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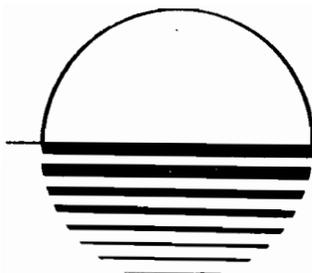
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PREFACE

After a long hiatus, the *Pacific Review of Ethnomusicology* is back. We are pleased to present Volume 7, our first issue since 1991. As this issue has been a group effort, many thanks are in order for the individuals and organizations who have assisted in helping this long-awaited issue come to fruition. We would like to thank our authors for their submissions and their patience in the long editorial process; our faculty advisors, Professor James Porter and Professor Jihad Racy, for their helpful guidance; the Department of Ethnomusicology and Systematic Musicology for allowing us the use of their computer, photocopier and telephone; Joe Plummer and the UCLA Graduate Students Association for their financial support, without which this issue would not have been possible; and finally our anonymous referees for their insightful and critical evaluations of our submissions.

The Editors

THE APPROPRIATION OF WESTERN DERIVED MUSIC STYLES INTO KENYAN TRADITIONS: CASE STUDY OF SOME NAIROBI CHRISTIAN MUSICS¹

Jean Ngoya Kidula

Religious music in Africa today contains some of the key characteristics that shape trends in the growth and development of emerging styles in African music. Currently, there are three main religious understandings that are practiced in Africa in general, namely Islam, Christianity and traditional or indigenous religious beliefs. The citizens of Kenya in particular, reconstruct and define their identity in modern society, partly through religious affiliation and associated musics.

This paper sets out to examine how music is interpreted and assimilated in the context of Christianity in an urban center. Using four stylistic examples drawn from Nairobi, Kenya, I will not only discuss the appropriation of musics derived from and based on Christianity and other Western models by urban Kenyans, but I will also show how this music has been used to reconstruct and redefine identity. I will demonstrate the fusion, synthesis and influence of indigenous Kenyan, modern popular and Western-classical musics. This paper is based on my participation in this music for at least twenty years and an academic interest for the last ten years.²

BACKGROUND

Christianity began to take a firm foothold in Kenya at the end of the 19th century.³ Kenya's people were not only linguistically and culturally diverse by the time the early missionaries and colonizers arrived, but they also had tended to develop as isolated political systems and groups.⁴ Adoption of Christianity should, in principle, have unified these otherwise diverse peoples. However, the ways in which the British colonial system and Christianity were initially implemented reinforced ethnic divisions in ways that may not have been anticipated. The system of indirect rule, whereby chiefs were selected from among their own folk, ensured that ethnic groups did not mix even after the partition of Africa forced different ethnicities to belong to one country. In this way, ethnic separation was maintained within the state. Christianity was implanted in a similar manner, in that each Christian denomination established itself in a particular area. For example, the Seventh Day Adventist group evangelized the Kisii people while the Kikuyu group

was proselytized by Scottish Presbyterians. The distribution was borne out of the realization that the languages were very diverse and the missionaries too few to be effective on a large scale, especially in the issue of Bible translations into the different languages.⁵ The result is that in modern times, Kenyans identify themselves both by ethnic group and by Christian denomination. Each denomination, of course, had different liturgies and approaches to music. The musical differences in turn were passed on to the Kenyan converts and serve as a further symbol of identity.

Neither urbanization nor the common use of the English language succeeded in bringing different ethnic groups together. At one level, apartheid policies segregated Africans from whites. Furthermore, the tendency for new urban immigrants to group together by ethnic group led to the continuation of Christian practices founded on rural affiliations. In many cases, services in the urban churches were held in individuals' languages effectively excluding participation of other ethnicities. Thus colonies of ethnic groupings were maintained even in the urban centers.

MUSICAL EXAMPLES

The first musical example is derived from compositions called "spirituals" of the Logoli peoples. This song type is possibly one of the earliest examples of musical appropriation of Christianity. The Logoli were originally evangelized by Quakers. In the 1910s, some of the Quaker missionaries converted to Pentecostalism.⁶ While Quakers discouraged the use of instruments in worship and advocated for a quiet, contemplative approach, Pentecostals favored audible and visible participation. As Logoli got into the spirit of Pentecostalism, they began to compose their own songs, and members were often excommunicated from the church for performing these songs.⁷

Example One (see Appendix) shows characteristics usually associated with African music: call and response patterns, audience participation, more female than male singers, text based on current issues, and the use of a local language. With urbanization, the Logoli adherents carried this music into the city. Modernism is especially evident in the instrumentation. In the traditional context, the music is unaccompanied except by handclaps and "church" drumming patterns.⁸ In the urban context, guitar and other non-Kenyan melody instruments were added, the most recent being keyboards and synthesizers. The group leader in this particular recording, Francis Ilavaza, uses the guitar to "call" while the people respond, a practice borrowed from traditional bowed lute players. Furthermore, drum patterns associated mainly with the church have been transferred onto the bass guitar. Another aspect

borrowed from the practice of traditional lute players and modern popular music is the inclusion of a purely instrumental section that allows participants to introspect or express their feeling through body movement.

This piece shows how the Logoli articulate their urban identity yet maintain their ethnic ties to rural areas. While traditional heritage is evident in the musical form and the language, the changing geographical locations of the Logoli and their social understandings are seen in the use of modern instruments, and the commercialization and recording of the music as a conservation and historical artifact. Although the recorded pieces are short, normal performance practice allows for several of them to be joined together. In these recorded examples each number is treated as a separate piece.⁹ Thus, rural and ethnic ties are acknowledged but at the same time modernity has made its impact.

The second example demonstrates an African response to the predominant use of Western Christian hymns in the liturgy. Hymns were originally translated into African languages with varying degrees of success (Euba 1992, Kidula 1986) until independence in Kenya stimulated the process of Africanization, especially in the 1970s. Because African musics had been discouraged and associated with the devil for so long, the new African church fathers had trouble accepting Africanisms into the liturgies. Thus, a method was devised to allow for African pieces to be sung as anthems or special numbers while the congregation retained the practice of European-hymn singing. One of the resultant styles has been the adaptation of traditional Kenyan songs for church use.¹⁰ This process would involve the identification of a traditional song by a choir master. Then the original text would be replaced by a "Christian" text in either English, Swahili (the national language and a lingua franca) or an ethnic language. In order to disguise the traditional tune, it would be harmonized and made to sound more like a hymn. On the other hand, African musical instruments (mostly drums and idiophones) and rhythms were included as accompaniment (a practice discouraged by the Pentecostals who had adopted a church drum based on Salvation Army bands).¹¹

Example Two (see Appendix) is an arrangement by Isaac Charo based on a folk song of the Giriama ethnic group. The text has been completely altered to accommodate Christian words, but Giriama language and traditional singing format have been retained. The practice of verbal dialogue between solo and group is arranged here as a choral antiphony. Charo's exposure to Western music education is evident in the voicing for four parts in German chorale style. The song is also pitched higher than in traditional singing, partly to accommodate

the harmony, but also as a borrowing from the Western classical and hymn traditions. The singers usually vocalize and undergo limited voice training to perpetuate a blend and vocal production associated with the West. This piece therefore demonstrates how a folk song is reconstructed with new text and musical arrangement to accommodate a new context and a changing society.

This style of arrangement developed later than the style in Example One. It was originally associated with Anglican and Presbyterian denominations whose members belonged to the dominant Kikuyu and Luo ethnic groups. More recently, pieces composed by Pentecostal movements and Africanist churches (as in Example One) were treated to this kind of harmonization as an association with music education and elitism and as a recognition of early African musical appropriations of Christianity. The pieces were made to sound even more African by the use of traditional African instruments and their associated patterns.

A third style to emerge (see Example Three in Appendix) was based on popular models and was disseminated throughout Kenya by choirs from the neighboring country of Tanzania.¹² The political policy in Tanzania encouraged the people to develop nationalistic music traditions and promoted the dissemination of styles reflecting an African heritage. Tanzania had already declared its intention to use Swahili as a national language long before the move was effected in Kenya. Since Swahili is understood in both Kenya and Tanzania, this music was easily accessible to most Kenyans in urban areas where Swahili had become a lingua franca. Although the melodies drew heavily on the Western hymn, the texts sought to accommodate Swahili linguistic idioms, a feature lacking in translated hymns. Texts in this style concentrate on teaching Christian doctrine. Hymn borrowings are evident mostly in the song structure, stanza, or stanza-refrain. African elements include the use of a solo singer, usually female, to call, while the rest of the people respond. The response sometimes contains short repetitive phrases which allow for greater participation by the audience despite limiting the performance group to the choir. Elements of popular music and related instruments were also incorporated into this style. Mary Atieno and the International Fellowship Church (I.F.C.) choir demonstrate borrowings from South African popular models by using *mbaqanqa* rhythms and instrumental forms. Vocal techniques associated with *Mbube* groups are especially evident in vocal slides. The South African style has nevertheless been adapted for Kenyan audiences by using Swahili texts. This example also suggests the "dodo" rhythm of the Luo ethnic group.

This style, which began with the African Inland Churches who were

affiliated with Tanzania, has become a staple in many Kenyan churches. It reflects an urban middle class exposed to popular music and appropriation of the popular style in church. The driving rhythms of popular dance have been eliminated through the use of fewer percussion instruments, often with complete exclusion of the drum, weaker articulation and less enforcement of the dance rhythm. Long instrumental interludes of popular styles are shortened or submerged under texts. The pieces can be performed a cappella yet the popular element remains "understood." Accompanying movements include a gentle sway instead of the more vigorous dance movements seen in popular performance venues.

The fourth example illustrates a growing trend in the Nairobi music industry in the last six years, the solo gospel singer.¹³ While the phenomenon of the solo singer is not new in Nairobi, this development was made more obvious due to a sudden influx of kiosks selling this music on cassette. The style became so popular¹⁴ that people began to buy new cassettes instead of relying on the traditional practice of pirating. Out of this popularity came the development of professional church musicians in Nairobi. Furthermore, a survey of churches in Nairobi indicated tremendous growth in church membership during this period, creating a market for the musician.¹⁵

One of earliest popular musicians was Faustin Munishi whose songs first hit the charts in 1988.¹⁶ His most obvious modernization is his use of the synthesizer, a standard instrument for these musicians, although Munishi's trademark, and most potent commercial weapon, is the accordion. This type of song utilizes call and response patterns, local textual content and organization, instrumental arrangement and an ensemble which includes African instruments. The songs have been adopted by many congregations, particularly because of their use of the Swahili language. Munishi goes further than just adapting scripture, translating Western hymns, or adapting folk songs. He contextualizes and interprets the Christian experience for Nairobians and other Kenyans, sometimes taking a known text and tune from a traditional hymn and changing sections of it to reflect issues in the Kenyan context.

In Example Four (see Appendix), Munishi takes the Western hymn "I am under the rock" as the starting point for describing various situations that force someone to "hide under a rock." Although he uses the tune and text of the refrain of the Western hymn, Munishi discards the original hymn stanzas and composes new text related to situations in Kenya. In one of the verses, Munishi describes how a prostitute looked for him to buy her a strong local brew called *chang'aa*. When she failed to lure him to the bar, she drank a whole bottle on her own, in

disappointment. He avoided her, knowing her aim was to corrupt Munishi’s familial relationship by luring him away from his wife on an unworthy money spending spree. Munishi had discovered that, in being a Christian and “hiding under the rock,” he could avoid such behaviors. In this way, Munishi sings of Christian and moral ethics and relates them to daily living. The melody of the original hymn refrain is maintained but the rhythmic feel is altered in the following manner:

Pulse:	X	X	X	X		X	X	X	X

hymns and popular music have been adopted, adapted and assimilated into Nairobi's Christian musical heritage and identity.

This study has shown how music in religious institutions can be studied to demonstrate changing social understandings. Although Christian and religious musics are often overlooked by ethnomusicologists, this case study of Nairobi demonstrates that this context and approach may be even more important than secular and popular musical idioms in the constructs of social identity.

NOTES

1. This paper was presented at the 1994 meeting of the Southern California Chapter of the Society for Ethnomusicology and was awarded the Ki Mantle Hood Prize for best student paper at the conference.
2. Initial research for this study was first documented in my thesis "Syncretism and Adaptation" in 1986.
3. See Oliver (1952), Were (1968), Kasiera (1981) for historical and religious studies in Kenya.
4. See Omondi (1980), Mutere (1983) and Zake (1986).
5. Spencer (1975) talks about the concept of comity whereby missionary organizations restricted themselves to evangelizing particular ethnic groups.
6. Kasiera's study (1981) contains a long discussion on the dynamics of this process.
7. See Ogot and Melbourne (1966).
8. Christianity had discouraged the use of traditional Logoli drum patterns. At the same time, simple clapping and drumming were introduced into the church to help keep the notion of pulse in the new song styles. The drum patterns may have been adopted from those perpetuated by the Salvation Army. New types of drums were constructed based on the Salvation Army models.
9. If one were to listen to other pieces in the recording, it seems the performer "leaves the pieces hanging."
10. Nketia (1982) gives suggestions of some of the ways this has been carried out.

11. See footnote 8.
12. Olson (1979) discusses the details and characteristic features of this music.
13. This is based on a survey I conducted in Nairobi in August 1993 among the sellers of this music. Solo gospel singer is the folk term.
14. The popularization of this music is attributed to a Kenyan television program called "Sing and Shine." The producer of this program set out in 1985 to promote a style featuring Kenyan Christian musicians with a strong African flavor, hence the birth of the style. As viewers demand for the music increased, musicians began to record. The popularity of the music led to an influx of musicians that led to more demand, hence the large number of outlets for the product. This information was gathered from interviews from the producer Kimwere (1994). Musicians in this genre told me that the producer was the catalyst for their popularity.
15. See Niemeyer (1985, and 1989).
16. Munishi is a Tanzanian national but a Kenyan resident. He has topped both the secular and sacred charts in Kenya.

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APPENDIX: MUSICAL EXAMPLES

Example 1: Vazama Yesu

The musical score is arranged in three systems, each with three staves. The top staff is for Guitar, the middle for Bass Guitar, and the bottom for vocal responses. The key signature has two sharps (F# and C#) and the time signature is 4/4. The first system shows the guitar and bass guitar parts, with a vocal response starting in the second measure. The lyrics for the first system are: "Va - li - mu" and "Va - li - mu va - yu". The second system continues the guitar and bass guitar parts, with a vocal response starting in the second measure. The lyrics for the second system are: "Mumiga - nda Yi - mu" and "Mumiga - nda Yi - mu", "-da va - li - mu", "Va - li - mu", and "Va - li - mu va - yu". The third system continues the guitar and bass guitar parts, with a vocal response starting in the second measure. The lyrics for the third system are: "va - za - ma Ye - su" and "va - za - ma Ye - su", "-da va - li - mu", "va - li - mu", and "va - li - mu va - yu". There are accents over the first two notes of the vocal lines in the second and third systems.

Ha - lle - lu - ya va - li - mu

- da va - li - mu

Ha - lle - lu - ya va - li - mu

The first system consists of three measures. The vocal line (top staff) begins with a whole note G4, followed by quarter notes A4, B4, C5, and D5. The piano accompaniment (middle and bottom staves) features a steady eighth-note bass line and chords in the right hand. The lyrics are: "Ha - lle - lu - ya va - li - mu" on the first measure, "- da va - li - mu" on the second, and "Ha - lle - lu - ya va - li - mu" on the third.

Ha - lle - lu - ya va - li - mu va - yu - da va - li - mu

Ha - lle - lu - ya va - li - mu va - yu - da va - li - mu

etc.

The second system also consists of three measures. The vocal line continues with quarter notes E5, F5, G5, and A5, then quarter notes B4, A4, G4, and F4. The piano accompaniment continues with the same rhythmic pattern. The lyrics are: "Ha - lle - lu - ya va - li - mu va - yu - da va - li - mu" on the first measure, "Ha - lle - lu - ya va - li - mu va - yu - da va - li - mu" on the second, and "etc." on the third. A fermata with a '2' below it is placed over the first two notes of the piano accompaniment in the second measure.

Example 2: Namuvera Yesu

E - la he ka Na - mu ve - ra na - ye i -

ye be mwa-na wa Mu - lu - ngu Ye su a - ri ho ka - la ha - pa du -

ni - a - ni Ku - ni ri - chi - ra Wo - ko - lwi. Ka - la he -

he - Wa - ku - li - ka ni i - ye

1.

2.

E - si - ta a - li ye ni - pa u - o wo - ko - lwi Wa - ku ye ni - pa wo - ko

1 2

lwi Mwana - da - mu - e He ha he

Na - ma - la ni - mwambi - re u - ta hi ha - ya ne - nda fu - la ku - si - ki -

ra Mwa - na da - mu ri - ri - ka na hu ndio wa - ka - ti

etc.

Example 3: Halleluya Tutaimba

Solo

Choir

Bass guitar

The first system of music consists of three staves. The top staff is labeled 'Solo' and contains a treble clef, a key signature of one flat (B-flat), and a common time signature (C). The middle staff is labeled 'Choir' and contains a treble clef, a key signature of one flat, and a common time signature. The bottom staff is labeled 'Bass guitar' and contains a bass clef, a key signature of one flat, and a common time signature. The bass guitar part begins with a quarter note G2, followed by quarter notes A2, B2, and C3, then a quarter rest, and continues with quarter notes D3, E3, F3, and G3.

Ha- lle- lu- ya

The second system of music consists of three staves. The top staff is a vocal line with a treble clef, a key signature of one flat, and a common time signature. It begins with a quarter rest, followed by a quarter note G4, a quarter note A4, and a quarter note B4. The lyrics 'Ha- lle- lu- ya' are written below the notes. The middle staff is a vocal line with a treble clef, a key signature of one flat, and a common time signature, which is mostly empty. The bottom staff is a bass guitar line with a bass clef, a key signature of one flat, and a common time signature, continuing the accompaniment from the first system.

Tu- ta - i - mba na Bwa - na Ye - su ku- le mbi - ngu - nu

The third system of music consists of three staves. The top staff is a vocal line with a treble clef, a key signature of one flat, and a common time signature. It begins with a double bar line and repeat sign. The notes are quarter notes G4, A4, B4, and C5, followed by quarter notes B4, A4, G4, and F4. The lyrics 'Tu- ta - i - mba na Bwa - na Ye - su ku- le mbi - ngu - nu' are written below the notes. The middle staff is a vocal line with a treble clef, a key signature of one flat, and a common time signature, which is mostly empty. The bottom staff is a bass guitar line with a bass clef, a key signature of one flat, and a common time signature, continuing the accompaniment from the first system.

Ha- lle- lu - ya na

Ha- lle- lu - ya tu - ta - i - mba Ha- lle- lu - ya

The first system of music features a vocal line in the upper staff and piano accompaniment in the lower two staves. The vocal line begins with a whole note, followed by a half note and a quarter note. The piano accompaniment consists of chords in the right hand and a simple bass line in the left hand.

ma - la - i - ka Ha- lle- lu - ya

Tu - ta - i - mba Ha- lle- lu - ya tu - tu - i - mba

The second system continues the musical piece. The vocal line has a melodic phrase with a fermata. The piano accompaniment features a more active right hand with eighth notes and a steady bass line.

etc.

Ha- lle - lu - ya

Ha- lle - lu - ya tu - ta - i - mba

The third system concludes the piece with a double bar line. The vocal line has a long, sustained note. The piano accompaniment remains consistent with the previous systems.

Example 4: a) English version

I am un-der the rock. The rock is high-er than I
 Je - sus hides me I am un-der the rock.
 Tell all my friends that I am un-der the rock
 Je - sus hides me, I am un-der the rock

b) Munishi's version

Ni - ko chi - ni ya mwa - mba. Mwa-mba juu ya - ngu.
 Ye - su hu - ni - fi - cha Ni - ko chi - ni ya mwa - mba.
 A - mbi - a a - du - i za - ngu Ni - ko chi - ni ya mwa - mba.
 Ye - su hu - ni - fi - cha Ni - ko chi - ni ya mwa - mba.

JAPANESE *MI-KAGURA* RITUAL AS EMBODIED PERFORMANCE¹

Jay D. Keister

INTRODUCTION

The Shinto religion of Japan has often been described by scholars, not in terms of theology, but in terms of ritual practices centered around shrines. In the absence of theology as such, scholars view the many Shinto practices such as ritual purification (*harai*) or shrine festivals (*matsuri*) as demonstrative explanations of Shinto belief. Given the effectiveness of the analysis of ritual to explain Shinto, this paper seeks to locate the underlying Shinto concepts in the music of the *mi-kagura* ritual as performed by the musicians of the Japanese Imperial Household. Analyzing the music and bodily movement which is central to the ritual's efficacy, this paper combines the "practice" approach of Bourdieu (1977) which explores the embodiment of cultural concepts with Schieffelin's (1985) emphasis on the performative, dramatic aspects of ritual.

Using a performance/practice paradigm to examine ritual is not only appropriate to understand a religion of practice or "action" such as Shinto (Reader 1991:15-16), but it is also appropriate to an understanding of this particular ritual which is centered around the performance of music and dance. Previous ethnomusicological studies of *mi-kagura* (Garfias 1968; Malm 1959) have examined the music as a domain separate from the ritual—as an action taking place *within* ritual, rather than music *as* ritual action itself. While Garfias' detailed ethnographic study of *mi-kagura* consists of an extensive analysis of the melodic and rhythmic structure of the music, this paper seeks to connect the musical performance of *mi-kagura* to the ritual's guiding Shinto philosophical concepts. Such a connection is crucial to an understanding of music as a form of ritual action. Furthermore, these guiding Shinto concepts need not be viewed as pre-determining structures, but as actions or practices arising out of performance. By examining the performance/practice of the music of the *mi-kagura* ceremony, the music can be seen not as a part of Shinto theology, but as Shinto theology in action.

PERFORMANCE, PRACTICE, AND THE ANALYSIS OF RITUAL

The non-discursive dimension of ritual (of which music and dance are a part), has often been a source of misunderstanding in ritual analysis. The development of theories about the symbolism of ritual, in

which many anthropologists such as Levi-Strauss and Victor Turner came to view ritual actions as “coded communication” or “cultural texts” to be “read” by the anthropologist, led to a misinterpretation of how rituals actually work (Schieffelin 1985:708). Rituals are not mere “presentations of sacra, emblems, and masks” in which “participants come to see symbolic representations as having a force of their own” (ibid.:708), but instead are social acts performed by the ritual’s actors.

Two works to be mentioned here are Schieffelin’s (1985) study of Kaluli ritual and Bourdieu’s *Outline of a Theory of Practice* (1977). Schieffelin demonstrates the Kaluli’s varied and ambiguous conceptions of the spirit world prior to the performance of a seance, in which the clever performance of a spirit medium, which utilizes numerous dramatic devices, plays on these ambiguous beliefs. In the absence of formal instruction, Kaluli belief in the spirit world is based entirely on these performances, not on a convincing display of symbols. Kaluli belief is thus socially constructed during the performance of ritual. A Shinto ritual such as mi-kagura is also a social construction of belief. In the absence of a pre-determining Shinto doctrine, the meaning of the ritual is not found in its display of symbols, but in the performance of its actors.

Like Schieffelin, Bourdieu favors a more actor-centered approach to ritual than a symbolic one. Believing analysis of ritual practice to be “not a question of decoding the internal logic of a symbolism but of restoring its practical necessity by relating it to the real conditions of its genesis” (Bourdieu 77:114), Bourdieu identifies symbolism more as a tool for understanding which is used by the ritual actor than a generative scheme to be used by the researcher. He gives an example of a Kabyle woman who appears to be performing an act of cosmogony in setting up her loom. Although she views this ritualized action in cosmic terms, Bourdieu sees her actions as a technical practice which has become mystified by symbolism. The woman thus uses the “symbolic equipment available to her” (ibid.:115) to explain her labor, because knowledge of the origins of this activity is not available.

Bourdieu goes beyond the symbolic mystification of ritual by focusing his analysis on the practice of the ritual participant in order to get at the generative principles of ritual. Ritualized movement can be thought of in Bourdieu’s terminology as “habitus” or the “socially informed body.” *Habitus* is Bourdieu’s concept of a generative principle of bodily action which is inculcated into the body in ways that range from childhood imperatives such as “sit up straight” to the geometrical bodily movements of ritual that sometimes constitute “correct” ritual behavior. As Bourdieu describes *habitus* to be operating at an unconscious level, his discussion of ritual behavior, like Schieffelin’s, involves the

ambiguity of ritual action:

The language of the body... is incomparably more ambiguous and more overdetermined than the most overdetermined uses of ordinary language. This is why ritual "roots" are always broader and vaguer than linguistic roots, and why the gymnastics of ritual, like dreams, always seems richer than the verbal translations, at once unilateral and arbitrary, that may be given of it. (ibid.:120)

Though ritual "gymnastics" may be ambiguous in and of themselves, they become a tool by which the ritual participant resolves the ambiguity of ritual:

Lacking symbolic mastery of the schemes and their products—schemes which they *are*, products which they *do*—the only way in which agents can adequately master the productive apparatus which enables them to generate correctly formed ritual practices is by making it operate. (ibid.:123)

Thus in order to fully understand the meaning of ritual (i.e., its meanings for past and present participants), analysis should focus on the operation of this *habitus* or "socially informed body" which Bourdieu claims is the "principle generating and unifying all practices" (ibid.:124).

The present examination of *mi-kagura* ritual is based on a comparison of the existing literature to interviews with a performer of *mi-kagura*, former Imperial Court musician Togi Suenobu. This analysis reveals the symbolic "ambiguity" on the part of this participant in the ritual and demonstrates how a musician "masters" the ritual action through performance of the non-discursive domain of music, thus embodying the Shinto concepts underlying the ritual.

KAGURA AS JAPANESE GAGAKU RITUAL

Kagura is a genre of Shinto ritual with many manifestations throughout Japan. In Honda Yasuji's classification of Japanese folk performing arts, *kagura* is distinguished from its other related forms such as *dengaku* and *furyu* by an "invocation of gods followed by the performance of song or dance or both, the whole event serving as prayer for the prolongation or revitalization of man's life" (Hoff 1978:106). The two basic categories of *kagura* are *mi-kagura*, performed at the Imperial Court and certain Shinto shrines, and *satokagura*, the various types of which are performed in villages. Although the Chinese characters used to write the word *kagura* are "god" and "music," *kagura* is believed to be a contraction of the words *kami* (god) and *kura* (place or residence) and can be roughly translated as "place of the god." What

defines an event as *kagura* is the ritual process in which a place is purified and prepared for the *kami* in order to manifest the *kami* and through this pray for a long life (Hoff 78:160).

Scholars such as Yasuji and Hoff have linked the performance of *kagura* to the very first performance in the Japanese creation myth which is recorded in the *Kojiki* (Chamberlain 1973:64-70). The myth concerns the angered sun goddess Amaterasu who had withdrawn into a cave casting the world into darkness. The gods called on Ama-no-uzume to perform an obscene dance before the entrance of the cave in which she held sacred objects such as the sakaki branch to which was attached a mirror. The ribald nature of the dance was cause for laughter and merriment which drew Amaterasu out of her cave. Upon gazing into the mirror at her own reflection Amaterasu remained outside the cave and light was restored to the world. This ancient myth is the basis for the *mi-kagura* ceremony which is performed annually within the Imperial Household each year on the night of December 15th. The symbolic content of the sakaki branch and the mirror, two of Japan's most sacred objects, is utilized in this ritual, and the concept of renewal of life by entertaining the sun goddess is maintained in this ceremony which honors the Emperor, believed to be the direct descendant of Amaterasu.

Mi-kagura is a part of *gagaku*, the tradition of the music and dance of the Imperial Court of Japan which has been in existence since the establishment of the Imperial Court at Nara in the 8th century. During the Heian Period *gagaku* was formulated into two categories: *togaku* (classified as music of the left), which consisted of Chinese and Indo-Chinese music; and *komagaku* (classified as music of the right), which consisted of Korean and Manchurian music. Just as the importation of the organized religion of Buddhism during the Nara Period led to the formal organization of various pre-existing indigenous practices into the religion of Shinto (Earhart 1982:40), the development of the foreign *gagaku* music and dance at the Imperial Court during the Heian Period spawned the formalization of indigenous Japanese ritual music and dance. Among these indigenous forms of music and dance developed in the court were *kagura*, *azuma-asobi* and others, which were not placed into categories of left or right.

In the Imperial Court today it is the duty of the court musicians to perform music for ceremonial and non-ceremonial purposes. Non-ceremonial purposes such as public performances or banquet music for visiting dignitaries feature performances of *togaku* and *komagaku*, the imported music from the Asian mainland. Ceremonial occasions, however, call for indigenous forms of music such as *kagura* which are

not for public viewing. In the cycle of ceremonies performed within the Imperial Household, the annual *mi-kagura* ceremony is described by Garfias as “the most important musical event of the ceremonial calendar” (Garfias 1975:30).

THE ANNUAL *MI-KAGURA* CEREMONY

The annual *mi-kagura* ceremony is described by Garfias as a ceremony in which the main exponents are the musicians (Garfias 1968:151). At one time the performance of this ceremony was restricted to court nobles, including the emperor himself, and the highest ranking of the professional guild families of musicians, the Ono clan. From its inception in the Heian period up to about the 15th century, only musicians from families that had the status of *ason* (having native Japanese lineage) were allowed to participate. The Onin War, which struck Kyoto from 1467 to 1469, had killed the last eligible member of the Abe family who supplied the *hichiriki* (oboe) part and the ritual's exclusivity had to be relaxed. A member of the Togi family from Osaka was then called in to perform. Although the Togi family did not have *ason* status (their status was considered *sukune*, or non-native), merely by participating in the *mi-kagura* ceremony the family's status was promoted to *ason* (*ibid.*). This is significant both in terms of demonstrating the musicians' high status in the ritual, as well as an indication of this ritual's power of creating a sense of “Japanese-ness.” By virtue of performance in this ritual, musicians became Japanese.

Like the other entertainments of *sato-kagura*, the *mi-kagura* ceremony is a representation of Amaterasu's dance before the cave. As described by Garfias (1968), the ritual in the Imperial Household begins at twilight annually on December 15th—the dead of winter when the sun goddess hides in her cave—and lasts approximately seven hours, finishing sometime after midnight. Within the *kashiko-dokoro* of the Imperial Palace a small hut called *kagura-sha* is constructed especially for the annual ceremony. The *kagura-sha* is closed on three sides with one open side facing three major shrines: the *kashiko-dokoro* (the shrine of Amaterasu), the *koreiden* (the shrine for the first Emperor Jimmu and all successive emperors), and the *shinden* (the shrine for all the *kami*) (see Figure 1).

At the start of the evening a fire is prepared and the *ninjo* (the lead dancer) ascends the steps of the shrine and receives the sacred sakaki branch to which is attached a representation of the sacred mirror, usually a hoop made from stiff wound paper. These two objects represent the most important objects used by Ama-no-uzume to entice Amaterasu out of her cave. This begins the first section of the ceremony which Garfias

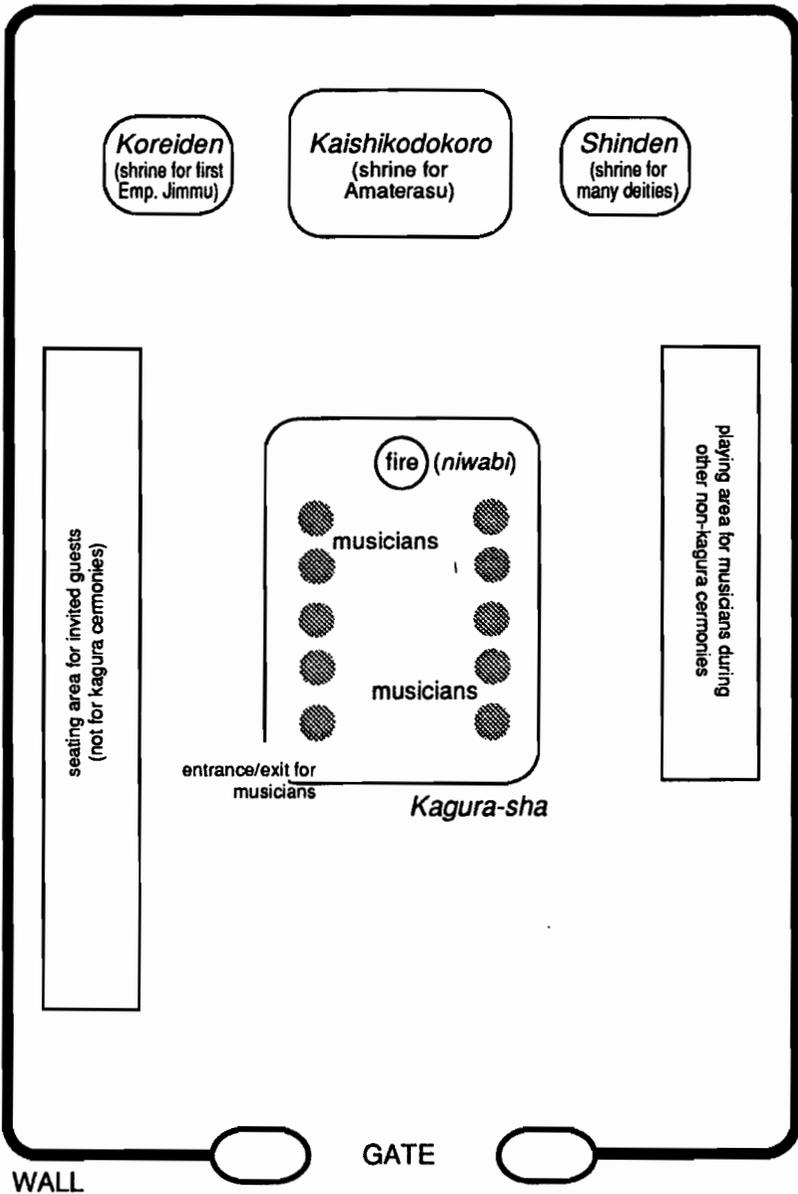


Figure 1: The *Kaishikodokoro* or *Kensho*

and Malm establish as the ceremonial section and refer to as *torimono*. The *torimono* section lasts about two hours and is sub-divided into two sections: *niwabi* (garden fire) which involves the *ninjo* calling each instrumentalist into the *kagura-sha* one at a time to play their tuning pieces, called *netori*, followed later by a solo piece called *niwabi*; and the second sub-section called *torimono*, which consists of three honorific songs and dances: *Sakaki*, *Karakami*, and *Haya-karakami*.

The ceremonial *torimono* section is followed by the *saibari* section, which constitutes the bulk of the music of the ceremony. Although this section is classified by Garfias and Malm as the entertainment section in which the gods are entertained with music and dance, my informant Mr. Togi does not ascribe to these distinctions, instead preferring to view the ceremony as a single unit. Malm, however, does demonstrate significant textual differences between songs of the *torimono* and songs of the *saibari*. The *torimono* are texts which praise the *kami* or seek their aid while the *saibari* texts are less direct and geared more toward entertaining the gods, often utilizing humorous texts (Malm 1959:43). The *saibari* section, an unbroken chain of 11 songs, separated by instrumental interludes, several of which are accompanied by dances performed by the *ninjo*, continues through to the end of the ceremony. The ceremony ends after midnight, when the *sakaki* branch and mirror is delivered to the waiting emperor who can then retire for the night.

In the following section I will discuss certain important aspects of this musical ritual utilizing a practice-based approach in order to locate the underlying Shinto concepts in *mi-kagura* performance.

SHINTO AS EMBODIED IN *MI-KAGURA*

Shinto is described by Ross as a “way of walking or living, not a belief or a theory to be philosophically expounded” (1965:3). The “way” of the *kami* is thought of as an attitude towards life, referred to as *makoto* (“honesty” or “truthfulness”), which is an attitude shared by both *kami* and man (ibid.:108). The “way” of the *kami* is equivalent to the “way” of man and the *mi-kagura* ceremony is a direct contact between man and the *kami*.

Taking the perspective of a practice approach, the way of the *mi-kagura* ceremony can be seen as a phenomenon that is developed in a ritual space and time that is socially constructed through the embodied practices of the ritual actors—the musicians themselves. *Mi-kagura* embodies the Shinto concept of purity through its fundamental ritual action—the creation of a sacred place for the *kami*. The creation of this sacred place is achieved through a purification of the ritual actors, who are then “placed” in relationship to the *kami* in a way that maintains

purity. In this sanctified ritual space Shinto ways of being and behaving are constructed. The creation of purity through placement can thus be seen operating in different ways: the way this particular ritual is placed categorically; the way in which the musicians are placed within the ceremony; and the way in which the sounds themselves are placed within the ritual.

Placement of *Mi-Kagura* within *Gagaku*. Just as the ritual actors are carefully placed in the ritual space, the *mi-kagura* genre is placed categorically within *gagaku* in a way that maintains its purity. *Mi-kagura*'s placement within the music of the Imperial Court is kept pure not only by the categorical distinction which separates it from the imported forms of *togaku* and *komagaku*, but also by the separate performance context provided exclusively for *mi-kagura*. Not only has *mi-kagura* performance been kept separate from performance of the imported forms of *gagaku*, but their performance contexts throughout *gagaku* history reveals different levels of purity/impurity. For example, the secret use of *mi-kagura* by the Emperor and Court nobles during its Heian Era beginnings can be contrasted with a typical use of *togaku* and *komagaku* from the same period in which *gagaku* was used at *sumo* wrestling matches. *Sumo* wrestlers would be divided into teams of left and right and the outcome of the match would determine which form of *gagaku* would be played—left or right (Garfias 1975:22). Forms of indigenous music that were neither left nor right occupied a central and protected position within the Court and were spared this profane performance setting, thus, *mi-kagura*'s sacred place among the realm of *kami* was maintained. Furthermore, it must be emphasized that although all imported forms of *gagaku* are categorized into left and right, no such scheme exists for the indigenous forms of music and dance. While this central placement of *mi-kagura* within *gagaku* is not explicitly stated, it is however ritually “constructed” in the space of the *kashiko-dokoro* every year on December 15th.

Placement of musicians within the ritual space. The ritual place of the *kagura-sha*, the temporary tent structure within the *kashiko-dokoro*, is “constructed” every year by the presence and the absence of the ritual participants. A significant part of purification of place is to respect space, by leaving open space and thus avoid defilement by not overfilling the space. This idea of open space permeates Japanese aesthetics from the empty space left in painting, to the space left in a partially-filled teacup, to the spaces, or silences, left in music (known as *ma* in Japanese musical aesthetics). Thus the introduction of the ritual participants into the *kagura-sha* is very carefully ordered and measured so as not to disrupt the sanctity of the space. During the early part of the evening,

which is the most crucial in that it is the summoning of the *kami*, the *ninjo* calls in the players one at a time. The approach to the fire is gradual as each player humbly drops to his knees well before he is near the fire and makes a few steps forward again on his knees. In this beginning section each musician spends only the amount of time in the *kagura-sha* it takes to perform his respective part. After the first soloist performs his opening tuning piece, he exits to make room for the next soloist to enter and play the next tuning piece. The second soloist then exits to make room for the first player to return to play the first solo, called *niwabi*. This player then exits again to allow the second player to return to play a *niwabi* solo. After this lengthy series of entrances and exits, the entire ensemble of musicians eventually assembles within the *kagura-sha*, achieving a gradual filling of the space while avoiding any spatial violation of the *kami*.

Placement of sounds within the ceremony. The sound within the *kagura-sha* can be thought of as a “clearing” or purifying of the ritual space which is also gradually “filled” to avoid violating the clearing made for the *kami*. The opening *niwabi* section contains more extended silences than sounds. The separate *netori* tuning pieces played by the *hichiriki*, *kagurabue* (flute) and *wagon* (zither) and their solo performances of *niwabi* are short and surrounded by lengthy periods of silence, during which time the previously described entrances and exits are performed. The *torimono* section of the music begins the continuous sound of the music of the ceremony, but the development also begins gradually, in accordance with the Japanese musical aesthetic of *jo-ha-kyu*.² The *torimono* section is characterized by a *jo*-like free-rhythm which does not become metrically regular until the *saibari* section. Also characteristic of the *torimono* section is the use of vocables, or nonsense syllables, called *oke*, which are believed to be the utterances of the gods at the moment when Amaterasu emerged from her cave. These pre-language utterances are the first vocals of the *mi-kagura* ritual (other than the *ninjo*'s summoning of the musicians) and occur less frequently as the ceremony progresses. Thus, vocalization evolves from speech-like vocables to song. The correct vocal performance of the *kagura-uta* (song) further clears the ritual space. The vocal tone that is most highly valued is what the Court musicians describe as the “natural speaking voice” (Garfias 1968:153). Any attempt at stylizing or artificially beautifying the voice, such as the use of vibrato, would cause voices to stand out, potentially violating the space. The use of the instruments within the ritual also preserves the purity of the space by not overpowering the simplicity of the vocals, thus maintaining a completely subordinate and supporting role to the voice. The *hichiriki* and the *kagurabue* serve

as melodic support to the sung melody, while the *wagon* (the indigenous Japanese zither) provides sparse ornamentation and the *shakubyoshi* (clapper sticks) serves strictly as a timekeeper. It is also interesting to note the introduction of instruments into the ritual space through the history of the ceremony. Initially the only instrument used in this ceremony was the indigenous instrument, the *wagon*. Eventually, the Court gradually introduced into the ritual space the imported (i.e., less "pure") instruments, the *hichiriki* and the *kagurabue*.

MI-KAGURA AS EMBODIED IN THE MUSICIANS

By focusing on the musicians—the agents of *mi-kagura* practice—it can be seen how the ritual becomes embodied in the actions of the participants. The evolution of *mi-kagura* performance over the centuries reveals something of the nature of the social embodiment of *mi-kagura*. Just as the *mi-kagura* ritual itself had the power to bestow status on a musician of the Imperial Court, the "socially-informed bodies" of the Court musicians themselves became invaluable, living carriers of a sacred tradition. For centuries, the orally transmitted *kagura-uta*, which passed from teacher to student within the Court, was a highly guarded secret tradition forbidden for use by outsiders. Although *gagaku* had been introduced into Shrines outside the Imperial Court, until recently *mi-kagura* could only be performed by musicians of the Imperial household who guarded the secret *mi-kagura* repertoire. *Gagaku* groups at the major shrines, such as Ise, were given lessons only in *togaku* and *komagaku* by court musicians. Eventually one musician taught the entire *mi-kagura* cycle to a few musicians causing scandal to erupt back at the Imperial Court (Garfias 1975:32-33). To this day the *mi-kagura* cycle is performed by the Ise musicians and *kagura-uta* is no longer thought of as secret. Mr. Togi informed me that while older musicians think of the tradition as secret many younger musicians (himself included), do not. In fact, Mr. Togi, who has taught the entire *mi-kagura* repertory to Garfias, expressed a willingness to teach it to anyone wishing to learn.

Although the court musicians embody a sacred tradition, there is nevertheless a separation between musicians and the sacred, which corresponds to keeping the place of the *kami* ceremonially pure. During the opening *torimono* section of the ritual between the tuning pieces and the first solos with all their elaborate entrances and exits, there occurs what Garfias identifies as a secret ceremony which is conducted while no musicians are in the room (Garfias 1968:155). Afterwards the musicians are called back in. Although the *ninjo* who performs this "secret ceremony" is equally drawn from the ranks of the musicians, this

nevertheless represents a separation between musicians and the sacred. My interviews with Mr. Togi also indicated a certain degree of separation between the musicians and the sacred activity that takes place in the Imperial Household. In the Court's annual *chinkon-sai* purification ceremony, in which the emperor's soul is "tied" to him, indigenous sacred musical forms such as *yamato-uta* and *o-naobi-no-uta* are performed by the court musicians. However, the actual ceremonial actions involving the Emperor, according to Mr. Togi, take place elsewhere, out of view of the musicians. I am told by Mr. Togi that in other ritual events involving music, initial ceremonial actions such as calling down the *kami* and presenting the first offering often takes place earlier in the day, before musicians even arrive. It is also significant that as the *mi-kagura* ritual became less exclusive over the centuries with the incorporation of "less than pure" professional musicians, the court nobles, and even now the Emperor, no longer participate in the ceremony.

As this separation of musicians from the sacred promotes an ambiguity of belief in terms of the ritual's meaning, musicians become less cognitively informed through belief than they are socially or "bodily" informed through *habitus*. In this case, *habitus* operates at the musical level, as the performance of the music is the technical content available to them for the social construction of meaning. Based on the tools available to them (their musical performance and their perceptual abilities), the musicians recognize the meaning of *mi-kagura* in "correct" ritual action—in other words, well-played *mi-kagura*. When I asked Mr. Togi for specific information such as the location of *kami*, when the *kami* appears, the significance of the fire or the meaning of the ritual, he would smile and say he didn't know. Mr. Togi assured me that it was not the musician's job to think about the ritual but to simply play the music. In fact, the only talk from Mr. Togi which suggested any belief at all was a "special feeling" which Mr. Togi said he felt when performing the music well for the *kami*. *Kagura* appears to be a technical practice adorned with (or perhaps obscured by) a symbolism that may have a powerful presence, but which is ultimately of relatively little importance to the professional musician "doing his job."

CONCLUSION

Trying to discover the nature of a highly formalized court ritual such as the *mi-kagura* ceremony, which is centered around the performance of music and dance, is not simply a matter of decoding symbolic meanings which may have become progressively obscured since its beginnings. I found that symbolic meaning was ineffective in trying to understand the meaning of the ritual after discovering their

relative unimportance and high level of ambiguity to my informant. The use of a performance/practice approach based on the work of Bourdieu and Schieffelin focused the study on what was personally salient for the participant, the performance of music and dance.

By looking beyond the symbolic ambiguities I was able to locate the existence of a "socially informed body" which both creates and contains the ritual, and from the literature on *mi-kagura* I was able to produce a history of the ritual that is written "in" and "through" the bodies of the participants. This analysis has attempted to show how certain fundamental concepts of Shinto practice (such as purity and sacred place) are produced by the *mi-kagura* ceremony. Appropriately, as the word *kagura* means "place of the gods," the ceremony's central action is the creation and the maintenance of a sacred place for the *kami* through purification. This purity is achieved through establishing the place of the *kami* by placing the participants within the ritual space, thus establishing a sacred space subject to violation if the ritual action is incorrectly executed. Moreover, this establishment of place through the execution of performance serves as a locus of belief for ritual participants who express a highly ambiguous knowledge of the ritual, yet a very specific knowledge of how the music should be properly executed.

NOTES

1. This article was presented at the 1994 Conference of the Society for Ethnomusicology in Milwaukee, Wisconsin.
2. *Jo-ha-kyu* is an aesthetic theory of wide application in Japanese music. Three terms are used to depict a gradually developing or accelerating musical pattern over any given length of time: *jo* (beginning, formless) refers to the slow or non-metrical aspect of the pattern; *ha* (exposition, breaking away) indicates some form of regularity, such as a steady beat or acceleration; *kyu* (rushing to a finish) indicates the final moments of musical development or intensity before finishing and reverting back to *jo* to begin the cycle again.

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“LOST IN TIME?”: SOURCES OF THE 20TH CENTURY *DIZI* REPERTORY¹

Frederick Lau

INTRODUCTION

Recent literature on the music of the traditional Chinese transverse flute, the *di* or *dizi*, is primarily concerned with its development since the 1950s. In general, few writers have alluded to *dizi* music in the early part of the century (Shanghai Wenyi Chubanshe Bianjibu 1981b; Ye 1982; Yuan 1986, 1987; Gao 1981; Yu & Wu 1990). Similarly, many *dizi* performers and informants whom I interviewed during my fieldwork in the People's Republic of China had little knowledge of the early repertory and most of them were unaware of the existence of a number of earlier *dizi* collections. Despite the fact that they were able to help me understand the recent repertory, the history of *dizi* music from the period shortly before 1949 was largely left unexamined. In order to trace the development of *dizi* music and to address a larger issue of change in modern Chinese instrumental music, a detailed study of the earlier *dizi* sources and repertory is essential. This paper focuses on the examination and analysis of eight collections of *dizi* music dating from 1846 to 1946.

These eight collections, listed under the rubric of solo wind music, are cited exclusively in one of the most comprehensive references on existing pre-1949 musical sources *Zhongguo Yinyue Shupuzi* [*Records of Chinese Books and Notations*] published in 1984. From the surviving pre-1949 sources on instrumental music, there is a total of only eight items relating specifically to the *dizi*. Because of the general dearth of information pertaining to early *dizi* music, these eight collections, which are currently situated in several major libraries in the People's Republic of China, are invaluable sources for understanding *dizi* music in the early part of the century and the development of *dizi* music as a whole.

The purpose of this paper is threefold. First, I place these *dizi* collections in their historical context and examine the extent to which they represent part of a larger trend in the development of traditional music since the turn of century. Second, I describe and compare the content of these collections. Finally, with the evidence at hand, I suggest some reasons why this early *dizi* music was considered inappropriate and, consequently, ignored in the formation of the recent solo repertory, a process largely directed by the state (Lau 1988, 1991).

BACKGROUND

In the process of analyzing these collections certain questions concerning the genealogy of 20th century *dizi* music emerged. In previous studies I indicated that the basic stylistic underpinnings of contemporary *dizi* music originated in a few regional instrumental ensemble styles, and that there are tremendous differences between the present repertory and the earlier *dizi* music contained in the collections. The contemporary solo *dizi* compositions which are elaborate and structurally complex are drastically different from the simplicity that prevailed in most early pieces. In contrast to the highly technical solo repertory developed after 1949 for specialists in music conservatories and professional performing organizations, these earlier pieces, which catered to the general public, are now disparaged because they conflict with the contemporary musical ideal of virtuosity and instrument specificity.

An explanation for the emergence of, and change in, the post-1949 *dizi* repertory is complex. The stark differences between the two *dizi* repertoires clearly indicate a change in musical aesthetics and intention of the composers. This change is most likely a result of the newly established sociopolitical and cultural milieu of post-1949 China, when the state intervened in shaping and directing musicians' choices and conceptualization of this musical tradition (Lau 1991).

To fully uncover the reasons underlying the recent transformation in repertory and the abandonment of the earlier pieces, an examination of the music in these collections in light of the present context would be equally beneficial. I will show in my analysis that these earlier pieces were products of their time, and were created largely under the ideological slogan of maintaining and reviving traditional Chinese values during the chaotic period of the early 20th century.

First, a few general observations about 20th century traditional Chinese instrumental music. The occurrence of two major historical events—that is, the establishment of the first Chinese republican government in 1911 and the Communist revolution in 1949 which unified the country—brought about transformations in both musical style and musical thinking. The changes in traditional instrumental music, ranging from the juxtaposition to the blending of indigenous and western values and conceptions of music, were largely prompted by the imported cultural norms of western science and logical thinking, and later by the communist political ideology (Kwok 1965; Wong 1991; McDougall 1984). An important result of such cultural contact, dating back to the mid-19th century, is reflected in the establishment of public music institutions, music clubs, and organized musical activities in the

first half of the century which provided an indispensable foundation for the proliferation of both western and traditional music in modern China at large.

Among the many official and unofficial musical organizations and activities held mainly in urban centers was the establishment of the Music Club at Peking University in 1916. Apart from its major activities of offering both western and Chinese instrumental instruction and a training program for music teachers, it also published its own journal *Yinyue Zazhi*. This music journal, first published in 1920, contains mostly short articles on music and musical compositions, and it was the first of its kind in modern China (Miu, Ji & Guo 1985; Wang 1984; Lu & He 1989).

Equally important was the *Datong Yuehui* [The Harmonious Music Club] in Shanghai established in 1920, aimed particularly at promoting traditional instrumental music. Although its members were mostly non-music specialists, the contributions of the club were significant, notably in its effort to revive ancient Chinese instrumental music and train traditional instrumentalists, many of whom later became prominent performers. Perhaps the most scholarly attempt to promote traditional Chinese music emerged from the *Guoyue gaijinshe* [The National Music Reform Club] established in 1927. The members of this group were committed to research on Chinese music adopting western musical concepts such as a departmentalized and systematic approach to the study of musical genres and music education. Among its pre-eminent members are the famous founder of modern *erhu* playing, Liu Tienhua, and one of China's pioneer musicologists of this century, Cao Anhe (ibid.).

Although different at various times in degree and intensity, transformations in traditional instrumental music throughout the first half of the 20th century are characterized by a number of important developments. These include intermittent development and promotion, with an increasing number of concert performances of various traditional instrumental genres. In addition, there was an attempt to establish and delineate coherent genres of Chinese instrumental music, a gradual move towards standardization of individual instrumental performance practice, incorporation of "little" musical traditions into the mainstream, and, above all, an increase in the supply of notated traditional instrumental music.

THE EIGHT *DIZI* COLLECTIONS

Similar to many published musical materials of the time, these collections of *dizi* music exemplified and encapsulated the essence of

contemporary musical culture in which traditional and western musical ideals merged and diverged. The eight collections are listed chronologically. The year of publication is indicated whenever it is available. In the following discussion, the collections are referred to by the numbers appearing in the left column rather than by their titles.

1. 1846 *Zhao's Diqu Zazhi Huipian* [*Anthology of Di Music of the Zhao's Family*] (Figure 1).
2. 1913 *Diqu* copied by Chang Ren [*Di Music*] (Figure 2).
3. 1922 *Shendao Diqu* copied by Xi Tong [*The Divine Di Music*] (Figure 3).
4. 1924 *Xiaodi Xinpu* ed. by Zheng Jinwen [*New Music for Xiao and Di*] (Figure 4).
5. 1933 *Yandi Shuyi* narrated by Fang [*Exposition of the Binzhong, written by Fang Wenxi Art of di Playing*] (Figure 5).
6. Date unknown *Xiaodi Hepu* [*Combined Music for Xiao and Di*] (Figure 6).
7. 1946 *Xiaodi chuizoufa* by Xiao Jianqing [*Methods of Playing the Xiao and Di*] (Figure 7).
8. Date unknown *Zuixin Xiaodi Hepu* [*Latest Music for Xiao and Di*] (Figure 8).

DISCUSSION

In the following discussion (see Appendix for examples) these eight collections are divided into two groups according to the content and the intended audience: 1) the collections containing only music notation; 2) those incorporating written texts with general introductions to the collections, brief lessons on music theory, and explanation of *dizi* techniques. There are three items in the first group and five in the latter. All three collections in the first group appeared shortly before 1923 and they exist in manuscript (Figure 9). In contrast, all items in the second group, dated between 1924 and 1946, exist in printed format (Figure 10).

Although statistics concerning the circulation of these collections are not available, it is not too difficult to deduce the intended audience from the choice of printing format. From the neatly hand-copied music notation and unadorned generic titles such as *Diqu* (*Di* music) or *Zhao's Family Anthology of Di Music* in the first group of collections, it is evident that they were products of individual musicians. Moreover, limited by the number of available copies, such manuscript collections are inevitably confined to limited circulation either for private use or shared within a small circle. Those in the second group, however, are

all printed and distributed by publishers, and thus undoubtedly intended to reach a wider public readership. The qualifiers *Zuixin* (latest) and *Xin* (new) in the titles of collection #4 and #6, indicate a common advertising method in attracting customers and ostensibly reflect the commercial orientation of these collections.

CONTENT AND NOTATION

Regarding the content of the collections, the three collections in the first group do not provide a performance guide or additional information on individual pieces except for the notation of pitch and rhythm. Furthermore, the music is presented in *gongche* notation, a system developed during the Song dynasty in the twelfth-century. This utilized simplified Chinese characters and a set of symbols to denote pitch and duration and is read vertically from right to left (Figure 11). Contrary to the well-established tradition of including written material in most early *qin* manuscripts,² the paucity of written information in these collections deserves some clarification.

By comparing the tune titles and structure in the collections with those from other regional instrumental traditions, it is obvious that these tunes were well-known pieces that originated from popular musical genres of the time and they primarily existed in oral tradition.³ As suggested by writers Zheng, Xiao, and Li, these collections were conceived as a practical memory aid to the individual performers to be used in conjunction with verbal instruction. Hence their presentation tended to be economical and minimal as opposed to the extravagant writings contained in music manuscripts of previous periods such as those of the *qin* and *pipa*.

On the other hand, the more elaborate layout in the second group of collections demonstrates quite a different trend. All collections in this latter group contain some form of introductory passages preceding the actual musical notation. The content of these passages resembles that of *qin* handbooks and they include general introduction, music theory, history of the *dizi*, manner of holding the *dizi*, fingering chart, the correct way of applying the membrane, methods of playing and practicing, and explanations of the traditional modal system. Apart from the musical notation, indication of meter and key in western style and sometimes in Chinese style are also printed above each individual piece of music. In a more extreme case, as in collection #4, short descriptions containing information on the composition and performance guides are also provided (Figure 12).

In contrast to the traditional *gongche* notation used in the former group, most collections in the second group favor the simpler cipher

notation, a system which was introduced to China around the turn of the century and is still widely used in present-day China.⁴ In cipher or number notation (*jianpu*), the ascending notes of a scale are arranged horizontally from left to right by the Roman numeral one to seven, while the rhythm is indicated by the number of lines and dots placed underneath each note (Figure 13).

Reasons why such a notational system is preferred over the more traditional *gongche* notation in these later collections are explicitly stated by the authors. As cited separately by Zheng and Xiao in the introduction of their respective collections, it is largely due to the "oversimplification of the out-of-date *gongche* notation that makes it impossible for anyone to learn from the music without the aid of verbal instruction" (Zheng 1924, Xiao 1946). In order to make the music more accessible to the public, particularly the younger generation, these authors, therefore, felt it judicious to adopt the more popular number notation. Such claims, as manifested in the inclusion of an introduction, instructional texts, and the need for notational accuracy, strongly reflect an apparent change in attitude underlying the production of *dizi* music collections drastically different from that of the earlier period. The change from an essentially private oriented approach to one explicitly geared towards the general public and requiring less musical knowledge not only marks the rising popularity of the traditional music but also suggests a wider dissemination of traditional *dizi* music in the public domain at large.

THE MUSIC

The number of pieces in the individual books of both groups varies from 10 to 99. Among the different books there are quite a number of pieces which bear similar titles and contain almost identical musical materials. The titles of these pieces which are the same as those found in operas, instrumental ensemble traditions, and folk songs, invariably suggests their origin. According to most music dictionaries and sources on instrumental music, the tune *Dakaimen* [Opening of the Door] in collections #1, #4, #5, #7, *Pangzhuangtai* [Leaning against the Vanity] in #1, #4, #5, #8, *Liuyaojin* [The Golden Swinging Willow] in #1, #3, #4, #5, #7, *Kuhuangtien* [Crying to Heaven] in #1, #5, #6, #7, *Chaotienzi* [An Audience with the Emperor] in #1, #4, #7, and *Jiangzunling* [The General's Order] in #1 and #7, are all famous *qapai*, fixed tunes widely used in many operatic traditions. As a common practice, these originally texted operatic tunes were usually arranged to be performed as overtures, instrumental interludes, and accompaniment by simply omitting the text. However, characteristic words or phrases from the text have been

retained as distinguishing markers for the purpose of identification, hence the same tune *Jiangzunling* [The General's Order], *Chaotianzi* [An Audience with the Emperor], and *Dakaimen* [Opening of the Door] has been adopted by various regional operas such as *Jingju* [Peking opera], *kunqu* [Classical Drama], *Huju* [Shanghai opera], *Chuanju* [Sichuan opera], and *Yueju* [Cantonese opera].

In addition to the pieces borrowed from the operatic tradition, influence from other musical genres can also be traced through the song titles. Since the tune title *Daoqing* in collections #4 and #7 is identical with the name of the narrative genre *Daoqing*, *Liuban* or *Zhongban* [Six Beat] and *Sihe* [Four Happiness] are the same as two of the eight famous pieces in the *Jiangnan sizhu* [Silk and Bamboo] ensemble tradition of east central China, the connections are too apparent to dismiss them as mere coincidence. A comparison of these pieces and the version as it is known in other musical genres would verify the origins of these *dizi* pieces and illuminate their relationships.

The comparison of the tunes *Xiaokaimen*, a tune related to *Daikaimen* [Opening of the Door] melodic type, in collections #1, #4, #5, and #7 with the operatic version found in Peking opera reveal a fairly consistent underlying melody in all variants. Although there are slight variations in measures 3, 6, and towards the end of the piece, the structural notes of the tune are basically identical (Figure 14). In another instance, the comparison of the tunes *Chaotianzi* in collections #1, #5, #7 (Figure 15), and the tune *Daocunlei* with its instrumental version and *Zhongban* with its *Jiangnan sizhu* version further supports and confirms the claim that most *dizi* music in the collections were transplanted from other musical genres. Furthermore, the inclusion of the well-known Cantonese instrumental pieces *Yudabajiao* [Rain Hitting the Plantain] and *Hantienlei* [Thunder from a Clear Sky] in collection #7 further exemplifies the variety of borrowed music in the earlier *dizi* repertory.

Finally, one might also notice that the category of original *dizi* compositions does not exist in the early collections. This is, in fact, the most salient feature that distinguishes the early from the present *dizi* repertory. This and other evidence suggests that early twentieth-century *dizi* music, is generated from, and shaped by, the reception of traditional instrumental music in society at large, and is extracted and transplanted from other musical traditions rather than being part of a continuous process of indigenous development.

CONCLUSION

In retrospect, comparison of these two groups of collections clearly demonstrates some trends in the development of the *dizi* tradition in the

period before 1949. While the first group of collections are largely designed for use within the private domain, the presence of a sizable amount of individual pieces for the *dizi* reflects an attempt by its practitioners to delineate and establish the boundary of a repertory specifically for the *dizi*. In a later stage the *dizi* gained popularity because of the emergence of the musical activities of music clubs and specific music institutions and they ultimately brought forth changing conceptualizations about the music. This, in turn, generated an increase in supply of *dizi* music collections and instruction books for the general public in the burgeoning musical scene after 1920.

In view of the frequent association of the *dizi* with the vertical flute *xiao* and with other wind instruments (such as *guangzi* and *sheng*) in performance practice and writing, it would be unlikely for a *dizi* player to perform without the accompaniment of other wind instruments or a small ensemble. In addition, following the prevalent role of the *dizi* in leading various instrumental ensembles, it is inconceivable to perform these *dizi* pieces in the absence of other instruments. Interviews with older musicians during my field work have confirmed this point. Thus, in principle, while the *dizi* repertory of the earlier 20th century appears to be designed specifically for the *dizi*, it was not prescribed by a set of standardized performance procedures in practice as in the present time.

Finally, to return to the earlier question: why is the early *dizi* music excluded from the recent repertory and thus forgotten? As already shown above, these collections exemplify the early music groups' attempts to revive traditional Chinese music through the dissemination of a corpus of *dizi* music. Nonetheless, this pre-1949 *dizi* music lacks the character of a well-defined and specific idiomatic *dizi* repertory but rather shares commonality with many other musical genres and traditions.

The existence of a body of early 20th century *dizi* repertory has, in essence, exemplified a trend in popularizing traditional instrumental music which has continued after the Communist Revolution in 1949 and has been subsumed under the socialist function of arts. Ironically, the populist approach was accompanied by the crystallization of a specifically western solo instrumental ideal. Tremendous energy has been spent since 1949 on developing a genre of specialized solo instrumental repertoires. Buttressed by the establishment of state-sponsored music conservatories and their intensely politicized concept of music, the production of recent solo *dizi* repertory is also tailored to serve the ideology of the party. Hence, a new and distinct solo repertory for the *dizi* with its correct political overtones on the one hand, and its virtuosity and extreme originality on the other, has been cultivated and developed by, and for, professional *dizi* specialists beginning in the 1950s.

At present, there is a conscious commitment to disengage the *dizi* from association with certain aspects of the past which contrast with the current political rhetoric. A number of regional folk instrumental traditions which are in accordance with Mao's ideal archetype of national heritage became the foundation of the new solo repertory. The earlier *dizi* pieces which are considered underdeveloped, trite, non-virtuosic, and incompatible with the image of modernization and coherence that the state has tried to assimilate are inevitably disparaged and rendered obsolete. A solo *dizi* repertory consisting mostly of newly composed pieces along the line of those in the western solo flute repertory has been instigated. The final product is a single distinct "traditional" solo *dizi* repertory, tied to the idealized masses of the past, yet exhibiting complex structures and sophisticated compositional skills, and above all, in tune with the dominant political ideology of the Chinese Communist Party.

NOTES

1. An earlier version of this paper was presented at the 37th Annual Meeting of the Society for Ethnomusicology in Seattle, October 1992. The research for this paper, conducted in the People's Republic of China between August 1986 and July 1987, was funded by a Dissertation Research grant from the National Academy of Sciences CSCPRC Program and the Graduate College of the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, which I gratefully acknowledge.
2. The content of *qin* handbooks, *qinpu*, according to van Gulik, mostly contains both music notation and introductory materials. The written text usually opens with one or more prefaces and is followed by the history of the *qin* and numerous drawings of the instrument. Often there are some practical discussions on building a *qin* and suggestions for maintaining the instrument. The ensuing sections are on music theory, tuning, significance and meaning of the tunes, finger techniques, and hand positions (van Gulik 1969).
3. According to many older informants and performers in the PRC, most of the regional instrumental compositions had been handed down orally in the past. Although on rare occasions some pieces can be found in notation, the earlier performing musicians all learned their trade through oral transmission—a practice which is rare today.
4. Cipher notation or *jianpu* [simplified notation], a notation system originated in Europe, was introduced into China via Japan around the turn of the

century. As a part of the modernization of the Chinese education system, this imported musical system was widely used and taught in schools. The first published collection of school songs in cipher notation "Xuexiao Changgejie" (edited by Shen Xingong) appeared in 1904. The use of cipher notation in place of the more traditional gongche notation clearly signifies an ideological break from the tradition.

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APPENDIX

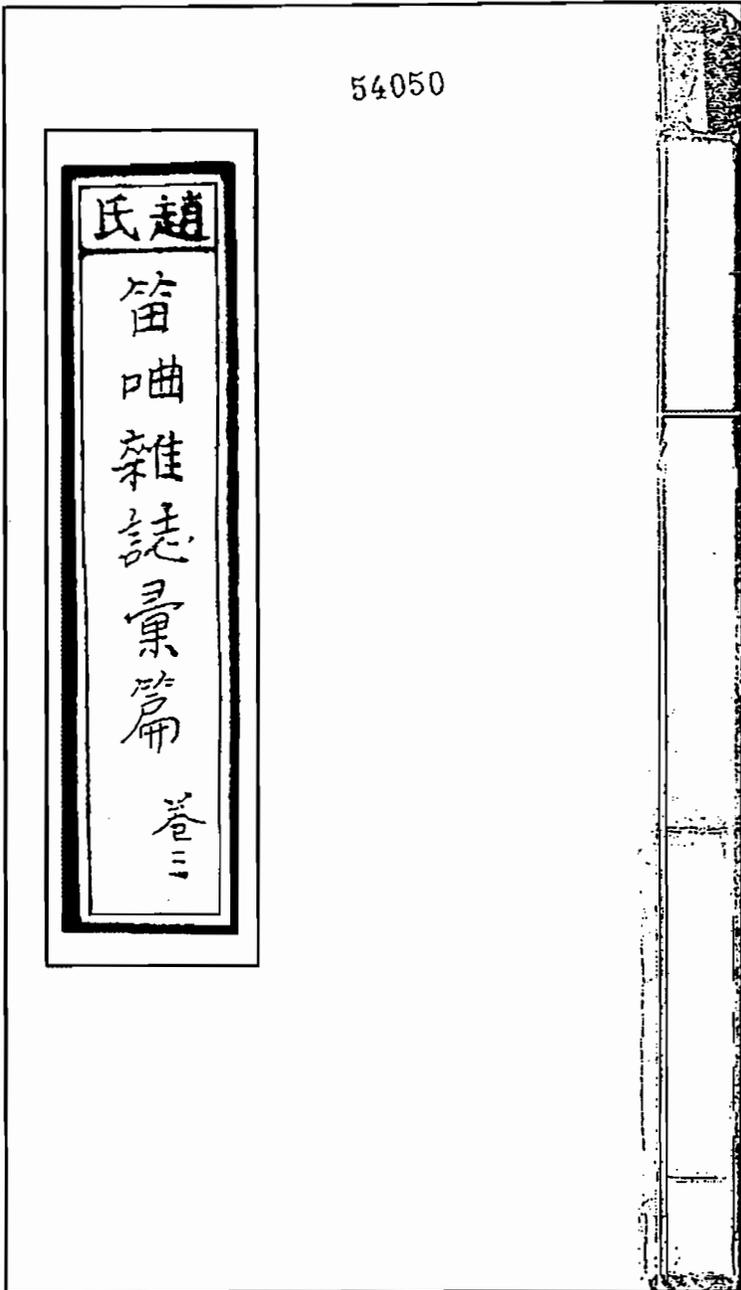


Figure 1: Zhao's Diqū Zāzhì Huìpiān.

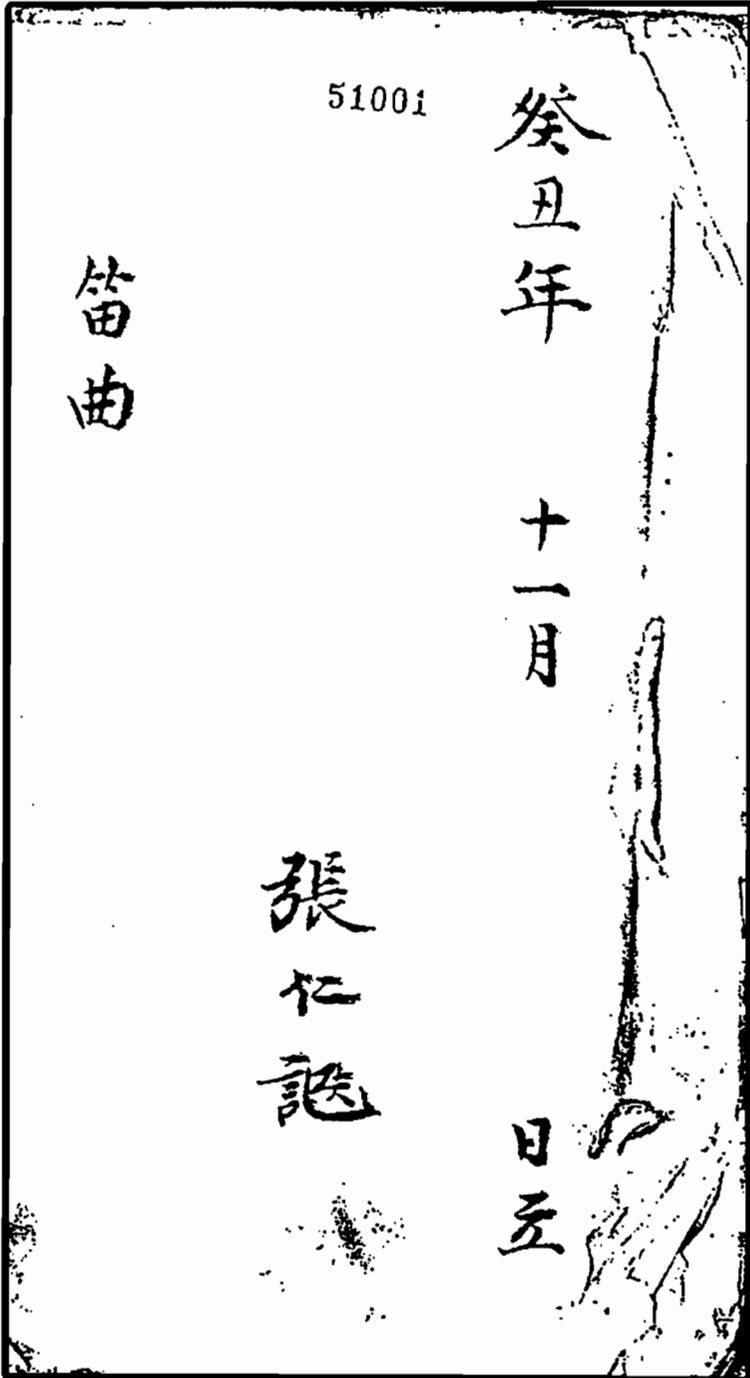


Figure 2: *Diqu*.



Figure 4: *Xiaodi Xinpu*.

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簫笛述義

皖肥方秉忠先生口述
問溪追記

伯龍署



13-5
68

Figure 5: *Yandi Shuyi*.

新刻絳絳簫笛合譜小引

世事茫茫徒增悲感逐功名奔富
 貴賤讓謀者吾弗能已。武戲絃歌
 夫子有雍鼓之嘆乎。聾作歌自適
 陋矣。知音偶得。幽蘭聖人相邀自
 見。疎庸無益。詳選集吹唱。相會。

Figure 6: Xiaodi Hepu.

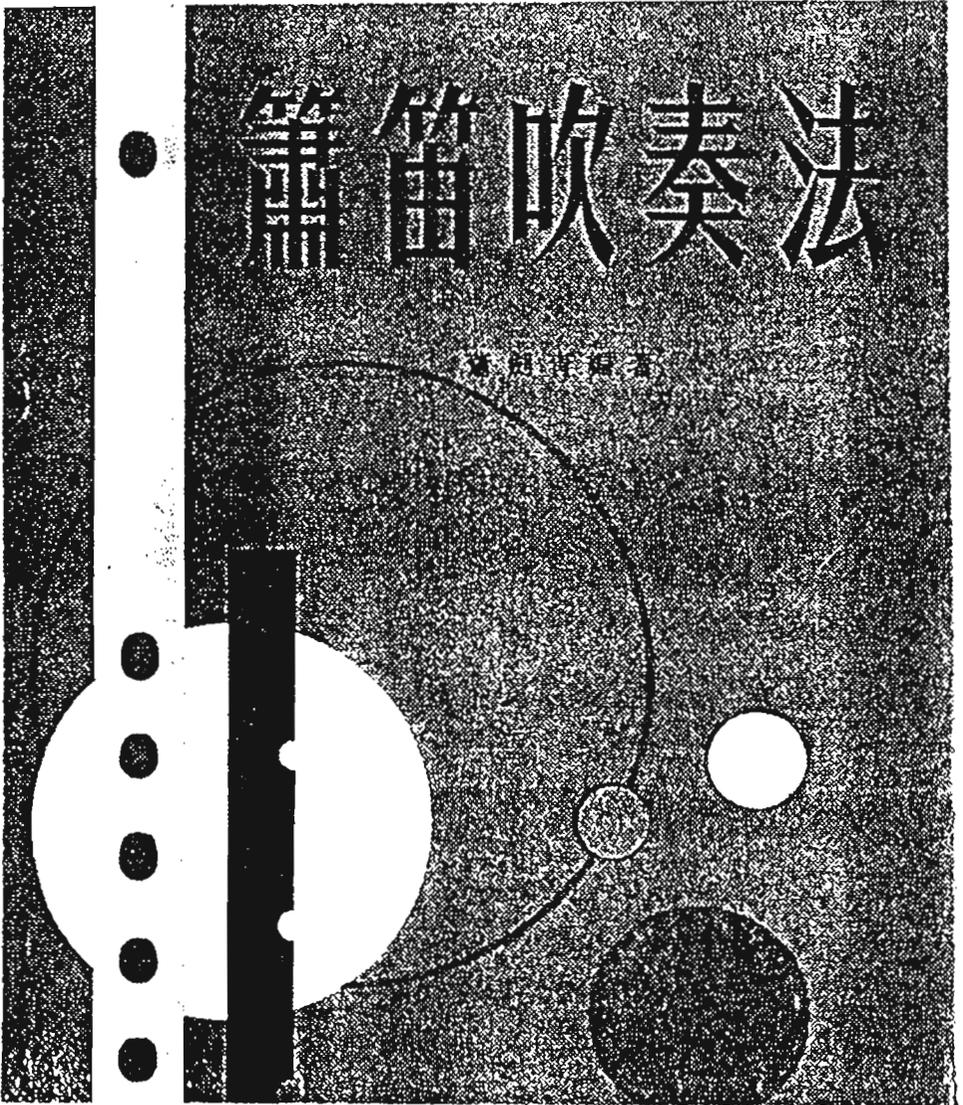


Figure 7: *Xiaodi chuizoufa*.



Figure 8: *Zuixin Xiaodi Hepu*.

F 調 天 下 同 $\frac{2}{4}$

3 2 3 5 | 6 5 3 | 0 2 1 6 | 1 2 3 | 0 5 3 2 |

1 6 1 2 3 | 1 — |

註.. 快板

G 調 連 湘 調 $\frac{2}{4}$

i i | i̇ i | 6 5 6 i̇ | 5 0 | 5 6 i̇ i̇ |

6 5 3 | 5 2 3 5 | 1 0 | 3 5 6 i̇ | 5 0 |

3 5 6 i̇ | 5 0 | 5 6 i̇ i̇ | 6 5 3 | 5 2 3 5 |

1 0 | 3 2 1 3 | 2 0 | 3 2 1 3 | 2 0 |

5 6 i̇ i̇ | 6 5 3 | 5 2 3 5 | 1 — |

A 調 湘 江 浪 $\frac{2}{4}$

2 5 4 5 | 2 3 5 3 2 1 | 2, 3 2 | 2 5 4 5 | 2 3 5 3 2 1 |

2 2 3 5, 6 | 1 2 5 3 5 | 1 | 7 6 5 6 | 1 2 3 1 | 1 3 2 3 2 1 |

Figure 10: A page from a printed *dizi* score.



Figure 11: Gongche notation.

寶 新 特 一 樂	0 1 6 5	3 0 5	3 5 1	2 1 3
	2 1 6	0 5 6	0 5	1 6 1
	3 5 1 3	1 5 6	1 5 5	1 3
	1 3	5 6 1	2 1 0 3 1	6 5 3 1 0
	5 3 5	2 1 3	2 1 5	0 5 6
	3 0	6 5 3 2	5 5 1 6 5	3 0 5
	5 3 5	2 0	2 1 3	2 0
	3 2	1 6	1 0	2 3
	3 2 1	1 6 5	4 5 6	6 9
	1 6	1 3 5	3 2 1	5 6 1

林	雙	笛	色
3 2	①	•	6 5 4
全單	不用		
放	孔		
為			
17			

說明

右表各曲多快吹一氣其申
 為俱本曲或用O調亦可茲
 特將O調笛色列表如下

Figure 12: A performance guide.

<u>6̣1̣5̣</u>	<u>6̣.1̣</u>		<u>2̣.6̣</u>	1		<u>6̣5̣</u>	<u>4̣5̣</u>		<u>6̣ị6̣5̣</u>	<u>4̣3̣</u>		<u>2̣5̣</u>	<u>3̣1̣</u>			
<u>2̣.3̣</u>	2		<u>5̣3̣2̣</u>	<u>6̣1̣2̣</u>		<u>5̣6̣5̣3̣</u>	2		<u>6̣3̣6̣1̣</u>	2						
E调 鲜 花 调 流水																
<u>5̣3̣5̣</u>	<u>6̣2̣ị6̣</u>		5	.	0		<u>5̣3̣5̣</u>	<u>6̣2̣ị6̣</u>		5	.	0		<u>3̣5̣</u>	<u>0̣6̣</u>	
2̣	<u>ị6̣</u>		<u>5̣2̣</u>	<u>3̣5̣3̣2̣</u>		1	.	0		<u>3̣2̣ị3̣</u>	<u>2̣2̣3̣</u>		<u>5̣ị</u>	<u>6̣5̣</u>		
<u>5̣2̣</u>	<u>3̣5̣3̣2̣</u>		1	.	0		<u>6̣2̣</u>	<u>ị2̣ị6̣</u>		<u>5̣.6̣</u>	5					
E调 直 上 青 雲 流水																
<u>1̣6̣ị2̣</u>	<u>3̣2̣</u>		<u>5̣6̣</u>	<u>5̣4̣</u>		3	<u>3̣.2̣</u>		<u>1̣3̣</u>	<u>5̣6̣</u>		<u>ị6̣ị3̣</u>	2̣			
<u>ị2̣</u>	<u>ị2̣ị6̣</u>		5	3		<u>3̣2̣</u>	<u>3̣5̣</u>		<u>6̣ị</u>	<u>5̣6̣</u>		<u>5̣6̣5̣4̣</u>	3			
<u>2̣1̣</u>	<u>2̣ị2̣3̣</u>		5	<u>3̣6̣</u>		<u>5̣3̣2̣</u>	<u>1̣2̣</u>		<u>3̣2̣</u>	<u>3̣5̣</u>		<u>6̣ị</u>	<u>5̣ị</u>			
<u>6̣5̣</u>	<u>1̣2̣</u>		<u>3̣5̣3̣</u>	2		<u>3̣6̣</u>	<u>5̣3̣2̣</u>		<u>1̣2̣1̣</u>	<u>6̣1̣</u>		2	<u>2̣1̣</u>			
<u>.1̣2̣3̣</u>	5		<u>3̣5̣</u>	<u>6̣7̣</u>		<u>ị2̣ị6̣</u>	<u>5̣6̣</u>		5	<u>5̣3̣</u>		<u>5̣ị</u>	2̣			

Figure 13: Cipher notation.

#1	<u>6 5 6</u> <u>0 3 5 6</u> <u>5 6 5 3</u> <u>0 5 6 5</u>
#4	<u>6 5 6</u> <u>0 3 5 6</u> i <u>6 5</u> <u>0 5 6 5</u>
#5	6 6 <u>0 3 5 6</u> i <u>6 5</u> <u>0 5 6 5</u>
#7	0 6 <u>0 3 5 6</u> 1 6 <u>6532</u> <u>3.5 6i 5</u>
#1	<u>3 2 3</u> 0 5 <u>6 5 3 2</u> 1 0
#4	<u>3 2 3</u> 0 <u>5 i</u> <u>6 5 3 2</u> 1 0
#5	<u>3 2 3</u> 3 5 <u>6 5 3 2</u> 1 0
#7	<u>332 3 4</u> <u>3 .6 5 1</u> <u>6 .5 3 2</u> <u>1 .2 1 7</u>
#1	<u>6 1 1 6</u> 1 <u>0 2</u> <u>3 2 1 2</u> 3 0
#4	<u>6 1 1 6</u> 1 <u>0 2</u> <u>3 5 1 2</u> 3 <u>0 5</u>
#5	<u>6 1 1 6</u> 1 2 <u>332 1 2</u> 3 <u>0 5</u>
#7	<u>6123216</u> <u>1 1 0 2</u> <u>3 2 1 2</u> <u>3 2 3 .5</u>
#1	<u>0 5 6 5</u> 3 <u>6 5</u> i i <u>0 5 6 5</u>
#4	<u>6 .3 5 6</u> i <u>2i 02i</u> <u>6 5 6</u>
#5	<u>6 3 5 6</u> i <u>2 1</u> <u>0 5 6 5</u>
#7	i <u>3 5 2</u> <u>1235231</u> <u>0 3 5 6</u> <u>0 67 676</u>

etc.

Figure 14: A comparison of the tune *Xiaokaimen*.

#1 3 5 4 3 | 5 7 | 2 3 5 4 | 3 - |
 #5 3 5 5 4 3 | 5 7 | 2 3 5 6 | 3 - |
 #7 3 5 | 4 3 | 5 | 7 | 2 3 | 5 4 | 3 | 0 2 |
 qupai 5 | 4 3 | 5 7 | 2 3 5 4 | 3 . 2 |

#1 3 5 4 3 | 5 3 2 | 7 6 | 7 6 7 |
 #5 3 5 5 4 3 | 5 3 2 | 7 6 | 7 6 7 |
 #7 3 5 | 4 3 | 5 | 3 2 | 7 | 0 6 | 7 | 6.7 |
 qupai 3 5 4 3 | 5 3 2 | 7 6 | 7 6 7 |

#1 2 6 7 | 5 2 3 2 | 3 5 6 |
 #5 2 7 6 | 5 - | 7 2 3 2 | 3 5 6 |
 #7 2 3 | 7 6 | 5 | 0 7 2 | 3 2 | 3 | 5 6 |
 qupai 2 6 7 | 5 . 6 | 7 2 3 2 | 3 5 6 |

#1 7 6 5 4 | 3 5 | 7 2 3 2 | 3 ||
 #5 7 6 5 4 | 3 5 3 2 | 7 2 3 2 | 3 ||
 #7 7 | 6 5 | 3.5 | 3 2 | 7 2 | 3 - ||
 qupai 7 | 6 5 | 3 5 3 2 | 7.2 3 2 | 3 . 2

etc.

Figure 15: A comparison of the tune *Chaotianzi*.

ON MUSIC AND VALUES IN GUJARATI WESTERN INDIA¹

Gordon R. Thompson

Values can be understood as fundamental influences in the multi-variant process through which a musical behavior or style is shaped and interpreted, just like other kinds of behavior in a cultural milieu. This paper will examine the relationship between values and music within some selected contexts drawn from the culture of Gujarati-speaking western India.

Most ethnomusicological discussions of value (for example, McAllester 1954 and Nettl 1980²) have been based on anthropological models which commonly describe their physical manifestations in culture (for example, material style, particularly in physical and aesthetic anthropology). Another topic in both anthropology and ethnomusicology has been the influence of Western values on the research and study of non-Western culture. Social psychologists in their approach to values typically are more interested in how individuals alter or modify behavior and/or internal conceptualizations about themselves in response to their social environment.

Values have been defined in sociological and anthropological literature as standards for judging what is "good" or "desirable" (e.g. Davis 1949:124; Pepper 1958:304-305; Kluckhohn 1962:289; and Parsons 1968:136). Some social psychologists have conceptualized an internal process linking an individual's values, attitudes, and behavior within a social environment. For example, Williams (1968:282b) describes values as "criteria for selection in action" which are "selective or directional" in quality and as the precepts which underlay how we shape and perceive behavior. A tripartite paradigm describing how values, attitudes, and behavior interact can be outlined as follows:

(1) A value is an internal standard related to self-perception by which an individual measures and judges his/her actions and those of others. Values in this model are the measures by which individuals judge their world and which underlay "attitudinal and behavioral processes" (Connor and Becker 1979:72).

(2) An attitude is a "hypothetical construct used to explain why people are predisposed to act favorably or unfavorably toward a person, place, or thing in their environment" (Penner 1986:367). Attitudes are "cognitive and affective orientations toward specific objects or situations" (Connor and Becker 1979:72). When articulated, attitudes can be seen to show the importance individuals place on certain of their values as they relate to their own actions and those of others.

(3) A behavior is a configuration of articulations made in response to the individual's attitudes and environment. Behavior is based on these cognate representations of our values and is a "manifestation of values and attitudes" (*ibid.*).

Rokeach (1973) argues in his "Theory of Values" that an individual's "psychological being can be conceptualized as a series of concentric circles" (Penner 1986:377). These begin at the center with the self-concept—a person's beliefs as to who and what s/he is. In Rokeach's model, the self-concept is surrounded by a ring of values, the purpose of which is to "help maintain and enhance one's total conception of oneself" (Rokeach 1973:216). Outside of these two inner layers, attitudes act as a medium through which and by which individuals can protect their egos and express their values. Furthermore, attitudes help individuals process their perceptions, acting as a screen that admits data consistent with the self-conception and blocking inconsistent information.

Not surprisingly, the chain of relationships between values, attitudes, and behavior is sometimes broken. A number of factors can influence the process and people do not necessarily behave in specific instances as their attitudes might suggest. Nor are people always conscientious about aligning predispositions with internal standards. Nevertheless, patterns of related behavior involving multiple acts can be demonstrated to correlate highly with attitudinal positions (see Rokeach 1964).

Individuals normally refer to their values when making decisions about both their actions and how these actions are likely to be perceived by other individuals in their social environment. If they perceive that a discrepancy exists between these values and their perceived and acknowledged attitudes and behaviors, then they may either change the former or the latter. As values are closely tied to self-perception, individuals more commonly will endeavor to change their attitudes and/or behaviors than change their values.

Rokeach (1971) also observes that values are ranked and are context-sensitive. This ranking evolves with the individual, reflecting personal maturation and growth, and is partly cognitive and affective. Rokeach (1973 and 1979:48) subdivides these values into two categories: "terminal values" (also known as "ends values") and "instrumental values" (also known as "means values"). Terminal values are those ultimate end states by which individuals orient their activities (for example, "wisdom," "freedom," and "self-respect") while instrumental values describe the behavioral means by which they may ideally achieve those ends (for example, "intellectual," "capable," and "honest"). Terminal values are conditions (describable with nouns and noun phrases) individuals should like to have or appear to have, while

instrumental values (adjectives or adjectival phrases) are characteristics they should like to be or appear to be.

Many of the values of a culture are declared by its institutions and individuals, each with a different interpretation of the order of importance of those values. Knowing which values and whose values is an important first step. Rokeach's neat paradigm of 36 values can serve as a beginning point, but this system, based on Western data and probably best-suited to studying Western culture, will need to be reconsidered in the non-Western social worlds to which it might be applied.

MUSIC AND VALUES

Values which are significant for a social group should be evident in many of their behaviors, particularly cultural performances, and especially music. Presumably, dominant social groups will have their values celebrated in musical performances in which they actively participate or which they patronize. Societies are complex, however, and in some cases, the value orientation expressed in a musical behavior may be that of other constituent social groups, the behavior being then at least partly symbolic of that difference. The model cannot account for all aspects of musical behavior, but can provide a basis upon which to form generalized explanations about many conscious and subconscious musical decisions. Caution should be exercised in connecting presumptions about values with the potentially arbitrary symbolic behaviors that come to signify them. Feld observes that "... for all societies, everything that is musically salient will undoubtedly be socially marked, albeit in a great variety of ways, some more superfluous than others" (1984:406). Here we might add that the true measure of how superfluous the marking of a musical behavior is lies principally in the eyes of the participants.

Attitudes, as we have described them above, are part of what Merriam (1964) would have called verbal behavior. Attitudes about what is "good" in musical performance are learned (1) through direct imitation of reference models in a cultural milieu and (2) through personal internal deliberations in which musical actions are evaluated against contextually important values. In Euro-American parlance the word "good" is used in a variety of ways to describe examples of the visual, kinesthetic, and auditory manifestations of art. Members of Western audiences might be heard to say that it was a "good" performance, that the musicians had "good" technique, that it was a "good" interpretation, or that the performer had a "good" sound. In some cases, the word "good" is replaced by the word "beautiful." The world's cultures have developed a cornucopia of phrases—many much more

vivacious—to describe an affirmative response to music.

Artistic attitudes might generally be subsumed under the rubric of aesthetics, albeit, with complications. That is, if aesthetics are the study of “philosophical problems raised in our thinking about the fine arts” (Kivy 1986:14b) and if “philosophy” is “a search for a general understanding of values and reality” (Woolf 1975:861), then values are clearly a fundamental component of aesthetics. The opinions of artists, their patrons, and other societal reference sources all have an influence on decisions about stylistic preferences in a performer’s art. This happens both because the performer favors these opinions and because patrons and other influential members of the art world accept the interpretation.

Humans learn from an early age and are driven by inherent neurological mechanisms to behave in appropriate ways to a multitude of social interactions. Given that all members of a social group commonly draw their behavioral examples from the same general cultural pool, these individuals can be expected (except in unusual circumstances) to share many fundamental characteristics. A subset of this belief is the understanding that the musical behaviors of a culture are similarly drawn from a common pool of examples and that the criteria for selection of which kinds of behavior an individual will emulate are his/her values and his/her interpretation of the meaning of those behaviors. Every musician learns his/her art through observation, whether through the audition of bird song (Feld 1982), extended tutelage under a master (Neuman 1980), revelation in a dream (Herzog 1933), or other sources. Individuals imitate models and much of what they learn is unconsciously absorbed with little analytic thought about how it fits into their personal value structure. Nevertheless, their choice in models and their willingness to adhere to them must be due in large part to how they see themselves as individuals and as members of various social groups within their society. As members of those groups, they perceive themselves as sharing values and attitudes with others. In jointly holding a set of beliefs with members of a reference group, musicians tailor their musical behavior to be consistent with those values. Their musical behavior becomes, in part, symbolic of their membership in, desired membership in, or affiliation with that group.

Values presumably have a profound influence on decisions made in the selection of elements forming a musical style. These elements, in and of themselves, are devoid of inherent “meaning.” Meaning is applied both at the poietic level by the creator and at the esthetic level by the listener (see Nattiez 1990:15ff). This meaning may be specific or obscure, premeditated or serendipitous. Thus, to study the impact of

values on musical style involves understanding in part how stylistic elements (which are part of a musical behavior) are interpreted by their creators and/or their audience. This includes understanding the behavioral symbols used as interpretants.

A variety of factors can affect the stylistic choices available to a culture: historic, economic, social, and geographic influences are among the many that could be considered. Additionally, individual interpretations of value hierarchy can sometimes run at odds with that of the majority of the social world in which they operate. Moreover, individual inspiration is part of continual change in many musical styles.

While a particular type of musical behavior may be highly valued, it is not, *ipso facto*, a value in and of itself. Williams (1979:16-17) warns that value "standards" should not be confused with the "objects of cathexis." "Values," he enjoins, "are defined by analytic constructs; they are not object-bound." Thus, specific musical performances or entities are not values; rather, they are expressions of and reactions to the value priorities of the participants through the media of their cultural milieu. A performance may be valuable to a performer and/or his/her patrons and may serve as a standard for others to emulate, but is not a value. The value of the performance will be based on how well its elements reflect the values of the musical participants (performers and patrons).

MUSIC AND VALUES IN GUJARATI WESTERN INDIA

The relationship between values and musical behavior can be seen in selected examples associated with two very broadly and historically defined coexisting social groups: the merchants and the former rulers of Gujarati-speaking western India. Definitions and delimitations of Gujarat's rulers and merchants can be found in a number of publications (e.g. Pearson 1976, Lamb 1975, and Steed 1955). However, these "classes" are hardly homogeneous, composed of numerous castes and tribes each exhibiting further internal variegation. Nevertheless, even today many from these two "classes" conceive of themselves and of each other as being distinct and identifiable. Merchants and rulers continue to provide behavioral reference models for individuals in the late twentieth century, albeit in a changing way.

In Gujarati-speaking western India, an individual's understanding of his/her environment is learned through various media and experiences: infantile and childhood events, religion (both doctrinal and personal), and their social experiences at every stage in their life. For example, personal religious beliefs are based both on what theological savants

preach and on personal "superstitions" about why things are the way they are. A number of individuals with whom I spoke believed that, apart from their communal beliefs as Hindus, Jains, or Muslims, they also believed in various supernatural phenomena such as ghosts (*bhuts*) and household spirits, sometimes believed to be the souls of protective ancestors. These individuals also see themselves as Gujaratis and as Indians, as residents of a particular region, as members of extended families, as members of specific localized social groups, as members of district and regional level castes, as members of general "classes," as urban or rural, and as Hindus, Muslims, or Jains who worship one or several gods and/or goddesses.

One important feature of Gujarati (if not South Asian) social life is a strong sense of community. Joseph Campbell (1973:65ff.) posits that an important difference between Indian (particularly Hindu) and Western (Christian) thought lies in the relative importance of the individual. The individual, he suggests, remains largely a Western emphasis. In the speculations of Hindu and Buddhist philosophers, he contends, a person's soul is but one manifestation of a universal soul and personal existence and experience is illusory. In this interpretation, beings have a natural bond with one another and the members of a community have the added bond of being of similar spiritual purity; after all, they were born to their social station by virtue of deeds in a previous existence.

The musical behaviors associated with the middle class and the aristocracy can be broadly divided into two types: music made for them by professionals and music made by themselves. Patron-client relationships present an interesting aspect of the relationship between values and musical behavior. If an individual's values are closely related to his/her self-concept and are operational as standards for self-evaluation, then in the patron-client relationship the following explanations would seem to apply: if they share some of the same values, then specific symbolic behaviors are presumably similarly read by both performer and audience; if they do not share the same values then perhaps the same behavior is read differently by the participants.

The regional aristocracy that ruled western India until 1947 was composed of various tribal groups (notably Rajputs, Kathis, and Kolis), foreign Muslims (Turks and Moghuls), and the powerful Maratha princes who, although originating in the Deccan Plateau to the south, had a profound effect on the politics and arts of the region. Hindus (particularly Rajputs, Kathis, and Kolis) were among the most numerous and important potentates in Gujarati western India, controlling substantial portions of the region through most of this millennium. For example, in the 16th century, "even under a strong sultan, they were entitled to

banth, or *chauth*, one-quarter of the land revenue, in their areas" (Pearson 1976:61-62).

With the establishment in 1947 of the Republic of India, the legal standing of the numerous royal governments was reduced dramatically. Democratically elected officials (now often from traditional middle-class families as well as Rajput, Kathi, and Koli clans) replaced the hereditary *maharajas*, *maharaos*, and *nawabs* and the grand and petty local landlords who previously ruled by dint of force and hereditary authority. Aristocratic families still hold hereditary rights and obligations as part of their traditional caste-dictated role in the region, that is, as patrons in *jajmani* networks (see Jairazbhoy 1977), but in India's pluralistic democracy they have little official power. The basis upon which Rajput, Kathi, and Koli power rested was the loyalty of their agrarian castefellows. In times of war or confrontation, Rajputs, Kathis, and Kolis who tilled the soil and grazed livestock could be called upon to take up arms and serve their local chief, who in turn served a regional commander whose allegiance would be similarly pledged. Not that Rajputs unilaterally acted as one caste: clan loyalties and pride defused many attempts at caste unity. Nevertheless, families at the village level owed their loyalties to the leaders (local, regional, and provincial) whose behaviors they also imitated. They shared many values and behaviors with their more powerful caste fellows, although local environment was also influential in forming personality.

In modern India, where capitalism dominates city life and feudal agricultural relationships are less important, Rajputs have merged in many cases into the middle class, adopting many new behaviors and habits while preserving characteristics of their feudal background.

The more socially heterogeneous middle class historically has exercised considerable influence in Gujarat. The bourgeoisie is composed of castes of both indigenous and foreign origin and has a diverse membership with representatives from several of India's various religious beliefs: Hindus, Parsis, Jains, Sikhs, Christians, and Muslims. The Gujarati middle class has been involved in international and domestic trade, manufacturing, sales, and banking, have acted as ministers and administrators to Rajputs, Kathis, and Kolis, and (at times) merchants have been part of regional plutocracies. The source of their strength has been their economic importance, for rulers relied upon the middle class to finance everything from armies to weddings.

In spite of considerable taxation, the middle class flourished, partly through a fervent religiousness and an ability to cooperate as a class. In recognizing the diversity of their cultural backgrounds, religions, and interests, members of the Gujarati middle class learned long ago that

good trade required good inter-caste relations. For example, their political clout manifested itself in the guilds which united families and castes working within an occupational category and which could shut down a city or state (see Lamb 1975).

Since the middle of the nineteenth century and the rise of a common monetary system, the middle class in India (and particularly in Gujarat) has increased its political power. Independence in 1947 was advanced by perhaps the most famous modern member of the Gujarati middle class, Mohandas ("Mahatma") Gandhi, and domestically forged by another, Vitthalbhai Patel. Appropriately, Patel was responsible for the final divestment of royal power in India, overseeing the transfer of local authority from feudal to democratic hands. Since then, two prime ministers (Morarji Desai and Rajiv Gandhi) with Gujarati middle-class ties have continued the trend.

Today, the former rulers of Gujarat and the middle class they once governed find themselves sharing power and competing for the same resources. The traditional behaviors associated with each are increasingly shared, with Rajputs buying, selling, manufacturing, and working in offices and *baniyas* joining the military and/or police. The social mobility of India's capitalistic urban environment has blurred social boundaries that in feudal contexts were more clearly drawn. Rulers and merchants have been important patrons and, even in this modern environment where definitions of caste occupation and behavior seem less rigid, some musical behaviors are still symbolically associated with these classes.

RULERS

Two different stereotypes of the Rajput have been drawn: the "martial" Rajput (to use Hitchcock's 1975 term) and, for lack of a better description, the courtly Rajput. Neither variety should be considered mutually exclusive, for many rulers exhibited characteristics of both types. Nor should these stereotypes be considered as anything but stereotypes with considerable diversity among individuals.

For the "martial" Rajputs of western India (rulers much imitated by many other ruling families in the region), "bravery" and "loyalty" seem to have been two very important values. (See Pearson 1976, Hitchcock 1975 and Steed 1955 for general background on Rajput personality. See Thompson 1987:108-117 for a discussion more specific to this article.) In the most rural examples of this type of Rajput, especially in the years before independence, physical prowess was the ideal way of obtaining and holding power.

The performers who have most clearly enunciated this ideal in their

performance behavior are the hereditary bards of the Rajputs: the Carans. Carans have historically described themselves as the “conscience” of their patrons. Thus, the Caran’s “duty” has been to praise the Rajput when his/her behavior has been reflective of central Rajput values, and to chastise when actions have failed to satisfy these standards. Moreover, Carans preserved these events in epic poems so that an entire family’s reputation (and their ability to rule and to obtain wives and husbands) could be sullied by an individual’s actions. Once the event was recorded for posterity it promised the potential humiliation of future generations. In other words, Carans have played an important role in preserving the historical self-image of the “martial” Rajput as “brave” and “loyal.” Or, to paraphrase a *rajkavi* (S. R., a royal poet at the court of Bhuj, Kacch), the essence of Caran poetry is bravery.

The traditional presentation of *Carani sahitya* (“Caran literature”) itself is virile, confrontational, open-throated, proud, and strong. The “musical” lines of their terse *duhos* (couplets) and expansive *chands* (often extended poetic narratives) are standardized formulae which commonly fall a perfect fourth or fifth to a tonic. (See Thompson 1991 for a discussion of the idea of “musical” as pertains to this caste and Thompson 1987:155ff for transcriptions.) As Lomax (1968:152) would have predicted in his description of the “oriental bard,” these stereotyped melodies are ornamented with intricate and small-intervalled elaborations. One is tempted to believe that perhaps these were formed by the same motivations which shaped the conceits and standardized formulae of courtly speech which Lomax presumes to have served as a buffer between social strata in feudal hierarchy. However, such an interpretation would be at odds with the role of the Caran as *desillusionner* and the bold and open mode of their presentation.

But the “martial” Rajput is not the only Rajput role model. Steed (1955) also describes a Rajput reference model who clearly does not see physical aggression as the most effective way to gain control, although power and authority are still the ultimate goals. In general, the more politically powerful a Rajput, the greater the role acumen would have played in holding control. Moreover, little of this could be achieved without a clever manipulation of Rajput core values. These Rajputs relied upon eloquence, elegance, and sophistication as tools to achieve their ends. To a certain extent, *Carani sahitya* satisfied the expression of these values, employing archaic conceits and language fully comprehensible only to those familiar with its grammar, prosody, and vocabulary, as well as with the special historical figures and situations it describes. However, in modern India, where the ideals of “non-violence” gained currency, the rhetorical violence of *Carani sahitya* has

sometimes been inconvenient, and has not reflected the self-image of many modern Rajputs. During the 19th and 20th centuries under the *pax Britannica* of the British Raj, interstate warfare came to a halt and rulers turned their attention to courtly activities, which included the patronage of a variety of musics. Classical music, with its elegance and sophistication, apparently gained in importance in this environment, especially since it was urbane, cosmopolitan, and avoided the celebration of confrontational aggression espoused in much *Carani sahitya*.

The decline in importance of *Carani sahitya* among Gujarati Rajputs and the subsequent increase in interest in classical music had a basis (at least in part) in the changes that have taken place in Rajput self-image. Values, as one of the most important elements helping one to "maintain and enhance one's total conception of oneself" (Rokeach 1973:216), change as the individual adapts to his/her environment. As the values of the majority of Rajputs have evolved, so have the musical behaviors they have patronized. During the 19th century, the steadfast, "loyal," and "brave" Caran, who psychologically pumped the self-image of the medieval feudal martial Rajput before battle and then recounted it afterwards in the *darbar* ("court"), seems to have become less important. By the 20th century, Caran verses, though still highly prized, seem increasingly to have become historical curiosities. Irreversibly, Caran economic ties to royal courts declined, apparently ahead of many other royal performers.

Today, although some royal families tout contacts with Carans and provide some support of *Carani sahitya* (for example M. J. of Rajkot), the art form and the artists have changed considerably. Some Carans, in the face of declining interest among Rajputs and a corresponding increase in the wealth and power of the middle class, have altered their traditional literature and style of presentation and now have middle-class patrons (e.g. the family of *Rajkavi* M. R. of Kalawad). Many performing Carans now devote their energies to "folk" materials that are much more broadly accessible. Story telling (e.g. B. G. of Wadhwan) and folk song (e.g. J. G. of Rajkot) seem to be particularly important. Non-Carans, even some individuals from royal families (e.g. D. P. of Santhali), are also now recognized as performers and creators in this genre. However, the patrons are no longer the royal courts of the region. Rather, a portion of the middle class has taken an interest in the region's folklore which is now an important source of income for these performers. Indeed, one of the most respected books on the Carans was penned by a Gujarati Jain (Z. Meghani, the "Caran of the Carans," as some Carans describe him).

In the late 19th and early 20th centuries the resident rulers of

Gujarat, whether Rajput, Kathi, Koli, Maratha, or Moghul, increasingly turned to music for their entertainment. They competed with each other for the services of the classical masters of their age such as Ustad Faiyaz Khan (Vadodara) and Ustad Abdul Karim Khan (Junagadh). The Gaekwad of Vadodara (Baroda) sponsored the "First All-India Music Conference" in 1916, gaining the music scholar Bhatkhande's "immense gratitude" and his challenge to other rulers to match his host's benevolence (Bhatkhande 1974:43), a challenge that was met, though in other parts of India. These royal Gujarati patrons of music employed accompanists from the indigenous Mir and Langha communities for their star artists. These accompanists could also provide regional music for festivals as well as learn to play the Western brass and reed instruments that were imported for show.

Underlying South Asia's classical music is an aristocratic concern for power and position (two of the most important motivators of Rajput behavior according to Steed 1955) and the general South Asian disposition towards enunciated hierarchical relationships. Neuman (1980) has explored the social aspects of hierarchy in North Indian classical music, not only in the soloist-accompanist relationship, but also in their biosocial backgrounds. Hierarchy is also evident in other aspects of this music and I choose here only some of the most obvious examples. Solo instruments in northern India (such as the *sitar*, *sarod*, and *sarangi*) are constructed so that the most important strings, the melody strings, are supported by the less important drone and sympathetic strings. The most important (the melody strings) constitute the fewest. Thus, the string groups have a musically determined hierarchical ranking. For example, the sitar has only one string dedicated to melody and, today, usually fifteen or more other strings for drone and resonance. Musically, the abstract musical concepts of *rag* and *tal* similarly have hierarchical elements. A *rag* (according to most ancient and modern treatises) has a most important note (*vadi*), second-most important note (*samvadi*), and then other acceptable notes (*anuvadi*). In *tal*, the most important *matra* ("beat") is the *sam* (beat one) with other beats ranked by being designated as *tali* (clapped), *khali* ("empty"), or undesignated.

Patronage of classical music may have symbolized for some rulers inclusion in an elite group whose members had enough wealth to pay for the music, enough free time to attend performances, and enough education to appreciate the subtle abstractions (See Qureshi 1990:158 for a discussion of iconographic evidence and Thompson 1987:365-388 for discussion). For aristocratic patrons, classical music perhaps can be seen to have represented (among other things) their hereditary status. The special emphasis in North Indian classical music, particularly

among Muslim musicians, on hereditary musical knowledge can be seen as an imitation of the hereditary rights of the aristocracy who patronized them and as a symbol for the aristocracy and/or of those rights. Moreover, when performer groups in Gujarat such as Carans, or even Mirs and Langhas imitated some of the characteristics of their patrons or wore special articles of clothing given to them as part of their duties they encouraged the identification of their art with the status of their sponsors. (Also see Wade 1986.) For example, Allen and Dwivedi (1984) recount how the skin on a particular kettle drum (an instrument played almost exclusively by Langhas) was beaten only on the birth of the heir to the throne of a small kingdom which now lies in modern-day northern Gujarat. The drum head was then slit with a knife so that it would sound for no one else.

MERCHANTS

Among the many different groups who comprise the Gujarati middle class, Vaisnava Hindus are the most numerous and have been described as the "dominant people of the region" (Thoothi 1935:1). They share many goals and priorities with other members of the occupationally, ethnically, and religiously diverse Gujarati middle class and in some ways are ideal examples of the Gujarati *bania*. Among the most important values of the middle class is a desire to be, and to be seen as, "religious." Not only are merchants of every faith in Gujarat observant of the sacred rites and ceremonies dictated by their religions and have their temple or mosque as a focus of their social life, they also make a conscious effort to behave religiously. Furthermore, values which relate to "religiousness," particularly those manifested in that complex of behavioral norms focused around the concept of *moksa* (release from the eternal cycle of birth, death, and rebirth), are ranked highly. For example, the ideal of *bhakti* ("devotion"), the belief that through your fervent reverence of God you can experience the bliss of oneness with God in this life, is strong among the bourgeoisie of Gujarat.

Two important musical behaviors associated with Vallabhacarya Vaisnavas (who are both a religious group and a social group), are *kirtan* and *bhajan*. Congregational worship of Krishna in His *haveli* ("mansion") through praise music (*kirtan*) is part of a cultural tradition that extends to Mathura and the central plains of India. The communal or solo singing of devotional songs, *bhajans*, in the home is the most common vehicle for the expression of *bhakti*. Thoothi (1935:222), in his discussion of music in the *haveli* comments that "Most *Kirtans* are songs of joy, not of sorrow, repentance, or pain. The latter type of songs are

[sic] called *Bhajans*, and are never sung in temples in the presence of God." Similarly, Shukla (1970:33) differentiates *dhrupad* (or *dhrupad*, the most common form of *haveli kirtan*) from "*Visnupad*" (*padas* or *bhajans* sung in the worship of Vishnu and his *avatars* such as Krishna), describing these genres as being in two distinct styles (*saili*). He also states that the latter is not sung in the temple.³

The priest/musicians (*brahmans*) who lead the congregation in *kirtan* take pride in their musical skills, their unique tradition, and their ability to perform the rituals of the Vallabhacarya Vaisnavas. The *ragas* and *talas* of *haveli sangit* (*haveli* music) are conceptualized in much the same way as their secular counterparts, but include *ragas* (such as Dev Gandhar) which are seldom performed by secular musicians. The *talas* they perform (Cautal, Adhacautal, and Dhammar) are typical of *dhrupad* in other parts of northern India. The performance of *haveli sangit dhrupad* requires participation by professional performers, a role filled by the hereditary *brahman* priests of the Vallabhacaryas. In Gujarat, some priest/musicians exhibit considerable musical skills while others nominally fulfill their role of musician.

Temple performances have obvious hierarchical qualities which are reflected in the spatial and musical roles of the participants, not surprisingly since worship is organized as though Krishna were holding court. Devotees are sexually segregated, with males in one area (either to the auspicious right hand of the deity or in the section immediately in front of the deity) and the women in another (either to the less-auspicious left hand of the deity or on the periphery of the men). The musician/priests sit front and center before the area in which the image of Krishna dwells and where He and His retinue are attended by other priests. The musician/priests lead the performance, singing lines which are repeated by the congregation. Unlike the classical music tradition, the drummer is often the leader, singing the musical lines to which the congregation and the other musicians respond, setting the tempi of the various stages of worship, and indicating the beginnings and ends of stages in the ritual.

The aesthetics of *haveli sangit* suggest a ranking of values. The most important value has to be concerned with the religious function of the music, as everyone concerned, musician/priests and devotees, is normatively intent on demonstrating their devotion to Krishna. For the hereditary performers, their personal knowledge and ability are also important, but subservient to the need to be religious. That these values (knowledge and ability in the service of being religious) have a ranking was made apparent to me when I witnessed, and indeed partly caused, a transgression of this understanding. Having previously interviewed a

traditional *haveli sangit* priest/musician who was a drummer and a singer in Godhara, a small provincial town in eastern Gujarat, I attended a sunset service in which he was to participate. Krishna was ritually honored in court, offered food, and praised, as He is at several such daily ceremonies at a number of *havelis* in this town. As the ceremony progressed, the priest/musician whom I had interviewed and several other priest/musicians, instead of facing the direction of the image of Krishna and addressing their music in that direction, faced in my direction. Then, led by the drummer, the musicians presented a rather technically elaborate musical performance. Numerous devotees in attendance were annoyed, including my host in that town (a local Vallabhacarya Vaisnava *bania*) who indicated to me that my attention was to be focused on the deity, not on the music. I was informed later that if I wished to listen to the music that a separate domestic performance could be arranged away from the temple.

The singing of devotional songs, particularly *bhajans*, is a popular avocation among many Hindu Gujaratis both as private personal worship and as a domestic communal activity. The musical form of a *bhajan* consists of a refrain (known as the *dhrupapada*) alternating with a verse (*pada*). In a Vallabhacarya household women often sing *bhajans* to accompany their chores or, in those very rare quiet moments, might be found singing from a *bhajanavali* (usually a handwritten collection of texts). Once a week (sometimes more) women or men (the groups are traditionally sexually segregated) can gather in the home of a community member to sing *bhajans*. In these instances, different members take turns leading the *bhajan* by singing the *dhrupapada*, with the other members responding. The selection of these individuals only partially has to do with their musical abilities and/or knowledge of texts. A devotee may also lead because of his/her religious commitment.

Participation in a *bhajan* group is largely determined by one's residential community. Increasingly, Gujarat's Hindu community is segmented socioeconomically, rather than strictly along caste or family lines, and women or men from an apartment complex or neighborhood will join for such events. As Rajputs, Kathis, and Kolis move into these communities, they too join into the *bhajan* singing. In doing so, these Hindu members of the former ruling class demonstrate the broadening importance of the middle class and an acceptance of some middle-class values, attitudes, and behaviors. The Gujarati middle class again demonstrates its willingness to accept new communities based on economic position rather than on family origin.

The most important values shaping this music behavior are clustered around the individual's desire to behave religiously. Whether the

devotee is focused purely on their adoration of the deity (usually Krishna) or if their goal is the ecstasy that is attained by some worshippers, the central unifying self-image is that of a religious person. The text of a very popular *bhajan*, "*Vaisnava Jana To Tene Kahie...*" (We call a Vaisnava someone who...) explains that a devotee must be ready to endure sadness and hardship and be generous to the poor and their faith, all for the glory of God. In other words, in everything a Vaisnava does, religious conviction should motivate him/her.

DISCUSSION

The values instilled by society and personal history have an impact on musical tastes and ideals and are evinced through the musical materials of a culture. In the West, many instruments and much music can be seen to reflect an ideal of "equality," even if that ideal must vie with the sometimes contrasting value of "freedom" (see Rokeach 1973). Our keyboards have been given equal temperament, violin and guitar strings are manufactured so as to have a registral equality of sound, and Schoenberg and his colleagues attempted to release pitch from the hierarchical tyranny of tonality. We have also highly valued the freedom of individual creativity, and everything from solo concerti to the guitar heroes of rock and roll have played on this theme.

Individuals can also clearly enjoy music for the sensual pleasure of the sound, the pleasure of musical pattern anticipation, recognition, and surprise. The ability to appreciate, to understand, and to anticipate the abstract structures of classical music is a learned behavior in which ideational processes are stressed. And remembering an old song, or tunes from times when many other things have been forgotten is an act of mental prowess that delights, both because it has been accomplished and because of the other memories that accompany it. Pattern recognition and symbol manipulation is characteristically a human preoccupation, and musical audiation is an abstract way of doing this (see Gordon 1976:1-5). Not surprisingly, many music traditions emphasize processional abstractness and elaborateness. But the satisfaction of intellectual comprehension is not the only way music can be enjoyed. Indeed, we may be entering an era when we learn a great deal more about the ways we enjoy music.

The pleasure of performance and audiation is part of a complicated electrochemical and biological process. The neurological mechanisms by which a relationship between music and values is achieved are not well understood. Some research suggests that positive musical experiences cause the secretion of beta-endorphins responsible for the sensation of pleasure and the suppression of pain (e.g. Goldstein 1980

and Locsin 1981). Similar secretions (endorphins and/or enkephalins) apparently take place whenever an individual completes a task s/he has felt compelled for personal and/or social reasons to undertake (Stolerman 1985). Following the assumption that the completion of such tasks is at least partly in self-reflective response to values, then the probability exists that the self-induced "high" that music gives is imbedded in its unique value-satisfaction quality.

By considering the relationship between values and music, one does not have a complete explanation of all musical behavior. What we do obtain is an understanding of the "meaning" behind some aspects of music. The study of values in social psychology is almost entirely based on Western examples and we cannot yet know whether the processes described in its literature are human or are confined only to the Western scientific mind with its emphasis on the individual. Even in the West, the types of value described by Rokeach were questioned almost immediately (see Zenzen and Hammer 1978). Nevertheless, the relationship between how a person views him/herself and the music they prefer and patronize would seem a fecund field of study for ethnomusicologists.

Values are the psychological "glue" of the cultural ecology of which music is a part. Shared values and a shared valuation of particular musical behaviors which act as symbols of those values are bonds between patrons and musical clients. Other patron-client relationships (particularly feudal relationships) rely on economic and/or political contracts. Patrons, by supporting performers whose musical behavior most closely matches the aesthetic expectations and circumstantial limitations of the patron, can be said symbolically to express their values through musical conventions and agents.

Neuman (1980) has described the musical culture of northern India as an ecology, drawing into his discussion the roles of technology and performance context as well as that of producer and consumer. He suggests three basic models for performance: the *darbar* model, the *bhakti* model, and the salon model (1980:221-223 *passim*). He describes *darbar*-model performances as "dignified," evoking "respect" and "majesty" by presenting a demeanor of "pride." In contrast, his *bhakti* presentation model has an atmosphere of "devotion" and "humility." Within the context of our discussion of aristocratic and bourgeois values, these two models can be seen as artistic responses to aristocratic and bourgeois patronage (see Thompson 1987). Performers in the *darbar* model are largely Muslim instrumentalists whose families traditionally had hereditary links to the courts. *Bhakti*-model performers are commonly Hindu singers who are not hereditary performers. The

former receives its extra musical authority through its lineage (as did their traditional patrons). The latter often ascribes its authority (at least in part) to God, not unlike successful *bhajan* singers. The former (if successful) dress in silks and might, for publicity purposes, employ other symbols of royal power and wealth. Some Hindu classical singers evoke a religious atmosphere in their presentations by affecting religious mannerisms: the supplication of god with an outstretched hand, the wearing of common white *kurta* and *pajama* (as in an idealized communal performance of *bhajan*), and the inclusion of "classicized" versions of *bhajan* and other devotional genres, all of which combine to give the impression of a religious *darsana* (see Neuman 1980 for a more complete discussion).

These models fit the contrasting value structures of ruler and merchant patronage patterns. When aristocratic patrons were in power, they employed Muslim musicians on a hereditary basis. In Neuman's *darbar* model, the dignity and authority of the former royal patrons (and perhaps of those new patrons wishing to imitate the past) is evoked by the music. Many bourgeois patrons (who in India since Partition have been predominantly Hindu) are relatively new sponsors of classical music. Membership in the music clubs that began appearing in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries included petty aristocracy and upper middle-class members. For the upwardly mobile bourgeoisie, classical music and membership in clubs which patronized this music probably had additional importance as a symbol of personal economic aspirations, not to mention cosmopolitan sophistication. Since independence and the increased importance of the economically powerful middle class, performers whose music and musical presentation has a religious and devotional quality have grown in success. In Gujarat, performances of classical music often begin with Hindu religious rituals and offerings, even when the performers are Muslims.

Ultimately, as the aristocracy of India totally abdicates patronage responsibilities, the middle class, increasingly dominated by Hindu fundamentalists, will replace the music of the old aristocracy with its own musical styles (see Qureshi 1990). Remarkably enough, changes in the middle class are having their own ramifications as more secular and worldly ideals produce the music of India's popular cinema.

NOTES

1. Earlier versions of this paper were presented at meetings of the Society for Ethnomusicology (1989) and for the Southern California Chapter of that society (1987). The subject is also central to my dissertation (Thompson

1987). My research in Gujarat, India in 1981 and 1982 was generously funded by the American Institute of Indian Studies and the Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research.

2. Nettl has subsequently revised his opinions on the use of the term "values," preferring the idea of "guiding principles" of behavior or a variation on Benedict's term "themes" (Personal communication April 12, 1988).
3. Theories of value and personal development already exist in traditional Hindu and Rajput writings. For example, *dharma* (the observation of religious and social duty) is the most important of the four traditional *purusartha* ("ends of man") which also include *artha* (the pursuit of wealth), *kama* (the pursuit of physical happiness) and *moksa* (the pursuit of release from the endless transmigration of the soul in birth, death, and rebirth). See Thompson (1987:80-93) for a discussion of these traditional Hindu values as socio psychological constructs. See Steed (1955) for a description of Rajput perceptions of life stages.
4. See Mukerji 1948, Neuman 1980, Van Der Meer 1980, and Qureshi 1990 for discussions of the decline of the aristocracy, the rise of the middle class in India, and the some of consequences of these changes on North Indian classical music.
5. Desai, though a *brahman*, is from a caste of Gujarati *brahmans* who have long been involved in middle-class business activities (the name "Desai" meaning "landlord"). Gandhi is the son of a marriage between a Kashmiri Brahman mother (Indira Nehru-Gandhi) and a Gujarati Parsi father (Feroz Gandhi). The Parsis are one of the most important merchant communities in western India.
6. The difference was corroborated by R. B. of Bhavnagar, a *haveli* musician (personal communication March 25, 1985).

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THE WOLF AND MAN/BEAR: PUBLIC AND PERSONAL SYMBOLS IN A TLINGIT DRUM

Maria P. Williams

The Tlingit hand held frame drum analyzed in this paper was given to my mother as a gift from Aanyalahaash¹, the last chief of the T'aaku Kwaan (People of the Taku River). This paper is dedicated to the memory of him and his daughter, my aunt, Daisy Hanson.

Although widely appreciated for its beauty of design, Tlingit arts contain deeper cultural meanings. For the Tlingit, the arts communicate as symbols of their culture and society, who they are, where they come from, what their status is and their general relationship to their environment. For example, carved *koo-tee-yaa* or "totem" poles, are records of Tlingit history and in that sense function as libraries.² Similarly, the highly developed design, structure and visual aesthetic of Tlingit musical instruments communicate a great deal about their culture.

Following DeVale (1990) and other scholars employing an analytic organological framework, this study illustrates elements of Tlingit social structure through an examination of a single-headed, hand-held drum and its painted designs and crests. Employing a tri-partite approach of instrument/art/social structure, this study will describe the different levels of this visual symbol: first, as a crest emblem which identifies status or rank; second, as a cosmological indicator with mystical implications; third, as an aesthetic creation; and fourth, as an object in relationship to the physical environment. This instrument acts as both a personal and group symbol indicating lineage, clan identity, role and status in Tlingit culture.

The drum described in this analysis is a hand-held frame drum with a single head made from the foreleg of a deer. The drum measures 11.5 inches long by 11 inches wide, and 1 3/4 inches deep. The head is lashed and tacked on to the frame by means of twenty-nine small brass nails and lashed by strips of hide on the underside of the frame which functions as a handle. The lashing is in the shape of an "X", with four areas on the drum frame pierced for the deerhide cord. The colors of the design painted on the front are turquoise, brown and black. The image on the drum is a Wolf superimposed over the face of a man-bear with intermediary designs around the two major motifs. As with most Tlingit art, the figures are integrated to produce one design; one may see the face

of a man-bear, but looking again see the design of a wolf. This design is typical of the highly stylized art of the Northwest coast.

In order to fully understand the images depicted on the drum, it is important to understand something about art of the Northwest coast and Tlingit social structure in general. The following sections will provide background information about style and symbolism in Northwest coast art and social structure in the Tlingit clan system, before turning to the analysis of Aanyalahaash's drum.

NORTHWEST COAST ART

Art of the Northwest coast is unique, and has received a great deal of study by western art historians. It is quite dramatic and powerful and has been the focus of much study and analysis, in addition to being represented in most of the world's art collections. In this genre, images are stylistically codified and animal forms and motives are highly standardized. This enables immediate identification of the object by any member of that society. Since most art is a visual image of a clan crest (usually in animal form) certain recognizable and distinguishable features are consistent. The following are the stylized features of a few crests:

Beaver - two front incisors and a cross-hatched tail (figure 1).

Raven - straight beak, usually with wings (figure 2).

Wolf - large teeth, long nose and paws (figure 3).

Killer Whale - dorsal fin, large mouth and teeth shown (figure 4).

Bear - large teeth, large claws and a short nose (figure 5).

Sculpin - dorsal fins, spines around the mouth which look like teeth (figure 6).

Eagle - definite curved beak, usually with wings.

Virtually all Tlingit material objects—from the everyday objects of bowls, spoons, or clothing, to ceremonial objects such as regalia and rattles—are elaborately decorated, carved or painted. Rich and complex visual imagery is evident in the effort to fill every available space or object with design. Ovoids and the use of form lines (the black outline of the basic design) are typical, and the colors most commonly used are black, red, turquoise and brown.

The use of crest emblems and other geometric designs are found on almost every article in Tlingit culture. While the Tlingit are literally surrounded by art, it is not viewed in western terms of decoration or non-utilitarian function. The decoration or carving of the bowls, spoons, fishhooks, instruments, regalia, house posts, carved poles, clothing all have a significance beyond the beauty of the design. The designs are a concrete representation of the owner's clan, origin, the relationship to

Figure 1: Beaver, from a dancing wand.



Figure 2: Raven, from a rattle.

Figure 3: Wolf, from a ceremonial mask.

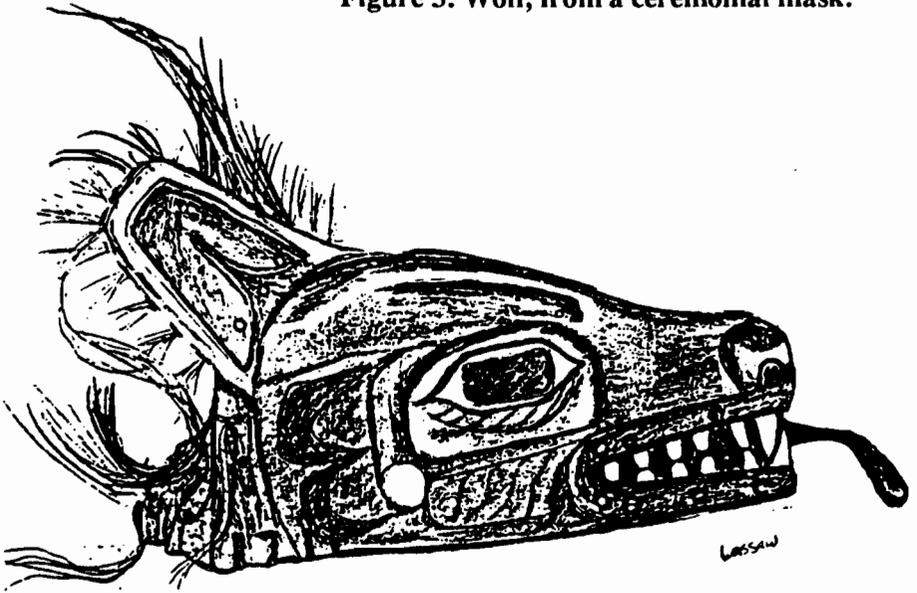


Figure 4: Killer Whale, from a house front.

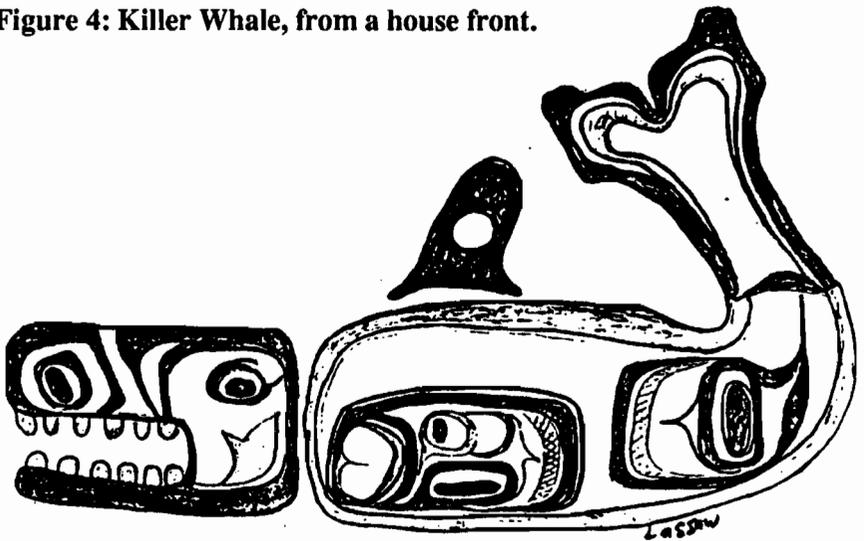
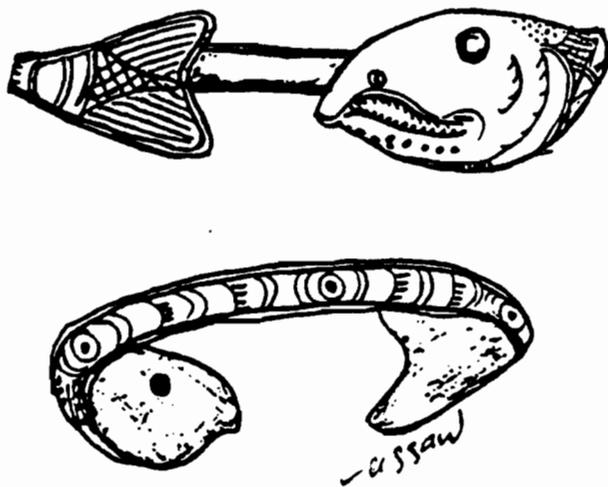


Figure 5: Bear, from a carved wooden box.



Figure 6: Salmon, from a silver bracelet.



their environment and community. The emblems, crests and other designs, whether woven, carved, or painted represent their world view in a visually dense manner. It is not only decorative art, but deeply reflective of the social system.

Symmetry and balance are present in all Tlingit art. Frontal figures are generally created by joining two profiles in a technique termed "split representation."³ In most western art only one view of an image is shown. In contrast, split representation 'splits' and 'flattens' images. This technique is counter to the rules of perception, but is conceptually true in the sense that beings are represented in their entirety, including both profile and frontal views. A number of subsidiary images, termed "fillers," are also generally present in addition to the larger design. These smaller motives or fillers, incorporate creatures that can represent spirits, mythical beings and physical properties. Tlingit artists as a rule fill empty space with secondary motives. For example, the pupils of the eyes of the larger image are at times depicted as small faces, and the nostrils can also be two small faces. Often the joints of the larger image are animated with faces as well.

TLINGIT SOCIAL STRUCTURE

Since most material items are decorated with clan crests, including instruments, it is important to understand the relevance of design in Tlingit society. Art marks the point of transition between one space and another, and of one time to another, it also marks historic events. Art serves as the visual marker when an individual, both physically and spiritually, passes from one state of being into another. Art is an expression of the relationship to environment as well—the material that it is made from, the methods used in its construction, etc.. Art captures the parameters of the Tlingit world view in a visual or physical form. Its importance cannot be underestimated.

Since the striking images of Tlingit art relate directly to social structure, it is important to understand the basic principles of that structure. The basic social idea operating in Tlingit society is that of ranked lineages, organized into two moieties, the Raven and Eagle. This could be comparable to last names—everyone is either a Raven or an Eagle. Further subdivision takes place in terms of clans and each clan can have several houses. Each clan and house have a founding ancestor from which all occupants of the house trace their lineage. The two moieties operate in a system of reciprocity and obligation to one another.

The founding ancestors are depicted in animal form on the crests and emblems found on all the objects of that particular house. Individuals

were ranked in terms of their lineage to the founding ancestor,⁴ with the highest ranking male of any house the one most closely related to the founding ancestor. In this ranked social system every individual has a specific niche in a stair-step-like graded social curve. This complex system requires an in depth knowledge of genealogy. A Tlingit individual is born into, lives and dies by a very fixed, rigid system of social structure. The balance between Raven and Eagle dictates virtually all social and ceremonial behavior including the production of art work.⁵

To the very class conscious Tlingit, the crests and emblems of their clans, houses and lineage lines are of great significance. These items are symbols of who they are, what their status is, and who their ancestors are and, ultimately, their own identity in relation to the social network as a whole. The crests and emblems are not only represented in the visual but also in music. Clan songs, instruments, ceremonial regalia and performance events are very controlled according to social protocol. The art and music of the Tlingit is, therefore, a reflection of the kinship system.

The clan emblem or crest is deeply rooted to the legendary past of that particular lineage line. The crests are all based on animals, such as Killer Whale, Beaver, Bear, Frog and Salmon, which illustrate the mystical association to animal-spirits. These are not just bears, killer whales or beavers, but supernatural spirits that offered assistance to the initial member or founder of the lineage line. Each clan has their own history of origin. The designs are depicted in clan crests, through carved poles, songs and ritual reenactments, and these objects serve as the visual representation of their history.

The associations with such emblems is quite powerful, and the rights to use of a crest are jealously guarded. It is said that in times of great confrontation if a neutral person were to wave an article with the clan emblem between the two conflicting individuals or group, it would calm the hostilities of both parties out of respect to the founding ancestor symbolized on the article. The complex imagery of Tlingit art symbolizes or memorializes the history of the founding clan ancestor.

“This whole art...was aimed at the depiction of the supernatural beings, in animal, monster, or human form, who according to lineage or clan traditions had appeared to some ancestor, or, in some instances, had transformed itself to human form and became an ancestor. In either case the descendants of that ancestor, in the proper line, inherited the right to display symbols of the supernatural being to demonstrate their noble descent.” (Drucker 1955:166)

ANALYSIS OF AANYALAHAASH'S DRUM

In using the previous material (instrument/art/social structure) as a tool for analyzing the design, the following conjectures can be made. The main emblem on the drum is a Wolf; this usually corresponds to the owner's clan. Aanyalahaash was a Gaanax.adi or Frog, which is a clan that falls under Raven, opposite of the Wolf. He belonged to the Yan Wulihashi Hit or "drifted-to-shore" house of the T'aaku Kwaan (Taku River Tlingit) and his name, Aanyalahaash, translates "the frog that is floating past the village".⁶

The clan emblems and designs are for the most part stylistically codified since there is a standardization of the animal forms and motives found in all art work. The long snout, teeth and paws are indicative of the wolf. The wolf's paws incorporate another form which is reminiscent of a bear. The Bear is a clan crest that falls under the moiety of Eagle. This representation of the Bear is unique, however, in that it is suggestive of a person as well. The rest of the images on the drum, like the Man/Bear figure, are not so easily identified. Since I did not have the expertise to "read" the drum, I had other knowledgeable Tlingits look at it. Austin Hammond, a Tlingit elder, said it was more than likely that the mysterious Man/Bear figure related to the previous owner's personal vision or some type of supernatural experience such as a guardian spirit. This analysis was shared by Norman Jackson, a carver from Kake, Alaska. Mr. Jackson believed that because the imagery had such personal meaning, it would be difficult to find out exact details. If the figure on the drum symbolizes a helping or personal guardian spirit, the depiction of it is very appropriate. Indeed, in traditional times it was very important to publicly validate a relationship or contact with a personal guardian spirit.

The other mystery is that the main images, the Wolf and Bear, fall under the moiety of Eagle, yet Aanyalahaash was a Raven. Mr. Hammond felt that the drum was not a clan drum, but an image that depicts the personal guardian spirit of the owner. According to Aanyalahaash' daughter, Daisy Hanson, he had commissioned many drums and regalia to be made for him since he was a high ranking Chief. Most of the regalia he commissioned had the crest of the Frog, which would be appropriate since that was his clan. Nora Dauenhauer, noted Tlingit scholar and linguist, confirmed that he was a Gaanax.adi (Frog) and that this clan is of the Raven moiety.

I also tried to find the name of the possible maker of the instrument. I met with Amos Wallace, a well known Tlingit artist who was in his sixties. I knew the drum was probably made in the 1930's, so I inquired as to who were the drum makers around that time. Mr. Wallace said that

the drum could have been made by Frank James of Sitka or his son Edward James, since they were making the old-style traditional drums in the 1930's and 1940's. Mr. Wallace noted that the design at the bottom was a sculpin.

I contacted and met with Mr. Watson Smarch, a Tlingit drum maker who lives in Teslin, British Columbia. Teslin is an inland Tlingit village. Mr. Smarch is one of the few individuals that still makes drums using traditional methods⁷. It is time consuming and can take an entire winter to make a drum. The frame is the most difficult part of the process. Mr. Smarch said that the wood must be soaked in water, heated and resoaked in a long process called kerfling in which the wood is bent into a round shape. The head of the drum is from the foreleg of a deer; often this part of the animal is damaged when the game is skinned or dressed. Instruments are always made by the members of opposite clans, i.e. a person of the Eagle clan made the drum for Aanyalahaash, since he was a Raven/Frog. This is an aspect of the reciprocity which existed between the moieties.

DISCUSSION

This analysis has concentrated on the dynamics and power of art and design in connection to personal and social meanings. Because of the design, use, and status of its owner, the drum is more than an instrument but an instantiation of an individual's place in a cultural system. The design indicates who the owner is or was, and signifies an event or relationship. In the case of Aanyalahaash's drum, the relationship depicted is his relationship to a personal guardian spirit. Drums are used for songs and dances which are all owned by specific clans and house groups and strictly monitored by rigid protocol. Higher ranking people commission drums, and they are made by their clan opposites. Traditionally higher ranked individuals commission instruments, regalia, house posts and a myriad of other objects, lower ranked individuals do not have this privilege. Each member of a clan has to have permission to use any of the designs of that clan since these are symbols of the rank, prestige and lineage line. In this way Tlingit designs are similar to European designs used in traditional coats-of-arms. The coat-of-arms or heraldic crest mirrored the rank, position and status of its user and is traditionally only the prerogative of the nobility.

As mentioned in the introduction, the tri-partite approach of instrument/art/social structure reveals several layers of meaning. To recapitulate, these include first, the meaning of the image/design depicted on the instrument with regard to an individual's status or rank; second, the connection of the instrument to a cosmological system;

third, the meaning of the instrument as an aesthetic object; and fourth, the relationship of the instrument to the physical environment. The meaning of the design on the drum represents a crest emblem offering information on the owner, his clan and status. In this case the emblem of the Wolf and intermediary man/bear probably indicate the owner's relationship to an opposite clan, perhaps a gift or trade item or symbol of reciprocity. In terms of the cosmological system, the image seems to indicate a relationship with a personal guardian spirit, this relationship being a special bond with a supernatural being. As an aesthetic object, the commissioned instrument functions as both an art object and a utilitarian object, yet it transcends the material plane by virtue of the symbols on the drum. The drum is directly related to its physical environment in its materials which are readily available in Tlingit territory. The head is made from deer found in certain parts of Tlingit territory and the handmade paint uses pigments common to the region as well. These are just a few of the aspects of Tlingit culture which are revealed through an analysis of this drum. Although there remains the unanswered question regarding the relationship of the owner to the image of the Wolf, the opposite of his own Raven clan, this has provided impetus for further inquiry.

NOTES

1. His English name is Jimmy Fox.
2. The term "totem" is a misnomer since the poles were not worshipped, but represented recorded history. Some have referred to the poles as visual poetry (Bolanz, 1995)
3. Split representation is highly developed in Tlingit art and was also quite prominent in ancient Chinese, Polynesian, Meso-American and South American art as well.
4. Tlingit society is a matrilineal system and the individual inherits the moiety of her/his mother. This is further divided by membership to a particular clan; clan is simply a group which share a common lineage line. The next subdivision is through house membership. Houses were more than physical structures in which several nuclear families lived; the houses were kinship lines. This is often compared to European aristocracy.
5. Elements of the Tlingit social structure have changed and adapted to the Twentieth century. I use the ethnographic present, but some of these

practices are no longer acknowledged.

6. Nora Dauenhauer, noted Tlingit scholar, provided this information, personal interview, 1995.
7. The more modern drums differ markedly from the older traditional style. The designs painted on the modern drum heads are usually a single clan emblem with no fillers or intermediary designs or superimposed figures. This is very different from the very dense traditional designs in which there are little open spaces. Additionally, the traditional paint is no longer used so the modern colors are brighter.

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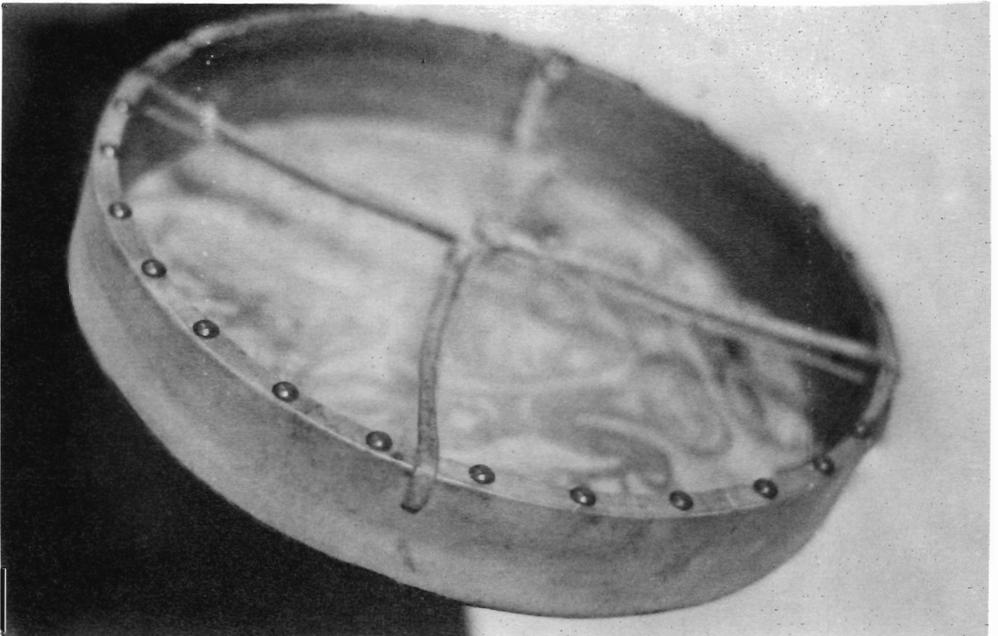
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Photos 1 and 2: Front views of Aanyalahaash's drum



Photos 3 and 4: Rear views of Aanyalahaash's drum

REVIEWS

NANCY VAN DEUSEN. *Theology and Music at the Early University: The Case of Robert Grosseteste and Anonymous IV* (Brill's Studies in Intellectual History; vol 57). Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1995. xii, 223 pp., music, figures, notes, references, index.

The frontier between ethnomusicology and historical musicology is no longer sacrosanct. Inspired by recent multidisciplinary interests, some western musicologists have begun to reject the absolute ideals and diachronic focus of their parent discipline and to adopt, instead, conceptual formulae long held to be the exclusive province of ethnomusicological inquiry. At UCLA, for instance, McClary (1991) and Walser (1993) have been instrumental in developing such a musicology: that is, they have endeavored to extend the domain of musicological investigation by applying methodologies developed in the social sciences and by exploring new areas of musical interest, such as popular music, which lie outside the established canonic realm. While some ethnomusicologists (see Nettl, 1989) have responded to this challenge by proposing an ethnomusicology of western music and while others (see O'Connell, 1996) have implicitly invoked a musicological precedent by cultivating historical depth in ethnographic studies, most scholars in the field have failed to recognize the new theoretical vigor of historical musicology and, as a result, they have also failed to notice the gradual collapse of traditional disciplinary boundaries.

Nancy van Deusen's latest publication on the relationship between music and philosophical discourse at the early university adds an important new dimension to this scholarly debate. By viewing music as a microcosm of larger theological, philosophical, and legal problems in the medieval academy and by utilizing cognitive and semiotic tools to substantiate her position, the author unites theoretical devices originating in anthropology with the craftsmanship and detailed precision of her parent discipline. In particular, she argues that music provided a tangible analogy for explaining philosophical problems to a medieval audience newly conversant with the writings of Plato and Aristotle. She contends that the temporal properties, composite attributes, and creative processes innate to music provided sonic and visible examples of philosophical paradoxes posed by time (eternal versus measured), space (invisible versus visible), and law (natural versus written). Music, which acts within time and with time, which operates as a particular manifestation of general theoretical principles, and which is itself a

tangible product of intangible creative processes, serves as a perfect medium for illustrating complex theological issues concerning immortality, the soul, and God.

Van Deusen employs cognitive methods to structure her thesis. That is, she develops her argument by eliciting musical categories (such as mode, notation, and composition) in contemporary philosophical writings and by examining their multivalent properties in a wide range of historical documents. Her treatment of mode (*modus*) is especially significant. She contends that a number of medieval scholars, who were acquainted with Aristotle's theory of motion outlined in *Physica* (available in its Latin translation after 1220) viewed *modus* as a particular, discrete, and measured expression of time. In contrast to earlier scalar definitions of the term, she argues that contemporary commentators viewed *modus* as a rhythmic disposition: a disposition which was indicated by a new and composite set of notational symbols (*figurae*), which was characterized by a diverse range of non-musical meanings, and which formed a perceptible locus for examining larger philosophical questions related to time, motion, and change. Further, she connects this radically new interpretation of mode with the concurrent development of a new cosmology (*firmamentum*) and with the related reconceptualization of musical textures (polyphony) and musical forms (motet) according to its tripartite configuration. In short, van Deusen infuses the conceptual world of the early university with fresh theoretical insights without disturbing the integrity of the rich material at hand.

Van Deusen's discussion of composite harmony neatly illustrates the philosophical dimension of medieval musical discourse. Referring to the musical examples attributed to Socrates in Plato's *Phaedo*, she argues that medieval theorists were profoundly influenced by a platonic notion of universal harmony and by a related interpretation of music as its outward manifestation. In particular, she invokes Plato's discussion of a lyre to explain the composite character of musical harmony and to explore the efficacy of this analogy in wider philosophical applications. By viewing harmony as a material expression of vibrating strings within the body of a lyre and, at the same time, by recognizing the existence of an abstract concept of harmony beyond the realm of musical performance, the author is able to exemplify not only the compound character of music but also the composite constitution of beauty, time, life, and ultimately, Christ. While it could be argued that the author's musicological interpretation of *Phaedo* is rather partisan (given that Socrates here is essentially preoccupied with the immortality of his soul) and while she herself is judiciously circumspect about its direct influence upon medieval scholarship (p. 114), she does propose that the

conceptual material and linguistic style of this dialogue are clearly evident in contemporary academic writings. In other words, van Deusen deciphers the intellectual world of the early university with an impressive range of interpretive methods which serve to substantiate and clarify her thesis with scholarly distinction.

Van Deusen's monograph bears the indelible imprint of ethnomusicology and its methodological interests. Influenced in part by her productive encounter with Catherine Ellis at the University of New England (Australia) and in part by the interdisciplinary imperatives of medieval scholarship, she displays a remarkable knowledge of anthropological theory: a knowledge that is rare amongst historical musicologists. While it is true that a number of her earlier publications indicate the theoretical direction of her work (see van Deusen 1989, 1991), they do not demonstrate the conceptual sophistication, the philosophical depth, nor the scholarly elegance of this work. Perhaps some ethnomusicologists will find the historical approach, the intellectual focus, and the Western musical material presented here of no relevance to their synchronic interests, behaviorist paradigms, and non-western biases. However, given the recent predilection for historical studies and the widespread contemporary concern for western popular music in the field, I suggest that scholars cannot afford to ignore the innovative theoretical precedent set by van Deusen and, by extension, the exciting debate developing in historical musicology.

Van Deusen's latest work is an outstanding contribution to ethnomusicology and historical musicology. Although conceived as a study in intellectual history, the book addresses a central ethnomusicological problem concerning music and its cultural significance. The author interprets the complex historical material surrounding medieval musical conceptualization within a sophisticated theoretical framework derived from anthropology. The result is an outstanding monograph which is beautifully wrought, academically rigorous, conceptually incisive and, above all, absolutely fascinating.

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GERALD EARLY. *One Nation Under A Groove: Motown and American Culture*. Hopewell, New Jersey: The Ecco Press, 1995. 135 pp., cloth, \$17.00.

Of the growing body of literature that chronicles the continuing development of African-American popular music, the works that examine the cultural significance of the music of Motown are relatively few. *One Nation Under A Groove: Motown and American Culture* is one of the first to do so.

Gerald Early, chair of African-American Studies at Washington University in St. Louis, and winner of the National Book Critics Circle Award for Criticism, has published essays on American culture and writes authoritatively on the subject. This work is an extension of his *New Republic* magazine article of the same title (Early 1991)—the phrase “One Nation Under A Groove” is taken from a 1978 recording by George Clinton’s group Funkadelic. Early’s book focuses on the life of record producer and executive, Berry Gordy Jr., founder of the Detroit-based Motown Records, who created the Motown style, a combination of 1950s rhythm and blues, soul music, gospel and European-American popular music, the world-wide success of which made Detroit a center for African-American popular music. Early explores the cultural foundations and implications of Motown as a cultural force and its intersection with the development of rock and roll. Acknowledging in his introduction that he is not a popular music specialist, Early instead approaches his subject as a social and historical critic. He muses, or as he calls it, “meditates” on a vast array of events and developments which set the stage for the advent of Motown and shed light on Motown’s role in the reconfiguration and advancement of America’s black middle class.

In four concise chapters and 135 pages, Early connects Motown to the dominant cultural issues of the 1950s and 1960s. In Chapter One, “Family Happiness,” he explores the concepts of family and paternalism. He writes of Italian pop-ballad singers such as Frank Sinatra and Frankie Avalon as well as the youth culture of the rock and roll era which preceded Motown. Early compares the way in which Frank Sinatra paternalistically led his “Rat Pack” with the way Berry Gordy Jr. parented his “Motown Family.” Early also highlights the conflicts during the 1960s which reflected the intensity of race relations and opposition between Italian-Americans and African-Americans. Among those concerns were fears of miscegenation, black competition in the job market, fear of the decline of social status of whites in proximity to blacks, and fear of African-American dominance in the cultural life of

America's underclass.

In Chapter Two, "A Usable Black Present or the Lessons of Booker T. Washington and Joe Louis," Early identifies middle-class habits of morality and ingenuity as being salient in soul music. He focuses on James Brown's independence and prolific creativity which influenced nearly every sector of African-American popular music development during the 1960s, including Motown. In his analysis of James Brown's song, "Funky President" (1974), Early finds it embedded with the mores of middle-class African-Americans. The values which Early singles out—aspirations of self-reliance, faith in oneself, civic responsibility and engagement—are the very ones that distinguished Motown's holistic approach to music making from the other record labels that produced African-American popular music in the 1960s and 1970s, such as Stax, Atlantic, Chess, and Philadelphia International.

In Chapter Three, "The Midwest as Musical Mecca and the Rise of Rhythm and Blues," Early meditates on how the Midwest became a fertile ground for the development of the Motown phenomenon and he continues to unravel the chronology of Gordy's life and career, drawing parallels with the concurrent developments in American culture. Throughout *One Nation*, Early shares his "meditations" about the facts, rather than offering a polemic or expository essay. It is through this that we see Early's most meaningful contribution, the attempt to understand the "meaning of Motown." In Chapter Four, "The Shrine and the Seer," Early discusses the impact black radio station program directors, disc jockeys and record distributors had upon the success of Motown. He takes the reader on a tour of Detroit's Motown Historical Museum which is located today in the building that houses Hitsville, U.S.A. and Studio A, where most of the music associated with the 1960s Motown sound was recorded. As he describes the various artifacts and displays in the museum, Early recognizes several women who were integral to the Motown story: Sylvia Moy, Raynoma Gordy, Maxine Powell, Martha Reeves, and Diana Ross. While these women are rightfully acknowledged, a few words about Quality Control Department manager, Billie Jean Brown, and Gordy's protégé, Suzanne de Passe would have also been appropriate.

Early's book points us towards new horizons. He lays out a canvas of American culture during the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s and then carefully overlays Motown's development and achievements—and those of Gordy's—upon that canvas. Appropriately utilized, this work can serve as a foundation and/or departure point from which future explorations of these topics may be pursued. While Early has given us a great deal to ponder, *One Nation* does have a few problems—the first

being depth, as there is little here which is based on primary research. Using a myriad of secondary sources for his documentation, he includes no bibliography, footnotes or endnotes and cites individuals without referencing the occasion, source or date. These omissions limit the work's usefulness to future researchers. Musical elements which characterize the Motown sound are mentioned in passing and there is no attempt at musical analysis. This is justified as Early is not a musicologist and the objective of the work is cultural commentary. Among the few published works that include musicological analysis of the Motown style are articles by Robert W. Stephens (1984) and Milton Stewart (1988). Two works by Nelson George (1985, 1988), though cynical and frequently irreverent, can be viewed as precursors to Early's approach. In spite of the fact that George's works are in the popular press, he does seriously consider the cultural implications of the music of Motown.

One Nation Under A Groove depicts the personal and commercial life of an African-American man, Berry Gordy, Jr. Early depicts Gordy's struggles within his environment, and shows his impact upon his environment by creating and utilizing cultural works and resources. Early's musings on this watershed period in American musical history help us to see the African-American cultural aesthetic in a new dimension. His perception of how Motown adapted to American society—and how American society adapted to Motown—may prove to be a fundamental resource to ethnomusicologists interested in urban American research. It may also benefit sociologists, cultural historians and scholars of popular music. With *One Nation Under A Groove; Motown and American Culture*, Gerald Early has provided us with a seminal work upon which we may build—a useful component of the growing body of literature on Motown, African-American popular music and American popular culture.

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AROM, SIMHA. *African Polyphony and Polyrhythm: Musical Structure and Methodology*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press/Paris: Editions de la Maisons des Sciences de L'Homme, 1985. Translation 1991 by Martin Thom, Barbara Tuckett and Raymond Boyd. xxviii, 668 pp., music, bibliography, photographs, map. \$150.00.

Arom speaks to a basic question: what musical principles unite the diversity of Central African musics? Even within a single group such as the Aka, one finds a broad range of musical styles, from percussion ensembles through a variety of solo and group instrumental ensembles (including horn and whistle hocketing groups) to polyphonic choirs. Arom suggests an answer to this question that follows from the principles of African music itself: Just as percussion ensembles interweave "ostinati with variations" (17, 215) into complex fabrics of polyrhythm, so vocalists weave ostinati, with somewhat greater variation, into polyphony. The African conception of ostinati has often been described for percussion, but in extending the concept to other instrumentalists and to singers, Arom makes a major advance in Africanist musicology.

Arom further suggests that African musicians conceive of their ostinati as *models*. This enables them to both craft variations and combine individual patterns into composite polyrhythms and polyphonies. Arom refers to both individual ostinati and composite polyrhythms as models, following African practice in which the two are often fused. Although others have used models to explore percussive polyrhythm in African and African diaspora music (Ortiz 1950: 273-275; Pérez Fernández 1986; Johnson and Chernoff 1991), only Agawu (1986, 1990) has suggested how they might operate in both vocal and instrumental genres. The center of Arom's book is a masterful demonstration of models at work in every piece in the Aka traditional repertoire—several hundred pages of clear transcriptions, representing twenty-plus years of labor.

Another valuable contribution is Arom's chapter on previous work on African music ranging far back into the colonial past. An example of his breadth is his synthesis of the major theories on polyrhythm, which Arom describes as based not on accentuated meters, but rather on "periods" (rhythmic cycles or phrase-lengths). Periods are thus carved up in different ways by different patterns (ostinati) and are related to underlying, dance-based, even beats which are neither accented nor even necessarily played (181). This complex picture is appropriate to the aesthetic and perceptual complexities of the music it describes.

Arom's method for deriving models is both practical and theoretical. He records individual performers on separate tracks, playing along with

already-recorded ensembles. This enables him to transcribe and analyze parts easily. To arrive at the models *per se*, he follows structuralist theory. In order to distinguish *ur*-pattern and variations he vertically aligns the repetitions of ostinati on each track. This method is useful where, as among the Aka, musicians do not readily extract basic patterns from complex variations or even from composite polyrhythms. As Arom points out, the Aka hear their music all together, "in the multiplicity of its aspects as a dynamic ensemble" (6).

Although this reviewer is among those who believe that some sort of model-process exists in African and African diasporan music, one must note that Arom does not consider the problems with this view in depth. Granting that models exist for the players and are not the mere deduction of investigators, one question becomes *where* models exist. Structuralism has been repeatedly criticized for assuming the deep unconsciousness of models while ignoring consciousness, and over-emphasizing fixed codes while ignoring actors and social processes (Bordieu 1972). Arom provides interesting quotes that suggest how models are experienced (169) and insists that they enable actors to produce and apprehend polyrhythm dynamically as a complex gestalt (141). However, his discussion is brief and I am still forced to wonder whether or not he escapes the structuralist drive to reduce the "dynamic ensemble" to a paradigmatic abstraction on the written page. Absent here is any discussion of the more complex and perhaps less ostinato-based aspects of performance, such as interaction between dancer and lead drummer, or the meta-communicative level on which a lead drummer directs social and ceremonial action along with the music.

True to his subtitle, Arom offers very little about cultural context or indigenous aesthetics. Even accepting the idea of ostinati, we must ask how Africans perceive them. When Africans speak of polyrhythm as *dialogue*, do they mean that they perceive the interrelations within composite ensembles "vertically," as structuralized paradigms? Or do they mean a *processual*, "horizontal" relating of sounds, sounds in motion and in the body (Keil 1966)? The broader issue here is the phenomenology of musical semiotics. Can the fundamentally atemporal model of Western musical semiotics (Levi-Strauss 1975:16) be applied to African rhythm?

If this suggests that Arom pursues structuralist model-building too far, I would also wonder whether or not he pursues it far enough. Having built models of composite polyrhythms and polyphonies, it would seem that the next step would be to look at how the various ostinati relate within the composite—to the period, to the underlying pulses, and to each other. Are there indigenous principles of combination that would

allow us to compare pieces in the Aka repertoire with each other, with other African musics, or with other music throughout the African diaspora? For purposes of comparison, Arom builds on Kolinski (1973) and develops a taxonomy of universal rhythmic possibilities, a somewhat abstract exercise that results in comparisons extrinsic to the music. Although this allows him to distinguish pieces from each other, his concern with recognition seems very much an outsider's concern. Insiders are more likely to be concerned with what makes rhythms and melodies work—what makes parts combine gracefully and powerfully.

A telling assessment of Arom's labor is that any answers to these questions would grow from the new ground he has himself prepared. He has made a remarkable contribution to our understanding of how Africans perceive their music, pattern it into felt gestalts, and play creatively from their models.

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LEMS-DWORKIN, CAROL. *African Music: A Pan-African Annotated Bibliography*. London and New York: Hans Zell, 1991. xvii, 382pp. ISBN 0905450910. Hardcover.

GRAY, JOHN. *African Music: A Bibliographical Guide to the Traditional, Popular, Art, and Liturgical Musics of Sub-Saharan Africa*. African special bibliographic series no. 14. Westport, Greenwood Press, 1991. Pp. 434, index 55pp. ISBN 0313277699. Hardcover.

These two bibliographies on African music which appeared in the early part of the 1990s represent two major contributions to the field of African music and are today still worthy of review.

Carol Lems-Dworkin's *African Music: A Pan-African Annotated Bibliography* covers the period since 1960, including a large segment on theses and dissertations. According to the author, "The relatively small number of journal articles included in this book is not meant to minimize their extreme importance, but simply to emphasize other categories of works on African music that have often been neglected" (p.xii). Further justification is provided for this limited scope by referring readers to existing reference works: Ben Aning (*An Annotated Bibliography of Music and Dance in English-Speaking Africa*, 1967), Douglas Varley (*African Native Music: An Annotated Bibliography*, 1970), Dominique-René de Lerma (*Bibliography of Black Music*, in four volumes, 1981, 1981, 1982, and 1984), L. J. P. Gaskin, (*A Select Bibliography of Music in Africa*, 1971), and John Gray's 1991 bibliography reviewed here.

The book is organized alphabetically by author, instead of by subject in order to foster unity. Periodicals are listed by title and within the general alphabetical order. The annotations, which vary in length and detail, describe the physical characteristics and the contents of each entry. It is worth noting that the author has "personally seen and examined the majority of items..." (p.xiii), an effort which contributes to the quality of this book.

The overall scope and quality of this bibliography can be attributed in part to the Africana collection and database at Northwestern University in Evanston, with which the author is very familiar. The hodge-podge spread of research data in U.S. libraries and archives do not, however, encourage an effective personal examination and comprehensive coverage—certain research libraries do not loan items, items are missing, and the publishing industry in Africa is unstable. In addition, theses and dissertations in African universities are not consistently or regularly listed in publishers catalogues (including University Microfilms International). The interrelationship among music, dance, theater,

language, and religion in Africa also poses problems to the compiler in setting limits and distinctions by genre.

The author is extra-cautious in spelling names at certain times (e.g., Yoruba names are crowded with diacritical marks). Not all works by major scholars are listed—this selective representation will frustrate some researchers—however explanations or leads to other sources are provided when necessary. The work is readable—author's names are in bold fonts, the text is judiciously interspersed with African art motifs, and the annotations, though few in number, are certainly informative. Cross-references are provided not as a matter of technical procedure, but to minimize shortcomings of the author-entry system.

The relevance of the related art forms and works pertaining to the diaspora remain a basic challenge which future bibliographers should address more confidently and within a coherent framework. This book is certainly a handsome addition to the growing number of reference works on Africa. Librarians and scholars from the humanities will find it a very useful guide.

John Gray's *African Music: A Bibliographical Guide to the Traditional, Popular, Art, and Liturgical Musics of Sub-Saharan Africa* is published by Greenwood, noteworthy among publishing houses for its emphasis on bibliographies and special series on the performing arts. This book is the latest in the African special bibliographic series.

The book is organized along several divisions, which include several categories of publications (e.g., books, collective volumes, newspapers, theses, references, etc.). The entries are organized under: general works, African traditional music, country and region, reference works, individual artists, research archives, etc. Each category routinely concludes with a bibliography of reference works, filmography, a listing of works in foreign languages as well as newspaper articles. The last chapters include a miscellany of reference tools (e.g., record stores and mail-order companies, and discography and filmography by country).

Gray's bibliography does have a few limitations. Although "liturgical" is part of the book title, this area is significantly underrepresented. The author has also limited his database to research library and online catalogues in the New York area, and many of the entries could not be verified or researched thoroughly (e.g., many of the best materials pertaining to Africa are not available in the New York metropolitan area). A major omission of a crucial music reference work which includes Africa is the *RILM Abstracts of Music Literature*, which was completely ignored in the preparation of this bibliography. Along with the occasional misspellings of names (especially African names), a few errors should be pointed out: an article on a Sundanese gamelan

was wrongly listed under Sudan; entry 2296 should be 2297; and the author of entry 1108 should be Nketia, not Nikiprowetsky. Greenwood Press could also enhance the readability of all their bibliographies if they improved on their fonts and typography.

However, numerous features of this book confirm its broad coverage and contribute to its general utility as an important research tool. Included are separate indexes for artists, subjects, ethnic groups, and authors, with numerous cross-references and detailed breakdowns into several categories (e.g., "Books with sections on music", "Newspaper articles", and "Biographical dictionaries"). The first section on "Cultural history and the arts" should serve historians, anthropologists, and other social scientists, as well as ethnomusicologists. Sufficiently comprehensive with occasional brief annotations, Gray's bibliography is a valuable contribution to African musical studies.

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