



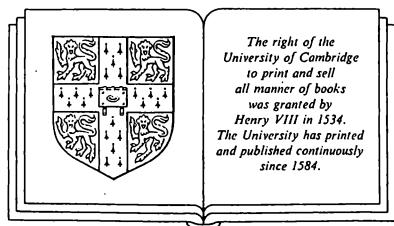
Constantin Brăiloiu

Problems of Ethnomusicology

CONSTANTIN BRAILOIU

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conserved. Though not indifferent to instrumental music, Brăiloiu was particularly interested in vocal music, for all sorts of reasons, among which were his taste for poetry and his interest in the relationships between metre and rhythm. But it was also probably because, as an ethnologist and with his understanding of people, he realized the importance for them of magic which he saw at work in their skill in combining words and music. ‘Charms’, ‘incantations’ for the ‘safekeeping of life’ – it is definitely these that can be seen, he concluded, in the ‘wandering strophes’ and the ‘poetic expressions’ that make up what we now call the visible structure of ‘Miorița’.

If Gide’s words, and, I think, before him Wilde’s, are true, namely that imagination imitates and only the critical mind creates, the articles ‘Concerning the yodel’ and ‘Musical folklore’ that follow ‘On a Romanian ballad’ in Brăiloiu’s output clearly show his creative thinking in this sense. His criticism of von Hornbostel, which is meticulously justified, appears, all things considered, to be constructive rather than negative. In ‘Concerning the yodel’, which is really only an excuse for this, he states his position as regards the fundamental problems of ethnomusicology. Similarly, ‘Musical folklore’ is not only a criticism, albeit fruitful, of the word itself and of the diverse uses made of it and the ideas that it covers, but also a discussion of the various problems related to the theory of folk creation and a clear challenge to the famous *Rezeptionstheorie*.

It is perhaps astonishing to see Brăiloiu painstakingly refute a theory which is so obviously indefensible and which is practically ignored today by ethnomusicology. Let us not forget that his domain was Europe. Now, European folklore ceaselessly brings into question, in literature as in music, the relationship between learned and folk art. The *Rezeptionstheorie* was one answer to this important and complex question – an answer which Brăiloiu, more than anyone else, showed to be false. But his refutation is more important because it reveals the depth of the problem and the terminology with which it should be discussed. To do this, he widened the debate to include the whole world. His denunciation of the prejudices that consider European folk art a degradation of scholarly art similarly led him to denounce the ‘presumptuous conviction’ that white people ‘gave to humanity a civilization superior to all others’, which is, in turn, the origin of the scorn long shown by Westerners for non-Western music. He criticizes the German concept of *Naturvölker* with its necessary ‘state of nature’ that ‘our musicologists seem not to be able to imagine’; he criticizes incoherent theories about musical systems (scales and rhythms) and folk versification; he criticizes the classification criteria used in most folklore collections, the various typologies hitherto proposed for their melodies, the various concepts that have been developed about variation, the possibilities offered by electroacoustic analysis of music. In sum, ‘Musical folklore’ is a critical review of all the main aspects of ethnomusicological research. But Brăiloiu’s criticisms are never merely destructive. Far from it – each gave him the chance to propose another direction for research, or another model.

This led him to expound, in an extremely condensed form, the principles used in his study of a repertoire in *La vie musicale d'un village*,⁵ and to reproduce, as an example, the synoptic transcription of a funeral lament as it was published in his 'Funeral laments from Oaş' ('Bocete din Oaş').

By starting with reflections on European folk music, but gradually extending his boundaries to finish with 'primitive' music in its universality (non-European art music, being outside the subject, is mentioned only occasionally), Brăiloiu in 'Musical folklore' moves imperceptibly from the area then known as musical folklore to that which was soon to be called ethnomusicology, though the word itself does not appear. One hardly ever finds the word 'ethnography'. The essay dates from 1949, and in the year that followed, Brăiloiu played an active part, with Paul Collaer, in establishing the Colloques de Wégimont in Belgium. At the first of these conferences, which took place in 1954, the participants welcomed Schaeffner's suggestion to adopt the term 'ethnomusicology', which was beginning to be used in the United States. From then on, Brăiloiu used the term regularly, and in 'Musicology and ethnomusicology today' he shows the decisive turning point in the discipline that corresponds to the adoption of this term. But he seems to have retained a certain nostalgia for the words 'folklore' and 'folklorist', as is shown by his account of his conversations with Bartók in the same essay and his use of these terms that same year in the first pages of *La vie musicale*.

That Brăiloiu was an ethnologist is shown by the 'Outline', 'On : Romanian ballad', his Romanian works on the music of various ritual (weddings, funerals, calendar feastdays) and, of course, *La vie musicale* though he was never interested only in the musical aspect of ethnology, as is seen in his article 'Les icônes paysannes roumaines peintes sous verre'. But above all he was a musicologist, and the greatest part of his work should be seen as a major contribution to musicology, in particular to a certain kind of musicology which he said should be 'on the look-out for essential secrets'. Rebelling against any tendency of historical musicology, for which he had nothing but sarcasm, and declaring that in any case 'historical methods are unsuitable for the exploration of the atemporal', he believed that, above all musicology should try to understand the internal necessity of music. He dealt with the problems of what may be called 'general' musicology in essays such as 'Un problème de tonalité (la métabole pentatonique)' and 'Pentatonismes chez Debussy'.

In 'Musical folklore', Brăiloiu demonstrated that European folk music could be understood only if seen within the context of all primitive music worldwide. Reciprocally, in 'Musicology and ethnomusicology today', he

⁵ The three tables on pp. 14–15 below are the first three in *La vie musicale*. The 'very old ballad of the third table is 'Miorița''. The indications on the first table are somewhat different from those in *La vie musicale*; it is, of course, the latter that are definitive. Since it appeared well before the final version of this work, 'Musical folklore' was only a sketch, and for Brăiloiu himself it represented a provisional stage in his work.

shows that an ethnomusicology that excludes European musical folklore from its field of studies (for should it too not be classed, for the same reason as the others, among the ‘primitive arts’?) will result in ‘incalculable errors’. To the methodology of historical musicology Brăiloiu adds, in this essay, that of a certain comparative musicology, and he demonstrates why an approach based on ‘Asian scholarly arts’ is faulty. Moreover, it is useful to note that ‘today’, twenty-six years after the Congress of the International Musicological Society (Cologne, 1958) where this paper was read, the problem of relations between musicology and ethnomusicology, so important for their respective developments, remains unsolved. In contradiction to Brăiloiu’s optimistic view, it is clear that despite the efforts of some, the majority of, let us say, classical musicologists continue to ignore ethnomusicology or, even more basically, musics that are not among the art musics of Europe.

Brăiloiu’s last work, his ‘Reflections on collective musical creation’ (‘Réflexions sur la création musicale collective’), appeared shortly after his death and might be considered to be his scientific testament. The results of his different kinds of work are examined and unified into a whole that really constitutes a general theory of ethnomusicology. This underlines its importance. But the reader should note that the meaning of this text cannot be fully understood unless the earlier essays, especially ‘Musical folklore’, to which he constantly makes implicit reference, are carefully read. Equally, it presupposes that the reader is familiar with the notion of system as it is described in the intermediate writings.

Having studied musical creation under its two opposing aspects, the individual work of a composer *v.* the impersonal work of a collective – corollaries of an equally fundamental opposition, written music *v.* oral music – Brăiloiu contrasts, on the one hand, oral music as a social practice, and on the other hand, the same music as an organization of sounds. The relationship shows up the important rôle of variation, the study of which takes a central place in his work. (It was, in fact, with this study in mind that he had worked out the technique of synoptic transcription.) Funeral laments, whose importance in his work has been sufficiently emphasized, provided the material for two experiments (a brief account of which is found in ‘Musical folklore’) in which he was able to show two completely different ways of using the method. In ‘Reflections’, the concept of variation becomes the key to the theoretical edifice constructed by Brăiloiu. In fact, for him, variation was the method of musical creation that allowed societies characterized by their ‘submission to a state of inherited things’ to use ‘systems’ that intrinsically ‘have no author’, and by varying them through the contrast of their different ‘collective predilections’, they finally produce these ‘distinct objects’ that constitute their own ‘styles’.

The concept of ‘collective creation’ certainly lends itself to the same arguments as that of the ‘collective conscience’ to which it implicitly refers,

or, to use the term found in ‘Musical folklore’, the ‘collective unconscious’. Brăiloiu was aware of the possible objections to this term and answered them in advance. Moreover, his statement that the ‘primitive’ has ‘no desire to innovate’ might seem excessive if we did not remember what he says, again in ‘Musical folklore’ (concerning the ‘birth of folk melody’), about the exuberant creativity of these ‘primitives’, thanks to which ‘new songs arise day after day’; equally, we should remember that the word ‘primitive’ described for him the Transylvanian or Celtic peasant as much as the nomad or the Pygmy hunter, for the term had no racist implication under his pen, whereas it was more or less latent among certain believers in the ‘circles of culture’ and the *Stilkreis* theories which are criticized in the same essay.

‘All individual interpretations of a melodic pattern are equally valid,’ said Brăiloiu, returning to conclusions more widely discussed in ‘Musical folklore’, where he challenges the entrenched belief of so many folklorists in a ‘perfect initial version from which any variant is derived’, and in which he shows, at the same time, the vanity of any attempt at ‘reconstruction’. Melodies that ‘have no author’, ‘initial versions’ that have no existence – what we read here about music joins Lévi-Strauss’s words about myths, which also ‘have no authors’ and ‘exist only as part of a tradition’ (*Le cru et le cuit*, Paris, 1958, p. 26) and in the study of which the ‘search for an authentic or primitive version’ (*Anthropologie structurale*, Paris, 1964, p. 240) is pointless. The resemblance is significant and should be looked at in more depth.

The second part of this collection can be put entirely under the heading ‘system’. No other word better sums up what was really Brăiloiu’s grail in his scientific quest. ‘The word “system”’, one reads in ‘The syllabic giusto’ (‘*Le giusto syllabique*’), ‘may surprise those who persistently see in folk art only that which is arbitrary and accidental. However, we are obliged to use the term each time investigation discovers a coherent group of artistic procedures ruled by intelligible laws. Though they have never been codified and their bearers know nothing of them, these laws . . . often astonish us by their rigour. It falls to the folklorist to penetrate them and set them forth.’ Brăiloiu worked passionately towards this end in the last fifteen years of his life, working without respite to extract the rules governing the rhythm of song (‘Romanian sung verse’), those that define, beyond the boundaries of Romania but still in the sphere of rhythm, a certain instrumental dance music (‘Aksak rhythm’) and finally, on the universal scale, those that rule the counting games or rounds played by children (‘Children’s rhythms’); and on the melodic side of music, the rules of primitive tonality (‘Concerning a Russian melody’). A considerable enterprise, whose essential results are grouped together here.⁶

⁶ As regards the validity of the systems described in ‘The syllabic giusto’ and ‘Concerning a Russian melody’, see Baud-Bovy, ‘Un musicologue roumain: Constantin Brăiloiu’, *Revue musicale suisse*, XCV, 1955, pp. 10–14.

If one were to describe the scientific mind in one word, only ‘structuralist’ would be suitable. And it must be made clear that structuralism, long before the term made its fortune, was for Brăiloiu a term that did not please him when it was applied to his work. Taking into account the unequal development of the two sciences, one might say that what Troubetzkoy did for linguistics Brăiloiu has done for musicology: if to the first we owe our understanding of a phonological system, it is to the second that we owe our understanding of certain rhythmic or tonal systems.

Meticulously strict as regards theoretical coherence, equally demanding in his choice of terms and symbols, Brăiloiu was careful to refer back constantly to the concrete. Whence the swarm of examples that always accompany his descriptions. Whence, also, the great number of tables that make up, all in all, the end result. By bringing together all the theoretical possibilities of the system, and verifying them by examples, he proves their validity. ‘Before continuing this demonstration,’ he writes in ‘The syllabic giusto’, ‘we should ask ourselves whether this list of rhythms is simply an inventory of theoretical possibilities or whether the means discussed here are really exhausted by Romanian peasant music.’ This is followed, almost immediately, by a remark of the greatest importance: ‘the examples of “syllabic giusto” given here, although few in number, sufficiently illustrate a tendency in all popular art to exploit exhaustively a given technique’.

For Romanian folk music and verse, Brăiloiu of course took his examples from his own archives. But as one can see, he also drew from the immense amount of material collected by Bartók, whose musicological work he knew better than any other person. Bartók’s *Cântece populare rîmânești din comitatul Bihor (Ungaria)* (*Romanian folksongs from Bihar, Hungary*), published in 1913 and followed in 1923 by *Die Volksmusik der Rumänen von Maramuresch*, had, to use Dragoi’s term (*Studia memoriae Belae Bartok sacra*, 1957, p. 12), ‘galvanized’ the enthusiasm of several young Romanian musicians, among whom was Brăiloiu. He was twenty when the first of these two works appeared. Bartók had opened the road, and Brăiloiu incessantly deepened and diversified the work of his famous predecessor, to whom he never let pass an opportunity to pay homage. He translated several of his works into Romanian, and in 1938 published a long account of *Die Melodien der rumänischen Colinde* that had appeared three years earlier.⁷ After Bartók’s death, he was appointed to direct the posthumous edition in the United States of *Rumanian Folk Music*,⁸ and for the *Colinde*, the third of Bartók’s great Romanian collections, he wrote an ‘editor’s note’ that, for various reasons, was not published.

⁷ This area was particularly well known to him. Brăiloiu had in fact published a collection entitled *Colinde și cântece de Stea* (Bucharest, 1931) and finalized the posthumous edition of *200 colinde populare* by Ch. Cucu (Bucharest, 1936).

⁸ Regarding this, see B. Suchoff, ‘Bartók’s Rumanian Folk Music publications’, *Ethnomusicology*, XV, 1971, p. 223.

Like Bartók, Brăiloiu was a convinced and tireless partisan of fieldwork. But, despite this, the two had different conceptions about the use of the material obtained. In fact, the scientific directions that they represented were different. Bartók considered that ‘the final aim of musical folklore’ was to contribute to the solution of the historical problems concerning ‘the establishment of various populations’ or the ‘ancestral cultural link between peoples who are today separated far from one another’ (*Why and how do we collect folk music?*, pp. 6–7) and, *ipso facto*, he gave pre-eminence to the diachronic. Brăiloiu, on the contrary, preferred to place himself within the synchronic perspective. What Bartók tended to interpret in terms of ‘filtration and interdependence’, products of ‘contact between neighbouring peoples’, Brăiloiu would prefer to formulate in terms of different ‘stages’ of development, the results of ‘universal phenomena’ (*Concerning a Russian melody*). Besides, Bartók, as we know, was very concerned both with the problem of classifying folk music and with its transcription, which he wanted to be as accurate as possible. He writes regretfully that in our transcription one can hope, at best, for an ‘approximately exact notation’ and he adds this rather melancholy remark: ‘Strictly speaking, a perfect transcription will only be realized on the day we can entrust the whole thing to the mechanic (which will probably never happen)’ (*Why and how . . .* pp. 9–10). It can be said that in his own transcriptions he was, in a way, the most refined phonetician of folk music in general and of Romanian melody in particular. Brăiloiu, more preoccupied with systems and hardly interested in instrumental research, was rather the phonologist. As regards rhythm, the simple words ‘the varying significance “according to context”’ – the dotted crochet, which we read in ‘The syllabic giusto’ and which is absolutely representative of that essay, reveal his own position. In the area of tonality, Brăiloiu’s discussion (*Concerning a Russian melody*) of details in the realization of the bitonal system as shown in the Romanian incantation to make hair grow, would justifiably pass – he himself would be surprised and certainly amused, if not convinced – for an outstanding demonstration of structuralist principles. Finally, as regards poetry, his attempts to extract the rules governing the versification system ‘Romanian sung verse’ (*Le vers populaire roumain chanté*) also illustrate this tendency. Seen in this perspective, Brăiloiu’s observations question some of Bartók’s interpretations. In fact, one can scarcely now imagine reading Bartók’s writings on Romanian music without reading those of Brăiloiu as well. With time their works appear more and more associated with one another. Hungary, Romania! Fortunate countries to have seen the birth of such great musicologists! Unfortunate scholars, who in recompense were forced into exile! They both died far from their native countries, without an important part of their works unedited.

In his report of activities given in 1958 to the Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, which has been obligingly communicated to me by Léana Ionesco, Brăiloiu announced the undertaking of a new work on ‘the songs, rites and peasant funeral customs of a small area of “ancient” Romania (the Kingdom) in the extreme north-west of the department of Gorj (Oltenia)’. The material collected by him in 1930 concerns:

A very archaic group of funeral songs that are purely ceremonial and, unlike lamentations proper, cannot be sung by relatives of the dead person. Their performance involves a whole series of unknown rites, neither the amplitude nor the significance of which is indicated by the extremely rare publication of texts of this kind (stripped, of course, of their music). Moreover, nothing that is connected with the funeral rites and the ensuing period (notably the complicated business dealing with alms-giving) has yet been observed.

Speaking of its interest if published, he added:

to my knowledge, no such detailed enquiry has been based on a single object and such a small territory; the material in question is of a far greater musical, literary and technographical interest because the ceremonial funeral songs seem to be unknown to the peoples bordering on the Romanians; the synoptic transcription of the melodies, such as I have practised for some twenty years and other researchers, in France and elsewhere, have adopted, could lead to an extended comparative analysis; the phonetic transcription of peasant speech, often taken from phonograms (unless the texts were taken down in shorthand) reproduces the language and expressive style of our speakers; the photographs could not be taken again nowadays and are of the greatest interest.

Brăiloiu had only begun ‘to write a fair copy of the texts’ which he had ‘received in a rough form as recorded in the field’, and to classify them, when he died. The documents as a whole make up two files of about 600 typewritten pages, with about 500 photographs, all of which is preceded by a list of the fifty-six localities where they were taken. This was to provide the material for the first volume of a work that Brăiloiu intended to be three volumes long. The second was to ‘contain the translation (already begun) of peasant texts’, the third to be devoted to the melodies and individual notes about the informants.

When joined together, the *Note sur la plainte funèbre du village de Drăguş* and the ‘Funeral laments from Oaş’ published by Brăiloiu six years later would have made up a volume of nearly 200 pages, with an additional series of synoptic transcriptions. The songs, rites and funeral customs of Gorj promised to be a work of considerable importance; it is most distressing that it was not published. As a whole, these three works would have had an unparalleled importance, and as regards the materials about Gorj, if unfortunately it is out of the question to publish them as Brăiloiu himself would have done, at least we must hope that one day the editor they deserve will be found; the same applies, indeed, to those about Drăguş, which remain,

for the greater part, unedited (except, of course, for the lament) since *Lavre musicale* hardly used them except, as we have said, to illustrate sociological perspective.

We have spoken until now only of Brăiloiu's writings. We would give a completely false idea of his work if we did not say that, like the tip of an iceberg, they form the visible part of a mass of work which is its basis and which remains unseen. Brăiloiu devoted much of his time and energy to founding and directing musical archives. First in Romania, under the patronage of George Enescu, he created, in 1928, the Folklore Archives of the Society of Romanian Composers which gave birth to what has now become the Institutul de Folclor si Etnografie.⁹ The publications of this institute were renowned worldwide and often carry his mark. In 1944, in Switzerland, with the help of Professor Pittard, he then founded the International Archives of Folk Music at the Ethnographic Museum in Geneva. Brăiloiu considered these archives, which consisted mainly of sound recordings, as institutions designed for the conservation, examination and publication of documents.

To publish recordings, it was necessary to organize the recorded editions. In Schaeffner's bibliography (see n. 2 above) there is a discography of almost a hundred records that he edited.¹⁰

Here, as in his written work, we should distinguish between editions concerning only Romania and those dealing with the entire world. The 'Collection universelle de musique populaire enregistrée' published between 1951 and 1958 by U.N.E.S.C.O. under the patronage of the International Archives of Folk Music was quantitatively one of the most important. It was extremely selective, and made known, in some cases for the first time, musical documents of the greatest scientific interest – among many other examples there is polyphony from Formosa and tritonal Italian songs – but it was unfortunately interrupted at the fortieth record. Published just when long-playing records began to replace the 78s, it remained unjustly unknown. The accompanying notes, written in English and French, are of the greatest documentary interest. The four records published in Paris in 1950 by the Musée de l'Homme which make up the album 'Musique populaire roumaine' follow on from those that Brăiloiu had had edited at Bucharest ten years earlier by the Society of Romanian Composers and various other organizations. But unlike these latter albums which were devoted to a particular province (e.g. Oaş) or a particular theme (games, dances or weddings), this album is a sort of anthology of recording from various provinces, chosen for their exceptional musical quality. It is model of this genre, and the notes that accompany each piece are real:

⁹ On this point, as on others dealing with the Romanian side of his scientific career, one will find precise information in 'Omagiu lui Constantin Brăiloiu', which makes up the greater part of *Cercetari de muzicologie*, II, 1970.

¹⁰ See also the contribution of T. Alexandru to 'Omagiu' (see n. 9 above).

PREFACE

miniature studies. In fact Brăiloiu had reassembled, in a striking abridged version, all his favourite subjects: ‘funerals, weddings, winter feastdays, dances, songs with free and regular rhythm for no particular occasion’. Among the latter is a *doina*, ‘Je m’en fus labourer avec le coucou . . .’, a carefully chosen example of the ‘long song’: we do not know what most to admire, the art of the singer who really caused Brăiloiu to rejoice, or his own art in collecting the song, transmitting it to us, and, finally, giving us in so few words such a masterly analysis.

Theoretical writings, the most important of which are collected here, descriptive writings or monographs, the majority of which are in Romanian and are not easily accessible, prefaces or commentaries for collections of essays and record editions which he edited and which are no longer available (they merit, it should be emphasized, more than this simple mention) – Brăiloiu’s complete works, if one day they should be reunited, include this wide range of scientific production. They would make up a collection which, by its quality, extent and variety, has hardly any equivalent in the history of ethnomusicology.

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1951

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no. 4 *Diogène*, XXV, Paris, 1959

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no. 8 *Histoire de la musique: Encyclopédie de la Pléiade*, ed. Roland-Manuel,
Paris: © Editions Gallimard, 1960

no. 10 *Anuario musical*, VII, 1952

no. 11 *Colloques de Wégimont*, vol. I, ed. P. Collaer, Paris and Brussels: Elsevier,
1954

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Adqui

Despite the size and theoretical importance of his work, Constantin Brăiloiu has remained little known outside a narrow circle of specialists. It is really only in Romania, his native country, that his importance is fully cognized.¹ ‘His works’, wrote André Schaeffner in his bibliography of Brăiloiu, compiled in 1959, one year after his death, ‘are dispersed in views, collective works, congress reports, and pamphlets often printed at his own cost; some, published in Romania, have not yet been translated. In her words, most of them are hardly accessible. Our first job is to assemble them into a collection.’² Some of the most important theoretical works are collected together here.

The studies translated here by A. L. Lloyd were all written in French by Brăiloiu, with the exception of ‘Songs “To the dead”’ (*Ale mortului* din 1917). Apart from ‘Outline of a method of musical folklore’ (*Esquisse d’une méthode de folklore musicale*), they belong to the second part of his life, to his Swiss and French period, which was certainly his most productive in theoretical writings. But this should be seen as a continuation and almost the outcome of a first period, entirely Romanian, that was devoted both to fieldwork and to methodological reflection. To this first part of his career belong important descriptive works in Romanian and the ‘Outline’ just mentioned.

Brăiloiu’s first musicological articles date from 1924; born in 1893, he was then thirty-one years old. His first study about ‘folklore’ – the preface to a collection of thirty Romanian folk songs – appeared in 1927. But his first works were musical compositions, such as piano pieces. Having decided that folk music mattered more to him than art music, he himself scarcely liked to remember that his beginnings were as a composer; none the less, it was as a composer that he went to study in France, at the Paris Conservatoire.

‘Outline of a method of musical folklore’ appeared in Paris in 1931. Its publication marked a historic date for what was later to be called ethnomusicology. Béla Bartók borrowed an epigraph from it for his *Why did we collect folk music?* which came out five years later in 1936.³ At

¹ Three volumes of a bilingual edition of his work, translated and prefaced by Emilia Comișel, have however appeared (Bucharest, 1967–74). The first two volumes were the subject of a critical appreciation published in *Revista de Etnografie și Folclor*, XVII/4, 1972.

² ‘Bibliographie des travaux de Constantin Brăiloiu’, *Revue de musicologie*, XLIII, 1959, pp. 3–27.

³ Translated by E. Lajti and edited, at Brăiloiu’s request, by the International Archives of Folk Music, it was under this title that *Miért és hogyan gyűjtsünk népzenét?*, which had been published by several reviews in Budapest in 1935 and 1936, appeared in Geneva in 1948.

the end of his life Brăiloiu sometimes described the article as ‘out of date’. He no doubt thought that much had happened since, and if he had rewritten it he would certainly have added much. Also, he probably less of the enthusiasm he had felt at the time for sociology; and perhaps thought that the principles he had advocated had become public property which was only half true. Whatever the reasons, he was wrong: despite age and appearance, the ‘Outline’ is not outdated. Although it is particularly relevant to European fieldwork and does not mention instrumental research half a century later the essay remains indispensable for any ethnomusicologist learning his profession.⁴

The first part of the essay concerns fieldwork. If we substitute tape recorder for phonogram, tape for cylinder and sound film or video for synchronic filming – in short, the technical equipment of the 1980s for that of 1925–30 – the text then remains totally relevant. Brăiloiu’s instructions which are summed up in this statement: ‘One tries to answer the following questions: What does one sing? When and where does one sing? How does one sing? Why does one sing as one does? Where do the songs come from? How do the songs come into being?’, remain as relevant as those given Marcel Mauss in his ethnology classes of exactly the same period. Even though they resemble those instructions closely, Brăiloiu (as Schaeffner wrote: see n. 2 above) did not know of them when he wrote his own.

The second part of the ‘Outline’ concerns the use of documents. Particular importance is the description of the principles of synoptic transcription perfected by Brăiloiu for the study of variation and comparative analysis of melodies. And so the ‘Outline’ describes the methodology used in his first and last books, *Note sur la plainte funèbre d’un village de Drăguș* and *La vie musicale d’un village*, published nearly thirty years apart but both about the same village in Transylvania, Drăguș, where he had completed several fieldwork missions with a team of sociologists. *Note sur la plainte* (*Despre bocetul dela Drăguș* – the French title and introduction appear only in a separate edition which was published in Bucharest in 1932) comprises a series of synoptic transcriptions that follow the principles described in the ‘Outline’. *La vie musicale d’un village et recherches sur le répertoire de Drăguș (Roumanie)*, 1929–32 (Paris, 1960) is a posthumous work for which the proofs were read by Samuel Baud-Bovy, André Schaeffner and Léon Algazi, covers the rest of the repertoire. The materials were collected using methods glimpsed in the instructions quoted above, but were arranged according to a quite different perspective: sociological rather than musical. The 126 musical pieces recorded in the village – apart from funeral laments – are studied less for their intrin-

⁴ None of the three works of B. Nettl, A.P. Merriam and M. Hood – *Theory and Method in Ethnomusicology*, *The Anthropology of Music* and *The Ethnomusicologist* – which have been published in the United States in the last twenty years have lessened its relevance – far from it.

terest than for their distribution across the age range and different social categories that make up the population of Drăguş.

'Two stages of research – the actual recording made in the field and then the detailing of the materials – and two examinations of the documents – one musicological, the other sociological – form the framework laid down in the 'Outline'. But we would lose an essential aspect if we forgot that they were to be part of the archives founded by Brăiloiu. This is evident from the two original sub-titles. The first – 'Archive Organization', as it appeared in *Revue de musicologie* – indicates that it is a discussion of principles; the second – 'The Archives of the Society of Romanian Composers', in a separate edition – shows that these principles had already been put into practice. The word 'archives', as used here, has a wider sense than is usually understood by this term. In fact, Brăiloiu intended to create what we would now call a laboratory of ethnomusicology, where the documents could be centralized, referenced, analysed, transcribed, and finally published. The programme described in the 'Outline' constitutes, as we can see, a strongly structured whole, giving evidence of Brăiloiu's systematic thinking. The title is equally revealing of his conception of ethnomusicology as a science, such as it was becoming at that time, and this indicates its historical andistemological importance.

'Sur une ballade roumaine (La Mioritza)' appeared fifteen years later. It shows Brăiloiu preoccupied not with musical folklore, but simply with folklore. Although it concerns a ballad, it is not really about the music of 'Mioriţa'. This very short essay, which only he could have written, is superbly representative. Written in an elegant form, with clarity of expression, concision and humour, its arguments are irrefutable; and it reveals the main orientations of his ethnomusicological research.

The actual substance of 'Mioriţa' is taken almost entirely from two funerals, marriage and death, which had been the subject of many of Brăiloiu's works. Given the known importance of the ballad in Central Europe, it is certainly not surprising that he was preoccupied with it: he edited and classified a repertory of ballad themes. But 'Mioriţa' holds a particularly significant place in his work because of its funerary content. Altogether, his studies of the funeral laments – or, to use the title of his own collection of texts, of Songs 'To the dead' – of Făgăraş (Drăguş), Gorj (translated in this volume) and Oaş, which appeared in Romania between 1932 and 1938, form a greater part of his published fieldwork documents. His article about a wedding in the village of Feleag, in Transylvania, also dates from the same period (1938). It was followed, in 1941, by a note about a wedding in the compartment of Someş. Along with the *Colinde* (songs of the winter solstice) which will be discussed below, wedding songs and particularly funeral songs were Brăiloiu's main preoccupation. Why? Mainly because these are usual songs, and it is in this area that the musical tradition of peasants is best



I *Musical folklore*

The coupling of the two terms ‘folk’ and ‘lore’ is fairly recent. Ever since the latter was coined (and immediately adopted with enthusiasm) a century or so ago, its precise meaning is still disputed. The ‘people’s learning’ it seems; but already some confusion enters, because in current usage it implies at one and the same time this learning and its object. One says ‘folklore researches’ as easily as: ‘the folklore of France’ or ‘of Spain’. The object is not yet well defined either. For some it embraces everything that makes up the spiritual and material life of a people, and in that case it approaches sociology, from which its preference for ‘tradition’ hardly distinguishes it. Others limit the term to a few aspects, even, like some contemporary Finnish or Russian scholars, to a single one – that of literature. On the other hand, the majority only want to concern themselves with ‘traditional’ facts. But on the borders of the traditional and its contrary, they grope about endlessly and apparently without hope of ever tracing a precise demarcation line. So much so that a Belgian, throwing the handle after the hatchet, has declared: ‘It’s no good worrying about where folklore begins and ends since we don’t know what characterizes it.’

So much for ‘lore’; we will return to that. As for ‘folk’, what exactly does it mean? The nation as delimited by its political frontiers? Or the demographic units enclosed within those frontiers, considered separately, to the extent to which the tangible differences (often fallacious, like language) allow them to be dissociated, as happens in Belgium or Switzerland? Or does it imply the race, revealed by striking common traits, stretching beyond the national territories and outlining, over and above the state frontiers, vast domains where side by side live French or Spanish Basques and Catalans; French, Walloons, and French or German Swiss; or Germans, French and Belgian Flemings, and Dutch? Finally, within these families, real or supposed, with whom is our science concerned? With the whole mass that comprises them? Or only with one or other of its compartments, of its ‘social layers’ – and if so, which? Or merely with a limited fraction of these layers, a sub-group whose material conditions of existence (occupation, habitat) supposedly isolate it from its surroundings?

According to their temper, their time and – particularly – their workplace, scholars have answered these questions in a thousand contradictory ways. In the West, the closer one approaches the present time, the more one sees them encumbered by the difficulties of objective discrimination, and consequently the more they incline to think of the ‘people’ as a purely

administrative entity, a human complex kneaded by the same historical, economic and spiritual forces. One of them warns us that ‘in using this word, townspeople as well as country people must be understood’ (literates as well as illiterates, we might say). Carried to its rigorous extreme, that is the present viewpoint of German science. It is also, though generally more modified, the view of all those observers who do not manage in all sincerity to circumscribe opposing zones of psychic life within their own country. In France, England, Italy – we are told – the phenomenon of an uncultured class entirely shut away from the élite does not exist. If it ever existed (and many doubt it) the uneducated class has slowly become dissolved into the national community.

On the other hand, others would obstinately reply that a ‘primitive’ material and moral condition, more ancient than we realize, survives in our present day. According to Cecil Sharp, the absence of education separates the ‘common people’ (who preserve this condition) and consequently the ‘intuitive exercise of qualities developed without methodical training’ from the so-called cultivated people. Similarly, the laws governing their moral behaviour are not codified but transmitted by heritage, known by all and accepted without a murmur. And these laws bear no resemblance to those followed by the world of educated people.

Obviously, this point of departure is of paramount interest to musicological research and explains the countless uncertainties of the researchers. Like ‘musical folklore’, a recent term, its elders – ‘Volkslied’, ‘chanson populaire’, ‘folk song’ – and its Italian younger brother ‘etnofonia’ all bear upon those people whose artistic practices are being studied. And the more elusive they become, the vaguer the notion of folklore becomes, the wider the frame of the problem becomes, the more sociology comes to bear upon criticism. Those who believe in a coherent human category essentially unlike any other, grant it the privilege of a civilization of its own, embodying original works. These works belong only to it and of necessity they wilt and decay from the moment the society that gave rise to them declines and abandons the ways of living, thinking and feeling that defined it. Others, naturally, maintain that the nation, one and indivisible, only possesses the fruits of the culture of its ‘upper’ classes. That is why the concept of folklore still varies to such a degree from one country to another and from author to author: the need is felt to present the incessant fluctuations in works of synthesis, real repertoires of conjectures and perplexities. Certainly it would be fruitless to start enumerating them here.

On the other hand, it is important to state at the outset that current theories, including the newest, all concern themselves with the same criteria, whether to adopt them or to demonstrate their absurdity. They turn up over and again from the most contradictory pens, including those of ‘cultivated men’ who, following Davenson’s example, reject any scientific standard and cut the discussion short by declaring as ‘folk’ anything that seems so to

them, anything that produces a ‘certain impression of being displaced and of characteristic exoticism’, and which gives us that ‘nervous thrill that we get from any encounter with the unexpected’. So we are put into a situation of believing that somehow these criteria fix the discussion and entirely frame the problem of folklore. Let us observe, by the way – we shall shortly see why – that most often it is a matter not of ‘folk music’ but of ‘folk song’ (‘Lied’, ‘chanson’).

Now, this song, depending on whether the theoretician who is dealing with it is ‘romantic’ (according to his contradicitors) or ‘scientific’ (according to his own view):

- 1 emanates (or on the contrary *does not emanate*) from a ‘lower’ social class, homogeneous and organized, living to some extent apart from, if not in opposition to the class above it (unless on its own it comprises the whole nation);
- 2 is (or *is not*) generally evolved amid special norms of life and in ignorance ‘of all writing’, or to risk that detested word, amid ‘analphabetism’;
- 3 such conditions only existing – in Europe at least – among the agricultural or pastoral peasantry, it can be (or *may not be*) called ‘peasant song’;
- 4 being transmitted entirely by oral means, it does not merely circulate in set form but ‘multiplies’, that is, in its travels it undergoes many transformations, the signs of its ‘folk’ character (there is general agreement on this point);
- 5 thus, it is ‘collective’, because it serves as spiritual nourishment for a more or less numerous mass of people into which individualities merge and disappear if only by virtue of the uniformity of their preferences (here again, little argument);
- 6 it is (or *is not necessarily*) anonymous: the author is unknown and any hope of tracing him is vain (or *has a good chance of success*);
- 7 it has been (or *has certainly not been*) created by the folk themselves, comprising a single and multiple personality; its source is (or *cannot materially be*) in the ‘melodious soul of the people’ from which it spontaneously sprang;
- 8 thus, it presents (or *does not always present*), in relation to art music, essential and definable ‘technical differences’ (Sharp).

The polemics make use of arguments as numerous as they are varied. So this illiterate social class to which some people attribute a specific civilization is, in the minds of others, merely a theoretical postulate, an abstraction that violates reality, given that in no European country (Western European particularly) does any such gulf cut the nation in two. Nowadays, school education, for instance, is diffused more or less throughout the entire social organism; everyone participates in it willy-nilly, even if by chance they do not know the alphabet. Writing and print are present everywhere or, at least, their effect is generally felt. Between the city, the seat of ‘high culture’, and the countryside, considered primitive and backward, active and uninterrupted exchanges have always been taking place, and, for France, Davenson names for us the agents: social classes such as the rural

bourgeoisie or the petty nobility; domestic service (servants ‘would receive a veneer of culture in the manor or in the city . . . and would carry it back so proudly to the village’); the clergy, secular intermediaries; the representatives of a ‘minor art that contrives the transition between great art . . . and the taste of humble people’, and that passes from the city to the fairs and markets of the provincial towns; songbooks, whose genealogy goes back to the seventeenth century (Pont Neuf, fit-up theatre of the Pont Saint-Jacques, fairground theatre of Saint Germain, street theatres in general; also the ‘cabarets’, traceable back to the time of Villon and Rabelais: all places producing ‘second rank’ authors); without forgetting all the literates and semi-literates of the countryside, whether of high or low extraction, to whom we owe such a lot of Christmas carols and dialect pieces.

And the movement is just as intense in the opposite direction: imitation of popular forms by the trouvères; paraphrases of street-cries by Charles d’Orléans; the use of street song by the sixteenth-century polyphonists (and their forerunners); evidence of the interest of great writers in the ‘villanelles of Gascony’ and pieces like them; rustic ingenuities of the opéra comique; Trianon pastorales; and finally, in the nineteenth century, a positive infatuation, innumerable pastiches, collections, treatises. In all this, everything is perfectly true.

And yet, the contrary opinion is held by passionate partisans, expressed in categoric terms. ‘It is the illiterate folk,’ exclaimed Tiersot repeatedly, ‘who still preserve tradition’, and he recalls a report by the Director of Music in Tokyo that says categorically that in Japan folk music has remained for centuries among the most ignorant class of society. Similarly – I am quoting at random – in the preface to a collection of songs from the Department of Ain, Gabriel Vicaire complains that ‘nowhere is there such a radical divorce’ between the world of town and village than in France. The most recent writing on these questions, the *Chants des provinces françaises* by Joseph Canteloube, recommends ‘studying in the countryside’ the ‘precious remnants of immemorial traditions’, and he adds: ‘For it is there that true folk song resides, which it would be more exact to call “peasant song”’ (the same term is used by many others). A German maintains that a folk song, in the sense in which we understand it today, is only imaginable once the spiritual unity of a nation yields to social stratification, that is, only when an ‘upper class’ emerges. A sociologist, likewise German, Mackensen, explains to us in striking terms the mechanism of this stratification: at the outset, ‘knight and peasant,’ he says, ‘become differentiated by the inequality of their condition and the disparity of their habits, but they are alike in their equal lack of culture, and thus by an identical representation of the world.’ The sociological picture only changes when a city patriarchate, a new class of laymen, emerges who will not only shape new usages for themselves, but will equally be impelled, for personal and very worldly reasons, to take part in ‘education’, hitherto the professional privilege of the clergy alone. So an evolution begins which segregates the community: the

'people', formerly to a great extent internally unified, are divided into two castes, the 'ignorant' and the 'cultivated', and this has torn them apart up to the present day.

The sceptics consider that the impossibility of defining this area of illiteracy has for an inescapable corollary the denial of a poetic and musical repertory proper only to itself. And the proofs come down like rain. 'In Valais,' Paul Budry amiably tells us, 'if you think, because there are four on a bench with nothing to do but with a fancy to sing, that you have stumbled on a chance to hear one of those songs of theirs that breathe, one might say, a cosmic melancholy, we bet that they'll offer you *Ma Normandie* or *Montagnes de Pyrénées*, or even . . . Doret's *Allons ramasser les épis laissés* or Bovet's *Là haut sur la montagne l'était un vieux châlet* . . . In Quimper it would be no different: at the festival of the May Queens they sing *Le coeur de ma mie* by Jacques Dalcroze, to the sound of the bagpipe.' After having dictated some seventy-five songs, a peasant from Quercy confided to Canteloube, 'I know another one. I've kept it till last because it's the most beautiful one.' Thereupon, with all his heart he launched into an aria from *Faust*. In Auvergne another prided himself on a dialect version of *Viens, poupole*, a third on a variant of *O Rose Marie*.

Tiersot has been able to trace the greater part of the contents of the oldest songbooks that he has found, one of which goes back to the eighteenth century, to printed 'artistic' models. Doubtless, as is explained, the uneducated forget the authors' names or pay them no heed; but the authors are none the less real and their products, though deprived of signature, remain their property. Anonymity, completely fortuitous, tells us nothing essential and authorizes no judgement on the nature of the work. Has this work reached us anonymously? That is simply because the maker's name has got lost on the way. Supposing it were a peasant and that one day we discover his track, does the song cease, from that day on, to be a folk song?

But in the other camp, it is not heard that way. Some proven specialists, exempt from any 'romantic' coloration and, moreover, well versed in investigations on the spot, knowing the material by study as much as by experience, if they agree that anonymity cannot be a cause, make of it an inexorable 'condition' (Sharp). The Hungarian Laszlo Lajtha, one of the best informed, goes even further: he believes, in fact, that it is not so much a matter of mere anonymity itself that concerns us here, but of the 'total absence of any author', of the entirely 'collective' character of this kind of manifestation, on which everyone, and Bartók at the head, has insisted in turn. In fact, as we have seen, on this point agreement is complete, except that according to some nothing is collective except usage, unanimous adoption, while their adversaries discover collectivity in the very genesis of these songs, in the manner they arise and are perfected.

And now we are at the heart of the great quarrel that, more than anything else, divides the folklorists and will continue to divide them for a good while



to come: the problem of creation remains the theme of their liveliest, and sometimes most confused, argument. The uncertainty is double. Firstly, are we to imagine a non-localized creative act, a universal collaboration, to some extent tacit, in one and the same work, a plural brain working as a single organ? Surely not, one answers from this side of the barricade: only a mystic could imagine such a mechanism or believe in it blindly, but sane reason rejects it. It is not the entire mass that creates but only some well-gifted individuals who are poets ('natural poets who are poets without realizing it'), acting, as it were, in the quality of mandatories of the group to which they belong: this group receives their discoveries and spreads them. To which Bartók, that eminent expert, would reply: 'There is absolutely no sign that individual peasants (*Bauerindividuen*) have ever invented melodies, which in fact would be hard to explain from the psychological point of view.'¹

The second question, already touched on because everything depends on it: whatever the manner in which they express themselves, do the folk possess creative gifts, yes or no? For the romantic forerunners and their followers, no doubt at all: ever since Jakob Grimm's memorable sentence: 'Like all good things in nature, folk songs emanate in silence from the tranquil strength of the whole,' they have been repeating that the folk are indeed the 'elusive composer' of the music they sing, 'created by themselves and for themselves'. Folk song, declares Tiersot firmly, is the 'art of the illiterates'. 'The folk make their songs – the folk are the sole initiator' (Canteloube).

Not at all, replies the school that believes itself realist. All art has its dwelling in the peaks of the social edifice, from whence it slowly filters down towards the depths, to prolong an obscure life there, reduced to its rudiments. There, it is no more than the 'improverished echo of a fashionable art', a clumsy imitation, a fallen cultural chattel ('gesunkenes Kulturgut'). Rustic costumes, ornaments, furniture, music are but servile copies of urban masters. The folk can only receive, accept, appropriate, and if some people have thought otherwise, it is because their information was faulty, hence the incalculable number of blunders that an impartial learning is nowadays obliged to correct one by one. Everyone knows by now that *Ich hatt' einen Kameraden* is by Uhland, *Ich weiss nicht was soll es bedeuten* by Heine; *Au clair de la lune* and *Le bon roi Dagobert* are merely commonplaces of the end of the eighteenth century; *Cadet-Roussel* is sung to a Parisian contredanse tune of the same period. Coussemaker took as 'authentically Thioian' a composition signed and dated 1712 which is a dance; the Vicomte de Puymaigre let himself be deceived by a romance by Loïsa Puget; Maurice

¹ What Bartók actually wrote was: 'Whether peasants are individually capable of inventing quite new tunes is open to doubt. We have no data to go by. And the way in which the peasant's musical instinct asserts itself encourages no such view.' (Béla Bartók, *Hungarian Folk Song* (repr. Albany, N. Y., 1981). (Ed.)

Emmanuel did not recognize an opéra comique aria; Van Gennep noted, without raising his eyebrows, a song by Maurice Bouchor.

It is true that from such facts most French specialists only intend to draw a corrective to an enthusiasm that confides too much in the miracles of folk genius. But in Germany they have gone much further. There, John Meier has identified the bookish originals of several thousands of pieces, and from that to the conclusion that there is a total inexistence of a specifically rural fund and a complete lack of creative faculty among country people was only a step, or a false step: the *Rezeptionstheorie* boldly took it. Since then, where have the folk found their (spiritual) property? Wherever they can find it, our positivists think, and – once again – they can only find it among the intellectuals and the towns they live in or are dependent on. From there, it flows to the peasants by channels immediately enumerated, for France, and its fellows may be found elsewhere (in Germany, Liliencron sees the equivalent in the educated travelling singers and instrumentalists). A French folklorist has the idea that the creators of folk song were ‘the minstrels, troubadours and trouvères’, a feeling shared by one of his rivals: ‘One may conjecture’, says the folklorist, ‘that the anonymous authors were inspired, for their music, by the plain-chant of the Church, *the only music that was within their reach*, and for the words by common jongleurs.’ We nearly forgot the Church! But Vincent d’Indy certainly remembered it when he reproduced (or rediscovered) the preceding judgement almost word for word. It is from Gregorian cantillation, he declares, that the ‘then religious’ folk borrowed *Pernette*, since in those remote times, ‘*they knew no other music*’ than that of the liturgy.

But supposing folk artistic production really exists, it would undoubtedly bear the marks of its origin, the signs of the singular mentality that produces it. So it would offer, compared to the other – to ‘ours’ as has been said – the distinctive peculiarities, the tangible material elements of its originality. The defenders of the rustic muse have outdone each other in trying to grasp, to describe, to make an inventory of these essential ‘technical differences’ – with what success we shall soon see. A singularly deceptive task in Germany, it is said, since a recently written work from there declares baldly that it is impossible to base any distinction of kind on the musical characteristics whatever they may be. In that case, to what do we reduce the contribution of the common people to a music called, despite everything, folk? To the sole contribution that everyone agrees to recognize it by, that is, to ‘variation’, those multiform alterations that the sovereign right (‘Herrenrecht’) make it undergo, that the folk abrogate to themselves. For more than a century all the musicologists have remarked on it. Already, Villoteau had been astonished by it in Egypt, and after him, Ambros remarked that contemporary researchers such as Amiot and Barrow did not hear exactly alike versions of the same Chinese melodies. Since then, without doubt, there is no publication that does not attention to the instability of peasant music.

This time there is a slight disagreement only on the significance of the phenomenon, not on its reality. Some people only see in variation fortuitous vicissitudes, inevitable ‘accidents of circulation’ of no great significance: ‘failure of memory’, arbitrary transfers or mutilations, amplifications due to chance reminiscences. The Germans call this perpetual decomposition and recomposition *Zersingen*. But the prefix *zer* implies a sense of destruction: *zerfallen* – to fall into ruin, be entirely destroyed, *zerfleischen* – to lacerate, to tear to pieces. So a Lied that is *zersungen* is a Lied made of bits and pieces, taken from dislocated prototypes: to follow the path of their decline forms the boundary of the whole task of folklore. Never mind the provenance: everything that is diffused among the folk, Mersmann decided, is folklore. And Gérold follows suit: ‘the first origin of a folk song is really of little importance, it is not necessary for it to have come from the womb of the people, it can come from a bourgeois or country milieu. For it to become “folk” it must spread through different social classes, it must be adopted by them,’ then it ‘loses its individual character and becomes common property.’ It is what Saintyves repeated in 1933: ‘For a song to be a folk song it need not be created entirely by the folk nor even entirely remade or renewed by them. Everything is folk song which, having been created by the folk, by literate or quasi-literate individuals, has been adopted by groups of uncultured peasants and artisans and transmitted from then on, from mouth to ear, over a fairly long time, fifty years for example.’

We were exactly at that stage in 1944: ‘What counts is not the provenance of a folk song but what it becomes . . . The modalities of its genesis are of little account’ (Davenson). At that rate, and provided that print does not continue to re-establish the official text, the *cantique suisse* or the *Marseillaise* would be pre-eminently ‘folk’, no less than the Nazi *Horst-Wessel Lied*, which I mention because Transrhenish musicology has already put it under the magnifying glass. For all that, it is a German, Hensel, who connects these extreme views to those of the enemy group. The expression *Zersingen* rightly displeases him, because he feels it to be at once pejorative and negative, while the common people’s transformations, far from corrupting the ‘incorruptible matter’ of which they are all models, may have the happy effects of a modification (*Abwandlung*) and a renewal (*Neugestaltung*).

That was how Bartók and Lajtha understood it, who even went so far as to seek in variation the key to the great mystery of folk creation. According to the former: ‘Among those whom identical conditions such as language, occupation, temperament, close daily contact, and more or less complete isolation from the outside world bring together into a compact whole, the instinct for variation (“Variationstrieb”) operates in an unconscious manner and, by a slow process of unification of the musical elements at their disposal, gives birth to groups of homogeneous melodies.’ And the latter tells us: ‘Folk music is, *par excellence*, an art of variation . . . Folk music produces new pieces by a process of variation . . . The inclination for variation and

spontaneity . . . assures the strength, the capacity for evolution, the life of folk music, which shows itself to the extent to which it preserves its malleability and ductility.'

Generally speaking, these are the present theses. Quite apart from certain exaggerations, several misunderstandings and sundry curious omissions (which we shall indicate on the way), the least one can say is that they give no objective idea of 'folk' and that in consequence they do not delimit the sphere of folklore in any way. Though they claim a general validity, objections to the criteria deemed romantic, for instance, are all drawn from the observation of a state of affairs at once local and temporary and, after all, only set against the candid professions of faith of their forerunners and their heirs, a description – excessively fluctuating, moreover, in the eyes of the observer – of a particular artistic situation at a given moment. Ceaselessly invoking science, these objections even violate at times the most conclusive assertions: thus, in order that the *Rezeptionstheorie* should stand up, it was necessary to establish an absolutely artificial distinction between old German (and only German) song – 'älteres Volkslied' – which they neglect, and more recent songs – 'neueres Volkslied' – to which they apply themselves, though on all the evidence: 1. the folk repertory of a nation may evolve or degenerate, be enriched or impoverished, but remains, in any case, a whole (unless this nation ceases to be a 'folk' and its repertory to be 'folkish'); 2. one cannot, at one and the same time, set aside the nature of the objects studied and base a scientific discrimination on it; 3. the comparatives 'älter' and 'neuer' indicate the small extent to which this discrimination is consistent even in the minds of those who established it.

In the long run, what is important for us to know is not whether in France, in Switzerland, in Belgium or any of their provinces the disputed theories are verified or not. It is better to elucidate whether, in some part of the world and in whatever epoch it may be, similar causes and similar effects can be or have been ascertained. If so, it has to be admitted that 'folklore in a pure state' really and concretely exists and its analysis would give us the reason for everything in this domain: a definition that might serve as some sort of standard, and would allow us to substitute for relative criteria, perpetually argued over because each person is drawing from a limited personal experience, norms that are the more scientific the more they take into account a greater number of controlled and comparable facts.

Subscribing to the axiom of von Geyserz (and others): 'There are various degrees of folkishness,' we might judge the musical object more or less folkloric, according to the degree in which it approaches or departs from an absolute concept, which would put us in a position to determine, with a tolerable approximation, its 'tenor' of folkloric substance.

Let us begin by the notion of 'folk' understood as an autonomous social category, stranger to all bookish culture, ignorant of written law, mechanical industry, open economy. And let us ask if such a society is to be found or if it

is nowhere to be seen. One feels some embarrassment to be debating such puerile questions. But after all, there are texts that answer: No. It is as if the folklorists leave to the ethnographers the trouble of reading the explorers' accounts, which would provide them with a thousand examples of these archaic societies. The 'primitives' (which the Germans call 'Naturvölker' to indicate clearly that they live in that 'state of nature' that our musicologists seem not to be able to imagine) offer various types, more or less pure, and each of these societies – including the Kubus of Sumatra and the natives of Central Australia – possesses a music, if not instrumental at least vocal, which is folkloric in the prime and absolute sense of the word. *Volkskunde* (in opposition to *Völkerkunde*) objects that the primitive is only capable of inventing rudimentary musical formulas, shapeless wailing, without the slightest relationship to what we are in the habit of calling a 'melody'. (To facilitate the confrontations, many of the music examples quoted in this work have been transposed, and the values of some reduced by half. Moreover, for reasons that would be tedious to explain, certain barlines have been displaced, or replaced by dotted bars. It goes without saying that in every case the melody itself has not been touched.)



But the musicologist might answer that such 'wailings' are to be found in the mouths of European children, which we shall be referring to again:



Without going as far as Oceania, it is at least forty years since Bartók remarked on the conditions that prevailed at the time of his first researches in certain regions of Eastern Europe: as he pushed on, he thought himself suddenly transported into another world, another age. As he described them, and as we know them, the populations living there hardly knew how to read and write, very rarely moved elsewhere, built their own houses, made their own carts, sheared their own sheep and wove the cloth of their own garments on their own looms, bought hardly anything from town merchants, and in some parts did not even practice money exchange. Between them and the then 'upper' layer, relations were reduced to a minimum, and in fact, up to the recent past, this layer was either completely absent or consisted merely in an administrative nobility which often set at the foot of parchments calligraphed by its scribes the imprint of a thumb as a form of signature. And even in a milieu of this kind, old peoples' memories allow us to reconstitute a world even more patriarchal, whose main features – there as elsewhere – are invariably: closed domestic economy, illiteracy, uniformity of occupation, limited mobility, and in consequence the resemblance, if not

the identity, of personal thoughts and feelings and the obliterated function of the individual.

A few cases of these indications in the West are rather poorly understood. It is still less understandable that the defenders of pure 'reception' have not thought it worthwhile to learn from the fact that the ideas of Herder, so suspect in their eyes, on the folk and its art were formed in the Baltic lands, in contact with a *Gemeinschaft* doubtless rather like those we have just described, and so in contact with reality. That they are not valid for Germany at the end of the eighteenth century cannot be denied, just as it is undeniable that the entire rural society has never ceased to disintegrate as the influence of the urban bourgeoisie has become ever more powerful. And in comparison, the observations made in the East have given us the means of recognizing this degradation at a relatively early stage, and to reconstruct the phases of obviously analogous developments: they show that everywhere the scission of the social organism operated from the moment when an educated class emerged and that the decline of the old rural civilization became accentuated to the extent to which it was depersonalized by assimilating urban bourgeois ways. That fundamental differences separate the 'folk', an only slightly differentiated and, to our way of thinking, ignorant multitude, from those of bookish culture is borne out by the testimony of the country folk themselves, such as that curious expression used by one of them, 'we people of the landscape', which shows how keenly they feel certain incompatibilities.

And so: is the absorption of the disparate rural fraction by the modern urbanized nation already really complete here and there? And at the same stroke, has its artistic work dwindled to the extent that nowadays only shapeless débris can be exhumed? Many writers assure us that that is so, and certainly the art of a dying civilization no longer appears in broad daylight: before the irresistible flow of alluvium it is retreating step by step until it goes to ground in some rare shelter, where it awaits discovery. Nevertheless, from the most unexpected regions, because the most open to infiltration, year by year we are presented with documents so precious that we sometimes doubt the capacity or zeal of the pessimistic explorers.

If Budry expected nothing more from the Valais shepherds than the hit-songs of Montmartre, it was none the less a twelve-year-old Valaisian boy from whom Frank Martin obtained this piece which is hardly of learned origin and which (a detail that is worth mentioning *en passant*) was sung to him 'full voiced, in continuous fashion, somewhat like a bagpipe'. The lines 'Et l'on rencontra les Anglais' and 'Nous la ferons venir de Londres, car ta blessure est bien profonde' are doubtful:

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Il faut par - tir pour l'Angle - ter - re, Il faut par - tir pen - dant la guer - re, Il
 faut par - tir pour l'Angle - ter - re, Il faut par - tir pen - dant la guer - re, Et
 l'on ren - con - tra les An - glais Et l'on com - men - ça à ti - rer.

Il faut partir pour l'Angleterre,
 Il faut partir pendant la guerre,
 Et l'on rencontra les Anglais
 Et l'on commença à tirer.

On tira bien cinq à six heures
 Sans pouvoir faire aucune chose.
 Le capitaine il a passé:
 – Y a-t-i' quelqu'un qui soit blessé?

– Blessé, ah oui, mon capitaine,
 C'est notre jeune port-enseigne.
(Two lines missing)

– Si j'ai un regret dans ce monde,
 C'est de mourir sans voir ma blonde.
 – Si ta blonde peut t'soulager,
 Nous la ferons ci arriver;

Nous la ferons venir de Londres,
 Car ta blessure est bien profonde.
 Quand la blonde fut arrivée,
 Elle s'y mit à pleurer.

– Ne pleure pas, fille de Londres,
 Car ma blessure n'est pas profonde.
 – J'engagerai mon jupon blanc,
 Ma montre en or, mon diamant,

J'engagerai mêm' ma ceinture,
 Si je peux guérir ta blessure.
 – N'engage pas ni jupon blanc,
 Ni montre en or, ni diamant,

N'engage pas ni ta ceinture,
 Mon âme doit partir pour l'autre monde.

A celebrated study by Szadrovsky speaks at length, in the latter half of the last century, of the *Alpsegen* (the ‘Alpine Benediction’, unless ‘Segen’ here has an ancient meaning, somewhat like ‘charm’, ‘incantation’) and of the *Betruf* (a recitative prayer invoking the protection of numerous saints for the flock and its guardians) that the Swiss used to intone of an evening in the high pastures. A very learned little work on Alpine melody certifies that in 1942 these vestiges of a legendary past have since disappeared from memory. And yet, around 1900, Schering noted a *Betruf* at Melchtal, and very recently the recording machines of the radiophonic studio at Basle have been able to collect another, of the most freely improvised, the most typical, and the most ‘folkish’ kind imaginable.

And it was an urchin, born and brought up in a suburb of Belfort, who dictated to Samuel Baud-Bovy in 1945 (among others):



On the other hand, if it is true that the study of a decadent art is in some ways an archaeological task, one is no less right in judging that the means with which this study still contents itself are generally insufficient. We learn that ‘when a peasant is asked for folk songs, he offers his whole repertory, in which, on the same plane, songs imported from town, romances, music-hall successes are juxtaposed’. From which we ought to infer that the folklorist should not do otherwise than to collect everything if he wants to give a faithful picture of the real musical situation.

For my part, I have every reason to doubt that, in the eyes of the rural informant, whoever he may be, every piece that shelters in his memory is of equal importance and is set ‘on the same plane’. Let us not lose sight of the fact that the units comprising his repertory are like objects in common use, employed more or less according to individual taste and social significance. They are far from all enjoying, constantly, an invariable popularity. Some are to be met with anywhere; others are confined to a narrow circle, if not to the memory of a single person; others suit only women, or men, or youngsters or old people. In other words, their ‘frequency’ may be greater or smaller. To draw up a simple catalogue often results in giving, in the guise of objectivity, a false image of reality, and to make statistics into that ‘falsehood in figures’ of which it is sometimes accused.

Precisely on this matter I chanced to see for myself when, having arrived at a Transylvanian village, remarkably conservative and remarkably pre-

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served, I measured to what extent my impartial inventory contradicted the experience derived from the prolonged sojourn with my singers: where I had till then ceaselessly admired the persistence of the ancient autochthonous music dialect, this inanimate register caused me on the contrary to think that its ruin was almost complete. Of some 150 melodies that appeared in it, about twenty, more or less, were in the archaic style of the district; the rest were only scraps from the outskirts of town, revue couplets, patriotic odes by the dozen. To try to establish the truth by measuring the degree of frequency of each piece, it was necessary to devise a stratagem. After several hesitations I finally hit on this: scrupulously bearing in mind the arithmetical data compiled by a previous demographic census and the criteria already tested elsewhere (age, sex, education, travel, etc.) I arranged a kind of deputation on the village, doubled for the sake of safety, by a control team. The names of all the persons chosen were then inscribed on cards, after the incipit of every melody, and each of our subjects was asked whether or not they knew these melodies, marking the answers, affirmative, negative or ambiguous according to three signs: +, o and (o). The fruits of this laborious manoeuvre were often worth the trouble involved because it was possible, for example, to prove that such an old song as this kept all its vigour:

while only the youngsters sang the novelty newly arrived straight from the outskirts of the capital:



Ma - ri - ne - ru - a mo - re - zat

Enfants	1. Popacodrea, Ion ○ 2. Găbrean, Ion ○ 3. Luțian, Constanța ○ 4. Fogoroș, Constanța ○	Mariés	13. Codrea, Ion ○ 14. Fogoroș, Nicolae ○ 15. Sofonea, Dumitru + 16. Haneș, Vasile ○ 17. Iurcovan, Rafira ○ 18. Tătaru, Maria ○ 19. Stanimir, Rafira ○ 20. Sofonea, Rafira ○
Jeunes gens	5. Poparad, Ion ○ 6. Dineti, Aurel + 7. Fogoroș, Ion + 8. Luțian, Năstase + 9. Tătaru, Ana ○ 10. Haneș, Silvia ○ 11. Dobrotă, Eva ○ 12. Husea, Sofia ○	Vieux	21. Iurcovan, Dumitru ○ 22. Haneș, Spiridon ○ 23. Scurtu, Iustina ○ 24. Rogozea, Sofia Val. ○

and that a ballad, very old, but brought from afar by the old transhumant shepherd who had recorded it for us, was only alive with him:



Pe - pi - cior de mun - te

Enfants	1. Popacodrea, Ion ○ 2. Găbrean, Ion ○ 3. Luțian, Constanța ○ 4. Fogoroș, Constanța ○	Mariés	13. Codrea, Ion ○ 14. Fogoroș, Nicolae ○ 15. Sofonea, Dumitru ○ 16. Haneș, Vasile ○ 17. Iurcovan, Rafira ○ 18. Tătaru, Maria ○ 19. Stanimir, Rafira ○ 20. Sofonea, Rafira ○
Jeunes gens	5. Poparad Ion ○ 6. Dineti, Aurel ○ 7. Fogoroș, Ion ○ 8. Luțian, Năstase ○ 9. Tătaru, Ana ○ 10. Haneș, Silvia ○ 11. Dobrotă, Eva ○ 12. Husea, Sofia ○	Vieux	21. Iurcovan, Dumitru ○ 22. Haneș, Spiridon ○ 23. Scurtu, Iustina ○ 24. Rogozea, Sofia Val. ○

Still this enquiry only tells us about the diffusion of each melodic example in the entire village community, that is to say, about what may be called its 'horizontal' frequency, not about the intensity of individual usage or, if one prefers, its 'vertical' frequency.

The perspicacity of Arthur Rossat, sharpened by personal exploration that nothing can replace, has likewise given justice to the argument that the old songbooks seem to provide against the primacy of the fund of folk music in comparison with the novelties imported from the towns. The absence of this fund in the handwritten notebooks of the peasants proves, according to him, its verdancy, not its decrepitude, and that on the contrary it is when it begins to appear that its decline begins. In fact, Rossat asks ‘whether all these people did not have a double repertory: the old songs orally transmitted, that everyone knew by heart at the time and *that it was pointless to write down*, then the “new songs” or songs in fashion, a newly arrived repertory that was copied out as it came, in order not to forget it’, a supposition confirmed by the contents lists of modern songbooks, in which old songs abound that are precisely menaced by oblivion. These remarks are necessary so that we may better understand that a rare song is not necessarily a fossil and that before we come to a conclusion about the definitive dissolution of the uneducated class, meticulous soundings are necessary, which may sometimes lead to singular discoveries.

What we have been saying implicitly affirms the existence of a folk music distinguishable from art music inasmuch as the one or the other of them constitutes spiritual nourishment. But we already know that there are learned men who would deny this (using, it is true, the subterfuge that we have seen). So what do they make of distinctions since the sixteenth century such as ‘all kinds of songs, musical as well as rural’ or as ‘both music and rustic pieces’? Are we to disregard the countless East European collections in which nothing seems familiar to us (I am thinking, for example of that of the Russian Palchikov, which I recently skimmed through, and which does not contain a single melody conforming, however slightly, to Western canons)? And how are we to explain the disarray of the first folklorists when faced with a sound-language contrary to all the rules they had learned and which was beyond their understanding?

The impossibility of providing an accompaniment to old Irish songs ‘that refuse any kind of bass or harmony’ had already struck Fétis, and George Sand (perhaps repeating in her own fashion a suggestion of Chopin’s) wrote to Champfleury that, in Berry, ‘it is not only harmony that evades the laws of modern music; more often it is the tonality’. The bagpipe music of the Bourbonnais seemed to her ‘untranslateable’: ‘the instrument is incomplete(?) and yet the player plays in major and minor without bothering about the impossibilities presented by law. The result is melodic combinations of a strangeness that seems atrocious but is perhaps magnificent.’ The novelist’s correspondent thought as she did: folk music ‘escapes from the musical laws; it is almost impossible to fit it into the five lines of the stave’. As for rhythm, as early as 1792 the violinist Viotti justified his transcription of a *ranc des vaches* by saying: ‘I felt obliged to notate it without rhythm, that is, without bars. There are instances where the melody wants to be unimpeded

in order to be itself and the slightest hint of measure would disturb its effect . . . The *ranz des vaches* confined to bars would be denaturalized.' If the folk did not deviate considerably from current teaching, why did Chopin, of whom we have good reason for believing that he understood music, and Marc Viardot, who was not ignorant of it either, why did they 'spend hours transcribing a few phrases' of Berrichon singers and bagpipers?

The truth is that it was the initial surprise when confronted by the musical anomalies of the songs of people that, in one country after another, determined the course that musicological studies later took, and unfortunately, as often as not, excessively limited them in perspective and domain. Thus, in France the leading scholars have been particularly struck from the outset by the modal structure of the tunes and that is why their researches most often concentrate on this problem, considered paramount, from Beaulieu's *Mémoire sur quelques airs qui sont dans la tonalité grégorienne*, dated 1858, up to Duhamel's *15 modes de la musique bretonne*, by way of numerous remarks or notes by Bourgault-Ducoudray (who publicly praised Gounod for having composed the King of Thule's romance in the hypodorian), and by his disciple Maurice Emmanuel, Tiersot and so many others.

In Hungary the discovery of the pentatonic scale by Kodály and Bartók so keenly struck their minds as to give rise to a welter of discussions that were so impassioned that the greater part of the Hungarian theoretical writings at the start were almost exclusively devoted to elucidating the origin, the resources, the ethnographic meaning of this scale, presumed to be an ancestral Asiatic heritage.

In Bulgaria scholars eventually applied themselves to discovering the mechanics of a singular rhythm, very widespread in their territory and for that reason commonly called 'Bulgarian rhythm' (though I prefer the Turkish term *aksak*: limping), in which the longs and shorts are not, as in Western music, the half or double of each other, but two thirds or three halves, as:



Now it has happened. From Kristov to Djedjev and up to our own time, the local musicologists, taking this kind of rhythm to be eminently national, have explored it unflaggingly, in preference to any other peculiarity, form, mode or function. One could go on multiplying such examples. Let these suffice for the moment: they clarify sufficiently the importance of the three questions they raise and which decide the autonomy of musical folklore as a musicological discipline, that is: have the intrinsic characteristics of folk music been defined? can they be? and by what methods?

To the first, one might answer that there is a perceptible divergence between the present state of studies in Eastern Europe and the West. In the

former they are more advanced because the material that is being examined is purer and less liable to controversies of principle, in the latter the specialists are dealing with an equivocal object, and they continue to stumble over the obstacle of marginal distinctions. However, with regard to the poetry, an element which is inseparable from the music and which may be presumed *a priori* to be in some way bonded to it, the analysts – whether scientists or dilettanti – seem in general to agree on the essentials. To tell the truth, certain of them (including even those who have devoted themselves to the most voluminous exegeses) have arrived at the conviction that really only a gift of innate intuition, an ‘inner view’ (‘innere Schau der Dinge’) allows us to recognize the ‘ethos’ of the folkloric object and to perceive ‘that mysterious thing, similar to the golden background of holy images, that floats around it’ (folk song, that is), which simply means disputing any scientific quality in folklore.

Meanwhile, we are none the less given in detail the signs that point to the originality of the rustic genius. First there is that indissoluble union of music and poetry of which we have just spoken, ‘two arts that are intertwined as closely as ivy on an old wall’: all folk poetry is sung; no one thinks of merely reciting or reading them. Then there is – an assertion that might be considered surprising – the simplicity: it is ‘an infinitely simple and naive art’ which is ‘full of naivety, natural, of childlike candour’ and which nourishes a ‘fund of ideas’ which are themselves ‘very simple’. These ideas, these themes, it is thought, animate lyrical poetry everywhere: intimate relation to nature and the ‘human environment’, mountains, rivers, trees, birds endlessly evoked or invoked, which understand the language of men just as men understand theirs; the joys and miseries of love, of work, of daily life; but also escapes into a miraculous world, because the folk take pleasure in ‘imagining the impossible’, in ‘combining the unexpected’, in ‘ordering the improbable’, which gives rise to these carols and Eastern wedding songs peopled with lords, princes, kings (‘our brother the king’, ‘the queen’, ‘the king’s mother’: so the bridegroom, bride and mother-in-law are described by the Armenians). The Romanian peasant’s sweetheart rides in a carriage made of a calabash and a thousand flowers: canopy of roses, shafts of rosemary, wheels of sweet basil; and the French sailor’s mistress wants him to sail with the king’s son, on a ship with silken sails, an ivory mast and a helm of gold:

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Que faire s'amour me laisse?
Nuit et jour ne puis dormir,
Quand je suis la nuit couchée,
Me souviens de mon ami.

Que faire s'amour me laisse?
Nuit et jour ne puis dormir,
Quand je suis la nuit couchée,
Me souviens de mon ami.

Je m'y levait toute nue
Et pris ma robe de gris,
Passé par la fausse porte,
M'en entrai en nos jardins.

J'ouïs chanter l'alouette
Et le rossignol joli,
Qui disait en son langage:
Voici mes amours venir,

En un beau bateau sur Seine,
Qui est couvert de sapin,
Les cordons en sont de soie,
Le voile en est de satin,

Le grand mât en est d'ivoire,
L'étoinai en est d'or fin,
Les mariniers qui le mènent
Ne sont pas de ce pays.

L'un est fils du roi de France,
Il porte la fleur de lys,
L'autre est fils de . . . ,
Celui-là est mon ami.

In the four corners of Europe the folk imagination sees, growing from the grave of two unfortunate lovers buried side by side, two plants that intertwine beyond death, and no doubt we shall soon be able to fix the limits of the area of diffusion of the amorous metamorphoses of which I happen to have a Savoyard example at hand, also noted by Frank Martin:

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– Ma charmante mignonne, que j'aime tant,
Je te donn' six cents livres de mon argent,
C'est afin que tu rendes mon coeur content.

– Si tu veux que je rends ton coeur content,
Je me rendrai la rose sur le rosier,
Jamais, galant, tu n'auras mes amitiés.

– Si tu te rends la rose sur le rosier,
Je me rendrai l'ami du jardinier,
Je cueillerai la rose sur le rosier.

– Si tu te rends l'ami du jardinier,
Je me rendrai la caille volant aux champs,
Jamais, galant, tu n'auras mes amitiés.

– Si tu te rends la caille volant aux champs,
Je me rendrai chasseur, pour t'y chasser,
J'attraperai la caille volant aux champs.

– Si tu te rends chasseur, pour m'y chasser,
Je me rendrai l'étoile au firmament,
Jamais, galant, tu n'auras mes amitiés.

– Si tu te rends l'étoile au firmament,
Je me rendrai la lune luna-lunant,
Je boirai l'étoile au firmament.

– Si tu te rends la lune luna-lunant,
Je me rendrai la Vierge au paradis,
Jamais, galant, tu n'auras mes amitiés.

– Si tu te rends la Vierge au paradis,
Je me rendrai Saint Pierre portant les clefs,
J'empêcherai aux filles d'y rentrer.

– Puisque tu m'as suivi jusqu'au paradis,
Eh! bien, marions nous, mon bel amant,
Et rendons-nous le coeur content.

This comes very near to the sentimental Romanian conversation (the lady who refuses carries the same name as the heroine of the ballad concerning a girl, carried off by a rich Turkish merchant in his ship, who throws herself

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into the Danube, a ballad of which Panait Istrati has made a celebrated paraphrase in one of his novels. The two pieces are merely different crystallizations of the same type: the ‘Lover’s refusal’, sung in order to ‘keep her honour’ or for some other reason):



(‘Kyra, Kyralina, come with me.’ ‘Rather than go with you, I’d make myself into a reed in the pond.’ ‘Do it, sweetheart, do it; and I’ll make myself into a little sickle. I’ll cut down the reed. You shall be all mine.’)

As for epic themes, since the editing of the corpus of German song (stopped in 1939, perhaps for ever), research in variants has made it clear that several such themes have spread over territories whose extent can hardly be measured, merely to quote, for instance, the countless allotropies of the ‘Husband’s return’, in which the man finds his wife is dead, or remarried, or mistreated by the mother-in-law (the French ‘Porcheronne’ type). I might add ‘Lenore’ or the ‘Corpse’s ride’, which flourishes as far as the Dodecanese: the Greek version of this fable, published by S. Baud-Bovy, and the classic Romanian version overlay each other almost line by line and word for word. In each, suitors arriving from afar ask a widow for her only daughter. Of her nine brothers, only the youngest advises that his sister should be allowed to go, and his advice is heeded. A plague falls over the land, which carries off all the boys, and in her solitude the mother curses the bad adviser, who makes his coffin into a horse and goes off to find the absent girl, who mounts the coffin behind him. On their return, as they ride through a forest, the birds are astonished to hear a corpse conversing with a live person. When they arrive near the paternal house the dead man returns to his grave; mother and daughter die of joy at meeting again.

From Asia Minor to Hungary investigators have followed the legend of the bridge, monastery or fortress which persistently collapses until the day when the masons immure their own wives in the walls. But is the terrain where this legend survives really its true homeland or merely a zone of refuge since, particularly in the West, the belief in human sacrifice, real or simulated, has gradually disappeared? Rather than giving a premature answer to such questions, let us continue the elucidation of the character of folk poetry.

As far as form is concerned our attention is still drawn to a language that is always concrete, sometimes rough, and which does not shrink, when the occasion demands, from an expression verging on the point of incongruity.

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King Renaud comes back from war holding his ‘tripes’ in his hands, and in Landes mothers amuse their children with couplets (which I leave to others to translate) such as:

Ninoun, Ninéte,
Cayoun, cayété,
Lou cañ que péte,
Lou gat bêchi,
Le nine senti.

On the other hand, the vigorous pliant style of the course of narrative is often remarked on, which makes great use of ellipsis and abridgement, notably under the form of dialogue and directly introductory discourse, evoked to set us abruptly in the middle of the action:

Ma mère, apportez-moi
Mon habit de soie rose,
Et mon chapeau qu'il soit d'argent brodé,
Je veux ma mie aller trouver.

I consider a perfect model of this kind the sad conversation between the young black slave in America and his mother:

‘Mama, is it true that massa's gonna sell me tomorrow?’
‘Yes, yes, yes.’
‘That he's gonna sell me way down in Georgia?’
‘Yes, yes, yes.’
‘Goodbye, mama, now I've gotta leave you.’
‘Yes, yes, yes.’
‘Mama, don't you mourn for me.’
‘No, no, no.’
‘Mama, we'll meet again in heaven.’
‘Yes, child, watch and pray.’

Arthur Rossat, to quote him yet again, amused himself by placing two narrations side by side, one folkloric, the other with folkish pretensions, to bring out the incisive brevity of the one and the flabby verbosity of the other:

Dedans Paris, il y a une barbière,
Oh! oui, plus belle que le jour.
Ils n'en sont trois beaux capitaines,
Que tous les trois lui font la cour.

Un matin du printemps dernier,
Dans une bourgade lointaine,
Un petit oiseau printanier
Vint montrer son aile d'ébène.

Un enfant aux jolis yeux bleus
Aperçut la brune hirondelle;
Reconnaissant l'oiseau fidèle,
La salua d'un air joyeux.

Commentators consider the aversion of folk poetry to all detailed localization to be no less typical: events happen in places that are vague or purely conventional even if they are named; thus in France ‘au jardin d’amour’, ‘derrière chez nous’, ‘au bois joli’ or ‘sur le pont de Lyon’ (or ‘de Nantes’, ‘d’Avignon’, ‘du Nord’, as required). Certain numbers crop up at every occasion: particularly the number three, the ‘triad’: ‘trois princesses’, ‘trois fleurs jolies’ (likewise ‘drei Burschen’, ‘drei Regimenter’, ‘tre marinari’, ‘three ships’); and the number seven: the prisoner languishes ‘sept ans’ in his tower, and the soldier returns at the end of ‘seven long years’; 30, 40, 100 denote ‘many’: ‘trente marins’ aboard a ship, ‘forty days and forty nights’ on the march, ‘a hundred bright guineas’ to buy the favours of a handsome girl; 300 and 500 represent considerable quantities: ‘cinq cents moutons’.

All this has as a necessary consequence a language ‘powerfully equipped with clichés’: constant epithets, stereotyped (‘formelhaft’) expressions, ready-made formulas whose compilation, for Germany, has been attempted by Daur some forty years ago. If, in French territory, the fountain is for preference ‘claire’, the rose-bush ‘blanc’, the ring ‘d’or’, the friend ‘doux’, in Germany the girl is usually ‘brown’ (‘schwarzbraun’), the hand is ‘as white as snow’ (‘schneeweiss’), the tomb ‘cool’ (‘kühl’). And in the Russian *bylina*, these epithets, that have been called Homeric, are even more tightly bound to their subjects: the warrior can only be ‘strong’, ‘powerful’ or ‘brave’, the Tartar ‘infidel’ or ‘unbaptized’, the knife ‘of steel’, the sword ‘sharp’, the enemy’s head ‘insolent’, the wine ‘green’; young girls all have ‘white hands’ or ‘sweet mouths’; the horse necessarily carries a hero, and the soil is always referred to as ‘our damp mother earth’. Of strict necessity, this sampling of typical commonplaces, excessively summary as it is, may serve to teach us something of the style of folk poetry: countless writings are to be found to complete and deepen it usefully.

Unfortunately it is not the same for technique. For the majority of languages, the structure of sung poetry remains, if not an enigma, at least an ever debateable point, and in many countries the treatises of versification either slip away from this scabrous subject like a scalded cat, or touch on it with extreme wariness. In some parts work on it has not yet even been attempted and the most elementary details are still lacking. The approximate length of lines, the approximate number of their syllables, the approximate placing of accents; that is thought to be enough to satisfy us, pending new data.

On the other hand, even where the examination of the problem has been taken further, what was soundly held to be the acquired truth risks contradiction at every turn. Thus, the table of French verse-lines drawn up by Doncieux in his *Romancero*, as well as the famous theory of ‘inverse caesuras’, has recently been energetically contested by a musician. The alexandrine, says Canteloube, ‘is never encountered’ in French peasant

poetry: according to him there is 6 + 6 or 8 + 4 syllables, ‘but not 12’. If transcriptions show the existence of a dodecasyllable, it is because they have been led into error by prosodic studies, which the folk ‘hardly bother about, indeed not at all, most of the time . . . *The line of the songs is shaped according to the rhythm of the music. It is the music alone that indicates with certainty the trim of the verse.*’

Moreover, we have hardly realized till now that several different versifications, or rather, several metrical systems founded on contradictory principles, may exist side by side in one and the same poetic repertory. It suffices to consider attentively the most banal line in French verse:

Do, do, l’enfant do

to realize that in certain of these systems there lies a quantity of the syllable that official teaching ignores, and the rules of accentuation, apparently undiscernible, emerge: they too, examined closely, variable certainly but coherent and often rigorous, show themselves only if the examination is undertaken while resolutely ignoring scholastic notions, or, if you prefer, ‘from inside’ not ‘from outside’ nor ‘from above’. For instance, one discovers then that Romanian peasants use four perfectly distinct metrical systems in which neither the length of the line nor the rôle of the accent nor the quality of the syllable are in agreement.

This is better seen when it comes to the music: nearly always it is the wish to explain folk procedure by bringing it into line with learned standards, in order to confine it at all cost within the rigid frame of academic dogma, that impedes the knowledge of the poetic technique of the folk. That being so, one should not be wildly surprised that the precursors could not make head or tail of it, nor that certain modern scholars only partially understand it. The former repeatedly avow their impotence, declaring that folk poetry ‘is beyond the rules of poetry’ or ‘shows no prosody’ and they naïvely state that the ‘over-numerous’ syllables of the ‘lame’ lines ‘huddle themselves together’; the latter note, for instance, in a doctoral tone, that in Arabic and Turkish songs singular relationships ‘seem’ to reign between the words and the music, while the rhythm of the melody ‘apparently’ pays no heed to the metre of the poem. Certainly all this teaches us nothing very substantial, but all in all, it is worth more than the judgements based on principles proper to art poetry.

Molière’s misanthrope, who preferred above all else that is admirable the old song *Si le roi m’avait donné*, none the less judged the rhyme to be ‘not rich’, and the style ‘old’. The misanthrope is wrong. If the style was already old in his time, the rhyme is neither rich nor poor: *it does not exist*. One may add that Malherbe would never have scanned: Páris, sá grand’ville (and he would not in fact have scanned it at all). But our ‘forefathers’ were not all as ‘rough’ as that. Their poetry simply aimed at other targets. Subjected (and no less rigorously) to other necessities, it obeyed other laws. To take as

'errors' or 'licences' the differences that it consequently shows from a legislation that does not concern it only shows our ignorance of these laws and our incapacity to penetrate them.

Likewise, it is necessary to elucidate the consequences arising from this intimate fusion of poetic and musical elements that has been so often observed. The conditions common to all artistic creation should however allow us to foresee that the balance of these constituent elements would not be invariable, but that by necessity the inventive spirit of the folk is bound to make use of the effects allowed by the possible preponderance of the one over the other. From syllabic recitative to 'ornamental melopoeia', the varied modalities of this unstable relationship grant to metrics a place, sometimes tiny, sometimes considerable, that only an understanding of the music and its requirements allows us to measure. But this understanding too is still extraordinarily fragmentary. The slowness of its progress has to a large extent the same reasons as we have just indicated in respect of poetic technique, except that it involves still graver difficulties, harder to be conquered. So it is advisable to linger for a while.

At the outset, it will be noticed that the more the art of a literate civilization develops and is organized, the further it departs from the 'natural' state at which it had begun, the more the conventions that it created become inflexible and the more those who practise it lose their receptivity with regard to any other art than theirs. The anecdote of the Chinese who, through a whole opera, had taken pleasure only at the din of the instruments tuning up before the performance is more than a joke; in the staggered fifths of the strings his ear had doubtless perceived as an echo the ancestral consonances of the Celestials.

The musics of Arabs and Indians, both purely melodic, have elaborated complex theories of scales or rhythm based on very remote mathematical speculations. Such subtleties are repugnant to the European West, the inventor of polyphony, constrained by the conveniences of harmony to sacrifice modal and rhythmical refinements one by one and to correct all to the intervals of the single scale which it has been obliged to choose. The technique and aesthetic of its musical art being, on the other hand, dominated to an equal extent by a thoroughly instrumental ideal, it will be understood that anything which clashes with its acoustic habits seems undesirable and coarse: every 'impure' vocal emission, that is, not conforming to that of an instrument, shocks its listeners; every melodic line deprived of harmonic support seems fleshless to them; every rhythm that is not marked by equidistant accents, precise in beat, upsets them by its 'irregularity'.

The result is that European hearing finds it hard to accommodate combinations of sound whose principle escapes them. Von Hornbostel puts it excellently: 'it is hard to liberate oneself from the fetters of convention and one falls too often into the error or taking the foundations of our European

music for the foundations of music in general, and so to apply false measures. The notions of "major" and "minor" are so rooted in our minds, all our reasoning comes to rest upon them to such a point that one can only free oneself from them with great difficulty. Consciously or unconsciously we adopt harmonies to every melody . . . It is even harder to renounce our musical habits concerning the intervals; we measure them all according to the distances that are familiar to us: semitones, tones, thirds, etc. Other arrangements often seem wrong to us, though they are really intended by the folk.' For the European formed by the conservatoires, every melody, according to Jean Huré, is 'a succession of notes, in a rhythm of symmetrical accents that accord with binary or ternary measures: these measures are grouped four by four, the progression of these compartments generally coming to rest on the dominant . . . then, still symmetrically, the melodic line returns to the tonic with a perfect cadence . . . The musical phrase, in order to be considered "melodic" . . . must be constructed on a bass' – a 'good bass', 'entirely tonal', and engendering 'correct harmonies'. When bass and harmonies are not expressed one is obliged to guess them, so much does 'the melody clearly imply them'. And all this should be maintained in the two present major or minor modes – the minor should be adorned with that curious 'leading note' borrowed from the major. If one of these modes is modified to however small an extent, or if one uses some other, the melody is taxed with being 'plainsong' or 'of a strange exoticism'.

A characteristic West European superstition curiously aggravates this impermeability of the Western mind, that is, its presumptuous conviction that it gave to humanity a civilization superior to all others, excepting at the very most in a few domains classical antiquity, of which it reckons to be the heir. One might conjecture that this particular infatuation derives from a blind faith in the omnipotence of 'progress'. The constant perfectioning of techniques, the perpetual enrichment of the arsenal of mechanical means, the uninterrupted growth of material power that they have brought about and, moreover, the political might that this progress has given to so-called civilized whites have made them believe, by the order of things, that duration united with persistent effort necessarily brings an amelioration, and consequently the most lately arrived culture is without doubt the most perfect, all the more since the brilliant victories over matter peremptorily confirm its excellence. That is why the Westerners' incomprehension is commonly coloured by a certain scorn.

It would be worth undertaking one day an anthology of European deafness. For instance one reads these lines from a French traveller at the beginning of the last century: 'There is no music in Persia; I would not profane this name by applying it to the barbarous sounds that resemble the cries of wild beasts rather than harmony'; 'Persian instruments are . . . so malformed' that probably 'nothing has been altered there since the reign of

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Cyrus' (no 'progress'!); such are the 'kind of sharp-toned clarinets that are much like those with which the Calabrians come at Christmas time to flay the ears of the Neopolitans, or the great trumpets they call *kernels* whose sounds are much like the cries of angry camels'; and as for harmony it is composed 'first and foremost by singers, or one should say howlers'.

Nearer to our own time, about 1880, another traveller had occasion, still in Asia, 'to hear a Kashgarian concert'. He was bewildered: 'one of the artists scratched with a toothpick on a sort of immense zither; a second scraped on the single string of a very long fiddle . . . our ear could not perceive the slightest melody . . . Nobody understood any of it.'

Still later, in the twentieth century, an Englishman was of the opinion that Japanese music 'if one dares to use the name' (see above!) 'has the effect not of calming European nerves but of exasperating them beyond all endurance'. You see, it 'only employs the ordinary cadence(?)'. It has *no harmony*. It ignores all our *distinction of modes*, and so it lacks the vigour and majesty of the major mode and the plaintive tenderness of the minor mode, as well as the marvellous effects of light and shade that arise from the alternation of the two'; it has no resources except to wound 'sensitive ears' (European ears, of course). An Orientalist of the same kind of feather, likewise English, abundantly remarks in similar fashion: he is 'truly happy', he avers ironically, that 'musical art is not more generally practised' in the East. In 1905 the son of the lady who formerly took such trouble to set the songs of Berry down on stave, Paul Viardot, discerned nothing in Chinese music but squealing and caterwauling. But if one would seize the very foundation of Western thought it is enough to meditate on the sombre forecasts of B. Houston Chamberlain, who despaired of Japan's musical future because nothing made him foresee the blossoming of a new Ninth Symphony.

Aberrant in the same way as extra-European art music and sometimes even more so, folk music has been and continues to be judged from the same viewpoint. Despite her very romantic thirst for the 'new' and the picturesque, the author of *La mare au diable*, used to the piano sounds of Chopin and Liszt or the clarinets of the *Fantastique*, evidently found that of the Bourbonnais bagpipes 'atrocious', just as her adventurous compatriot felt his ears flayed by the Neapolitan *pifferari*.

But the musicologists turned out by our schools are not, at the first contact with this unusual music, any less bewildered than them, and Fétis, one of the most understanding, had the impression that those dances of the canton of Fribourg called *coraules*, 'kinds of melodies of peculiar character', had 'more relation to certain Russian peasant airs than to those of the Swiss'.

Moreover, ever since the musical art of the modern West has realized, with the symphony, the supreme beauty and ultimate perfection (capable, certainly, of being 'perfected' still further, but not of varying in its very essence) what are we to think of folk music as an artistic phenomenon, what

meaning should we attach to it, what place should we assign it in the scale of aesthetic values, and consequently what importance should we accord to the discipline whose aim is to study it?

As long as international or intercontinental comparison had not yet shown the analogies capable of giving direction to our glimpses outside the narrow sphere of the first local discoveries, it was inevitable that Western folk production should be taken as the embryonic state and the shapeless configuration of art work. So the interest in this minor art could only seem relative and retrospective and, on the whole, very limited. What was studied there, at the outset, was a certain ingenuous charm, that ‘naïvety and grace’ praised by Montaigne, a certain aroma of olden times, a ‘gentle perfume of the old-fashioned’: which explains titles such as *Songs our grandmothers sang*, *Old refrains from home*, *In times of old*, etc. Those who beg old people for ‘discarded odds and ends of sonorous insanity’ can only, in their turn, pass for harmless maniacs, inoffensive potterers, given power, as one of them once explained, to an ‘indulgent hunt’.

Even though, before long, certain penetrating minds had vaguely glimpsed the lessons to be expected from an objective study of rural melody and realized the need for respecting detail scrupulously, most of the old folklorists (and several contemporary ones persist in imitating them, alas!) could not get beyond this conception which is marked, among other things, by the tendency to conceal what they take for the ‘poverty of folk song by prudishly covering its nudity with a veil of harmonies. In 1892 still, a French Catalan declared frankly that his task was ‘to dress in modern harmony’ the songs he published, ‘so that they do not appear too naked in the presence of strangers’. ‘Nearly a century and a half ago,’ wrote Bartók, ‘an interest in rustic art was awakened throughout Europe . . . the collectors were guided only by aesthetic considerations . . . they endowed the melodies with instrumental or vocal accompaniments, and the public greeted them more favourably if they were thus clothed.’ And as these melodies usually showed themselves rebellious ‘to our harmonic laws of modulation’, the arrangers found no fault, in the event, in ‘correcting’ wherever necessary to make them tolerable at all costs.

In these conditions, on the one hand it was allowable for any amateur, enlightened or not, to make free with such a frail object (‘unbedeutender Gegenstand der Kunst’, says Forkel); and on the other hand it goes without saying that, as they considered it outside the rigorously closed system of modern theory and aesthetics, they could give no adequate or even reasonable description of it.

Likewise it is not surprising to find from the pen of the foremost investigators the greater part of the inconsistent formulas we have cited, concerning the metrics. ‘These songs are of the simplest kind,’ one hears them say, and ‘freshness, simplicity and sincerity of performance’ make up their charm. If one believes them, the Polish *dumky* have ‘sad and gentle’

melodies, which in no way distinguishes them from many Bulgarian songs that have been described by one specialist as ‘sad and melancholy’, nor from the ‘long-drawn and sad’ Jugoslav tunes, so described by a third person. In general, folk song does not ‘shine with immense efforts of invention’, which however does not impede, according to another opinion, ‘the beauty and lissomness of its lines’.

We cannot expect anything more detailed when it comes to rhythm. The sombre Hungarian ballads (recent testimony of a man of science!) ‘know no strict rhythm system’; which hardly tells us more than the lessons of nearly a century ago: ‘no measure’, ‘untranslateable rhythm’, ‘fantastic rhythms’ that ‘cannot be regularized without destroying the accent’, and so on.

The same thing applies to the modes. According to a precursor, enthusiastic nevertheless, folk tonality is ‘extravagant’ but ‘reasonable’, though of a kind that ‘makes the didactic teachers of harmony groan’. If one wants to know more, we are told that this tonality ‘belongs to a different musical system from the one we follow nowadays’, or repeatedly that folk melodies ‘do not conclude on the tonic’ but end up ‘on a note which is not the final of the mode’! George Sand, who was not the friend of great musicians for nothing, allows herself a more sententious tone: ‘When the labourers and swineherds,’ she says, ‘utter their primitive songs, that I believe to be of Gaulish origin, they proceed by tonal intervals much more divided than ours’, to which she learnedly adds: ‘I doubt whether the Chinese scale, still less than the Indian scale and the Ioway scale, proceed by tones and semitones.’ A prodigiously broad view for her time, which would deserve the greatest praise were it not, unfortunately, that the Chinese scale is the contrary of the Indian and ‘proceeds by tonal intervals’ much *less* divided than the others. With almost equal competence, an ethnographer did not hesitate to write, only a short time ago, that in Cambodia ‘they are satisfied to give a name to the seven notes of the scale, *which has no semitones and belongs to the minor mode*’.

The scientific impotence of the pioneers is further aggravated by the fact that for a very long time music and words were neither collected nor analysed simultaneously: the primacy of the poetic texts has much retarded the progress of musicological investigations.

This encumbrance of classification is easily seen where the points of reference are jumbled and confused but where, generally, literary preoccupations have been brought to bear, to which is added in the nature of things, a concern for the occasion, that is, the function of the song. Let us take, from among a thousand, the one followed by the celebrated German corpus of Erk and Böhme:

- | | | |
|---|---|--------------------|
| 1 | Narrative and legendary subjects (twelve
sub-categories) | literary criterion |
| 2 | Historical songs | literary criterion |
| 3 | Love songs (two sub-categories) | literary criterion |

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4	Farewell and travel songs (<i>Wanderlieder</i>)	: literary and functional criterion
5	Dawn and night-visit songs (<i>Kiltgang</i>)	: literary and functional criterion
6	Wedding songs, songs relative to marriage, religious plaints	: literary and functional criterion
7	Dance and game songs	: literary and musical criterion
8	Riddles, wagers, vows, songs of lies	: literary criterion
9	Drinking songs	: functional(?) and literary criterion
10	Quête songs on the occasion of folk or religious festivities	: functional criterion
11	Songs of work and professions	: functional criterion(?)
12	Joking and satirical songs	: literary criterion
13	Mixed songs ('vermischten Inhalts')	: literary criterion
14	Children's songs (five sub-categories)	: literary and functional criterion
15	Religious songs (six sub-categories)	: literary criterion

Somewhat later, the following was found sufficient by a respectful successor:

1	Historical and mercenary ('Landsknecht') songs	: literary criterion
2	Ballads	: literary criterion
3	Love songs	: literary criterion
4	Farewell and travel songs	: literary and functional criterion
5	Dawn and night songs	: literary and functional criterion
6	Dance songs	: functional and musical criterion
7	Riddle and game songs	: literary criterion
8	Drinking songs ('beginning of folk dramaturgy')	: literary criterion
9	Joking and satirical songs	: literary criterion
10	Songs relating to various kinds of work	: literary (and functional?) criterion
11	Religious songs	: literary criterion

And around 1850 a German classified Serbian folk song as

1	Epic songs (numerous sub-groups according to subject)	: literary criterion
2	Women's songs	: functional criterion
3	Songs and legends of blind people	: literary criterion
4	Beggars' songs	: functional criterion
5	Songs of mourning and table(!) songs	: functional criterion

In the repertory of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, Gérold distinguishes 'lyrico-epic songs', 'love songs', 'satirical songs', 'pastorals'

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(poetic types), but also ‘round-dances’, that is: pieces affected by a specific usage from which, foreseeably, certain musical consequences flow.

At present, one may still at times meet oddities, such as in France:

Complaints,
Fantasy, dream, love,
The Gallic spirit,
Work and everyday,
Voices of the city

and most of the French collections obstinately confuse ‘songs of marriage’ (and even ‘love songs’) with ‘wedding songs’: thus, Rossat excludes ‘marriage’ from the group of his ‘traditional songs’ in which Christmas carols and ‘festival songs’ appear, so as to set them among ‘lyrical songs’, in which barcarolles, military songs, drinking songs, etc. appear side by side.

However, the further one gets from the first experiences, the more do musical characteristics impose themselves on the folklorists’ attention and nowadays it is quite rare that they absolutely neglect them in grouping the songs they publish. It was the ‘recitative form’ that incited Kolessa, for instance, to study together the Ukrainian *dumy* (ballads), funeral laments and wedding songs; it was the musical attributes that Launis applied himself to disclosing in the melodies of Estonian runes; *hora lungă* (‘long song’) meant, for Bartók, a family of melopoeia characterized by a singular structure in which the poetry had no part; but the constraints imposed by the words impress on the music the marks that authorize an isolation of Jugoslav epic recitatives (Murko) or the melodic formulas destined for the Italian *ottave rime* (Petrassi, etc.). So from discovery to discovery, the amiable artistic pastime of bygone years is metamorphosed into a scientific task, with a responsibility to answer, by the means it has laboriously developed, the questions whose number has increasingly grown from the beginning of the nineteenth century to the first light of the twentieth century, and which continue to arise.

In a brief work that fixes the present state of this evolution, *Why and how do we record folk music?*, Béla Bartók indicates the distant prospects of musical folklore as he sees them: ‘One could and should show the ancestral cultural relations between peoples now widely separated from each other; one could cast clear light on many historical unknowns, notably concerning the establishment of diverse populations; one could define the modalities of contact between neighbouring peoples, the affinities and oppositions of their mentality.’ And it is only by ‘putting oneself conscientiously at the service of such a cause’ that ‘our young discipline would be worthy of taking its place alongside its elders’. To reach that point, unfortunately, we need researchers endowed with too many different capacities: ‘in reality, the ideal folklorist should possess a positively encyclopedic erudition. Philological and phonetic knowledge is necessary to him, so that he can grasp and write down the most subtle nuances of dialectal pronunciation; he must be a

choreographer so that he can define precisely the relation of music and dance; only a general understanding of folklore would enable him to determine in their smallest detail the bonds that unite music to custom; without sociological preparation he would be incapable of establishing the influence exerted on the music by the perturbations of the collective life of the village; any final conclusion would be forbidden to him without historical notions, notably concerning the settlement of the various peoples; if he wanted to make comparisons between the music of several peoples he would need to learn their languages; finally and above all he must be a musician with a fine ear and a good observer.'

But Bartók believes that a specialist uniting so much knowledge and experience has not yet appeared, and doubtless never will, and so it is impossible that a single person should accomplish entirely satisfactory work in this respect. So folklore research is by necessity a collective task, for which only well-assorted teams could suffice, were it not that these teams, 'for sundry reasons, material and other', are themselves not realizable. One does not have to share this downcast view and perhaps, one day, one will be able to prove that groups of qualified experts can, on the contrary, be imagined, and indeed some have been formed and the disciplined collaboration of their members has brought undeniable fruits.

In any case the gradual disappearance of the useless sentimentality of former times has brought, at the same time as a radical change of intention, a complete upset of the procedures of musical investigation, to the extent that we see emerging bit by bit, the outlines of analytical systems, bearing either on the totality of the musical phenomenon, or on the form alone, or on the scales and modes, or on the rhythm, or on the artifices of variation.

We may remind ourselves that a general plan of musical analysis drawn up by Schoulz-Adaiewsky enumerated, as early as in 1894, the objectives to be considered:

A. Essential characteristic features of the tonal domain

- 1 Tonality,
- 2 Unimodality or polymodality,
- 3 Melodic progression (by narrow or wider steps),
- 4 Melodic outline (simple or ornamental with *fiorituri*),
- 5 General movement (ascending, descending or stable: pivoting round a single note).

B. Characteristic features of the rhythmic domain

- 1 Use of binary (duple), ternary (triple), paeonic (quintuple) or hemiolic (heptatonic) metres, etc.,
- 2 Monorhythm or polyrhythm; use of a single measure or of mixed measures (*metron mikton*).

C. Characteristic features of the architectural domain (structure, conformation)

- 1 Foursquare period or not, regular or irregular, symmetrical or asymmetrical,
- 2 Parallelism or non-parallelism of musical phrases,

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- 3 Simple or compound ordering of the architecture (in one, two, three parts, airs with reprises, etc.),
- 4 Arts with or without inserted phrases (outside the frame).

Beyond that, the nature of the initial and final measures. The former reflects the national temperament because it is intimately bound to the genius of the language (beginning with upbeat, or without as in Hungarian, Finnish, Estonian songs); the latter bears upon two viewpoints: by the final syllable being accentuated or atonic, and by the concluding note that determines a particular general impression according to the degree (the fifth provides an epic cadence because it is suspensive: it invites a continuation).

To this kind of attempt are related the systems of simple classification, provided they all imply a preliminary analysis destined to separate the particular signs on which they are founded. Thus it happens that Mersmann proposes a 'basis for a scientific study of folk song, similar to that which Ilmari Krohn recommends (more modestly, it seems) with the aim of putting melodies in 'lexicographical' order (by which is to be understood all melodies whatever they are and wherever they come from); despite divergent conclusions here and there, only musical signs decide acceptance, the poetry being pushed aside, at least as far as the themes are concerned. Hence, in Bartók's mature works, the separate classification of the poems, which one must take for a certain progress in the method.

So we might say that for some 100 or 150 years the visual field of musicology has been considerably enlarged, and unshakeable truths seem from now on to be duly established in certain aspects. For example the definition of Hungarian folk song has been so clearly formulated that it can be confined within a short dictionary article. Sharp has given us 'some conclusions' on English song, Hensel a 'typology' of German. A summary of one and the other is particularly instructive.

According to Sharp, English music:

- 1 is 'non-harmonic' (homophonic, we would say), which is shown (a) by the use of 'foreign' passing notes; (b) by a certain vagueness of tonality particularly in the 'opening' phrases of modal tunes; (c) by the substitution of the minor seventh for the leading note (the sub-tone) at the end of these same melodies; (d) by the difficulty of harmonization;
- 2 prefers the major, dorian, aeolian, mixolydian, phrygian (rare) modes but avoids the lydian (all this in medieval terminology);
- 3 seldom modulates and only when (a) passing from a major or minor mode into another ('change of key without change of mode'); (b) passing from a major mode into a minor or vice versa ('change of key and mode'); (c) passing from minor to major without leaving the scale ('change of mode without change of key');²

² There is slight confusion here: Sharp, who was referring to modulation in general, wrote: '... those tunes which suggest, however faintly, a change of tonal nature are exceedingly rare in folk music. For all practical purposes we may, therefore, eliminate the first two of the above-mentioned species and confine our attention to the third, i.e. change of mode without change of key.' Cecil J. Sharp, *English Folk Song: Some Conclusions*. London, 1907. (Ed.)

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- 4 makes frequent use of wide intervals and constant melodic phrases that do not properly belong to the mode, among them the rise from the tonic to the fifth (which Parry believed to be typical of the old German melodies):



or from the fifth to the seventh:



as well as the Celtic beginning:



- 5 knows only four-phrase strophes of various forms (ABCD, AABA, ABBA, etc.), of which the first, reputed to be particularly Celtic, is specially abundant in Scotland and Ireland;
 6 has a marked inclination for five- and seven-time measures.³

Hensel's synthesis (which involves, alongside the intrinsic characters, a 'stratification' according to age, milieu and usage) is still more ample. If he is to be believed, in Germany there were three main melodic types: A, which probably represents the original archaic form ('Ur- und Ausgangsform') or somewhere near it; but the collections of the sixteenth century (no notation dates from so far back) already differentiate between old and new songs: to us, the former would be absolutely old ('uralt'). In group A are included *a priori* the melodies built on the pentatonic scale:



or on the dorian, aeolian, mixolydian, lydian (rare), phrygian (very rare), or on a major with no harmonic charge ('frei im Raume gravitierend'). All belong to an undulating linear type ('Wellen-Typus'), contrary to a harmonic type ('Girlanden-Typus') such as B, a group of melodies linked to a chord, where the functions of the dominant become tangible, even in the minor: the songs are made more sentimental, more supple, more coloured, and their old power and depth are transformed into delicacy ('Zierlichkeit'); they announce the decadence that is complete in group C, where the poetic and musical language reach such a degree of exuberance that the slightest abandon ('Sichgehenlassen') transforms the tenderness ('Weichheit') into weakness ('Weichlichkeit') and leads to an immoderate expression of

³ Sharp himself introduces some confusion here. He writes: 'I have only once recorded a tune in 7-time' (*Some Conclusions*, p. 88). (Ed.)

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confused sentiments. (There follows a description of two negligible categories: D and E.)

Stereotyped formulas for A include notably: the abrupt initial rise towards the fifth or the seventh:



as well as a rhythmic series ending on two 'heavy' sounds (in reality: longs).

Persuasive as such 'conclusions' seem, a closer look at the above tables allows us to perceive that there are many gaps in the portraits it offers us, to such an extent as to make us doubt the great progress that we commonly believed had been accomplished.

It is true that, adopting a more severe definition, one of them only considers English music deemed ancient (class A of the second); but even if we only consider the former, few of the properties really clash with the German. At first glance, the resemblance between the formulas considered typical leaps to the eye: major, dorian, aeolian, mixolydian are found in both cases, while the phrygian is rare (only the lydian is missing in England, according to the most ample information); Sharp does not speak of the pentatonic, but we know that later he had to reduce all the church modes to it; finally, on the advice of our two scholars, homophony is absolute at the earliest stage of music in their countries.

On the other hand, both commit patent errors. By all the evidence, the intonation



has nothing particularly Celtic about it, since one meets it everywhere in Gregorian chant:



in India:



in China:



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in Korea:



in Russia:



and jazz is saturated with it:



Hensel was no less wrong in considering as a prehistoric Germanic heritage a rhythmic combination certainly common to Germans everywhere, to the Dutch, the Finns (who are not Germans), but just as familiar to the French, the Italians, the Romanians, the English and . . . the Eskimos, to go no further:

<u>allemand:</u>	Hei	-	le,		hei	-	le,	Se	-	gen		
<u>français:</u>	Len	-	fant		se	-	tré	-	pas	-	se	
<u>italien:</u>	Le		don	-	ne		di	Ga	-	e	-	ta
<u>anglais:</u>	Goo	-	sey.		goo	-	sey.	gon	-	der		
<u>roumain:</u>	Lu	-	ui,		lu	-	ui	nou	-	u		
<u>espagnol:</u>	Tam	-	bu	-	rin		di	Fran	-	cia		

If we multiply our comparisons, our deceptions are likewise added to. We find that melodic outlines deemed English or German were 'in the public domain' in old France, beginning with the initial leap towards the fifth, whether followed by the seventh or not, which assumes very varied aspects:



or:



But one might with just as much reason attribute the paternity to the Spanish:



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or the Bulgarians:



or the Romanians:



or the Turks:



or the Russians:



or others.

With regard to form we are assured that, where Hungary is concerned, ABCD occurs often in the strophes of the archaic layer of Magyar music, and that AABA and ABBA swarm in the subsequent layers.

For the modes, we have to realize that the major, the dorian, the aeolian, the phrygian are not the exclusive property either of ancient Germany or England, for they are reported from all sides as intensively practised by the folk (France, Spain, Italy, Hungary, Bulgaria, etc.). As for the lydian and its famous 'Alphorn Fa', it has been expressly presented to us as the indubitable distinction of Slovak music:

A musical score in G major, 7/16 time. It consists of three measures of music with lyrics underneath: "Šiel vo - ja - ček na - voj - nu - sam,"; "Svo - lej mi - lej od ka zo - val, Že - by sa - ne -"; and "vy - da - va la, Se dem rô - čkov bo ča ka ln." The notes are primarily eighth and sixteenth notes.

Nothing could be more natural than that it has contaminated the Romanian lands neighbouring on Slovakia:

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Tre ce vre mea, trec qi eu mă.
Tre ce vre - mea, trec qi eu — mă.
Bf - tri - nesc si - mi pa re räu mă.

and that it provides the scale of the Swiss *Betruf*, if one presumes it derives from the Alpine horn:

Im Himmel da is die grösste Frei - li - keit

But here it is in French Canada:

in Sweden:

in Iceland:

in Italy (see also *La Tosca*, act III):

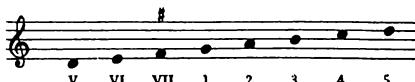
Fat - te la nu - na, tu — co - re di man - na, —

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and in Bantu Africa, to go no further:



Could it be the ‘peasant mode’ (‘agricolae dictus’) *par excellence*, as Guido d’Arezzo suggests? Suppose we have the series:



the step marked V here would serve, according to Bartók, as the main caesura, the VI as the final of the purest kind of Romanian song:



How does it happen that at the other end of the continent, from the thirteenth century, the trouvères had special affection for this arrangement and that in the fifteenth the French were singing:



There has been so much discussion about the immemorial and tenacious preference of the Chinese for the pentatonic system that finally it took on the name of ‘Chinese scale’. Then it had to be realized that the Scots and the Irish were just as keen on it, so that one used to characterize Scottish melodies by saying that they could be played on the black keys of the piano. Still later, to these isolated devotees of the pentatonic were added, as exploration progressively gained in extent and precision: first the neighbours or spiritual satellites of China – Tibetans, Japanese, Javanese, Indo-Chinese, Polynesians, Micronesians – then the Celts, the Hungarians, the Poles, the Russians, the Lithuanians, the Slavs and Germans in general, the inhabitants of ancient Italy, those of Sardinia and presentday Southern Italy, to which we had to add the Eskimos, Icelanders, Berbers, Bantu Africans, American Indians and finally – surprise! – the Turks and Hindus. So much that, at the present time, certain scholars prudently offer the view

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that what one once took for the quintessence of Chinese is, in fact, spread almost everywhere ('nahezu überall') over the surface of the globe.

Beethoven wrote variations on an air that he thought was Swiss (*Schweizerlied*):



When they found among them a variant of this theme, the Hungarians saw in it, almost agreeing with Beethoven, a 'borrowing from German-French sources':

The image shows three staves of musical notation. The first staff has lyrics: 'Most csi aít· tat tam eggy öe venyi.' The second staff has lyrics: 'Moj · keo Ko · lozs · vá · ra mün jek, Ko · loza · vá ri'. The third staff has lyrics: 'Kor · cso · má · ba, It · tam ki · lenc pi · cu lá ra.'

But in Poland it is taken for a Polish march:

The image shows two staves of musical notation. The first staff consists of eighth notes and sixteenth notes. The second staff consists of eighth notes and sixteenth notes, with a repeat sign and a double bar line at the end.

Something more disquieting: the definition of the Hungarian *Urschicht* to which we have alluded above is summarized in three main points: 1. pentatonic scale; 2. construction by level stretches ('terrassenartig'); 3. descending melodic slope. That is clear, and would be more so if it did not apply, without the slightest alteration, to the music of certain American Indians, and, in essentials, to that of the Papuans, without taking into account the fact that, according to another theory, the descending slope is in all cases ('durchwegs') characteristic of primitive sound systems.

Finally, everything is said about the *chiaroscuro* by which our science advances step by step when we recall, to close this register of uncertainties, that the best connoisseur of Spanish folk music, Pedrell, condenses his considerable experience into a single negation: not a trace is to be found, he

says of the pentatonic. For all that, such a scholar as Riemann has set himself to show the persistence of this same pentatonic precisely in the songs of Spain.

Everything considered, that is where we are for the moment. The fault lies firstly with the folklorists who persist in taking the familiar codes as measures or points of comparison of everything not understood, even when they force themselves to approach without prejudice an unknown beauty; and who, moreover, are slow to elaborate sufficiently precise analytical techniques and who fear, it could be said, above all, a meticulousness which alone might let us hope for some light. This is particularly patent in the interpretation of unusual rhythms. For example, to try to make conform to a 4/4 the progress of a Bantu or Micronesian melody, as many of our illustrious exoticists have done, shows clearly enough the invincible obsession with the music manuals, which place this measure, a simple modern graphic commodity, among the elementary phenomena of rhythm. At other times the dumbfounded folklorist enumerates simply the durations contained within a melodic section cut to his fancy, and does not hesitate to note 18/8, 21/8 or 27/8. That is called 'enlarging' or 'making supple' the notion of measure. Finally, when the difficulties of even such a barely rational compartmenting become insurmountable, there remains a final expedient: that is to write 'without measure', as Viotti once wrote his *Ranz des vaches*. Does such notation intend to deny the existence of an intelligible succession of durations and accents, that is, of a rhythm? Not at all. It is simply to affirm, implicitly, that rhythm and measure 'oppose and exclude each other in an irreducible manner', and that to grasp the one, it is necessary to pass over the other. All this – is it necessary to point out? – is pretext and subterfuge. To proscribe all measure, and to invent combinations absolutely unknown to our school manuals, brings about neither an enlargement nor a pliability of current theory, but its abolition pure and simple.

However, this theory is founded on rhythmic facts that are in truth rudimentary but, in themselves, evident and universal (groups of two or three equal 'times' indefinitely repeated, divisible by 2 or 3). Before throwing it overboard perhaps we should 'not forget that this conception of melody with symmetrical accents is one of the numerous cases of monody and should not be pushed aside out of prejudice', for 'the effects to be drawn' show themselves 'in many dances and certain songs' (Huré). If that is true it follows that the use of measures perfectly suits the correct notation of these dances and songs and also that only the measures taught in school can be applied. That is why everything warns us to beware of these 'tasty' 15/8s, dear, it seems, to the good people of France. If, in fact, a fraction of a period may last for fifteen quavers, we know no definition of a measure of fifteen units: indications such as $2\frac{1}{2}/4$, like some of those we have seen, do not express any palpable rhythmic reality.

When the melody visibly ‘escapes from the rigorous isochronism of the strong beats’ and its complexion goes against our precepts, does that mean that no logic rules the distribution of the constituent elements of the rhythm? Should we not rather consider that in the absence of a logic of this nature, there could not be music of any kind and that probably we are in the presence of a coherent group of procedures, or of a special ‘system’ that it behoves us not to ignore or to avoid, but to decipher and describe? To repudiate the classic measures or to construct new ones by a simple numbering of the durations comprised between two arbitrarily placed barlines results in sidestepping this difficulty, not in resolving it. As a fortuitous instance, let us offer a sample of this way of doing things:



Disregarding the two pauses (which make everything questionable) and even presuming that they properly express the arbitrary prolongations and not constant long durations (of which only the phonographic recording of several strophes could assure us), what exactly is this assembly of eighteen quavers trying to convey? Is it trying to tell us that the entire series is non-articulated and that every accent (which of necessity would articulate it) is absent? That is not to be believed. Any grouping of values must be discernible. So are we to read: $3/8 + 2/4 + 2/8 + 3/4$? or $3/8 + 3/8 + 5/8(?) + 2/4$ (a hypothesis which would imply compartments occupied by a single syllable)? If the ternary is prevalent, would it not be better to dot the crochets at the pauses? And if it is necessary to choose one or the other of the two arrangements above, what arguments are to be invoked? That is, what are the laws that rule the rhythmic system in force here? To this question the author of our notation unfortunately abstains from answering. In this matter one is equally tempted to accuse Cecil Sharp when he sets out to affirm that $5/4$ and $7/4$ predominate in English song, but then interrupts the regular repetition of a $5/4$ by a $3/4$, of a $7/4$ by a $9/4$. Is there no strict periodicity there, and so of measure? What are we dealing with then? Perhaps with special rhythmic principles that our folklorist spares himself the trouble of considering attentively? I have been able to show that putting together two crochets and a quaver rest Bartók declared that he had not been able to penetrate the mechanism of a curious rhythm that only used shorts and longs (quavers and crochets): the rest, in this case erroneously counted, merely represented a casual breath, added to a group of two longs ($2/4$). A revealing error, which betrays the insufficient understanding of a particular metre in which lies the key to the riddle. The minuteness necessary for the examination of acoustic facts is not an exclusively mechanical matter. Disc, film, oscillograph, potentiometer and whatever, demand the help of

intelligence, but an intelligence that does not obey routine and custom. The limits of the usefulness of apparatus are still waiting to be summarily determined.

For proof, let us take the problem, so much and so bitterly debated, of scales. More and more scholars tend to think that the measurement of the pitch of sounds demands such rigour that the graphic transcription from mechanical reproduction will inevitably oblige us to abandon musical writing on staves, even when enriched with diacritical signs, and to replace it with graphics readable only by electro-technicians. Would the probable fidelity of such a graphic system compensate for the great inconvenience of separating from a science, whose object remains, despite everything, an art, everything that for excellent reasons only accords to the apparatus the rôle of an auxiliary, precious of course, even indispensable, but auxiliary none the less? At the least the image thus obtained should be not only exact but complete. Could it be? 'One important thing,' replies Bartók, 'would of necessity escape it . . . that is the intonation, the timbre of folk song' (which accordingly confirms the absolute necessity of sound-recording). That being so, the mathematical measure of pitches would appear to be indicated only when their deviations themselves belong to a system, and in that case nothing is in the way of a minute verification, with the help of the graph or by any other means. However much they remain fortuitous and unstable, it would be wise to remember that cultured artists, singers or instrumentalists, frequently use a floating intonation for the sake of expressiveness, and it would be better to leave it to the sound-recording to clarify the imprecisions of writing: the one is the necessary complement of the other.

Thus, if we often expect more from the machine than it can give us, on the other hand it happens that we pass too lightly over the inestimable services that only it can give. To understand this better, it is enough to ask at what stage, at the present moment, is the study of that fundamental attribute of folk music we call 'variation'. The preceding quotations have already taught us: since the heroic age of our discipline, the magnificence of this phenomenon has been fully recognized, and the opinion dates from 1811 that 'the essential point by which folk poetry is distinguished from that spread by books is that, endowed with a perpetual life, it is ceaselessly transformed in infinite ways and, always different, it none the less rests always on the same function as if on a rock'.

For their part, musicians have not been slow to perceive that 'the melodic variants present, in their divergence, a certain regularity', and that 'the slight modifications that occur from couplet to couplet, mainly in the embellishment of certain notes, are not due to the fact that the singer is unsure of what he is doing, that is, does not know the melody well, but that this variability is precisely one of the most significant and most typical attributes of folk music: like a living being, it is endlessly modified, and that is why one can never say that a given song is exactly as it has been noted on

the spot, but only that it was so then, at the precise moment of notation and, of course, on condition that it has been noted correctly'. Since then, everything might lead us to believe that, after more than a century of work, the scope of the arbitrary aesthetic of the folk would have no mysteries for us or that, at least, strict and uniform norms would nowadays be applied to the observation of its shifts and their manifestations.

In fact, alas, there is perhaps no domain of folklore in which more equivocation and incoherence is perpetuated. From the single fact that the defenders of 'reception' and of 'production' part from pre-established conceptions, their investigations prove to be falsified, the former being reluctant to draw together the proofs of the action, to their mind harmful, that is exercised by the personal discretion ('Gutachten') of the untutored performer, the latter making an effort to demonstrate the legitimacy ('Gesetzmässigkeit') and logical consistency ('Folgerichtigkeit') of this action, deliberately ignoring the symptoms of degeneration. The one group sees only thoughtless corruptions, the other only deliberate and fruitful modifications. But – a remarkable detail – both groups believe in the existence of a perfect initial version from which all the variations derive. For those who hold to the 'receptionist' dogma built on the possible identification of the received object, it is an imperative postulate. Their opponents, when they do not speak of a 'perpetual future' (but future of what?) or of a 'new creation of what is created' (but of which?), refer, in their turn, to an abstract original form: we recall that Doncieux even did his utmost to reconstruct it; but posterity has not subscribed to his conclusions.

At first sight, and considering the narrowness of their horizon, the method of those who do not believe the folk are only capable of borrowing seems more severe and more attached to concrete affairs. So far they too have omitted to tell us if the 'analogic linking of images' (what images, precisely?) always follows the same path, and what that path is; if the deformations due to lapses of memory, to the need to abridge reminiscences, to lack of comprehension, to individual inventions (possibly) do not obey some definable automatism which we require to define. And do they not pay too much attention to the transformations of the object to the detriment of the subject which is the cause of those transformations?

In other respects the description of the artifices of variation itself has hardly varied or gained in precision ever since scholars have applied themselves to it. It used to be said that the person who found 'gracious and pleasing' a song brought by 'sailors, hawkers, workers, kept it, *accommodated it* to the patois of his district, *modified* a line . . .' or that 'one has *added* a couplet, another has *cut one out*'. Furthermore it has been said that the folk 'make use of the songs as they please, *transforming* them, *adapting* them to their own particular level of comprehension', that often they '*introduce* foreign elements, *vary* the expression, even *add* couplets'. Nowadays it is said that 'elementary *themes* are exchanged, borrowed, *combined*, that

supplementary lines and individual *additions* go hand in hand with pruning and cutting'. Very well; let us agree that all this is quite pertinent. Is this to say that, for all that, nothing essential has been elucidated? Once we know in a detailed manner (and we are far from that) how the folk set about deteriorating known and inferior models, have we learnt anything else than the absolute vanity of folklore?

But if by chance 'positive constructive forces' were at work in variation, should we be permitted to dodge our obligation to follow the manifestations attentively, to measure their intensity, to determine their centre and circumscribe their field of action? Is a variant collected in a certain place from a certain informant worth only that much? Do the fantasies of an isolated individual pass into the usage of others, and, if so, of whom? And do they adopt it entire or do they choose, and what are the reasons for their choice? Do all the performers vary as much as each other and in the same fashion? Are there personalities who set the tone for their fellows, and if so, wherein lies their prestige? Are the variants or the ways of varying confined to a single region, to a single village, and within this village to certain social groups (old or young, men or women) in which case we are faced with a collective artistic activity? Are there limits to the right of intervention of the performer, and what are they? And that is only the rough sketch of a questionnaire.

The same problems arise (and in the same terms) with the music but so far all that has been done is to draw attention to a few of them. Generally the most summary indications formulated in very vague terms such as 'proliferation of ornaments' or 'exchange of little motifs of a few notes' have taken the place of any coherent account. Only in very recent times have people applied themselves here and there to a particular aspect. By way of a curiosity, let us recall that for Armenia the late P. Komitas, using a great many examples, has some while ago drawn up, catalogue-fashion, the five kinds of variations practised there, according to him:

- 1 *Variation of dimension*, compromising three sub-groups: long and short, complete and incomplete, simple and compound;
- 2 *of measure*, comprising two sub-groups: simple and compound (the evens becoming odds and vice versa; the compound becoming simple and vice versa);
- 3 *of diapason* (the accentuated sound tending towards higher pitch);
- 4 *of melody* (tones and semitones changing position);
- 5 *of ornament* (allowing numerous modifications).

Amplification or reduction of phrases, changes of rhythm, decoration, alternation of modes: so many artifices for ever familiar with learned music, but whose manner and use we have been slow to understand in folk music.

That is where mechanical recording shows its full value. 'It is necessary to record at least two strophes,' Bartók advises, 'more if they are decorated or if they offer some remarkable peculiarity.' Moreover, one should 'record the

same melody sung by another singer or group of singers; renew the recording a few days later with the same singer (or group), to ascertain if the rhythm or the height of the intonation have changed and to what extent; record this same melody using singers of different ages; repeat the experience after a longer time (for instance fifteen or twenty years), using the same performers and also performers of younger generations'. The aim of each of these operations may be easily guessed.

In the absence of any unchallengeable text we have to admit that we never collect more than variants and that in the singers' minds lives latently an ideal archetype of which they offer ephemeral incarnations. It is our concern to recover the essential properties of this archetype which would not be one if it were permissible to disguise all the elements simultaneously. Consequently one has to presume that the pillars of its framework are not touched by improvisation while it is given free rein wherever it alters none of the features that make the abstract model recognizable. Comparison of the variants automatically detaches the resistant or ductile parts of the melody ('Hartteile' and 'Weichteile', as Schneider aptly puts it). At the same time the comparison of different performances of the same song brings out the amplitude of the individual interference, from one subject to another, from one human category to another, from one milieu to another, from one epoch to another, from one state of mind or circumstance to another, and finally – a question at once artistic and of cardinal psychological import – from one musical type to another.

All this clearly requires going to considerable trouble in observing people and occasions, making lengthy recordings so as to be able to read the decisive details that the two strophes demanded by Bartók would doubtless not reveal, transcribing these recordings with meticulous care and then to submitting them to, as it were, a microscopic examination. For my part I have twice attempted such experiments, on funeral laments, actually in slightly different conditions: the first time, the object was a monograph about a single melody on the edge of a single village; the second, the precise knowledge of closely related melodic types used in a little province, remote, homogeneous and closed.

Here and there, the enterprise yielded unexpected findings. First, it was apparent that in the village in question, variation – apart from a brief linking formula – was limited to the more or less regular alternation of constant variants of the constituent parts of the period, the individual contribution being limited to the various dispositions of these parts – an obligatory mobility, however, according to the rules of local aesthetics, since the illiterate keeners unanimously chided a young girl who repeated the same combination over and again. And as this girl knew how to read and write and had been around quite a lot, it was reasonable to deduce that school education and the distance from rural traditions had set the faculty of variations beyond her reach. Confirmed by direct observation, the detailed

transcriptions of our recordings in which the strophe was repeated at least ten times showed moreover that whatever the situation and whatever their emotion, our singers strictly repeated the form and movement of the song.

The second investigation was quite a different matter, where the freedom of the lamenting women had no bounds except an invariable compass and manifestly unchangeable cadence notes, but for the rest it proceeded as far as upsetting the structure to the extent that a very simple period made up of two parts, instead of being regularly repeated (AB – AB – AB . . .) presented in the living reality of the song (which only the recording machine is able to capture) the unexpected succession of B – AB – B – B – AB – B – B – B – B – AB – B – AB – B – B – AB – B – B – AB, thus taking on the appearance of an improvised melopoeia without definite architecture (see the notation below, in which, for greater clarity, the notes that are repeated in the image of the model have not been written).

Valuable discoveries, surely, and acquired with difficulty, but how fragmentary still! Why, one might ask, should one find this respectful sobriety here, this free hand there? Should we take the rigidity of convention for the first symptom of an ossification presaging the ruin, more or less slow in falling due, of a kind of song still living but doomed to perish? And should one imagine that the lament is closer to disappearance where its present performance tolerates the least personal invention? To be bold enough to answer this, one would have to verify, by means of notations as detailed as numerous, if the same sobriety of delivery applies to other categories, such as the general lyrical song. Affirmative or negative, the answer offers two opposed judgements, that is, either that this sobriety is to be considered a prominent feature of the character of our people, or that the spare style of their laments comes from a mystical respect for the rite. Finally we have to determine if the inspired irregularity that we have hitherto taken as a sign of the vigour of the genre does not indicate an exuberant temperament or, more simply, the influence of a category of songs of absolutely asymmetric structure, presuming that such songs are known in this territory? The mysteries are many, and we certainly will not solve them by constructing in seclusion vast theories that are uncontrollable or which break down when control is applied.

Similarly we have every reason to doubt that any useful findings will ever be assembled concerning the birth of folk melody, without any communion with its authentic bearers. Foreseeably, ‘armchair’ hypothesis will bring us more enlightenment about creation than about variation. To reject a supposition because it is improbable or to adopt it because it is exciting involves many risks. Should one deny that the folk create because in our particular surroundings they seem sterile, and cannot one imagine that they may be fertile elsewhere? Or should one declare that they are so because a mystical veneration leads one to believe in a national soul endowed with the power of expressing itself melodiously? Would it not be better to be wary of

J=112

A musical score for a traditional Vietnamese song. The music is written in G major with a tempo of J=112. The lyrics are provided in both Vietnamese and English. The score consists of two staves, each with a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp. The lyrics are as follows:

Tu - kă - té ma - ma, Mă - ri,
Tu - kă - té ma - ma pe ti - nă -
n Pe dé tē - té la - tu - ri - le, -
n Kă al - tu mu sti - măk bi - né.
n Tu - kă - té ma - ma, mi - ria - să.
n Kă pga - te kă - si - măk bi - né.
n Tu - kă - vă ma - ma pe tri, -
n Rău m - az pu - tu' čę - lu - ńi.
kă Tu, Nu - tu - kă, dg - a - vu si,
Ma - mi nu ă - o vu' tră - bu - ńi
Al - tu găz - du - ńă, Nu - tu - kă,
n Da e - se m - an su - pă - ra - ty,
Sin - gu - ru - ńă m - am a - fla - ty.
Tu - kă - té ma - ma, Nu - tu - kă, Tu Nu - tu - kă si Mă - ri,
n Rău m - az pu - tu' čę - lu - ńi.
Nu m - az če - lu - ńi dur - min - ńy,
Če - la - voi stind si - ko - tìn - du.
n Tu - kă - vă ma - ma pe tri,
n Rău m - az pu - tu' če - lu - ńi.
n Tu - kă - té ma - ma, Mă - ri,
Sie - zdru - mu - tu a - u - rit,
n Su - flé - ńă - lu ho - dí - nit.
n Tu - kă - vă ma - ma, al - - gín.

the testimony of so many sincere observers who certify that in Bulgaria and elsewhere, day after day, new songs emerge?

And as for knowing how that can happen, should one reject all curiosity by adopting as an article of faith that a veil of mystery is spread over all that, in which it is important to believe; or should one feel bound, by the obligation of one's calling, to study it further at the cost of patience and zeal?

A young mountaineer from the north of Moldavia returns from military service to his village which he had never previously left. He brings back some lyrical novelties including a 'song of the frontier guards', the outfit in which he served. During a close interrogation he tells how one evening, bored, he and several of his comrades, grouped round the fire, decided to sing about their life as soldiers. 'Each of us,' says our man, 'made up a line in turn', but already he could not recall his own contribution. Eventually it was necessary to set this rhyme to a melody. Each collaborator proposed one and by common agreement the company decided on the one that seemed most modern, as being the most fitting to the subject in hand. Are we to take the fruit of these combined efforts for 'folk'? It is hardly so in its poetic matter: our soldiers merely put into verse the duties of their unit:

... when the contraband arrives
the frontier guard arrests him,
arrests him, takes him,
and brings him to the guardroom.

But the technique of the verse obeys traditional rules and there is nothing scholarly about the tune. The author? Unidentifiable. The man we questioned claimed only partial paternity and he was incapable of evaluating even that. As with the others, his paternity stopped at the music, made in advance.

One fine day a wedding procession on sleighs is crossing a frozen river. The ice breaks and everyone is drowned. Immediately, a song commemorates the accident and spreads rapidly. Folk? Without doubt. It even finishes with the lament that the mother sang on the river bank:

O my daughter, your lovely slippers,
the frogs will lay their eggs in them.

An enquiry seeks to establish the origin of this complaint, at the very spot 'where the bride was drowned'. But two years have passed, it is already too late. Everyone claims to have contributed or points to imaginary authors who are not to be found.

During the nocturnal service of the Resurrection, a little wooden church takes fire and all who are in it perish in the flames; only the Bible is found intact. A kind of ballad appears, that is to be heard on all sides, but whose variants very quickly diverge. We go to the spot without delay, but the result is no better this time: again there are so many authors, peasants and occupational musicians, that research has to be abandoned.

Better than that: in 1938 a fire devastated half a village. The King visits the victims and distributes aid. Immediately a new ballad perpetuates these events, but this time two people alone dispute the merit of its invention: an old shepherd and a young peasant girl, a good singer. Their answers are formal: 'It was I who at such and such a moment in such and such circumstances.' But the folklorist, at first triumphant, has to come down a peg: if the two creators accuse each other of lying in secrecy, they remain obstinately mute when confronted with each other. Moreover, the young girl eventually avows that she has solicited the help of several comrades; their testimonies are so vague that at the end of it all the mystery remains complete.

During the 1914–18 war Romanians were included in the Austro-Hungarian army. Among them, the majority carried a notebook in which they confided their thoughts and recounted their adventures. Elsewhere, I have given a critical edition of one of these texts. Examined simply in relation to the content and the versification procedures and compared with a great number of similar manuscripts, it yielded the following information: a good deal of the lyrical passages were merely textual quotation of ancestral themes, applied to the state of mind of the writer, or little military poems inherited from previous campaigns (1866, 1881), but long since crystallized and passed into everyday circulation; the construction departed hardly at all from folk usage, enough however to show the school education of the poet; like our frontier guards, the author had versified newspaper articles and recounted various episodes of his life at the front or in captivity: it was a purely personal production but, by and large, similar in intent to a learned creation; however one had to separate some brief fragments, particularly those concerning the Carpathians, a place of suffering for countless combatants.

These fragments, entirely original and previously unknown in folk poetry, presented this strange feature that they were also to be found, infinitely varied, among many other songmakers, created at the same time and at great distances from each other, sometimes in prison camps in remote countries. Generally, their form was hesitant and gave a strong impression of a creation *in statu nascendi*: on all the evidence one was in the immediate proximity of the very sources of this creation, but it remained diffused and defied every effort at localization.

Altogether, a negative balance-sheet (and P. Komitas succeeded no better), but one which, in weakening certain *a priori* judgements, discourages a reckless dash towards daring syntheses, and which points, one might say, towards the hope of eventually coming on the play of very great forces, by the scrupulous observation of tiny detail.

The lack or weakness of information likewise dissuades us from projects that are too vast. Against the rare countries that have been broadly researched, how many blanks there are in the folklore atlas! Even in Europe,

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if the *terrae incognitae* are getting fewer and fewer, how limited is our understanding of so many countries who have so far undertaken no more than hasty soundings in a possibly rich terrain. The great discoveries that every methodical exploration has not failed to make, even where we had expected no surprises, prove that we have still to make up for great delays and to repair great neglects. Certainly, nearly everywhere we could have done more and better. At least, the knowledge of what has been done commands attention, and if it is unfortunately true that it comes up against a multitude of languages and the isolation of each scholar in his limited field, on the other hand how are we to judge the joy of that scholar who, faced with a typical case of actualization, believes he is at last present at the birth of a folkloric work for the simple reason that the collections of his forerunners in which this work appears prominently are 'perfectly unknown' to him? Nor can one justify the impatience of those who, in order to reach a general view more quickly, pretend to ignore the gaps in our present knowledge or deliberately set them aside.

With that total sincerity that has given so much weight to his remarks, Bartók – whom one can never quote too much in these matters – has clearly indicated what errors one risks by such procedures. 'In 1912,' he tells us, 'I discovered among the Romanians of Maramureş a particular kind of melody of Oriental colouring, abundantly ornamented and in a certain fashion improvised.' (Let us complete the information: finding no trace of it elsewhere in Transylvania he had the opinion that it was a borrowing from the Ukrainians.) 'In 1913,' Bartók continued, 'in a Saharan village in Central Algeria, I encountered an analogous style and though their resemblance had immediately struck me I dare not see there more than a chance coincidence. How could one imagine that between two phenomena observed more than 2,000 kilometres apart a relation of cause and effect was possible? Only later, as my studies progressed, it appeared to me that the melodic type in question existed equally in the Ukraine, in Irak, in Persia and in ancient Romania. It was clear that the idea of mere coincidence would have to be abandoned: indisputably of Persian–Arabic origin, this type has penetrated as far as the Central Ukraine, following an itinerary that is still obscure (in fact, we do not know if the same melody exists or has existed among the Osmanli Turks or the Bulgarians).' Today, it is proved that they do exist there.⁴

Elsewhere, Bartók has felt constrained to demolish with his own hands one of the scientific edifices considered the most solid. Persuaded that the pentatonic immigrated from Asia with the Magyars, he maintained in the face of countless and irascible contradicts that certain Romanian melodies derived from old Hungarian ones. A late visit to the Bucharest archives led him courageously to retract his statement. From many attractive theoretical

⁴ This same melody has since been traced as far as Cambodia and Western China. (Ed.)

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constructions, there only remained a doubt and a regret: 'In musical folklore, how many questions still await their answer!'

The time has not yet come when, hiding the fragility of our knowledge behind a tough terminology, we may attribute such and such a musical element with authority to a certain race, a certain 'culture circle', or a certain climate, or categorically localize here and there an 'eckiges Pendelmanos' (I forebear to translate) or a 'harmonikale Zielstrebigkeit' or an 'agogisch freischwebende Rhythmik' or an 'unproblematische Inbesitznahme des Tonraumes' or a 'freischweifendes glockenhaftes Gepräge' or a 'federnde Elastizität mit etwas leichtem, saloppem Vortrag'. In the same way nothing authorizes us to decree, once and for all, that this or that is 'hirtenkulturlich' or 'typisch skaldisch, vorgregorianisch, nordisch' or 'arktisch, altamerikanisch, nordeurasisch'.

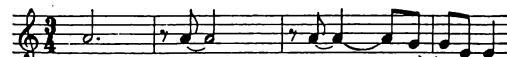
However, in this half-light penetrated by rare gleams, from which our science finds it so hard to emerge, the folklorists do not bear the whole responsibility. Fairness demands that what they have done demands respect even if it is only a matter of a single but powerful argument: the more the mass of documents accumulates, the more we are struck and baffled by the virtual ubiquity of certain 'formulas', of certain constant combinations of a small number of notes. Suddenly we have seen this ubiquity of a few melodic or rhythmic commonplaces unsettling the premature definitions of national style. But little as we are inclined to renounce the division of the globe into *Stylprovinzen* and *Stylkreise*, we cannot fail to notice that there are no definable limits to the diffusion of such 'simple musical bodies'. The material of a family of Gregorian chants:



is found among the Eskimos:



in British Columbia:



in Northern California:



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Central European children willingly keep to the same restricted melodic space:



as the aborigines of Hawaii:



or the Indians:



And the area of diffusion of several instruments (drum, jews' harp, panpipes), just as that of certain vocal techniques (guttural, nasal, head voice, falsetto emission), likewise covers immense stretches of territory. Have we not been able to recover, in the depth of the equatorial forest, a Tyrolean sound of the first water? These stereotyped and stateless locutions and elocutions, issued from elementary data of physics, seem to be the first step along a fatal road and like the first acoustic conquests. Being the basis of materially richer systems which follow, they remain perceptible until the day when the infiltrations of learned art submerge them. In opposition to this, they have no age, or at least they have only a relative age. Was it really Monteverdi who 'right at the start' of 1600 'discovered' the perfect cadence? Unimportant. The artless historian is right to deduce from this date, supposed to be exact, the absolute maxima of the age of songs in which the perfect cadence appears. But if, in the seventeenth century or in our own time, a 'new' tune is improvised to carry some topical verses, putting end to end some of those commonplace vocables, does the absolute novelty of the song that was born make us forget the great antiquity of some of its musical components?

Now, it happens that everywhere those vocables abound, particularly in the music attached to one of those complexes of collective practice or consecrated gestures commonly called 'rites' or 'customs'. The importance of the ritual repertoires in the life of so-called primitives, in Europe and elsewhere, and their richness have been emphasized so often that this is no place to return to the matter. Essential work, decisive acts in human life, important moments in the calendar not only 'cause the rhythm to gush forth and the melody to soar' but cannot be accomplished without them. From the sounds and the prescribed words, prodigious material effects are expected and it is believed that they are endowed with supernatural powers from which benefits are anticipated. Art does not rule as master there, nor is beauty the only aim. Its rôle is to serve.

The elementary physical data have, in fact, as a corollary (and as a principle) the elementary psychic data, likewise to a large extent universal, such as man's needs and terrors. The angry dead are dangerous everywhere: they must be appeased by gifts and songs, frightened off by noises, driven away by complicated artifices. Everywhere successful hunting, abundant harvests are desired and music will help them to be so. There are times when the occasions for the song are proscribed, lullabies are not sung save to put babies to sleep, harvest songs only sung while harvesting, funeral songs only at burials.

That is not the way of the civilized Westerner. To hear a musical work he goes, at a time that only the convenience of the timetable has made him choose, to a place specially appointed for such usage. Contact between the work and himself is established by means of an intermediary, a professional interpreter of a score that a single author, and the most individual possible, has fixed in a *ne varietur* form. The listener expects only a relaxation of the mind, an aesthetic joy. If, in a rather figurative sense it seems 'indispensable', it remains none the less 'useless' in a literal sense. There we have a positive criterion between the folk and the learned, namely the *absence of gratuity* of the former, its social function.

Arguing *a contrario* some would make of this function a reason for excluding all musics submitted to rites or bound to ceremonies of the visual field of folklore, understood as a 'science' of folk song ('Volksliedkunde'), first because they can establish no relation between the standard European rural society and the populations living under the empire of magic; and then because this kind of music has neither the character of 'song proper' nor the *arioso* style that characterizes it, in a way that in applying ourself to its study we divert our science from its only object, with which rite and magic have nothing to do. It would be hard to imagine a feebler argument, and better made to demonstrate the impossibility of limiting to a special case (the European) the observation of a general phenomenon.

In the first place, its weakness breaks up against the failure of the attempts at definition of the 'character of song', a failure that is total to the extent that in the last instance it calls on our sentiment which we are assured will distinctly perceive ("empfindet deutlich") the nuances and discern what this mysterious character possesses and what it lacks. Moreover, this Europe that alone shelters songs of *arioso* style has singularly vague frontiers. Danckert includes Russia, Bulgaria and Iceland but cuts off Greece whose melodies have been completely deformed ('überformt') by Arabo-Islamic culture. However, Moorish influence is felt more strongly still in Spain; and does that deprive it of songs of the *arioso* type, presumed to be European? Finally, would one seriously deny that the vestiges of a primitive civilization are still visible on all sides in Europe, even in the West? In Switzerland the racket made to intimidate the unfettered demons of winter still sounds to the rhythmical magic of the drums; semblances of rape still persist in marriage

customs; the malevolent spirits of sterility and drought are still burnt or drowned; the dead are still lamented in Ireland, and in Italy, perhaps in France. There is no difference in kind between Russian New Year luck-wish songs and the Romand *bouans* or the French *guillonné*. Though this is merely débris of a past gone for ever, though the majority of the ‘defensive or offensive manoeuvres’ in which man calls sound to his aid have lost their first meaning, these unchallengeable witnesses attest no less to the reality of a social life that analysis and comparison may reconstruct and that reveals itself identical in essence to those which similar conditions have given rise to elsewhere.

Moreover there is one component of society, at least, in which the intention of the ancestral gesture has not been forgotten, that is the world of children. No doubt Western children no longer know the all-powerful words that those in the East recite to call on the chimney smoke to go straight into the sky, to prevent dogs from biting, to stop the summer rain, to ask favours of the new moon, to divide the colours of the rainbow, to drive out of the ear the water that has got in while bathing or to summon the slipper hidden under the bed. But they still have a little store of incantations to make the ladybird fly, to force the snail to show its horns, to dry the sap out of the wood from which they are making a flute, to cure sprains and burns, or to make them beautiful. Certainly it is easy to make fun of those obsessed people who see everywhere nothing but survivals of dead paganism. But we can suggest two texts for the ironists to meditate on, which perhaps might make them reflect. The first is from the ninth century: it is known by the name of *Wiener Wurmsegen* (exorcism against worms):

Out of that, worm with your nine little worms, out of the marrow, pass through **the**
bones, pass into this arrow. Amen.

The other was written from the dictation of a child around 1930 in the Saône valley and carries the title: ‘To drive sickness from the body’:

Vein, be easy, if you are in the marrow, pass into the bone; if you are in the bone, pass into the flesh; if you are in the flesh, pass into the skin; if you are in the skin, pass into the air. .

Finally, it is a mistake to think that there is no link between the song proper and the occasional and utilitarian repertory of primitive civilizations. Though little by little it has become an object of diversion, it too had originally a practical destination: one expects from the ‘unballasting’ power of song an appeasement of moral suffering, the cure of maladies of the soul. East European folk poetry is as explicit as possible:

If there were no songs in the villages
One would see the women run away
And the girls go mad.

From which comes the advice of a mother to her daughter:

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Learn these songs well,
For you do not know what tomorrow may bring

and this avowal from a singer:

I don't sing because I don't know how to sing
But because my heart is troubled.

That is why the maker of songs deserves the benediction: 'May his face be like flowers and his glance like the dawn.'

Is music only folk music, in the strict sense of the word, if it is closely associated with the material life of men, deprived of autonomy, dependent, but endowed with supernatural powers? By virtue of being capable of acting on the primary conditions of life it is everyone's affair, collective property, whose integrity and efficiency it is important to preserve. At all stages of its evolution, faith in its power will be perpetuated among the folk in the form of an obstinate conservatism not only in the domain of tradition but also in its borrowings from town culture.

The substance of this music – melody, rhythm, sonority – is 'natural', that is, an empirical acquisition and not the fruit of scientific speculations. In origin, it only consists, visibly, in a restricted play of possibilities, too few for their varied associations to be neatly differentiated or for a plan to be drawn up: that is why, at this stage, coincidences and identities are so frequent, like an architecture reduced to repetition (whose principle will survive, however, in the strophe). These 'roots' have to multiply before a selection becomes possible and various blends and adjustments give birth to distinct forms and styles. In the weft of these finely shaded languages we find the constant originals but often disguised by the added material (at least as characteristic, in von Hornbostel's view, as the matter itself).

There are good reasons for believing that the regional 'dialects', particularly when they follow others, more ancient, are temporary and mark an epoch of social history. In any case, each of them only ever represent the stabilization of a particular combination – and often a particularly ingenious one – of primitive melodic and rhythmic elements.

The creative gift of the 'unconscious collective' shows itself in the sorting-out of these elements: Cecil Sharp pertinently remarks that it is a matter of common choice not of common creation. None the less individual, we would add, since in the absence of a general consensus the creation would lose its function and disappear.

There, on the other hand, is the reason for its anonymity that is not explained only by ignorance of writing: there are learned musics that dispense with that. The folk do not feel the need because, practised by everyone, necessary to all, it is as present in their mind as the beliefs to which it is attached. These beliefs are not set out in any code: when they are, a religion is born and with it a learned music.

Moreover, to last in the memory, folk music has to use 'flexible schemes',

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but to remain an art 'for everyone' it must allow for the adaptation of these schemes, summary of necessity, to the infinity of individual temperaments: that is the variation that is annihilated by writing. Variation allows us to understand, on the other hand, the means by which folk music draws its great effects from relatively restricted means: their intense or even (I believe I have shown), to put it properly, systematic exploitation in which their richness resides.

It is from the assembly of these attributes that the notion of 'folk' is made up, a term which is justified as long as one or other of them at least remains in being. It is rare to find them all together just as a society owing nothing to industry and science is rare. In the best-preserved repertory that we could still study, some impurity or mixture is always present. The successive 'stabilizations' which we have mentioned have led to a kind of stratification, with styles superposing one upon the other.

At the boundaries of the dialectal domains, the dialects touch and are contaminated. Events known or unknown, migrations, military occupations have brought foreign forms of art that become implanted. Here and there they are seen to butt against an obstacle; for instance their drive has not been sufficient to carry them over a mountain range: perhaps history may tell us why; or one day folklore may illuminate history. Nearly everywhere, the fund of music that is offered to our observation is composite: to read the collections of Ukrainian songs, polyphonic, measured, regular, one would never suspect that they live side by side with a homophonic melapoeia, free and slow, doubtless born under other skies.

Finally a class of learned men survive, whose knowledge and ways separate them from the common herd, and this society within a society produces its art, subjected to a certain jurisdiction, and embellishes it with their prestige. It may happen that the uneducated mass see in it only a caste destined to lead and command them and they keep their distance from it. But it can also happen that the 'superiority' and power of letters excites their envy and that they try to arrive at it by imitation. They strive effectively if education is bestowed on them, as in modern Europe, by compulsory schooling.

The consequence will be that folk art will little by little assimilate the procedures of the other: by successive crystallizations styles are formed in which in a ceaselessly growing measure the new will be added to the old, which the preserving instinct of the folk will maintain for a while. This assimilation will show its features quicker and over vaster territories as the invading civilization becomes more expansive and relies on greater political power: the immense diffusion of Arabic music formerly, of our own nowadays, gives us eloquent examples. In the zone of contact between tradition and innovation 'national' hybrids are born, with more or less wide circulation of the type of Hungarian gypsy music or the music hall *españolada* (in which moreover the first crossing of autochthonous Iberian

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melody with that of the conquering Moors engendered a second, through the adoption of harmony), or Arabic café music, or jazz or similar varieties, semi-exotic, less widely diffused, in Madagascar, Tahiti or elsewhere.

It is the last stage before total ruin: just as rural society undergoes the inexorable levelling from above, the opposite pole to its original unity, its art will perish, stifled by the foreign bodies that insinuate themselves into it day by day. When this point is reached, Swiss, Czech, Swedish, Italian, Austrian dances are nourished by the same waste material of great music. And when a writer believes that the old non-literary songs in Germany are lost for ever ('Verklungen und verschollen') he is announcing to us (if we are to believe him) the end of all German folk music. What he takes for folk music preserves, he thinks, one of the fundamental properties: variation. But this variation is exercised on a model elaborated in detail, which it disfigures. It is *Zersingen* not variation.

Alas, it is an irreversible cycle that no yodelling instruction book will slow down but which more often than not the conscious agents of destruction, among which missionaries are distinguished, if one trusts those who have seen them at work, have speeded up. 'On the West coast of Greenland,' Leden reports, 'the missionaries have stamped out all dancing.' A song bewails the good times when the Eskimo 'was still goodnatured and could amuse himself in his own pagan way'.

But the old gods are dying, along with the childish spirit of those who worshipped them. Does their agony still seem to us too slow?

2 *Outline of a method of musical folklore*

It is with good reason that musical folklore is generally defined as a branch of musicology. However, it would be still better to say that it is another musicology: the works of several scholars have gradually made it a science whose object is precise and whose methods are outlined. It arose, at the same time as other special disciplines, from the wish to probe deeper into certain problems hitherto ignored or deemed to be secondary, and consequently to limit still more the scope of each field of investigation. But the increasing limitation of the domain explored brings with it a progressive complication of the means of exploration. The more limited our object, the more we find ourselves bound, in order to exhaust it, to consider, at the same time as the phenomena themselves, the conditions of these phenomena and their inter-relationship.

Now, each time our studies have as an aim a human fact or one tied to human reality, we are bound to conclude that the understanding of any particular aspect of life is only possible if we understand life itself in its entirety, and this is why the need for specialization and for dissociation has had as its paradoxical corollary an even more powerful wish for synthesis, to the extent that we have seen a new philosophy take shape on the model of antiquity, a new science of sciences that includes in its frame the totality of knowledge – sociology.

But the ‘society’ that this science deals with is simply human life in the widest meaning of the term, and sociology concerns itself with the study of this life, of all its conditions and all its manifestations. The sciences that aim at the knowledge of only one of these conditions or manifestations have plenty of trouble in choosing their methods: if they are too limited they deprive themselves of many means of learning; if they are too broad, lingering too long on the examination of eccentric problems, they risk annihilation by pure and simple reabsorption into sociology.

This is particularly the case with musical folklore, which constantly runs up against this dilemma. Its object being the product of a collectivity, a ‘social fact’ *par excellence*, the simple definition of this object makes us feel from the outset the threat of sociology. The job of musical folklore, it is said, is the study of folk music. What do we mean by that? At present folklorists generally agree to make ‘folk’ synonymous with ‘peasant’ and to say that their science is concerned only with music of peasant origin and use. However, other definitions would be possible. One could just as well have

meant by the term ‘folk music’ – as certain scholars, notably Germans, still do – all the melodies alive at a given moment in a given rural society. The data of our work would then be completely changed and folklore would no longer mean the study of peasant *music* but the study of peasant *musical life*, and we are squarely in sociology.

The analysis of musical forms, though still necessary, would become secondary and would retain only the importance of one means among others. In this case, organic processes such as the alteration of an archaic repertory by an urban or sub-urban infiltration (say, the opening of a bus service), the loss of dialectal character of a regional style through contact with the style of another region (of a mountain, say, as a consequence of forestry enterprise employing workers from afar), the birth in the milieu of the village of hybrid melodic types through the rapid assimilation of art music (say, as a consequence of an increase in the number of gramophones in the village or the purchase of a radio set by the local school) – all these would be more interesting, because more alive, to the man of science, than the sporadic preservation of ancient specimens. On the other hand, if we only work on the definition of authentic rural musical styles the examples we collect, analyse and classify – butterflies pinned exactly in their theoretical place in the scale of living creatures – would never disclose to us any secret of their life on earth beyond their material reality preserved for ever.

So much for the aim. Assuming it to be defined as the study of peasant music, we still have to choose our method, to say nothing of our technique, and the difficulties will continue to increase. Shall we limit our curiosity to strictly musical facts and only use musical criteria to understand them, not seeking the secret of the sounds beyond the sounds themselves and what we know of their laws and history? Or shall we rather try to become in turn psychologists, economists, historians, geographers, in short sociologists? For instance, shall we reckon to have completed our task when we have described an ancient musical style in detail, proved its antiquity and confirmed its persistence or decline? Or shall we rather apply ourselves to discovering why this style persists or decays, and whether that is an organic or an accidental fact, and consequently to defining exactly to what extent the style in question still satisfies the tastes of a society or begins to move away from it? But of course the poverty of a given festive repertory may be due to some economic reason. The use of certain musical elements (rhythms, scales) may have its origin in some past influence. The key to some surprising territorial divisions may be given us by tracing the land and sea routes, for instance in Romania the tracks of that curious transhumance of Transylvanian shepherds towards the ciscarpathian plains, tracks along which the songs moved with the sheep. Shall we follow to the end all these relations of cause and effect? Or shall we make a choice of the problems which present themselves on all sides, delimiting our own domain and tracing a frontier between our science and the others?

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No firm answer seems possible to these questions which in the end boil down to this: up to what exact point can folklore approach sociology without losing its personality? Only the time and place of our work and the material we have to study will decide; the answer is in the concrete, not in the abstract. Doubtless, when peasant melodies are preserved only in the memory of a few without any bearing on the life of the society, the musical information will suffice. On the other hand, where these melodies really live, are born, are transformed, die, and are intimately linked to the evolution of the community from which they have emerged, the musical reality will remain impenetrable without knowledge of the social reality. The study of a repertory (theoretical, be it understood) from which songs linked to occasions were entirely absent could be pursued from the solely musical viewpoint while another (also theoretical) comprising only music related to particular occasions would demand at least a description of those occasions.

When the archives of the Society of Romanian Composers were established at Bucharest in 1928 it was clear from the outset that their organizers were not going to be able to limit themselves to collecting and classifying musical facts, but that they would also need to illuminate these facts by a range of information and evidence and to fill out the acoustic documentation by another, whose nature and extent would have to be determined. This was peremptorily demanded by the nature of our folk music and the existing state of Romanian peasant society.

One can consider as particularly characteristic of the Romanian folk repertory its division into clearly defined genres of differing style and usage, whose performance is itself strictly regulated by the usage. Most of these genres are bound to a ritual or a specific occasion. Only one is 'autonomous', the lyrical song sung anywhere, at any time, for the sole pleasure of singing, something which is nicely reflected by the folk text which describes the suffering of a heart tormented by too many sorrows, and which ends with these words, perhaps the profoundest ever uttered about music: 'My good luck is that I can sing . . .' Without any doubt a science that works on material of this kind cannot afford to ignore the social phenomenon to which the musical phenomenon is indissolubly attached.

Perhaps the accessory information could only have embraced the facts immediately related to the music if archaic rural civilization lived on in its integrity, with its traditional ways of thought and its concrete manifestations, from one end of Romanian territory to the other. Unfortunately – or fortunately, which I need not decide here – our folklorists will not be working in a static world. To the extent that Western forms of life have penetrated Romanian society, the rural world has been involved in an evolution, rapid here, slow there, active everywhere. Two photographs in our archive provide an eloquent illustration. They were taken a few moments apart, at the wine harvest of 1930, in the district of Râmnic-Sărăt, seven kilometres from the town of the same name. They show us two peasant

girls, one aged eighteen, the other nineteen, one born in the hamlet where I photographed her, the other in a mountain village about thirty kilometres away. Pictorial documents show that the first looks exactly like a girl of her age a century ago: she is entirely dependent on a closed rural economy and on handicraft, and the only clothes she is wearing were made by herself or her family except for the head-scarf. The second, entirely dependent on mechanical industry and money exchange, wearing shoes, dressed in a skirt and blouse, has not one centimetre of material on her which has not come direct from the factory, and this time it is the head-scarf that betrays her rural origin.

So a new peasant generation has appeared and, far from simplifying our task, its arrival has on the contrary aggravated the difficulties. The fact is, it does not mark the end of all folk creation, at least musical creation, as one might expect. As in Hungary and perhaps in other countries of Eastern Europe too little explored, a modern style of folk music has been born in Romania. This style, in which the peasant collectivity's marvellous instinct for adaptation has merged all manner of elements into an unexpected synthesis, is today in full flower and daily produces more or less successful melodic specimens. At the point of junction between the old world without an alphabet and the new world of print and machines, we see in our rural society a process taking place whose spontaneity is astonishing: a twofold effort of integration and modern adaptation within the mould of tradition on the one hand, and on the other hand the imposition of the appearance of the modern world on this tradition. In the first case the peasant will cut his ancestral sandal from a worn-out tyre, in the second the schoolboy will come into town wearing a jacket cut in Western style, more or less, but made of material woven by his mother on the old domestic loom. Similar to the case of the shoe is that of the alphorn (*bucium*) made of zinc (formerly of wood and birch or Morello cherry bark), and similar to that of the jacket is that of the Italian guitar bereft of several strings to permit an accompaniment like that of the old *cobza* lute, now becoming rare.

The foregoing will have sufficiently clarified the conditions of folklore in the particular case of Romania. Its method is only sketched, but the archivist may not dictate the laws of the science. It is sufficient to have pointed the way. An archive is a depository of systematized materials, not an academy, and the quick glance just thrown on Romanian folk music and its environment has taught us which materials ought naturally to be assembled: the melodies and everything that will help us to understand their origin, their style, their life. Henceforth it will be above all a question of technique.

Whether it is a matter of collecting or of classifying the collected data, one unalterable principle must always direct our work: the exclusion, to the extreme limit of possibility, of every subjective element. True, the strict observance of this principle will cause many difficulties and unfortunately is

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bound to undergo certain amendments. Still, it will preserve us from the risk of rash interpretation and hasty conclusion.

Concern for objectivity imposes on us in the first place the mechanical recording of the melodies. Only the machine is objective beyond question, and only its reproduction is indubitable and complete. However well we write down a melody under the dictation of the performer something will always be lacking in our notation, whether it is the timbre of the voice or that peculiar coloration of the melos due to peasant vocal emission, to say nothing of instrumental timbres. Moreover, mechanical recording avoids tiring the performers and facilitates an extensive collection. Finally, it provides us with that means of control which no exact science can do without.

The machine used by folklorists is the phonograph; in our case particularly the Edison machine of 'Standard' type, twenty-five years old, it is true, but which still offers the greatest number of advantages, particularly by virtue of the fact that it is relatively lightweight and so can be used anywhere. As this phonograph is becoming increasingly rare, the archives of the Society of Romanian Composers, to avoid using the small German machines which lack resistance, has had a modern phonograph made in Budapest which is fitted with various improvements but is not so easy to handle.

The phonograph has its inconveniences: its sound is weak and its records – which are unique – are made on wax cylinders which are fragile and subject to deterioration, and hardly stand up to more than twenty to twenty-five playings. The recording of ensembles remains almost impossible. To preserve the particularly precious musical examples, our archives have in the past and continue to transfer certain cylinders onto disc (in Paris, by the Pathé firm, for instance) and also have electrical recordings made each time the modern equipment of a foreign recording company is brought to Bucharest. We should add that, being ambitious to amass as complete a documentation as possible of Romanian folk music, they have constantly added to their own repertory of discs and cylinders by exchanges with other archives or by the purchase of suitable commercial recordings. Exchange is possible because the archives possess one of the two existing machines for the duplication of cylinders by mechanical copying.

The infallible ear of the recording machine finds a trustworthy collaborator in the infallible eye of the photographic lens. This is where the auxiliary documentation of which we have been speaking begins. Iconographical in part, its prime task is to fix the background of the music, the musical occasion. Cut in wax or ebonite, the melody sung on a certain day in a certain place at the dressing of a certain bride will retain a throb of life if the face of this bride, the posture of the singers, the look of her surroundings remain perceptible to us. The sight of the ritual scenes of a burial will likewise lend a special expressive intensity to the recording of a funeral song and will make

its text more easily understood. The 'Song of the Fir-tree', for example, part of the funeral ritual of the village of Runc, Gorj district, Oltenia, will need to be accompanied, in the archives' files, by photographs taken of this fir-tree, in front of the dead person's house, in the church yard, on the road to the cemetery, on the grave.

The camera is particularly valuable to us for its precise information and control of our sources. Nothing is more important in folklore than exact knowledge of these sources in each particular case. The folk melody has a tangible reality in itself. It only really exists at the moment it is sung or played and only lives by the will of its performer and in the manner he wishes. Here, creation and performance are merged – it must be constantly repeated – in a manner that written or printed music entirely ignores, and every researcher has been struck by the liberties that the folk performer takes in the performance of a melody, which he treats as his own possession (which indeed, to a large extent, it is). Thus it is of extreme importance to know who this performer is, what he thinks of the music, if he has travelled, whether as a consequence he has or might have undergone any influences, might carry important melodies, and so on.

Anticipating a little, let us open one of the archives' filing cabinets and take out one of the documents (Fig. 1).

This is what we call an 'informant's file'. One finds: first, the name of the informant, then the name of the district and village where (in this case) she was born, followed by a series of detailed points of information: '42 years old, illiterate, was a servant in the villages of Pojorta (Făgărăş) and Voila (Făgărăş), has been to Câmpulung (Muşcel). Sang the melodies catalogued as notation nos. 9 and 11 (phonograms now missing)'. There follow some data even more precise: 'Very emotional nature. Weeps when singing and when hearing her song played back on the phonograph. Orphan since childhood, has lost her husband by whom she has three children. Says that "girls nowadays no longer sing sensible songs, but only those which refer to a boyfriend" and "I cry when I sing about my husband".'

All this forms a moral picture that the physical one, preserved by the photograph, does not at all contradict: that of a poor woman without education, belonging by her mentality and by her costume to a disappearing generation: an unfortunate woman endowed with a good voice, and who might herself say that her only fortune is that she can sing. In other words, an ideal informant, a probable repository of the archaic repertory of her region.

In other cases the informant's file may help to explain some anomaly or other. It will tell us, for instance, why certain melodies were written down from dictation: it happened that the informant obstinately refused to sing into the horn of the phonograph, fearing that her voice 'would not stop after her death'. Some informant's files will be quite extensive: that of the old shepherd whose photograph once appeared in *L'Illustration*, which in-



SAFTA DIONISIE RACU

Făgăraș (Drăguș)

42 a., analf. - a fost servită în Pojorta (Făgăraș), Voila (Făgăraș), a fost la Câmpulung (Mușcel)

A cântat : not. 9 (fgr.), not. 11 (fgr.)

Fire foarte emotivă. Plange

3. urm.

cântând și auzindu-și cântecele la fonograf. Orfană de mică, și-a pierdut bărbatul, rămanând cu trei copii. Zice că "fetele de azi nu mai cântă cantece așezate, cântă numai de badiu" - și : "Eu plang, cand mă cant după omul meu".

Drăguș , 21.7.29

Figure 1

cludes, besides the memories of a classic pastoral life and the account of ancestral migrations by the 'sheep roads', a number of details on the man's typical way of thinking, entirely dominated by the mystic love of the ewe, the holy animal that never lies down without tracing on the earth the sign of the cross.

The camera is sometimes inadequate when one has to capture a ceremony, always insufficient – in the absence of a practical dance-notation – when one has to capture the steps of a dance. It will be replaced by the movie camera, either in the form of film strips of laboratory study or as a normal film for straightforward illustration, such as the fragments we possess of people at a wedding in the village of Feleag, Odorhei district, Transylvania: the bridal couple, the young girl with the ritual chicken, the mother-in-law and the

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(ritual) dance of the bride. Only sound film, however, would satisfy all the requirements.

The mind of the folklorist himself must also work with the objectivity of the machine when he collects in the field the statements and observations which will make up the dossier from which we may draw our understanding of the life of the melodies. The elaboration of this musical biology (let us risk this discredited term) presupposes a system whose instrument, in practice, is the questionnaire. In a moment we shall consider a 'minimal' questionnaire used in normal expeditions. Very often this kind of interrogation has to be deepened and amplified so as to assemble data conforming to the principles stated above, as detailed as possible, on the one hand about the music itself – the object, as it were – and on the other hand concerning the rural musical world, its way of making, feeling, judging the music – let us call it the subject.

Generally, for gathering the material we use a team equipped with a phonograph, a cine-camera (of the Pathé-Baby type) and a certain number of printed forms, not forgetting the code used for the provisional classification of recorded melodies. Such a team is generally composed of two people: a musician and a philologist who is entrusted with the phonetic notation of the texts. Most of the time they travel over one region, chosen in an arbitrary manner in order to avoid all *a priori* criteria: once collected, the material itself will reveal the reality and will teach us the musical cartography.

Provincial correspondents working according to instructions from the Centre will also often be of service. Finally, fortuitous collections in the capital itself will provide us with many valuable specimens. A servant newly arrived from her village, a passing country musician, a young peasant become a policeman, one of those ambulating sellers of fruit and vegetables who abound in our streets: such are the sources of these chance discoveries.

In every case the acquisitions of an expedition should comprise recordings, photographs, films, and a provisional catalogue of the melodies recorded. In each cylinder we will find the so-called 'field' cards relating to the recordings on the cylinder: these are the questionnaires already mentioned (see Fig. 2). Shortly we shall see how these materials will be incorporated in the archives.

It will be possible to advance our investigations much further when we undertake the monographic study of a musical 'unit': a genre, a human group, or even a characteristic individual; for example when we stay four to six weeks or more in a village for the purpose of getting to know the musical life in full detail. A number of technical procedures, impossible in other circumstances, can be applied there and above all the investigation by means of 'informant type'. An informant may be typical from many points of view: he may seem to us the authorized performer of a certain musical genre, he may personify a trend of rural public taste, he may illustrate a rule, he may

SOCIETATEA COMPOZITORILOR ROMÂNI

Rc. 234

Fonoograma No.

Locul și data înregistrării: Runc (Gorj) 14.4.33

Titlul (sau primele cuvinte ale textului):

"Jocul păpusilor" cimpoi

Informator: Dumitru & Vulpe din Valea-Mare (Gorj)

Vârstă: 43 Meseria: —

Stie carte? nu A părăsit satul? câtă
 vreme? unde a fost? a fost la coasă în
 Hunedoara, la "Româialari". A făcut
 răboul. A fost cu oile împre. satului.
 Unde, când și de la cine a învățat cântecul?
Acasă, dela tatăl său, de mult.

Observații: inf. cântă J.P. la petreceri și
 porturi prieteni. Cred că J.P. îi aduce no-
rac. Păpușile moștenite dela tatăl său i-
au fost fizate, cele de acum b-a făcut el.
Cântă uneori la horă, în lipsa tarafului
din sat. I se plătește 8-10 lei un joc (căști).
gădă mult boz lei la o horă). Pozedă pămășat.
că nu toate jocurile le pot cânta din
cimpoi. Cântă și din fluer și ocarina. J.P.
ce că cine cântă din fluer roată cântă și
din cimpoi., A făcut "tingur cimpoiul" (în
montat fluerile la-a moștenirile). - S'a de-
serat măstrum. S'a fotografiat în cinematogr. J.P.
S'a descris J.P. (vezi fișă specială)

Figure 2

clearly represent an exception. The widow and the shepherd mentioned above are 'informant types', typical elements of preservation. They may be contrasted with a typical element of dissolution, a young vagabond who has a primary school certificate and a faultless memory, having left his village at the age of eighteen accompanied by a photographer, having later become a kind of salesman for homemade cloth from the neighbouring villages, then a cook in the cabaret 'A la Reine de la Nuit' in a Bucharest suburb, a soldier in Bessarabia, a day-labourer, shepherd, a cloth salesman again, a shepherd again, a servant of a landowner at the other end of the country, and finally

and until further notice a labourer in his home village. The individual's repertory naturally reflects his biography: it is comprised not only, as one would expect, of sundry verses learnt in the café-concerts on the outskirts of the capital, but also of songs of his childhood, including a ballad of the greatest historical and sociological interest. But above all one must regard as 'typical' the average people who happen to like to sing: a child aged ten, a boy and a girl between fifteen and marriageable age, a married couple (thirty to forty-five years old), an elderly man and woman (over fifty).

Another effective method of investigation consists of drawing up a sort of 'registry' of melodies: at the moment of recording one notates each melody in summary fashion and as the informants pass before the phonograph one will find out if they know it or not; if an informant systematically sings a variant form of it, one will simply take note of this form. In this way, 'frequency cards' will be made out which give us a means of reconstructing the complete repertory of a village, identifying its living parts and those that are dead or dying. A living melody is a melody often sung. This is the case of the melody which we read on the card reproduced in Figure 3, whose tempo – *allegro giusto* – and syllable count constitute the essential characteristics, immediately recognizable. This melody, recorded several times, is therefore found in the repertory of a great number of informants under twenty-five years old, some of which are cited here.

At the other extreme of the frequency list we find, for instance, the melody shown in Figure 4, characterized by its ornamental line and its free and slow rhythm – *lento rubato*. During an entire field investigation,¹ only one informant could sing it to us, and that informant, a middle-aged person (fifty-eight years old) of some importance, was not at all like the adolescent performers of the preceding melody. Though very important for the study of folk psychology, the statements of peasants are usually of little objective value and should never be taken literally unless incontrovertible facts confirm them. However, when this woman declares to us that the song is more than a hundred and fifty years old, the statistics invite us to pay attention to what she says. In effect, the figures prove that the first melody cited, which was known by many young people and was very popular in the village at the time of our enquiry, was very much alive among the present generation, while the other, unknown even to the older singers, is merely a survival from another time. Presuming that we note these same two facts repeatedly – on the one hand a great frequency of melodies sung *allegro giusto* and on the other a limited number of melodies sung *lento rubato* – we are entitled to deduce that the latter – probably old if their performers are mostly elderly – are disappearing from the social environment we are studying. The characteristics of the styles are thus shown by the simple comparison of the cards.

¹ Musical study of the village of Runc, district of Gorj, Oltenia, that lasted five weeks (summer 1930) and was completed by a new investigation of one week (spring 1931).



- Fgr. Rc. 7a text 23 Alex. Hotoboc, 16 a -
text 56 Polina Popescu, 19 a.
text 62 { Mar. Cămin, 17 a.
 { Mar. Bianchi, 17 a.
 { Domnica Loghe, 17 a.
 { Meana Iacobescu, 21 a
 { Ana Serban, 23 a.
text 87 { Rosa Branchi, 19 a
 { Mariana Cuslea, 19 a
 { Dina Vălăreanu, 18 a.
 { Ioana Gh. Popescu, 23 a.
 { Vasile Neag, 26 a.
 { Gh. Cănavoianu, 19 a.
 { Maria Găman, 9 a.
 { Anica V. Lazar, 10 a.
 { Catalina V. Florica, 10 a.
 { Dina Procopie, 15 a.
 { Catalina Udrea, 15 a.
 { Ana Dobre, 15 a.
 { Elisabeta D. Popescu, 14 a.
 { Domnica I. Sărbu, 14 a.
 { Mariana Cuslea, 19 a.
 { David Sribăsoianu, 14 a.
 { Catalina Sribăsoianu, 15 a.
 { Anica Ciurcan, 18 a.

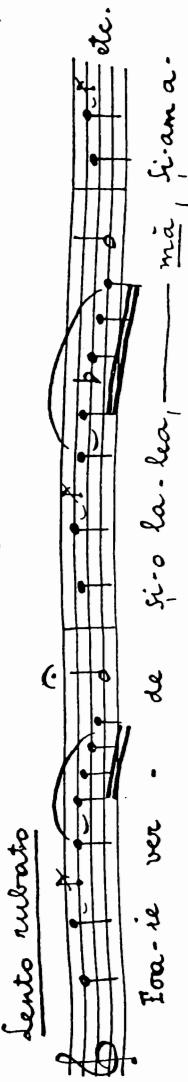
(‘Green leaf of three spinaches, the road here is dear to me.’)

Fgr. = recording on phonograph cylinder

Rc. = abbreviation of Runc, the name of the village

Figure 3

178.



Taa- ie ver - de si-o la- lea, — má, si-am a-

Figr. Rec. 100 a text 209 Eccl. D. Thuring, 58 a.

(‘Green leaf of a tulip . . .’)

Figure 4

SEZĂTOARE - la № 147

4·8·30 - 22·30 - 1·15

Runc

Inf: Mariaora Cămin, 17 a.
 Domnica Loghie, 17 a.
 Ana V. g. Serban, 23 a.
 Neana Iacobescu, 24 a.
 Maria Bianchi, 17 a
 g. Dedin, 22 a.

	2 ori	c. fgr. 25 a.
	2 ori	c. fgr. 11 c, 72 a
	1 dată	c. fgr. 42 c
	1 dată	c. fgr. 21 c
	1 dată	<u>Not.</u> (fișă 73)
	1 dată	c. fgr. 63 b
	1 dată	<u>Not.</u> (fișă 96)
	1 dată	<u>Not.</u> (fișă 91)
	1 dată	c. fgr. 76 c
	1 dată	c. fgr. 13 b

(Sezătoare = sewing bee; 1 dată = once; Not. = hand notation, not recorded;
 fișă = card number)

Bocet

♩ = 102

The musical score consists of two systems of music. The first system starts with a treble clef, a common time signature, and a key signature of one sharp. It contains six measures of music with lyrics in French and Spanish. The second system starts with a bass clef, a common time signature, and a key signature of one sharp. It contains five measures of music with lyrics in French and Spanish.

French lyrics:

- Les oiseaux dans la main drageoient l'os au rosiere.
- La main dans la main am vento, et le vento dans la main.
- Le teatro soñó que el mar fuese, y el mar fuese que el teatro.
- Le soleil se levó temprano, y el sol nació con el sol.
- Sí soñó el viento frío, y el frío soñó el viento frío.
- Da non fáerá tanto frío, y el frío no fáera tanto frío.
- Si te suena mi amor, mi amor suena en tu oreja.
- Cuando me das un beso, yo te devuelvo un beso.

Spanish lyrics:

- Los ojos de los pájaros en la mano draguean el hueso en la rosaleda.
- La mano en la mano tiene viento, y el viento en la mano.
- El teatro soñó que el mar naciera, y el mar naciera que el teatro.
- El sol nació temprano, y el sol nació con el sol.
- Sí soñó el viento frío, y el frío soñó el viento frío.
- Da non fáera tanto frío, y el frío no fáera tanto frío.
- Si te suena mi amor, mi amor suena en tu oreja.
- Cuando me das un beso, yo te devuelvo un beso.

Figure 6

OUTLINE OF A METHOD OF MUSICAL FOLKLORE

- 1st stanza: Dear grandfather-in-law, my very dear one,
our grandfather-in-law, our hardworking one
- 2nd stanza: I went away and came back
but you, what did you think?
- 3rd stanza: Hadn't you thought it better
to come to me, my grandfather-in-law?
- 4th stanza: I'll write a little letter,
a little letter with lovely words
- 5th stanza: to carry and deliver it to my dear husband,
dear grandfather-in-law, my very dear one.
- 6th stanza: And my husband will ask you
how are we getting on round here?
- 7th stanza: But we are getting on quite well,
but nobody is like my husband.
- 8th stanza: Dear grandfather-in-law, and my very dear one,
for, my grandfather-in-law, if I had known
I'd have taken you up to the mountain
- 9th stanza: and I would have taken you up to the mountain
and I'd have brought you back to the courtyard.
- 10th stanza: I'd have taken you up to the hill
and I'd have brought you home again.



Such cards can also be made on the spot, as it were, at wedding feasts and dances, or at those traditional sewing bees (in winter as well as summer in some regions) when women, young girls, men and youths meet to spin, tell tales and sing. Such a bee took place in house no. 147 in the village when we were working on 4 October 1930 and the folklorist has noted there (Fig. 5) all the melodies sung between 10.30 in the evening and 1.15 in the morning. By relating this to the recordings whose sequence of numbers has been added, it will be easy to ascertain, with the aid of this kind of document, the exact state of a repertory.

Our harvest once gathered, we will pass on to the second part of our task, which is to assemble the materials in order and to integrate them into a system. At the outset, a delicate task awaits us, namely the transcription of the recordings, to which one can never give too much attention. For the score to reproduce the nuances of rural bel canto – portamentos, appoggiaturas, imponderable passing notes and ornaments – calls for a sure hand, an experienced ear, and constant recourse to the metronome. We have thought it useful to give to all the notations, as far as possible, a form

OUTLINE OF A METHOD OF MUSICAL FOLKLORE

approaching that shown above in Figure 6 (the transcription of a funeral lament from Southern Transylvania, sung under the influence of strong emotion, as is shown, for example, by an inarticulate sound in the eighth line toward the middle).

Everyone knows that a folk melody is nearly always a short period that the performer repeats as often as necessary to arrive at the end of a text. But at each repeat folk interpretation makes the rhythm, the melodic line, even the architecture, undergo more or less perceptible changes that may be called variations. The study of these variations, hardly begun, may be the most difficult, and is certainly the most important in musical folklore: here, we are touching on the very sources of folk creation. In fact it seems probable – and certain findings have been witness to it – that the ‘variations’ due to some good singer or another sometimes become fixed in collective usage and so give birth to new melodic types by the transformation of old ones. Nothing is more natural: the elements of music being supposedly given by physics, the crystallization of a folk style implies the operation of collective preferences. Therefore, from the scientific viewpoint one must consider as an error the habit of recording the folk melodies only once or twice on the ground that they ‘repeat themselves’. To act properly it is always necessary to let the informant sing or play as long as he thinks necessary, as has been done with the recording of the funeral lament quoted above (Fig. 6). The melody – made up of three phrases – was sung ten times in all. It is written out in full on the first staff. At the repetitions, when the melodic line remains intact, only the text has been transcribed, in such a way that each syllable falls exactly under the note to which it corresponds; when it varies, the variations have been noted under the initial melodic formula; the rhythmic variations are noted, each in its place, only by the signs of duration. At a glance one may see the way in which the *Variationstrieb*, the instinct for variation, operates; the portions of the melody which it has shaped for preference (the black part of the line-block) and those which it avoids (the white spaces) are immediately visible.

It sometimes happens that folk performance, always more or less resembling improvisation, goes so far as to break the formal structure itself, as is shown by the notations of this Bessarabian song (Fig. 7) which the informant began on its second phrase, and of the funeral lament from Northern Moldavia (Fig. 8) to which on the contrary was added a phrase at the first repetition.

Once the melodies are transcribed it is a matter of drawing up a methodical catalogue and if possible a practical one. Here, our aim to remain always objective will encounter a serious obstacle. Every catalogue presupposes a classification, and every classification presupposes criteria. There is a great temptation to seek these criteria from musical analysis, but analysis necessarily implies a subjective viewpoint. After long perplexities we finally decided not to take any account of the style of the melodies but to adopt a

The image shows a handwritten musical score for two voices. The top staff is for soprano (S) and the bottom staff is for alto (A). The tempo is marked as $\text{♩} = \text{ca. } 120$. The music consists of two measures. The first measure has a 3/4 time signature and ends with a fermata. The second measure has a 2/4 time signature and ends with a greater than sign. The lyrics are written below the notes, alternating between French and Vietnamese. The French lyrics are: "Frère, Frère, veux-tu de pui de à nuc," and the Vietnamese lyrics are: "s'a-pai Frun-éá ver-de pui de nuc, - Frun-éá-ve · ux-de- pui de à nuc,". The second measure continues with: "Lung ài drie = mu'n - in cre = ie-men-cue, - s'a-pai lung ài lung ài, si bá=tut, - Lung ài, lung ài lung ài lung ài, si bá=tut". The lyrics continue in the third measure: "s'a-pai lung ài drie = mu'n - in cre = ie-men-cue, - s'a-pai lung ài lung ài, si bá=tut, - Lung ài, lung ài lung ài lung ài, si bá=tut". The final measure starts with: "s'a-pai lung ài drie = mu'n - in cre = ie-men-cue, - s'a-pai lung ài lung ài, si bá=tut, - Lung ài, lung ài lung ài lung ài, si bá=tut". The lyrics continue: "s'a-pai lung ài drie = mu'n - in cre = ie-men-cue, - s'a-pai lung ài lung ài, si bá=tut, - Lung ài, lung ài lung ài lung ài, si bá=tut". The final measure ends with: "de car cu boi, - a-lei si-i bá=tut' de ea-pas-noi - si-i bá=tut' de ea-pas-noi".

1st stanza: Green leaf of a walnut sapling

2nd stanza: The road to Cremenciu is long.
It is a long well-trodden one.

3rd stanza: Not trodden by ox-cart
but trodden by watch-men.

Figure 7

Bocet

A handwritten musical score for 'Bocet'. The score consists of two staves of music. The first staff begins with a tempo marking of 1.50 and a 6/8 time signature. The lyrics for the first stanza are: 'Dra. gu - ma . miu, un' te - du - ciu,' and 'Da tu - ni - tă - te nă - poi Că ră - mă re - un car cu boi -'. The second staff continues the melody and lyrics: 'Dra. gu ma: miu, un' te duce! In - a - poi - nici nu te nă -' and 'Si gră - di na cea cu pomii, Si gră - di - na cea cu pomii.' The music features various note heads, rests, and dynamic markings.

1st stanza: Mother's darling, where are you going?
You don't even look back.

2nd stanza: But why don't you look back?
For you left a cart with oxen
and the garden, the one with tree.

Figure 8

method of classification reproducing to some extent the musical reality itself: a twofold catalogue was prepared, or rather a twofold card index, assembling on the one hand all the melodies having the same geographic origin, on the other all those belonging to the same musical genre. The divisions of political geography, that is, the names of the departments in alphabetical order suffice for the regional classification and allow us to find readily the melodies of any region. However, here we come up against our first compromise. Does a melody from Moldavia sung by a Moldavian in Bucharest belong to the Moldavian repertory? Or at the moment of collecting are we to consider it part of the musical fund of Bucharest? In regarding it as Moldavian we would implicitly have analysed it (something which must be avoided). But in considering it as belonging to Bucharest, in the case of our example, we would be acting against the folk classification which should guide us in all cases. The compromise adopted consists in settling such difficulties by following the indications of the informants.

The nomenclature 'by genres' used by the catalogue was borrowed, according to the same principle, from the folk themselves. It has, however, had to be standardized, for popular terminology varies from province to province, if not from village to village. To give but one example, the asymmetric and monotonic melody described by Bartók in one of its variants (that of Maramureş) and commonly called 'doina' has another name precisely in the regions where it abounds: in Oltenia as well as in Maramureş – the evidence is plentiful and categoric – it is called a 'long song'. Therefore it has been necessary to use standardized terms whose precise meaning is indicated at the beginning of the catalogue. The card index of 'observations', about which we shall be speaking later, will restore the authentic terminology.

Once the melodies are grouped as has been described, subdivisions will be established in the regional catalogue according to the names of the villages (in alphabetical order), the genres (alphabetical order), the dates of recording (chronological order), and the age of the informants, beginning with the youngest. Within the groups made up of melodies belonging to the same genre, one will bring together the melodies that a title describing their popular usage, such as the dances or the ballads (of which the folk habitually designate the epic theme), and this will follow the alphabetical order of the titles. In this way, we will have reconstructed for each village in each district the repertory of each generation at the time of each investigation.

In the other catalogue, after classifying the genres in alphabetical order, we will continue to follow the alphabetical order of the titles, if the pieces to be classified have them, or, if not, of the names of the villages, and we will end as with the regional catalogue (age of informants, dates of recording). This procedure will allow us ready information on the geographic spread of each genre in each region within each generation and at the time of each

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investigation. Now all that remains is to systematize the documentation gathered.

We have seen that, in the case of an informant type, everything concerning the informant, repertory included, is set down on his personal file, but without the data relating to technique, terminology and the problem of creation. Thus it will not be mentioned on the informant's card that the girl F. D . . . of the village of J . . . , district of M . . . , according to her contemporaries 'alters all her songs' (a detail relative to folk creation). We enter on the catalogue cards only that which relates to individual melodies. Information concerning the general character, technique, terminology and creation is destined for another card index. The habit of a certain performer of only singing a certain song on such and such an occasion is an accidental detail only valid for this particular song: it will be recorded in the catalogue. On the other hand, the ritual attached to such and such an independent musical genre concerns a whole catalogue of pieces and must be described elsewhere. To understand these procedures better, let us take a concrete example: the 'field card' quoted earlier (Fig. 2).

Let us begin by summarizing the elements: provisional number Rc. 234 – otherwise the 234th recording made at Runc, Gorj district – the date of the recording, the title of the piece recorded ('The Dolls' Dance', played on the bagpipe), the informant's name, his age (forty-three years old), the degree of education (illiterate), travels (has harvested hay on the other side of the Carpathians in the neighbouring department of Hunedioara, has minded sheep in the neighbourhood of the village), origin of the melody (learnt from his father, long ago, at home). To this, we add the following information: the informant plays the 'Dolls' Dance' for his friends and in company. Believes that the 'Dolls' Dance' brings him luck. The dolls inherited from his father have been stolen; those he now uses were made by himself. Sometimes plays at the hora when the local 'band' is absent. He is paid three to ten lei per dance (earns at most sixty lei at each hora). Owns some land. Says that all the dances cannot be played on the bagpipe. Can play the shepherd flute and the ocarina. Says that anyone who knows how to play the flute can play the bagpipe. 'Made' his bagpipe himself (mounted the pieces inherited from his father on a new goatskin). The instrument has been sketched. The 'Dolls' Dance' has been photographed, filmed and described (see special cards). The informant's father was himself a bagpiper.

One begins by extracting information from this data relative to the person of the informant (D. D. V . . . , village of V. M . . . , district of G . . . , forty-three years old, illiterate, pupil of his father, himself a bagpiper, has been to such and such a place, believes that the D. D. brings him luck); this will be used, with the photograph of the informant, in making up the informant's card.

The conclusions remain to be drawn. First we discern a technical description: the instrumentalist's affirmation that to play the bagpipe it is

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BIBLIOTECA
 OUTLINE OF A METHOD OF MUSICAL FOLKLORE

<u>G O R J</u> <u>Valea Mare</u> <u>"JOCUL PAPUSILOR"</u> <u>Fgr.631</u> (C.Brăiloiu) - <u>Not.802</u> (C.Brăiloiu) Înreg.Runc(Gorj)14.4.31 - din cimpoi - Dumitru D.Vulpe,43 a.,analf. <u>Vezi fișele:inform.,R 101,T 134,T 135,T 136,T 137,</u> <u>fotogr. XVII-1,XVII-2,XVII-3,XVII-4,film SP 21</u> <u>Inf.a învățat J.P.dela tatăl său,demult.Îl joacă</u> <u>la petreceri și pentru prieteni</u>

Figure 9

enough to know how to play the shepherd flute. The particulars about the use of the bagpipe for dancing are related to the regional repertory, and the piper's earnings on these occasions, though apparently a purely economical matter, determine for us equally the state of this repertory, the very great difference between these earnings and those of a band (from twenty to thirty lei per dance) proving a marked preference on the part of the dancers for the latter and that the bagpipe is declining.² Thus, only two pieces of information remain, indissolubly linked to the melodic sample: that which is connected with the occasion (fortuitous) and that which is connected with the provenance (special case): thus they are entered on the catalogue cards, which are set out as one sees in Figure 9.

The other elements given on the field card will supply us with the material on the following auxiliary cards:

R 101 Distr. of Gorj (villages of V. M., Runc and surroundings). Inform. D. D. V., 43, illiterate.

In the villages cited the dance is sometimes performed 'to the bagpipe' when the minstrels are absent (etc.). (Followed by the amount of earnings of the one and the other.) These details were checked on the spot.

T 134 Inform. D. D. V . . . (etc.). Distr. of G . . . , village of V. M.

The inf. says that to play the bagpipes it is sufficient to know how to play the shepherd flute.

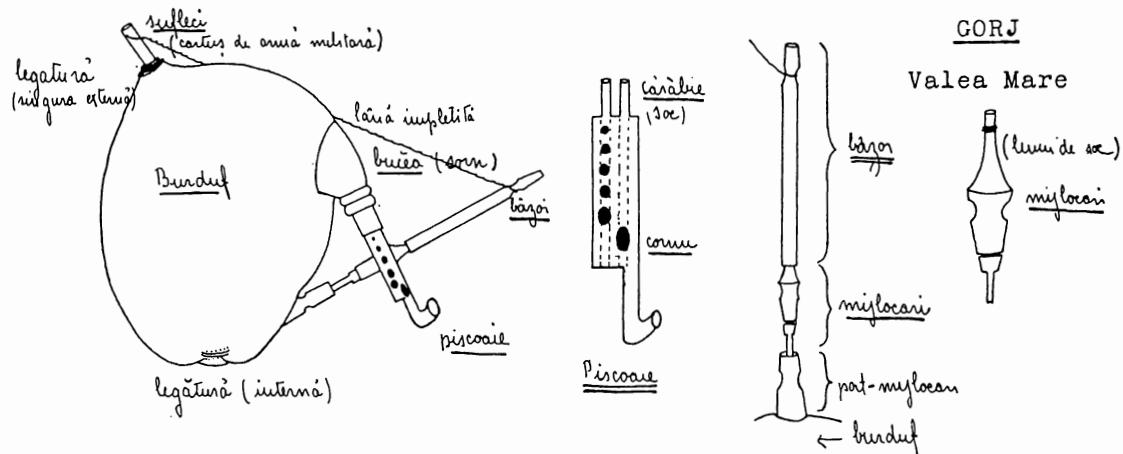
T 135 Inf. D. D. V . . . (etc.). Distr. of G . . . (etc.).

The inf. says that all the dances cannot be played on the bagpipe.

The card T 136 has a completely different aspect (Fig. 10).

² The 'bands' here are little orchestras generally called *tara*, comprised, in this region, of two violins, a three-stringed guitar and a double-bass with two strings. These ensembles are recent, the players are full-time professionals, gipsies.

CIMPOIUL lui Dumitru D.Vulpe, 43a., analf.



Inf.spune că a "făcut" singur cimpoiul său.De fapt a montat pe un burduf nou piesele moștenite dela tatăl său.
Bâzoial dă fundamentala Re, piscoaia quinta sup.a acesteia și o serie majoră începând cu octava bâzoialului.

Runc(Gorj) 14.4.31

I.Golopenția
C.Brăiloiu

Figure 10

OUTLINE OF A METHOD OF MUSICAL FOLKLORE

Finally, on card T 137 one will read:

The Dolls' Dance. Inf. D. D. V . . . (etc.). Distr. of G . . . (etc.). 'The Dolls' Dance' is a short drama played by two characters, a male and a female peasant: meeting, erotic scene, final dance. It can be continued *ad infinitum*, as the episodes repeat. The inf. sticks a knife into the wooden table. A thread is attached from the knife-handle to the forefinger of his left hand. The dolls are suspended from this thread on which they slide. The inf. makes them dance as he plays, by the movement of his finger. The dolls were made by him, as those which he inherited from his father were stolen.

Once the film and the photographs are classified the ordering of the material concerning the 'Dolls' Dance' is finished.

The letters preceding the serial numbers on the cards cited correspond to the divisions of the dossier of auxiliary information. Based on the characteristics of Romanian folk music and on experience gained in the field, we have established six such divisions, that being the number of problems considered most important: Repertory; Ritual, Occasions; Technique and Terminology; Aesthetic; Circulation; Creation. In other words one tries to answer the following questions: What does one sing? When and where does one sing? How does one sing? Why does one sing as one does? Where do the songs come from? How do the songs come into being?

We did not think it necessary to make a special category for historical documentation. The historical data collected in the village are nearly always quite unreliable³ and can always be related either to a special melody (and in that case they will be catalogued) or to the present or past repertory of a region. We have avoided absolutely and on principle all critical or analytical observations: again we repeat, the archivist's business is not to present conclusions but to assemble and co-ordinate the materials of future systems.

Before closing these documentary files, let us give an example from a card E (Aesthetic):

E 58 District of Gorj, village of Runc. Inf. Marie Arbagic, nine years old. Third grade of elementary school. August 1930.

The inf. laughs at the guttural sounds characteristic of the old-style melodies that her mother sings, sounds that she compares to the braying of a donkey. These ancient melodies seem to her 'ugly enough to make you run away'.

Finally, here is an R (Ritual) card:

R 45 Funeral lament. Obs. District of Făgărăş, village of Drăguş. 23.7.29

At the burial of Vasile Trâmbiţaş, laments were sung only on the day following his death (23.7.), namely: first, at dawn; second, intermittently during the morning; third, in the afternoon when the flowers are put on the coffin; fourth, at the arrival of the priest; fifth, when the coffin was lifted; sixth, on the road to the cemetery, without interruption except during the three prayers at the crossroads; seventh, at the cemetery.

³ The folklorist is often surprised to hear the peasants attribute a great age to some café-concert piece fashionable ten years ago, while an authentic folk song which appeared one or two years ago seems recent to them and in fact is so. This is because we are working on living musical material.

<p><i>Contecie din Tornator</i></p> <p>Dinugoi comtrecutu resecano' pela comprul de boz gaunt goat <i>Jandam'</i></p> <p>Cum alegau ca maximile rufului sunt crey uta- tări panel căs mănuști de rucum pistan <i>Trazați</i> un curmăstutu'. un băiatut bine cnestutu si om petre cutru 'a neapă de un lemnaseni n' sacepte 'ion lăc Lăcă spum panel gafuri' roa' mo pistal</p>	<p><i>Zi am să cureză în guindă jase de acum dim nu i-a ghindă to mormâni dură în satu cu dom cu multă sângur peisajul și om să vădăciu era la tindă cu dozinel Latamă zontă tatu cia vechile ochi, în focu cie mai perechiu nici Coper fumosu Ploserei dñe d el meni ul mese men e varu dan' sunisib la urechile ule a florice</i></p>
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Figure 11

OUTLINE OF A METHOD OF MUSICAL FOLKLORE

Left hand page:

Songs from military service.
Dear, I spent last night by the field
near the station, The gendarmes
as they ran like machines they breathed
and I thought by God they were pushed along
by a piston

One day
I met a boy a well
brought up one and we
spent the night
of love and whispers
and by daytime I tell you
he was puffing like a pistol.

Right-hand page:

Today I will fasten down
the beam come down from there
from now on from the nail, you mirror.
Mother is not
in the village with sorrow.
I am alone
the young chick and I will
lock the door with
the bolt. Here I am
the same as ever.
My eyes make a nice pair
and what a lovely head appears.
It isn't mine indeed
it is mine and now
behind my ear
there is a flower.

PROBLEMS OF ETHNOMUSICOLOGY

The explanation of the procedure for classifying the auxiliary cards could lead us too far. However, let us say that this procedure is not the same for all the material and that its aim is to allow us to consult the necessary documents besides the recordings and notations. Let us also say at this point that these documents will not always be concise notations. Trying unceasingly to seize the living facts, we will not content ourselves with noting that in the village of Runc which has occupied so much of our attention, ballads are becoming more and more forgotten, and merely assemble figures and statements on this subject. Even better will be the stenogram (unfortunately untranslatable) preserving for ever the vain efforts made by the professional musician Zlătaru on 14 April 1930 to recall the ballad of Marc Daliu and the Turk.

Nothing will make us better understand the 'circulation' of melodies than a page from the song note-book of a young Transylvanian, a soldier in Bucharest (Fig. 11), and nothing will better explain the 'technique' of a children's musical game than the childish drawing with which I close this dry dissertation of an archivist.

OUTLINE OF A METHOD OF MUSICAL FOLKLORE

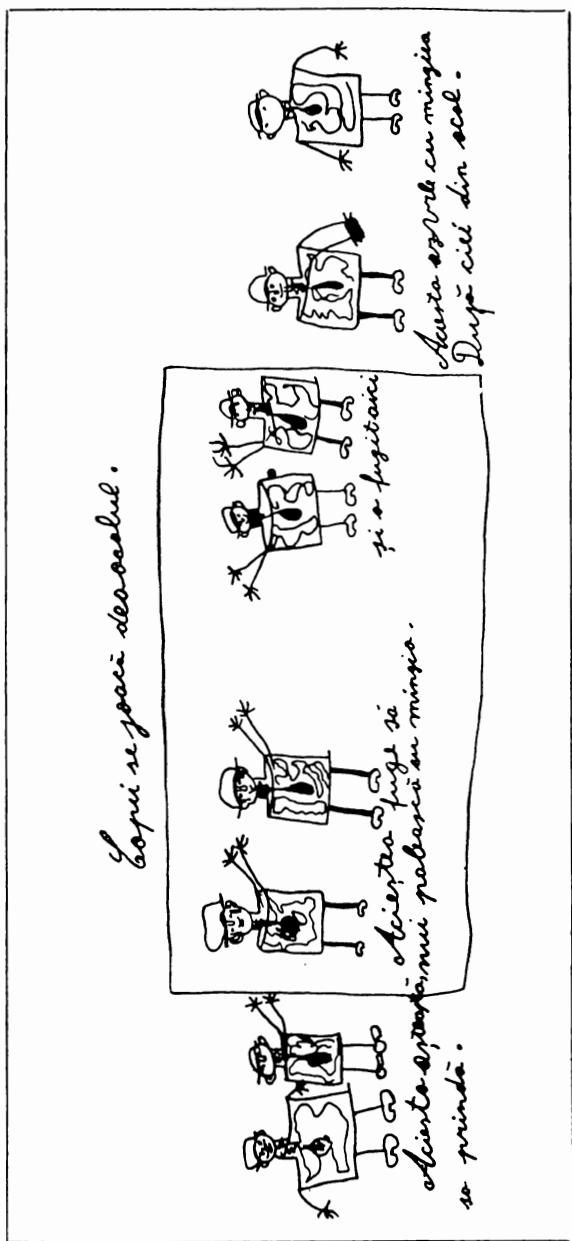


Figure 12

3 *Musicology and ethnomusicology today*

I realize that I appear before you by a right that is somewhat symbolical, so that ethnomusicology too may make itself heard here. That this happens by means of my voice is an honour that, believe me, I feel keenly.

Also I have in mind that the honour falls to me at a decisive moment in the history of our discipline, which explains why the title of my paper includes the word 'today'. It does not rigorously signify 1958, nor this very day; it could as easily mean 1957 or 1956, but certainly not 1948.

In fact, it was in that year that I chanced to submit to an assembly similar to this one a few remarks on some primitive music or other, with the help of a number of sound examples, of rare character and put together with great difficulty. Upon which, the Chairman stood up and I heard this gentleman, a man of exquisite affability and incapable of sarcasm, utter words that struck me to the heart. In sum, he thanked me for having brought to the audience and himself a welcome moment of relaxation by taking them 'out of music'. In other words he was telling me, in veiled but categoric terms, that my appearance among the lofty company around me could mean no more than a chance interlude that the eminent gentlemen were quite willing to tolerate for once, but of which their professional dignity forbade a repetition. Courteously, it was indicated to me that my place was on the margin of the sacred circle occupied by the servants of the true science. 'No higher than the sandal, cobbler!'

The painful sense of humiliation that I experienced was mingled with an infinite astonishment. I knew very well that those concerned with the nature and life of music did not all explore the same sector, whether historical, technical or territorial. I knew that if I and those like me were most eager to discover, amid the mass of sound documents, any exercise of the slightest unknown law, others were keen to come upon the lair of the so-far hidden writing that would finally tell them whether Hermannus Contractus was crippled from birth or made so by a bear. But as I frequented more obscure peasant dwellings than brilliant congresses, it had eluded me that the endless parcelling-out of the field of research and the perpetual multiplication of the compartments, cells and cavities had established a hierarchy founded on a ladder of values of which we, and precisely we, occupied the lowest rung. Such, a mere ten years ago, was the state of ethnomusicology.

Set brusquely before this hard truth, I began to reflect without passion, trying to discern if the scorn heaped on us was due to the matter (deemed futile) of our studies, or the quality (reckoned derisory) of our work, and if, in all sincerity, one should or should not recognize it as well founded.

It immediately seemed to me that the low opinion of our critics covered both subject and object: to the object, as we have seen, the term ‘music’ could not, in their view, apply except as antiphrasis; and the subject, obeying none of the laws of classic musicology, clearly could produce nothing useful.

It goes without saying that I had to reject the first of these two assumptions. If my curiosity – respectful of all curiosity – is particularly attracted towards other musics than those of our concert halls, does it follow that, pursuing phantoms, I exclude myself from the community of learned men? I know for certain that beyond that music, very different musics have been born in the course of the ages, in this vast world. And I know too that everywhere, even in my urban surroundings, the permanence of a sort of original melody shows itself, preserved by the mere faithfulness of memory, which cannot be reduced to the norms of my text-books, and which seem to perpetuate the primal soul of mankind. When I concern myself with Eskimo dances or Toureg drum-beats; when I am confronted by Dalmatian or Formosan choirs, I know that, far from belittling myself by setting to puerile tasks, I am on the watch for essential secrets.

Many have known this before me: our predecessors have blazed a trail through the centuries. The famous sentence in which Montaigne likens the villanelles of Gascony to the songs of American primitives still remains memorable. One of us has called Herodotus to witness, which I am in no position to refute. Nearer to hand, I hear the voice of an ethnomusicologist in these lines by Schumann: ‘Till now (1834) we know in categoric terms only German, French and Italian music. But what if other peoples come to add themselves to these, even from Patagonia?’ So he dreamed ‘von fremden Ländern und Menschen’, and of the folios that the great Kiesewetter would write on them. In the eighteenth century the missionary scientists to the Celestial Empire belonged among us, along with those whom they taught, and so too, with even better reason, at the start of the nineteenth century, did the surprising Villoteau, Bonaparte’s musical expert, who was so alert to the musics of all the peoples of Egypt.

A phantom object, or at least an inconsequential one? On the contrary, irremediably real, and one whose negation cannot be seen to honour those who declare it, nor scorn attest to their perspicacity.

Instead, a considerable object that will not be quickly exhausted, nor by me alone. And moreover, a singular object in which production and reproduction, creation and performance, are intermingled, and to which manuscript and print, the almost unique instruments of the historian, cannot give me access. From which it follows that I am obliged to flee from card indexes and great libraries and take to the highways; and also to shed my pride as a scion of the highest civilization along with my entire scholarly baggage. With an ear always cocked, I set to the task of catching by surprise not only that which accords to my customs, but also that which is distinct from them or even opposed to them. I am attentive to whatever is uncommon, confined to the specialization, for resemblances and differences

set themselves there in another dimension than that of the text-books.

So much for the object. But the question arises whether as much can be said for the subject. With the conditions of our research understood from the start, have the principles that they impose on us always had for us the force of law? Have we always worked in all probity, setting aside our routines, our preferences and ourselves? Calm meditation would answer: No.

The time for an examination of conscience has struck, and it seems to me useful that it should be public, in the manner of those self-criticisms so prized nowadays, but anonymous and collective. Let us, then, we children of a civilization that believes itself to be the foremost, if not the only one, recognize that our infatuation has more than once led us to judge instead of to understand, and what is more to judge according to an aesthetic of our own, and subject to change: whatever is beautiful or not, its beauty is measured by its resemblance to the supreme beauty which is that of our time and of our élites; every work of art, by virtue of its norms, could only be the work of us Westerners.

Certainly with every art of an élite, the more it enriches and refines its theories and multiplies its conventions, the more it closes in on itself and becomes intolerant. The difference between the behaviour of exotic élites and our own is merely in the manner of the denial. The Sultan who, to put an end to a romance by Panseron, wanted to throw the singer forthright into the Bosphorus is surely mere fantasy. But the very real mandarines to whom, a century or so ago, a French diplomat offered the most beautiful price he knew (*La Prière de Moïse*) limited themselves to assuming ‘ceremonial expressions’ and remained silent.

For his part, there is the European who calmly wrote: ‘The Turkomans, Mongols and other peoples of the Asiatic interior have always shown that they possess no finesse of hearing: they are affected only by the most brutal impressions of rhythm, such as affect animals.’ Signed: Liszt.

Who does not recall Berlioz’s frantic invectives against the Chinese and their ‘grotesque’ melodies, or the Indians with their ‘stupidly abominable’ instruments? But the most remarkable thing is that his intolerance also extended to the domain of the Western music of epochs earlier than his own. When he first heard Palestrina’s *Improperia* he noted with his peremptory pen: ‘One could admit that taste and a certain skill guided the musician, but genius . . . come now, that is a joke.’ And of his Roman contemporaries, epicures of bel canto, he thought they were capable only of appreciating works that they could swallow at a single go, without reflection, ‘like a dish of macaroni’. It is exactly as if he said that the Italians were lacking in musical gifts. And he explains: ‘Instrumental art is a dead letter to them. They have absolutely no idea of what is called a symphony.’ He, on the other hand, is the product of a symphonic century, and thus, a harmonist.

Just so, here is our man in contact with a folk music. He hears, among other things, the *pifferari* (rustic pipe players) whose playing not only ‘affects (him) agreeably’ but whose performance he describes with great

precision. But like Leopold Mozart, he also hears street-singing in parallel fifths and bristles immediately: he finds it ‘odious’, though nothing is more natural. The *pifferari* play in thirds, agreeing with our harmonic feeling which, on the contrary, abominates consecutive fifths.

One might object that Berlioz is not an ethnomusicologist. Occasionally he is: and it is no less interesting that eighty years later a man of science should think exactly like him, and for the same reason. Discussing Hucbald’s organum, this gentleman considers that harmony has forbidden the succession of fifths simply because their effect is detestable (‘abscheulich’). He presumes that in devising his organum, Hucbald merely borrowed from a much richer folk polyphony its coarsest elements. And why precisely those? Because he was a downright bad musician (“ein herzlich schlechter Musiker”).

Similarly, once cultivated Western music has been decreed an untouchable canon of all musical perfection. Fétis was unable, all things considered, to bring anything to ethnomusicology, even though he had already compared Welsh, Hindu, Persian, Arabic, Jewish, Ancient Greek, Gregorian, Czech, Breton, Gypsy melodies, to extract from them their ‘radical form’. To what end? Since he had the firm conviction that the ‘exclusion’ of semitones in the Far East is merely a ‘singular anomaly’ which proves the ‘absence of affective sensitivity in the yellow race’, since this race, like the black one, has ‘demonstrated its incapacity to attain the formation of music as a true and complete art’ (a ‘mission reserved for the white race, apart from whom there is no music raised to the dignity of an art’), then what he had to demonstrate is demonstrated in advance, and all study becomes superfluous.

Similarly with Riemann, a historian who constantly brushes on ethnomusicology, particularly in his *Folkloristische Tonalitätsstudien*, in which – as I recently recalled – he demonstrated with a sagacity near to genius the mechanism of the changes in pentatonic systems. But having done so, he cuts away one half of the authority of his account, in order to deduce from what is left that the mechanism in question is but a prefiguration of modulation by tonic and dominant, in other words: a stage on the path toward the light.

So we have hardly moved on since Rameau, who also considered irrational, if not of ‘the most vicious order imaginable’, any system not founded on the fundamental bass and on harmony. Doubtless it was hard for him to get away from the empire of his all-powerful concepts. Observe with what precautions one of our earliest masters shyly suggests that certain ‘primitive’ ingredients have been able to increase the brilliance of our classical masterpieces, within the highest, the most sacred art (‘höchste, heiligste Kunst’). And as if to modify the distressing impression that this inconvenient proximity might make, he adds: ‘Understand clearly: comparative studies do not set out to deny in any degree every qualitative

difference, and still less to set up the primitive as an example. We should be contradicting the idea of progress ("Entwicklungsgedanke") by attempting to develop backwards. That was one of Rousseau's aberrations . . . The golden age is ahead of us.' Idle talk. Rather than denigrating Rousseau once again, it would have been better to meditate on his 'admiration for the untrained connoisseurs who have retained some finesse of hearing for melodious systems established on principles different from our own'. Belief in Western primacy and the theory of progress both imply the notion of an original birthplace of culture, where a fertile germ began its glorious career that was to take it to its brilliant maturity among modern Europeans. Such, but founded on the Scriptures, was Rameau's idea when, pondering that antiquity had bequeathed to us the most precious gift of all, according to him, 'triple progression' and the tetrachord, he wondered how they could have come down to us. (It seemed to him due to Noah, who had brought them in his baggage.) For his contemporary, the Abbé Roussier, it was all explainable from the moment when China, land of the 'triple progression', was an Egyptian colony.

Be careful about smiling. It was no more daring, in 1770, to believe in an Egyptian migration to China than, in 1933, in the Mongol migration to Kabylia put forward by an ethnology that nowadays denies what it maintained some ten or fifteen years ago with iron determination. From time to time we shift a little that enigmatic place where the spark first shot forth. Far East? Near East? Central Asia? If everything is seen in the perspective of a journey towards a single summit, a slight touch on the theories would surely not be out of place. In the domain of technique, the same uncertainties exist and are, as a rule, just as hard to dispel. Logically enough, we have often thought, the musical theory of all the most 'advanced' peoples is necessarily the most elaborate and the most scientific. Passing over the perplexities, we have tried to force into these laws what our researches show as aberrant. One of the leaders of our school, however, warns us: 'One easily falls into the error,' he says, 'of taking the foundations of our music as the foundations of all music.' Despite this, a contemporary, inventor of a procedure for universal melodic classification, has not hesitated to catalogue everything as major and minor, and according to four rhythmic types: polka type, waltz type, mazurka type, polonaise type. So we learn that Melanesians, Mongols and Blacks all have the mazurka in their blood. Another scholar, unable to disentangle a definable rhythm in a certain African piece, but feeling obscurely, all the same, an order in what seemed to him pure disorder, eventually suggested that there must once have been a definite system there, but that it had subsequently become disturbed ('gestört').

So non-conformity is *a priori* synonymous with error. We are sheltered enough behind these 'errors that the rules of art condemn', these 'clumsinesses', these 'rough blunders', these 'imperfections', these 'singers' mistakes that make one believe in extravagant modes'. It was not

merely that precursor already mentioned who, while deeming it indis- pensable to measure precisely the sounds emitted by primitives, none the less ascribed their disgressions to their 'coarse hearing' and their 'clumsy throats'. In any case, says a nineteenth-century Frenchman, one would have to consult a very learned man to see if popular music has not undergone alterations. He was thinking of Meyerbeer. George Sand would have preferred Rossini. Chopin would not have been enough . . .

However, a ray of light comes through here and there. That the 'broken rhythms' may be 'really proper' to certain songs is a suspicion that goes back nearly a hundred years, as does the remark that such melodies (French, like the former) belong to a musical system different from the one we follow today. Somewhat later, a man of talent declared quite frankly that he had noted some exotic songs, using a 'rhythmic schema' badly fitted to their accentuation (evidently so as to conform to usage). But he recognized that in such cases 'the shortcomings lie not so much in the writing as in our faculty of understanding'. And such scruples had already, though rarely, crossed the minds of past scholars.

So, from time to time, *another* truth has been glimpsed, clad in thick veils that, unfortunately, no one has tried to tear off. Someone or other explains that he has abandoned bar-lines, as the melodies he is notating are too free to be confined in them, being submitted to some mysterious rhythmic law. A mystery that he does not attempt to solve.

Now, that is precisely what we have to do before all else, and if we do not succeed, it is because we have too busily sought for conformity to our codes: an unusual rhythm can only be an unforeseen exploitation of ours; a hitherto unknown sequence of sounds can only be a deformation or a presage of those that we use.

Although we have been able more often than before to realize the presence of these 'systems established on different principles', we have divined them less easily than Rousseau did, though it was his descriptions that we chose to attack in the first place.

If an effort beyond simple description, an effort of penetration has been undertaken and assiduously pursued by some, it has been applied particularly to the music of the exotic high cultures, in many respects analogous to our own, and determined mainly by the writings of their historians and theoreticians, whatever the traps may be. Confronted with the world without writing, where what Fétis called 'the great voice of all' sounded, they were helpless. And the same with matters of technique, which could only be related to our practice of our music of musics; one had no other models, for general purposes, than those of elderly men of science who had little enough to do with music.

These gentlemen maintained that the 'great voice' was a pure fantasy, a vision of excited brains; there never had been but the voice of a single person, an exceptional personality living in a precise time and in a precise

place: his work, determined by his individual conceptions, had thus from its very birth a finished form that must be reconstructed from its débris, deformed by the arbitrariness of those who have used and misused it. So reason brings us to historical time and consequently to writing.

So we have seen – to take one example from a hundred at random – literary history, which musicology was later to imitate, try to find by means of documents going back to the sixth century the real kernel, the birthplace and – almost – the very author of the song arising from an event, called *Donna Lombarda* or, commonly in Germany, *The Female Poisoner*. For this, three versions were used. But as the variants, notably those from Eastern Europe, flowed in, the historic décor vanished, and all that remained were the rudiments of the human theme and the fantastic elements, originally reckoned adventitious. The further it progressed, the less the enquiry led to a real piece of history, to dates and names, to an author. *It emerged as a myth.*

If I speak of myth, it is because it was given me, if not to see one born, at least to touch it with a finger and to see it living its own life, detached from the everyday. And music had its function there.

It was in a village perched high among the forests and mountains which peasant belief peopled with a whole crowd of spirits and genies, mostly malevolent. Among them was a Forest Girl, a sort of Alpine Lorelei with long hair, who bewitched the young shepherds on the high pastures, appearing in the guise of their sweethearts. She lived with them for long months and even had children by them. All would be well until the day when the young man recognized her (generally by a mark that she had on her back): as soon as she was unmasked, she would throw him over a precipice.

Now, wishing to know more about her and other subjects, I and a friend, a virtuoso stenographer, arranged an evening party. As soon as the Forest Girl was mentioned, everyone began excitedly to talk at once. Suddenly the voice of a woman in her fifties was raised above the hubbub. Immediately, other singers joined in without hesitation, while the phonograph was set in motion. Clearly, it was a funeral lament, but sung to an unusual melody. What relation had it to the Forest Girl? An incident known to all of them. Formerly, a shepherd seduced by her had occasion one day to go down to his village and meeting his sweetheart he tried to continue a conversation begun up in the mountain the previous evening. As she did not know how to answer, he realized that he had been tricked and quickly climbed back to his sheep fold, where the Forest Girl immediately threw him down from the top of a cliff. In his fall, his hat remained caught on a branch. His comrades laid his body on a bier and his sweetheart went to meet them, singing what I had recorded. But all this seemed swathed in the mists of such a distant past that I was urged only for the sake of conscience to ask when this tragedy occurred. To my stupefaction they told me that it was some 35 years before, and that the victim's sweetheart was still alive. I had her come to me the next

day: a poor sixty-year-old, toothless, very miserable. A summary of our dialogue:

Had she had a sweetheart who was killed on the mountain?

Yes.

Did he fall from a rock?

Yes.

Did his companions bring home his body?

Yes.

Did she lament as she went to meet them?

Yes.

Did she use the words I had noted?

Yes: they are the words one uses on such occasions.

But:

Did his hat catch on a fir-tree?

No.

Did she sing the melody I had recorded?

No. She sang as one sings for the dead in her village.

Was it the Forest Girl who killed him?

Nothing to do with the Forest Girl. Who could have told you such nonsense? He slipped on a stone.

Which shows us that in the margin of concrete and controllable facts, an authentic myth had been born, defying the denials that might be raised, at any moment, by the very actors of the drama that gave rise to it. As in *Donna Lombarda*, the real fact was no more than a skeleton clad in mysteries and signs. Become a work of art, it had receded into a time beyond time and into another truth, of which the unusual melody was the symbol. Certainly, the myth could die. But as long as it lived it could also be incessantly reborn, showing a new face each time.

If not all of us have had the luck – in my view miraculous – to see an ageless bodiless spiritual world emerge in this way to the surface of the visible and present, at least most of us, at last, have understood that historical methods are not suited to the exploration of the timeless, and have abandoned them.

During the period before apparatuses for the fixing of sound made their appearance, such a mass of disparate information had accumulated that it became important to pull it together somehow and that the only hope of doing so usefully was to extend the visual field as far as possible.

Have we, at least, always operated with due scruple, and extracted from the information everything that it could give us without laying it, come what may, on the Procrustean bed of some pre-established plan, whether technical, ethnological or philosophical? Despite many lessons, it seems, on the contrary, that we have yielded to the temptation to build dogmas with feet of clay, partly by impatience, partly in a spirit of adventure. In time and space, sometimes we have seen too far, sometimes not far enough.

Certainly the seduction of these syntheses ('Grossvergleiche') that would hand us the key of the musical universe is very great. In attempting it we have merely sometimes forgotten that interrogating the continents is not at all the same as skipping over immense and hitherto unknown territories; nor assimilating the unknown to what is already known. It is with a grievous bewilderment that we nowadays consider the infinite number and the weakness of the arguments on which so many speculations were founded, which are overthrown for ever, but were once thought valid, at least for half or more of the globe. It was not necessary to refer to the Far East to study the music of the Bavarian Alps, nor to transport to the Middle East towards Central Asia the original home of music because what we thought we knew of three or four thousand years ago reminded one, we believed, too much of China to situate it thereabouts. On the other hand we have not generally looked far enough when it comes to describing a particular ethnic (or 'national') music. No sooner does a striking feature show itself in some country than, before its presence elsewhere has been investigated, it is localized, once for all, in the place of its discovery. Such as the very celebrated rhythm baptized 'Bulgarian' in ignorance of the Turkish treatises (which call it 'limping'): attributed to Bulgaria and its southern neighbours, it was to turn up successively throughout the whole Balkan area, in Spain, in the Basque country, in Switzerland, in North Africa, in Black Africa, in Turkey, in Afghanistan, in the Indies, in Ceylon, in Borneo, and moreover in the Balinese theatre, in the Chinese opera and puppet theatre where it is even deputed a particular expressive rôle (to such an extent that one is surprised that the specialists in these dramatic arts had not noticed it).

A genius whom we shall always mourn has circumscribed the domain of that *hora lungă* ('long song') that he was the first to describe: Northern Romania, Ukraine, the Perso-Arabic territories. But little by little this zone has spread under our eyes – again to our astonishment – from Spain to Mongolia. Cursory illustrations of a too short view of space.

For a time, daring and haste were given even more freedom. Has a German counting-out song not been considered as coming from the Druids? Have Basques and Finns not been likened to the contemporaries of Thaletas? Has not the continuity of an ancient tonal system been demonstrated with the help of a Balkan shepherd flute? Nice associations, lacking only terms of comparison. The Song of Druids and of the contemporaries of Thaletas, Greek tonality itself: so much unknown, so many insoluble equations.

In the matter of pure induction one reads, moreover, that such and such people have a Stone Age music, while others have Iron Age or Bronze Age musics. Can it be that something is known about those musics that has been hidden from us? Someone believes he knows that the first human songs turned round a fixed point at a distance of from a semitone to an eighth of a

tone. It could be – but the statement has no more support than abstract reasoning.

‘Working hypothesis’: that is the magic term that usually covers such conjectures. But truth to tell, we have a little misused those hypotheses. The special thing about them is that most of them do not appear in an author’s first work, merely as a modest element of a demonstration to come, but assume, from the second onward, the proud appearance of definitively demonstrated theorems. Beyond that, some terms, only half licked into shape, have burst into the technical vocabulary and installed themselves there from one day to the next, as common names. For example, scarcely had we wind of the Perso-Arabic notion of the *maqam* than it was seized upon to be used at every turn. Wherever it was a matter of any sort of asymmetric melody, there was no need to fret: *maqam* (or ‘Maqamprinzip’) and all is said.

At last, with the coming of the phonograph, we could believe we were on the verge of a properly scientific age. With other tools to complement it, every uncertainty seemed banished for ever: the reign of the unimpeachable was about to start. In effect, if at first rudimentary, the new equipment traced between the past and the future a demarcation line so obviously indelible that a real idolatry of the machine soon seized some minds and still dominates many of them. From 1912 an authority assures us that the absolute pitches of sounds can, once for all, be measured with ‘physikalisch’ exactness. How? By putting them in accord (if they allow it) with a graduated diapason before calculating the vibrations. But in the last resort it is the ear that decides the accord, and the ear is not a piece of physical equipment. In 1958, we have not noticeably advanced.

The calculation of durations also came up against great difficulties, and still does. And for intensities, it makes one smile to see a prominent scientist proposing (while he is algebraically measuring intervals to a hundredth of a semitone) indications such as *fortissimo*, *forte*, *mezzo forte* . . . We are still where we were, or thereabouts.

But the danger of excessive confidence in the automatic slave does not lie there. It is in the naïve and all too stubborn conviction of certain scholars that once the detail of a music is presumed to be perfectly reproduced and irreproachably transcribed, we have nothing more to learn about it, when in reality it has revealed to us nothing of its true nature.

The systematic character of so-called primitive creation has often been insisted on. But neither the most up-to-date stereophonic recording nor the most exact graphic transcriptions tells us anything of the systems that order it, and nothing is to be expected from the primitive himself. ‘Savages,’ says Rameau, ‘have no method.’ In fact, for them music is not a thing they can set apart from themselves, to contemplate and judge at leisure. Music lives in

them and is entwined in their very being. It needs enormous patience to get a peasant flute player to play the notes of his instrument according to their pitch, what we would call its scale: he does not know what is wanted from him. Nothing is more instructive than the adventure of that folklorist who tried to learn the rhythms beaten on his drum by a Macedonian virtuoso. Giving up the struggle, the drummer finally dropped his arms, saying: 'You've been spoilt' (by scholarly music, that is).

Now, the scale of the flute and the rhythms of the drum respect rigorous systems, and in operation these systems are elementary laws. About these systems, these laws, the music itself and those who bear it remain mute. On that point, Goethe has left us some definitive words: 'The various manifestations of natural laws lie all around, outside us, like sphinxes, unchangeable, inflexible and silent. Each new phenomenon seen is a new discovery.' Musicology begins beyond the phonograph and the transcription.

The advent of the phonograph is moreover the origin of a conflict, strictly speaking localized, which now one can, happily, view in a historical perspective, but which nearly cost us dear, and whose remains are slow to dissolve. It concerns that deaf war of succession that split us, after 1900, into two camps that deliberately ignored each other: on the one hand the old folklorist, on the other the followers of a new school called ('nicht sehr hübsch', thought Handschin) 'Vergleichende Musikwissenschaft' or comparative musicology. Nothing new, as far as the former went, except that the machines were going to improve their work considerably. As for the latter, they resolved to turn away from all European music, whatever it might be, assigning themselves to the study of all extra-European music, whether learned or popular, art or folk. The greatest confusion ensued. When the terminological quarrel had reached its peak, I asked Bartók one day: 'When all is said, you and I, are we doing folklore or comparative musicology?' To which he answered enthusiastically: 'Folklore, of course!' Despite that, his *Volksmusik der Rumänen von Maramureş* was published in the *Sammelände* of the comparatists; and the leader of these referred constantly to the folk music of Europe. When he gave us his precious notes on the Algerian Arabs, was Bartók leaving folklore? What is Europe exactly? Are the Lapps and Tartars Europeans? Sicily, the Balearics, Southern Spain, are they not in some degree African? And if they are, is one going to understand a Berber or Arabic melody by turning one's back on it according to a preconceived idea?

In any case, in what is called 'comparative' research, the inclusion of the learned arts of Asia marks a confusion and a lack of definition. One forgets that, like our own, the music of these Asiatic countries has a history, a theory, an aesthetic, and is enough to occupy the attention of a scholar, as has in fact happened, after some premature and quickly outdated attempts at synthesis.

On the other hand the exclusion of European folk music brought with it

incalculable errors: an impermissible narrowing of the domain of investigation, arbitrary discrimination between phenomena of the same nature, and impoverishment of the material compared. It is early to see what this mistrust of Europe arises from: on the one hand the certitude that it has nothing to give us; on the other, the mediocre confidence inspired in the representations of the new science by those who occupied themselves with our continent before them. Nothing could be less disputable than the fact that the folklorists have too often been tainted by an antiquarian dilettantism and are confined in a sentimental regionalism with the narrow views of 'Heimatkunde'. But do we not too readily forget that the first collections of Russian folk songs recorded phonographically date from 1905? And that in 1912 there was published in France, on an industrial-type disc, that *Berrichon briolée* in which one of our leaders believed he heard, later, the fabulous echo of a former world. Is not the objective value of such documents held too cheaply?

Even a hasty examination should have been enough to prove that rural Europe was neither exhausted ('abgegrast') nor entirely submerged by town music. 'In Europe,' says a very expert friend, 'a musical folklore still lives and evolves which is not differentiated from certain exotic or primitive musics, of which it reproduces the essential character. The composer, like the musicologist, often encounters, in his own country, a folk music related by various general features, to Asiatic or African music. 'Why,' he concludes, 'should we not speak of the savage arts of Europe?'

Why not, indeed? Without even taking into account what persists in the selfmade musical tradition of children, so neglected, have not incantations and exorcisms been recorded in the suburbs of Paris similar to those of the European East and of the high Middle Ages? Do animal maskers and guisers not still circulate in our industrial towns? Do we not still find, in Jugoslavia, in Thrace, ceremonies in which, as in exotic rites, the women fall into trances in which the music takes them out of themselves for a period during their ecstasy? Do all manner of meaningless syllables not survive in Russian, Georgian, Romanian songs like those of the 'savages'? Simple 'tralalas' for bookish people; but ethnography recognizes in them those 'words of power' of primitive people to which are very probably attached the 'sounds of power'.

But for the prophets of the new gospel residing in Berlin, the surroundings are paradoxically beyond their horizon. It always happens that, furnished with a discrimination that has its special hierarchy, rifts impede the progress of understanding.

If, by good fortune, little by little everything returns to order, there are several reasons of equal interest to us. First, several comparatists have spent a good deal of time away from home, and have seen that there is still much to be collected in their new residence, and have availed themselves of

it. Also, faced with the enormous mass of facts produced by the folklorists and their institutions, multiplied day by day, it was hardly possible simply to close one's eyes or shrug one's shoulders. Eventually, faced with the crimes committed in the name of folklore by tourism and the international exploitation of folk dances, the folklorists, by a kind of prudery, have increasingly replaced the handy label (and we may regret it) of their discipline by that of ethnomusicology. For the moment the word 'ethnomusicology' is still like a kind of hold-all, in which anyone can put what he understands by the term; but as a unitary doctrine at last begins to crystallize, controversies die down, and the old dispute, seen from a distance, assumes more and more the appearance of a forgotten family quarrel. So, our mortal and venial sins publicly confessed, it is permissible that self-criticism be followed by a short defence.

Uncertain and confused as our efforts have sometimes been, we believe they do not deserve the *pereat* of our implacable censors of recent times. On the contrary, we have brought them some notable benefits and, above all else, the salutary eddies that our discoveries have provoked in the stagnant waters of egocentrism. If the culture of the Central West is liberated and enriched, if it is open to other incarnations of the beautiful than European ones, if it no longer has to suffer the puerile insults that till now were customary, it is due to our work. It has, without doubt, helped towards a better understanding between men.

On the scientific plane, should one reckon as nothing all that musicology has taught us about the central problem of our modern music: polyphony? Has not a summary map already been drawn up of natural polyphony throughout the world, demonstrating the identity of certain of its basic procedures, from Jugoslavia to Formosa, from Iceland to the Solomons? Finally, the area of diffusion within Europe itself has been sketched out, encompassing – apart from the German Alps – Russia, the Baltic countries, Sicily, Sardinia, Corsica, continental Italy, Macedonia, Croatia, Albania, Greece, Bulgaria, Portugal.

The linguists have been able to find in the heroic dactyl of the Greeks an 'irrational' long, but it needed the musicologists to understand that this singular long characterizes a dance system and that, consequently, the Homeric poems or their models were sung narrations, as survive in the Faeroe Islands, in Spain, in France, and, in particular, among the Greeks in Asia Minor. It is ethnomusicology that has deciphered the metrico-rhythmic system of children, and has shown its prodigious dissemination, despite countless languages, from Hudson's Bay to Japan. And only an ethnomusicologist could recognize in a carol, presumed to be from the thirteenth century, a ritual dance from a period long before Christianity, which upsets the whole history of the dance in the West.

Let us not dwell on this. Suffice it to say that – in immense territories hitherto unexplored – the number of unsuspected notions is already immeasurable. Slowly, and at the cost of a thousand troubles, their

comparison on a global scale releases one or other of the 'Naturgesetze' hidden within the phenomena that gave them birth. We have not grasped enough of them yet; but those that we have perceived within the maze of peculiarities and transformations are clearly rooted, as one of our models shows, in the psycho-physical make-up of man, and they transport us towards an 'ante-historical' age of music. It is credible that, multiplying and 'illuminating' each other, the definition of these laws will lead us towards a prehistory of our art (a 'Frühgeschichte', as an eminent contemporary says). Their research in no way takes us 'out of music', but rather places us in its very heart.

But we are born near a piano, we have learnt music in books, and the first signs to strike our glance were that stave on which the C major scale was written, and that semibreve from which issue two minims, four crotchets, eight quavers, sixteen semiquavers and so on, theoretically, to infinity. How could one imagine a practice without notation? A history without graphic testimony? The fact that notation, according to how far back into the past one goes, becomes a charade and ceases to exist some ten centuries before our time, does not, to our way of thinking, annul its necessity. If writing is missing, what remains? Can one have confidence in memory, itself so fallible?

There is the point of rupture between historian-musicologists and ethnomusicologists. With the one impugning every oral document, the other disdaining everything written, a vicious circle is drawn that is hard to escape from even now. One only has to open the first history book to hand to see that unwritten music has nourished or coloured written music, at least from the thirteenth century to the twentieth: folk melodies with the contrapuntalists, hymns set to popular tunes, street songs among the harpsichordists and all the well-known rest. Yet although it is established that the 'predocumentary' (or oral) extends beyond the frames of history, the historiographer has not felt compelled towards a description of this prime matter. Moreover, one cannot admire too much that, leaving this out of account, he has none the less been able to give an account of its elaboration. It is very odd that it has been possible to trace the influence, through the *frottoli*, that thirteenth century songs had on the art music forms of the sixteenth century, without undertaking the study of them.

In short, the positions of one side and the other being consolidated, an undercover war has been waged, of which the least that can be said is that neither of the adversaries involved has drawn the slightest profit. A very wise friend considers the controversies about the origins of European polyphony 'before one has even taken the trouble to ask whether a folk polyphony exists in Europe' stupefying. If that were done, the edifice of hypotheses would collapse for lack of point. Such polyphony was expressly revealed, notably in Calabria in 1875. The information being neither 'historical' nor supplied by a proper historian, no notice was taken.

The dances of our classic suites derive from folk models that have not all

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perished. If they cared to refer to them, our orchestra conductors would probably take less uncertain tempi in Bach's gigues.

On the other hand, the ethnomusicologists would have modified their dissertations on the pentatonic system, its provenance and nature, if they had lent an ear to what Burney said in the eighteenth century and Gevaert a hundred years later.

If our own time seems decisive it is because these separations are manifestly weakening and beginning to disappear. I am not sure if Curt Sachs was right, the other day in Paris, when he declared, placing his hands at the two extremities of his desk, 'Formerly, musicology and ethnomusicology were like that,' then bringing his hands together: 'Now they are like this.' At least it is certain that, confronted with the illegible or the absence of any writing, the historian is turning more and more towards the sources of memory. He had mostly underestimated the powers of collective memory and has now come to bend to their evidence. He has been obliged to recognize that some melodies noted in the fifteenth century were found in the mouths of the common people; or that 'in songs collected in the nineteenth century, a common factor of such amplitude may be discovered that one could believe they come to us almost intact from feudal society'; or furthermore that a thirteenth-century English estampie was constructed like the dances that Sardinian peasants of our own time play on their triple clarinet. At the same time, the oral becomes documentary and consequently historical. So we find a leading historian invoking Java, Siam and China to elucidate obscure points of European history, even going so far as to declare frankly that for the music historian, Europe represents only a partial domain. From another, I read that 'the conception on which Greek modal theory is based has persisted till today, but it is not to be found either in our tutors nor by analogy with the medieval West, but in the music of civilizations different from ours that, thanks to musical ethnology, we learn to understand better day by day'. It has been said that the ethnomusicologists, 'by the extent of their field of action, by the size of the harvest already gathered, by the light they shed, not only on the origins of music but also on its subsequent development, have opened up for musicology a veritably planetary space'.

As a consequence, conferences are allowing an increasing place for ethnomusicology; chairs where this science is taught are multiplying, and a seminary for its study has just been founded where one might have least expected it: at the Sorbonne, by the chair of Professor Chailley.

But, the bridges built at last and the fortresses destroyed, it would be as well for each person to look after his own garden. It is fitting that the historians remain attached to their armchairs, their chronological repertoires, catalogues and inventories, constantly intoxicated by the subtle aroma of papers and parchment. As for us, we will not cease to ask for light from sound documents, and if we have to frequent archives more often, that is not the place of our delights.

I shall not readily forget how one evening by chance Béla Bartók told me that, returning twenty or twenty-five years later to a village in which he had worked, he was walking at sunset beside a little stream, carrying his legendary Edison phonograph. On the way he met a peasant woman and they exchanged a few words. Seeing that she was trusting, Bartók asked her to sing, but she excused herself under the well-known pretexts: 'I don't remember any – in the country we have no time to think about songs – I have no voice . . .' However, hardly had she disappeared at a turn of the road than she raised a song that filled the whole sunlit valley, and Bartók listened for a long time. And as he raised his head, which he had kept bowed till then, it seemed to me that a tear veiled the extraordinary blue of his eyes. What was it about that memory that moved him so much? The song? He knew hundreds like it. The landscape? He had seen many more beautiful. The serenity of the end of a summer afternoon? He had experienced it often. It was, beyond all this, the emotion of one of those privileged moments when we are allowed an incursion into the soul of a secret humanity that is already being overshadowed.

Bartók did not know that, before him, Uhland had had the same experience, except that it was two boys that he heard singing, who fell silent at his approach. But when he was a little distance away, they resumed, in his honour, the song they had at first refused, just like Bartók's peasant woman. Uhland was to come across the song later, somewhere else; but, he said, the perfume that it carried on its shining wings that first time had disappeared. Should we complain that ethnomusicologists prefer that perfume to the one given by dusty writings?

Things being as they are, let us each get on with our task in concord, not confusion. It will surely be fruitful if, raising no more altars to the multitude of demigods specializing in the protection of enthusiasts, whether of the high Middle Ages or of Vedic recitative, of Venetian opera or *cante jondo*, we adore rather a single deity or mother-goddess, Music.

4 *Reflections on collective musical creation*

The cultivated Westerner has such a strict notion of artistic creation, its nature and its aims, that the very hypothesis of a collective act of creation can only seem to him aberrant. Briefly: our official music is the property of an educated milieu or of an élite. It is transmitted by writing; and if the writing becomes more and more detailed as one approaches the present time, that is because increasingly its task is to preserve intact – supposedly for ever – the thought of a creator whose personality, as Schumann has said, is the supreme good. Personality is what distinguishes a given creator from all others, and wins for him the inestimable value of being an exception: thus he reveals himself if not by deliberate opposition, at least by conscious deviation.

Artistic creation engenders ‘works’, things made and finished in detail, which, no sooner set on stave, detach themselves from the creator, to follow their own destiny. Deprived of practical usefulness, the work of art is gratuitous. Those concerned with it are seeking only ‘beauty’ and the spiritual pleasures it can bring them: our musical art has no other aims than aesthetic ones. Moreover the creator only reaches those he wants to reach with the aid of a third party: the performer, whose prime virtue is his effacement in conformity. Let us remember, also, that the laws of total originality and of textual reproduction are only proper to Europe, and only for the last two centuries. The high cultures of Asia still ignore them.

There are reasons enough for an educated Westerner to consider unacceptable *a priori* the concept of a collective creation shared among a collectivity. However in other times this concept had, for many excellent minds, the value of an axiom. Those whom one still calls ‘romantics’ had no doubt that a song existed that could be born spontaneously by the unanimous contribution of everyone. At this birth, so they thought, neither education nor any legislation whatever played the slightest part. As the creation of a community it belongs to whoever shelters it, and only the faithfulness of this multiple entity ensures its survival.

It was J. J. Ampère who, in 1830, declared: ‘In primitive ages, individuality is practically non-existent. All the members of the society are at the same degree of culture, have the same opinions, the same sentiments, live the same moral life. Imagination is an almost universal gift; poetry is everywhere, the poet is just like other men . . . , he sings what is in everyone’s soul, in everyone’s mind. In expressing his thought, he expresses the general thought. It is a time when the real individual is the race, the tribe. The poet is the voice of this collective individual and nothing else.’

A hundred years later, Bartók would not have said otherwise. On the contrary, the poet, already so nebulous in Ampère's mind, would have entirely disappeared from his. As to the actual way in which the melody of the whole people is elaborated, with the participation that takes on everyone's personality, with the merits that accrue to the living or the dead, the romantics have nothing to say to us, and have even refused to think about it: it would be an offence to the majesty of an unfathomable mystery.

Himself taught by direct experience, Bartók is no more loquacious. If he studied minutely the 'folk instinct for variation' and its effects, he hardly lingered on the sources of what was being varied. Mostly borrowed elements, according to him, and of so little importance that there was no need to study their provenance. In any case, there was nothing to indicate that an isolated peasant personality was capable of inventing absolutely new melodies.

But well before this scientist appeared, the romantic theory (or vision) had undergone attack by a generation of men of reason. Relying on elderly scientific methods, they eventually proclaimed a law: 'Every song (that was and still is the common term) has its author and, consequently, a birthplace and a date.' Subsidiarily it has long been stipulated that the author can only belong to the educated élite of a nation, which alone possesses the gift of creation. The uneducated person is limited to apeing it, his contribution consisting merely in the clumsiness, sometimes charming, of imitation. So, in uneducated milieux, there is nothing to be collected save 'come-down cultural goods': the task of the scientist is limited to the identification of such pieces and their transformations. In any case, artistic invention, even among the unlettered, could only be the prerogative of rare, specially gifted people whose names are lost and from whom those less endowed, where talent is concerned, have borrowed their discoveries. That must be the case, and it could hardly be otherwise.

The main argument that supported (and continues to support) these statements is that a diffused creative act and a multiple brain seemed unimaginable (and indeed they are, to those who refer in every case to the letter of the text-books, and who continue to be obsessed by scholarly precepts and interdictions). True, apart from a few short improvisations, we have never been able to catch an illiterate person in the act of creation. On the other hand we have succeeded in disinterring the names of the poets and composers of hundreds of songs that he makes use of, particularly in Germany. These songs are recent. But for remoter periods we have a proof of this decline and fall in the resemblance borne by many folk melodies – French among others – to those of the Church, seeing that before they heard these, it is suggested, the common people had no knowledge of any sort of music.

From archive research a mere name, or an allusion to some grand person in the world will often allow the fixing of the historical event mentioned in a song, where reality is dimmed by Legend. At the same stroke the scholar

may date and identify the author: a soldier serving in a certain regiment, in Holland, in the course of some campaign in the seventeenth century (for instance). Whence it inescapably follows that at the outset there was a 'work' as we understand the term, whose first form must on principle be susceptible to reconstruction. Celebrated studies have attempted such reconstructions, where the poetry is concerned, and there have been attempts, with less courage, to do the same for the music also.

Considered in the light of information so far acquired, even after a mere half-century, this argument is not without fault. To start with, everything goes to show that what is not yet understood is not irrevocably incomprehensible, nor the unimaginable necessarily impossible. The number of natural phenomena that we have come to understand in the course of time has, on the contrary, increased to a vertiginous extent. And perhaps collective creation is precisely one of these natural phenomena. The hypothesis of an art production limited to the 'higher' social layers runs up against still more severe objections, among them first of all the fact that even in Europe itself there exist ethnic groups (or 'folk') among whom a literate élite has long been – or still is – missing, and so too every known artistic model.

That plainsong should have appeared in the West amid multitudes with no knowledge of any music is something that all our understanding categorically denies: we have not found such multitudes in any part of the world. Moreover, not only does it seem (and analysis confirms it) that the Church, the alleged singing master of the multitudes, has reabsorbed (whether deliberately or in self-defence) a fair number of the tunes it was evangelizing, but also there is proof that the first learned compositions in Europe, born of liturgical cantilena, imitated earlier procedures. When, in the nineteenth century, the historians discovered them, they were so shocking to the taste of the time that the scholars took them for extravagant monkish speculations. But since then quite similar pieces have been discovered in other continents far from Rheims and Saint-Denis. This time, the current goes from below upwards. Apart from this, the question still remains as to the identity of the inventors of the religious airs adopted by the common man. If they got together to reshape a heritage – as they seem to have done – one might logically ask from whom they got it, and the line of argument would only find itself shifted in time.

On the other hand, many attempts at restitution, at first sight as convincing as they are brilliant, have ended in resounding failure. Thus, one has seen a scholar giving as the theme of a sung narration a historical tale written in the high Middle Ages, located in Piedmont, where he had been led by the only variants then available, and with fallacious proper names. But as new information flowed in, notably from Eastern Europe, all trace of history disappeared, along with every possibility of localization: all that remained was the skeleton of an impersonal anecdote and the supernatural details at

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first considered adventitious. Better conducted, the enquiry ended up with no matter whom, no matter where, no matter when.

The statements of that German thanks to whom the signatures of the authors of many songs recorded in the village have reappeared, have not advanced us much. They show that the country people studied had absorbed many urban sub-products, but they illuminate the problem of creation in only two respects: first, that the supremacy of print, among those whom our researcher had questioned, could be traced far back into the past (though nothing that he quotes, nor that Goethe and others had quoted before him, takes us back beyond the end of the eighteenth century); and secondly, that the villages he visited had never possessed anything that was truly their own (which he does not maintain). On the contrary, even in Germany, where the thesis originated of an uneducated people, receptive but sterile, receivers of 'sunken cultural goods', the most resolute defenders of these ideas have come up against a certain number of artistic manifestations of all kinds, which they were unable to encompass. They had thought they might escape from this impasse by declaring them too rudimentary to be worth examining. Incapable of defining them and discerning their genesis, they none the less conceded that these were products of an ancient community culture, whose reality they recognized while disparaging it.

And so, despite abstract reasoning, 'something remains, an irreducible fund', and André Schaeffner asks, rightly, if it 'would not have been more rational to apply first to this so-called residue an effort of analysis that they preferred to devote, vainly enough moreover, to a heteroclite repertory, varying according to the collector's taste'.

Clearly, there is a misunderstanding somewhere. The 'residue' in question, whatever its aesthetic quality may be, evaluated according to presentday norms, is indeed the spiritual property of a particular society: a society which the theoreticians have overwhelmed with their scorn ever since the distant beginnings of our learned art. If they do not call it 'primitive', as we do, they describe it as vulgar, ignorant, void of that education on which they so pride themselves. It is illiterate.

But the absence of writing so upsets the conditions of creation that we ourselves are forced to revise the notions that we hold. Without the help of writing, what is created can only last by the universal consent of those who bear it, itself the consequence of the uniformity of their tastes. The oral 'work' only exists in the memory of whoever adopts it, and only becomes concrete by his will: their lives are intertwined. Since no writing stabilizes the composition once and for all, this work is not a 'finished object' but an object that is made and remade perpetually. That is to say that all the individual performances of a melodic pattern are equally true and of the same weight in the balance of judgement. That is also to say that the 'instinct for variation' is not merely a simple passion for varying but a necessary consequence of the lack of any unchallengeable model.

If creation there is, it is half ephemeral. Moreover, it is double-headed, shared between a hypothetical creator and his translators, without whom the piece would return to the void. That being so, it follows that illiteracy, oral transmission, the identity of preferences are but signs or corollaries of a certain kind of civilization, essentially characterized by the uniformity of occupations and submission to an inherited state of things. From Lisbon to the Urals, such civilizations are still to be found, in more or less advanced degrees of dissolution (to speak only of Europe, which it is often very wrong to dissociate from the other continents). It should be understood that it is always turned towards the past. The rules it respects have come down from the ancients. Without it being necessary to spell them out, they remain present in everyone's mind, and everyone holds them for good and sacred. Faith and law are covered by them as long as the community that they govern keeps its integrity.

That is why the wish to innovate, the prime mover of the cultivated creator, has really no place in the preoccupations of the 'primitive'. In relation to what should he innovate? His care is to safeguard his assets, not to replace them. Moreover this psychic behaviour brings modern man face to face with a fact that he is still slow to realize: that is, the atemporality of so-called primitive creations. Quickly built according to a traditional plan, a house or a hut is only new by its material reality, but the moment of its completion hardly matters: it is millenary by virtue of its spiritual reality. It varies an architectonic type in the way in which a song varies a melody type. The less the milieu of the builder and the singer has undergone foreign influences and absorbed infiltrations, the more they both defy history. Moreover, unlike the 'composer', conscious of the significance of the least strokes of his pen, the unlettered musician has no awareness of any 'method' (the word is Rameau's) and cannot explain any technical procedure nor any theoretical concept. His domain is total empiricism.

So, broadly speaking, the meaning of the term 'creation' being readjusted, the approach to the creator himself should be made all the easier. Truth to tell, nobody has managed to apprehend this elusive person. His individual existence on earth still remains a postulate. No matter, say those who believe in him whether or not we know him and can name him: common sense is enough to certify his existence: his creations bear witness to it. Denying these creations, the others elude all questioning.

In practice, investigations, even those limited to an object so definite as a 'song proper' arising from a recent event, have proved fruitless. I myself reported some examples not long ago, all equally deceptive. The surprising thing is that those attempts came to nothing each time, not through the absence of authors but through their excessive proliferation. Limited at the outset to a few possible inventors, the search spread little by little to an ever wider circle, in which no one either lied or exactly told the truth. Everything seemed to happen as if no sooner had the work appeared than it hurried to

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take refuge in anonymity and to withdraw into the atemporal. By one or other of its properties, new as it was, it reduced itself to the impersonal and the *déjà vu*. As long as the analysis was concerned only with materials assembled in the interior of a country, a race, an area, the confrontations brought to light such a profusion of dissimilarities and oppositions that the hope of ever perceiving anything beyond a mass of irreconcilable peculiarities seemed vain. (It is worth noting too that even in Western Europe – including Germany – where public education is of a respectable age, the first collections of folk melodies contain pieces totally different from our scholarly practice.)

It has required the accumulation of thousands of documents gathered from all parts of the world for us to begin to perceive, through the contrasts that have astonished us, analogies and similarities that astonish us still more. The more information accrues to us, the more we see phenomena once considered local or ‘national’ reappearing identically in Africa, Asia or in Oceania.

If these accordances strike us immediately, their reasons are hard to see, and may only be penetrated sometimes by a meticulous analysis of which our official theory can only ever serve as a term of comparison. Is it really a question of ‘works’ such as European illiterates might have demanded from those more educated than themselves, visibly constructed, of some size and close to what we commonly call a ‘song’? Certainly, and often enough, at a certain stage in the evolution of societies. But here too, what examination reveals is not so much the ordering of the elements used in a work as the elements themselves and their immutability; it is less the constancy of the arrangement than that of the pieces that comprise it. Whether it is a matter of scales, rhythms or structures, these building materials show themselves, seen close up, to be determined by an intelligible principle, from which proceeds a more or less extensive group of processes or, if you prefer, a ‘system’. These systems are recognized by the ‘natural’ character of their principle and in the use that is made of them in the methodical deployment of their resources. Genesis by a cycle of fifths is enough to explain certain scales; a simple arithmetical relationship of durations, such and such a rhythmic category; the articulation by cells that are in some way syntactic (rather than in equal series), certain forms.

If the origin of systems is to be sought in elementary material data, it is no surprise that even the most rudimentary of them should have stayed alive up to our own time, for example in some little formulas of our children. It is even less surprising that within the primitive societies that use them, each possesses the mechanism and knows how to take advantage of all its resources, while the educated Western musician has such trouble in deciphering them. Which brings us back to the point that the systems have no author, nor could they have one.

But they only provide the materials for creation. In the poorest –

presumed to be the oldest – these materials may seem to us insufficient to constitute any music whatever, when none the less even a ‘scale’ of two notes, associated with a rhythm using only two durations and in a strictly symmetrical form, presents, arithmetically speaking, a fair number of possibilities. But the more these possibilities multiply, the more the repertoires of commonplaces, current expressions, readymade formulas crystallize, in which one may see the beginning of creation even if they derive almost inevitably from the system itself.

It may happen that one of these primary vocables may give rise, on its own, to a whole song. Generally, one joins several together whose grouping constructs a melodic contrivance. With no constraint to dictate choice, a creative work takes place this time. Would it be individual? It might be. Theoretically, the selection of components and their ordering could very well happen in the imagination of a single person who transmits the fruit to others, these in turn setting about making whatever use of it seems to them suitable, while he soon disappears from memory (through the working of an inexorable law that is also as yet unexplained).

The most serious objection to this conjecture is that the initiator, if he existed, should of necessity show himself by the ‘originality’ of his invention, or in other words by some feature in which his individual quality makes itself felt, distinct from the undifferentiated mass around him. Consequently it would be obligatory that the repertory of ‘primitive’ societies (or those near enough to a state to which one might reasonably apply the term) be composed – bearing in mind the restrictions imposed by the systems operating in it – of a great variety of musical types.

Now, research has established the exact contrary. Perhaps we have too lightly averred that among certain populations that have long remained out of all contact with Europe, this one has known only this sort of music, that one some other kind. The fact is, without going to Polynesia or the Cape, Bartók has already observed that in a coherent group, essentially still unaltered, one meets with no vast motley assembly of patterns, but rather the opposite, a ‘style’, the expression of a general way of feeling and acting. Its concrete manifestations are so closely related to each other that one might at first take them for simple variants of the same melody.

So the dilemma is perfectly clear: either the individuals presumed to be creators only bring into the world one single and identical creation, in which case they dissolve in the crowd and remain for ever a myth; or else we will agree that our problem has once again been badly posed, and what is concerned is in fact something else. This is something else we are henceforth obliged to confront: it is collective creation.

It has long ago been said that we are mistaken if by that we mean the power of drawing out of the void a matchless *res facta*. The question is to know if collective predilections may lead a human group towards certain artifices permitted by a system, rather than towards others, and whether this group is

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capable on its own of making of them, while exhausting them, the material for more or less stable structures, able to pass, in our eyes, for a distinct object.

There is no room for doubt. In truth the reason for these tendencies remains and will remain mysterious. But the perpetual elaboration of the same substances is easily observable, as much in the mass as in each particle of the 'social body'. It has often been studied, if imperfectly. *Variationstrieb* is no more than that. Assuming that it can really be collective it would be tantamount to creation. But can it be? Assuredly, because it *is*.

However, the fact that all over the world so many apparently incompatible musics have been born inclines one to doubt, and raises a serious question. But mathematics gives the answer. If one recalls that we are still far away from knowing all the original systems that govern melody, rhythm, form – not to overlook polyphony; that we do not know the relations of thousands of the world's languages to music; finally that each new unit added to a number of combinations multiplies them to a dizzying extent, the mists slowly disperse and little by little the irrational becomes logical.

And still all this only applies to the peoples or tribes – henceforth theoretical – among whom the generating systems have kept their severity. On the other hand, even submerged by the alluvia of centuries, these systems have, we repeat, a hard life. And when in the sixteenth or seventeenth century, and in France, some urban songmaker takes from one of them, to liven up a ditty, its commonest but also most typical turns, this ditty comes close to the primitive hut, brand new and immemorially primitive.

So much that, in the end, all things considered, the poets have seen clearer than the doctors, and the dreamers better than the men of plain sense.

5 *Concerning the yodel*

It was in Basle, before the Musicology Congress of 1924, that von Hornbostel presented a now-famous theory of the yodel, whose essence may be summarized as follows.

The typical properties of this song – constant passage from the chest register to the falsetto ('Umschlagen' or 'Überschlagen'), pure vocalization, wide intervals, scarcely vocal ('unsangbar') style and allowance for long-drawn portamenti – all doubtless indicate the imitation of an instrument and, more precisely, one of those whose scale, restricted to 'natural' sounds, limits one to the use of harmonics. This instrument can be none other than the alphorn, which came from Asia along a route passing to the north of the mountains that give the instrument its name: thus the yodel is later than the immigration of this sound-producer (or of its closest relatives) to the high Western valleys where it was born. Von Hornbostel hardly lingered on the psychic motives that might have given rise to the imitation (motives on which his successors have long deliberated) and only reminds us as an aside that in archaic civilizations trumpets have the power of intimidating demons, as indeed is shown by their use in Chinese and Romanian burials, where they drive off the redoubtable spirits of the dead: with the same sound the primitive also appropriates supernatural virtue. Beyond that, our specialist suggests that as herding likewise originated in Asia, one may take it that the yodel was an attribute of pastoral peoples.

The argument on which von Hornbostel bases his hypothesis juxtaposes some very diverse considerations of value and nature that do not cast light on the whole subject in equal measure. One of these, the lengthy digression on the itinerary of Asiatic wind instruments only tangentially touches on the problem to be solved, and we must examine others from close up, notably these: certain yodels and similar songs contain the augmented fourth (the 'Alpine Fa') of the horn; the first notation, at least four centuries old, of a *ranz des vaches* (a type that one could take to be very close to the yodel) offers a clearly instrumental outline, and the fact that it is written in canon is probably ('wohl') copied from nature; certain sequences by Notker obviously resemble horn flourishes; a celebrated Latin text recounts how in the fourth century some highland pagans, after putting three Christians to death, uttered 'strepentes et horridos jubiles pastorales', by which is meant yodels, not mere vociferations, for the murderers surely ('jedenfalls') knew the voice-break ('Umschlag') since they played the tuba (i.e. the alphorn); finally, in the Northern Solomons, the musical life of the Alps is reproduced,

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point by point, except that there, the yodel has taken for its model not the horn but the panpipe.

The material gaps in this demonstration should not unduly surprise us. Of course, in 1924, von Hornbostel was not to foresee that, besides the two areas of frequency (the Alps, Central Melanesia) that he knew, others (Georgia, Romania, etc.) were soon to be added. By constantly taking the unknown for the known, he dangerously prejudged the future. For instance, what would remain of the notion that the route from Asia to Central Europe was by the Northern Alps, if it were proved that buccins abounded to the south of this imaginary track? How could one continue to maintain the Alpine birth of the yodel, if it had just been identified outside the proposed trajectory? And what would become, in such a case, of the *terminus post quem* fixed by authority concerning this birth?

In any case, in this connection, may we allow that there must have been a transplantation of sonorous tubes from one continent to another to make possible the phenomenon of vocal adaptation, of which nevertheless the physical and psychic conditions existed at the very start? Were Notker's sequences really inspired by the alphorn, was the famous contrapuntal notation of the *ranz* really the written reproduction of the contemporary reality, and have we so far learnt anything conclusive about the relations between the yodel and the pastoral horn? And as for the story about the killing of the missionaries, however closely we look at it, we see absolutely nothing that authorizes the translation of 'jubiles pastorales' by 'Tyrolean', nor anything to certify that these 'jubiles', however 'horrible', were uttered in a head voice.

The Alphorn Fa does not supply any conclusive argument, either. Admittedly, the Swiss *Betruk* uses it in a systematic fashion, but in other respects any instrumental character is missing from this psalmodic recitation.

It is notable, incidentally, that rarely used vocal techniques have often made specialists reckon on an instrumental origin. If Chinese theatre singers cultivate a falsetto, if the Cossacks of Siberia amuse themselves with long decorated lines of wide compass, that is always, according to von Hornbostel, because they are copying an instrument. Riemann similarly viewed interludes played in passages in short values in certain ancient compositions. And the clucking sounds ('Gluckslalte') of the Romanian *hora lungă* were enough to persuade Bartók of the instrumental essence of this type, though he could easily have found it elsewhere (notably in the Spanish *cante jondo*). In any case a very simple question dominates this argument, of which one is astonished, with good reason, that it occupies such a minor place: does the yodel really restore the sonorities that it applies itself to imitate? One may well doubt it, and von Hornbostel himself, convinced on this point, presents the sceptics with a sizeable objection by his Alps/Melanesia parallel. Aiming at magical purposes, in order to be effective, the imitation must necessarily

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be faithful. Can one then admit that horn and panpipe gave rise to a single or even double voice? To suggest that the sound effects due to the 'Umschlag' reproduced the attacks forced by the sharpness proper to the horn (Bartók called it 'einschnappen aus unbestimmter Höhe'), it is still necessary to explain why, in Switzerland, a substitute for bell chimes (if that is what the *Betruf* is) should obligatorily double this chime itself, called *Alpsegen*.

But now a French scientific mission has brought back to the Musée de l'Homme from the Central Congo a well-characterized yodel which will perhaps decide the contradicitors. It is an incantation for those who hunt by nets, sung in the depth of the equatorial forest, by a pygmy woman. A splendid find, and all the more so because on the one hand the pygmies are hunters and not herdsmen, and on the other hand, according to the explorers, they do not possess any musical instruments. So, all that remains is the magical function of a prolonged song in falsetto, for which doubtless the ethnographers will one day tell us the reasons. In the light of our new knowledge, the opportunity arises to submit von Hornbostel's theory to a careful revision in order to detach what remains valuable of the views of a most original mind, whose very mistakes have contributed so much to the progress of science.

6 *On a Romanian ballad*

About 1850, the ‘prince of poets’, Vasile Alecsandri, drew attention, for the first time, to a Romanian ballad, spread to all intents over the whole Romanian language area, and of which variants have been collected in the Ukraine and in Jugoslav Timok. Alecsandri named the slightly confused version that he had discovered – and no doubt touched up – ‘Mioriță’ (t = ts): the ‘little ewe’ or, better, the ‘ewe-lamb’. In fact, ‘Mioriță’ diminishes ‘Mioara’, meaning ‘ewe’ surely enough, but always with a caressing and diminutive nuance.

Immediately, the Little Ewe fascinated his contemporaries, and Michelet declared it ‘a holy thing, so touching as to break the heart’. Since then its prestige has never ceased to grow: today Romania regards it as the purest expression and the very symbol of its poetic genius. So much so that we have seen learned professors devote themselves exclusively to the study of this piece, and to found, as they would say in Germany, a veritable ‘Miorița-forschung’, a regular ‘Miorițology’. And beyond that a thinker with a considerable following has not hesitated to coin, by means of a common suffix, a most remarkable term and to imagine a ‘Miorițic space’ which should be, as it were, a chosen area for the soul of the race.

However, the epic substance of the poem is not over-rich: a ewe, who understands human language and makes use of it if necessary, warns her young shepherd that he is soon to be murdered by his companions because they envy him his flock, more handsome than theirs, his braver dogs, his better-trained horses. Far from thinking of defending himself, the victim merely confides his last wishes to the prophetic beast; he is to be buried in the fold alongside his dear sheep; at his head his flute should be fixed so that the wind will play for him; the confidante is to say nothing about murder, but should relate that her master has married a queen and that he has the high mountains for priests, for godparents the sun and moon, for wedding guests the trees, for hired musicians the birds, for torches the stars. It is particularly this final allegory – majestic as it is – that has nourished the ‘Miorițic’ ethno-philosophy, that sees in the complete resignation in the face of death and in the invincible nostalgia for a return to the bosom of maternal nature, the essence of the national psyche, within which an immemorial pantheism survives.

Encouraged by Alecsandri, Michelet early concurred in this view. But while he ‘deeply felt an agreeable fraternity of mankind with all creation’ in Mioriță, he censured the avowal of ‘an over-ready resignation’. ‘And

unfortunately,' he writes, 'it is the national characteristic. The man does not dispute his death, he does not look on it disfavourably: he welcomes it, he readily marries the queen, the lady-love of all the world, and he consummates the marriage without a murmur. Emerged from nature only yesterday, today he finds it sweet to return to its bosom.'

Examined less lyrically, the text offers us two themes, here mingled, though actually distinct and separable: on the one hand the comparison of death with marriage; on the other, the substitution of some chance element or object for the normal accessories of peasant ceremonies.

The 'death-marriage' theme goes back to prehistory. Substantial works have followed its track to the literature of Hellenic antiquity and have rediscovered it in the oral tradition throughout the Balkans and elsewhere. Among the Romanians of our own day, it is found as much in the funeral lamentations dedicated to young unmarried people, as in non-ritual poetry when it is attached to the same subject. The mourners call the boys 'handsome bridegroom', even if they have not attained puberty, while they address the girls as 'pretty little bride', 'beautifully dressed bride' and they lament, for instance, that they had not expected such a festivity, that they have been caught unawares, that they should have been warned. And in a relatively recent song a girl harvester, caught by the threshing machine, dies imploring, just like Alecsandri's shepherd: 'I beg you, Mr Engineer, don't say that I am dead, say that I've got engaged.'

The theme of substitution belongs as much to occasional poetry as to lyrical poetry proper. It too has, in its practice, a given function: lament for those who die far away, among strangers or alone. It too maintains a remarkable vitality, for at the time of the First World War, one might hear:

- Tell me, you rifleman,
where was it written that you should fall?
- In the valley of the Oituz,
Amid the cannon fire.
- Who held the candle for you?
- The sun when it was high.
- And who washed you?
- The raindrops when it rained.
- And who burnt incense for you?
- The mist when it came down.
- And who said mass?
- The moon when it rose.

(By custom, a candle is put in the hand of the dying person, the body is bathed, incense is burnt in the grave.) Except for the military details, here we see revived, word for word, the old lament for the lonely death of the shepherd: Miorița can be felt close at hand.

There is a superposition of the two themes – or double metaphor – defined above, each time that, in solitude and abandon, a virtual spouse dies, given

that supposedly it is a wedding, not a funeral, that is being celebrated: our ballad offers a distinguished example. Comparison of the documents shows that the apotheosis that is so much admired is not a unique miracle of art but, on the contrary, a lyrical commonplace, evidently attached, by some sort of fatal contamination, to the body of a narrative whose tragic and pastoral substance implies, as it were, such a peroration.

On its own, literary analysis does not take us far. At the most it reveals to a very close investigation that the lines dealing with substitutions do not necessarily complain that bad luck has deprived the unfortunate deceased of bells, laments or winding sheet, but often limit themselves to pitilessly enumerating whatever has replaced them. And that is important, as we shall see. But as yet we do not hold the key to all these images. To make use of it, let us remember that in archaic rural society, neither poetry nor music nor any art lays claim to autonomy. The artistic is joined to the social, its source and its reason. It adorns ritual, the tangible manifestation of a particular mental attitude towards the mysteries of the here and the hereafter.

Logic advises us to question this mystique, not its signs. For a start, let us recall that throughout the whole country, in towns as well, virgins and dead adolescents are dressed as for marriage and that sometimes even certain liturgical objects proper to the marriage ceremony accompany them to the grave, notably those metal crowns that the officiating priest would have placed on their heads if they had lived. Moreover, in such regions they are given 'imaginary' betrothed partners, dressed as such, who remain alongside them in the cortège. Photographs taken in Northern Transylvania in 1935 retain certain aspects of the miniature funeral procession of a new-born child. Two urchins perform the masculine tasks: one is bowed under the weight of a church banner, the other carries the diminutive coffin. A troupe of little maids of honour follows them, with their heads garlanded with flowers and their arms laden with plaited bread, obligatory at ritual festivities in the neighbourhood. Finally, it is usual, almost everywhere, to set up on the graves of unmarried youngsters a fir-tree, which townsfolk buy in the market but the mountaineers fell for themselves in the forest, in accordance with a strict ceremony. At its descent, riders often come from very far away to meet it, and if it has to pass through several villages, female choirs, generally accompanied by a flute, greet it in each village and escort it, singing.

Another wedding scene. One day in the Carpathians, at a cross-roads, the top of the fir-tree touched the cheek of a young corpse. It was according it a farewell kiss, as the lamentations testify:

How she displeases me,
this wife that you have
tall, marvellous,
grown in the forest,
touched by the axe . . .

From each testimony, the aim of these fictions does not immediately emerge with perfect clarity. Rustic civilization does not at all exist in its completeness, and the meaning of many practices, repeated by custom and convention, has foundered for ever. 'Just so that he too can have his wedding.' Nothing more, it seems, has survived in the mind of the people.

Happily, we have not yet reached an impasse. The imitation of posthumous marriage, by all accounts, represents a care devoted to the dead, a form of assistance. One guesses straightaway that it is attached by rights to a vast complex of gifts and offerings which funerals and their aftermath call for in the countryside. It is a matter of establishing if the reasons for these gifts are still understood, and if they are valid for the marriage of the dead also.

Romanians understand by the single technical term *pomana* the range of liberalities in some way related to beings of the 'otherworld' and their cult. The exercise of this apparent generosity – that in principle the Church encourages in the name of charity – obeys strict rules, even if they vary, from province to province, in amplitude and detail. Essentially it comprises numerous distributions of food, the first condition of life. Immediately after the burial and three days, six weeks, a year later, a great feast is prepared in the courtyard of the dead person's house, in which anyone has the right to be considered a guest, as a matter of course. In some places, brandy is distributed at the exit of the cemetery. Elsewhere a low table is set with plates, spoons and full pitchers, which the beneficiary may bear off at will. Or the branch of an apple-tree or plum-tree – called 'the tree' – is laden with fruits and goodies that are undone near the grave for the benefit of the needy. Moreover, inherited laws demand that all the seasonal foods and all the first fruits of the earth should delight the poor – galantines of meat in winter, strawberries in springtime, white cheese in summer, grapes in autumn.

Over some stretches of country the custom of the 'water-spring' is still practised. The bereaved family entrusts an old widow or a child – the former again 'pure', the latter still so – with the task of 'carting', for forty days, early in the morning, the water necessary for a distressed household, so as to save it the trouble of drawing its own water. The water is sometimes doubled by a 'spring of milk', which is used for making maize cakes. Both end in a ceremony of 'liberation' by a riverside. The strange and surely symbolic 'stick', a hazel branch, makes its appearance. It is split at the top to receive paper money, and covered with leaves, flowers, ripe ears of grain, a skein of silk, a hank of spun wool. On certain dates and with fixed ceremony, to the victuals are added personal effects, bedding, innumerable candles, in fact everything by which a source of suffering is removed from the human body: hunger, thirst, cold, heat, darkness.

The aim of such generosity leaps to the eye: since the physical bondages of this life persist in the life after death, the departed are endowed with necessities through the subterfuges of magic. The common formula that accompanies the indirect gifts indicates precisely: 'May this be for the soul

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of So-and-So,' and the intermediary is chosen in the image of the one whom it is intended to reach. Giving the breast to a strange child, a mother thus suckles her own, from beyond the grave. It happens that even the clothes given to the needy are donned in front of the grave-cross of those they are really destined for, as if to dispel any doubt. The direct gifts have much to tell us: within the hand's reach are set food soaking in beer, a wax goblet full of mother's milk; or in the pockets of adults, eggs, sugar, pastry. The women have not forgotten why they act as they do, and will say so frankly. A second cycle of presents has a different aim. Silver, silken scarves, linen napkins, poultry, small livestock arm the dead person against the perilous tests of his journey to the 'land without pity'.

Though more and more confused nowadays, the texts and traditions always concur: it is a long and dangerous pilgrimage which cannot be faced without toll-money, without guides, without advice.

There will be two paths there.
Do not take the path of fire,
Take the path of sweet basil.

Night falls, no shelter presents itself, only the wolf and the fox know how to come through the trees and bushes unscathed. At more than one customs-post, greedy officials lie in wait. Young men and women, old people, a novice monk in black, deceitful birds cluster round asking for his eyes, his arms, his voice, his bearing. He appeases them either with coins or scarves or bunches of flowers. Along the 'shadowless road' the reeds impede his steps. Scratching and pecking, the chicken he has been given clears the soil out of the ditch and the sheep with the soaked fleece, bleating, cools his forehead. At every moment a powerful obstacle stops him. A wild and furious sea rises, that he has to cross. But the giant fir-tree on the bank will not help him, either with its trunk, its branches or its roots, because an otter, a snake, a dragon is nesting there. Tired of beseeching the tree, he threatens to call three woodmen, his brothers, to his aid, and at last the tree bows down over the waters that 'separate the world'. The traveller passes, 'dew at his feet, mist at his backbone'. So each person makes infinite efforts that their dead arrive without hindrance in the 'place of rest' and undergo no further privation.

At first sight these precautions seem a clear indication of a naïve solicitude for the well-being and safety of the loved ones torn from the affection of relatives and neighbours. But the simple recall of another category of operations is enough to disabuse us entirely: in this, there is no trace of tenderness, no suggestion of protection, but a hostile, almost hateful fear. At the raising of the corpse the inhabitants of the house it is leaving do not go out in its wake but hastily close the front door and lean their backs against it for a considerable time as a forbidding sign. Before settling the

corpse, expert hands submit the coffin to a radical purification, rubbing it with garlic and setting light, in the four corners, to hemp threads disposed in the form of a cross. The pillow that is placed in the coffin holds sundry objects with occult virtues: an uneven number of white river pebbles, grains of incense, black thorns, but also – an eloquent detail – materials of his final toilet: soap, razor, scissors, not forgetting the finger and toe nails and the hair cut off on the occasion. Chosen persons from the community used formerly to go and return – rarely nowadays – to pierce the corpse's heart with a red hot iron. The improvised sorcerers are fully aware of their intention and make no mystery of it: it is to prevent the dead from 'turning mischievous' and coming back.

These revenants are not at all like the familiar ghosts of the West, included in the inventory of historic castles that they haunt from time to time. These are angry and rapacious spirits, they kill men and beasts, and only drastic and brutal manoeuvres have the power to tame them: by nocturnal exhumation and cremation at the least. The causes of their murderous returns are innumerable, as many as their misdeeds. Sometimes a personal spite lives on after death, sometimes ghouls run in the family, sometimes the matter is simply that a cat has settled on the remains. Sometimes the revenant comes to claim his share of the goods and pleasures of this world or to carry off what he wants: in 1919 an offended grandmother cruelly tormented her family who had burnt resin to her instead of proper incense, at the time very rare.

Over each human deprivation a cunning and bloody enemy is lurking, that one must apply oneself to removing, disarming and appeasing. It is removed by helping it to reach its supreme home safe and sound. It is disarmed by purifying or destroying anything it has touched, or that belonged to it or merely calls it to mind: the water from its bath (which is stowed away in some hidden corner), shavings from its grave-cross and bier (which are immediately burnt on the spot), the gravediggers' measuring rod (which is buried along with what it has just measured). It is appeased by taking care that it properly receives and carries away its due, either as direct gift or by the devious way of alms. Furthermore, it is calmed by the magical deceit of a feigned connection with the customary displays of its former life.

The parents of a dead son hire musicians for a general dance and by doing so they involve him in the amusements of his peers. When they go out at Christmas time to carry their luck-wishes from door to door the young men include a dead companion by driving their sticks – decorated with incisions – into the earth that covers him. Similarly, the simulated marriage persuades the restless souls that the most important act of their career has really been fulfilled and that nothing should henceforth summon them back to the land of the living: 'Let him have his wedding too, even if celebrated by the mountains, the moon, the sun, the trees, the birds and the stars.'

And so at last figures similar to those which, in Miorița, astonished the world of letters, are illuminated. In our own days, 'wandering strophes' and current poetic turns of phrase all lead us to believe that they once formed the verbal element of a magical spell. The little note of regret and commiseration to be felt here and there in these deconsecrated incantations surely only slipped in when Christian pity drove out ancestral terror. They express neither the sensual pleasure of renunciation nor the intoxication of the void, nor the adoration of death, but their exact opposite, for they perpetuate the memory of the original gestures for the defence of life.

7 *The widening of musical sensibility*

This is the proposed subject. But is it really a widening of sensibility that is in question? Have we, in fact, such a different conception of good music from that of our fathers or grandfathers? Does the Western musician of today really hear music differently from fifty or a hundred years ago?

It is open to debate. One thing is certain – in this century or past fifty years, something has happened. This something has probably not yet reached full maturity, but one is constantly aware of it. It is evident in attitudes that are no longer held, words that can no longer be said, and outdated articles of faith. Certainly, anyone is free to believe that the Japanese are not musically gifted and will never produce good music. But they will refrain from giving as proof the absence of a Ninth symphony in Japan. We have finally understood that the Ninth has nothing to do with the Japanese.

Equally, our musical exercises must estrange us from the detailed intonation of Arabic classical song, which would torment a music-lover who grew up beside a piano. But nobody would think of claiming that this is rudimentary or savage art: we would laugh in his face. And however disagreeable the sound of a Hindu *vina* may seem to us, we would not say that the instrument in question is a ‘puerile’ machine, as Berlioz so calmly described it around 1850.

In other words, our point of view, if not our sensibility, has changed, and has changed radically: that superb and aprioristic scorn is finished that allowed Berlioz to write about their music that the Orientals are still ‘sunk in the deepest shadows and in an infantile ignorance’; that they ‘call music what we call charivari’ and that their song is made up of ‘nasal, guttural, moaning, hideous sounds, similar to those of dogs when, after a long sleep, they stretch their limbs and yawn strenuously’. Such sarcasms can only make one smile at their author. We have disarmed him: this is the fact.

There is, for one reason, the general progress of knowledge. When Fétis, again around 1870, stated that white people (i.e. Western Europeans) had alone succeeded in creating a music worthy of the name, his basis was supposedly objective and unquestionable argument. Only in this music, he explained, were found reunited all the elements of the art of sounds: melody, rhythm and timbre, known to all races, but also polyphony, unknown to yellow or black races. Obviously, the discovery of artful and varied polyphonic methods, often close to our own, in Africa and Asia, sunk this reasoning.

In the same way, how could one continue to talk of the ‘childish ignorance of the Chinese’ knowing that they invented equal temperament before us; or believe that the Javanese were plunged in the ‘shadows of barbarism’ knowing that their scales are as artificial and, consequently, as learned as the twelve-tone scale? And these elementary ideas have spread at an ever-increasing speed, parallel to the use of material means of diffusion: film, record, radio. But it goes without saying that no decisive discovery could have been made by only wishing, or without curiosity. The origin of this curiosity is not in sensibility: it is a scientific trait. It took it upon itself before the century of enlightenment and as fast as we advanced towards modern times, that the profane should drive away the sacred, and that the conquerors should reach new shores. The curiosity of men of art did not awaken until after that of the men of science. Weber put a Chinese melody in his *Turandot* because an explorer had already noted it; however, he accepted it, and that is an important sign: a cross-road had been reached.

If we accept that our sensibility has truly evolved – or ‘widened’ – one might ask if it is exotic and popular music that determined its evolution or if it is rather because of this evolution that we were drawn to them. Is it our knowledge of them that has changed our point of view or were changes necessary before we could approach them? An extremely delicate problem. When all is taken into account, it seems that cause and effect are more or less confounded. When Jean-Jacques Rousseau discusses the music of China and Persia in his *Encyclopedia*, it is not because he loves them; he was a long way from that. But when Weber uses a Chinese melody, on the one hand he is really continuing the conventional tradition of Turkish, Chinese and Iroquois elements in opera, and on the other hand he was evidently pleased by this melody, as Mendelssohn was pleased by a Scottish air, as we know, or, even more so, the Krakowiak well known to Chopin.

The moment is crucial: we are in approximately the 1830s. The cathedrals are quickly emerging from the mists of blindness, Shakespeare threatens to dethrone Sophocles, and soon, with the first measures of Liszt’s *Préludes*, a widely spaced pentatonic scale will resonate in all purity in orchestral unison. This time, it is no longer a matter of a picturesque touch, an ‘hors-d’œuvre’ or a spice. A new and active substance is integrated into the symphonic organism, in other words, into our music.

The evolution that led to this did not occur easily: the spiritual tyranny of Greek antiquity, mother of wisdom and mistress of mistresses, let go very slowly, and nothing is more symptomatic than the sight of the old Goethe, at first transported by Serbian popular poetry to the point that he compares it to the ‘Song of Songs’, quickly repenting that he has allowed himself to be dragged, for an instant, into the shadows of a barbarian epoch and solemnly preaching the return to the clarity of ancient Greece – this same Goethe marvelled elsewhere at the quantity of excellent novels produced by China at a time when our ancestors still haunted the deep obscurity of virgin

forests. Such were the boundaries of combat where romanticism and classicism, the ancient and the modern, confronted one another: but as soon as the Olympian of Weimar closed his eyes, the modern, that he thought pathologic, had triumphed.

Intellectual curiosity apart, it would not be wrong to see a second cause for this triumph in a specifically European state of mind which the word 'lassitude' expresses quite well, taken in its widest sense. Lassitude as much of those to whom art addresses itself as of this art itself. The normal wearying of effects that have been felt for too long; the exhaustion of the repertoire of these same effects. For music, the greatest work of Western Europe had been the classical symphony which, in his so-called second phase, Beethoven had taken to the limits of its resources. Everything goes, as we know, in the third phase, as if, stricken by anguish before a menacing captivity, he slaved to take apart, piece by piece, the majestic edifice built by his own hands, sometimes undermining his tonal base by trying a lydian mode or dreaming of a dorian symphony; sometimes, with great difficulty, pinning the vocal to the instrumental; sometimes overturning the whole arrangement; sometimes seeking help in the past by returning to counterpoint, even if this were at the price of all freedom. All the evidence shows that Western music is exhausted, and each time it draws another breath it is a sort of miracle: the unexpected enrichment of minor forms; recourse to literature in the symphonic poem; radical symphonization of the opera. To these successive revivals of youth, exotic or popular music has greatly contributed, as did the so-called 'nationalist' schools of music, whose support it would be unjust to ignore. They were both central to and on the side of the issue, because although they tried to adapt unfamiliar methods to the laws of a material that was primarily melodic and strictly regional, it was precisely through this material that they brought a lot of water to the mill of others, who, on the contrary, were trying to invigorate and re-animate an art already turned towards the universal. It is certainly impossible here to follow the trail of new blood across the scores of Liszt, Wagner or Brahms. Suffice it to recall the most striking illustration that came of it: the music of Debussy. Assuredly, the sorcerer has not said what the irresistible brew that he has poured out for us is made of, but one can easily see that there are many juices collected from the four corners of the world. Let us not think of Pickwick, nor of Golliwog, nor Grenada nor the hills of Anacapri, examples of a formula of premeditated local colour. Let us think of a manner, truly his own, made up of a quantity of heterogeneous components, of which his personality has formed a synthesis, and which, depersonalized, melted down and scarcely discernible, are reabsorbed: an echo of the gamelan, various popular songs, Russian melodies and so many other ingredients, of which there remains only a remodelled profile, a specific sonority, a precise detail as if lost in the symphonic web and only perceptible to the best informed. It is this which makes one understand that of all the influences laboriously

assimilated by Bartók, that of Debussy persists the longest; more than a professional secret, or a notation, he has drawn out a doctrine, of which his late works are a more eloquent testimony than the pages resulting from the shock of the first meeting. When the initial, faithful repetitions are forgotten, this great lesson alone will remain. Like his predecessor, he no longer seeks only the rhythmic virtues or abstract melodies of the exotic and the popular. And so, there is no doubt: despite everything, musical sensibility has effectively widened among the creators.

But what are they like, away from the stage and footlights, those at whom the work of art is aimed? One can only say that, as sons of the same epoch and led by the same spiritual movement, they have followed their presumed spokesmen less eagerly than foreseen. The consumers have often grimaced at the unexpected gifts offered to them. But like some fictional character, who is nourished by earthworms and ends up by enjoying them, the majority have finally accepted them.

But these are grave words. Such tolerance is not an act of will, nor the result of an intellectual appetite, even less the symptom of a state of feeling. It is pure passivity. To 'get used to' means to 'endure' or, more or less, to 'put up with'. Does tolerance lead to a widening of sensibility? Or does it forcibly blunt it, until it finally deprives it of any faculty of reaction and choice? After all the surprises, hardened by severe tests, the sense of hearing will probably easily accept the most unusual sound agglomerations, but will it still be able to distinguish and differentiate? Can it still bring an enriching idea to the complex mechanism of the sensibility?

Once again, the facts say both yes and no. If simply reduced to aural training, the use of the popular and exotic would finally meet with indifference and atony. However, since even earthworms can seem tasty, one sees that from sufferance can come pleasure and that after the first auditory commotion, an order of preference can be established that will draw temperaments more sensitive to rhythm, for example, towards Black Africa, natures susceptible to rare timbres towards Bali, and so on.

Indeed, this is what is happening, and if it were within our reach, an infallible criterion would convince us of the reality of these diverse leanings and allow us to measure exactly the respective amplitude of predilections: namely the statistics of record sales and radio audience numbers.

Finally, this allows us to say without hesitation that the sensibility of creators as of musical amateurs has positively widened, no less than, it should be said in passing, that of the musicologists. Inasmuch as it is no longer confined to the drawing-up of a list of works of some lately deceased great man, or to the discovery of some new diagnosis of a famous deafness, musicology forces those that practise it towards a continuous attempt at comprehension and sympathy.

Should we unreservedly congratulate ourselves for such progress? Evidently yes, as regards science: we are more knowledgeable and freed

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from more than one bias. As regards art, we have learnt more than one knack and acquired several new delectable objects. However, at close examination, the widening of our sensibility gives as much cause for anxiety as for rejoicing. Firstly, the search for and understanding of other styles is a sign of crisis: it proclaims the shipwreck of our own. Furthermore, we should remember, our sensibility is purely aesthetic. Individual taste remains the highest arbiter in artistic matters: hence the division, close neighbour of destruction, of the present artistic world. We owe all sorts of precious teachings to popular and exotic music, but there is one among them, alas, that we cannot understand. The powerful spiritual cohesion of the societies it expresses escapes our understanding. If taste is not discussed in those societies, it is because, unlike our own, it is unanimous. And because beyond individual caprice reigns the highest function invested in music of which we have stripped it for ever.

But there begins another story.

Beyond the oldest known document, history suddenly confronts a wall of silence. Here, the shadowy domain of the unknown begins, an era of centuries without a voice, about which we have agreed to think that we know nothing. The prehistoric past, said Fétis, is impenetrable, at least until some fortunate excavation produces a new document that predates the most venerable ones. Unfortunately, even that will seem old only by reference to that instant in history that we already know of. Even though it may slightly draw back a threshold that was previously impassable, it will still scarcely penetrate the immense obscurity preceding it. Stumpf, who was among the first to study the American Indian songs, has stated that we would most certainly be wrong to consider them as primitive: their study reveals a possibly millenial gestation and places them infinitely further in time from the original state of music than from our present musical art.

But according to the strict rule of the profession, the hoped-for evidence will only be valued if written, and, preferably, a ‘notation’. But we know the rest: the notation of sound was a late conquest. It was not practised by peoples of high culture such as the Arabs, among whom, as we like to say, literacy and the arts flowered. And those that did practise it most often proceeded by allusions and shortcuts, relying on memory and experience. Although Jean-Jacques Rousseau deplored the fact that modern Westerners perceive music through figures and see only crotchets, minims and quavers, not everything can be read on their staves. We frequently see our interpreters bent on catching from the last disciples of a deceased master the secret thoughts hidden at the heart of the most explicit texts. With some three centuries behind us, the written is already so elliptic that without the help of commentaries, the reader would run into a freedom that he does not really know what to do with; further on lie conjecture and dispute, and, finally, the void. Such are the narrow limits in space and time between which the document confines its knowledge.

Yet the voice of ages that are presumed to have been dumb was not silenced, and doubtless through some open window scholars bent over their parchments sometimes heard it. But the hour had not yet chimed for them to incline their ear. Only much later did this truth appear to some rare minds, namely that, like an architectural find, an Indian song, for example, could serve as a document to certify a questionable fact, and that only this truth, by its material reality, could have a historical value. A new idea, which promptly gave birth to an equally new science.

To begin with, the controversy that this aroused only concerned the definition of the document, and did not touch upon method: a simple bodily separation whose divorce would not follow until much later. This was during the last quarter of the nineteenth century, when several undisputed articles of faith (how often disputed since) dominated European thought. There was no doubt in anyone's mind that perfection – of art as of any other thing – was the outcome of incessant progress accomplished by humanity, thanks to the particular genius of white people, and that, in consequence, only those white people possessed a perfect music, a measure for all other musical things. And so some were concerned only with this, and with its immediate antecedents. Since they refused to accept information that was indigent and to their eyes unacceptable, they resolutely confined themselves within the limits of the written. For others, although in their minds too the dogma of European pre-eminence remained untouchable (to the point that Stumpf, their previously mentioned leader, referred the aesthetic effects of exotic melodies to the absolute of our classical works of art), it was important to know by what paths, and from what initial hypothetical threshold our art elevated itself to shine out for ever, as the spiritual pinnacle of the world.

The only means of learning this appeared to be the exploration of living oral traditions, the material of their future meditation, and their first duty was to assemble the unusual documentation which they still largely did not have (for which the real progress of the mechanics promised to be more and more helpful). Since they thought that the source they were looking for could only be found very far away and they must prepare themselves for a great voyage, they cheerfully entrusted their own continent to their orthodox brothers who would alone be concerned with it, from then on.

However, between these two domains, a third would lie fallow for a long time: that of archaic Europe, which they all ignored. A minor object, left to the subaltern zeal of 'folklorists'.

Anyway, a considerable adventure began. Not that we had never looked towards distant horizons: many Histories of Music had already devoted some chapter to the defunct epochs, to the Near or the Far Orient. But this was within the realm of a kind of encyclopaedic reflex, and far from any idea of 'rapprochement'. In the eighteenth century, when without flinching Burney compares the tonality of China to that of Scottish villages and does not hesitate to attribute this resemblance not to chance, nor to relationships hardly understood, but to the conditions of a stage of development which is almost inevitable, he is the proof of a most exceptional freedom of spirit. As is in his own way, in the nineteenth century, the secretary of Legation, Ferrière la Vayer, who, although mocking an orchestra of Macao, nevertheless thought he discerned in its sabbath of sorcerers almost a parody of the plainchant of our own churches. Then comparison became a supreme law and the *raison d'être* of the new-born discipline and has remained so, to this day.

In nearly seventy years of existence, using methods that are continually sought after and whose rigour varies in the extreme, the discipline has not ceased to stumble against forecast obstacles: the huge stretch of terrain to explore, and the fathomless depth of time, but also – and far more unexpected among their discoveries – the prodigious multiplicity of phenomena, disturbing differences and even more disturbing similarities in techniques and styles. One might disregard the more or less living art musics in certain privileged places – Japan, India, Java and elsewhere – that one had seen at their beginnings, similar to our own in more than one respect governed by exacting codes and each claiming its own historians; but beneath these high spheres, how did one understand the innumerable differences that immemorial neighbourhoods were supposed to exclude, or, in reverse, the equally innumerable similarities that neither mountains nor oceans prevented? And so, from the shadows surrounding them, peoples appeared at considerable distances from one another who did not use instruments, and, in smaller areas, races that sang naturally in several parts appeared next to neighbours who knew nothing of this art. Some of those who cultivated it, who could not have been corrupted by contemporary Europe, unthreaded strings of thirds, like Western schoolboys, or even those intervals that we call perfect. Others, whom no one could suspect of having studied the scholarly treatises of our Middle Ages, preferred to string together fourths and fifths; others obviously had a taste for that which we esteem to be ‘dissonant’ – major and minor seconds; still others, to whom the manuscripts of the thirteenth century were hardly familiar, found no problem in constructing a canon as accomplished as any celebrated English model.

Similarly, the areas of diffusion of sound devices, when spread out on a map, sometimes formed continuous surfaces, and sometimes spots dispersed to the four cardinal points, and the ‘positives’ were explained, at first sight, with as much difficulty as the ‘negatives’ (as they were called). There were some traits, and there still are, that traced the outlines of entire continents, or only flowered on the coasts, and others that avoided either the south or the north.

The distribution of the thousand ways of using the human voice was equally unintelligible. Whether one worked at producing as many effects as the voice was capable of, including those which escaped our deficient terminology, or those which we, as pure aestheticians, deemed natural, or whether one exerted oneself to make it unrecognizable, forcing it to a shout, making it almost a sob, or helping it with some utensil: there were as many ways as the map showed locales without explaining them. Not all that is nasal is Arabic.

Moreover, it quickly became evident in those ‘backward’ societies, where the musicologists followed the tracks of the ethnologists, and as each new sound cylinder led them further astray, that the key to practices that were

incomprehensible to us was to be found not in the caprice of taste but in the depth of beliefs, where art is but a function. It is from this that they get their power and their permanence. If the human voice is made raucous, hollow, bleating or strident, it is to heal, to protect or to intimidate. Some 'noisemakers' are used in only one rite. The form of decoration on many instruments represents either man, or this or the other world. The instrument as symbol is already broadly outlined. 'The drum,' says Schaeffner, 'resonates in harmony with a world system.'

But the more the exploration produced new disparities, the more it threatened to drown the researcher in a void of catalogues and imposed the necessity of making connections and systematizations. Furthermore, the hypothesis that there was a unique cradle of culture connected, among others, all the highest prefigurations that were supposedly at the same level in an interrupted or broken-off evolution. Thus, they were grouped in 'circles' among which it became urgent to establish a hierarchy.

Also, despite the unknown lands (among which was Europe, already excluded from the investigations), hypotheses proliferated, commonly known as 'working hypotheses', all full of cautious question marks which, hardly were they formed, were hastily abandoned in order to join the proofs! If some striking element of a circle – an object, coloration, vocal type, musical principle – appeared where one least expected it, it was immediately put down to prehistoric contacts or fabulous migrations, the conclusion of directed reasoning or a call to anthropology begging for historical control or the annulling of geography. A shifting terrain, because if it is true that some bamboo either really crossed the vast seas between Malaysia and Madagascar, it is less sure that the Berbers, who are unaware of it, were Asiatic because their melodies (or some of them) remind their listeners (or some of them) of those of China. And we have seen better. Judging the unknown by the known, it was professed that the yodel (or Tyrolean) is only found in Alpine valleys and the northern Solomon Isles. But since it concerns the sung imitation of an instrument – panpipes here, alphorn there – one is forced to admit that horns which came from Asia had to reach the mountains of Central Europe before imitation (not used at the point of departure) could take place, engendering the yodel, the prerogative of pastoral peoples, animal-rearing also having originated in Asia. It took the discovery of pygmy yodlers, the virtuosi of the equatorial forests, hunters without horns, in order for this monument of erudition to topple from its base.

In other respects, a classification by stages of development called imperatively for a yardstick of primitivism which was supposedly found in a syllogism. The 'restricted consciousness' of the primitive would find its material corollary in the restrictions of his song, whose range would not exceed the stepwise movement of a few contiguous sounds. A parallel which unfortunately, if one is not careful, becomes a metaphor with a concrete property.

All this is not yet past history, but is becoming so day by day. The

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pioneers have put down roots. The surge of documentation, which has gone beyond the absorption of the best brains, has widened our visual field beyond all expectation. The folklorists, who were relegated for too long to the annexes of the Academy, have joined the picture, and are building bridges over the ditch that was heedlessly dug out between our continent and the rest of the world; some of them bring the fruits of remarkably methodical work.

Good sense has corrected the faults of ancient deductions one by one. Indeed it is time to stop believing in an unfolding of history that ends with the Ninth symphony. And the elusive threshold where the flight of music began recedes further away in the clouds of legend. Evidence has appeared from the scientific period whose importance has not yet been fully grasped, namely the utter fidelity of memory in centres without writing. Not that an exactly primitive species or one which takes us back to the beginning of the ages lives on somewhere; we have certainly, today, spoken too lightly of neolithic musics or of the age of bronze. But in societies that were spared literacy (and that which instigated it) as in those where only tiny sections have escaped it, in Asia, in the Land of Fire or in Europe, survivals more ancient than all our memories are obstinately perpetuated. They are recognizable as much by their innate identity as by their universality: for example, in the presentday choirs of four mixed voices there remain the strange beneficent syllables of the Swiss shepherds, just as yesterday there were those of the workers of Berry, resembling in every detail those of many exotics.

Our children continue to repeat melodic embryos that we did not teach them but which, like them, the inhabitants of Oceania, the Eskimos and the black races know, and which explorers used to hear among the 'savages' they had discovered: it was unnecessary for them to be brought back from China before the sixteenth century by a missionary. They defy space. They are sung in fifths in the Caucasus and in Bali, in thirds in Africa and in New Guinea, in seconds in Formosa and in Dalmatia.

These first spiritual facts are freed from space and equally from time, or rather from the absolute chronology that we use to define duration. They are old, new or out of date only in relation to one another, not to some date in our history. They remain unspoilt and vigorous up to the present day and perhaps bring us close to sources such as the sistrum that shepherds' hands still shake, whereas a flute, known for even fourteen thousand years, is perhaps recent in comparison. After all, nothing prevents us from thinking that music could have begun more than once in more than one place, in times more or less distant from the present.

One thing is certain: its first movements, whatever the hour and geographical point of its beginnings, are guided by a kind of intrinsic nature from which it cannot deflect. And this nature has gradually been unveiled by speculations and philosophies.

Documentation alone seems to show that when the first regularly

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vibrating (or musical) sound was found, the roads towards music had been traced out since eternity. The progress along these roads, both hindered and supported by elementary physical laws, is slow. After the first sound, perhaps the human voice tried a ‘random intonation’ by dragging itself up or down to reach others: we have examples of this collected from several countries of the world. In some places it has perhaps remained at this stage, or one has simply always remembered this way of doing it. It is the way of man’s first childhood and this has led some, by abstract reasoning, to conclude that it was so from the beginning of music, and that its evolution then followed a way identical in the duration of humanity to that of the individual.

We have since learnt that these initial steps did not open up any future. No firm foundation had yet been built over which strong relationships could be drawn between initial sounds and those derived from them. The strongest relationship, that of ‘consonance’, is apparently understood by the physicists. As soon as it occurs a road opens up, and with its first step along this road the music takes on a form. Two sounds, or even better, three, are enough for this, as long as they are as closely interdependent as the stars in a constellation. Their intermingling produces in France:



in Russia:



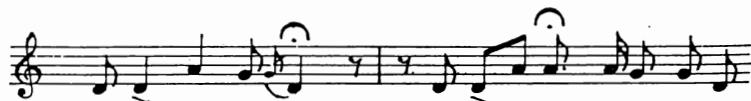
among the Lapps:



in Hawaii:



among the Eskimos:



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in the Solomon Isles:



A system was born, poor but rigorously coherent, from which others would flow, at apparently spaced-out intervals. Each would carry a definite number of resources and deficiencies which would clearly characterize it, or, if one preferred, a repertoire of specific common ground. It is this which on the one hand allows them to be recognized and on the other deprives them of any regional character, and especially of any racial or national one. Such a character would not be realized until the day a collective preference could be stated for such and such a means of expression that they offered. The vocabulary of the most archaic is too restrained for any choice to be exercised. When it does intervene, it will provoke various consequences: it will open up a cycle that, because of fortuitous events or despite them, will eventually lead, in an instructed society, to a knowledgeable musical art, but not at all necessarily to our own.

It is not this virtual future that we await. We scrutinize a timeless past where antiquity = systems = an image, reconstructed piece by piece and feature by feature. Patiently assembled and examined, their locution and their immutable formulas, still alive and increasingly more familiar, begin to speak an intelligible language. They teach us about the destiny of music, before it emerged into the light of notation, its history before history, and, in a word, its former life.

9 *Aksak rhythm*

Although it summarizes a lecture given to the Société Francaise de Musicologie on 28 June 1951, the present work has a different title. The essay deals, in fact, with 'limping' rhythm and it concerns the *aksak* (of which 'limping' is the translation). I had myself proposed elsewhere¹ to substitute for the usual term 'Bulgarian' – in my view inadequate – the more general one of *aksak*, borrowed from Turkish theory. Later, some scruples arose: the accessible writings seemed not to apply *aksak* to the entirety of the rhythm system under discussion, but only to one of its formulas. Prudence advised the use of a new word, synonymous with the Turkish one but of less rigid acceptance. It necessitated a long discussion with Adnan Saygun, the eminent specialist in the music of his country, to dissipate these fears: his explanations make it clear that in Turkey various types of *aksak* are distinguishable and that in fact this technical word may legitimately be applied to the rhythmic phenomenon that characterizes them all. Consequently the original terminology has been re-established.

The rhythm with which we are concerned has for some time penetrated the art music of the West; it is doubtless through the works (Fifth Quartet, *Mikrokosmos*) and the folklore studies of Béla Bartók that the term 'Bulgarian' spread, and it is also probably due to his example that in 1936, Curt Sachs, in his brief 'Prolegomènes à une préhistoire musicale de l'Europe'² speaks of the 'supercomplicated rhythms of Bulgaria'. In fact, if the Bulgarian musicologists were the first to describe or, more precisely, to perceive the *aksak* and if it is abundant in their terrain, we now know for sure that it equally exists in Turkey, in Greece (where the *kalamatianos* is no less 'national' than the *rachenista* in Bulgaria), in Albania, in Romania, in Jugoslavia, among the Turkomans, the Armenians, the Berbers, the Tuaregs, the Bedouin, the Bantu Africans, the Indians, and in a vestigial state in the Basque country and Switzerland, merely to mention some unarguable facts attested to by sound recordings. Besides that, many South American dances taken into the salons conform to the system, practice once again preceding theory, which always ignores these 'supercomplications'. Thus, nothing authorizes the attribution of the *aksak* to any particular country.

Of all the elements of music, none has given rise to so many controversies

¹ 'Le folklore musical', *Musica aeterna*, 2nd edn, Zurich, 1949, p. 292; see above, p. 17.

² *Revue de musicologie*, Feb. 1936, p. 24.

nor given an excuse for more speculations than rhythm. Its definitions range from the metaphysical to the most strictly technical, without yet, for all that, allowing a coherent theory to be derived. On the philosophical plane we learn, for instance, that rhythm, 'the peak of living and spiritual exaltation', is a 'psycho-physiological function of the Being and a dynamogenetic condition of the Universe', from which it follows that 'once one has established that it is everything, that it is within everything, an explanation has been obtained, analogous in scientific value to that which forms, in biology, *Life* and *Being*'. Such sentences do not very much move the musician, whom they hardly concern. What he might read from the pen of the technicians would doubtless bother him more. The learned manuals still offer him a doctrine dating from the eighteenth century and manifestly incompatible with the reality of classical music itself, at least since Beethoven. As for the critics of this doctrine, they put it further to flight since they introduce the elementary notions of 'beat', 'strong beat', 'time', 'compound time', etc., the very foundations of our rhythm. From these critics, who vary one from the other, we draw no positive instruction: on the contrary they contradict each other to the point where we are told, with the same assurance, that the silences 'have no proper rhythmic value' or that rhythm consists of a repetition of sound and silences 'according to the spatial movement of the melody'.

The Westerner's conception of rhythm is so imprecise that as a rule he imagines that the rhythm he uses is the only one conceivable and that any unusual combinations he may chance to meet outside Western learned music must necessarily be susceptible of integration into it in one way or another. He has great difficulty in imagining that an autonomous rhythm system can be founded on data fundamentally different from those that he believes to be universally valid: thus it is by means of his customary ideas that he sets about considering certain abnormal phenomena in exotic or folk music which may strike him. With all this inadequate knowledge of the principles of his own rhythm system, he cannot represent to himself those that govern another system giving rise not to unexpected applications of scholarly precepts, but aggregates, whose processes are definable, of systems different in their very essence from those practised in Western Europe.

I have tried to demonstrate and formulate the laws of one of these systems in 'Le giusto syllabique'.³ Below, I attempt to characterize a second (in so far as it seemed necessary, after the works already published on this subject) and to draw up a register of its resources. This essay deliberately abstains from any polemic, as much with the commentators of classical rhythm as with those who have previously exposed, in their own fashion, the mechanism of the *aksak*: such a polemic would be endless and without result.

³ *Polyphonie*, II, Brussels 1948, pp. 26–57, repr. in *Anuario musical*, VII, 1952, pp. 117–58; see below, pp. 168–205.

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At the outset, let us establish that one can only grasp the nature of the unknown by departing from what is known. Only comparison will bring to light, alongside the possible agreements, the exact point at which the incompatibilities begin. So it is important before anything else to define clearly what we believe is known, that is, in this case, the bases of the Western musical rhythm system.

This system has a constitutive element a ‘unit’ of duration or an invariable ‘beat’ which it sets out in elementary groups called ‘measures’, which are endlessly repeated. In every measure the first unit carries an accent. Admitting with Gevaert that ‘the human ear is only capable of managing a small number of rhythmic units’ and that ‘binary and ternary are alone suitable for forming measures’, every more extended combination only being ‘graspable by the mind on condition that they are reducible to groups of two or three units’, it may be stated that theory knows only four cells of this kind, two binaries ($2/4$ and $6/8$) and two ternaries ($3/4$ and $9/8$), the difference between the two binaries and the two ternaries only becoming apparent if the unit is divided. From the outset, an important defect in our writing system appears: in the $6/8$ and $9/8$ measures, the numerator 8 is merely a graphic subterfuge to which our writing has recourse – at the risk of creating the confusion that we shall soon see – only because it lacks the means of expressing a unit not divisible by two.

In associating two of the ‘simple’ measures enumerated, one may construct superior groups or ‘compound measures’: $2/4 + 2/4 = 4/4$; $3/4 + 3/4 = 6/4$; $6/8 + 6/8 = 12/8$. The compound measure $18/8$ ($9/8 + 9/8$) which ought to complete this picture is not used. Since we can choose to notate the unit by a long or a short ‘value’ (quaver, crochet, minim), in practice $6/8$, a binary measure, and $6/4$, a ‘double ternary’ measure, become confused. This inconvenience, all the more serious since it jumbles up the fundamental notions of the system, would have been avoided if the text books had adopted the recommendation of Maurice Emmanuel who proposed the replacement of the numerator 8 by 4.

By using only a single unit of beat at a time, our rhythm is thus *monochronic*; and by linking only identical multiples of this unit, it is *monometric*. Further, the multiplication by two corresponding here to the division by two, it is *symmetrical*: the foundations of the rhythm mingle with those of morphology to the extent that we speak for example quite logically of ‘a two-bar motif’.

It should be remarked that measures of five beats ($2/4 + 3/4$ or $3/4 + 2/4$), as with seven-beat measures ($2/4 + 2/4 + 3/4$ or $2/4 + 3/4 + 2/4$ or $3/4 + 2/4 + 2/4$) do not in any way contravene the rules of the system: if they are not used it is because they do not offer in themselves the ‘regularity’ implicitly postulated, not being divisible by two. Moreover it is perhaps for this same reason that we do not speak of compound triple measures ($3 \times 2/4$ or $3 \times 3/4$) though they likewise do not infringe any of the laws indicated.

The *aksak* differs from classical rhythm in certain of its peculiarities and

resembles it in others. It differs in its fundamental ‘irregularity’, whose primary cause lies in the constant use of two units of duration – short and long – instead of one. Moreover between these two durations there is an ‘irrational’ arithmetic relationship, surprising to us, that impresses on melodies in *aksak* that ‘limping’ (or ‘hobbling’ or ‘jolting’ or ‘shaken’) character evoked by its name: their value is not one-half or twice that of each other, but two-thirds or one-and-a-half. If one notes the short by a quaver, the long would be expressed by a dotted quaver. Thus, the *aksak* is an irregular *bichronal* rhythm.

On the other hand, none the less, the *aksak*, like our official rhythm, forms ‘measures’ from these two values, that is to say, elementary binary or ternary groups which (apart from certain problematical Bulgarian melodies) constantly repeat from end to end or at the most, alternate with measures of global equal duration. Thus they establish an isochronism no less rigorous than that of Western music, from which one may deduce that the *aksak* belongs to the choreographic domain, which is also confirmed by its absolutely regular movement. In other words, we are not speaking of polymetry proper, despite the constant mixture of different measures.

Unlike classical measures, the *aksak* ones do not necessarily begin on an accent: somewhat like antique rhythm, as far as we know, the accent here prefers to employ longs wherever they are to be found, as if to bring them better into evidence. The periodic return of the series, even if extensive, is enough for us to recognize them. Thus, a brief atonic beat at the beginning of one of the series should not be taken for an anacrusis.

The absolute speed of the beats varies within broad limits. When it is moderate it often happens that the units are subdivided. That is what has made some people take the divisionary value for real unity and has caused them to confuse, for instance, a ternary measure having a long beat with a Western 7/16. This confusion arises also from the deficiency, already remarked on, in our notation in which a value not divisible by two is impossible. Since no fraction can indicate a group characterized by the presence of a long equal to three halves of a short, people have made use, as with the 6/8, of taking as numerator the number corresponding not to the number of beats but to that of their subdivisions. This procedure always gives rise to a disadvantage still more noticeable than in classical rhythm, that is, it tells us nothing about the constitution of the group that it seeks to denominate, leaving to our imagination to choose between 2 + 2 + 3, 2 + 3 + 2, and 3 + 2 + 2; moreover it completely falsifies the sense.

Furthermore it should be noticed on the one hand that in part the ‘small change’ of the *aksak* units does not necessarily proceed by divisions in halves but also by more subtle fractions, such as 5 = 2 + 2, or 4 = 3, etc., and on the other hand that the contractions here are as permissible as the resolutions.

How then are we to notate these unaccustomed measures? The inter-

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national conference called together at two attempts by the Archives Internationales de Musique Populaire of Geneva and U.N.E.S.C.O. to study the problems of the notation of folk music and to attempt their unification has not adopted the proposal to write on the stave the number of beats (2, 3, 2 + 3, etc.) but has agreed to specify by writing in each case as musical notes the form of the rhythmic combinations concerned (e.g. quaver-dotted quaver, or: quaver-dotted quaver-dotted quaver, etc.).

The two units of duration proper to the *aksak* allow the formation of twelve simple measures, binary or ternary, that may be found, marked 1a and 1b, in the tables that follow the present text. Of these twelve simple measures, four are 'homogeneous' (of equal beats) and four are 'heterogeneous' (of unequal beats). Grouped by two or by three, they can in their turn give rise to double or triple compound measures of sundry types. One could as easily imagine that symmetrical arrangements of compound measures form *kolas* or rhythmic sequences comparable to the members of the period. Sound examples to hand do not offer any example of it.

Without going beyond the compound triple measures, one might summarize the essential resources of the *aksak* as follows:

I.	Simple measures	
a.	Binary	4
b.	Ternary	8
II.	Double compound measures	
a.	Type 2 + 2	16
b.	Type 2 + 3	32
c.	Type 3 + 2	32
d.	Type 3 + 3	64
III.	Triple compound measures	
a.	Type 2 + 2 + 2	64
b.	Type 2 + 2 + 3	128
c.	Type 2 + 3 + 2	128
d.	Type 3 + 2 + 2	128
e.	Type 2 + 3 + 3	256
f.	Type 3 + 2 + 3	256
g.	Type 3 + 3 + 2	256
h.	Type 3 + 3 + 3	512

1844

This total must, however, undergo substantial diminutions: one has always to strike out every non-specific combination where the characters of the *aksak* do not make themselves felt and which offer by this fact a sort of contact surface with other rhythmic systems. It is said that:

i. The homogeneous simple binary or ternary measures are confused in their musical realization two by two: I.a.1 = I.a.4; I.b.1 = I.b.8. Moreover

they are identified with Western common measures: I.a.1 and 4 (taking into account the graphic difference between the values indicating the beats) = $2/4$; I.b.1 and 8 = $3/4$. Thus they are not usable and do not distinguish themselves except as associates, in a compound measure, with a heterogeneous group that at least introduces a long in the series of shorts or a short in the series of longs.

2. It is the same for compound double measures, at once homogeneous and regular (formed out of similar groups: II.a.1 = II.a.16 = $4/4$; II.d.1 = II.d.64 = $6/4$). As for the compound triple measures, homogeneous and regular, they give rise to equivocation: III.a.1 and III.a.64, III.h.1 and III.h.512 would be equivalent to Western compound triple measures ($2+2+2/4$ and $9/4$) unknown in our Western theory but conforming to its principles. None of them ‘limps’: the modern ear would interpret them as divided $3/4$ s and $9/8$ s.

3. Similarly, homogeneous compound measures, though irregular (formed of unequal groups), exactly resemble irregular measures according to Western rules ($5/4$ or $7/4$): II.b.1 and II.b.32 = $5/4$ (through $2+3$); II.c.1 and II.c.32 = $5/4$ (through $3+2$); III.b.1 and III.b.128 = $7/4$ (through $2+2+3$); III.c.1 and III.c.128 = $7/4$ (through $2+3+2$); III.d.1 and III.d.128 = $7/4$ (through $3+2+2$); equally, III.e.1 and III.e.256 = $2+3+3/4$; III.f.1 and III.f.256 = $3+2+3/4$; III.g.1 and III.g.256 = $3+3+2/4$; the special nature of the *aksak* does not appear any more in any one of these formulas rather than another. Finally:

4. In the regular compound rhythms, double or triple, formed by the multiplication of a single simple measure, even a heterogeneous one, the grouping of several elementary units into a superior unit is hard to perceive: one thinks one is faced by a pure and simple repetition of the generating cell. Such is the case with II.a.6 and 11; II.d.10, 19, 28, 37, 46, 55; III.a.22, 43; III.h.74, 147, 220, 293, 366, 439. However, though lacking these forty ‘neutral’ formulas that we have just seen (new total: 1844) the means of the *aksak* remain considerable.

It remains to be known to what extent living music exploits these means. The recordings produced in the course of a lecture given in the Société Française de Musicologie illustrate I.a.2 (Romanian: two examples; Turko-menian), I.a.6 (Bulgarian), II.a.4 (Romanian), II.a.8 (Romanian; three examples), II.a.12 (German-Swiss), II.c.2 (Greek, Romanian), II.c.4 (Greek), II.d.6 (Albanian), III.d.9 (Romanian), III.b.61 (Romanian). And as a model of an equivocal rhythm situated between two systems, a $7/4$ through $3+2+2$, III.d.1 (Bedouin). In all, two simple measures, six compound double measures, two compound triple measures.

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Table of Aksak Measures

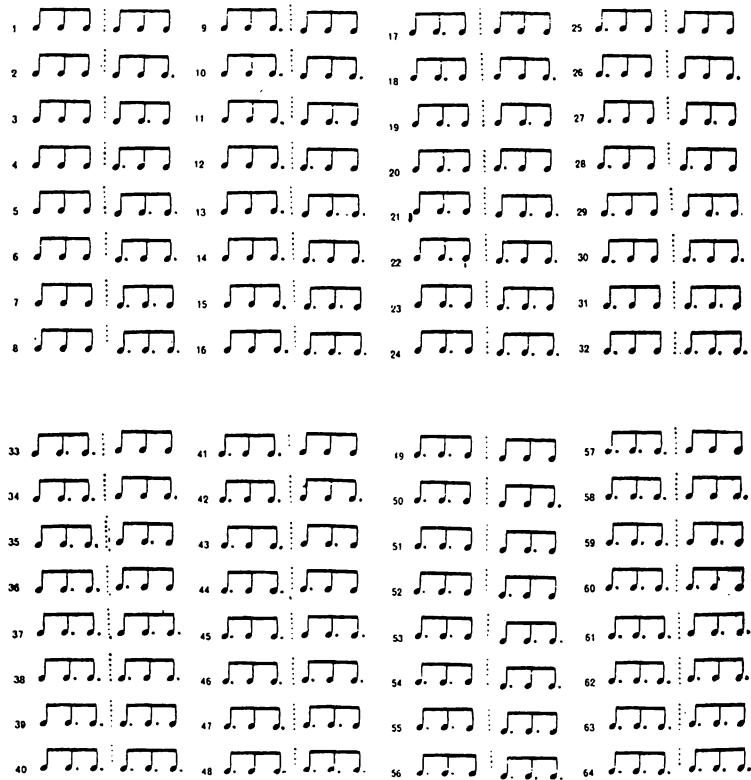
I.	Simple measures			
a.	Binary	b. Ternary		
II.	Double compound measures			
a.	Type 2+2			
b.	Type 2+3			

PROBLEMS OF ETHNOMUSICOLOGY

c. Type 3+2



d. Type 3+3



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III. Triple compound measures

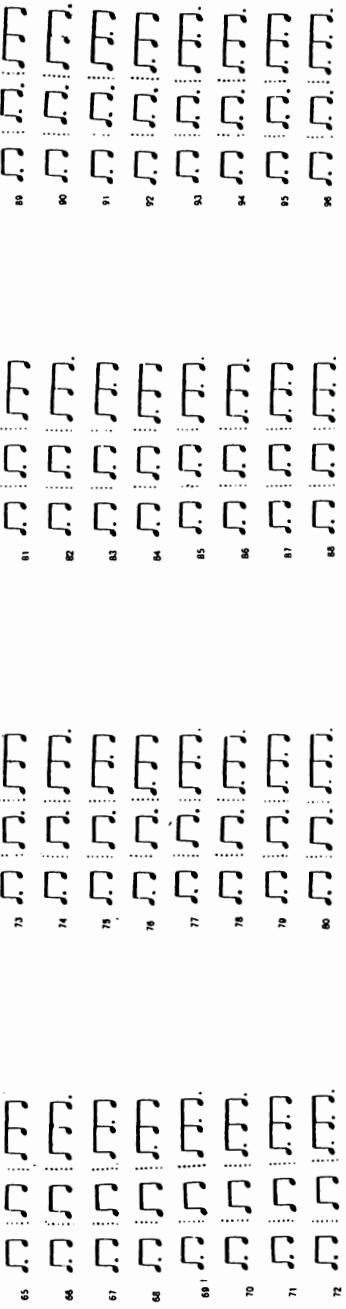
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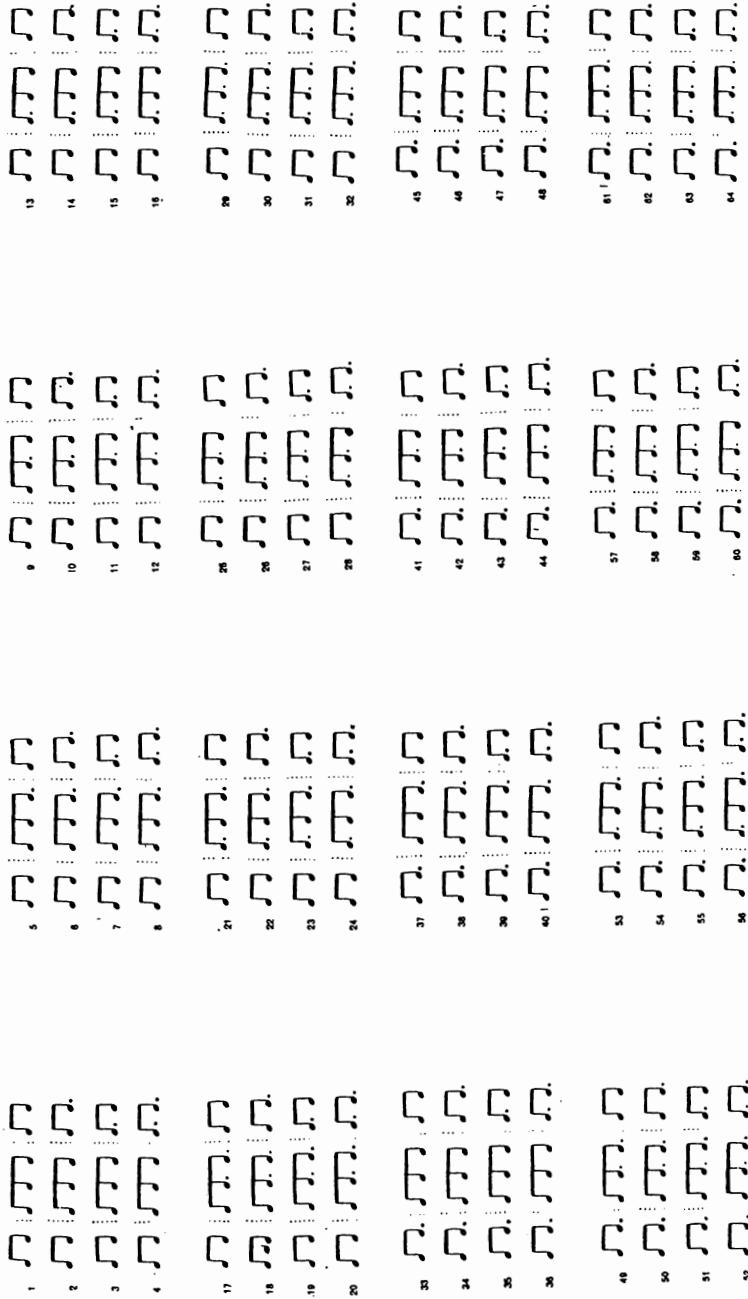
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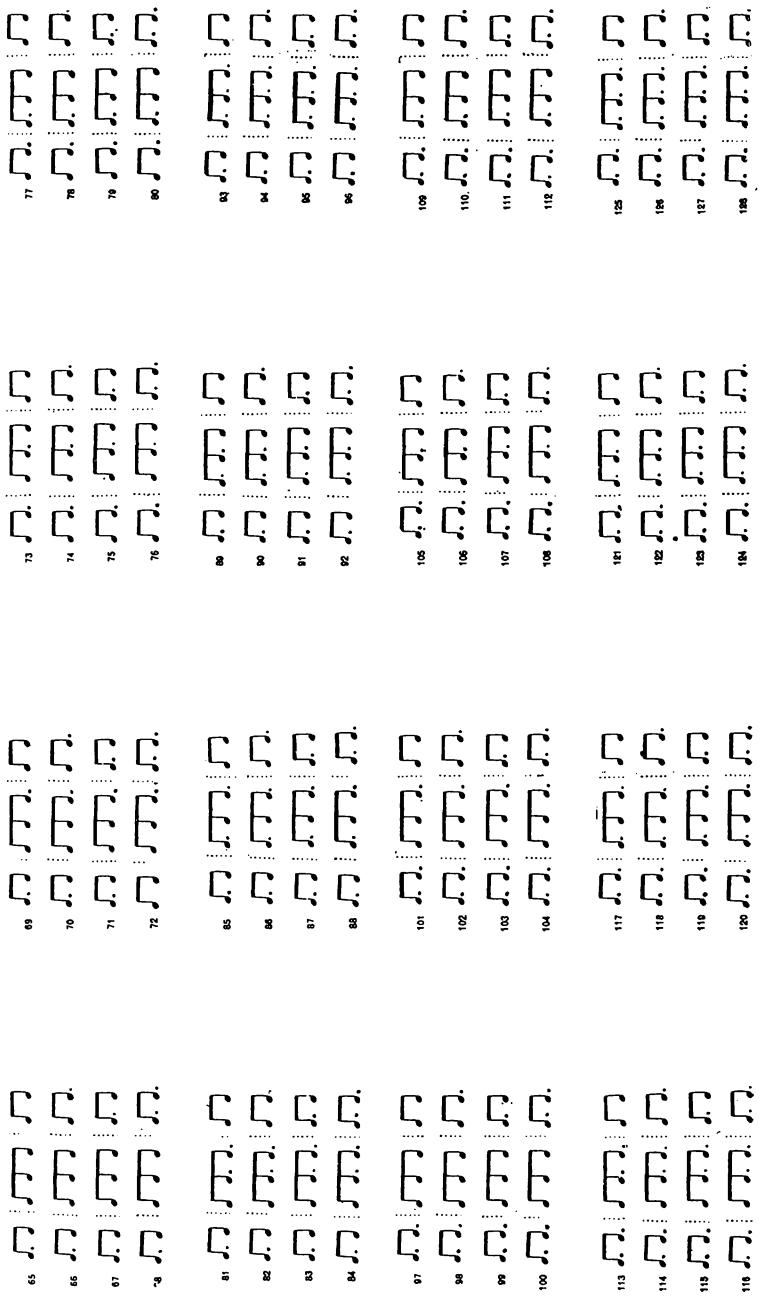
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57	58	59	60	61	62	63	64

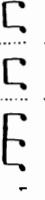
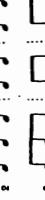
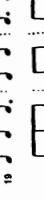
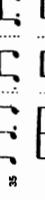
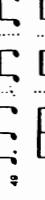
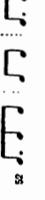


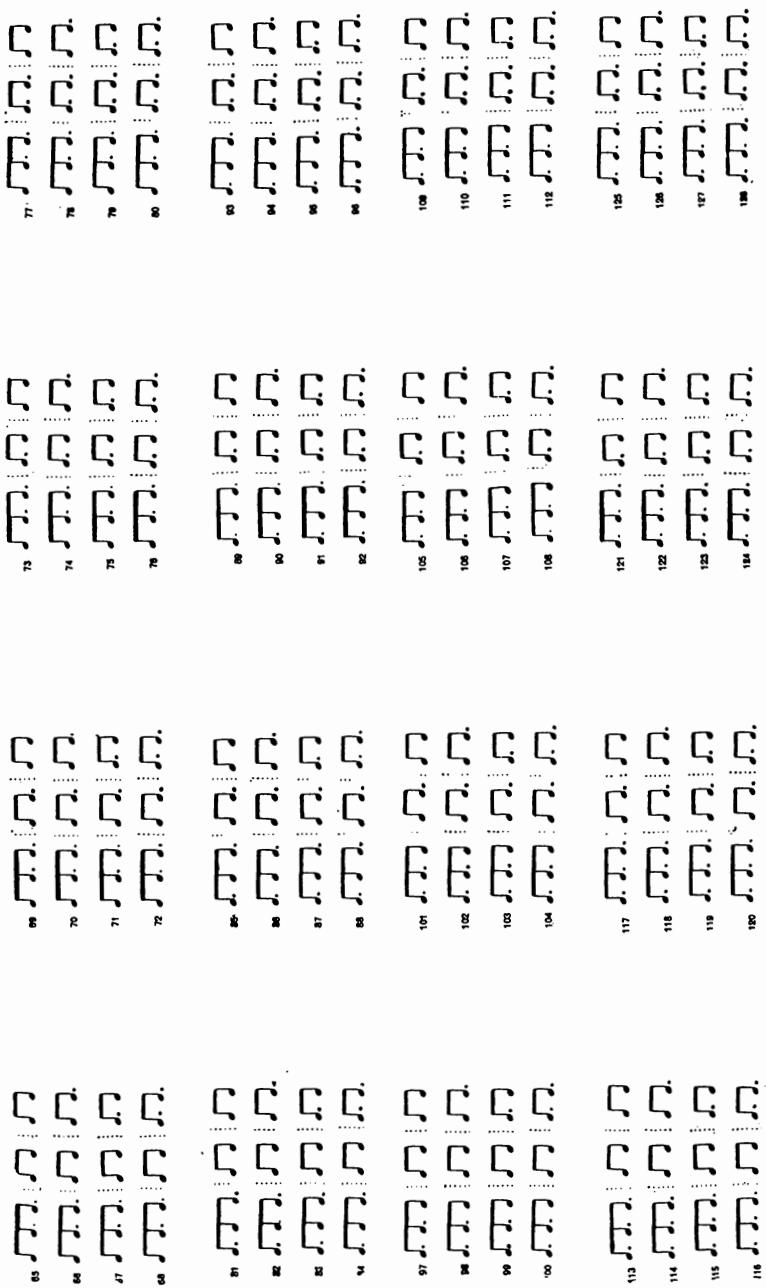
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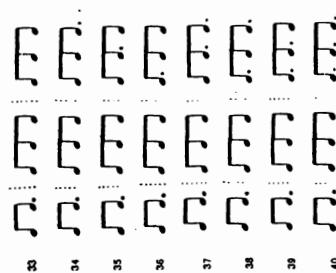
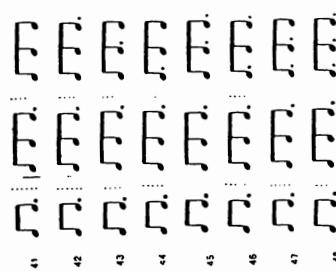
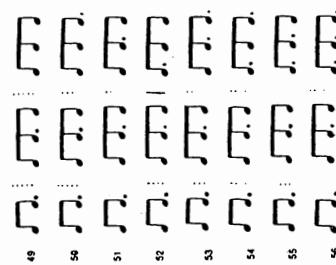
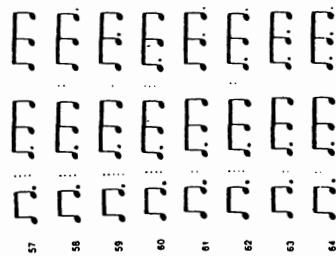
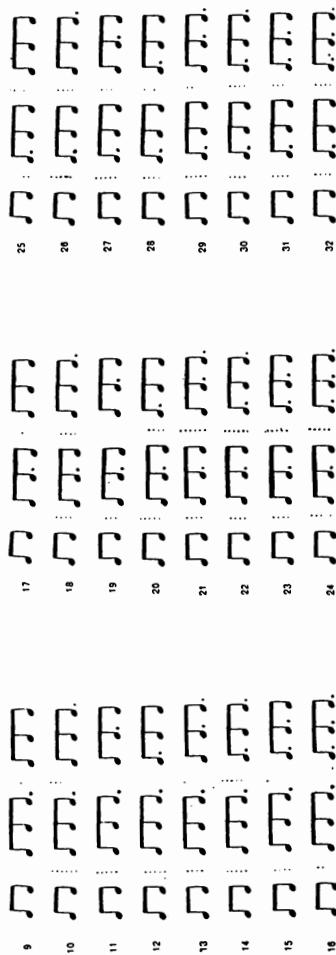
d. Type 3+2+2

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e. Type 2 + 3 + 3

Type 2+3+3



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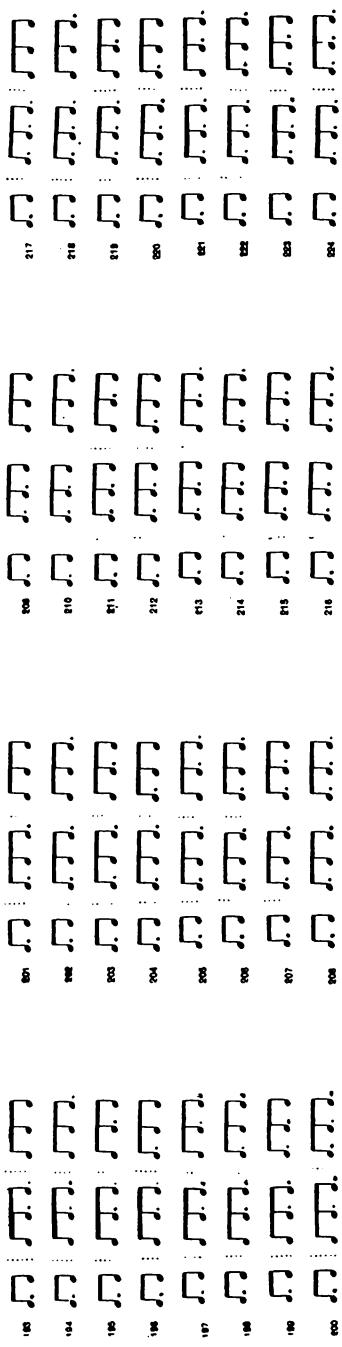
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c. Type 2 + 3 + 3 (cont.)

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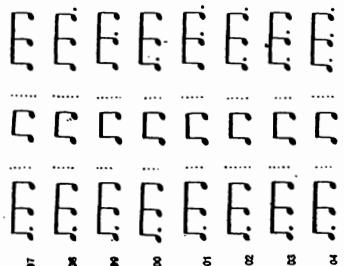
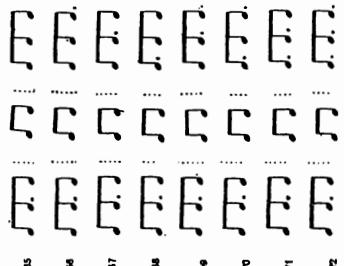
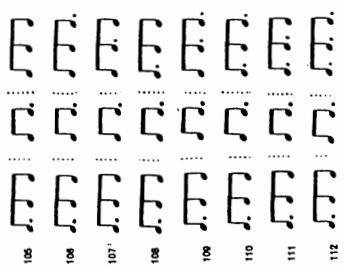
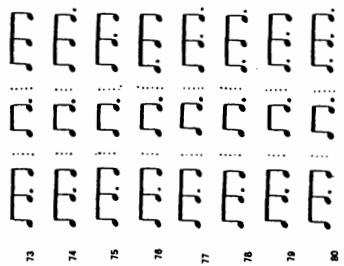
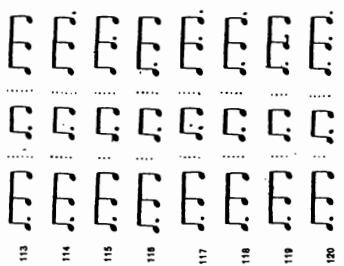
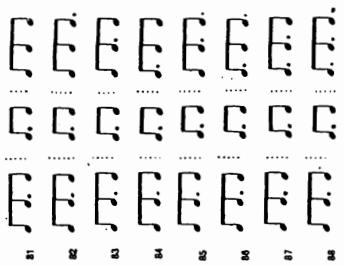
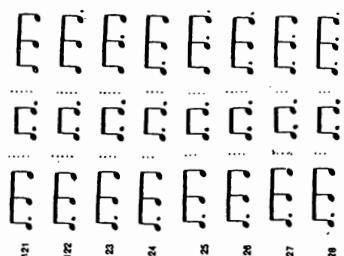
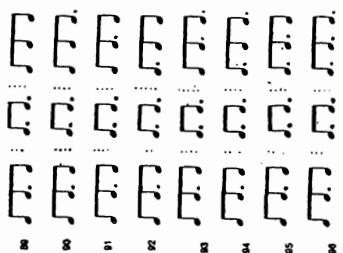
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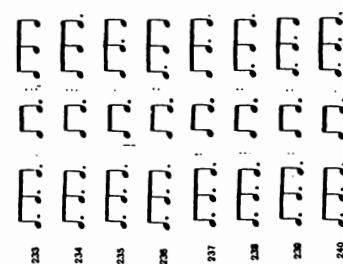
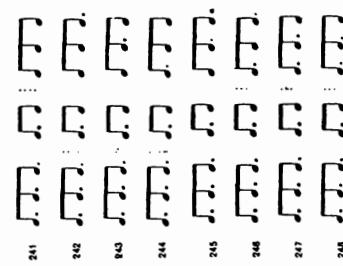
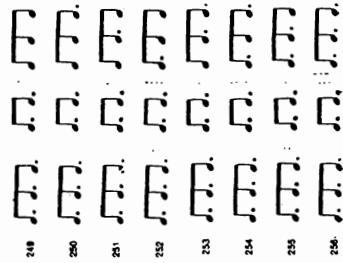
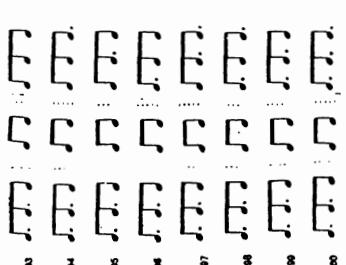
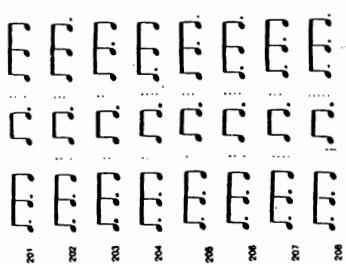
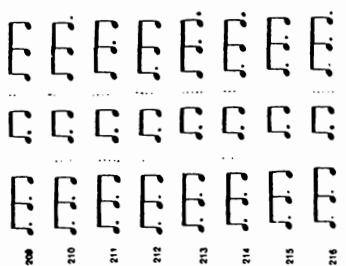
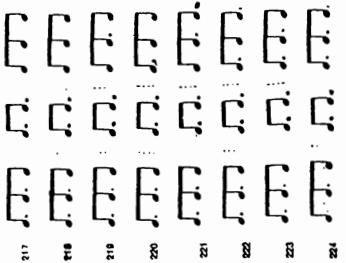
f. Type 3 + 2 + 3



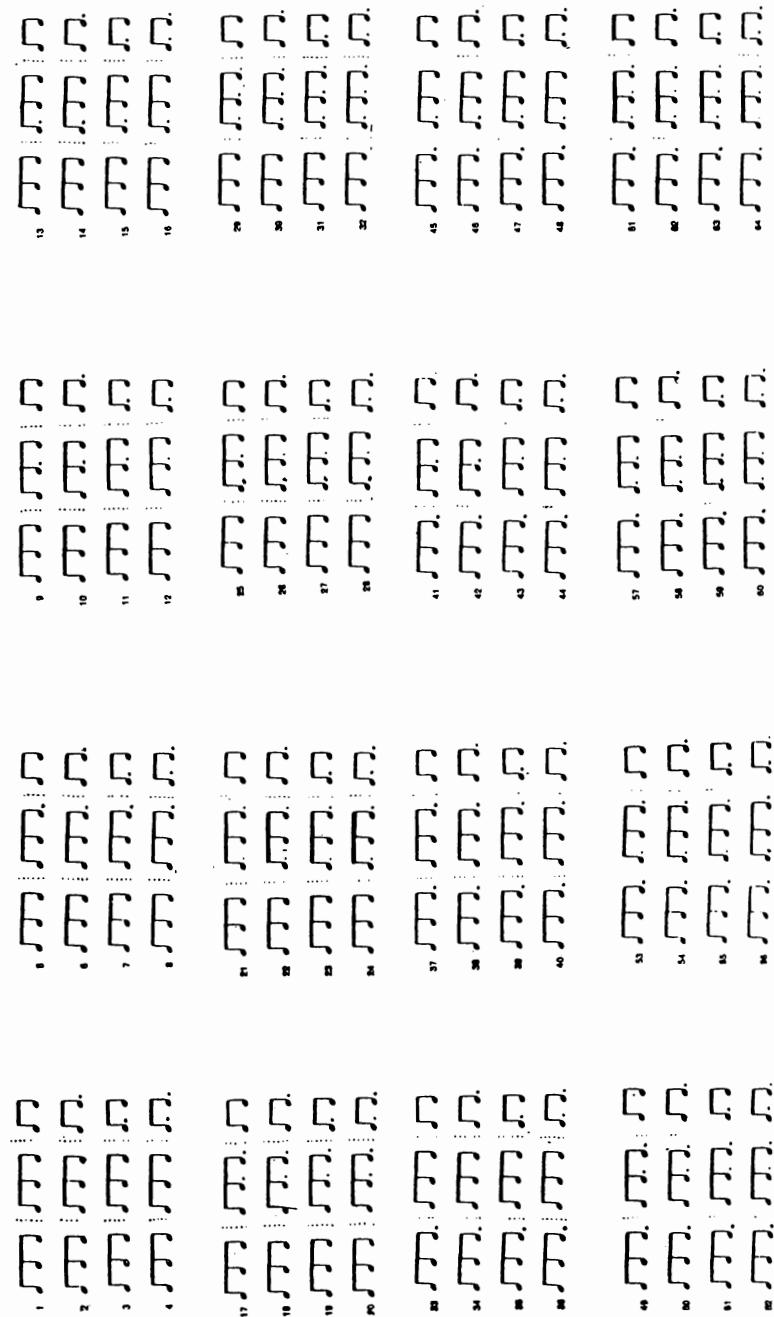
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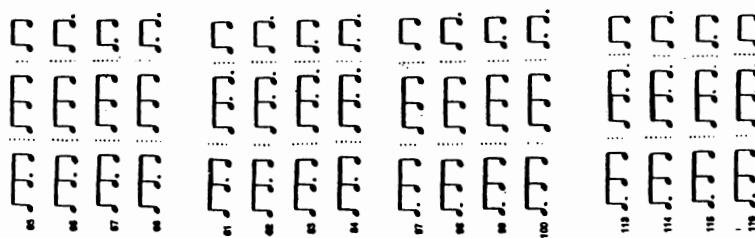
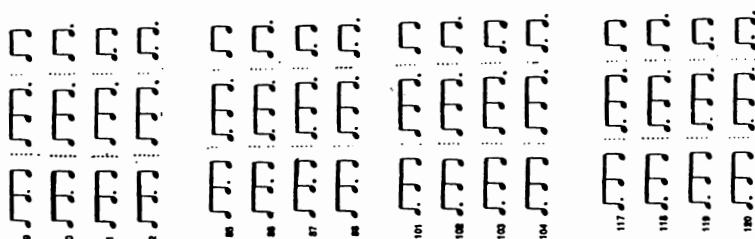
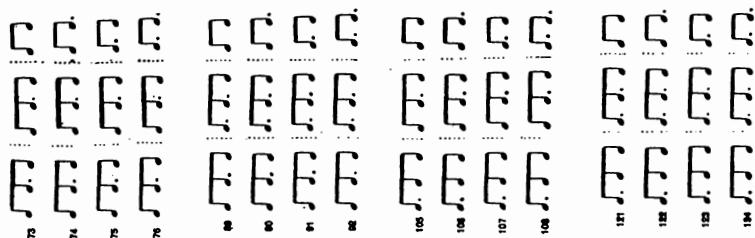
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g. Type 3+3+2



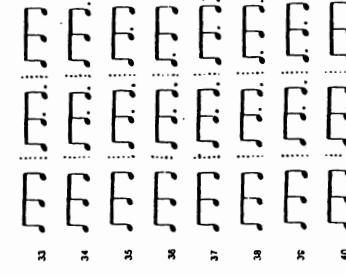
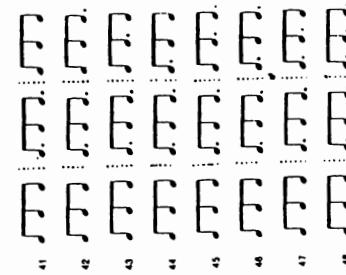
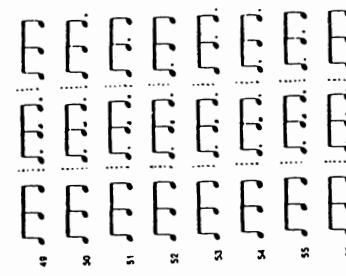
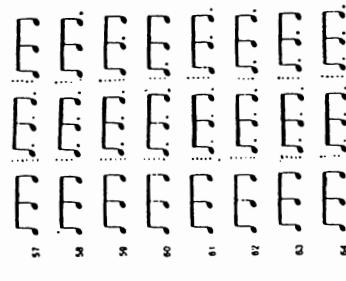
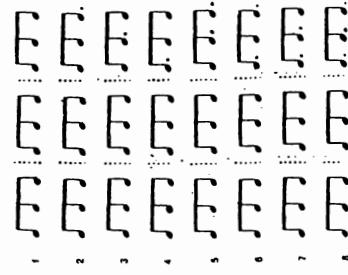
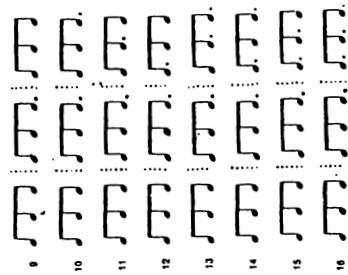
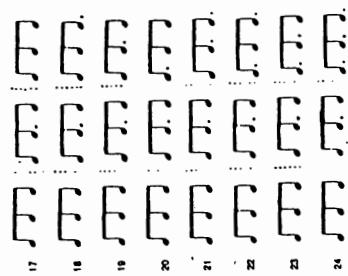
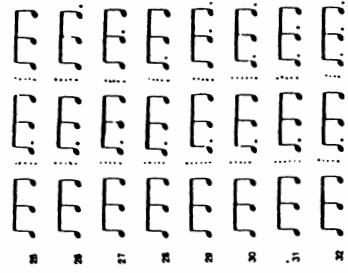


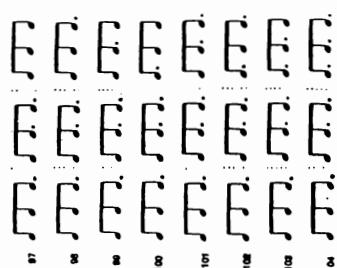
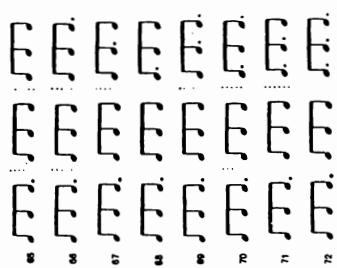
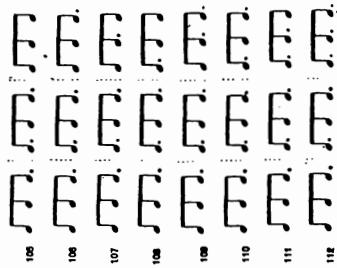
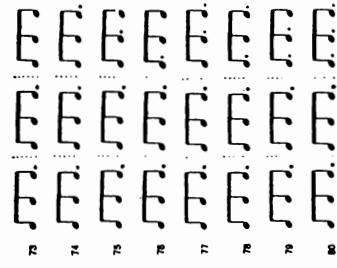
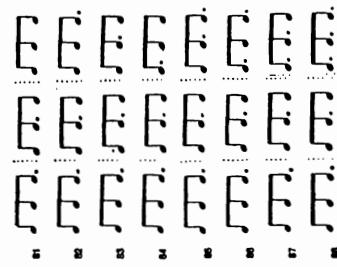
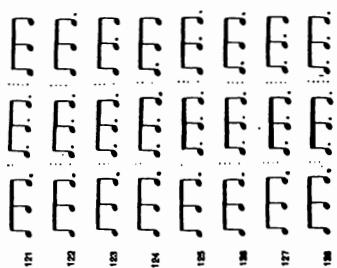
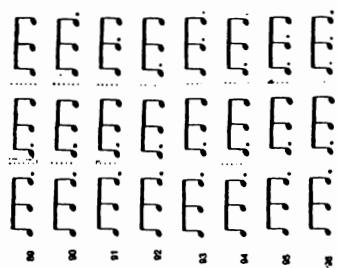
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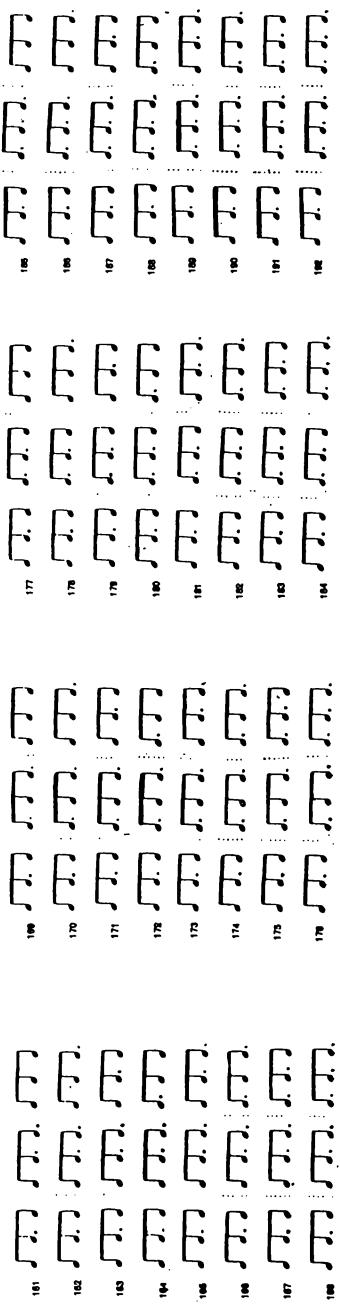
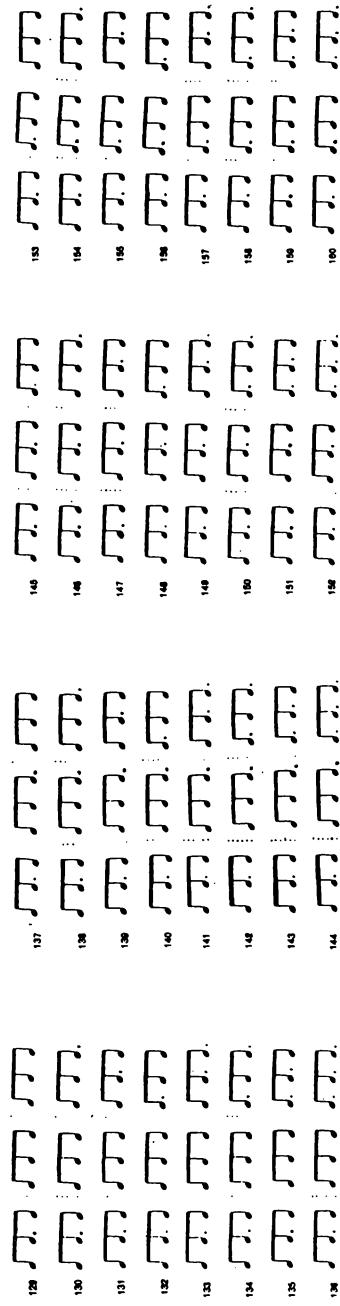
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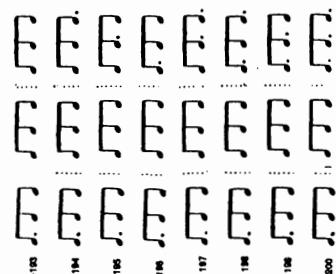
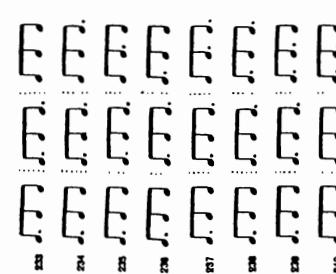
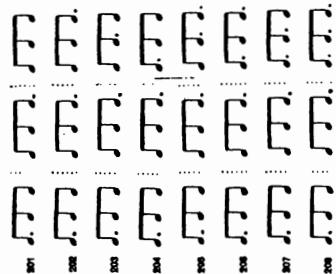
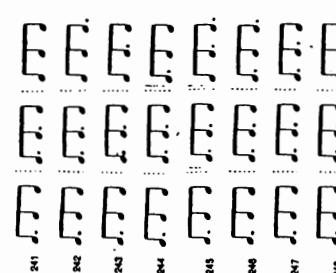
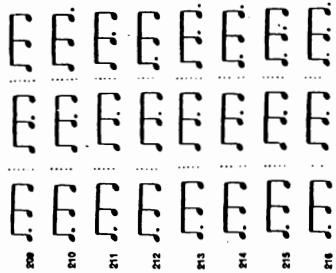
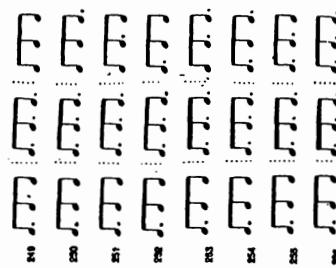
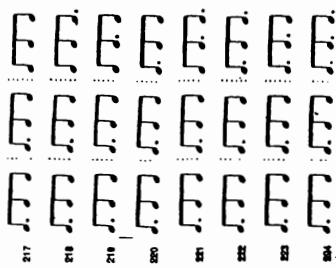
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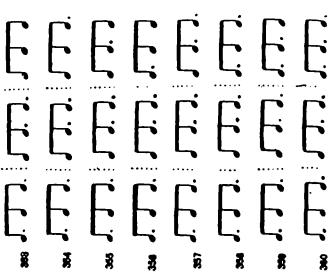
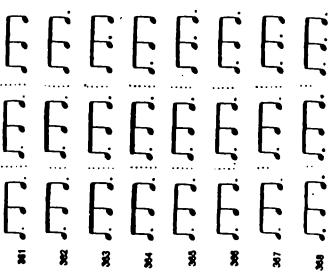
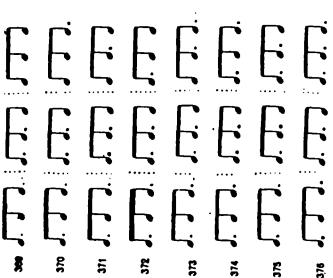
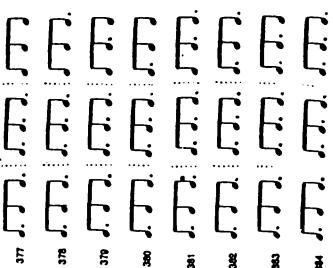
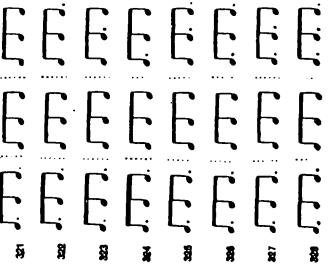
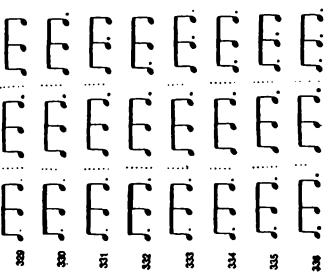
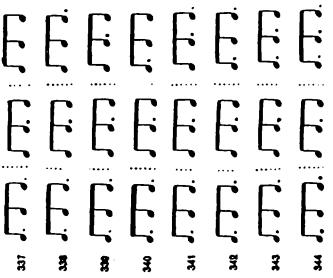
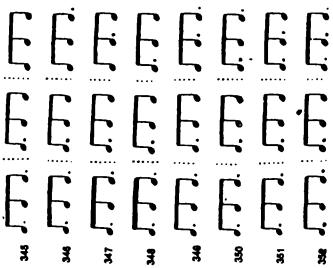


h. Type 3 + 3 + 3 (cont.)

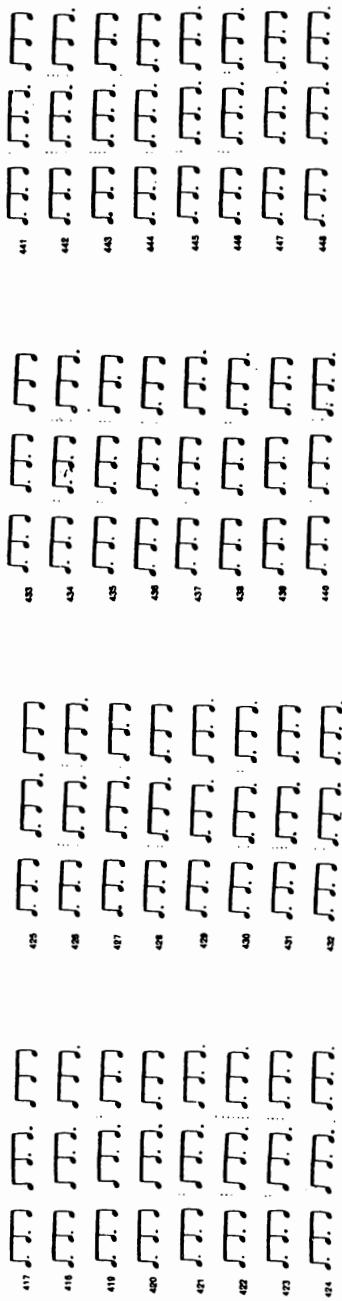
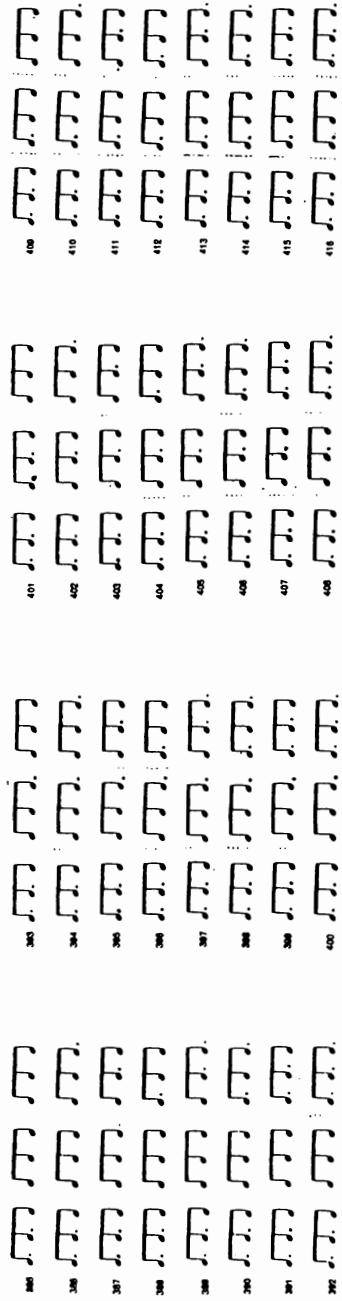




h. Type 3 + 3 + 3 (cont.)



h. Type 3 + 3 + 3 (cont.)



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IO *The syllabic giusto*

(*A Romanian system of folk rhythm*)

Most of the materials on which a thorough study of the ‘syllabic giusto’ might be founded remain at present inaccessible. So in what follows, only a first description will be found, which it will be necessary to complete as soon as the necessary documents are again within reach.¹

The title calls for some preliminary remarks. First the word ‘system’ may surprise those who persist in seeing in folk art only that which is arbitrary and accidental. However, we are obliged to use the term each time investigation discovers a coherent group of artistic procedures ruled by intelligible laws. Though they have never been codified and their bearers know nothing of them, these laws, as we shall see here, often astonish us by their rigour. It falls to the folklorist to penetrate them and set them forth.

On the other hand, if we attribute the system with which we are concerned to the peasant music of presentday Romania, we do not do so by any means exclusively. On the contrary, we now know that it is to be found in many other times and places: certainly in Gregorian metrical song and medieval lyric, and in Russian, Hungarian and Spanish folk melodies, to mention but a few. However the present work avoids comparison; it refers to what is most urgent. So if for example we set out some elementary ideas of ancient metrics it is not in any way with the intention of backing up an attempt at *rapprochement* or still less of filiation, but with the sole aim of being able to grasp better the properties of our subject.

I have chosen the name ‘syllabic giusto’ from among several others which are no more explicit, and merely *faute de mieux*. Let us take it that ‘giusto’ has its presentday meaning of regular uniform movement, as opposed to ‘rubato’. As for ‘syllabic’, it gives us to understand that we are dealing with rhythmic effects whose sole principle is the variable quantity of the syllable, which displays such an intimate fusion between the elements of the song – words and music – that the rhythm takes its source from the metre and is only to be explained by it. It follows that the ‘syllabic giusto’ essentially belongs to vocal music, in which it abounds in all genres: lyrical, epic, ritual, funeral laments and most particularly in the carols (*colinde*). It is unknown in the north and north-east of the country, but everywhere else, it seems, it lives alongside other systems which sometimes contaminate it.

¹ In a paper delivered to the Société Française de Musicologie in Paris on 28 June 1946 I annulled or corrected those passages concerning rhythm in my *Note sur la plainte funèbre de Drăguș* (Bucharest, 1932).

The distinctive features of the 'syllabic giusto' are:

- 1 The exclusive use of two invariable durations whose relation is one to two or two to one (1:2 or 2:1).
- 2 The free alternation of elementary rhythmic groups, formed by two or three of these durations.

But before proceeding to explore a metric rhythmic complex, it would be as well to consider for a start the rules of Romanian folk versification. It employs only two closely related lines, the one comprising eight, the other, less frequent, six equal syllables, however brief; which the accents of intensity, falling on the first, the third, and fifth and, if the case calls for it, the seventh, divide into three or four primary groups (or feet) of two syllables each, the first of which is accentuated, the second atonic. Models: *Stábat máter dólórósa*, and *Áve márás stélla*. Though each of them has a life of its own, both types occasionally mingle in the same piece, as we shall shortly see.

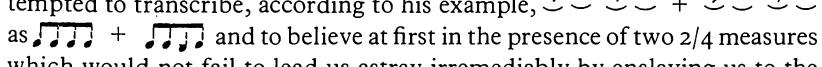
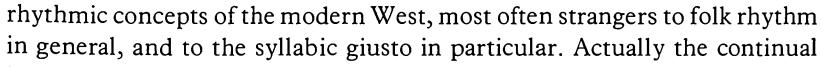
According to present terminology, we are dealing here with a 'trochaic' hexasyllable and octosyllable; current usage notates the group as — ~. Since, in presentday learned poetry, prosody deprives quantity of any function, this approximation presents no major inconvenience. However the same cannot be said of the syllabic giusto, and that is why one must rigorously distinguish between quantity (duration) and quality (accentuation), being careful only to make use of the terms and signs of Greek metrics in their literal sense. Thus we avoid assigning the symbol of the long to the accent, and should only represent longs and shorts by their proper symbols to which the accent is added. The foot whose multiples 3 and 4 comprise the Romanian verse-line would then appear not as a trochee but as a pyrrhic (or hegemon): and our hexasyllable as a pyrrhic tripody, our octosyllable as a pyrrhic tetrapody: ~ ~ | ~ ~ | ~ ~ and ~ ~ | ~ ~ | ~ ~ | ~ ~.

Both permit a 'catalectic' form in which the scansion fills the duration of the last syllable (absent) sometimes by a silence, sometimes by a lengthening of the penultimate syllable. None the less the musical practice of the Romanians presents the remarkable peculiarity that the singers habitually complete defective lines by the addition of a monosyllable or vowel in such a way as to adjust them to the run of the melody, adapted for the most part to a full hexasyllabic or octosyllabic line: Bartók, to whom we owe the first study of this phenomenon, has devoted attention to it in many of his celebrated writings. And even when the *Silbenergänzung* is omitted, the duration of the final end tone subsists so that it would be erroneous to deduce the existence of an autonomous pentasyllable and heptasyllable: both lead to their catalectic prototypes.

It is important to insist on the purely metric nature of the accent, entirely independent of the tonic (or 'verbal') accents: in all the groups except the last an atonic language syllable may be stressed, or an accentuated syllable may lose its accents; but the article, whether declined or not, and certain

words which it would be of no interest to enumerate here, are regular accents even at the line ends. Since only poetry meant for singing behaves in that way, one may deduce reasonably enough that 'metric' in this instance is equivalent to 'rhythmic' and therefore 'musical' and that as a consequence metre and rhythm become mingled to such a degree that they cannot be separated.²

The intensity of all the accents is, in principle, equal, as one can easily convince oneself by listening to peasants dictating their verse by request or declaiming the slogan calls as they do either in dancing, to support the run of the steps, or during wedding ceremonies to acclaim the bride. Many sound recordings attest to it equally: MP 79 I, SC 363a, etc.³ However, Bartók believed that he detected a more intense 'ictus' on syllables 1 and 5 and he may well have been right, although he did not for all that correct the basic theme or subscribe to the conclusions he believed he had drawn from it.

To reckon that every row of eight syllables breaks up into 4 + 4 because of a stronger accent on the first and fifth in fact allows a serious danger that should be denounced here and now. Interpreting like Bartók, we would be tempted to transcribe, according to his example,  as  and to believe at first in the presence of two 2/4 measures which would not fail to lead us astray irremediably by enslaving us to the rhythmic concepts of the modern West, most often strangers to folk rhythm in general, and to the syllabic giusto in particular. Actually the continual intervention of internal rhymes creates reference points comparable to accents when they divide the hexasyllable into 2 + 2 + 2 or 2 + 4 or 4 + 2 and the octosyllable into 2 + 2 + 2 + 2 or 2 + 2 + 4 or 2 + 4 + 2 or 4 + 2 + 2 or 2 + 6 or 6 + 2 or, finally, an arrangement particularly favoured, into 4 + 4. The segments that detach themselves thus acquire sometimes a personality of their own, so that, parallel to the verse-lines, they are catalectic or acatalectic

² Very similar relationships are common enough between music and poetry – to limit ourselves to two parallels close at hand, in old Gregorian hymns (*Et supér crucis tropáeo*) and in the French song (*Voilà qu'aux portés de Rennes*).

³ The musical materials used for this work are taken from: 1. The disc collection of the Folklore Archives of the Society of Romanian Composers in Bucharest (abbreviation: SC); catalogue number – the Roman number indicating the side of the disc, the small letter indicating the band; 2. the collection of Romanian discs at the Musée de la Parole in Paris (abbr.: MP and some indications of detail); 3. the Béla Bartók collection: *Melodien der Rumänischen Colinde* (*Weihnachtslieder*), Vienna, 1936 (abbr.: Bk and number of melody); 4. Gh. Cucu: *200 colinde populare*, Bucharest, 1936 (abbr.: Cc and number of melody); 5. Sabin V. Dragoi: *303 colinde . . .*, Craiova, s.d. (abbr.: Gg and number of melody); 6. Nelu Ionescu: *Colinde din Oltenia*, 1942 (abbr.: In and number of melody); 7. Prof. Dr. Nicolae Ursu: *Contribuționi muzicale la monografia communei Sărbova . . .*, Timișoara, 1939 (abbr.: Ur and number of melody); finally, some of my own notations (abbr.: Br). In the quoted examples a row of dots denotes a fragment taken from the beginning, the middle or the end of the melody, according to whether the dots precede, frame or follow the quotation. It goes without saying that I have not respected the original rhythmic notation (divided into measures) since my effort is aimed precisely at redressing any uncertainties.

THE SYLLABIC GIUSTO

at will, but in the refrains only, to which the above applies only in part.

The refrains are of three sorts:

- 1 the ‘pseudo-refrains’ constructed in the exact image of the lines they accompany and for which they are sometimes substituted;
 - 2 the ‘refrains proper’ that we call here ‘regular’, longer or shorter than the verse-lines to which they are added, but fashioned according to the same principles;
 - 3 the ‘refrains proper’ that we call here ‘irregular’, submitted to a technique of versification that is only met with here and which on the one hand mingles with the pyrrhics of the trisyllabic groups (tribrachs): --- , and on the other hand imposes the coincidence of the tonic and metric accents. A succession of four atones or the neighbourhood of two accents or the quality of the initial symbol, often verbal and unaccented, always brings out certain imprecisions of accentuation.

Setting aside their dimensions and the tribrachs that may enter into their composition, the refrains also have the faculty of ending either on a downbeat or on an upbeat, and in this latter hypothesis they are susceptible in practice to a prolongation. Consequently analysis would then add to a real total unity of their elements and would count, for example, 5 and not 4 in such an assembly as 3+1: $\downarrow \cup \cup \quad \uparrow \wedge$.

One should add that ancient usage requires melodies and poems to be of the same interchangeable cut except when a refrain proper, necessarily bound to an irregular phrase, offers no obstacle. Imitating Bartók,⁴ I am limited to reproducing in the musical quotations the words of this kind of refrain, without which the construction of the corresponding melodic fragment is incomprehensible. As the architecture of the normal lines does not vary, it is enough to recall it by metrical signs below the staves.

To translate into music any syllable whatever of the verse-lines or refrains, the syllabic giusto has only two ‘values’ (long and short) at its disposal, exactly double or half of each other, and nothing advises us against noting it by quaver and crotchet: it is strictly bichronal. The minimis and dotted crochets that end certain catalectic series do not in the least weaken this assertion; they arise from the exceptional fusion of two crotchets or a crotchet and a quaver, or a quaver and a crotchet, and only present a graphic illusion. Constant, one might say ‘metronomic’, long and short are in addition ‘non-composed’ and indivisible, that is, their ‘segments’ – however frequent – only engender melisma and no syllable is sung on a note smaller than a quaver.⁵ Their absolute speed oscillates between very wide limits: Bartók has measured, for the quaver, from MM = 96 (Bk 102) to 258 (Bk 62jj, 85b); sometimes too it noticeably speeds up from one repetition to

⁴ 'Der Musikdialekt der Rumänen von Hunyad', *Zeitschrift für Musikwissenschaft*, II, March 1920, pp. 352-60.

⁵ The melismatic nature of the divisionary durations is completely effaced in instrumental music and that is why the syllabic giusto belongs, without doubt, to vocal music.

PROBLEMS OF ETHNOMUSICOLOGY

the next (Bk 126: 138–52; Bk 59d: 152–76; and I find SC 724c: 130–34–36 and SC 1288 Ia: 138–40–44, etc.).

So the rhythmic translation confers a quantity to the metrical units in such a way that the pyrrhic, according to the durations that the song confers on it, may take on four aspects: $\text{U} \text{ U} = \text{U} \text{ -} = \text{U} \text{ -} = \text{U} \text{ -}$.

Naturally one would be inclined to compare these combinations with the antique ‘simple measures’, and in fact the identity is complete for the first, the third (trochée) and the fourth (spondee). As for the second it is not an iamb, where only the long, if the ancients are to be believed, can receive the accent; medieval usage, however, authorizes us to give it this name.

It would be somewhat imprudent to see here the short (quaver) as the equivalent of the Greek ‘simple time’, the trifling unit from which the others derive by multiplication. In the syllabic giusto the crotchet, being indivisible, is likewise not a compound: a fundamental difference of which one soon recognizes the consequences.

Expressed by means of the quaver and the crotchet, here are the four rhythmic formulas – all ‘thetic’ – to which the pyrrhic may give rise and which we shall indicate by the same terms as the corresponding metres:

- | | | |
|---|---|-----------|
| 1 |  | (pyrrhic) |
| 2 |  | (iamb) |
| 3 |  | (trochée) |
| 4 |  | (spondee) |

The tribrach of refrains provides eight supplementary formulas, some common (5, 7, 9 below), the others rare or not yet discovered.

- | | | |
|----|---|----------------|
| 5 |  | (tribrach) |
| 6 |  | (anapaest) |
| 7 |  | (amphibrach) |
| 8 |  | (dactyl) |
| 9 |  | (vulgar paeon) |
| 10 |  | (amphimacer) |
| 11 |  | (bacchic) |
- } 'paeonic' types

At first sight there is nothing here that contradicts the modern theory of measure and dissuades us from calling 1 a $2/8$, 2, 3, 5 a $3/8$, 4, 6, 7, 8 a $2/4$, 9, 10, 11 a $5/8$, 12 a $3/4$. But if we do so, when we look closer we are only strictly correct for 1, 4, 5 and 12, the original cellules of all rhythmic system. In extremely rare cases we should admit that the trochee and the iamb might pass for the usual forms of $3/8$. If, on the other hand we attentively examine 8 (dactyl) for instance, the incompatibilities immediately shine out. To state that this foot constitutes four shorts (quavers) amounts to a purely arithmetical truth that, far from informing us about the rhythmic conception from which it proceeds, on the contrary, leads our reasoning astray. In fact, the dactyl comprises three durations: an accentuated long followed by two atonic shorts, whereas Western teaching on the one hand presumes that the quavers issue from the fractioning of a superior unit (which they do not at all), and on the other overburdens the first, because it is placed at the head of a divisionary group, with a ‘secondary’ accent which it never fits. And these restrictions remain valid almost exactly for the anapaest too.

It would be illogical again to bow to the only explanation that official doctrine may offer of the amphibrach (7: short–long–short = quaver–crotchet–quaver), that is: a syncopated $2/4$. It would suit us if the central long came from the fusion of two shorts, themselves the product of the division of two hypothetical longs:  ; not only is this an entirely gratuitous assumption, but again we should misplace, through mistaking the facts, the accent of the first duration on the second, so confirming the demands of syncopation. And as for the three ‘paeonic’ varieties, the numbering of the five abstract shorts or quavers englobed in their total duration – though the ancients practised it – teaches us nothing useful about any of them. For all these reasons I have determined to avoid, in notating syllabic giusto melodies, any use of the measure, preferring to separate the rhythmic groups by dotted barlines, and only using full barlines at the ends of the phrases.

The optional alternation of its longs and shorts stamps this rhythm with an unstable appearance that the ear, without being too mistaken, attributes at first to a mixture of ‘binary’ and ‘ternary’ measures. On the other hand, knowing no other proportion except 1:2 and 2:1, the syllabic giusto excludes, as Laloy says of Greek metrics, ‘that relationship so familiar to our music, from the simple to the triple’. One might say that the appearance of ‘dotted’ values marks the beginning of the decline of our system.

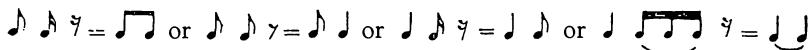
Given the number of feet in Romanian verse (three or four) and the number of rhythmical transformations in the foot (four), mathematics teaches that there are $4 \times 4 \times 4 = 64$ theoretic series for the hexasyllable and $4 \times 4 \times 4 \times 4 = 256$ for the octosyllable. We have grouped them at the end of

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this study in two tables A and B which will be referred to in the text in such mentions as A15, B23, etc.⁶

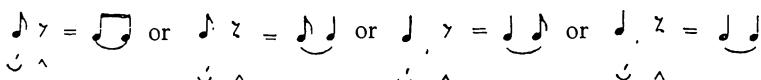
In musical reality, the identification of each of these series comes up against several difficulties, of which the most serious are caused by the very great liberty granted in the 'filling up' of their last section (third or fourth foot of the verse-line). Let us try to enumerate them, bearing in mind that, like the metric ones, the rhythmic series are sometimes complete or 'acatalectic' (and so finish on a *levé* or 'weak beat'), and sometimes incomplete or 'catalectic' (and end on a *frappé* or 'strong beat').

1. In the acatalectic series the singers, so as not to get out of breath, often shorten more or less by half the note on the final weak ending and complete the group by rests. Generally no incertitude results: by adding the curtailed value and the rests that follow it, we may reproduce disfigured forms of the pyrrhic, iamb, trochee or spondee. Obviously:

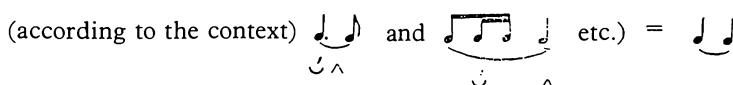
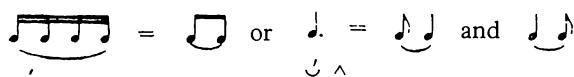


2. In the catalectic series the possibilities are multiplied. There,

a. a silence replaces the absent final note:



b. The accentuated end-note (or its melismatic figuration) absorbs the duration of the abolished atone, taking over for itself the whole duration of the cell:

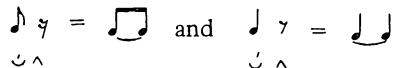


c. The terminal downbeat only overlaps a fraction of the void created by the absence of the neighbouring atone, the silences filling in the rest. The addition of all the components would restore, as in the acatalectic series, the problematic feet or, at least, the pyrrhic, which can never exceed the value of

⁶ In his *Histoire et théorie de la musique de l'antiquité* (vol. II, p. 78), Gevaert quotes a rhythmic fragment taken from Euripides which is exactly like our B44 in the order of its durations. He sees it as 'a very original mixture of 3/4 and 6/8'.

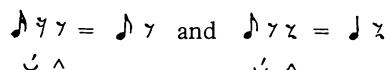
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two quavers, and the spondee, which cannot exceed the value of two crotchets:

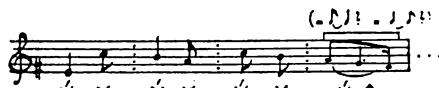


But the iamb and the trochee, which both have the total duration of three quavers are more difficult to differentiate since we cannot be sure that a drawn-out quaver is the initial element of the first, or a drawn-out crochet the initial element of the second: they could just as likely represent abbreviated forms of the one and the other. For:

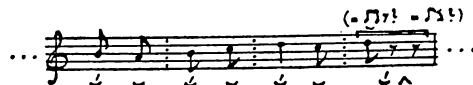
d. Beside their lengthening, the abbreviation of the accentuated finals, to an indeterminate extent, is permissible just as is the case with the atones (see I. above), however short are the rests needed for completion.



But if we consider $\mid \downarrow \uparrow \mid$, must we take this crochet for what it seems to be, the first whole beat of the trochee? Do we have to see there a dilated quaver, encroaching on the neighbouring value (see 2.c above) and so the first beat of an iamb? Similarly, if we consider $\mid \uparrow \downarrow \mid$, should we take this quaver literally, that is, as the first full beat of an iamb? Should we reckon that it masks a crotchet, the first full beat of a trochee? Or should we think that it too represents a dotted crotchet, the sum of an iamb as of a trochee? That is why we often avoid designating by an order number such series as (Cc 79):



or (Bk 125):



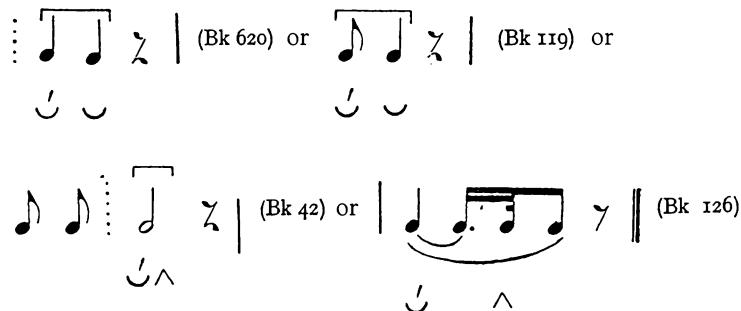
or (Bk 112b):



3. The supernumerary rests – essentially variable – that the occasional shortness of breath on the singers' part may set on the cadences adds to our

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difficulties. If in an acatalectic series they succeed a group ending on a crotchet (iamb, spondee) or in a catalectic series a minim, clearly the sum of the two crotchets (spondee), their arbitrary character is self-evident and we may set them aside quite safely. In the following groups, as the final has the maximum length allowed by the system, the gratuity of the adjunctions is indisputable:



Furthermore, not only do the $\frac{3}{4}$, $\frac{7}{8}$, $\frac{4}{4}$ and $\frac{9}{8}$ that Bartók constructs by including the *Atempausen* fail to teach us anything, they actually lead us astray.

On the other hand, in any other eventuality but those, a strong uncertainty persists. How are we to know if the whole or a part of such rests does not complete an abridged final? Should one, at the end of Bk 15:



simply deduct the two half-sights as if they were the fortuitous appendix to an iamb and pronounce it to be an A₁₁, or englobe the first in a presumed spondee by joining it to the former quaver and take it for an A₁₂? And in the catalectic series, other doubts arise. To detect them it is sufficient to show that nothing guarantees *a priori* the correctness of one of the imaginable interpretations of an octosyllable of the type (Bk 100i):

Five musical staves, each with a bass clef and a key signature of one sharp. The first staff shows a dotted half note followed by a quarter note, with a bracket above it. Below the notes are two arrows: a downward arrow under the dotted half note and an upward arrow under the quarter note. To the right is the text '= B₄'. The second staff shows a dotted half note followed by a quarter note, with a bracket above it. Below the notes are two arrows: a downward arrow under the dotted half note and an upward arrow under the quarter note. To the right is the text '= B₁'. The third staff shows a dotted half note followed by a quarter note, with a bracket above it. Below the notes are two arrows: a downward arrow under the dotted half note and an upward arrow under the quarter note. To the right is the text '= B₃'. The fourth staff shows a dotted half note followed by a quarter note, with a bracket above it. Below the notes are two arrows: a downward arrow under the dotted half note and an upward arrow under the quarter note. To the right is the text '= B₂'. The fifth staff shows a dotted half note followed by a quarter note, with a bracket above it. Below the notes are two arrows: a downward arrow under the dotted half note and an upward arrow under the quarter note. To the right is the text '= ?'.

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Furthermore in all sorts of songs, the carols excepted, pauses constantly enlarge the final notes, suppressing any means of determining the theoretical values that they conceal. At first one takes it for granted that these values can be nothing but the longest of the system (crotchet in the acatalectic series; crotchet, dotted crotchet or minim in the catalectic since here too the desired musical effect is a prolongation, a ‘hold’. Unfortunately there is an important objection to this argument. A good number of rhythmic periods tend to assume a ‘stichic’ division deprived of any irregularity (repetition of the same model). Each time one takes away the pauses and encounters a period of this kind, the rests assume the appearance of adventitious ornaments or simple punctuation marks which modify the appearance without altering the symmetrical constitution. A glance at two almost isomorphic melodies (A10 and A9) would help to convince one: a carol (Bk 27):



and a song (Br):



Can we use this as an argument to deduce finally the composition of a part which is indistinguishable except for a pause from that of another within the same period? We then risk a new error because the repetitions are varied at will, by alternating groups with different cadences from one part to another so efficiently that first A38 and then A39 will reply to A37 (Dg 177):



But it is true that the peasants emphasize these slight differences by a delivery that is strictly ‘giusto’.

In short, we have no infallible method of reconstructing: at the end of a

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catalectic series, either elliptic iambs and trochees or any group, whatever it may be, that contains or to which are added rests; at the end of an acatalectic series, any group where rests are juxtaposed with a note-value less than that of a crotchet; or in either series, any group that is disguised by a pause. However, it would be reasonable to reconstitute by analogy the cadences in question: when the stichic form of the period that encloses them is obvious, so that the identity of the incomplete part is explained by that of the complete parts; when the comparison of a melody with one or more closely related variants clarifies the obscure points; and when the series in question obviously reproduces the arrangement of an octosyllabic line, split up by an interior rhyme into two hemistichs of $2+2$ feet (dimmers), and is divided into two identical superior rhythmic units (an arrangement which I intend to show by a filled-in half-barline).

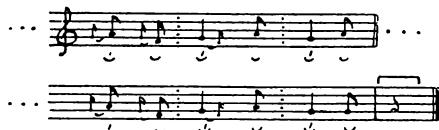
The varying meaning ‘according to context’ of the dotted crotchet at point 2.b above is clarified by the superimposed notation; it is a B26:

here (Cc_{III}) a B86:

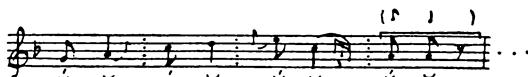
In the A₁₂ that follows (Bk 15), the certain identity of the parts immediately allows us to recognize the first of the two quaver rests as the completion of a spondee and the second as an accidental stop:

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It is surprising that Bartók did not hear it in the same way since elsewhere he very carefully isolates a crotchet rest between two barlines, from which one might have wrongly taken away a fraction to profit the iamb to which it is joined, making an AII:



Numerous variants give definite information on the rôle of the rest (an integral part of the iamb), as in this B86 (Bk 45e):



Finally, a defective hemistich can be recomposed according to its model, and so we will not hesitate to describe this (BK 121l) as half of a B154:



especially when the whole part has, as antecedent:



And in another B154 (Br) the pause does not succeed in hiding a crotchet, for the same reason:

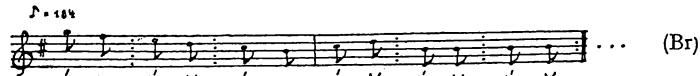


Fortunately, all these perplexities concern only four neighbouring series at the most.

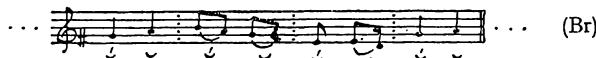
We can now look analytically at our tables A and B. Both comprise four series formed by the repetition of one identical formula: A1, 22, 43, 64, and B1, 86, 171, 256. When one of them persists from one end of a period to the other, we may believe that we are close to our own Western habits: we are aware of, if one may say so, an initial ‘surface contact’ between the ‘syllabic giusto’ and other rhythmic systems. On the other hand, supposing a period only links up A1s or A64s, B1s or B256s, there is no indication that it is a succession of shorts or a succession of longs (pyrrhics or spondees). However, it would seem natural to consider as shorts the equal values whose

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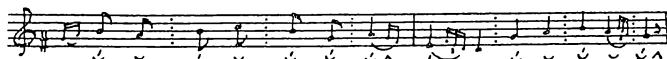
duration, in animated movement, approximates to that of the syllables of the spoken language:



Needless to say, one short in a series of longs, or one long in a series of shorts will clear up any doubts:



One may even find contrasting chains of the two values being used for effect (Bk 49):



It will be seen that the hexasyllable has only three divisions and four elementary groups. Consequently, at the most, its mutations can only be trischematic, whereas there are twenty-four tetraschematic translations of the octosyllable.⁷ There are 36 bischematic and 24 trischematic series in table A, and 84 and 114 in table B.

One might sat that the possible articulations of the verse-line through the artifice of interior rhymes are reflected in some of these multiform arrangements,⁸ and we would then have a clue about the significant analogy between poetic and musical procedures, if each of these rhythmic aggregates were linked only to its metric double; but we already know that this occurs only every now and then and by chance. The composition of most of them is in itself too irregular to intrude on the mind and to let one think that it is intentional, unless a particular mechanism, with which I will be concerned, makes this evident. Only the imitations of the twelve dimeters (rhyming hemistichs: 4 + 4) show evident symmetry.

⁷ Apparently little used are B28, 31, 40, 46, 55, 58, 76, 79, 100, 109, 115, 121, 136, 142, 148, 157, 178, 181, 199, 202, 211, 217, 226, 229.

⁸ $2+2+2 = A1, 22, 43, 64; 2+4 = A5, 9, 13, 18, 26, 30, 35, 39, 47, 52, 56, 60; 4+2 = A6, 11, 16, 17, 27, 32, 33, 38, 48, 49, 54, 59.$ And, likewise: $2+2+2+2 = B1, 86, 171, 256; 2+2+4 = B5, 9, 13, 82, 90, 91, 163, 167, 175, 244, 248, 252; 2+4+2 = B17, 33, 49, 70, 102, 118, 135, 155, 183, 208, 224, 240; 4+2+2 = B18, 35, 52, 69, 103, 120, 137, 154, 188, 205, 222, 239; 2+6 = B25, 29, 37, 45, 53, 57, 74, 78, 98, 110, 114, 122, 135, 143, 147, 185, 200, 204, 212, 228, 232; 6+2 = B27, 32, 38, 48, 51, 59, 75, 80, 97, 112, 113, 123, 134, 144, 145, 160, 177, 182, 198, 203, 209, 219, 225, 230; 4+4 = B18, 35, 52, 69, 103, 120, 137, 154, 188, 205, 222, 239.$

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• ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩	• ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩
25 ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩	26 ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩
27 ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩	28 ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩
29 ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩	205 ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩
30 ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩	222 ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩
31 ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩	239 ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩

Taking into account the restrictions concerning accentuation, the dipodic constituents of these dimeters bear a remarkable resemblance to those ancient 'simple' and 'compound' measures: that of B₅₂ to the ionic minor, that of B₁₀₃ to the antipaest (whose existence is questioned by scholars), that of B₁₃₇ to the so-called vulgar paeon, those of B₁₈, B₃₅, and B₆₉ to other paeons, that of B₁₅₄ to the choriamb, those of B₁₂₀, B₁₈₈, 222, and 239 to the four varieties of the 'anormal' or 'pretend' epitrite, that of B₂₀₅ to the ionic major. We shall not draw any conclusion from these analogies for the moment.

Before continuing this demonstration, we should ask ourselves whether this list of rhythms is simply an inventory of theoretical possibilities or whether the means discussed here are really exhausted by Romanian peasant music. Given the present state of knowledge, there can be no definite answer. Nevertheless, the examples of 'syllabic giusto' given here, although few in number, sufficiently illustrate a tendency in all popular art to exploit exhaustively a given technique in order to use an inventiveness that is proved by the implementation of all the resources described above. The refrains that we will now examine are an important addition to these already considerable resources.

A summary definition that should now be developed and made more flexible contrasted 'pseudo-refrains' with 'refrains proper', these being regular and irregular; the former are matched with the lines that precede them, the latter differ from the lines either by their dimension alone, or by both dimension and composition, which is tribrachic and requires agreement between language and poetic accents.

We have not yet discussed the proportions of the refrains. In his *Colinde*, Bartók specifies that there are two to twenty-seven syllables. In fact, neither there nor in any other known document are there more than twelve irreducible units. Instead, there are more or less complex groupings of sub-units, generally rhymed, that belong to a 'strophic' category that has little to do with this study. Furthermore, Bartók refuses to consider groups of less than five syllables as distinct parts, doubtless because he considers them to be 'too short'; according to their musical complexity ('Zusammengehörigkeit') he links them either with that which precedes or that which follows them, which would lead to the concept of hypertrophic lines of 8 (= 6 + 2), 9,

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(= 6 + 3), 10 (= 6 + 4 or 8 + 2), 11 (= 8 + 3) and 12 (= 8 + 4) syllables, a hypothesis whose usefulness remains to be proved. Unfortunately, Bartók produces no argument to support this view, which is, by his own admission, subjective, and leaves us in ignorance as to the yardstick for size that he thought to be a suitable choice.

Rather than use it ourselves, let us try to find out whether the section of melody that becomes the refrain, short though it may be, plays a rôle in the organization of the melodic arrangement. If the section is 'long' but with no morphological function, it remains a neutral body within this arrangement, without influence on the form of the period in which it is inserted. Joined with octosyllables, an octosyllabic refrain does not entail any structural irregularity: it is a false refrain or 'pseudo-refrain', to which the music sometimes allots a profile of its own, but which may just as well appear or disappear at will (Bk 26, etc. – cf. Dg 193, 220, 257, etc.). On the other hand, a single pyrrhic can give perfect support to a musical phrase that is short but clearly individualized, and therefore deserves the description of a real refrain or a 'refrain proper'. This is certainly rare, but a single example (Bk 3) is irrefutable:



One must say that in many melodies the lines of six syllables to which this 'short refrain' (Dragoi) seems to ally itself exclusively are increased by a bisyllabic 'extension', a fact which certainly troubled Bartók, and whose meaning will not be clear without further consideration.

The many problems raised by trisyllabic refrains may necessitate some delay in their examination, but we should immediately contest the systematic subordination, according to Bartók, of tetrasyllables, which are self-contained in all the accessible examples, even when they are connected with some other rhythmic member:



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The controversy ends here, and we will take it as agreed that the length of refrains is from two to twelve syllables.

We will now look at the metric order of these syllables while bearing in mind that they all begin on a downbeat, that we know the placement of their last accent, and that even when they end on a weak beat and a rest takes the place of a final tone, they always result in a complete foot, which can be expressed by the figure 2 (given, for the sake of clarity, in brackets in the formulas below). With this in mind, we shall immediately look at the segment that I will call the 'body of the line', taken from the beginning and including this invariable quantity. If the addition of these units gives an uneven figure, it reveals the presence of a tribrach which is the sign of a refrain proper called irregular. Provisionally putting aside an important exception, we can state that 4 syllables = $2(+2)$; 5 = $3(+2)$; 6 = $2+2(+2)$. Seven syllables are divided in two ways: $2+3(+2)$ or $3+2(+2)$; nine in three ways: $2+2+3(+2)$ or $2+3+2(+2)$ or $3+2+2(+2)$; eleven in five ways: $2+2+2+3(+2)$ or $2+2+3+2(+2)$ or $2+3+2+2(+2)$ or $3+2+2+2(+2)$ or $3+3+3(+2)$. The octosyllables, decasyllables and dodecasyllables lend themselves to two distinct interpretations: they are regular ($2+2+\dots$) if the body of the line is articulated by a metric accent, irregular if the tonic prevails and divides 8 into $3+3(+2)$, 10 into $2+3+3(+2)$ or $3+2+3(+2)$ or $3+3+2(+2)$, 12 into $2+2+3+3(+2)$ or $2+3+2+3(+2)$ or $3+2+2+3(+2)$ or $3+2+3+2(+2)$ or $3+3+2+2(+2)$. All of which makes possible a more detailed general classification of refrains into:

1. 'pseudo-refrains' (hexasyllables or octosyllables joined to identical lines);
2. 'refrains proper' called regular: 2, 4, 6, 8, 10, 12 syllables;
3. 'refrains proper', called irregular: 3, 5, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 syllables

This will be seen more clearly in the table of metric types on p. 184, which also gives the theoretical number of their rhythmic versions (too numerous and too rare in the materials collected so far to be worth giving an exact description). An imposing total (and one which could still be increased by several dozens) but apparently fallacious: above nine syllables, specimens of most of the combinations do not exist.

With the help of only metric ideas, we are not always able to decipher the structure of the refrains. If the position of the final accented syllable is clear, four syllables must give:

♩ ♩ | ♩ ♩
Dai co-lin-dā or Domn din cer
Dom-ni-lo- ru

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THEORETICAL REFRAIN TYPES

2 syllables:		4
3 syllables:		8
4 syllables:		16^9
5 syllables:		32^{10}
6 syllables:		64^{11}
7 syllables:		$128 + 128$	256^{12}
8 syllables:		256^{13}
		256^{14}
9 syllables:		$512 + 512 + 512 = \dots$	$1,536^{15}$
10 syllables:		$1,024^{16}$
		$1024 + 1024 + 1024 = \dots$	$3,072^{17}$
11 syllables:		$2048 + 2048 + 2048 + 2048$ $+ 2048 + 2048 = \dots$	$10,240^{18}$
12 syllables:		$4,096^{19}$
		$4096 + 4096 + 4096 + 4096$ $+ 4096 + 4096 + 4096 + 4096 = 20,480^{20}$	
			<hr/> 41,340

⁹ 4×4 .

¹⁰ 8×4 .

¹¹ $4 \times 4 \times 4$.

¹² $(4 \times 8 \times 4) + (8 \times 4 \times 4)$.

¹³ $4 \times 4 \times 4 \times 4$.

¹⁴ $8 \times 4 \times 4$.

¹⁵ $(4 \times 4 \times 4 \times 8 \times 4) + (4 \times 8 \times 4 \times 4) + (8 \times 4 \times 4 \times 4)$.

¹⁶ $4 \times 4 \times 4 \times 4 \times 4$.

¹⁷ $(4 \times 8 \times 8 \times 4) + (8 \times 4 \times 8 \times 4) + (8 \times 8 \times 4 \times 4)$.

¹⁸ $(4 \times 4 \times 4 \times 8 \times 4) + (4 \times 4 \times 8 \times 4 \times 4) + (4 \times 8 \times 4 \times 4 \times 4) + (8 \times 8 \times 8 \times 4)$.

¹⁹ $4 \times 4 \times 4 \times 4 \times 4 \times 4$.

²⁰ $(4 \times 4 \times 8 \times 8 \times 4) + (4 \times 8 \times 4 \times 8 \times 4) + (8 \times 4 \times 4 \times 8 \times 4) + (8 \times 4 \times 8 \times 4 \times 4) + (8 \times 8 \times 4 \times 4 \times 4)$.

THE SYLLABIC GIUSTO

Five syllables cannot be scanned in any way other than:

$\overset{\circ}{\text{f}} \overset{\circ}{\text{l}} \overset{\circ}{\text{o}} \mid \overset{\circ}{\text{r}} \overset{\circ}{\text{i}}$
 Flo-ri-le dal-be or $\overset{\circ}{\text{d}} \overset{\circ}{\text{o}} \overset{\circ}{\text{n}} \mid \overset{\circ}{\text{l}} \overset{\wedge}{\text{u}}$
Mi -re-lui bu-nu

Six syllables can only be grouped as:

$\overset{\circ}{\text{i}} \overset{\circ}{\text{o}} \overset{\circ}{\text{s}} \mid \overset{\circ}{\text{f}} \overset{\circ}{\text{i}} \mid \overset{\circ}{\text{t}} \overset{\circ}{\text{a}}$
 Ioi sfin-ta Ma-ri-e or $\overset{\circ}{\text{h}} \overset{\circ}{\text{a}} \overset{\circ}{\text{i}} \mid \overset{\circ}{\text{d}} \overset{\circ}{\text{a}} \mid \overset{\circ}{\text{b}} \overset{\wedge}{\text{o}}$
Vîn-tul ba-te li-nu

The two divisions of the heptasyllable are also clear as long as the tonic accent that governs it is clearly felt:

$\overset{\circ}{\text{d}} \overset{\circ}{\text{o}} \mid \overset{\circ}{\text{a}} \overset{\circ}{\text{m}} \mid \overset{\circ}{\text{n}} \mid \overset{\circ}{\text{e}}$
 Doam-ne Dom-nu-lui Doam-ne or $\overset{\circ}{\text{f}} \overset{\circ}{\text{l}} \overset{\circ}{\text{o}} \mid \overset{\circ}{\text{r}} \overset{\circ}{\text{i}} \mid \overset{\circ}{\text{d}} \overset{\wedge}{\text{a}}$
Ju- ne ju- ne lui bu- nu

$\overset{\circ}{\text{c}} \overset{\circ}{\text{e}} \overset{\circ}{\text{t}} \mid \overset{\circ}{\text{i}} \overset{\circ}{\text{n}} \mid \overset{\circ}{\text{a}} \overset{\circ}{\text{r}}$
 Ce-ti-nâ ce-ti-oe-ra or $\overset{\circ}{\text{r}} \overset{\circ}{\text{a}} \overset{\circ}{\text{i}} \mid \overset{\circ}{\text{u}} \overset{\circ}{\text{l}} \mid \overset{\circ}{\text{u}} \overset{\wedge}{\text{m}}$
Flo-ri-le ma-ru-lu-î

Under the same conditions, the three possible articulations of the irregular series of nine syllables (one of which, as well as all five of the hendecasyllable, is not yet vouched for) are easily heard:

$\overset{\circ}{\text{l}} \overset{\circ}{\text{e}} \overset{\circ}{\text{f}} \mid \overset{\circ}{\text{t}} \overset{\circ}{\text{i}} \mid \overset{\circ}{\text{a}} \overset{\circ}{\text{d}} \mid \overset{\circ}{\text{o}} \overset{\circ}{\text{c}} \mid \overset{\circ}{\text{h}} \overset{\circ}{\text{i}}$ and $\overset{\circ}{\text{d}} \overset{\circ}{\text{o}} \overset{\circ}{\text{n}} \mid \overset{\circ}{\text{l}} \overset{\circ}{\text{u}} \mid \overset{\circ}{\text{l}} \overset{\circ}{\text{u}} \mid \overset{\circ}{\text{d}} \overset{\circ}{\text{e}} \mid \overset{\circ}{\text{n}} \overset{\circ}{\text{o}}$
 Ler fe-ti- $\overset{\wedge}{\text{t}}$ a d-o-chii $\overset{\wedge}{\text{t}}$ i-s ne-gri and Dom-nu-lui Doam-ne Domn de-al nos-tru

Furthermore, many of the carol refrains include vocables of indefinite form and without precise meaning, such as 'ler', 'hailer', 'hoileler', etc., which the majority of philologists derive from 'alleluia'. Their uncertain accentuation produces two tiresome consequences. If they are used to terminate a series (luckily this is rare), because the final stress becomes obliterated one can mistake (to take an obvious example) an acatalectic tetrasyllable for a catalectic pentasyllable:

$\overset{\circ}{\text{L}} \overset{\circ}{\text{e}} \mid \overset{\circ}{\text{r}} \overset{\circ}{\text{o}} \quad ?$
 $\overset{\circ}{\text{L}} \overset{\circ}{\text{e}} \overset{\circ}{\text{o}} \mid \overset{\circ}{\text{r}} \overset{\wedge}{\text{o}} \quad ?$
Le-roi-roi-loi

Moreover, this uncertain accent prevents us from finding the exact position of tribachs in irregular series:

$\overset{\circ}{\text{L}} \overset{\circ}{\text{e}} \mid \overset{\circ}{\text{r}} \overset{\circ}{\text{o}} \mid \overset{\circ}{\text{L}} \overset{\circ}{\text{e}} \mid \overset{\circ}{\text{r}} \overset{\circ}{\text{o}} \quad ?$ or even $\overset{\circ}{\text{L}} \overset{\circ}{\text{e}} \mid \overset{\circ}{\text{r}} \overset{\circ}{\text{o}} \mid \overset{\circ}{\text{L}} \overset{\circ}{\text{e}} \mid \overset{\circ}{\text{r}} \overset{\circ}{\text{o}} \mid \overset{\circ}{\text{L}} \overset{\circ}{\text{e}} \mid \overset{\circ}{\text{r}} \overset{\circ}{\text{o}} \quad ?$
Le-rui-a le-rui Doam-ne . Hoi-le-rui-da le-ru-mi Doam-ne ?

As for the ambiguous series of eight, ten and twelve syllables, they beset us with perhaps the most insidious difficulty in the whole of this study. All

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three are definitely regular only if no stress occurs on a weak beat which puts the pairing of their units into question, regular versification being the only conceivable one here:



They have all the more reason to be regular if this pairing is expressly called for by the agreement of the accents, as in this decasyllable (Dg 86):



or this dodecasyllable (SC 1288 Ib):



But should a tonic accent fall on one or more of their internal atones (the first, which follows a fixed accent is obviously excluded)²¹ then any criterion for differentiation disappears immediately. If we look at the versification alone, there is absolutely no strict reason for measuring:

· ˘ ˘ ˘ | ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ : ˘ ˘
Dom-nu-lui Dom-nu-lui Doam-ne

in preference to:

˘ ˘ : ˘ ˘ | ˘ ˘ | ˘ ˘
Dom-nu-lui Dom-nu-lui Doam-ne

And the country people do not hesitate to make use of both possible interpretations.

The only possible answer is then to examine the music. We are hardly enlightened by listening to the phonograms or to the singing of the peasant himself: the accents are so changeable or so little marked in the passages in question that one runs the greatest risk of error by relying on them. But an analysis of the questionable part, taken individually, is often enough to enlighten us. Thus, this nine-syllable refrain should unquestionably break down into $3 + 2 + 2 (+ 2)$:

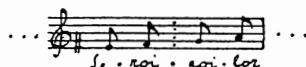


²¹ So: syllables 4 of the octosyllable; 4, or 6, or 4 and 6 of the decasyllable; 4, or 6, or 8, or 4 and 6, or 6 and 8, or 4 and 6 and 8 of the dodecasyllable.

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As the prose accentuates the two syllables in the third bar of this notation equally, it is questionable which one has precedence over the other, particularly when the second, assonant with the first and fourth syllables, would seem to be the more important. The series would then end on 'leor', which immediately reminds us of the enigmatic vocables mentioned above: if it is accented, we will divide the series into $3 + 3 + 3(+2)$. A single but decisive argument demolishes this hypothesis: the final monosyllable is sung to a quaver. The incomplete foot that it would supposedly occupy in entirety would then be made up of two semiquavers, a note-value so far unknown in the *syllabic giusto*. And so our refrain has for an ending strong beat an accented article followed by a metrical complement.

Similar reasoning leads us elsewhere (Cc 56) to separate into $2(+2)$ and not into $3(+2)$ by implication) these four problematic syllables:



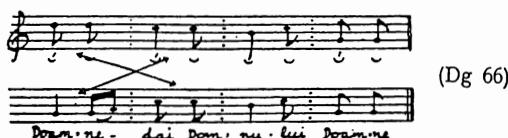
At other times, the key to similar puzzles must be sought in those confrontations that have already helped us. Among other things, they will make us understand that, despite appearances that led us to make the rhythm $3 + 3(+2)$, it would have been wrong to add to a refrain proper this part of a stichic period:



The substitution of an iamb by a trochee (or the reverse) does not take us any further away from the regular versification:



This exchange of equal quantities goes even further in the following example, by inverting the moveable elements and consequently balancing, two by two, the sums of four groups instead of two:

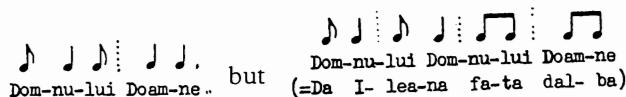


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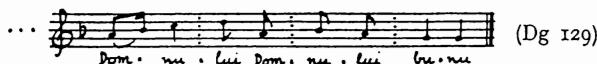
The divergence can go even further without obliterating the relationships:



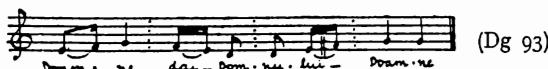
Finally, we can resort to the variants which will save us from a miscalculation. Let us use as evidence the family of melodies which in Bartók's *Colinde* has the collective number 62. Its usual refrain is a pentasyllable (often 'Domnului, Doamne': 3 + 2), extended in some (62p, r, s, ii, jj) by repetition of the three syllables of the initial tribrach ('Domnului, Domnului, Doamne'), which are even more likely to form another tribrach because the octosyllable so formed begins with the same values as the pentasyllable that it extends. A faultless deduction, except that in several variants (62o, t) a regular octosyllable replaces that which we had good reason to believe irregular, in such a way that we will have without any doubt (62c, g, h, i, l, u, dd, ee, gg):



Equally, if we look at the rhythmic instability of these enlarged refrains, which betrays some indecision in the artistic intention, one is inclined to suppose that the regular versification overrides it each time that the body of the line consists in the repetition of a paroxytone trisyllabic word. Most documents confirm this opinion²² and this encourages us to treat all the octosyllables under discussion as regular, and notably:



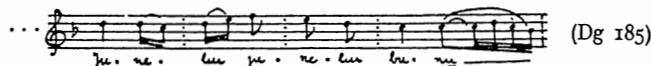
also:



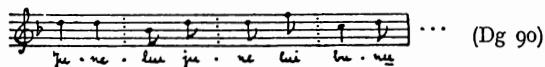
²² For the prototype commented on here and its near relatives ('Doamne dai [ioi, ler] Domnului, Doamne'), see further: Bk 46a, 81b, 86c, d, e, h, 87d, 89 and Dg 4, 64, 76, 91, 103, 120, 152, 199, 212, 224, 225; for another, almost as frequent ('Junelui junelui bunu'): Bk 88c, Dg 127, 232, 238.

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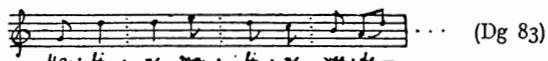
and on the other hand:



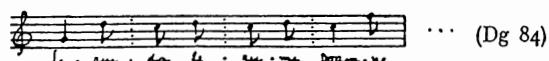
and its double:



but also:



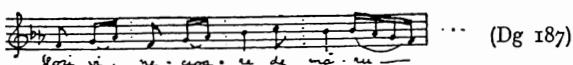
and:



and:



or again:



To which can be added: Ur 43 and all refrains in the family Bk 102.

Let us now look at the problem of trisyllabic refrains which are used as distinct sections in mélodic construction:

Three staves of musical notation for 'le-roi-loi', 'le-nor-loi', and 'le-nor-loi'. The first staff shows a melodic line with eighth-note pairs and a sixteenth-note group. The second staff shows a melodic line with eighth-note pairs and a sixteenth-note group. The third staff shows a melodic line with eighth-note pairs and a sixteenth-note group. The lyrics are written below the notes.

Here, neither the first nor the second allows a different scansion, their last syllable, as we now know, being too brief for the substitution of a pyrrhic: so the independent tribach asserts itself as an objective reality. But three detached syllables, like two, suggest a superior metrical part reduced to its essential element, namely its ending, still accentuated naturally. In theory,

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there is no reason for not using this to end a more extended series (there is no example of this) or to build a similar series by multiplying it by two:



or by three:



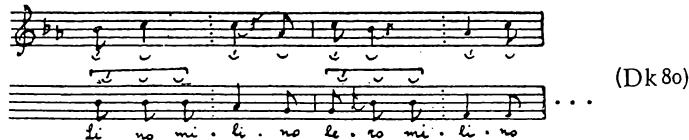
In other words, our catalogue of irregular refrains has increased by two new types: $6 = 3 + 3$ and $9 = 3 + 3 + 3$, the first being fairly common, the second very rare. The number of possible rhythmic metamorphoses is: 64^{23} plus $512^{24} = 576$; a general total of $41,340 + 576 = 41,916$.

By continuing to compare the certain with the uncertain, we can now see how one of the most obscure mechanisms of the syllabic giusto works and discover the first exceptions to the apparently absolute rules: the first, the indivisibility of the durations, here meets with a symptomatic infringement.

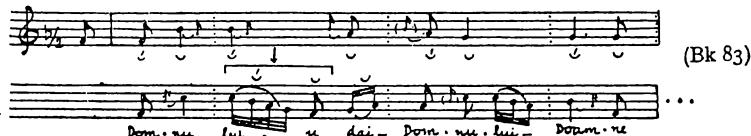
In trying to place the tribachs correctly in an irregular series and referring to the normal verse-lines beside it, we will at once realize that the rhythmic reproductions of some of them are the result of the resolution of a long syllable and their only aim is to vary a trochee or an iamb:



or:



or:



²³ 8×8 .

²⁴ $8 \times 8 \times 8$.

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In these three melodies, the same dimeter B102 is increased by one or two metric units, but in such a way that the isochronism of the different rhythmic groups is not disturbed; the bisyllabic and trisyllabic feet that answer it have the same total duration in music, as do the parts that enclose them. Which amounts to saying that concealed beneath the three irregular refrains are octosyllabic pseudo-refrains. Here is the reason why their versification sometimes shows through:

(Cc 18)

and similarly:

(Cc 2)

The division of the long syllables foreshadows the contraction of the short syllables, which the syllabic giusto uses equally, and this generally gives birth to false rhythmic pentasyllables or heptasyllables:

(Dg 49)

or:

(Bk 64c)

The tetrasyllables, which frequently take up half of the neighbouring series by the same methods, turn into pentasyllables:

(Dg 200)

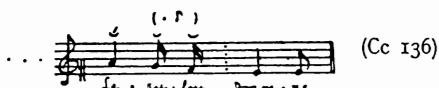
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A most curious double contraction in one of the carols collected by Cucu (129) gives an equivalent duration for eight and five syllables:



This tells us something of considerable importance: all known irregular refrains of more than eight syllables, with one single exception, are variations on the octosyllabic pseudo-refrain.

Here we can record the sporadic appearance of a decorative value, as it were, that is in itself foreign to the syllabic giusto and that we have not yet encountered: the semiquaver, the result of an arbitrary decomposition of the quaver, and one that, within the body of the line, transforms metric pyrrhics into tribrachs and draws two pyrrhics out of a tribrach:



and:



A phonogram, invaluable for this reason (SC 1328 Ia), gives us irrefutable evidence of the subsidiary rôle vested in the semiquaver. One hears sung, time after time:



It should be remembered that exceptional contractions and divisions obviously aim to safeguard or to restore the isochronism between parts or units of parts of a period, and that they involve a discrepancy between the metric and the rhythmic by equalizing the unequal and by weakening the hold of one or the other. They are the peripheral resources of the syllabic giusto and they bring us to the end of our system and to the threshold of another, which Aristoxenes defined by saying: 'One should not be concerned with letters or syllables alone, but rather with time'.²⁵ Now this

²⁵ Gevaert, op. cit., II, p. 7.

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'time' is not the measure of the sung word, but that of movement, i.e. of dance, and there we reach the limits of purely vocal music.

Another licence takes us even further than the pursuit of isochronism and the use of semiquavers from the authentic face of the syllabic giusto: the presence of unusual dotted crotchets in certain concluding groups:



or:



Presented in this way, rather like a 'slip', it hardly shakes the foundations of a system whose salient traits remain firm. Placed in the middle of a series, it would stand out more obviously and would disturb the mechanism to a greater extent. And we would completely leave behind the domain of the syllabic giusto as soon as the following became interchangeable: $\text{J} \text{N}$ and $\text{J} \text{N}$, $\text{J} \text{N}$ and $\text{J} \text{N}$.

To end, we must still answer three questions. In the first place, we must examine from a rhythmic point of view the real or conceivable mixtures of hexasyllables and octosyllables, or at least the resemblances between these two metres. This examination will finally allow us to understand the secret of those 'extensions' which Bartók stumbled over, because they demonstrate that melodies such as Dg 115 are suitable for carrying one or another line, according to whether we keep a bisyllabic refrain (here, catalectic: 'Domn') or whether we replace it by two ordinary metric units:



And what we have learnt along the way of achieving isochronism by the amalgamation of short values will enable us to discern the signs of contamination of the hexasyllable by the octosyllable in phrases of equal quantities:



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The actual mixture of the two types of line in the same text (perhaps common in epic recitative, of which I have no example) happens very rarely in practice and would seem to be confined to uninterrupted series of octosyllables opened by a single hexasyllable, or the inverse. One gets away with this either by the expedient of unusual contractions:



or by extending the hexasyllabic phrase or shrinking the initial octosyllable, which is otherwise held intact:

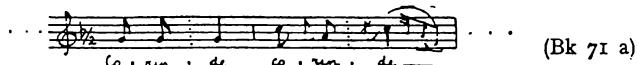


Let us also remember that when interior rhymes cut the line into two, three or four sub-units these may assume the appearance of metric entities defined to the point that, just like the superior unit from which they come, they can occur in catalectic form. This effect is reflected in the rhythm of the refrains by making incomplete groups appear while the complete series that includes them remains a synonym for a completed octosyllable.



French example: *Do, / do, / l'enfant do*

or:



French example: *Son pourpoint / fait au point.*

Finally, we should know according to which affinities the numerous rhythmic aggregates, equal or unequal and briefly numbered here, assemble to form periods. On this point, the present state of documentation and previous knowledge allows only a few remarks that are not guesses. It certainly seems that:

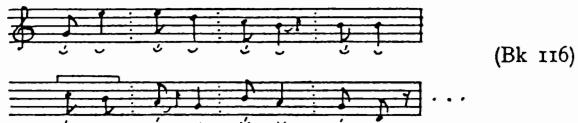
- a. most melodies are monorhythmic (they have only one series);

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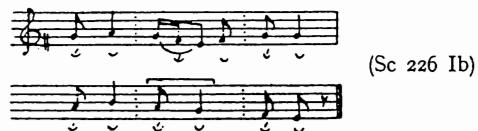
b. to change the monotony of textual repetition the parts do not often differ among themselves except by one of their feet, usually the last:



but alternatively by one of the others:



or:

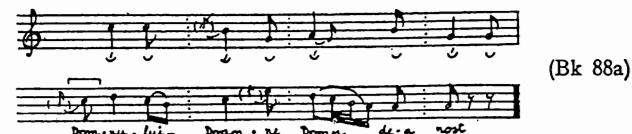


c. variation often uses alternation of isochronic series taken, as we have seen, from the two tables A and B ($6=8$) or from the same table:



d. frequently, as we have also noted, the tetrasyllabic and pentasyllabic refrains confine themselves to reverting to half an octosyllable, especially if it is a dimeter;

e. the irregular series tend to rely on the regular one, from which they are derived by extension:



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or by reduction:

(SC 1328 IIc)

The image shows two staves of musical notation in G major. The top staff consists of six notes with corresponding lyrics: "je - ne - lui bu - ne". The bottom staff consists of five notes with corresponding lyrics: "ma - ne - le eu - flor - lem dat - le". Ellipses at the end of each staff indicate the continuation of the pattern.

or (more subtly):

(SC 1288 Ic)

The image shows two staves of musical notation in G major. The top staff consists of six notes with corresponding lyrics: "je - ne - lui bu - ne". The bottom staff consists of five notes with corresponding lyrics: "ma - ne - le eu - flor - lem dat - le". Ellipses at the end of each staff indicate the continuation of the pattern.

These are the characteristics of the main features of the syllabic giusto and two remarks are necessary in conclusion:

1. It has been studied here in its relationship to sung Romanian verse but this rhythm can naturally be applied just as well to prose, in so far as a succession of bisyllabic and trisyllabic groups is visible. The only possible wavering appears, in prose as in poetry, in the concluding groups, where one will sometimes hesitate to link the beginning of a series with the end of the preceding one. A peasant version of a liturgical chant offers an eloquent example of this:

The image shows five staves of musical notation in G major. The lyrics are written below each staff. The lyrics are: "Tor - ag din ri - da - ci - ra lui Ies - ie și dom - ne dem.", "tein - uie - cia - tor - ie din Je - croa - nă ai o - dei - le, cel la - u.", "dat den mun - te - le cel cu un - bă dea - și Ye - nit - ai in - true.", "pin - du - le ca ne - i - pi - hi - tă - de bar - bat. Cel fă - ră de", and "trup în Dum - ne - ră, mă - ne - re pru - le - rii Ta - le doam - ne". Ellipses at the end of each staff indicate the continuation of the pattern.

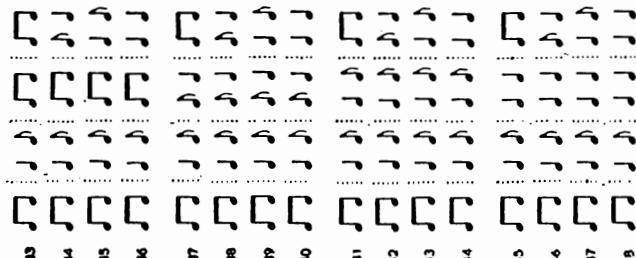
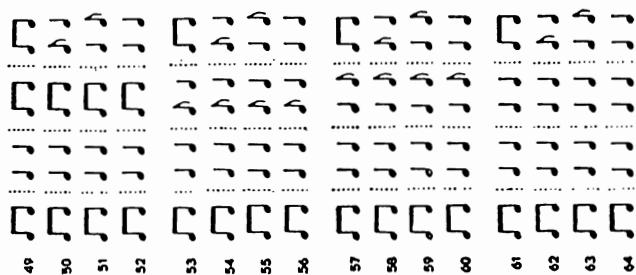
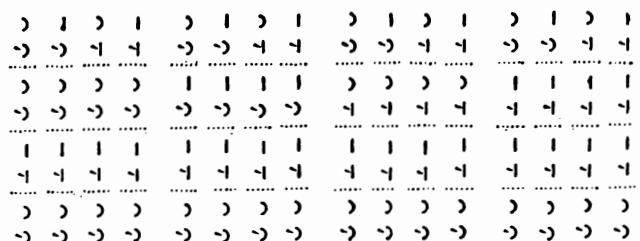
2. The most recent research seems to show the existence of a trichrone variant in our system, ordered by the same principles (a free mixing of dissimilar elementary rhythmic groups, binary and ternary, and the absence of a 3:1 relationship), but using three durations instead of two: short, long, double-long. The groupings short-double-long and double-long-short destroy the fundamental proportions (1:1, 1:2, 2:1) of the syllabic giusto and, since they are not usable, this trichrone variant gives only three new possibilities: long-double-long, double-long-long, double-long-double-long.

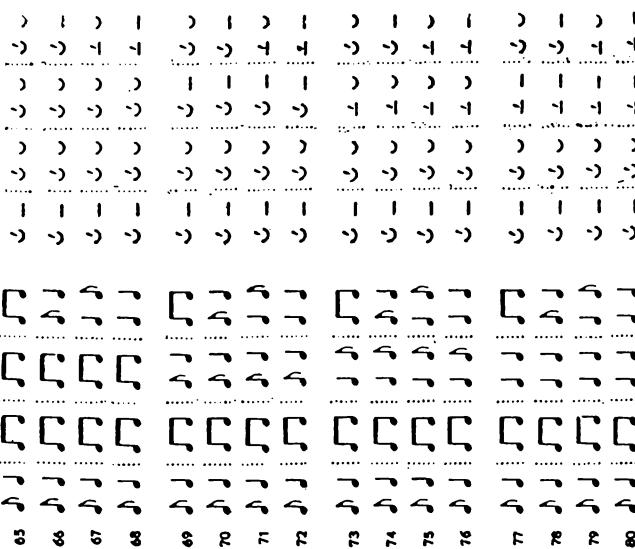
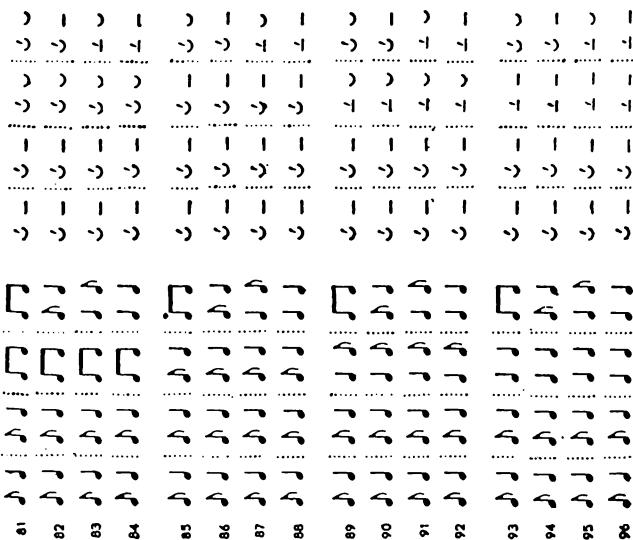
Table A

Table B

The image displays a structured grid of Hebrew characters for handwriting practice. It consists of 15 horizontal rows. Each row contains four vertical columns. The first column in each row features the letter 'aleph' in different styles, including both open and closed forms. The second column contains 'bet', the third contains 'mem', and the fourth contains 'ayin'. Below each row, there is a numerical sequence starting from 1 and increasing by 1 up to 15, positioned to the left of the first column's characters.

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3	1	3	1	3	1	3	1	3	1	3	1	3	1	3	1
3	3	1	4	3	2	3	2	3	2	3	2	3	2	3	4
3	3	3	3	1	1	1	1	3	3	3	3	1	1	1	1
3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3
1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4
3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3
4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4

77	78	79	79	79	79	79	79	79	79	79	79	79	79	79	79
79	79	79	79	79	79	79	79	79	79	79	79	79	79	79	79
79	79	79	79	79	79	79	79	79	79	79	79	79	79	79	79
79	79	79	79	79	79	79	79	79	79	79	79	79	79	79	79
79	79	79	79	79	79	79	79	79	79	79	79	79	79	79	79
79	79	79	79	79	79	79	79	79	79	79	79	79	79	79	79
79	79	79	79	79	79	79	79	79	79	79	79	79	79	79	79
79	79	79	79	79	79	79	79	79	79	79	79	79	79	79	79

3	3	1	3	1	3	1	3	1	3	1	3	1	3	1	3
3	3	3	3	1	1	1	1	3	3	3	3	1	1	1	1
3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3
3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3
3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3
4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4
3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3
4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4

161	162	163	164	165	166	167	168	169	170	171	172	173	174	175	176
3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3
3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3
3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3
3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3
3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3
3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3
3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3

II *Children's rhythms*

We give the name ‘children’s rhythms’ to one of the autonomous systems (systems which do not obey the laws of classical rhythm) that have been recognized and described. This system does, however, have evident similarities with that taught by classical theory which are immediately striking and could easily mislead an analysis from the start: in the first place, the principle of isochronism, upon which both are based. It is certainly this that has made so many people think that it is an insignificant, if not nonexistent, object of study.

The description ‘children’s’ seems to fit the rhythms in question because they are regularly used either by children or by adults when, in addressing children (especially in a certain kind of lullaby), they imitate them as if to be better understood. Nevertheless, the term ‘children’s rhythms’ – which is used as a technical term here – does not at all imply that children necessarily know nothing of any other rhythmic system. In Western Europe, at least, their repertory is generally contaminated by the usual music of their surroundings, which itself is submitted to the regulations of scholarly theory.

A serious doubt also exists as to whether the nature of these rhythms is actually childlike. Lachmann has previously published two exotic melodies which, with great clear-sightedness, he compared to a German children’s song: one of them, collected from the Veda of Ceylon was indeed an ‘imitative’ lullaby, but the other, a Brazilian Indian song, was a worksong. And since then, in widely separated parts of the world (Bosnia, Kabylia, Black Africa, Formosa) pieces using children’s rhythms have been found that have nothing to do with children: narratives, rituals, magic spells, etc. Thus, right from the start, every statement must be checked throughout this research.

Children’s rhythms always appear with words as the go-between. At first sight, therefore, they are vocal rhythms. But they do not necessarily involve music: they exist apart from any melody, even if they often adapt themselves to one, in which case one may be dealing with very archaic melodic elements, or with scraps of comic songs or modern catch phrases picked up from a wireless upon which they impose their strict cadence. More commonly, children recite on one sound alone or simply scan while speaking.¹ Whether

¹ This is doubtless why Bartók thought that the Romanians had no children’s songs.

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they sing or whether they scan, the rhythmic order of their utterance remains the same, and for this reason, the following account completely excludes melodies.

The words which embody children's rhythms – leaving aside recent fancies where the contagion of other systems is felt – make up organized sequences rhyming between themselves in various ways, in other words: verses. The completely inflexible scansion of these lines gives the impression of a quantitative versification, in which the longs and the shorts are worth the double or half of one another. However, examination proves that the durations do not in any way derive from the nature of the syllables. Their brevity or length has no other reason than the place occupied by these syllables in a rhythmic formation that one would say was pre-established and into which the word fits according to numerous and varied methods.

While it may require great effort to make out these methods, the result, in return, does not allow any ambiguity: the actual characteristics of children's rhythms are so pronounced that we recognize them immediately. Whether they be the children of my Parisian caretaker, little Serbian boys or Italian urchins who recite one of their little formulas in the street, I understand them immediately. They exist, moreover, in our Western European subconscious, as the sole remain of a millennial heritage: while incapable of composing the slightest melodic phrase in a truly popular style, we would not make a mistake if we had to improvise a correct period in a children's rhythm. Arguments that are three-quarters subjective, one might say. Certainly. But so powerful that they are enough to restore the courage of a researcher lost in the endless subtleties of the system and ready to believe, when fallacious coincidences are leading him astray, that he is chasing a day-dream.

It is most surprising that despite the diverse languages which accompany them, children's rhythms are spread over a considerable surface of the earth, from Hudson Bay to Japan (so far as we know at present). Documentation shows that it is identical throughout Europe (Spain, Portugal, France, the British Isles, the Netherlands, Flanders, Wallonia, French and German Switzerland, Italy, Germany, Austria, Hungary, Romania, Greece, Yugoslavia, Russia, Norway, Turkey),² and more or less identical among the Kabylians, the Tuareg, the Blacks of Senegal, of Dahomey and of the Sudan, and the inhabitants of Formosa.³

² This documentation consists of recordings, printed matter, transcriptions, personal communications, none of which, unfortunately, are referenced here. Rather than present an unreadable text, the author must regretfully ask that his word be taken on trust. For the Eskimos, nearly all the information is from Prof. Jean Gabus, who kindly allowed me to study his recordings and call upon his knowledge. For Black Africa, most of the material was made available through the kindness of Gilbert Rouget.

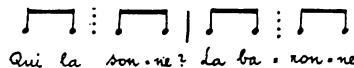
³ This proves the extent to which Hensel goes astray when, by invoking the linguistic argument of a 'descending rhythm', he declares that German children's formulas are an 'Erbstück aus urgermanischer Zeit' (a heritage of paleo-germanic times).

This fact is all the more remarkable since in the interior construction of children's rhythms, the placing of accents is fixed, whereas languages practise multiple accentuations (the Hungarians fall heavily on the first syllables of words, the Turks on the last, etc.). This means that the adjustment of each of these languages to the unchanging schema that they assume cannot be understood and defined unless by many linguistic experts; one single man could not cope with such a task. Luckily the schema in question is sometimes so clear that, despite the absence of a poetic text, it remains intelligible.

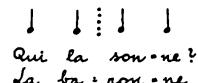
There is no reason to draw up a list of technical commentaries which have dealt with children's rhythms in the past, nor to undertake a critique of them. Suffice it to say that it has always been studied from the point of view of the modern 'measure' and transcribed according to its laws. From a practical point of view (i.e. as regards reading them) this does not inevitably involve serious disadvantages; from an analytical point of view, as we shall see in a moment, it is wrong and impedes an understanding of the real rhythmic mechanism. It is not the moment to insist upon this, but it is important to illustrate from now on the errors into which an obsession with classical theories leads us.

The short syllable, which we can translate as a quaver, is, in children's rhythms, a complete unit of duration, a 'beat', and it follows that, when two short syllables join together in one metrical group, their durations make up a rhythmic group that meets our definition of 2/8 perfectly. But if two cells of this kind follow one another, it is most likely that we would prefer to join them in a 2/4 rather than leave them disjoined in $2 \times 2/8$. Immediately our quavers, from being units, become fractions of imaginary crotchets, thus, sub-units, and the investigation starts with a false idea.

Since it concerns rhythmic signs, let us remember that one of the principal difficulties which a study of children's rhythms will encounter is that most of the thousands of little formulas published throughout the world have been reproduced without indication of the durations. Nevertheless, it is sometimes possible to reconstitute the structure of a series. But given, for example, a succession of syllables as simple as: 'Qui la sonne? La baronne', nothing will indicate whether we should hear:



or:



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The system being, of its nature, as much metrical as rhythmical, the duration of the syllables could be shown either by metric symbols, or by musical 'values'. The former, however, would require a diacritical system, so that it would be better to adopt the latter, whose usage does not involve any obstacle. Equally, one will have the advantage of using instrumental notation which better shows the grouping of duration units.

Like any form of primitive art, children's rhythms are based on a restricted number of extremely simple principles, but these are exploited as far as they can be and are, moreover, constantly concealed by the resources (almost unlimited here) of variation. These principles can be stated as follows:

1. Durations (= in principle, syllables) linked two by two make up series of variable length; their rhythm is therefore binary.
2. The entire series, as well as each of the syllabic couples that it includes, begins on a downbeat, which in Germanic languages coincides with a language accent, while licences concerning the substitution of the metric accent by the 'tonic' accent remain in force in the Romanic languages.
3. The total duration of the series, which is most important, can be measured by means of, let us say, a 'first' unit, sometimes expressed, sometimes underlying, equal to that of the usual short syllable, and which we shall represent, as already stated, by the quaver: multiples of this quaver are added to give the total that defines the series: it is worth 4 or 6 or 8, etc., no matter what the real number of syllables it includes.
4. Unequal (heterochronic) series sometimes mingle, and series of different internal constitution (heteromorphic), whether isochronic or heterochronic, may also arrange themselves into true 'rhythmic strophes'.
5. Any series can be preceded by an anacrusis, but it is only at the beginning of a piece that this can add a supernumerary duration to the initial series: in this position it seems part of the preceding silence; later, the duration of the anacrusis is appropriated into that of the series itself, in a way which will be seen later.

These are the fundamental points.

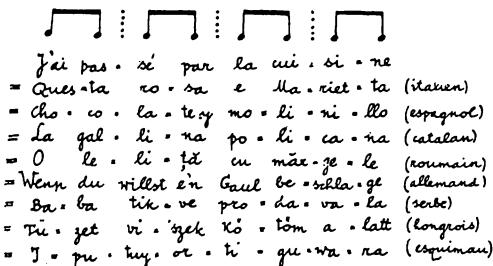
The most frequently used series, and that in which the foundations of the system are most evident, is the series lasting eight quavers or eight short syllables. 'An octosyllable', one might say, but this would be a hasty conclusion: six or four syllables are enough to fill the line, on condition that in the scansion or in the song, they make eight short durations. Nor should it necessarily be a succession of eight beats: they may equally, and under the same condition, be reduced to four or six.

And so a definition escapes us, as much on a metric level as on a rhythmic one. Let us, therefore, be content to speak of 'a series worth eight'. This is the subject of the following discussion.

When each of the eight durations is carried by syllables grouped two by

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two (these groups will be isolated between dotted barlines) the completed and fundamental schema (less common than might be expected) is brought to light:



Let us state immediately that the elementary groups are not always formed by two values that are strictly equal. Besides two quavers, one sees:



The last two are exceptional. As for the first two, recordings (Flemish and also Senegalese) in which the normal cell and its derivatives continually alternate certainly prove that we are dealing with substitutes.

The first kind of variation takes place when the eight individual units are divided into two, three or four sections which make up autonomous sub-units formed like the model from which they are derived. This partitioning works either through rhymes (the repetition of a word is sufficient) or by assonance, vague though it may be, or by the agreement of words which differ only in their ending (e.g. in French ‘picoti’, ‘picota’ or ‘carafi’, ‘carafo’, in Basque ‘digidin’, ‘digidan’, etc.) or even by a succession of parts of phrases with the same construction and accentuation (‘j’ai perdu’, ‘j’ai trouvé’).

Seven arrangements can thus be made, three dividing eight into two sections ($4+4$, $6+2$, $2+6$); three others dividing it into three ($2+2+4$, $2+4+2$, $4+2+2$); one dividing it into four ($2+2+2+2$). Moreover, by using two pairs of rhymes, one obtains a particularly refined combination: $(2+2)+(2+2)$.

More explicitly:⁴

⁴ In the following table, the figures 2, 4, 6 represent the autonomous undivided sections. Within the sections, their stretch is defined by filled-in barlines. The double barline in no. 8 indicates that the two separated halves are independent of one another.

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Table 1

1. Non-partitioned series:		8
2.		4 + 4
3. Series partitioned into two:		6 + 2
4.		2 + 6
5.		2 + 2 + 4
6. Series partitioned into three:		2 + 4 + 2
7.		4 + 2 + 2
8. Series partitioned into $2 \times (2+2)$:		(2 + 2) + (2 + 2)
9. Series partitioned into four:		2 + 2 + 2 + 2

For some of these constructions, there are abundant examples; for others there are provisionally fewer, but we will see many of them in a moment, in a different setting. Nothing is more common than 4 + 4.

Sa che · mi · se de Ye · ni · se
 = Qui s'ha muer-to? Juan del huer-to (esp.)
 = Qu'en pas· tu · na, Qu'en ver· du · na (catal.)
 = U · ni · li · ca, oo · ti · li · ca (roum.)
 = Hier ein Gar·ten, dort ein Gar·ten (all.)
 = Ku · ku · tyu · ku na ba · tyu · ku (polonais)
 = Ka · in re · ne, ka · in ie · be (serbe)
 = Uk · kuer · pun · ga, au · i · min · ga (esgum.)

Almost as frequent, 2 + 2 + 4:

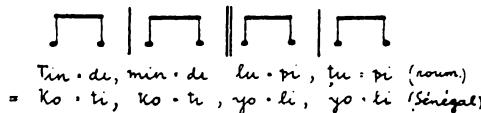
Tan · ne , tan · ne, bois d'hou · san · ne
 = Bel · la, bel · la, cu · cu · mel · la (ital.).
 = O · ta, o · ia, la pe · lo · ta (esp.)
 = A · la, ba · la, por · to · ca · la (roum.)
 = Gie · re, gie · re, Bet · tel · gie · re (all.)
 = Na · na, na · na, ti · za · na · na (hung.)

Less common, 4 + 2 + 2:

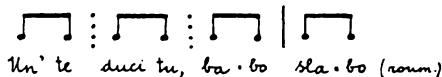
Ah · lons, pas · se, pas · se, pas · se

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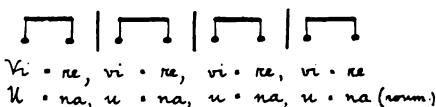
and $(2+2)+(2+2)$:



Rare, $6+2$:



Almost as rare, $2+2+2+2$, which seems to be constructed only by répetition of a bisyllabic word:



In a $2+2+4$, the rhyme sometimes involves only the first $2+2$ syllables, the four last ones remaining isolated from the context, which we will represent by square brackets: [4], a representation of the whole series becoming $2+2+[4]$:

Mon-te, / mon-te // l'é-cha-let-te (*French*)
 Pas-sa, / pas-sa, // Ga-bri-el (*Portuguese*)
 A-na, / va-na, // com-pa-ni-a (*Romanian*)
 Su-ri, / su-ri, // O-pfel-schnitz (*German Swiss*)

On other occasions, the four final syllables are consonant not with the preceding line but with the next line:

Fer-re, / fer-re, // ma pou-liche,
 Pour aller chez ma nourriche (*French*)

or:

So-na, / so-na, // miz-zu-di,
 La Madonna parturi (*Italian*)

or:

E-ne, / de-ne // Tin-ten-fass,
 Geh in d' Schul und lerne was (*German*)

or:

Máρ - τι, | Máρ - τι || χω - νε - ρέ
 Κάι Απόλιτι βροχερέ

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One then has: $(\overline{2+2}) + (\overline{4+8})$ where $\overline{\quad}$ measures the first line, i.e., a strophic rudiment. The second line of the ensemble being also divisible, like the first, the formula could be $(2+2) + (4+(2+2)+4)$, or, more clearly,

/: 2 + 2 + 4 :/
a a b
c c b

which gives the illusion of crossed rhymes:

Ec-ta, / pec-ta, // tu-chel mè,
A-vel, / Pa-vel, // dom-nu-lè (*Romanian*)

On the other hand, these arrangements can use only one rhyme, and their elements are no less connected; they become simply: $\overline{2+2+4+8}$:

Han-dy, / Span-dy, / Jack a / dan-dy
Loves plum-cake and sugar-candy

or:

Imm-chen, / Dimm-chen, / Zuk-ker-lim-chen,
Geh mit mir nach Harlesimmchen (*German*)

or:

E-ke, / de-ke, // ma-le se-ke
Sedu pored apatheke (*Serbian*)

Since the octosyllable can be divided up in several ways apart from $2+2+4$, it is natural that besides $2+2+[4]$ one finds, among others, $(2+2+2)+[2]$:

Lu-lu, / lu-lu, / lu-lu // lea (*Romanian*)
= In-ti / min-ti / tin-ti // var

And, by extension, we may have, for example, $(\overline{2+2+2}) + (\overline{2+8})$:

Mi-gne, / mi-gne, / mi-gne- // meu,
Madame est auprès du feu (*French*)

or:

Ee-ne-y, / mee-ne-y, / mi-ne-y // moe,
Catch a nigger by the toe (*Anglo-American*)

Several of the examples quoted above have already led us towards a new problem. In fact, it leaps to one's attention that certain series contain only seven syllables, not eight, and that they end on an accented metric unit, not on an atone. This is because not only each entire series, but also the little

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verses of which they are made up, can take on a catalectic form, the absent syllables being replaced by rests of an equivalent duration:

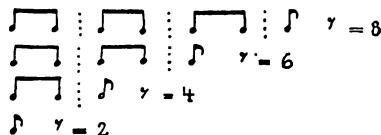
$$8 = 7 + \text{rest}$$

$$6 = 5 + \text{rest}$$

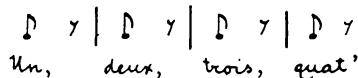
$$4 = 3 + \text{rest}$$

$$2 = 1 + \text{rest}$$

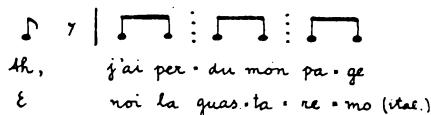
Thus:



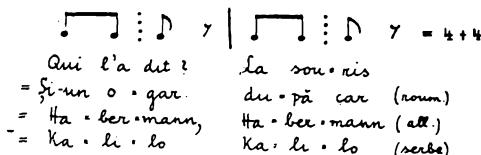
Certain freedoms are allowed in the bisyllabic catalectic groups (1 + rest), especially those that head a series: more or less any monosyllable likely to be accented, can be: interjections such as 'oh!' 'ah!'; definite articles such as the Italian 'la' or the Spanish 'el'; syllables without precise meaning, such as the French 'ran', 'plan'; the Italian 'ci'; Polish 'panc'; Romanian 'pent'; German 'ent'; numbers; names of letters in the alphabet, and, even more so, forms of monosyllabic conjugations, such as the French 'dors'; Romanian 'sai', German 'geh', etc. Moreover, should the occasion arise, they do not have to rhyme, even when they are parts of an autonomous series:



or:



Usually, when one of the parts in a partitioned series is catalectic, so too are the others, which would normally explain the constraint of the rhymes (or whatever takes their place):



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or:

$\text{Pleur', pleur', } \text{ra} \cdot \text{mo} \cdot \text{neur}$
 = $\text{Ci, ci, } \text{ca} \cdot \text{la} \cdot \text{ni}$ (ital.)
 = $\text{Dan, dan, } \text{bo} \cdot \text{le} \cdot \text{nan}$ (esp.)
 = $\text{Coc, coc, } \text{tre} \cdot \text{ci} \cdot \text{la} \cdot \text{loc}$ (norm.)
 = $\text{Rain, rain, } \text{go} \cdot \text{to Spain}$ (anglais)
 = $\text{Eins, zwei, } \text{je} \cdot \text{si} \cdot \text{sel} \cdot \text{bei}$ (all.)
 = $\text{Anc, pane, } \text{ku} \cdot \text{ty glanc}$ (polon.)
 = $\text{Pam, pam, } \text{pa} \cdot \text{ri} \cdot \text{pam}$ (hongr.)

or:

$\text{Fré} \cdot \text{de} \cdot \text{rie, } \text{rie, } \text{rie}$
 = $\text{Ba} \cdot \text{li} \cdot \text{ban, } \text{ban, } \text{ban}$ (esp.)
 = $\text{Do} \cdot \text{ro} \cdot \text{bant, } \text{bant, } \text{clant}$ (norm.)

or:

$\text{Le n'est pas pour nous, } \text{you}$
 = $\text{Al wie er van drinkt, stinkt}$ (hollandais)

$\text{Boum, boum, qu'est-ce qui est mori? } \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \\ \\ \end{array} \right. = \overbrace{(2+2)+(4+8)}$
 C'est l'œu-re de Saint-Vic-tor

$\text{Pin, pin, ca} \cdot \text{va} \cdot \text{lin, } \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \\ \\ \end{array} \right. = \overbrace{(2+2)+(4+8)}$
 Sall' il pe del ta-vo-lin (ital.)

or:

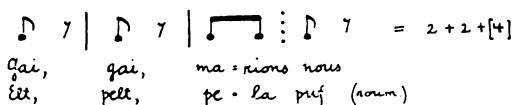
$\text{Scions, scions, scions du bois } \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \\ \\ \\ \end{array} \right. = \overbrace{(2+2+2)+(2+8)}$
 Pour la mèr' à xi-co-las

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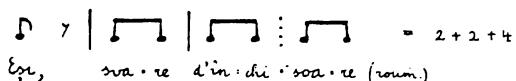
or:



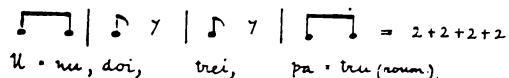
This contagious effect occurs even when there is no rhyme:



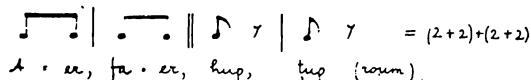
However, there are numerous exceptions. We have seen:



To which can be added:



or:



In any case, the catalectic groups only disguise acatalectic groups.

The system refines its means even further by the subtle play of anacrusts which create a pointed ambiguity between catalectic and acatalectic. Apart from the initial anacrusis, the only supernumerary that is permitted, others can occur at the end of any series, or in any interior catalectic part. On their own, they all remain incomplete whereas the metric cellules are completed by an atomic impetus that attaches itself to whatever follows.

The mechanism is best seen, to begin with, at the ending of a heptasyllable

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that is prolonged by an eighth metrical unit, which complements it but is linked to the following line:

(Dis)moi quel jour tu t'en re - viens, Si
 { c'est pas l'jour, ce s'ra l'en-d'main
 (Die)Tar - te lie - se ist nicht da, So
 { gehn wir zu der Gross-ma - ma (all)

This means that, using this trick, the second line begins at the end of the first, without the slightest change occurring in the rhythm.

In French:

Pa - ter nos - ter, des pom' de terr'

is certainly made up of three catalectic parts ($= 2 + 2 + 4$) but each begins on an anacrusis (the first letter!) with the result that at their joining points, the two pairs of syllables 'ter, nos' and 'ter, des' fill up a metrical unit although 'nos' and 'des' fit onto the following little chain. Rather like the German:

Der / Wind, der / weht, der // Hahn, der / kräht

or, in English:

Sticks and / stones will // break my / bones

or, in Greek:

"H - λιε | μου παρ - | ḥ - λιε | μου

or, in Eskimo:

Na-ui- / è ti- // ra-ta- / è

Equally, (6 + 2):

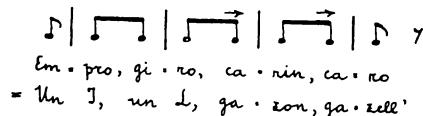
Des sou - liers li - las la la

Three successive catalectic groups, completed by anacruses ($= 2 + 2 + 4$):

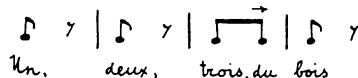
Bou - di, Bou - det, veux - tu du lait? Bou -
 (qui, Bou - quan, veux - tu du lard?)

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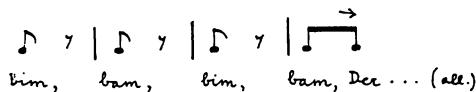
or again ($= 2 + 2 + 2 + 2$):



None the less, the alternation of real catalectic groups and pseudo-catalectic ones does not cease to be regular:



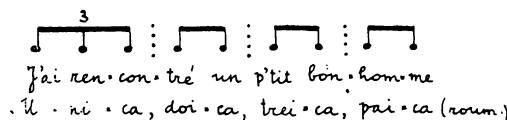
or:



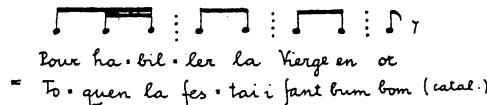
To the three stratagems described above, children's rhythms add a fourth: ternary syllabic groups are frequently placed in one or several sections of the dominant series that we are analysing. Since the latter must never equal more than eight, it is clear that the duration of syllables grouped by three must be less than that of syllables grouped by two. If it should be composed of only ternary groups, the line that it would make up would be dodecasyllabic, and once again, we would see how the reasoning: 8 units of time = 8 syllables leads us into error. The abbreviated durations are achieved either by replacing two quavers by a triplet, or by dividing one of them, which gives, basically, three formulas:



More usual, but synonymous with the two others, the triplet can occupy either any one of the four compartments of the series (the last, it would seem, less often than the others) or two, three or four of them at the same time:

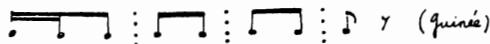


or:

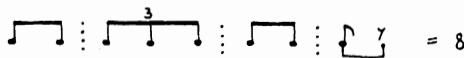


CHILDREN'S RHYTHMS

or:



or:



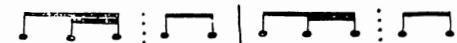
*Quand les pou•les s'en vont aux champs
= Hühn•der Häm•mer•le bei dir ha•be (hütt•alem.)*

or:



Son pe • tit cha-peau sous le bras

and, on the other hand:



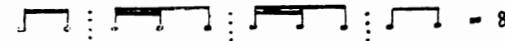
Voi = là la mo • de, voi = là la mo • de

or:



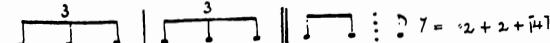
As la • van de • ras fa • zen a • si (portug)

or:



Und in al • len vier EK • ken ein Gar • ten (alle.)

or:



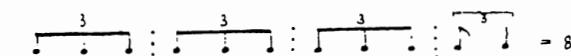
E • gye • tem, be i gye • tem kar • kan • tyn (longe)

or:



o • ja • la si, o • ja • la no (esp.)

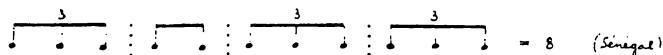
or:



to • ca • les tu que le tens bo • ni • que • tes (catat.)

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or:

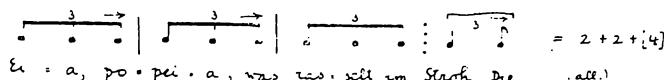


It should be mentioned in passing that a proliferation of triplets entails, here and there, a contamination of the binary by the ternary. If two quavers, because of this, change into a triplet crotchet and quaver, one then feels very close to the Western 6/8. We thus touch upon one of these 'contact surfaces' which occur in all rhythmic systems, children's rhythms included, in what one might call 'borderline cases'.

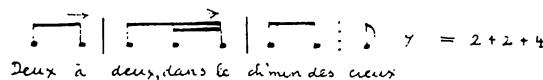
The multiplication of durations within a compartment, far from hindering the insertion of anacrusts, summons the addition of an anacrusis, ternary groups with this addition thus being able to enclose the ending of a line or of an acatalectic section:



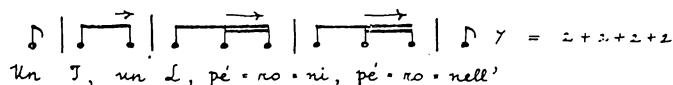
or:



Another manoeuvre uses not only one, but two or three syllables in a ternary group to make a kind of double anacrusis (naturally, following upon acatalectic lines or series):⁵



or:



⁵ It seems to me, on further reflection, that the second example is not a $2+2+2+2$ but a more subtle and rare construction in which the emancipation of the two halves of a metric section of eight is so complete that they make up real hemistichs (= a series of four) in which the second reproduces the arrangement of the first, while the same rhymes, crossed in this case, divide both into $2+2$:

I - L
-ni - -nell'.

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or:

Les rai·sins sont bons, pa·ta·pon

or:

Mir e'n Week und die e'n Week Und 'n... (all.)

A *tour de force* even leaves the ternary group intact, while squeezing in an anacrusis by dividing the last of its three durations:

u · nu · ca, do · nu · ca pe u · nu, pe doi

To see clearly the increase in rhythmic life that the system derives from the diverse stratagems described here, one need only compare one or other of the primary orders with its derivatives (a comparison already touched upon above), e.g. 4+4:

Model:

Variants:

Ru = ras - in, be = tit los = ion?

or:

Gent e · cus, ma vache cor ven · du'

or:

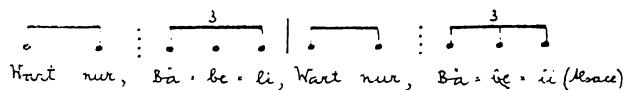
lon · con = ri · con, j'a mal au con

or:

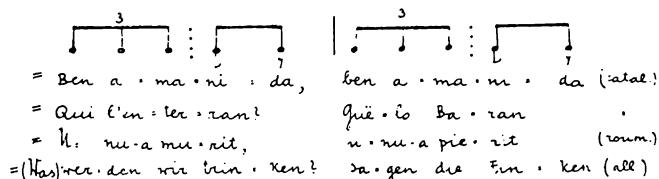
la sar · da · na del a = ve = lla · na (atac.)

PROBLEMS OF ETHNOMUSICOLOGY

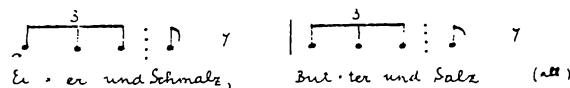
or:



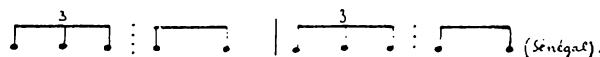
or:



or:

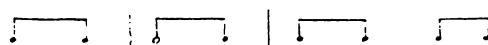


or:

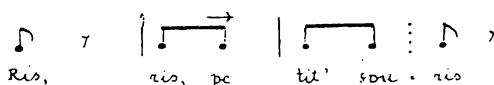


Or 2 + 2 + 4:

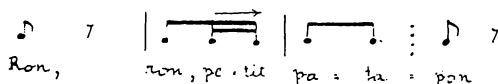
Model:



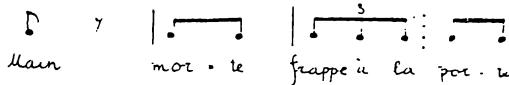
Variants:



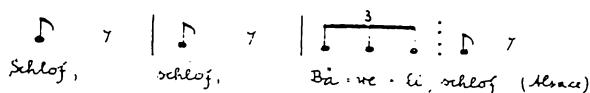
or:



or:



or:



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or:

(Gro)zi - te, gro - zi - te, că-s imai pes - tri - te (roum.)

Or $(2+2)+(2+2)$:

Model:

...

Variants:

E - di - ti, pe - di - ti, ra - pi - ti, pa - pi - ti (roum.)

or:

lin - ga, lin - ga, no - to - ca, so - to - ca (roum.)

or:

lin - ca, hi - rin - ca, so - co - ta, bo - co - ta (roum.)

or:

so - co - ta, bo - co - ta, uoc voc (roum.)

Or $(2+2)+[4]$:

Model:

...

Variants:

Pan, pan, qui est là?

or:

E = ghe - ra, be - ghe - ra, tu - tum - be (roum.)

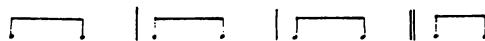
PROBLEMS OF ETHNOMUSICOLOGY

or:



Or $2 + 2 + 2 + [2]$:

Model:

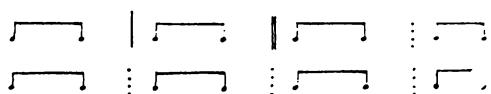


Variant:

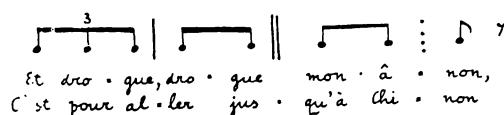


Or $\overline{(2+2)+(4+8)}$:

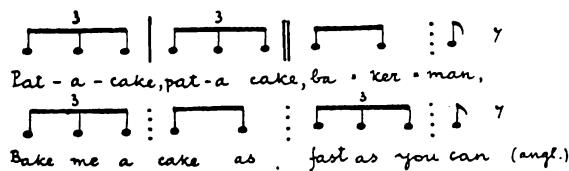
Model:



Variants:

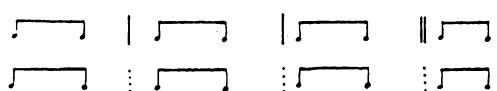


or:



Or, finally, $\overline{(2+2+2)+(2+8)}$:

Model:



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Variants:

or:

We shall end this section by drawing attention to an important point. In the catalectic groups it is natural that the existing short syllable should lengthen by as much as double its duration. The notation, which should scrupulously show the actual sound in as far as it aims to be a documentary reproduction, would be wrong to take this licence into account, or any other of the same kind, when it intends to show the phenomenon itself and not fortuitous aspects. One should not write:

but:

otherwise confusion will arise, as will be seen below.

As well as the short duration, children's rhythms use another time unit lasting exactly double: the long, which we will transcribe by a crotchet. The rules governing the shorts are also valid for the longs. The latter, like the former, are joined two by two, to form elementary rhythmic sections, which, in order to distinguish them, we will indicate by the Roman figures II = one, IV = two of these sections (either II or $2 \times$ II unbreakable longs), Arabic and Roman figures together (2IV, 4IV, etc.) referring to indivisible sections including shorts and longs.

The simultaneous use of both allows twelve arrangements, of which three are not split up, which is most usual. Particularly widespread is no. 10 below, whose II final longs (like those of the related types 13, 16, 19) were

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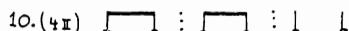
believed to show traces of some distinctive paleonordic language.

The twelve arrangements are:

Table 2

10.	}	Non-partitioned series:		4 II
11.				2 II 2
12.				II 4
13.	}	Series partitioned into two:		4 + II
14.				II + 4
15.				2 II + 2
16.	}	Series partitioned into two:		2 + 2 II
17.				II 2 + 2
18.				2 + II 2
19.	}	Series partitioned into three:		2 + 2 + II
20.				2 + II + 2
21.				II + 2 + 2

Examples (catalectic parts) of nos. 10, 11, 12:

10.(4II) 

- Eo · car · got bi · gor · nc
- = Pi · ca · me la ma · no (esp.)
- = Gi · ra · la ca · ru · xa (catal.)
- = Ca · ra · mi = dā nou · ā (norw.)
- = Ne · ne vo · li J · ve (slav.)

11.(2II2) 

- Pour pas · ser le Rhô · ne
- = Il mio bel cas · tel · lo (ital.)
- = Io · do o mun · do pas · sa (portug.)
- = El ge · gant del pi (catal.)

12.(II4) 

- Nous é · tions trois fil · lis
- = Chi e ques · ta ro · sa (ital.)
- = Jo tinc u · na tor · na (catal.)
- = Mai · rahn, ränn op mi!., Dann ... (all.)

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No. 11 is particularly noteworthy. The discord between children's rhythms and the classical theory of measures is obvious here: since the series begins on an accent, if one wanted to rhyme it with a 2/4 the accentuation would be overturned, with atones falling on strong beats and stresses on weak beats, contrary to the law of the system. One would be no better off making the first two quavers a double anacrusis; this would seem to re-establish the scansion, but in fact would only be a subterfuge and would necessitate the adjunction of an nonexistent rest at the end of the series.

To adjust themselves to a catalectic line (or part of a line), the series (or part of a series) ending on a couple of longs (crotchets), following the example of those that end on shorts (quavers), abandon their final atone and substitute an equivalent rest (see above, those of type 10). As we have seen with quavers, the accented long is drawn out and so often overlaps onto the neighbouring empty beat. If it doubles itself, we will hear a minim, which our notation should ignore for it introduces a value that does not seem to exist in our system.

But should the occasion arise, these same long notes shorten themselves by an indeterminate amount (generally by half) and the necessary rests make up the balance. This abbreviation is caused within a split-up series whenever a catalectic part of type 11 joins up with one or two others of type 2. When this occurs, the syllables pronounced on the quavers rhyme (as will be seen later with certain examples of nos. 14, 16, 19) with the syllables pronounced on the crotchets which one normally shortens, unless one unifies the cadences by lengthening the quavers, which, as we know, also occurs. There again, if the notation wants to take account of the real rhythmic fact, it should ignore this.

An unexpected detail: when a catalectic line, linked to a series ending on II, joins an anacrusis, it is not always the second of these II (crotchets) that is scanned, but rather only half of the latter (quaver). This occurs as if the last duration was divided, one of the subdivided durations being implied, the other part of an anacrusis:

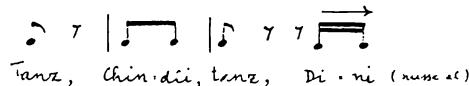


This would appear all the more likely when we know of a series (worth eight) where the whole of the concluding rhythmic group is made up of a rest, after six catalectics:

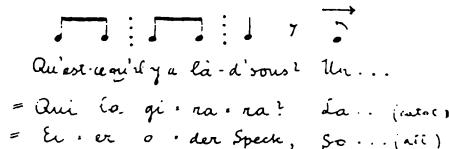


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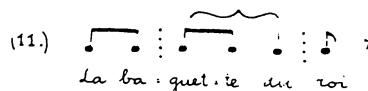
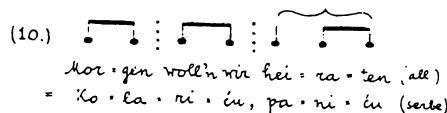
from where it runs on:



and consequently:



On the other hand, trisyllabic groups (which will be shown here by a brace) do not generally combine with any series including II longs unless by one of the techniques that we know of: division of one of the groups, preferably the first; the crotchet triplet is extremely rare:



or:



The division of a final long allows the insertion of a particular kind of anacrusis that we have not yet looked at: following a complete line, joined to an accented long and to the first of its own subdivided values, it gives a trisyllabic group, perfectly regular within the system:

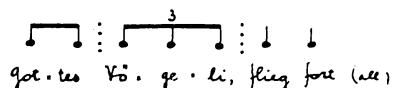


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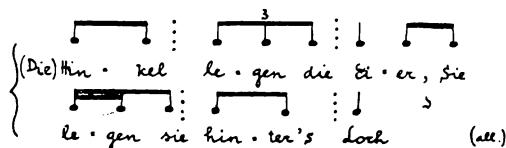
These details easily explain variants such as:



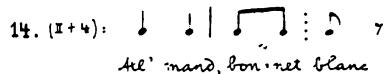
or:



or:



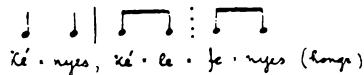
Meanwhile, until all types have been accounted for (which is foreseeable), here are some examples of types 14, 15, 16, 19:



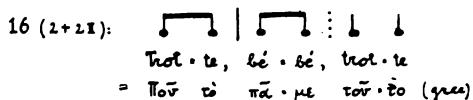
or:



or:

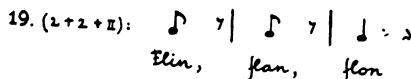
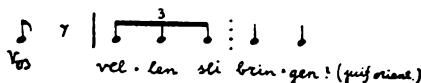


or:



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or:



or:



It is not surprising to rediscover $2+2+[4]$ and $(2+2)+(4+8)$, the former transformed by the presence of long notes into $2+2+[II]$:



or:



- Bi·xe, bi·xe, bi·xe (all.)

- Bi·ne, bi·ne, bi·ne, bi·ne (Senegal)

the latter keeping its quasi-strophic construction and similarly replacing 4 by II, whence: $(2+2)+(II+4II)$:



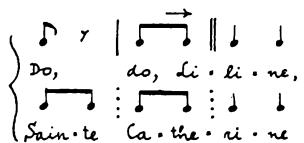
- Lu·nā, lu·nā nou·ā,

- Tae e pi·ta-n dou·ā (noun.)

- hei·le, hei·le, Se·gen,

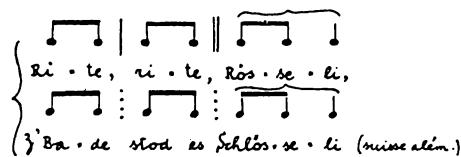
- Mor·gen gibt es Re·gen (all.)

or:



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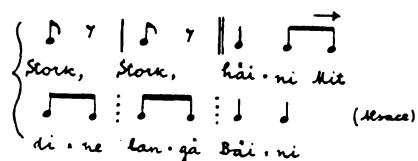
or:



or:



or:



Similarly, with the help of a single rhyme: $\overline{2+2+II} + 2 + 2II$:



A third familiar combination in children's rhymes only aligns long notes:

Table 3

22. Non-partitioned series: $\downarrow \quad \downarrow \quad | \quad \downarrow \quad \downarrow$

23. Series partitioned into two: $\downarrow \quad \downarrow \quad | \quad \downarrow \quad \downarrow$

Either:

22. $\downarrow \quad \downarrow \quad | \quad \downarrow \quad \downarrow$

Cinq sous sont bons

- Datt del col - xe (salat)
- Drei Tag Re - gen (all)
- Csi - lag Mar - git (longe)
- Ko - vui pré - la (grec)
- A - yo né : né (Sénégal)

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or:



Zin · que, zin · que

- Qui'eu mort? Lou tort (France · Landes)
- San Pa, San Pa (corse)
- En · di · pen · di (roum.)
- 2u · rep, a · rep (russe)
- = Cie · kay, mac · kay (long.)

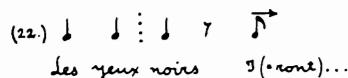
Nothing is simpler than these two rhythmic skeletons, but numerous manipulations are possible that noticeably animate the monotonous chain of crotchets.

First, we have:



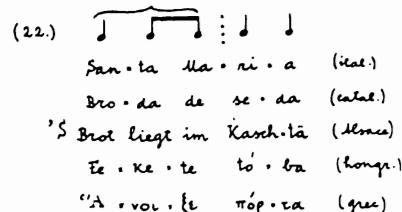
th, mes · sieurs

then the complementary anacrusis:



les yeux noirs ↗ (·ront)...

the intervention of ternary groups:



San · ta Ma · ri · a (ital.)

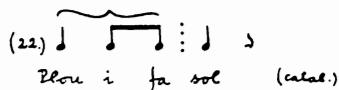
Bro · da de se · da (catal.)

'S Brot liege im Kastch · tā (Alman)

Te · ke · te to · ba (long.)

"A · vol · fe nōp · ra (grec)

or:



Blou i fa sol (catal.)

or:



Si tu es sa · ge

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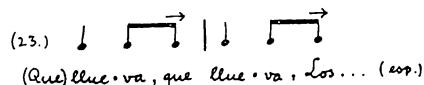
or:



the anacrases resulting from the division of a crotchet and extending a series or breaking up an acatalectic series:



or:



or:



the mixture of ternary groups and hypermetric anacrases:



and finally, the juxtaposition of two proper ternary groups:



or:



or:

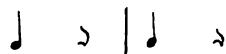


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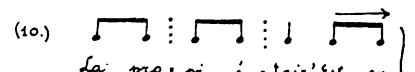
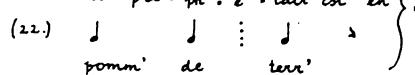
But, although we even have a Hungarian example of the most rare crotchet triplet:



nothing yet confirms the existence of:

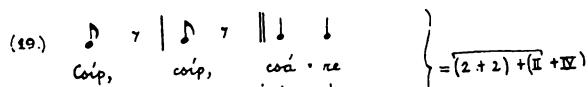
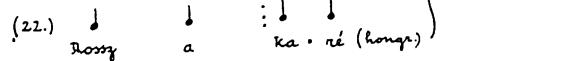


On the other hand, the two series of longs can also join to one of those where longs and shorts are side by side (more precisely, to nos. 10, 13, 16, 19) to build up a quasi-strophe either by $(2+2)+(II+IV)$, or simply by $4II+IV$ or $II+II+4II$, etc. The double anacrusis within a catalectic group being, so to speak, inscribed, this would give, for example:

(10.) 
 (22.) 

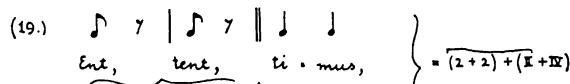
$\left. \begin{array}{l} \\ \\ \end{array} \right\} = 4II + IV$

or:

(19.) 
 (22.) 

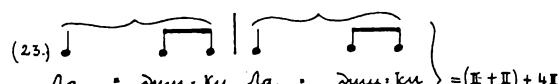
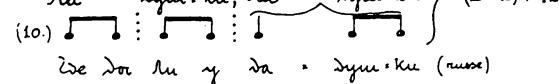
$\left. \begin{array}{l} \\ \\ \end{array} \right\} = (2+2)+(II+IV)$

or:

(19.) 
 (22.) 

$\left. \begin{array}{l} \\ \\ \end{array} \right\} = (2+2)+(II+IV)$

or:

(23.) 
 (10.) 

$\left. \begin{array}{l} \\ \\ \end{array} \right\} = (II+II)+4II$

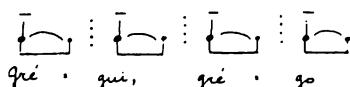
CHILDREN'S RHYTHMS

In addition to all the above, children's rhythms have an important resource that is still insufficiently defined: the group of four half-shorts (semitaquavers). For a long time this seemed problematic: were not these presumed half-shorts in reality quavers spoken very rapidly? Only the documents, when more numerous, could give the answer. Finally they showed that this group is a reality, although it is not used excessively by the system.

It remains to be seen whether the four semiquavers come from the sporadic and accidental segmentation of a couple of shorts, or whether, contrary to our previous statement, the semiquaver should be taken as a 'beat' in our rhythm, with the same rights as the crotchet and the quaver. The first of these hypotheses is more persuasive since the crotchet itself often seems to be a dilated quaver or, if one wishes, a duration resulting from the contraction of two quavers. The upsetting of accents, as in the French:



or, even more, in German: 'Flieg fort', or in Romanian: 'Eși, mos, din coș' would give the impression that the atones, illogically accented are indeed only the (prolonged) first half of a group of two shorts and, after joining with these, retain the accent they had originally:



This is so convincing that one is no longer really talking about the abnormal displacement of accents, but simply of equalization, to which the cadence painlessly fits in.

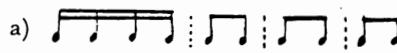
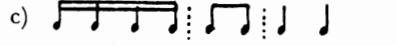
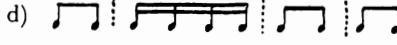
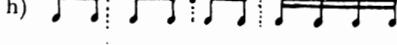
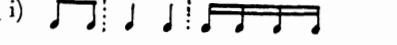
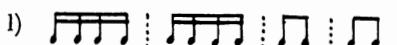
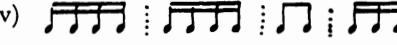
We should not forget that, in the pieces available, the four semiquavers are joined in an apparently irreducible figure, and that some of them are caused by the capricious redoubling of two syllables, e.g., in French: 'digue-digue', in English: 'diddle-diddle', in German Swiss: 'güete-güete', etc.

Whatever the truth, the new arrangements created by the group of four syllables within the series of eight shorts would be (not counting, except by

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the barlines of the examples, their eventual articulation, which is still uncertain):

Table 4

- a) 
- b) 
- c) 
- d) 
- e) 
- f) 
- g) 
- h) 
- i) 
- k) 
- l) 
- m) 
- n) 
- o) 
- p) 
- q) 
- r) 
- s) 
- t) 
- u) 
- v) 
- x) 
- y) 
- z) 

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We have examples for many of these combinations:

a) Tu - re la fi - cel - le, mon p're fré ra
 Did - dile, did - le dum - phing, my son John (ange)
 Shued im lie - be Mei - le - li num - me wch (muselein)

d) (Dol)sind due güe - le, güe - le Berr - le g'fal - le

e) A - ki el mo - oo - lyoz - ja má - gar (longe)
 3
 = Kon - stanz lid am hi - ner du ca - non
 = Kit - sz - ret ö Bo. de - 3o. de - se (muselein)
 = J - ment - kor - dor le - ges leg - job ban (long.)
 = Tu - ni - rar - put, i - riu - lar - ta - dor } (esquin)
 tu - nu - rar - in pol

n) (Vox) sit - zet denn da - rin, wer sit - zet denn da - rin? (all)

r) An - aijo tri - a - lo - ra, for - ja sei - xa, zo - ra (raum)

z) Si si, ca - pia cu mär - ge - le, in mar mul - te flo - n - ce - le

and also, without words (which could be restored):

a) Sé - nég - al (Sénégal)

f) Soudan

m) Soudan

q) Soudan

(In the last example for (f) a handclap replaces a syllable at the beginning of the third rhythmic group.)

As yet, we have no proof of a (monomorphic) series of two double-longs

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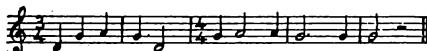
(minims) that the remarks made about the semiquaver might eventually indicate. This series, also of eight, may indeed exist.

This, then, is what we know at present about children's rhythms. As a matter of fact, our work has been aimed at only their essential structure: the series worth eight. But the above will help in the definition of others, most probably identical in structure with similar dimensions. Equally, an examination of the conditions for a mixing of heteromorphic series, as of the extent and nature of strophes, an accessory problem which deserves to be studied in the near future, has been omitted. For the rest, our investigation has shown that children's rhythms constitute a particular system, defined by precise and comprehensible properties. The strict symmetry that governs them proves that the system proceeds, if not from the dance, then at least from ordered movement, which is closely associated with it.

It remains to be seen how the most diverse languages manage to bend themselves to its inflexibility; it must be repeated that this can only be done by a collaboration of researchers as numerous as the languages themselves. It remains, equally – and especially – to be seen why all languages seem to have, in some way, come under it, and to explain its immense distribution area. But these last two questions will perhaps never receive a satisfactory answer.

12 *Concerning a Russian melody*

Here is the melody of a *svadebnaya* (wedding song) which is no. 79 in Palchikov's collection of peasant songs (96):¹



In his memoirs, Rimsky-Korsakov relates (105, 128) that when he began to collect folk songs, he first consulted his friend Filipov but was not quite satisfied with the result: 'The forty songs that I wrote down', he said, 'were mainly of lyrical character but, for my taste, too influenced by soldiers' and workers' songs. There were few ritual and game songs. It was these that particularly interested me because they are the most ancient; they came from pagan times and have preserved more of their originality.'

Our *svadebnaya* seems to confirm Rimsky: nothing is more 'primitive' and, according to our presentday aesthetic ideas, more rudimentary than this melodic fragment. Its melodic range does not exceed that of a fifth and within this restricted span it uses only three notes that are apparently chosen at random. Is it even, properly speaking, a melody? Probably many would think not. Who does not recall Reinach's perplexity about those 'trichords' attributed by Plutarch to ancient Greek composers? 'Trichord' means a 'sequence' or 'scale' of three notes and the text is explicit. But by what paraphrase should we translate this obviously 'theoretical' term since (we emphasize) *it goes without saying that neither Olympus nor Terpander ever wrote melodies of three notes* (99, 74)?

Apart from a few scattered opinions, old and recent, some of which are worth a closer look, it has long been thought that a coherent scale, and therefore melody, with a range of less than five degrees is not possible. Gilman, for example, in his examination of the first recorded examples of exotic music, did not always find the indispensable five melodic degrees and so concluded (125, 116) that the scales were incomplete; they were still only in the process of formation. For most authors, the absolute priority of the five-degrees series has the force of an axiom: 'The oldest, the most

¹ The figures in parentheses relate to the list of references at the end of this text. The italic figures indicate the page of the work quoted or the number bearing the quotation. No source is indicated for the Gregorian tunes except one (the first example on p. 275) transcribed according to a personal method; when they are reproduced without their words, the dotted barlines show the placing of accents. Details of the discs referred to are also found at the end of the text.

venerable, the most sacred of all' (46, 94), it 'characterizes a whole primitive epoch' (42, 142), and one should see in it 'a heritage that comes to us from the childhood of humanity' (127, 24). Even when he goes back to the 'spondaisms' of the Greeks, (104, 34, etc.) Riemann cannot imagine anything before this series.

Let us affirm that this primal scale is not an accidental agglomeration, but a well-determined whole. It has long been described as a scale without semitones, or as 'anhemitonic': 'it is the absence of semitones that is immediately striking' (104, 7). We are also told that it sounds exactly like the sequence given by the black notes on the piano, and this comparison is repeatedly found in theoretical works, including the most up to date (for example 44; 40, 40). Helmholtz states that all his proposed scale models can be transposed in such a way that they can be played on the black notes only, and then adds guilelessly: 'We know that by following this simple rule one can compose Scottish airs.' Even more naïvely, a collaborator in a learned corpus of works is of the opinion (37, 3089) that the origin of the pentatonic scale could be easily explained 'if the ancient Chinese had known the piano.' As for the definition itself, we can let it rest for the moment.

Our uncertain terminology still refers to this scale by a great variety of names. We find: 'scale of five notes', 'gamut of five tones', 'incomplete natural scale', 'diatonic scale without semitones' (130) and according to the country to which it is assigned, it is called 'Chinese' (45; 13, 54; 60, 3094, etc.) or 'Mongolian' (125, 116) or 'Gaelic' (45, 581). However, today it is generally called 'pentaphone' (39, 22; 31; 32; 28, etc.) or 'pentaphonic' (accepted by Brenet's Dictionary in 1926) or 'pentatonic' (preferred by the third French edition of Riemann's Dictionary in 1931). Furthermore some speak of 'pentaphony' (e.g. 13, 550) and of 'pentaphone' (53, 8): 'a rigorous pentaphone'. Gevaert (39, 22) has dreamed up 'protodiatomic', which summarizes a whole thesis, but on which he does not insist.

Of all these terms, the most adequate seems to be 'pentatonic', by analogy with 'diatonic', which refers equally to notions of scale and interval, and this has now spread, despite the use of the term 'dodecaphonic'. We would then limit technical words with the root 'phone' to phenomena to which 'homophony' or 'polyphony' are applied. It remains for us to find a formulation for terms such as 'trichord' and 'trichordal'.

The most diverse origins have been attributed to the pentatonic scale. Since Amiot's famous *Mémoire* (3), writers obstinately refer to China, adding in the meanwhile Europe, Scotland, flanked by Ireland, and the 'Celts' in general. To which one or other author has gradually added the 'Iroquois' and American Indians as a whole; Black Africans; the Berbers; 'South-east Asia almost in its entirety' (117, 128); Japan, Bali, Oceania, Australia, India (Fox Strangways, Lachmann, Daniélou, etc.), the 'South-west Asiatic Orient' (103, 62), Turkey (Arsunar, Saygun), the Arab countries and the 'Euroasiatic pastoral peoples' (22, 68); finally, on our own

continent, Hungary, Romania, the 'Slavs, Lithuanians, Germans' (111, 2568-9), the Faeroe Islands, Sardinia, Southern Italy, Spain, etc., etc.

Moreover, the pentatonic has been sought and found, or supposedly found, in the music of antiquity: in that of Greece, in which Gevaert and Helmholtz (45, 338, 346, 577) – later followed intrepidly by Riemann, Sachs and many others (102, 44-53, 162-3; 104, 34-40, etc.) – seized upon 'evident traces' (38, 4), and in Jewish, Assyrian and Egyptian music; in Gregorian chant (again, notably: 104, 62-74; 103, 39-66, etc.); in the composition of the *Minnesänger* (e.g. 26, 49-50, and long explanations in 107); in children's songs (46, 94; 88, 3). The desire to localize the pentatonic at all costs in certain areas or within certain civilizations has engendered a theory that has been developed with all the conviction that such concepts generate, namely that it was invented by matriarchal societies (20, 21, 22).

This is only a hasty compilation: in the texts, unanimity is far from evident among the designers of these charts of allocation. Such incertitude is all the more surprising since Gevaert had already categorically stated (38, 4) in 1875 that 'the existence of a pentaphonic scale among peoples of different origins and of very unequal degrees of civilization has long been observed. But what does not seem to have been noticed until now is that this phenomenon is universal. It is not only the Chinese and the Celts who have such scales; we find them in all corners of the globe: in Africa, America and Oceania.' Lachmann (70, 37) suggests 'over the whole surface of the earth'.² Gevaert (38, 5) proposes a reason with widespread implications for this ubiquity: 'The fact shows that a similar principle everywhere underlies the formation of a musical system.' It concerns the 'manifestations of a general law, the consequence of the physiological organization of man' (38, 4) and this is why 'the beginnings of our art . . . seem to have been the same among all peoples' (38, 3). The 'five-tone scale' is then the symbol of these beginnings and of 'the first stage of human music in any corner of the globe' (29, 30). Since it is determined by irreducible and omnipresent physical factors, its characteristics, 'which are regularly found and are identical in countries and epochs infinitely distant from one another' (70, 24), do not suggest any regional or racial attribution; nor, we should add, any strict chronology. The pentatonic is completely 'natural' for it is only relatively primordial in relation to so-called 'learned' or 'artistic' musics which, starting from its elementary substance, were consciously developed at different historical moments, such as the Greek, Perso-Arabic or our own.

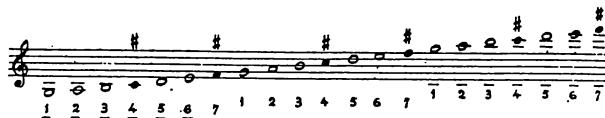
If musical reality proves such statements, Palchikov's *svadebnaya*, unless it is a meaningless babble, will necessarily obey the inescapable 'disposition of nature' and consequently, despite its 'oligochordic' nature, will somehow be linked to this ancestral pentatonic. And so we must examine it further.

² Moreover in *An Introduction to the History of Poetry in Scotland . . . together with a Conservation on Scottish Song*, Edinburgh, 1798, Alexander Campbell already drew attention to the pronounced Scottish tendency of the Chinese scale (26, 65).

The black notes on the piano can only be notated by means of five sharps (as in Debussy's *Pagodes*) or five flats (as in Chopin's famous study). This inconvenience can only be avoided by transposing a semitone up or down. Using only our five lines we then have, with a G-clef, either D-F-G-A-C-D-F-G or D-E-G-A-B-D-E-G. For many reasons, the first of these is preferred, but in practice the second is graphically more convenient: beginning on a note without a leger line and one which often marks the lower limit of pentatonic tunes, it permits most of them to be written on the stave. This advantage would be lost, or preserved only by an awkward change of clef (C, second line) if one decided to adopt, because it is more 'neutral' (41, 48, 363), a transposition like: G-A-C-D-E-G-A-C.

One sees at a glance, that, in the proposed series, an interval of a tone and a half separates E from G and B from D: we will find two accessory notes inserted here, at a distance (approximate or exact) of a semitone from either of the neighbouring notes. It is equally clear that the stepwise succession G-A-B that Riemann, transposing the Greek term, baptized *pycnon* (104), includes the only major third in the series.

An extensive comparison of pentatonic melodies is possible only by constant reference to their scale so that the degrees that are used can easily be identified in every case. It is therefore important to transcribe them into a unique scale that clearly shows the components. To do this, by far the most expeditious method is to number the scale, but on the express condition that the figures have a purely nominative rôle, without any functional meaning: the slightest deviation from this rule would result in huge errors. Logically, one would begin this numbering at the *pycnon* which is immediately apparent as a specific attribute of the series; it is numbered 1-2-3, continuing up to 7 within the range of the octave while the degrees of higher or lower octaves onto which the melodic design may extend are marked by a line above or below the figures:



Thus, 'ending on 5' would mean 'final cadence on lower D'; 'range 6-2': 'compass extending from E, first line, to A, first leger line', etc.

It follows that the decision to transpose into the key of G (i.e. into a pentatonic scale with G as the first degree of the *pycnon*) is now applied below to all further material, including Gregorian melodies, and, where the case arises, to the analytical schemas on which quoted authors base themselves.

This way of working will frequently stumble against unsolvable difficulties. If the *pycnon* is not clearly expressed, in other words, if 1 and 3 do

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not both form part of the melody to be transposed, it is impossible to decide in what part of a general theoretical scale or *Materialleiter* (2, 183) it occurs. This is because, in this general scale, all intervals except the unique major third 1-3 are repeated several times (the octave, five times; the fourth and fifth, four times; the second, three times; the minor third, twice); and the same applies to the conjunct series of three notes, each of which occurs twice ($2-3-5 = 5-6-1$; $6-1-2 = 3-5-6$), and to the unique series of four notes that does not include both 1 and 3 ($5-6-1-2 = 2-3-5-6$). This being so, when certain children's songs of the commonest kind only span a minor third and one tone, how are we to know whether this implies: 3-5-6 (B-D-E) as in this example, which is Swiss (121, 77):



or: 6-1-2 (E-G-A) as in this other, which is Italian (36, no. 26)?



When in doubt, one should choose the position that includes the first degree of the *pycnon* (G).

The ambiguous and differing names for the scale elements from one theoretician to another are generally due to an obsession with classical tonality and the deliberate intention to reduce the pentatonic to this tonality at all costs. The need for a 'tonic' and for a scale analogous to the heptatonic, arranged around a fundamental, has seemed to be an incontrovertible fact even to the most objective investigators and continues to befog many minds. Neither his erudition nor the exceptional breadth of his views prevented Gevaert from writing (38, 161) that 'we cannot appreciate a succession of sounds, *we cannot even intone them with surety* without attaching them in our minds to a fixed point of departure, to a *tonic*', a principle that 'manifests itself with more or less force, according to time and place', but without which 'no music or song can exist, but only a cantillation without fixity, without rule or rein', and the proof lies in 'those rudimentary idioms of Africa or Australia which, at some miles' and some years' distance have become totally unrecognizable'.

However, many scholars have realized that the 'determination of the tonic,' as Helmholtz writes, 'is far more uncertain here than in the seven-note scale' (45, 581). Stumpf, too, was struck at least once by this difficulty (123, 149) but he never gave up his search for a 'principal tone'. Sharp (119, no. XIX) in his turn, recognized that 'the position of the tonic' (which none the less he deemed 'decisive') is sometimes a matter of subjective judgement and he asks (119, 57-64; 119, nos. 8, 9A) whether a particular English song is

in a certain mode ('if D be the tonic') or in some other ('if C be the tonic'). Finally, Abraham and von Hornbostel, while maintaining that in order to compare the laws of formation of scales it is indispensable to choose a 'fundamental' (*Grundton*), are obliged to agree (2, 186) that this fundamental 'does not necessarily coincide either with the tonic (the melodic centre of gravity) or with the initial or final note'. So by what reason, one may well ask, does it deserve the title *Grundton*?

The deeper the speculations arising from this entirely artificial doctrine become, the more they aggravate the mistakes of which they bear the seeds. Thus, to content ourselves with a single illustration, we find Helmholtz speaking of 'a scale with neither third nor sixth, probably a bagpipe scale', when describing a Scottish tune (45, 342) built on a pentatonic scale that is not only complete, but in which the supposedly missing third is twice present:



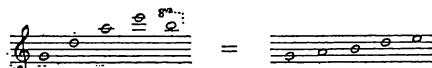
Explanation: as the tune finishes on its second degree (here A) and Helmholtz has decided that this A is a tonic, for him this must unquestionably be a defective A minor.

For most theoreticians the 'general law' that 'presided over the formation' of the pentatonic is unquestionable: it is the 'consonance' or the relationship of the octave, fourth and fifth. The relationship of two consonant sounds is agreed upon (75, 275) by innumerable predecessors and successors. For Laloy, 'it was the starting point of music . . . , a movement to the fourth or fifth was the first melody'. Agreeing with this, Schneider states (115, 142) that vocal music is really the result of a succession of consonances. The profound causes of this phenomenon are scarcely explained. One merely states that 'the affinity between the fifth and its inversion, the fourth, is of such importance to fundamental sound that it plays the same rôle in all the known musical systems' (45, 575). From which it must be inferred that 'the only principle that can offer firm and natural phrases to our senses' is indeed this consonance. 'Without necessarily being calculated, it could impress the hearing of non-civilized peoples as did other physical phenomena . . . even if it were not based on simple numerical relationships' (assuming that this consonance was the result of chance) (124, 9). An axiomatic truth is thus demonstrated.

The consonance principle has been used as a basis for many hypotheses about the origin of the pentatonic. By far the most widespread claims it is the result of an abbreviated 'cycle of fifths': 'it is produced by a series of five

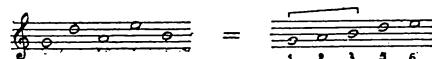
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notes that form a linked progression of four fifths' (39, 22). The resultant sounds are then assembled within the octave of the initial note:



For anyone with the slightest experience of folk music and the mental activity of non-literate people, it is obvious that the concerted effort presumed by this theory is sheer fantasy. If everything points to the belief that non-literates constantly use an octave transposition (see, among others, 41, 69–71), on the other hand, even if one admitted that they could and wanted to reach a sound two octaves away from another, one can hardly see by what mental operation they might then reassemble these sounds in closed position.

Chinese theory, the most ancient of all, proposes more simply (18, 92): '9 × 9 = 81, i.e. the note *kong*; 81 × 2/3 = 54, the note *chi*; 54 × 4/3 = 72, the note *shōng*; 72 × 2/3 = 48, the note *vu*; 48 × 4/3 = 64, the note *kyō*'. In other words:



It would seem sensible to retain this elementary hypothesis, which still has to be confirmed by the facts. Nothing appears to contradict it. The series quoted above is mode I of the five Chinese modes reconstructed by Gevaert (38, 3–4; 39, 22–3, 28) and reached by Helmholtz by numerous detours (45, 338–46), and to be found, but arranged in descending order, in the commentaries of the d'Harcourts concerning Inca music (43, 133–5), etc. They are formed, they tell us, without giving their reasons, by taking each of the degrees of scale I in turn as the fundamental (50, 14; 18, 93; 45, 341; 70, 38, etc.), rather like the Greek (59, 15) or the medieval (70, 38, etc.) modal system. Which gives:

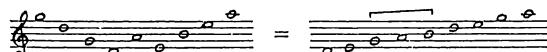
I	G-A-B-D-E	(1-2-3-5-6)
II	A-B-D-E-G	(2-3-5-6-1)
III	B-D-E-G-A	(3-5-6-1-2)
IV	D-E-G-A-B	(5-6-1-2-3)
V	E-G-A-B-D	(6-1-2-3-5)

This premeditated manipulation of the series is, of course, a purely theoretical conjecture. The scales of modes II, III, IV and V can, like that of

the first (which we have seen), be empirically constructed, with G remaining as generator:



We can see that in all these calculations, no distinction is made between the consonant quality of the fifth and that of the fourth. Also, none of these modes develops within the ambit of the octave, a measurement that in no way determines their formation and whose utility as an element of construction is visibly nil: and so, as we are rightly told (2, 186), we may lay aside our modern criteria. None the less, many pentatonic melodies have a surprisingly wide range. This is explained either by the conjecture that several scales are juxtaposed, or by stating that progression by consonances spans a far wider space than the sixths and sevenths of the five Chinese modes. Thus (33, 27):



Moreover, none of these various arrangements repeats itself, that is, acquires a new step by departing from a step already reached, but everything we know of so-called 'primitive' arts points to the exhaustive use of each technical method and suggests that the numerous solutions allowed by the chain of consonances have, without exception, been used instinctively, while theory has only later provided more or less rational systematizations that are inevitably fragmentary. The masters of the Chinese school say that the two complementary notes 4 and 7, which they call *pyens* ('lateral': 79, 69 or 'transitions': 70, 37) and which they treat as negligible quantities, were not originally included in the composition of the millenia-old mother-scale. According to most historians they were added in the eleventh or twelfth century B.C., though others state that it was the twenty-third or twenty-first century B.C., by an extension of the chain of fifths: it adds F sharp and C sharp to the key of G. But the facts contradict this statement which, let us not forget, concerns fine art music. There is every indication that the two *pyens* were not found by a progression of consonances. It is evident, even in China, from certain documents written in the sixteenth century (70, 38), that their mutability must have been motivated by frail reasons. And since folk music from every part of the world likewise ignores the rational 4 and 7, borrowed from the cycle of fifths, it follows that both of them are really accidental filling-in notes ('Fülltöne': 104, 8) and that the movement from consonance to consonance was abruptly halted by the appearance of the semitone. Can

the human ear count only up to five, as Leibnitz wished? Helmholtz (45, 577) believed so: 'It seems that in the first periods of the development of music, many people were afraid to use intervals of less than a tone.'

The presence or absence of the *pyens* has caused two different misunderstandings, both of which obscure the data of the problem. The first is due to the unshakeable faith (already remarked on) in the pre-eminence of the heptatonic or even of the major (130, 42, 48, 49), the measure of all things where the modes are concerned. In the eyes of the adepts of this sort of religion, a series of less than seven notes must be 'incomplete' or 'defective' when compared to what they consider to be an intangible model. Obviously pushing Gevaert's thoughts, Maurice Emmanuel, for instance, maintains (31, II, 535, 645) that such a scale 'voluntarily deprives' itself of the steps that give it 'refinement' or 'affectation'. This assumption, which we might call 'regressive', is clumsily defended, however, and has a dangerous conclusion. It would at least require the demonstration (which we are still waiting for) of the natural origin of the sacrosanct heptatonic yardstick. If one agrees, on the one hand, that the 'ablation' or rather the deliberate partial use of certain elements of the possible means of expression is a familiar trick in popular art and in cultivated ones everywhere and always, one cannot accept, on the other hand, that the music of a homogeneous 'primitive' people, such as the Mongolians observed by P. Van Oost (94) consists only of refinement and affectations which are visible only when compared to a norm which they themselves reject. Putting aside presentday prototypes that we know of, those of Plutarch's contemporaries that would have imitated the oligochordy of Olympus certainly produced 'refined' or 'archaic' effects, but nothing proves that Olympus himself knew of a polychordy that he might voluntarily prune. Finally, if despite the doctrinaire objections an autonomous pentatonic exists, it too would clearly affect the elliptical forms: in that case, according to what criteria would one distinguish between these and the elliptical forms of the heptatonic?

In any case, we see no means of linking our *svadebnaya* to a diatonic group of seven notes, of which it retains only three, having 'systematically suppressed' (31, II, 535) the four others: an excessive coquetry and all the more unlikely since the three notes retained do not determine any of the known heptatonic series. Whether one gives it as tonic the 1 or the 5, it only gives from these presumed tonics, remarkably enough, the fourth and the fifth, which are common to all. Judged from this angle, it would escape any acceptable definition: all that remains for us is to turn away from it as if it were an incomprehensible scrap of some mutilated melody, and to consider that Plutarch was wrong.

We would stress, on the other hand, that Maurice Emmanuel calls series such as E-F sharp-G-A-B-E 'pentaphones' (32, VI, no. XXVIII) and authoritatively corrects 'deficiencies' although, by analogy with 'tetrachord', 'hexachord', etc., the term 'pentachord' or 'octochord' would suit

them better, while ‘pentatonic’ is reserved for the series that we are concerned with here.

The presence of the *pyens* has given rise to another misunderstanding, no less tiresome. By granting the term ‘pentatonic’ a purely arithmetical acceptance, many theoreticians still withhold it from all scales in which a 4 or a 4 joined to a 7 brings the number of components to six or seven. In fact, this summary argument runs right against – we are obliged to insist – our best-founded understanding. First, it ignores the precepts of the Chinese who included the ‘transitions’ in the texture of a music, pentatonic *par excellence*, which was conceived as based on 5 + 2 notes (54, 100) and ‘formed a scale of five tones and two semitones’ (3, 112); secondly, it makes nonsense of what was ‘irrefutably demonstrated’, namely that ‘numerous Oriental or Western countries that use the pentatonic scale have employed these two auxiliary sounds as ornaments’ and that ‘this usage is not only evident in presentday musical practice but is also sometimes established by the theoretical documents’ (54, 100). For his part, Stumpf noticed (123, 118) that in melodies as ‘primitive’ as those of the Kubus, a 4 occurred here and there, and in Thuren and Thalbitzer’s Eskimo collection (132) some irregular fugitive steps are added now and then to the pentatonic framework (123, 184).

The enumeration of the steps does not, of itself, lead us toward any scientific notion. On the contrary, this elementary count may mislead one’s reasoning to the point where it is the exact opposite of the truth. For example, once the instability of the *pyens* is recognized as one of their fundamental characteristics, it would seem natural that either or both might be present within a single piece, so that the total number of scale degrees would reach eight or nine, which goes beyond the reach of the heptatonic. But paradoxically this excess, far from testifying against the pentatonic nature of such a scale, brings us confirmation. On the other hand, H. J. Moser has shown us (87, 57–9), very didactically, that it would be a mistake to judge as pentatonic all melodies that outline one of the five modes already described. In truth, it should be enough that one clearly perceives the tonic-dominant harmonic attraction, which implies heptatonism, for us to be swiftly informed about its pseudo-pentatonism, due to a scale this time really describable as ‘defective’.

It might be useful to recall, in passing, that our unshakeable Western heptatonists agree with the Indian professors who interpret the pentatonic as a ‘simplification’ of their polychordal modes, while the Chinese, in reverse, see the heptatonic as a late enrichment of this same pentatonic. This shows the range of abstract speculations.

The problem evidently lies elsewhere. If this series that is ‘limited to five elements’ is really a distinct tonal organism, a ‘self-contained object’ based on definable physical laws, it will include certain resources and certain restraints. Without fail, these particular possibilities and impossibilities will

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give birth to a variety of typical procedures of which the scale is only the condition and the symbol. ‘It is in the nature of things,’ says Lachmann – and who would know better? – ‘that the pentatonic is more crowded with formulas (“formelhafter”) than the heptatonic’ (70, 55) and it is by these formulas, by these melodic commonplaces, that its style is recognized. It is recognized so well that, according to Kodály and Bartha (61, 19), the secondary sounds, even if they carry accented syllables, cannot obscure the pentatonic structure of a tune, ‘provided the characteristic shapes remain apparent’ (61, 19).

In any case, the time has come for a change of vocabulary and to speak, from now on, not of a ‘scale’ or ‘gamut’ but of a pentatonic ‘system’, characterized by those ‘pentatonisms’ whose identification is surely the only means of casting some light on a subject that thoughtlessness and routine have bit by bit turned into a charade. Riemann (104) seems to have been the first to use this identification: we can approach his inventory aided by the tables drawn up by Bartók (9, 21) and Thuren (131, 225) and which we shall try to complete. It begins with a clarification of:

I. Character and behaviour of the *pyens*. On this point, Chinese teaching can be followed. It denies them any ‘individual existence’ and even deprives them of names since they carry the name of the note immediately above them, which they ‘modify’ (1, 14) or into which they ‘change’ (18, 92). The first effect of this subordination is their rarity (45, 578; 2, 199; 35, 161); also it is expressed in the discretion of their appearances and their negligible weight (indicated below by the sign \circ). Most often their purpose is merely that of ‘passing notes’, called on to fill, without lingering, the spaces between 6 and 1, 3 and 5, with ‘embellishments’, ‘changing notes’, ‘notes of substitution’ or *échappées*, and this is as common among the Spanish Jews (12, no. 2):



as among the Arabs (17, 12):



and the Russians:



as well as in the Protestant chorale:



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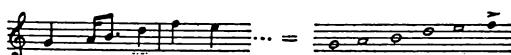
and in China (79, 155):



More rarely a ‘heavy’ *pyen* (‘schwere Wechselnote’: 104, 8), which we indicate by the sign >, is placed on a ‘down-beat’ or an accented syllable, thus resembling a ‘long appoggiatura’ or a ‘retardation’, not only of the 3 by the 4, or the 6 by the 7 (two instances that Riemann notices), but equally, by ascending movement, of the 5 by the 4 and the 8 by the 7. This is evident in melodic turns that quickly seem to us the most typically pentatonic:



or (quoted by Riemann for Scotland) (104, 10):



Similarly, a very instructive example on which Riemann (104, 11) does not dwell:



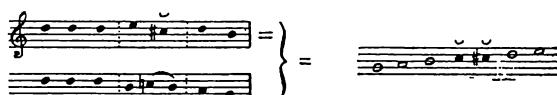
and a Negro example (58, 139):



Nothing could better illustrate the fact that the *pyens* do not in any way arise from the ‘cycle of fifths’ than their mobility. Their own bimorphism is evident as much within the limits of the same melody as within the same phrase, as in German song (for example, 46, 9):



It is again seen in endings on variable steps in psalmodic recitative:



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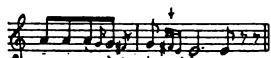
Riemann gives a convincing Scottish example (104, 11) of the mobility of the 7, but to which one could easily add many others taken from the four corners of the earth:



Presuming that the transcriptions are scrupulously accurate, one is inclined to take the two constant pitches that they give as alternatives to the *pyens* as a reminder of their original lack of definition and as a good example of the *Distanzschätzung* (the pitch obtained by an approximate estimation of the distances) dear to German specialists: the uncertain intonation of the 4 and the 7 had in fact already struck Fischer (35, 161), and the folklorists were compelled to invent diacritical signs when they came upon instances in Slovak folk song (84, 103):



or Romanian folk song (10, no. 52):



or elsewhere. To summarize, the *pyens*: 1. are always more rare than the constitutive notes; 2. have only one rôle as 'ornamental' notes; 3. vary; 4. are often recognizable by a hesitant intonation. Theoretically, in all cases, they can be omitted without harm: 'Generally they can be neglected without essentially altering the melody' (45, 570); 'most of the time they can either be omitted or replaced by the neighbouring constitutive degrees' (104, 5).

Actual observation reveals, better than Riemann's reconstitution of underlying forms, the justification for those opinions. Working *in vivo*, Nelly Diem for instance (26, 59–60) has been able to notice that contemporary Scottish singers deliberately avoid passing notes, even where the written documents show them; and concealment of the pentatonic case is betrayed by the alternate use of *pyens* in turns, in a melody or a melodic strophe, or from one part of a period to another, as is the case in Turkey (5, 324=4, 17):

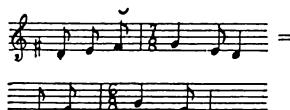


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in France (72, 22):



in Russia (56, 39):



in Gregorian chant:



and in Protestant chorale (114, 81):



However, it is in the relationship between Gregorian chant and Protestant chorale that one may best follow the road of the pentatonic towards the heptatonic, by the progressive insertion of the *pyens* (114, 88):



The gradual alteration of the system through the proliferation and the growing importance of the *pyens* has as a constant corollary the loss of other attributes, notably:

II. The uncertainty of the tonic. Without renouncing his tonic C, Helmholtz has explained the 'arbitrary choice of final notes' (130, 50) that do not 'supply the absolute conclusion that our ear calls for' (94, 361) by a sort of functional equivalence of all the steps of the system: 'The relationship of a given note to all the others is not sufficiently overbearing for one to have the right to call it a tonic' (45, 340). In official Chinese music at

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least 'there is no leading note, tonic or dominant by definition' (76, 57) and one sees that the liturgical pieces noted by Amiot (3, 112), by Richard (101, 3), and by Van Aalst (1, 27-31) stop one by one at all the steps of the mode, from 1 to 6, from 6 to 6, and from 6 to 5. This is why pentatonic melodies, wherever they come from, disturb the educated Westerner, who feels closer to a song from Neu-Mecklemburg (49, 57) in which, familiarly, the final seems to be the tonic:



than to an English tune whose ending disorients him (119, no. 9A):



or to a Hungarian melody that ends on the 6 (74, 230):



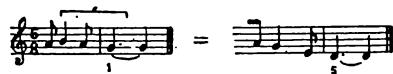
or to a Russian melody (96, 91) that moves, contrary to all our customs, towards the 3:



The lack of tonal function of the five steps has as consequence and proof the frequent substitution of one for the other, which is shown by a Korean song that may end either on the 2 or on the 1 (59, no. 8):



These interchangeable finals are not at all limited to the Far East, as dozens of examples show. For instance, Bronson mentions an English song (14, 48) of which the five variants collected by him hesitate between the 1 and the 5:



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In Russia, Palchikov's no. 56 makes no differentiation between the 1, the 5 and the 3:



and Gregorian tradition similarly endows its psalms with what may be described as 'exchanging' terminations:



When, as constantly happens, a pentatonic tune seems to lean alternatively on the 1 and the 6, there occurs what Riemann (104, 11–13) regards as an oscillation between the parallel tonalities ('Schwanken zwischen den Paralleltonarten'). In our transposition key, these tonalities would be G major and E minor. What determines them, according to our acoustic education, is that G and E are the only steps able to carry perfect chords. In Scotland, the 'oscillation' is often produced by the sudden drop from 1 to the final 6 (10, 12):



This drop is familiar from Romanian and Italian folk song and from that of the Mongols of the Urdus, who use this 'invariable formula' to the exclusion of any other (94, 360), from the Incas, of whom it was 'absolutely typical' (43, 136), and, again, from Gregorian chant:



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The 6 is also reached via a fourth (2–6) or a descending 2–1–6 or perhaps 3–2–6, as in this Russian peroration (129, no. 8):



Usually, the oscillation between parallel tonalities occurs melodically in the development of the modes I, IV or V; here, the *pycnon* appears in its usual form of 1–2–3 and so they are closely linked and prolonged. This is probably why the three scales overlap one another and, occasionally, a fourth scale. This intrusion explains:

III. The wide compass of certain pentatonic tunes and the considerable range of certain melodic lines shown in the Gregorian repertory:



among the trouvères (11, 99):



in China (68, 25):



and among the Kubus of Sumatra (50, no. 10):



Descending towards a low pitch, these melodic lines, real pentatonic 'scales',³ often end on 5, as in Switzerland (disc 1):



in the New Hebrides (77, 636):



³ Could it be from these folk song collections that Debussy, about 1880, took the inspiration for certain of his melodies such as *Voici que le printemps*, *La belle au bois dormant* or *Paysage sentimentale*?:



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and among the Arabo-Berbers (34, no. 12):



IV. This concerns melodic turns proper, constant figures that define the actual physiognomy of the system.

a. Descent to the degree $\underline{5}$, which is perhaps the most common everywhere, is confined to the scale of mode IV, where it occurs throughout. It has the function, indifferently, of intonation, of final or semi-cadence, or of a melodic element embodied in the texture of the phrases. Thus in Russia (81, 177):



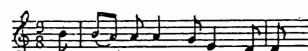
or what amounts to the same thing (83, 57):



in England (119, 234):



and among the Californian Indians (6, 24):



without forgetting the Greek epitaph of Tralles (for instance: 40, 94):



Probably it is to that descent to the $\underline{5}$ that so many famous soldier songs owe their popularity, and in the first place the English:



and the Italian (quoted from memory):



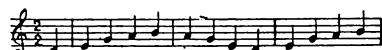
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A sort of prefix sometimes precedes this commonplace formula: either, as above, 1-2-(3), or 6-5-(7)-1, or a more developed prepositional group.

The opposite movement makes the descent to the 5 an ascent towards the 3, as in China (93, 74):



which can be joined by this example (119, no. 33D, England):



Habitually, however, the series 5-3 unfolds by beginning with 6:



This intonation is identified with a whole family of pentachordal, tetrachordal and trichordal incipits, very common in Gregorian chant, which, for greater convenience, can be enumerated: the last example, for instance, may be called 'pentachordal incipit I'. It flourishes particularly in Korea (59, no. 6):



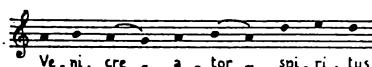
and in Russia (57, 227):



We may add that like all the 'characteristic turns', this one is so emblematic that, whether bound together by short conjunctions or not, its repetitions can provide many melodies as far away as the Solomon Islands (52, 68):



b. Just like the pentatonic scale of mode IV, that of mode I provides an intonation that shows, one by one, the steps of the Gregorian 'pentachordal incipit II':



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less widespread than its double, which is defective through the absence of the 2:



equivalent, of course, to:



and to this Danish charm:



We know that the folk music of all Europe (Germany, England, Spain, France, Italy, etc.), no less than that of the Indians and the Negroes, uses and abuses this phrase. Its inversion, the 6-1 descent, is just as well known to us. An African specimen (58, 39):



is synonymous with the Judeo-Spanish ending (12, no. XXI):



and the Wagnerian motif of the *Feuerzauber*. Its repetitions alone may also provide melodies, such as the Eskimo (123, 183):



c. Less stable than modes IV and I, the 'scale' of mode V generally avoids the 2 and prefers a descending line. None the less, we find in Scotland (26, 157):



and in Australia (90, XIV):



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But 5-3-1-6 is more commonly heard, as in the Jewish trope (91, xxvi):



in New Guinea (235, 4):



and in Debussy's *La fille aux cheveux de lin*.

The examination of the tetrachordal outlines is still premature. But somewhat anticipating it, we may already envisage the three trichordal segments 5-6-1 (= 2-3-5), 6-1-2 (= 3-5-6) and 1-2-3.

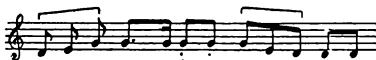
d. The first, the 'trichordal Gregorian incipit I', introduces the second, third and eighth tones of the psalms:



but also a number of Hawaiian and other melodies (106, 110):



Like the pentachordal incipits, it joins up with its own inversion, as in this fragment from Sumatra (50, no. 15c):



or this, which is English (119, no. 138):



or in inverse order in the Ukraine (82, no. VI):



There, too, the term 'incipit' should not make us think that the succession 5-6-1 is never employed except at the beginnings. It belongs equally to the middle parts and the endings, so that we get an ending on 5 (129, no. 31):



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or a final on 1 (95, 383):



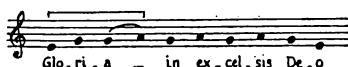
or, more rarely, an ending on 6, such as this one, which is African (98, 6):



One therefore sees that it is not enough to say, as Kodály does (61, 18), that these ‘incipits’ are identical to their inversions (a proceed-and-return): in fact, each of them allows six combinations, in this case: 5-6-1, 5-1-6, 1-5-6, 1-6-5, 6-5-1, 6-1-5, some common, other sporadic, at least in the music that we know. A Vogul example of 6-1-5 varied is (134, no. 22):



These remarks apply equally to the ‘trichordal incipit II’:



That is more or less what Stumpf (124, 161) heard incessantly returning in one of the Siamese orchestral pieces he studied in 1900. It is what d’Annunzio’s little furniture removers sang (63, 261):



The natives of Malacca repeat it tirelessly (disc 2):



as do those of Flores (66, 87):

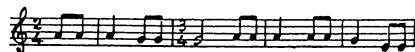


the Eskimos (78, 265)



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and the Chippewa Indians (24, I, 135):

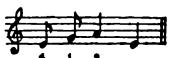


But it is, above all, what the Volga boat haulers, imitated by the Germans (118), have spread throughout the whole of Western Europe, and it is what Stravinsky drew on most clearly for the melodic substance of his *Les Noce*s.⁴

Russian folk melody behaves no differently from that of distant continents; it revolves throughout a whole period, around just these three notes (83, no. 13):



We must infer from this that the concluding *Dreitöneformel* (88, 14) 2-1-6 and its variants, enumerated above, are trichordal Gregorian ‘incipits’ II, literal or disguised. We already know them in connection with the possible inversion of the motive components of cadences such as this Russian one (80, no. 25):



this Berber one (17, 66):



or (New Hebrides 77, 381):



The second position of this ‘incipit’ (3-5-6) is worthy of special mention: while the placing 2-3-5 of the trichordal ‘incipit’ I only now and then gives it the function of initial or final point, it in fact can be used at any moment, creating in Russia, among other places, endings on the upper 6 (108, no. 7):



⁴ In the pocket score this ‘incipit’ bursts or crops up on pp. 1, 4, 5, 7 in the key of G; pp. 7-8 in the key of E; pp. 9, 10-12, 16-17, 61-72 successively or simultaneously in the key of B and F sharp; pp. 63-4, 67, 68 in the key of F; pp. 76, 78-9, 80, 87, 107, 115-17 in D flat; pp. 124, 139 in E flat, etc.

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or the upper 5 (108):



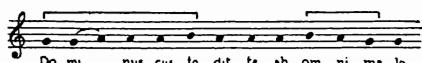
or on 3 (109, 197):



A curious piece (no. 11) in Palchikov's collection uses only two arrangements of this trichord:



f. The 'trichordal Gregorian incipit III' is no other than the *pycnon*, the only unique series in the system, and which consequently is monomorphic:



or, if preferred (from Oceania: 65, 85):

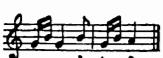


and similarly (from the Zambesi: 15, 24):

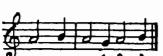


The interchangeability of the steps produces this time the endings: 1-2-3, 1-3-2; 2-1-3, 2-3-1, 3-2-1 and 3-1-2, unequally used, but all with examples:

(Amazonian Indian: 55, 339):



(North-west coast Indian: 51, 307):

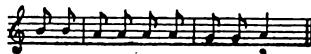


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or (Vogul: 134, no. 95):



Extended, they give, for instance (113, 70):



Quite naturally, the descending and ascending *pyens* which are both in this 'incipit' join it like atonic ornaments, as we see in a Russian collection (56, 75):



or (56, 55):



or again (56, 63):



Similarly, with the accented sharp 7 anticipating the 1 (56, 61-2):



or the 4 'retarding' the 3 (56, 173):



Certain disjunct tetrachordal and trichordal sequences will be examined later.

IV. For facility in numbering, mention must be made here of another evident pentatonism: the 6-1 ending, which occurs each time the final 1 is prepared by the neighbouring step below, not a semitone or a tone interval as in the heptatonic scales, but a minor third (119, 241: English):



V. a. Riemann draws our attention to the wide leaps that appear in many pentatonic melodies and that the d'Harcourts (43, 138) regard as 'one of the distinctive features of Indian⁵ folk song' – while the Rev. Van Oost (94, 361) declares them typical of the Mongols. According to Riemann the dimension of these leaps is in fact less considerable than it seems, because of the minor thirds inserted between the 6 and the 1, and the 3 and the 5 of the scale, and so, measured according to the heptatonic, the total of the steps that they include is always reduced by 1 up to the fifth, and even more beyond it. Let us note, incidentally, that this fact raises a problem of musical psychology: those to whom the pentatonic is the daily bread hear a smaller interval than we do.

It is perhaps not only the octave leap that is explained by the 'identity of function' of the two notes that comprise it, that is, by transposition: the transposition of entire passages is also involved for leaps such as (58, 258):



or (60, 3126):



and (94, 361):



Several of the Mongolian melodies presented by Van Oost (particularly in 94) and by Emsheimer (33) seem to justify this suspicion, as do the Amerind types (73, nos. 1, 4, 6, 7, 8, etc.) which delight in displacing their openings in the manner of an epilogue, by an octave down: arguments which might be added to by the use of the falsetto voice among the Mongols and elsewhere.

b. When the 2 is regularly omitted from the passage of 6–3 (or 3–6) and 1–5 (or 5–1) the melodic line traces a major arpeggio (1–3–5) or a minor one (6–1–3) or, more precisely, a 'pseudo-arpeggio', as the harmonic notion implied by the term only exists in our Western conception. Scholars have been surprised by these arpeggios in the music of exotic peoples of whom no knowledge of harmony could be suspected, particularly when long periods

⁵ That is, in this case, Andean. (Ed.).

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contain only ascending and descending fragments of defective scales such as in the New Hebrides (77, 6):



in Burma (115, no. 23):

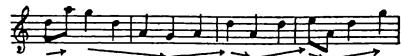


and in Peru and Black Africa and among the Amerinds. In Europe we always have the comfortable remedy of presuming that the pseudo-arpeggios are born of a harmonic feeling as yet unrealized, forgetting a little too easily for instance:



In this way, the European *Fanfarenmelodik* in itself conforms no more to modern ideas than exotic music. At the most one might suggest that the folk music of Europe, being more evolved, uses it less because it rarely confines itself to a single formula. Yet a number of the quotations above weaken even this prudent hypothesis.

c. Here and there, these leaps give pentatonic tunes that crenelated profile ('gezackte Linie') that Riemann has remarked on in Scottish melody (104, 7), whether they irregularly change direction (59, no. 2: Korea):



or whether, with a more constant slope, it is a matter of 'pentatonic arpeggios' when the intervals, identical or not, depart one after another by one step on from the preceding one (104, 7: Scotland):



or:



or:



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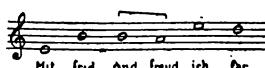
Ascents and descents by consonants are often separated by seconds. For example in Russia (97, 10):



the inversion of which is sounded by the bells of *Parsifal*:



and similarly in the Protestant chorale (114, 104, etc.):



This is, very roughly, the material of the pentatonic system. It would seem logical that the melodies that use it, when closely examined, should reveal variable combinations of the 'formulas' that comprise the system. We have seen that occasionally they use only one among them. That is not the general rule. Since the law of 'primitive' art is to make systematic use of such technical 'possibilities' as are offered it, it usually establishes pentatonic periods by means of two or more of the above topical expressions, which alternate within the phrases or link one of their phrases to another. This would give, in China (101, 34), by juxtaposition of the Gregorian trichordal 'incipits' III and II:



and, in Russia (92, no. 40), by the succession of the trichordal 'incipits' III and I:



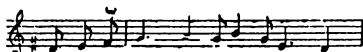
and, among the Eskimos (78, 266), by joining the trichordal 'incipit' II in the upper position (3-5-6) and the major pseudo-arpeggio:



This last example, in which the two stock phrases used, though distinct, are pegged together by a common segment, explains the 'prefixes' attached to

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the drop to the 5 as an overlap of two cells. In the *Tipperary* march, it is trichord III that ushers in the descending movement, elsewhere it is trichord I (85, 18: Italian):



The summary analysis of a well-known chorale (e.g. 114, 18-19) will reveal the mechanism more clearly:

Disregarding the scale (pure, to within an imponderable *pyen*) we have: $1+2$ = the trichordal 'incipits' II (1-2-1-6) and I (1-6-5-6-1); $3+4+5$ = trichordal 'incipit' II (3-5-6-5-3), pentachordal III (*La fille aux cheveux de lin*: 5-3-1-6) ending on 6-1; $6+7+8$ = trichordal 'incipit' III (3-2-3-1-2-3-1-2-3-1), descent to the 5 (3-1-6-2-1-6-5) and trichordal 'incipit' I (6-5-1), all interlocked by the intermediate fragments indicated by the brackets.

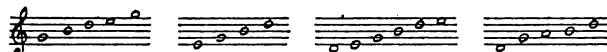
Very homogeneous, and, in my opinion, with great style, the melody as a whole is thus, everything considered, a mosaic of commonplaces.

Those who, right up to today, have had an inkling of the possibility of musical systems older than, or at least poorer than, the pentatonic can, as we have said, be counted on the fingers; and it is the contact with exotic music that has led them to it. By thoroughly studying the structure of 'primitive' melodies, Stumpf noticed (123, 103) that 'if one thinks of all the antecedents that have allowed the appearance of such constructions, one is obliged to consider them, in most cases, as products of a passably evolved artistic sense'. Which implies that, being less evolved, this 'artistic sense' has only material of meagre means at its disposal, evidently co-ordinated into systems.

As regards the nature of these pre-pentatonic systems, the opinions of the few theoreticians who believe in them diverge considerably. Rowbotham, an Englishman, imagines (110) that the evolution is accomplished in four leaps: from the stage of a single note, one would have passed to a stage of two, then another of three notes, separated from each other by a complete tone, and finally to a scale of five steps, in which prehistoric man would have felt the dimension of minor thirds as equal to that of tones. Although this bold calculation of probabilities is still credited by some musicologists, it will only detain us long enough to remark that if the conjecture about the passage

from the third to the fourth stages does not rest on any concrete datum, none the less numerous facts apparently bear witness to the existence of the first, second and particularly the third; only a close investigation can show the inanity of these fallacious confirmations.

Two other theses on the first stages of the pentatonic may delay us longer. One is the invention of Danckert (22) and concerns the *Vorformen* of scales, in part very extensive, qualified by him (in the regrettable arithmetical sense of the word) as 'anhemitonic tetratonics' and 'pseudo-arpeggios' ('Dreiklangstetragonik'):



To judge by the German summary of his work, Danckert neglects to tell us the reasons that make him consider these sundry sonorous assortments in which the major third is regularly present as being anterior to the pentatonic (unless he fails to understand that according to a distinction of Rowbotham's, 4 must without fail precede 5). Furthermore, he does not inform us of the relationship that would unite their elements, even though this relationship alone would permit us to speak of distinct systems, not of defective pentatonic series. Finally, he neglects to tell us how many systems these arrangements allow. In short, from all that, neither a definition of the primary forms of the pentatonic, nor an intelligible summary of their genesis emerges.

At the same time as Danckert, Szabolcsi (128) drew up another genealogical tree, but whereas the former wanted to prove that the pentatonic is a creation of matriarchal societies, his Hungarian colleague set himself to show that the system has, as generative cells, motives of small amplitude whose model would be the intonation ('Tonfall') of 'tonal' languages such as the high cultures of Asia have, from early times, conventionally fixed. The musical transposition would not be fixed from one day to the next: from a rudimentary music of two or three notes, very close together, one would have passed to embryonic motifs, mainly of trichords, the next stage leading through their transposition downward (or their redoubling) directly to the pentatonic.

It is not necessary for us here to find out if recitatives on one or two neighbouring steps belong to the same order of phenomena as the trichords: at least their summary notations bring to light the imprecision of the pitches surrounding a stable point, as if, leaning on this firm support, the voice is displaced by guesswork ('Distanzschätzung') towards nearby, ill-defined points. Listening to a large number of sound recordings might perhaps allow us to decide. However, in this case, we should remember the wise words of Stumpf (123, 86), who teaches us that from the basis of a given pitch, small transposable intervals may well emerge by a simple estimation

of the distances, but that this path does not take us far and fails to take into account the selection of the consonant intervals of the octave, fourth and fifth. This selection plays no part in the production of Szabolcsi's trichords (128, 29, 30), which are simply our trichordal 'incipits' I, II and III. Does each of them incarnate an independent proto-pentatonic system? Without specifically saying so, Szabolcsi intimates it. Thus one would still have to explain how the reproduction of a language, even a 'tonal' one, by notes of regular vibration has only been able to give birth to these three particular groupings to the exclusion of all others, and to what intimate bonds their constituent parts owe their cohesion. Thus the transposition of trichords I and II only leads to the pentatonic if they take place at the fourth and fifth interval, which is not specified by our learned friend. As for III, it does not allow any displacement. Moreover, one has the right to ask exactly what part the consonances play in the choice of speech 'tones' since we learn that for instance the Amerind Achuwawi use two, one high the other low, a fifth apart (6, 206).

On the other hand, fourths and fifths are given special attention in the very similar explanations presented by von Hornbostel and Davies. In fact, the former has somewhat varied in his convictions, but without departing from the fundamental principle of an initial progress by consonances. But neither has set out to describe one or more pre-pentatonic systems: it is the elaboration of the pentatonic itself that they want to elucidate, but by taking as a basis a skeleton which, in a practical sense, represents the primal state. From this, they both pass on without intermediate stages to the completely constituted tonal organization. At one time, von Hornbostel and his collaborator Abraham, while arguing against the cycle of fifths (2, 198ff.), held the opinion that from a primal note one moves first towards its octave, then, going from these two extremities 'towards the interior', one falls upon the lower fifth from the upper one, and on the upper from the lower, from whence we get the 'very useful' framework (transposed here): D-G-A-D, the 'fill-in', perhaps by the addition of the whole tone (coming from who knows where), doing the rest. Later, von Hornbostel, abandoning the octave and fifth, suggests (48, 36-7) that the kernel of the system is the fourth: two linked descending fourths completed (for enigmatic reasons) by the repetition, in the lower register, of the initial note, constructing the skeleton G-D-A-G, which is merely a different position of the preceding one. Again a variable fill-in can enrich it, but by rigorously avoiding (we are not told why) the semitone.

Davies (23, 2) also sets out by denying that a succession of fifths could have given rise to the pentatonic scale: he says it would have needed the help of an instrument, which only proves that he did not know the path traced by the Chinese. According to him, one would have: 1. used a single note; 2. joined to this note, by 'need of contrast', a second, namely the lower fourth, the most 'comfortable' of the vocal relaxations; 3. embellished, as foreseen,

the interval thus obtained, probably, but not necessarily, by the step nearest to its lower extremity. But as this procedure brings about a semitone foreign to the pentatonic, Davies automatically substitutes for it its upper neighbouring degree:



After which: 4. there is nothing to do but allow the instinct of imitation, the 'pattering instinct', to work, which demands the reproduction of this arrangement, starting from its ending; and with the lower octave of its generator coming to bring it all to a close, we would at least have arrived at a 'complete' pentatonic series fully conforming to European ideas:



So the primitive would have built his system, anhemitonic by definition, by using two encounters on the fifth, both of them creating semitones. None the less, he would have willingly renounced these awkward steps with the sole aim, it seems, of not offending future ideologists; and out of respect for their love of symmetry, he would moreover have consented, without much persuasion, to round off the ensemble by adding a supplementary step.

So, all things considered, the evolution described by von Hornbostel comprises two stages: a scale of three notes transformed by a single operation into a scale of five notes, the first of which ($\underline{5-1-2-5}$ or $1-2-5-\bar{1}$) could pass for pre-pentatonic. With Davies, we only discern, before the full pentatonic, a fourth comprising a more or less fortuitous medium term.

For his part, Helmholtz develops the system by departing from an elementary framework $\underline{5-1-2-5}$ (transposed D-G-A-D) which he does not consider to be at all individual. Finally, H. J. Moser, though he envisages an evolution in which the systems(?) of five notes are prepared by the *Drei-, Vier-, Fünftonsysteme* (88, 2), only shows us that the movement of the fourth seems here to be the most important element of construction ('Baustein'). For the rest, the samples on which he bases his idea (88, 2, 14, 218, 240, etc.) are so disparate that it is hard to grasp how each of them prefigures the pentatonic in his mind.

From this quick survey of the literature of the antecedents, on the whole rather deceptive, we may none the less extract certain information: 1. Explicitly or implicitly, many scholars admit the reality of more reduced, and thus more archaic, systems than the pentatonic, disintegrated according to some, but according to others, real and still alive. 2. These all end up by various paths with the series $\underline{5-1-2-5}$; according to them, any melody comprising less than five notes must be qualified as pre-pentatonic. 3. If we did not already know from our 'incipits', various writings would prove that

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three notes (Danckert prefers four) are perfectly sufficient for the organization of a musical period, and so much so that, scorning our heptatonic bias, Olympus, although he probably did not ‘write’ trichords (seeing that in his time people bothered little about writing), knew very well about singing or playing them. 4. Nobody imagined a system of less than three notes.

Handschin, who alone attributed the possible pre-pentatonic organism to the chain of fifths, also did not go beyond the tetratonic (41, 44) and the tritonic (41, 45, 52, 67). However two motives incite him to separate them. First, his avowed antipathy for the theory of progress by ‘evolution’, dear to the nineteenth century, which always puts what is most simple before what is less so (41, 239): in acknowledging the anteriority of the pentatonic to the heptatonic – so ‘marvellously evident’ (‘herrlich einleuchtend’: 40, 47) that he does not believe in it – or the possibility of systems that conform to the same principles sinking their roots in beyond it (‘herabreichen’: 41, 67; ‘hinabgehen’: 41, 45), he bows before a ‘naïve’ (40, 40), ‘schematic’ (40, 42) doctrine, which he sets within ironic quotes but does not refute. This part of his reasoning is somewhat emotional and does not concern us. However the Basle musicologist offers a second reason, this time an objective one: he assures us that there are very few signs (‘nur wenig Anzeichen’) which allow us to conclude that systems of less than five terms may exist.

It is precisely this that we must now verify. In doing this, the absolute quantity of *Anzeichen* hardly concerns us and if it shows itself to be infinitesimal, that should not discourage us: one could hardly hope that the tetratonic, tritonic and bitonic, presumed to be very ancient if not prehistoric, might survive in abundance: but for the *Anzeichen* that we do have, the existing vestiges must formally authorize us to speak of systems, that is of sonorous organisms offering the same characteristics as the pentatonic: close relationship of degrees according to the laws of consonance, various modes corresponding to each of these degrees, typical melodic turns, in a word, the possibility of a musical *practice* having as a sufficient condition a scale of four, three or two notes.

And so the tetratonic, lacking a consonance (for us, B) in relation to the pentatonic, would comprise four modes:

In all:

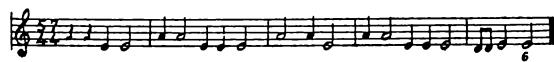
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The constitution of the system is visibly less firm than that of the pentatonic or, at least, than that of its modes I, IV and V, which are rigorously determined by the adjoining *pycnon*; and the only remaining minor third does not appreciably differentiate it but rather brings it closer. On the other hand, the fourth, here a constitutive interval, takes it further away: doubtless this elementary consonance brings a new expressive value and indicates the archaism of the scale.

The functional indifference of the steps is maintained since, for example, the melodies of the tetratonic mode III take *ad libitum* for finals the 5 (64, 296: Oceania):



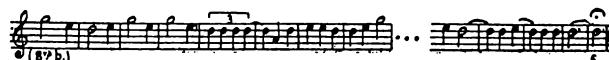
the 6 (51, 301: likewise Oceania):



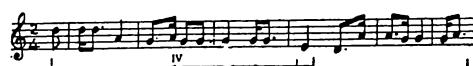
and the 1 (37, 3091: Tibet):



In mode II one may find (49, III, Oceania):



The range of the tetratonic modes, like that of the pentatonics, is extended by the addition of scales or by the encroachment of one scale on another (73, 363: Amerinds):



or (55, 333: Amerinds):



or, as in Japanese Noh music (69, 83):



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The tetratonisms, particularly the tetrachordal ones, become even more confused than in the pentatonic, with the complete scale of the modes. In the third mode it would be a short descent on the 5 (58, 48: Black Africa):



with its pendant, sometimes attached to it, the leap towards the 2 (95, 259: South American Blacks):



in mode I (24, II, 301: Amerinds):



in modes II and IV, their sequences are displayed in our examples 134 and 135.

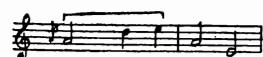
As for the trichordal tetratonisms, there are four of them also, two of which are particularly striking because they include the constitutive fourth 2-5, that is to say 1-2-5 (59, no. 8: Korea):



or 5-2-1 (73, 363: Amerinds):



and 2-5-6 (53, 2: Mongols):



or 6-5-2 (25, 133: Amerinds):



The relative rarity of these two trichords in the available material, at least as far as intonations are concerned, is somewhat surprising: for the first, it will be shortly justified.

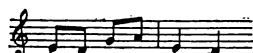
On the other hand, one constantly finds the two trichords 5-6-1 and

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6-1-2, in which we recognize immediately, inverted in all senses, the trichordal pentatonic ‘incipits’ I and II. Just like the descent 2-5, they establish between the two systems a connection so close that one is tempted to class them among the fractions of pentatonic scales, as we have done until now. But our understanding of the tetratonisms that are now identified is so peremptorily dissuasive that we can now identify them as tetratonic survivals because of the possibilities of some common material: the trichordal ‘incipit’ I = defective tetratonic scale, because of the absence of the 2; the trichordal ‘incipit’ II = defective tetratonic scale because of the absence of the 5; melodies covering the space 5-2 = third mode. Consequently, the beginning of our analysis of a Protestant chorale (ex. 125) should be somewhat changed, regarding the first member of the period: instead of ‘trichordal “incipits” I + II interlocked’, one would have to say ‘tetratonic (mode III) passage’. Understood thus, the numerous inversions of the steps 5-6-1(-2) would in our eyes take on a specifically tetratonic aspect, whether it is among the Mongols (33, 83):



in Russia (109, no. 207):



or in France (27, 70, etc., etc.):



An outstanding figure exemplifies the first of the four tetratonic trichords (1-2-5) which also has the appearance of an inversion: 5-1-2, quite current, whose true meaning does not yet emerge (65, 79; Oceania):



and (134, no. 205, Voguls):



It is very significant that most of these examples of an autonomous tetratonic should be drawn from the music of peoples deemed primitive; but, though less abundant, they are not lacking among Europeans either,

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especially, as foreseen by Rimsky-Korsakov, in their ritual songs, in their children's little self-made melodies (which had not occurred to him) and as usual in the Roman liturgical cantilena which – apart from the trichordal 'incipits' – offers us, among others (103, 68):



Children in Germany (and everywhere) recite (e.g. 89, 16):



and in Greece (disc 3: carol):



A Roman exorcism against cabbage caterpillars (disc 4):



In Hungary this German Christmas song has been noted (47, 189):



Within the trichords without a fourth, the *pyens* behave as in the pentatonic (56: Russia):



But logic is deceived by their habitual void between the 2 and the 5, where they should foreseeably 'fill out' the frame of the empty fourth. Certainly, here and there we see a hesitant 4 appearing (123, 172: Amerinds):



or even a symptomatic 3, which makes us think of an anticipation of the fourth constitutive fifth and thus a movement towards the next system (53, 17: Mongols):



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However, most melodies avoid altering the only interval that would allow a strict discrimination between pentatonic and tetratonic. Is it in order to respect a fundamental characteristic of the system? In any case, they categorically contradict those who derive the pentatonic from fourths garnished with stabilized *pyens*.

The tetratonisms not only join up themselves to build melodic periods, but, reabsorbed by the pentatonic as far as compatibilities allow, they in the same way ally a tetrachordal tetrtonism to the pentatonic, resulting for example in a pentachordal pentatonism (78, 267–78: Amerinds):

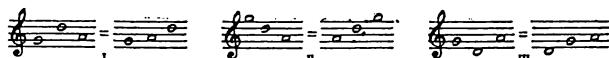


Interrupted in its second movement the progress from consonance to consonance only gives us the principles of a tritonic system, so far:



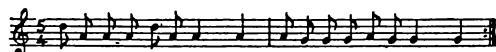
The absence of the minor third clearly dissociates it from the pentatonic, preventing any homonymy between pentatonisms and tritonisms; it raises a wall between the two congenerous systems and draws a line of demarcation within the pre-pentatonic perimeter.

The tritonic, which thus places itself at a cross-roads, aligns three modes synonymous with three tritonisms:



In the last, we immediately recognize the contour of our Russian wedding song, which now takes on a new meaning and the look of a venerable sound ‘relic’ (112, 23), the emblem of a life anterior to music. It is up to the documents to confirm these presumptions.

Consulting them reveals a tendency of the tritonisms I and II to come together into a single formula, which we will examine apart. However, it leaves no doubt about the reality of the three typical formulas, of which the second (2–5–1), where the whole tone is missing, appears to be by far the least used (but many books remain to be read, and many recordings to be listened to). The first, very common among the Amerinds (6, no. 15):



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is also familiar to certain night-watchmen in Central Switzerland (30, 81):



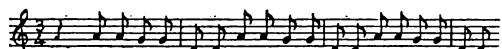
The texts are no less categoric concerning the second tritonism (2–5–1), although it is less frequent. Lachmann cites, for the Brazilian Indians (71, 5), a song in which one hears successively:



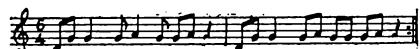
and H. J. Moser invokes, for Austria (88, 2):



As for tritonism III, the principal object of these notes, Rimsky-Korsakov, in his *Christmas Night* (in which, taking advantage of the sovereign rights of the composer, he makes a whole out of three separate pieces), adds to the *svadebnaya* this carol:



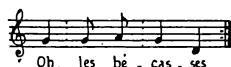
From the Hawaiian Islands, we have the following (106, 175):



and from California (6, no. 15):



European children set special store by this melodic outline. In Geneva, in the rue des Maraîchers, in October 1944, a little girl repeated without pause:



exactly like the little Catalans (16, 12):



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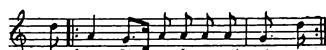
and the little German Swiss (121, no. 112):



The mobility of the finals completes this picture, in which the dominant features of the tritonic are perfectly visible. These features are, so to speak, concentrated in the outline that adds up to their expressive virtues:



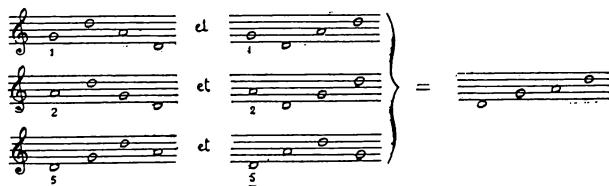
Whether we have here an amplification by the redoubling of the octave of mode III, as this example might suggest (120, 151: African Blacks):



or a conjunction of the modal scales I and III (73, 261: Amerinds):



or an isolated construction, this outline represents a sum of the resources of the tritonic and of a whole musical complex, in which the principle of affinity in relation to consonance establishes a complete balance. Of all the groups of notes engendered by the action of fourths and fifths, this is the only one that forms itself in two ways emanating from no matter which of its elements:



Every Hellenist agrees: two fourths separated by a whole tone (E-A-B-E = D-G-A-D) have remained, right to the end, the unalterable foundation of the classical music of antiquity which has never altered this ‘body of harmony’: ‘the other intervals’, according to Maurice Emmanuel, ‘are merely fill-ins’ (31, I, 65). This filling-in, which of course affects the two fourths 5-1 and 2-5, makes use of two notes explicitly called ‘mobile’; the result is a quantity of genres, modes and nuances that cancel each other out so well that Reinach ‘dares to declare’ that he ‘does not know exactly what a Greek mode is, except for the *Doristi*’ (100, 5). Altogether, ancient modal theory seems to us, ever since, to be like a register of countless and

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sometimes contradictory prescriptions, according to which it is possible to dress up the rigid tritonic carcass by the more or less constant arrangements of more or less constant *pyens*. Thus everything happens as if learned Greek music was following the road towards the heptatonic by starting not from the pentatonic, but from a much more rudimentary system, folk music going its own way (to judge for instance by the inscription of Tralles, doubtless semi-folkloric). If the primitive tuning of the lyre was really $\underline{5}-1-2-5$, the two trichords enclosed in this sequence would of necessity work as the framework of an archaic melopoeia and impress on it that majestic austerity whose disappearance the philosophers so regretted later.

A heptatonically educated mind has great trouble in imagining the effects of a music whose total sound material consists of four or, more exactly, three notes. To get an idea of it, one has only to listen to the monochord solo recorded on the Columbia record GF 529 (Laos) or the Italian religious recitative reproduced on record no. 5 of the U.N.E.S.C.O. ‘Collection Universelle’:



A curious detail: while the chain of fifths has nothing to do with the formation of either the pentatonic or the tetratonic, it seems to have been the origin of tritonic scales: not exceeding the normal range of the human voice, it was usable alongside the alternations of fourths and fifths. At least, this fragment of Noh might lead us to think so (69, 83):



Pyens seem even rarer in the tritonic than in the tetratonic. When, however lightly, they touch a constitutive degree of the latter or of the pentatonic, the ambiguity already mentioned arises again: it is hard to decide whether or not we have left the system (134, no. 205: Voguls):



a question that is also posed by the theme of d’Indy’s *Fervaal*:



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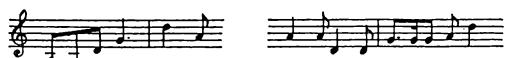
Like the tetratonics, tritonic residues, sometimes obscure and sometimes clear, persist in the subsequent systems. In the tetra tonic, they may be recognized in the formulas 1-2-5, 5-2-1 and 5-1-2, which are now comprehensible (24, II, 222: Amerinds):



In Indo-China, one finds (60, 3126):



which is repeated in Korean tetra tonic melodies noted by Keh (59, no. 4):



and in the pentatonics of the same country (59, no. 3):



or (59, no. 9):



and those of the Mongols (33, 63):



the Romanians (8, no. 114):



the English (119, no. 18E):



and the Swiss Romands (86, 637):



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as in the heptatonized songs of Hungary (7, 97, 101):



of Bulgaria (122, no. 6):



of Slovakia (133, 372):



of the Ukraine (82, no. XI):



of Germany (88, 15):



and of Holland (67, no. 13):



Moreover, the alternation of tritonic sections with tetratonic or pentatonic sections results in periods in which, for instance, pentatonic trichordal ‘incipit’ III and the tritonism III may follow one another (Swiss Romande):

- Oh, grand Guil. lau. me, as - tu bien dé. jeu. né ? Pâ. té d'al. lou. et. 'les,
 Oh, 'oui, ma. da - me, Jai mangé du pâ. té. Guillaum', Guil lau. met.te,
 cha.cum dan. se . ra , Guil.laum'res.te . ra.

One can only envisage a single defective tritonic scale: two notes a whole tone apart: 1-2. Lacking the 2, what remains (1-5) would be confused, in fact, with a hypothetical bitonic system with only a first fifth. Again one needs to distinguish between a couple of imprecise constant neighbouring

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pitches forming a whole and a definite note joined to an imprecise pitch, which can only be achieved by advancing warily. Thus (126, 60):



to which a *pyen* would impart a lively colour, as in the following case (56, 83: Russia):



That being said, a deeper examination of the bitonic would go beyond the scope of our subject. Summarily, one may establish that its mechanism is reduced to two movements:



sometimes joined:



European children and 'savages' know how to make the most of the first two, the former sometimes imitating birds or bells (16, II: Catalonia):



or (121, 158: Swiss):



the latter as a means of common expression, of which, among many others, Robert's Hawaiian collection contains several convincing examples (106, 28):



As for the III, the Russian street-sellers cry (19, 505):



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And we owe to von Hornbostel a celebrated specimen of the IV, collected in Sumatra (50, no. 15c):



A formula well known to little Europeans (121, 24: Swiss):



These bitonisms detach themselves clearly from many a tritonic, tetratonic or pentatonic context, like this Noh extract (69, 83):



or couple with tritonisms, tetratonisms or pentatonisms (59, no. 4: Korea):



or (same melody):



The sporadic incorporation of *pyens* gives a particular appearance here (62, 26: Russia):



It is therefore important to pay the greatest attention to them, so as not to make mistakes whose gravity can be illustrated by the following: rapidly listened to, the recording of a Romanian incantation to make the hair grow – very badly sung – gives us one of those litanies that repeat what we called at the beginning the trichordal Gregorian ‘incipit’ II. Schematically, one might notate it with confidence as:



But more listening would show that the uncertain intonation of our peasant woman affects only one of the three notes emitted: from one of the limits of a perfect fourth to the other, the voice passes through an indeterminate

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intermediary step, too high or too low. Moreover, this putative 1 was in places omitted as a negligible accessory. So it became evident that the singer did not hear a trichord:



but a bichord embellished with a *pyen*, mobile, as befits it:



Considered as a bitonic, the performance merits no blame, quite the contrary: it is distinguished by the purity of its style.

Provided that the reasoning that has guided us so far is proved correct, some fundamental conclusions may legitimately be drawn from it.

It will have taught us that if the prehistory of music is not written on any papyrus it may still be read ‘in the book of thought’ over which every musicologist however ‘specialized’ would be well advised to pore longer in the future.

By virtue of the knowledge acquired step by step along the way, the *svadebnaya* that we proposed to elucidate has placed itself at a decisive point of one of the first ages of this prehistory: the ‘three-tone stage’, properly called, before the advent of the first interval of a third. The inconsistency of its ‘national’ accent would arise from that: at this stage, the poverty of material resources would only allow a small place for artistic arbitrariness, imposing a kind of levelling that, beyond races and frontiers, could integrate our Russian melody into a vast assembly of phenomena, universal and supranational by their very nature. We now know for certain that the three notes with which it contents itself purely and simply define an autonomous musical art, and also that they can only comprise a limited number of trichords, necessarily identical to each other, which provide the melodic substance of a modern folk song or one of the creations of a composer in Ancient Greece.

Rimsky-Korsakov saw the matter clearly.

And Plutarch did not lie.

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Discs

1. Fragment of a copy of a Swiss disc dating from around 1900 (in the International Folk Music Archives, Geneva).
2. Disc in the Musée de la Parole, Paris; transcribed by Marius Schneider.
3. Disc 92b (Pathé) in the Musée de la Parole, Paris; transcribed by S. Baud-Bovy.
4. Disc SCR 1300 in the Romanian Folklore Archives, Bucharest; transcribed by the author.

END-PIECE

I3 Songs ‘To the dead’ from Gorj

Collected by Constantin Brăiloiu

Introduction and translation by A. L. Lloyd

Ceremonial funeral laments are still to be heard in the Romanian countryside. But beside them, some very ancient funeral ritual songs are meant for quite a different purpose. These ritual songs are not sung by the relatives of the dead, as the laments are. Instead, they are performed by specially chosen women, usually of considerable standing in the community. The songs, usually sung antiphonally by two groups of two or three singers (four or six in all, though this is not obligatory), accompany certain stages of the funeral in accordance with a custom stretching back to the very dawn of civilization. To judge by the nature of the rituals they accompany, the texts of these songs are among the most archaic poems still surviving in oral tradition in Europe. Together, they comprise an entire pagan liturgy of great power. The set of texts presented here were collected in the 1930s in the district of Gorj, region of Oltenia, in Southern Romania. Not all villages performed the entire ‘liturgy’ as presented here. Indeed, in some villages the ceremonial songs were entirely lacking. Other areas, notably the Banat and Western Transylvania, retain the custom while using certain other songs, comparable in richness and archaism but different in theme.

The ceremonial singing begins with a kind of funeral *aubade* addressed to the dawn. It is sung just before daybreak by the chosen women standing on the verandah of the dead person’s house. With their faces turned to the east and lighted candles in their hands they ‘cry the daybreak’, as they say. The ‘Dawn Song’ occupies lines 1–51. Another important song is ‘The Song of the Pine-tree’ (lines 52–163). When a young couple get married it is the custom to cut down a pine-tree, decorate it and set it up at the gateway of the courtyard of their new house. By extension, when an unmarried person dies, a small pine-tree or merely a Christmas-tree-sized bough is set up at the head of the grave as a symbol of the dead person’s betrothal in Paradise and of a union with the dead in the other world. In the whole ceremony, the aim is mainly to mollify the dead and to try to ensure their peaceful passage to the other world, and their satisfactory integration into the community of the dead, so that they do not return to earth as fretful or even vengeful spirits. The idea behind the pine-tree ritual is one of consolation, a wish to comfort the soul of the person who died unmarried, perhaps even to give the impression that the occasion is a wedding and not a funeral. Like some other funeral ceremonial chants, the Pine-tree Song is in the form of a dramatic

dialogue in which, obliquely, the community expresses its own perplexities and fears through the tree's agony.

In some aspects the most important song in the whole cycle is 'The Song of the Journey' (lines 198–339). In many parts of the world where ancient ways still endure, an important rite concerns the journey to the land of the dead. The topography of Paradise varies. The Egyptians and Greeks believed in the Isles of the Dead and sometimes provided a toy boat or even a real one for the dead person. Some think of Paradise as a citadel under the ground, a castle on a mountain top, a kind of park in the sky. Most agree that the other world is like a better version of their own world, and that the dead who enter it will be united with people of their own kind, their own age-group, their own way of life; in short, they'll be incorporated into a society similar to the one they've just left. The important thing is to ensure that the dead person is given all that is necessary for the journey – careful directions, food, money or presents to pay the toll at the frontier between this world and the other. Also he must be acquainted with the signs and passwords that will assure him a safe journey and a favourable reception. There are accredited guides – the Holy Mother, the water-fairy Samodiva, or more primitive still the wolf and the otter to show the dead person the way. *Psychopompoi*, the ancient Greeks called them – the guides of souls. In peasant belief, the journey of the dead is hard and dangerous, and its outcome unclear. The ritual song offers an encouraging picture, but one of the women who sang it remarked to the folklorist Constantin Brăiloiu: 'You know, it's necessary to deceive the dead a little.'

Apart from the Dawn Song and the Pine-tree Song, which are addressed to Nature (or better, to natural divinities) rather than to the dead person, and are in a sense the overture to the whole ceremony, the rite involves pieces to be sung at the coffin-side in the house, on the road to the graveyard (the journey may be long, and the usual conveyance is an ox-cart followed by mourners on foot), and at the graveside.

In the 'liturgy' presented here by Brăiloiu, the sequence would be as follows (the titles are attached for convenience; they are not necessarily used by the peasants themselves, apart from *Cintecul Zorilor* – 'Song to the Dawn' – and *Cintecul Bradului* – 'Song of the Pine'):

'Overture': Song to the Dawn (lines 1–51)

Song of the Pine (lines 52–163)

At the coffin-side: The Dead Man's Song (lines 164–197)

En route to graveyard: Song of the Journey (lines 198–339)

At the grave-side: Song of the Neighbours (lines 340–362)

Dispute between Death and the Sun (lines 363–383)

The Horse of Death (lines 384–394)

The New-dug Grave (lines 395–406)

The Song of the Burial (lines 407–434)

SONGS 'TO THE DEAD' FROM GORJ

'Ale mortului' (To the Dead)

- Dawn, O dawn,
O sister dawn,
I pray you not hurry
to invade us
till for the pale wanderer
there is prepared
an oven of bread,
another of maize,
nine barrels of wine,
10 and nine of raki,
and a fat little cow
from the chosen herd
he needs from his table.
Dawn, O dawn,
O sister dawn,
I pray you not hurry
to invade us
till for the pale wanderer
there is prepared
20 a little wax candle
so that he may see,
a cloth of linen,
an ornamental napkin
so he may be well dressed.
Dawn, O dawn,
O sister dawn,
I pray you not hurry
to invade us
till for the pale wanderer
30 there is prepared
a cart or waggon,
two draught oxen,
for he's on his way
from one world to the other,
from one land to the other,
from the land of love
to the land of no love,
from the land of pity
to the pitiless land.
- 40 Dawn, O dawn,
O sister dawn,
I pray you not hurry
to invade us
till for the pale wanderer
there are prepared
nine little letters
burnt at the edges
ready for sending
to the deathless ones,
- 50 so that they come too,
so that they appear in sadness.
-
- O pine-tree, O pine-tree,
who has ordered you
to come down to me
from the stony place
to the marshy place,
from the place of stones
to the water-meadows?
– The one who ordered me
60 was one on a journey,
for he needed
my shade in summer,
a screen in winter,
so he sent to me
two lads from the village
with hair left long,
with head bound,
with dew on their face,
with mist on their arms,
70 with hatchet in belt,
with wheaten cakes,
with axe in hand,
food for a month.
If I had known
I'd never have risen;
if I'd been aware
I'd never have grown.
And out they go
at the break of day,
80 at first cock-crow,
and they have passed
the valleys of beech-trees
and mountains of fir-trees
until they found me,
the stricken pine.
They chose me for my looks
by the cold stream,
among the woods,
amid dry branches
90 scattered by death.
When they arrived
they lay down to rest,
then they knelt
on their two knees
and crossed themselves;
they rose up again,

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- struck with their axes,
down they threw me,
brought me to the ground,
and bore me off
from mountain to mountain
among the little fir-trees,
from valley to valley
among the little beeches.
But they did not carry me
like any other wood,
for me they carried
from valley to valley,
my branches trailing,
- 100 for I am their sorrow,
my skirts untied
for grief of the dead.
If I had known
I'd never have risen;
if I'd been aware
I'd never have grown.
When they threw me down
they told me such lies,
for they said they would put me
at the fairy fountain
for travellers to come to me;
they said they'd make of me
the foundations of a house,
that they would split me
into fine shingles.
But they set me up
in the middle of a field
at the head of a hero.
I hear dogs
- 110 120 130 bark in the waste land,
howling in emptiness,
and I even hear
cocks crowing,
women sobbing
and priests reading.
The rain rains on me,
it wets my branches;
the wind blows on me,
my boughs fall from me;
- 140 the snow snows on me,
it breaks my branches.
If I had known,
I'd never have risen;
if I'd been aware,
I'd never have grown.
When they cut me down
- they reassured me
that they would plant me
where I would not wither.
150 And they lied to me,
for I am withered
down to the roots
with smoke of incense;
here at my waist
a bunch of basil,
all sorrow and fire;
up in the twigs
a bunch of carnations,
all sorrow and grief.
- 160 If I had known
I'd never have risen
if I'd been aware,
I'd never have grown.
-
- Lift up, lift up
your eyelashes to eyebrows,
open your lips
and speak to them.
Try, darling, try,
try to speak
170 so as to thank
the stranger, the neighbour
who in goodness of heart
has come here to you,
for he abandoned
his rest in the night,
his work in the daytime.
– I can't and I can't
and I can't speak to them
so as to thank them.
- 180 Let God give them thanks
for I'm no longer a man.
Yesterday morning
I was put in a mist,
mist at my window,
and the black crow
as he flew overhead
beating me with his wing
has shattered me,
has pierced my eyes,
190 has darkened my face
and glued my lips.
I can't speak to them
so as to thank them.
Let God give them thanks

SONGS 'TO THE DEAD' FROM GORJ

who has put me to sleep.
Let the Holy One thank them
who has taken my thoughts.

-
- 200 Arise, Ioan, arise,
look with your eyes,
take with your hands,
for we have come.
We have heard
that you are a traveller,
with dew on your feet,
with mist at your back,
along the long road,
long and shadowless.
And we beg you
with mighty prayers,
210 with loud cries
may you go carefully
carefully on the road.
And we'd have you not take
the road to your left hand,
for that is the rough road,
ploughed by buffalo,
sown with thorn-bushes,
with overturned tables
and burnt-out torches.
220 We'd have you take
the road on your right hand,
for that is a clean road,
ploughed by white oxen,
sown with wheat,
with tables all set,
with torches lighted.
- Walk straight ahead.
Do not shrink back
until you see
230 a blossoming elm-tree,
that is no elm-tree
but our Holy Mother.
Walk straight ahead.
Do not shrink back
until you see
a blossoming apple-tree,
that is no blossoming apple
but the Lord Himself.
Walk straight ahead.
240 Do not shrink back
until you hear

- the cocks crowing.
Those are no cocks crowing
but angels calling.
- Walk straight ahead
until you come
to a bright little fairground
and there you'll stop,
and you will buy
250 with the coin in your hand .
three black veils,
three new head-scarves,
and three bunches of flowers,
and soon will appear
three young heroes.
Hand in your bosom,
take the three veils
and give them to the heroes
to pay your toll.
260 Soon will appear
three handsome young brides.
Hand in your bosom,
take the head-scarves,
give them to the brides
to pay your toll.
Soon will appear
three tall maidens.
Hand in your bosom,
take out the flowers,
270 give them to the girls
to pay your toll.
- Evening becomes evening,
you'll have no host.
And in a short while
the otter comes forward
to shake your heart.
But do not be frightened.
Take her for your sister,
for the otter knows
280 the way of the waters
and of the fords.
She'll help you to cross
without getting drowned,
and she will convey you
to the cool springs
where you may refresh
your hands to the elbows
from the flowers of death.
And in a short while

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- | | |
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| <p>290 the wolf comes forward
to shake your heart.
But do not be frightened.
Take him for a good brother,
for the wolf knows well
the ways of the forest,
and of the paths.
And he will guide you
on the mountain road
toward a king's son</p> <p>300 and he'll take you to paradise,
there to dwell.
On the hill where there's dancing,
there in your place;
in the peony-field,
there is your desire.</p> <p>310 Down in the valley
is a luminous house,
with windows in the sun,
by the great highway,
with a round roof,
and there people gather.
There you will find
our own suburb,
and there will come to you
young folk and old,
whole groups of young girls,
and flocks of women.
Search hard among them,
for my folk are there.</p> <p>320 When they see you
they will rejoice.
And they will ask you
if we think of them.
Tell them the truth,
that we have sent them
the light of the bee-hives,
and flowers from the garden;
and tell them also,
the whole lot of them</p> <p>330 on every feast day
and on Holy Thursday
with new pitchers,
with jars of fresh milk,
and with hot pies,
with full glasses of raki
just as they like them,
with our clothes washed</p> | <p>and dried in the sun
and wet with our tears.</p> <hr/> <p>340 Beg, I beg you,
beg your children
to have patience
and not weep aloud.
No time now for giving;
the time is for patience.
If it were giving,
my friend, I would give you
a plough with four oxen,
with ploughman and all
to wrench you out
from the blackness of death.
No time now for giving;
the time is for patience.
If it were giving,
my friend, I would give you
my sweet lambing fold,
with shepherd and all,
and all the sheep
to pull you away</p> <p>350 from the blackness of death.
No time now for giving;
the time is for patience.</p> <hr/> <p>360 At the mouth of the valley
there's a great dispute.
Who is disputing?
The sun and death.
The sun says
that he is the greatest;
that when he rises</p> <p>370 it is he who brings warmth
to the long pastures,
to the deep valleys.
And what does death say?
That she is the greatest;
for when she walks
through the big fairgrounds,
at a single glance</p> <p>380 she picks out young men,
young girls with ribbons,
handsome young heroes,
just such as please her,
young girls
who weep in despair.</p> <hr/> |
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SONGS 'TO THE DEAD' FROM GORJ

Rise up, Ioan, rise up,
rise up on your feet.
Look down the valley,
see what's rushing upon you;
a sorrowful horse
with blackened saddle-cloth,

- 390 with stirrups of silver,
the girth polished,
the saddle high-arched,
the reins of silk
to carry you home.
-

430 with all its warmth;
through one will come
the wind with its freshness,
to refresh you
so you do not rot.

Up, pine-tree, up,
stand facing the west,
for over to eastward
a heavy cloud is gathering;
no cloud of the wind

- 400 but of the earth,
of the fresh-tilled soil
untouched by dew.
Wherever it passes
it leaves great sorrow.
Wherever it strikes
it works sad misfortune.
-

Pray, O pray
to the seven masons,
seven master masons,

- 410 to build you a wall.
Let them leave for you
seven little windows
with seven lattices.
Through one will come
soul-cakes and light;
through one will come
a fresh-water spring
recalling your father;
through one will come
420 the smell of flowers,
recalling your sisters;
through one will come
spikes of wheat
with all their grains;
through one will come
tendrils of vine
with all its fruit;
through one will come
the rays of the sun

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