INSTANT AND LASTING ORNAMENTS IN TRADITIONAL FEMALE POLYPHONY IN PORTUGAL

Introduction: Portuguese female polyphonies

Vocal polyphony, or multipart singing, represents a considerable part of the sound recording collections made in rural areas throughout Portugal from 1939 to 1963. Although they feature male and female music practices, we focus on female multipart songs collected by three ethnographers: Armando Leça (1891-1977), Vergílio Pereira (1900-65) and Artur Santos (1914-87). We also take into consideration our own fieldwork on two small Portuguese inland villages named Monsanto and Manhouce during the early 1980s and 90s. Why these three ethnographers? Who were they and what motivations and means they had? These were introductory questions that led us to discuss some sound peculiarities of female multipart singing that we characterize assistant and lasting ornaments. By these we mean distinctive sound traits mainly of harmonic and melodic/rhythmic nature. Considering the fragmentary character of these sound recordings - revealing but a small part of an extensive and complex music practice - what can we learn from them? What musical competences, genres and styles are documented? How are they categorized? May we infer aesthetic criteria from them? What to say about the social relevance of these singing practices? How meaningful would they have been to rural women, in a time when specific state measures implemented the repressive dictatorial Policy of the Spirit throughout the country? Samples of phonograms and an Acousmograph analysis show sound details for aural and visual interpretation. We emphasize thoughts in turn of music categorization and interpret some of its meanings.

Three Ethnographers, their Collections, Motivations and Means

Armando Leça, Vergílio Pereira and Artur Santos were prominent music collectors who deserve some attention. Although there were other meaningful collectors of oral music traditions on rural areas, these were the first to record sound in extensive territories. Their recordings represent the oldest known phonograms of Portuguese music traditions from rural areas. They document a significant number of multipart singing items, from North to South of Portugal, most of which sung by women (fig. 1).

Armando Leça was a folklorist and composer engaged in the construction of the idea of Portuguese music. His action had a meaningful impact on the process of folklorization in Portugal. In 1939 and 1940, he made 487 phonograms with an AEG K4 magnetophone. His work was part of a wider project of dictatorial nationalist celebration, from which emerged the Exhibition of the Portuguese World in 1940. It commemorated the so-called centenaries of 1140 (nation’s foundation) and 1640 (recovering of the national sovereignty, after the Castilian domination). The 64 tape recordings, lost for decades, were recently digitalized on the Vienna Phonogram Archive and are now almost ready...
Vergílio Pereira was a choral conductor. His music collection was sponsored by the Commission of Ethnography and History of the Costal Douro from 1947 to 1959; and the Commission for Ethno-Musicology of the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation from 1960 to 1963. These projects aimed to collect rural music traditions, mainly vocal practices, to build an atlas of Portuguese music. This work included 1957 phonograms, from which 1801, recently digitalized by Rosário Pestana, survived unedited on the National Museum of Ethnology in Lisbon.

Unlike the previous ethnographers, Artur Santos, composer and member of the directive committee of the International Folk Music Council between 1947 and 1951, made fieldwork not only in continental Portugal but also in the Atlantic islands of Madeira and Azores as well as in Angola, in the region of Lunda (Cruz, 2010; Pestana, 2011). Our research focuses on the collection of 116 recordings made under the sponsorship of the British Broadcasting Corporation in London (BBC), in 1956. This collection was published as Folk Music of Portugal [LP/BBC 1956] (Cruz, 2010).

Female multipart singing, sound peculiarities and terminology

A meaningful part of the songs in the mentioned collections is polyphonic and sung by women. The terminological diversity used in the categorization of the songs, stresses emic expressions revealing distinctive local trends and practices. The rural communities where they emerged seem to have valorized female musical competences of multipart singing to the point to ascribe distinctive criteria, applied to performance, in their informal systematization of music categories. The criteria may well have helped to incorporate aesthetic aspects in performances.

Regarding references to female participation in multipart singing, Minho region is meaningful. Carolina Vasconcelos (1851-1925) points out the female action in the music of this region (Sampaio, 1931: 5). Teófilo Braga (1843-1926) mentions that they have an expressive role on singing (Braga, 1893: VI). Local memories of comments made by the Portuguese last queen, Amélia, about the garments of a group of Lavradeiras during the royal visit to the city of Viana do Castelo on Nov. 30, 1891 (Côrte-Real & Carvalho, 2001) complement the proud discursive narratives about the local female dress tradition. Curiously enough, Abel Viana (1896-1964) recalls not remembering to see groups of Lavradeiras in the famous pilgrimage festivities of Nossa Senhora da Agonia (Our Lady of Agony) in Viana do Castelo before 1909 (Viana, 1941: 1 cit. in Carvalho, 1997: 125). Lavradeiras, literally female agricultural workers, are groups in which, together with men, women sing, dance and expose their dresses in representative ways. Still today they are generally known as ranchos folclóricos (Côrte-Real & Carvalho, 2001). The recognition of female music competences, roles and repertoires in multipart singing, and the presence of microtonal intervals in the music of rural areas in Minho, was pointed out in 1660. The Marquis of Montebello historical descriptions recalled by Pimentel (1849-1925) and Sampaio (1865-1937) characterize female multipart music in Minho: “It happens frequently that foreigners, passing through the streets, particularly in Summer afternoons, stop and are surprised listening to the tonos [songs] that female youngsters sing in choirs, with fugues and repetitions that, for exercising their life works, they are allowed to do in the street, at the fresh air” (1660: 44 cit. in Pimentel, 1905: 34).

Gonçalo Sampaio, a botanic and ethnographer of the Universidade do Porto, recalls how the
historical writer characterizes the perfect tuning, breath and sound quality of the voices of rural women who sung in 2, 3, 4 and 5 parts, using quarter tones and even frequently dissonant intervals by *pedal, antecipação e retardo* (drone, anticipation and retard) (1660: 44, cit. in Silvari, 1874: 26 cit. in Sampaio, 1931: 5-6, cit. in Côrte-Real & Carvalho, 2001). In the early 20th century Gonçalo Sampaio recalled it, stressing the old tradition of female multipart singing in Minho both in religious and non-religious contexts (Sampaio, 1927, 1929, 1931 and 1940/44). Pestana recalls that the music transcriptions and comparative analysis by Sampaio are the first known documents directly related with the female music universe, and that this author points out an exclusive female repertoire (2008).

Sampaio mentions that there were religious songs in Minho that belonged exclusively to qualified small organized groups of women called *ternos* that, with better and properly rehearsed voices, alternated the singing of the priest or the more simple choirs of the people. According to him, these *ternos* were, almost exclusively, compositions of erudite origin and included at least 1 or 2 *baixos* (basses), 1 *médio* (medium) 1 *guincho* (cry) and 1 *sobreguincho* (over cry) (1931: 8). Sampaio regrets that this beautiful and probably monastic influenced is appeared slowly, completely gone by 1931, giving place to *inferior novelties mostly devoid of religious expression and harmony, imitating profane songs in the Florentine style of accompanied melody* (Sampaio, 1931: 8 cit. in Côrte-Real & Carvalho, 2001).

In the information presented in the documentation of the recorded items of the collections studied there is a first level of categorization that is independent from the context in which the song is sung. According to Pestana, *terno* is a term that refers to a specific way of singing, not to a particular repertoire. Armando Leça and Vergílio Pereira used emic terminology to refer not only to the different practices – *terno, canta, moda, cantarola, cantaraço, cantaréu, ...* – but also to the different “voices” that sing one under the other: namely, *raso* (the lower voice), *encer* (the middle voice), *de riba* (the upper voice). The terminological diversity used by the ethnographers in the songs’ categorization stresses emic expressions that reveal distinctive local trends and practices regarding these female repertoires. This terminology locally used to refer different ways of positioning the voices one under the other, reveals that independently of the context, there was a structure in which a song must have been sung: in most of the cases by 4 to 13 women, 2 or 3 real voices, mainly on 3rds or on 3rds and 5ths, and 8s or/and 12s (Pestana, 2012) are distributed non-equitably. The contrast resultant from the different number of women singing each voice (3 lower and 1 higher) can be considered a most relevant trait of the female practice of polyphonies in Portugal once it is present in both Leça and Pereira phonograms as was observed by Pestana.

Three main performance aspects are considered in the first level of the categorization presented in these collections: (1) the number of voices of the singing group; (2) the number of voices that sing the multipart lines (real or duplicated); (3) the solo/group participation.

Our first musical example is a phonogram chosen from the collection of Vergílio Pereira. It illustrates the identification process: *Trai-larai, a cantaraço with cantiga*, was collected in Monte-Córdova, Santo Tirso, 1958, by Vergílio Pereira (audio ex. 1). This 2-part-song is sung by 4 women (Ana Cabo, Eufrázina Carneiro, Inocêncio Monteiro, Luzia Ribeiro) whose voices are not equitably distributed: 3 sing the *por baixo* (meaning, the lowest) and 1 (Luzia Ribeiro) the *por riba* (the highest). A solo, the *cantiga*, initiates the *cantaraço*, sung by 1 of the lowest voices (Ana Cabo). The *cantiga* solo alternates with the multipart singing. The 2 sections display different movements, fast and slow, and distinct articulations, during the solo presentation, 1 of the lower voices (Ana Cabo)
emphasises each articulation with a small melodic curve.

We perceive instant and lasting ornaments as performed for aesthetic purposes by those women. To illustrate them, we propose a work song to bore flax (*maçar o linho* (audio ex. 2)). The action of the work involved repeated strokes with a beater on the flax. According to Pestana, the song is named as a *terno*, sung by 13, non-identified women: 1 *sobreguincho* (meaning over-screaming, very high voice), 3 *guincho* (literally scream, high voices), 4 *meios* (middle voices) and 5 *baixos* (bass, lower voices).

In some rural communities in the north-eastern regions of Portugal like Manhouce, Cambra and Candal, the female voice is called *fala*, literally meaning to speak; semantically the singing voice. It was connoted with female sexuality and when women became widows their singing was forbidden (Pestana, 2011a). Singing was a daily activity, present in different works and resting times. Women used to sing in very particular ways, interrupting or not their work: tightly close together in a semi-circle, slightly inclined forward, and usually with a hand cupped to the mouth. It allowed them to project the voices for long distances, sometimes alternating with other groups, in visual reach or not. This is an interesting topic for future research, particularly due to the repressive condition of women in rural societies until the last decades of the 20th century.

*Fala* was used to create moments of interlocution, for example when they where physically distant, from field to field, during the rural labour or shepherd hood (Pestana, 2011a). On those moments women put all the energy on their voices, fact that in some cases conduces to faint with loss of senses, as Pestana observed in the region of Manhouce in the early 1990s. In Monsanto, further South, women climb the harsh stony mountain path singing to exhaustion, to throw a clay flower pot down the impressive natural rocky walls, representing the prosperous calf to deceive the enemy siege (Côrte-Real & Carvalho, 1986, 1987). In such situations, in rural societies, these represent female public spheres in which women could and can create their own autonomies, exclusivities and dominances (Pestana, 2011b). Although multipart singing was not female exclusive, the singular aesthetics noted in the practices recorded as well as in the performances observed, on instant and lasting ornamental details among others, help us to interpret how female singing allowed them, to define territories of belonging identifying themselves as a distinctive group, performing leading social roles.

**Acousmographe 3 for visual representation of sound details**

Considering the sonic ambiance of these historical recordings, those of our own experiences in these interior rural regions, and with the aim to discuss some details of their distinctive characteristics, we became interested in the plasticity of its representation. There is a kind of slipping like character that we find conspicuous in this repertoire. How to characterize the way in which the voices mingle and separate themselves? What may we distinguish in their movements? May we perceive structural and ornamental sounds? What characterizes each of them in a song? The fluid character of the music sound in polyphonic practices has interested the authors for some time. Paying attention to a number of items of old collections of recordings in different contexts from private presentations in the Museum of Ethnography and the Universidade Nova de Lisboa in the early 1980s, and in work developed in the sound archive of the Center for Ethnomusicology at Columbia University in New York especially within the *Laura Boulton Collection of Traditional and Liturgical Music* (recorded, throughout the world, between the 1930s and the 1960s) and listening to some recent and not so recent editions of old recordings, trying to envisage trends and patterns of sound organization, Côrte-Real somehow got the impression of a plasticity that may in the case of the Portuguese recordings be particularly...
varied in the female polyphonic songs. With this hypothesis in mind, challenged by the voluptuous plasticity meanwhile found in some male polyphonic traditions such as those of the chorus of Southern Africa and Mozambique (Carvalho, 1999), we decided to focus on the visual representation of the sound product. For that it would be interesting to consider the female repertoire of the referred collections as a unit of analysis for future study.

In the present context, aiming to test the visual representation of analytic concepts such as instant and lasting ornaments, we selected one song and submitted it to analysis through the free on-line digital program, Acousmographe 3. The aim was to exercise illustrative experiences in order to produce problem oriented analytic listening scores of creative profile music representation. This didactic strategy, involving development of knowledge in music sound spectromorphology (Smalley, 1997), has recently been tested in the master’s program Problems of Music Representation, in Music Sciences: Ethnomusicology at the Music Department of the Faculdade de Ciências Sociais e Humanas, of the Universidade Nova de Lisboa as a joint project between Côrte-Real and Isabel Pires who as researcher and electroacoustic composer has worked with it, developing visual signs and sound representational structures for long (Pires, 2010).

Acousmographe 3 is a software application for graphic representation over the sound spectrogram. It is a very versatile tool for music sound analysis for ethnomusicological purposes. It was developed at the Groupe de Recherches Musicales (GRM) of the Radio-Television Française in Paris, first for Macintosh computers since 1988. It has benefited from the creative ambiance among electroacoustic composers, engineers and radio-television personnel with pedagogical purposes in mind. It was designed for the analysis and teaching of electroacoustic repertoire. By the mid 1990s, the Acousmographe 2 version included the ability to insert markers and automated analysis processes. The Acousmographe 3, released in 2004 by request of the French Ministry of Education, is to be replaced soon by a new and more versatile one. Aiming to contribute to the understanding of music through visual descriptive transcriptions, it may display wave references and the spectrogram of a sound signal providing parameters related with duration and frequency of sound. It produces colorful listening scores in which the analyst may use different graphic forms, lines, dots, trace thickness, colors and transparencies to illustrate whatever he/she wants, with multiple possibilities of playback, repetition and velocity manipulation at reach. The development of different analytic perspectives is virtually unlimited through this tool, involving not only colored graphic annotation but also literary text inclusion and analysis over the visual representation of the sound waves. It opens wide possibilities for music sound representation and perception. The perspective we propose through the study of instant and lasting ornamental details within a song enables us to interpret subtleties of sound organization on time and through time combining literary and music texts within multipart songs.

As an illustrative example we present some visual sign proposals made by Isabel Pires within the scope of an interpretative analysis of François Bayle’s composition La fin du bruit from 1979 (Pires, 2010) using voices, instruments and electroacoustic sounds. Although this acousmography, or as Pires calls it this graphic representation of audio sensations (Pires, 2010: 36) has been conceived for a different purpose, we find it useful for our presentation of this tool. From a long list of symbols, for our illustration here, we selected filtered words and other vocal sounds, punctuations and sound attacks from the designations proposed by Isabel Pires (Pires, 2010: 37) to denominate the colored graphic representations she made to analyze the musical sounds of the composition. Other denominations and colored forms may be proposed by whoever interprets multipart songs or other music
phonograms, according to the perspectives in analysis, being them ornamental or structural, instant or lasting or whatever one wants to consider in the analytic inquiry devised (fig. 2, 3).

The very personal graphic forms produced, subjective as such, representing Pires analysis over the spectrogram of the work, give her interpretation of Éros bleu, a part of Bayle’s composition La fin du bruit, as shown in beginning of her acousmography in the capture above (ibid.: 36). The idea is that the reader may see the analytic listening score while he/she listens to the phonogram. There are the possibilities of considering sections, with introduction of text, and symbols, using different shapes, colors and transparencies, visualizing or not the spectrogram that in this case is hidden (ibid.: 32). The possibilities are virtually infinite, departing from the available array of free images or prearranged formal models’ suggestions as shown on the top of the capture above. It portrays the beginning of the acousmographic work of 16’25”.

Maçadeira, the song chosen from the historical collection to test the tool, was collected by Armando Leça in Vila Maior, S. Pedro do Sul, a village in the central/northeastern region of Portugal, in the meaningful year of 1940. It is classified as a work song to bore flax (maçar o linho). The action represents the mentioned repeated beats of the beater on the flax. The singing starts, after 3 strokes of the beater, with the repeated ornamental text rendition O ai lê, o ai lê, without possible translation, used for the rhyme with Senhora de Nazaré (Our Lady of Nazareth). Then, the reference to a donkey seems to indicate that this is a song sung while going into a pilgrimage like festivity, or to a far away work place. Quem tem burro leva o burro / Quem no não tem vai a pé (Those who have a donkey take the donkey / Those who don’t go on foot). Only then comes the reference to Maçadeira, the title of the song, literally meaning the female worker with a beater (to bore flax or other products). The lyrics go on mentioning how the beaters should bore my flax well: Macai-me o meu linho bem (Beat my flax well). Then bem (meaning well) rhymes with meu bem, (my love) and the theme falls into that of a love song with numerous and long repetitions of the initial ornamental text rendition o ai lê, o ai lê lê lê meu bem (my love). It then continues exploring the theme of the mealtime food expectation at noon (fig. 5).

The phonogram of this peculiar female multipart singing song presents regular beats of the beater (representing the flax work) throughout. At the 4th beat the voices enter gradually: first the soloist, then a 2-part voice followed by a 4-part voice singing in juxtaposed 3rd. An higher voices heard an octave above the lowest one. In the acousmographic representation, its line lies over that of the octave overtone (the first one in the harmonic series), very visible on the spectrogram, as observable in the capture below. The lyrics highlighting the ornamental formulae o ai lê, are quite simple. In strophic form of 5 line verses, it progresses with the soloist singing the 1st verse and the choir, first in 2-parts and then in 4, repeats 4 times the second verse with a minor variation in the 2 last renditions. The song
follows alternating soloist and choir parts in the same pattern (fig. 6, video ex. 1).

The acousmography built, including the literary text representation, shows soloist vocal lines in red alternating with choral sound masses in a pink/yellow gradation. The lines designed follow the background layers, the so-called wavelets, representing the overtone series of the sounds heard/depicted. These are the spectrogram linear representations on a layout in which the y axis shows the frequencies [HZ] on an exponential scale, thus chosen for a more agreeable visual image. If we hide the spectrogram representation, the acousmography becomes clearer as the following capture shows (fig. 7).

Considering sound structure, this is a simple strophic song in which each strophe contains a basic melodic line that is repeated with some ornamental variation and shared successively by 1, 2 and 4 vocal parts. Thus described, the structure may be considered as being ornamented instantly and lastingly by musical details performed either by 1 voice or by a polyphonic rendition of 2 or 4 vocal parts. The harmony of the polyphonic sections, with the juxtaposition of 2 and 3 3\textsuperscript{rd}s, challenges the usual consonance of the triad, the sound of European triadic harmonies and parallel thirds that indeed seems to be prevailing in Portugal as Joseph Jordania observed (Jordania, 2006: 137). This prevalence was already pointed out in the late 19\textsuperscript{th} century as a distinctive musical trait in Portugal (Arroio, 1897: 14).

At the beginning of the acousmography, a red oval represents the starting point of the song and then, the yellow and purple ovals represent instant moments, thus considered ornamental, marking the entrances of the voices. The red line, being unique, is structural. Although the soloist singer seems to continue singing after the entrance of the choir, her function becomes ornamental: the literary text is repeated and the melody is a variation, so an ornamental rendition of the melody presented with the 1st verse. Thus, the pink/yellow gradation areas represent long periods, considered lasting ornaments. In these, there is a curious detail that we somehow highlighted. The highest voice, an even more ornamental one, an octave above the lower voice, doubling its overtone frequency is heard like a hidden voice. So the visual representation of this other ornamental situation was marked with a transparent representation. This voice helps to enhance the massive plastic sensation of the choral section. This analytic conception benefits from the versatility of Acousmographe 3.

Both music and literary texts present meaningful ornamental characters. The numerous ornaments in the literary text itself moved us into the conceptualization proposed. The idea of ornament thus used/proposed to mean particular instant and lasting productions of sound, somehow highlight its superfluous character regarding the structure of the song. Although it is not necessarily the case, it seems that in most situations these instant and lasting productions of sound signal that convey the so called plasticity to the phenomenon of female multipart singing, are not structural to the song. By using the concept of ornament within the song, we employ a word used with specific music meanings in different traditions in and out of Europe. For example as it happens in the Javanese gamelan tradition, there are sound elements in these songs that are more structural or colotomic than others, that are more ornamental or, as said for the Indonesian case, more elaborate.

Finally, a curious sound detail, in the universe of our direct aural references in Portugal, appears in the succession of major and minor intervals of second, heard not only in the sound mass of the parallel voices, instantly perceived, but also in the melodic lines providing a slipping like plastic sensation, lastingly perceived in Maçadeira. Our aural references come from comparative fieldwork done by Côrte-Real in Monsanto in the 1980s and 2011, in which the lasting ornaments prevailed in the characteristic monophonic songs, some of which with conspicuous Islamic modal influences and
on music traditions in Alentejo in 1985 and in Alto-Minho in the 1990s; and from fieldwork done by Pestana in Manhouce in the 1990s where instant ornamentation was more explored. Polyphonic practices remain alive in the Portuguese traditional music mainly in the Northern region of Alto-Minho, and in the male-only sung tradition of Southern regions, in Alentejo. Both instant and lasting ornaments continue thus to be part of the gender mixed music traditions of the North and the already vanishing female rural polyphonic traditions of the South.

Through the late 19th and the 20th centuries private polyphonic female practices have indeed declined progressively in the daily rural life in Portugal. The institutionalization of the process of folklore, initiated in the first decades of the 20th century did promote that decline (Carvalho, 1997; Castelo-Branco & Branco, 2003). The process of folklorization seems to have had an impact on the development of the dance music in particular in the Southern male polyphonic practices. Pestana stresses that during the 20th century, excluding some local and ephemeral initiatives, there were no cultural policies preserving rural private polyphonic practices (2008). There was also no academic interest focused on those musical performances.

Acousmographe 3 developed for the understanding and teaching of contemporary music composition of electroacoustic nature in Paris, proves to be useful for the analysis and representation of music details as the ones identified in this presentation. The possibility of elaborating graphically using shapes and colors already in a considerably free way, makes this a very meaningful tool for visual representation of simultaneously human and digital music analysis, with acoustical in-time presentation of chosen wave references. In an ethnomusicological context, old music recordings and recent technologies thus help us to interpret sound organization with social, acoustic and aesthetic meaning. We considered instant and lasting details in the sound plasticity seen as ornamental procedures, but, in the long run, we seek to better understand female roles and behaviors in given environments, and to discuss aspects of classificatory systems of semantic and polyphonic nature. We aim also to understand roles and actions of ethnographers and performers in those Portuguese music cultures. We ultimately advocate the practice of visual representation of sung details, as analytical exercises in search of acoustical, aesthetical, and social meaning. The old body of traditional female polyphony repertoire thus motivated new strategies for visual sound representations renewing interpretive paths for future discussion.

Notes

1 INET, Universidade Nova de Lisboa.

2 INET, Universidade de Aveiro, Supported by Fundação para a Ciência e Tecnologia, Portugal.

3 Côrte-Real was research assistant at the Center for Ethnomusicology at Columbia University from 1988 to 1993.

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Audio Examples


Audio example 2. Massadela or Maçadeira, collected by Armando Leça in Vila Maior, S. Pedro do Sul, in 1940.

Video Examples

Video example 1: Acousmograph of Massadela (first part).
Figure 1. Women in choir, dressed in Barcelos regional ranchos’ style. Photo by A. Leça, s.d.

Figure 2. Symbols made for representational analytic purposes (Pires, 2010: 37)
Figure 3. A page of the acousmography of La fin du bruit (Pires, 2010: 36)

Figure 4. Formation of a rhythmic moment from minute 2’ (Pires, 2010: 31)
Figure 5. First part of the lyrics of Massadela=Maçadeira collected by Leça in 1940

O ai lé, o ai lé
Senhora de Nazaré,
Senhora de Nazaré,
Senhora de Nazaré,
Senhora de Nazaré, ai lé-

Quem tem burro, leva o burro,
Quem no não tem vai a pé,
Quem no não tem vai a pé,
Quem n’não tem vai a pé,
Quem n’não tem vai a pé, ai lé-

Maçadeiras do meu linho,
Maçai-m’o meu linho bem,
Maçai o meu linho bem,
Maçai o meu linho bem, ai lé-

Ai lé, o ail é, o ai lé, lê, lê meu bem,
(...)

Figure 6. First page of the acousmography of Massadela=Maçadeira by Côrte-Real and Pires
Figure 7. First page of a clearer acousmography of Massadela=Maçadeira
გიორგი გარაძე ბამთარე ცოლანის ლაროში აღდგენილი ადგილი ქალაქ ხარმახიში ქერლის მუზეუმში გაშვებული აქტივებები. პირველად ქართული ნახობაში ბურთო გიორგი ბამთარე ქართული ხელოვნების შემდგომ დამუშავებული თაებიდი კლასიკური ხელოვნებისგან, ჯერდული ტრადიციები, სოციალური თავისებურება, ხალხური ფერების ტალაქმობა, ფოლკლორი ხალხური ყოფის ნაკრძალს. როგორც დროულად ცხოვრობდა, ხალხი ტრადიციული პირობები ვიწრო მიუხედავად გიორგი სიღნარიაში ჰეშობისა და თავის პლასტიკურ პროცესების გამო. მოხერხებისგან გამომდინარე ორ სამსარმელ ქრონოლოგიაში ღრმა ჯდომა მინიჭება: ამ ჯდომებში არ არის სამშვენი გამოქვეყნება, როგორც შეიძლება. თავისმხრივ უყვარს განვითარების ინახული ადგილი მოძრაობა და უძველესი კათედრალმა. საქართველო და ქართული ეროვნულმა, ტრადიციულმა მოძრაობამ, ხალხურმა ფერებობა და ანატომიურმა ქართულმა ჯკ-ჯოჯო სახელმწიფო და ისტორიის ფორმალებმა. ამათში თავისმხრივ მეტაფორული თავისი საშუალო თავის შორს ღია ჰყინული გავლენით: სოციალური ტრადიციამ ითვლება თავისი საშუალო ჩვენი შორს. უდიდასობა ამკვირვებს ისინი საშუალო ჩამონათვალში როგორც არა არის. მიუხედავად როგორც, არამდე ამ როგორც ამ შემთხვევა თანამდებობა ქართულმა მორჩილებმა, საქართველოს ეროვნულმა, ტრადიციულმა მოძრაობამ, ხალხურმა ფერებობა და ანატომიურმა ქართულმა ჯკ-ჯოჯო სახელმწიფო და ისტორიის ფორმალებმა. ამათში თავისმხრივ მეტაფორული თავის შორს ღია ჰყინული გავლენით: სოციალური ტრადიციამ ითვლება თავისი საშუალო ჩამონათვალში როგორც არა არის. მიუხედავად როგორც, არამდე ამ როგორც ამ შემთხვევა თანამდებობა ქართულმა მორჩილებმა, საქართველოს ეროვნულმა, ტრადიციულმა მოძრაობამ, ხალხურმა ფერებობა და ანატომიურმა ქართულმა ჯკ-ჯოჯო სახელმწიფო და ისტორიის ფორმალებმა. ამათში თავისმხრივ მეტაფორული თავის შორს ღია ჰყინული გავლენით: სოციალური ტრადიციამ ითვლება თავისი საშუალო ჩამონათვალში როგორც არა არის. მიუხედავად როგორც, არამდე ამ როგორც ამ შემთხვევა თანამდებობა ქართულმა მორჩილებმა, საქართველოს ეროვნულმა, ტრადიციულმა მოძრაობამ, ხალხურმა ფერებობა და ანატომიურმა ქართულმა ჯკ-ჯოჯო სახელმწიფო და ისტორიის ფორმალებმა. ამათში თავისმხრივ მეტაფორული თავის შორს ღია ჰყინული გავლენით: სოციალური ტრადიციამ ითვლება თავისი საშუალო ჩამონათვალში როგორც არა არის. მიუხედავად როგორც, არამდე ამ როგორც ამ შემთხვევა თანამდებობა ქართულმა მორჩილებმა, საქართველოს ეროვნულმა, ტრადიციულმა მოძრაობამ, ხალხურმა ფერებობა და ანატომიურმა ქართულმა ჯკ-ჯოჯო სახელმწიფო და ისტორიის ფორმალებმა. ამათში თავისმხრივ მეტაფორული თავის შორს ღია ჰყინული გავლენით: სოციალური ტრადიციამ ითვლება თავისი საშუალო ჩამონათვალში როგორც არა არის. მიუხედავად როგორც, არა�დე ამ როგორც ამ შემთხვევა თანამდებობა ქართულმა მორჩილებმა, საქართველოს ეროვნულმა, ტრადიციულმა მოძრაობამ, ხალხურმა ფერებობა და ანატომიურმა ქართულმა ჯ