not have a precise objectification : dealing with amalgam is to deal with the quality of performance.

It is very strongly linked to musical "passion and emotion", including the "substantial vagueness" of any discourse about music. What is "evidently a good amalgam" in the awareness of a group of performers might not be so obvious for the ears of listeners – and vice-versa.

Each multipart singing group claims to have its own amalgam, coming from negotiations between the performers on a large and unlimited range of music parameters such as the precision of intonation, articulation of rhythm, the expressions of dynamics, the enunciation of texts, poetic interpretations, and so forth. At the same time, along with these conscious sound elements, the concept of amalgam puts "natural forces" into play which are beyond the control of the individuals, such as the texture of the voice, its timbre and colours, its resonance and so on.

The End of the Time Dimension

Within oral transmission, the production of "organized sounds" and listening to them is a temporary experience destined to return to silence: sounds immediately evaporate, but in their instantaneous life they express something very complex. Of course, the ephemeral character of sounds affects both the elaboration of the music and its listening (and related discussions).

But that was true for past centuries! Things have radically changed due to the invention of the phonograph and as a consequence of the pervasive diffusion of instruments for the recording and reproduction of sound in the past decades. These instruments help to make performers more and more aware of their musical outcome, and also increase the appreciation of music by the listeners. They have introduced a new dimension of listening: an endless listening that follows the performance and that is always external to the performance. In so doing, it lends an artificial objectification to the musical outcome, defying the substantial ephemeral character of sounds and therefore trying to manipulate (or to control) the *dimension of time* in music, its fundamental irreversibility.

Furthermore, it involves a strong idea of "pure music", i.e. an idea of music independent of any social and performative context and cultural meaning, boosting the nineteenth-century concept of "absolute music" of so called Occidental art music. Actually, at every moment, everyone can listen to a recorded piece whenever they like without knowing anything about its cultural origin, possible specific purposes and so forth: a really paradoxical idea for any kind of music that finds its meaning within specific scenarios of human coexistence, as sound perceived in both time and space. Thus, to a certain extent, and increasingly often, music is identified with the recorded CDs or tracks we may buy or download (Turino 2008), and that deeply influences musical

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practices in all their aspects, including the orally transmitted practices connected with the social life of people (Macchiarella 2013).

Beyond the new listening experiences favoured by reproduction technologies, the instrumentation of sound is an inseparable component of any music-making process almost anywhere in the world, having very significant consequences for real performances. Re-listening to recordings of performances is commonly considered a way of assessing the playing/singing: even some things that "sound bad" during the performance might be "accepted and re-proposed" after listening to recordings – and vice-versa, performers can exclude sound elements that "sounded good" while they were playing/singing.

The definitive impact of recording and reproduction of sound concerns not only music production, but also both the processes of "music imagination" preceding the performance and the subsequent discussions about music events. Thus, the technologies of "capturing sound" (Katz 2004) are closely connected with any discourse on amalgam and with the construction and refinement of the aural identities which are in play both within every music scenario and across various music scenarios.

Different Recordings

Recordings (and relistening) also have crucial relevance in the scenario of my research experience: a relevance that has been progressively increasing over the past decades. As far as I can remember, all of the singers of multipart singing as well as local amateurs I have met in more than thirty years of field research have been interested at least in the recordings of their own music practice.

As we know, until fifteen to twenty years ago recording technologies were mostly reserved for professional scholars, although from the fifties and sixties onwards there have been local amateur collectors who have made a lot of recordings by means of tape and/or cassette recorders. So ethnomusicologists have recorded and edited LPs or CDs and cassettes (occasionally films, videos etc.) that have often acquired the "value of a monument" for the subsequent generations of local singers, beyond the purpose of those who made the recordings. I thus know about operations to (re)construct or (re)elaborate local multipart music practices which rely on such kinds of material, even including cases of local groups of singers who try to imitate the recordings of performances included in records of Sicilian materials I edited in the 1980s in order "to restore" (as they say today) their "authentic/oldest" repertory, although these recordings were not made to demonstrate that, but merely intended as a contribution to the documentation.

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As a matter of fact, our recordings have been (and still are) the result of choices of listening – although rooted in scientific approaches[1] – made by an outsider of a music scenario, as a scholar always is. And we know very well that ethnomusicological recordings are really "accidental capturings" of performances and that they must not be viewed as authoritative documents. But our works often enter the awareness of local musical actors and, due to the authority of the figure of the "external scholar", our recordings at least end up acquiring a particular relevance in their discourses on amalgams and then in their construction of identities[2], if not for their music practice.

In recent times, the scene has been drastically transformed due to the growth of digital technologies that allow a pervasive spread of the customary use of instruments for sound recording and reproduction, intrinsically affecting the concept of "traditional music" or "orally transmitted music" (and of music at large). Among other things, a growing number of local groups of singers have had the possibility to record their performances directly (by themselves or via recording studios), eventually self-producing and distributing CDs, CD-books, videos etc., or collaborating actively with local music labels.

At the same time, local discourses about music have found new paths. This is particularly evident in Sardinia, where there is one of the fastest growing local record markets in Europe. It is a relatively old market, as its first records date back to the twenties (Leydi 1997), but the boom years came about in the seventies and eighties. In point of fact, it is impossible to give an exact idea of the dimensions of the phenomenon, as there is no accurate calculation of the amount of records that might have been edited, nor of the various labels throughout the island. Digital technologies have further fragmented the phenomenon, whereas the development of the Internet has afforded new spaces to the spread of recordings and to talking about them (and about music making at large).

In particular, the "permanent groups" of multipart singers (the *Tenore*, *Cuncordu*, *Cuntrattu* etc. named by regional toponyms or after the full name of local poets, erudites, authorities and so forth)[3] have found new opportunities to present accurate re-

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1 As reflexive and interpretative anthropology has taught us, the perspective of the scholar is not "objective", being influenced by personality, personal preferences and so on (basic remarks on this point can be found in Bartz-Cooley 2007).

2 The influence of the recordings made by ethnomusicologists on current orally transmitted music making is an open question, also due to the multifaceted activities included in the term "ethnomusicologist". This is not the place to deal with the matter, for which I refer to the current literature. I only point out Giuriati 2004 and Giannattasio 2011, who offer interesting suggestions to frame the music scenario which I shall deal with.

3 That means quartets permanently composed of the same four men, each of them specialized in the

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cordings of their performances. Many of these quartets thus have websites of their own, pages on social network sites like Myspace or Facebook, channels on Youtube and so on.[4]

At the same time, through the Internet, many singers are regularly in contact with each other, discussing different aspects of their musical practice, including technical topics concerning sound quality and amalgam. Other occasions to deal with these themes come about as a result of the activities of the associations of "permanent" quartets[5] which consist of a round table and a seminary and which also take place in small villages with the participation of both local singers and a competent audience. These new opportunities to discuss aspects of music usually refer to listening to recordings: but the participants know that *sound is not all* in their music practice.

External Additions

We know that the new performance scenarios have produced (and are still producing) far-reaching changes in music making that we actually cannot understand completely, maybe including elements that are commonly considered to be traditional. For instance, one can assume that in Sardinia (and also in Corsica, the other main research scenario of mine) the increasing exposure to listening to music broadcasted by radio and television has had a relevant influence on the great care accorded today to the accuracy of chordal intonation, given that in the oldest recordings (dating back to around the 1960s) the combinations of the vocal parts show overlappings which do not seem to pay much attention to the precision of the chords (see Macchiarella 2005). The progressive development of concert opportunities outside the villages (and also often outside the region or the island) must in itself have been relevant for today's concern about the placement of the singers, their postures, the groups' proxemics and other elements of performance behaviours which are very different than the images of relaxed singers that one can gather from "older" photos and illustrations (or still today, in the most informal contexts when the singers perform for themselves and their

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extreme for only one vocal part: it is an innovation in this oral practice dating from about the sixties when the first performance on stage of *a tenore* song began to emerge during traditional religious villages' feasts (see Pilosu 2012; Lortat-Jacob and Macchiarella 2012).

4 At present there is a lack of a specific analysis of this mediatization phenomenon. A collective study on cyberspace as a medium for the diffusion of oral transmitted musics has been initiated by the ICTM Italy Committee with the goal of producing a book in 2014.

5 See for instance www.tenores.org. This is the official website of the Association *Sotziu Tenores Sardigna*, made up of more than one hundred *a tenore* song groups (Pilosu 2012).

closest friends, without extraneous ears),[6] while even the recently growing familiarity with the microphone might have had effects on vocal emission in terms of the control of intensity, mutual adjustment of volumes and so on. Elements like these are crucial for today's instrumentation of multipart singing on the two islands, but their analysis is constrained by the insufficiency of information in diachronic perspective.

Of course, the kind of situation I have very roughly outlined is not unique: everywhere in the world, every kind of music making which is orally transmitted is (more or less) largely influenced by technologies and the mass media – which is a crucial point for our studies.[7]

Besides, as elsewhere, in Sardinia and Corsica the phenomenon is further enlarged and developed by other distinctive external "suggestions": on one hand, the special focus by the international *world music* market on some specific multipart singing expressions of the two islands – above all, the Sardinian *a tenore* and *a cuncordu singing*, and the Corsican *à paghjella singing*.[8] On the other hand, on both of the islands there is an ongoing debate, stimulated also by regional political institutions, concerning the so-called issue of "safeguarding the tradition", a very controversial (and paradoxical) matter, which is intertwined with the policies of the UNESCO *Immaterial Cultural Heritage* programmes. The Sardinian *a tenore* song (or Sardinian Pastoral Song) was declared to be a *Masterpiece of Oral Immaterial Cultural Heritage* in 2005, while the Corsican *a paghjella* song was included in 2009 in the *List of Intangible Cultural Heritage in Need of Urgent Safeguarding*.[9] Thus, these external suggestions – I cannot dwell on them here – increase the complexity of the framework within which the following concrete specimens are located.

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6 In order to make a more in-depth study of this point, I am carrying out a scrutiny of the iconographic sources (photos, paintings, recordings) until the first half of the 20th century.

7 Research from this perspective has been growing in recent years. See for example Ayari-Lai 2013, Stobart 2008, Wood 2008, Miller 2012 and, for a broader anthropological view, Askew-Wilk 2007.

8 In Sardinia, the origin of this special focus was in the interest for the *a tenore* song shown by popular and jazz music stars like Frank Zappa, Peter Gabriel, Ornette Coleman etc., and the turning point date was 1996 when Real World Label published the CD *S'amore e mama* by the Tenore di Bitti Remunnu 'e Locu (CDRW60). There has as yet been no specific study on this phenomenon (see the general overview by Pilosu 2012). In Corsica the rise of international fame had its turning point in the participation of the group meaningfully called *Les nouvelles polyphonies Corses* at the opening ceremony of the Winter Olympic Games at Albertville (see the study of this phenomenon by Bithell 2007).

9 The declarations are on the websites:
http://www.unesco.org/culture/ich/index.php?lg=en&pg=00011&RL=00165 and
http://www.unesco.org/culture/ich/en/USL/cantu-in-paghjella-a-secular-and-liturgical-oral-tradition-of-corsica-00315. For a critical reflection on them see Macchiarella 2011b.

"La voce a quattro" or Four Conversing Soloists?
Different Perspectives of Amalgam

It is well-known that Sardinian and Corsican multipart singers usually develop a peculiar awareness of their music making, claiming that the traditional practice of each village is unique – strictly connecting it to the assumed uniqueness of a village's "way of life". This awareness in music shapes both real performance and the relative discourses after and before music events, and is pivoted on key concepts like *traggiu*, *trazzu*, or *moda* in Sardinia; *versu* in Corsica. Belonging to a large typology of (partially indefinable) concepts, very widespread within music practices which are orally transmitted, these kinds of notions concern both the technical aspects and the shared meanings and values of music making. Like cultural emblems, they do not have an unambiguous definition and, above all, they do not draw up lists of identifiable music traits: actually, they are pretexts for debate about musical practices, and through this also about the people involved and their place and relationships within the social life of the village (Lortat-Jacob 1993, Macchiarella 2011/a and 2012).

Each village is assumed to have a musical *traggiu/versu* of its own, and within each village any group as well as any individual singer can interpret and shape the village's *traggiu/versu*, which means that every group has its own *traggiu/versu* just like every singer has his own. Against this conceptual background, local actors argue about the formation and perception of their comprehensive sound productions, stating different ideas on sound assemblage and acting in order to elaborate and maintain different sound images of a local *traggiu/versu* – i.e. manifold "stated identities". Together with real performance practice, almost all the singers I know devote particular care to listening, even organizing special sessions for collective listening which are great opportunities for long discussions on the most disparate aspects of making music.[10]

According to a lot of singers and competent audiences, multipart singing productions have to achieve the "maximum fusion" between the different voices. In Sardinia this is represented by the motto *La voce a quattro* (literally "one voice in four", i.e. four voices that make one) that various musical actors (usually the older ones) employ to define multipart singing in general. Considered as a natural phenomenon, the idea that distinct voices blend together is differently represented and verbalized. In my experience, for the vast majority of local actors the fusion between the voices produces rather a sort of higher order of assembled sounds than single emissions: these higher-order sounds have their clear "aural identities", corresponding to the peculiar feeling

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10 I have had the opportunity to attend sessions of this type – in private cellars or confraternity oratorio – in villages of both Sardinia and Corsica: often, the listenings included recordings from other villages than the listeners' own.

sprung from the gathering among men in the flesh, with both their unique personalities and their reciprocal relationships. While they maintain recognizable characteristics, these "aural identities" are not thought of as static. They depend on the different performance situations and on the real experience of the performers, i.e. their reciprocal bonds within the social life of their village. That is a meaningful point, since in the awareness of local actors sounds are inseparable from the concreteness of the men performing them.[11]

In this perspective, there are local actors who state that the individualities which compose the higher-order sounds "must not be perceived" during performance; and, on the contrary, there are others who assert that the maximum level of fusion is not incompatible with the manifestation of the singularity of the individual voices and they claim that they are also able to perceive this singularity in the case of maximum fusion.[12]

Other singers and competent listeners from both islands interpret the sound assemblage more as a result of the suitable juxtaposition of individual voices that still remain recognizable, leaving out the metaphor of fusion and the idea of sounds assembled according to a higher order. A few Sardinian singers even love to say that their multipart singing represents a conversation among four soloists – an idea they claim as their own, more or less corresponding to some definitions of the *a tenore* song as a *dialogo poetico-musicale* (poetic-musical dialogue) that can be found in ethnomusicological essays by Diego Carpitella (1975) and Pietro Sassu (1982).[13]

Of course, I am roughly synthesizing a very wide range of viewpoints I have heard and recorded, by actors from different locations. Diverse conceptualizations of amalgam are carried out alongside intense and articulate activities of research into sound-blending during the performance by (almost) all the singers from both of the islands.

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11 As is well-known, orally transmitted music practices refuse to perceive music as a succession of depersonalized musical notation on which so-called Occidental art music is based (illuminating pages on subjectivity in music can be found in the introduction of Feld 2012).

12 Of course, as usual in the discourses on music making – and above all within the scenario of orally transmitted music making – the boundaries between the two viewpoints are not clearly defined and, actually, they are pretexts for long discussions between the local actors (more about these kinds of discussions in Lortat-Jacob 2011 and Macchiarella 2009).

13 For instance, Daniele G., Giomaria D. and other singers from Cuglieri (Sardinia) dealt with this idea during my shooting for a small video on the singing of the *Stabat Mater* in this village (Macchiarella – in print). Actually I don't know if these singers have read these opinions in the works of Carpitella and Sassu (maybe not because they are contained in essays that have not been widely distributed). They told me that they had learned this way of thinking from oral transmissions going back to *sos mannos*, the "ancient" singers of the first half of the 20th century. On the other hand, neither Carpitella nor Sassu specify in their essays whether these statements refer to evidence by local actors or are an interpretation of their own.

They are very relevant above all for the permanent singers' groups that "experiment" with their very distinctive amalgam in order to elaborate *a sound* of their own (in the sense of a distinguished quality of musical outcome). A sound that has auditory feedback within the complex elaborations of interacting/conflicting group identities affecting the socio-political life of a village.

Here, I have no space to deal with the matter in depth. My intention is just to give a faint idea of it. In the attached CD to the present volume, I present two short musical excerpts from CDs recorded and performed by permanent groups from two Sardinian villages, all claiming that their amalgam is the "maximum fusion".

The first one (A 23) is from Santulussurgiu. It presents two fragments of the same verse of the *Miserere*: the first one is sung by a group belonging to a laic confraternity, whereas the second one is performed by a group operating out of the religious institution during a concert.[14] The difference between the sound of the two excerpts (including the reverberation and the recording effects) is considered to be representative of a postulated sharp distinction between the "aural identities" of the multipart music practice inside and outside the confraternity, which are emblematic of a different "way of thinking" of two large groups of persons acting dissimilarly (or rather in latent discord) in the dynamics of the social life of the village.[15]

The second example (A 24) is also provided by two performances of the same fragment of the *Miserere*, coming this time from the village of Scano Montiferru. In this case, both the groups operate out of the confraternity. The first one is composed of young singers (in their twenties and thirties), whereas the second one consists of the *vecchi* (the old men, actually those in their sixties-seventies). The young singers claim they have not learned to sing from the other group (as should be the case in a normal generational passage), and they claim to have learned the song from singers of previous generations by listening to old recordings on tapes which they "discovered in dusty attics". In fact they do aim to faithfully reproduce these recordings, arguing that during the 1980s–1990s the groups of the *vecchi* of the village had modified "the tradition" (which is, however, unavoidable). Thus, through conscious different elaboration of the sound of the multipart singing, they represent a sort of "generational conflict" within the village.[16]

I would like to emphasize that all the excerpts come from CDs and recordings made under the direct control of the respective group of singers.

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14 The first group is *Su Cuncordu 'e su Rosariu* and the second one *Su cuncordu lussurzesu*. (See more in Macchiarella 2009 about the musical practice in Santulussurgiu).

15 About the relevance of the institution of laic confraternity within contemporary social life in Sardinia, see Lortat-Jacob 1996 and Macchiarella 2009; for Corsica see Macchiarella 2010 and XXX.

16 For the multipart music practice in Scanu Montiferru see Pani 2009.

Who Is Looking for "Audio-Shop" Software?

Local multipart singing actors are thus well aware that sound is not everything in their musical practice; the nature of personal relationships plays a basic role. That is true for the question of amalgam too. For instance, during a video shooting, the Sardinian singer Marcello M. explained to me that during a performance of cuncordu singing, hearing the *quintina*[17] is of course a clear "audio signal" of the achievement of a "good amalgam"; but often he experiences that the performance has an excellent amalgam also without the *quintina*, because he can feel the situation of "mutual harmony between himself and his friends" (but "once I felt there was no amalgam in our singing although I clearly heard the *quintina* [*una volta ho sentito che non c'era amalgama fra noi però si sentiva la quintina*]"). The Corsican Raffaellu Q. wrote to me expressing more or less the same opinions, talking about "the voice of an angel … when the three voices blend perfectly you listen to a fourth (*la voix de l'ange… lorsque les trois voix se marient parfaitement on entend une quatrieme*)"[18], during a Facebook chat I had with him, underlying how it is impossible to deal with amalgam only in terms of perceived sound and how there are different perceptions ("feelings") of it inside and outside the performing group.

However, in about the last two decades, the growing involvement in presentational performances (in the sense of Turino 2008) has stimulated the implementation of specific discourses on the instrumentation of sound, affecting the singers' idea of amalgam and performance quality. That is particularly evident with regard to the production of CDs, an activity to which almost all the permanent groups devote special care.[19]

For many groups of singers, to record a CD means to elaborate a sort of "business card" of the distinguished sound of a group, an official "self-presentation" addressed first of all to the other groups and individual singers in the same village (and to all

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17 As is known, the *quintina* is the phenomenon of the emergence of an "immaterial fifth voice", corresponding to the first overtone, by the fusion of the partials from different voices. A very interesting experimental demonstration of it by Bernard Lortat-Jacob can be found here: http://www.musimediane.com/numero3/lortat/lortat12.html. See also http://ehess.modelisationsavoirs.fr/seminaire/seminaire08-09/seminaire08-09.html#blj. It is clearly perceived by both performers and listeners, and has a relevant symbolic meaning within ritual contexts (see Lortat-Jacob 1996, 2000 and Macchiarella 2009)

18 In Corsica there is no specific term for this phenomenon. Some singers use the term *quintina*, maybe borrowing it from Sardinia.

19 Actually, I know only a few local music-making scenarios where the recording of performances is not so important for the local actors (both singers and competent listeners). This is the case for instance for a large group of singers from Cuglieri (Macchiarella, in print).

its inhabitants). In fact, before the regional (and possibly national or international) recordings market, almost all the CDs by orally transmitted multipart singing groups from both Sardinia and Corsica were intended for their own village – and significatively, the groups often distribute copies to their fellow villagers for free or at a very cheap price.

Thus, the production of a CD (often a self-production) is a relevant activity which also involves the conscious use of technology by the same local actors. In order to consider this point in more depth I started a special discussion by email with some young multipart singers who have been involved in the production of CDs, asking them to explain to me their favourite strategies for achieving the desired outcome.[20] The following excerpts, concerning the special matter of the possible addition of reverberation during the sound mixing in the studio, give an idea of the depth of their knowledge and argumentations.

The question of reverberation was one of the most delicate aspects of the recording of our CD: we chose personally how and to what extent to apply it. We were looking for something that would enhance our singing … we wanted an effect in order to create a unique spatial background throughout the disc (to choose different effects for the sacred and the profane singing would mean to suggest two different places at two different times, but clearly that is not right), and [we wanted the effect] to be unintrusive and not camouflaging (many [groups] make this mistake, especially in the case of amateur recordings). So we found the right measure which gives added value [to our singing], allowing us at the same time to get all the details of the performance: to recognize the passages of each voice, to listen to the breath, to be close to those who sing and to catch even small and normal mistakes such as swallowing or breathing at the wrong time during the performance.

La questione riverbero è stata una delle parti più delicate dell'incisione del disco: siamo stati noi a scegliere come e in che misura applicarlo. Cercavamo qualcosa che potesse valorizzare il canto …, volevamo un effetto che desse una collocazione spaziale unica per tutto il disco (scegliere effetti diversi per sacro e profano avrebbe significato due posti diversi in due tempi diversi e chiaramente non è così) e che non fosse invadente e camuffante (molti fanno questo errore sopratutto nelle registrazioni amatoriali). Abbiamo quindi trovato la giusta misura che dà valore aggiunto e permette allo stesso tempo di cogliere tutti i particolari del canto: riconoscere i passaggi di ogni singola voce, sentire i respiri, essere vicini a chi canta e cogliere anche i piccoli e normali difetti come inghiottire o riprendere fiato al momento sbagliato durante l'esecuzione. (Antioco M. 2013, Scanu Montiferru, Sardinia)

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20 I usually talk about recordings with the local actors I know. Many of them think my work is to incessantly produce recorded documents (and sometimes my interlocutors are stunned to see me attending a performance without a recorder in my hands). These discourses are also very interesting in order to go into more depth on the issue of the instrumentalization of multipart singing. They are collective negotiations which often concern even the smaller details of the sound production.

Ignazio Macchiarella

I believe that the matter of reverberation in a studio is like photoshop … it is as if one wants to create an "audioshop". … One thing is the natural reverberation, not amplified too much, which characterizes a location with good acoustics… It is clear that a group *bene cuncordadu* (with a good harmony) is also capable of achieving good results in a dry environment with a strong absorption of sound, because it has a reverberation of its own thanks to the development of the overtones … , and that creates the special sound aura that is directly felt, especially by other singers. … A good group does not need to disguise itself with audioshop … A different case is a group *malu cuncordau* (with a bad harmony), which needs a location with an enormous reverberation which creates such a camouflage that even that which is bad seems good. In other words, *non si cumprende nudda* (you are not able to understand anything [about the quality of the group]) … a bad reverberation can often even become ridiculous, like a hairpiece badly positioned on the head of a bald man, *si non bi nd'ada de pilos non bi nd'ada* (if there is no hair, there is no hair!).

I believe that polyphony is made to be sung in churches, which thanks to their natural reverberation allow us to sublimate this singing … When someone records in a studio it makes the sound dry, and then it is also more difficult to sing because our voices do not resound, and that irritates us, because polyphony is singing together, it is to be in accord with each other, and thus in the studio they add the reverberation with computers in order to embellish the singing; but one can hear that it is not a natural reverberation.

Questa cosa del riverbero in studio io la vedo come il photoshop… come se si vuole fare "audioshop". … Un conto è il riverbero naturale non troppo accentuato che caratterizza un ambiente con una buona acustica …. E' chiaro che un coro bene cuncordadu riesce ad avere un buon risultato anche in un ambiente secco con un forte assorbimento sonoro in quanto vive di "riverbero proprio" per lo sviluppo di armonici, …, che crea quell'aura sonora direttamente percepibile soprattutto da chi canta … Un coro "bene cuncordadu" non abbia necessità o esigenza di "camuffarsi" con l'"audioshop". Ancora diverso e il coro "malu cuncordau" che ha bisogno di un ambiente con un riverberone accentuato che determina un tale camuffamento da far apparire buono anche ciò che è pessimo, insomma "non si cumprende nudda" … un brutto riverbero spesso può diventare perfino ridicolo e assimilabile ad un parrucchino mal posizionato sulla testa di un calvo, si non bi nd'ada de pilos non bi nd'ada. (Luigi O. 2013, Bosa, Sardinia)

Selon moi la polyphonie est faite pour etre chanter en eglise qui grace a leurs reverbe naturel permet de sublimé ce chant, … Alors que lorsquon enregistre en studio cela donne un son tres sec et c'est d ailleurs plus difficile de chanter car on a pas le retour de nos voix ce qui gene car la polyphonie c'est chanter ensemble c'est s accorder les uns aux autres et donc en studio on rajoute informatiquement la reverbe pour embellir mais sa s'entend que ce 'est pas une reverbe naturel. (Raffaellu Q. 2013, Speluncatu, Corsica)

Conclusions

In the introduction of the symposium "European Voices III" Ardian Ahmedaja stated that "the instrumentation of sound is an inseparable part of music making processes in local musical practices". It is a key phenomenon that needs further specific research

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from different perspectives. Among other things, informatics and technology could provide very relevant contributions: in this sense, a study group at the University and the Conservatorio of Cagliari (Sardinia) is developing specific research (see for instance Bravi 2012). However, collaboration with local actors remains an inescapable resource, mainly in a dialogical approach which, I believe, offers fruitful theoretical advancements (Macchiarella 2009). To study in depth the very wide range of processes of formation, listening and conceptualization of instrumentation of sound in multipart singing means to get closer to the thoughts at the basis of the complex meaningful human interaction that is, ultimately, multipart singing.[21]

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21 Here, I would recall the memory of our friend, Professor Gerlinde Haid who, inter alia, had the foresight to support and assist the establishment of the Research Centre for European Multipart Music in Vienna in 2003, which has given us a decisive scenario and the fundamental directions for the development of our international collaboration.

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II. PERFORMANCE AS INSTRUMENTATION

1. The Baltics

Žanna Pärtlas

The Changing "Sound Ideal" as a Social Marker in Seto Multipart Songs[1]

ABSTRACT

In every traditional community that has its own song folklore, some kind of "sound ideal" exists which functions as an ethnic and social marker of the community. The "sound ideal" means people's comprehension of how the songs and voices should sound to truly represent the community under consideration. The quality of a song's sound depends on several factors which may include the manner of singing and mode of voice production as well as specific tuning and musical scales.

In the multipart song tradition of the Seto (Southeast Estonia), both of the afore-mentioned aspects of sound are easily recognized by hearing and, therefore, seem to be essential and representative for this tradition. The researchers have repeatedly noted the peculiarity of the tuning of Seto songs, which, in musical transcriptions, manifests itself as the abundance of (micro)alterations. The traditional manner of Seto singing – the intensive sound of the chest register of female voices with the specific nasal undertone – can be heard in many historical sound recordings. A comparison of the recordings made in different years reveals that between the end of the 20th and the beginning of the 21st century the sound qualities of the Seto songs have changed noticeably, and that is the main research question in this paper.

The paper will retrace the processes of change in the tuning of Seto songs by means of the acoustic analysis of several multichannel recordings of one wedding song. Choirs of different social types will be investigated (the traditional and semi-traditional singers of the older, middle, and younger generations). We will also try to answer the question of the reasons for such changes: either we are dealing here with the loss of singers' skill, or the sound ideal itself has changed during the last two to three decades.

In traditional musical cultures, there is some kind of "sound ideal" which functions as an ethnic and social marker of the community. The "sound ideal" means people's understanding of how the music should sound to truly represent the community. This

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sound ideal exists not only as a part of traditional musical thinking; it is also an important aspect of how the music is perceived by listeners from outside the tradition, allowing them to quickly identify the ethnic and stylistic appurtenance of a piece of music. Comparatively little attention has been paid by ethnomusicologists to the phenomenon of sound ideal, either in terms of the musical factors which create it, or with respect to how it functions in a traditional community. In this article I will explore these questions, using as an example the multipart songs of the Seto (south-east Estonia).[2] The example is a relevant one, since the sound characteristics of Seto singing have changed significantly over the past decades, raising the question of whether there have been changes in the traditional sound ideal as well.

The Concept of "Sound Ideal"

First of all, it would be useful to give some theoretical background on the term "sound ideal", which is a concept central to this research. I have borrowed this concept from Russian-language ethnomusicology, where it has the status of a scholarly term.[3] The notion of "sound ideal" better suits the purposes of this investigation than the more common notion of timbre, because we are dealing here with a complex phenomenon which is dependent on several different musical factors, including timbre, the manner of sound production, articulation, tuning, etc. Another reason for preferring this term is because it refers not only to the sound as such, but also to the idea of sound – the sonic image which plays an essential role in traditional musical thinking.

In Russian-language ethnomusicology, the term "sound ideal" (звукоидеал) is used primarily to designate the quality of sound which represents the ethnic appurtenance of the music (the "ethnic sound ideal"). Explaining the origin of this term, authors usually refer to the term *Klangideal* by Fritz Bose (1953) and to the article by Oskár Elschek "Musical Instruments and Instrumental Music" (1974). Later this idea was theoretically developed by Izaly Zemtsovsky (1981), who linked the notion of ethnic sound ideal to the "intonation theory" of Boris Asafyev. Nowadays this concept is widely used in the works of Russian ethnomusicologists, especially in investigations of traditional instrumental music (Skorobogatchenko 1994, Alyabyeva, Drozdova 1995, Abdulnasyrova 1997, Vlasova 2012, and others).

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2 For basic facts about the Seto and their traditional songs see Pärtlas 2011, 317–318.

3 In English-language ethnomusicology, this notion is seldom used as a scholarly term. One rare exception is the article by Olly Wilson, "The heterogeneous sound ideal in African-American music" (1999). Wilson's understanding of the term "sound ideal" is actually quite similar to that in Russian ethnomusicology.

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According to the definition by Zemtsovsky, "the ethnic sound ideal is a specific quality of the intoning style (стиль интонирования) of the performer, which allows us at once to distinguish one musical culture from another" (Zemtsovsky 1981, 87). This means that the sound ideal has a representative function and acts as an ethnic marker of the music. In Zemtsovsky's conception, the ethnic sound ideal is one of the links in the process of the embodiment of a social function in a musical form (Zemtsovsky 1981, 86–87).

Although in Russian ethnomusicological literature the sound ideal is most often considered as an ethnic characteristic of music, this notion can also be applied to other aspects and levels of musical culture, and not only in relation to traditional music. In his article "The Term 'Sound Ideal' and the Practice of its Usage in Contemporary Musicology", Vyacheslav Shulin, who investigates the sound ideal in jazz music, suggests differentiating between different levels in the use of this term; among these are the historical-geographical, ethnic, stylistic levels and the level of genre (Shulin 2011, 156). Clearly, in traditional music the ethnic sound ideal varies considerably depending on the genre and historical-stylistic layer of the music. Thus, within the same ethnic tradition, the characteristic sounds of ritual, lyrical and dance songs may differ widely; in this case the sound ideal represents not only the ethnic musical culture in general, but also the concrete musical genres and styles. Furthermore, the sound ideal can also be a social marker[4] if different social groups use a different manner of singing or playing, as is the case, for example, in some local traditions of the Volga region and of the Russian North, where married women traditionally sing with low voices ("the thick voice" – толстый голос in folk terminology) and unmarried young women, with high voices ("the thin voice" – тонкий голос in folk terminology) (Pashina 2005, 49).

One essential question that should be discussed in connection with the concept of sound ideal relates to the particular qualities of the music that result in the creation of its sonic image – in effect, what we actually perceive as a "sound of music" (rather than just a "musical sound"). Izaly Zemtsovsky, in the article cited above, offers no explanation of this, mentioning only timbre as a characteristic of the ethnic sound ideal. More recent studies give greater consideration to this question. Thus, Shulin asserts: "Every musical culture develops its own sound ideals – the summary of ideas about the quality of sound, i.e. the characteristics of timbre, performing techniques, articulation and intonation, modes and harmony, and musical style. [Каждая музыкальная культура вырабатывает свои звукоидеалы – совокупные представления о качестве звучания, т. е. о тембральных, технико-исполнительских, артикуляционно-интонационных, ладо-гармонических и музыкально-стилистических характеристиках.]" (Shulin 2011, 155) He also uses the term "the syntagma of the sound ideal" (синтагма

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4   Grant Olwage writes in this connection about "a class-based vocal identity" (Olwage 2004, 207).

звукоидеала), which designates its characteristic motif and phrase structures (Shulin 2011, 156). At first sight, such an interpretation of the concept might seem too broad, containing parameters which are beyond the scope of the ordinary understanding of sound. Nevertheless, after deeper consideration, it appears that the list of parameters of the sound ideal could even be extended. In fact, although the identification of the cultural origin of a piece of music by the comprehension of its general sound takes a very short time, in this process we usually proceed not only from the single sonorities but also from the characteristic changes in sound. Thus there are musical styles whose sonic image is based on timbral change and contrast[5] (yodelling, for example), or on special articulatory and melismatic techniques. These elements of sound proceed in time, although the time that is needed for their perception is notably shorter than the time required for us to recognize the compositional melodic and rhythmic structures of the music. The quality of sound also depends on the pitch structure. The intervallic composition of the scales and vertical sonorities, as well as the tuning, influence the perceived sound inasmuch as they have their own sonic characteristics. Among the quickly distinguishable components of sound we may also mention the general type of melodic motion (for instance, stepwise or skipwise), the frequency of rhythmic pulsation (which determines the frequency of the changes in the sound) and the character of the rhythmic patterns (even or contrasting).

Any investigation into the sound ideal should not only include a description of the musical components which contribute to the creation of the sonic image, but should also reveal the mechanisms through which the sound ideal functions in traditional culture. With regard to the first aspect, many components of the sound image (for example, the pitch structure) can be successfully examined using conventional methods of musical analysis, while some parameters can be measured acoustically (tuning, for example, will be measured and considered in this article). The most problematic component, however, is the main component of the sound ideal – the timbre, which is a quality of sound (and of its perception) that, as many researchers confess, is quite resistant to analysis. Cornelia Fales, who theorizes about the phenomenon of timbre in traditional music, states: "Timbre is a slippery concept and a slippery percept, perceptually malleable and difficult to define in precisely arranged units" (Fales 2002, 58).

In ethnomusicology, investigations into timbre are relatively rare; those that do exist mostly concern particular timbral techniques (such as, for example, throat singing, the timbral "masques" in the Yakutian epos Olonkho, or Burundi Whispered Inanga). As timbre is a very complex psychoacoustic phenomenon, researchers are still searching for methods with which to analyse it. In the process of perception, the sound that comes from the physical world is changed; this is why an acoustic analysis cannot

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5   Italic is used in the original.

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provide satisfactory answers to all the questions relating to timbre.[6] Another approach – the analysis of the verbal descriptions of timbre by musicians and listeners – also has its limitations, since both the perception and production of timbre are in some sense unconscious processes. According to Fales, we are dealing here with "phenomenal consciousness", not with "reflective (informational) consciousness" (Fales 2002, 60), so that verbal descriptions of timbre are always metaphorical and subjective. Besides these two methods of analysis, some other attempts have been made. Thus Grant Olwage, using an approach which he calls a "descriptive phonetics of timbre", links the characteristics of the so-called "black voice" to the pronunciation of the language (Olwage 2004), while Vladimir Mazepus (1998, 2009), who investigated the music of the indigenous peoples of Siberia, developed the articulatory method for the description and classification of timbres.

The traditional timbre of Seto ritual singing is a most interesting subject of research in this field; not only is it a very representative feature of the Seto song tradition, but it is at the same time a quality of the singing that is currently undergoing change. In the present article, the analysis of timbre will be limited to the verbal explanations that were obtained from the bearers of the tradition during the perception experiment. Although this method does not allow us to describe timbre objectively, it shows the attitude to the question of timbre within the living tradition. The comparison of the data of the acoustical analysis with the results of the perception experiment helps to better understand the value system of contemporary Seto singers and to reveal some discrepancies between the sound ideal of the bearers of the tradition and that of ethnomusicologists.

Research Goals, Methods and Materials

In this research paper it is not my intention to examine the Seto traditional sound ideal in all its aspects, but rather to concentrate on two components – the tuning and scales and the manner of singing. The tuning and scales are two sides of one phenomenon and it is difficult to draw the line between them, especially in the Seto singing style, where changes in the tuning gradually turn into changes in the scale. By the manner of singing, I mean here the complex of features which includes timbre, the manner of

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6 According to Olly Wilson, one of the underlying conceptions of African and African-American music is "the heterogeneous sound ideal", which means that "there exists a common approach to music making in which a kaleidoscopic range of dramatically contrasting qualities of sound (timbre) is sought in both vocal and instrumental music" (Wilson 1999 (1992), 160). Timbral contrast also lies at the basis of "timbre juxtaposition" – the kind of timbral manipulation described by Cornelia Fales (Fales 2002, 71–75).

voice production, articulation, register, volume and tempo. Actually, in Seto songs the tuning and even the scales also belong, to some extent, to the domain of the manner of singing, because these parameters can vary without changes in the identity of the song.

In Seto multipart songs both the above-mentioned aspects of sound are easily recognized by the ear and would therefore seem to be at once essential to and representative of this tradition. Researchers have repeatedly noted the peculiarity of Seto songs' scales and tuning, which, in musical transcriptions, manifests itself in an abundance of accidentals and micro-alterations. The characteristic timbre of Seto singing voices – the intense sound of the chest register of the female voices with its specific nasal undertone – can be heard in many historical sound recordings.

A comparison of recordings made in different years reveals that between the end of the 20th and the beginning of the 21st century the sound qualities of Seto song performance have changed noticeably, both in terms of tuning and in the manner of singing. In this context it is interesting to observe that the different styles of singing – the older and the newer ones – can coexist in the same local tradition, and even in the same village. Since the bearers of these styles are choirs belonging to different social and age groups, it can be said that the sound of the traditional songs has become a kind of social marker in contemporary Seto culture.

The first goal of this research was to trace the changes in the pitch organization of Seto songs that have taken place during the last two to three decades. To this end, several multichannel recordings of the same song were analysed acoustically. Secondly, a perception experiment was carried out to reveal how the bearers of the tradition themselves distinguish between the older and the newer manner of singing. The main goal of the perception experiment was to ascertain the extent to which contemporary Seto singers are sensitive to the different parameters of song performance (tuning, voice timbre, tempo, etc.) and where their preferences lie, and to determine whether the changes in the Seto singing style result from a loss of the singers' skills or from a change in the sound ideal itself during recent years.

The song chosen for the acoustic analysis and the perception experiment was the wedding song called *Hähkämine*. This song, sung by the bridesmaids when the bride leaves her home, is characteristic only of Northern Setomaa. In this article I compare six sound recordings of the *Hähkämine* made since 1990 in two neighbouring villages, Värska and Mikitamäe, and one recording made in 2002 by the choir of the Seto women living in Tallinn. Five of the seven recordings under consideration were made using multichannel technique, which offers the opportunity to analyse the intonation and tuning of every singer. The musical transcriptions of three performances of the *Hähkämine* which are used in both the acoustical analysis and perception experiment are provided in Figures 1, 2, and 3 (the fragments of these performances can be heard in audio examples A 25, A 26, and A 27).

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Figure 1: The wedding song *Hähkämine* performed by the Helmine choir (Mikitamäe v., 1998). Recorded by Vaike Sarv and Žanna Pärtlas. Transcription by Žanna Pärtlas.

Figure 2: The wedding song *Hähkämine* performed by the Verska naase' choir (Värska v., 2012). Recorded by Janika Oras. Transcription by Žanna Pärtlas.

Figure 3: The wedding song *Hähkämine* performed by the Kuldatsäuk choir (Värska v., 2006). Recorded by Andreas Kalkun, Janika Oras, and Žanna Pärtlas. Transcription by Žanna Pärtlas.

Scales and Tuning in Seto Multipart Songs

This research focuses on the most original and apparently the oldest stylistic layer of the Seto multipart song tradition – the songs with the one-three-semitone scale (D-Eb-F#-G-A#-B) (see Figures 1 and 2). This unusual symmetrical scale, which consists of one- and three-semitone intervals (the structure of the widest form of the scale in semitones is 1–3–1–3–1), is characteristic of the older song genres (such as work, calendric, and wedding songs) and occurs only in the women's repertoire, predominantly in the northern part of Setomaa (for more details see: Pärtlas 2010, Ambrazevičius, Pärtlas 2011). One can assume that the one-three-semitone mode is a rare relic of ancient musical thinking.

The one-three-semitone mode is not the only scale system in Seto multipart songs; anhemitonic (E-G-A-B), anhemitonic-diatonic (E-G-A-B-C), and diatonic (D-E-F#-G-A-B-C) scales are also found. An interesting feature of the Seto song tradition is the possibility to perform the same tune type with these different scales. In such cases

the melodic contour may remain the same, but the intervals between the scale notes change. Many Seto tunes are found in different scale versions, but the fact that the same singers mostly use the same scale in the same tune type suggests that they are not indifferent in this respect. Alongside the tunes which may be found in different scale versions there are also some newer tunes, which are always performed diatonically, and some older tunes, which, until very recently, were always performed with the one-three-semitone scale. The song *Hähkämine*, chosen for the analysis in this article, belongs to the latter group. Recent recordings of this and some other similar songs in diatonic versions (the diatonic version of the *Hähkämine* can be seen in Figure 3), however, provide evidence of the processes of diatonization which are characteristic for the contemporary state of the Seto song tradition.

Comparison of the Performances

These particular performances were selected for analysis because of the essential stylistic differences that were noticed between recordings made in the same village by different choirs and by the same choir in different years. Table 1 provides a comparative description of seven performances; the characterization of timbre is based on the perception of the author, while the other parameters are measurable.

	SCALE	TIMBRE	TEMPO (THE DURATION OF THE 3RD SRTOPHE)	REGISTER (SEMITONES RE 440 Hz)
Helmine Mikitamäe, 1998	one-three-semitone	tense	8.4 s	G4 = −6.4
Helmine Mikitamäe, 2006	one-three-semitone	softer	8.4 s	G4 = −10.1
Leiko Värska, 1990	one-three-semitone	tense	8.4 s	G4 = −5.4
Leiko Värska, 2006	one-three-semitone	softer	9.3 s	G4 = −8.2
Kuldatsäuk Värska, 2006	diatonic	very soft	9.1 s	G4 = −8.5
Verska naase' Värska, 2012	one-three-semitone	very tense	7.4 s	G4 = −4.7
Siidisõsarõ Tallinn, 2002	diatonic	very soft	9.6 s	G4 = −9.8

Table 1: The comparison of seven performances of the song *Hähkämine*.

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The comparison shows that the recordings made in 1998 and 2006 in Mikitamäe village by the *Helmine* choir differ from each other mainly in the manner of singing. In the 2006 recording the manner of singing has become softer and less active, and the song is performed in a lower register (about a major third lower), with a noticeable effect on the timbre of the voices. In both variants the singers use the one-three-semitone mode, but the tuning has been changed to some extent in the later version (questions of tuning will be considered in more detail in the next part of the article).

The case of the Värska village recordings is of particular interest. In this village there are three active traditional choirs made up of women of different generations. The older women sing in the *Leiko* choir, which was established in 1964, the middle-aged women constitute the *Kuldatsäuk* choir, and the younger women, the *Verska naase'* choir. There are two different multichannel recordings of the song *Hähkämine* performed by the *Leiko* choir, dating from 1990 and 2006. When comparing them (see Table 1), one can notice changes similar to those described in the case of the *Helmine* choir. By 2006 the manner of singing had become softer, the tempo slower, and the register was about a minor third lower than in the earlier recording. The type of the scale is the one-three-semitone type in both performances, but there are differences in tuning.

The recording of the *Kuldatsäuk* choir (in which the middle-aged women sing) was made in 2006. This performance contrasts clearly with those of the *Helmine* and *Leiko* choirs as the tune has become completely diatonic here and the upper subsidiary *killõ* part is formed in another way (with major thirds instead of unisons at the end of the phrases; *cf.* Figures 1, 2, and 3). The manner of singing is very soft, and the tempo is slower than in the earlier performances by the *Helmine* and *Leiko*.

The third choir from Värska – the choir of the young women, *Verska naase'* – sings in a way which is very different from that of either the older or the middle-aged women. The members of this choir try to consciously reproduce the older Seto singing style (manifested, among other things, by the active use of the one-three-semitone mode), but they do not want to imitate the sound of the voices of the older women. This choir sings in a high register, with a very tense voice timbre, and performs the song faster than the other choirs. Thus we can find three different manners of singing in the same village which correspond to different age groups. These groups also represent the different social layers of the community, because they differ in terms of the singers' educational background. The most highly educated are the younger women, some of whom have even undergone musical training in traditional music.

For the purposes of comparison I have also analysed the multichannel recording of the *Siidisõsarõ* choir from Tallinn made in 2002 (see the bottom row of Table 1). This choir is the least traditional of all the choirs under consideration, but their performance was of interest to me in that it confirms the typical features of the newer Seto

style – they use the diatonic scale and sing in a very soft manner, more slowly and at a lower pitch than any of the other choirs.

Changes in Tuning: Results of the Acoustic Analysis

Acoustic measurements were carried out using the free software Praat. From each recording, three to five melostrophes were analysed, making altogether 158 individual or choral variants of the various melostrophes. In the case of the multichannel recordings, the programme itself calculated the average pitch for the chosen fragments of sound. The treatment of the non-multichannel recordings was based on a spectral analysis.

D-Eb-F#-G-A#-B	D-Eb	Eb-F#	F#-G	G-A#	A#-B
Helmine, 1998	1.0	2.8	1.2	2.9	0.9
Helmine, 2006	1.3	3.2	0.9	2.7	0.7
Leiko, 1990		3.6	0.9	2.8	0.3
Leiko, 2006	0.7	3.7	0.9	2.6	0.5
Verska naase', 2012	0.7	3.2	0.8	2.8	0.3
D-E-F#-G-A-B	D–E	E-F#	F#–G	G–A	A–B
Siidisõsarõ, 2002	2.2	2.4	0.8	2.1	1.7
Kuldatsäuk, 2006			0.8	1.9	1.5

Table 2: The average size of the intervals between scale notes (in semitones).

The results of the acoustic analysis are provided in Table 2. The data confirms that the one-three-semitone scale was used in five performances and the diatonic scale in the other two. The two lower scale notes (D and Eb), which occur more seldom in the tune, are often intoned loosely and tend to be lowered (from the table it can be seen that the average size of the interval Eb-F# is mostly wider than 3 semitones). The interval between the two upper scale notes A#-B is, as a rule, smaller than one semitone, its average size varying between 0.3 and 0.9 semitones (in two performances it is very narrow). Earlier investigations show the latter tendency to be characteristic of a group of songs with a similar type of tune. It is interesting to note that the interval between the two upper scale notes (A and B) is also narrower in the two diatonic performances: as can be seen from the table, the average size of this interval in these performances is equal to 1.5 and 1.7 semitones respectively, rather than the tempered two-semitone interval.

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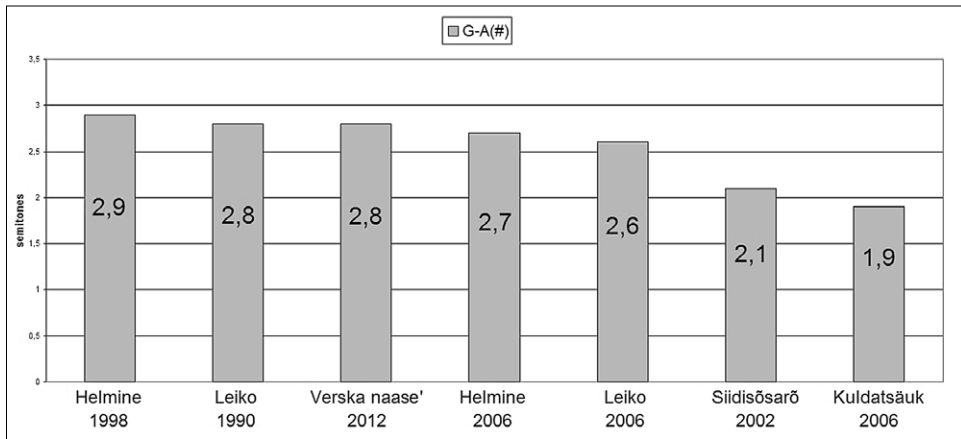
Figure 4: The average size of the interval between the scale notes G and A# (in semitones).

From the point of view of this analysis, the most interesting factor is the central trichord of the scale (F#-G-A#), both because these are the notes used most frequently in the melody and because the data we have about them is statistically the most significant. The process of diatonization in this tune gives rise to the transformation of the earlier 1–3 intervallic structure (F#-G-A#) to the later 1–2 structure (F#-G-A), owing to the lowering of the scale note A#. Therefore we will concentrate now on the changes that take place with the interval G-A#.

The gradual diminution of this interval is shown in the diagram in Figure 4. In the first three performances it is a little smaller than the tempered augmented second (2.9 and 2.8 semitones); in the next two performances it is reduced to 2.7 and 2.6 semitones; and in the last two performances it becomes the major second (2.1 and 1.9 semitones). It is worth mentioning that when comparing the older and newer recordings of the *Helmine* and *Leiko* choirs, we find that in both cases the interval G-A# has become two-tenths of a semitone narrower over time, providing evidence that the process of diatonization also has a place in the practice of the older choirs.

Analysis of the multichannel recordings gives information about the tuning of each singer. The diagram in Figure 5 shows that in 1990 the tuning of the singers of the *Leiko* choir was quite homogeneous – all the women except the first one sang a slightly narrowed augmented second (2.8 and 2.7 semitones). The recording of the same choir made in 2006 presents another picture. Figure 6 shows that in 2006 only three singers intone the augmented second (3 and 2.9 semitones), while five singers sing an intermediate interval between the augmented and the major second (2.5 and 2.4 semitones), and one singer uses the major second (2.1 semitones). This reveals how the
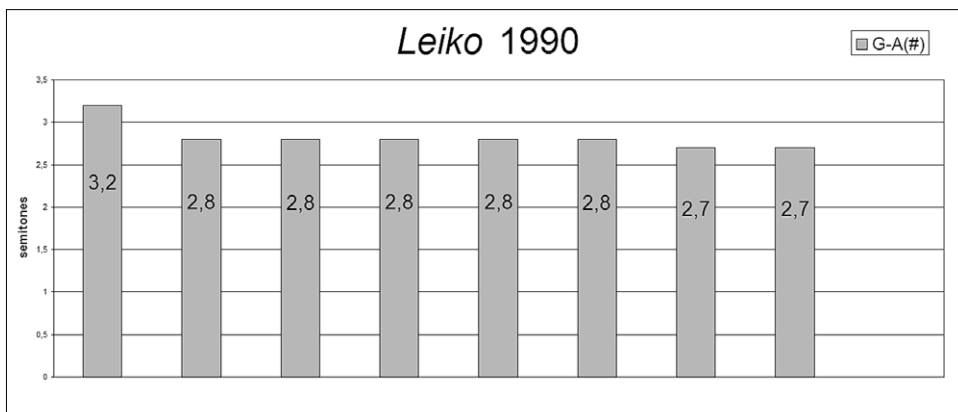
FIGURE 5: The average size of the interval between the scale notes G and A# in the part of each singer of the choir (in semitones). On the basis of the multichannel recording of the song *Hähkämine* performed by the *Leiko* choir (Värska, 1990).
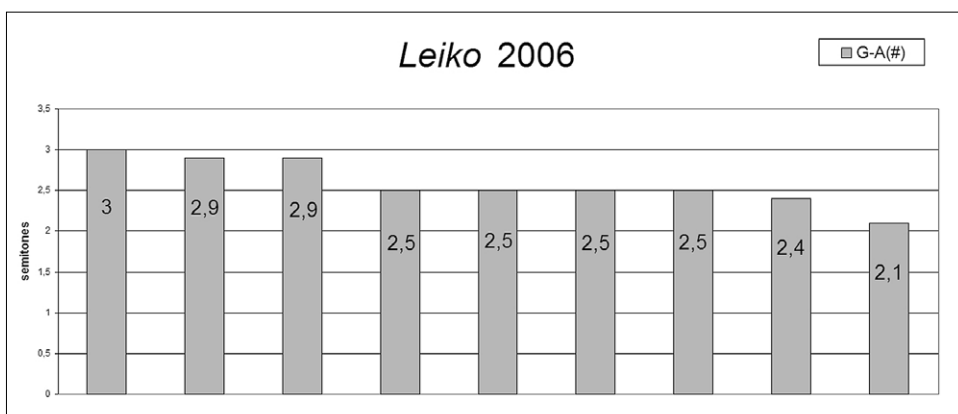
FIGURE 6: The average size of the interval between the scale notes G and A# in the part of each singer of the choir (in semitones). On the basis of the multichannel recording of the song *Hähkämine* performed by the *Leiko* choir (Värska, 2006).

process of diatonization proceeds: in the same choir, there are singers who still think in the old one-three-semitone system singing alongside singers with a newer diatonic thinking, as well as those who are somewhere in between in this respect.

From the diagram of the *Helmine* choir (Figure 7), one can see that in 2006 six singers of this choir were tuned to the one-three-semitone mode (2.7 to 3 semitones), whereas the musical thinking of the other three singers had already been affected by the diatonic system (2.3 to 2.6 semitones).

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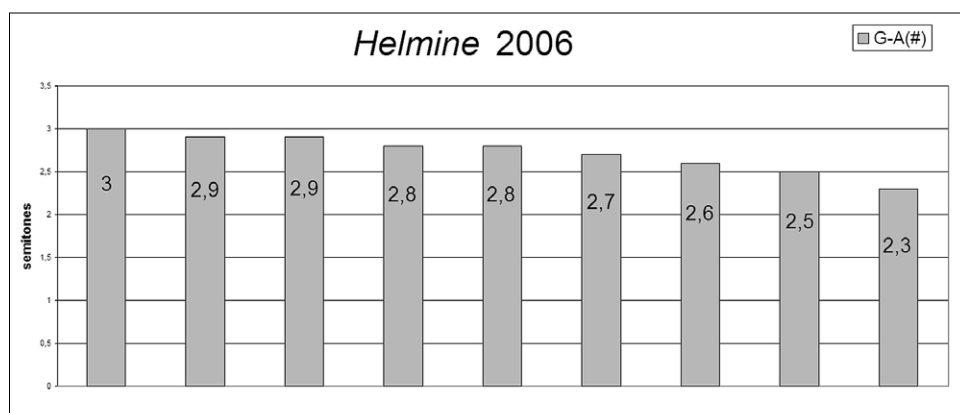
FIGURE 7. The average size of the interval between the scale notes G and A# in the part of each singer of the choir (in semitones). On the basis of the multichannel recording of the song *Hähkämine* performed by the *Helmine* choir (Mikitamäe, 2006).
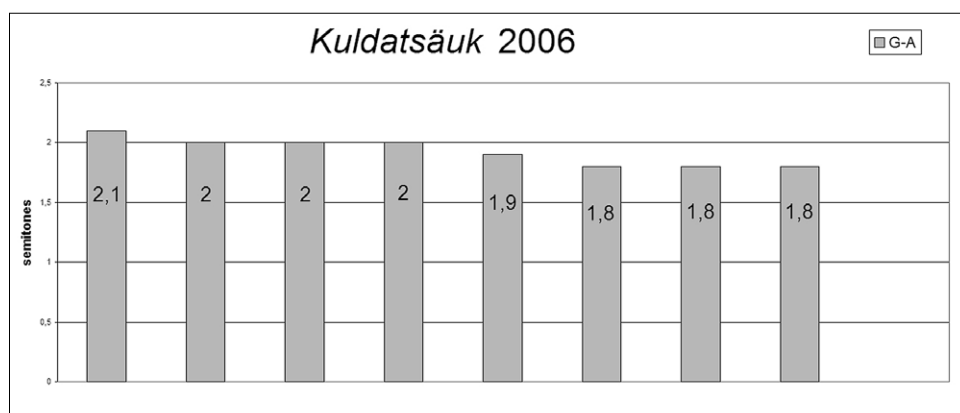
FIGURE 8: The average size of the interval between the scale notes G and A# in the part of each singer of the choir (in semitones). On the basis of the multichannel recording of the song *Hähkämine* performed by the *Kuldatsäuk* choir (Värska, 2006).

Finally, the diagrams for the *Kuldastäuk* and *Siidisõsarõ* choirs (Figures 8 and 9) show that the process of diatonization is complete: the tuning of the singers is once again homogeneous, but now all the members sing the major second instead of the augmented second between scale notes G and A (the entire scale is D-E-F#-G-A-B).

To summarize the results of the acoustic analysis, we can conclude that the process of diatonization is a gradual process – in the same choir there can be singers who think

Figure 9: The average size of the interval between the scale notes G and A# in the part of each singer of the choir (in semitones). On the basis of the multichannel recording of the song *Hähkämine* performed by the *Siidisõsarõ* choir (Tallinn, 2002).

in the different scale systems and those who sing intermediate variants. The general sound of the choir depends on which scale system prevails.

The Perception Experiment

For musically educated listeners (ethnomusicologists, for example) there is a big difference in sound between performances using the one-three-semitone mode and the diatonic scale. But how do the bearers of the tradition themselves perceive these stylistic changes? What qualities of song performance are essential from their point of view? What is their sound ideal? To answer these questions, a perception experiment was carried out. Seven singers from the *Leiko* choir were asked to evaluate different performances of the song *Hähkämine* with respect to their conformity with tradition.

The singers of the *Leiko* choir who participated in the experiment are elderly women (born mostly in the 1920s and 1930s). They have sung in this choir for many years and adopted the tradition in the oral manner. Six of them also participated in the multichannel recording of the *Hähkämine* made in 2006 (the acoustic analysis of this recording was presented previously in Figure 6). In that performance, one of the women questioned sang in the one-three-semitone mode, one diatonically, and four used an intermediate scale. The singers were interviewed individually, and they were not told who the performers were (though, of course, they could recognize them).

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Clearly, it was not possible to ask them directly about the "sound ideal" or the tuning. Instead, they were asked to choose the most and the least traditional (i.e. "proper") performances and to offer their opinion about the tune, manner of singing, tempo, and other features of the performances which were important to them. It was expected that the singers would describe in some way – maybe indirectly – the differences between the older and newer styles of singing and so reveal their preferences – and thus their sound ideal.

For the experiment, three sound recordings were used: the performances by the choirs *Helmine* (1998), *Verska naase'* (2012) and *Kuldatsäuk* (2006) (see musical transcriptions in Figures 1, 2, and 3). These performances were chosen because of their stylistic contrast. The first two use the one-three-semitone mode in its pure form, whereas the third one is completely diatonic. The manner of singing is traditionally tense in the first two recordings and quite soft in the third one. All the same, there is also a noticeable difference between the first two performances – the second choir (the young women of Värska) sings higher, faster, and in an especially intense manner; the third performance is the slowest one (the reader can hear and compare the fragments of these performances in the Audio examples 1, 2, and 3). If I myself were asked to assess the conformity of these three performances to the tradition, I would put the performance by *Helmine* in first place, as it is completely traditional in all respects; in second place would be the choir *Verska naase'* (they have the "right" tuning, but sing too fast and somehow rather hectic); and, finally, in last place I would put the diatonic variant by the *Kuldatsäuk* choir, because they have lost the most original feature of the old Seto song style – the one-three-semitone mode.

The perception experiment, however, showed (not unexpectedly) that the perception and value systems of the bearers of tradition are quite different from those of the ethnomusicologists. As it turned out, the most essential qualities of a song performance for the singers themselves are the manner of singing (which should be in agreement with the content of the verbal text), the tempo, and the fusion of voices in the ensemble. The scale structure and tuning, which are so perceptible and essential to the musically educated ear (and, indeed, the reason why the thorough acoustic analysis was undertaken for this article), were not in fact a matter for discussion at all, either directly or indirectly.

Six of the seven singers questioned gave last place to the second performance – that by the young women. The criticisms of this performance were that the tempo was too quick, the tessitura too high, and the timbre of the voices too tense. Some of the women questioned characterized this performance as "nervous". There were also remarks to the effect that the *Hähkämine* is a very sad song which should express compassion for the bride, and it should thus be performed in a suitable manner. All the same, one participant in the experiment suggested that this performance might be the

most traditional (i.e. in the old style), though she confessed that she did not actually like it (she was too unaccustomed to it).

Other women found that the most traditional was the first (*Helmine*) or the third *(Kuldatsäuk)* performance. Some of them were not sure which of the two was better. It is interesting that nobody observed that these two performances use completely different scales (which virtually means different tunes) or commented on the differences in the *killõ* parts. Nobody objected to the diatonic performance by the *Kuldatsäuk* choir; on the contrary, many of the singers questioned praised this performance for its pleasant, soft manner of singing and its good ensemble and harmony. Only one singer said that this is the style of the younger women who learned this song recently, and that the newer style is different from the older. It is possible that this singer also perceived the difference in the scale used, but that she simply did not have the necessary words to describe her perception. It is also interesting to note that the only woman who sang in the pure one-three-semitone mode in the 2006 recording, while confirming the first variant of the song (which was in the one-three-semitone mode) to be more traditional than the third (the diatonic one), nevertheless said that she preferred the third one.

Discussion and Conclusions

All these findings show that the aesthetics and the sound ideal of Seto multipart singing have changed over recent decades. Even the older singers who manage to sing in the one-three-semitone style do not perceive the diatonic variants of these songs as something inappropriate, and do not actually differentiate between them. The second important change is the preference for the softer manner of singing, which seems to be a new tendency, as generally Seto singers have long been known for their loud, intense voices. It is possible that this may be somehow connected with the aesthetics of church singing (some of the *Leiko* women also sing in the local Orthodox Church choir). Another hypothesis is that the wedding songs have lost their ritual magical meaning for Seto singers, with the result that the traditional demand for the ritual magical voice has been also forgotten. Instead of this, in the interpretation of the songs contemporary singers proceed from the content of the particular verbal text. The *Hähkämine* has a sad text and it is sung at the saddest moment of a wedding (as the bride leaves her home); therefore the singers feel that it should be performed in a soft, compassionate manner.

Of course, this experiment shows only the value system of older Seto women, and possibly of middle-aged Seto women as well. The musical tastes and preferences of the younger generation may be quite different – their singing practice, indeed, offers

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convincing evidence of this. In any case, it may be claimed that there are now three age groups of Seto singers who have different sound ideals, skills and attitudes to the traditional style of singing:

- The older women manage to sing in the one-three-semitone style, but they do not object to the diatonic performances.
- The middle-aged women do not manage to sing in the one-three-semitone style; they sing diatonically. Whether they can differentiate between the older and newer singing styles cannot be ascertained without special research.
- The younger women (or, at least, this one particular group of young women) consciously cultivate the ancient one-three-semitone style.

The perception experiment also revealed an interesting fact about the perception of sound in traditional musical cultures. As mentioned above, Cornelia Fales observed that the perception of timbre is essentially unconscious, if we speak about reflective (informational) consciousness.[7] It seems that the same can be said of the perception of pitch in some traditional cultures. It is interesting that this feature of musical thinking varies very widely in different musical cultures: on the one hand there are traditions (such as, for example, Sardinian multipart singing) where a very precise tuning is of primary importance, while on the other there are those where a semitone deviation in pitch is barely noticeable to the singers.

Nevertheless, as the archival recordings tell us, in the past – and, indeed, even recently – Seto singers really did sing a considerable part of their repertoire in the one-three-semitone mode, although their intonation has never been precise (the wide zone of the realization of the scale notes is a typical feature of this song tradition). During the 20th century, the musical landscape around the traditional Seto culture changed significantly and the preattentively perceived qualities of sound, being the least protected, "suffered" more than those features that could be consciously cultivated. The practice of the choir *Verska naase'*, made up of younger, musically educated women, shows that the mechanisms of music perception and sound production which previously functioned unconsciously can nowadays pass over to the conscious level; this makes it possible – to some extent, at least – to retain the traditional sound ideal in a changing world.

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7   As she explains, "without reflective consciousness, we may be phenomenally conscious of an experience that is richly sentient, but at the same time, hazy, ill-defined, and inexpressible" (Fales 2002, 60). We can assume that this could be the reason why the Seto singers who participated in the perception experiment had problems speaking about matters of pitch. Furthermore, they were so little conscious of it that they could not even say that the performances were different with respect to the tune.

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Daiva Račiūnaitė-Vyčinienė

Sound Instrumentation in Lithuanian Multipart Music Practice : The Relationship between the Individual and the Collective in Music-Making Processes

ABSTRACT

Lithuanian *sutartinės* reflect a complex system of polyphonic music. Its syncretism is testified to by intertwined practices of singing, instrumental music making and dancing. This archaic polyphonic music is undoubtedly related to the ancient world's outlook and emotional attitude. In itself it can be considered as *soundation* – a sound world of the ethnic human being of a certain time period – "a world listening" – a relation of human sound with the environment (*world audition*, *cosmoaudición* – the terms introduced by Abraham D. Caceres) as a part of the fundamental cultural texts.

The polyphony of *sutartinės*, as a sound expression of archaic culture, is based on a cyclical conception of time. The music reflects the principles of horizontal voice organization (following, imitation) and their vertical coordination. In *sutartinės* one can see very distinct manifestations of a dualistic world outlook. The dualism manifests itself at various levels : the level of form, of poetic text, of mode, etc. So it is not a coincidence that terms such as *bitonality*, *polytonality*, *polymodality*, *diaphony*, *bitextuality*, *polytextuality*, *complementarity*, *inversion*, *mirror symmetry* and others are used for the characterization of the polyphony of *sutartinės*. An important and meaningful term in this context is *binarika* (*binarus* means "double" in Latin), meaning "twofold, binomial, made of two parts, with these parts (members) being compared, confronted, contrasted", which was proposed at the beginning of the 20th century by the composer Rimantas Jeneliauskas. The polarity of binary functions in *sutartinės* music is in line with complementarity and the inversion of sound structures.

It is of great importance that *sutartinės* are performed on the basis of relations that are opposite, such as *individual/group*, *subject/object*, as well as the fact that the *sutartinė* is an expression of principled incompleteness, continual formation and processuality. So the duality of *subject and object* disappears in the boundless space of polyphony, as cultural text. Both elements intertwine with each other. And the individual singer, as a creator of signs and symbols, appears to have melted into the all-embracing textual space.

Introduction

Lithuanian *sutartinės* reflect a complex system of polyphonic music. Its syncretic nature is attested by the intertwined practices of singing, instrumental music making and dancing. Without doubt, *sutartinės* are related to the worldview of the ancient Balts (Vėlius 1989); they are part of the old pre-Christian belief system and its rituals. For example, the *sutartinė* "*Skrido bitė, tatato*" *(Flits a bee, tatato)* is related to the old Lithuanian custom called *Bičiuolija* (a form of the word for engaging in friendship, or friends; the word is derived from the word for bees): "The song was sung by her grandmother. It is a *Bičiuolija* song. Neighbours and relatives were invited during the time when honey is extracted. The honey was brought in its trough to a receptacle called a *rūstinė*, which is hollowed out of thick wood. Eating honey involved chewing the comb. *Bičiuolija* was associated only with honey." [*Dainavusi jos senelė. Bičiuolijos daina. Kai išima medų, susiprašo kaimynus, gimines. Medų atnešdavo su gelda, loviuosna, vadinamoj rūstinėj (rūstinė – išskaptuotas indas iš drūto medžio). Medų valgydavo su koriais. Bičiuolija tik medui.*]" (Comment by Ona Būgienė, Dusetos county, Zarasai region, recorded by Zenonas Slaviūnas in 1939, LTR[1] 2101(29); SlS 304.)

In some cases, the *sutartinės* contain a peculiar sort of ritual action, performed before harvesting work:

This hymn of the *sutartinės* is sung in the morning, when the sun rises. In the morning, when the sun is coming up, they sing in the plots of the field where they are working. They stand up, look at the sun, and sing. They stand up, placing their scythes on their left shoulder, and hold on tightly to the end of the handle. As they sang, they'd be guessing that the sun would bring them a good feeling: seeds of goodness and favourable weather, and that it would dry out the rye. They'd sing, watching the sun. Just as the sun started to hide behind a cloud – why, they'd start singing.	*Iš ryta, kai saula teka, jų baruos gieda. Atsistoja, žiūri in saulį ir gieda. Atsistoja, usideda pjautuvus un kairia peties ir laika až kota insitvėrį. Gedodamas mislydava, kad saula duos radzojų: gerumų grūdų, pagadų, išdžiavinimų rugių. Gedodava žiūrėdamas un saulį: tik pradeda saula lįst iš devesia, ir jau gieda.* (Comment by Karolina Statulevičienė, aged 85, Jūžintai area in the Rokiškis region, recorded by Z. Slaviūnas in 1939, LTR 2108(8); SlS 150.)

Sutartinės singing also took place after work: "Seeing the sun setting, the womenfolk place their armfuls of rye stalk into stacks in front of them, and stick their scythes in the sides of these stacks. Then they'd look back upon the sun, and sing this hymn of the *sutartinės*, thanking the sun for the day. They'd sit with their hands folded and look upon the sun, rock back and forth, bow their heads before the sun, and sing. [*Pamatį,*

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1   The list of abbreviations can be found before the *References* at the end of this article.

kad saula sėda, māterys pasideda prieky savį rugių pėdų ir subeda pjautuvus pėdan. Atsigrįžį un saulį ir gieda šitų sutartinį, dėkavodamās saulai ažu dienų. Susėdį, runkas sudėjį, žiūri un saulį, linguoja priekin ir atgal, nusilinkdamos saulai, ir gieda.]" (K. Statulevičienė, LTR 2108(225); SlS 92b.)

One can consider it a *soundation*: the world of sound of a specific time period for people of particular communities. In addition, according to terms used by Abraham D. Caceres in 1984, the music can also be a part of *worldaudition* or *cosmoaudition*, meaning the audio relationship between humans and their surroundings.

Cyclicality

The polyphony of the *sutartinės*, an archaic cultural auditory phenomenon, is based on the concept of cyclical time. Just as in nature, one feels a never-ending cyclicality in the music of the *sutartinės*; i.e. a continuous repetition, each time with a renewal. The Russian musicologist Abram Yusfin in his article "About the Wholeness of Composition in the Ostinatic Forms of Folk Music (theses of the problem)" (1986) drew attention to the open circular forms of the Lithuanian multipart instrumental pieces, which were played on *skudučiai* (traditional Lithuanian multi-pipe whistles or pan-pipes) or *ragai* "horns" (wooden trumpets). By referring to examples of similar ritual music from other cultures, he attested to the archaic origins and the ritual beginnings of instrumental *sutartinės*.

Vocal *sutartinės* also seem to be without end (i.e. they have no ending cadences, the singers finish the singing with quick hoots or with one long gliding (glissando) call, or by shouting "*ooh*". Singers from Tatkūnai (Ukmergė region) asserted that "*tą galima giedoti ir giedoti be galo* ("one can sing the same over and over again, without end." Informants: Agota Gricienė, aged 87, Barbora Stimburienė, aged 88, Marijona Gricienė, aged 67, from the village of Tatkūnai, county of Deltuva, region of Ukmergė, recorded in 1937 by Juozas Jurga; SIS 1189b.) Therefore, the structure of the *sutartinės* can be expressed with the symbol of a circle. Among the people, the *sutartinės* are sometimes even called *apskritos* ("the circular ones"). It seems that the never-ending sound of the music affected the positioning of the singers in a circle. We can surmise that from their comments, e.g. "One begins, soon the next one catches it, and from her the third one, and so it goes *around*, depending on the number of singers. [*Viena pradeda, tuoj kita pagauna, iš tos trečia, ir taip eina aplinkui, kiek tik giedotojų yra.*]" (LLIM 291)

The cyclical nature of *sutartinė*s is an endless repetition of renewal. In the perception of this music we see a steady "collecting" (creating) which has no end. It is as if the *sutartinė* is recognized as an unfinished product, it is being created by the process

of making music. This is reflected in comments made by the singers themselves: "So you continue to gather the words, you can gather as many as you want. [*Vis taip renki žodžius, gali kiek nori pririnkti.*]" (SIS 37); "The length of the text depended on the singer's ability to make up new stanzas, to add them on. [*Tokio teksto didumas pareidavo nuo dainininko sugebėjimo naujus posmus sukombinuoti, sudėti.*]" (SIS 1375). This expresses the *sutartinės*' essential principle of being unfinished, always *becoming*, always a continuous process. Perhaps this is where the sacred essence of the *sutartinės* lies. The world is felt emotionally, touched physically and expressed creatively by singing.

Imitation as a Creative Process

The primary singer of the *sutartinės* is considered to be the leader of this creative process; she starts the singing, determines its pitch, regulates its timing, and is responsible for the overall spiritual state of the performance, all the while singing (*gathering–composing*) new words for the poetic text. The other singers, as they follow the gatherer/leader, imitate her. Thus, imitation, or, in other words *following from behind*, is one of the primary principles behind the expansion of *sutartinės* music (some *sutartinės* are even called *sektinės* ("the followers" or "the imitators")). In these, the singers, one after another, imitatively repeat the text sung by the leader.

In European professional polyphony this principle of "following" or "running after" and "hunting/searching for" is also found in early canons as a concept of *never-ending imitation*. The old terms for canon (English *rondel*, German *Radel*, Italian *caccia*, French *chasse*, *chase*) clearly and accurately describe the canon's structure (one voice "chases after" another). Analogous terms are typical of numerous ethnic traditions as well. For example, the canon of the *sutartinės* is described as follows: the first singer says: "I'll lead" *(Aš vedziāsiu)*, the second says: "I'll go after you" or "I'll follow you" *(Aš paskui tavi)* (SIS 533): "The second voice starts from the beginning and keeps chasing after the first voice until the end. [*II balsas pradeda iš pradžios ir iki pabaigai vejasi pirmą balsa.*]" (SIS 507)

Among Komi-Permyaks, who play traditional multi-pipe whistles *(pioliany)*, the roles of the paired players are strictly prescribed: "one runs, the other chases" *(ötik possšo–möbik vötö)*, "one starts to blow–the other chases from behind, stalking" (Zhulanova 1997, 163). In Southern Russia, the playing of multi-pipe flutes *kugikli* is also based on the (canon) principle of running after/chasing: the pipe players/blowers (придувальные) follow from behind, playing their five-pipe set, staying a half step (полшага) behind (Velichkina 1991, 80).

An analogous principle can be found in Africa (Kubik 2010, 42). For example, in Uganda (East Africa) the playing of two xylophones is based on duple-division inter-

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Figure 1: *Škic, kate*. Stasys Valackas, born in 1834, Sviliai village, Vabalninkas area.
Written down by Adolfas Sabaliauskas in 1908 (LLIM 78).

locking where the second player steps in, lagging behind the first by a half division (Kubik 1988, 85–86). It's worth noting that the players who join in later do not view this principle of duple-division and triple division interlocking as a syncopation, but see their own entry as "one's own and in a proper" rhythm (Kubik 1988, 84); i.e. the same repetition only in a different time frame. This principle of "rhythm intertwining" is also typical of polyphonic instrumental music (drums, xylophone, wooden trumpets and others) and, in part, also of polyphonic vocal music in Africa[2].

This concept of imitation is also close to Lithuanian polyphonic music which is marked by a subtle order of entry for the *skudučiai*, i.e. multi-part whistles (or *ragai* "horns", i.e. wooden trumpets)[3]. Quite often the parts that follow the first are canonical duplications of that first one. In transcription (LLIM 78; Figure 1) it is a rather complex system according to which each player enters, always in a different part of the measure (see fig. 1).

In fact, it is most likely an imitation of the first player. By falling behind (one behind another) by one unit of the rhythm (a quarter), three players play the same rhythm formula (each one on a pipe with a different pitch), and the fourth plays an individual formula. A schematic rendition of this music could look like this:

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2 George Herzog, Rose Brandel, Arthur Jones and other researchers wrote these quite thorough studies on the manifestations of the canon in African music. (Herzog 1949; Brandel 1965; Jones 1934)

3 A similar pattern of imitative entry (in descending order) is typical of the horn polyphony of the Bantu in Central Africa. It is a peculiar "canon in time".
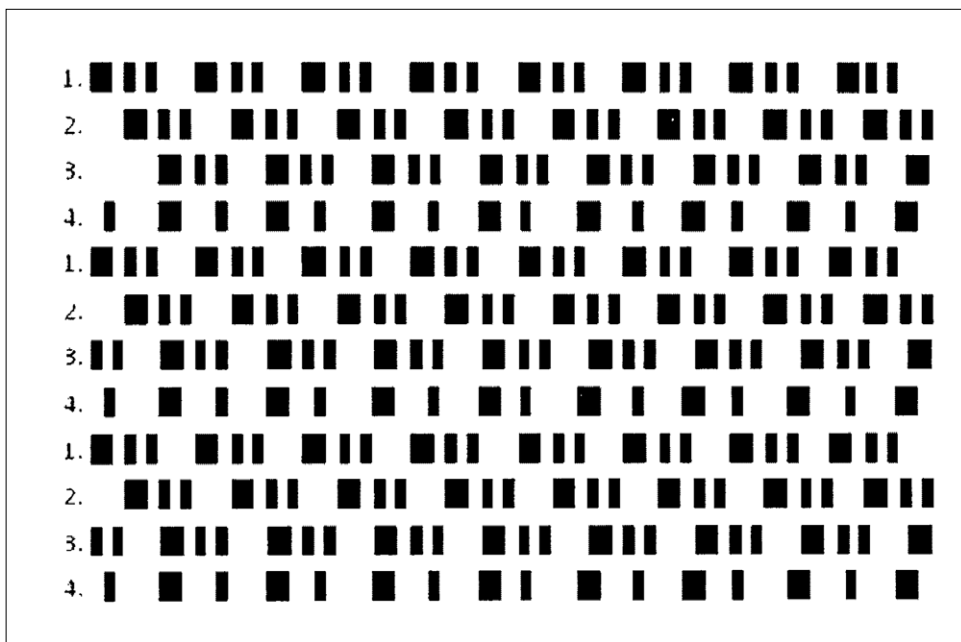
Figure 2: Scheme of *skudučiai* composition "Škic kate" (LLIM 78) by Daiva Račiūnaitė-Vyčinienė.

In another piece (LLIM 76; Figure 3), the player who follows the first lags behind by an entire rhythm figure , the third player lags behind the second in the same way (by the way, each player plays not on one, but on two pipes, each with a different pitch):

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Figure 3: *Škic, kate*. Martynas Klibas, born in 1840, Šimpeliškiai village, Biržai area.
Written down by Adolfas Sabaliauskas in 1912 (LLIM 76).

Here is a schematic rendition of this music:

Figure 4: Scheme of *skudučiai* composition "Škic kate" (LLIM 76) by Daiva Račiūnaitė-Vyčinienė.

This principle is very close to the *Upopo* songs of the Ainu (an indigenous people of Japan), which are sung by several singers in imitation form, sitting around the cover of a ritual vessel and beating out the rhythm on this cover. This process, led by the oldest member of the group, is repeated many times (see Figure 5). (Nihon Hōsō Kyōkai 1965, 63).

A special local term *ukouk* (ウコウク), meaning "to take, to catch from one another", describes Ainu canon singing. Without doubt, this term is related to the aforementioned ancient understanding of a canon. It is similar in concept to the Lithuanian canons – the *sutartinės* which are called *apskritos* (the rounded ones).

FIGURE 5: The Ainu canon for six voices (Nihon Hōsō Kyōkai 1965, 22, nr.1)

Canon as a Rule and Order

As we see, the canon characteristics (the continuous chasing, learning from the "older one", imitating and so on) in the *sutartinės* and in polyphonic musical practices of many other cultures, perform the function of organizing voices in time and space, i.e. the function of regulating, adjusting and harmonizing the voices among themselves. This understanding does not always correspond to the contemporary concept of canon as a form of musical polyphony.

It is worth remembering that within both the local and the professional terminology for polyphony there are two meanings behind the word "canon": canon as a consistent *imitation* and canon as a *rule* or *dictum*. A strict adherence to certain rules is expected from both singers and musicians performing music based on canon principles. It is reflected not only in the agreed acceptance of the prescribed roles: one "runs," the other "follows". Very often, the need for the voices "to mesh/to coincide" or "to agree" is also stressed. In comments about the *sutartinės* it is said: "The loud singing (shouting) of *sutartinės* is horribly beautiful, but it demands tremendous order, so that it is tightly wound, and nicely clanged. [(in dialect) *Saugimas–baisus gražumas, bet reikalau tam didelios tvarkos, idant sukriai–gražiai sumušti*.]" (SIS 1195, written down by Mykolas Miežinis in 1849, without references.)

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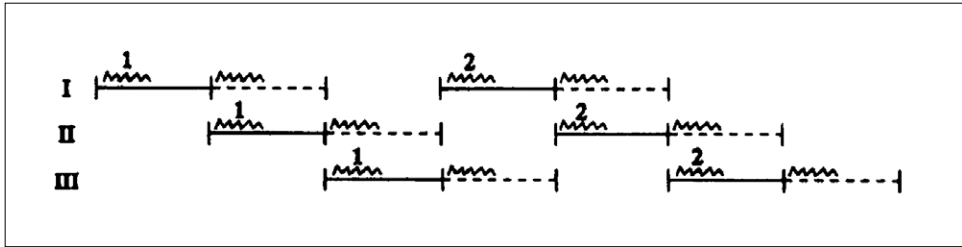
Figure 6: Scheme of canonical *sutartinė–trejinė* ("threesome").

The overtone flute players of Southern Russia say to one another "Ладь!" ("match up" or "blend with me") (Ivanov 1993, 70). The Komi-Permyaks players of the *piolany* also pursue good harmony: "We have to agree, one voice must fit with the other" (голос под голос ладитны, Zhulanova 1997, 160). Among Lithuanians, vocal polyphony was given the generalized term s*utartinės* from folk terms such as *sutartynės*, *sutarytės*, *su-tartys*. In the verb *sutarti*, meaning "to agree" lies the aforementioned duality – at the same time there is an attempt to "match up" or blend the voices, and also to agree on a certain set of rules for the performance.

The canon (imitation) principle dominates in the performance of vocal *sutartinės*. *Trejinės* – "threesomes" – are sung by three singers (sometimes three groups) in a strict canon, each singer in a row enters in when the one before her starts singing the second part of the entire melody (Figure 6).

Sometimes the canon can be sung by many singers (according to Stasys Paliulis, "it can be sung even by twelve", SIS, 666; comment with SlS 563). Nevertheless, no matter how many singers there are, only two different voice parts sound constantly. It seems that this provides a connection to the ancient dualistic worldview which permeates the entire tradition of vocal *sutartinės*.

Dualism

Dualism manifests itself in *sutartinės* on various levels:
– in the manner of performance (antiphonic, responsorial singing)
– in form (symmetry of two melodic parts in canonical *sutartinės*):
  ab/ab: words | refrain || words | refrain ||
  aa/bb: words | words || refrain | refrain || (Figure 7)
  ba/ab: refrain | words || words | refrain ||
  bb/aa: refrain | refrain || words | words ||
– in the poetic text (bitextual, polytextual)
– in tune (bimodal, bitonal, polytonal, diaphony; Figure 8) et.al

Figure 7: *Jišvedžiu ožį*.

Sung by Apolonija Usorienė, aged 55, Salemona Mikalauskienė, aged 65, and Kastulė Ališauskienė, aged 70, from the Žemaitkiemis area, Ukmergė region.

Recorded by Zenonas Slaviūnas in 1936.

Transcribed by Genovaitė Četkauskaitė. (LTR pl. 426(2). AD 82.)

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Figure 8: *Apynėlis auga*. Bitextual and bitonal counterpointical sutartinė.
Sung by T. Gimbutytė-Urbonavičienė, aged 78, Dusetos, Zarasai region. Written down by Jadvyga
Čiurlionytė (SlS 86).

Binarics

One can suggest that the organization of the polyphonic music of *sutartinės* is based on
binarics[4]. In other words, it is based on the polarity of *the sound of the two segments*. The
parts of binarics are sections or segments of sound, characterized by *syncretism*. The
entire segment of sound (or, as Rimantas Janeliauskas calls it, *skambesio lytis*, "block
of sound") cannot be divided or separated without breaking up and destroying its es-
sence. (Janeliauskas 2001, 7) For example, in the region of Biržai, (the northern area
where the *sutartinės* were recorded) the *sutartinės*' block of sound is expressed in vari-
ous ways: bichord in thirds (two bichords in thirds), syncopated rhythm, onomato-
poeic words, an antiphonic response (Figure 9).

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4 Latin *binarus*: "two-sided, doubled, made up of two parts, supported by the comparison, alignment or
   opposition of the two parts (members)." (Kvietkauskas 1985, 69)

Figure 9: *Kas ti kert', kas ti rumč'*. Foursome sung by Lūkėnienė and Januškevičienė, Nemunėlio Radviliškis district, Biržai region. Written down by Adolfas Sabaliauskas in 1911 (SlS 1462).

Essentially, all of the *sutartinės* from Biržai are based on bichords of two thirds or the matching of a bichord and a trichord with seconds interval. The interlocking of the two bichords of thirds (bichord and trichord) determines the constant sounding of parallel seconds. It is important that in both voice parts there is a small variation of the same rhythm formulas, repeating first one and then the other bichord sound. Examples are the *sutartinės* "Jei dagilio dagilio" (SIS 1432), "Rasa krito, lylio" (SIS 1438), "Balti dobileliai" (SIS 1439), etc.

However, the variation is not spontaneous, but adheres to strict rules for complementation, taking into account the positioning of the sound of the melodic third and the change in the other voice's part. For example, look at the variation in the section "*Kano svečiai, kano svečiai, kano svetučiai, kano svetučiai*" in the *sutartinė* "Martela bajore" (SIS 847a; Figure 10).

I have noticed that when singing their melodies, separate singers intone the same third differently (according to the notes – either major or minor third). My observations correspond to the comments made by the transcribers of the *sutartinės* which were recorded on phonograph discs: "The first singer sings her part in *G flat*" (SIS 685a); "… while singing, the 'leader' varies the thirds – sometimes the minor, sometimes the major third" (SIS 744); in the fourth measure, *F sharp* is sung a bit lower than what is noted" (SIS 745). The transcribers of the melodies have drawn attention to the differences between solo singing and group singing of *sutartinės*: "… when only one singer is recorded on the disc, in the third and fourth measure she sometimes sings *F sharp*, sometimes *F*; when two are singing, the *F sharp* is more pronounced; when all are singing together, one hears *C sharp* in the second measure." (SIS 983a) In the melody of the *sutartinė* one can hear the minor third better, but also the interval *E flat*–*G* (SIS 159a), and so on. One can maintain that all the above-mentioned raising or lowering of the pitches is not accidental, but rather formed by the effort of the

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Figure 10: *Martela bajore*.
Sung by Agota *Gricienė*, aged 87, Barbora Stimburienė, aged 88, Marijona Gricienė, aged 67, Tatkūnai village, Ukmergė region.
Recorded in 1939. Transcribed by Jadvyga Čiurlionytė [LTR pl. 612(1) and LTR pl. 612(2)].

singers (3–4) to make sure they "get along" *(sutarti)* and "agree together" *(suderéti)*. It is important that the attempt to get along, or to make the voices agree together happens while the *sutartinės* are being sung. In the attempt to get the ideal sound of the voices, a glissando is often used (expanding the initial melodic interval until it works). For example, it is used in the *sutartinės* "Jisvedžiu ožį" (SlS 1374; AD 82) and "Aviža prašė" (SlS 192; AD 35), etc.

When singing, the singers try to make their voices "hit together" *(sumušti)* and "clank together" *(sudaužti)* really well. The musical expression of this "hitting together" are the vertical seconds. During my thirty years of singing the *sutartinės* I have come to realize that there are no minor or major seconds, as usually written down in notes, but actually all are "somewhere in between" i.e. "in-betweeners" (Račiunaitė-Vyčinienė 2003, 137). My collaboration with the music acoustics specialist Rytis Ambrazevičius has made it possible to objectively analyse the psychoacoustic characteristics of *sutartinės*. R. Ambrazevičius came to the conclusion that the "intonation zone of the second is wide – approximately from a half-tone to a tone and a half (minor third) – and it is homogenetic, i.e. the vertical seconds are not differentiated, just like the horizontal single-part thirds. An average second is equal to 1/78 of a tempered half-tone" (Ambrazevičius 2003, 127). According to Ambrazevičius' findings, a

Figure 11 (A 28): *Aviža prašė* (An oat begged to plant her).
Sung by a group of singers from Tatkūnai, Ukmergė region (see Figure 10). Recorded in 1937 by Zenonas Slaviūnas, transcribed by Austė Nakienė [LTR pl. 610(8); (ADSIM 35)].

constricted anhemitonic principle dominates in the scales of the *sutartinės* (i.e. the intervals formed between the voices are all about the same, narrower than the tempered tone).

The question arises of why the anhemitonic principle dominates *sutartinės'* harmony, and not the diatonic tone and half-tone contrast principle, which is marked by the parallelism of the seconds. Why are the harmony seconds of that particular size? It is possible that it is affected by the psychoacoustic phenomenon of the roughness of the sound. According to data from psychoacoustic experiments, such a feeling arises when the intervals between the voices (intoned in the minor and in the range of the first octave) are approximately ¾ 1 of the tempered tone (Ambrazevičius 2003: 128–129). So it is possible to conclude that in many cases the non-differentiated thirds are the primary melodic intervals of the different voice parts, and their "connectiveness" supplies the desired "roughness" (second). The narrowness or wideness of the intonation zone in the one-voice part depends on the third's intonation by the other voice. But the analyst (transcriber) of this music from that time has written it down as an independent interval – minor or major thirds, e.g. "Sadūto tūto" (SIS 1442).

All of this can be explained as an *etic/emic* problem when trying to understand harmony. As we know, the analyst's /academic's (an outsider-type) emic classification does not necessarily correspond to the authentic (insider-type) emic classification of sound (Ambrazevičius 2004, 145).

In the music of the *sutartinės* we can discern not just the aforementioned dualism of third bichords, but also *the polarity* of the binary members. One part of the sound becomes pronounced because of its otherness when comparing it to another part of the sound. Functionally, both parts of the binary are of equal value. The polarity of the

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Figure 12: *Sadūto tūto*.
Sung by Ona Smilgienė, aged 74, Papilys county, Biržai region.
Written down by Adolfas Sabaliauskas in 1911 (SlS 1442).

two binary functions in the *sutartinės* can be compared to that of two poles (opposites in the world), an idea which is very prevalent in the system of archaic symbols.

The binary and dualistic symbolism found in Indo-European cultures has been thoroughly discussed by Viacheslav Ivanov (1972), Donald Ward (Ward 1968), Mircea Eliade (Eliade 1987) and others (e.g. Lincoln 1987, 199; O'Flaherty 1987, 186; Reiniche 1987, 374, Tumėnas 2006). The *yin/yang* sign, symbolizing the principle of co-existence of all the worldly opposites (Riftin 1991, 248) is deeply rooted in Oriental philosophy (especially in the Chinese tradition). In other words, it symbolizes a coherence between oppositions, their harmoniousness. Analysts of traditional ornamental art also believe that dualistic and dual elements of décor are first and foremost associated with dualistic mythical symbolism, where dualism means the bringing together of two things that usually stand in opposition; thus they are "tied together," "mediated", "equalized", "harmonized" and so on (Tumėnas 2006, 220).

Harmony as the "Binding" of Binary Elements

This dual mythical symbolism also permeates the music of *sutartinės*, where two different thirds – opposing binary elements – are "tied together", and through this act bring about a harmonious togetherness. The tertiary bichords of *sutartinės*, which belong to different parts of the sound, are like two opposing magnetic poles, attracting each other. Nevertheless, not all the sounds of the bichords (trichords) are intoned in a stable manner; I have noticed this while singing the *sutartinės* myself. Some sounds are sung in a stable manner, i.e. holding the note on the same pitch throughout the singing, whereas others are less stable and are more free. The most stable, in my observations, are two sounds (i.e. second interval) that are in the middle of the part where two voices join. They are like the centre of the togetherness between the opposites. For example, in the *sutartinė* "Titity tatato" (Figure 13) in the sound-line *G-A-B-C sharp*, those two sounds are *A* and *B*:

FIGURE 13 (see A 29): *Titity tatatoj, kas ti gražė triūbijo?* (Titity tatatoj, who's trumpeting so loudly?) Fragment of the *sutartinė* sung by Petras Lapienė, Marė Jakubonienė and Ona Striužienė from Biržai in 1935 (SlS 484a, ADSIM 25).

Ambrazevičius' acoustic studies also substantiated my empirical experience. For example, in the *sutartinė* "Trys trys keturios brolalių klėtys" (sung in 1935 by a group of singers from Biržai: Petras Lapienė, aged 69, Kviriškiai village, Marė Jakubonienė, Balzieriškiai village, Ona Striužienė, Drąseikiai village; mel. from LTR pl. 186b (6) transcribed by A. Nakienė in 2003; SIS 364a, ADSIM 3), the intonation of the sounds *G* and *C sharp* are freer, according to Ambrazevičius, than the sounds of *A* and *B* (the intonation of other notes is even looser). This means that the sounds *A* and B perform the function of tonal support; they form the nucleus of the scale (Ambrazevičius 2004:137). So we can maintain that the sounds of the central common sound-line, like two different magnetic poles, are the most contrasting and at the same time "most

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attracting", connecting tertiary bichords into one commonality: into a harmony of seconds.

The Collective Process of Making Sutartinės

During the performance of *sutartinės* – in the creative process of the *here and now* – the individual and the group have equal rights. On the one hand, all the singers in the *sutartinė* are of equal importance; each one individually contributes towards the common harmony. On the other hand, each individual singer almost seems to disappear, because value is attached not to the individual's concrete contribution, but to the end "result" of the entire group: "*oh how well we got along together/ we rang together*!" The collective creative principle holds true for both vocal *sutartinės* and instrumental ones played on the *skudučiai* (multi-part whistles) (4–7), *ragai* (horns or wooden trumpets) (4–6) and *daudytes* (2) (long wooden trumpets). An exception are the *sutartinės* that are played on the five-stringed *kanklės* (a Lithuanian type of zither). Those are played by a single person (usually a male). While playing the *kanklės* he abstracts the vertical second of the vocal *sutartinės*. Group singing of *sutartinės* is based on the binary opposition of vocal parts, and the instrumentalist "converts" the desired result of this opposition – the continuous accords of seconds. It is also true that sometimes there are single melodies that connect the vertical seconds, but as the musicologist and transcriber Jadvyga Čiurlionytė has noticed, "the player of the *kanklės* plays without softening the strings, therefore one always hears the sounding of two strings." (J. Čiurlionytė's comment with SIS 1554)

Nevertheless, when played on five-string *kanklės*, the *sutartinės* are quite different from those versions that are sung: this is determined by the manner of playing. Even though the common contours of *sutartinės* remain the same, new melodic progressions appear, sometimes even the melody form changes, and so on. Let us compare a sung version (Figure 14) of the *sutartinė* "Obelyt gražuolyt" and one played on the *kanklės* (Figure 15):

Figure 14 (A 30): *Obelyt gražuolyt* (Oh you pretty apple-tree)
Sung by a group of *sutartinės* singers from Biržai in 1935: Petras Lapienė, aged 69, Kviriškiai village, Marė Jakubonienė, Balzieriškiai village, Ona Striužienė, Drąseikiai village, and Zuzana Yčienė, Čigai village.
Mel. from LTR pl. 189a(5) and 189c(5).
Transcribed by Vytautas Paltanavičius (SIS 571a).

Figure 15 (A 31): *Obelyt gražuolyt* (Oh you pretty apple-tree)
Performed on the *kanklės* ("Lithuanian zither") by Petras Lapienė, aged 70, Kviriškiai village, Biržai county, in 1937.
Mel. from LTR pl. 596(1).
Transcribed by Jadvyga Čiurlionytė (SIS 1554; ADSIM 7).

I would like to draw your attention to the fact that the same person – Petras Lapienė – sang both the *sutartinė* "Obelyt gražuolyt" with the group and also played it on the *kanklės*. He had an expert's knowledge of the *sutartinės* (he played the *skudučiai* (multi-part whistles), the *ragai* (wooden trumpets) and the *kanklės*) and in 1935 he helped two women record a number of *sutartinės* on phonograph discs. In general, however, within the *sutartinė* singing tradition, there is no mention of men and women singing together. During the recording session, Petras Lapienė simply "helped out" and saved the situation because they could not locate the third singer in the hamlet. Nevertheless, Petras Lapienė's voice blends in with the women's, who are singing in a lower register, the smaller octave (in the range from *F sharp* to *D (E flat)* of the first octave).

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When listening to this group's performance, it is difficult to say which of the three voices belongs to the male singer – all of them weave together organically.

It is obvious that Petras Lapienė knew not just the instrumental *sutartinės*, but the vocal ones as well. So there is more of a puzzle in the fact that the *kanklės*/instrumental variant is quite different from the sung variant (this especially applies to the changed form, which breaks up the binary symmetry of the vocal *sutartinė*). So the *sutartinė* played on the *kanklė*s is more individualistic, a rather loose interpretation of the sung *sutartinė*, sort of generalizing its approach. It is worth mentioning here that until the first half of the 20th century, the playing of the *sutartinės* on the *kanklės* was considered a specific form of meditation, and the playing of a five-string *kanklės* was viewed as a means towards spiritual contemplation. It is played in a room, for oneself and for dear ones, and only at a strictly prescribed time: –at dusk.

As we see, in the actual practice of *sutartinės* the dualism between individual and group ceases to be meaningful. In vocal *sutartinės* and in those played on wind instruments, the individual becomes "depersonalized," his or her own creative activity is absorbed into the collective effort and process: "to get along," "to agree with others". Whereas the player of the *kanklės* utilizes the end result of the group's creative process – achieved through the vocalized harmony of seconds – as he sits and plays by himself, in a contemplative state, creating his own spiritual harmony. Nonetheless, in either case, the particular singer or musician is a creator of musical signs and symbols and, as such, the performer flows into the created object as if melting away into the all-encompassing textual space.

Empirical experience shows that the music of the sutartinės is understood to be not a composite of separate voice parts, but as a ringing and pulsating space in eternal time. From this perspective, *sutartinės* are very closely related to minimal art (for example, to Frank Stella's *Black Paintings*; 1959–1960) and to minimalist music (see V 14). It is not by chance that sometimes they are called Lithuania's proto-minimalist music[5] (Nakas 2004). The overall effect of the *sutartinės* and their hypnotic effect on the singers/instrumentalists and on the listeners (collective and individual meditation) are all areas which are still to be explored, requiring a new and in-depth approach.

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5 It is worth noting that in minimalist compositions the dominant, constant, unchanging state is often compared to the traditional music of India, China, Malaysia, West Africa and Bali (its influence is noticed in American minimalist compositions). Also, in the music of Steve Reich and Philip Glass one can recognize the principle of binary oppositions, which was affected by the composers' familiarity with ancient Oriental predictabilities in the composition of traditional music and its religious and philosophical teachings. The similarity of Eastern music aesthetics and that of the sutartinės also has been noted (Geist 1940; Račiūnaite-Vyčinienė 2005; 2012, etc.).

Abbreviations

AD [Lithuanian abbreviation, reference to]: Četkauskaitė, Genovaitė, compiler. 1998. *Aukštaičių dainos. Šiaurės rytų Lietuva. Lietuvių liaudies muzika II* [*Lithuanian folk music. Vol. 2. Songs of Aukštaičiai. North-Eastern Lithuania*] (with 3 CDs). Vilnius: Lietuvos muzikos akademija.

ADSIM [Lithuanian abbreviation, reference to]: Nakienė, Austė AND Rūta Žarskienė, compilers. 2004. *Aukštaitijos dainos, sutartinės ir instrumentinė muzika. 1935–1941 metų fonografo įrašai* [Songs, Sutartinės and Instrumental Music from Aukštaitija. Phonograph records of 1935–1941] (with 2 CDs). Vilnius: Lietuvių literatūros ir tautosakos institutas.

LLIM [Lithuanian abbreviation, reference to]: Paliulis, Stasys, ed. 1959. *Lietuvių liaudies instrumentinė muzika. Pučiamieji instrumentai* [*Lithuanian instrumental folk music. Wind instruments*]. Paliulis, Stasys, comp. and ed. Vilnius: Valstybinė grožinės literatūros leidykla.

LTR [Lithuanian abbreviation, reference to]: *Folklore Manuscript Library of the Lithuanian Institute of Literature and Folklore*.

SlS [Lithuanian abbreviation, reference to]: Slaviūnas, Zenonas, ed. 1958–1959. *Sutartinės: Daugiabalsės Lietuvių Liaudies Dainos* [*Sutartinės: Polyphonic Lithuanian Folk Songs*]. Edition 1–3. Vilnius: Valstybinė grožinės literatūros leidykla.

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Anda Beitāne

The Sound of Medņeva: Local Multipart Singing Practice as an Instrument of Identity in North-Eastern Latvia

Abstract

The sound that is produced as a result of the process of multipart singing tends to differ not only between various local practices, but also within a single community. This is dependent on each group member's individual and collective perception of the sound of multipart singing, as well as on local traditions and the creativity of each singer. The process is also influenced by the number of singers in a group and the personality of its leader.

The aim of this paper is to describe and analyse multipart singing practice from the point of view of sound production in Medņeva, a village in north-eastern Latvia. In the context of Latvian traditional music this area is notable not just for its vibrant multipart singing repertoire, but also for its singers. A central position is occupied by an ensemble, the core of which is made up of older singers who have inherited their repertoire and singing style from previous generations. In Latvian ethnomusicology their sound is sometimes described as "that specific Medņeva sound", which is compared, for example, to the sound of an organ. What are the mechanisms and strategies of the instrumentation of this sound? How are these strategies described and how are they implemented by the singers of Medņeva? Answers to these questions are derived from interviews, observations during several singing situations of the ensemble, as well as from the analysis of transcriptions and sound recordings.

The sound of multipart singing in local practice also serves as an instrument of identity on a number of levels. In the group of older singers it is manifested as the individual treatment of several parts which allows each singer to reveal her identity. The common sound which is created as a result of the connection of these identities is considered by the local community to be one of the main symbols of their identity. It is also simultaneously an example which other group members try to emulate with the aim of preserving tradition. In these cases the instrumentation of sound is created in a different way, because as opposed to the older singers, who learned multipart singing in traditional circumstances and through oral tradition, younger group members are forced to do so in an artificial way, by studying various different examples as well as by creating their own interpretations. Occasionally there are attempts to influence these interpretations through cultural policy, based on understandings of what multipart

singing should sound like. This influence brings results, but parallel to this process, changes in the instrumentation of sound in living practice follows its own course to some degree.

Introduction

Multipart singing is encountered in a number of regions in Latvia. One of them is located in north-eastern Latvia, where a number of local multipart singing practices exist side by side. This area came to the attention of researchers comparatively recently – only in the 1990s, when fieldwork was begun here by Martin Boiko and myself. This was a time when not only a number of previously unknown multipart singing styles were discovered, but also a time of significant change in Latvian ethnomusicology. Alongside the regaining of independence and the fall of the "iron curtain", Latvian scholars came into contact with the ideas, research and literature of the international ethnomusicological community. In this context it was also possible to exchange ideas in formal and informal settings. All this was a great help in realizing the paradigm shift. Researchers began to turn their attention beyond the collection and analysis of traditional music, focusing additionally to the way in which this music exists in the local community, and how this existence influences the personalities of the singers and vice versa. The role of personalities in the processes that occur in traditional music was also identified as a significant aspect in Boiko's study of drone singing in north-eastern Latvia, which was created on the basis of the results of the aforementioned fieldwork. Boiko notes that the individual versions by particular people can be a mechanism to generate innovation, which plays an important role in traditional singing practice (Boiko 1991, 48). Although Boiko's claims are basically associated with the solo part in drone singing, they can just as well be related to the common sound that is produced as a result of multipart singing.

The aim of this article is to describe and analyse multipart singing practice through the analysis of sound production in Medņeva, a village in north-eastern Latvia. This area is notable in the context of Latvian traditional music not just for its vibrant multipart singing practice, but also for its very good singers. A central place is occupied by one ensemble, the core of which is made up of older singers who have learned the singing style and the songs in the everyday practices of previous generations (Figure 1).

In Latvian ethnomusicology their sound is described as "that specific *Medņeva* sound", which is sometimes compared to the sound of an organ. What are the mechanisms and strategies of the instrumentation of this sound? How are these strategies described and how are they implemented by the singers from Medņeva? Answers to

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Figure 1: The Medņeva ensemble at the local cultural centre.
Photograph by Ruta Cibule. 26 October 2006. Used with permission.

these questions are derived from interviews, observations during several singing situations and from the analysis of sound recordings and transcriptions.

History and Context

Medņeva is located on the far north-eastern edge of Latvia, on the border with Russia (Figure 2). The singers have related in many conversations that up until 1950 singing occurred here in traditional circumstances: while undertaking collective work in the fields, celebrating the summer and winter solstices, singing outdoors on spring and summer evenings, as well as during weddings and other celebrations. Due to the development of farming machinery, the earlier tradition of singing when working in the fields was gradually lost, as singers tell, also because the roar of tractor motors disturbed the singing process. However, the main reason for the loss of this tradition was the change in farming management, because collective farms (*kolhozi*) were established as a result of Soviet occupation. This was totally different to the previous farming structure, where the local inhabitants lived and worked in independent homesteads. In

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this system, singing had a role which was equal to that of other work in the fields. The singers relate that work in the fields was considered successful only if the singing was good and heard from a long distance. Boiko writes:

During the most active period of working in the fields, work was often performed simultaneously on a number of farms in a small area. Many singers remember with pleasure how during these days singing could be heard coming from a number of directions simultaneously. This led the listener to wonder which of the homesteads had organized work in the field. This usually happened during the first half of the day. The singers remember this many-layered acoustic landscape as something very beautiful. This landscape was perceived as an essential part of work. (…) The singers themselves were also aware that with their singing they were a part of the landscape. When they heard singing coming from neighbouring farms, they considered it to be their responsibility that their own singing should also be heard far and wide. That is why singing loudly was important: that is, singing with the wind, in a sonorous, powerful voice. This was also a way of representing the work being performed – how is the work in the field being done if they are not singing loudly and powerfully?

Mēslu talku sezonas pašā aktīvākajā posmā nelielā apkaimē bieži vien vienlaikus notika vairākas talkas. Daudzi teicēji ar īpašu prieku atceras, kā šajās dienās talku balsi vienlaikus atskanējuši no vairākām pusēm, tam, kas to dzird, liekot prātot par to, kurās mājās kādi saimnieki šodien rīko talku. Visbiežāk tas noticis rīta cēliena laikā. Teicēji šo talkas dienas daudzplānu akustisko ainavu atceras kā kaut ko īpaši skaistu. Šī ainava viņu priekšstatos ir neatņemama talkas dienas tēla sastāvdaļa. (…) Arī paši talku balsu dziedātāji apzinājās, ka ar savu dziedāšanu viņi piedalās šajā ainavā, iekļaujas tajā. Dzirdot talku dziedam kaimiņos, viņi uzskatīja par savu pienākumu, lai arī viņu dziedāšana būtu dzirdama jo tālu un plašā apkārtnē. Tāpēc bija svarīga skaļa dziedāšana, attiecīgi dziedāšana pa vējam, skanīga, spēcīga balss. Tā reizē bija arī sava veida talkas reprezentācija–kas tā par talku, kurā nedzied, labā, lielā talkā dzied jo skanīgi un spēcīgi." (Boiko 1991, 29)

Therefore singing in the fields in its traditional functional system had its own meaning which was lost when the type of farming changed. The older singers told of how they also continued to sing these songs later on when working on the collective farm, although the younger generations no longer did so.

Another aspect is that young women no longer gathered together in the evenings to sing outdoors, because singing folk songs did not seem to them as exciting as other forms of singing – more modern music – and other types of entertainment. Traditional singing became an occupation of the older generation, while the context for singing was transferred mostly to celebrations at home, where singing usually happened at the table. The only place where multipart singing could still be encountered in its traditional form was at weddings.

In the 1950s, expeditions to collect folklore were organized to a number of eastern Latvian villages. These expeditions usually culminated in concerts given by local singers. As a result, ensembles were founded in some of these places, and were also encouraged by music researchers, who gave them a special title: ethnographic

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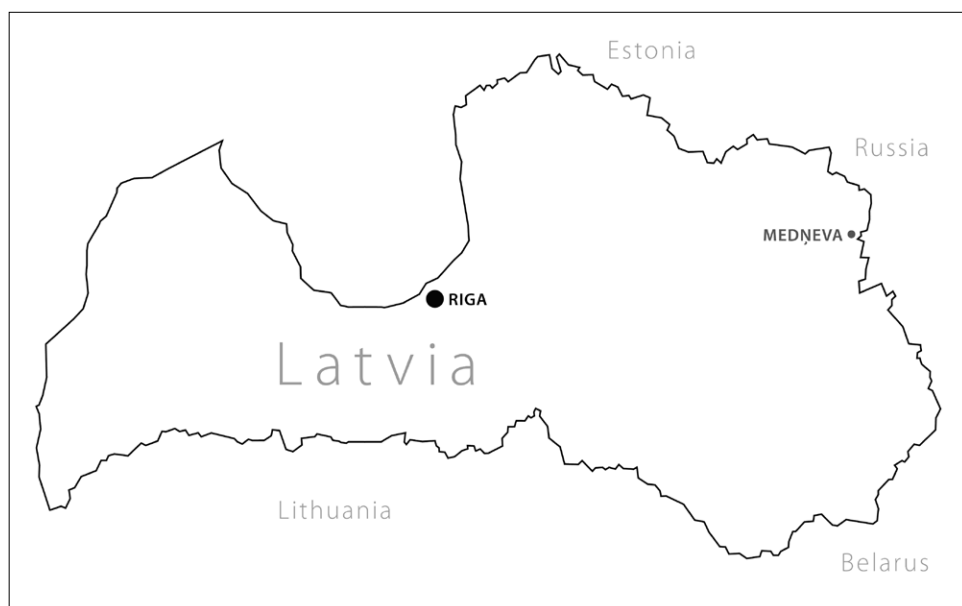
Figure 2: The location of Medņeva. Map by Dita Pence.

ensembles. This meant that the singers of the ensembles sang the local repertoire, inherited from the previous generations through oral tradition. This created new opportunities to sing songs for which the traditional functional context had been lost. Unfortunately, folklore collectors did not reach the Medņeva area at that time. This is unfortunate, especially because, as is suggested by one of my interviews conducted in Medņeva in 2007, there was an attempt to create an ensemble based on the initiative of local singers around 1956, although its activity was limited to only a few performances (Smuška 2007).

The folklore revival movement in Latvia began in the late 1970s, and became particularly active in the 1980s. Influenced by this movement, a number of ensembles were founded in Medņeva's neighbouring villages in the mid–1980s. In this case, ensembles were founded due to the initiative of the local communities instead of folklore researchers. These ensembles brought together singers who still remembered the songs from their youth. The Medņeva ensemble was founded in 1987 with the aim of performing in a competition in the local area (Figure 3). Ensemble leader Natālija Smuška (Figure 4) commented in an interview: "That's how the singers were brought together. They walked around and gathered together those who knew how to sing. At that time ensembles started popping up around here like mushrooms, one after the

Figure 3: The first concert of the Medņeva ensemble, 11 April 1987.
Photograph from the private archive of the ensemble leader Natālija Smuška.
Used with permission.

Figure 4: Natālija Smuška, leader of the ensemble. Photograph by Didzis Grodzs. 7 July 2005. Used with permission.

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other. At that time we didn't think that we would keep going for so long! The first time we got together, well! What will we sing, what's going to happen? We didn't think that we would have to sing for so long! We only went along for one evening. [*Vot tuo i salaseja. Laidās vusapleik, i kuras jou zynova, ka dzīd. Tymā laikā te apkuort ansambļi cyts piec cyta suoka kuo sienes ougt. Voi tod mes dūmovom, ka tik ilgi nūzaturiesam! Pirmū reizi, ka saguojam, avui! A kū dzīduosam, kas tān buvs? Voi ta mes dūmovom, ka tān tik ilgi buvs juodzīd! Mes iz vīna vokora guojam toļkin.*]" (Smuška 2007)

The repertoire of the ensemble was built up simply and gradually – by adopting songs that the singers remembered from their childhood. Even today, in the Medņeva ensemble a number of songs are referred to by the name of the singers who brought them to the group. For example, the leader of the ensemble comments about one song: "That is Valentīna's song. She brought it to the ensemble. We don't sing it [the solo part]; we say that while she is alive she should sing it on her own. [*Vales dzīsme. Jij atnesa iz ansambli. Mes jū nadzīdam[solo posmu], sacejam, cikam jij dzijva, lai dzīd vīna pate.*]" (Smuška 2008) The phrase "sing it on her own" in this case refers to the solo part of the lead singer. However, the fact that the singer in question originally suggested that the song be included in the repertoire of the ensemble does not mean that the song was not known to the other singers. In a number of interviews it is revealed that this song used to be sung throughout the entire region.

The sound of Multipart Singing

The repertoire of the Medņeva singers consists exclusively of multipart songs. The leader of the ensemble says: "It's not a song if it is only one part, that's not singing! [*Tij nav dzīsme, ka vīnbalsīga. Tij nav dzīduošona!*]" (Smuška 2007) Here it is important to point out that no one has ever taught the singers to sing in a number of parts. This is just the way they sing, replicating the tradition inherited from their mothers and grandmothers with whom they sang in their childhood and youth.

Therefore it can be said that the musical practice of the Medņeva singers is dominated by multipart songs, except for very rare instances in which they sing solo. In answer to the question: "Do you have any solo songs at all?" Natālija Smuška answers: "No, we don't! We usually sing all together. [*Nav, nav, nav! Mēs leluokū tīsu vairuok kūpā vusas.*]" (Smuška 2013b) And the answer to the "specific *Medņeva* sound" can be found in their model of multipart singing. In answer to a question about how the ensemble "divided up the parts", the leader of the ensemble answered: "It's how each of us sings: she sings in the way that she does. The part that is the easiest for her to sing – that is the one she sings. We did not divide up the parts. Everyone sings the part she wants to sing. [*Kuras jou dzīd, tuo i dzīd, kuo saīt, nui! Kurā vigļuok, tamā i dzīd. Mes*

nadalejam bolsu. Kurai kurs patijk, tū i dzīd.]" (Smuška 2008) In another interview, one of the ensemble's older singers expanded on this thought, emphasizing that "… she doesn't care which part she sings [… *man nav nikuodas starpeibas, kuru balsi dzīduot*]." (Dukaļska 1991) She pointed out that a good singer can sing any part as needed. This principle is obviously rooted in the traditional singing situation, when, coming together to sing, the singers adjust to one another and choose the part which, to their mind, needs to be sung in that particular instance. From the singer it can also be understood that they try not to double up on a part sung by someone else. This, of course, does not mean that the number of parts is unlimited. Mostly it fluctuates between three and four parts, although the most creative singers always try to vary their parts.

This is usually applicable to forms of multipart singing of recent origin, in which the influence of functional harmony can be clearly detected and which comprise the largest part of the repertoire of the Medņeva singers. Most often this is singing in two parts, usually with a third interval, also with intervals of a fourth and fifth, as far as this is allowed by the logic of functional harmony. In the case of Medņeva, two-part singing is almost always accompanied by some episodes of three-part and four-part harmony, which occur because the singers try to create their own parts so as not to duplicate the part sung by someone else. This process cannot be predicted ahead of time: it is always dependent on the particular singers assembled. The repertoire of the ensemble also includes multipart singing with a solo upper accompanying part, which in the local tradition is called "raising" (*pacelšana*) or "raising it up" (*celšana uz augšu*). This type of multipart singing typically has parallelism of the triads in the second part of the strophe or in the cadences. Another significant aspect of this type of multipart singing is associated with the performance of the upper accompanying part. In interviews it is almost always especially emphasized that this part cannot be sung by any singer. She has to be endowed with a specific type of voice – the ability to sing fairly high, in a chest voice. The delivery has to be very loud, even shrill, so that the sound can override the collective sound of the ensemble in terms of intensity. Drone singing is also encountered in the repertoire of the Medņeva singers, as well as various mixed forms combining elements of syllabic drone singing with harmonic two- and three-part singing.

On the Mechanisms and Strategies of Sound Making

This section of the article will examine the main mechanisms and strategies of Medņeva's multipart sound, based on two examples: the first is associated with drone singing, while the second is related to harmonic three-part singing. Concrete examples have been chosen not only because the singers themselves regard these songs as an important part of their repertoire, but also because in both examples it is possible

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to compare a number of recordings of one and the same song, performed by the exact same singers in the time frame from 1991–2012.

Drone Singing

Similarly to neighbouring areas, drone singing in Medņeva is traditionally and functionally associated with singing while performing various types of collective work in the fields. It is possible to find a number of versions of drone songs sung by groups from these villages, although all of the versions are somewhat similar.

In the neighbouring villages, drone singing comprises two parts: a melodically active solo part and an unchanging pedal drone using the vowel "a" sung by a group of singers. In the case of Medņeva we encounter a more complex score. Although we are basically talking about two-part singing, four parts may appear. In first staff of Figure 5 we can see the transcription of the melody sung by the lead singer. In the second staff the transcription of the melody of the second solo part (the second half of the strophe) appears, which takes over the melody sung by the lead singer so that she can rest. The third part doubles the melodically active part, but the vowel "a" is sung in place of the lyrics. The fourth part is performed by the drone singers, which in the case of Medņeva begins with the last words of the first soloist. The vowel that is sung in the drone part is defined by the ending of the last word of the lyrics, which differs in each strophe (A 32, Figure 5). The song traditionally served as a signal for the start of singing during collective work in the fields. In the song, a field of grain is compared with a ploughman: a young man with flowers spilling from his feet, and silver spilling from his hands. The symbolic meaning of the song is about the richness of nature and fertility, comparing this with human life and work.

This comparatively complicated version created the desire to clarify the reasons for this complexity and try to answer the question of how far its presence could have influenced singing in the ensemble. Considering the fact that the ensemble's singers usually have only one answer to this type of question: "we have always sung like that", I turned to recordings from earlier years, which revealed an interesting situation.

Four years after the establishment of the Medņeva ensemble in 1991, Martin Boiko conducted fieldwork in the area. As the recordings demonstrate, he worked with the oldest singers of the ensemble, dividing them into two groups. The criteria for division into groups, as can be surmised from the composition of singers in each group, was that the singers had sung together in their youth, meaning that they were either relatives or had been neighbours. In the first video example (V 15, Figure 6) the lead singer is the same one who sang the solo part in the recording from 1997 (Figure 5), Valentīna Babāne. She is also the person who originally suggested that this song be

Figure 5 (A 32): *Man patika mīžu druva* (I like the barley field).
Transcription of the first verse by Anda Beitāne.

included in the repertoire of the ensemble, and since that time it is referred to in her name – as Valentīna's song. In the recording, Valentīna can be heard singing together with her older sister. In this case the drone singer only sings one long tone using the vowel "a", as opposed to the previous example, where the drone singers begin to sing together with the lead singer at the end of her solo part. This can also be heard in the next recording, where both sisters sing together with their neighbours (V 16). The lyrics of this song are the same as in the previous example (Figure 5).

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Figure 6 (see V 15): *Man patika mīžu druva* (I like the barley field).
Transcription of the first verse by Anda Beitāne.

In the recording of the second group of singers (V 17) it is possible to recognize the previously-mentioned, more complicated version of the song, which exists in the current singing practice of the ensemble. There is no reason to doubt the possibility that both of these versions could have existed alongside one another at the time when the song was sung in its traditional context. It is also possible that the complex version was already practised at that time as a creative expression of the singers. The fact that precisely this version took root in the repertoire of the ensemble is probably related to the wish to be different from neighbouring ensembles, each of whom have a few drone songs in their repertoire, all of them similar to the simpler Medņeva version. Thus we have here two results of a creative act of the singers which has had a stable place in the practice of the ensemble since its establishment. The first is associated with the fact that the melodically active solo part is performed by two solo singers, in this way giving the first solo singer a chance to rest. The second, as is demonstrated by recordings from 1991 and 1997, is associated with one particular singer, Bārbala Dukaļska, who doubles the melodically active part, singing the vowel "a". Nevertheless, the leader of the ensemble regards this as a mistake, saying: "She who doesn't know how just sings along [the melody]! [*Ai, kuras nazyn, tuos i volkoj!*]" (Smuška 2013b).

Harmonic (Mostly) Three-Part Singing

With the exception of the previous example of drone singing, the rest of the repertoire of the Medņeva singers is comprised of harmonic two, three and four-part singing. "Harmonic" refers here to multipart singing, which is based on the logic of functional harmony. This singing process can be described as a union of a number of strong personalities, in which each participant has an equally important role irrespective of whether the parts are performed by one or more singers.

The song which will be used as an example is known in the local practice as the "Long Song" (*Garīs bolss*). This song was traditionally sung when undertaking collective work in the fields, and the origin of its name, as is explained by the singers, is associated with the type of performance. It is sung in a very slow tempo, or, as the leader of the ensemble Natālija Smuška says, "stretched out". "The Long Song – that's why it has its name, because we stretch it out all the time. [*Garīs bolss – dieļ tuo to i sauc, ka jū stīpam tuo gari vusu laiku.*]" (Smuška 2008)

In one of the most recent recordings of the Medņeva singers, completed in the summer of 2012 during the Baltica folklore festival, the Medņeva ensemble was represented by the leading singers, who also happen to be the oldest in the ensemble (see YouTube 2013). All of the oldest singers remember this song from their youth and can recall the time when it was often sung in the area around Medņeva. Natālija Smuška relates:

The Long Song, everyone knows it! Everyone sang it. Those of us in Medņeva who were singers would always listen to how they sang in the fields in neighbouring villages. My mother sang. I also sang later on the collective farm, when we went to work and celebrated birthdays, or harvested the flax, or picked potatoes. It was said that when anyone has a birthday – everything resounds! Let's have a drink, go over there, and we must sing!

Garū, tuo vusas zyn! Vusas dzīdova. Mes, Medņevā kod dzijdovam, to vusod klousejamīs, kad kaimiņos dzīd tolka. Muna muote dzīdova. I es padzīdovu. Mes kolhozā guojam dorbā i taisejam dzimšanas dīnas, i linus pliesam, i kartupeļus lasejam. Jou soka: šudin kurai jubileja – vuss skan! Izdzeram, aiziedam i vāg dzīduot! (Smuška 2008)

Even today this song is one of the signature songs of the Medņeva ensemble.

In this recording, as can be seen in the transcription, the multipart sound instrumentation is mainly comprised of two parts, with only two short episodes of three-part harmony in the bars six and ten (see V 18 and Figure 7). The song tells us that there is a lot of work to do, but the workers are eating and drinking too much, and working less.

A slightly different version of this song can be heard in the following recording from 1991, in which the three singers from the previous recording also took part

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Figure 7 (see V 18): *Garīs bolss* (Long Song).
Transcription of the first verse by Anda Beitāne.
(One singer may perform different musical parts during the performance.)

Figure 8 (V 19): *Garīs bolss* (Long Song).
Transcription of the first verse by Anda Beitāne.
(One singer may perform different musical parts during the performance.)

FIGURE 9 (V 20): *Garīs bolss* (Long Song).
Transcription of the first verse by Anda Beitāne.
(One singer may perform different musical parts during the performance.)

(V 19, Figure 8). In this case the lyrics of the song tell of a young woman who after her wedding wishes to meet her mother and brothers again, and feels sad that this road has "become overgrown" and it is not possible to meet them anymore.

A recording of the second group singing this song in 1991 is even more different. Unfortunately the three singers that can be heard here have already passed away (V 20, Figure 9). The song tells of the fact that the workers not only complete their work but also cause some losses: they "eat the ram, horns and all". Here one can also hear a plea to God for no rain, because there is work to do in the field today.

Unfortunately, I do not have a recording from 1991 where both groups sing together, because no such recording was made. So we can only try to imagine the sound when all of these women sang together. Looking at transcriptions of these recordings, it can be seen that the sound instrumentation was comparatively simple in the 2012 recording. Here the singers generally sing in two parts, in parallel thirds, and there are only two short episodes where three parts can be heard for a moment. In the 1991 recordings, these episodes are constant, occurring in almost every bar. Additionally, there are different variations for each of the groups of singers.

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Conclusions

These examples demonstrate versions of multipart singing which illustrate the way they were at that point in time. At another time the same singers would probably perform a completely different variant. Nevertheless, these examples also reveal the main techniques of sound instrumentation which are practised during the process of creating multipart singing by the singers of the ensemble. Basically this is harmonic two-part singing. An episodic transition to three or four parts occurs when one of the singers finds an opportunity to create another accompanying part or two. The extent to which these possibilities are realized is dependent on the singers. A reason for this kind of extra accompanying part is usually the desire to sing a different part to that of the other singers. In this way, multipart singing in the Medņeva ensemble is not static, but a dynamic process of which the main driving force are still the older singers.

Unfortunately this kind of dynamic is also influenced by generational shift. Approximately half of the former singers in the ensemble have passed away, and new members have come in their place. They have learned multipart singing from the older women in the ensemble. The leader of the ensemble tells about their method of teaching the younger singers: "We don't teach them individually. Everyone gets together and sings – the young and the old. They just listen and sing. In the beginning it's a bit difficult, while they learn the songs, but after that they adapt. [*Mēs atseviš i nemācam viņas. Visas iet kopā un dzied – jaunās un vecās. Klausās līdz un dzied tikai. Sākumā jau grūtāk ir, kamēr iemācās dziesmas, bet pēc tam jau pielāgojas.*]" (Smuška 2013a) From this statement it can be surmised that the new singers themselves can choose which part they sing. This is why the transmission of multipart singing still happens in a similar way as in the past.

The sound of multipart singing in local practice also serves as an instrument of identity on a number of levels. In the group of older singers it is manifested as the individual treatment of several parts, which allows each singer to reveal her identity. Natālija Smuška states: "Each [singer] is looking for something of their own, which they are capable of, which they like; how to improve a song so it is fuller, so that there are more melodies [*Kotra meklē kaut kū sovu, kū kura varādama, kurai kas patijk; izpuškūt dzīšmi, lai kupluoka; lai vieļ kuoda melodija ir*]." (Smuška 2013b)

When talking to the singers it is possible to hear their pride about how they manage to sound different to other singers of the same part. For example, Malvīne Ločmele relates that she doesn't like to sing the second part in exactly the same way as another singer sings it. For her it is also important to hear her own voice amongst the others; that is why she always tries to sing something of her own, something different (Ločmele 2013). From the commentary of Natālija Smuška one can conclude that this type of searching for identity is easier when the singers of the same part do not sit

next to one another: "That time, when we sang at the musicians evening, I was singing the second part [usually Natālija sings the first part]. And I said: 'I will never sit with the second part again. When I can't hear the first part, that's not singing. You have to mix everyone up! [*Itomā reizē, kod siedejam muzikantu vokorā, es dzīdovu ūtrū bolsu I es saceju: nasiediešu nikod ūtrū bolsu vydā. Ka es nadzierdu pirmū bolsa, tij nav dzīduošona. Juosied juku pajuku!*]'" (Smuška 2013b) In answer to the question "Why do the singers sing?" she answers: "Because we like to sing! We say that while we are still able to, we will keep on going like old shoes! [*Tuopiec, ka patijk! Sokam, kamēr spēsam, tikmēr volkāsamīs kuo vacuos vīzes!*]" (Smuška 2013b)

The common sound which is created as a result of the connection of these identities is considered by the local community to be one of the main symbols of their identity. The singers themselves are also aware of themselves as a symbol of local identity, claiming that "no one else sings the type of songs we do! We have our own special songs! [*nivīns cyts tuodu dzīšmu nadzīd kuo mes! Muvsim ir pošīm sovas!*]" (Smuška 2013b) It is important for them to represent the name of Medņeva with their singing, and to be comfortable in the knowledge that there is no one else like them. As Natālija Smuška remembers, "the last time we were in the review of folklore ensembles, everyone else was so modern! But we all came along with our walking sticks. And then we began to sing; we sang, and the jury said: 'Medņeva was excellent! As for the others –you still have a lot to learn from ethnographic ensembles! [*Mes kod skatie pogojušuo reizi bijām vusi cik moderni! A mes ka sprukuom vusas ai vāzām. Nu i suokām dzīduot, nūdzīdovom, žūrija saceja: izcili Medņevai! A cytim nikuo–jums vieļ doudz juomuocās no etnogrāfiskā ansambļa!*]'" (Smuška 2013b) In answer to the question of whether the multipart singing which they perform is different to others, Natālija answers simply: "No one teaches us multipart singing. We sing ourselves, with our own understanding. We sing what we know. Just as long as we don't mix up the melodies. [*Daudzbalsība muvsim, nikos namuoca muvsu. Mes dzīdom pošas pec sovas jāgas. Kuo jādzam, tuo i maunam. iš bi nazogrīžas melodija ar melodiju.*]" (Smuška 2013b)

Five years ago, another ensemble was established in Medņeva. This was the result of a number of years of targeted local cultural policy, which included a number of events including singing workshops, where the repertoire of traditional songs was examined, including its performance style. The audience of these events was the middle generation of the local community, who did not have this type of singing experience, because the natural process of inheritance outside the framework of the ensemble had been lost in the second half of the 20th century. The workshops, where the oldest singers of the Medņeva ensemble adopted the role of teachers, were organized by cultural policy makers and encouraged the study of songs which had been in the hands of the older ensemble for a longer time. This was due to an awareness that the older singers are ageing and a day might come when this local repertoire would disappear.

The first performance of the new ensemble occurred at the end of the workshops (Balvi 2010). Some of the older singers were also in the audience. After the concert, they expressed their joy at the "new guard" and expressed their wish for the new ensemble to stay together after the concert, and continue to sing (V 21). However, not even a year had passed when I received a telephone call from the leader of the older ensemble. She had found out that the newer ensemble was planning to perform in Riga, and asked me to "spy" on them to find out what they were going to sing there. During our conversation a comment was made that "in our time we walked all around here and collected all of these songs, and now they are travelling around the world singing our songs! [*mēs savulaik staigājām te apkārt un visas tās dziesmas salasījām, un viņi tagad braukā apkārt pa pasauli un dzied mūsu dziesmas*!]" (Smuška 2009) Therefore the situation was not as simple as it seemed. It can be concluded that the singers from the older ensemble did not find it easy to come to terms with a situation where they were no longer the only ones to represent the singing traditions of Medņeva. Over time, the jealousy of the older singers died down, and now it seems that it has disappeared completely. Perhaps this is because over time they no longer considered the other ensemble to be serious competition.

The traditional repertoire of Medņeva was learned during the workshops in 2008, where the newer ensemble was formed as a result. I have to admit that I also had a hand in helping the singers of the new ensemble learn the techniques of traditional multipart singing. However, working independently, this ensemble now chooses a simpler repertoire with two-part singing in parallel thirds, often with the accompaniment of an accordion. In turn, the leader of the older ensemble is happy about the fact that many new singers have recently joined her ensemble, and have picked her ensemble rather than the newer one.

Thus it seems that traditional sound instrumentation will continue in the older Medņeva ensemble. This is a very productive time for the study of change, because the number of older singers is decreasing rapidly, and these changes will affect the sound of Medņeva.

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2. Central and Eastern Europe

Rudolf Pietsch

Sound Aspects Caused by the Formation of Intentional and Accidental Multipart Instrumental Music, Illustrated by Selected Examples

Abstract

Playing with the phenomenon of sound has always been appealing to folk musicians. Intentional or desired playing instructions (even musical notation) may serve as a basis for surprising composite sounds. However, accidental coincidences among musical parts can also lead to the emergence of sound structures which are fascinating and indeed remarkable when looked at more closely. The latter can happen through a lack of playing technique or lineup-related eventualities, or – as stated before – also through the intentional emphasis of an individual part in an ensemble with unequal sets of instruments in relation to their sound and dynamics, such as those of brass and string instruments.

In this essay I will try to explain so-called "dirty playing" by means of several sound examples from the homophonic and heterophonic music of common musical practice. In the folk music world, heterophony is often regarded as "something wrong", although it certainly does not need to be understood in that way.

Introduction

More and more young instrumentalists of the contemporary practice of folk music revival learn their instrument through regular conservatory instruction, as is common for classical musicians. Simultaneously, the opportunities for folk music performances are diminishing, above all playing at dances and other traditional contexts, thus leading to the demise of the "original" in folk music and its autochthonous performance practices. The focus on what is, ostensibly, technically clean playing is in stark contrast to an undiscerning and playful yet confident performing style. When offering these observations, it is appropriate to think of Felix Hoerburger (1916–1997), who half a century ago was already at the cutting edge of this change.

He was one of the most important German music ethnologists of his time, and one of the first specialists in the area of instrumental folk music research. I met him at a conference on Folk Music Research as a student in the early 1970s. His explanation of

schmutziges Spiel – translated as "dirty playing" by Hoerburger himself – in his *Musica vulgaris. Lebensgesetze der instrumentalen Volksmusik* (1966) made a profound impression on me and its inspiration is evident in the following remarks and reflections.

It is a well-known fact that Austrian folk music is predominantly a multipart performance style. In this volume, Walter Deutsch offers an insightful view of this phenomenon. It has already been pointed out that melodies in dance music are very often performed by two identical instruments in parallel lines: two violins, two clarinets, two trumpets or two flugelhorns, two wooden flutes etc., which are completed by an accompaniment. This accompaniment – in a string ensemble a low string instrument, and in a brass ensemble a low brass – is what I will concern myself with in this article. In a mixed group of strings and brass (a recent occurrence), the bass will depend upon the musical taste and preference of the musicians or the availability of an appropriate musician.

The general increase in the playing standards of brass bassists (the tuba) over the past few decades has led to a more frequent use of the tuba than was the case before the Second World War. On the offbeats the accompanying line of the tuba is still tied to the melody voice, whereas in the Alpine region this role is played frequently by the harp, zither and guitar in different kinds of ensembles. The tuba is used with other brass instruments, while wood and string instruments are accompanied by a second violin or viola.

Following the example of the *Oberkrainer* (Reitmann 1990) as well as the image of the flugelhorn player Gottlieb Weissbacher of *Die Fidelen Inntaler* [The Jolly Inntaler] (Posch 1996), the multipart performance might also contain a trumpet (or flugelhorn), a clarinet and a trombone as the third melody voice.

But let us not forget that universal, all-purpose instrument, ready to be used in any multipart music ensemble and part of the sound of folk music: the accordion. After the common accordion, the diatonic button accordion is the most frequently used instrument in Austrian folk music. It plays an important role in each of the examples I consider today. In my first examples, I will discuss one of the most common trio arrangements, the interplay of the clarinet, button harmonica, and trombone (instead of a valve or slide trombone, the Edler Trio uses the so called *Armeeposaune*, see Figure 2), called the Edler lineup (*Edlerbesetzung*) after the accordion player of the Edler Trio.

The Edler Trio was originally an Upper Styrian group who enjoyed great success in the years 1946–1960 (Korak 1994). The enormous popularity of the group during its lifetime birthed a form of Styrian music making that continues today. It also denotes a specific ensemble grouping and musical type within the Alpine folk music landscape.

To illustrate this, I have chosen a single polka by the Edler Trio, the *Murtaler Polka*, alongside one single second piece (example number 2, *Ernstl Boarischer*). I could offer countless other pieces, but the Murtaler Polka will serve as a case study of the con-

cept of "dirty playing" and [or] heterophony (Elschek 2005, 40–47). Heterophony and "dirty playing" are used often as a synonym in the common musical language. Heterophony, from the Greek for "different, unequal, divergent," is a kind of music making on the border between homophony and polyphony – a basis for and thus characteristic of folk music.

The melodic line is varied, approximated, played correctly, and also interpreted in different and varied styles and manners. This can be the case for any musician whose song is accompanied by a bagpipe, an accordion, or other instruments. The performance of each part may not be identical, and in the second violin, intentionally or not, the performance leads to heterophony with the leading violin. The expression "dirty playing" contains the idea of deviating, of differences, though here it is not the playing of a "dirty line" but rather an unachieved "clean" line.

But where does one begin and the other end? The borders are also unclear: what may sound sterile to one person may be considered clean by someone else; one person's "dirty" is another's heterophony.

I. A foundation for Later Variations

Example 1: "Murtaler Polka" (A 33).
Edler Trio, Mürztal, Upper Styria.

Four-part polka; sections A, B, and D are of 8 measures, section C is 16 measures. Section C and D are designated as a trio. The harmony is in an especially common form: the beginning tonality (F major); the second section (B) in the dominant (C major); the trio (section C) in the subdominant (B-flat major); and the last section (D) the second half of the trio) in the dominant of the first half of the trio (F-major). The form (progression of sections) is always A – B – A –C – D – C with corresponding repeats and a *da capo*. In this genre, the piece almost always ends with a trio (section C), and sections B and D are often also called interludes (*Zwischenspiele*) by the musicians.

Measures with high notes make the trio especially melodious and memorable. In the interpretation by both the Edler Trio and all of the imitators, the accented long tones in the bass in measures 4, 6, and 8 of the C section are particularly notable. The trio has a life of its own, especially during the higher register of the melody during the repetition. To the extent that it is possible with their instruments, this is respected by all of the interpreters. The polka is predominant in the Alpine idiom. The upbeat of the first section is often lost in many interpretations.

This dance tune was widely adopted for the repertoire of a variety of ensembles throughout Austria and is still played today.

Figure 1. "Murtaler Polka".
"Normalized version" by Rudolf Pietsch according to the transcription by Karl Korak. (Korak 1994, 88–89). Standard main voice of several different versions mainly based on the Edler Trio (see A 33).

Though the Edler Trio sounds tight and practised and in perfect harmony, with more focused listening we can find several aspects of heterophonic performance style. The accordion assumes its musically necessary part and function through the melody part with parallel voice leading and the bass and accompaniment. The two other instruments, the clarinet and trombone, augment the sound with tone colours and rhythmic accents. The musicians refer to the clarinet part when they say: *Tua dazua farbeln!* (in standard German "*Füge Farbe hinzu!*" "Add some color!").

The trombonist can keep the bass line strong and simple while also emotively and imaginatively moving it along. By using figure-like ideas, he can play over the monotone bass line in the accordion and thus make the accompaniment of the accordion unnecessary. The clarinet can assume one of the voices, but can also take over the third parallel line. The articulation of the two melody instruments can be mutual conformity or with one withdrawing. We find and hear each of these phenomena in example number 1 (Figure 1).

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Figure 2: *Edler Trio.*
From left to right: Hermann Sommer, Franz Edler, Josef Haim, in a pub ca. 1960.
Courtesy of the private collection of Karl Korak. Unknown photographer.

Note the additional effect of "high tuning" (a' = 461 Hz); so-called military tuning. This is hardly used today, and thus has a special novelty. This is a 78 rpm recording, probably from the 1950s, and is introduced by the harmonica player Franz Edler.

II. Spontaneous Humour in Performance

Example 2: "Ernstl Boarischer" (A 34).
Rot-Gold-Trio, Burgenland.

The Rot-Gold-Trio performs with the same instrumentation: clarinet, button harmonica, and valve trombone. Herbert Schönfeldinger, the clarinettist, studied his instrument and consequently plays without ornamentations or variations of the lead part. In long musical lines, his part blends with that of the accordionist Ernst Spirk as long as the accordionist lets himself play escapades which are answered by the trombone player. The A 34 is an excerpt from a live recording of a dance festival in Vienna's Sophiensäle; thus one can hear the sounds of dancing and sometimes also the

Figure 3: „Ernstl Boarischer" in *Großrußbacher Auslese* (Haid 1981, 18).

Figure 4: *Rot-Gold-Trio* at *Kathreintanz*, Sophiensäle Vienna 1982.
From left to right: Herbert Schönfeldinger, Ernst Spirk, Sepp Gmasz.
Courtesy of the private archive of Ernst Spirk. Unknown photographer.

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laughter of the accordion player. Here we have an excellent example of unintended heterophonic playing that, due to the musical fancy of the players, increases throughout the piece.

III. Live Performance in the Original "Edler Style"

Example 3: "Murtaler Polka" (A 35 and V 22).
Wildbach Trio, Gschaid near Birkfeld, Eastern Styria.

This example is a live recording from a *Frühschoppen* – a get-together at Sunday lunchtime – after the mass in 1991 in Krottendorf near Weiz, and was recorded by a fan in the festival tent and later turned into a YouTube download. (http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5RF1SmVWOZ8).

Whereas in the Edler Trio the accordion leads, here it is the clarinet, a point confirmed by the then 20-year-old accordion player in an interview. With the accordion he supports the omnipresent and steady clarinet playing of his brother. The particularly lively playing of the trombonist is inspired by the audience. While playing he realizes that he has to correct his intonation; however, the correction is minimal. It is he, the then 22 year-old musician, who encourages people to dance and raises the atmosphere in the tent. In spite of the live context (there are several recordings of the same piece by this group) one cannot speak of heterophonic playing, but we still encounter the concept of "dirty playing" in some phrases of the accordion and trombone parts.

IV. Augmentation of the "Original" Edler Sound

Example 4: "Murtaler Polka" (A 36).
Fuchsbartl-Banda, Deutschfeistritz, District of Graz, Styria.

In all respects, this ensemble strives to maintain the tradition of the Edler Trio. They consider repertoire as well as musical context, such as the choice of events at which they perform. In the trio a trombone enters, offering a second timbre in the middle range and a predominantly contrapuntal leading part (Figure 6). In principle this kind of multipart music playing fulfils the ideal of the middle voice for arrangements with a trombone, as originated by *Die Fidelen Inntaler* and consequently common to the instrumentation of dance music up to the present. The musical goal is to create an overall sound that is as homogeneous as possible, and thus none of the instruments stand out.

Figure 5: *Fuchsbartl-Banda*.
From left to right: Harald Sukic, Wolfgang Weingerl, Albin and Clemens Wiesenhofer.
Photograph: http://www.fuchsbartl-banda.at.

The basic idea of the piece in the trio, to move from a low register to a higher one during the piece, is present here as well, but climbs without the performers raising the intensity of their playing. This is a CD released in 2011 with a striking design: a CD and booklet packaged in a pine case (Figure 7) with a slot for souvenirs as a shrine, underscoring the 25th anniversary of the group. Several recordings of live performances of the same piece by this group demonstrate that the phrasing and performance style, down to the smallest variations in tempo, barely change.

Figure 6: "Murtaler Polka". Trombone part performed by Harald Sukic of the *Fuchsbartl-Banda*. This is an addition to the trio version.
Musical transcription by Dieter Schickbichler.

Figure 7: *Kistl* – case with different layers for the CD, the booklet and some souvenirs.
Photograph by Rudolf Pietsch, December 2013.

V. Transfer of the "Original" Tune into Another Instrumentation Style

Example 5: "Murtaler Polka" (A 37).
Altsteirer Trio, Harald Pfeffer, Graz.

The civil engineer Harald Pfeffer (1936–2014) grew up in a middle-class Graz milieu. The child of a piano teacher, he was surrounded by music. He started learning the piano at the age of 6, the violin at 9, the cello at 14 and concentrated on music during his secondary education. At 17, he picked up the button accordion, an instrument he plays in a fastidious way. From an early age, he was fascinated by the Edler Trio, especially the conspicuous timbre of their clarinet. The confident and disciplined accordion style of the Trio also clearly shaped his musical sensibility.

Harald Pfeffer (Figure 8) himself has played for countless dance classes and dance festivals, where his "refined sound" is always in demand and appreciated. From the start, his goal was to improve folk music, "correcting harmonization" and playing in a danceable tempo. His wife, Isolde, an elementary school teacher, blends the diatonic dulcimer in two ways: she accompanies the first part with broken chords, with the high voice in trio, similar to the clarinet part in the repeat of the trio in the Edler performance. The secondary school teacher Karl Heinz Pachernigg plucks the bass with no particular concern for melody-bound musical figures. This example does not demonstrate "dirty playing", but in principle it is heterophonic. The radio recording is from 1976, a time when studio recordings used lots of reverb.

Figure 8: *Pfeffertrio.*
From left to right: Harald Pfeffer, Karl Heinz Pachernigg, Isolde Pfeffer playing at a *Volkstanzfest* in Graz Kammersaal in the early 1970s.
Photograph by Heribert Weber. Courtesy of the private archive of Harald Pfeffer.

VI. Stylistic Expansion by Means of Deliberate Textural Variation

FIGURE 9: *Rath(h)aus Musi* playing at a *Volksmusikabend* (folk music concert) *beim Ziegelbauer* at Walding / Mühlviertel, Upper Austria. From left to right: Matthäus Killinger, Karl Dumfart, Wolfgang Rath, N.N., Petra Rischanek, Reinhard Gusenbauer and Günther Hofstadler.
Photograph by Ernst Grilnberger. September 2000. Courtesy of the private archive of Petra Rischanek.

Example 6: "Murtaler Polka" (A 38).
Rath(h)haus Musi, Eidenberg, Upper Austria.

This recording comes from an intentional exploration of the timbral possibilities offered by the flute, oboe, violin, diatonic button accordion, guitar or harp and double bass. This configuration of instruments was based on the training of music teachers in 1991. The experienced musician Karl Dumfart (born in 1962) along with colleagues who regularly met at the home of the classically trained flautist Wolfgang Rath (thus the name, Rath-Haus Music, which might be confounded with *Rathaus* – town hall) developed a few pieces with this lineup. At the time of this recording in 2001, this lineup of musicians had been meeting for six years. The recordings were produced for ORF (Austrian Broadcasting Corporation) Radio Upper Austria, and are a record of a

Figure 10: Incipits of the several sections of the "Murtaler Polka" performed by *Rath(h)aus Musi* in 2001 (A 38).
Musical transcription by Rudolf Pietsch.

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MONAT(E): ① Murtaler Polka		D-Du
Datum	Lehrstoff	Anmerkung
1	1. Stimme	a
1	1. Stimme	g.1
2	—	
2	3. Stimme	a1
1	—	
3	2. Stimme	d2
3	2. stimme	d2
1	—	
3	2. Stimme	d2
3	2. Stimme	d2 STOP

Murtaler Polka

1 —
1   3. St. mit d''
2   cis''
2   cis''
DC —
Trio 3   h
3   h
D   —
3   —
3   3. St. mit g'' Stop!

Figures 11a, 11b, and 11c.: Jottings for memorizing the different parts of the Murtaler Polka played by the *Rath(h)aus Musi*:
a. Flute, b. Oboe, c. Violin.
Courtesy of the private archive of Petra Rischanek.
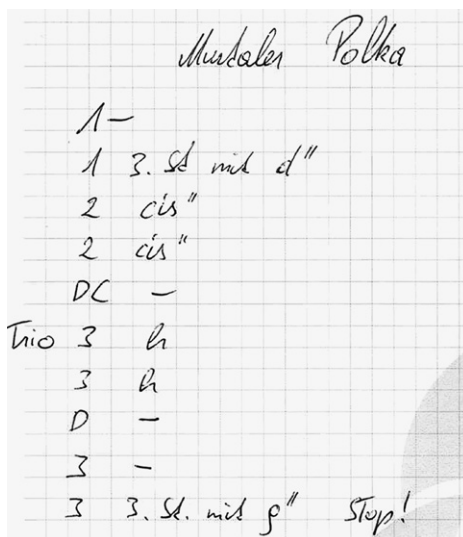
group that made only a few public performances, for this was not their goal. Dumfart's love of the Edler repertoire comes from the "singing clarinet", something he was familiar with from the radio programmes of his childhood.

There is no tradition of double-reed instruments in Austrian folk music, and so the use of the oboe, played by the music teacher Petra Rischanek (née Kapsamer) represents an innovation. The violinist Reinhard Gusenbauer is a freelance folk musician, a music

teacher who gives private trombone and guitar lessons and plays violin in this ensemble. The harpist, Günther Hofstadler, who works in finance, provides great experience, which he has gathered with other folk music ensembles, and accompanies with either arpeggiated chords or short melodic interjections. The banker Matthäus Killinger – a very experienced and sensitive musician (as clarinettist in wind ensembles) – can be heard here on the string bass, which he plays pizzicato or with the bow, just as he pleases.

The button accordion offers a great deal during the polka: we hear off-beat accompaniment chords in rhythmic variation, the taking over or doubling of a melody voice as a timbral effect augmented by counterpoint and imitation in a three-part descant section. And of course there is also a section for a soloist, too.

The arrangements were created without notation: Dumfart plays the pieces without any break, and during the course of several repetitions, one member of the band chooses a part that suits an instrument's range, makes timbral sense, and offers musical variety. Creating close three-part texture was the main goal, and in the cadences parts were exchanged for a dense and compact sound. It is important to note that although this is basically dance music, it is not intended here as such; the example thus represents a metamorphosis into "concert music". Also notable here is the frequent entrance of the flute part in a low register which in this genre would normally be in the treble clef.

As an aid, there is a small booklet that shows in more or less detail the beginning of each section.

In the different notepads one recognizes the routines of individual musicians in folk music. The flautist is not accustomed to playing by heart, and thus writes the beginning in staff notation. For the oboist, the first note of each part suffices, though interestingly they note the position of their part: first, second, or third. Given his experience in playing folk music, the violinist only needs to note the starting tone of each part (see Figure 10, section C4). Later, the rehearsals were recorded and CDs were made to aid in learning the parts by rote.

VII. Dirty Playing (Schmutziges Spiel)

Example 7. "Murtaler Polka" (A 39 and V 23).
The group *Citoller Tanzgeiger* in a concert in the Haus der Regionen (House of the Regions), Stein/Donau, Lower Austria.
Recorded by Niederösterreichische Volkskultur on 19 April 2013. A live recording.

The final example is played by one of the most experienced string ensembles of contemporary folk music, the Citoller Tanzgeiger. Hermann Härtel, a trained sewing ma-

Figure 12: Violin parts of the "Murtaler Polka" played by the *Citoller Tanzgeiger*.
Listen to A 39 (stereo sound) and A 40 (reduced speed, only the left microphone, mainly violin sound).
Musical transcription by Rudolf Pietsch.

chine technician and retired public official and his wife Inge Härtel, a music teacher, have played violin together for over 30 years. Her brother, the farmer Hubert Pabi, plays button accordion, with their youngest son Vinzenz accompanying as a self-taught violist, and alternating sometimes to the trumpet, an instrument he studied. For more than 25 years, the mailman Ewald Rechberger, who had stadied tuba, has played it, for the Citoller. The group is one of the first to use a tuba rather than the usual string bass in a string ensemble.

Hermann Härtel comes from a family of musicians in Upper Styria, and since his move to Graz has been professionally engaged in the research and dissemination of folk music, in particular the violin tradition. The influence of the "early", self-taught dance violinists is clearly evident in both his and Inge Härtel's playing. The bowing is sharp, rough and very assertive. Many notes are slipped into single, rapid melodic

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phrases, themselves executed with generous attention to detail. But they also have a distinct start and finish – a performance style that dancers can perceive, conform to and follow. This applies especially to Hermann Härtel's style. Inge Härtel's violin playing is bolstered by her formal violin studies at the Conservatory in Graz. This is in a performance context where one violin, the self-taught fiddler, is predisposed to "dirty playing" and the other, a classically trained player, to a heterophonic sound. In this case, the classically trained musician must blend, must "play dirty" because it is the normative style in a practice in which the others have not been trained in the classical style. This is reinforced by the self-taught accordion style, far from any conventional music education of today. Hubert Pabi learned all the pieces by ear. He still doesn't read music.

In A 39, one clearly hears how Hubert Pabi both correctly and cleverly renders the melody (cf. Figure 1) on the diatonic button accordion, simultaneously enriching the character of the original through the addition of augmenting melodic motives without completely obscuring the original melody in the process.

The start of a reduction in the tempo can be heard in A 40 (Figure 12), where the microphone is directed towards the violins and thus produces an unrealistic recording for the listener. It serves only to demonstrate the different playing techniques of each violin! The first time the trio plays the section, the viola, along with the second violin (first part), assumes the melody of the second part. This is a very rare and unusual performance style for an accompanying voice that would normally be a double-stopped and offbeat accompaniment.

The tuba part is characterized by simple and clear voice leading, and when it is possible and suits the mood of the audience, small breaks and runs are used, but these never degenerate into a display of exaggerated virtuosity.

There is an understanding among all five musicians that the craft of their musical practice serves the dancers. Despite the above mentioned musical differences among individual musicians within the group, the ensemble possesses a strikingly homogeneous sound.

The "Murtaler Polka" in A 41, recorded live by chance, should make my final point audible. It is worth mentioning that during the concert that evening, this piece was only one of many in which the same musical phenomena such as improvisation, ornamentation, spontaneous ideas, excessive playfulness, but, above all, the dichotomy of "constructive sloppiness" and non-restrictive accuracy could be heard.

FIGURE 13: Tuba part performed by Ewald Rechberger of the *Citoller Tanzgeiger* of A 39.
Transcription by Daniela Mayrlechner.
(Listen A 39 and see V 23.)

Conclusion

The genesis and structure of folk music as it appears in central Europe is generally tied to simplicity and enduring, distinct stylistic consistency. In the vocal and instrumental repertoire of a small region we encounter rather little variability: the musician aligns himself, with his individual inclinations, to the "original", the established aural model, although what variation exists still stands out in the principally oral tradition. The preceding analysis of varying recordings of one tune, the *Murtaler Polka*, illustrates the breadth of the field of instrumental folk music from "faithful" reproduction to alterations of sound, melody and texture, even up to variation. Such transformations are prompted by the expansion or alteration of the ensemble, disparate performance contexts, and, most significantly, the stylistic leanings and preferences of the musicians. An additional example shows what musical humour and high spirits in a specific moment can bring to the performance of a tune that would otherwise be played the same way each time. The question of sound is central to this paper; therefore, descriptions such as "dirty playing" (*schmutziges Spiel)* are employed as a technical term.

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English translation of the text by Eric M. Usner.

Lujza Tari

Multipart Phenomena in Hungarian Folk Music Regarding the Instrumentation and Instrumentalization of Sound

ABSTRACT

"We are a monophonic nation – this is proven by our entire folk music. But sensing that seemed to have skewed the angle from which we were looking at our whole musical heritage." Benjamin Rajeczky's starting words from his 1972 essay *Relics of our multipart music from the first half of the 15th century*, in which he stated: "It turned out that this music wasn't exclusively monophonic, as we had overemphasized previously."

The presentation will focus on vocal music, as it went through a lot of changes in the relationship between monophonic and polyphonic music during the 20th century compared to previous eras. There were especially large changes in the music of those Hungarians who became minorities due to the new borders drawn after World Wars I and II. Since then, this phenomenon has become much more robust, with the number of Hungarian-language schools in neighbouring countries decreasing and younger generations thus growing up with a deeper knowledge of the respective country's culture than of what was going on in Hungary. One of the visible effects of these changes is the appearance of multipart singing practices similar to Slovakian and Slovenian in the performance practices in certain villages and certain repertoires.

These new symptoms differ from those of previous times, when the same tune used to be shaped often differently, concerning also old signs of heterophony and organum technique, according to Rajeczky. Good examples are collections of the same tunes from the same villages but from different eras, where the old version was monophonic and the new one is polyphonic.

However, the multipart music of this new era that we can observe in the vocal folk music of today's Hungarian minorities are only isolated, local phenomena which do not affect the whole of Hungarian folk music.

Introduction

"We are a monophonic nation – our entire folk music is proof of it this. But sensing that seemed to have skewed the angle from which we were looking at our entire musical heritage. [*Egyszólamú nép vagyunk, bizonyság rá egész népzenénk. De ennek tudata*

Figure 1: "Bereg" citeraegyüttes Tarpa ["Bereg" zitherband from Tarpa, Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg County].
Budapest, on 10 April 2006, the memorial day of the componist Vass Lajos.
Photograph by Lujza Tari.

mintha ferdített volna valamit azon a látószögön, melyen át zenei múltunkat szemléltük.]"
(Rajeczky 1976, 151) This is the first phrase of Benjamin Rajeczky's study "Relics of our multipart music from the first half of the 15th century", in which he discussed the newly found specimen of multipart music in medieval Hungarian music.

Rajeczky's research, which was based on medieval multipart samples, refined our view of folk music and art music from a historical perspective. He stated: "It turned out that this music wasn't exclusively monophonic, as we had overemphasized previously. Even Kodály propagated that Hungarians are a monophonic nation, and our musical history is also a monophonic one. [*Kiderül, hogy ez a muzsika egyáltalán nem volt kizárólagosan egyszólamú, mint azt azelőtt túlhangsúlyoztuk. Még Kodály is hajlandó volt szentenciaszerűen kimondani, hogy a magyar egyszólamú nép, és hogy zenetörténetünk is egyszólamú zenetörténet.*]" (Rajeczky 1985, 151)

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Figure 2: Members in a competition of zithermakers (Hung.: *citerakészítők*) in Szigetszentmiklós (Pest County).
10 September 2004.
Photograph by Lujza Tari.

Kodály noted in 1919: "A musically immature person does not even hear harmony, only some buzzing which is not disturbing. But it disturbs even the poorly educated person who knows and understands only a few patterns, and if anything different comes up, he is irritated. [*Zeneileg fejletlen ember nem is hallja a harmóniát, csak valami zúgást, ami azonban nem zavarja. De zavarja a zeneileg már félig művelt, aki bizonyos sablonokat már ismer, megért, ami attól eltér, azon fennakad.*]" (Kodály 1991, 66)

I observed the same phenomenon as a young researcher in the 1970s, when old zither (*citera* in Hungarian) players used to play untuned zithers. In the Great Plains region I tuned the instrument of a zither player (Tari 1974), who then got very upset with me. He said I had ruined his good instrument.

Bartók approached the question from the aspect of an educated musician when he wrote about monophony:

"… it is remarkable how an average musician cannot comprehend either the music of the peasantry or the complex world of modern discords. For him a simple old peasant tune sounds intolerably modern, because he doesn't hear the regular and comfortable tonic-dominant changing of the major and minor scales, and only hears dorian, lydian-mixolydian and other strange scales. And all of that is accompanied by the freest rhythm possible … That is very hard to understand!

… figyelemreméltó, hogy az átlagos zenész éppúgy nem érti meg az igazi parasztzenét, mint amennyire a modern disszonanciák bonyolult világát sem. Számára egy egyszerű régi parasztdallam elviselhetetlenül modernnek hangzik, mert nem csengenek a fülébe a dúr és moll skálák kényelmes és megszokott tonika-domináns váltakozásai, hanem dór, líd, mixolíd és egyéb különös.… hangsorokat hall. És mindehhez még a legszabadabb ritmika járul … Ezt bizony nehéz megérteni! (Bartók 1966, Notes 834)

Things have changed a lot until today. Since about the last two decades of the 20th century, we have hardly been able to find anybody playing an untuned instrument. In the case of the zither, this is even more obvious, as in addition to solo playing, *citera* bands have become common and several instrument-makers create different types of zither (Figures 1 and 2) with great imagination.

I. Heritage af a Bygone Age: Monophonic Songs as the Basis of Instrumental Melodies

It is a well-known fact that Hungarian folk music is basically monophonic, especially in terms of vocal music. Besides monophony, however, different signs of the multipart phenomenon are visible and audible in Hungarian folk music as well. A part of this is connected with instrumental music.

In Hungarian instrumental folk music and the broader field of traditional music (the narrower field in this context would be peasant music and urban music, which has partly been passed on orally), it is also characteristic that most instrumental melodies are based on songs. Kodály was the first one to answer the question: "What (do) peasants play on their instruments? Songs, for the most part, dressed up in instrumental form. These include pieces performed without text, but with a construction and style which most likely originated from songs." (Kodály 1960, 118)

It is a proven fact that the setup of every single instrument gives a different sound to the song. It is thus almost inevitable that the performance of folk songs on any instrument results in another variant – which is suited to the instrument and of course to the regional musical style and the player – of the characteristic performance style. The performance of a string ensemble of two to three or five to six members results in a new instrumentalized multipart music variant and genre (for example dance music). In the case of the instrumentalization of sound, this is not only a question of changing from vocal to instrumental

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music, but also a question of the synchronous act of musical creation and of the music style. Examining the rhythms in the dance function of the Euro-Asiatic diatonic lament style, László Dobszay stated that instrumental forms show a vast diversity of variations, which break the boundaries of a whole type (see Dobszay 1983, 296–310).

The following two recordings (A 42 and A 43) belong on the one hand to the diatonical lament-style layer of the old style, while on the other hand they are cases related to vocal-instrumental music and phenomena of the instrumentation of sound (see Tari 2012). A variant of the song was collected by Béla Bartók in 1914 among the ethnic group of the *székely* in Transylvania (Bartók 1914 in Tari 2012, 220). The following folk recording (see Corpus Musicae Popularis Hungaricae X 1997 Type: CVIII. no. 363–420 and A 42) comes from another geographical area, namely from Kalotaszeg (Ţara Călatei in Romania today). The following description by Bálint Sárosi is important in order to be able to understand the particular nature of this place:

> "Kalotaszeg lies south-east of the Szilágyság, between and on both sides of the main road and the railway connecting Transylvania with Hungary, and extends by and large from the Bihar Mountains to Kolozsvár (now Cluj-Napoca). Its Hungarian population attracts attention by its traditionally high-level architecture, homespun cloths, artistic embroidery and, most of all, by its splendid traditional costumes." (Sárosi 2012, 73)

The above-mentioned song is a lyrical poem called *De szeretnék az egen csillag lenni* (I Would Like to Be a Star in the Sky). The following instrumentation of the melody (see A 43) was played in the same region by a string band. The ensemble played a slow *csárdás*, the representative national dance that arose during the course of the 19th century.[1]

II. Instrumentalized Song Melodies as Dance Tunes: the Freedom of the Structure

A free structure which started to emerge at the end of the 20th century (Tari 1985) and was called *jaj-nóta* (the "oh" song, according to *ad hoc* terminology) by Zoltán Kodály, is a good example for the topic of instrumentalization and vocalization. This is nowadays called the group of expanded line-structure melodies (Szenik 1999). Some melodies of this type and comments on them can be found in the collection of János Seprődi from 1897 (Almási, Benkő, Lakatos 1974, notes on the instrumental melodies nos. 93, 96, 101).[2] On A 44 there is an instrumental variant of his transcription no. 93, a pair dance called *Jártatós* (a running dance, a type of slow csárdás). In this case

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1 For more about the national pair dance see Pesovár 1985.

2 For Seprődi see Almási 2003.

the dance melody with tempo-giusto character was vocalized and used as a folk song as well. Due to the content of the poem from folk poetry, which begins with the verse *Most szép lenni katonának/Mert Kossuthnak verbuválnak …* (It is nice to be a soldier now/When the recruiting is carried out for Kossuth …), the melody is linked to the revolution and the war of independence in 1848/49 (see Tari 1998, musical example 25, variants: 26–29). In this manner we can speak of an "off-instrumentation" of the sound (see Huber [no year] and Tari 1998, musical example 29).

After a field trip to Transylvania in 1912, Kodály recognized that a good performer could mimic the accompaniment in a solo violin performance. The fiddler who is mentioned by Kodály was the only musician in the village (Kodály 1960, 112). [3]

III. Between Vocalization and Instrumentalization: Whistled Vocal and Instrumental Melodies as the Imitation of Instruments

A special type of the instrumentalization of sound occurs when the song is sung or whistled. This originally came from the absence of a musical instrument (see Tari 2011, audio examples 18-01–13 and the vocalized imitations of instruments on pages 262 and 265). Whistled melodies were performed exclusively by men, and moreover by the best singers and dancers. In the above-mentioned town of Kalotaszeg, where the following recording was made, whistling is a special "instrumental" performance style (see A 45). The original "simple" (monophonic) folk song is widespread in the north-eastern borderland of Hungary (see A 46). Its melody is often played by string bands of Hungarians in Hungary and in Romania.

The character of the melody and the tempo of the performance are different in comparison to the song, but the scale and the cadences show the shared identity of the melody type (see A 47).

IV. Old and New Side by Side: the Usage of Heterophony and Third-Interval Parallelism

Especially during the 20th century, many changes occurred in terms of the relationship between monophonic and multipart music compared to previous times, which was partly connected with the instrumentation and instrumentalization of sound. Perhaps the most significant change came about in instrumental dance music, where solo

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3 See also the transcriptions from a phonograph cylinder in Tari 2001, Multipart music in the solo violin, 113–115 and 121–131.

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performance was taken over by bands with several members. At the performance of a band, multipart music is resembled, for example, by the unison tune being performed in parallel octaves. Such phenomena can be observed especially in Western Transylvania, in the former Kolozs County (i.e. Cluj-Napoca in Romania today). One example is the *Öreges lassú* [An old slow dance] from Bonchida (Bonţida in Kolozs County) performed by a four-member band, prímás Sándor Pusztai (born 1895), recorded by Zoltán Kallós and Ferenc Béres in 1964 (see online database *db.zti.hu/24ora/dalok.asp*; *Keresés/szűrés; Arch.szám* = 7383b1). We can also observe parallelism in thirds in instrumental music as well, particularly between the Danube and Tisza rivers.

One example in this case is "Szögény csárdás" [Silk (Hung. selyem, the word in dialect) Csárdás Dance] from Foktő (Pest County) played by a three-member band, prímás Gyula Zsiga (born 1902) recorded by György Martin, Jolán Borbély and Eszter Berkes in 1961 (see online database *db.zti.hu/24ora/dalok.asp; Keresés/szűrés; Arch. szám* = 9984f1).

A third-interval parallelism of this kind, which is evidenced in urban instrumental music and urban dance music, had left vocal music and peasant instrumental music unaffected for a long time. Modern third-interval parallelism did, however, leave its mark on Hungarians who became minorities after the First and Second World War (see Tari 1999a, 1999b, 1998). At this point we arrive at the topic of influences on the musical practices of Hungarian minorities.

V. Modern Phenomena: Influences from the Neighbours

Habitual changes amongst Hungarian minorities were not induced by migration, but by the fact that they were segregated from the motherland, and also because they were affected by the changes happening within the culture of their new countries, topped by radio and television. This process occurred in different territories at different times, and reached its height around the 1980s and 1990s. The appearance of the modern media and the disappearance of, or reduction in, the number of Hungarian language schools, leading to a deeper knowledge of their new country's culture, resulted in the loss of Hungarian traditions and to some extent a greater orientation towards the new country's folk music. In the Hungarian villages in the new country, the earlier instrumental ensembles quickly disappeared, and for most of the people almost only singing in church remained. The result of this process is the Slovakian, Ukrainian and Slovenian multipart singing effect shown in the style of folk songs and performances of certain villages.

Among the Hungarian minority in Ukraine, new style folk songs were recorded by two men in 1989 in Visk (Viskovce). They claimed to have sung like this since their

Fɪɢᴜʀᴇ 3: Józsa, Lajos (b. 1932) flute player (see A 48) – in his civil life a potter in the famous Transylvanian pottery village Korond/Corund, Romania. Photograph by Miháltz, Gábor. August 1997. Used with permission.

youth. They said it wasn't good enough "if there weren't two sounds" (in dialect: „Ha nem vót meg a két hang"). They compensated for the absence of instrumental accompaniment with diaphonic singing (A 49). The next song melody was first collected among the *székely* (Latin *siculi*) ethnic group in Transylvania, in the same territory where it is still popular among flute players as well (see Figure 3 and A 47, A 48).

Today, the village of Magyarbőd/Bidovce in Slovakia is known mainly for its dances due to the guest performances of the local dance group in Hungary. The village is also considered to be a place where multipart music is native. That, however, is not true. Ethnomusicologists have been visiting the village since the late 1960s, and I collected music there in 1994 (see Tari 2010, musical examples CD II, 47–54). Those present at the recordings were mostly women of traditional groups, some of them still wearing traditional costumes. They were singing happily and joyfully. Sometimes a couple of men joined in as well, and the women also danced to their own singing (Figures 4 and 5).

It is significant that there were barely any signs of traces of multipart music in previous collections from the village. However, the 25 years that passed before I arrived on a field trip was enough time to allow serious changes in the musical heritage of the village to take place. By that time, multipart singing was prevalent and common in many tunes because of the influence of the latest music of the Slovakians and the nearby Ruthenians. The singing of these women was also a good example of which songs became multipart and which remained original.

A unique place in their performances was taken up by the popular art song which is known from the folk play *A szökött színész és katona* (The Escaped Actor and Soldier) by Szigligeti Ede, first staged in 1844 with music to accompany the first performance of *Magasan repül a daru* (*The Crane Flies High*) by Egressy Benjamin. Another contem-

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FIGURE 4: Members of the traditional singing and dancing group in Magyarbőd/Bidovce, Slovakia (see A 52).
2 December 1994.
Photograph by Lujza Tari.

FIGURE 5: Members of the traditional singing and dancing group in Magyarbőd/Bidovce, Slovakia (see A 52).
2 December 1994.
Photograph by Lujza Tari.

porary poem is *Hótól fehér a gyöngyösi temető* (The Cemetery of the Town of Gyöngyös is White with Snow) (see Tari 1998a, musical example 96).

This then-famous song was also used by Franz Liszt as the first theme for his Hungarian Rhapsody No. 14 (Kerényi 1963, 211 and Tari 2013, 108). The popular art song was folklorized and diffused in peasant folk music and is known until today in different regions (A 50 and A 51, see Tari 1998, musical example 96). In the performance of the women from Magyarbőd we can hear that the first line is always monophonic, sometimes started by an ad-hoc pre-singer, and the continuation of the four-line verse is sung in several musical parts (see A 52).

VI. Interferences with the Tradition: the Influence of Polyphonic Ecclesiastical Songs on Profane Vocal Music.

In the 1970s, ethnomusicologists discovered a unique form of multipart singing in the Transylvanian village of Csávás (earlier Szászcsávás), which is Ceuaş in Romania today. This practice could be traced back to 18th century art music. Even though the polyphony of western art music and the so-called tenor-praxis of Claude Goudimel from the 16th century was originally very distant from the education of the Hungarian communities, it had a special effect on this Calvinist Hungarian village in Transylvania. Here, church songs and some worldly songs are sung in this kind of multipart music and at the same time adorned with a style that can be traced back to 18th-century harmonized singing. The multipart song practice of Calvinistic colleges in the late 18th century is a speciality in Hungary. A funeral song from a Gregorian chant songbook from 1807 (*Elvégeztük immár pályafutásunkat – We have finished our course of life*, see Szabó 2001) can be heard on A 53.

In addition to church songs, secular songs also absorbed elements of multipart music in Szászcsávás. One secular song from the 17th century, with some signs of harmonization from the 18th century, was kept alive through oral tradition, as can be heard on A 54. This process is connected with the instrumentalization of folk songs as well, especially by the genre of a slow, mildly asymmetric music designated as *Asztali nóta* (song on the table, see A 55).

VII. Summary

Benjamin Rajeczky highlighted randomly evolving multipart music phenomena in Hungarian folk music that originated from different shapings of the same tune. We can find numerous examples even today for heterophony, and other old phenomena,

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but the above-mentioned newer phenomena do not belong there, as they are specifically the result of the effects of closer and stronger encounters with music of other ethnic communities which are majorities in their respective countries. A good example of this are the same tunes collected in the same village, but sung in monophony in earlier times and in part in later recordings.

The newest vocal multipart music practices of Hungarian minorities in countries surrounding Hungary are isolated local phenomena today, with no effect on local practices in Hungary. Looking at the big picture of multipart music, however, we can assess that the actual usage and application of multipart music is carried out on different levels and locations simultaneously and can only be examined when taking the entirety of folk music into consideration.

The instrumentation and instrumentalization of sound and multipart music come together, in this case in Hungarian folk music. In everyday practice, folk songs have been subjected to instrumentation/instrumentalization by being performed by instrumental bands. This is a direct continuation of the tradition. At the same time, new phenomena have occurred in the musical practices of Hungarian minorities in the neighbouring countries. In the 20th century, and particularly after the 1970s, folk (and other) music influenced – primarily through the media – the singing among Hungarian minorities: monophonic folk songs thus obtained multipart music elements. This new structure offers new possibilities for their instrumentation.

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Speranţa Rădulescu

"I hear the drum, but I can't see it!"

The Main Accompanying Instrument and Its Emblematic Sound

ABSTRACT

Before the mid–19th century, the small musical ensembles that provided festive music for ordinary Romanians in villages and cities (sing. *taraf*, pl. *tarafuri*) used to perform only melodies. Their rhythm was sometimes supported by a percussion instrument. Later, the *taraf* began to add on a harmonic instrument, or one with a still untapped harmonic potential: the *cobza* (kobsa), then the small *cimbalom* in Walachia and Moldavia; a second violin or viola in scordatura (both called *contra*) in Transylvania; the guitar in northern Oltenia and Maramureş, and so forth. The new instrument began to develop increasingly complex western (tonal) harmonizations. Its sound became emblematic for the music of the region where it was used. In the 20th century, this instrument became the nucleus of an accompaniment section which it led in association with other mainly rhythmic instruments, e.g. the Transylvanian viola and the double bass teamed up as a duo with a distinct and distinctive sound; the Moldavian *cobza* collaborated with the middle drum to remodel the sound of the regional *taraf*, etc.

During the 20th century, the main accompanist of the *taraf* was undermined by other instruments which were favoured for their novelty as well as for their superior dynamic potential: the accordion, concert cimbalom and synthesizer. In recent years, it has sometimes been entirely supplanted by the synthesizer, which has incorporated its timbre and taken over its functions. However, the main accompanying instrument remains emblematic, occasionally together with its paired instrument, and even in its absence. People still want to recognize its/their timbre, and the authoritarian elderly even insist on seeing it. Such was the case of a wedding guest from Moldavia who, during the wedding party, shouted at the young synthesizer player: "I hear the drum, but I can't see it! I want to see it!" The young man had to run to the village and back to satisfy his wish.

Introduction

This paper is a synthesis of the data included in the books *Taraful şi acompaniamentul armonic în muzica de joc* (*The* Taraf *and Harmonic Accompaniment in Dance Music*) (Rădulescu 1984), *Instrumentele muzicale ale poporului român* (*The Musical Instruments*

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of the Romanians) (Alexandru 1956), and some other volumes and articles, most of which are quite "old" (see References). However, the information has been updated and reinterpreted on the basis of direct observations and information collected by the author over several decades of uninterrupted work with many folk music ensembles from all the regions of Romania.

By the mid–19th century, the small music ensembles that provided festive music to Romanians in villages and cities (ensembles which we designate here, with a word of Turkish origin, *taraf*, pl. *tarafuri*[1]) would perform only melodies, occasionally supported by a percussion instrument (drum or *daire*). Everywhere the melody carrier was the violin or a group of two, maximum 3–4 violins[2], sometimes strengthened (in the Romanian Principalities, i.e. the southern and eastern provinces of present-day Romania) by a *cobza* (kobsa), treated like a melodic instrument (A 58). Toward the middle of the same 19th century, the *tarafuri* began to include in their lineup an instrument with a harmonic potential, or with a previously unexploited harmonic potential. In Muntenia, Moldavia and southern Oltenia, this instrument was again the kobsa, now used to produce simple or double pedals on the tonic and tonic-fifth, respectively. In Transylvania, the accompanying instrument was initially the second violin, in a special tuning (*scordatura*) allowing the simultaneous production of bichords or even of complete chords[3]. In northern Oltenia and Maramureş, perhaps beginning with the first decade of the 20th century, the ordinary (classical Italian) guitar with three strings tuned to the fifth[4], and later to the usual major chord was used (see Figure 1). As accompaniment instruments varied from one cultural area to another, the sound of the *tarafuri* was territorially distinctive. Their distinct mark was due mainly to the timbre of the accompanying instrument. It also depended on the actual way in which (com-

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1   Ethnomusicologists decided to designate the Romanian folk music ensemble by the word *taraf* (pl. *tarafuri*), using the most widespread of its regional names: *taraf*, *bandă*, *bantă*, *ceată*, *muzică*, *trupă*, *orchestră*.

2   The number of violins was larger when the hirer was rich (prince, grand boyar, well-heeled innkeeper, etc.) and/or the feast mobilized a great number of participants.

3   The accompaniment violin had only three strings with *a-d1-g* tuning, stretched over a flat bridge whose grooves were close together. Played without effort in the first position, it produced a few chords in C, G, D or A major and their minor parallels: A, E, H, F sharp. An important note: all the used chords were major, irrespective of the major or minor profile of the melodies. Béla Bartók recorded the accompaniment violin in the first two decades of the 20th century. The transcriptions he made later from these recordings were included in his posthumous volume *Rumanian Folk Music I. Instrumental Music* (Bartók 1967). (It should be mentioned that the violin was an instrument borrowed from Central European academic music as early as the 18th century.)

4   The perfect-fifths accompaniment of the Maramureş guitar was documented by Béla Bartók in his book *Volksmusik der Rumänen von Maramureş* (Bartók 1923). (The pieces in the book were recorded in 1913.) About the guitar from northern Oltenia there are only indirect notes by Constantin Brăiloiu.

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Figure 1: *Taraf* from the village of Pârâu de Pripor, Gorj county (southern Romania), playing at the Peasant Museum, Bucharest. 2011. Photograph by Valeriu Rădulescu.

Figure 2: *Taraf* from Bucharest, playing in the courtyard of the Peasant Museum (A 59). 2009. Photograph by Valeriu Rădulescu.

plete or fragmentary) accompanying chords were exposed: plaqué or figured through one melodic-rhythmic formula or another. In other words, it depended on the way in which folk musicians decided to use the respective instruments, by either adopting or transgressing the way in which they were utilized in the musics they originated in (see below)[5].

Beginning with the third and fourth decades of the 20th century, the accompanying instrument was replaced or backed by another one, with superior harmonic and dynamic resources. The *kobsa* was supplanted by the small cimbalom (A 56), and later by the accordion (see Figure 2).

The accompaniment violin gave its place to the viola (named *brace* or *contra*) with the same special tuning[6] (A 57 and Figure 3), strengthened after several decades by the accordion[7]. In northern Oltenia, the guitar was either replaced by the accordion or backed by it. In their new lineups, the regional *tarafuri* preserved their specific sound to a large extent, marked by the old instruments, by the more recently adopted accompaniment instruments, or by both (A 59). But the substitution of accompaniment instruments by other instruments with a superior dynamic potential has continued, step by step, to this day, when all of them are making room for the synthesizer. As a consequence, the regional *tarafuri* have obscured their sonorous identity. Let us leave the present aside for a moment and go back to the first half of the last century.

The accompanying instruments of the *tarafuri* fulfilled a harmonic function, but also a rhythmic one, since their chords were expressed in rhythmic or melodic-rhythmic formulae that differed from one another, hence from region to region. Gradually they developed increasingly more complex Western-type (i.e. tonal) harmonizations, while keeping the chord exposure formulae unaltered[8]. As I've said, more accompanying instruments joined on the way, whose mission was to complete and enrich the harmonies and strengthen the rhythmic backup of the overall discourse. They were: the cello (soon replaced by the double bass), another second violin and/or a viola, and

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5   Some of the accompanying instruments of the *tarafuri* in that period, i.e. the violin, the viola and the guitar, were rather late borrowings (beginning in the 18th century) from European academic and popular musics. In contrast, the *kobsa*, the small cimbalom, and the *daire* were borrowed earlier, with significant local adaptations, from the Balkans and the Middle East.

6   The *brace*-viola had the same preparation and tuning as the second violin which preceded it: a short, straight-cut bridge and three strings tuned *a-d1-g*. The bow used by folk musicians, often manufactured by themselves, was short and sturdy. It is a typical case of an instrument which originated in Central European academic music and was adjusted and used by folk musicians in Romania in ways they considered beneficial for their music.

7   In Transylvania, the main accompanying instrument of bands hired to enliven the parties of Hungarians or Roma parties was the same *contra* (viola, prepared in the same way).

8   The chord exposition may be *plaqué* – as in the case of the viola and (in some cases) the *kobsa* and accordion – or figured, as in the case of the cimbalom and (sometimes) a second violin and accordion.

Figure 3: *Taraf* from the town of Gherla, central Transylvania, Romania (A 57). 2013.
Photograph by Valeriu Rădulescu.

the accordion. Thus, through successive additions accompaniment compartments or sections took shape.

In parallel with the accompaniment sections, the solo sections also expanded and became heterogeneous. The main violin, included in almost all the *taraf* across Romania, was associated with a pipe, clarinet, trumpet, saxophone or taragot depending on the region and various specific circumstances[9]. Thus, the *taraf* grew as a result of the enlargement of both compartments. The enlargement was determined, among other things, by a growth in the audience: the villages and the cities became more populated, the parties more pompous, and the partygoers more numerous. Consequently, music ensembles had to become larger so as to increase their penetration power. Nevertheless, at a certain point this enlargement came to a halt for practical reasons: the

9   A few such circumstances: a local *taraf* consists of, or is completed as needed with, available solo instrumentalists even if they play less common instruments, e.g. bagpipes or a piccolo flute. Alternatively, a *taraf* may be completed with a saxophone when the employer considers that his party needs a more ample sound, and the musicians find a saxophonist who is willing to join them. In fact, the lineup of the solo section is more permissive than that of the accompaniment section.

pay due to an ensemble lining up more than six or seven members risked exceeding the financial power of ordinary hirers.

In time, the enlargement and heterogenization of the *taraf* determined the musicians to sort out the role of each separate instrument, and also clarify and codify cooperation among the members of an ensemble.

Functions in a taraf

The main violinist (called *primaș*) is the leader of the *taraf*[10]. In his absence, the function may be fulfilled, on a temporary or permanent basis, by a clarinettist or accordionist, as the case may be. The first violinist performs the melody, either solo or together with another instrumentalist. The latter follows the melodic course without the obligation to reproduce all the details: heterophonic deviations are possible at any time. During the performance, the first violinist supervises all the soloists, now coagulated in a section, and follows the rhythmic coordination of the entire music ensemble. An exigent and competent one will also command, through words or signs, the tonal-harmonic course of the accompaniment; an easy-going or unskilled one will hand over these duties to the main accompanist altogether.

The main accompanist, who handles the instrument with the greatest harmonic resources, is the leader of the section formed around him. He conducts it by setting the rhythm prescribed by the main violinist *(primaș)*, and suggesting to his team a harmonic course that seems to him adequate to the melody. This course is never unique, but only one of all the possible ones: he may alter it, within certain limits, upon each resumption of the melody. The main accompanist may lose his position as a leader to a secondary accompanist only if the latter plays an instrument with comparable harmonic resources and/or is a better technician and harmonizer and is trusted by all his section fellows. (For example, in Muntenia an accordionist may take over the leader role from a cimbalom player.)

Secondary accompanists play instruments with a tonal-harmonic and/or rhythmic support role. Both functions may be fulfilled by the accordion, another viola or another second violin or double bass[11]. They follow the harmonic course prescribed by

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10 In Moldavia, Banat and (very seldom) in other Romanian regions, a particular type of *taraf* has emerged: the folk brass band. Its band leader is the first clarinettist or the first trumpeter in Moldavia, or the soprano or alto flugelhorn player in Banat. The "main accompanist" in the folk brass band is a group of at least two instruments that play the harmonic core of the chords.

11 For a long time the cello, then its successor, the double bass, performed almost exclusively the fundamentals and the fifths of the chords emitted by the main accompanist: in this way, the two instruments very clearly underscored the tonal subordination of the accompaniments. The accordion is

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the leader of their section (sometimes by the first violinist himself), and perform it according to the technical resources of their own instruments, but also depending on their own skill and creativity. For example, they have the right to produce a slightly simpler or, more rarely, more complex harmonization than their direct boss; or to change the chords he suggests in anticipation or with a delay[12]. Like secondary soloists, secondary accompanists are free to personalize their contribution, provided they do not take it too far away from their section leader's.

It results that the freedoms which all the instrumentalists in *tarafuri* enjoy, at least in principle, create the premises for an infinite variety of details in the musical discourse. The freedoms are only limited by the need to preserve the identity of the performed piece.

The modus operandi *of a* taraf

The instrumentalists of a *taraf* coordinate their performances without the help of a conductor. They have their own ways of communicating and cooperating during the musical performance. Here are a few:

When he prepares to attack a piece (or one whose tonality and rhythm are different from the last performed piece), the *primaș* plays on his violin (or clarinet, or accordion, etc.) the standard accompaniment formula normally performed by the main accompanist. By this he indicates to all his subordinates: the tonality, the tempo, and the accompaniment formula that he wishes. Then the *primaș* attacks the tune and leaves this formula to his accompanists' discretion.

The musicians communicate through more or less codified glances and gestures which they recognize without fail, especially if they perform together often. As a rule, the *primaș* (more rarely the main accompanist) makes more ample and more energetic gestures with his head or his instrument to indicate to the others either the rhythm or a rhythm modification, or the moment to change a chord with another or a piece with another.

Musicians also communicate through short phrases or words, in particular when they cannot see one another well. For example, the main accompanist or the first violinist indicate by a syllable (or two, or three) either the fundamental or the function

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an instrument with great melodic-harmonic resources that often adopted, in accompaniment, melodic-rhythmic formulae borrowed from the instruments it replaced. The drum, where present, fulfills only a rhythmic function.

12 That happens often – especially delayed harmonic changes. For limited periods of time, superpositions of different chords may occur that are perceived as natural.

of the chord he wants his subordinates to perform: *A* or *la* (for an A chord)[13] (the quality of the chord is not always specified, but the musicians can understand it from the context); *sectima* (sic, for the diminished seventh chord); *soţ de d* for the dominant chord of the G tonality; or *dur/moll* to draw the attention to the fact that the chord to be attacked is major/minor.

Finally, musicians also communicate by watching one another's hands, in particular the main accompanist's, as well as the strings or the keys of the instruments[14].

The more stable the human composition of the ensemble, the more efficient the communication. Communication is ideal in family *tarafuri*, or in ensembles whose members have performed together for many years. In these, the musicians use small gestures and utter few words, because they can guess the intentions from almost imperceptible moves: anyway, in previous performances they have already established, at least to some point, the "ideal" versions of the pieces in their repertoire.

As I've mentioned above, the main accompaniment instrument has a particular quality: timbre, expressed in the accompaniment formulae it performs. This timbre is the stamp of the regional/local identity of the *taraf* and it produces the sound that the people expect to hear. This is a fact that musicians cannot ignore. Before replacing a main accompanyinginstrument with a more efficient one, they have always gone through a period of transition, during which the old and the new instruments performed together: the *kobsa* and the small cimbalom, the guitar and the accordion, the viola-contra and the accordion. In the last two or three decades, musicians plucked up their courage and made a radical gesture: they replaced not only the main accompanying instrument, but (almost) all accompaniment instruments of the regional *tarafuri* with the synthesizer[15]. The substitution is tough, because it does not consist in the replacement of one or several instruments, but also in the replacement of an acoustic with an electronic sound[16].

It was not the first blow to the regional *tarafuri*: throughout the 1950s–1980s, the accordion, infiltrated into the accompaniment sections of *tarafuri* all over Romania, had

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13 Older musicians often use the German names for notes (a, b, c, h, etc.); the young ones rather use the Italian ones (do, re, mi, etc.). All of them know both.

14 In most cases, the musicians are able to play all the instruments of the *taraf* to varying degrees. Thus, they can easily guess what the other band members are playing even when they cannot hear the others, just by looking at them.

15 A *taraf* with a synthesizer is now typical for the whole of Romania. Hiring such a band costs roughly as much as the acoustic *taraf* of the past: the number of musicians in the former is often smaller because the synthesizer covers several instruments, but each musician gets a larger share of the total payment because he makes use of relatively expensive technological implements. The double bass has survived in all the more recent *tarafuri*, probably because in recent decades musicians' attention has focused especially on the low pitches of the harmonic tissue.

16 The deterioration of acoustic timbres had been prepared for some decades by the electronic amplification which musicians had begun to use in the late 1960s.

already quite seriously undermined their distinctive sound. The depersonalization of this sound had been furthermore stimulated by state-controlled *tarafuri*, which were recommended as exemplary and superior[17], and which combined instruments from all the regions of the country, thus producing an impersonal sound that came from everywhere and nowhere. With the intrusion of the synthesizer, depersonalization was pushed dangerously far. It severely impeded the people's need to recognize the sound of their *taraf*, hence of their music. Aware of this fact, the musicians introduced into the memory of their synthesizer the timbre of the old main accompanying instrument or the couple it formed with another instrument that had also become emblematic for the regional *taraf*. Along with the timbres, they also introduced the underlying rhythmic or melodic-rhythmic formulae of the instrumentalists' accompaniments.

The new sound was accepted by many, but did not necessarily satisfy all. Moreover, the more exigent listeners wanted not just to hear, but also to see the accompanying instrument or group of instruments that produced it. The musicians came up with a little remedy for the situation: they kept in the *taraf* an older member of the family (grandfather, father, father-in-law, etc.) who feigned playing, together with the others, the once important – now useless – accompaniment instrument. The trick has been in use for quite a while, because it also has this advantage: it gives old musicians a chance to earn some money after they have lost their abilities or are no longer needed[18]. Those who do not pull this trick may expect a surprise like the one recounted to me in 2007 by the old drummer Ghiţă from Vorona, Botoşani county. He had been invited to the final banquet of a wedding in the village. As he was seated close to the synthesizer, he was able to observe the scene described below:

During a break in the performance, an oldster went to the young man who played the synthesizer and, pointing at a loudspeaker, said: "I hear the drum, but I can't see it." Ironic and disdainful, the young man replied: "What are you talking about, grandpa? The drum is here, inside!" But the old man was not daunted: "I hear it, but I can't see it!" They continued to squabble until the organist, running out of patience with his stubborn interlocutor, was forced to run to the village and fetch a drum.

The story is full of substance: in the people's imagination, the sound, the instrument that produces it, and the gestures of the musician that plays the instrument are one. In a traditional culture, the music is made to be both listened to and "seen" (listen again to the A 58).

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17 Those who explicitly recommend these state-controlled ensembles are cultural activists. Their promotion through radio and television channels and folklore shows is in fact the strongest recommendation.

18 In my professional life I have often seen old musicians who feigned playing instruments intermittently into shut-off microphones meant to deceive both the hirer and the audience. Their performance was in fact either nonexistent or entirely engulfed by the overall powerfully amplified sound of the *taraf*.

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III. TRADITION, REVIVAL, PRACTICE

Bernard Garaj

Towards the Instrumentation of Sound in a Band Consisting of String Instruments and Bagpipes

ABSTRACT

Bands consisting of string instruments and bagpipes represent the oldest ensembles that have existed in Slovakia since the 17th century. Although today they are found as a part of a living music tradition only in Northern Slovakia (bagpipes and violin), we know from historical sources that in the past they existed or might have existed in other regions as well. The aim of this paper is to describe the reconstruction of this tradition using the example of the band Ponitran, which has combined a traditional string band (first and second violin, contra viola, double bass) with bagpipes into one ensemble and thus presents an archaic bagpipe song repertoire from the Nitra area. Looking for a new instrumentation has been a long process characterized by a specific attitude towards:

- the technique of ornamentation and variation in the playing of violinists
- the harmonic and rhythmical accompaniment of the contra viola and double-bass player
- the complementarity of the sound of string instruments in their relation to bagpipes
- the complementarity of the sound of the instrumental and vocal performance
- tuning and problems of intonation
- the interpretation style of the band determined by the dominant function of bagpipes as an originally solo instrument playing for dancers.

The History of the Bagpipe and Violin Duo in Slovakia

Bagpipe and violin duos on Slovak territory can be traced back to the 17th century, as documented in Daniel Speer's *Ungarischer oder dacianischer Simplicissimus* [Hungarian or Dacian Simplicissimus] (1683), in the political pamphlet *Ungarische Wahrheitsgeige* [The Hungarian Truth Violin], probably from Košice (Mačák 1972, 139) and published in the same year, and lastly in Justus van der Nypoort's engraving of the view from below Vranov Castle in Eastern Slovakia dating back to 1686 (Závadová 1974, 317). Another piece of interesting evidence can be seen in Karl Ditters von Ditters-

dorf's memoirs, which reveal that in 1754 he paid a visit to the empress Maria Theresia in Schloss Hof and Schloss Niederweiden, at which four Slovak pipers from Hof an der March, a nearby village, performed while he accompanied them on a violin (Deutsch 1996, 174). It seems it was not an unusual grouping of musical instruments for the area. The first musical notation (part of a collection of melodies known as *Hochzeitslieder und Nationaltänze der Slowaken auf der Herrschaft Rabensburg* [Wedding Songs and Slovak National Dances in the Barony of Rabensburg][1]) of combining bagpipes with two violins comes from the village of Rabensburg in 1819. During the first decades of the 20th century, a bagpipe and violin duo was documented in Chorvátsky Grob (Slovakia) and in other parts of South West Slovakia (Václavík 1925, 34). However, during the inter-war period it disappeared due to the competition from other musical instruments and bands. Up to this day, the pairing of these instruments performing as a duo (bagpipes and violin) or trio (bagpipes with two violins) has been vital in two villages in the Northern Orava region: Sihelné and Oravská Polhora, and it is probable that this combination of instruments was present in the entire Orava region. A bagpipe and violin duo forms an integral part of a European music practice, even though it seems that from the 17th century onwards it has only remained in a few countries, including Slovakia.

Motivation for Combining the Bagpipes with a String Band in the Nitra and Pohronský Inovec Regions

The main goal of the article is to point out problems related to the introduction of bagpipes into the string band Ponitran from Nitra (Western Slovakia). With regard to the documented occurrence of bagpipe and violin duos in various regions of Slovakia, we assume this grouping of instruments might have existed in all the regions with a strong bagpipe tradition without there being any specific preserved evidence. This assumption is based on the fact that bagpipes existed in the Nitra region up to the first third of the 20th century. Moreover, the bagpipe tradition has been continuously maintained up to the present in the neighbouring and the best-known bagpipe region of Pohronský Inovec (a part of the former Tekov county). From both of these regions we managed to gather a number of audio and video recordings of an entire generation

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1 This was the result of an activity of the *Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde des österreichischen Kaiser-Staates in Wien* (Society of the Friends of Music in Vienna) while preparing a collection of folk music and dances in all the countries of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy. The transcript forms part of material sent to the collection, which was known as *Hochzeitslieder und Nationaltänze der Slowaken auf der Herrschaft Rabensburg* [Wedding Songs and National Slovak Dances in the Barony of Rabensburg]. See also Vetterl 1972.

of great pipers, the majority of whom died about 20–30 years ago.[2] Another contributing factor is a rich tradition of string and cimbalom bands in the Nitra and Tekov regions that was further developed by Ponitran during the first years of their existence starting in 1979. Since 1983, Ponitran have played the bagpipe repertoire.[3] An equally strong motivation was an attempt to uncover the rich archaic bagpipe songs which at that time lived only in the memories of the oldest people.

In relation to our aim, the following questions have arisen:

1. How can the bagpipes be combined with string instruments in a region where there is no historical evidence of such a grouping?
2. How can the bagpipes be combined with a string band using a first violin, second violin, contra-violin, and contrabass?
3. How can the bagpipes be used, bearing in mind their different construction and tuning in comparison with the Orava bagpipes?
4. How can the peculiarities of the musical styles of bagpipers and first violin players be brought together, knowing that both bagpipers as solo players and first violinists as leaders of their bands are characterized by playing which contains typical features related to the practice and interpretation of their regional and local styles?
5. Which reactions from colleagues and audiences can be expected in relation to such combinations of musical instruments?

Starting points or inspiration to find answers can be found in the analysis of the following phenomena:

• typical style features of (solo) bagpipe playing
• typical features of first violinists playing in string bands focused on their grace or variation technique
• typical features of bagpipe and violin playing as it is still preserved in the lively practice in the Northern Orava region.

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2 This also applies to recordings from the Nitra area performed by an outstanding piper, Jozef Antalik (1898–1989), who played until his final days.
3 The interest in this repertoire can be mainly explained by the rich, systematic and long-lasting collecting activity of Marian Járek, a first violin player who is the author of dozens of song collections from the Nitra and Tekov areas containing a number of bagpipe songs.

Bagpipe Interpretive Style and its Universal Features

Bagpipe interpretive styles can, in general, be described on two levels. They are determined on the one hand by the acoustical and constructional characteristics of the instrument, and on the other hand by their individual use and the piper's idea of the ideal sound and personal musical skills, corresponding with local or regional musical practice. This approach facilitates the explanation of the general characteristics of bagpipe playing and its main features (see Garaj 1995, 183).

- Decorative forms *(cifras)*
  With regard to decorative forms, two creative methods have been developed. The first consists of bagpipes playing a fragmentation or enrichment of the main melody line with new notes. In their occurrence, it is possible to observe an attempt to appear in the smallest intervals. The second one is based on bagpipes playing in the repetition, variation or overlapping of small motifs. Some of them gradually become firmly-fixed decorative forms. They are known as *cifras* and are characteristic for every piper.

- Rhythmical accents
  Upper bourdon
  Special types of rhythmical accents arise when playing the highest degrees of the scale. Their frequent repetition over the whole course of the song is known as the *upper bourdon*.

Kontra-playing (lower bourdon)
  Kontra-playing consists of a repeated movement between the basic tone and the lowest degree of the scale (the lower fourth), which is carried out under the melodic line and becomes its stabilized rhythmical part.

- Dominance of rhythmically linked expressions
  From a rhythmical point of view, it is possible to distinguish two types of performance: rhythmically linked and rhythmically unlinked. Rhythmically unlinked bagpipe playing is included in the repertoire of Christmas carols or the so-called songs and tunes for listening (i.e. not for dancing). However, bagpipe playing in Slovakia is dominated by rhythmically linked performance. The precise rhythmic feeling and its correct performance has been the most important criterion for its evaluation. This fact is undoubtedly connected with the primary function of bagpipes in Slovakia: as an instrument to accompany dancing.

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First Violinists' Grace and Variation Technique

Grace and variation techniques belong to general playing practice in traditional music. In string or cimbalom bands in Slovakia, this phenomenon is mostly typical in the first violinist's interpretative practice (see also Elschek 1981). Their playing is so distinctive that it can be identified on a regional, local or even individual level. One of the reasons for this level of differentiation can be found in the fact that regarding their ambitus and tonality, string and cimbalom bands – in contrast to bagpipes – do not have any interpretative limits, and their repertoire has been influenced by fashionable trends. Its oldest level is linked to archaic bagpipe playing and related dances of the "old style". Among the modern influences we mainly have to mention the New Hungarian music style from the 19th century, which is notable for its interpretation of dance melodies such as the *czardas* or *verbunk*. An important role is also played by a new modern dance repertoire consisting of polkas or waltzes which folk musicians encountered in the first half of 20th century. The level of the grace and variation technique depends on the individual technical skill, musicality and music taste of the musician and is always determined by the relationship of playing to dance. It is no surprise that the performance of Roma first violinists, who have made a living from music and have been in closer contact with urban surroundings, is much richer and better developed than the playing of non-Roma violinists, who performed mainly in their villages. This explains why it is so complicated to generalize the common features of first violinists as we have done in the case of bagpipers.

• Grace notes and melodic ornamentation
The most common and universal features in the performance of first violinists are grace notes, mordents and trills. They are followed by melodic ornaments created by a combination of turns and longer phrases of grace tones. Another way of decorating the melody is by dividing a note into smaller rhythmical units. All these decorations in general appear spontaneously and without any strict rules. In spite of the fact that the violinists' playing technique is richer (*vibrato*, *glissando*, *pizzicato*, etc.), it is important to mention that because they play in a band with other instruments they have not been forced to develop and use such rhythmical accents as is the case in the playing of the bagpipes.

Characteristic Interpretative Features of a Bagpipe and Violin Duo in Northern Orava

As mentioned previously, the living tradition in the Northern Orava region remains an inspiration for the analysis of the characteristic features of the interplay between

bagpipes and the violin (see also Garaj 1992). The playing of the bagpipes with the violin contains the most natural principles of two instruments playing together, i.e. the principles of old musical practice, which can be summarized as follows:

1. The dominant form of polyphonic sound with a combination of bagpipes and violins is heterophony. It can be understood as a variation of sounds arising spontaneously during performance as a result of:
- a combination of two or three[4] different melodic variations of the same tune;
- as a result of the simplification of the melodic line (especially in places where the range of bagpipes is inadequate, so that some deformation of the melodic line occurs, but there is not a substantial deviation);
- an imprecise, unequal performance.

2. When bagpipes and the violin play together, the influence of the bagpipes on the violin is typical, not vice versa. This is because of the specific means of expression in bagpipe playing, from which it can be assumed that their roots go back to the original function of bagpipes as solo instruments. By contrast, violin players did not perform as solo musicians, nor did they lead string bands as first violin players. Following the local tradition, they were tied to the bagpipes without having any opportunity to gain recognition. Likewise, they were not forced to develop their melodic creativity or technical skill, which were typical features of first violin players in other regions.

3. The dominance of the bagpipes over the violin is demonstrated by the fact that with regard to the pitch, the violin has to comply with the bagpipes, not vice versa. In the case of a large deviation it might require the shortening of the violin strings [like a capotasto].

4. At the same time, bagpipe and violin duos in Northern Orava provide an indication of the splitting of musical functions between the two instruments. In slow songs for listening, the characteristics of bagpipe variation playing also relates to the violin playing. In dance tunes the violin acts as a melodic instrument, while the melodic function in the performance of bagpipes is weakened due to a fact that the bagpipes also have a rhythmical function (especially when using the *upper bourdon*).

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4   Three different melodic variations are created in the joint playing of bagpipes and two violins, because the other violin fulfils the function of a melodic, non-rhythmical instrument, as documented in the musical notation from Rabensburg (1819).

The Introduction of the Bagpipes in a String Band

The bagpiper and the First Violin Player

The connection between the bagpipes and the first violin within a string band not only involves the characteristic features of a bagpipe and violin performance, but there is also a problem of leadership in the band, where the bagpiper disrupts the privileged role of the first violinist. This relationship exerts an influence throughout the entire performance. Some principles of their playing together have been created by its long duration, by certain conscious compromises or others which originated spontaneously and gradually became fixed.

1. Inspired by the tradition from Northern Orava, heterophony is a basic attribute of the performance. It appears when the piper modifies the melody according to the scale and limited ambitus of his instrument, while the violinist has no such limits. The tonal range of the bagpipes lacks, for example, the seventh; the fourth and the sixth are generally tuned higher while the octave is tuned lower.

The fourth deserves our special attention. It is an interval that in Slovak folk music appears as a perfect fourth (in Ionian or major melodies) but very often also as the Lydian fourth, seeing that Lydian songs have a rich tradition in Slovakia. The fourth sounds mostly higher on bagpipes than the perfect fourth, and lower than the Lydian fourth. The question was whether to retain such tuning or try to choose one of the two options described. The solution was to maintain this characteristically "unclean" tuning not only to the fourth, but also the sixth, which becomes a significant interpretation feature of a bagpipe repertoire. The only deliberate interference was the accurate tuning of the octave due to the nature of the bagpipe songs, where there is often a melodic shift from the fifth to the octave and back (V 24).

2. A specific form of heterophony can be achieved while playing melodies which, due to their ambitus, (upward or downward) exceed the range of a chanter. In this case, the piper is forced to deform the melody and seek compromises, or the least conflicting solutions[5] (V 25).

3. Methods of decorating the melody and variation techniques of both instruments resulted from the original interpretative experience. In the piper's playing, mainly those characteristic features which are common to the bagpipes whilst functioning as a solo

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5   It was a common performance practice when the pipers demonstrated their technical disposition and melodic invention. For more details see Janáček 1955, Markl, Garaj 1990.

instrument remained, while the violinists' playing follows the regional interpretative style of the first violin players of string or cimbalom bands (V 26).

4. The only important difference between the piper's playing compared to a solo performance is a less frequent use of some rhythmical accents, because this function is fulfilled by the contra viola, contrabass and bladder fiddle.

Role of the Second Violinist

The relationship between the first and second violinist in Slovak traditional music is highly interesting. Generally, it is characterized by a relatively free relationship; especially when the second violinist is technically well trained, he becomes almost an equal partner to the first violin player. Rarely can we speak about a servile relationship in which the second violinist is completely dependent on the first violin player's dominance. In this context the Nitra and Tekov regions are characterized by the second violinist playing a harmonically determined second voice (not necessarily just parallel intervals) and thus having adequate space for decorating the melody. With regard to the aforementioned heterophony and the narrow ambitus of bagpipe songs, the second violinist becomes their victim when playing together with bagpipes. In practice it means he either attempts to play *unisono* with the first violin player, or he plays the melody one octave lower. Or more commonly, he plays the bladder fiddle instead of the violin and thus supports the rhythmical expression of the performance (V 27).

Rhythmical Accompaniment of the Contra Viola and Double Bass Player

The playing of rhythmical instruments such as the viola and contrabass distinguished the main methods of rhythmical accompaniment employed in the whole Carpathian region. The most frequent method of rhythmical accompaniment is the so-called *duvaj*, where within one bow movement two rhythmical units are played, and *es-tam*, during which the roles are divided between the contrabass and viola. While the contrabass plays odd (heavy) beats, the viola plays even (light) ones. Both ways of accompaniment can be combined when a dance requires a move from a slow part (*duvaj)* to a faster finale (*es-tam*), which is, for example, typical for czardas songs (V 28).

Harmonic Accompaniment of the Contra Viola and Double Bass Player

Although duos with the bagpipes and the violin are characterized by heterophony, the elements of polyphonic sound as an indication of harmonic feeling are immanently present in the very playing of bagpipes. The continual tone of the drone pipe as an accompaniment to the melody is one of the simplest forms of polyphonic sound. Polyphonic and at the same time harmonically stable passages can also be seen in the

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above-mentioned two voice sounds (basic tone and its upper third) produced by bag-pipes with a double or triple chanter.

Harmonic accompaniment is the task of the violinist and also the bass player in Slo-vak string bands (called *kontras)*. A rich harmonic accompaniment is typical for Slovak folk music, while the fundamental harmonic functions in major and minor keys com-bine with a number of other chords. Modulations in the parallel keys and quint har-monic transposition are frequent. All of this is limited by the simple melodic construc-tions of bagpipe songs and by the presence of bourdon in bagpipe playing. In practice this means that the harmonic accompaniment is limited to playing basic harmonic functions. Exceptions exist in the form of harmonic transpositions when the bagpiper stops playing and joins the band after returning to the basic key (V 29 and V 30).

Tuning and Problems of Intonation

In connection with the above-mentioned intonation problems, the high pitch of the bagpipes should also be mentioned. This is determined by the type of instrument and its regional distribution. There are several types of bagpipes in Slovakia and their pitch goes from F1 (Northern Orava), through G1 – A1 (Central Slovakia) to A1 (Ni-tra) or B-flat 1 – B1 (Pohronský Inovec). Since the repertoire of Ponitran mainly con-tains songs from the latter region, the problem with the pitch of the bagpipes has been reduced to two options: B-flat 1 or B1. It is obvious that neither solution is comfort-able for violinists who naturally play on empty strings and related G, D and A keys. Taking into consideration the practical experience of musicians that keys with sharps played on stringed instruments sound better than keys with flats has led to the final solution: to use h1-pitched bagpipes.

Another problem is how to tune the instrument correctly so that the pitch remains stable during the whole performance. Typical Ponitran performances including con-certs do not allow violinists or other musicians to adjust to bagpipe tuning as is pos-sible in Northern Orava. Even though the aim of this paper is not to discuss these problems in detail, we would like to stress one fact: following the period of using traditional reeds which are not sensitive to tuning and often not stable, i.e. reeds made from elder wood, new reeds made from new kinds of materials (plastic, glass, polycar-bonate) were used. Therefore, since about the year 2000 there has been no problem with the stability of bagpipe pitch in Ponitran.

The Sound Complementarity of Instrumental and Vocal Performance

A significant component of traditional music in Slovakia is singing. This is related to the fact that a dominant part of the folk repertoire consists of songs with lyrics. Purely instrumental songs, regardless of whether they are interpreted by bands or solo play-ers – instrumentalists (bagpipe, flute, *fujara* and accordion players) form a marginal

part of their repertoire. In practice this means that singing is one of the important criteria for the evaluation of musicians' quality, and therefore it is an immanent and natural component of all music, dancing and social occasions in the life of the village. The particular importance of singing is underlined by the fact that during a dance party the dancers themselves request new songs from musicians, which the latter have to sing as well. The strongest emotional interaction between musicians and dancers or during the playing of slow songs between musicians and their listeners comes from singing along.

Bagpipe songs are particularly attractive in this respect, because their lyrics are full of lascivious or erotic motifs. Thus singing is also a natural part of the bagpipe repertoire for Ponitran, although its implementation in the early days of performance was not easy. Apart from selecting appropriate lyrics, a basic problem is the high vocal position of male voices that follows from the high pitch of bagpipes.

As mentioned previously, even accompanying slow melodies, old pipers always used to play rhythmically, thus diverging from singers. In the case of Ponitran, slow melodies appear at the beginning of a bagpipe song block so as to achieve a contrast with a faster finale. Playing *rubato* when interpreting these songs can be understood as one of the biggest offences against tradition (V 31).

In the spirit of the characteristics of bagpipe songs and also in connection with heterophony, which dominates in their instrumental interpretation, *unisono* or two-part singing prevails in the singing of musicians, in contrast to different song repertoires characterized by much more regionally differentiated multipart singing (V 32).

The Sound Complementarity of String Instruments in Relation to Bagpipes
This problem means there is a need to accomplish a balanced and full sound not only regarding the acoustic properties of individual instruments, but also regarding the final sound of a band in the entire tonal range. The bagpipes are undoubtedly a determining factor with their characteristic sound and static intonation level. All other instruments have to adjust to it. As a result, the first violinist prefers to play an octave higher, the viola player (*kontráš*) plays on the bottom strings, while the contrabass player uses mostly the top strings. Even this solution, which seems to be unrevealing, had to be invented and verified gradually by years of playing together. However, the result is the characteristic, unique sound of the whole band, which together with its repertoire has become one of its important features.

When comparing the sound balance of the interplay of the bagpipes and the violin in Northern Orava with the performance by Ponitran's musicians with regard to volume, we encounter a problem of sound opposition of the bagpipes to the four other instruments. This can be solved by placing the piper in the middle of the formation next to the first violinist and sometimes also in front of other musicians or by giving

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him his own microphone. There are not many options if we take into consideration the fact that it is almost impossible to force other musicians to play *piano* all the time.

The Acceptance of Bagpipe Bands in the Professional and Amateur Folklore and Non-Folklore Community

Taking into account a range of questions concerning the acceptance of bagpipe bands in the community, the audience can be divided into two groups – one is the folklore community, in other words, people who regularly attend folk events, festivals, parades, competitions and so on, while the other audience consists of guests or visitors to weddings, dance events and birthday parties where a band is invited to perform. Within the folklore community, bagpipe songs performed by Ponitran have became nationwide hits in Slovakia. This success can be attributed to unknown, archaic melodies, naughty texts and a band with a great first violin player. Ponitran with their bagpipe repertoire have received awards at all important competitions, and in the eyes of professional jury members they have become an example of an interpretation style of bagpipe songs. This has led to a fast extension of the bagpipe repertoire, and nowadays the band still performs at all folk events and concerts in Slovakia and also abroad.

Reactions within the non-folklore community are more diverse, however. At best they find this instrument grouping and the bagpipe repertoire rather "exotic"; something which they hadn't known about till now. In the worst case, it is accepted rather lukewarmly, especially because of an ignorance about bagpipe songs which results in a limited opportunity to sing along with the band; and in the case of dance events it is again an ignorance of dances linked to bagpipe songs. Therefore, bagpipe songs are presented in somewhat smaller blocks and are combined with a better known and verified standard repertoire where the bagpipes are not included. The aforementioned ratio of elements from the bagpipe or non-bagpipe repertoire applies equally to full-length performances, concerts and recordings on CDs.

There is no reason not to mention the attitude of musicians in the band which is not always positive. Playing the bagpipe repertoire means limiting their musical ambition to a certain degree. The second violinist is pushed aside into a position of bladder fiddle player, and the *kontráš* and contrabass players are especially limited by poor harmonical playing.

Conclusion

The introduction of the bagpipes into a string band has undoubtedly had a happy end in the case of Slovakia, because it has contributed considerably to the dissemination of the bagpipe repertoire from the Nitra and Pohronský Inovec regions, which would otherwise have probably disappeared by now. Furthermore, it introduced and defined a number of interesting phenomena in terms of sound which dominate over all of the other characteristic features of the bagpipe repertoire.

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Ulrich Morgenstern

Imagining Social Space and History in European Folk Music Revivals and *Volksmusikpflege*

The Politics of Instrumentation

Abstract

Folk music revival movements represent a social and artistic phenomenon in their own right. As a rule they refer to rural musical practices of the remote or recent past. Some revival movements take only single expressive elements of high symbolic value from the corresponding reference culture, while others try to achieve maximal historical accuracy and authenticity of musical style.

To a considerable degree, revival ensembles can differ from recent or historical music practice in instrumentation and musical texture. Due to the representative functions of some revivalist formations or to ideals of participation, the number of the musicians is usually higher than in the reference culture. However, in the 20th century a reverse trend towards comparatively small ensembles can be observed.

Sonic ideals of revival movements and claims to historical accuracy can come into conflict with the corresponding social settings and their egalitarian orientation. Thus, for example, drone instruments like bagpipes and hurdy-gurdies, enjoy high priority in many revival ensembles, be it for the attractiveness of their specific sonic qualities or to the strong but doubtful association with archaism. In actual practice they are frequently combined with popular instruments such as guitars and accordions which provide chordal-harmonic support. Nevertheless, the most distinguished bagpipers and hurdy-gurdy players prefer to perform solo or in small ensembles without a constant harmonic texture, setting off the beauty of these most demanding instruments.

Introduction

Folk music revival movements represent a social and artistic phenomenon in their own right. As numerous ethnomusicologists and folklorists from the times of Cecil Sharp onwards were personally engaged in revival activities, issues of stylistic accuracy in relation to the practice to be revived were the main focus of scholarship as far as it considered revival at all. In more recent studies, revivals became an ethnomusicological topic *per se*. A very diverse range of political and aesthetic motivations of revivalism

and its social implications appear in the focus of research. However, in these important contextual issues, considerations related to the expressive qualities of revival music are rather limited.

In my paper I try to illustrate which sound ideals in European revivals of instrumental folk music are meaningful for the imagination of specific social settings and of the historical past. Revivalists' strategies of instrumentation and expressive behaviour as a means of these imaginations will be a particular focus of discussion here. I will outline some general types of European revival movements, and compare them with what in the Austro-Bavarian region is called *Volksmusikpflege*. From a theoretical perspective I will refer to fundamental studies by Owe Ronström (1996) and Tamara E. Livingston (1999).

Ronström has lucidly pointed out the countercultural and ideological dimensions of different revival movements, fighting modernity, commercialization, urbanization and rationalization (Ronström 1996, 8, 9). At the same time he understands revivalism as an organic part of modernity. Livingston (1999), characterizing revivals as a middle class phenomenon, also considers countercultural ideas, interlinked with historical identification, to be an important motivation for revivalism: "revivalists position themselves in *opposition* to aspects of the contemporary cultural mainstream, align themselves with a particular historical lineage, and offer a cultural alternative in which legitimacy is grounded in reference to authenticity and historical fidelity." (Livingston 1999, 66)

Stressing the important role of cultural criticism as a negative motivation, Ronström also emphasizes the significance of aesthetics as one of the main motivations for many of the revivalists' activities: "for many of the participants in revival movements, aesthetics is what matters above all." (Ronström 1996, 6)

Positive and Negative Models

As a rule, European revival musicians relate to rural musical practices of the remote or recent past. Revivalists feel a strong locational and historical identification with a particular *reference culture* which serves as a *positive model*. Some revival musicians focus only on single expressive elements of high symbolic value from the reference culture (and also on newly "invented traditions") while others try to achieve the maximum historical accuracy and authenticity of musical repertoire and style. Ronström has convincingly figured out the filter mechanisms working (to a varying degree) in the revival process: *standardization*, *homogenization* and *simplification*. Yet I am not sure whether we should actually follow Eric Hobsbawm and call the result of these processes *tradition*.

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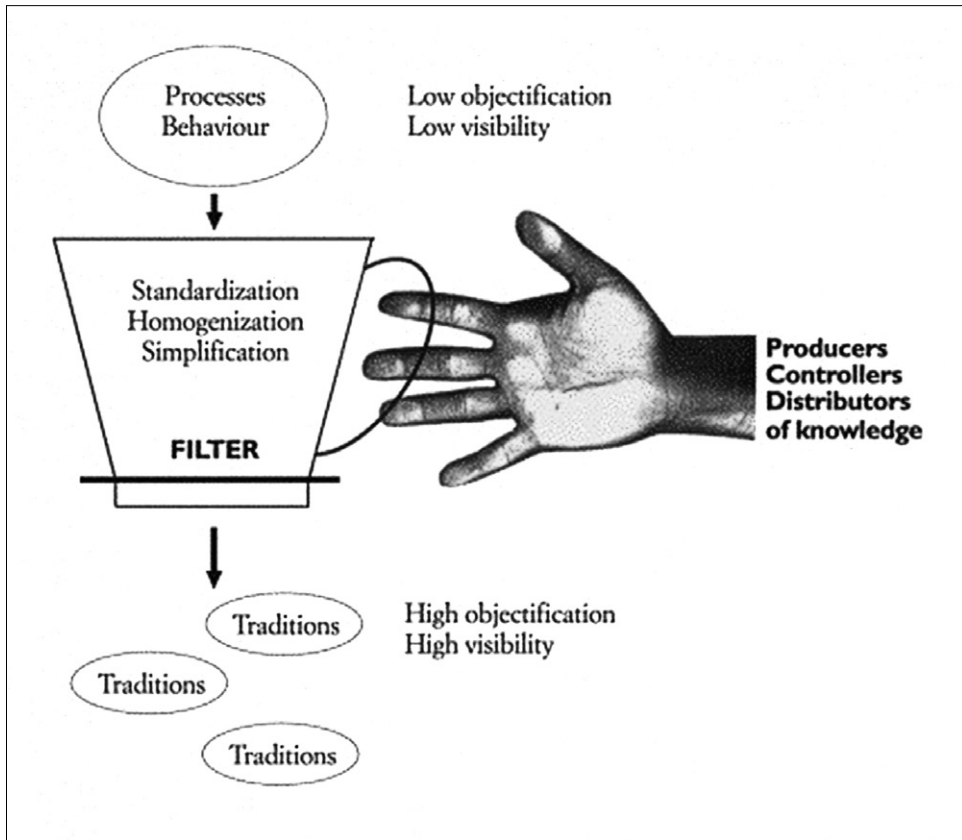
FIGURE 1: "The process of objectification of traditions." (Ronström 1996, 13)

Musical instruments have a double function in revival movements. On the one hand, as material objects they provide the *visibility* of the reference culture (which is sometimes highly imaginative). On the other they may produce sounds which are unusual for the majority of modern urban listeners[1]. Both factors increase the symbolic potential of musical instruments and therefore their capacity to represent positive models.

Taking part in political and cultural discourses and struggles, revival movements not only experience and promote positive identification with the reference culture. Particularly in their initial period they typically define themselves against the background

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1 "Slobin and Rosenberg have noted the importance of revivals in offering a new repertoire of sounds for younger musicians who may not have ever heard or have been aware of the revivalist tradition before it was revived" (Livingston 1999, 73–74.).

of a *negative model* of expressive behaviour. Very often, international urban popular music and jazz, but also commercialized folk music, appear as negative models for early revival movements. Striking examples are Cecil Sharp's resentments towards popular broadside ballads, Josef Pommer's hostility against "salon Tyroleans", and scepticism towards the accordion in late 19th century folk music discourses all over Europe.

Trends in Revivals of European Instrumental Folk Music

The typology presented below by no means claims to be exhaustive or universal. In general I will focus on revival trends which are observable in different countries and less on specific national phenomena. I will briefly explain the ideological background of the revivals, their positive and negative models, their locational and historical identifications and the corresponding artistic strategies, particularly in terms of instrumentation.

Revival I: "The Balalaika and the Tailcoat"

Revival I is a phenomenon of the 19th century. It was promoted by enthusiasts of the urban middle and upper classes who were motivated by nationalist feelings with a certain romantic background. The locational identification is the unified nation. While – at least in the initial period – the performers were urban amateurs, the main goals is a pedagogical one – to give folk music "back to the people" to enhance their morality and "cultural level". The general intention of *Revival I* was the popularization and visibility of traditional musical instruments as symbols of the nation. Living traditions, local styles and repertoires played at best a secondary role as a reference culture. The negative model was to some extent contemporary urban popular music, particularly the accordion. The ideological background of *Revival I* clearly corresponds to the English folk song and dance revival in the late 19th and early 20th centuries.

In *Revival I*, modernized folk musical instruments of high symbolic value were used and combined in ensembles which tended towards becoming small orchestras. The repertoire consisted of arranged folk tunes or newly composed pieces. Due to the highly pedagogical intention of *Revival I*, the technical demands of the arrangements are rather limited.

An early representative of this type of folk music revival was the Croatian politician and composer Pajo Kolarić from Osijek, who in 1847 founded the *tamburaško društvo* (Bonifačić 1995, 69). In the following decades the tambura – traditionally played solo by Muslims and Gypsies in some regions of the Balkans and Pannonia – turned into a strong national symbol in Croatia and abroad (Figure 2).

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Figure 2: The Tambura ensemble *Osvit*, founded in 1892 at the Jesuit Gymnasium of Požega (Slavonia). (http://ss-glazbena-pozega.skole.hr/upload/ss-glazbena-pozega/images/static3/763/File/td_osvit.jpg)

The modernization of the Russian balalaika by Vasilii Andreev some decades later[2] was very close to Kolarić's project. Both activists shared national as well as pan-Slavic sentiments. As Kolarić "sought to 'ennoble' folklore" (Bonifačić 1995, 71), so did Andreev. Yet his innovations – standardization, chromatization, orchestra formation – appear to be even more radical. While urban *tambura* ensembles were not totally new in the times of Pajo Kolarić, Andreev's "Great-Russian orchestra" (Великорусский оркестр, Figure 3) was an "invented tradition" par excellence. His historical and locational identification is clearly expressed in one of his numerous instructional writings: "The Great-Russian orchestra obtained this name, as all the instruments it encompasses belong to the Central and North regions of Russia, i.e. to the ancient Moscow or Great-Russian state. [Великорусский оркестр получил такое название потому, что все инструменты, входящие в его состав, принадлежат к средней и северной поло-

2   For literature in Western languages see Morgenstern 1995, 35–38, 40–41, 95 and Olson 2004, 16–19.

Figure 3: The *Great-Russian orchestra* in Paris between 1889 and 1900 (Konnov 1987, 23).

сам России, т. е. к древнему Государству Московскому или Великороссии]" (Andreev 1916, 2)[3]. The old capital Moscow was a highly important place of identification for different religious and intellectual movements which were hostile or at least sceptical towards the modernization which took place in the age of Peter the Great.

As in Croatia and in the Balkans, where nationalist scholars made great efforts to hide the Ottoman origin of the *tambura*, Andreev relied on Aleksandr Famintsyn's (1891) highly speculative theory of the balalaika as an instrument invented in Russia, neglecting the Turko-Tataric analogues. In fact, early two-stringed balalaikas can hardly be distinguished from the Kazakh and Tatar *dombra*.

Andreev's project was aptly coined the "union of the tailcoat with the balalaika" ("соединить фрак с балалайкой"). It is hard to deny that the symphonic orchestra was the stylistic model for Andreev's innovations. Yet he claimed to be preserving the "folkish" character of his project. When constructing the balalaika family (from the piccolo to the double bass) he appealed to the fact that the Southern Slavic long-necked lutes are also made in different sizes – which, of course, is borrowed from the Turkish *bağlama* family.

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3   Here and in the remainder of the paper, Russian texts have been translated by the author.

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Figure 4: The *V.V. Andreev orchestra*. Conductor Nikolai Kalinin, soloist Vladimir Pankratov (before 1983). (Konnov 1987, 154)

One could add numerous other examples for *Revival I* from European countries, such as the re-invention of the Alphorn in Switzerland or the *bouzouki* ensemble of Mikis Theodorakis. However, the Greek composer could have easily adopted concepts from a type of folk music revival which will be described in the following section.

Revival II: "National in Form, Socialist in Content"

While *Revival I* was fostered by individual enthusiasm, yet closely related to cultural and political discourses, the next type was part of a political agenda of the state. Music policy, as an integral part of emotional policy, is crucial for totalitarian systems, which demand not only political obedience but also claim to control the thoughts, feelings and the private speech of their subjects. The folk music policy of the Soviet Union and its satellite states can be seen as a most striking example for nationalism in music – in Bohlman's sense, as a top-down phenomenon (Bohlman 2004). The controlled visibility of suitable national icons is an integral part of specific Soviet nationalism in music. Eventually, each officially recognized nationality was provided with an official "orchestra of folk instruments", serving to represent the respective nationality as a whole. In these projects, local traditions were inevitably largely levelled or totally ignored.

The performers were professional musicians; however, the same repertoire was also used for amateur music making within the framework of organized "mass culture".

Strictly speaking, *Revival II* did not attempt to revive any musical practice of the past. Its temporal identification was the "bright future" of communist paradise. It shares with *Revival I* an identification with the unified nation (in terms of *natsional'nost'* [национальность]), i.e. the officially fixed ethnicity of the citizens). The obvious contradictions between Marxism and "folkish" nationalism in Soviet cultural policy are largely explained by sociologist R. Serge Denisoff (1971) on "folk consciousness" within the framework of the US Communist party, by historian David Brandenberger (2002, on national bolshevism and Russian national identity) and by Iranist Bernt G. Fragner (2000, on Soviet nationalism, extremely seminal in contemporary Central Asia). Finally, Marin Marian-Bălaşa (2007) analysed the symbiosis of Marxist and nationalist socialism in Ceauşescu's Romania.

Revival II had no negative models of music making. A precondition for establishing such negative models is free competition among musical concepts and a minimal possibility for openly displayed cultural struggles. By definition, totalitarian systems exclude such conditions.

In terms of musical style, both Soviet nationalist music (in Bohlmann's sense) and the "Marxist-Leninist music" (Theodor Levin 2001) of Central Asia follow Andreev's ideology of a unified and thus imaginative "national" folk music culture. However, the instrumentation in *Revival II* differed considerably from *Revival I*. The number of instruments in state orchestras increased in comparison with Andreev's balalaika-*domra*[4] orchestra. For instance, concert accordions *baian* (баян) and also instruments from the symphonic orchestra were introduced. Sound ideals and principles of instrumentation were adjusted in order to play orchestral pieces of the classical and romantic period.

It has to be noted that in the perestroika period, "folk orchestras", which were closely associated with the totalitarian system, became extremely unpopular. The concert dedicated to the 100th anniversary of Andreev's orchestra in 1988 was executed almost entirely by famous opera singers. Otherwise it would have been very difficult to fill the Grand Hall of the Leningrad Philharmonic. Interestingly, critical film directors frequently used scenes with performances of "folk orchestras" and choirs to ridicule pompous official events. For economic reasons, only a few of the Soviet-type "folk orchestras" survived. Some of their participants found new perspectives in "na-

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4 The *domra* [домра] was the leading instrument of the "Russian folk orchestra [русский народный оркестр]". It combines the morphology of local variants of the balalaika (with an oval body) with the playing techniques of the mandolin. It is not related to the *domra* played by Russian minstrels (*skomorokhi* [скоморохи]), which was probably a short-necked lute.

tional" popular music, in different experimental settings, in restaurants and as street musicians in Western cities.

Revival III: "Folk Music From Below"

The next type of European folk music revival was largely inspired by the music politics of Pete Seeger, Woody Guthrie and their followers in the USA and the "second folk revival" in Great Britain after World War II. The West German *Deutschfolk* in the early 1970s or the leftist *people's music* movement in Norway stood for a decisive anti-bourgeois and egalitarian position. Due to its social-romantic background, *Revival III*'s historical identification was with the "common people" of the past and revolutionary movements. Its locational identification was pre-industrial Europe (Figure 5). In Western Germany, Wolfgang Steinitz's *Deutsche Volkslieder demokratischen Charakters aus sechs Jahrhunderten* (German Folk Songs of a Democratic Character from Six Centuries, 1954 and 1962) was an extremely important source, and songs directed against feudal lords, priests and military service became rather popular in "progressive" circles. The negative models of *Revival III* have been identified by Ronström. It was directed "against both commercialism and 'high culture' forms (such as opera)." (Ronström 1996, 9)

The growing interest in instrumental music among German folk music enthusiasts of the 1970s can be understood as a certain de-ideologization and the revivalists' emancipation from direct political claims. It has to be noted that in leftist settings in Germany in the late 1960s, merely playing instrumental music, even folk music, without a political function, was unusual. Not to mention playing classical music, which was largely considered unacceptable behaviour (Morgenstern 2011, 258).

The sound ideals and instrumentation of *Revival III* depend on its temporal distance and the degree of continuity with regard to the reference culture. In Scandinavia, Ireland and Scotland, for instance, folk music enthusiasts could directly rely on living traditions of fiddling and piping. At the same time, they adopted instruments used by the revival movement of the USA, such as the banjo, the mandolin and the double bass. Due to the participatory ideals of *Revival III*, the instrumentation was enlarged compared with the reference cultures, where solo playing was more common. Yet due to values of individual expression and spontaneity, the number of participants in ensembles usually did not exceed five or six musicians.

The German folk music movement experienced certain problems with elaborating specific sound ideals. The types of instrumentation which were typical for 20th century German peasant music (brass bands, accordion), were considered to be "too bourgeois". As many ensembles of *Deutschfolk* initially played Irish folk music, the

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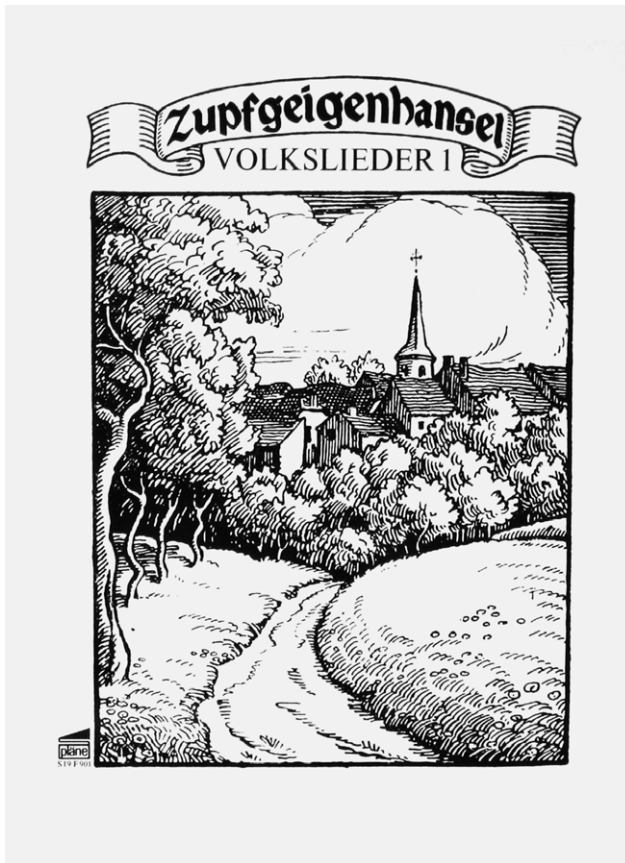
Figure 5: Cover of the LP *Volkslieder I* by German folk duo *Zupfgeigenhansel* (1976, Pläne S 19 F 901).

principles of instrumentation were borrowed from there: the violin, the acoustic guitar (Figure 6), the banjo, the mandolin, somewhat later also the accordion. Only a few adherents of the German folk revival made the effort to reconstruct and play such demanding instruments as the hurdy-gurdy or the bagpipes. Small circles of enthusiasts oriented towards experienced and recognized masters made up a tradition of their own which has continued to this day.

In the last two or three decades, the bagpipes have experienced a surprising level of popularity in European folk music revivals. There are two different, clearly distinguishable trends, which, however, sometimes overlap. The first is represented by numerous very serious revivalist musicians using different historical sources of bagpiping depending on to what extent the reference culture has been preserved. The German ethnomusicologist Ralf Gehler or Alban Faust in Sweden tend to largely base their repertoire on historical sources in order to reconstruct elements of the remote or

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Figure 6: Cover of the LP *Mädchen, Meister, Mönche* by the North-German folk group *Liederjan* (1987, Polydor 2371 876).
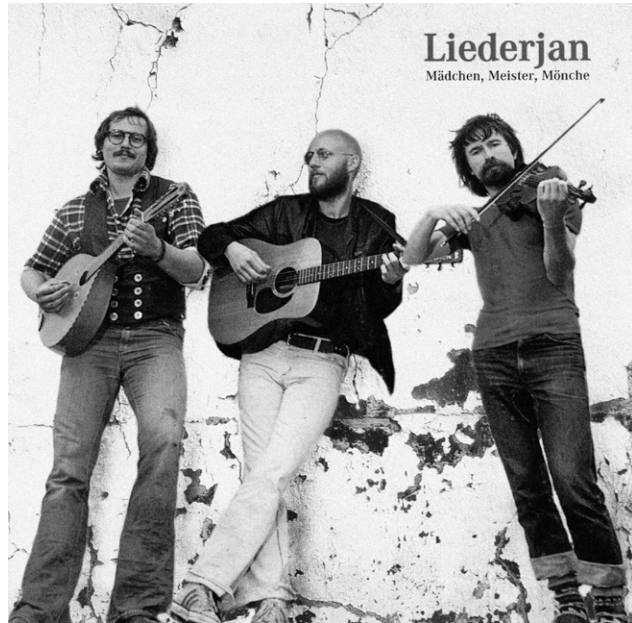
more recent past, while the ethnographer Andor Végh and ethnomusicologist Goran Farkaš rely more on their own fieldwork. A second trend of contemporary bagpiping is more concerned with the evocation of archaicity. Examples of this are the adherents of the separatist "Padania" movement in Northern Italy (celebrating their Celtitude at *Insubria* and other festivals), some influential neo-paganist musicians in Belarus, and also the PR campaign of the Carinthian tailor Thomas Rettl who claims that the Scottish kilt was invented by the ancient Celts of the Eastern Alps (Weissengruber 2010, 153–155). His "Kilt tours" in the Carinthian Alps are frequently accompanied by bagpipe music. Interestingly, in all these paganophile contexts, bagpipes are used with at least one drone, i.e. of a type that was invented in the Christian Middle Ages. Nevertheless, the instrumental drone continues to be a powerful symbol for paganism and archaicity.

Alongside with instrumentation, the sound ideals of *Revival III* experienced a certain impact of blues, country and jazz, particularly with regard to formal arrangement (contrasting sections) and texture (chordal style, cross-picking, bass lines). Alternating solo parts correspond to the priority of participatory values. However, due to the egalitarian orientation of *Revival III*, technical virtuosity was reduced to a rather low level.

The proponents of *Revival III* had highly selective ideas about which musical instruments were acceptable for folk music and which were not. The piano, being associ-

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ated with "bourgeois" music, was therefore inacceptable – regardless of the fact that in Irish pubs in the late 19th century the fiddle was frequently accompanied by this very instrument and not by the "more folkish" guitar. In German folk clubs, the accordion was previously largely neglected before the young folkies travelling to France and Italy found out that it is not only suited to commercial folk music TV shows. Finally, "the emergence of brass-band music", as German researcher Barbara James (Boock) writes, "was something like the Fall of man for many folk enthusiasts." (James 1977, 117) Apparently it was only possible in Bavaria that young leftist musicians, such as the *Biermösl Blosn*, could perform "critical folk music" with traditional brass instrumentation.

The limited instrumentation of *Revival III* was crucial for the evocation of a familiar social space. Many revivalists did not want to appear as concert musicians, but as friends coming along to play and sing for "people like you and me" (cf. Morgenstern 2011, 256). Singer-songwriters try to evoke the same associations with their particular habitus. Wu Chia-Ching has clearly pointed out this important semiotic dimension of the "bard" culture of the late Soviet period: "[…] in the bard movement cultural significance had not only the personality of the bards and their songs, but also a warm, intimated and confidential atmosphere, in which all were taking part face to face, thinking together and exchanging opinions. Such an atmosphere is hard, even impossible, to reproduce in the same way in another time and space [в бардовском движении культурное значение имели не только личности бардов и их песни, но и теплая, интимная и доверительная атмосфера, в которой все общались лицом к лицу, вместе мыслили и обменивались мнениями. Такую атмосферу уже трудно, даже невозможно однородно воспроизвести в другом пространстве и времени, и она остается лишь в памяти человека, в культурных текстах, в истории культуры]." (Chia-Ching 2010, 20)

Chia-Ching also mentions the fact that most of the listeners knew singer-songwriters not from the unofficial concerts but from tape recordings (unofficial as well). Indeed, the recordings cannot reproduce the whole atmosphere aptly characterized by Chia-Ching. However, they can evoke similar associations. And here the instrumentation (solo voice and acoustic guitar), as a strong icon for an intimated performance, serves as a most important means for the imagination of social space. The same holds true for *Revival III*. This is one of the reasons for the long lasting scepticism of folk enthusiasts against electric instruments (Sweers 2005).

Revival IV: Back to the Roots

Revival IV is typical for socialist countries of Eastern and Eastern-Central Europe as well as the Baltic region, but similar movements can be observed elsewhere. Famous proponents are the Hungarian *Táncház* movement and the Russian folk music

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FIGURE 7: Cover of the LP *Simmanilood* (1975, Мелодия C32 05511–12) by the Estonian ensemble *Leegajus* (1971–1995). Leegajus was founded by ethnomusicologist Igor Tonurist and is considered to be the first tradition-oriented folk music ensemble in the Soviet Union.

revival inspired by Dmitrii Pokrovskii and many others (Olson 2004). The activists were urban intellectuals and musicians or musicologists with liberal and/or nationalist backgrounds, to some extent also traditionalists. Many of them only became aware of traditional music and its aesthetic potential in their youth.[5] Concepts of artistic expressiveness and local diversity were used as a means to fight the stereotypes of state promoted folklore. Thus *Revival II* turned into an extremely productive negative model.

The artistic credo of *Revival IV* is maximum orientation towards the reference cultures – living local traditions, including manners of improvisation. In general, repertoires and performing styles which are considered to be old are preferred. The concept of syncretism (in Aleksandr Veselovskii's sense) became an ideal in many revival ensembles. While in Soviet-style ensembles singing, playing and dancing are activities carried out by separated groups, the new revivalists opened up the possibility of combining two or even all of these functions in one and the same performer.

Activists of *Revival IV* are engaged in intensive fieldwork. A considerable part of the audiovisual sources of the last one or two decades has been provided by revivalists, in-

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5   It has to be noted that in the Soviet Union and its satellite states, local folk music traditions were not promoted by state media. In the 1970s they were usually known only by middle-aged and older village dwellers and by ethnomusicologists.

dependently of academic research. However, at a time when, for instance in Russia, local traditions of music making largely came to an end or at least have lost their former richness and diversity, historical recordings from archives, audiovisual publications and Internet resources became the main source for contemporary young proponents of the tradition-oriented *Revival IV*.

The locational identification of *Revival IV* is one or more local areas. In some political contexts, the nation as a whole is also highlighted. Its historical identification is, for some ensembles, the period when active music making and traditional genres served as the main resource for local music life. Other ensembles are oriented towards the more remote past. Thus, in Russia and the Ukraine, Cossack revivals not only promote highly artistic vocal and instrumental genres, but also the idealization of a rather cruel period when organized robbers and pirates enjoyed the freedom and the privilege of terrorizing the neighbouring peoples. Another historical identification is promoted by the ensemble "Domostroi" (Домострой) from St. Petersburg, which has chosen the name of the extremely patriarchal 16th century moral codex. Tendencies not only of radical traditionalism, but also of neo-paganism can also be observed in *Revival IV*. However, this is much more typical for certain styles of contemporary pop music, particularly for heavy metal, black metal or for "Celtic music" and other fantasy genres. Here, traditional musical instruments are used more as isolated visual symbols of an imagined past.

Revival IV ensembles use musical instruments of particular regions, played in traditional manners, and orient themselves towards field recordings. In general, however, a certain degree of simplification and standardization can be observed (and is clearly reflected by most of the revivalists). The number of musicians in revival ensembles tends to be somewhat higher than in the corresponding reference cultures. One reason for this can be found, again, in the participatory ideals of many revivalists. An ensemble is a social organism, and solo numbers would require a temporary exclusion of the other members of the group. Another possible explanation for this extended instrumentation (particularly in amateur contexts) is its ability to hide a lack of musical skills. Thus, less-skilled bagpipers sometimes tend to prefer to play with accordions, guitars and other harmonic accompaniment rather than in traditional solo or fiddle-bagpipe instrumentation.

Some solo and ensemble performers not only base their repertoire on field recordings, but also try to reconstruct long-extinct instruments or types of instrumental performance. Vivid discussions about historical sources and the plausibility of reconstructing instruments as well as instrumental styles and repertoires, speak well of their desire for historical accuracy. It is noteworthy that on most well-visited Russian folk music websites and in various online communities, musicians, whether they are politically indifferent or of liberal convictions, Russian-orthodox conservatives or paganophiles, share their sources, knowledge – and sometimes their ideas as well – in a rather cooperative way.

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	Revival I	Revival II	Revival III	Revival IV
Promoters	urban middle and upper class	urban professional musicians	urban intellectuals	urban intellectuals
Performers	educated amateur musicians	urban professionals, urban amateurs	urban intellectuals	urban intellectuals
Motivations	educational: "returning to the people" "raising the cultural level"	representational educational	political aesthetic	aesthetic (political)
Ideological background	nationalism, (anti-modernism)	nationalism, communism, modernization	Marxism, social romanticism, participational ideals	(very diverse) traditionalism, nationalism, environmentalism, liberal anti-totalitarianism
Locational identification	unified nation	unified nation	nation, class	local diversity
Historical identification	pre-industrial (pre-enlightenment)	glorious past, glorious present, glorious future	pre-industrial, early capitalist	pre-industrial
Negative models	contemporary popular music, urban "light" music	Ø	commercial and composed folk music (Western art music)	Revival II, commercial folk music
Sources of repertoires	folk melodies, arranged by composers, contemporary "folk-like" melodies	folk melodies, arranged by composers, contemporary popular melodies, new compositions	scholarly folk music collections, popular melodies, textbooks issued by revivalists	own field work archival and published recordings
Sound ideals	concert arrangements, variation forms	orchestral sound, soloist virtuosity	orientation towards Irish and Anglo-American folk music, low level of virtuosity	orientation towards local traditions, experiments with historical instruments
Instrumentation	modernized folk musical instruments, small ensembles	modernized folk instruments, large orchestras, soloist playing	guitar, banjo, violin (accordion)	local instruments, solo performance or small ensembles; in amateur contexts also large ensembles

	Revival I	Revival II	Revival III	Revival IV
Performance contexts	small concerts	large concerts, official events, contests	festivals, political actions, clubs, pub sessions, informal gatherings	festivals, concerts, informal gatherings
Examples	Pajo Kolarić tamburaško društvo, Vasilii Andreev (Russia)	state orchestras of socialist countries	British "Second folk revival", Germany, Scandinavia	fieldwork-based, independent revival ensembles in socialist countries

Figure 8: Types of European (instrumental) folk music revivals.

Without any doubt, the typology used above cannot cover all European revival phenomena related to folk instrumental music. The German *Jugendbewegung* hardly fits into any of the categories, even more so as instrumental music had at best a secondary role here. Furthermore, the interplay of traditional music practice and revival movements can result in a highly complicated picture.

Volksmusikpflege *in Austria and Bavaria*

Special consideration should be given to cultural activities and institutions which are referred to in Austria, as well as in Bavaria, as *Volksmusikpflege*. The German term *Pflege* can be translated as *care*, *nurture* or *maintenance*. It can refer, for example, to the work of a nurse or a gardener, i.e. to a well organized process of regular observation and intervention which is necessary for the good condition or even the existence of the object in question.

Volksmusikpflege does not really aim to revive expressive practices of the past, but to set conditions for the survival of local music making, frequently in controlled and modified forms. It is generally a process which unites individual enthusiasm within a framework created by official cultural policy. This includes the organization of festivals and competitions, the publication of sheet music and teaching materials by professional *Volksmusikpfleger*. Consequently, a high degree of standardization and reglementation both of style and repertoire is typical for these activities. However, unlike the socialist model of *Revival III*, local diversity has a high priority in *Volksmusikpflege*.

According to Gerlinde Haid, the term *Volksmusikpflege* in the Alpine region is related to the organized restoration of folk music, associated with the first singing competitions from 1930 onwards (Haid 1986, 92–93). The idea of the organized cultiva-

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tion of (basically vocal) folk music was also crucial for the multifarious activities of Josef Pommer (1845–1918), the founder of the *Deutscher Volksgesangsverein* (German Folk Song Society, Vienna 1889). Pommer and his followers combined documentation and research with the active promotion of folk song performances in the public sphere. Pommer promoted "for national as well as for artistic reasons the *reanimation of the German folk song* [italic emphasis in the original; *aus nationalen wie aus künstlerischen Gründen die Wiederbelebung des deutschen Volksliedes*]." (Pommer 1896, 3)

The very idea of organized documentation and preservation of folk songs in Austria is older, as Archduke Johann's passionate calls from 1819 onwards show. Here, collecting folksongs was not regarded as a matter of either aesthetics or philology, as in the times of Herder, but (also) as a patriotic task. This is particularly pronounced in his concept for a Styrian Folk Music Competition (*Wettbewerb für steirische Volksmusik*)´, written in 1840:

In a time when chasing after pleasure and snatching at all which is foreign has such a strong effect, when luxury, fashion and related entertainment has such a profound influence on life and is making so much which is fundamental to our homeland disappear, it is necessary to preserve that which still belongs to us. […]
Scotland provides us with an example here. There they have a Society for National Music that holds meetings and awards prizes. It is led by men of the highest aristocracy who have done great service to their fatherland and the related preservation of its positive characteristics. Something similar is now planned in Styria.

In einer Zeit, wo Jagen nach Genuß, das Haschen nach Fremdartigem so mächtig einwirkt, wo Luxus, Mode und von diesen abstammende Unterhaltungen so einen tiefen, in das Leben eingreifenden Einfluß üben, und so vieles, der Heimat eigenes, verschwinden machen, ist es notwendig, jenes zu erhalten, was uns noch angehört. […]
Schottland gibt uns das Beispiel. Dort besteht eine Gesellschaft für Nationalmusik, welche Versammlungen hält und Preise austeilt. An ihrer Spitze sind Männer vom höchsten Adel und von hohen Verdiensten für das Wohl des Vaterlandes und für damit verbundene Erhaltung seiner guten Eigentümlichkeiten. Es soll nun auch in der Steiermark Ähnliches geschehen (cit. after: von Geramb 1916, 119).

The Archduke's pathos may be associated with late 20th century reactionary traditionalism, which was powerful in certain folk music discourses. However, as Ronström emphasizes, "to praise traditions does not necessarily mean that one wants to revive traditional society or that one is against modernity. On the contrary, traditions can function as a springboard for rapid cultural change." (Ronström 1996, 17) As an example, Ronström points to Henry Ford, an important figure for the fiddle revival in the USA, who in Ronström's opinion was also "both a major agent and a symbol of progress and modernity, while at the same time a powerful spokesman and agent for the revival of old traditions." (Ronström 1996: 17) Exactly the same applies to Archduke Johann von Habsburg. In this context it seems questionable whether "one can always

presume that those who speak of the revitalization of folk music are also thinking of the reconstruction of the society to which they ascribe to this music [*immer läßt sich vermuten, daß, wer die Wiederbelebung de Volksmusik meint, auch an die Rekonstruktion der Gesellschaft denkt, der er diese Musik zuschreibt*]", as Konrad Köstlin (2000, 122) claims.

The 19th century is the period when the folk music discourses of the enlightenment era were increasingly politicized all over Europe. Thus, *Volksmusikpflege* in Austria and Bavaria were able to become a part of radical political agendas. In Pommer's world view, the idealization of an "uncorrupted" rural life went hand in hand with anti-modernism, German nationalism and anti-Semitism (Mochar-Kircher 2004). Negative models were provided by popular genres, but even more so by commercialized forms of folk-like music. The fierceness of these long-lasting cultural debates becomes tangible in a characterization of Kiem Pauli's[6] fieldwork in Bavaria by the National Socialist historian and essayist Karl Alexander von Müller: "… so Kiem Pauli declared war on the 'green-braces music' ['*greanen Hosntragermusi*'] and entered the battle with his bike, music paper, pencil and zither in his rucksack. [… *so erklärte der Kiem Pauli der „greanen Hosntragermusi" den Krieg und trat mit Fahrrad, Notenpapier, Bleistift und Zither im Rucksack zum Kampf an.*]")[7] Pauli's concept of folk music reveals a highly authoritarian position: "How and where our people look for entertainment is not immaterial. Tasteless musicians, theatres promoting kitsch, even upland ensembles without uplanders and piggish comedians who, in the absence of humour and wit, are searching for success only with baseness, can cause major harm. [*Es ist nicht gleichgültig, wie und wo sich unser Volk seine Unterhaltung sucht. Stillose Musikanten, kitschspendende Theater oder sogar Oberlandlerkapellen ohne Oberlandler und schweinerne Komiker, die in Ermangelung von Humor und Witz nur mit Niedrigkeit Erfolg suchen, können viel Schaden stiften.*]" (cit. after: Edelmann 1978, 112) Unlike numerous influential proponents of *Volksmusikpflege* in Germany as well as in Austria (Deutsch and Hemetek 1990, 175–201; Müller 2011, 86–93), Kiem Pauli himself was rather far from National Socialist ideology and was even a friend of Kurt Huber, a member of the resistance organization *Weiße Rose*. Yet he shared many of his negative models of music making with the official ideology. As the Germanist Karl Müller (2012, 134–135) has clearly shown, the formulaic rhetoric of Kiem Pauli and others, with all its anti-modernist and anti-urbanist implications, remained unchanged in Bavarian *Volksmusikpflege* after 1945.

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6   Officially: *Emanuel Kiem*. The reverse order is a colloquial element in Austro-Bavarian dialects.
7   See the essay *Volksmusik* (Winkler-Kreuth 2013). Unfortunately the literature the text refers to does not contain Müller's citation.

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Figure 9: Kiem Pauli (with contraguitar) and the *Tegernseer Musikanten* 1920. (Eisenburg and Kaschak 1985, 20)

Pommer's polemic against commercial "Bauernkapellen" ("peasant bands") and Pauli's attacks against "Oberlandlerkapellen" (uplander bands, Figure 10) reveal that the politics of instrumentation played a very serious role in Bavarian and Austrian *Volksmusikpflege*. Of particular interest is the *Stubenmusik* ([rustic] parlour music) project of the musical activist Tobi Reiser (1907–1974) from the Salzburg region (Deutsch 1997, Dreier and Hochradner 2011). Reiser played the violin, the guitar and the folk xylophone called the *Hölzernes Glachter*. In 1934 he founded the *Flachgauer Musikanten*, a relatively small ensemble consisting of clarinets, accordion, dulcimer, violin, guitar and double bass. He also developed a chromatic dulcimer that became extremely popular.

Reiser was a convinced National Socialist, and probably took part in subversive activities as early as in 1931[8]. Immediately after the occupation of Austria by Hitler's troops in 1938, he started a meteoric career as a musician and *Volksmusikpfleger*. In some respects, Reiser's concept of folk music might have disagreed with the official cultural policy of the

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8   See Hödlmoser 2013.

FIGURE 10: "The Bavarian upland ensemble from Pleyer."
(http://trachtler.org/2011/07/08/bayrische-oberland-kapelle-pleyer/)

government in Berlin. He insisted on local diversity rather than on "pan-German" folk music styles. There is also a certain contradiction between Reiser's chamber-like instrumentations and the pompous mass staging which was typical for the totalitarian system.

The concept of *Stubenmusik* was invented by Reiser during a broadcasted recording by the *Südwestfunk* radio station in Schwäbisch-Hall in 1953, when the musicians had to spontaneously play a non-dance piece that met with great enthusiasm (Deutsch 1997, 124–126). The striking musical features of the new style were a low level of instrumentation, a restriction to string instruments (Figure 11), the more melodic use of the dulcimer, the guitar and the harp, and in general a soft articulation. *Stubenmusik* is music for listening, not for dancing. Initially, Reiser called the new style *Soatnmusi* (string music); however, the new name became more and more popular. Gerlinde Haid points towards the imagination of social space which *Stubenmusik* stands for. It "creates associations with cosy rural music making in the circle of one's family and the neighbours [… *als sie Assoziationen zu gemütlichen bäuerlichen [sic] Musizieren im Kreis von Familie und Nachbarschaft erweckt*]." (Haid 2009, 10) These associations differ considerably from the concert as the typical performing situation. Another contradiction which Haid identified refers to the important role of the media for the *Stubenmusik* project: "It ultimately follows the laws of mediatization und commercialization, presenting itself as an alternative vision of the world. [Sie folgt letztlich den Gesetzen

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FIGURE 11: The *Tobi Reiser Quintett* (Deutsch 1997, 125).

von Mediatisierung und Kommerzialisierung, indem sie sich als deren Gegenwelt darstellt.]" (Haid 2009, 12) This observation corresponds very well to Ronnström's concept of revival as an integral part of modernity.

Excursus: Early National Thought on Music

Cultural criticism promoting folk music as a counter model to aristocratic cosmopolitism was widespread in the intellectual life of the 18th century. Frequently it is associated with the name of Johann Gottfried Herder. However, in contrast to national-romantic composers and numerous folk song enthusiasts of the 19th century, Herder himself was too open-minded and too much of a proponent of the freedom of artistic expression to use folk songs to establish explicit rules for contemporary arts: "Have I ever presented my skaldic poems as a universal model for new poems? Anything but! [*Habe ich denn je meine skaldische Gedichte in Allem für Muster neuerer Gedichte ausgeben wollen? Nichts weniger!*]" (Herder 1773, 39)

Yet this does not mean that issues of national and even of nationalist music (in Bohlman's sense) appeared only in the period of classical nationalism after the French revolution, as is frequently claimed. The central concepts of 19th century national thought

in music – the uneasiness about the foreign impact on marginalized nations as well as the appeal to one's compatriots to remain faithful to a national musical idiom – were common long before. In a critical period of Polish history, on the eve of the division of the nation, the writer and composer Jan Aleksander Gorczyn (born in 1618, died after 1704) expressed ideas very close to the cultural criticism of Archduke Johann, and even more to late 19th century European nationalist composers, in the introduction to his musical self-teaching method *Tabulatura muzyki, abo Zaprawa muzykalna*:

My aim is not, dear reader, to make all people musicians, but that all that are proud of their Sarmatian[9] names should at least theoretically be able to get to know it. For if the principles of the arts are known only to foreigners, and we get everything from their hands, how much scoffing we will have to hear from them. Anyway, we will hear enough when we clutch with greed at everything foreign, even the worst, and we meet our own inventions, when they are created in a Polish manner, with disapproval and do not appreciate them, although they are much more melodic than all those.

Zamysły moie nie te są Czytelniku / abym wszytkich Muzykámi widźieć prágnął / iednák áby przynam-niey Theoricè wiedźieć y umieć tym wszytkim / ktorzy sie tylko Sármátckim imieniem szczycą / wolno było. Bo ieslisz tylko sámi postronni wiedźieć principia kunsztow beda / á my tylko od nich zrąk wszytkiego pátrzáć; iákich że pośmiewisk słyszeć nie bedźiemy: ktorych y teraz dosyć sie náśluchamy / gdy poryvamy to z chćiwośćia / co iest v nich naylich-szego: á nasze własne inwencye / gdy tylko po Polsku zarzucamy y nikczemnie szácniemy / lubo one nád tych wszytkich dáleko bywáia melodyinieysze. (Gorczyn 1647 [1990], preface)

This early manifestation of nationalism in music should not surprise us too much, given the distinct national consciousness in the medieval *Regnum Poloniae*, when intellectual concepts of *gens Polonica* and *natio Polonica* shaped ethnic, linguistic and political discourses (Biskup 1987, 377). These discourses could not remain without impact on music. Polish historian Wacław Sobieski presents a popular patriotic song from the 14th century: "[…] in Great-Poland there appeared a popular song, directed against the pacifist position of King Casimir: 'King Casimir! / Never live in peace / With the Prussians'. [*powstała w Wielkopolsce popularna piosnka, zwracająca si przeciw pacyfistycznemu usposobieniu króla Kazimierza: "Królu Kazimirze! Nigdy nie yj w mirze Z Prusakami."*]" (Sobieski 59–60). The example of Poland shows that "national music before the modern nation-state" (Bohlman 2004, 36–40) is not necessarily linked to narrative genres like epics and ballads.

Thus, nationalism in music existed before the "awakening of the nations". In a similar way the formation of national languages was able to take place fairly independently from political discourses. Particularly Benedict Anderson's idea of a 19th century "philological revolution" (see chapter 5 "The Age of Nationalism in Europe and the Philological Revolution" in Anderson 1983) does not stand up to serious examination by historical linguists:

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9   In the 17th century many Polish intellectuals identified themselves as descendants of the Sarmatians.

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The fact that the 'lexicographical revolution' of languages began long before the era of nations is also illustrated by Radoslav Večetka (*Die Anfänge der slavischen Sprachwissenschaft in den böhmischen Ländern*, Regensburg 1996). For example, there were serious efforts to draw up a list of the words in the Czech language in the 15th and 16th centuries, and there was a Slovenian dictionary as early as 1592. The linguistic study of Polish also dates back to before the 17th century.

*Daß die ›*lexikographische Revolution*‹ der Volkssprachen weit vor dem* Zeitalter der Nationen *beginnt, zeigt auch Radoslav* Večetka (Die Anfänge der *slavischen Sprachwissenschaft in den böhmischen Ländern, Regensburg 1996*). *So finden sich schon im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert starke Bemühungen um die Auflistung des tschechischen Sprachstandes; bereits 1592* existierte ein *slowenisches Wörterbuch, und auch die sprachwissenschaftliche* Polonistik *geht bis vor das 17. Jahrhundert zurück.* (Schmidt 2000, 322)

It seems that influential concepts of constructivist historiography, following the neo-Marxist concepts of Eric Hobsbawm and Benedict Anderson, have to be seriously questioned. This is particularly true for the relationship of national thought and music.

Changing Indexes: Motivations and Styles

Types of instrumentation and sound ideals can be closely associated with particular ideological settings and therefore operate as their indexes and icons (in a Peircian sense, cf. Karbusicky 1986, Turino 1999). This does not mean that these expressive qualities are linked once and for all with the ideological framework in which they have been created or cultivated. In numerous revival movements and trends, the initial ideological motivations were nearly forgotten, as can be shown in three examples.

1. The tremolo style of the balalaika and the *domra*, invented by Vasilii Andreev, were able to please proponents of the national middle class of late 19th century Russia. It was later able to serve as a musical symbol of russocentric Soviet patriotism as it succeeded in stimulating the romantic imaginations of at least hundreds of German boy scouts and members of the *Jugendbewegung*. In the late Soviet period the balalaika tremolo served as a strong negative model for the tradition-oriented *Revival IV*. Later it was successfully integrated into light national pop music.

2. Guitar and banjo-picking in the pre-war USA was promoted by Pete Seeger and others as a means of Stalinist propaganda (Denisoff 1971). Later it became a symbol of the nation and at the same time an international idiom of what was called "Folkmusik" in German (*Revival III*). Curiously, the Russian folk singer Zhanna Bichevskaia sometimes used banjo-like picking for her guitar accompaniment of Russian melodies as "a musical, nontextual symbol of ideological opposition to official Soviet culture"
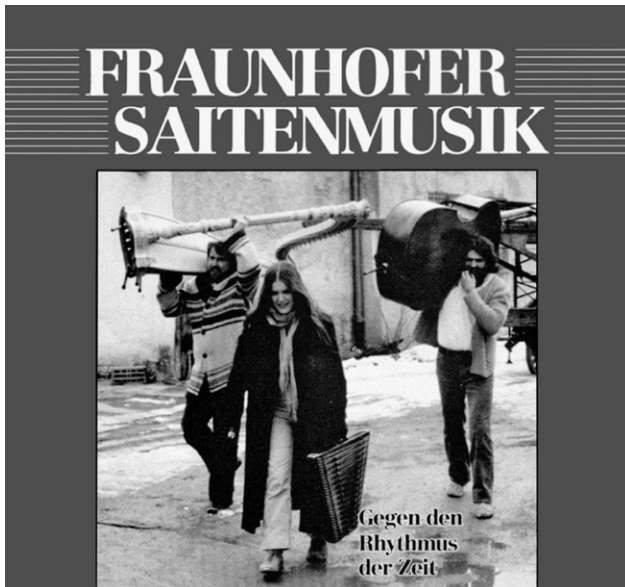
FIGURE 12: Cover of the LP *Gegen den Rhythmus der Zeit* [Against the rhythm of the time] by the Bavarian group *Fraunhofer Saitenmusik* (1986, Trikont US-08-0124).
From the left to the right: Richard Kurländer, Heidi Zink († 2013), Gerhard Zink.[9]

(Zemtsovsky 2000, 767). She was able do so as the idiom in question was associated not with the former officious brand of the US Communist party, but with intellectual freedom and welfare in the Western world.

3. The style of *Soatnmusi / Stubenmusik*, was initially promoted by the former National Socialist Tobi Reiser. It gained particular popularity in post-war conservative milieus (Haid 2009, 12). In the early 1970s Reiser's instrumentation, and to some extent his repertoire, was adopted by young Bavarian musicians who were far from any right-wing ideology or traditionalist habits (Figure 12).

Reiser's call to "Bring the violin into play again! [*Bringt die Geige wieder ins Spiel!*]" (Deutsch 1997, 131) was heard only after his death, yet not in the social setting his activities were directed towards. In 1976, at the height of *Revival III*, Hermann Härtel and Rudolf Pietsch, two students of the famous folk fiddler Lois Blamberger (1912–1989), with powerful support by Gerlinde Haid, initiated the *Steirischer Geigentag* "Styrian fiddle day" (Figure 13) within a rather new social and artistic framework which Gerlinde Haid characterized as "open-minded conviviality" ("offene Geselligkeit", Haid 1999, 7, 8). This project stands for a radical re-orientation of *Volksmusikpflege* in

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10 I thank Gerhard Zink and Jochen Schlemmermeyer for providing this photograph.

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Figure 13: Styrian fiddle day (Steirischer Geigentag) 1997. Musicians (from the left to the right): Franziska Pietsch-Stockhammer (1955–2001), Rudolf Pietsch, Ingeborg Härtel, Hermann Härtel. Photograph by Elisabeth Waltner. Used with permission.

Austria. It has much in common with *Revival IV* in the socialist states. Thus, its cornerstones became intensive fieldwork, de-regulation and improvisation.

Well-known ensembles such as *Die Tanzgeiger* (Rudolf Pietsch) and the Styrian *Citoller Tanzgeiger* (Hermann Härtel) have remained active up to the present in highly diverse performance contexts. Numerous urban folk musicians of the younger and the middle generation, such as the hurdy-gurdy player Simon Wascher, the fiddler Hermann Haertel (a son of Hermann Härtel), the multi-instrumentalist Albin Paulus and many others, use their profound knowledge of local instrumental practice and historical sources both for tradition-oriented music making as well as for experimental cross-over projects. All of them are now more of an ordinary part of modern Austria's musical life rather than representing a particular social movement.

Conclusion

Folk music revivals arise from different intellectual backgrounds, historical and locational orientations and stand for highly diverse aesthetic concepts. They define themselves by using different positive and negative models. The way positive models are

used in musical practice can differ considerably. *Revival I* and *II* try to promote musical instruments which are considered to be national ones, while *Revival III* and *IV* deal more seriously with the recreation of specific repertoires and musical styles.

Musical revivals really do have the potential for creating *imagined communities* in the true sense of the word: "[…] through celebrating traditions, people temporarily become members of ritual, symbolic communities of which they normally are not members" (Ronström 1996, 14). Such imaginative membership refers both to history and to social space. Due to the symbolic potential of musical instruments, strategies of instrumentation play a crucial role in evoking associations with idealized historical pasts and specific social settings.

The history of folk music revivals shows that particular style features can be attractive within a highly diverse ideological framework. All these facts speak very well of a general trend towards a depoliticization of folk revival movements. This process confirms the high priority of musical aesthetics in these movements, as pointed out by Owe Ronström. The politics of instrumentation will therefore not necessarily remain a primarily political issue.

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Walter Deutsch

Some Remarks on Multipart Singing in Austrian Folk Music

ABSTRACT

The basis of the multipart singing and music making in Austria is genuine tonal two-part music. It is realized in variants, depending nevertheless on the shape of the chosen melody and on its inherent potential to be used in multipart music. Its implementation as well as its stylistic interpretation is decided on by local traditions. The specific musicality of the singers and musicians in each region have generated diverse forms of multipart music. From these local, rural, handed-down styles of singing and music making, the diverse forms of multipart music in the individual landscapes of Austria have developed and evolved.

The variety of the possibilities to make multipart music in folk singing is vast. In instrumental music, however, evidence from records since the end of the 18th century shows that the basic form of rendition has remained the same until today: a tune for dancing with two parts and a bass which uses more than basic harmony tones. The multipart music required by the melody is not actually supplemented by the entry of accompanying chords which accentuate the dance, but they do support the harmonies which are gained over the course of the melody. This kind of multipart music was extended to variable four-part music as a result of the brass instruments which were introduced by the musicians into village practice in the 19th century following the example of military bands, and also as a result of the acquired ability to invent countermelodies to the existing two-part harmonies of their own dances.

Due to folk music research and its publications, the songs and dances have acquired a level of diffusion which they previously did not have. For more than 100 years they have been included in the repertoires of urban-orientated choirs and music groups. This has not only transformed their function, but has also led to different artistic-aesthetic interpretations of the songs. In terms of singing, close parallel three-part singing has become the generally recognized and applied norm for small groups, whereas in the case of choirs academically influenced four-part arrangements are usually used. In instrumental music – in contrast to traditional dance music – a wide range of line-ups and individually applied forms of multipart music and interpretation have come to dominate modern folk music practice.

By comparing the bearers of tradition with those groups which practice folk music, the fundamental characteristics of traditional handed-down multipart music in Austria can be defined more clearly.

Various symposiums have been held on research into multipart singing in art and folk music in the past ten years, and corresponding anthologies have been created. The fourth volume of the Viennese anthology *Vergleichende Musikwissenschaft* from 2005 presented the results of the conference on Multipart Singing and Heterophony (Gruber, Schmidhofer, Weber 2005), and with its European Voices idea, the Department of Folk Music Research and Ethnomusicology has installed an extremely effective forum for European ethnomusicologists. The publications from the years 2008 and 2011 proved that the topics related to multipart singing have assumed the dimensions of a never-ending issue. We can also recognize this in the themes of this year's symposium, which is now coming to a close with my lecture.

My subject is "Some remarks on multipart singing in Austrian folk music." Gerlinde Haid (2011) and Evelyn Fink-Mennel (2011) published research results on forms of multipart singing in Austria in the second volume of *European Voices*. Their research concentrated primarily on the field of traditional music in Austria which is characterized by the *Ländler* melody and for which the term *musica alpina* was coined by Gerlinde Haid. The genuine forms of music, *Ländler* und *Jodler*, are the main genres of folk music in Austria, such as:

Figure 1: *Die Schmalnauer Handschrift* (Haid 1996, 148).

The counterpart to traditional singing culture is currently formed by the powerful and directed multipart singing of urban-oriented groups. This type of singing is referred to by its protagonists as the cultivation of traditional songs und music *(Volksmusikpflege)*. Its moral and ideological point of departure is the Vienna German Folk Song Association founded by Josef Pommer in 1889 (Evanzin 2002). The cultivation of Austrian and German folk songs sung in choirs gradually became a movement with cultural ambitions and generally recognized musical rules. Songs learned and rehearsed with the use of notes are employed for the aestheticizing preservation of the cultural heritage rather than the spontaneous singing found in rural musical practice. Folk songs and folk music are publicized and presented with eagerness and conviction using special selection criteria and in forms such as "Folks Songs in Schools", "Folk Song Concerts", "Folk Song Fairs" and "Folk Song Competitions".

These small singing groups, fellowships and choirs, which are urban-oriented in terms of their culture, can be contrasted with the singers and musicians in villages and small market towns who feel committed to their local traditions and therefore hand down a multipart music which corresponds to the musicality of their home town, vil-

lage or region. This is manifested in their songs and dances which became readable due to the recordings made by collectors and researchers.

In the former groups, depending on the currently applicable tastes and in agreement with the artistic ideas of the respective group leaders, a certain number of songs and dances are taken from the edited collections of researchers. Without any contact to the tradition bearers and mostly without a knowledge of local or regional forms of interpretation, the selected song is sung according to the principles of a musically educated urban choir culture. The folk song thus becomes a work of art containing the interpretative intentions of the respective choir leader. Orientation is provided by predefined publications with titles such as *Folk Songs for Mixed Choirs* or *Folk Songs for Male Choirs* or *25 Dances from Styria Arranged for the Harmonica*, which satisfy the demand for such selections. For singers from a traditional background, by contrast, their musical memory is their reservoir, their storehouse of songs from which a song can be called up spontaneously.

The following example is intended to demonstrate the uninfluenced singing of a women's group which strikes up a song just for their own enjoyment, often accompanied by some form of handicrafts. The choice of the song and its interpretation are not tied to any aesthetic principle here – it is rather the case that the song is simply performed out of a spontaneous wish to sing. In this specific case – in accordance with the nature of the leading voice – it is an elementary form of two-part singing adding thirds which develops due to the gradual-indirect proximity of the melody.

I hab scho(n) drei Summa (Liebeslied)

Die fünf singenden Großmütter, Falkenstein

Figure 3 (A 60): *I hab scho(n) drei Summa* (Three summers are gone).
Five women from Falkenstein, Lower Austria, sing in two parts.
(*Tondokumente …*, Vol. 2, Nr. 19).

This love song can be found in various variations in Lower Austria, Upper Austria and in Styria (see Bergolth 1992, page 68, No. 47). One of them, with seemingly lyrical

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embellishments, is common in singing groups. The following recording (A 61) from the contemporary urban-oriented singing culture is an example of the transformation of the traditional arrangement of the musical form: the two-part singing adding thirds is turned into lower voice multipart singing by the inversion of the third into the sixth, harmonically supplemented by a medium voice and a bass.

FIGURE 4 (A 61): *I hab scho drei Summa* (Three summers are gone).
(Hetz *et al.* 2012, 240)
(A perfectly and highly expressively sung song in a four-part choral arrangement, as is the norm in modern folk singing practice.)

What we should be interested in here is which stylistic changes occur when a melody from our traditions is not sung with a leading voice and an "overturn" (*Überschlag*), and where the overturn then appears as a lower voice. In this way the melody obtains the leading role, which it never assumes in two-part arrangements adding thirds. The multipartite characteristic of melodies structured in this way is so intrinsic that their multipart performance is not necessary.

Figure 5 (A 62): Song of St. Florian
Sung by believers from Ottenthal in the northern part of the Weinviertel region north of Vienna.
Recording: Walter Deutsch/Austrian Broadcasting Corporation (ORF) Studio Lower Austria, 1972.

The main characteristic of such melodies is the way they progress step by step. We categorize these kind of melodies as "common Germanic melodies", as a counterpart to the *Ländler* melody of *musica alpina*. The "common German" element in the melodies can be found primarily in spiritual folk songs, in a wide range of genres of "storytelling songs", and in mocking and funny songs.

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FIGURE 6 (A 63): *Heint is die Såmstågnåcht* (The Saturday night).
(Schneebergbuam 2002, No. 12.)

With this type of melody, multipart folk singing is realized in a lower voice two-part format, and the path is followed in thirds whenever possible. The following example with a leading voice and people who follow it, demonstrates the old practice of customs-related singing of religious songs: every line is sung first by a lead singer and repeated by the other singers like a prayer.

In a group of men, women and children, parallel octaves are unavoidable. The next song (A 62) is the Song of St. Florian, who is honoured – particularly on 4 May – as a protector against the danger of fire in our villages (fig. 5).

This type of melody with a rise to a melodic third, its superelevation by the fifth and the descent to the keynote – to the melodic 1 – is a basic structural form of singing and making music in major mode, such as for example the popular Christmas lullaby *Es wird schon glei dumpa* or *Der Siebenschritt* or Joseph Haydn's capriccio on the melody of the song *Acht Sauschneider müssen sein.*

In the field of *musica alpina*, the singing style which is characterized by the *Ländler* melody, at the beginning of the 20th century the three-part parallel singing style was the exclusive trademark of the folk music regions of Reichenau in Carinthia and southern Lower Austria with the mountain landscapes of the Wechsel, Semmering and Schneeberg areas. This type of singing was only discovered by researchers around 1900. A hundred years later, this characteristic manner of singing can still be heard in the Schneeberg area, having been passed on without interruption (fig. 6).

The first recording of this song in 1912 can be found in the booklet *Niederösterreichische Volkslieder und Jodler aus dem Schneeberggebiet* collected by Karl Kronfuss und the brothers Alexander and Felix Pöschl.

The booklet was only published in 1930 as part of the then "Austrian Folk Song Company" which is now the Austrian Folk Song Society (*Österreichisches Volksliedwerk*).

For all those persons who are interested in maintaining the song tradition, this booklet was a musical sensation, because it was not only a song book of multipart singing, but included three-part traditional songs and yodels which are characteristic for the unique music of singers in this landscape.

Kiem Pauli (1882–1960), an important singer from Upper Bavaria, collector and researcher of the more recent history of folk music in Bavaria, obtained a copy of this song book. In his journeys as a collector he had only seldom noticed tight three-part harmonies. But he was so fascinated by this annotated three-part singing from southern Lower Austria that he tried it out in a Bavarian style with his best singers and decided to make it available on the radio. Folk song enthusiasts in Austria became aware of this tight and parallel three-part singing not directly from southern Lower Austria, but via a detour involving the Bavarian Broadcasting Corporation (Deutsch 1991). A strange story indeed!

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The possibilities which lay in this form of three-part singing were (and are still being) exploited in different ways by the above-mentioned cultivation of multipart singing by urban groups. The multipart harmonies were standardized without regard for the style and genre of the respective song. The tendency of the time to condense the chords of all melodic pieces intensified the use of these three-part harmonies in all folk music circles.

The following can be stated with certainty: tight three-part song movements were tried out in the 1930s, consolidated in the 1940s by related publications, and made into a generally valid style of singing in the 1950s. Apart from the existing ethnomusical conditions in the traditions, the model of "tight three-part singing" (*enge Dreistimmigkeit*) became the dominant aesthetic manifestation of public and organized singing in the second half of the 20th century, supported

FIGURE 7: Title page of the Schneeberg booklet 1930.

by publications and by an organized performance culture. Connected with a rigorous perfection in rhythm and intonation, each of the three voices is coordinated agogically and dynamically at the same musical and interpretational level. In this way, the sound of an urban-orientated folk music culture is created, and is greeted with a considerable measure of approval by its public.

There is no variation in this song culture (which is, at the same time, of a high artistic standard), neither in terms of melody nor in the musical shape. The song, whose notes have been fixed and which has been arranged in multiple parts, remains unchanged in all repeat performances from then onwards.

The freedom of melodic variation, the constantly renewed attempt to introduce individual singing and playing into every song or dance, occurs in those places where musical traditions remain uninterrupted.

The constructivist reduction of multipart singing in Austria to the easily understandable formulas of "two-part – three-part – four part" conceal the variety of voice leading which, particularly in the case of yodelling, appears in a diversity which is hard

Figure 8 (A 64): *Almawassal.*
Performed by *Jagerhäusl Dreigsang.*
(*Die schönsten Volkslieder aus Österreich. Tirol.* 1999, No. 2.)

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to keep track of (Cf. Fink-Mennel 2011). The pattern created by the individual directions and lines of the intersecting voices is almost impossible to grasp in an analytical way. With every repetition, a new variation arises when the singing begins which is expressed in the smallest diminutions, which make recording difficult and the order of whose meter is barely recognizable (Fritz 1990).

When listening to a yodel which has complex voice leading, I have to think about a comment by Oskár Elschek in which he emphasizes the deficits of our analytical efforts: The satisfactory and suitable verbalization of the processes of musical structures still belongs to the weak points of music research. Particularly in those cases where it is a question of complicated, complex and dynamic music processes which exhibit a multi-dimensional, multi-parameter and changing structure (Elschek 2005, 37).

A lack of terminology and ambiguous concepts often prevents us from penetrating the composition of the substance of a complex multipart piece.

The terms "homophony" and "polyphony" as used in music theory can also be employed as guide rails to corresponding songs, yodels and dances which are realized in multipart form. In both systems, "repetition" and "imitation" are effective in the format of the eight-bar song. We have been familiar with these terms since Guido Adler (1855–1941) presented his Study on the History of Harmony (*Studie zur Geschichte der Harmonie*). He obtained his results and insights from forms of multipart yodels from Austria. The question needs to be asked: since when have we known anything about the forms of multipart singing realized in Austria – particularly those in *musica alpina*?

On this issue we can present an example with notes from 1702: five dances written down in one-part form in Ybbs Valley in Lower Austria:

These five *Ländler*-style dances were written down in 1702 while Johann Sebastian Bach in Leipzig, Georg Friedrich Händel in London and Antonio Vivaldi in Venice were being celebrated as the great masters of baroque music. No trace of their musical style can be found in these early *Ländler* from the Ybbs Valley, but one can find the *Ländler* melody – which has remained valid until today – and its elaboration in the stationary alternation of keynote and dominant. The sound breaks (*Klangbrechungen*) show the possibilities for multipartite music which are contained in this type of melody. That which develops horizontally here is based on the multipartite sound of the harmony. In a three-beats rhythm and in major tone, this genre exhibits its own continuum. In certain regions of Tyrol, Upper Austria, Styria and Lower Austria, separate types of *Ländler* have developed in melodies which are played in two parts. Even the city of Vienna obtained its stylistically most important impulse from this main form of Austrian folk music.

A hundred and ten years after 1702, in 1813 to be precise, a wandering Tyrolean musician wrote down some *Ländler*-style dances in his part book which deviate completely from the character of Tyrolean *Ländler*. First of all, a type of *Ländler* which
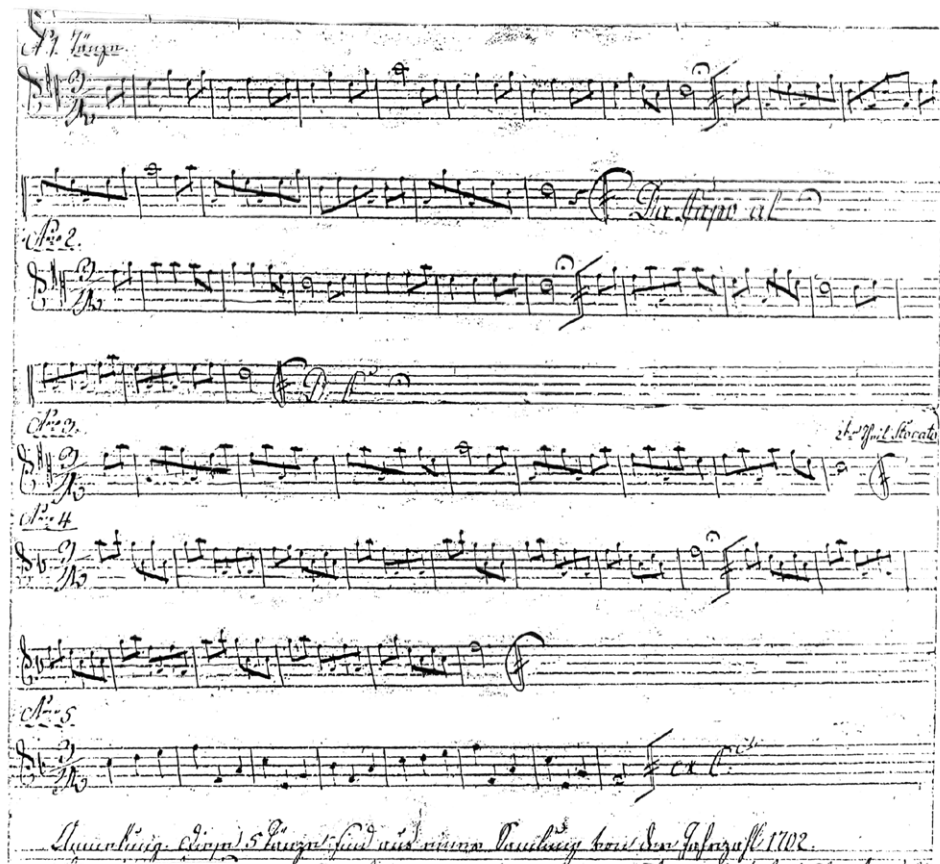
Figure 9: Five Dances from the Year 1702.
(Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Wien, Sonnleithner collection, Fasz. Unterösterreich III/17.2.)

is typical for Zillertal in Tyrol is presented in lower voice two-part singing. It has a continuous animated tempo without accentuation and is played at a constant volume:

This type of Tyrolean *Ländler* is a counterpart to that type of *Ländler* which was created in Vienna by the musicality of the Viennese dance fiddlers, but it was written down by a violinist from Zillertal in 1813 (fig. 10).

In its first part, this *Ländler* in F not only corresponds to a certain type of Viennese dances in terms of harmonies, but the instructions "slowly" and then "faster" for the second part are constitutive elements of an audition music (*Vorspielmusik*) with a main voice and an "overturn" in thirds which was one of the characteristic features of Viennese life in the 19th century.

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Figure 10: Ländler 1813.
(Tyrolean Folk Song Archive, Innsbruck, Inv. No. 45y,11 – No. 5.)

Music of this kind could not be found anywhere in Central Europe around 1800 – it only appeared in the following decades in the so-called *Weana Tanz* (Viennese Dance) and in the *Wiener Walzer*, such as in Johann Strauss' *Stories from the Vienna Forest*, for example.

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Ladies and gentlemen!

At the end of my unfinished lecture I would like to delight you – as guests of this city – with a Viennese Dance. The *Ländler* was artistically reshaped, melodically condensed with chromatic preparations and changing tones and, with the change of tempi "slow-fast", was raised to an art form from which the Viennese Song and the Viennese Waltz obtained their decisive melodic contours and stylistic characteristics.

Now we will listen to the first three-section number of the Debiasy Dance (A 65), with two violins and a contraguitar. Here, the term "dance" is a synonym for melody!

Figure 11: "Debiasy-Tanz" Nr. 1 ("Debiasy Dance" No. 1).
(Deutsch and Weber 2010, 123; see A 65.)

Now I would like to close my contribution with an instructive and wonderful quote from Alica Elscheková: "Multipart music is one of the most exciting and valuable phenomena in the European folk music tradition, and is among the most demanding analytical tasks of European music research. [*Die Mehrstimmigkeit bildet in der europäischen Volksmusiktradition eines der aufregendsten und wertvollsten Musikphänomene und gehört zu den analytisch anspruchsvollsten Aufgaben der europäischen Musikforschung.*]" (Elscheková 2005, 149)

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Enrique Cámara de Landa holds a PhD in Musicology from the University of Valladolid (1994), where he has occupied a Chair since 1992. He has acquired teach-

ing expertise at European, Asian, and American universities. He has investigated the methodology of research; the history and teaching of ethnomusicology; the analysis of oral-transmitted music; the music of Spain, India and Latin America; dialogic ethnomusicology; Italian tango; musical hybridization; improvisation and music revival; music and migration; and multipart singing. He has written, edited and published 12 books (in printed or electronic format) and 70 articles, and he is the author and editor of 11 audio-visual presentations. He took part in a European project (Community Vocational Training Action Programme). From 2005 he has been the coordinator of the Recognized Research Group (GIR) "Musical Heritage of Oral and Written Traditions and Multimedia" of the University of Valladolid.

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The folk music researcher Walter Deutsch was born in Bozen/Bolzano in 1923. He is the founder of the Department of Folk Music Research at the University of Music and Performing Arts, Vienna and was its director from 1965–1991. He is the author and editor of numerous works, writings, and radio/television broadcasts on folk music in Austria. From 1992–1999 he was president of the Austrian Folk Music Society (Volksliedwerk) and has been its honorary president since 1999. As an editor of the multiple volume complete edition of *Volkmusik in Österreich*, *Corpus Musicae Popularis Austriacae*, he rejuvenated the defunct 1904 founding charter of the Austrian Volksliedwerk, dedicated to the research and publication of traditional regional music in Austria.

Bernard Garaj studied Music Education in Nitra and finished his doctoral thesis in 1990 at the Institute of Musicology of the Slovak Academy of Sciences in Bratislava on "Bagpipes and the Bagpipers' Tradition in Slovakia". His postdoctoral thesis in 1999 at the University of Music and Performance Arts in Bratislava was about "Slovak

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His publication list comprises 6 monographs, 100 articles as well as 14 CDs, DVDs and multimedia projects with recordings of Slovak instrumental folk music. He has held research fellowships in Slovakia, Hungary, Austria, Norway and the USA.

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Ulrich Morgenstern studied Systematic Musicology and East Slavic Studies and received his Ph.D. in 2003 in Systematic Musicology. In 2011 he habilitated in Folk Music Studies / Comparative Musicology at the University of Hamburg. He has held visiting professorships at the Universities of Frankfurt a.M. (2009–2011) and Cologne (2012). Since 1989, fieldwork in Russia (in the regions of Pskov, Novgorod, Riazan', Arkhangel'sk, Tver' and Smolensk) and Belarus. 2012 appointment at the University

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Thomas Nussbaumer, born in Hall in Tirol (Austria). Studied musicology and German philology at the University of Innsbruck and was awarded a doctor's degree in 1998. Since 1995 Nussbaumer has been employed as an ethnomusicologist at the Innsbruck branch of the Music University Mozarteum Salzburg. Since his postdoctoral lecturer qualification at the University of Music and Performing Arts, Vienna in 2010, Nussbaumer has been associate professor for folk music research at the Mozarteum. Numerous field research projects and publications focused on Alpine folk music (western Austria and South Tyrol), music and customs (e.g. carnival), and historical sources of traditional music. He has also carried out field research in Kalona, Iowa, on the vocal music of the Old Order Amish.

Žanna Pärtlas was born in St. Petersburg (Leningrad), Russia. From 1983–1992 she studied musicology at the Rimsky-Korsakov State Conservatory in St. Petersburg. In 1992 she defended a doctoral thesis on heterophony in Russian folk songs. Since 1992 she has lived in Tallinn (Estonia). In 1994 she started working at the Estonian Academy of Music and Theatre, first as a lecturer of music theory and then as an associate professor and senior researcher. Her research projects mostly deal with analytical approaches to traditional music and general theoretical questions of traditional multipart singing. Since 1981 she has carried out field work in Russia (the Pskov, Smolensk and Tver regions), Belarus (Vitebsk, Gomel regions), and Estonia (Setumaa).

Rudolf Pietsch studied music education and instrumental music education in Vienna. Since 1981 he has worked as a researcher and instructor at the Department of Folk Music Research and Ethnomusicology at the University of Music and Performing Arts, Vienna. In 1991 he earned his PhD in musicology with a dissertation on inhabitants of the Austrian province of Burgenland who emigrated to the USA.

He is a frequent lecturer on topics related to instrumental folk music and its transmission in Central Europe. His is the leader of the violin ensembles *Die Tanzgeiger* and the *Heanzenquartett*. For over 40 years he has conducted workshops for folk music as well as carrying out artistic collaborations with countless musicians from all over Europe. In 2010 he completed a research visit as a Fulbright Scholar at the Depart-

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ment of Music of the University of Chicago (The Uses of Music in Central Europe and the American Midwest: Comparative Studies).

Speranța Rădulescu is a graduate of musical composition with a doctorate in musicology (1984). Ethnomusicological activity with the Ethnography and Folklore Institute and later with the Peasant Museum and with the National University of Music in Bucharest (as associate professor). Research in the classification of Romanian music, folk harmonization, new pan-Balkan musics, the musical reflection of the Romanian social-political structure and ideology, minorities' music (Hungarian, Ukrainian, Roma and Jewish). She has edited traditional music records in Romania and abroad. Among them is the Ethnophonie series (22 CDs), which were awarded a prize by the French Academy Charles Cros. She is the author of many articles and six books one of which is *À tue tête. Chant et violon dans le pays de l'Oach* written together with Bernard Lortat-Jacob and Jacques Bouët and published in France. She has also organized numerous traditional music concerts in Romania and abroad.

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Ian Russell was the Director of the Elphinstone Institute at the University of Aberdeen until January 2014. This institute specializes in folklore, ethnology and ethnomusicology (see www.abdn.ac.uk/elphinstone). His current research is focused on the traditional culture of North-East Scotland, including singing traditions, instrumental traditions (flute bands, free reed instruments, fiddles), Scottish Gypsy Travellers' traditions, monologues/recitations, and local craft skills. He has also conducted extensive fieldwork into singing traditions in the English Pennines, especially Christmas carolling. He was the convenor of North Atlantic Fiddle Convention in 2001, 2006, and 2010, and has hosted recent meetings of the British Forum for Ethnomusicology, the European Seminar in Ethnomusicology, and the Traditional Song Forum. In 2011 he was awarded a personal chair.

Lujza Tari has worked at the Institute for Musicology of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, in Budapest since 1972. Since 1980 she has been a member of the Committee for Musicology of the same institution and between 1980 and 1985 as well as between 1999 and 2006 she was the Committee's secretary. In the period 1996–2007 Tari was additionally President of the Hungarian National Committee of the ICTM. Tari has taught folk music and has given lectures at the Folklore Faculty of Eötvös University and at Liszt Ferenc Music University in Budapest as well as at universities in Switzerland, Austria, Germany, Italy and the USA. She has been an associate professor at the Liszt Ferenc Music University since 2003. Fieldwork in Hungary and among Slovaks, Croats, Romanians, Romani, Rutenians as well as in Armenia. She is the author of books and studies and has produced CDs and CD-ROMs in Hungarian and other languages. She is also active in public life.

List of Audio Examples

The Role of Multipart Music and Sounds in Gerlinde Haid's Conception of Musica Alpina
Thomas Nussbaumer

A 01   *La Violetta*
(p. 50/51)   Performers: Lina Montini, Annetta Montini, Ottavia Montini, Pasqua
            Cinelli, Luigi Montini, Natale Vezzoli.
            Place of the recording: Brione, Italy.
            Date of the recording: 23 July 1998.
            Recorded by: Paolo Vinati.
            Source: Vinati 2004, CD, track 8.
            Duration: 3:05.

A 02   *Lära Bred*
(p. 54/55)   Yodel from Bad Aussee, Styria, Austria.
            Performers: Max and Eleonore Schanzl.
            Place of the recording: Bad Aussee, Styria, Austria.
            Date of the recording: 2004.
            Recorded by: Gerlinde Haid.
            Source: Haid 2011b, DVD, sound example 15.
            Duration: 00:51.

A 03   *Dulcimer rhythms.*
(p. 56–58)   Performers: Christian Margreiter (dulcimer) and Otto Ehrenstrasser
            (harp)
            Place of the recording: Innsbruck, Austria
            Date of the recording: 1989.
            Recorded by: Recording from the film "*Das Wirtshaus ist die Hochschule
            der Volksmusik* [The tavern is the university of folk music]" by Bert Breit,
            1989.
            Source: Haid 1996a, CD, track 19.
            Duration: 1:19.

A 04   "*Mia ziachens den Fådn wohl umadums Haus* [We draw the thread all
            around the house]".
(p. 59/60)   New Year's Song.
            Performers: Several young men.
            Place of the recording: Planeil/Mals im Vinschgau, South Tyrol, Italy.
            Date of the recording: 31 December 1987.

Recorded by: Gerlinde Haid and Hans Haid.
Source: Haid and Haid 1993, II, track 15.
Duration: 4:59.

The Performance Roles and Dynamics of a Christmas Carolling Tradition in the English Pennines
Ian Russell

A 05	"Pentonville"
(p. 69–71)	Genre: Christmas Carols.
	Performers: Christmas Carollers at the Royal Hotel.
	Place of the recording: Royal Hotel, Dungworth, near Sheffield, UK.
	Date of the recording: 3 December 1995.
	Recording device: Teac DA-P20 DAT recorder.
	Recorded by: Ian Russell.
	Source: Ian Russell private archive. Village Carols VC95–34.
	Duration: 4:43.
A 06	"Old Foster"
(p. 71)	Genre: Christmas Carols.
	Performers: Christmas Carollers at the Blue Ball Inn.
	Place of the recording: Blue Ball Inn, Worrall, near Sheffield, UK.
	Date of the recording: 12 December 2004.
	Recording device: Tascam DA-P1 DAT recorder.
	Recorded by: Ian Russell.
	Source: Ian Russell private archive. Village Carols VC2004.13
	Duration: 5:47.
A 07	"Hark, Hark!"
(p. 73/74)	Genre: Christmas Carols.
	Performers: Christmas Carollers at the Black Bull pub.
	Place of the recording: Black Bull, Ecclesfield, near Sheffield, UK.
	Date of the recording: 1 December 1983.
	Recording device: Nagra Portable Tape Recorder 4.2
	Recorded by: John Leonard, BBC.
	Source: Ian Russell private archive unaccessioned.
	Duration: 3:09.
A 08	"Foster"
(p. 75)	Genre: Christmas Carols.
	Performers: Christmas Carollers at the George pub.
	Place of the recording: George, Upper Denby, near Barnsley, UK.

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Date of the recording: 23 December 2007.
Recording device: Tascam DA-P1 DAT recorder.
Recorded by: Ian Russell.
Source: Ian Russell private archive. Village Carols 2007.36.
Duration: 3:59.

A 09	"Mount Moriah"
(p. 75/76)	Genre: Christmas Carols.

Performers: Christmas Carollers at the Travellers Rest pub.
Place of the recording: Traveller's Rest, Oughtibridge, near Sheffield, UK.
Date of the recording: 5 December 1998.
Recording device: Teac DA-P20 DAT recorder.
Recorded by: Ian Russell.
Source: Ian Russell private archive unaccessioned.
Duration: 1:47.

A 10	"The Christmas Tree"
(p. 78/79)	Genre: Christmas Carols.

Performer: John Colley (soloist) and Christmas Carollers at the Blue Ball Inn (chorus).
Place of the recording: Blue Ball Inn, Worrall, near Sheffield, UK.
Date of the recording: 24 December 2007.
Recording device: Tascam DA-P1 DAT recorder.
Recorded by: Ian Russell.
Source: Ian Russell private archive. Village Carols VC2007.04.
Duration: 4:47.

A 11	"Good News"
(p. 80)	Genre: Christmas Carols.

Performers: Christmas Carollers at the Peacock pub.
Place of the recording: Peacock, Stannington, Sheffield, UK.
Date of the recording: 12 December 1970.
Recording device: Uher 4000 Report L reel-to-reel recorder.
Recorded by: Ian Russell.
Source: Ian Russell private archive. Village Carols 70-C5.
Duration: 3:23.

A 12	"Pass Your Glasses"
(p. 80/81)	Genre: Christmas Carols.

Performers: Christmas Carollers at the Royal Hotel.
Place of the recording: Royal Hotel, Dungworth, Sheffield, UK.
Date of the recording: 19 December 1999.

Recording device : Teac DA-P20 DAT recorder.
Recorded by : Ian Russell.
Source : Ian Russell private archive unaccessioned.
Duration : 00:52.

A 13
(p. 82/83)
"Merry Christmas"
Genre : Christmas Carols.
Performers : Christmas Carollers at the Festival of Village Carols.
Place of the recording : Festival of Village Carols, Grenoside, Sheffield, UK.
Date of the recording : 3 December 1994.
Recording device : Tascam DA-P1 DAT recorder.
Recorded by : Nigel Bewley, National Sound Archive.
Source : Ian Russell private archive. Village Carols VC94-032.
Duration : 3:41.

At the Bottom of the Ethnomusicologist's bin…: Multipart Singing Territories, Musical Logics and Self-Presentation Strategies
Jean-Jacques Castéret

A 14
(p. 103)
Lo primptemps qu'ei arribat (The spring is here)
Performers : Simon Soulé-Crabérou, Stéphane Chétrit, Serge Parisotto, singers from the Ossau valley during a lunch in Billère.
Place of the recording : Béarn, France.
Date of the recording : 2001.
Recorded by : Jean-Jacques Castéret.
Source : Jean-Jacques Castéret, personal archive.
Duration : 1:18.

A 15
(p. 104)
L'endiference (Indifference)
Songwriter : A. Arette-Lendresse and JF Daban.
Performer : Lous Esbagats d'Assou.
Place : Asson, Béarn, France.
Date : 1984.
Studio recording by Jan Mourèu –Junqué-Oc.
Source : Disc 33 T *Lous Esbagats d'Assou*, Junqué-Oc 33.157, 1984 – Fonds Junquèr d'Oc–Jan Morèu de l'InOc Aquitaine.
Duration : 4:13.

A 16
(p. 107)
Quan sia lo temps d'amor (When the time of love will come)
Songwriter : Raymond Lévesque from Quebec. Occitan adaptation by Los Pagalhós.

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Performers: Los Pagalhós.
Place: Béarn, France.
Date: 1987.
Studio recording by JF Tisnèr, Joan Jacme Baile.
Source: Audiotape *Sonque l'enveja de marchar*, LPG2, 1987.
Duration: 3:10.

A 17 *Campesino* (Peasant)
(p. 108) Songwriter: Patric Salanié (Peiraguda).
Performers: Los pagalhós.
Place: Béarn, France.
Date: 1995.
Studio recording by Joan Francés Tisnèr and Jacques Lemaire.
Source: CD *Hami de víver*, LPG 3.
Duration: 3:46.

A 18 *Que seram çò qui bastiram* (We will be what we will build)
(p. 108) Songwriter Jean-Marc Lempegnat.
Performers: "50 singers from Béarn and Bigorre gathered for the country"
Place: Béarn, France.
Date: 1992.
Studio recording by Entau País.
Source: Audiotape *Que seram çò qui bastiram!*, which was used to support the campaign to cantonal and regional elections in March 1992.
Duration: 2:38.

A 19 *Cantem en allegressa* (Let us sing with gladness)
(p. 110) Musical genre: Popular Christmas carol
Performers: Singers of the Mistèri de Nadau.
Place: Béarn, France.
Date: 1994
Recording in the Cathédrale de Lescar by Jean-Louis Tesson.
Source: Audiotape *Mistèri de Nadau*, L'Esquireta, 1994.
Duration: 3:45.

A 20 *Quan jo n'èri amoroseta d'aceth gallant* (When I was in love with that gallant)
(p. 116) Performers: Balaguèra.
Place: Béarn, France.
Date: November 2002.
Recorded in the Chapelle Notre-Dame du Bon Secours in Paris by Hugues Deschaux.

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	Source: CD *La votz deus anjos*. Paris, Alpha productions. 506. 2003.
	Duration: 4:16.
A 21	*La Sant Vincenç* (Saint Vincent)
(p. 117/118)	Authors: Xavier Navarrot (1799–1862) and JM Lempegnat.
	Performers: Los Pagalhós.
	Place: Béarn, France.
	Date: 2005.
	Studio recording by Joan Francés Baby.
	Source: CD *La Sobirana*. LPG4. 2005.
	Duration: 3:55.
A 22	*Lo tres de mai* (On May 3rd)
(p. 118)	Performers: Los de Laruntz.
	Place: Laruns, Vallée d'Ossau, Béarn, France.
	Date: around 1990.
	Studio recording Los de Laruntz.
	Source: Audiotape *Los de Laruntz*
	Duration: 6:19.

It is a Matter of Amalgam. Constructions of Sound Images in Multipart Singing Practices
Ignazio Macchiarella

A 23	*Miserere* (two fragments)
(p. 131)	Performers of the first fragment are Giovanni Ardu, Mario Corona, Roberto Iriu; Antonio Migheli of the *Su cuncordu 'e su Rosariu* and those of the second fragment Gino Leoni, Giovanni Meloni, Giovanni Mura, Simone Riggio of the *Su cuncordu lussurzesu*.
	Place: Santulussurgiu, Sardinia, Italy.
	Source: the first fragment is extracted from the CD attached to Macchiarella 2009 and the second fragment is extracted from the CD *Tajrà, vol 1* (Caranas, Cagliari 2000).
	Duration: 1:31.
A 24	*Miserere* (two fragments)
(p. 131)	Scano Montiferru, Sardinia, Italy.
	Performers of the first fragment are Pietro Dettori, Giampiero Motzo, Antonio Piras and Fabio Sanna from the *Su cuncordu iscanesu* and those of the second fragment are Antonio Carboni, Stefano Desogos, Francesco Fodde and Antioco Milia of the *Su cuncordu sas bator colonnas*.
	Source: the first fragment is extracted from the CD *Cuncordu iscanesu* (ed. Zentenoa, Sassari 2005); the second fragment is extracted from the

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CD *Cuncordu sas bator colonnas: Antigos trazos* (self production, Scano Montiferru 2012)
Duration: 1:27.

The Changing "Sound Ideal" as a Social Marker in Seto Multipart Songs
Žanna Pärtlas

A 25   The wedding song *Hähkämine*
(p. 146–149) Performers: the choir *Helmine*.
             Place: Mikitamäe, Estonia.
             Date: October 1998.
             Recorded by: Vaike Sarv and Žanna Pärtlas.
             Source: CD "Helmine", 1999, No 11.
             Duration: 00:44.
A 26   The wedding song *Hähkämine*
(p. 146–149) Performers: the choir *Verska naase'*.
             Place: Värska, Estonia.
             Date: 2012.
             Recorded by: Janika Oras.
             Duration: 00:38.
A 27   The wedding song *Hähkämine*
(p. 146–149) Performers: the choir *Kuldatsäuk*.
             Place: Värska, Estonia.
             Date: June 2006.
             Recorded by: Andreas Kalkun, Janika Oras, Žanna Pärtlas.
             Duration: 00:46.

Sound Instrumentation in Lithuanian Multipart Music Practice: the Relationship between the Individual and the Collective in Music-Making Processes
Daiva Račiūnaitė-Vyčinienė

A 28   *Aviža praše* (An oat begged to plant her nicely)
(p. 174)   Oat reaping *sutartinė*.
             Performers: Singers from Tatkūnai, Ukmergė region, Lithuania: Agota Gricienė, age 87, Barbora Stimburienė, age 88, Marijona Gricienė, age 67.
             Date: 1937.
             Recorded by: Zenonas Slaviūnas.

	Source: LTR pl. 610(8). Published in ADSIM 35.
	Duration: 00:35.
A 29	*Titity tatatoj, kas ti gražė triūbijo* (Titity tatatoj, Who's trumpeting so loudly?)
(p. 176)	Work *sutartinė*.
	Performers: Sung by singers from Biržai, Lithuania: Petras Lapienė, age 69, Kviriškiai village, Marė Jakubonienė, Balzieriškiai village, and Ona Striužienė, Drąseikiai village.
	Date: 1935.
	Recorded by: Zenonas Slaviūnas.
	Source: LTR pl. 186a(5). Published in ADSIM 25.
	Duration: 00:32.
A 30	*Obelyt gražuolyt* (Oh you pretty apple-tree)
(p. 177/178)	*Sutartinė* of nature.
	Performers: Sung by singers from Biržai, Lithuania: Petras Lapienė, age 69, Marė Jakubonienė, Ona Striužienė, and Zuzana Yčienė, Čigai village.
	Date: 1935.
	Recorded by: Zenonas Slaviūnas.
	Source: LTR pl. 189b(5).
	Duration: 00:35.
A 31	*Obelyt gražuolyt* (Oh you pretty apple-tree)
(p. 177/178)	*Sutartinė* on the *kanklės* ("Lithuanian zither")
	Performers: Petras Lapienė, age 70, Kviriškiai village, Biržai county, Lithuania.
	Date: 1937.
	Recorded by: Zenonas Slaviūnas.
	Source: LTR pl. 5966(1). Published in ADSIM 7.
	Duration: 00:42.

The Sound of Medņeva: Local Multipart Singing Practice as an Instrument of Identity in North-Eastern Latvia
Anda Beitāne

A 32	*Man patika mīžu druva* (I like the barley field)
(p. 191/192)	Performers: Medņeva ensemble, Latvia. Soloist Valentīna Babāne (1928).
	Place of the recording: Tartu: Estonian Literary Museum Estonian Folklore Archives.
	Date: 15 September 1997.

Recorded by: Jaan Tamm.
Recording device: Digital studio recording.
Source: Beitāne, Anda. 2008. *Medņevas dziedātājas* [The Singers of Medņeva]. Rīga: University of Latvia. Institute of Literature, Folklore and Art, 44–45.
Duration: 2:07.

Sound Aspects Caused by the Formation of Intentional and Accidental Multipart Instrumental Music, Illustrated by Selected Examples
RUDOLF PIETSCH

A 33   *Murtaler Polka*
(p. 205–207) Polka.
                 Performers: Edler Trio.
                 Date: After 1945.
                 Recorded by: Columbia (?)
                 Source: Steirisches Volksliedarchiv, Graz. Columbia 1373.
                 Duration: 2:10.
A 34   *Ernstl Boarischer*
(p. 207–209) Bayrisch Polka.
                 Performers: Rot-Gold-Trio.
                 Place: Sophiensäle, Vienna, Austria.
                 Date: 27 November 1982.
                 Recording device: Analogue multitrack live recording – Revox A700, 2 Micros AKG C 505 and 2 Micros D 1000.
                 Recorded by: Rüdiger Rothe.
                 Source: Ernst Spirk personal archive. Laxenburg, Austria.
                 Duration: 2:12.
A 35   *Murtaler Polka*
(p. 209)   Polka.
                 Performers: Wildbach Trio.
                 Place: Gaisfeld-Krottendorf near Weiz, Eastern Styria, Austria.
                 Date: 23 June 1991.
                 Recorded by: Franz Rumpf, Ligist, Styria, Austria.
                 Source: http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5RF1SmVWOZ8.
                 Duration: 2:09.
A 36   *Murtaler Polka*
(p. 209–211) Polka.

	Arrangement: Harald Sukic.
	Performers: Fuchsbartl-Banda.
	Place: Blackwoodstudio, Styria, Austria.
	Date: 2009.
	Recording device: Studio Recording.
	Recorded by: Sepp Schwarz.
	Source: CD Fuchsbartl-Banda "Am Tanzboden" CD 2996009, track 03.
	Duration: 1:07.

A 37
(p. 212) *Murtaler Polka*
Polka.
Performers: Volksmusiktrio Pfeffer Graz, Styria, Austria.
Place: ORF Studio Graz, Austria.
Date: 10 August 1976.
Recorded by: ORF (Austrian Broadcasting Corporation).
Source: CD BR 2063–2 Volksmusikgruppe Harald Pfeffer "Aus meiner Schatztruhe", track 03.
Duration: 1:11.

A 38
(p. 213/214) *Murtaler Polka*
Polka.
Performers: *Rathhaus Musi*, Upper Austria.
Source: Koal Dumfart personal archive.
Duration: 1:40.

A 39
(p. 216–219) *Murtaler Polka*
Polka.
Performers: Citoller Tanzgeiger.
Place: Haus der Regionen, Krems-Stein, Lower Austria.
Date: 19 April 2013.
Recording device: Multitrack HD – live recording.
Recorded by: Wolfgang Krsek, Volkskultur Niederösterreich.
Source: Haus der Regionen Krems-Stein, Lower Austria.
Duration: 1:03.

A 40
(p. 218) *Murtaler Polka* (speed reduced, first part).
Polka.
Performers: Violins/Viola Citoller Tanzgeiger.
Place: Haus der Regionen, Krems-Stein, Lower Austria.
Date: 19 April 2013.
Recording device: Multitrack HD – live recording.
Recorded by: Wolfgang Krsek, Volkskultur Niederösterreich.
Source: Haus der Regionen Krems-Stein, Lower Austria.

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Duration: 00:12.

A 41   *Murtaler Polka*
(p. 218)   Polka.
Performers: Hubert Pabi, diatonic accordion, Citoller Tanzgeiger.
Place: Haus der Regionen, Krems-Stein, Lower Austria.
Date: 19 April 2013.
Recording device: Multitrack HD – live recording.
Recorded by: Wolfgang Krsek, Volkskultur Niederösterreich.
Source: Haus der Regionen Krems-Stein, Lower Austria.
Duration: 1:12.

Multipart Phenomena in Hungarian Folk Music Regarding the Instrumentation and Instrumentalization of Sound
Lujza Tari

A 42   *De szeretnék az egen csillag lenni* (I would like to be a star in the sky)
(p. 227)   Performers: Magyarosi, János (1882).
Place: Méra / Mera, Romania.
Date: May 1963.
Recording device: Tape recorder.
Recorded by: Kallós, Zoltán.
Source: HAC RH Institute of Musicology Budapest Folk Music Archives, AP 6225 b).
Duration: 1:57.

A 43   *Lassú csárdás – Édesanyám de szépen fölneveltél*
(Slow csárdás – My mother, how nice you fetched me up)
(p. 227)   An old style dance tune of the pair dance slow czardas.
Performers: A five member Romani band. Prim (*prímás*) Varga, Ferenc "Csipás" (1919); second prim (*segédprím*) Zágor, Aladár (1936); first contra (*kontrás*) Bunyi, József (1908); second contra Lőrinc, Albert (1927); cello (*kisbőgős*) Ötvös, József (1922).
Place: Bánffyhunyad, Huedin, former Kolozs County, Romania.
Date: 19 October 1967.
Recording device: Tape recorder, Nagra, speed 19.
Collected by: Csenki, Imre and Martin, György.
Recorded by: Sztanó, Pál.
Source: HAC RH Institute of Musicology Budapest Folk Music Archives, AP 6597 c2).
Duration: 1:31.

A 44   *Jártatós* (Running dance)
(p. 227/228) Musical genre: slow czardas
              Performers: A four member Romani band. Prim (*prímás*) Grittó, Ferenc
              (1922); viola (*brácsa*) Puci, János (1918); bass (*bőgő*) Puci, Balázs (1922);
              cimbalom Puci, Péter (1915).
              Place: Mezőbánd, Band, former Kolozs County, Romania.
              Date: 1968.
              Recording device: Tape recorder.
              Recorded by: Kallós, Zoltán.
              Source: HAC RH Institute of Musicology Budapest Folk Music Ar-
              chives, AP 7184 c).
              Duration: 1:01.
A 45   *Fütyörelés* – whistling (*fütyülés* in dialect) of the dance tune *Jaj, Istenem, de*
              víg vótam azelőtt (Ah, my God, how happy I was before)
(p. 228)   Performer: Farkas, József (1929).
              Place: Méra / Mera, former Kolozs County, Romania.
              Date: 20 May 1969.
              Recording device: Tape recorder, Nagra, speed 19.
              Collected by: by Kallós, Zoltán and Martin, György.
              Recorded by: Sztanó, Pál.
              Source: HAC RH Institute of Musicology Budapest Folk Music Ar-
              chives, AP 6605 g).
              Duration: 1:25.
A 46   *Fekete tyúk szedegeti a meggyet*
(p. 228)   (The black chicken pecks up the sour cherry)
              Performer: Vajda Jánosné Haller Julianna (1901).
              Place: Nyíracsád-Asszonyrészpuszta, Szabolcs County, Hungary.
              Date: 29 January 1971.
              Recording device: Tape recorder, Uher, speed 19.
              Collected by: Papp, János and Sztanó, Pál.
              Recorded by: Sztanó, Pál.
              Source: HAC RH Institute of Musicology Budapest Folk Music Ar-
              chives, AP 6925 g).
              Duration: 00:50.
A 47   *Lassú csárdás (Fekete tyúk szedegeti a meggyet)*
(p. 228)   (Slow czardas: The black chicken pecks up the sour cherrry)
              A new style dance tune of the pair dance czardas.
              Performers: A two-member Romani band. Prim (*prímás*) Varga, Miklós
              "Csillag" (1895); viola (*brácsa*) Szilágyi, Géza (1906).

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Place: Szilágysámson / Şamşud, former Szilágy County, Romania.
Date: 18 June 1969.
Recording device: Tape recorder.
Recorded by: Almási, István and Martin, György.
Source: HAC RH Institute of Musicology Budapest Folk Music Archives, AP 6619 i).
Duration: 00:56.

A 48   *Csárdás (Gábor Áron rézágyúja)* on flute
(p. 230)   (Csárdás: The copper cannon of Gábor, Áron)
              A new style dance tune of the pair dance csárdás.
              Performer: Józsa, Lajos, senior (1939).
              Place: Korond / Corund, former Udvarhely County, Romania.
              Date: 21 August 1997.
              Recording device: DAT.
              Collected by: Tari, Lujza.
              Recorded by: Miháltz, Gábor.
              Source: HAC RH Institute of Musicology Budapest Folk Music Archives, Dat253_21_46.
              Duration: 00:22.

A 49   *Gyertek fiúk Fiumébe*, *áll egy hadihajó*
(p. 229/230) (Come boys, in Fiume lies one warship)
              Soldier song in new style.
              Place: Visk / Viskove, former Bereg County, Ukraine.
              Date: 13 August 1989.
              Recording device: Tape recorder Uher, speed 19.
              Collected by: Csatai, László; Felföldi, László; Karácsony, Zoltán; Németh, István; Teszáry, Miklós.
              Recorded by: Németh, István.
              Source: HAC RH Institute of Musicology Budapest Folk Music Archives, AP 16.664 k).
              Duration: 00:52.

A 50   *Magasan repül a daru*, *szépen szól*
(p. 232)   (The cranes fly high and sing fine)
              Performer: Szarka, Lajos (1905).
              Place: Cégénydányád, Szatmár County, Hungary.
              Date: 1960.
              Recording device: Tape recorder.
              Recorded by: Kiss, Lajos.

	Source: HAC RH Institute of Musicology Budapest Folk Music Archives, AP 3511 b). Duration: 2:12.
A 51 (p. 232)	*Rég veri már a magyart a teremtő* (The God has beaten the Hungarians for a long time) Performer: Préner, Antal (1883). Place: Berhida, Veszprém County, Hungary. Date: Januar 1965. Recording device: Tape recorder. Recorded by: Kiss, Lajos. Source: HAC RH Institute of Musicology Budapest Folk Music Archives, AP 5367 f). Duration: 00:50.
A 52 (p. 232)	*A Tiszából a Dunába foly a víz* (The river Tisza falls into the Danube) Performers: A traditional singing and dancing group led by Pribék, Lajos. Place: Magyarbőd / Bidovce, former Abaúj-Torna County, Slovakia. Date: 2 December 1994. Recording device: DAT recorder. Recorded by: Tari, Lujza. Source: HAC RH Institute of Musicology Budapest Folk Music Archives, Dat 234_19_16. Duration: 2:21.
A 53 (p. 232)	*Elvégeztük immár pályafutásunkat* (We have finished our course of life) A Calvinist ecclesiastical song from the end of the 18th century. Performers: Students choir of the Berzsenyi Dániel College Szombathely, Hungary. Place: Szombathely, Vas County, Hungary. Date: 2000. Recording device: Tape recording. Recorded by: Szabó, Csaba. Source: Szabó, Csaba: 2001 *Erdélyi magyar harmóniás énekek a XVIII. Századból.* [Harmonized Transylvanian-Hungarian songs from the 18th century] CD-ROM, Budapest: Balassi Kiadó. Duration: 1:01.
A 54 (p. 232)	*Török bársony süvegem* (My cap of Turkish velvet)

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Performers: A group of men.

Place: Szászcsávás, today Csávás/Ceuaş, former Kis Küküllő County, Romania.

Date: 26 April 1974.

Recording device: Tape recording.

Recorded by: Szabó, Csaba.

Source: HAC RH Institute of Musicology Budapest Folk Music Archives, AP 10.089 – without letter).

Duration: 00:52.

A 55   *Asztali nóta* (Table tune)

(p. 232)   Performers: A three-member band of peasants. Prim (*prímás*) Mezei, Levente (1969); contra (*kontrás*) Mezei, Ferenc (1951); bass (*bőgő*) Csányi, Mátyás (1953).

Place: Szászcsávás, today Csávás/Ceuaş, former Kis Küküllő County, Romania.

Date: 19 Januar 1990.

Recording device: Tape recorder.

Recorded by: Bartha Z. Ágoston and Szánthó, Zoltán.

Source: HAC RH Institute of Musicology Budapest Folk Music Archives, M 5751B13–1.drum

Duration: 2:11.

"I hear the drum, but I can't see it!" The Main Accompanying Instrument and Its Emblematic Sound

Speranţa Rădulescu

A 56   *Nevestică tinerică (*Youngish Wifey)

(p. 240)   *Cântec de dragoste* / Long song.

Performers: Nicu Cercel (voice and violon), Dumitru Săndulescu (second violin), Constantin Ilie Udilă (small cimbalom) Ilie Tudor (double bass), all musicians from the village Chilia, department of Olt, Romania.

Place: Bucharest, Romania.

Date: 12 April 1938.

78 tours record.

Recorded by: Harry Brauner

Source: LP "I. Oltenia" from the series "Traditional Folk Music Band". "Document" collection, published in 1982 by "Electrecord" company, Bucharest.

Duration: 3:03.

A 57
(p. 240/241)
Împcelecata din Sânmihaiu de Câmpie (Bistriţa Năsăud)
(Împcelecata from the village of Sânmihaiu de Câmpie, Bistriţa Năsăud department)
Dance melody.
Performers: Emil Mihaiu (violin), Urszui Kalman (viola); Pusztai Aladar (double bass), all musicians from Ghela town and Cluj town respectively, central Transylvania, Romania.
Place: Recorded in Bucharest, Romania.
Date: November 2000.
Recording device: Tascam cassette recorder (digital).
Recorded by Speranţa Rădulescu and Costin Moisil.
Source: The archives of the Peasant Museum, Bucharest. The piece was published in 2002 on the CD "Romanian and Hungarian Music from Central Transylvania", Ethnophonie series (005), produced by the cultural foundation Al. Tzigara Samurcaş.
Duration: 3 : 44.

A 58
(p. 238, 245)
Hora boierească a lui Toader Ţintă (Slow, hieratic *hora*)
Dance melody.
Performers: Constantin Lupu (violin), Constantin Negel (*cobza*), Marian Emanuel Şchiopu (drum), all musicians from the village of Baranca, Botoşani department, Romania.
Place of the recording: Bucharest, Romania.
Date of the recording: 30 May 2001.
Recording device: Tascam cassette recorder (digital).
Recorded by Speranţa Rădulescu and Costin Moisil.
Source: Archives of the Peasant Museum, Bucharest. The piece was published in 2004 on the CD "Muzică veche din Moldova de Sus / Old Music from Northern Moldavia", Ethnophonie series, 009.
Duration: 2 :41.

A 59
(p. 239/240)
Song and dance melody (*sârba*)
Performers: Vasile Năsturică (violin), Gheorghe Rădulcanu (cimbalom), Ştefan Ionel Ioniţă (accordion), Gheorghe Petrescu (double bass), all from Bucharest, Romania.
Place of recording: Bucharest, Romania.
Date: July 2009.
Recording device: Tascam cassette recorder (digital).
Recorded by: Constantin Grăjdian and Speranţa Rădulescu.
Source: Archives of the Peasant Museum, Bucharest. The piece was poublished in 2009 on the CD "Muzică lăutărească cu taraful Vasile

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Năsturică/Lăutărească Music with Vasile Năsturică's Ensemble". Ethno-
phonie series, 019.
Duration: 7:08.

Some Remarks on Multipart Singing in Austrian Folk Music
Walter Deutsch

A 60   *I hab scho(n) drei Summa* [Three summers are gone].
(p. 296/297) Love song.
            Performers: *Die fünf singenden Großmütter* [The Five Singing Grand-
            mothers].
            Place: Falkenstein, Lower Austria.
            Source: *Tondokumente zur Volksmusik in Österreich*. Vol. 2. 1993. Nied-
            erösterreich mit Beiheft. CD. Institut für Volksmusikforschung und
            Ethnomusikologie. Wien: RST-records 91558–2. Nr. 19.
            Duration: 00:22.
A 61   *I hab scho(n) drei Summa* [Three summers are gone]. Love song.
(p. 297)   Place: Salzburg, Austria.
            Date: 2012.
            Source: Hetz *et al.* 2012.
            Duration: 1:16.
A 62   Song of St. Florian
(p. 298, 300) Performers: Believers from Ottenthal in the northern part of the Wein-
            viertel region north of Vienna, Lower Austria.
            Place: Ottenthal, Lower Austria.
            Date: 1972.
            Recorded by: Walter Deutsch/Austrian Broadcasting Corporation
            (ORF)/Studio Lower Austria.
            Duration: 1:24.
A 63   *Heint is die Såmstågnåcht* (The Saturday night)
(p. 299/300) Performers: *Schneebergbuam.*
            Place: Schneeberg area, Lower Austria.
            Date: 2002.
            Recorded by: Volkskultur Niederösterreich. Sony DADC Austria AG.
            Source: *Schneebergbuam. Jodler und Lieder aus dem Schneeberggebiet.* 2002.
            CD. Volkskultur Niederösterreich. Sony DADC Austria AG. HeiVo CD
            18 AuMe. No. 12.
            Duration: 1:38.

A 64   *Almawassal.*
(p. 302)   Performers: *Jagerhäusl Dreigsang*.
              Place: Tyrol, Austria.
              Date: 1999.
              Recorded by: Austrian Broadcasting Corporation (ORF).
              Source: *Die schönsten Volkslieder aus Österreich. Tirol*. 1999. ORF-CD 228.
              No. 2.
              Duration: 1:22.
A 65   Debyasy Tanz.
(p. 306)   Performers: Terzett des Klassischen Wiener Schrammelquartetts.
              Place: Lower Austria.
              Date: 1968.
              Recorded by: Walter Deutsch/Austrian Broadcasting Corporation
              (ORF)/Studio Lower Austria. N/CD 24 / 2379/18.
              Source: Deutsch, Walter and Ernst Weber 2010, CD, No. 3.
              Duration: 2:04.

List of Video Examples

The Role of Multipart Music and Sounds in Gerlinde Haid's Conception of Musica Alpina
Thomas Nussbaumer

V 01   *"Pasch" with praise and dispraise by one of the "paschers"*
(p. 52–54)   Performers: *Strassner Pascher* from Bad Aussee, Styria, Austria.
            Place of the recording: Bad Aussee, Styria, Austria.
            Date of the recording: 2008.
            Recorded by: Gerlinde Haid and her team of the Kammerhof Museum,
            Bad Aussee.
            Source: Haid 2011b, DVD, video example 6.
            Duration: 01:52.

Polyphonic Arrangements for a Monodic Tradition: Rituals and Musical Creativity in Present-Day Soria
Enrique Cámara de Landa

V 02   *Jota de Covaleda, Soria* (Jota of Covaleda, Soria)
(p. 95)   Musical genre: Jota.
            Performers: Young people.
            Place: Covaleda, Soria, Spain.
            Date: 15 August 2003.
            Recording device: Domestic video camera JVC.
            Recorded by: Enrique Cámara de Landa
            Source: Enrique Cámara de Landa, private archive.
            Duration: 00:53.

V 03   *Canción del ramo* (Song of the bouquet)
(p. 95)   Religious song.
            Performers: Women from Salduero, Soria, Spain.
            Place: Salduero, Soria, Spain.
            Date: 9 August 2003.
            Recording device: Domestic video camera JVC.
            Recorded by: Enrique Cámara de Landa.
            Source: Enrique Cámara de Landa, private archive.
            Duration: 00:41.

V 04   *Marcha procesional* (Processional march)
(p. 95)   Performers: Fernando Pérez (*dulzaina*), César Gil Alonso (*dulzaina*), Os-

car Jiménez (drum), all musicians from Soria.
Place: Almajano, Soria, Spain.
Date: 15 August 2010.
Recording device: Domestic video camera JVC.
Recorded by: Enrique Cámara de Landa.
Source: Enrique Cámara de Landa, private archive.
Duration: 00:34.

V 05   *Pasacalles* (Musical piece for parades)
(p. 95)   Performers: Alesander Guzmán de Arenaza (*dulzaina*), José Ángel de
          Miguel Pérez (*dulzaina*), Carlos Lázaro Aguilera (drum), Javier Lázaro
          Aguilera (snare drum), all musicians from Soria.
          Place: Abejar, Soria, Spain.
          Date: 3 August 2003.
          Recording device: Domestic video camera JVC.
          Recorded by: Enrique Cámara de Landa.
          Source: Enrique Cámara de Landa, private archive.
          Duration: 00:39.

V 06   *Pasacalles* (Musical piece for parades)
(p. 95)   Performers: Members of a local *charanga* (musical group).
          Place: Covaleda, Spain.
          Date: 15 August 2003.
          Recording device: Domestic video camera JVC.
          Recorded by: Enrique Cámara de Landa.
          Source: Enrique Cámara de Landa, private archive.
          Duration: 00:41.

V 07   *Pepita Greus* (Pascual Pérez Chovi)
(p. 95)   Musical genre: *paso doble*.
          Performers: Domingo (*bandurria*), Florentino (*bandurria*), Aniceto (gui-
          tar), Claudio (guitar), from the rondalla "Los del Río Duero", all musi-
          cians from Soria.
          Place: Soria, Spain.
          Date: 4 August 2013.
          Recording device: Domestic video camera JVC.
          Recorded by: Enrique Cámara de Landa.
          Source: Enrique Cámara de Landa, private archive.
          Duration: 00:40.

V 08   *Adelaida*[1]
(p. 96)   Musical genre: *paso doble*.
              Performers: *Menaya folk* group from Soria.
              Place: Muriel de la Fuente, Soria, Spain.
              Date: 26 August 2007.
              Recording device: Domestic video camera JVC.
              Recorded by: Enrique Cámara de Landa
              Source: Enrique Cámara de Landa, private archive.
              Duration: 00:41.

V 09   *Cocoleocó*
(p. 96)   Suite of pastoral dances (introduction).
              Performers: *Menaya folk* group from Soria.
              Place: Muriel de la Fuente, Soria, Spain.
              Date: 26 August 2007.
              Recording device: Domestic video camera JVC.
              Recorded by: Enrique Cámara de Landa.
              Source: Enrique Cámara de Landa, private archive.
              Duration: 00:47.

V 10   *Salve de Pesquera de Duero* (Salve of Pesquera de Duero[2])
(p. 97)   Religious song (instrumental version).
              Performers: José Ignacio Palacios Sanz (keyboard), Alberto Jambrina
              Leal (*dulzaina*), Alesander Guzmán de Arenaza (*dulzaina*), Elías Mar-
              tínez Muñiz (*dulzaina*), musicians from Soria and Valladolid.
              Place: Montejo de Tiernes, Soria, Spain.
              Date: 31 August 2007.
              Recording device: Domestic video camera JVC.
              Recorded by: Enrique Cámara de Landa.
              Source: Enrique Cámara de Landa, private archive.
              Duration: 1:17.

V 11   *Salve*
(p. 97)   Religious repertoire.
              Performers: Musical ensemble and choir. The group does not have a
              name. It is composed of people from different areas.
              Place: Vinuesa (Soria), Spain.
              Date: 15 August 2003.
              Recording device: Domestic video camera JVC.

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1   *Adelaida* is a woman's name.

2   *Pesquera de Duero* is a village in the province of Soria.

Recorded by: Enrique Cámara de Landa.
Source: Enrique Cámara de Landa, private archive.
Duration: 1:22.

V 12   *La Chiclanera*[3]
(p. 98)   Musical genre: *paso doble.*
              Authors: Luis Vega, Rafael Oropesa and Antonio Carmona.
              Performers: *Orquesta de dulzainas Las Camaretas* (composed of musicians
              from the province of Soria).
              Place: Soria, Spain.
              Date: 10 April 2013.
              Recording device: Domestic video camera JVC.
              Recorded by: Enrique Cámara de Landa.
              Source: Enrique Cámara de Landa, private archive.
              Duration: 00:55.

V 13   *Americana de Arkansas* (Americana of Arkansas)
(p. 98)   Musical genre: two-step.
              Performers: *Orquesta de dulzainas Las Camaretas* (composed of musicians
              from the province of Soria).
              Place: Soria, Spain.
              Date: 10 April 2013.
              Recording device: Domestic video camera JVC.
              Recorded by: Enrique Cámara de Landa.
              Source: Enrique Cámara de Landa, private archive.
              Duration: 00:55.

Sound Instrumentation in Lithuanian Multipart Music Practice: the Relationship between the Individual and the Collective in Music-Making Processes.
Daiva Račiūnaitė-Vyčinienė

V 14   *Našloita rūtala* (Violet 'n' rue bud)
(p. 179)   Wedding *sutartinė.*
              Performers: *Sutartinės'* singers group Trys keturiose from Vilnius: Daina
              Norvaišytė, Eglė Sereičikienė, Rima Visackienė, Audronė Žilinskienė,
              and Daiva Vyčinienė.
              Place: Anykščiai, Center of Chamber Arts, Lithuania.
              Date: 31 May 2012.
              Recorded by: Virginijus Kašinskas during the concert in Anykščiai,

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3   "Chiclanera" means "from Chiclana" (town in the province of Cádiz, Spain).

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Center of Chamber Arts.
Source: Fragment from audiovisual project Lino laikas (Linen times) 2006. Project conception by Daiva Vyčinienė, photography and video film production by Jurgita Treinytė-Jorė.
Duration: 1:29.

The Sound of Medņeva: Local Multipart Singing Practice as an Instrument of Identity in North-Eastern Latvia
Anda Beitāne

V 15   *Man patika mīžu druva* (I like the barley field)
(p. 191, 193) Performers: Valentīna Babāne (1928) and Tekla Logina (1917).
              Place: Medņeva, Latvia.
              Date: 14 August 1991.
              Recorded by: Valdis Jurkovskis.
              Recording device: Video camera Sony CCD V6000E Hi8 Pro.
              Source: Traditional Music Archives of the Jāzeps Vītols Latvian Academy of Music.
              Duration: 1:59.
V 16   *Man patika mīžu druva* (I like the barley field)
(p. 192/193) Performers: Valentīna Babāne (1928), Tekla Logina (1917), Valentīna Babāne (1933), Aniceta Babāne (1925).
              Place: Medņeva, Latvia.
              Date: 14 August 1991.
              Recorded by: Valdis Jurkovskis.
              Recording device: Video camera Sony CCD V6000E Hi8 Pro.
              Source: Traditional Music Archives of the Jāzeps Vītols Latvian Academy of Music.
              Duration: 2:12.
V 17   *Man patika mīžu druva* (I like the barley field)
(p. 193)   Performers: Natālija Smuška (1937), Antonija Pabērza (1933), Janīna Kaimiņa (1932), Bārbala Dukaļska (1926), Valentīna Lapšāne (1934).
              Place: Medņeva, Latvia.
              Date: 15 August 1991.
              Recorded by: Valdis Jurkovskis.
              Recording device: Video camera Sony CCD V6000E Hi8 Pro.
              Source: Traditional Music Archives of the Jāzeps Vītols Latvian Academy of Music.
              Duration: 1:25.

V 18   *Garīs bolss* (Long Song)
(p. 194/195) Performers: Natālija Smuška (1937), Antonija Pabērza (1933), Malvīne
            Ločmele (1936), Silvija Babāne (1952), Eleonora Kaimiņa (1933).
            Place: Riga, Latvia.
            Date: 6 July 2012.
            Recorded by: Aivis Blumers.
            Recording device: Video camera Sony HDR-XR550.
            Source: Archives of the Latvian National Centre for Culture.
            Duration: 4:39.

V 19   *Garīs bolss* (Long Song)
(p. 195/196) Performers: Natālija Smuška (1937), Antonija Pabērza (1933), Janīna
            Kaimiņa (1932), Bārbala Dukaļska (1926), Valentīna Lapšāne (1934).
            Place: Medņeva, Latvia.
            Date: 15 August 1991.
            Recorded by: Valdis Jurkovskis.
            Recording device: Video camera Sony CCD V6000E Hi8 Pro.
            Source: Traditional music Archives of the Jāzeps Vītols Latvian Acad-
            emy of Music.
            Duration: 3:55.

V 20   *Garīs bolss* (Long Song)
(p. 196)   Performers: Valentīna Babāne (1928), Tekla Logina (1917), Valentīna
            Babāne (1933), Aniceta Babāne (1925).
            Place: Medņeva, Latvia.
            Date: 14 August 1991.
            Recording device: Video camera Sony CCD V6000E Hi8 Pro.
            Recorded by: Valdis Jurkovskis.
            Source: Traditional music Archives of the Jāzeps Vītols Latvian Acad-
            emy of Music.
            Duration: 4:49.

V 21   Fragments from singing workshops
(p. 199)   Place: Medņeva, Latvia.
            Date: 21, 22 July 2008.
            Recording device: Video camera Sony DCR-HC37E.
            Recorded by: Ruta Cibule.
            Source: Balvi. 2010. *Balvu reģiona kultūrvēstures datu bāze* [Database
            of the Cultural History of the Balvi Region]. Last modified January 3.
            http://www.balvurcb.lv/kb/?View=entry&EntryID=668 (accessed 30
            November 2013).
            Duration: 2:41.

Sound Aspects Caused by the Formation of Intentional and Accidental Multipart Instrumental Music, Illustrated by Selected Examples
RUDOLF PIETSCH

V 22	*Murtaler Polka*
(p. 209)	Musical genre: Polka.
	Performers: Wildbach Trio.
	Place: Krottendorf near Weiz, Eastern Styria.
	Date: 1991.
	Recorded by: Franz Rumpf. Used with permission.
	Source: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5RF1SmVWOZ8.
	Duration: 02:09
V 23	*Murtaler Polka*
(p. 216–219)	Musical genre: Polka.
	Performers: Citoller Tanzgeiger.
	Place: Haus der Regionen, Stein/Donau, Lower Austria.
	Date: 19 April 2013.
	Recorded by: Niederösterreichische Volkskultur.
	Source: Niederösterreichische Volkskultur.
	Duration: 2:19.

Towards the Instrumentation of Sound in a Band Consisting of String Instruments and Bagpipes
BERNARD GARAJ

V 24	*Od Kostolian do mlina…* (From Kostolany to the mill…)
(p. 255)	Folk song.
	Performers: Bernard Garaj bagpipe and Marian Járek violin.
	Place: Nitra, Slovakia.
	Date: 19 April 2013.
	Recorded by: Jaroslav Dóczy.
	Duration: 00:53.
V 25	*Poďmeže len, poďme…* (Let us go, let us go…)
(p. 255)	Folk song.
	Performers: Bernard Garaj bagpipe and Marian Járek violin.
	Place: Nitra, Slovakia.
	Date: 19 April 2013.
	Recorded by: Jaroslav Dóczy.
	Duration: 00:44.

V 26   *Spalo dievča, spalo…* (A girl was sleeping…)
(p. 255/256) Folk song.
              Performers: Bernard Garaj bagpipe and Marian Járek violin.
              Place: Nitra, Slovakia.
              Date: 19 April 2013.
              Recorded by: Jaroslav Dóczy.
              Duration: 1:29.

V 27   *Gajdošu, gajdošu …* (Bagpiper, bagpiper…)
(p. 256)   Folk song.
              Performers: Bernard Garaj bagpipe, Marian Járek first violin and Peter
              Hujer second violin.
              Place: Nitra, Slovakia.
              Date: 19 April 2013.
              Recorded by: Jaroslav Dóczy.
              Duration: 00:52.

V 28   *Tancuvali malie deti …* (Small children were dancing…)
(p. 256)   Folk song.
              Performers: Bernard Garaj bagpipe, Marian Járek violin, Ján Václavek
              contra viola, Erik Sitár double bass and Peter Hujer bladder fiddle.
              Place: Nitra, Slovakia.
              Date: 19 April 2013.
              Recorded by: Jaroslav Dóczy.
              Duration: 00:44.

V 29   *Gajdošu, gajdošu …* (Bagpiper, bagpiper …)
(p. 257)   Folk song.
              Performers: Bernard Garaj bagpipe, Marian Járek first violin, Peter Hu-
              jer second violin, Ján Václavek contra viola, Erik Sitár double bass.
              Place: Nitra, Slovakia.
              Date: 19 April 2013.
              Recorded by: Jaroslav Dóczy.
              Duration: 00:56.

V 30   *Poza bučky, poza peň …* (Behind the beech-tree, behind the bole …)
(p. 257)   Folk song.
              Performers: Bernard Garaj bagpipe, Marian Járek violin, Ján Václavek
              contra viola, Erik Sitár double bass and Peter Hujer bladder fiddle.
              Date: 19 April 2013.
              Recorded by: Jaroslav Dóczy.
              Duration: 00:48.

V 31   *Aňi ja som ňepil …* (Neither I was drinking …)
(p. 258)   Folk song.
Performers: Bernard Garaj bagpipe, Marian Járek violin, Ján Václavek
contra viola, Erik Sitár double bass and Peter Hujer bladder fiddle.
Date: 19 April 2013.
Recorded by: Jaroslav Dóczy.
Duration: 1:46.

V 32   *Išli furmaňi hore brehami …* (Carters were going uphill …)
(p. 258)   Folk song.
Performers: Bernard Garaj bagpipe, Marian Járek violin, Ján Václavek
contra viola, Erik Sitár double bass and Peter Hujer bladder fiddle.
Date: 19 April 2013.
Recorded by: Jaroslav Dóczy.
Duration: 00:54.

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These are the proceedings of an international symposium held in Vienna from 11 to 13 March 2005, awarded a prize by the city of Vienna, the Vienna Economic Chamber, and the Vienna Convention Bureau. The issues dealt with in the articles offer different viewpoints, from the politics and aesthetics of two-part singing in southern Portugal to the new considerations of diaphony in Southeast Europe. In addition, unknown multi-part singing styles in the scholarly research are dealt with, for example from Spain and the French mainland. The inclusion of the Balkans in the investigations has also been fundamental for the musical cultures of this area to be perceived as an indispensable part of European cultures, which is still not necessarily the case.

böhlau
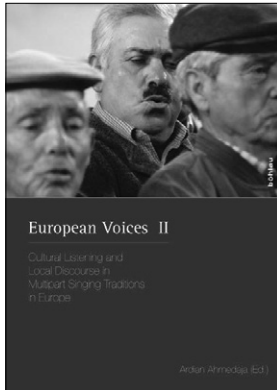
ARDIAN AHMEDAJA (ED.)
EUROPEAN VOICES II
CULTURAL LISTENING AND LOCAL
DISCOURSE IN MULTIPART SINGING
TRADITIONS IN EUROPE
SCHRIFTEN ZUR VOLKSMUSIK, BAND 23

Although the fundamental meaning of basic terminology is well established for every scholarly discipline, many concepts are often questioned and redefined. In the case of ethnomusicology, this process is all too familiar, as researchers within the discipline focus on the most diverse of music cultures. The manifold worldviews of the resource persons make the matter more complex. Such a situation has particular significance in the context of multipart singing, because of its specific musical aesthetics and vocabularies. Moreover, it is accentuated by processes of change within everyday practice and in ethnomusicology.

Examining this question from the viewpoint of local terminology primarily means considering specific and individual concepts of cultural listening and particularities of local discourse, which stimulate analytical attention to the most profound details of the area under discussion.

Local multipart music practices are based on the intentionally distinct and coordinated participation of music makers in the performing act. Following the rules of interaction while promoting at the same time their personal goals, the protagonists share their own treasure trove of experiences and cultural affiliations and shape sounds and values. Such complex and dynamic processes are central to the investigations of instrumentation and instrumentalization of sound.